

Chapter 1 -- Prehistoric Americans



Dates:
16,000BC – 1,500 AD

- Sections:**
- The North American Continent
 - Aboriginal Tribes Settle The Land

Time: 16,000BC-1500AD

The North American Continent



From the mountains, to the prairies, to the oceans white with foam...the land awaited its first settlers.

Time: 1500AD

Aboriginal Tribes Settle The Land



Lakota Chief Rain-In-The-Face

Starting around 16,000 BC, or earlier, America’s first settlers wend their way across a 1000 mile “land bridge,” formed by a sea level drop in the Bering Straits, which once linked the eastern edges of Siberia to western-most Alaska.

Their facial features signal an Asian heritage, and they are typically dark complexioned. They operate in tribes and become adept at both hunting and gathering. They are the first farmers of the land, sustained by a wide range of indigenous crops, including corn, potatoes, peanuts, chocolate, cotton and tobacco.

Thus the New World is born.

Over time the settlers fan out across the northern continent, east to the Atlantic coast and south through Mexico to the southern hemisphere. Along the way they build enduring civilizations.

The Tlingit people of the Pacific Northwest master the arts of fishing and record their history on totem poles. The Hohokam tribes of Arizona introduce irrigation systems to facilitate desert farming. The Pueblos build roads connecting some 2500 communities from New Mexico to Utah. The Siouans roam the Great Plains over to the upper Mississippi, while the Natchez people, living in adobe huts with thatched roofs and led by their Sun King, dominate the lower valley.

The Hopewell nation flourishes in the Midwest from Missouri to Wisconsin and east through Illinois and Indiana, their past evident in huge burial mounds throughout the region.

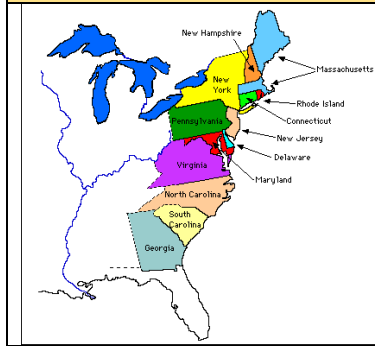
The Algonquians extend across Canada from the Rockies to New England, chasing seasonal food supplies with their portable wigwams. They eventually collide with the Iroquoians, who flourish in New York and the upper Atlantic states. Meanwhile the Southeast is home to what will later become known as the “five civilized tribes” – the Cherokee, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaw and Seminoles.

By 1500 AD Native American civilizations, speaking upwards of 250 unique languages, dot the landscape from coast to coast.



There are no reliable population statistics for this timeframe, but estimates tend to range upwards of 10 million people – at the time European explorers intrude on their homeland.

Chapter 2 -- The European Invasion Of America



Dates:
1492-1763

Sections:

- Christopher Columbus Reaches The New World
- Spain Leads The European Invasion Of The Americas
- Britain Begins Its Colonies
- A Total of 13 Colonies Are Established
- France Stakes Out Eastern Canada And The Mississippi Valley
- The 18th Century: Rule Britannia

Time: 1492

Christopher Columbus Reaches The New World



Christopher Columbus (1451-1506)

The European intrusion into the New World begins by accident.

Since Roman times, Europe is attracted to the spices of Asia – cinnamon, cardamom, ginger, pepper, turmeric, not to mention opium. But the overland trade routes to the East are precarious. Instead, perhaps by sailing west, a shorter and more commercially favorable route could be found.

This is what Christopher Columbus has in mind on October 12, 1492, when he begins his voyage with three ships, in service to the Spanish crown. After 70 days at sea, he encounters land, most likely the tiny island of San Salvador. From there he spends the next three months navigating his way south to Cuba, then east to Hispaniola (later Haiti and the Dominican Republic). Along the way, he encounters natives with gold earrings, whom he describes as docile in nature, lacking in weaponry, and easily capable of being conquered, converted to

Christianity and placed into servitude.

Still believing he has found his way to India, Columbus refers to the islands as the East Indies, and the natives as “Indios” or Indians. He kidnaps many along the way, and some 7-8 who survive the journey home are put on display as proof of his success.

On March 4, 1493 Columbus is back in Portugal. Despite losing his lead ship, Santa Maria, and failing to locate any spice treasures, his encounter with the Caribbean islands sets off an exploration frenzy that lasts over the next two centuries.



First Voyage by Columbus to the New World

Within a decade of the 1492 voyage, Europe recognizes that Columbus has reached a whole New World, rather than Asia. The Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci, argues this fact after his 1502 voyage, and in 1507 a German mapmaker, Martin Waldseemueller, officially christens the continent “America” in his honor.

Time: 1492-1602

Spain Leads The European Invasion Of The Americas



Spanish Exploration of North America

In turn America becomes a sought after chip in the game played by the monarchs of Spain, France and England for control over Europe and for global hegemony.

Spain takes the lead as the dominant power in Europe after the 1469 marriage of two Catholic monarchs, Isabelle of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon, unify the nation, and dynastic matches of their children extend their power into Portugal and the Hapsburg dynasty.

It is their grandson, Charles I, who reigns supreme from 1516 to 1558 over much of Europe, including Spain, Italy and the sprawling remnants of the Holy Roman Empire, from the Netherlands in the north to Austria-Hungary in the south.

King Charles is a Catholic monarch, who battles against the Protestant Reformation, sparked by Martin Luther in 1517, and against France in various European wars. He is also remembered for sending his conquistadors across the Atlantic after gold and territory in the Americas.

Two remarkable civilizations fall to his swords and cannon in short order, as Hernan Cortez conquers Montezuma and the Aztec empire by 1521 and Francisco Pizarro ends the Incas rule over Peru in 1541. Hernando De Soto rampages through Central America and the Caribbean, then north to Florida and west to Louisiana. Alvar Cabeza and Francisco Coronado extend De Soto’s tracks in America, driving through Texas to Arizona and up through Oklahoma to Kansas. Some fifty years later, in 1596, Sebastien Vizcaino explores the west coast, from San Diego to Oregon.

So Spain is first to assert its “rights” throughout the New World.

By 1600, it controls much of the Caribbean Islands, Peru, Central America, Mexico, and over half of the North American continent from Florida across the deep South to San Diego, then north to Oregon.

The European Exploration Of America: Early Spanish Expeditions

Years	Explorer	From	Land Covered
1492-1504	Columbus, Christopher	Spain	San Salvador, Cuba, Haiti, Trinidad, Jamaica, Venezuela, Mexico, Honduras, Panama
1493-1521	De Leon, Ponce	Spain	Santo Domingo (DR), Puerto Rico, Florida
1497-98	Cabot, John	England	Newfoundland
1497-1538	Da Gama, Vasco	Portugal	Opens trade route with India (“the Indies”)
1499-1502	Vespucci, Amerigo	Italy	S. America, recognizes that new world is not Asia
1519-21	Cortez, Hernan	Spain	Mexico, conquers Montezuma and Aztecs
1524-42	De Soto, Hernando	Spain	Nicaragua, Peru, Cuba, Florida, Louisiana
1524-28	Verrazzano, Giovanni	Italy	Cape Fear, NC, New York, Maine, Newfoundland
1528-37	Cabeza, Alvar	Spain	Cuba, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Mexico City
1532-41	Pizarro, Francisco	Spain	Conquers Incas in Peru, into Panama
1534-41	Cartier, Jacques	France	1000 miles up St Lawrence seaway
1540-42	Coronado, Francisco	Spain	Arizona, NM, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas
1577-80	Drake, Sir Francis	England	2 nd after Magellan around the world, California
1584-87	Raleigh, Sir Walter	England	Roanoke colony (NC) in 1584-87, Florida
1596-1602	Vizcaino, Sebastian	Spain	Pacific coast, San Diego to Oregon

But Spain comes to the New World more as plunderers than as settlers. In North America, their main attempts at establishing deep roots occur in the Florida’s, notably at St. Augustine in 1565, in Santa Fe around 1598 and Texas in San Antonio by 1717.

The failure of Spain to populate and formally colonize in North America will come back to haunt them when their land claims are later threatened by France and the United States.

Early Spanish Settlements In America

Year	Location
1585	St. Augustine, Fla
1696	Pensacola, Fla
1718	San Antonio
1772	St. Luis Obispo, Ca
1780	Yuma, Az
1786	Santa Barbara, Ca
1828	San Francisco Solano, Ca

Time: 1497-1664

Britain Begins To Colonize America



Queen Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603)

Aside from John Cabot's 1497 voyage to Newfoundland, the English show little early interest in the New World.

This changes, however, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, from 1533 to 1603, and King James I from 1603 to 1625.

Once they turn their attention toward America, England's strategy differs sharply from the Spanish. Instead of in and out probes for gold and silver, the English set their sights on establishing permanent colonies on the continent, to work the land and carry on profitable trade over time.

The development of Britain's dominant Royal Navy during Elizabeth's time assures them of control over the sea lanes required for safe import and export of goods.

