

“WHO TELLS YOUR STORY”: THE IMPACT OF *HAMILTON* ON HISTORIC SITE
INTERPRETATION

by

HANNAH ROSE MAYO

(Under the Direction of Wayde Brown)

ABSTRACT

Pop culture and history rarely intersect. The expansion of the interesting, viral, and sensational tends to clash with stories that get older by the day. When they do intersect in new and exciting ways, however, an opportunity for public education emerges. In the wake of the mega-success of *Hamilton*, a hip-hop musical by Lin-Manuel Miranda about the first Treasury Secretary, new educational opportunities arose at historic sites associated with the primary characters in the show. The musical offered not only a massive history lesson which permeates the knowledge bases of historic site visitor audiences, but also provided new ways for historic sites to enter a larger cultural conversation through social media and the musical’s auxiliary products. This research explores the ways in which four historic house museums have been interacting with the history presented in and cultural references created by *Hamilton*.

INDEX WORDS: *Hamilton*, Historic Preservation, Historic Site Interpretation, Social Media, Historic Site Marketing.

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B.B.A., The College of William & Mary, 2016

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2020

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May 2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend a most sincere thank you so everyone who has helped and encouraged me throughout this process. To Wayde Brown for his guidance, support, and advice throughout this process, particularly as I tried to extend the bounds of the research. Thank you for keeping me on track. To my committee, Scott Nesbit, Kyle Woosnam, and Allison Wickens, for their generosity of time and expertise for this project. To the history professionals with whom I spoke—Stephen Light, Allison Wickens, Rebecca Aloisi, Chris Davalos, and Vladimir Merzlyakov—for their time, candor, and excitement for this research. It was wonderful meeting each of you and I am deeply grateful for your individual perspectives on this topic and the larger field of historic preservation. To the Willson Center for Humanities & Arts for the generous Graduate Research Award, which helped offset the costs of my travels for this research and also provided a morale boost. To my coworkers and friends who listened as I shaped this idea into a full-fledged research project—your patience, encouragement, and excitement for the topic helped shape it to what it is today. Finally, to my dear family for their unwavering support and endless encouragement throughout my academic career and this research.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the creation of gods and heroes, people have flocked to important sites to pay tribute to cultural giants. By worshipping these figures, people hoped to curry good favor for themselves, while participating in the events pertaining to the deity. Antiquity's epic tales of heroes and the gods that created them, and used them, connected myths and legends to specific places on the earth. What would the story of Odysseus be without Troy? And what would the epic be without Ithaca, without the home to return to, even if only for nostalgia?

Pilgrimages, particularly religious pilgrimages, continued well into the Middle Ages with some still enduring today. These contemplative treks fulfilled a basically human curiosity and sense of exploration. Travel and tourism have long been utilized as a means of education and status-setting, preceded by the Grand European Tour by elites during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Today, as in centuries past, travel is still a means of both expanding one's understanding and establishing status. The new concept of travel blogging on social media has created a market for millennials to make a living by promoting destinations on social pages.

In the post-Nietzsche world, the gods and heroes of antiquity have been replaced with the cult of celebrity. An attraction by the masses to the few, lauded and infamous. In combination with the shrinking of the world through the expansion of information systems and increased mobility, this created an interest in travel to sites connected with

arts and events. Even more recently, the further compacting of information with advent of social media and streaming services have changed the magnitude and timeline of public memory. Gods can be built within hours and destroyed just as quickly.

Art is often at the center of the creation of cultural figures. In Ancient Greece, Homer's tales immortalized Odysseus, prompting adaptation throughout history. Shakespeare's history plays reshaped the way the English taught and viewed history. In the eighteenth-century British empire, Addison's *Cato* provoked thought which, through its incorporation into the American system of government, still echoes in our world today. In 2015, Lin-Manuel Miranda's *Hamilton*—a sung-thru, hip-hop musical—saved Alexander Hamilton's place on the American ten-dollar bill and invigorated a generation of students to see themselves in the story of the founding of the United States through modern music and diverse casting.

When a new artistic work reaches the heights of fame, it can reach into different corners of the art world. When a new artistic work portrays history in a particular hue, it can alter the way people see that history. Many times, either of these elements is highly lauded or criticized for a while, before tides change and another take its place. On rare occasions, the work can change the very atmosphere in which it was created. *Hamilton* was a case of the latter. The musical took the theatre world by storm, and then it reached out to capture the art world, and the wider world, as well. Tickets on secondary markets reached astronomical prices, causing concerns about profit equity.¹ The cast album went

¹ Michael Sokolove, "The C.E.O. of 'Hamilton' Inc." *The New York Times*, April 5, 2016, accessed January 12, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/10/magazine/the-ceo-of-hamilton-inc.html>

triple platinum and was streamed almost half a billion times.² The production has amassed seemingly endless markers of prestige and acclaim—four tours, numerous auxiliary products, GRAMMY awards, Tony awards, a Pulitzer Prize, and Kennedy Center Honors for the creative team, to name a few. The *Hamilton* mania has only recently started to wane, but along the way it has built an enduring legacy which will mark it as one of the great artistic and cultural works of a generation. *The New York Times* recently listed it as one of the “9 Ways New York Changed That We Didn’t See Coming” in the 2010’s.³

As it rose to culture heights, though, the show possessed something unique—it communicates history, the essential American myths, in a groundbreaking way. *Hamilton* tells history, albeit a popular history, to mass audiences, both onstage and through the Original Broadway Cast Recording, based on the work of Ron Chernow in his 2004 biography of *Alexander Hamilton*. As this research will later discuss, this presentation of history can be utilized and criticized for its merits and demerits, but it nevertheless is changing the way people talk about history.

It is the theory of this research that historic sites associated with people or events can be significantly affected by these changes in public opinion through both tourism and social media presence, and that sites can also utilize these changes to increase visibility and interest. While cultural tourism, even film-induced tourism, is a recognized field of

² Ruthie Fierberg, “The 10 Most Streamed Cast Albums of 2019 and of the Decade,” Playbill.com, December 27, 2019, accessed January 12, 2020. <http://www.playbill.com/article/the-10-most-streamed-cast-albums-of-2019-and-of-the-decade>

Olivia Clement, “*Hamilton* Cast Album Certified Triple Platinum,” March 7, 2017, accessed January 12, 2020. <http://www.playbill.com/article/hamilton-cast-album-certified-triple-platinum>

³ Ginia Bellafante, “9 Ways New York Changed That We Didn’t See Coming,” *The New York Times* December 27, 2019, accessed January 12, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/27/nyregion/nyc-decade-2010s.html>

study, little has been written about fame-related tourism's effect on historic sites, and the ways that historic sites respond to increased attention due to the development of new cultural references. This thesis will find the intersection of cultural tourism, the cult of celebrity as perpetuated through mass media, and historic preservation. The objective of this thesis will be to assess the possible means by which historic sites can react to cultural associations, capturing new audience references to maintain relevance or enhance interpretation to communicate historic significance; and ultimately answer the question:

How do new cultural references affect historic sites and how can sites incorporate these references to better communicate their significance to the public at large?

Literature Review

Tourist Gazes and Film-Induced Tourism

John Urry's work on the "tourist gaze" is an important contribution to the understanding of motivations and expectations of people who travel. Two of his works, *Consuming Places* (1995) and *The Tourist Gaze* (2002), interpret the societal motivations of tourism with the latter specifically addressing heritage tourism. He considers this an extension of the modern society's ability to evaluate itself within a global geographic and historic context.⁴ For this type of tourism, he identifies three dichotomies focusing on the type of tourist gaze (romantic or collective), the type of site visited (historical or modern), and the presentation of the site itself (authentic or inauthentic).⁵ Of these three, the former is of key significance for this research. The sites selected in this thesis are already determined to have a collective significance, but the approach of the individual

⁴ John Urry, *Consuming Places*, (New York: Routledge, 1995), 145.

⁵ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2002), 94.

influenced by new art may take a romantic shift or could, in fact, contribute to a new collective gaze given the new contexts. Urry codifies this in his sixth principle of tourism:

Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasure, either on a different scale or involving different sense from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos, which construct and reinforce that gaze.⁶

Writing in 2002, Urry could not have known about the expansion of these influences via the internet and the resulting impact on tourism that this thesis will incorporate.

Nevertheless, his consideration of influences which create a tourism feedback loop contributes to the idea of the tourist gaze. There is an anticipation with which tourists approach and view their travels, leading to, as he puts it, tourists as “collectors of gazes.”⁷ It follows, then, that understanding motivations for tourism can illuminate potential types of gazes employed by visitors.

The field of tourism studies breaks down types of tourism into subtypes, and within those subtypes identifies tourist “gazes.” The most relevant views of tourism for this research are the intersection of film-induced tourism and heritage tourism. The latter is generally defined as tourism to related to places or items of past and present historical or cultural importance, and is largely the type of tourism preservationists encounter, while the former requires a bit more explanation.⁸ One of the most comprehensive researchers of film-induced tourism is Sue Beeton, Professor of Tourism at the William

⁶ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 94.

⁷ Urry, *Consuming Places*, 138.

⁸ James Gibson, “[Preservation Glossary] Today’s Word: Heritage Tourism,” The National Trust for Historic Preservation. June 17, 2015. Accessed September 5, 2019.

Angliss Institute in Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.⁹ Her most recent books, *Perspectives on Film-Induced Tourism* (2nd Edition, 2016) and *Travel, Tourism, and the Moving Image* (2015), provide the greatest picture of how modern mass-marketed art can create mass-tourism to film locations, and how municipalities can utilize these cultural references to cultivate a particular image of their destination. While her research in film-induced tourism relies almost exclusively on visual connections between films and their filming locations, she briefly acknowledges the impact of literature on tourism.¹⁰ Additionally, in *Film-Induced Tourism*, she introduces the concept of “content tourism,” from Japanese culture, which “refers to the various narrative and creative components of popular culture, including stories, characters, music, locations and, in particular, film.”¹¹ These two aspects are particularly useful for understanding tourism resulting from non-visual art forms, while placing emphasis on the environment which surrounds popular works, beyond the art itself.

Historic elements receive limited treatment in Beeton’s work, but special attention is paid to the case of tourism surrounding the 1994 film *Braveheart*, which caused a boom of tourism to Stirling, Scotland—the historical site of the movie’s penultimate battle scene, based on the real Battle of Stirling Bridge—despite the fact that filming occurred mostly in Ireland and other areas of Scotland.¹² Unsurprisingly, *Braveheart* is often held as an example of film-induced tourism to historic places. In his article,

⁹ The William Angliss Institute of TAFE specializes in vocational training and education with particular emphasis on tourism, hospitality, and culinary arts.

“About William Angliss Institute,” William Angliss Institute, Accessed February 21, 2020.
<https://www.angliss.edu.au/about/>

¹⁰ Sue Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, Aspects of Tourism: 76, (Buffalo, NY: Channel View Publications, 2016), 68.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹² *Ibid.*, 72-73.

“Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image”

Warrick Frost, Professor of Management and Sports Tourism at La Trobe University in Bundoora, Victoria, Australia, notes two distinct features of historic films.¹³ Firstly, in addition to film-induced tourism, tourism based on historic films also qualifies as heritage tourism. Secondly, historic films present known or researchable stories, which may affect or compliment the knowledge base of tourists, and which may also limit artistic license for filmmakers.¹⁴ Frost’s most notable findings of his analysis of tourism resulting from the film *Ned Kelly* (2004) was that “tourist interest was story-based rather than visually-based” and the “influence of historic film on tourism may be evolutionary rather than revolutionary,” thus allowing for a the discussion of this thesis regarding non-visual associations with place in art.¹⁵

A 2001 doctoral dissertation in Anthropology by Melinda Cecile Kanner published at Ohio State University, “The Most Southern Place on Earth: Negotiating identities through tourist encounters in Savannah, Georgia,” examined the ways in which the city of Savannah and sites located therein responded to the publication of John Berendt’s *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* (1994), and the subsequent movie of the same name (1997). Kanner focused much of her analysis on the interpretation of different identities represented in the book throughout the Savannah cityscape. The dissertation was less concerned with the interpretation of historic sites, than the impact of the book and movie on the image of Savannah and “the ways in which such image is

¹³ “Professor Warwick Frost,” La Trobe University, accessed February 21, 2020.
<https://scholars.latrobe.edu.au/display/wfrost>

¹⁴ Warwick Frost, “Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image,” *Journal of Tourism Management* no. 27, (2006): 248.

¹⁵ Frost, “Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly,” 253.

produced, marketed, and consumed by tourists.”¹⁶ Nevertheless, the dissertation provided the most closely related study to that conducted in this research.

The second edition of Beeton’s *Perspectives on Film-Induced Tourism* incorporates recently developing views of the ‘cult of celebrity,’ a concept which stands as the foundation of *The Frenzy of Renown* (1986). Leo Braudy examines the history of fame, particularly the contexts of the social and spiritual which surrounded conventions of fame, as well as the performative nature of fame and the audience who witnesses it. Particularly interesting in relation to this research is the treatment of the American “Founding Fathers” as players in a larger revolutionary theatre on both sides of the Atlantic. Braudy writes, “the American Founding Fathers, although preoccupied with a fame and glory that owed a great deal to Roman traditions of civic virtue and national celebrity, nevertheless set the stage as well for the kind of visible but spiritual fame that so characterizes the twentieth century.”¹⁷ For art pertaining to the early years of the American republic, it is important to keep in mind the legend and lore that already surrounds these histories.

History in Film and Media

The presentation of history, especially American history, on film is a rather widely studied field, drawing from film studies, history, psychology, and sociology. In their book, *American History and Contemporary Hollywood Film* (2005), Trevor McCricken and Andrew Pepper examine major cinematic themes commonly explored in

¹⁶ Melinda Cecile Kanner, “The Most Southern Place on Earth: Negotiating identities through tourist encounters in Savannah, Georgia,” PhD diss., (The Ohio State University, 2001), 5.

¹⁷ Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame & Its History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 452.

films, particularly major wars and social movements.¹⁸ Notably, they assert that “historical films should not be seen as transparent windows onto the past but as ideologically contradictory, textual mediations whose forms and representational strategies produce, and are produced by, ever shifting relations of power.”¹⁹ The shifting meanings and particular contexts of these films, and by extension all art presenting history as a “fact,” then require a critical lens for understanding the culture behind the story.

Ten years later, in 2015, Alison Landsberg, Professor of History at George Mason University, expanded the field of analysis to include television, reality television, and virtual history exhibits, in her book *Engaging the Past: Mass Culture and the Production of Historical Knowledge*.²⁰ This work distinguishes between academic history and popular history, placing emphasis on the ways popular history reaches a broader audience in “our distracted age,” giving voice to the ways the larger public access historical knowledge.²¹ The reconciliation of popular history and academic history is a central focus of this thesis, while also incorporating the ways people communicate in the modern world.

¹⁸ McCricken is currently Associate Professor of US Politics and International Studies at Warwick University in Coventry, England, United Kingdom.

“Trevor McCricken,” Warwick University, last updated October 7, 2019, accessed February 21, 2020. <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/people/mccricken/>
Pepper is currently a Senior Lecturer at Queen’s University Belfast in Belfast, Northern Ireland, United Kingdom.

“Andrew Pepper,” Queen’s University Belfast, accessed February 21, 2020.
<https://pure.qub.ac.uk/en/persons/andrew-pepper>

¹⁹ Trevor McCricken and Andrew Pepper, *American History and Contemporary Hollywood Film*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 8.

²⁰ “Alison Landsberg,” George Mason University, accessed February 21, 2020.
<https://historyarthistory.gmu.edu/people/alandsbl>

²¹ Alison Landsberg, *Engaging the Past: Mass Culture and the Production of Historical Knowledge*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 16.

Imperative to understanding the spread of information and art in this second decade of the twenty-first century is an analysis of the effects of social media on cultural communication. *Understanding Social Media* (2014), by Sam Hinton and Larissa Hjorth, covers a wide-range of social media instruments, from networking and sharing to gaming sites, and even examines how location-based services, such as Google Maps and Facebook Places, change the way consumers perceive and create associations of place, which speaks to the tourism topics discussed earlier in this review.²² Included in this overview is the idea of geosocial maps, in which place and social capital intersect to create new ideas about the value of place.²³ This study of media informs the way places may become associated with events or artistic endeavors, and how maps of associative importance may change.

A 2018 anthology edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter, *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America's Past*, provides a critical view of the musical, assessing its content, the adaptation of history for the stage, and how the public has reacted to the sensation.²⁴ This work is essential to placing this research within the context of existing scholarly work, providing background for the academic history and popular history portrayed in the musical, and analyzing how the musical's

²² Sam Hinton and Larissa Hjorth, *Understanding Social Media*, First ed. Understanding Contemporary Culture. (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2013), 1-5.

Sam Hinton is a senior lecturer in media at the University of Canberra, Canberra, Australia. Larissa Hjorth is an Associate Professor in the Games Programs at RMIT University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. Information gathered from rear cover of *Understanding Social Media*.

²³ Hinton and Hjorth, *Understanding Social Media*, 126-130.

²⁴ Renee C. Romano is the Robert S. Danforth Professor of History at Oberlin College in Ohio. Claire Bond Potter is a professor of history at The New School in New York. Information taken from rear cover of *Historians on Hamilton*.

online presence created community within its fan base.²⁵ A further analysis of this work will be found in Chapter 2.

Place Making

The structures mentioned before connect film, history, and tourism to support theories regarding the creation of film-induced heritage tourism. For artistic mediums other than film, which may not rely as heavily on visual communication, it is valuable to consider the ways in which humans attach meaning to place. In their article, “Relational place-making: the networked politics of place” (2011), authors Joseph Pierce, Deborah G. Martin and James T. Murphy compare literature surrounding the politics of place, networked politics, and networked place, arguing that previous literature which eschews one element to strengthen ties between the remaining two misses key elements between the triangulated relationship.²⁶ Elemental in this analysis is understanding how place is created as a bundle of individuals’ perceptions of the sites in which they interact with each other and participate in communally conscious activities. As a result of social or political uses, communal importance is determined for these bundlings, thus defined as

²⁵ Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter, ed, *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America’s Past*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018).

²⁶ Joseph Pierce, Deborah G Martin, and James T Murphy, "Relational Place-making: The Networked Politics of Place," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36, no. 1 (2011): 55.
Joseph Pierce is an Assistant Professor of Regional + City Planning at Oklahoma University in Oklahoma. “Dr. Joseph Pierce,” Oklahoma University, accessed February 21, 2020. <https://architecture.ou.edu/directory/pierce/>
Deborah G. Martin is the Director of the Graduate School of Geography and a Professor of Geography at Clark University in Massachusetts. “Faculty Biography—Deborah G. Martin, Ph.D.,” Clark University, accessed February 21, 2020. <https://www2.clarku.edu/faculty/facultybio.cfm?id=466>
James T. Murphy is a Professor of Geography at Clark University in Massachusetts. “Faculty Biography—James T. Murphy, Ph.D.” Clark University, accessed February 21, 2020. <https://www2.clarku.edu/faculty/facultybio.cfm?id=588>

place-framing. But these places of group-significance are not fixed, as Pierce, et. al., describes:

Relational place-making draws on scholarship and insights about place, politics, and networks by explicitly recognizing the flexible, multi-scalar and always developing meanings of place: meanings that are produced via socially, politically, and economically interconnected interactions among people, institutions, and systems.²⁷

For this thesis, the themes of social and political interactions are most relevant, as art is both social and political, and historic sites, especially those pertaining to historically political figures, are inherently political. It follows then that in order to contribute to place-making based on a work of art, the piece itself must connect to or create a social or political sensibility within the audience.

In her article “Youth Spaces in Haunted Places: Placemaking for peacebuilding in theory and practice” (2012), Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, Professor of Political Science at Butler University in Indiana, investigates the way former war-sites can be utilized by youth as a means of peacemaking through place-making in Belfast, Northern Ireland.²⁸ In the process of this investigation, the author makes larger claims about the process of place-making, and the ways that these sites, many of which are considered ‘contested sites,’ are rebranded to appeal to tourists. She describes a sense of place as “space plus meaning,” explaining that those meanings are not static, but evolve over time.²⁹ As part of this evolution, “placemaking entails understandings of social space as places of imagination, constitutive of identity and often as sacred.”³⁰ For the purpose of this

²⁷ Pierce, et. al., “Relational Place-making,” 59.

²⁸ “Siobhan McEvoy-Levy,” Butler University, accessed February 21, 2020.
<https://www.butler.edu/directory/user/smcevoy>

²⁹ Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, “Youth Spaces in Haunted Places: Placemaking for Peacebuilding in Theory and Practice,” *International Journal of Peace Studies* 17, no. 2 (Winter 2012): 1-2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

research, this broader view of place being both a “bounded physical space” attached to meaning, and multiple places attached to meaning have been interpreted—that one requires the other to develop a full context to understand that “meaning.”³¹ While her focus is on communal recovery from war, the underlying issues of contested spaces are also beneficial to bear in mind for this thesis. A larger sense of “meaning” may exist for a particular set of like-minded and like-experienced people, but may be completely at odds with the experiences, and related “meanings,” of another group.³² As demonstrated with the literature regarding historical celebrity and dramatic presentations of the American founding, a particular narrative has dominated representations of those decades, which likely has cast a similar shadow in cultural consciousness and, as this thesis may demonstrate, historic site interpretation.

³¹ McEvoy-Levy, “Youth Spaces in Haunted Places,” 4.

³² *Ibid.*, 8.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND – *HAMILTON*

In 2009, on the heels of a breakthrough success with his first musical *In the Heights*, Lin-Manuel Miranda was invited to the White House to close the Obama's Administration's first cultural event, "An Evening of Poetry, Music, and the Spoken Word."³³ While he had been asked to perform a piece from *In the Heights*, Miranda, instead, debuted a new project. "I'm actually working on a hip-hop album—a concept album—about the life of someone who embodies hip-hop," he said, "Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton."³⁴ The video of the performance was posted to the Obama White House YouTube page, where, as of the writing of this thesis, it has received over seven million views.³⁵ This was the world's first glimpse of what would become *Hamilton: An American Musical* (hereafter *Hamilton*), which debuted on Broadway at the Richard Rogers Theatre on August 6, 2015, after a short, but highly lauded run Off-Broadway at the Public Theatre earlier that year.³⁶ The following month the Original Broadway Cast Album was released both in physical copies and to online streaming services, allowing

³³ Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution: Being the Complete Libretto of the Broadway Musical, with a True Account of Its Creation, and Concise Remarks on Hip-hop, the Power of Stories, and the New America*, (First ed. New York: Grand Central Publishing: Melcher Media, 2016), 14.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

³⁵ The Obama White House. "Lin-Manuel Miranda Performs at the White House Poetry Jam: (8 of 8)." YouTube video. 4:26. November 2, 2009. Accessed September 14, 2019.
<https://youtu.be/WNFf7nMIGnE>

³⁶ Ben Brantley, "Review: 'Hamilton,' Young Rebels Changing History and Theater," *The New York Times*, August 6, 2015, Accessed September 14, 2019,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/07/theater/review-hamilton-young-rebels-changing-history-and-theater.html>

widespread access to the most impossible ticket on Broadway.³⁷ Four years, eleven Tony Awards, three tours, a Pulitzer Prize, a Grammy, a Kennedy Center Honors, and numerous auxiliary products later, *Hamilton* is a formidable cultural icon, even being credited with influencing the Treasury Department's reversal of a decision to remove Alexander Hamilton from the \$10 bill—Andrew Jackson's portrait on the \$20 took his place on the chopping block.³⁸

The show is an adaptation of Ron Chernow's 800-page biography *Alexander Hamilton* (2004), told as a sung-through musical employing primarily hip-hop and rap styles, while also incorporating traditional musical theatre, British invasion, and jazz themes as well. In addition to the inventive musical stylings, the commitment to casting actors of color has also garnered much attention.³⁹ In an early interview with *The New York Times*, Miranda stated, regarding the decision to cast nonwhite actors as the exclusively white Founders, that "our goal was: this is a story about America then, told by America now, and we want to eliminate any distance — our story should look the way our country looks. Then we found the best people to embody these parts. I think it's a very powerful statement without having to be a statement."⁴⁰ After a 2016 casting call which encouraged nonwhite actors to audition for all principle roles, except King George

³⁷ Brittany Spanos, "Hamilton: Original Broadway Cast Recording," *Rolling Stone*, September 25, 2015, accessed April 3, 2020. <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-album-reviews/hamilton-original-broadway-cast-recording-111017/>

³⁸ Jackie Calmes, "Success of 'Hamilton' May Have Saved Hamilton on the \$10 Bill," *The New York Times*, April 15, 2016, Accessed September 14, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/16/us/politics/success-of-hamilton-may-have-saved-hamilton-on-the-10-bill.html>

³⁹ Spencer Kornhaber, "Hamilton: Casting After Colorblindness," *The Atlantic*, March 31, 2016, Accessed October 21, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2016/03/hamilton-casting/476247/>

⁴⁰ Rob Weinert-Kendt, "Rapping a Revolution," *The New York Times*, February 5, 2015, Accessed October 21, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/08/theater/lin-manuel-miranda-and-others-from-hamilton-talk-history.html>

III, was met with objection from Actors' Equity—the leading theatre actors' union—*The Atlantic* reported the musical might have met its first instance of criticism.⁴¹ The negative press seems to not have lasted long.

Beyond the awards, the musical serves as medium for communicating the history of the early American republic to audiences both in the United States and abroad. Being inspired and largely based on Ron Chernow's 2004 biography of Alexander Hamilton, Miranda has stated that "[he wants] historians to take this seriously."⁴² As such, Chernow was brought on-board in the early days in 2008 as the show's historical consultant.⁴³ This is not to say, though, that all details of history presented in the musical are entirely accurate. As part of the transmission of the history into a story for the stage, some artistic licenses were taken. For example, in the song "Story of Tonight" four men—Alexander Hamilton, the Marquis de Lafayette, Hercules Mulligan, and John Laurens—meet all at once in 1776, despite not actually meeting until years later.⁴⁴ These licenses are part and parcel of any dramatization of history and are an important part of understanding how public education through dramatizations may include some misinformation.

When considering the history in *Hamilton*, is it sometimes easy to overlook the history of *Hamilton*, and the era in which it was written, resolving a course over the length of the Obama Administration. Indeed, both of Miranda's musicals bookend the Obama White House—*In the Heights* premiered in 2008, months before President

⁴¹ Michael Paulson, "'Hamilton' Producers Will Change Job Posting, but Not Commitment to Diverse Casting," *The New York Times*, March 30, 2016, Accessed October 21, 2019.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/31/arts/union-criticizes-hamilton-casting-call-seeking-nonwhite-actors.html>

Kornhaber, "Hamilton: Casting After Colorblindness"

⁴² Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 32.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

Obama's election, and *Hamilton* mania characterized the final years of the administration.⁴⁵ The latter connection took on a particularly reverberant character as articles and interviews connected the themes of *Hamilton* with the broader legacy of Obama's years in office. The alliance between the musical production and the political administration appears to be welcomed and encouraged by both parties. Indicative of this characterization, Mark Binelli wrote in the article detailing his interview with Miranda for the *Rolling Stone* cover story in 2016, "If every presidential administration gets at least one mass-cultural moment it deserves, then *Hamilton* has become the Obama era's *Wall Street*, its *24*, its *Spice World* – even more so, perhaps, because the show has actually managed to fulfill candidate Obama's promise to bridge the divide between Red and Blue America."⁴⁶ While individuals may draw their own normative conclusions based on these assertions and connections, it is important to note that in all art, including *Hamilton*, there are particular political undertones and motives served.

The history presented in *Hamilton* is best described as popular history, and as such is not as subject to the same critical strictures of the academic history presented in Chernow's *Alexander Hamilton*. That is not to say it goes without scrutiny—theatre certainly has its own critics—but rather that the creation of the musical was influenced by the writer's particular life experience. In *Alexander Hamilton*, Miranda says he saw in the

⁴⁵ Charles Isherwood, "The View From Uptown: American Dreaming to a Latin Beat," *The New York Times*, March 10, 2008, accessed March 31, 2020.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/10/theater/reviews/10heig.html>

⁴⁶ Mark Binelli, "'Hamilton' Creator Lin-Manuel Miranda: The Rolling Stone Interview," *Rolling Stone Magazine*, June 1, 2016, accessed October 22, 2019,
<https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/hamilton-creator-lin-manuel-miranda-the-rolling-stone-interview-42607>

story that “This is Tupac. This is Biggie. This is my next show.”⁴⁷ To see the biggest rappers of the 1990’s in the life of Alexander Hamilton is to write one’s present experience into the stories of the past.

Academic Critique—*Historians on Hamilton*

Both despite and because of the artistic licenses taken, historians are taking the musical seriously. Notably, the recent publication of a collection of essays titled *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America’s Past* (2018), edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter, provides a critical view of the musical, assessing its content, the adaptation of history for the stage, and how the public has reacted to the sensation. It is one of the first widely published academic works providing such an analysis. William Hogeland’s essay “From Ron Chernow’s *Alexander Hamilton* to *Hamilton: An American Musical*” opens the body of the text, noting the limits of the musical’s accuracy are based on the intrinsic flaws of Chernow’s historiography in which Chernow paints a particular view of Alexander Hamilton which ignore some larger truths in very particular ways. According to Hogeland, Hamilton’s immigrant status, as a central theme of both Chernow’s book and Miranda’s stage musical, makes use of the modern understanding of immigration rather than expanding on the perception of movement between colonies within the British Empire in the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ Even more objections arise from Hogeland, Andrew Schocket, and

⁴⁷ *Great Performances: Hamilton’s America*, Peabody Awards Collection, 20163867 DCT 1 of 1, Walter J. Brown Media Archives & Peabody Awards Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., (0:07:13-14).

⁴⁸ William Hogeland, “From Ron Chernow’s *Alexander Hamilton* to *Hamilton: An American Musical*” in *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America’s Past*, Edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 24.

Lyra Monteiro in their respective essays regarding the misrepresentation of Alexander Hamilton's views on slavery, again, which begin with Chernow and are translated into Miranda's musical. Looking critically at these two aspects of history beg larger questions of the uses and interactions of academic history and popular history. These questions echo throughout the anthology as historians and educators grapple with art and history.

Schocket classifies the musical in the larger contextual history of presentations of the American Revolution on the stage and screen. Schocket describes four particular narrative characteristics of modern depictions of the American Revolution, which are: the assumption that leading men were all in favor of independence; patriots are all motivated to independence by the loosely defined concept of "freedom;" patriots solve their problems in the fight for independence by eliminating those who disagree with them; and the inclusion of female and African-American characters and acknowledging the evils of slavery.⁴⁹ *Hamilton*, he notes, generally abides by these four principles, placing it squarely within the paradigms created over the last twenty years.⁵⁰ Historical film and theatre during these years, while entertainment and not academic history, exert an influence on the viewing public and, according to Schocket, "that influence matters, because how we imagine the American founding has been, and may always be, a reflection of what we believe the United States is all about."⁵¹ Indicative of this idea is an acknowledgement by Miranda in *Hamilton: The Revolution* that he drew upon an assumption that the audience had already seen the HBO series *John Adams*.⁵² It is

⁴⁹ Andrew M. Schocket, "Hamilton and the American Revolution on Stage and Screen" in *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America's Past*. Edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 171-172.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁵² Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 218.

important to remember that while *Hamilton* may seem singular in its reach and approach, it is part of a larger tradition, for both good and ill, of retelling American history.

What stands out to the reader of *Historians on Hamilton* is the divide between academic history and popular history. The former requires multiple inputs and contexts, contradicting stories and interpretations. These histories are not often accessible to the broader public whose day-to-day activities preclude in-depth studies of historical figures rife with academic jargon. Popular history, on the other hand, is designed precisely to appeal to the public beyond the historical profession. Oskar Eustis, the Artistic Director at New York City's Public Theater—where *Hamilton* conducted its Off-Broadway run—likened the staging of American history in rap and hip hop by Lin-Manuel Miranda to Shakespeare's history plays in iambic pentameter, both of which, he states, translated the language of the people into high art.⁵³ While it is certain Eustis' statement is up for opinionated debate, nevertheless it is a remarkable and thought-provoking comparison.