What's left then is to formulate a "business arrangement" between British merchants and the crown that will incent the formation of permanent colonies across the ocean.

The solution here is the "joint stock corporation," a model that will become a permanent feature of the future economic landscape in America.

"Corporations" begin as a legal agreement between the monarch and a set of private investors ("stock owners") based on a mutually agreeable "exchange." In this case, the crown grants ownership of sizable chunks of land in America to investors in return for sponsoring settlements that create and sustain trade.



Colonies Along the Atlantic Coast

The principal corporation during Elizabeth's reign is known as The London Company, which is granted Atlantic coast territory extending all the way from the 34th (Cape Fear, North Carolina) to the 41st parallel (Long Island Sound). This results in England's first American settlement, the Roanoke Colony, set up by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 on lands he calls Virginia, in honor of the Virgin Queen. But when long-delayed supply ships from England revisit the colony in 1590, all signs of the 110 settlers have vanished without a trace.

The "Lost Colony of Roanoke" halts English colonization until King James I grants two pivotal and somewhat overlapping charters in 1606:

Two British Corporations Found

Joint Stock Corporations Chartered By James I In 1606

Company Name	Grant Longitude	Primary Development Areas
Virginia Company of London	34 th to 41 th parallel	Virginia, North Carolina
Virginia Company of Plymouth	38 th to 45 th parallel	New England

On May 13, 1607, some 105 men led by Captain John Smith land at Jamestown, Virginia, with their London Company charter ordering them to accomplish three things:

- Find precious metals;
- Establish a Protestant presence on the continent; and
- Expand English naval power.

But like Roanoke, Jamestown is almost another failure. There is no gold to be found, malaria strikes, and in June, 1610 the 38 survivors re-board their ship to head home. Destiny shifts, however, when sailing out on James River, they encounter a second wave of London Company settlers and return, 1700 strong, to search again for a path to prosperity. After experimenting with a series of possible exports, from timber to iron to sassafras, the colonists finally settle on tobacco, which becomes an overnight sensation in Britain, and triggers the formation of other southern colonies: Carolina in 1629 and Maryland in 1632.

On August 13, 1607, the Plymouth Company lands a contingent of 120 souls, under the command of George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, on the southwest coast of Maine, near the mouth of the Kennebec River. While they are able to construct Fort St. George, hard living conditions and a falling out between the leaders causes the colony to close after its first year.

A second Plymouth Company venture proves more successful. On December 21, 1620, Captain William Bradford, a Puritan separatist fleeing the Church of England, navigates the aging ship Mayflower and its 102 "pilgrim" passengers into a harbor at Plymouth, Massachusetts. His first impressions are anything but uplifting:

It is a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men.

After surviving the winter, they establish a toe-hold in America, and are joined in 1628, by settlers associated with another corporation -- The Massachusetts's Bay Company.

The British then consolidate control over the entire Atlantic coast in 1664 by forcing the Dutch to surrender their claim to the New Netherlands territory, in and around the island of Manhattan. This claim originates with Henry Hudson's 1609 voyage on behalf of the Dutch East Indies Company. By 1626 its

Director-General, Peter Minuit, has “purchased” the island from the Delaware tribe and constructed Ft. Amsterdam to defend the harbor.

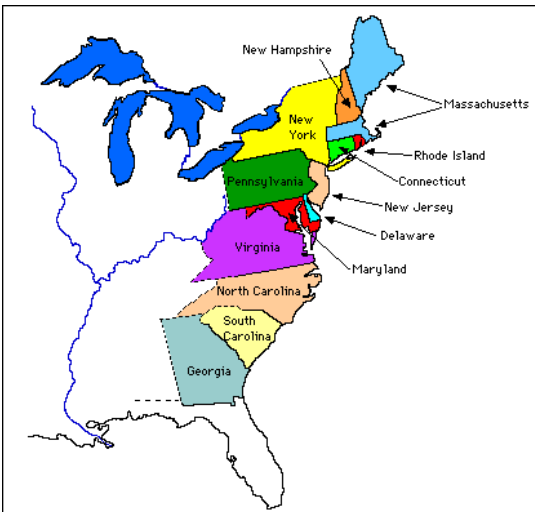
But the Dutch defenses are no match for the four British frigates that appear on August 27, 1664, and demand surrender. By 1665 New Netherlands has officially become New York colony, and the Manhattan settlement of New Amsterdam is re-christened New York City. A final treaty to this effect is signed in 1674, after conclusion of the 3rd Anglo-Dutch War.

Early Exploration Of America: English Expeditions

Years	Explorer	From	Land Covered
1497-98	Cabot, John	England	Newfoundland
1577-80	Drake, Sir Francis	England	2 nd after Magellan around the world, California
1578-83	Gilbert, Sir Humphrey	England	Newfoundland and Nova Scotia
1584-87	Raleigh, Sir Walter	England	Roanoke colony (NC) in 1584-87, Florida
1596-1602	Vizcaino, Sebastian	Spain	Pacific coast, San Diego to Oregon
1603-09	Champlain, Samuel	France	Settles Quebec
1606-14	Smith, John	England	Jamestown in 1607, Richmond, Baltimore
1607-08	Popham, George	England	Maine
1609-11	Hudson, Henry	England	New York (for Dutch East Indies Co.), Hudson R

Time: 1607-1700

A Total Of Thirteen British Colonies Are Established



By the end of the 17th century Britain’s holdings in America comprise thirteen colonies, along the Atlantic coast.

Approximate Dates And Charters For The Thirteen Crown Colonies

Date	Name	Founded by	Announced Purpose
1607	Virginia	The London Co	To find gold
1620	Plymouth (Mass)	Separatist Puritans	To separate from the Church of England
1630	Massachusetts Bay	Reform Puritans	To reform the Church of England
1635	Connecticut	Thomas Hooker	For Puritan gentlemen.
1636	Rhode Island	Roger Williams	For total religious freedom (and Baptists)
1664	New York	The Dutch	To secure and trade furs
1664	New Jersey	The Dutch	For farming
1692	New Hampshire	John Mason	For farming
1632	Maryland	Lord Baltimore	To secure religious freedom for Catholics
1681	Pennsylvania	William Penn	To secure religious freedom for Quakers
1703	Delaware	New Sweden Co	For farming
1719	Carolinas	Virginians	For farming and trade
1732	Georgia	James Oglethorpe	To provide relief for the English in poverty

They are a diverse lot to say the least. All favor the English language and share some form of allegiance to the crown; but their make-up and missions often have little in common.

The three New England colonies (Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island) probably come closest to a shared purpose – that being a wish to practice the Puritan religion without interference from the Church of England hierarchy back home. The Puritans are committed to driving all residual traces of Catholicism out of their worship and living lives of “Christian charity” according to the principles of the French theologian, John Calvin (1509-64).

- Total depravity – all men are born as sinners.
- Unconditional election – God selects which will be saved and which damned.
- Limited atonement – Christ died only for those who are to be saved.
- Pre-destination – man cannot affect his own salvation through deeds or prayer.
- Anti-Catholicism – purify church practices and rely on congregations to run them.

But even within this umbrella of Puritanism, there are fissures. Those clustered in Massachusetts Bay wish to stay within the Church of England, while reforming it as they see fit. The Puritan “pilgrims” of Plymouth, Massachusetts, opt for creating a separate church entirely. The Rhode Islanders, under the break-away Puritan preacher Roger Williams, are eager to explore other new religious approaches, notably the Baptist movement.

Two other colonies are also predicated on offering citizens the right to practice their own form of religion. In Maryland, Cecil Calvert, 2nd Baron Baltimore, establishes a haven for Roman Catholic settlers in the New World. In Pennsylvania, the English real estate magnate, William Penn, provides a home for Quakers.

Georgia is also focused on a higher calling, in this case secular in nature and aimed at providing a better life for settlers caught in the misery of poverty back home in England.

The other seven colonies are more concerned with everyday matters related to homesteading and commerce.

By 1700 the population has grown to roughly 250,000 settlers. For most the early days of struggling against the elements to simply stay alive have passed, and their attention has turned to farming and other forms of making a living. Their tenacity, however, in reaching and settling in the new land seems to be paying fine rewards.

Time: 1534-1682

France Stakes Out Eastern Canada And The Mississippi Valley



The Sun King, Louis XIV of France (1638-1715)

France’s interest in America picks up during the 72 year reign (1643-1715) of Louis XIV, the Sun King, who is arguably the dominant force in Europe in his time.

In search of fur trading outposts, the French locate and explore the great waterways into and across America.

They arrive from the North in 1534, with Jacques Cartier’s 1000 mile voyage down the St. Lawrence seaway. In 1541 Cartier sets up the first European settlement in North America, 400 strong, at Cap Rouge (Quebec City). But a year later it is abandoned, owing to an unforgiving winter climate and conflicts with local tribes.



Like the British, the French learn that it is one thing to reach the New World and quite another to survive there.

After a hiatus lasting six decades, Samuel Champlain retraces Cartier’s route and successfully opens a French outpost at Quebec in 1608.