Furthermore, the limits of popular history are reflected in the incorporating of academic history. Chernow, though not a trained academic historian, served as the musical's historical consultant lending an element of credibility. Miranda went beyond Chernow's research to round out the presentation of dueling—which occurs thrice in the total two-and-a-half-hour musical. For this he utilized the work of Joanne Freeman, Professor of History and American Studies at Yale University and author of the book *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic*.⁵⁴ Freeman is also a noted

⁵³ Melissa Major, ““Yay, Hamlet!”: Shakespeare’s Influence on Lin-Manuel Miranda,” *Great Performances: Hamilton’s America* website, October 4, 2016, Accessed September 2, 2019. <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/gperf/lin-manuel-miranda-bard-era/5437/>

⁵⁴ Joseph M. Adelman, “Who Tells Your Story?: Hamilton as a People’s History” in *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America’s Past*, Edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 286.

Hamilton scholar, having published two books on his writings, and is closely linked with the marketing and press surrounding *Hamilton* the musical, as well as featured in many auxiliary products detailed later in this chapter.⁵⁵ This blend of popular history through the work of Chernow and academic history with the work of Freeman demonstrates the ways these two camps are both cooperative and in tension in creating a piece of historically-based art.

Not only do readers of the anthology witness the divisions between the two types of history, but also the divides of academic opinions of the types. While many take issues with the particular, and sometimes simplified, views of America's history presented in *Hamilton*, they acknowledge the musical's reach to the public far beyond the traditional limits of academic history and even many aspects of popular history. Other writers praise the musical for its influence in reviving interest in the genre, especially among young people. Jim Cullen, a history teacher at the Ethical Culture Fieldston School in New York City, in his contribution "Mind the Gap: Teaching *Hamilton*," describes how, when playing the cast album for his students, a group of students began singing along, having already memorized the lyrics.⁵⁶ This led to the development of his course "*Hamilton: A Musical Inquiry*," in which students examine the history of the Revolution through the biography of Alexander Hamilton, the artistry behind the musical, and the means by which non-historians experience history.⁵⁷ Cullen credits the musical, and popular culture

⁵⁵ "Joanne Freeman." Department of History – Yale University, accessed September 24, 2019. <https://history.yale.edu/people/joanne-freeman>

⁵⁶ Jim Cullen, "Mind the Gap: Teaching *Hamilton*" in *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America's Past*, Edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 250.

⁵⁷ Jim Cullen, "Appendix: "*Hamilton: A Musical Inquiry*" Course Syllabus" in *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America's Past*, Edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018)
Cullen, "Mind the Gap: Teaching *Hamilton*," 251.

at large, with helping to bridge generational gaps between educators and students.⁵⁸ This may work on a larger scale as well, as this thesis will show—that the public at large, through popular culture, can be engaged with historic sites, who can then communicate academic and more nuanced history.

Claire Bond Potter, professor of history at The New School in New York City and editor of this anthology, in her essay ““Safe in this Nation We’ve Made’: Staging *Hamilton* on Social Media,” tracks the evolution of the *Hamilton* presence and fan community online. The official *Hamilton* accounts on Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube, she argues, are only part of the story. Equally, or even more, important is the Twitter account of creator Lin-Manuel Miranda, which provides “a distinctly anticorporate and... direct, authentic connection to fans.”⁵⁹ As part of this authentic connection, Miranda encourages the fan community—in their collectivized identity as the “#HamFam”—to pursue the broader history behind their favorite musical, signaling an interest in making the musical “an incitement to civic education.”⁶⁰ Potter also describes the means by which the cultural capital of the stage production has expanded through auxiliary products, such as the distribution of content across platforms (including annotated lyrics on Genius.com) and the Gilder Lehrman and Rockefeller Foundation program detailed later in this chapter. Furthermore, Potter concludes that most of the fan community will likely never have the opportunity to see the show, which adds extra weight to the impact of the online and audio presence of the musical and surrounding

⁵⁸ Cullen, “Mind the Gap: Teaching *Hamilton*,” 252.

⁵⁹ Claire Bond Potter, ““Safe in the Nation We’ve Made’: Staging *Hamilton* on Social Media,” in *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America’s Past*, Edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 372.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 324 and 332.

culture, stating that “arguably, the fan community’s collective relative output is as or more important than the play itself because far more people are participating in it than will ever see the show.”⁶¹ This last clause is a key component of the exclusivity of *Hamilton*.

While five separate productions have increased the supply of tickets available and expanded the market reach, those tickets are still very limited, meaning that many people who are fans of *Hamilton* and would like to see the show might never have the chance or means to do so. And yet, a *Hamilton* frenzy has existed since the early days of the musical, when tickets were hardest to acquire. The cast recording and auxiliary products associated with the musical serve as a sort of democratization of what quickly became an elite product with a high price tag.⁶² As such, this research endeavors to establish how the text of the musical, as the libretto published in *Hamilton: The Revolution*, may create a sense of place that can be associated with a real historic site, and which prompts a new depth of interaction with that history. Given the aforementioned limitations of the musical, it is also critical to study the ways in which sites are challenging the popular history in the musical, correcting it to more accurately reflect the academic histories in which they deal every day.

⁶¹ Bond Potter., 331 and 333.

⁶² Michael Paulson, “‘Hamilton’ Raises Ticket Prices: The Best Seats Will Now Cost \$849,” *The New York Times* online, June 8, 2016, Accessed September 24, 2019.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/09/theater/hamilton-raises-ticket-prices-the-best-seats-will-now-cost-849.html>

Cultural references beyond the theatre

To understand the impact of *Hamilton*, it is imperative to address not only the primary product—the musical—but the auxiliary products as well. The cultural force that may contribute to tourism to sites was developed through a magnificent marketing process, targeting various demographics and providing enough additional products to address the cultural demand for more. In the early days, it appeared this demand was limitless, both in the physical and digital arenas. Often the two arenas interacted in ways to eliminate the limitations of the former and to spread the *Hamilton* fever in the latter.

#EduHam

A program began as part of the Public Theatre’s partnership with Theatre Development Fund (TDF) during the Off-Broadway run to bring high school students from the outer boroughs of New York to the show during select matinee performances. Thanks to support from Rockefeller Foundation, and organization through The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, this program grew into a larger engagement of 20,000 teenage students from Title I schools in New York City in 2016 to the Broadway performances.⁶³ Since then, the program has been extended in New York and expanded to Chicago and along the musical’s national tour routes to reach 250,000 students through 2020.⁶⁴ As part of the current program, high school students participating in the program pay \$10, a “Hamilton”, to see the show in conjunction with their American history

⁶³ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 157-159.

“Hamilton Education Program,” The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/programs-and-events/hamilton-education-program>

⁶⁴ “Hamilton Education Program—About the Hamilton Education Program,” The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/programs-and-events/hamilton-education-program/about-hamilton-education-program>

courses.⁶⁵ Educators have access to the resources available on the Institute’s exclusive Hamilton Education Program website and are expected to “implement a 3- to 5- day student project for all students attending,” based on the available materials, with “copies of the work for all students attending *Hamilton* to be submitted to the Gilder Lehrman Institute.”⁶⁶ The courses involve students reading the primary sources which were used in the writing of the musical, and to utilize additional texts to create their own skits in their own words from the founding era.⁶⁷ Students often perform their skits and songs on stage at the Richard Rogers Theatre for their classmates and often members of the cast before the *Hamilton* matinée performance.⁶⁸ Videos of student performances, often posted to Twitter by the Gilder Lehrman Institute, Hamilton, and Lin-Manuel Miranda’s respective accounts use the hashtag #EduHam to promote and consolidate postings on the program.⁶⁹ For individuals who are not associated with this program but wish to know more a self-paced course is available for \$29.99, which includes “Two virtual tours of the

⁶⁵ “Hamilton Education Program,” The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/programs-and-events/hamilton-education-program>

⁶⁶ “Hamilton Education Program—Frequently Asked Questions,” The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/programs-and-events/hamilton-education-program/frequently-asked-questions>

⁶⁷ Michael Paulson, “For \$10, New York City Students See ‘Hamilton’ and Rap for Lin-Manuel Miranda,” April 13, 2016, Accessed October 13, 2019. <https://nyti.ms/20CGtUo>

⁶⁸ Suraya Mohamed, “‘Hamilton’: A Story Of US,” NPR Music, 0:54, June 20, 2016, Accessed October 21, 2019. <https://www.npr.org/2016/06/20/481106966/hamilton-a-story-of-us>

⁶⁹ Lin-Manuel Miranda (@Lin-Manuel), “Made it home to NY just in time to catch the tail end of today’s #EduHam! Great questions, kids, tag yourselves!,” Twitter, March 20, 2019, 9:06 a.m., https://twitter.com/Lin_Manuel/status/1108399342178746368

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (@Gilder_Lehrman), “Check out this talented student from @WHEELSnyc sing “Made it America,” a song about Alexander Hamilton on the @HamiltonMusical stage. #EduHam,” Twitter, October 17, 2019, 5:44 a.m., https://twitter.com/Gilder_Lehrman/status/1184812418674909184

Hamilton (@HamiltonMusical), “Now THIS is why #EduHam days are always some of our favorites! (👀: @Gilder_Lehrman),” Twitter, February 28, 2019, 3:18 p.m., <https://twitter.com/HamiltonMusical/status/1101260313154981888>

Grange, Alexander Hamilton's final home, and of Hamilton's New York City"—a notable use of historic sites for *Hamilton*-related education.⁷⁰

#Ham4Ham

With ticket availability limited and resale tickets in the \$1,000's range, the *Hamilton* ticket lottery—known by its hashtag #Ham4Ham, as the tickets for *Hamilton* cost \$10, again, a “Hamilton”—became a way for interested people to vie for twenty-one front-row tickets to see the show day-of. The lottery began two days after the first Broadway preview in July 2015, with participants required to be physically present at the box office. The ticket lottery expanded to a digital platform on January 5, 2016.⁷¹ As a means of entertaining the very large crowds which often blocked traffic on West 46th Street in front of the Richard Rogers Theatre, Miranda began a “mini-concert series” outside the stage door.⁷² #Ham4Ham shows often included *Hamilton* cast members, as well as Broadway legends, such as Kelli O'Hara, Lea Salonga, and Patti LuPone.⁷³ Miranda also used the platform to promote *Hamilton*'s Broadway neighbors by featuring

⁷⁰ “Alexander Hamilton's America (Self-Paced Course),” The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/node/75094>

⁷¹ Andrew R. Chow, “#Ham4Ham Shows to End, for Now,” *The New York Times*, August 30, 2016, Accessed October 15, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/31/theater/ham4ham-shows-to-end-on-wednesday.html>

David Gordon, “*Hamilton*'s #Ham4Ham Ticket Lottery Will Go Digital,” TheatreMania.com, January 4, 2016, Accessed October 15, 2019. https://www.theatermania.com/broadway/news/digital-ham4ham-ticket-lottery-hamilton_75456.html

⁷² Chow, “#Ham4Ham Shows to End, for Now.”

⁷³ Howard Sherman, “HAMILTON Ham4Ham 11/11/15 with Lea Salonga & Lin-Manuel,” November 11, 2015, Accessed October 18, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o6CwjP2urAU&list=PLK1wqzZ8S6RxnrbafBuXklU2q96HnsWp&index=80&t=0s>

Herman Sherman, “HAMILTON Ham4Ham 9/2/15 with Kelli O'Hara,” YouTube video, September 2, 2015, Accessed October 18, 2019. <https://youtu.be/zZDRxSrsMoM>

Hamilton, “Live #Ham4Ham 5/18/16 -- Patti LuPone: Cell Phones Allowed,” YouTube video, May 18, 2016, Accessed October 18, 2019. <https://youtu.be/zuAvkhIYOms>

performances of *On Your Feet* and *Allegiance*.⁷⁴ During the winter holiday months of 2015 and 2016, the live shows were replaced with digital performances, posted to the *Hamilton* YouTube page.⁷⁵ Sesame Street even stopped by the Richard Rogers Theatre, when Elmo was featured on a digital #Ham4Ham show.⁷⁶

While the performances garnered great attention at the theatre, they were often posted to YouTube, where they received thousands of views and made the semi-spontaneous event accessible on a national scale. A collection of 127 videos are logged in the *Hamilton* YouTube playlist “#Ham4Ham Performances,” sourced largely from the *Hamilton* video uploads and from video posted the YouTube page of Howard Sherman, Director for Arts Integrity Initiative at the New School for Drama.⁷⁷ On March 14, 2016, the #Ham4Ham show went to Washington, where the cast performed a selection of pieces from the show in the East Room of the White House and answered questions from students during a live-streamed Q&A. The event was hosted by First Lady Michelle Obama, with opening remarks from President Barack Obama.⁷⁸ At least three episodes of #Ham4Ham were recorded on the trip and released on the *Hamilton* YouTube page.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Chow, “#Ham4Ham Shows to End, for Now.”

⁷⁵ Gordon, “*Hamilton*’s #Ham4Ham Ticket Lottery Will Go Digital.”

⁷⁶ *Hamilton*. “Digital #Ham4Ham 2/14/16 -- The Story Of Tonight w/Elmo!” YouTube video. February 15, 2016. Accessed October 18, 2019. <https://youtu.be/qwPwXtX3b1E>

⁷⁷ *Hamilton*. “Ham4Ham Performances.” YouTube channel – Playlist. Accessed October 18, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLK1wqzZ8S6RxnrbafBuXklU2q96HnsWp>

“THE NEW SCHOOL FOR DRAMA ANNOUNCES ARTS INTEGRITY INITIATIVE.” The New School For Drama - Press Release February 13, 2014. Accessed October 15, 2019.

<https://www.newschool.edu/pressroom/pressreleases/2015/ArtsIntegrityInitiative.htm>

Howard Sherman. *YouTube* channel – Video list. Accessed October 15, 2019.

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC4RBWiIqtyngBH3h80Z6OpA/videos>

⁷⁸ Robert Viagas, “Ham4Ham Uses the Real White House for a *West Wing*-style Spoof,” *Playbill.com*, March 23, 2016, Accessed October 18, 2019. <http://www.playbill.com/article/ham4ham-uses-the-real-white-house-for-a-west-wing-style-spoof>

Robert Viagas, “Watch *Hamilton* Cast Perform Live at The White House,” March 14, 2016, Accessed October 18, 2019. <http://www.playbill.com/article/hamilton-cast-heads-to-the-white-house-today>

⁷⁹ *Hamilton*. “Ham4Ham Performances.” YouTube channel – Playlist. Accessed October 18, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLK1wqzZ8S6RxnrbafBuXklU2q96HnsWp>

After Miranda left the cast in July 2016, Rory O'Malley, then starring as King George III, took over hosting duties until the #Ham4Ham shows held its final performance on August 31, 2016.⁸⁰

The Hamilton Mixtape

At the outset, Miranda's vision for the modern telling of the life and legacy of Alexander Hamilton was a hip-hop concept album, titled "The Hamilton Mixtape." This was the idea as he pitched it at the White House performance in 2009.⁸¹ Three years later with twelve songs in hand, Miranda and small cast opened the Lincoln Center's American Songbook Series' 2012 season on January 11 of that year.⁸² At the time, *The New York Times* asked, "Is 'The Hamilton Mixtape,' from which 12 numbers were performed, a future Broadway musical? A concept album? A multimedia extravaganza in search of a platform? Does it even matter? What it is, is hot."⁸³ While the answer to that first question would ultimately prove to be true, the success of the musical allowed a reimagining of the original concept album concept. In December 2016, *The Hamilton Mixtape* was released with twenty-three songs. Tracks were covers of songs from the musical, covers of songs cut from the musical, and original songs inspired by larger themes of Alexander Hamilton's life, each performed by pop, hip-hop, and rap artists. Two demo tracks from Miranda's original recordings were also included.⁸⁴ To promote

⁸⁰ Chow, "#Ham4Ham Shows to End, for Now."

⁸¹ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 10.

⁸² Stephen Holden, "Putting the Hip-Hop in History as Founding Fathers Rap," *The New York Times*, January 12, 2012, Accessed October 19, 2019.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/13/arts/music/hamilton-mixtape-by-lin-manuel-miranda-at-allen-room.html>

⁸³ Holden, "Putting the Hip-Hop in History as Founding Fathers Rap."

⁸⁴ Jon Dolan, "Review: 'The Hamilton Mixtape' Reimagines Musical with Sia, Miguel, Nas," *Rolling Stone*, December 2, 2016, Accessed October 19, 2019.

the release, five artists featured on the album performed their pieces at the Richard Rogers Theatre, home to the Broadway *Hamilton* production, the day before the album dropped.⁸⁵ The album debuted at No. 1 on the Billboard album chart, surpassing legendary British rock band the Rolling Stones' album release that same week.⁸⁶ On December 14, 2017, Miranda announced via Twitter that while the promised second volume of *The Hamilton Mixtape* would not be released, instead singles from what would have been a second volume would be released each month of 2018 as installments of "The Hamildrops" (#Hamildrops).⁸⁷ One such single, the final "Hamildrop," reworked "One Last Time," a song from the musical narrating George Washington's decision to leave office after two terms. In this remix, "One Last Time (44 Remix)," President Obama—the 44th President of the United States—was featured in a voice over reading a passage from Washington's Farwell Address.⁸⁸ The single was yet another tie between the Obama Administration, its legacy, and the legacies crafted by and of *Hamilton*.

<https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-album-reviews/review-the-hamilton-mixtape-reimagines-musical-with-sia-miguel-nas-123969/>

⁸⁵ Andrew R. Chow, "'Hamilton Mixtape' Performed Live From Richard Rodgers Theater," *The New York Times*, December 1, 2016, Accessed October 19, 2019.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/01/theater/hamilton-mixtape-performed-live-from-richard-rodgers-theater.html>

⁸⁶ Ben Sisario, "'The Hamilton Mixtape' Defeats the Rolling Stones in the Battle for No. 1," *The New York Times*, December 12, 2016, Accessed October 19, 2019.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/12/arts/music/hamilton-mixtape-rolling-stones-billboard-chart.html>

⁸⁷ Gil Kaufman, "Lin-Manuel Miranda Announces 'Hamildrops' Series, Promising New Monthly 'Hamilton' Content for the Next Year," *Billboard*, December 14, 2017, Accessed October 19, 2019.

<https://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/pop/8070565/lin-manuel-miranda-hamildrops-monthly-series-decemberists-ben-franklin-song>

⁸⁸ Alex Marshall, "Barack Obama Joins Lin-Manuel Miranda on a 'Hamilton' Remix," *The New York Times*, December 21, 2018, Accessed October 19, 2019.

[nytimes.com/2018/12/21/arts/music/obama-lin-manuel-miranda-hamilton.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/21/arts/music/obama-lin-manuel-miranda-hamilton.html)

#Hamiltome

Seven months after the Broadway opening of *Hamilton*, the companion book *Hamilton: The Revolution* was released to much acclaim, written by Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, former *New York Magazine* writer and artistic staff member of the Public Theatre. The 289-page volume includes the entire libretto of the musical, annotations of the libretto by Miranda, a narrative tracing the development of the musical, notes and pages from Miranda's notebooks, interviews with key members of the original Broadway cast, production photos, and reproductions of letters from Alexander Hamilton.⁸⁹ Miranda annotations in the book follow the tradition of his annotations of individual songs posted to Genius.com in November 2015, a website where hip-hop and rap songs are annotated and lines are commented upon both by the public and the artists who created them.⁹⁰

In keeping with the colonial theme, the text was made to resemble publishing styles in the early republic. The text, referred to as "Hamiltome" (#Hamiltome) on social media, which retails for \$40, has a ridged spine, made to resemble leather book-binding, Roman numerals for chapter title which carry the antiquated syntaxes of the eighteenth century, and lightweight card-stock pages with roughed edges. The original publishing of 60,000, released on April 12, 2016, sold out quickly even on digital retailers such as Amazon.com, prompting the publishers to order 50,000 additional copies, with promises

⁸⁹ Robert Viagas, "Hamilton: The Revolution Companion Book Published Today (Video)." Playbill.com, April 12, 2016. Accessed October 19, 2019. <http://www.playbill.com/article/hamilton-libretto-published-today>

⁹⁰ Alex Beggs, "Read Lin-Manuel Miranda's Genius Annotations for Hamilton," *Vanity Fair*, November 2, 2015, Accessed October 20, 2019. <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2015/11/hamilton-lyrics-genius-lin-manuel-miranda>

"Lin-Manuel Miranda." Genius.com. Accessed October 20, 2019. <https://genius.com/artists/Lin-manuel-miranda>

to have 400,000 in production by summer 2016.⁹¹ To promote the book, Miranda and McCarter appeared on CBS This Morning the day of the release.⁹² The libretto printed in the book was used as the primary textual source for the musical in this research, and the narrative described is treated as a secondary-source.

Hamilton Exhibition

Opened in April 2019 on the Northerly Island in Chicago, the Hamilton Exhibition, a 35,000 square foot free-standing series of crafted galleries designed by *Hamilton* set designer David Korins, provided Hamilton enthusiasts with the first place-based experience beyond the walls of a theatre.⁹³ The exhibit was designed to create a context for the history portrayed in the musical as well as correcting errors made in the name of artistic license. Stories briefly mentioned in the theatre production were given space to be explored in more depth, such as the experiences of women, soldiers of color, and Native Americans.⁹⁴ Academic history met the musical's popular history as Joanne Freeman and Annette Gordon-Reed, professor of law and professor of history at Harvard University both advised and consulted for the project. Freeman also narrated some of the

⁹¹ Alexandra Alter, "'Hamilton: The Revolution' Races Out of Bookstores, Echoing the Musical's Success," *The New York Times*, May 3, 2016, Accessed October 19, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/04/books/hamilton-the-revolution-races-out-of-bookstores-echoing-the-musicals-success.html>

⁹² CBS This Morning. "Behind the revolution of Broadway hit 'Hamilton'." *YouTube* video. April 12, 2016. Accessed October 20, 2019. <https://youtu.be/Dwi3iWQuTJk>

⁹³ Michael Paulson, "A New Kind of 'Hamilton' Show, This Time on Lake Michigan," *The New York Times*, April 29, 2019, Accessed October 20, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/theater/hamilton-exhibition-chicago.html>

⁹⁴ Paulson, "A New Kind of 'Hamilton' Show, This Time on Lake Michigan,"

audio tour.⁹⁵ The exhibition closed on August 25, 2019, and no new location has been announcement.⁹⁶

The exhibition uniquely drew visual connection to historical sites in ways the musical does not. It created a sense of place with 3D maps of New York City and the Battle of Yorktown prominently featured in respective rooms. A gallery called “The Schuyler Mansion,” a real site in Albany, NY, featured statues of prominent colonial figures engaged in a social scene.⁹⁷ For fans unable to visit the exhibition, short flyover videos have been posted to the Hamilton YouTube page.⁹⁸ While the exhibit marked the largest scale of place-based visitation specific to *Hamilton* and communicated the truth behind the history presented in the musical, the late date of the exhibition—nearly four years after the musical premiered—likely does not affect the patterns of *Hamilton*-induced tourism to historic sites studied in this thesis.

#HamilDocPBS

A documentary titled *Hamilton’s America*, released as part of the *Great Performances* series on PBS stations nationwide premiered on October 21, 2016 chronicling the development of the musical as well as the issues and history discussed therein.⁹⁹ Interviews with original cast members at historic sites associated with their

⁹⁵ Paulson, “A New Kind of ‘Hamilton’ Show, This Time on Lake Michigan.”

⁹⁶ Ryan McPhee, “Chicago’s Hamilton: The Exhibition Pushes Up Closing Date,” Playbill.com, July 29, 2019, Accessed October 20, 2019. <http://www.playbill.com/article/chicagos-hamilton-the-exhibition-pushes-up-closing-date>

⁹⁷ Hamilton. “Schuyler Mansion Gallery at Hamilton: The Exhibition.” July 12, 2019. Accessed October 20, 2019. <https://youtu.be/upGX9AyorVw>

⁹⁸ Hamilton. “Hamilton: The Exhibition.” YouTube channel – playlist. July 12, 2019. Accessed October 20, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLK1wqzZ8S6RwawTrFVyf4nb2lFDSlaG5B>

⁹⁹ Spencer Kornhaber, “Hamilton’s America Has Its Eyes on History,” *The Atlantic*, October 20, 2016, Accessed October 20, 2019.

characters made a notably direct connection between the musical and historic sites.¹⁰⁰

These sites included Hamilton Grange National Memorial, The White House, Mount Vernon, Morris-Jumel Mansion, Valley Forge National Historical Park, 57 Maiden Lane (New York City), Schuyler-Hamilton House, Weehawken Dueling Grounds, Trinity Church, and The White House.¹⁰¹

The documentary drew large connections between Hamilton's politics in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries to the politics of today, featuring interviews with prominent political figures such as President George W. Bush, Senator Elizabeth Warren, and former Secretaries of the Treasury Timothy Geithner and Henry Paulson—the same post Alexander Hamilton first held.¹⁰² In a nod to the contemporary audience the documentary encouraged the use of #HamilDocPBS on social media.¹⁰³

This came after a *60 Minutes* profile by Charlie Rose on Miranda and the musical, which originally aired on November 8, 2015, and was rereleased in a slightly extended format in the days leading up to the 2016 Tony Awards.¹⁰⁴ All three programs were submitted for Peabody Award consideration, archived at the Brown Media Library at the University of Georgia, and were used as secondary sources in this research.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2016/10/hamiltons-america-pbs-documentary-lin-manuel-miranda-history/504527/>

¹⁰⁰ Kornhaber, "Hamilton's America Has Its Eyes on History."

¹⁰¹ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, Peabody Awards Collection, 20163867 DCT 1 of 1, Walter J. Brown Media Archives & Peabody Awards Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ "Great Performances – Hamilton's America." PBS.com. Accessed October 20, 2019.
<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/gperf/episodes/hamiltons-america/>

¹⁰⁴ *60 Minutes: Hamilton*, Peabody Awards Collection, 20164608 NWT 1 of 1, Walter J. Brown Media Archives & Peabody Awards Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

60 minutes (Television program). Hamilton, Peabody Awards Collection, 20153048 NWT 1 of 1, Walter J. Brown Media Archives & Peabody Awards Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

Taken together the examples of major auxiliary products—there are more yet unmentioned in this analysis—demonstrate the variety of outlets that interested *Hamilton* culture consumers could experience and spread said culture. For these enthusiasts, these products connected the show to modern music and politics, as well as history and, most importantly for this research, historic sites.

Case Study Selection

The factors that contributed to the exclusivity of the show in its early days—high ticket prices and limited geographic reach of production accessibility—continue to limit the access to the live musical performances. In her analysis of *Hamilton* fan community, Claire Bond Potter, professor of history at The New School, states, “arguably, the fan community’s collective relative output is as or more important than the play itself because far more people are participating in it than will ever see the show.”¹⁰⁵ In an interview with *Rolling Stone* Miranda observed that “once the album came out, that was a very surreal week, the way it democratized everything. I remember it was a week of just answering questions on Twitter, watching people decode it.”¹⁰⁶ That sense of democratization, the public access to the author of the work via Twitter, and the participation of the author in the digital arena have created an environment and a culture surrounding *Hamilton* that is more than the sum of its parts. Thus, the original Broadway cast recording, auxiliary products, and online presence of the musical carry significant

¹⁰⁵ Bond Potter, ““Safe in the Nation We’ve Made””, 331 and 333.

¹⁰⁶ Mark Binelli, “‘Hamilton’ Creator Lin-Manuel Miranda: The Rolling Stone Interview,” *Rolling Stone Magazine*, June 1, 2016, Accessed October 22, 2019.
<https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/hamilton-creator-lin-manuel-miranda-the-rolling-stone-interview-42607/>

weight with regard to promoting tourism to sites, as these products expand the reach of the musical beyond the limited number of audience members at a finite number of performances.

The expansion of *Hamilton* fan community is not dependent on the physical theatre space but is rather entirely independent of it. Not limited by the bounds of performance space, the original Broadway cast recording allows listeners to experience the musical's spoken and sung elements in almost its entirety multiple times, on demand. These central aspects of the musical, the text and music, can thereby be enjoyed, discussed, and critiqued in separate spaces. For fans whose friends and family are not on board with the hype, social media provides an outlet for discussion and creative expression through the sharing of "fan art." Auxiliary products, including written and cinematic products, further expand the world of *Hamilton* in a branded context, with certain products creating a direct, visual link between the culture of the musical and historic sites.

Case Research and Selection

For this reason, in selecting the cases for this research, a study was conducted of every possible mention of place in the musical. To ensure the most easily accessible results, the libretto as printed in *Hamilton: The Revolution* was utilized, rather than the individual audio files of the cast recording. All possible mentions of place or which indicated or contributed to a sense of a setting were listed. Those were then categorized by type of place and level of specificity, the latter defined as "could you Google it and get it right?". Further notations included the Google search terms for those specific answers,

real associations with the mention, the accuracy of those mentions, which characters said the line, and the function of the mentions as a group or as a place. In addition to these, identifying information was recorded, such as song, song number, song act, line and page in *Hamilton: The Revolution*. A total of 365 possible mentions of place were found throughout the musical, with 183 of those being unique mentions. Of the total 365, forty-two (42) were considered Tier 1 specific, meaning a basic combination of the textual mention and either the name of the musical or the character who sang the mention could be used to search for the associated isolated historic site and produce the right answer (e.g., “Monticello”, “Battle of Yorktown”, “Uptown”). It must be noted that some of those associations have been further popularized by the musical, with search results being impacted by search engine algorithms and prior search history. Additionally, eighty-eight (88) were considered Tier 2 references, meaning the references were specific and could reach a correct answer, but no particular historic site could be produced to visit (e.g., “Manhattan”, “Paris”, “The Caribbean”). Finally, two-hundred-thirty-five (235) mentions were not specific enough to produce a place-based answer via a search engine, though further research in Chernow’s book provided an answer for some of these (e.g., “across the sea”, “the room where it happened”, “the South”). Figurative references to places, including where place-based language was used as metaphor, and dates were included in this category.

Further categorizations of place included type of place mentioned. These categories were defined as: Region (11), Country (20), State/Colony (15), City (42), Site (32), University (4), Borough (4), Neighborhood (5), Thing (15), Natural Feature (9), Street (4), Event (2), Date (8), Time (7), General/non-specific (186). Of the extant places

associated with these mentions, generally those falling into the “Sites” category were most relevant for this research. In total, twelve extant places which were specifically mentioned in the musical (Tier 1) were found which a relatively simple internet search could produce the correct place for interested fans. These were considered the most viable places for study.

Beyond these mentions, the magnitude of character association was considered a factor. A 2016 dispute between the original cast and the show’s producers led to an agreement to share streaming and album sales profits with the twenty-two actors involved in the development of the musical and who performed on the Original Broadway Cast Recording.¹⁰⁷ Of those twenty-two actors deemed vital to the creation of the work, which plays today in five production in two countries today, seven were nominated for a prestigious Tony Award in 2016, including Lin-Manuel Miranda for his role as Alexander Hamilton, Christopher Jackson as George Washington, Leslie Odum, Jr. as Aaron Burr, Daveed Diggs as Thomas Jefferson, Jonathan Groff as King George III, Renee Elise Goldsberry as Angelica Schuyler [Church], and Philippa Soo as Eliza [Schuyler] Hamilton.¹⁰⁸ Three of those six ultimately won in their respective categories—Odum, Diggs, and Goldsberry. While these are anecdotally interesting, the underlying implication is the importance of and fan loyalty to characters beyond Alexander Hamilton himself. The award nominations and wins, along with the labor compensation dispute, signals that the musical is not merely a reframing of Alexander Hamilton’s legacy, but is

¹⁰⁷ Michael Paulson, “‘Hamilton’ Producers and Actors Reach Deal on Sharing Profits,” *The New York Times*. April 15, 2016. Accessed October 12, 2019. <https://nyti.ms/1qvCQCX>

¹⁰⁸ Michael Paulson, “‘Hamilton’ Makes History With 16 Tony Nominations,” *The New York Times*, May 3, 2016, Accessed October 12, 2019. <https://nyti.ms/1pY18VC>
Playbill Staff. “See Full List of 2016 Tony Award Nominations.” Playbill.com. May 3, 2016. Accessed October 13, 2019. <http://www.playbill.com/article/2016-tony-nominations-are-being-revealed>

a modern exposition of the founding of the American Republic with selection of particular compatriots. Thus, when the new cultural legacy tide comes in, all associated heritage tourism boats may rise.

From the list of twelve specific, extant historic sites identified in the libretto, two were house museums open to the public for regular tours. These two houses were directly named in the musical, resulting the selection of Mount Vernon and Monticello. Hamilton Grange National Memorial is the site most closely associated with Alexander Hamilton's life in New York and is indirectly mentioned in the musical, though not a specific reference. Finally, the selection of the Morris-Jumel Mansion was based, not on a textual reference, but for its inclusion in the *Great Performances* "Hamilton's America" episode, which visually linked the creation of the musical with the home of Aaron Burr during the later years of his life.¹⁰⁹ Care was taken to select sites which were directly connected to different major characters in the musical. Additionally, all of these sites were included in at least one of five separate travel lists compiled by *The New York Times*, Playbill.com, Architectural Digest online, and The National Trust for Historic Preservation.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, (0:16:22-0:21:39).