From there, the French drive west proceeds, across Canada and the Great Lakes, to the mighty Mississippi, led by Jean Nicollet, Louis Joliet and Father Jacques Marquette.

Early Exploration Of America: French Expeditions

Years	Explorer	From	Land Covered
1534-41	Cartier, Jacques	France	1000 miles up St Lawrence seaway
1540-42	Coronado, Francisco	Spain	Arizona, NM, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas
1577-80	Drake, Sir Francis	England	2 nd after Magellan around the world, California
1584-87	Raleigh, Sir Walter	England	Roanoke colony (NC) in 1584-87, Florida
1596-1602	Vizcaino, Sebastian	Spain	Pacific coast, San Diego to Oregon
1603-09	Champlain, Samuel	France	Settles Quebec
1606-14	Smith, John	England	Jamestown in 1607, Richmond, Baltimore
1609-11	Hudson, Henry	England	New York (for Dutch East Indies Co.), Hudson R
1618-42	Nicollet, Jean	France	Canada, Great Lakes, Wisconsin, Illinois
1626-38	Minuit, Peter	Dutch	Bought Manhattan I in 1626 for the Dutch East Co
1645-72	Stuyvesant, Peter	Dutch	Governor of New Amsterdam (NYC), West Indies
1673	Joliet, Louis	Canada	Mississippi R (Green Bay to Arkansas)
1673	Marquette, Jacques	France	Mississippi R along with Joliet
1679-82	De La Salle, Robert	France	Great Lakes and length of Mississippi
1774-1830	DuSable, Jean	France	Chicago, Michigan, Missouri

Along the way, French forts and outposts translate into many of the enduring cities of the Midwest.

Early French Settlements In America

Year	Location
1608	Quebec City
1642	Montreal
1669	Ft. La Baye (Green Bay)
1679	Ft. Niagra
1680	Ft. Crevecoeur (Peoria, IL)
1698	Caho Kia (Cahokia, IL)
1699	Biloxi
1701	Ft. Ponchetrain (Detroit)
1716	Ft Rosalie (Natchez)
1718	La Nouvelle Orleans
1720	Baton Rouge
1780's	Chicago

In honor of King Louis XIV, the New France territories along the Mississippi are christened “Louisiana.”

Time: 1700-1763

The 18th Century: Rule Britannia



Monument to General Wolfe
at Quebec

On November 1, 1700, the Spanish throne is left vacant by the death of the mentally and physically handicapped King Charles II -- “the Bewitched” – whose 40-year rule incapacitates the country. In his will Charles names Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, as his successor, which threatens to unite Spain, the Hapsburg empire and France under one crown.

At this point, the British, ruled by the Protestant Queen Anne, decide to go to war to prevent France from expanding its power in Europe. The War of Spanish Succession lasts from 1701 to 1714, and ends with a major victory for the English over Louis XIV.

One phase of this conflict is fought in North America and known as Queen Anne’s War. It leaves the Spanish missions in Florida weakened and costs the French its territory in Newfoundland, Acadia and Hudson Bay.

But the battle over succession in Spain proves only a warm-up for the Seven Year’s War, waged 1756 to 1763.

It becomes the world’s “first true global war” eventually pitting France, Austria, Spain, Sweden and Saxony against an alliance of England, Prussia, Portugal and Russia. It is fought on land and sea, with human casualties estimated at well over one million men, and fearful financial losses on all sides.

The American theater is christened the French & Indian War, with most of the action centered on control over trade-route forts along the Canadian border.

As the war begins, the French have 75,000 settlers living in North America vs. 1.5 million British colonists. Their military consist of roughly 10,000 regular army forces, complemented by their tribal

partners, the Algonquins and the Mohawks. The British muster roughly 40,000 men between their regulars and militia volunteers from their colonies, including one George Washington of Virginia. Their Indian allies are the Iroquois, historical foes of the Algonquin.

Despite these odds, the war begins badly for England. General Braddock is defeated at Ft. Duquense (Pittsburg), and overall commander of the French troops, General Montcalm, scores victories in upstate New York over Ft. Oswego and Ft. William Henry. Both of these battles are marred by atrocities against British prisoners.

Beginning in 1758, the tide turns in favor of Britain, culminating in the fall of the French garrison at Quebec City. This follows a vicious ten week siege of the city, ending September 13, 1759, with both General Wolfe and General Montcalm killed in action. From there the British navy cuts off re-supply efforts by France along the St. Lawrence, and the last stronghold at Montreal falls in 1760.



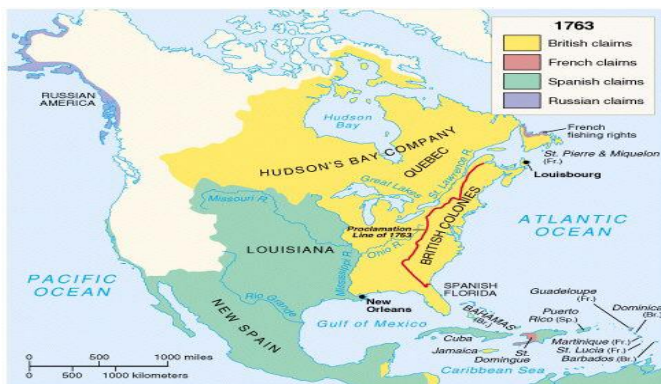
During the full course of the Seven Year's War, British naval and army power has swept across the globe. In the east, the Spanish colony at Manilla has fallen along with the French trading posts in India. Spain has lost control over much of the Caribbean, including its Havana colony in Cuba. Canada is wrested from France.

The war ends with the 1763 Treaty of Paris and sets the stage for creation of the British Empire.

Britain Drives France out of America in the French and Indian Wars of 1750

After several rounds of post-war territorial horse-trading, the face of North America changes profoundly.

- The French have essentially vacated the continent. Britain picks up their holdings in Canada, along with their claims to land east of the Mississippi. By 1764 it is also revealed that they have transferred their vast "Louisiana" territory west of the Mississippi to Spain. For the sake of on-going peace, the English promise to allow Catholicism to continue in the former French territories and to return the sugar-rich Caribbean island of Guadalupe to France.
- Spain hands both West and East Florida over to Britain, in exchange for retaining Cuba and securing control over the port of New Orleans.



Ownership of North America in 1763

As of 1763, America control, through Britain, 39% of the 3.1 million square miles that will eventually comprise the nation.

Chapter 3 -- The Age Of Enlightenment Sweeps Across Europe



Dates:
1517-1775

- Sections:**
- Prior Challenges To The Authority Of Church And Crown
 - New “Enlightenment” Theories Take Hold

Time: 1517-1649

Prior Challenges To The Authority Of Church And Crown



Martin Luther (1483-1546)

As the monarchs of Europe and their church allies seek to extend their wealth and power through global wars of aggression, an “intellectual awakening” is occurring which will rattle the foundations of their rule.

This awakening is known as The Enlightenment or The Age of Reason. It begins early in the 17th century and reaches its zenith around 1800. Its effect is to cause common men to question and then to challenge the authority of the two traditional institutions that govern their lives – church and state.

Challenges to the church come first. They catch fire in 1517, when the German Catholic monk, Martin Luther, nails his 95 Theses on the door of the All Saints Church in Wittenberg, Saxony. The notion that man can purchase his way to salvation by paying indulgences to the clergy violates Luther’s basic religious convictions, so he protests publicly against the practice.

What follows Luther’s act is the great religious schism known as the Protestant Reformation.

This takes hold across the 16th century and intersects with affairs of state in 1527 when Pope Clement VI refuses to grant a marriage annulment to King Henry VIII. Exercising his “divine right” as monarch, Henry responds by banishing the existing priesthood and replacing it with his own Church of England. Thus ends the monolithic dominance of Catholicism in Europe.

Another cornerstone of despotic rule crumbles during the English Civil War of 1647. The villain in this piece is King Charles I who exercises his personal prerogatives by taxing the people at will and marrying a queen who is both French and Catholic. After almost 25 years of his affronts, a Parliatarian movement

rises up – under the Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell – that ends with the beheading of Charles at Whitehall on January 30, 1649. Henceforth the voice of the people will be amplified in the minds of their monarchs.

Of course these events do not end the disproportionate sway held by church and crown over the destinies of men and nations. But they do open the door for a new breed of independent thought that will lead in large part to reshaping the destiny of the British colonies in America.

Time: 1700-1778

New “Enlightenment” Theories Take Hold



Grave of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Four leading philosophers of The Enlightenment argue the time has come for “absolute monarchies,” the global norm for centuries, to give way to new forms of government that respond to the will of the people.

The English philosopher and physician, John Locke (1632-1704), lives through the turmoil following Cromwell’s death in 1658 and the restoration of Charles II, whose reign includes the Black Plague, the Great Fire of London, and a deathbed conversion to Catholicism. When his son James II marries a Catholic, another popular rebellion places the Protestant William III of Orange and his wife Mary back on the throne. As part of the deal, the pair agree to a “Declaration of Rights” which limits the power of the crown over its subject.