¹¹⁰ Ann Mah, "Hamilton's New York Haunts," *The New York Times*, May 3, 2017, Accessed October 13, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/03/travel/alexander-hamilton-new-york.html>

Richard Patterson, "Tour: Visit the Real-Life Sites of *Hamilton's* Revolution," Playbill.com, Accessed October 13, 2019, <http://www.playbill.com/article/where-he-lived-died-and-told-his-story-the-real-life-sites-of-hamiltons-revolution-com-357347>

Kristen Hower, "'Where' Tells Your Story: A Hamilton Tour, Act Two," The National Trust for Historic Preservation, February 17, 2016, Accessed October 13, 2019.

<https://savingplaces.org/stories/hamilton-musical-tour-part-2#.XaNSh-dKj-Y>

Sarah Heffern, "'Where' Tells Your Story: A Hamilton Tour, Act One," The National Trust for Historic Preservation, February 15, 2016, accessed October 13, 2019.

<https://savingplaces.org/stories/hamilton-musical-tour-part-1#.XaNSfedKj-Y>

Kirstan Schiller, "Visit 7 Iconic Alexander Hamilton Sites Open to the Public," *Architectural Digest* online, May 2, 2016, accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/gallery/alexander-hamilton-architectural-sites>

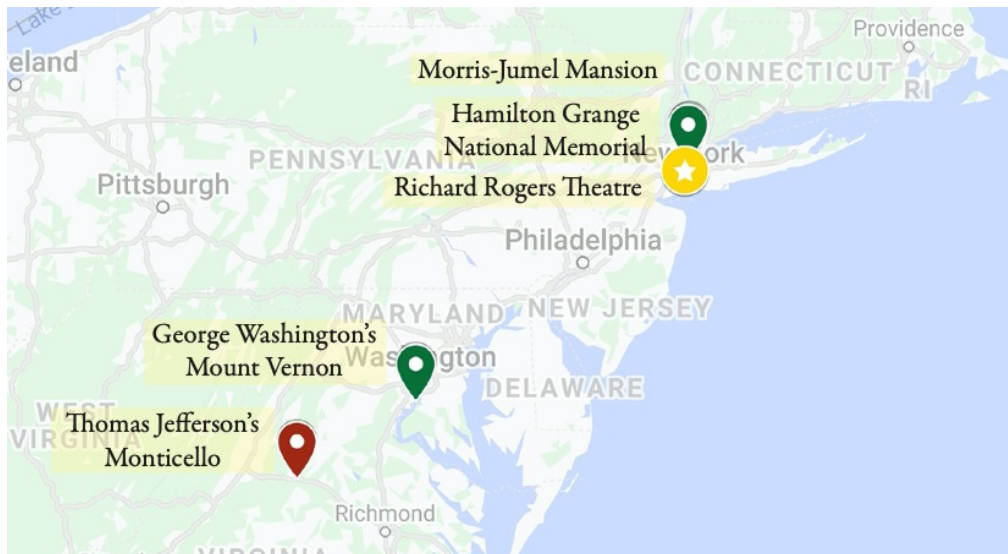


Figure 1. A map of the four case studies and the Richard Rogers Theatre, the Broadway home of *Hamilton*.

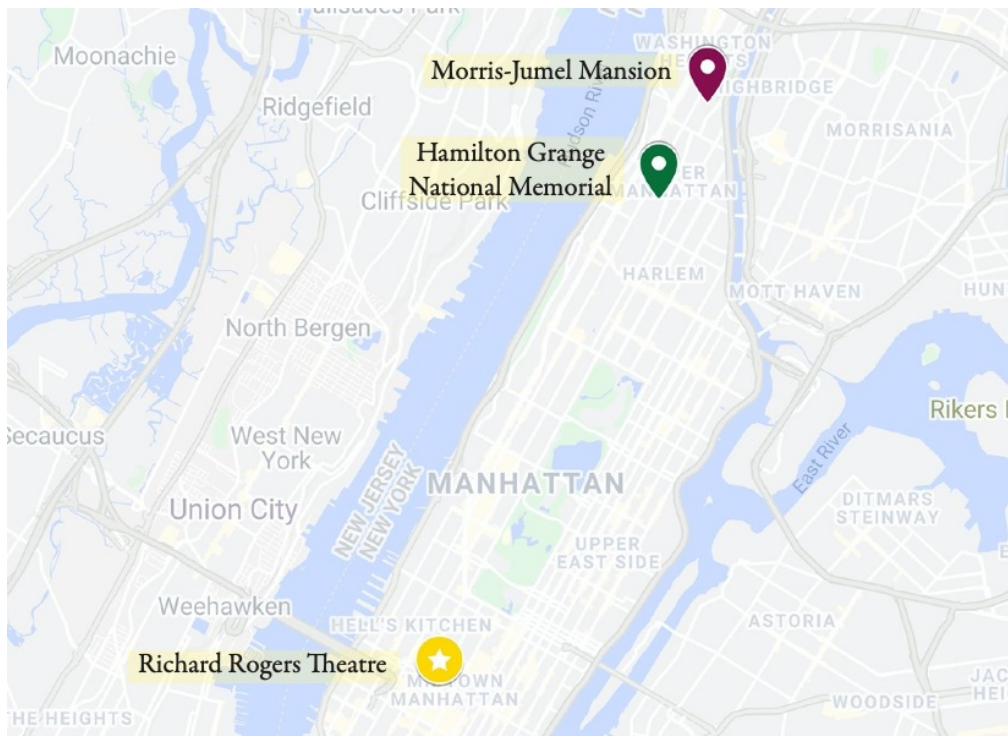


Figure 2. A detail map showing the locations of case studies in New York City along with the location of the Richard Rogers Theatre.

Data Collection

The following list of data was collected from in-person visits to each site, interviews with key staff members at those sites, and historic sites' online presences.

Data derived from on-site fieldwork

1. Collection of artifacts from site gift shops and informational brochures
2. Observations of gift shop offerings (Hamilton- or *Hamilton*-related books, Hamilton memorabilia at non-related sites, etc.)
3. Collection of *Hamilton*-related references or mentions in exhibits at historic sites
4. cursory information gathered from house tours
5. Interviews with education directors
6. Interviews with marketing directors, where possible

Data derived from internet sources

7. Analysis of social media sites
 - a. Instagram: quotes, hashtags
 - b. Twitter: quotes, retweeting LMM or *Hamilton* account
 - c. Facebook: quotes, *Hamilton* or Hamilton related events
8. Analysis of site websites
 - a. Special pages dedicated to *Hamilton*
 - b. Special events which include textual references to lines from *Hamilton*

Secondary print and digital media sources

9. Reviews and discussions of the musical from major periodicals, such as *The New York Times*, *the New Yorker*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *The Atlantic*. Additional articles from international periodicals also considered

10. Place-related periodical articles regarding *Hamilton*
11. *Hamilton* related television programs
 - a. PBS *Great Performances* episode, “Hamilton’s America”
 - b. *60 Minutes* interviews (2015), (2016)
12. Analysis of *Hamilton: The Revolution* book (official companion book, containing libretto)
13. The *Hamilton* Original Broadway Cast Recording
 - a. Note: *Hamilton* live performance not used, because it is difficult, if not impossible, take notes on that. Also, for the broader public, the most accessible form of the musical was the audio recording.
14. Travel guides published by *The New York Times online*, *Playbill online*, *Architectural Digest online*, and The National Trust for Historic Preservation online.

Primary textual sources

15. The complete libretto of *Hamilton* (as published in *Hamilton: The Revolution*)
16. Comparison between the history presented in *Hamilton* and the history as written in *Alexander Hamilton* by Ron Chernow

The data types listed above were collected between July 2019 and January 2020. Thus, the particularly variable nature of on-line content was assessed as consistently as possible. This required that webpages were continually hosted, and social media posts were extant. On rare occasions, a print-out of a webpage was used after the page was taken down. Thanks to a Graduate Research Award from the Willson Center for

Humanities & Art, to offset costs of travel to each case study location, the author was able to personally visit and collect data from each of these sites.

CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDY | MONTICELLO

History

In 1769, after inheriting his late father's estate at the age of twenty-five, Thomas Jefferson chose to locate his home atop hill at the edge of the Blue Ridge Mountains, that he called "Monticello."¹¹¹ The hill was cleared and leveled over the prior year using enslaved labor, and construction on the first version of Monticello—Monticello I—began.¹¹² Upon Jefferson's return from his posting as Ambassador to France in 1794, work ceased on Monticello I, the upper floors were demolished, and completely new designs for Monticello II were implemented.¹¹³ This new version of Monticello is the version seen today on the back of the U.S. nickel and is part of a joint designation on the UNESCO World Heritage List for "Monticello and the University of Virginia in Charlottesville."¹¹⁴ Jefferson died on July 4, 1826—the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence for which he is credited with writing—severely in debt.¹¹⁵ To repay these debts much of Jefferson's property, including nearly all of the

¹¹¹ Marc Leepson, *Saving Monticello: The Levy Family's Epic Quest to Rescue the House That Jefferson Built*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 7.

¹¹² "House FAQ." Monticello.org. Accessed November 24, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/house-gardens/the-house/house-faqs/#when>

¹¹³ "House FAQ." Monticello.org. Accessed November 24, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/house-gardens/the-house/house-faqs/#when>

¹¹⁴ "Monticello and the University of Virginia in Charlottesville." Unesco.org. Accessed November 24, 2019. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/442>

¹¹⁵ Leepson, *Saving Monticello*, 13.

"Debt." The Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia at Monticello.org. Accessed November 24, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/debt>

enslaved people thereon, but not Monticello, were sold at auction.¹¹⁶ Burwell Colbert, a freed member of the enslaved Hemings family, maintained the house in the years that followed.¹¹⁷

The subsequent history of Monticello was fraught with legal battles. In 1831, Jeff Randolph, Jefferson's grandson and executor his estate, sold the house to James Turner Barclay, who owned the property for only two years, before offering the house for sale.¹¹⁸ Uriah Levy purchased the house in 1834 from Barclay and held it until his death in 1862.¹¹⁹ Despite being sold at auction, a contestation of Uriah Levy's will voided the ex-post sale and Monticello passed to his nephew, Jefferson Monroe Levy, in 1868.¹²⁰ Jefferson Levy defended his ownership through numerous legal and Congressional battles until his death in 1924, at which time he was in the process of selling Monticello to the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.¹²¹ The Foundation created a Restoration Committee, chaired by architect Fiske Kimball, well known consultant for the restoration and preservation of Colonial Williamsburg, who oversaw the restoration of the house.¹²² The Foundation continues to own and operate the site today.

¹¹⁶ Leepson, *Saving Monticello*, 15.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 33, 85.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 231.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 237.



Figure 3. A view of Monticello's west lawn.

The house is open to the public throughout the week on a seasonal timetable, and is closed for major national holidays.¹²³ Visitors to the estate enter through the David M. Rubenstein Visitor Center, where they find the estate ticket office, gift shop, café, introductory film, and Smith Education Center.¹²⁴ The introductory film, *Thomas Jefferson's World*, conveys Jefferson's fundamental principles which underlined his political career and philosophies alongside his participation in the slave economy. The film also portrays the history of the estate and the activities which took place at Monticello during Jefferson's lifetime.¹²⁵ At the time of the author's visit, visitors can see in the museum the The Boisterous Sea of Liberty, an interactive series of fourteen touch

¹²³ "Hours of Operation." Monticello. Accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/visit/hours-of-operation/day/2019-12-29/>

¹²⁴ "Exhibits at the Visitor Center," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-visitor-center/>

¹²⁵ "Thomas Jefferson's World – Introductory Film," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-visitor-center/thomas-jefferson-s-world-film/>

screen panels that traces the influence of the Declaration of Independence through modern history.¹²⁶ Other exhibits in the museum include the evolution of the history and materials of Monticello and a display of inventions and experiments from Jefferson's lifetime.¹²⁷

Guests travel to the mansion via bus which departs frequently from the visitor's center. Tours of the main floor of the house are included with the price of admission, while special topics tours are also available at additional cost.¹²⁸ After guests tour the house, they have the options to also see interpretive exhibits in the basement, Mulberry Row, and North and South Wings. These include the storage cellars, icehouse, privy, kitchens, and rooms interpreting key figures, including the new "Life of Sally Hemings" digital exhibit.¹²⁹ Interpretation of the estate focuses on Jefferson at home and the architectural importance of Monticello. Emphasis is placed on the paradoxes of the man who wrote "all men are created equal" while also owning hundreds of people.

¹²⁶ This exhibit closed December 2019.

"Boisterous Sea of Liberty," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-visitor-center/boisterous-sea-of-liberty/>

¹²⁷ "Making Monticello," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-visitor-center/making-monticello/>

"Monticello as Experiment: 'To Try All Things'," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-visitor-center/to-try-all-things/>

¹²⁸ "Tickets and Tours," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/visit/tickets-tours/>

¹²⁹ "South Wing Exhibits," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-house/south-wing-exhibits/>

"North Wing Exhibits," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-house/north-wing-exhibits/>

"Exhibits Along Mulberry Row," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-house/mulberry-row-exhibits/>

"All-Weather Passage and Main House Basement," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/exhibits-events/exhibits-at-the-house/all-weather-passage-and-basement/>

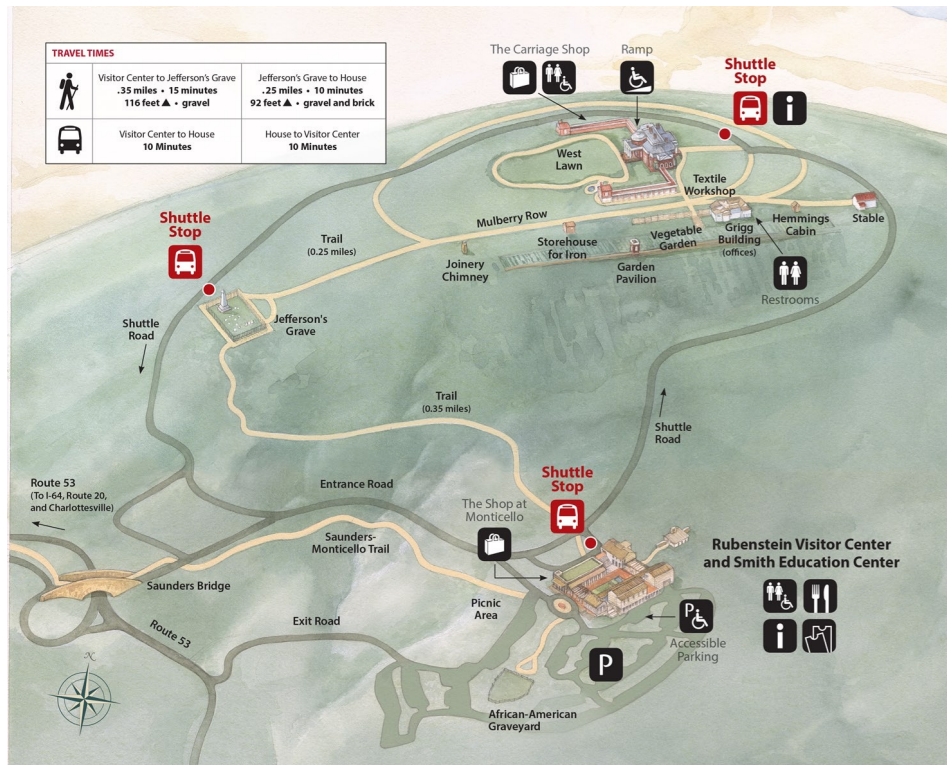


Figure 4. Monticello Visitor Center and mountain top map, showing the procession from the estate's visitor center to the house and grounds.

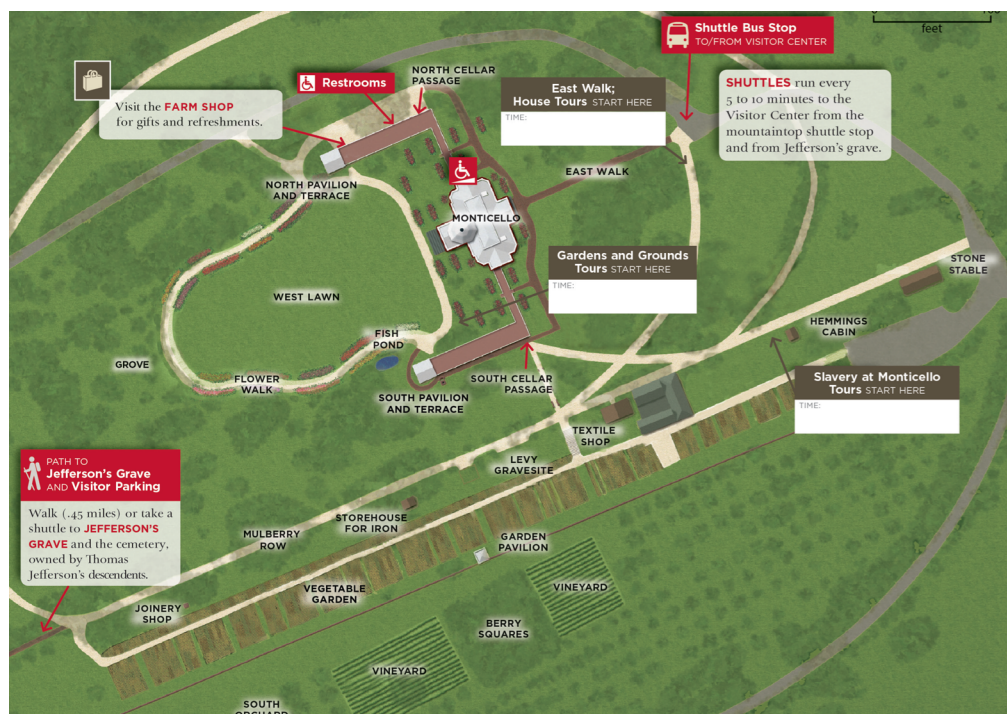


Figure 5. Monticello mountain top map, showing the locations of interpretive areas and buildings.

Association with *Hamilton*

Four states and over three hundred miles away, Thomas Jefferson's Monticello is the furthest study location from Broadway's Richard Rogers Theatre, the original home of *Hamilton*. Proximity, though, is not indicative of association. While only a few places are technically named in text of the show, Monticello is mentioned by name twice and implied eight times. One direct reference is made by Thomas Jefferson ("I gotta be in Monticello") and the other by Alexander Hamilton during an argument, stylized as "Cabinet Battle #1" ("Doin' whatever the hell it is you do in Monticello").¹³⁰ The indirect references are during "What Did I Miss?" the song in which Thomas Jefferson returns from his post in France, with the chorus singing "Thomas Jefferson's coming home."¹³¹ The estate is also featured on the National Trust for Historic Preservation's list of historic sites associated with the musical.¹³²

The character of Jefferson plays a large role as the political antagonist to Alexander Hamilton. For his original performance of Jefferson in the Broadway production, Daveed Diggs won the 2016 Tony Award for Best Featured Actor in a Musical.¹³³ Jefferson is given unique treatment in the musical as the only character whose ownership of enslaved people is addressed, even in light of the facts of Washington's and Madison's participation in the slave economy as well. In "Cabinet Battle #2," Hamilton

¹³⁰ Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution: Being the Complete Libretto of the Broadway Musical, with a True Account of Its Creation, and Concise Remarks on Hip-hop, the Power of Stories, and the New America*, (First ed. New York: Grand Central Publishing: Melcher Media, 2016), 152, 161.

¹³¹ Ibid., 152-153.

¹³² Kristen Hower, " "Where" Tells Your Story: A Hamilton Tour, Act Two," The National Trust for Historic Preservation, February 17, 2016, accessed October 13, 2019. <https://savingplaces.org/stories/hamilton-musical-tour-part-2#.XaNSh-dKj-Y>

¹³³ Michael Paulson, "Tony Awards Hail 'Hamilton' and Denounce Hate," *The New York Times*, June 12, 2016, accessed November 24, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/13/theater/tony-awards.html>

argues one should not listen to “civics lessons from a slaver.”¹³⁴ The only enslaved person mentioned in the show, Sally Hemings, was owned by Jefferson and is known to history for having born six of Jefferson’s children.¹³⁵ She is mentioned by name in the song “What Did I Miss?” as Jefferson receives a letter from Washington and asks “Sally, be lamb, darlin’, wontcha open it?”¹³⁶ In the cut song “Cabinet Battle #3,” Hamilton brings up Jefferson’s relationship with Hemings over the course of a few lines, referring to her by her full name.¹³⁷ The text of “Cabinet Battle #3” was released in *Hamilton: The Revolution*, and a copy of the audio demo was released on *The Hamilton Mixtape*, making it part of the *Hamilton* cannon.¹³⁸ While these mentions do not necessarily establish a sense of place, they probe deeper issues in Jefferson’s character which are place-based, namely, the estate on which the people he owned were forced to work.

Incorporation of *Hamilton*

The phenomenon that would take the world by storm, first hit Jefferson’s mountain top through the interest of the staff—professionals within the historical community. As *Hamilton* mania spread, guides noticed that visitors recognized more about the story of Alexander Hamilton, and his relationship with Jefferson, than they had in the past.¹³⁹ Within student groups, teenagers wore t-shirts from the show, which

¹³⁴ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 161.

¹³⁵ “The Life of Sally Hemings,” Monticello.org, accessed November 24, 2019.
<https://www.monticello.org/sallyhemings/>

¹³⁶ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 152.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 212-213.

“Cabinet Battle #3,” MP3 audio, track 19 on Various Artists, *The Hamilton Mixtape*, Hamilton Uptown, LLC licensing to Atlantic Records, 2016.

¹³⁹ Stephen Light, Manager of House Tours for Monticello (Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation), interview by author, October 30, 2019.

suggested a connection between their understanding of the musical and the historical site they were visiting.¹⁴⁰ After the *Hamilton* cast album was released in September 2015 and at the beginning of the musical's widespread popularity, the organization tasked with communicating the real history of *Hamilton*'s villain started talking about how to communicate within this new cultural context.

In Winter 2016, the Thomas Jefferson's Monticello Education and Visitor Program Department hosted a retreat for area managers to create a game plan for incorporating the musical sensation into the estate's existing interpretive strategy.¹⁴¹ The retreat resulted in four orchestrated interactions with the musical. The largest project was the creation of the Hamilton Tour Takeover which launched in the summer of that year.¹⁴² Secondly, citing the similar Mount Vernon webpage as inspiration, Thomas Jefferson's Monticello created the "Hamilton: An American Musical Resources" webpage, which utilizes objects in the house to make connections with the history presented in the musical through videos and other content.¹⁴³ Thirdly, Stephen Light, Manager of House Tours, lead a training for guide staff on the history behind the musical, to help staff utilize the public's new knowledge of and interest in Jefferson's politics vis-à-vis Alexander Hamilton, in the context of Monticello and Jefferson's private life.¹⁴⁴ Finally, a staffer added annotations on the Genius website to Jefferson's song in the musical "What Did I Miss?" under the handle @TJMonticello as a way of joining the

¹⁴⁰ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid..

¹⁴³ "Hamilton: An American Musical Resources," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/research-education/for-educators/hamilton-an-american-musical-resources/>

Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

¹⁴⁴ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

conversations online about the history behind the lyrics and to link annotations to Monticello's online content.¹⁴⁵ These on-site and digital interactions allowed Thomas Jefferson's Monticello to position itself in the cultural conversation surrounding the musical while also communicating some of the nuances of factual history.

On-site

The general tour that is included with the price of basic admission takes guests through the first floor of the mansion, focusing on Jefferson's life at home. Guides are not held to a standardized script but are required to adhere to thematic elements while developing their individual tours with their manager. As such, they have leeway to drop in new reference points and to respond to the topical interests of their tour groups.¹⁴⁶ Guides may elect to drop a *Hamilton* reference to spark a connection between the objects at Monticello and the history presented in the musical. However, as the musical concentrates on the political life of Thomas Jefferson, only mentioning his personal life in passing, it is difficult to make deep connections between the musical and the existing interpretation philosophy of the house.

In an effort to attract the attention of the diehard fans of the show, Thomas Jefferson's Monticello launched the Hamilton Tour Takeover in Spring 2017.¹⁴⁷ The ninety-minute tour is entirely different from the general house tour.¹⁴⁸ According to

¹⁴⁵ "@TJMonticello," Genius, accessed December 29, 2019. <https://genius.com/TJMonticello> Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

¹⁴⁶ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, "We're less than week out from our first Hamilton Tour Takeover!" Facebook post, March 11, 2017.

<https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/posts/10155915922953696>

¹⁴⁸ "Hamilton Tour Takeover." Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. Accessed September 10, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/visit/tickets-tours/hamilton-tour/>

Light, “the concept was to do a house tour that used lyrics and the fun of *Hamilton* as a jump off point for exploring the rivalry between Jefferson and Hamilton.”¹⁴⁹ This dedicated tour allowed visitors and guides to discuss the politics of the man who built Monticello and of the 1790’s in general. Many reference points for this tour may mirror what appears in the “Hamilton: An American Musical Resource” website (discussed in-depth later), including the most symbolic representation of their conflict—the juxtaposition of the bust of Hamilton and the bust of Jefferson in the Entrance Hall of Monticello, so that they would be “opposed in death, as in life.”¹⁵⁰ Tour Participants dove deeper into the cabinet debates/battles, scandals both Jefferson and Hamilton faced, and explore the relation of objects in the house to the stories they know from the musical.¹⁵¹ The tour is not, though, a rebuttal of the musical’s characterization of Jefferson. It is an effort to facilitate “people [engaging] with the history.”¹⁵² Participation included casting visitors as Founding Fathers who, holding “stick puppets” of their assigned Founder, read excerpts from historic documents and lyrics from the musical to explore the greater nuances of the conflict that, to quote the musical, “pissed [Hamilton] off until we had a two-party system.”¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “Bust of Alexander Hamilton at Monticello,” *YouTube* video, 2:24. December 18, 2017, accessed December 31, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0w6WKgcw-pk>

“Alexander Hamilton Bust (Sculpture),” Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia, accessed December 31, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/alexander-hamilton-bust-sculpture>

¹⁵¹ Mia Magruder Dammann “Monticello introduces new, Hamilton-themed tour,” Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, March 31, 2017. Accessed December 31, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/site/press/monticello-introduces-new-hamilton-themed-tour>

¹⁵² Larry Bleiberg, “Visitors can act, rap Hamilton story at Jefferson’s Monticello,” *Chicago Tribune* April 5, 2017, accessed December 31, 2019. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/travel/sc-hamilton-tour-monticello-virginia-travel-0411-20170403-story.html>

¹⁵³ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 152. Bleiberg, “Visitors can act, rap Hamilton story at Jefferson’s Monticello”

The tour, which ran alongside the general tour, has been offered in the summer months since 2017. While originally anticipating the tour to capture the millennial demographic, the greatest interest in the tour came from families with teenagers.¹⁵⁴ This shift prompted moving the 2018 summer tours from an evening program, as it had been in 2017, to a mid-day program, and ticket purchases for the tour grew.¹⁵⁵ As the *Hamilton* national tour went to Richmond, VA and Washington, DC, it increased the likelihood of *Hamilton*-related visitation for the in past summers, although that has likely waned.¹⁵⁶ According to Light, 2019 was likely the last season the Hamilton Tour Takeover will run, as the niche interest has fallen.¹⁵⁷ There is a dichotomy to this level of tourism. The Hamilton Tour Takeover was marketed to the “superfans” as people who would travel to Monticello specifically because it was associated with *Hamilton*, but there are many people who visit the site with an awareness of the musical, but not because of it, who take the general tour.¹⁵⁸

The lifetime for specific interest in *Hamilton* at Monticello is coming to a close. As time moves further from the musical’s heyday, the effect of the phenomenon is dissipating. That is not to say though, that *Hamilton* does not have a long-lasting impact on the knowledge basis that visitors arrive with. “As a pop culture phenomenon, I think

¹⁵⁴ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ As of the writing of this thesis, the tour website has been taken down from the “Tickets” page of Monticello.org. Information for this research was taken from a printed copy of the webpage (accessed in September 2019).

“Hamilton Tour Takeover,” Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, accessed September 10, 2019.

<https://www.monticello.org/visit/tickets-tours/hamilton-tour/>

Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

¹⁵⁸ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

it's fading," says Light, "but as a pop culture reference point, it's probably going to have a long impact."¹⁵⁹

Online

Thomas Jefferson's Monticello's website, Monticello.org, is not just the repository for information on the hours and operations of the estate museums. The website contains an extensive Research & Education section in which visitors will find The Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia, with information about Jefferson's personal philosophies, some of his political views, and the historical operations of Monticello.¹⁶⁰ The Jefferson Library, information "For Scholars" and "For Educators," Blogs, and Video links are also included in this section.¹⁶¹ The "Hamilton: An American Musical Resources" page is located within the "For Educators" page and contains an extensive collection of links and content pertaining to the history presented in *Hamilton* and its relevance at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. At the top of the page is an interactive illustrated floorplan of the house. Within each room, at the site of a particular object, a small white dot has been placed. When the cursor of a mouse hovers over that dot, either an image of the object or an embedded video appears alongside a text box with a quote from the musical. The image or video then links to more information regarding the associated history. For example, Figure 6, below, shows the pop-up box corresponding with the engraving of *The Death of General Montgomery* (original by John Trumbell).

¹⁵⁹ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

¹⁶⁰ "Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.
<https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/tje>

¹⁶¹ "Research & Education," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.
<https://www.monticello.org/site/research-education/>

The pop-up reads “Jefferson owned an engraving depicting the Death of General Montgomery. Burr served under General Montgomery “until he caught a bullet in the neck in Quebec.””¹⁶² The quote is a line said by Burr in the song “Right Hand Man.”¹⁶³ The image thumbnail on the website links to the Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia listing about the engraving.¹⁶⁴



Figure 6. A screenshot of the interactive floorplan on Monticello’s “*Hamilton: An American Musical Resources*” webpage. The screenshot shows the popup associated with the engraving of *The Death of General Montgomery*. Visitors to the site can click on the pop-ups for more information on the object.

¹⁶² “Hamilton: An American Musical Resources,” Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/research-education/for-educators/hamilton-an-american-musical-resources/>

¹⁶³ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 62.

¹⁶⁴ “Death of General Montgomery in the Attack of Quebec (Engraving),” Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/death-general-montgomery-attack-quebec-engraving>

Other objects, such as the wine pullies, correspond to larger themes, such as countering the assertion that “No one else was in the room where [the debt plan and US capital negotiations] happened,” by noting that enslaved laborers—such as Jefferson’s head of house hold, enslaved cook James Hemmings—might have been silent observers.¹⁶⁵ The image thumbnail of a list of names links to the Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia page about “Monticello’s Cooks,” particularly James Hemings.¹⁶⁶ The twenty-six different dots each illuminate a unique tie between Jefferson and the history presented in the musical, trace threads of Jefferson’s ideals in history, or present the opportunity to consider additional aspects of history.

The page also contains links to more information about major characters in the musical, using lyrics as list titles for each character. Links to either Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia pages or Monticello YouTube videos detail historical events, such as the Election of 1800, series of quotes and letters, or objects on display in the house. Finally, the website has links to a series of videos from a talk given by Dr. Joanne Freeman, whose work was consulted for *Hamilton* and former Fellow of Monticello’s Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies, on the history of dueling.

Other resources available through Monticello’s website are a lesson plan “Understanding the Conflicts of Jefferson And Hamilton Through ‘Hamilton, An American Musical’” in the Monticello Digital Classroom; and a blog post ““And when I meet Thomas Jefferson...”” about Angelica Schuyler Church’s friendship with Jefferson

¹⁶⁵ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 186.

“Hamilton: An American Musical Resources,” Monticello, accessed December 29, 2019.
<https://www.monticello.org/research-education/for-educators/hamilton-an-american-musical-resources/>

¹⁶⁶ “Monticello’s Cooks,” Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, accessed December 30, 2019.
<https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/a-day-in-the-life-of-jefferson/dinner-is-served/monticello-s-cooks/>

written by a former Fellow of Monticello's Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies.¹⁶⁷ The lesson plan was designed by a high school teacher in Mobile, Alabama, and by virtue of publication on the Digital Classroom platform is cross-referenced and searchable.¹⁶⁸ The goal for the plan is for students to leave with an understanding of how the two-party system developed as a result of the opposing views within Washington's Cabinet—namely the conflict between Jefferson and Hamilton.¹⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the article, written by Tom Cutterham, examines Jefferson's relationship with Angelica Schuyler Church, the latter of whom is the subject of the Cutterham's upcoming biography.¹⁷⁰ Church is a major character in the musical as well, with Renée Elise Goldsberry winning the 2016 Tony for Best Featured Actress in a Musical for originating the role of Angelica Schuyler [Church].¹⁷¹

A presence in the online world of social media is a key aspect of participation in *Hamilton* culture. A great deal of the expansion of *Hamilton* was through online platforms.¹⁷² In the early months of the album release, a Monticello staff member created an account for the organization on the Genius.com, the lyric annotation website where

¹⁶⁷ Tom Cutterham, ““And when I meet Thomas Jefferson...”,” Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, May 3, 2016, accessed December 30, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/site/blog-and-community/posts/and-when-i-meet-thomas-jefferson>

Marcee Hinds, “Lesson Plan: Understanding the Conflicts of Jefferson And Hamilton Through “Hamilton, An American Musical”,” Monticello Digital Classroom, accessed December 30, 2019. <https://classroom.monticello.org/lesson-plan/understanding-the-conflicts-of-jefferson-and-hamilton-through-hamilton-an-american-musical>

¹⁶⁸ “About,” Monticello Digital Classroom, accessed December 30, 2019. <https://classroom.monticello.org/about/>

Hinds, “Lesson Plan.”

¹⁶⁹ Hinds, “Lesson Plan.”

¹⁷⁰ Cutterham, “““And when I meet Thomas Jefferson...”.””

¹⁷¹ Michael Paulson, “Tony Awards Hail ‘Hamilton’ and Denounce Hate,” *The New York Times*, June 12, 2016, accessed November 24, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/13/theater/tony-awards.html>

¹⁷² Claire Bond Potter, ““Safe in the Nation We’ve Made’: Staging Hamilton on Social Media,” in *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America’s Past*, Edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 326.

Lin-Manuel Miranda added notes for many of the songs on the Original Cast Album. @TJMonticello added four annotations on “What’d I Miss?”, Thomas Jefferson’s solo song in Act II. Two of the annotations contain links to Monticello pages, one about the house’s Alexander Hamilton bust and the other to information on Jefferson’s time in Paris. Another annotation links to the Amazon.com listing for a Jefferson biography by Susan Stein, quoting her explanation of Jefferson’s extensive shopping in France. The final annotation discusses the relationship of Jefferson and Washington, and how the show does not fully capture the animosity between the two founders, referencing and including a link to Princeton University’s website about the Mazzei Letter.¹⁷³ The account also provided two suggestions on other user’s annotations of two songs earlier in the musical, noting Jefferson’s vocal objections to the abuses of King George III and the contradictory elements of Jefferson’s life as both a slaveowner and as the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence.¹⁷⁴ This interaction on a platform already credited as a place for artists to explain their art, in this instance, allows for historians to explain their history.

On more traditional social media platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello also participated in the conversations regarding the musical. While there is a great deal of overlap between the accounts’ content, each platform contains some unique posts which specifically insert the estate, organization, and Jefferson into the conversations of *Hamilton*.

The estate’s Twitter account, @TJMonticello, tweeted or retweeted relevant content pertaining to Daveed Diggs. For example, after the 2016 Tony awards, the

¹⁷³ “@TJMonticello,” Genius, accessed December 29, 2019. <https://genius.com/TJMonticello>

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

account tweeted, “The Story of Last Night? 11 Tonys to @HamiltonMusical! Heartfelt congrats!! @Lin_Manuel & @DaveedDiggs (here w/ TJ)” along with a photo of Diggs with the Rembrandt Peale portrait of Thomas Jefferson.¹⁷⁵ On another occasion, the account retweeted a clip from *The Nightly Show* in which Daveed Diggs, the original Thomas Jefferson in the show on Broadway, appeared, saying “#HamiltonMusical 's Jefferson Daveed Diggs on The Nightly Show last night <http://on.cc.com/1L22Rn5> #Hamiltunes.”¹⁷⁶ Sometimes the account promoted news related to *Hamilton*, such as in April 2016, when *The New York Times* ran a headline “Success of ‘Hamilton’ May Have Saved Hamilton on the \$10 Bill”, which the account posted with the caption “Hamilton likely to stay on the \$10 bill! - <http://nyti.ms/1XB5jIE> @jbf1755 @HamiltonMusical @Lin_Manuel,” tagging both the musical and Lin-Manuel Miranda.¹⁷⁷ In other instances the account jumped into current trends, such as, in December 2016, when the account posted “We had a (*sic*) in-house captioning contest. "Opposed in music as opposed in life." #Hamiltunes” alongside a photo with a small statue of Jefferson holding the *Hamilton* Original Broadway Cast album.¹⁷⁸ The account replied to the original tweet with the runners up of the apparent caption contest saying “Next caption option: "It might be nice, it might be nice, to have Hamilton on your side” and “"Politics aside, I

¹⁷⁵ Monticello (@TJMonticello), “The Story of Last Night? 11 Tonys to @HamiltonMusical! Heartfelt congrats!! @Lin_Manuel & @DaveedDiggs (here w/ TJ),” Twitter June 13, 2016, 8:02 a.m. <https://twitter.com/TJMonticello/status/742371602399166465>

¹⁷⁶ Monticello (@TJMonticello), “#HamiltonMusical 's Jefferson Daveed Diggs on The Nightly Show last night <http://on.cc.com/1L22Rn5> #Hamiltunes,” Twitter, March 1, 2016, 6:05 a.m., <https://twitter.com/tjmonticello/status/704668931303284736>

¹⁷⁷ Monticello (@TJMonticello), “Hamilton likely to stay on the \$10 bill! - <http://nyti.ms/1XB5jIE> @jbf1755 @HamiltonMusical @Lin_Manuel,” April 16, 2016, 5:15 a.m., <https://twitter.com/TJMonticello/status/721310976017055744>

¹⁷⁸ Monticello (@TJMonticello), “We had a in-house captioning contest. "Opposed in music as opposed in life." #Hamiltunes,” Twitter, December 9, 2015, 8:15 a.m., <https://twitter.com/TJMonticello/status/674623323553288193>

do enjoy a good #Hamiltune." @HamiltonMusical @Lin_Manuel.”¹⁷⁹ The third tweet, not only used the hashtag #Hamiltune, but also tagged the musical’s official Twitter account, @HamiltonMusical, and Lin-Manuel Miranda’s account, @Lin_Manuel.

The Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello Instagram account (@tjmonticello) communicates mainly events, community activities, scenes from the estate, objects, and historic events in an “on this day” style. The account on the photo-based site with scrolling thumbnails of photos only (no captions), contains three distinguished posts that incorporate *Hamilton*. The first post is a group photo of Monticello supporters with Daveed Diggs in, presumably, the Richard Rogers Theatre, with a caption that describes the scene, and mentions notable attendees, such as Prof. Joanne Freeman, Peter Onuf, and one of Jefferson’s descendants.¹⁸⁰ The second discernable post is a video about the copy of the Jean-Antoine Houdon bust of the Marquis de Lafayette in which the line “America’s Favorite Fighting Frenchman” from the *Hamilton* song “Guns & Ships” is used. The caption, which contains a link to a full video on Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello’s website, reads ““Ev’ryone give it up for America’s favorite fighting Frenchman!” The Houdon bust of the marquis de Lafayette at Monticello. Full video at monticello.org/videos,” which utilizes the same quote from the musical.¹⁸¹ Finally, a

¹⁷⁹ Monticello (@TJMonticello), “.@TJMonticello Next caption option: "It might be nice, it might be nice, to have Hamilton on your side." Twitter, December 9, 2016, 8:16 a.m., <https://twitter.com/TJMonticello/status/674623553594114048>

Monticello (@TJMonticello), “.@TJMonticello "Politics aside, I do enjoy a good #Hamiltune." @HamiltonMusical @Lin_Manuel,” Twitter, December 9, 2016, 8:18 a.m., <https://twitter.com/TJMonticello/status/674624234744905729>

¹⁸⁰ Monticello (@tjmonticello), “A group of Monticello supporters had the extreme pleasure of seeing #HamiltonMusical this weekend and meeting Thomas Jefferson (aka Daveed Diggs) after the show. Among the group was Prof. Joanne Freeman (a leading Hamilton scholar), Peter Onuf (a leading Jefferson scholar), and a descendant of Jefferson's granddaughter Ellen Wayles Coolidge. #latergram”, Instagram post, March 14, 2016. https://www.instagram.com/p/BC8lihjRCT9/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link

¹⁸¹ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 118.

January 2018 post, in which staff and guides—one of whom is wearing a *Hamilton* t-shirt—wish Alexander Hamilton a happy 261st birthday, from “Your Mellow Fans at Monticello,” a play on the line “Stay mellow/doing whatever the hell it is you do in Monticello” from “Cabinet Battle #1.”¹⁸²

Finally, the Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello Facebook account contains the greatest number of *Hamilton* references. Two posts overlap with the aforementioned Instagram posts regarding a group visit and the caption contest.¹⁸³ Other posts show Jacqueline Langholtz, Monticello’s Manager of School and Group Programs, attending the Broadway production of *Hamilton*, photos with Langholtz, Miranda, Christopher Jackson, and Daveed Diggs, who holds a \$2 bill, the unit of American currency featuring Thomas Jefferson’s portrait.¹⁸⁴ Two posts congratulate the cast and creative team for their

Monticello (@tjmonticello), ““Ev’ryone give it up for America’s favorite fighting Frenchman!” The Houdon bust of the marquis de Lafayette at Monticello. Full video at monticello.org/videos”, Instagram post, December 4, 2017. https://www.instagram.com/p/BcSek-2A29d/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link

¹⁸² Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 161.

Monticello (@tjmonticello), ““Happy 261st, Alexander Hamilton! (Or is it your 263rd?) Sincerely, Your Mellow Fans at Monticello”, Instagram post, January 11, 2018. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bd0CmGdABjR/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link

¹⁸³ Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “We had an in-house captioning contest and these are our winners: “Opposed in music as opposed in life.”/“It might be nice, it might be nice, to have Hamilton on your side.”/“Politics aside, I do enjoy a good #Hamiltune.”/(tag)Hamilton the Musical (tag)Lin-Manuel Miranda,” Facebook, December 9, 2015. <https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/photos/a.85202613695/10154391564468696/?type=3&theater>

Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “A group of Monticello supporters had the extreme pleasure of seeing (tag)Hamilton the Musical this weekend and meeting Thomas Jefferson (aka (tag)Daveed Diggs) after the show./Among the group was Prof. Joanne Freeman (a leading Hamilton scholar), Peter Onuf (a leading Jefferson scholar), and a descendant of Jefferson’s granddaughter Ellen Wayles Coolidge.” Facebook, March 14, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/posts/10154651072163696>

¹⁸⁴ Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “Uh-oh. This might add up to trouble!/#cabinetbattle #hamiltunes (tag)Hamilton: An American Musical/(Cash and photo provided by Monticello’s Manager of School and Group Programs (tag) Jacqueline Langholtz.)” Facebook post, December 21, 2015. <https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/photos/a.85202613695/10154773517788696/?type=3&theater>

Each photo in this post has its own caption:

GRAMMY Award and Tony Award wins, while also promoting Monticello educational tools.¹⁸⁵ Two posts promoted the Hamilton Tour Takeover, one with a link to the tour page on Monticello.org, and the other to an article by the Chicago Tribune.¹⁸⁶ Of greatest interest is an event held on November 17, 2018 titled “Hamilton vs Jefferson: ‘History has its Eyes on You’”, hosted by Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello at the site. The description of the event read “Join us for a lively special-event debate between historians, colleagues and friends Joanne Freeman, Annette Gordon-Reed, Barbara Oberg and Peter Onuf. Book signing by speakers to follow.”¹⁸⁷ On the day of the event, the main Facebook page posted a photo of the crowd.¹⁸⁸ Little was written about the event, aside from these Facebook posts.

Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “Our own Jacqueline Langholtz backstage at #Hamilton hanging with Hamilton, Jefferson and Washington, bringing \$2 bills and all our #hamiltunes love,” Facebook post December 21, 2015. <https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/posts/10154421967928696>

¹⁸⁵ Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “Congratulations to Hamilton the Musical for taking home the award for Best Musical Theater album during last night’s The GRAMMYS. Thomas Jefferson figures prominently in the musical, so we thought we’d give you a glimpse of how TJ and Monticello tie in to the story. This interactive image uses primary source docs, images, and videos to show TJ’s connection, all built around lyrics from the musical. Check it out here or on our Families & Teachers website page. / <https://www.thinglink.com/scene/734858722467119105>” Facebook post, February 16, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/MonticelloForTeachers/posts/1286990897994791>

Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “The Story of Last Night? (*tag*)Hamilton: An American Musical took 11 more than well deserved Tony Awards! / Our special congratulations to (*tag*)Lin-Manuel Miranda and his cast, especially “Best Actor in a Musical” winner, (*tag*) Daveed Diggs for his performances as Jefferson AND Lafayette.” Facebook post, June 13, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/posts/10154934808348696>

¹⁸⁶ Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “Check out this article on our new Hamilton Tour Takeover, which the Chicago Tribune describes as “part history class and part civics lesson — with chances to rap and sing.” Facebook post, April 7, 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/posts/10156019663438696>

Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “We’re less than week out from our first Hamilton Tour Takeover!” Facebook post, March 11, 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/posts/10155915922953696>

¹⁸⁷ Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “Hamilton vs Jefferson: ‘History has its Eyes on You’” Facebook event, November 17, 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/events/524027021393525/>

¹⁸⁸ Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, “We’ve got a packed house tonight for Hamilton vs Jefferson: “History has its Eyes on You,” featuring Annette Gordon-Reed, Joanne Freeman, and Peter Onuf!” Facebook post, November 17, 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/TJMonticello/posts/10158036967273696>

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY | MOUNT VERNON

History

George Washington inherited Mount Vernon in 1754, when he was twenty-two, upon the death of his elder brother, Lawrence. After his marriage to Martha Dandridge Custis in 1759, they, with her children from her first marriage, made Mount Vernon their family home. However, the American Revolution and his duties as the first President of the United States, kept Washington away from Mount Vernon for long periods of time.¹⁸⁹ After he retired from the presidency in 1797, Washington returned to live his final years at Mount Vernon. While a common preservation industry trope and joke revolves upon a claim of significance of “George Washington slept here,” leading to a plethora of Washington-adjacent sites, Mount Vernon is the site most clearly associated with the life and death of President Washington.

Following Washington’s passing in 1799, Martha Washington ran the plantation until her death three years later. The estate remained in the hands of the Washington family until 1858, when it was purchased from John A. Washington, Jr. by the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association, led by Ms. Anne Pamela Cunningham, as one of the first major organized historic preservation initiatives in the country.¹⁹⁰ The Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association still own and operate the historic site today.

¹⁸⁹ Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, *Mount Vernon*, (Mount Vernon, Va.: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1968), 13.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

The 500-acre estate has seen over 85 million visitors since 1860, when it opened to the public. While the estate is presently only a fraction of the original 8,000 acres during Washington's lifetime, the site provides ample educational opportunities about the lives of the people who populated it—both free and enslaved.¹⁹¹ The iconic mansion and gardens are joined by a pioneer farm, gristmill, distillery, barns, and slave cabins.¹⁹² In recent years, there has been a great effort to educate the public about the history of slavery, and the lives and contributions of the enslaved people on the estate, particularly through the *Lives Bound Together: Slavery at George Washington's Mount Vernon* exhibit on display from October 1, 2016-September 30, 2020, and through the interpretive strategies of docents and costumed interpreters.¹⁹³



Figure 7. View of Mount Vernon Mansion from the southwest.

¹⁹¹ "About Mount Vernon," MountVernon.org, Accessed November 17, 2019. <https://www.mountvernon.org/about/>

¹⁹² "Historic Trades," MountVernon.org, Accessed November 17, 2019. <https://www.mountvernon.org/the-estate-gardens/historic-trades/>

¹⁹³ "Lives Bound Together: Slavery at George Washington's Mount Vernon." MountVernon.org. Accessed November 17, 2019. <https://www.mountvernon.org/plan-your-visit/calendar/exhibitions/lives-bound-together-slavery-at-george-washingtons-mount-vernon/>

The Estate is open every day in the year with differing summer and winter hours.¹⁹⁴ Member of the general public who visit the home enter the estate through the Texas Gate/Main Entrance and purchase tickets at the Ford Orientation Center, where they can view a twenty-four minute documentary, *We Fight to be Free*, about the military achievements and personal stories of President George Washington.¹⁹⁵ A path leads to the entrance of the Historic Area from which guests can visit the Mansion, buildings, and grounds.¹⁹⁶ The Mansion is interpreted as guests walk through the house in groups with guides stationed in each room pointing out the use of each space, the history of the architecture, key events which took place in the rooms, and interesting items on display.¹⁹⁷ Upon exiting the Mansion through the kitchen, guests are then encouraged to visit the gardens, farm buildings, and, in particular, the Washington tombs.

Visitors may learn more about the life of Washington at the Donald W. Reynolds Museum & Education Center, which features an extensive and interactive series of twenty-three galleries and theaters which convey Washington's personal and political life. Videos, produced by The History Channel, and signs in these galleries, with the exception of *Be Washington*, pre-date *Hamilton*.¹⁹⁸ The most recent addition to these galleries is the *Be Washington: It's Your Turn to Lead* exhibit, in which guests make decisions based on the guidance of Washington's advisors in scenarios Washington

¹⁹⁴ "Hours & Directions." Mount Vernon. Accessed December 29, 2019.

<https://www.mountvernon.org/plan-your-visit/directions-parking-transportation/>

¹⁹⁵ "We Fight to Be Free (2003)," IMDb, accessed December 28, 2019.

<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0881918/>

¹⁹⁶ "Estate Map," Mount Vernon, accessed December 28, 2019. <https://www.mountvernon.org/the-estate-gardens/location>

¹⁹⁷ Information gathered through author's visit to Mount Vernon (October 31, 2019).

¹⁹⁸ Allison Wickens, Vice President of Education for Mount Vernon Ladies Association, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

actually faced, to see if they have what it takes to “lead like Washington.”¹⁹⁹ The Education center houses the aforementioned *Lives Bound Together: Slavery at George Washington’s Mount Vernon* exhibit which communicates the personal stories of the people enslaved on Mount Vernon Estate.²⁰⁰ Overall, interpretation throughout the estate conveys Washington as a Gentleman Planter, while also incorporating other aspects of his general biography.²⁰¹



Figure 8. Map of the Mount Vernon Estate for Visitors.

¹⁹⁹ “Be Washington Interactive Theater.” Mount Vernon. Accessed December 28, 2019. <https://www.mountvernon.org/plan-your-visit/be-washington/interactive-theater/>

²⁰⁰ “Estate Map,” Mount Vernon, accessed December 28, 2019. <https://www.mountvernon.org/the-estate-gardens/location>

²⁰¹ Information gathered through author’s visit to Mount Vernon (October 31, 2019).

Associations with *Hamilton*

So representative is Mount Vernon of the life and legacy of George Washington, that the musical name checks the site twice—once crediting then General Washington as “The Pride of Mount Vernon” and another as a critic suggests he should “go back to planting tobacco at Mount Vernon.”²⁰² Indirectly, in the song “One Last Time,” about President Washington’s decision to retire after two terms, the chorus sing the line “George Washington’s going home” five times, referring to his retirement to Mount Vernon.²⁰³ More subtly, though, there is another indirect reference in “One Last Time.” According to Allison Wickens, Vice President, Education for the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association, while Washington was quoting a Psalm when he stated he “wants to sit under my own vine and fig tree,” he also meant a specific spot at the estate.²⁰⁴ Taken together, these eight references draw a clear line between the story of George Washington told in the musical and the historic site the real George Washington called home.

In addition to the textual references, Mount Vernon has been visually linked with the musical through auxiliary products, most notably in the PBS Documentary *Great Performances: Hamilton’s America*. In that feature—filmed in 2014, a year before the curtain rose on the show—actor Chris Jackson visited Mount Vernon as he prepared for debuting the role of George Washington. The clip opens with a view of the Mansion in the early morning. Jackson described the scene as “picturesque in a way that words can hardly describe it. Every corner of this place has another essence of calm. It’s

²⁰² Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution: Being the Complete Libretto of the Broadway Musical, with a True Account of Its Creation, and Concise Remarks on Hip-hop, the Power of Stories, and the New America*, (First ed. New York: Grand Central Publishing: Melcher Media, 2016), 60 and 98

²⁰³ Ibid., 210-211.

²⁰⁴ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

beautiful.”²⁰⁵ But, for Jackson, there is something that must be addressed. As the clip shows Jackson visiting the Slave Quarters and Men’s Sleeping Cabin on the Mount Vernon Estate, he states:

Washington is revered as the Father of our country, but our understanding of history goes awry when we only seek or care to listen to one part of the story. From the moment I knew I was going to be playing Washington, it was the first thing that came into my mind: the slave question. The reality of the fact that he owned people. I’ll never make peace with it. I tried to, until I stood in the Slave Quarters and there’s no way to reconcile that. If anything, it brings to bear the entire truth of who this man was, and some parts are ugly. Some parts abhorrent, but there’s nothing that I can do to change those things and there’s nothing in my portrayal that would forgive any of that.²⁰⁶

Jackson has been vocal about the incongruities between Washington’s god-like legacy and the realities of his participation in the slave economy. In this way, he addressed the critics of the musical’s exclusion of Washington’s ownership of enslaved people, while drawing attention to the paradox of the man who is, in essence, a symbol of liberty, but who also kept hundreds of people in bondage.

One of the greatest links between the musical and the estate is the involvement of Chris Jackson. Not only did he conduct research for his role at the George Washington Library, he has continued to be associated with the Estate by narrating the *Be Washington: It’s Your Turn to Lead*, discussed further in this research.²⁰⁷ Whether because or as a result of this involvement, Jackson appears to be tightly tied to the legacy of *Hamilton*’s George Washington more closely than many other members of the original Broadway cast and their respective historical characters.

²⁰⁵ *Great Performances: Hamilton’s America*, Peabody Awards Collection, 20163867 DCT 1 of 1, Walter J. Brown Media Archives & Peabody Awards Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., (0:59:42-0:59:45).

²⁰⁶ *Great Performances: Hamilton’s America*, (1:00:12-1:01:00).

²⁰⁷ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

Through the early involvement with the musical through the PBS Special and the organization's close relationship with Ron Chernow—who won the Pulitzer Prize for his book *Washington: A Life*, for which he conducted research at the George Washington Library—the organization was attuned to the magnitude of this new project. Curt Viebranz, then President of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, took an interest in the show and its potential to expand the reach of historical scholarship, advocated for an expansion of the George Washington Book Prize to acknowledge this new artistic piece.²⁰⁸ To honor the unique contribution of *Hamilton* to the public's understanding of the founding era, a special edition of the prize (for this purpose, renamed the George Washington Prize), was awarded to Lin-Manuel Miranda for *Hamilton* in 2015.²⁰⁹

Finally, the estate is also featured on the National Trust for Historic Preservation's list of historic sites associated with the musical.²¹⁰

Incorporations of *Hamilton*

Initial interest in *Hamilton* on an interpretive level was driven from the staff and guides. The greatest interest, in the early days of the musical, came from history professionals. Wickens worked primarily with educators through the George Washington Teachers Institute and at the Fred W. Smith National Library for the Study of George Washington during the early *Hamilton* phenomenon. She noted the early excitement

²⁰⁸ Rebecca Aloisi, Vice President, Marketing for Mount Vernon Ladies Association, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

²⁰⁹ Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

²¹⁰ Kristen Hower, " "Where" Tells Your Story: A Hamilton Tour, Act Two," The National Trust for Historic Preservation, February 17, 2016, accessed October 13, 2019.
<https://savingplaces.org/stories/hamilton-musical-tour-part-2#.XaNSh-dKj-Y>

about the education impact of the musical was among the professionals and educators who were already engaged with history, for the musical's potential to interest the public through relevant mediums about the early American republic.²¹¹ As time went on, guest questions inspired by *Hamilton* may have affected the way costumed interpreters directed their answers—striking the delicate balance of presenting accurate history in light of the underlying context while remaining in character.²¹²

On-site

“Did Hamilton ever visit Mount Vernon?” was the more frequent question from guests following the success of *Hamilton* and is also the fundamental test for interpretive incorporation. As there is no evidence that Hamilton did visit Mount Vernon, the possibilities to incorporate *Hamilton* references into the house museum interpretation—which focuses on telling the story of George Washington at home and, in recent years, incorporating the stories of the enslaved on the estate—are extremely limited.²¹³ Guests, however, have new references and some new questions which are derived from the history as presented in the musical. One minor assertion seems to have carried the most weight. In “A Winter’s Ball”, Aaron Burr asserts that “Martha Washington name her feral tomcat after [Hamilton]” to which, Hamilton quickly responds “that’s true.”²¹⁴ It’s not true.²¹⁵ These interpretative inclusions are incidental as guests asks rather than as part of a directed effort to include *Hamilton* in the estate’s interpretation.

²¹¹ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

²¹² Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

²¹³ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

²¹⁴ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 70.

²¹⁵ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

The greatest opportunity for *Hamilton*-specific tourism arose from the *Hamilton* national tour's stop at Kennedy Center in summer 2017.²¹⁶ The event announcement was unusually advanced—an entire year early, as opposed to just prior to the beginning of the season.²¹⁷ The fortuitous timing, however, allowed for sites in the area with connections to the history presented in the musical, to plan for the uniquely interested audience. Rebecca Aloisi, Vice President of Marketing for the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, worked with Destination DC, Washington DC's cultural office, to gather historic sites planning to present *Hamilton*/Hamilton-related exhibits during the show's run in DC for a joint-marketing venture.²¹⁸ The brochure, see Figure 9, features cover art designed to be consistent with Mount Vernon's branding for the POTUS1 campaign.²¹⁹ The participating sites included Anderson House – Society of the Cincinnati; George Washington University Museum; Historic Alexandria; Library of Congress; Smithsonian National Museum of American History; Smithsonian's National Postal Museum; and George Washington's Mount Vernon. The estate presented a small exhibit, called "*History has its eyes on you*": *George Washington & Alexander Hamilton*, featured letters relating to the relationship between the Hamiltons and the Washingtons.²²⁰ The brochure advertisement also promoted the *Be Washington: It's Your Turn to Lead* permanent exhibit, noting Chris Jackson as the program's host. Finally, it referenced

²¹⁶ Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

²¹⁷ Peter Marks, "'Hamilton' is coming to the Kennedy Center," *The Washington Post*, May 10, 2016, accessed January 3, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/theater_dance/hamilton-is-coming-to-the-kennedy-center/2016/05/10/9f6c4332-1536-11e6-aa55-670cabef46e0_story.html

²¹⁸ Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

²¹⁹ Brochure pdf provided by Aloisi.

²²⁰ "Here Comes Hamilton to the General's Home!" Mount Vernon Ladies' Association–Mount Vernon website, May 17, 2018, accessed January 6, 2020, <https://www.mountvernon.org/about/news/article/here-comes-hamilton-to-the-generals-home/>

Washington's "own vine and fig tree", connecting the musical's use of the phrase with the place the real Washington meant.



Figure 9. The “Hamilton in DC” Brochure produced by historic sites in the Washington DC area. Image courtesy of Rebecca Aloisi, Vice President, Marketing, Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association.

An exhibit at the Kennedy Center connecting the history of Hamilton to historic sites in DC, in which Mount Vernon was included. Mount Vernon ran a full-page advertisement for in the playbill for the length of the Kennedy Center show. Tangentially, the Virginia Tourism Corporation’s advertisement in the Kennedy Center playbill featured a photo of Mount Vernon, providing additional visibility in the show’s playbill. Finally, for the musical’s tour stops in Richmond, VA and Norfolk, VA, regional drive markets for the estate, Mount Vernon placed a half-page advertisement, as well.²²¹

²²¹ Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

Prior to the tour's stop in DC, a parent at the Mount Vernon Community Children's Theatre approached Mount Vernon about hosting a Hamiltunes sing-along, for which she achieved a license from the *Hamilton* production to conduct.²²² The sing-along utilized *The Hamilton Instrumentals* album as singers from the Children's Theatre lead attendees in a sing-along.²²³ They agreed on a date that coincided with the Kennedy Center production date and promoted the event alongside the exhibit.²²⁴

Beyond the Kennedy Center opportunities, awareness of different aspects of history has been evident though non-quantifiable. Existing tour content has taken on wider appeal, such as an engraving of the Battle of Quebec, which guides can highlight, connecting for students the engraving and what they already know from the musical—that Burr “was a captain under General Montgomery/Until he caught a bullet in the neck in Quebec.”²²⁵ Other examples arise from the educator's perspective, as new discussions are made possible based on the musical's inclusion of presidential cabinet debates. “That's just something that nobody would even ever assume an eighth grader would know anything about: presidential cabinet debates from the 1790's,” says Wickens, “but having them featured in those two rap battles means that the students are [now aware]...the amount of students that carry that information has gone up, just by happenstance of noticing and bringing that up.”²²⁶ One of those cabinet battles, “Cabinet

²²² Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

²²³ “HAMILTUNES: An American Sing-Along,” Mount Vernon Ladies' Association–Mount Vernon events, accessed January 6, 2020. <https://www.mountvernon.org/plan-your-visit/calendar/events/hamiltunes-an-american-sing-along/>

²²⁴ Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

“Here Comes Hamilton to the General's Home!” Mount Vernon Ladies' Association–Mount Vernon website, May 17, 2018, accessed January 6, 2020. <https://www.mountvernon.org/about/news/article/here-comes-hamilton-to-the-generals-home/>

²²⁵ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 62.

Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

²²⁶ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

Battle #2” focuses on American neutrality in the French Revolution, which was already planned to be incorporated into Mount Vernon’s interpretation, such as *Be Washington: It’s Your Turn to Lead*.

Be Washington: It’s Your Turn to Lead (hereafter “*Be Washington*”) is an interactive digital exhibit available to play in the Be Washington Interactive Theatre, designed in an eighteenth century style, at the Donald W. Reynolds Museum & Education Center or online for single- and multi-player audiences.²²⁷ In the program, players can play in four scenarios—1777 Battle of Second Trenton; 1783 Newburgh Conspiracy; 1793 Genet Affair; 1794 Whiskey Rebellion—as they receive informational dispatches and hear from advisors who can promote one of three possible options. Players can rank how much they trust particular advisors, ultimately deciding which of the three options facing Washington to pursue. After they decide, players find out what path Washington really chose.²²⁸ Because of his connection to the estate, Chris Jackson, who originated the role of Washington in *Hamilton*, hosts the program which was filmed in New York while he was still in the role. According to Wickens, he changed the script slightly, saying “you’ll get to hear from your advisors... one last time” making reference to Washington’s song in *Hamilton*, “One Last Time.”²²⁹ This connection is often highlighted on social media during the promotional phase and on the program’s website.²³⁰

²²⁷ “Be Washington: It’s Your Turn to Lead,” Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association–Mount Vernon website. Accessed January 6, 2020. <http://play.bewashington.org/>

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

²³⁰ George Washington’s Mount Vernon. “Playing the lottery to see Hamilton: An American Musical in DC this summer? No lottery required to see our new interactive exhibit #BeWashington, hosted by the actor who played George Washington in the musical, Christopher Jackson!,” Facebook, June 12, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/HistoricMountVernon/posts/10155900075023822>



Figure 10. The Be Washington Interactive Theatre, showing onscreen host Chris Jackson introducing advisors for participants to hear from and rank trustworthiness. Desks have touch screens for two players, along with two chairs at each station.