In 1689, as William and Mary ascend, Locke publishes his “Second Treatise of Government” in which he argues on behalf of “classical liberalism” -- that the size and power of government should be limited in order to preserve and enlarge the freedom of the individual.

- The end of law... is to preserve and enlarge freedom.
- The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason is that law.
- The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth.
- All mankind, being equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions.
- Men being by nature, all free, equal, and independent, no one can be subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent.

Locke’s preferred form of government is a monarchy, but he demands that it be “constitutional” in nature, with all property owners given the right to vote.

The Swiss writer and musician, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), grows up in a middle class family in Geneva, leads a bohemian lifestyle, and records his observations about the nature of man and society in a series of tracts that challenge conventional thought. He asserts that men are born free, equal and happy and then surrender these joys by entering into a destructive social contract based on property rights.

The first person who, having enclosed a plot of land, took it into his head to say this is mine and found people simple enough to believe him was the true founder of civil society. What crimes, wars, murders, what miseries and horrors would the human race have been spared, had someone pulled up the stakes or cried out to his fellow men: "Do not listen to this imposter. You are lost if you forget that the fruits of the earth belong to all and the earth to no one!"

According to Rousseau, governments, especially monarchies, are typically dedicated to protecting the property rights of the haves at the expense of the have nots, who are left in chains. The only way around this are laws that balance out the score.

In truth, laws are always useful to those with possessions and harmful to those who have nothing; from which it follows that the social state is advantageous to men only when all possess something and none has too much.

The path to just laws lies in forming a government based on “pure Democracy” where decisions are arrived at in open debate, with full participation on all sides, and a final vote based on “majority rules.” In this regard, the English system – a “Republic,” where lawmakers are elected to represent their constituencies – falls short of Rousseau’s ideal.

The people of England regards itself as free; but it is grossly mistaken; it is free only during the election of members of parliament. As soon as they are elected, slavery overtakes it, and it is nothing.

Needless to say, Rousseau is regarded as a dangerous radical by the establishment, and his works are banned in the Calvinistic canton of Geneva. Still, his populist views will fuel reformers on behalf of Democracy.


Two other Enlightenment thinkers also weigh heavily in the search for options to the absolute monarchies.

The Scottish essayist, David Hume (1711-1778), focuses on two essential ingredients – unfettered free speech and a written, formally approved Constitution. The French Baron and lawyer, Charles Montesquieu (1689-1775), calls for dividing government into separate branches to insure “checks and balances” on major decisions and to prevent concentrations of power.

But unlike Rousseau, both Hume and Montesquieu fear that “direct Democracy” will trample on the rights of minority interests. Protecting these interests, they feel, requires a “Republican” government, with elected statement using personal judgment and wisdom to guard against unbridled “majority rules.”

In the end, all four of the Enlightenment thinkers and writers will play a significant role in shaping America’s world view and its unique form of government.

Chapter 4 -- The First Great Awakening Transforms America's Churches

	<p>Dates: 1607-1730</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • America's Religious Heritage Up To The Early 1700's • Jonathan Edwards Sparks The "First Great Awakening" Movement • The Evangelical Spirit Expands With John Wesley's Methodist Episcopalians
<p>George Fox (Quaker) (1624-1691)</p>		

Time: 1607-1706

America's Religious Heritage Up To The Early 1700's



Roger Williams (Baptist)(1603-1683)

Effects of the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment movements in Europe spill over to the religious environment developing in America.

What begins in 1607 with traditional Church of England (Anglican) settlers in Virginia, and in 1620 with Puritan rebels in Massachusetts, morphs into a full spectrum of theological options.

At the conservative end lie the Roman Catholics, who come to America via the Spanish "missions" scattered from Florida west to New Orleans and up the Mississippi River. In 1632 they discover a home in the colonies when the Catholic, Lord Baltimore, founds Maryland. They will, however, remain a much maligned presence in an America dominated by Protestant antipathy toward Rome.

Conservatism also marks the Anglicans, who assume an American identity as the Episcopalian Church. In form it remains King Henry VIII's patchwork amalgamation of Catholicism and Protestant reform. But its governance is clearly top-down, with authority over all church matters resting with a clerical hierarchy. Its liturgy mimics the old world mass, and its tonality is formal. Followers are heavily skewed toward the Southern colonies.

America's other churches are more sharply aligned with the German and Swiss contemporaries, Luther (1483-1546) and Calvin (1509-1564), who spark the Protestant Reformation. Both regard the entrenched clergy of their time as corrupt, and encourage their followers to take control over their own church governance.

This principle is embedded in the Puritan flight from the Church of England, and it carries over to their practices in America. Over time the Puritans and Lutherans tend to evolve into the Congregational

Church, which eliminates the clerical hierarchy and places authority for religious practices in the hands of the membership. Its influence is centered in New England.

Like the Congregationalists, Baptists embrace basic Calvinist tenets: salvation through faith alone, predestination, the Bible as the word of God dictating the right path, authority in the hands of the congregation rather than a clergy. What distinguishes them, however, is a belief that the act of baptism should be reserved for adults, not newborns, as a symbol of their studied commitment to entering the church. After its founding by Roger Williams in 1632, the Baptist Church spreads beyond Rhode Island, especially into the South.

The Presbyterian sect, founded by the Scottish preacher, John Knox (1505-1572), also traces its theological roots to Calvin. Its governance, however, falls to a body of “church elders” rather than to the members as a whole. Hence its name, which derives from the Greek word for elders – “presbyteros.” The Presbyterian Church arrives in America around 1706, accompanying immigrants from Scotland. It takes hold in North Carolina, Pennsylvania and the western territories.

By 1730 each religious denomination is settling into place in the colonies, some holding on to traditional church hierarchies and liturgy, others breaking away toward new options.

At this point the Enlightenment spirit strikes the American church scene.

Time: 1730’s

Jonathan Edwards Sparks The “First Great Awakening” Movement



An Early Church in Dunbarton, New Hampshire

The general effect of the Enlightenment is to awaken individuals to the notion of self-reliance – that by using their own capacities of reason, they can re-shape their societies and personal destinies.

This is a transformative idea, and its impact is felt throughout colonial America in the 18th century.

Within the religious realm, the enlightenment spirit is ironically manifested by an otherwise conservative Puritan minister, Reverend Jonathan Edwards, preaching in Northampton, Massachusetts.

Edwards is born in 1703 in East Windsor, Connecticut, a single son surrounded by ten sibling sisters. The family survives on modest means, a minister father eking out spare income by tutoring boys prior to entering college. One such boy is the son, Jonathan, a precocious student who enters Yale at age 13 and graduates as valedictorian of his class in 1720. Young Edwards is intensely disciplined throughout his life, studying and writing every day for up to 13 hours, taking time out only when other duties demand his attention. He is naturally drawn to the sciences, but sees in them a framework for man that is divinely inspired. His life will be devoted to faith not Deism.

He serves briefly as a novice pastor in 1722 before returning to Yale as a theological tutor, affirming his strict adherence to traditional Calvinist principles. His personal life is ascetic, marked by self-imposed

control over his time, his diet, his study and contemplation, his search for the moral perfection expected of those who are among the “elect” (destined for salvation) according to Puritan theology.

The way to Heaven is ascending; we must be content to travel uphill, though it be hard and tiresome and contrary to the natural bias of our flesh.

In 1727 Edwards is formally ordained as a Congregationalist minister, and marries the daughter of the clergyman James Pierpont, founder of Yale.

In 1732 his spiritual journey encounters what becomes known as Arminianism, named after the Dutch Reformed Church theologian, Jacob Arminius (1560-1609). The Arminian movement deviates from Calvin on one crucial tenet – rejecting the notion that God’s grace grants salvation only to the few He chooses (the “elect”) in favor of the idea that every man is blessed by the capacity to be saved, with the outcome determined by their free will.

While Edwards, the pure Calvinist, comes down on the side of God as sole arbiter of salvation, the Arminian idea of man’s free will participation in the outcome resonates with Enlightenment fervor .

Edward’s most famous sermon, “Sinners In The Hands Of An Angry God,” delivered in 1741, exhibits the “fire and brimstone” nature of his traditional Old Testament Calvinism.

O sinner! Consider the fearful danger you are in: it is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath, that you are held over in the hand of that God, whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you, as against many of the damned in hell.

But what marks Edward’s as the “father of the First Great Awakening” are the “revival meetings” he institutes within his Northampton congregation. The Puritans have always been drawn toward “conversion experiences” that members share in public, and the “revivals” provide a useful forum. Edwards describes one in 1741:

In the month of May, 1741, a sermon was preached to a company, at a private house. One or two persons were so greatly affected with a sense of the glory of divine things and the infinite importance of the things of eternity that...it had a visible effect upon their bodies....The affection was quickly propagated throughout the room (with) many of the young people overcome...with admiration, love, joy and praise and compassion (while) others were overcome with distress about their sinful and miserable state and condition. The whole room was full of nothing but outcries, faintings and the like. The meeting continued for some hours, the time being spent in prayer, singing, counseling, and conferring. There seemed to be a consequent happy effect on many people and on the state of religion in the town.

Suddenly, with Edwards, the preacher himself has come down from the pulpit to engage with a congregation encouraged to share their religious feelings openly and with emotion.

Thus Evangelical Christianity – the belief that all men can be “re-born” through studying, embracing and evoking the literal word of God in the Bible --begins to assert itself in America.

Needless to say, Edward’s more traditional colleagues are shocked and dismayed by the “revival meetings,” which may draw up to 500 people, extend over several days, and dominate a town’s entire life while they last. On rare occasions they are also followed by suicides, as some attendees leave convinced they are among the doomed.

The effect is that by 1751, Jonathan Edwards falls out of favor with the forces around him, and is driven out of his Northampton Church. He lives eight more years, dying one month after being named President of the College of New Jersey (Princeton).

Time: 1730's

The Evangelical Spirit Expands With John Wesley's Methodist Episcopalians



John Wesley (1703-1791)

The Evangelical spirit also manifests itself in the Methodist Church, which comes to America in 1736.

This Protestant sect is founded by John Wesley, who insists throughout his life that its roots are firmly in the Anglican tradition – hence its followers are often called Methodist Episcopalians.

The church tenets are worked out at Oxford University around 1730 by Wesley, his younger brother William, and one George Whitefield. Together they start a prayer group on campus, the “Holy Club,” which is so disciplined in its practice of piety that fellow students cast them as “The Oxford Methodists.” And the nickname sticks.

Unlike his brother and Whitefield – both staunch Calvinists – John Wesley is drawn toward Arminianism, with its promise that all men can be saved by accepting God’s grace and trying to live a life of “moral perfection.”

For Wesley a signal of “perfection” lies not only in worshipping Christ, but also engaging in “reform missions” aimed at correcting injustices and supporting those in need.

To rally people toward these ends, Wesley embraces the “Evangelical revival meetings” currently popularized by Edwards.

In February 1736, John Wesley sails to America, eager to hold his revivals in the Georgia colony, especially among poor whites and various Indian tribes. His stay, however, lasts just under a year, and he regards it as a total failure.

After Wesley returns to London, his 23 year old colleague, George Whitefield follows him to Georgia in 1737.

Whitefield proves to be much more adept than the reserved Wesley with the open-air context – probably a reflection of his love for theater and for acting out Bible stories as a youth. He travels broadly in America, even preaching in 1739 alongside Edwards in Northampton. The colonial editor and inventor, Benjamin Franklin befriends him in Philadelphia and publishes several of his sermons in his newspaper. He also notes the positive effects of his ministry on the local community.

Wonderful...change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seem'd as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could

not walk thro' the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.

The Reverend George Whitefield will make thirteen Atlantic crossing back and forth to England, before dying in 1770 in Newburyport, Massachusetts.

John Wesley survives Whitefield by two more decades. During that time he faces many challenges from the Anglican Church hierarchy. But he forever moves forward to establish his Methodist Church.

His beliefs will have great impact on mainstream religious development in America – among them the conviction that all men can achieve salvation, and that the proper path lies in studying and embracing God's words in the Bible and in completing saving "missions."

Over time Wesley's Methodists will be joined by many Presbyterians and Baptists in their adoption of evangelical practices. In turn their membership will dominate the American religious scene over the years ahead.

Chapter 5 -- We The People, Of The Thirteen British Colonies



A Colonial Town Crier

Dates:
1607-1760

Sections:

- America's Growing Population
- The Search For A Better Life
- Building A Viable Economy
- Pirates Of The Caribbean
- Sidebar: Three 17th Century Pirates Of The Caribbean
- Governing The Colonies

Time: 1607-1760

America's Growing Population



A Typical Colonial Magistrate

Amidst the swirl of global events, the population of English settlers in America has grown dramatically, reaching roughly 1.6 million by 1760, as the French & Indian War comes to an end.

Colonial Population Growth

Year	Estimated # Settlers
1620	2,300
1650	50,000
1680	150,000
1710	330,000
1740	905,000
1750	1,170,000
1760	1,590,000

Just over 60% of the population is white, with 2/3rd of them coming from the British Isles. African slaves are already prevalent across the country.

Population Profile Around 1760

Country Of Origin	% of Pop.
British Aisles	44%
Germany	11
Other Europe	7
African Slaves	38
Total	100%

The vast majority of people continue to reside east of the 1,000 mile long Appalachian Mountain range, which runs 15 degrees off vertical, from Newfoundland to central Alabama. This puts most settlers within 100 to 250 miles of the Atlantic ocean.

Across the entire region villages and cities dot the landscape.

Early British Settlements In America

Year	Location
1607	Jamestown, Virginia
1620	Plymouth, Massachusetts
1630	Boston, Massachusetts
1661	Schenectady, NY
1664	New York, NY
1680	Charleston, SC
1682	Philadelphia, Pa
1683	Williamsburg, Va
1694	Annapolis, Md
1703	Ft. Saratoga, NY
1710	New Bern, NC
1713	Fort St. John, NY
1729	Baltimore, Md
1733	Richmond, Va
1733	Savannah, Ga
1736	Ft. Frederica, Ga
1740	Wilmington, NC

Time: 1607-1770

The Search For A Better Life



Homilies from the Bible

From the beginning, overtones of religious idealism resonate across the colonies.

Many settlers have been touched by the Catholic-Protestant schism across Europe, and many are left dissatisfied by the “compromises” they see in the Church of England. This is particularly true in the New England colonies, where various Puritan factions hope to live in closer accord to the teaching of the French theologian, John Calvin, an early 16th century contemporary of Martin Luther.

Having surrendered their former lives by sailing across the Atlantic, they wonder if a “better life” for themselves and their families might be possible in the New World.

One voice that captures this wish belongs to the Puritan minister, John Winthrop. In a 1603 sermon, “A Model of Christian Charity,” he announces his vision of this “better life” and argues that it is America’s duty and destiny to live up to its ideals.

Our posterity will be to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God...For this end, we must be knit together...as one man, we must entertain each other in brotherly affection...make others conditions our own always having before our eyes our community as members of the same body...so the Lord will delight to dwell among us as his own people and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways.

We shall than be as a City upon a Hill, with the eyes of all people upon us.

Herein lays the image of America as a shining beacon of light rising above the historical failings of Europe – an image that will become a lasting part of the national heritage.

Time: 1760's

Building A Viable Economy



Early Lumberjacks

Along with Winthrop's religious idealism, the settlers share a very practical and self-centered wish – to maximize their own economic prosperity by acquiring and working their own land.

This intense motivation to acquire land is recognized in the so-called "headright system" written into the crown's early corporate charters. Any single man who intends to "inhabit" Virginia for at least three years is granted 50 acres of free land. If he actually follows through and cultivates the land, he receives a bonus of 50 more acres. If he is accompanied by a wife and four children the ante climbs to 300 acres of free land.

Devoting the long hours of labor required to prosper on the land seems built into the American character from the beginning. For many this "work ethic" falls out of their Protestant religious convictions. Hard labor is a dignified duty each man owes to God, according to the Puritans, and the prosperity that follows for some may signal their improved odds of "election" into eternal salvation.

And so the colonists work their land, and take from it what is given.

Much to the dismay of the joint-stock corporations, this includes neither gold nor silver.

Instead, each of the colonies takes advantage of the natural resources it finds, first to sustain their immediate families, then to live up to the "export requirements" in their corporate charters.

The Southern colonies succeed first with tobacco, which become enormously popular in England once shipments arrive. Over time, crops of rice and indigo (for dyeing) add substantially to company profits.

Harsh winters and stony soil require the North to look elsewhere for desirable exports. They find it first in lumber, for ship-building, and then in the world's richest supply of what Bostonians call the "sacred cod," the catch that spawns the fishing industry in America. Europe also proves eager for New England rum and for fur pelts used in top hats and winter clothing.

Primary Commodities Produced As Of 1763

Colony	Goods
Massachusetts	Cod, herring, timber, iron
New Hampshire	Fish
Rhode Island	Rum
Connecticut	Corn, horses
New York	Furs
Pennsylvania	Flax, wheat, iron
New Jersey	Sheep, apples, copper
Maryland	Peaches
Virginia	Tobacco, furs, cattle, iron
North Carolina	Tobacco, pigs, cattle, furs
South Carolina	Rice, indigo, cattle
Georgia	Rice, indigo, silk, hides

A vigorous export/import trade cycle evolves here, with the colonists shipping their raw commodities to England and receiving a variety of “finished goods” turned out in British manufacturing facilities. These range from articles of clothing – shirts, trousers, dresses, shoes – to household supplies – furniture, tableware, linen – to other “basics” -- tools, glass, paper and tea.

As goods flow in and out, British officials collect tariffs (i.e. taxes) on them to add to corporate and crown profits.

The Royal Navy plays an important role in guaranteeing this trade. It guards the sea lanes to Britain and battles two main threats – smugglers seeking to avoid payment of tariffs, and pirates intent on stealing shipments for themselves.