Hamilton had an impact on the reception of the 1793 Genet Affair scenario, as students and guests familiar with “Cabinet Battle #2” from the musical know more about discussions within Washington’s Cabinet regarding the French Neutrality Crisis. Unlike the musical, *Be Washington* presents three possible options. After a group of students played the scenario, according to Wickens, one student commented that “they always

understood that as a two-decision item, but it's really a three-decision thing."²³¹ That third decision, beyond Hamilton's and Jefferson's advice, is for Congress to decide foreign policy.²³²

Online

Given the constraints for on-site interpretation, there is great opportunity online to connect George Washington's home and the musical's history in hip-hop. At the height of the *Hamilton* craze and prior to the Summer Teachers Institute, the education department developed a webpage connecting each song with an aspect of Washington's own history and, where possible, linking to existing articles within the George Washington Digital Encyclopedia.²³³ Entries sometimes directly relate to the history in the associated song, or may expand to broader themes. For example, the entry for the song "Stay Alive (Reprise)," reads "Eliza and Alexander Hamilton held their son Philip as he died from a gunshot wound. Unfortunately, the death of children and young adults was not uncommon. Martha Washington actually outlived all four of her children" and includes a link to "Learn More about Martha's Children."²³⁴ As the song was not directly relevant to the Washington's history, the larger theme of loss carries through. Other entries, such as the one for "One Last Time," in which the musical's Washington announces he will resign as president after two terms, includes information on the

²³¹ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

²³² "Be Washington: It's Your Turn to Lead," Mount Vernon Ladies' Association–Mount Vernon website. Accessed January 6, 2020. <http://play.bewashington.org/>

Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

²³³ Charlotte Skala, "Hamilton the Musical," Mount Vernon Ladies' Association–Mount Vernon, accessed January 6, 2020. <https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/alexander-hamilton/hamilton-the-musical/#callout-48>

²³⁴ Ibid.

historical Washington's Farewell Address, which is quoted in the song.²³⁵ The page links to a transcript from an episode of the podcast *Conversations from Washington's Library* in which Dr. Joe Stoltz, podcast host, interviews Sabrina Sloan (Angelica Schuyler) and Nicholas Christopher (Aaron Burr) of the *Hamilton* US tour cast after they visit the estate.²³⁶

There are additional educational resources for teachers through the Education section of Mount Vernon's webpage. A page, titled "Educational Resources and the Hamilton Original Cast Recording", has been created, encouraging teachers to use the listed resources alongside the Original Cast Recording in their classroom.²³⁷ Most songs have links to Digital Encyclopedia pages, which include more information about the historical events detailed.²³⁸

One of the largest opportunities to engage with the musical is through social media. Events, such as Hamiltunes or the "*History has its eyes on you*": George Washington & Alexander Hamilton exhibit, or programs, such as *Be Washington*, or webpages and podcasts mentioned above are promoted through these means. The related pages for *Hamilton* are tagged in these posts often where relevant. In certain cases, the inclusion of particular content is as a result of the cultural interest derived from *Hamilton*. Aloisi used the example of the Marquis de Lafayette's birthday, which prior to the musical would not have been much of a big deal, but has become an interest of followers

²³⁵ Skala, "Hamilton the Musical."

²³⁶ "Hamilton, an Interview." Mount Vernon Ladies' Association – *Conversations from the Washington Library* podcast. Accessed January 6, 2020. <https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/alexander-hamilton/hamilton-the-musical/hamilton-an-interview/>

²³⁷ "Educational Resources and the Hamilton Original Cast Recording," Mount Vernon Ladies' Association – Education, accessed January 8, 2020. <https://www.mountvernon.org/education/educational-resources-and-hamilton/>

²³⁸ Ibid.

in the years since *Hamilton*.²³⁹ Often, hashtags are used to connect posts to the larger conversation, such as one on of the estate's Facebook posts for Hamilton-related history the hashtag #RightHandMan was used, presumably as a reference to the musical's song "Right Hand Man."²⁴⁰ Another example is a the post captioned "#OnThisDay in 1791, the union gets a boost instead of a sedative when Alexander Hamilton's Bank Bill is signed into law by President George Washington. #CabinetBattle1" which both references lyrics from and hashtags "Cabinet Battle #1" from the musical.²⁴¹ Finally, a recent post, on January 12, 2020, a post began with a quote from the musical, "Did you hear the news about good old General Mercer?", from the song "The Room Where It Happened." The post details the events surrounding the general's death accompanied by a photo of the Trumbull painting of the Battle of Princeton.²⁴² These posts are part of a trend of #OTD or #OnThisDay posts by the estate to bring attention to historical dates

²³⁹ Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

²⁴⁰ George Washington's Mount Vernon, "#OTD in 1777, George Washington promotes Alexander Hamilton to Lt.Col., and he makes him an Aide-de-Camp. #RightHandMan #AlexanderHamilton," Facebook, March 1, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/HistoricMountVernon/photos/a.260311453821/10154604183078822/?type=3&theater>

²⁴¹ George Washington's Mount Vernon. "#OnThisDay in 1791, the union gets a boost instead of a sedative when Alexander Hamilton's Bank Bill is signed into law by President George Washington. #CabinetBattle1," Facebook, February 25, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/HistoricMountVernon/posts/10155626962348822>

²⁴² George Washington's Mount Vernon (@mount_vernon), "Did you hear the news about good old General Mercer? He sadly died #OnThisDay in 1777 after he was wounded in the Battle of Princeton..During the battle on January 2, 1777, General Hugh Mercer was found badly wounded, still impaled with a bayonet, and left on the field to die on the battlefield. He did not want to leave his men at the battle, so was given a place to rest under a tree forever known as "the Mercer Oak," while those who remained stood their ground..When Washington heard the fate of his old friend, he asked his aide-de-camp and nephew, Major George Lewis, along with Dr. Benjamin Rush, to go under a pre-arranged flag of truce with Cornwallis to remain and watch over the final moments of this dying hero..('The Death of General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton, January 3, 1777' by John Trumbull. c. 1789. Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery)... #mercerc #hughmercerc #georgewashington #washington #otd #americanhistory #revolutionarywar #americanrevolution," Instagram post, January 12, 2020. <https://www.instagram.com/p/B7OHHt6D49a/>

through their social media pages. Many of these posts, beyond those mentioned here, now feature *Hamilton* quotes or hashtags as part of the description.

Other *Hamilton* related content includes Facebook and Instagram posts commemorating a visit by the *Hamilton* national tour cast to the estate during its run at the Kennedy Center.²⁴³ Promoting the National Museum of American History's exhibit during the Kennedy Center tour as well, the Mount Vernon Instagram account posted a promotional photo for the exhibit.²⁴⁴ Mount Vernon created a line of t-shirt using the phrase "Vine and Fig Tree" and posted a giveaway to Instagram, using the hashtags #hamilton and #ham4ham, to connect the content to the lyrics from the musical.²⁴⁵ As a

²⁴³ George Washington's Mount Vernon (@mountvernon), "History happened yesterday when the DC #AngelicaTour of @HamiltonMusical visited Mount Vernon! . The cast & crew spent some time on the estate, visited the Mansion, and got a behind-the-scenes look at some of the Hamilton related documents in our collection at @gwbooks. . We hope you enjoyed your visit as much as we did, and thank you all for joining us under Washington's vine & fig tree 🏡. (1st 📷: @danchung_photo_video) ... #hamilton #vineandfigtree #georgewashington #mountvernon #gwbooks #hamiltonmusical," Instagram photos, June 27, 2018, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BkidRLcgIqm/>.

George Washington's Mount Vernon. "History happened yesterday when the cast & crew from the DC #AngelicaTour of Hamilton: An American Musical visited Mount Vernon! Thank you all for joining us under Washington's vine & fig tree 🏡," Facebook, June 27, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/HistoricMountVernon/posts/10155939233843822>

²⁴⁴ George Washington's Mount Vernon (@mountvernon), "From Eliza Hamilton to "Hamilton: An American Musical:" Today, the @amhistorymuseum collects two objects that connect over 200 years of philanthropy history. . Shown here is the green suit worn by Lin-Manuel Miranda in @HamiltonMusical, and a portrait of Eliza Hamilton that was displayed in the child welfare organizations she helped found for over a century. . Eliza Hamilton, a dear friend of Martha Washington, helped found the Orphan Asylum Society of New York City (later renamed Graham Windham) in 1806, at a time when women in the new nation were starting to create and run their own charities. Over 200 years later, the cast of "Hamilton: An American Musical" supports the organization Eliza helped found. . The objects will not be on view immediately – follow @amhistorymuseum for more info on when you'll be able to see their new & exciting objects!

...
#TheElizaProject #Hamilton #philanthropy #giving #womenshistory #americanhistory #museum," Instagram photo November 6, 2017, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BbKz32xg3kH/>

²⁴⁵ George Washington's Mount Vernon (@mountvernon), "#TriviaTuesday t-shirt giveaway! 📄 How many towns and cities in the U.S. are named after Washington? We'll reveal the answer tomorrow morning, and give this free Mount Vernon t-shirt to whomever gets closest to the answer! . . . #potus1 #georgewashington #mountvernon #trivia #giveaway #free #tshirt #washington #vineandfigtree #hamilton #ham4ham," Instagram photo, August 29, 2017, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BYZEWZigcuo>

visually-based platform Instagram presents challenges to create ever changing content in light of limited visual connections to the eighteenth century.²⁴⁶

There is often overlap among the three platforms—Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter—but the latter provides unique opportunities for smaller aspects of engagement, particularly to engage with Lin-Manuel Miranda’s prolific Twitter account. For example, during a November 2018 thread in which Miranda addresses some accuracy issues in the musical, another Twitter user brought up a technical question in relation to the tomcat rumor mentioned earlier. Miranda replied he thought the bit was true when he wrote it, to which a different Twitter user tagged Mount Vernon’s account in response, and to which Mount Vernon’s account responded, “Our historian Mary Thompson has said, “The story is almost surely apocryphal, but I often mention it when talking about Martha Washington in the Revolution, and tell people that it most likely did not happen, but that the story is too good just to leave in an old book.””²⁴⁷ While this explanation is, admittedly, circuitous, it is nevertheless indicative of the way Twitter can create conversations among artists, fans, and interested historic sites either to convey history directly to interested parties in a quick and relevant way.

Sometimes, the Mount Vernon account remains relevant through the use of new media, such as Graphics Interchange Format images, known commonly as gifs, which are pictures that move in clips. For instance, when the *Hamilton* creative team received Kennedy Center Honors, the Kennedy Center account tweeted “Get your tissues ready,

²⁴⁶ Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

²⁴⁷ Mount Vernon (@MountVernon), ““Our historian Mary Thompson has said, “The story is almost surely apocryphal, but I often mention it when talking about Martha Washington in the Revolution, and tell people that it most likely did not happen, but that the story is too good just to leave in an old book.”” Twitter post, November 6, 2018 12:52p.m, <https://twitter.com/MountVernon/status/105991134518801612>

@HamiltonMusical fans. Christopher Jackson (@ChrisisSingin) and @Lin_Manuel are about to teach us how to say goodbye. #KCHonors” to which the Mount Vernon replied with a gif from Walt Disney’s *Alice in Wonderland* communicating a sad emotion, saying “There aren’t enough tissues...”²⁴⁸ This use of modern digital photo formats, along with other uses of hashtags and participating in trends, keeps the social accounts for the historic estate up to date and active in the fast-paced online world.

Ultimately, the goal of social media, according to Aloisi, is “keeping [Mount Vernon] in the conversation and [people] keeping us in mind.”²⁴⁹ She noted that the Mount Vernon account follows and will tag the *Hamilton* or Miranda’s account from time to time, and where possible will engage with content or trends relevant to the site. An ultimate example of the Mount Vernon account directly engaging with *Hamilton* through its creator Lin-Manuel Miranda comes from a December 2018 tweet, in which Miranda released the script for a cut scene from *Hamilton* which portrayed the death of President Washington.²⁵⁰ The Mount Vernon account replied “We’re not crying you’re crying @Lin_Manuel @HamiltonMusical,” to which Miranda replied “Damn I probably should have warned Mt. Vernon.”²⁵¹ The exchange is lighthearted and an excellent means

²⁴⁸ The Kennedy Center (@KenCen), “Get your tissues ready, @HamiltonMusical fans. Christopher Jackson (@ChrisisSingin) and @Lin_Manuel are about to teach us how to say goodbye. 🥲 #KCHonors,” Twitter post, December 26, 2018 6:06 p.m., <https://twitter.com/kencen/status/1078109851182682117>

Mount Venon (@MountVernon), “There aren’t enough tissues...,” Twitter post, December 26, 2018 6:33 p.m., <https://twitter.com/MountVernon/status/1078116676883939328>

²⁴⁹ Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

²⁵⁰ Lin-Manuel Miranda (@Lin_Manuel), “Here you go. George Washington's Death, cut from Act Two. It comes after Dear Theodosia Reprise, also cut. Lyrics in jpeg, check out my Soundcloud: https://soundcloud.com/lin_manuel/one-last-ride-reprise,” Twitter post, December 11, 2018, 3:40 a.m., https://twitter.com/Lin_Manuel/status/1072456025473802242

²⁵¹ Lin-Manuel Miranda (@Lin_Manuel), “Damn I probably should’ve warned Mt. Vernon,” Twitter post, December 12, 2018, 6:25 a.m., https://twitter.com/lin_manuel/status/1072859957039652864
Mount Vernon (@MountVernon), “We're not crying you're crying @Lin_Manuel 🥲 @HamiltonMusical,” Twitter post, December 12, 2018, 6:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/MountVernon/status/1072859796917940224>

of engaging in the conversations surrounding the musical and the character's presented in it. It also establishes Mount Vernon as the voice for George Washington and his legacy on Twitter. Social media and its trends, says Aloisi, "is where our fans and followers are interested in it and we need to capitalize on the interest."²⁵² Social media, and *Hamilton*'s strong presence thereon, is a way for the country's first house museum to remain hip and relevant for new generations.

²⁵² Aloisi, interview by author, November 1, 2019.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY | MORRIS-JUMEL MANSION

History

In the heart of Washington Heights in Upper Manhattan, the Jumel Terrace historic district recalls an older New York. Among late-Victorian row houses and within Morris Park, sits the Morris-Jumel Mansion, the oldest extant home on Manhattan Island.

²⁵³ The house was built as a summer home for Colonel Roger Morris in 1795 by an unknown architect in the Georgian Palladian style.²⁵⁴ The two-story brick structure is covered in wooden siding painted white. Morris owned 135 acres in the area, called Mount Morris, spanning from Harlem to the Hudson River. The house was built on the second-highest natural point on the island which, at the time, provided views to New York Harbor, New Jersey, and Connecticut.²⁵⁵

Morris, a Loyalist, and his family abandoned the home at the start of the American Revolution. With its advantageous position, in September 1776, Washington selected the empty mansion as his New York City headquarters for the Continental Army. The Battle of Harlem Heights, which took place soon after Washington occupied the house, marked the first successful campaign for Washington against the British.²⁵⁶ Despite the victory, Washington was forced to retreat to White Plains in October of the

²⁵³ “A Brief History of the Morris-Jumel Mansion,” Morris-Jumel Mansion, Accessed December 22, 2019, morrisjumel.org/history

²⁵⁴ National Register of Historic Places, Morris-Jumel Mansion, New York City, New York County, New York, National Register #66000545_NHL, 1-8-1.

²⁵⁵ “A Brief History of the Morris-Jumel Mansion.”

²⁵⁶ National Register of Historic Places, Morris-Jumel Mansion, 1-8-2.

same year. For the remainder of the war, the house was used by British and Hessian forces.²⁵⁷ At the war's end, the house was confiscated by the State of New York under Forfeiture Laws and sold.²⁵⁸ The house briefly served as a tavern along the new stagecoach route from New York to Albany and was the first stop out of New York for coaches to change horses.²⁵⁹ The house was later sold to a farmer who used it as his home. On July 10, 1790, President George Washington returned to the house to host his second Cabinet Dinner, with Vice President John Adams, Abigail Adams, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, Eliza Hamilton, Secretary of War Henry Knox, and Lucy Knox in attendance.²⁶⁰ Among topics discussed at this dinner was the debt plan in which the federal government would assume the states' war debts. Aside from this notable dinner, the house was operated as a farmhouse for twenty years.

In 1810, Stephen and Eliza Jumel purchased the mansion and the land, and began making improvements thereon.²⁶¹ Stephen Jumel, a Frenchman, was one of the wealthiest merchants in New York at the turn of the nineteenth century.²⁶² He married Eliza, who grew up poor in Rhode Island, at St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1804.²⁶³ The Jumel's maintained the house in New York along with a few residences in Paris.²⁶⁴ Through her

²⁵⁷ "A Brief History of the Morris-Jumel Mansion."

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ William Henry Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion, being a full history of the house on Harlem heights built by Roger Morris before the revolution. Together with some account of its more notable occupants*, (Boston & New York : Houghton Mifflin, 1916), Accessed October 24, 2019 on the HathiTrust. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t9s187r8d>. 135

²⁶⁰ Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion*, 136.

²⁶¹ "A Brief History of the Morris-Jumel Mansion."

²⁶² Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion*, 149.

²⁶³ "A Brief History of the Morris-Jumel Mansion."
Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion*, 151.

²⁶⁴ Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion*, 153, 159.

early life, Eliza developed shrewd business skills, ultimately gaining power of attorney to managed her husband's affairs in New York, which she utilized to conduct real estate transactions, and in turn amassed great fortune.²⁶⁵ Stephen Jumel died in 1832, and a little over a year later, Eliza married Aaron Burr, former Vice President of the United States, in the front hall of the Mansion.²⁶⁶ It is largely believed that the marriage was one of convenience—Jumel sought acceptance in society through the Burr name, while Burr sought access to Jumel's vast fortune.²⁶⁷ The marriage was not a happy one, with Jumel filing for divorce which was granted a few days before Burr's death.²⁶⁸ Eliza Jumel continued to live in the house until her death in 1865.²⁶⁹ Lawsuits regarding will contests lasted for sixteen years, until 1881, with the house sold within the family.²⁷⁰

The property was sold to the City of New York in 1903, and with the interest of various patriotic societies, control of the house was given to the Daughters of the American Revolution who opened it as a museum in 1907.²⁷¹ The home is still operated as a museum by the non-profit group, Morris-Jumel Mansion, Inc., though ownership of the house itself and grounds is held by the New York City Department of Parks & Recreation.²⁷²

²⁶⁵ "A Brief History of the Morris-Jumel Mansion."

Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion*, 165-166.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. 169, 171-172.

²⁶⁷ Ibid. 172-173.

²⁶⁸ "OBITUARY.; Madam Eliza B. Jumel. Ambrose L. Jordan.," *The New York Times*, July 18, 1865.

Accessed via TimesMachine on December 22, 2019.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1865/07/18/archives/obituary-madam-eliza-b-jumel-ambrose-l-jordan.html>

Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion*, 173.

²⁶⁹ Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion*, 185.

²⁷⁰ Ibid. 211.

²⁷¹ Ibid. 224-225.

²⁷² Christopher Davalos, Director of Visitor Services and Engagement for Morris-Jumel Mansion, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

As of the writing of this thesis, the mansion is open to the general public Tuesday-Sunday, 10 a.m. – 4 p.m. with hours extended to 5 p.m. on weekends. Guided tours are offered Saturdays at 12 p.m., Sundays at 2 p.m., and the first Friday of each month at 1 p.m., with all other operating hours accessible to visitors as self-guided tours. Admissions for the self-guided tours are intentionally kept a reasonable price, \$10 for adults, \$8 for seniors and students.²⁷³

Visitors to the Mansions will see the first two floors and the colonial kitchen in the basement. Ongoing careful restoration work has required the emptying of some rooms as objects are sent for preservation and as interior décor is replaced. Special attention has been paid to the accuracy of wallpaper.²⁷⁴ Visitors to the mansion can view the dining room and the octagonal room on the first floor, along with multiple bedchambers, including the Burr bedchamber, and gallery space on the second. The third-floor attic is reserved for staff offices and archives. Interpretive signs convey the stories of the Morris and, primarily, the Jumels through the identification of objects attributed to them, along with the history of the important figures who passed through the house. The Mansion is proud that all of their acquired pieces are genuine antiques either from the Jumel family or of the time period, with a special mention of Aaron Burr's roll-top writing desk currently on loan from Gracie Mansion.²⁷⁵

²⁷³ "Visits – Hours and Admissions," Morris-Jumel Mansion, Accessed December 27, 2019, morrisjumel.org/admissions

²⁷⁴ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.



Figure 11. A view from the southwest of the Morris-Jumel mansion in 1936 for the Historic American Building Survey.

Association with *Hamilton*

The Morris-Jumel Mansion is unique among these cases as it is neither implicitly nor explicitly mentioned in the musical. Instead, it is heavily featured in the *Great Performances: Hamilton's America* television special on PBS. The clip from the special shows Lin-Manuel Miranda writing in the Mansion's Burr Bedroom. About writing in the Mansion, he said,

I write everywhere. I write on trains. I write everywhere I can, and sometimes, a couple of days, I have written in Aaron Burr's bedroom. It's pretty amazing to be in the space where he was in the later part of his life. Talk about "artist in residence." Literally. This is my Hamilton writing desk [*showing his laptop*]. I sit here [*a chair with a red and white striped covering*]. I sit on the floor. I don't sit on the colonial furniture.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, Peabody Awards Collection, 20163867 DCT 1 of 1, Walter J. Brown Media Archives & Peabody Awards Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. (0:16:22-0:17:38).

In the same interview, Miranda described the song My Shot, as well as sang a bit of it.²⁷⁷ The clip which immediately follows this shows Leslie Odom, Jr., who won the 2016 Tony Award for Best Actor in a Musical for his original performance of Burr, describing aspects of his portrayal.²⁷⁸ The order of these two items not only serves the narrative flow of the program, but also creates a clear connection between the place, the writing, the acting, and the history. The house is featured again later in the documentary when the subject turns to debates within President Washington's Cabinet. The Mansion is thus linked as the primary historic site where Miranda worked on the musical. Miranda said he wanted to "channel his inner Burr," according to Christopher Davalos, Director of Visitor Services and Engagement for Morris-Jumel Mansion.²⁷⁹

Carol Ward, then director of the Morris-Jumel Mansion, tells Miranda "We're in the Mansion's dining room and it's set for the 1790 dinner party of George Washington and his Cabinet." Later Miranda remarks, "a lot of people don't know that the fight over the debt plan and establishing the national bank happened here." In the background plays the orchestration track for "Cabinet Battle #1," the song in the musical which outlines the Federalist and Democratic Republican views on the subject.²⁸⁰ Interspersed is performance footage, followed by another clip of Ward and Miranda discussing the Cabinet dinner further.²⁸¹ Again, a clear connection between the events of the musical and the history of the home is created through this staging. It can also be noted that a

²⁷⁷ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, (0:16:22-0:17:38).

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, (0:17:38-0:18:13).

²⁷⁹ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

²⁸⁰ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, (0:53:33-0:55:48).

Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution: Being the Complete Libretto of the Broadway Musical, with a True Account of Its Creation, and Concise Remarks on Hip-hop, the Power of Stories, and the New America*, (First ed. New York: Grand Central Publishing: Melcher Media, 2016), 161-163.

²⁸¹ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, (0:53:33-0:55:48).

keen eye will recognize the second-floor octagonal room as the location of Joanne Freeman's interview and the first-floor tearoom for Annette Gordon-Reed's interview for the documentary.²⁸²



Figure 12. A still photo from *Great Performances: Hamilton's America* of Lin-Manuel Miranda writing in the Burr bedroom at the Morris-Jumel Mansion. Photo tweeted by Lin-Manuel Miranda.

Two events in 2015 connected the musical to the site. In the early days of *Hamilton's* Off-Broadway run at the Public Theatre, a fundraising night was held for the musical's performance on February 5, 2015. The event was a joint effort with the Mirandas, the production, and the mansion in celebration of its 250th anniversary.²⁸³ Another fundraising event celebrating the anniversary was held that summer for which Leslie Odum, Jr. was the Master of Ceremonies.²⁸⁴ Additionally, the Mansion is featured

²⁸² *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*.

²⁸³ "2/5/15: MORRIS JUMEL PRESENTS SPECIAL BENEFIT PERFORMANCE OF HAMILTON." Uptown Collective. November 26, 2014. Accessed January 19, 2020. <https://www.uptowncollective.com/2014/11/26/spread-love-a-special-one-night-only-performance-of-hamilton-the-morris-jumel-mansion/>

²⁸⁴ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

on three of the four travel lists, for *The New York Times*, *Architectural Digest*, and Playbill.com.²⁸⁵

Incorporations of *Hamilton*

On-site

The Mansion prides itself being a historic house museum, an integral member of the Washington Heights neighborhood, and an asset to the larger community. The early involvement with *Hamilton*, both during the writing of the musical and during its early days of production, lent a new aspect to the site's ongoing history.

According to Davalos, while the Mansion was closely linked with the musical, larger public consciousness of these connections were not made until the *Great Performances: Hamilton's America* special premiered.²⁸⁶ After the special, the site fielded more media requests, both local and national, which further increased the public's view of the Mansion. While formal metrics are not taken from visitors, conservative estimate place the visitation after the PBS special and new coverage as increasing around 25-30%. While the musical was still singularly based in New York, visitation from across the country and around the world increased. Davalos recalled visitors from as far as California, Texas, and Florida, as well as Brazil and various European countries.²⁸⁷ Often

²⁸⁵ Ann Mah, "Hamilton's New York Haunts," *The New York Times*, May 3, 2017, accessed October 13, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/03/travel/alexander-hamilton-new-york.html>

Richard Patterson, "Tour: Visit The Real-Life Sites of Hamilton's Revolution," Playbill.com, accessed October 13, 2019. <http://www.playbill.com/article/where-he-lived-died-and-told-his-story-the-real-life-sites-of-hamiltons-revolution-com-357347>

Kirstan Schiller, "Visit 7 Iconic Alexander Hamilton Sites Open to the Public," *Architectural Digest* online, May 2, 2016, accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/gallery/alexander-hamilton-architectural-sites>

²⁸⁶ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

these visitors were touring *Hamilton*-related historic sites while in town to see the show. “It was usually that same timeline: Hamilton Grange, Morris-Jumel, musical that night. All in the same day,” Davalos noted.²⁸⁸ An informal system of referral developed, as well, between the Morris-Jumel Mansion and Hamilton Grange National Memorial as visitors interested in the musical visited the historic sites. Once the musical expanded with shows in Chicago, Los Angeles, and a national tour, this type of *Hamilton* pilgrimage waned.²⁸⁹ Closer to home, though, the spread of the musical’s influence and the *Great Performances* special also increased awareness for the house within the neighborhood, as New Yorkers, particularly in Upper Manhattan discover the site for the first time.

No *Hamilton*-specific exhibits or events, other than those original fundraising events in 2015, have occurred. One year, the Mansion placed an advertisement in the New York production’s Playbill. Additionally, the giftshop sells Hamilton-related books, including *Hamilton: The Revolution*, along with biographies and socks woven with Hamilton’s likeness.²⁹⁰ Musical-adjacent products have been sold in the Mansion’s gift shop as well. Upon winning the 2016 Tony Award for Best Score, Miranda delivered an original sonnet, in response to the shooting at the Pulse Nightclub in Orlando which happened earlier that day.²⁹¹ In the weeks that followed, Miranda created t-shirt brand, Tee-Rico, which licensed the use of the sonnet for merchandise, with proceeds going to

²⁸⁸ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ The New York Times, “Lin-Manuel Miranda’s Sonnet From the Tony Awards,” *The New York Times*, June 12, 2016, accessed January 19, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/13/theater/lin-manuel-mirandas-sonnet-from-the-tony-awards.html>

Equity Cares Florida, which advocates for the LGBTQ+ community in the state.²⁹² It was announced via the Morris-Jumel Mansion's Twitter that the site was the only physically-based location which would sell the shirt otherwise available exclusively on Tee Rico's e-commerce platform.²⁹³

Interpretation changes as a result of the musical have been few, mostly increasing the opportunity to tell the larger stories of historical characters while contextualizing in place events from the musical. Davalos noticed within student groups, kids and teenagers often memorized lyrics sometimes singing or rapping in the rooms associated with the songs. Guest interests, too, began to be shaped by the musical. Guests became much more interested in the life of Aaron Burr, particularly in his life after he killed Alexander Hamilton.

The Mansion was involved with the Alexander Hamilton Awareness Society before the musical because of his presence at the site on two occasions—Hamilton was an artillery captain during the Battle of Harlem Heights and then again at Washington's second Cabinet dinner in 1790.²⁹⁴ Thus, new incorporations of Hamilton's history were already in line with existing interpretation. Similarly, the history of Aaron Burr's brief membership in the Jumel family was interpreted before the musical's success. In the years since, guides have noticed the aforementioned increase in interest in the life of Burr

²⁹² Michael Dale, "TWITTER WATCH: Morris-Jumel Mansion Now Sells HAMILTON's Lin-Manuel Miranda's 'Love Is Love' Shirt," *BroadwayWorld.com*, July 8, 2016, accessed January 19, 2020, <https://www.broadwayworld.com/article/TWITTER-WATCH-Morris-Jumel-Mansion-Now-Sells-HAMILTONs-Lin-Manuel-Mirandas-Love-Is-Love-Shirt-20160708>

²⁹³ Morris-Jumel Mansion (@MorrisJumel), "Honored to announce MJM is exclusive physical location to purchase .@Lin_Manuel #LoveIsLove TShirt! .@TeeRico_LinMan," Twitter post, July 8, 2016, 9:36 a.m., <https://twitter.com/MorrisJumel/status/751454901469843462>

²⁹⁴ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

with emphasis on his life after he killed Alexander Hamilton.²⁹⁵ Davalos credits the musical with portraying multiple sides of each character.

While technically one of the musical's antagonists, Burr serves more as a foil to Hamilton rather than an outright villain—arguably the latter classification is reserved for Jefferson.²⁹⁶ This juxtaposition provides the Morris-Jumel Mansion with the opportunity to present the complexities of Burr that are outside the scope of the musical. While Burr was not an upstanding moral person in his personal, financial, or political life—for example being charged with treason and misappropriating portions of Eliza Jumel wealth—he was progressive in some of his views, such as equal rights for women and abolition.²⁹⁷ The musical has created a new interest in humanizing the founders.

According to Davalos, “the musical, people coming here and seeing Hamilton Grange, and seeing things in-person that belonged to Burr—like we have the roll top desk on loan to us from Gracie Mansion—it creates a real human element, not just a picture or words that you’re reading...we like to see people get excited about history, that’s what we’re here for.”²⁹⁸ This potential for visitors to be excited about history is one of the main takeaways from the musical. From Davalos’ perspective, “*Hamilton* from legacy aspect—I mean, who knows? None of us can see into the future—I really do think that this musical’s planted enough seeds in enough people that they’re going to be interested in this home for the next 100 years plus.”²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

²⁹⁶ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, (0:17:27-0:17:37)

Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

²⁹⁷ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

Online

The Morris-Jumel Mansion's online presence makes use of quickly updated mediums to connect the history of the site with the history in the musical, primarily through social media. The primary mentions of *Hamilton* on the main website are part of a "Morris-Jumel in the Media" page, in which articles and news bits which features the Mansion are linked. Some of the links pertain to media coverage derived from *Hamilton*, while others focus on the Mansion's ongoing preservation and paranormal tours.

As the house does not have a dedicated marketing staff or budget, Davalos runs the Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook accounts. While the Facebook account rarely posts about *Hamilton*, the Twitter and Instagram accounts often do. The close connection between the Miranda family, *Hamilton* the musical, and the Mansion are evident, particularly on Twitter. For example, when the Mansion's twitter promoted the Tee-Rico shirts, Miranda retweeted with the caption, "NYers...you can by the @TeeRico_LinMan Pride shirt at Aaron Burr's old crib!." ³⁰⁰ Similarly, to promote the *Great Performance* special, Miranda tweeted a still photo from the shoot of himself writing in Burr's bedroom, with the Morris-Jumel Mansion tagged in the caption. ³⁰¹ Inclusion on Miranda's Twitter account helps to bolster the site's visibility while linking association between the site and the musical's creation.

Davalos noted that the Mansion's relationship extends beyond Lin-Manuel Miranda. The Miranda family is well-known in Washington Heights, particularly, Lin-

³⁰⁰ Lin-Manuel Miranda (@Lin_Manuel), "NYers...you can by the @TeeRico_LinMan Pride shirt at Aaron Burr's old crib!," Twitter post, July 8, 2016, 10:16 a.m., https://twitter.com/Lin_Manuel/status/751464983595188228

³⁰¹ Lin-Manuel Miranda (@Lin_Manuel), "Some stills from @Alex_Horwitz' doc. Here's me writing Burr, Sir at @MorrisJumel. IN BURR'S BEDROOM." Twitter post, January 18, 2016, 10:44 a.m., https://twitter.com/Lin_Manuel/status/689156401818669056

Manuel Miranda's father, Luis, who is a political activist and consultant.³⁰² Luis Miranda is featured in the *Great Performances* special and maintains strong associations with the musical on Twitter.³⁰³ As a fundraiser for the Mansion, Miranda's parents, Luis and Luz Miranda, auctioned a signed *Hamilton* album Vinyl Box Set, which Miranda promoted with a tweet, captioned "Hey fafillionaires! Bid on this and help preserve @MorrisJumel aka Burr's crib aka 1st cabinet dinner site!"³⁰⁴ Additionally, Luis Miranda has been known to include the Mansion in his tweets, such as in October 2016, accompanied by a photo of Lin-Manuel Miranda writing in the Burr bedroom from the *Great Performances* special, a caption read ".@MorrisJumel opened its doors & welcome @Lin_Manuel as "artist in residence" during the writing of @HamiltonMusical."³⁰⁵ The Mansion's tweets will also tag Luis Miranda's account in *Hamilton*-related tweets.³⁰⁶ These interactions underscore the Mansion's place as a gem in Washington Heights, both historically and as a member of the modern community.