Time: 1655-1718

Sidebar: Three 17th Century Pirates Of The Caribbean



A Two-Masted Schooner

While the Royal Navy is mostly successful in controlling piracy, three brigands are immortalized for their high seas raiding exploits.

The first is Henry Morgan (1635-88), a Welshman, who is said to have boarded some 400 British ships in the Caribbean before finally being captured. On his way back home to the gallows, King Charles II of Spain is able to intercept, free him and name him Governor of Jamaica, in honor of his good works. Like a cat with nine lives, Morgan lives out his life on the island, dying there in peace after decades of crime.

The pirate William Kidd (1645-1701) is not as lucky in the end as Morgan. He is a Scotsman who actually takes up residence for a time in New York City before settling on a life devoted to attacking ships of the British East Indies company along the coast. He is eventually arrested in Boson and hanged back in England.

Perhaps the most famous of all pirates is the Englishman, Edward Teach (1680-1718), whose moniker becomes “Blackbeard.” Teach roams the Caribbean for years at will until finally.... As a warning to any future pirates, the British display his head on a pike in the harbor at Hampton, Virginia.

Time: 1607-1775

Governing The Colonies



The "Look" of a Patrician Colonist

From the 1607 settlement of Jamestown onward, the thirteen colonies are governed according to the "charters" worked out between the monarchy and the mercantile investors.

All policy decisions affecting the colonist fall under the purview of the King.

Local administration resides with the Governor of each colony, who is appointed by the crown. In turn, the Governor receives "advice" on local affairs from two "administrative bodies."

One is a "Council," typically consisting of twenty or so representatives of the joint-stock Corporation who are focused mainly on maximizing the profit flow from the colony.

The other becomes known as the "House of Burgesses" – a burgess being an official, elected by property-owning male colonists, and charged with communicating issues and wishes to the Governor.

Each colony is eventually broken into shires, or counties, as the population become distributed across villages. Again the officials in each county are appointed by the Governor.

Surveying the land and settling on boundaries is an important and on-going administrative task.

Border conflicts, at times violent, persist in some regions. Massachusetts sprawls all the way to future day Maine, interrupted by New Hampshire, which also contends with New York for territory. The delayed seizure of New Netherlands from the Dutch in 1664 leads to disputes between New York and New Jersey. Meanwhile, the east coast colony of Connecticut lays claim to "western reserve" land across the Appalachians, in what becomes the state of Ohio.

By 1763, however, the shape of all thirteen colonies is pretty well determined.

Relations with England are generally harmonious. The colonists have acquired their land, developed a viable economy, and enjoy the free pursuit of the religious practices many have sought. The joint-stock corporations have established a profitable system of import/export trade. The local militias have fought side by side along with the British regulars to defeat France and Spain.

By in large then, some 150 years after the 1607 landing at Jamestown, the colonists feel like their risky voyages to the New World and their ongoing allegiance to the British crown have paid off handsomely.

Chapter 6 -- Comes The Scourge of Slavery To America

	<p>Dates: 1607-1775</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slaves Begin To Appear In Fhe Colonies • Slave Ownership Spreads To All Thirteen Colonies • The South Deepens Its Dependency On Slavery • Slavery Begins To Fade Away In The North • Early Church Opposition To Slavery Is Muted
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Time: 1600-1800

Slaves Begin To Appear In The Colonies



Slave Trade Routes to the Americas

Accompanying white explorers to the New World is the practice of slavery -- a scourge that is common across the world in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Between 1600 and 1800, roughly 11 million blacks are transported from their homes along the west coast of Africa (from Senegal to Angola) to the Americas.



African Tribesmen in Front of Thatched Hut

Two nations dominate this market for slaves: the Portuguese, who import 5 million of these Africans for their mining operations and sugar cane fields in Brazil; and the Dutch, who claim another 4.5 million for sugar cane production in the West Indies.

About 500,000 eventually arrive in North America.

Slave trafficking originates with deals between European agents (“factors/middlemen”) and tribal chiefs, who raid rival villages, round up families, rope them together in “coffles,” and drive them to collection centers, known as “barracoons.”



Chained Africans being Readied for Transport

From there they are packed, 100 at a time, into the holds of ships for the 6-8 week “middle passage” across the Atlantic, where about 15 out of every 100 die in route...

The survivors are stored in pens, “graded and priced,” and then auctioned off to the highest bidders. Strong male field hands one way; their wives and children another.

At that point the slaves became the “personal property” of their owner, to do with as they choose.

Time: 1644-1750

The Early Slave Trade Business Is Centered In New England

The first slaves in America appear at Jamestown colony in 1619, working as field hands on farms, raising tobacco and rice.



Six Young Slaves

In 1644 an association of Boston traders sends a ship to Africa in search of slaves, and by 1678 a few sales are recorded in Virginia. But it is not until 1700, when the British begin to dominate the Dutch, that New England merchants see the opportunity to set up a profitable business around the slave trade.

Many of the prominent New England families in colonial America trace their early wealth to the slave trade:

- The Fanuils, Royalls and Cabots of Massachusetts;
- The Whipples of NH and the Eastons of Connecticut;
- The Willing and Morris families of Philadelphia;
- The Wantons, Browns, and Champlins of Rhode Island.

It is Rhode Island; however, that controls roughly 75% of the business. In 1740, the port city of Newport is home to some 150 slave ships –many run by the four Brown brothers, who found a university bearing their name after making a fortune selling lumber, salt, meat and African slaves.

The British too are heavily invested in the “triangular commerce” between Africa, their American colonies and Europe. So much so that their permanent “slave stations” dot Africa’s west coast ports.

Time: 1619-1750

Slave Ownership Spreads To All Thirteen Colonies



An Elderly Slave with a Basket of Chickens

By 1750 then, slavery is a widely accepted and well entrenched institution in America.

Slaves are owned in all thirteen British colonies and they play a critical role in America's economic growth.

In the South, slaves are used to grow and harvest labor-intensive crops, initially tobacco, rice and indigo. They are also systematically "bred" to produce offspring for sale in the open market.

The early New England economy profits from slaves in several ways:

- Distilleries across the region rely on sugar and molasses imports from slave plantations in the West Indies to make rum – which in turn is distributed across the colonies, and exported, to Europe and Africa.
- The New England shipping industry – from boat builders and sail-makers through sailors and long-shore men and accountants – hinges on cargo that is in global demand, including slaves sent from Africa to Newport, and from there to Southern ports like Savannah and New Orleans.
- Northern textile mills begin to spin raw cotton picked by Southern slaves into yarn and thread, which is then shipped to Britain and France to make clothing and other finished goods.

But these sectional patterns are about to change as America enters the second half of the 18th century.

In the South, the institution of slavery becomes firmly entrenched; in the North it is gradually withering away.

Time: 1750

The South Deepens Its Dependency On Slavery



Slaves Harvesting Southern Cotton

The Southern commitment to slavery is evident in population data from 1775...

At that time, there are roughly 500,000 blacks in America -- with 90% of them are living in the South.

They comprise 41% of the South's total population, and in some places, like South Carolina, blacks actually outnumber whites.

Estimated Population Counts By Race In 1775

Section	States	Whites	Blacks	Total	% Black
Lower South	Ga, NC, SC	247,000	171,000	418,000	41%
Upper South	Va,Md,Del	481,000	282,000	763,000	37
Mid-Atlantic	Pa,NY,NJ	462,000	30,000	492,000	6
New England	Con,RI, NH, Ma	621,000	19,000	640,000	3
Grand Total		1,811,000	502,000	2,313,000	22

Their role in the economy of the South is crucial.

While the North is already diversifying and modernizing its economy by 1775, Southern wealth is concentrated almost entirely in two areas.

The first is agriculture, where its favorable climate and coastal access make it uniquely equipped to succeed.

In the upper South, tobacco is the dominant crop; the coastal Carolinas are ideally suited to rice and indigo (used for dyeing); cotton is grown throughout the region, but is not yet the “king” it will become. All of these crops are in popular demand both domestically and internationally, and all are labor intensive to produce.

Profits are maximized through economies of scale – the more one produces, the lower the unit cost and the higher the margin. This in turn leads to the creation of vast plantations across the South, the early precursors of modern agri-business operations.

The labor required to plant, grow, harvest and ship these crops is physically demanding, and it falls on the backs of Southern slaves – especially field hands working from dawn to dusk during peak seasons.

As these plantations yield ever greater profits to their owners, the intrinsic “value” of the slaves themselves increases dramatically, opening up a second vital revenue stream.

This second driver of Southern wealth -- its “second crucial crop” – lies in the “breeding and sale” of offspring slaves to growers aspiring to ascend to the planter class.

In effect then, “producing” more slaves becomes an end unto itself.

More slaves translates to more profits, either from greater crop yields to be sold, or from auctioning off one’s excessive inventory – black men, women and children – to other growers.

By 1775, the men of the South – unlike those up North – have their economic futures inextricably bound to the presence and expansion of slavery across the colonies.

Indeed many Southerners think of it, with varying degrees of discomfort, as the “peculiar institution.”

But it is their institution, and they mean to defend it with all their wits and might.

Time: 1750-1775

Slavery Begins To Fade Away In The North



The ex-slave, Aunt Fannie

Meanwhile, in the North, slavery is on its way to disappearing by 1775 – an outcome welcomed by many of that region’s founding fathers.

One of them is the Quaker, Ben Franklin, who calls slavery...

An atrocious debasement of human nature.

Another is Dr. Benjamin Rush, the renowned Philadelphia physician, who assails the institution in his 1773 pamphlet *An Address to the inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave-Keeping*. As a scientist, Rush is particularly important for arguing against the widely accepted belief that blacks are inherently inferior intellectually. He is also a life-long supporter of abolition, calling the practice of slavery...

So foreign to the human mind that the moral faculties...are rendered torpid by it.

Franklin and Rush are joined by John Jay, who is serving as Secretary of Foreign Affairs in 1785, when he founds the New York Manumission Society, which endures over the next six decades. The Society first battles to end the slave trade, then in support of abolition, and finally for the education of black children. In 1794 it opens the first African Free School in the city, a one room facility that reaches some forty students. Over time these Free Schools proliferate widely, and prepare many next generation blacks for assimilation into white society.

But moral concerns fail to explain the decline in northern slavery.

Instead, the reason is simple: by 1775 the slave trade is no longer the profitable business it once was.

After two centuries of abducting healthy young blacks for slavery, tribes living along the west coast of Africa have literally become depopulated...

Which in turn alters the economics for the New England merchants. Sending a ship across the Atlantic is both costly and risky, and returning late or without a full cargo of slaves becomes the unattractive norm.

While importation of African slaves drags on until it is banned in 1808, the boom profits of the 1750 period are long gone by then.

So the Northern colonies look away from the slave trade and toward other industries to sustain their drive for wealth. Fortunately for them, new options are right before their eyes. The “triangular trade” between

America, Africa and Europe has taught the North that it can manufacture goods like rum and cotton yarn and use its ships to distribute them across the Atlantic.

Thus the making and selling of goods begins to replace the slave trade in the Northern economy.

By about 1775 it's clear that the North is no longer committed to slavery for economic reasons, and is instead beginning to question "what to do about both slaves and free blacks" in the future.

Time: 1688-1800

Early Church Opposition To Slavery Is Muted



William Penn (Quaker) (1644-1718)

Except for the Society of Friends (Quakers), early opposition to slavery within America's churches tends to center on one or two outspoken critics rather than any institution-wide dictates.

As early as 1688, a Pennsylvania settler named Francis Pastorius submits the "Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery" at his local meeting, basing his argument simply on the Bible's Golden Rule admonition.

Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law.

The cause is picked up in 1743 by John Woolman, a New Jersey Quaker, who resolves to "purify himself from the sin of slavery." He publishes an anti-slavery pamphlet, *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Slaves*, and completes over thirty missionary tours from New England to the Carolinas, preaching in support of abolition.

Years later, Woolman's personal crusade will make at least one key convert, Benjamin Lundy, an Ohio Quaker who, in the 1830's, will pass the torch on to the towering champion of abolition, William Lloyd Garrison.

Quakers also lead the way in establishing a formal organization to oppose slavery. The Pennsylvania Society for the Relief of Negroes Unlawfully Held In Bondage is founded in 1775, with support over time from two "natural law" Deists, Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin.

In 1747, Jonathan Mayhew, minister of the West Church in Boston, preaches against a host of moral injustices, and sets the stage for the creation in the 1820's of the Unitarian Church, and its on-going crusade against slavery.

In 1774 the First Baptist Church of Petersburg, Va, opens its doors to a black congregation and ministers – to be followed in 1777 by the First African Baptist Church of Savannah, founded by a former slave, and in 1801 by the First Baptist Church of Columbia, SC. At first some church's missionaries also call for the end of slavery and equality of all men, while encouraging blacks to become both members and preachers. But this aggressive stance becomes muted over time, as Baptists try to extend their membership with Southern whites, many of whom are slave owners.

Within the emerging Methodist Church, John Wesley takes aim at slavery in his quest to achieve “Christian Perfection” through missionary work. His fervor here is evident in his 1774 tract, *Thoughts Upon Slavery*, as he rhetorically questions a slave trader’s humanity.

Are you a man? Than you should have a human heart. But have you indeed? What is your heart made of? Is there no such principle as Compassion there? Do you never feel another’s pain? Have you no Sympathy? No sense of human woe? No pity for the miserable?

When you saw the flowing eyes, the heaving breasts, or the bleeding sides and tortured limbs of your fellow-creatures, were you a stone, or a brute? Did you look upon them with the eyes of the tiger?

When you squeezed the agonizing creatures down in the ships, or when you threw their poor mangled remains into the sea, had you no relenting? Did not one tear drop from your eye, one sigh escape from your breast? Do you feel no relenting now?

If you do not, you must go on, till the measure of your iniquities is full. Then will the Great God deal with You, as you have dealt with them, and require all their blood at your hands.

The Presbyterians are largely content to stay away from the issue early on -- although synods in New York and Pennsylvania do file anti-slavery petitions.

Within the Anglican and Catholic churches, the record on colonial slavery suggests the same kind of institutional indifference evident across the mainstream Protestant sects.

This indifference will, however, change by the early 1830’s as the “Second Great Awakening” places slavery in the center of many church controversies.

Chapter 7 -- Relations With Britain Become Strained



Dates:
1763-1775

Sections:

- Britain Boosts Taxes On The Colonists To Pay For The French & Indian Wars
- The “Intolerable Acts” Of 1773 Convert Rhetoric Into Action
- A First Continental Congress Is Convened To Unify The Colonists
- Antagonism Builds On Both Sides

Time: 1763-66

Britain Boosts Taxes On The Colonists To Pay For The French & Indian Wars



Money

Within this same timeframe, America’s British masters are also pondering the status of their national wealth.

While victorious in the field during the French & Indian Wars (1754-63), the battle for North America has been financially costly for England.

To help pay off the associated debts, various Chancellors of the Exchequer encourage George III, who has become King at 22 years old in 1760, to extract more revenue from the colonists.

This results in a series of heavy-handed Acts that, cumulatively, ends the harmony that has existed between the King and the colonies and leaves the Americans feeling bullied and angered, and then outright rebellious.

The Proclamation of 1763 demands that any families who have settled west of the Appalachians abandon their homes and return east. Presumably so the crown can sell back this land, won in the war, for a profit.

The Sugar Act of 1764 adds taxes on sugar, coffee and wine, while prohibiting imports of rum and French spirits.

Another 1764 command, the Currency Act, prohibits the colonies from issuing its own paper money, a move that tightens British control over all economic transactions in the colonies.

In March 1765, the crown further ups the drive for revenue with the Stamp Act, which requires that a paid-for seal be affixed to all printed material – from legal documents and licenses to everyday items like newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs, even playing cards. Attempts to justify this move center on the “*need to defend the colonies from future invaders.*”

Colonial resistance to the Stamp Act is immediate and widespread, especially among the more influential segments of the population, land owners, merchants, ship-builders, lawyers and printers. Here is another imposed tax from Britain absent any input or debate from the elected Burgesses with their local Councils and Governors. Where will this end? And, besides, which enemies are left, and hasn't the performance of the local troops during the recent war demonstrated that the colonists are now capable of defending themselves.

The English are shocked by the resistance from abroad. For show, Parliament passes the Declaratory Act, stating that the crown has the absolute right to impose whatever demands it deems appropriate on its colonies. But then it repeals the Stamp Act in 1766, a first "flinch" that signals at least a token American victory.

For the moment, both sides back off from the building tension.

Time: 1770-1776

The "Intolerable Acts" Of 1773 Convert Rhetoric Into Action



Commercial Ships in Port

The period of calm, however, is brief.

In 1767 a new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, imposes a series of taxes on staples such as lead, paint, glass, paper and tea.

Organized resistance materializes around Boston. Members of a "revolutionary body" known as the "Sons of Liberty" vow to oppose collection of the new duties by boycotting the imports. Shortages are offset by increases in local production and smuggling.

Britain responds with a show of force -- sending troops into Boston in 1768 to insure tax collection, and handing the bill for housing them to the colonists through a Quartering Act.

The result is a growing sense of betrayal among the colonists. Only five years ago they fought and died on behalf of the King in the war against France. In return comes the imposition of onerous taxes and armed enforcers.



A British Soldier

Almost inevitably anger turns into violence. On March 5, 1770, a mob of protesters at the customhouse begin pelting British guards with stones. The redcoats fire into the crowd, killing five civilians and wounding seven. One victim, some say the first, is Crispus Attucks, a “mixed race mulatto,” who is either a freedman or a run-away slave at the time of his death.

This March 5 event is christened “the Boston massacre” and word of it spreads rapidly across the colonies.

Again the British back off with PM Lord Frederick North rescinding the Townshend taxes on everything but tea.