On Facebook and Instagram, the Morris-Jumel Mansion promotes events and happenings at the Mansion, but also the connection between the musical and the site. One Instagram post is a simple screenshot of the audio file artwork for Aaron Burr's song in

³⁰² "Luis A. Miranda, Jr.," The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. Accessed January 19, 2020. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/node/300293>

³⁰³ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, (0:10:51-0:12:10).

³⁰⁴ Lin-Manuel Miranda (@Lin_Manuel), "Hey fafillionaires! Bid on this and help preserve @MorrisJumel aka Burr's crib aka 1st cabinet dinner site!," Twitter post, April 5, 2016, 7:24 a.m., https://twitter.com/Lin_Manuel/status/717357319869370368

"Meet Lin-Manuel Miranda When He Signs & Personalizes a Hamilton Vinyl Box Set", CharityBuzz.com, accessed January 19, 2020. https://www.charitybuzz.com/catalog_items/meet-lin-manuel-miranda-when-he-signs-personalizes-1041600

³⁰⁵ Luis A. Miranda, Jr. (@Vegalteno). ".@MorrisJumel opened its doors & welcome @Lin_Manuel as "artist in residence" during the writing of @HamiltonMusical." Twitter post, October 21, 2016, 6:22 p.m. <https://twitter.com/Vegalteno/status/789638090390401024>

³⁰⁶ Morris-Jumel Mansion (@MorrisJumel), "Tonight 715pm @cspan 3: ED Carol Ward's recent talk @NYHistory on all things A. Ham. .@Lin_Manuel .@leslieodomjr @HamiltonMusical @Vegalteno." Twitter post, September 10, 2016, 10:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/MorrisJumel/status/774659939415580672>

the show, “Wait For It.” The caption included a variety of hashtags, some corresponding to song titles, others of which the Mansion’s account is the singular user, particularly #WeHeartBurr.³⁰⁷ Another Instagram post includes a photo of then-Director Carol Ward backstage at the musical holding a prop with Burr’s name on it.³⁰⁸ On Facebook, two notable posts stand out. The first is a series of photos with then-Director Carol Ward and the then-archivist attending the first Broadway preview of *Hamilton* and photographed with Miranda outside the theatre.³⁰⁹ Another post promotes Leslie Odum, Jr.’s performance at the Mansion’s Culture and Arts Festival, at which there was a live auction of two tickets to the show for July 11, 2016, the anniversary of the Burr-Hamilton Duel.³¹⁰

Although small, the site has leaned into the potential connection between itself and the larger phenomenon of *Hamilton*. The involvement of Lin-Manuel Miranda and the larger Miranda family has also increased visibility for the Mansion and its neighborhood-looking goals. The film-induced tourism and social media coverage have

³⁰⁷ Morris-Jumel Mansion (@morrisjumel), “Who needs sleep? Listening to the amazing @hamiltonmusical #castalbum #Hamiltunes. @leslieodomjr's #WaitForUs causes tears everytime. We're #Helpless @phillipasoo and no matter how many times we listen we'll never be #Satisfied @reneeelisegoldsberry. #FansForLife #WeHeartHistory #MorrisJumel #MJM250 #RemembertheLadiesRock #WeHeartHam #WeHeartBurr,” Instagram photo, September 25, 2015. <https://www.instagram.com/p/8Cn32xP-vw>

³⁰⁸ Morris-Jumel Mansion (@morrisjumel), ““It's 1800, vote for Burr!” MJM Director, Carol Ward, was lucky enough to travel backstage @hamiltonmusical last night. Thanks @leslieodomjr for being amazing as always. And @victorcarinha of @journeylab for the excellent photo. #WeHeartHistory #MorrisJumel #MJM251 #latergram #Ittweetmuseums #HamiltonBway #WeHeartBurr” Instagram photo, April 28, 2016. <https://www.instagram.com/p/BEwtFCxP-jR/>

³⁰⁹ Morris Jumel Mansion, “MJM Director Carol S. Ward, Marketing Intern Nicole and Archivist Emilie were thrilled to attend the first preview of (tag) Hamilton the Musical yesterday evening. Pictured here with the star and creator of the show (tag) Lin-Manuel Miranda.” Facebook, July 14, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/morrisjumelmansion/posts/10153105892027881>

³¹⁰ Morris-Jumel Mansion, “Be in “The Room Where It Happens” when Leslie Odom, Jr. performs at our Culture and Arts Festival this Saturday, the 31st, at Noon. Followed by a live auction of 2 tickets to “Hamilton” for July 11th, 2016 - the anniversary of the infamous duel. Don't miss the culmination of our 250th Anniversary celebration!” Facebook, October 29, 2015. <https://www.facebook.com/morrisjumelmansion/posts/10153353703337881>

sparked public interest in a site only briefly associated with Burr's life. On the impact of Hamilton, Davalos expressed hope for the future continuation of caretakers of the site, regardless of what spurred initial interest. According to Davalos, "Whatever can make that little lightbulb go off like "history's cool!"... we'll take it in a heartbeat."³¹¹

³¹¹ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

CHAPTER 6

CAST STUDY | HAMILTON GRANGE NATIONAL MEMORIAL

History

On Sugar Hill in Harlem Heights, sits the Hamilton Grange National Memorial. Completed in 1802, the two-story wood sided Federal-style home was designed by John McComb, Jr.—who also designed Gracie Mansion and the New York City Hall—and built by Ezra Weeks, though not in its present location.³¹² Hamilton called his house the Grange, which recalled both his Scottish roots and the name of his uncle’s plantation in St. Croix.³¹³ According to Ron Chernow, the house is the “only surviving residence linked to Hamilton’s memory and the only one we know for certain that he owned.”³¹⁴

Hamilton only lived in the house for two years before his fatal duel with Aaron Burr in 1804. In the wake of this sudden and much publicized death, Gouverneur Morris—author of the Preamble to the United States Constitution—organized a fund amassing contributions from over a hundred of Hamilton’s friends for his widow, Eliza, and their children to alleviate the great debts Hamilton left. Raising about \$80,000, the fund—a closely guarded secret—purchased the Grange and sold it back to Eliza for half

³¹² “A Brief History of Hamilton Grange,” Hamilton Grange National Memorial – News, Accessed December 24, 2019.

https://www.nps.gov/hagr/learn/historyculture/upload/Hamilton%20Grange_Timeline.pdf

³¹³ Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, (New York: Penguin Press, 2014), 641.

³¹⁴ Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, 641.

of the original price, ensuring her place in her home.³¹⁵ She sold the house in 1833, eventually moving to Washington D.C.³¹⁶



Figure 13. A copy of a drawing by OH. F. Langmann of view of Hamilton Grange from the southeast corner.

Through the following fifty years, the house changed hands many times and much of the surrounding land was sold.³¹⁷ While the house was originally nestled among thirty-four acres of woods and gardens, in 1889, the house was moved, drawn by horses, 100 yards south to accommodate the construction of West 143rd Street as Manhattan and its

³¹⁵ Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, 725.

³¹⁶ "A Brief History of Hamilton Grange," Hamilton Grange National Memorial – News, Accessed December 24, 2019.

https://www.nps.gov/hagr/learn/historyculture/upload/Hamilton%20Grange_Timeline.pdf

³¹⁷ National Register of Historic Places, Hamilton Grange National Memorial, New York City, New York County, New York, National Register #66000097.

grid of roads grew up around the former country house.³¹⁸ At this time, the house was donated to St. Luke's Episcopal Church (435 W 141st St) which removed the front and rear porches at its new location.³¹⁹

George Baker, Sr. and J. P. Morgan purchased the house in 1924 and donated it to the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society—New York City's first organized preservation lobby—who opened the house as a public museum, filling the rooms with Hamilton family objects and furniture.³²⁰ In 1962, the house was purchased by the National Park Foundation who transferred ownership to the National Park Service. The same year it was made a National Memorial, contingent upon the relocation and restoration of the home to its period of significance from 1802-1804.³²¹ The house was relocated in 2008 to a site in St. Nicholas' Park, still within the bounds of Hamilton's original thirty-four acres and more representative of the setting in which the house was constructed, as opposed to the tight urban lot next to St. Luke's.³²² This is the present location of the house, as demonstrated in Figure 14.

³¹⁸ "A Brief History of Hamilton Grange," Hamilton Grange National Memorial – News, Accessed December 24, 2019. https://www.nps.gov/hagr/learn/historyculture/upload/Hamilton%20Grange_Timeline.pdf
National Register of Historic Places, Hamilton Grange National Memorial, New York City, New York County, New York, National Register #66000097.
Chernow, 641-642.

³¹⁹ National Register of Historic Places, Hamilton Grange National Memorial.
"A Brief History of Hamilton Grange," Hamilton Grange National Memorial – News, Accessed December 24, 2019. https://www.nps.gov/hagr/learn/historyculture/upload/Hamilton%20Grange_Timeline.pdf

³²⁰ National Register of Historic Places, Hamilton Grange National Memorial.
"A Brief History of Hamilton Grange," Hamilton Grange National Memorial – News, Accessed December 24, 2019. https://www.nps.gov/hagr/learn/historyculture/upload/Hamilton%20Grange_Timeline.pdf

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² "Moving Hamilton's house across the street." Hamilton Grange National Memorial video, 4:16, Accessed December 24, 2019. https://www.nps.gov/featurecontent/nprnh/MPEG-4_Podcasts/HAMILTON_MOVE_FINAL_09_15_.m4v

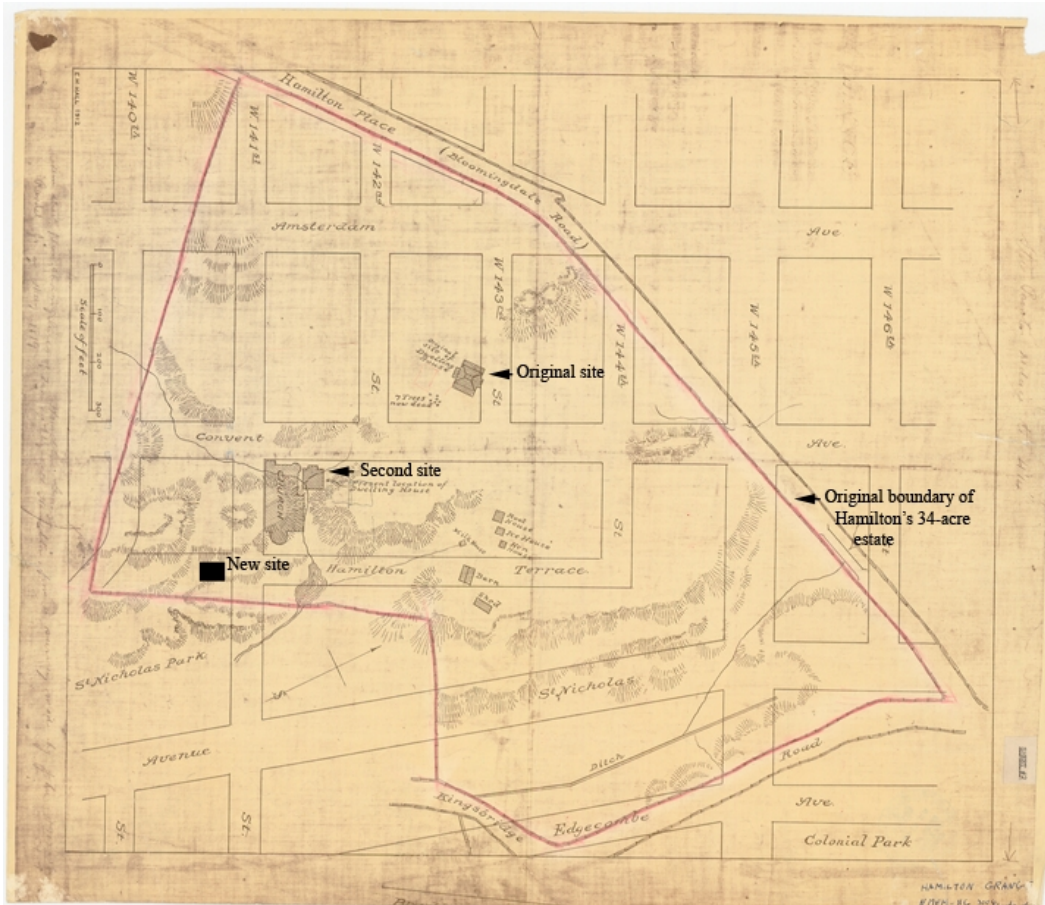


Figure 14. Map showing the three historic locations of what is now Hamilton Grange National Memorial, all of which were within the bounds of the original Hamilton estate.

As of the writing of this thesis, the house is open Wednesday-Sunday, with three guided tours offered during the days, and accessible to self-guided tours during the hours between guided tours. Priority is given to school groups during tours on weekday mornings. The house has a very limited capacity of fifteen people. The site's visitation website emphasizes the increase in visitor demand by recommending that guests call to inquire about availability for weekday tours and to always arrive thirty minutes before the start of a tour to increase the likelihood of acquiring admission.³²³

³²³ "Operating Hours and Seasons," Hamilton Grange National Memorial, last updated December 8, 2018, accessed December 26, 2019. <https://www.nps.gov/hagr/planyourvisit/hours.htm>

Based on an accidental tour during the open house and conversations with Vladimir Merzlyakov, Lead Park Ranger, interpretation appears to focus on the life of Hamilton at the home through the interpretation of the furniture and objects therein contained.³²⁴ While all of Hamilton's life is included in the information boards in the visitor center, the house interpretation focuses on the last two years of Hamilton's life, the period during which Hamilton lived in the house. The house is approached through the basement, where the gift shop and visitor center are located. Signs in the visitor introduction rooms focus on the biography, military career, and political achievements of Alexander Hamilton. An introduction video which maintains the same themes, *Alexander Hamilton: American Visionary*, is played for visitors of both the guided tours and before the start of an open house.³²⁵ These signs and the video were both produced prior to the musical's opening in 2015.³²⁶

In the main floor of the house, guests can view the parlor, central hall, dining room, and Hamilton's study, featuring Hamilton-era furniture and some replicas of Hamilton pieces, including Alexander Hamilton's laptop and a famous wine cooler gifted from President and Martha Washington to Alexander and Eliza Hamilton. Two rooms of the main level have not been restored, and feature, instead, information about the house's move from its second location on 143rd Street to its present location, including a short documentary about the move, and a model of the home. There are no interpretive signs in the historically furnished rooms. The second floor is inaccessible to visitors.

³²⁴ Information gathered through author's visit to Hamilton Grange National Memorial (December 18, 2019).

Vladimir Merzlyakov, Lead Park Ranger for Hamilton Grange National Memorial, telephone interview by author, December 20, 2019.

³²⁵ "Alexander Hamilton: American Visionary (2013)." IMDb. Accessed December 27, 2019.
https://www.imdb.com/title/tt4613316/?ref_=nm_film_act_2

³²⁶ Merzlyakov, telephone interview by author, December 20, 2019.

Association with *Hamilton*

Hamilton Grange is, as mentioned above, the only extant home of Hamilton's and the only one which history knows he owned.³²⁷ Thus situated, the home is the most easily and directly associated site with the historical figure Alexander Hamilton. A simple Google search "Alexander Hamilton home" leads to pages for Hamilton Grange. For travelers looking for Hamilton sites to visit, all travel lists consulted for this research feature Hamilton Grange.³²⁸ Additionally, the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History's Self-Paced Course, Alexander Hamilton's America, available for a fee to the general public online, includes a virtual tour of Hamilton Grange National Memorial.³²⁹

Interestingly, Hamilton Grange is alluded to in the musical, though never directly referenced. Early in the show, when Hamilton and Eliza meet and marry, Hamilton promises her "we'll get a little place in Harlem and we'll figure it out."³³⁰ While this line is more in line with colloquialisms today, the implication is that "little place" will be found soon. In reality, it would be another twenty-two years before they would have any land in Harlem upon which they would build their final home together. The idea of

³²⁷ Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, 641

³²⁸ Ann Mah, "Hamilton's New York Haunts," *The New York Times*, May 3, 2017, accessed October 13, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/03/travel/alexander-hamilton-new-york.html>

Richard Patterson, "Tour: Visit The Real-Life Sites of Hamilton's Revolution," Playbill.com, accessed October 13, 2019. <http://www.playbill.com/article/where-he-lived-died-and-told-his-story-the-real-life-sites-of-hamiltons-revolution-com-357347>

Kirstan Schiller, "Visit 7 Iconic Alexander Hamilton Sites Open to the Public," *Architectural Digest* online, May 2, 2016, accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/gallery/alexander-hamilton-architectural-sites>

Kristen Hower, "'Where' Tells Your Story: A Hamilton Tour, Act Two," The National Trust for Historic Preservation, February 17, 2016, accessed October 13, 2019. <https://savingplaces.org/stories/hamilton-musical-tour-part-2#.XaNSh-dKj-Y>

³²⁹ "Alexander Hamilton's America (Self-Paced Course)." The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. Accessed October 13, 2019. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/node/75094>

³³⁰ Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution: Being the Complete Libretto of the Broadway Musical, with a True Account of Its Creation, and Concise Remarks on Hip-hop, the Power of Stories, and the New America*, (First ed. New York: Grand Central Publishing: Melcher Media, 2016), 76.

Hamilton's home is reinforced six songs later, when Washington tells Hamilton to "go home" though the show never notes where "home" is.³³¹ The Hamiltons' home is not directly addressed until Act II in the song "It's Quiet Uptown", in which the Hamiltons move "uptown" following the death of their son Phillip. In that song the word "uptown" is said eight times.³³² The song manages to vaguely create a sense of place: discussing that it is quiet uptown, describing that Hamilton walks the children to church, goes to the store, can be seen on the street or in his garden.³³³ A simple Google search of "Hamilton house uptown" will similarly lead browsers to Hamilton Grange websites and some of the aforementioned travel guides.

A visual connection is made between the musical and the site through the *Great Performances: Hamilton's America* special. As the first historic site featured in the program, the clip opens with a clear shot of the front of the house in the snow, along with brief views into the main hall and parlor. Talking in a voiceover interview about the presence of colonial figures in New York, Miranda introduces "The Grange in Hamilton Heights on 141st Street, which is where Hamilton and his wife lived for the last few years of his life."³³⁴ In the house, lead on a tour by Park Ranger Liam Strain, Miranda views Hamilton's study in home and is shown the site's replica of Hamilton's laptop, or travel writing desk, and sits carefully at Hamilton's actual desk.³³⁵ This laptop is one of the only

³³¹ Miranda and McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, 105

³³² Ibid., 253-254.

³³³ Ibid., 253-254.

³³⁴ *Great Performances: Hamilton's America*, Peabody Awards Collection, 20163867 DCT 1 of 1, Walter J. Brown Media Archives & Peabody Awards Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga, (0:13:09-0:13:11).

³³⁵ Ibid., (0:13:11-0:13:40).

discernable connections to real place-based objects in the show's set or property, as a replica of it is used in the song "Best of Wives and Best of Women."³³⁶

Incorporation of *Hamilton*

On-site

According to Vladimir Merzlyakov, Lead Park Ranger for Hamilton Grange National Memorial, visitors prior to the *Hamilton*-related tourism were motivated to visit by interest in general American Revolution history, the "history buff" audience. The early days of the musical and throughout 2015, the site was still relatively quiet. Starting in 2016, visitors had a more focused interest in the life of Alexander Hamilton himself. In that year, as well, visitation increased 600% over 2015's visitation numbers. The dramatic increase was due, in large part, to the spread of the musical and the inclusion of the house in the *Great Performances* special. This significant increase in visitation did present issues for the home, as the website still exemplifies.³³⁷ The house is somewhat small and in fragile condition given the multiple moves and is only accessible through the basement visitors center, thus allowing a limitation on the number of visitors in the historic areas at a time. Tours, offered three times per day, are limited to ten visitors. When tours are not actively being conducted, an "open house" style, self-guided tour option allows visitors to explore the historic rooms on their own, with a guide available to answer questions. On the "hours and operations" website, the limitations of access are emphasized with red-lettering and underlining. Potential visitors are warned that they

³³⁶ Viewing of *Hamilton* by author, December 18, 2019, Richard Rogers Theatre.

³³⁷ "Operating hours & Seasons," Hamilton Grange National Memorial, updated December 8, 2018, accessed January 24, 2020. <https://www.nps.gov/hagr/planyourvisit/hours.htm>

should arrive half an hour before their desired tour time to increase the chances of gaining admission, but are in no way guaranteed admission.³³⁸ According to Merzlyakov, in 2016, “[the site] couldn’t accommodate the number of people coming to the house. The interest was so high that we essentially had lines out the door to the point where we did have to turn people away, because there just wasn’t enough time in the day to accommodate the number of people coming to the home.”³³⁹ While the interest in the site is waning, and visitation is not nearly as great as it was in 2016 and 2017, the levels in recent years are more manageable than those initial peaks.³⁴⁰

Not only did the number of visitors change dramatically, but the existing knowledge base with which those visitors approached the site changed as well. Prior to the musical, much of the information presented on the site was the basic biography of the Hamilton family. After the musical, visitor familiar with the musical already possessed that knowledge. The new visitor demographic was interested in Hamilton’s broader political reaches as well as aspects of his life and his family beyond what was presented in the musical.³⁴¹ The signs and video in the visitor center both pre-date the musical and are unlikely to change any time soon, due to limited budget resources. To accommodate the increased interest and number of guests visiting the site, personnel increases and architectural maintenance are the primary objectives for additional funding.³⁴² Nevertheless, one asset to having the Park Rangers available for questions is their ability to tailor tour information based on visitor interest.³⁴³

³³⁸ “Operating hours & Seasons,” Hamilton Grange National Memorial, updated December 8, 2018, accessed January 24, 2020. <https://www.nps.gov/hagr/planyourvisit/hours.htm>

³³⁹ Merzlyakov, telephone interview by author, December 20, 2019.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid..

There is a seeming magnetism of this particular site for interested visitors. According to Merzlyakov, the site has not heavily marketed the connection between the musical and the site's history. He notes that visitation is often from people who see the musical, as a sort of Hamilton pilgrimage, either informally or with an organized third-party tour. "We haven't had to touch on the musical to advertise our site, as the musical kind of does it for us," says Merzlyakov.³⁴⁴

The gift shop sells a variety of Hamilton books, including some post-*Hamilton* publications as well as the *Hamilton* Original Broadway Cast Recording and other Hamilton-related items. Notably, The site sells a t-shirt designed with the phrase "It's Quiet Uptown"—the title of a song from the musical—along with a drawing of the house, specifically marketing Hamilton Grange National Memorial.

Online

The Hamilton Grange National Memorial website is hosted through the National Park Service website, which limits the available pages. One *Hamilton* related element on the page is a link to a video of Lin-Manuel Miranda's 2009 White House performance on the White House's website.³⁴⁵ However, in the years since the page was updated, administrations have changed, and the video is no longer accessible on the page. Aside from this, there are no references to the musical on the website.

The site has Twitter and Facebook accounts which promote the site's connection with the musical on occasion. On Twitter, the site often posts "on this day" trivia, general

³⁴⁴ Merzlyakov, telephone interview by author, December 20, 2019.

³⁴⁵ "Multimedia Presentations," Hamilton Grange National Memorial, updated February 26, 2015, accessed January 24, 2020. <https://www.nps.gov/hagr/learn/photosmultimedia/multimedia.htm>

colonial history, National Park related media, and quizzes with multiple choice questions for followers to interact with. The site will often retweet accounts with the relevant associations to the era, such as the account of Schuyler Mansion or Alexander Hamilton Awareness Society. Very little interaction between the Hamilton Grange account and Lin-Manuel Miranda's account or the Hamilton musical account. The National Park Service, however, did tweet a photo of the Grange followed by the caption, "Has @HamiltonMusical inspired you to visit @HamiltonGrngNPS? #FindYourPark," in June 2016, signaling the broader National Park Service's interest in increasing cultural connections between the site and the musical.³⁴⁶ Lin-Manuel Miranda tweeted about the site a couple of times in 2014 as he was writing the musical. In two posts, on February 24, 2014, he mentioned researching at Hamilton Grange and the Morris-Jumel Mansion, followed by a tweet showing a photo of the book selection at Hamilton Grange.³⁴⁷

The site's Facebook account is a bit more engaged with *Hamilton* references largely through sharing articles. During the musical's run at the Public Theatre, the account shared a TheatreMania.com article adding the caption "Planning to see Lin-Manuel Miranda new musical Hamilton? Make sure to visit Hamilton Grange National Memorial the home of Alexander Hamilton. ~GT." The final letters denote which staff-member created the post.³⁴⁸ The account also spread the news of the Morris-Jumel

³⁴⁶ National Park Service @NatlParkService, "Has @HamiltonMusical inspired you to visit @HamiltonGrngNPS? #FindYourPark," Twitter post, June 14, 2016, 10:12 PM <https://twitter.com/NatlParkService/status/742902458880430080>

³⁴⁷ Lin-Manuel Miranda (@Lin_Manuel), "Good morning! Today I'm doing research all day at @HamiltonGrngNPS and @MorrisJumel." Twitter post, February 24, 2014, 9:33 am https://twitter.com/Lin_Manuel/status/437958352828923904

Lin-Manuel Miranda (@Lin_Manuel), "Great array of Hamiltonia for sale at @HamiltonGrngNPS," Twitter post, February 24, 2014, 9:36 am. https://twitter.com/Lin_Manuel/status/437959118884995072

³⁴⁸ Hamilton Grange National Memorial. "Planning to see Lin-Manuel Miranda new musical Hamilton? Make sure to visit Hamilton Grange National Memorial the home of Alexander Hamilton. ~GT."

Mansion's fundraiser at The Public Theatre by sharing the Morris-Jumel Mansion's post along with the caption "Our friends at the nearby Morris-Jumel Mansion have a special invitation for you concerning the upcoming musical "Hamilton" at the The Public Theater (LS):".³⁴⁹

Other mentions of *Hamilton* on the Facebook page include a post promoting *Hamilton: The Revolution* being sold in the site's gift shop.³⁵⁰ Another post included a photo of Lin-Manuel Miranda being interviewed in the house, in which Miranda was tagged.³⁵¹ Finally, the National Park Foundation, as part of the Find Your Park campaign during National Park Week 2017, sponsored a Facebook live video in which Jordan Fisher, recording artist who starred in a later cast of *Hamilton*, toured the mansion with Merzlyakov. The tour visited the formal parlor, the dining room, Hamilton's study, and foyer, addressing some furniture and decorative objects in the rooms, notable architectural features in the house, and aspects of Hamilton's life.³⁵² The National Park

Facebook post, February 5, 2015.

<https://www.facebook.com/hamiltongrangeNPS/posts/433437993475247>

³⁴⁹ Hamilton Grange National Memorial, "Our friends at the nearby (tag)Morris-Jumel Mansion have a special invitation for you concerning the upcoming musical "Hamilton" at (tag)The Public Theater (LS):" Facebook post, January 16, 2015.

<https://www.facebook.com/hamiltongrangeNPS/posts/424661107686269>

³⁵⁰ Hamilton Grange National Memorial, "Lin-Manuel Miranda being interviewed by Jorge Viera today! #FindYourPark #HamiltonBroadway — with Lin-Manuel Miranda at Hamilton Grange National Memorial." Facebook post, June 9, 2015.

<https://www.facebook.com/hamiltongrangeNPS/photos/a.489255044560208/489254447893601/?type=3&theater>

³⁵¹ Hamilton Grange National Memorial, "Check out the latest addition to the #Hamilton Grange bookstore. Pick up your copy of *Hamilton the Revolution* before its gone! (VM) #Hamiltontherevolution" Facebook post, April 17, 2016.

<https://www.facebook.com/hamiltongrangeNPS/photos/a.262912500527798/619727954846249/?type=3&theater>

³⁵² Jordan Fisher, "So excited to share the lesser-known story of Hamilton's life on my Parks 101 tour of Hamilton Grange National Memorial with National Park Foundation and National Park Service, hosted by yours truly. #FindYourPark #EncuentraTuParque #ad'", Facebook live video, April 21, 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/JordanFisherOfficial/videos/1286015964828855/>

Foundation also tweeted about the video with a link to the feed.³⁵³ It should be noted that this is not the first incorporation of popular culture into the site's interpretation. In June 2014, months before the curtain would rise on *Hamilton*, Hamilton Grange hosted not one, but two screenings of the film based on *1776* the musical, which does not characterize Alexander Hamilton, as a July 4th celebration.³⁵⁴

Hamilton Grange National Memorial is unique among these case studies in that, according to Merzlyakov, the site largely has not marketing the connection between itself and the musical. The social media examples listed above largely encompass the site's interaction with the social conversation. Furthermore, it is difficult to identify what major changes occurred in the interpretation as the site was already charged with conveying the history and legacy of Alexander Hamilton. Nevertheless, the expansion of visitation and broadening of information are indicative of the musical's impact on public knowledge pertaining to the early American republic.

³⁵³ National Park Foundation (@GoParks), "If you loved @Lin_Manuel's @HamiltonMusical, check out this #FindYourPark tour of @HamiltonGrngNPS w/@Jordan_Fisher: <http://prks.org/2phjV2F>," Twitter post, April 21, 2017, 8:15 p.m. <https://twitter.com/GoParks/status/855575647913201664>

³⁵⁴ Hamilton Grange National Memorial, "Join us for one of TWO showings of the film "1776" based on the award-winning Broadway musical! Please click below for the 11:00 a.m. showing. There is another at 2:00 p.m. We hope you join us! (LS)" Facebook post, June 20, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/hamiltongrangeNPS/posts/333076610178053>

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Impact of Proximity, not Place

Although it was expected in this research that a sense of place might be derived from the musical and its auxiliary products which might then drive tourism, it appears that proximity to a production of the musical is in fact the greater impetus for tourism. Furthermore, inclusion in the *Great Performances* special was also a catalyst for tourism in cities where productions were held. It would be inappropriate to compare the relative changes in visitation at each site, but to consider the magnitude each faced is nevertheless a meaningful analysis. *Hamilton*-related tourism at the sites in New York took off after the *Great Performances* special aired and before the national tours began.³⁵⁵ The same forces which compel film-induced tourism factored into these visitations as viewers and *Hamilton* audiences used the PBS special as a means of connecting the history presented in the musical with historic sites. The concept of a *Hamilton*-pilgrimage including the Hamilton Grange National Memorial and the Morris-Jumel Mansion began unofficially as people traveled to the sites prior to seeing the show. When the national tours began, those pilgrimages decreased as audiences no longer had to travel to New York to experience the show.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ The Chicago production notwithstanding.

³⁵⁶ While quantitative information about visitation increases were provided anecdotally for Hamilton Grange National Memorial and the Morris-Jumel Mansion in their respective chapters in this research, the visitation numbers following *Hamilton* for each site were deemed incomparable. For these two sites, long-term visitation trends were disrupted with the advent of the musical and new trends were able to be charted. Meanwhile for Monticello and Mount Vernon, quantifying visitor

While the musical's national tours decreased visitation to the sites in New York, they provided interested and enthusiastic audiences for historic sites pertaining to characters in other areas of the country. The Kennedy Center stop on the national tour was one such case, as it provided an audience for historic sites in the District of Columbia and in northern Virginia, such as Mount Vernon.³⁵⁷ The hot-ticket on Broadway's appearance at the Kennedy Center created an air of excitement in the city for *Hamilton*. While there is nothing to suggest that Alexander Hamilton visited Mount Vernon, and as the District of Columbia had not yet been finished at the time Hamilton left politics after the end of President Washington's administration, sites in the area pulled together Hamilton-related items from their collections to draw on the interest of the musical's audience.³⁵⁸ Similarly, tour stops in Richmond, VA and Norfolk, VA allowed proximity to Monticello in Charlottesville, VA.³⁵⁹

Audiences certainly made the connection between sites and *Hamilton*, especially among youth audiences. At Mount Vernon, Wickens noticed people, particularly teenagers, wearing *Hamilton* t-shirts on tours.³⁶⁰ At the Morris-Jumel Mansion, students spontaneously rapped *Hamilton* Cabinet Battles on tours.³⁶¹ *Hamilton* Tour Takeover at Monticello sold better with families with teenagers, rather than the anticipated millennial

motivation derived from *Hamilton* is difficult due to the pre-existing and present volume of visitors.

³⁵⁷ Rebecca Aloisi, Vice President, Marketing for Mount Vernon Ladies Association. Interview by author. November 1, 2019.

³⁵⁸ Ibid..

Allison Wickens, Vice President of Education for Mount Vernon Ladies Association. Interview by author, October 31, 2019.

Stephen Light, Manager of House Tours for Monticello (Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation). Interview by author, October 30, 2019.

³⁵⁹ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

³⁶⁰ Wickens, interview by author, October 31, 2019.

³⁶¹ Christopher Davalos, Director of Visitor Services and Engagement for Morris-Jumel Mansion, interview December 16, 2019.

audience.³⁶² There is speculation as to the correlation between use of social media and the phenomenal spread of *Hamilton*, particularly through fan accounts and Twitter engagement, but further study would be needed to make any definitive assertions. Despite difficulty to quantify, many interviewees noticed the more demonstrably enthusiastic visitors about *Hamilton* were teenagers and young adults.

Expanding interpretive options

The musical conveys the broader biographies only of its two main characters—Hamilton and Burr. While this largely serves as a means of setting Burr as a foil to Hamilton, it also is as a reflection of the modern view of the American Revolution. Other characters, such as Jefferson and Washington, do not require full-back stories because the audience knows them. We enter the space or approach the album with a pre-conceived notion of who the prominent figures are and what they did. Indeed, by mentioning their two homes by name, it is assumed and implied that the audience knows these characters enough to strongly identify a place with them. Meanwhile, Burr and Hamilton require introduction, both for literary analysis and because the audience may not know who they are.

This dichotomy presents a scaled impact for visitation interests. Mount Vernon and Monticello are, arguably, the nation's two most famous house museums connected with two of the nation's most famous founders. The sites not only interpret the history of those men, their families, and the enslaved people who worked the estate, but also hold the largest repositories of information about the figures. For those characters, *Hamilton*

³⁶² Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

largely did not present information not already widely available and generally known. The portrayals were unique, but the content (*e.g.*, Jefferson served as the Ambassador to France, Washington and Hamilton were close friends, or the compromise made regarding the location of the US Capital and the founding of the National Bank) was consistent with textbook American Revolution knowledge. As such, the show will likely not have lasting impacts on the larger legacies of Washington or Jefferson. The musical is a way to deepen interest in already widely studied lives.

As such, rather than expanding interest in the basic aspects of these men's lives, the musical and its incorporation of broader facts from the American Revolution throughout has provided a new cultural basis for interest in site's existing history. Mount Vernon's and Monticello's respective copies *The Death of General Montgomery* both now have new reference points for visitor engagement. There is an expectation, where there was likely none before, that guests may know or be interested in this event because of their cursory inclusion in *Hamilton* and through those inclusion's association with primary characters in the musical.

On the other hand, the seemingly newfound interest in Hamilton and Burr is affecting the interpretations of Hamilton Grange and the Morris-Jumel Mansion on a larger scale. Knowledge and interest derived from *Hamilton* allows these sites to go beyond introducing the character and to delve more deeply into the site's history. The ability to assume that visitors know the basic facts about Hamilton and Burr based on the musical's portrayal, allows interpreters to dig deeper into history, explore the nuances which may be ignored in the musical, and create a larger context around the early American Republic in New York.

By virtue of attempting to convey history accurately, the musical has not required sites to correct misconceptions from the musical within their existing interpretation philosophies. While the musical may portray Thomas Jefferson as the political villain, Monticello's interpretation strategy focuses on Jefferson's personal and home life, thus limiting the site from addressing potential biases created by the musical's portrayal.³⁶³ Beyond Monticello, the other sites and related characters featured in these case studies are not and do not feel a need to spend a great deal of time correcting misinformation in the musical. Mostly, the musical is viewed as an opportunity to tell larger and broader stories, which in themselves might shed light on the subtleties and nuances of history which the musical does not address.

The long-term implications for site's interpretation strategies are only now coming to bear, as the musical ages and excitement decreases. Sites are beginning to see decreases in both interest and in visitation pertaining to the musical. Monticello is unlikely to continue the Hamilton Tour Takeover for another season and has removed the tour's page on their website.³⁶⁴ Hamilton Grange and the Morris-Jumel Mansion have seen visitation decrease from levels in 2016 and 2017, after the *Great Performances* special aired on PBS.³⁶⁵ However, this change in an existing cultural knowledge base derived from the history presented in the *Hamilton*. The musical may no longer be driving tourism to sites, but the impact on the expected visitor preexisting knowledge base may be lasting. As Stephen Light at Monticello stated, "As a pop culture

³⁶³ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Vladimir Merzlyakov, Lead Park Ranger for Hamilton Grange National Memorial, telephone interview by author, December 20, 2019.

Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

phenomenon, I think it's fading, but as a pop culture reference point, it's probably going to have a long impact."³⁶⁶

Exit Through the Gift Shop

There was little found consistently with the offerings at site gift shops. Some carried Hamilton-related biographies, many of which were written after the musical. Three sites carried the Ron Chernow *Alexander Hamilton* text upon which the musical was based.³⁶⁷ Monticello sells a copy of the Hamilton bust by Ceracchi, a copy of a period copy of the original which sits in the main hall of the house.³⁶⁸ At Monticello, books appear to have been selected to appeal to academic interests consistent with the interpretation strategies of the estates—Jefferson's gardening interests, the house's architectural features, and works by academic historians. At Mount Vernon, similar strategies were also employed, but options were expanded to popular historians as well. One unique item type was sold by three gift shops: socks. Monticello, Mount Vernon, and the Morris-Jumel Mansion sold socks woven with Hamilton's image, albeit from two different manufacturers.³⁶⁹ According to Davalos, post-musical interest in Hamilton pressured their sock supplier to create the socks, which is possibly true for other manufacturers as well, given Hamilton's fading reputation before the musical's premiere.³⁷⁰ It is difficult to say what the monetization of Hamilton's image on socks can say about interpretation, but such a discovery may connect to a sense of social interest

³⁶⁶ Light, interview by author, October 30, 2019

³⁶⁷ The Morris-Jumel Mansion did not sell the Chernow book.

³⁶⁸ The original bust is at Hamilton Grange National Memorial.

³⁶⁹ Monticello and the Morris-Jumel Mansion carried socks manufactured by Sock Smith. Mount Vernon carried socks by Sock Club.

³⁷⁰ Davalos, interview by author, December 16, 2019.

and community building through garment and fashion representations of popular characters.

Social Conversations and Encyclopedic Explanations

As mentioned, these house museums did not overhaul their interpretive strategies to accommodate interest in *Hamilton*. With the exception of the Hamilton Tour Takeover, no site demonstrated a conscious effort to create interpretive tour programming around the cultural references from the musical. There was opportunity, however, in engaging with the cultural phenomenon online, both and through educational webpages and on social media.

Every minute of a house tour costs something—staff wages, utility bills, visitor attention, and historic information conveyed. Even to mention different facts during a tour comes at the expense of other facts, other stories. To overhaul or create an entire tour costs not only the stories exchanged but staffing requirements and time as well. Changing tours also might require additional approval to adjust or change interpretive philosophies. Thus, it would be incredibly costly, both monetarily and historically, to remake interpretive strategies to incorporate the cultural references created by *Hamilton*. (Notably, Monticello’s Hamilton Tour Takeover managed to find the easier route through these murky waters by creating a temporary specialty tour.) There is opportunity, however, to incorporate these cultural references into the history of a site online.

Comparatively, online tools have fewer cost demands, as they can require fewer staff to compose a webpage and the ex-post costs are simply continuing to host the webpage and make occasional updates. Webpages for *Hamilton* history are also better

match for online interpretive strategies, particularly at Mount Vernon and Monticello, through their respective online encyclopedias, which cover topics from all aspects of their respective founder's histories, not just those demonstrated at their estates. For sites with staff available to create these pages and who have autonomy over their websites, these webpages can be a captivating way for interested parties to access informational connections between the musical and history from their computers. As the two pages from Mount Vernon and Monticello demonstrate, even where there are not direct connections between the musical and the history of Washington or Jefferson, there are larger contextual connections which can expand the reader's concept of history.

All sites interacted in some way with the *Hamilton*'s content and accounts on social media. Similar to the interpretive expectations of expanded existing public knowledge, the "on this day" style posts, particularly by Mount Vernon now incorporate more aspects of the American Revolution, utilizing hashtags and quotes from the musical. Hashtags digitally categorize the posts in context with other uses of the hashtag, while using quotes from the musical make a memorable connection between familiar lyrics and the history presented in the post. Instagram is also used as people associated with the production visit sites. Mount Vernon featured photos from the touring cast's tour of the estate, while the Morris-Jumel Mansion has featured photos of Lin-Manuel Miranda filming at the mansion on two occasions. Facebook has been used to share content similar to that featured on Instagram, along with sharing articles. Certain *Hamilton*-related events have also been posted there.

Twitter provides the greatest opportunity for sites to interact with the cultural phenomenon of *Hamilton*, largely through tagging both the musical's account and Lin-

Manuel Miranda's account. Until Miranda announced a Twitter sabbatical in December 2019, his prolific tweeting was a source of semi-constant engagement with his fan community on the platform, which was largely derived from the buzz around *Hamilton*. This sort of access developed the #HamFam platform by creating a fan base as the musical was in development and which then was poised to spur the musical's reach.³⁷¹ Thus, engaging with Miranda's Twitter account was almost more important than engaging with the official, more rigid *Hamilton* account. Many sites, recognizing this, did just that, with Miranda sometimes responding or retweeting a historic site's post. By being involved on this social platform and gaining visibility, sites have positioned themselves further in the digital world as the voice for their historic figure on Twitter. Participation also ensures name visibility and recognition while a larger cultural conversation surrounding relevant history is occurring online.

Opportunities for Further Study

There are a number of opportunities for further study on this topic. The incorporation of more case studies could enlighten aspects of larger impacts on different types of sites associated with these figures across the United States. Possible sites could include, Museum of American Finance (New York, NY); the Schuyler Mansion (Albany, NY); Washington's Headquarters and the Hamilton-Schuyler House (Morristown NJ); The Weehawken dueling grounds (Weehawken, NJ); Hamilton's Caribbean residences

³⁷¹ Claire Bond Potter, "'Safe in the Nation We've Made': Staging Hamilton on Social Media," in *Historians on Hamilton: How a Blockbuster Musical is Restaging America's Past*, Edited by Renee C. Romano and Claire Bond Potter. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 340.

(Nevis and St. Croix), Jamestown/Yorktown Foundation (Jamestown, VA/Yorktown, VA) and other non-residential sites. Particular insight could be drawn from places not featured on the *Great Performances: Hamilton's America* special, which may shed light on the impacts of film-induced tourism or lack thereof.

A larger, quantitatively based analysis of visitor numbers, webpage clicks and social media interactions could provide quantitative metrics to assess the trends listed in this research. Additionally, a longer-term study capturing visitor knowledge to sites via survey could provide insight into the impacts of *Hamilton* on public knowledge in the long-term.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

“I’m working on a concept album about the life of someone who I think embodies hip-hop: Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton.” The audience at the Obama White House’s Evening of Poetry, Music, & the Spoken Word met this idea with skepticism and a slight chuckle as Lin-Manuel Miranda began rapping the life of Alexander Hamilton from the view of the man who killed him, Aaron Burr. By the end of the performance, Miranda received a standing ovation from the new President and First Lady.³⁷² Six years later the musical premiered, and it quickly took the world by storm. It brought stories that are ageing by the day into the foreground of our consciousness in new and inventive ways, told in the language we understand today.

In a sense, *Hamilton* has made history nerds of all of us. Many an anecdote from educators, guides, and even the author can attest to the subtle ways that *Hamilton* used its infectious tunes, brilliant rhyme schemes, and inventive self-referencing melodies to spread a fascinating story that also happened—that also happened to be true. By attempting to do the stories historical justice and by utilizing the work of multiple revered scholars, the musical has the ability to be used in academic ways largely unavailable to most of its modern theatrical predecessors.³⁷³

³⁷² The Obama White House. “Lin-Manuel Miranda Performs at the White House Poetry Jam: (8 of 8).” YouTube video. 4:26. November 2, 2009. Accessed September 14, 2019.
<https://youtu.be/WNFf7nMIGnE>

³⁷³ 1776 is not sufficiently accurate to be used seriously for education.

The phenomenon transcended what happens on stage, which is almost irrelevant to the creation of the cultural force, as the text and lyrics were made accessible through a highly lauded cast album and later a series of auxiliary products which only barely touched the seemingly insatiable cultural interest in this work. This work about a dead white guy. By making history relevant, *Hamilton* has made history cool.

Which is not to say that the musical covers every nuance nor addresses all the unsavory aspects of the early American republic—such as the disenfranchisement of women or the perpetuation and even defenses of slavery which many of its characters espoused. But where *Hamilton* fails to address these issues, historic sites have been working for decades to incorporate them.

Chris Jackson has been vocal about the incongruities in Washington's character, both historic and on stage, regarding his views on slavery in the new nation. While the musical does not address them, visitors to Mount Vernon will find long-standing efforts to incorporate the lives and stories of the enslaved laborers who ran Mount Vernon. Of course, Mount Vernon's efforts are independent of the musical and have been incorporated over decades of research and interpretive strategy. Whereas popular history tends to fall short in communicating thoroughly historic nuance and context, historic sites are often informing and expanding public consciousness of larger histories.

Popular history can propel interest in the history presented at sites by providing a greater knowledge base in approaching visitors, which then allows more stories to be told. The Morris-Jumel Mansion, though only associated with a few months of Aaron Burr's later life, uses the public's new knowledge of Burr to communicate beyond the musical, both the good and bad aspects of Burr's character.

In the modern era, popular history has allowed historic sites new touchpoints on new platforms, both tangible and intangible, to engage with the public at large. Social media, though an ever-changing technology, allows momentary glimpses into broadening conversations about history and its implications. Many of these sites, particularly Monticello and Mount Vernon, are positioned to be the online authority on and voice for their characters as history engages new generations.

Hamilton has sparked new questions about history and its impact. How it gets told. Who gets to tell it. The musical has turned traditional perceptions of dusty textbook history—even the history presented in Chernow’s *Alexander Hamilton* tome—on its head by making it vibrant and alive. Historic sites make that history tangible.

The show talks of legacy as “planting seeds in a garden you never get to see,” and asks, almost imploringly, “who tells your story?”³⁷⁴ In the show, Eliza tells the story after Hamilton’s death, but in a more meta sense, the show is asking “who tells your story?” After having spent two and a half hours, it is clear the stage telling Hamilton’s story now. At points it even calls the audience to action—asking, and telling the audience to “rise up”. The song, though, turns to a question. To ask, in the ether between performer and audience, headphones or speaker or radio and listener: who tells your story? Who tells anyone’s story? For these four historical characters, others in the musical not studied here, and yet many more not in either, historic sites and libraries are the front lines of telling their stories.

³⁷⁴ Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution: Being the Complete Libretto of the Broadway Musical, with a True Account of Its Creation, and Concise Remarks on Hip-hop, the Power of Stories, and the New America*, (First ed. New York: Grand Central Publishing: Melcher Media, 2016), 272, 281.

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APPENDIX A

MENTIONS OF PLACE IN *HAMILTON*

The following table is the result of a study of possible mentions of place in the text of *Hamilton* as printed in *Hamilton: The Revolution*, by Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter. The included table lists pertinent information, having removed some of the identifying information. This analysis was used to establish possible case studies for this research, as listed in Appendix B. Categories below which have a (*) have been removed from the enclosed table, as they are secondary identifying information.

Categories were defined as follows:

- Song – Name of the song in the libretto
- Song Number* – Number of the song in the show
- Song Act* – Act of the musical in which the song occurs (Act I or Act II)
- Mention – Text of dialogue which mentions place
- Line in *Hamilton: The Revolution** – The line in the text in which the mention is found
- Page in *Hamilton: The Revolution* – page on which the mention is found
- Type of Place – Classification of type of place the mention is referring to. Options are as follows:
 - Region
 - Country
 - State/Colony
 - City
 - General/Non-specific
 - Date
 - Site
 - University
 - Borough
 - Neighborhood
 - Thing
 - Natural Feature
 - Street
 - Event

Appendix A - Mentions of Place in *Hamilton*

Categories Continued:

- Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention) – Is the mention specific enough to be simply searched on the internet and produce the correct answer. Options are as follows:
 - Yes – Tier 1 – Easily searched for a specific place or site (e.g., Fraunces Tavern, Monticello)
 - Yes – Tier 2 – Easily searched for a general place (e.g., New York City, America)
 - No – Not specific enough to be easily searched (e.g., these colonies)
- Search Terms for Specific Answers – for Tier 1 and Tier 2 above, this column lists the search terms in Google which will produce the correct answers
- Real Association – Place(s) which correspond to the dialogue
- If specific, is it accurate? – assessment of the accuracy of the mention
- Line said by – character(s) who spoke the line which mentioned place
- Meant as place or group – used to distinguish if the mention referred to a place or a group of people (e.g., France as a place or France as governed body).
- Multiple count – if the place was mentioned more than once, this number corresponds to the placement in the text of this mention.

Mentions of Place in *Hamilton*

Song	Mention	Page in <i>Hamilton: The Revolution</i>	Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention)	Search Terms for Specific Answer	Real Association	If specific, is it accurate?	Line said by	Meant as place or as group?	Multiple count?
Alexander Hamilton	Caribbean	16	Yes - Tier 1	"Hamilton Caribbean"	Nevis	Yes, he was born on Nevis, and later lived on St. Croix	Aaron Burr	Place	
Alexander Hamilton	Mainland	16	No		Continental United States	Yes, he did arrive to the continental United States	Aaron Burr	Place	
Alexander Hamilton	The bow of a ship	17	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
Alexander Hamilton	The ship	17	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
Alexander Hamilton	New York	17	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	No - he arrived in Boston first (find citation in Chernow)	Aaron Burr	Place	2
Alexander Hamilton	New York	17	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	No - he arrived in Boston first (find citation in Chernow)	Company	Place	3
Alexander Hamilton	New York	17	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	No - he arrived in Boston first (find citation in Chernow)	Company	Place	4
Alexander Hamilton	New York	17	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	No - he arrived in Boston first (find citation in Chernow)	Company	Place	5
Alexander Hamilton	New York	17	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	No - he arrived in Boston first (find citation in Chernow)	Company	Place	6
Alexander Hamilton	Two years later	16	No	"Alexander Hamilton Birthday"		Dispute over his actual birthday makes the dates imprecise	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Alexander Hamilton	When he was ten	16	No	"Alexander Hamilton Birthday"		Dispute over his actual birthday makes the dates imprecise	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Alexander Hamilton	New York	17	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	No - he arrived in Boston first (find citation in Chernow)	Company	Place	7
Alexander Hamilton	America	17	Yes - Tier 2	"America country"	United States		Company	Group	
Aaron Burr, Sir	1776	23	Yes - Tier 2	"1776"	1776		Company	Place	
Aaron Burr, Sir	New York City	23	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	Maybe not?	Company	Place	23
Aaron Burr, Sir	Princeton	23	Yes - Tier 1	"Princeton University"	Princeton University	No, it was the College of New Jersey at the time and Hamilton did not attend (double check with Chernow bio).	Alexander Hamilton	Place	1
Aaron Burr, Sir	Princeton College	25	Yes - Tier 1	"Princeton College"	Princeton University	Yes and no, Aaron Burr did attend Princeton, but it was the College of New Jersey at the time	Marquis de Lafayette	Place	2
Aaron Burr, Sir	*Stage Note: Frances Tavern*	25	Yes - Tier 1	"Frances Tavern"	Frances Tavern	Yes and no, it existed at the time, but these four men did not meet there	Stage Note	Place	
My Shot	King's College	26	Yes - Tier 1	"King's College Hamilton"	Columbia University	Yes, name later changed to Columbia	Alexander Hamilton	Place	1
My Shot	New York City	26	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Alexander Hamilton	Place	24
My Shot	these streets	26	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
My Shot	Britain	26	Yes - Tier 2	"Britain"	Britain		Alexander Hamilton	Group	

Song	Mention	Page in <i>Hamilton: The Revolution</i>	Type of Place	Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention)	Search Terms for Specific Answer	Real Association	If specific, is it accurate?	Line said by	Meant as place or as group?	Multiple count?
My Shot	A colony	26	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
My Shot	France	27	Country	Yes - Tier 2	"France"	France	Yes, Marquis de Lafayette is French	Marquis de Lafayette	Place	1
My Shot	these colonies	28	General/Non specific	No				John Laurens, Ensemble	Group	
My Shot	these colonies	28	General/Non specific	No				John Laurens, Ensemble	Group	
My Shot	these colonies	28	General/Non specific	No				John Laurens, Ensemble	Group	
My Shot	these colonies	28	General/Non specific	No				John Laurens, Ensemble	Group	
My Shot	the street	29	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
My Shot	*Stage Note: A City Square*	30	General/Non specific	No				Stage Note	Place	
The Schuyler Sisters	downtown	42	Neighborhood	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
The Schuyler Sisters	The Common	42	Site	No	***	City Hall Park	Yes "Cite Chernow 55	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Schuyler Sisters	The City	42	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Aaron Burr	Place	1
The Schuyler Sisters	downtown	43	Neighborhood	No				Peggy Schuyler	Place	
The Schuyler Sisters	New York	43	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	8
The Schuyler Sisters	New York	43	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Eliza, Peggy	Place	9
The Schuyler Sisters	the square	43	General/Non specific	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
The Schuyler Sisters	The City	44	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Aaron Burr	Place	2
The Schuyler Sisters	The City	44	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Aaron Burr	Place	3
The Schuyler Sisters	Manhattan	45	Borough	Yes - Tier 2	"Manhattan"	Manhattan		Angelica, Peggy, Eliza	Place	1
The Schuyler Sisters	Greatest City in the World	45	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Angelica, Peggy, Eliza	Place	1
The Schuyler Sisters	Greatest City in the World	45	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Angelica, Peggy, Eliza	Place	2
The Schuyler Sisters	New York	45	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Eliza, Peggy	Place	10
The Schuyler Sisters	New York	45	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Eliza, Peggy	Place	11
The Schuyler Sisters	Manhattan	45	Borough	Yes - Tier 2	"Manhattan"	Manhattan		Company	Place	2
The Schuyler Sisters	Greatest City in the World	45	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Company	Place	3
The Schuyler Sisters	Greatest City	45	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Company	Place	4
The Schuyler Sisters	Greatest City in the World	45	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Company	Place	5
The Schuyler Sisters	Greatest City in the World	45	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Eliza, Angelica	Place	6

Song	Mention	Page in Hamilton: The Revolution	Type of Place	Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention)	Search Terms for Specific Answer	Real Association	If specific, is it accurate?	Line said by	Meant as place or as group?	Multiple count?
The Schuyler Sisters	Greatest City in the World	45	General/Non specific	No	"New York City"	New York City		Company	Place	7
Farmer Refuted	Jersey	49	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"New Jersey"	New Jersey	Yes, it was there at the time.	Alexander Hamilton	Place	1
Farmer Refuted	tiny island across the sea	49	Natural Feature	No	"Britain"	Britain		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
You'll Be Back	tea which your hurt in the sea	57	Natural Feature	Yes - Tier 2	"tea thrown in sea" - will lead to Boston Tea Party	Boston Harbor	Yes	King George III	Place	
Right Hand Man	British Admiral Howe's got troops on the water	60	Natural Feature	Yes - Tier 2	"admiral howe capture of new york harbor"	New York Harbor	Yes	Company	Place	
Right Hand Man	New York harbor	60	site	Yes - Tier 1	"New York Harbor"	New York Harbor	Yes	Company	Place	2
Right Hand Man	New York harbor	60	site	Yes - Tier 1	"New York Harbor"	New York Harbor	Yes	Company	Place	3
Right Hand Man	New York harbor	60	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"New York Harbor"	New York Harbor	Yes	Company	Place	1
Right Hand Man	Caribbean	60	Region	No	"Hamilton Caribbean"	Nevis		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Right Hand Man	battlefield	60	general/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Right Hand Man	this land	60	general/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Right Hand Man	Mount Vernon	60	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Mount Vernon"	Mount Vernon		Aaron Burr	Place	1
Right Hand Man	Brooklyn	61	Borough	Yes - Tier 2	"Brooklyn"	Brooklyn		George Washington	Place	
Right Hand Man	Battery	61	Site	Yes - Tier 2	"New York Battery"	New York Battery		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Right Hand Man	Kips Bay	61	Neighborhood	Yes - Tier 2	"New York Kips Bay"	Kips Bay		George Washington	Place	
Right Hand Man	southern tip	61	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Southern tip of New York"	Lower Manhattan		George Washington	Place	
Right Hand Man	Harlem	61	Neighborhood	Yes - Tier 2	"New York Harlem"	Harlem		George Washington	Place	1
Right Hand Man	America	61	Country	No				George Washington	Both	
Right Hand Man	Manhattan	61	Borough	Yes - Tier 2	"Manhattan"	Manhattan		George Washington	Place	3
Right Hand Man	*Stage Note: Washington's Tent*	62	Site	No		Washington's Headquarters (Morristown, NJ)	Yes	Stage Note	Place	
Right Hand Man	Quebec	62	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"Aaron Burr Battle of Quebec" -> wikipedia page	Battle of Quebec	Yes	Aaron Burr	Place	
Right Hand Man	west	63	General/Non specific	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
A Winter's Ball	*Stage Note: "We are at a winter soldier's ball!"**	70	General/Non specific	No		Morristown, NJ	It's unclear where exactly Eliza and Alexander met	Stage Note	Place	
Helpless	At a revel	71	General/Non specific	No		Morristown, NJ	It's unclear where exactly Eliza and Alexander met	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Helpless	the room	71	General/Non specific	No		Morristown, NJ	It's unclear where exactly Eliza and Alexander met	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Helpless	ballroom	71	General/Non specific	No			It's unclear where exactly Eliza and Alexander met	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Helpless	the room	71	General/Non specific	No			It's unclear where exactly Eliza and Alexander met	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Helpless	the living room	72	General/Non specific	No		Schuyler Mansion (Albany, NY)? Morristown, NJ?	It's unclear if this event actually took place.	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Helpless	the room	72	General/Non specific	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Helpless	Harlem	76	Neighborhood	Yes - Tier 2	"Hamilton Harlem house"	The Grange	No, they would not move to the Grange for many years	Alexander Hamilton	Place	2

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Helpless	*Stage Note: Hamilton & Eliza's wedding*	77	Site	No	"Alexander Hamilton Wedding" - Eliza's Wikipedia page, jump to: Marriage	Schuyler Mansion (Albany, NY)	Yes, they were married on December 14, 1780 in Albany	Stage Note	Place	
Helpless	New York	77	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Company	Place	12
Helpless	New York	77	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Company	Place	13
Satisfied	*Stage Note: the ballroom*	80	General/Non specific	No		Morristown, NJ	It's unclear where exactly Eliza and Alexander met	Stage Note	Place	14
Satisfied	This place	82	General/Non specific	No			It's unclear where exactly Eliza and Alexander met	Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Satisfied	New York City	83	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"			Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	25
Wait for It	Georgia	91	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"Aron Burr wife" -> "Theodosia Burr Provost" -> "Jacques Provost Georgia"	Savannah, GA		Aaron Burr	Place	1
Wait for It	Georgia	91	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2		Georgia		Aaron Burr	Place	2
Stay Alive	"back to New York"	97	City	No	"New York City"		Notes that we're not in NY at this time	Hercules Mulligan	Place	
Stay Alive	New York	97	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"			Hercules Mulligan	Place	15
Stay Alive	Battle of Monmouth	98	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Battle of Monmouth"	Monmouth Battlefield State Park	Yes	Hamilton, Laurens, Lafayette	Place	
Stay Alive	Mount Vernon	98	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Mount Vernon"	Mount Vernon (Alexandria, VA)	Yes	Charles Lee	Place	2
Ten Duel Commandments	Pick a place to die where it's high and dry	99	General/Non specific	No				Company	Place	
Meet Me Inside	Inside	104	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	George Washington	Place	
Meet Me Inside	Inside	104	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
Meet Me Inside	Inside	104	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
Meet Me Inside	Inside	104	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
Meet Me Inside	to the south	104	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
Meet Me Inside	go home	105	General/Non specific	No		58 Wall St (possibly, this was before the Grange was built around the time that 1st child was born)		George Washington	Place	
Meet Me Inside	go home	105	General/Non specific	No		58 Wall St (possibly, this was before the Grange was built around the time that 1st child was born)		George Washington	Place	
That Would Be Enough	home	110	General/Non specific	No		58 Wall St (possibly, this was before the Grange was built around the time that 1st child was born)		Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	

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That Would Be Enough	home	110	General/Non specific	No		58 Wall St (possibly, this was before the Grange was built around the time that 1st child was born)		Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Guns and Ships	France	118	Country	No			Yes	Marquis de Lafayette	Place	2
Guns and Ships	Yorktown	118	City	Yes - Tier 1	"Battle of Yorktown"	Yorktown, VA	Yes	Marquis de Lafayette	Place	1
Guns and Ships	fight for your land back	118	General/Non specific	No				Marquis de Lafayette	Place	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	The Battle of Yorktown.	121	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Battle of Yorktown"	Yorktown Battlefield	Yes	Company	Place	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	1781	121	Date	Yes - Tier 1	"Battle of Yorktown"	Yorktown Battlefield	Yes	Company	Place	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	the field	121	General/Non specific	No	"Battle of Yorktown"	Yorktown Battlefield	Yes	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	France	121	Country	No			Yes, Lafayette returned to France when the Revolutionary War was finished	Marquis de Lafayette	Place	3
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	South Carolina	122	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"John Laurens South Carolina" - Leads to Wikipedia page		Yes, Laurens was stationed in South Carolina	Alexander Hamilton	Place	1
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	Chesapeake Bay	122	Natural Feature	Yes - Tier 2	"French Chesapeake Bay Battle of Yorktown"		Yes, the French Navy occupied the Chesapeake Bay	Hamilton, Lafayette	Place	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	panpet	122	thing	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	Yorktown	122	City	Yes - Tier 1	"Battle of Yorktown"	Yorktown, VA	Yes	Alexander Hamilton	Place	2
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	streets	122	thing	No	"Yorktown, VA"	Yorktown, VA		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	church bells	123	thing	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	America	123	Country	No				Marquis de Lafayette	Group	
Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)	France	123	Country	No				Marquis de Lafayette	Group	
What Comes Next?	France	127	Country	No				King George III	Group	
What Comes Next?	Spain	127	Country	No				King George III	Group	
Tomorrow there'll be more of us (Laurens interlude)	South Carolina	131	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"John Laurens South Carolina" - Leads to Wikipedia page	Battle of Combahee River	Yes, Laurens did die here	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	2
Non-Stop	New York	137	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Aaron Burr	Place	16
Non-Stop	New York	137	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Alexander Hamilton	Place	17
Non-Stop	next door	137	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Non-Stop	* Implied Court room*	137	General/Non specific	No	"Weeks Murder Trial"		Triad at the Old City Hall on Wall Street (Federal Hall)	Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr	Place	

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Non-Stop	Albany	137	City	Yes - Tier 2	"Albany Statehouse"	New York State Capitol	Yes, Albany became the state capital in 1797, before the Weeks Murder Trial. But the timeline of the song is off. The weeks Murder Trial happened in 1800, while the constitutional convention was in 1787	Alexander Hamilton	Group	
Non-Stop	the room	137	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Hypothetical	
Non-Stop	the room	137	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Hypothetical	
Non-Stop	the room	137	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Hypothetical	
Non-Stop	Constitutional Convention	138	Event	Yes - Tier 1	"US Constitutional Convention"	Old Pennsylvania State House		Aaron Burr	Group	
Non-Stop	Constitutional Convention	138	Event	Yes - Tier 1	"US Constitutional Convention"	Old Pennsylvania State House		Alexander Hamilton	Group	
Non-Stop	*Stage Note: Burr's Doorstep*	138	Site	Yes - Tier 1	(no search results)			Stage Note	Place	
Non-Stop	London	142	City	No		London		Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Non-Stop	the room	144	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Hypothetical	
Non-Stop	the room	144	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Hypothetical	
Non-Stop	the room	144	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Hypothetical	
What'd I Miss	1789	152	Date	No		France		Aaron Burr	Place	4
What'd I Miss	France	152	Country	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
What'd I Miss	coming home	152	General/Non specific	No	"Thomas Jefferson home"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	Company	Place	
What'd I Miss	coming home	152	General/Non specific	No	"Thomas Jefferson home"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	Company	Place	
What'd I Miss	coming home	152	General/Non specific	No	"Thomas Jefferson home"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	Company	Place	
What'd I Miss	coming home	152	General/Non specific	No	"Thomas Jefferson home"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	Company	Place	
What'd I Miss	coming home	152	General/Non specific	No	"Thomas Jefferson home"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	Company	Place	
What'd I Miss	Paris	152	Country	Yes - Tier 2	"Paris"	Paris	Yes	Company	Place	
What'd I Miss	Monticello	152	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Monticello"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	Thomas Jefferson	Place	1
What'd I Miss	Virginia	152	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"Virginia"	Virginia	Yes	Thomas Jefferson	Place	1
What'd I Miss	Paris	152	City	Yes - Tier 2	"Paris"	Paris	Yes	Thomas Jefferson	Place	1
What'd I Miss	my desk	152	Thing	No				Thomas Jefferson	Place	
What'd I Miss	New York	152	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	Yes	Thomas Jefferson	Place	18
What'd I Miss	New York	152	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	Yes	Ensemble	Place	18
What'd I Miss	New York	152	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	Yes	Ensemble	Place	

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What'd I Miss	N.Y.C	152	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	Yes	Thomas Jefferson, Company	Place	1
What'd I Miss	the place	153	General/Non specific	No				Thomas Jefferson	Hypothetical	
What'd I Miss	the South	153	Region	No				James Madison	Group	
What'd I Miss	France	153	Country	No		France	Yes	Thomas Jefferson	Group	4
What'd I Miss	home	153	General/Non specific	No	"Thomas Jefferson home"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	George Washington	Place	
What'd I Miss	home	153	General/Non specific	No	"Thomas Jefferson home"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	George Washington, Company	Place	
What'd I Miss	home	153	General/Non specific	No	"Thomas Jefferson home"	Monticello	Yes, Jefferson did have a residence at Monticello	George Washington, Company	Place	
What'd I Miss	Paris	153	City	Yes - Tier 2	"Paris"	Paris		Company	Place	2
Cabinet Battle #1	New York City	161	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		George Washington	Place	26
Cabinet Battle #1	New York	161	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Thomas Jefferson	Place	19
Cabinet Battle #1	Virginia	161	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"Virginia Thomas Jefferson"	Virginia		Thomas Jefferson	Place	2
Cabinet Battle #1	the South	161	Region	No				Thomas Jefferson	Group	
Cabinet Battle #1	Virginia	161	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"Virginia Thomas Jefferson"	Virginia		Thomas Jefferson	Place	3
Cabinet Battle #1	Britain	161	Country	Yes - Tier 2	"Britain"	Britain		Thomas Jefferson	Group	
Cabinet Battle #1	Virginia	161	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"Virginia George Washington"	Mount Vernon, Virginia		Thomas Jefferson	Place	4
Cabinet Battle #1	Monticello	161	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Monticello"	Monticello	Yes	George Washington	Place	
Cabinet Battle #1	the Union	161	Region	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	2
Cabinet Battle #1	the Union	161	Region	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Cabinet Battle #1	the South	163	Region	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	Briam Wood	168	Natural Feature	Yes - Tier 2			Figurative	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	[Phillip Hamilton] is nine years old today	169	Time	No	"Phillip Hamilton Birthday"	January 22, 1791		Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	Dunsname	168	City	Yes - Tier 2			Figurative	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	an ocean away	168	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton, Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Take a Break	an ocean away	168	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton, Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Take a Break	*Stage Note: Eliza joins young Philip Hamilton at the piano*	168	Thing	No				Stage Note	Place	
Take a Break	America's Bank	169	Site	Yes - Tier 2	"Bank of the US Hamilton"	First Bank of the United States		Philip Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	upstate	169	Region	Yes - Tier 1	"Schuyler upstate home" will lead you to the Schuyler Mansion wiki page	Schuyler Mansion (Albany, NY)	Yes, this was their upstate home	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	a lake	169	General/Non specific	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	

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Take a Break	a park	169	General/Non specific	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	across the sea	169	General/Non specific	No				Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Take a Break	home	169	General/Non specific	No		America, Schuyler Mansion		Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Take a Break	the ocean	169	General/Non specific	No				Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Take a Break	ocean	170	General/Non specific	No				Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Take a Break	upstate	170	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 1	"Schuyler upstate home" will lead you to the Schuyler Mansion wiki page	Schulyer Mansion		Eliza Schuyler Hamilton, Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Take a Break	upstate	170	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 1	"Schuyler upstate home" will lead you to the Schuyler Mansion wiki page	Schulyer Mansion		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	upstate	170	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 1	"Schuyler upstate home" will lead you to the Schuyler Mansion wiki page	Schulyer Mansion		Eliza Schuyler Hamilton, Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
Take a Break	downstairs	170	General/Non specific	No		*Hamilton Home	The musical depicts that he's in NYC, but he was living at 79 South Third Street, Philadelphia at the time* Site Chemow, 364	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	a lake	170	General/Non specific	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Take a Break	a park	170	General/Non specific	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Say No to This	the city	176	General/Non specific	No		New York City		Aaron Burr	Place	4
Say No to This	home	176	General/Non specific	No		*Hamilton Home	The musical depicts that he's in NYC, but he was living at 79 South Third Street, Philadelphia at the time* Site Chemow, 364	Maria Reynolds	Place	
Say No to This	home	176	General/Non specific	No		*Maria Reynolds's Boarding House (libretto)	The musical depicts this as a boarding house, but she was living at 154 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia.* Site Chemow, 364	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Say No to This	a block away	176	General/Non specific	No			One street away, perhaps more than a block	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Say No to This	home	176	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Say No to This	her bed	176	Thing	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	

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Say No to This	her place	178	General/Non specific	No		*Maria Reynold's Boarding House	The musical depicts this as a boarding house, but she was living at 154 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia.* Site Chernow, 364	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	186	General/Non specific	No			57 Maiden Lane (from PBS Documentary)	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	186	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	186	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Ensemble	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	Clarmon Street	186	Street	Yes - Tier 1	"Claremont Street Hamilton" - will direct to Mercer Street Wikipedia page	Mercer Street	Yes	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	186	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	186	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Ensemble	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	186	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Ensemble	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	Washington's doorstep	186	Site	No				Thomas Jefferson	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	186	General/Non specific	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	Congress floor	186	General/Non specific	No		*Note, Capitol was not built at this point*		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	a room	186	General/Non specific	No			TJ Residence in NY at 57 Maiden Lane (shown in PBS)	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	nation's capital	186	City	Yes - Tier 1	"US Capital"	Washington, DC		Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the venue	187	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 2	"Compromise of 1790"		TJ Residence in NY at 57 Maiden Lane (shown in PBS)	Thomas Jefferson	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	187	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	187	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	187	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	187	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the capital	187	City	Yes - Tier 1	"US Capital"	Washington, DC		Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	closer to home	188	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 1	"James Madison home"	Montpelier		James Madison	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	The Potomac	188	Natural Feature	Yes - Tier 2	"US Capital Potomac"	Washington, DC		James Madison	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	188	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	

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The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	188	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	188	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	188	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	188	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	188	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	188	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happened	188	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	New York City	188	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Aaron Burr	Place	27
The Room Where It Happens	U.S. Capital	188	City	Yes - Tier 1	"US Capital"	Washington, DC		Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	189	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	Room	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	

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The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Room Where It Happens	the room where it happens	190	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Company	Place	
Schuyler Defeated	The Senate	191	Thing	Yes - Tier 2	"US Senate"	US Capitol Building	No, not built at this time	Philip Hamilton	Place	22
Schuyler Defeated	New York	191	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"New York"	New York		Philip Hamilton	Place	
Schuyler Defeated	New York	191	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"New York"	New York		Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Schuyler Defeated	Wall Street	191	Street	Yes - Tier 1	"Wall Street New York"	Wall Street, New York, New York		Aaron Burr	Place	1
Schuyler Defeated	Upstate	191	Region	No	"New York Capital Upstate"	Albany, NY		Aaron Burr	Place	
Cabinet Battle #2	France	192	Country	Yes - Tier 2	"France"	France		George Washington	Group	5
Cabinet Battle #2	England	192	Country	Yes - Tier 2	"England"	England		George Washington	Group	
Cabinet Battle #2	France	192	Country	Yes - Tier 2	"France"	France		Alexander Hamilton	Group	6
Cabinet Battle #2	*Stage Note: Washington, Hamilton, & Jefferson, back in the cabinet*	192	Thing	No		Federal Hall (New York)		Stage Note	Place	
Washington on Your Side	Wall Street	199	Street	Yes - Tier 1	"Wall Street New York"	Wall Street, New York, New York		Thomas Jefferson	Group	2
Washington on Your Side	the South	199	Region	No				James Madison	Group	
Washington on Your Side	the house	199	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Thomas Jefferson	Place	
One Last Time	Stage note: Washington's Office	209	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"George Washington office as president" - takes you to Wikipedia page, go to "President's House"	President's House (Philadelphia, PA)* no longer extant		Stage Note	Place	
One Last Time	going home	210	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 2	"George Washington home"	Mount Vernon		Women	Place	
One Last Time	going home	210	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 2	"George Washington home"	Mount Vernon		Company	Place	
One Last Time	My own vine and fig tree	210	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	George Washington	Place	

Song	Mention	Page in <i>Hamilton: The Revolution</i>	Type of Place	Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention)	Search Terms for Specific Answer	Real Association	If specific, is it accurate?	Line said by	Meant as place or as group?	Multiple count?
One Last Time	going home	211	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 2	"George Washington home"	Mount Vernon		George Washington, Company	Place	
One Last Time	going home	211	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 2	"George Washington home"	Mount Vernon		Company	Place	
One Last Time	going home	211	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 2	"George Washington home"	Mount Vernon		Company	Place	
I Know Him	'85' (1785)	218	Date	No				King George III	Place	
We Know	1791	229	Date	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
We Know	room where it happened	229	General/Non specific	No			57 Maiden Lane (from PBS Documentary)	Aaron Burr	Place	
We Know	to the bed	230	General/Non specific	No			The musical depicts this as a boarding house, but she was living at 154 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia. * Site Chemow, 364	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Hurricane	eye of the hurricane	232	General/Non specific	No		Christianstead, St. Croix	Yes, he lived here in 1772 the time of the hurricane	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Hurricane	when I was 17	232	Date	Yes - Tier 2		1772	Yes, on August 31, 1772 the hurricane hit St. Croix	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Hurricane	A hurricane destroyed my town	232	City	Yes - Tier 2		Christianstead, St. Croix	Yes, he lived here in 1772 the time of the hurricane	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Hurricane	the town	232	City	Yes - Tier 2		Christianstead, St. Croix	Yes, he lived here in 1772 the time of the hurricane	Alexander Hamilton	Group	
Hurricane	New York	232	City	Yes - Tier 2		New York City		Alexander Hamilton	Place	20
Hurricane	eye of the hurricane	232	General/Non specific	No		Christianstead, St. Croix	Yes, he lived here in 1772 the time of the hurricane	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Hurricane	A yellow sky	232	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Hurricane	eye of the hurricane	233	General/Non specific	No		Christianstead, St. Croix	Yes, he lived here in 1772 the time of the hurricane	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The Reynolds Pamphlet	my own house	234	Site	No		*Hamilton Home	Yes, he lived here in 1772 the time of the hurricane The musical depicts that he's in NYC, but he was living at 79 South Third Street, Philadelphia at the time* Site Chemow, 364	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The Reynolds Pamphlet	his own house	234	Site	No		*Hamilton Home	The musical depicts that he's in NYC, but he was living at 79 South Third Street, Philadelphia at the time* Site Chemow, 364	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The Reynolds Pamphlet	his own house	234	Site	No		*Hamilton Home	The musical depicts that he's in NYC, but he was living at 79 South Third Street, Philadelphia at the time* Site Chemow, 364	James Madison	Place	
The Reynolds Pamphlet	London	235	City	Yes - Tier 2	"London"	London, United Kingdom		Company	Place	
Burn	palaces	238	General/Non specific	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Hypothetical	

Song	Mention	Page in <i>Hamilton: The Revolution</i>	Type of Place	Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention)	Search Terms for Specific Answer	Real Association	If specific, is it accurate?	Line said by	Meant as place or as group?	Multiple count?
Bum	cathedrals	238	General/Non specific	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Hypothetical	
Bum	our bed	238	Thing	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Bum	your office	238	Thing	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Bum	the sun	238	thing	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Bum	our bed	238	Thing	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Bum	our bed	238	Thing	No				Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Blow Us All Away	King's College	245	University	Yes - Tier 1	"King's College Hamilton"			Philip Hamilton	Place	2
Blow Us All Away	Broadway	245	Street	Yes - Tier 2	"New York Broadway"	Theatre District (New York, NY)	Yes	Philip Hamilton	Place	
Blow Us All Away	his box	245	Thing	No	"Geroge Eacker Box" -- will direct to his wikipedia page	Park Theatre* no longer extant	Yes	Philip Hamilton	Place	
Blow Us All Away	dueling grounds	245	Site	No	"Philip Hamilton Duel"	Probably Weehawken, New Jersey	Yes	Philip Hamilton	Place	
Blow Us All Away	outside	245	General/Non specific	No				Philip Hamilton	Place	
Blow Us All Away	*Stage Note: the theatre.... In the balcony*	245	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Geroge Eacker Box" -- will direct to his wikipedia page	Park Theatre* no longer extant	Yes	Stage Note	Place	
Blow Us All Away	Across the river	246	Natural Feature	No	"River between New York and New Jersey"	The Hudson River	Yes	Philip Hamilton	Place	
Blow Us All Away	Jersey	246	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"New Jersey"	New Jersey	Yes	Philip Hamilton	Place	2
Blow Us All Away	New Jersey	246	State/Colony	Yes - Tier 2	"New Jersey"	New Jersey	Yes	Alexander Hamilton, Philip Hamilton	Place	2
Blow Us All Away	Aim your gun toward the sky	246	General/Non specific	No		Weehawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Philip Hamilton	Place	
Blow Us All Away	Only nineteen		Time	No	"Philip Hamilton"	1801	Yes, he died at nineteen	Philip Hamilton	Place	
Stay Alive (Reprise)	I was aiming for the sky	247	General/Non specific	No		Weehawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Philip Hamilton	Place	
Stay Alive (Reprise)	I was aiming for the sky	247	General/Non specific	No		Weehawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Philip Hamilton	Place	
Stay Alive (Reprise)	come in	248	General/Non specific	No				Philip Hamilton	Place	
Stay Alive (Reprise)	*Stage note: we segue to a doctor's house*	248	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Philip Hamilton"	Dr. David Hosack's Home	No, Philip was sent to his Aunt's House (Angelica Schuyler Church)	Doctor	Place	
Stay Alive (Reprise)	*Stage note: They enter the room. Philip is in agony on the table*	248	Thing	No			No, Philip was sent to his Aunt's House (Angelica Schuyler Church)	Stage Note	Place	
Stay Alive (Reprise)	*Stage note: Hamilton rushes over to [Philip's] bedside*	248	Thing	No			No, Philip was sent to his Aunt's House (Angelica Schuyler Church)	Stage Note	Place	

Song	Mention	Page in <i>Hamilton: The Revolution</i>	Type of Place	Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention)	Search Terms for Specific Answer	Real Association	If specific, is it accurate?	Line said by	Meant as place or as group?	Multiple count?
It's Quiet Uptown	uptown	253	General/Non specific	No	"Hamilton house uptown"	Hamilton Grange National Memorial		Angelica Schuyler Church, Company	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	the garden	253	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	the store	253	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	church	253	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	the door	253	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	the street	253	General/Non specific	No				Angelica Schuyler Church, Women	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	uptown	253	General/Non specific	No	"Hamilton house uptown"	Hamilton Grange National Memorial		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	uptown	253	General/Non specific	No	"Hamilton house uptown"	Hamilton Grange National Memorial		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	the city	253	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Men	Place	5
It's Quiet Uptown	the street	253	General/Non specific	No				Company	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	uptown	253	General/Non specific	No	"Hamilton house uptown"	Hamilton Grange National Memorial		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	uptown	253	General/Non specific	No	"Hamilton house uptown"	Hamilton Grange National Memorial		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	the park	253	General/Non specific	No				Company	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	the city	253	General/Non specific	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City		Company	Place	5
It's Quiet Uptown	the garden	254	General/Non specific	No				Angelica Schuyler Church	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	uptown	254	General/Non specific	No	"Hamilton house uptown"	Hamilton Grange National Memorial		Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
It's Quiet Uptown	the street	254	General/Non specific	No				Company	Place	
The Election of 1800	1800	258	Date	No	"Election of 1800"		Yes	Company	Place	
The Election of 1800	the North	258	Region	No				James Madison	Place	
The Election of 1800	France	258	Country	Yes - Tier 2		France		Thomas Jefferson	Place	7
The Election of 1800	1800	258	Date	No	"Election of 1800"		Yes	Aaron Burr	Place	
The Election of 1800	France	259	Country	Yes - Tier 2		France		Men	Place	7
The Election of 1800	uptown	259	General/Non specific	No	"Hamilton house uptown"	Hamilton Grange National Memorial		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The Election of 1800	uptown	259	General/Non specific	No	"Hamilton house uptown"	Hamilton Grange National Memorial		Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The Election of 1800	door to door	259	General/Non specific	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
Your Obedient Servant	Weehawken	266	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Weehawken Dying Grounds"	Weehawken, New Jersey Dying Grounds		Aaron Burr	Place	
Your Obedient Servant	Dawn	266	Time	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	

Song	Mention	Page in Hamilton: The Revolution	Type of Place	Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention)	Search Terms for Specific Answer	Real Association	If specific, is it accurate?	Line said by	Meant as place or as group?	Multiple count?
Your Obdient Servant	room where it happens	266	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
Your Obdient Servant	room where it happens	266	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
Your Obdient Servant	room where it happens	266	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
Your Obdient Servant	room where it happens	266	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
Your Obdient Servant	A time and place	266	General/Non specific	No		Wechawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Aaron Burr	Place	
Best of Wives and Best of Women	out of town	269	General/Non specific	No		Wechawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
Best of Wives and Best of Women	Down	269	Time	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	the Hudson	272	Natural Feature	No	"Hudson River"	The Hudson River	Yes	Aaron Burr	Place	1
The World Was Wide Enough	where it gets me, on my feet, several feet ahead of me?	272	General/Non specific	No		Wechawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	the terrain	272	General/Non specific	No		Wechawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Aaron Burr	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	*Stage Note: Burr & Hamilton we see, staring at each other across the way. *	272	General/Non specific	No		Wechawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Stage Note	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	a garden	273	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Figurative	
The World Was Wide Enough	America	273	Country	No		America		Alexander Hamilton	Group	
The World Was Wide Enough	a place	273	General/Non specific	No				Alexander Hamilton	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	He aims his pistol at the sky	273	General/Non specific	No		Wechawken Dueling Grounds, NJ	Yes	Aaron Burr, Company	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	the Hudson	273	Natural Feature	Yes - Tier 2	"Hudson River"	The Hudson River	Yes	Aaron Burr	Place	2
The World Was Wide Enough	the street	273	General/Non specific	No				Aaron Burr	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	at his side	274	General/Non specific	No			Bayard House (80-82 Jane Street)	Aaron Burr	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	the world was wide enough	275	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
The World Was Wide Enough	the world was wide enough	275	General/Non specific	No			Figurative	Aaron Burr	Place	
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	I live another fifty years	280	Time	No	"Eliza Hamilton"	1854	She died in 1854	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	Trinity Church	281	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"New York Trinity Church"	Trinity Church	Yes	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	In DC	281	Site	Yes - Tier 2	"Washington DC"	Washington, DC	Yes	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	Washington Monument	281	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Washington Monument"	Washington Monument	Yes	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	

Song	Mention	Page in <i>Hamilton: The Revolution</i>	Type of Place	Specific - "could you google it and get the right answer?" (Character name or City - Mention)	Search Terms for Specific Answer	Real Association	If specific, is it accurate?	Line said by	Meant as place or as group?	Multiple count?
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	the orphanage	281	Site	Yes - Tier 2	"Eliza Hamilton Orphanage"	Graham Windham	Yes	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	<i>The first private orphanage</i> in New York City	281	City	Yes - Tier 1	"First Private Orphanage in New York City"	Graham Windham	Yes	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	New York City	281	City	Yes - Tier 2	"New York City"	New York City	Yes	Eliza Schuyler Hamilton	Place	28
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	the orphanage	281	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Eliza Hamilton Orphanage"	Graham Windham	Yes	Company	Place	
Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story	the orphanage	281	Site	Yes - Tier 1	"Eliza Hamilton Orphanage"	Graham Windham	Yes	Company	Place	

APPENDIX B

POTENTIAL CASE STUDIES DERIVED FROM *HAMILTON* TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The following table is a list of possible case studies resulting from the place-based textual analysis of *Hamilton* as found in Appendix A. The first pages contain pertinent information for possible case studies. The final page includes sites which are either no-longer extant or are not actively interpreted, and thus were not viable study options, but have been included for reference, nonetheless.

Categories were defined as follows:

- Site Name
- Ownership
- Location
- Open to the Public (Yes/No?)
- Actively Interpreted?
- Socials – Twitter – the Twitter handle for the site, where applicable
- Socials – Facebook – the Facebook handle for the site, where applicable
- Socials – Instagram – the Instagram handle for the site, where applicable
- Socials – YouTube – the YouTube handle for the site, where applicable
- Website
- Special Tours – as known from preliminary research, have sites added special *Hamilton* related tours
- Apps – developed by the site, not necessarily *Hamilton* specific
- Connection to *Hamilton* text – is the site reference either directly or indirectly in the text
- Connection to *Hamilton* culture – is the site connected to the auxiliary products or notable characters from the show
- Interaction – as known from preliminary research, is the site actively interacting with *Hamilton* culture
- Awards for associated actors
- Contacts

Potential Case Study Sites

Site Name	Ownership	Location	Open to Public (Y/N?)	Actively Interpreted	Socials - Twitter	Socials - Facebook
Hamilton Grange National Memorial	National Park Service (Public)	Hamilton Heights, New York City, NY	Yes	Yes	HamiltonGrngNPS	hamiltongrangeNPS
Mount Vernon	Mount Vernon Ladies Association [501(c)(3)]	Alexandria, VA	Yes	Yes	MountVernon	GeorgeWashington's Mount Vernon
Morris-Jumel House	Morris-Jumel Mansion, Inc.	Washington Heights, New York City, NY	Yes	Yes	morrisjumel	Morris-Jumel Mansion
Monticello	Thomas Jefferson Foundation [501(c)(3)]	Charlottesville, VA	Yes	Yes	TJMonticello	Thomas Jefferson's Monticello
Trinity Church	Episcopal Diocese of New York*	New York City, NY	Yes		TrinityWallSt	TrinityWallSt
Museum of American Finance	Museum of American Finance (1989)	New York City, NY	No (closed due to flooding)	No	FinanceMuseum	FinanceMuseum
James Madison's Montpelier	Montpelier Foundation (2000) - formerly owned by NTHP	Montpelier Station, VA	Yes	Yes	jimmontpelier	JMMontpelier

Site Name	Socials - Instagram	Socials - Youtube	Website	Special Tours	Apps
Hamilton Grange National Memorial	-	-	https://www.nps.gov/hagr/index.htm	Unknown	Group of apps from NPS
Mount Vernon	mount-vernon	George Washington's Mount Vernon	https://www.mountvernon.org	No	George Washington Mount Vernon; Agent 711: Spy Adventure
Morris-Jumel House	morrisjumel	-	https://www.morrisjumel.org/	Unknown	-
Monticello	tjmonticello	-	https://www.monticello.org	Yes	Slavery at Monticello
Trinity Church	trinitywallst	trinitywallstreet	https://www.trinitywallstreet.org/	-	Trinity Wall Street CHURCH App; Trinity Wall Street TOUR
Museum of American Finance	FinanceMuseum	FinanceMuseum	https://www.moaf.org/	-	-
James Madison's Montpelier	jmmontpelier	-	https://www.montpelier.org	-	-

Site Name	Connection to <i>Hamilton</i> text	Connection to <i>Hamilton</i> culture	Interaction
Hamilton Grange National Memorial	Indirect reference	Shot in PBS Documentary; Associated with historical character	Unknown
Mount Vernon	Direct reference (2)	Included in PBS Documentary; Associated with historical character	Featured in PBS Special; Tweets at LMM
Morris-Jumel House	None	Included in PBS Documentary; Associated with historical character	Featured in PBS Special <i>Hamilton's America</i> ; Allowed LMM to write in the house
Monticello	Direct reference (2)	Associated with historical character	Offering a limited-time Hamilton Experience; EXTENSIVE webpage (https://www.monticello.org/research-education/for-educators/hamilton-american-musical-resources/); Webpage (https://www.trinitywallstreet.org/about/alexander-hamilton-churchman), with video tour; Included in PBS Special <i>Hamilton's America</i>
Trinity Church	Direct reference (1)	Included in PBS Documentary (LMM and PS visit graves)	Included in PBS Documentary
Museum of American Finance	None	Associated with historical character	Unknown

Site Name	Awards for associated actors	Contacts
Hamilton Grange National Memorial	Tony Nomination for Lin-Manuel Miranda (Best Actor in a Musical); others	Vladimir Merzlyakov (Lead Park Ranger)
Mount Vernon	Tony Nomination for Chris Jackson (Best Featured Actor in a Musical); Grammy	Susan P. Schoelwer, Ph.D. - Executive Director, Historic Preservation and Collections and Robert H. Smith Senior Curator Allison Wickens -Vice President, Education Rebecca Aloisi - Vice President, Marketing
Morris-Jumel House	Tony Award for Leslie Odum, Jr. (Best Actor in a Musical); Grammy	Christopher Davalos, Director of Visitor Services and Engagement
Monticello	Tony Award for Daveed Diggs (Best Featured Actor in a Musical); Grammy	Linnea Grim, Hunter J. Smith Director of Education and Visitor Programs Chad Wollerton, Director of Digital Media and Strategy Jennifer A. Lyon, Communications Officer
Trinity Church	-	Unknown
Museum of American Finance	-	Linda Rapacki - Managing Director of Visitor Services and Building Operations
James Madison's Montpelier	-	Christian Cotz - Director of Education & Visitor Engagement Price A. Thomas - Director of Marketing & Communications

Site Name	Ownership	Location	Open to Public (Y/N?)	Actively Interpreted	Socials - Twitter	Socials - Facebook
Washington's Headquarters Museum & Ford Mansion	National Park Service (Public)	Morristown, NJ	Yes	Yes	MorristownNPS	MorristownNPS
Schuyler-Hamilton House	New Jersey Daughters of the American Revolution	Morristown, NJ	Yes	Yes	-	Schuyler-Hamilton-House-119730644741433
Federal Hall National Memorial	National Park Service (Public)	New York City, NY	Yes (limited hours)	Yes	federalhallnps	federalhallnps
Yorktown Battlefield Colonial National Historical Park	National Park Service (Public)	Yorktown, VA	Yes	Yes	-	COLOYORK
American Revolution Museum at Yorktown (formerly, Yorktown Victory Center)	Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation	Yorktown, VA	Yes	Yes	historyisfunorg	historyisfun
Schuyler Mansion	New York State Parks (Public)	Albany, NY	Yes	Yes	-	schuylermansion
Monmouth Battlefield State Park	New Jersey State Parks (Public)	Monmouth County, NJ	Yes	Yes	-	-

Site Name	Socials - Instagram	Socials - Youtube	Website	Special Tours	Apps
Washington's Headquarters Museum & Ford Mansion	MorristownNPS	-	https://www.nps.gov/morr/learn/historyculture/ford-mansion-washington-s-headquarters.htm	-	-
Schuyler-Hamilton House	-	-	https://www.njdar.org/schuyler-hamilton.html	-	-
Federal Hall National Memorial	-	-	https://www.nps.gov/feha	Unknown	-
Yorktown Battlefield Colonial National Historical Park	-	-	www.nps.gov/york	Unknown	-
American Revolution Museum at Yorktown (formerly, Yorktown Victory Center)	historyisfunorg	historyisfunorg	https://www.historyisfun.org/yorktown-victory-center/	Unknown	-
Schuyler Mansion	-	-	https://parks.ny.gov/historic-sites/33/details.aspx	Unknown	-
Monmouth Battlefield State Park	-	-	https://www.state.nj.us/dep/parksandforests/parks/monbat.html	No	-

Site Name	Connection to <i>Hamilton</i> text	Connection to <i>Hamilton</i> culture	Interaction
Washington's Headquarters Museum & Ford Mansion	Implied in setting	-	Unknown
Schuyler-Hamilton House	Implied in setting	Included in PBS Documentary	Unknown
Federal Hall National Memorial	Implied in setting/indirect in cabinet battle	Included in PBS Documentary	Included in PBS Documentary
Yorktown Battlefield Colonial National Historical Park	Subject of "Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)"	N/A	Unknown
American Revolution Museum at Yorktown (formerly, Yorktown Victory Center)	Subject of "Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down)"	N/A	Unknown
Schuyler Mansion	Implied in "Take a Break"	N/A	Unknown
Monmouth Battlefield State Park	Mentioned in lyric in "Right Hand Man"	N/A	Unknown

Site Name	Awards for associated actors	Contacts
Washington's Headquarters Museum & Ford Mansion	Tony Nomination for Chris Jackson (Best Featured Actor in a Musical); Grammy	Karen Sloat-Olsen - Chief of Interpretation & Education
Schuyler-Hamilton House	Tony Nomination for Phillipa Soo (Best Featured Actress in a Musical); Grammy; Tony Award for Renee Elise Goldsberry (Best Actress in a Musical)	Unavaliable
Federal Hall National Memorial	Tony Nomination for Chris Jackson (Best Featured Actor in a Musical); Grammy	Barbara Applebaum Chief of Interpretation, Education and Visitor Services Federal Hall National Memorial
Yorktown Battlefield Colonial National Historical Park	Tony Nomination for Chris Jackson (Best Featured Actor in a Musical); Grammy	Unavaliable
American Revolution Museum at Yorktown (formerly, Yorktown Victory Center)	Tony Nomination for Chris Jackson (Best Featured Actor in a Musical); Grammy	Susan K. Bak - Senior Director for Marketing & Retail Operations Peter J. Armstrong - Senior Director for Museum Operations & Education
Schuyler Mansion	Tony Nomination for Phillipa Soo (Best Featured Actress in a Musical); Grammy; Tony Award for Renee Elise Goldsberry (Best Actress in a Musical)	Unknown
Monmouth Battlefield State Park	-	James Douglas

These potential sites were deemed non-viable, either because of lack of interpretative options or being no longer extant.

Site Name	Ownership	Location	Open to Public (Y/N?)	Actively Interpreted
The Hamilton Birthplace* some dispute over accuracy of location		Charlestown, Neviss		
Princeton University	Princeton University (Private)	Princeton, NJ	No	No
Columbia University	Columbia University (Private)	New York City, NY	No	No
Fraunces Tavern	(Private)	New York City, NY	Open to restaurant patrons	No
Washington Monument	National Park Service (Public)	Washington, DC		Yes
Christianshead, St. Croix	-	St. Croix		No
Mercer Street	-	New York City, NY		No
New York Harbor	-	New York City, NY		No
Wall Street	-	New York City, NY		No
John Laurens State Historic Marker	South Carolina Department of Archives and History	Colleton County, SC		No
U.S. Treasury Building	-	Washington, DC		No
Boston Harbor	-	Boston, MA		No
U.S. Capitol Building	-	Washington, DC		Yes
Weehawken Dueling Grounds (plaque)	Unknown	Weehawken, NJ	-	
Thomas Jefferson's residence at 57 Maiden Lane (plaque) *No longer Extant		New York City, NY	-	No
First Bank of the United States* No longer extant	-	-	-	-
58 Wall Street* Hamilton Residence around the time of Phillip's Birth; no longer extant	-	-	-	-
New York State Capitol* No longer extant	-	-	-	-
Old Pennsylvania State House* no longer extant	-	-	-	-
President's House* No longer extant	-	-	-	-
Park Theatre* No longer extant	-	-	-	-