This stand-off lasts until 1773 when a new Tea Act imposes restrictions on free trade -- demanding that all sales of the commodity be funneled through British agents of the East India Company rather than local merchants.

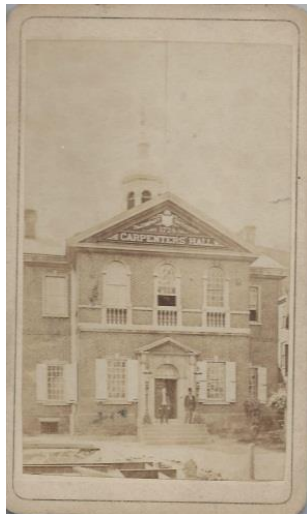
Reaction comes quickly. On December 16, 1773, a “Sons of Liberty” band, poorly disguised as Mohawk Indians, climbs aboard British ships in Boston harbor and dumps 342 crates of tea into the water.

Britain reacts quickly to this “Boston Tea Party.”

A series of punitive measures known as the “Coercive or Intolerable Acts” are mandated. The most severe measure closes the port of Boston, which effectively shuts down the economy in the city and threatens to starve the population. The order is to remain in place until the locals pay 15,000 pounds to cover the cost of the lost tea.

Time: September 5 to October 26, 1774

A First Continental Congress Is Convened To Unify The Colonists



Carpenters Hall in Philadelphia,
Scene of the First Continental Congress

These “Intolerable Acts” further inflame colonial passions.

“Sons of Liberty” chapters begin to spread beyond New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, eventually reaching into all thirteen colonies. Meetings are held at “Liberty Trees” in town centers or local taverns, often led by local merchants like Sam Adams and John Hancock, those hit hardest by new taxes.

Newspapers and broadsides capture the growing antagonism toward Britain.

In July 1774, Thomas Jefferson, a 34 year old Virginia planter and Burgess, publishes a pamphlet, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, laying our grievances against the Crown and asserting that men have the right to govern themselves.

This is quickly followed by a First Continental Congress -- a watershed moment for the colonists, and a precursor to the formation of a future independent and national government.

It is held at the two story Carpenter's Hall guild house in Philadelphia over a seven week period beginning on September 5, 1774. Twelve of the thirteen colonies are present, with only Georgia missing.

The Congress is presided over by Peyton Randolph, speaker of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, and comprises a total of 56 delegates, all elected by their local legislatures to speak for their colony's interest. Among those present are many of the men who will shape America's future.

Some Delegates At The First Continental Congress

Representing	Total #	Some Members
New York	9	John Jay Robert Livingston
Pennsylvania	8	Thomas Mifflin Joseph Galloway Thomas McKean Robert Morris
Virginia	7	George Washington Peyton Randolph Richard Henry Lee Patrick Henry
South Carolina	5	John Rutledge Christopher Gadsden
Maryland	5	Matthew Tilghman
New Jersey	5	William Livingston
Massachusetts	4	John Adams Samuel Adams
Connecticut	3	Roger Sherman
Delaware	3	George Read
North Carolina	3	Richard Caswell
Rhode Island	2	Stephen Hopkins
New Hampshire	2	John Sullivan

The central debate occurs between those like the Virginian, Patrick Henry, who favor a clean break with England, and opponents, such Joseph Galloway, a Loyalist from Pennsylvania, who will ultimately join the British army.

In the end, the majority agree to send a sharp message to the crown by imposing a boycott on all British imports to begin on December 1, 1774. This will not only reduce revenue flowing to Britain, but also signal the growing capacity of the colonies to manufacture the finished goods on their own.

On the question of actual independence, the decision is to take a wait and see stance for the moment, and then reconvene a second Congress on May 10, 1775 to revisit conditions at that time.

The Americans now look to Boston to see what happens next.

Time: May 1774 to April 1775

Antagonism Builds On Both Sides



Statue of Paul Revere's Ride

A new figure is now on the scene in Boston, Major General Thomas Gage, named on May 13, 1774, as Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and ready to impose martial law if need be.

Gage has been in America for almost 20 years, arriving to fight in the French & Indian Wars, rising to become Commander in Chief of all British forces, settling down with his family in New York City. He has been on leave in England for the Boston Tea Party, but returns with orders to quell the rebellion.

Over the next year, Gage tries to harness what he regards as the potentially dangerous impulse toward “democracy” that is building. Rather than resorting directly to force, he makes several attempts to stabilize the situation by forming local council to resolve conflicts. But these fail, and he becomes increasingly concerned about rumors that the Sons of Liberty are threatening violence against the crown.

Indeed talk of open rebellion is now sweeping across the colonies.

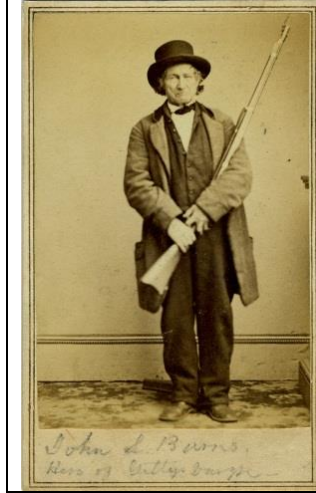
Four weeks later the inflammatory rhetoric turns into bloodshed.

On April 14, 1775, Gage orders his troops to march 16 miles west to the town of Concord, arrest two rabble-rousers, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and seize all weapons that might be used against the crown. Around 10PM on the night of April 18, some 700 Infantry Regulars under Lt. Colonel Francis Smith depart Boston to carry out Gage's directive.

Their plan to take the Americans by surprise is, however, foiled by one Paul Revere, a Boston silversmith, who doubles as an intelligence agent for the “Committee On Public Safety.” Revere learns of the planned British route – by boat across to the Charleston peninsula -- and signals advance warning by having two lanterns (“*one if by land and two if by sea*”) hung in the bell tower of the Old North Episcopal Church. He then completes a “midnight ride” across the countryside to Lexington, awakening the “minuteman militias” along the way, before meeting up with Adams and Hancock to plan a defense.

Upon hearing Revere's news, they decide to make a stand against the British troops when they arrive.

Chapter 8 -- America Declares Its Independence



Dates:
1775-1777

Sections:

- “The Shot Heard Round The World” At Lexington
- The Second Continental Congress Convenes to Confront The Crisis
- An American Militia Band Capture Ft. Ticonderoga
- The Siege Of Boston Gets Under Way
- The British Are Forced Out Of Boston
- America Advances And Retreats In Canada
- Britain Increases The Pressure
- The Second Continental Congress Declares American Independence
- The Declaration’s Telltale Deletion Regarding Slavery
- The Articles Of Confederation Are Drafted To Govern The Nation

Time: April 19, 1775

“The Shot Heard Round The World” At Lexington



John Burns of Gettysburg
(1793-1872)

The Revolutionary War begins at the village of Lexington, roughly ten miles west of Boston on the road to Concord. There, around 5AM, some 80 colonists exchange fire with British Regulars, before being driven away, after suffering eight men killed and ten others wounded.

The red-coats reassemble and march another six miles to the town square in Concord, which the local militia has abandoned in favor of higher ground, to the west. When a unit of roughly 90 British Regulars cross over the Concord River at the North Bridge, they are attacked and overwhelmed by 400 militiamen storming down from the hills.

The colonists have won their first organized battle with the mighty British army!

*By the rude bridge that arched the flood
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world.*

*Concord Hymn (1837)
Ralph Waldo Emerson*

The shocked and alarmed Lt. Colonel Smith decides to retreat from Concord around noon—but his movement is vexed by continuous harassment from the colonials, whose forces reach over 2,000 strong as the day wears on.

All that saves the Redcoats is a rescue contingent of 1,000 men under Earl Percy that meets them around 2:30PM in Lexington and opens cannon fire to momentarily stem the militia attacks. Still the skirmishing continues back to Boston, with the infuriated red-coats ransacking homes and stores along the way as retribution for their losses.

By nightfall they are securely entrenched within the city, despite the remarkable assembly of some 15,000 armed militiamen who surround it by daybreak.

The battles at Lexington and Concord are no more than minor skirmishes when it comes to real warfare.

But April 19 casts yet another die against any hope for reconciliation with Britain.

Time: May 10, 1775

The Second Continental Congress Convenes To Confront The Crisis



Independence Hall, Philadelphia

The colonists must now figure out what to do next.

They begin by convening the Second Continental Congress on May 10, 1775, in Philadelphia at the Pennsylvania State House, subsequently known as Independence Hall.

While many delegates are hold-overs from the prior meeting eight months earlier, some important new faces include John Hancock, from Massachusetts, who succeeds an ailing Peyton Randolph as President of the Congress, along with Ben Franklin, the 69 year old writer, inventor,

publisher and political operative from Pennsylvania, and the youthful Thomas Jefferson, of the Virginia House of Burgesses.

As before, the Loyalists in the chamber muster enough support to block the “radical faction,” who continue to call for an immediate declaration of independence from Britain.

Still, after the April 19 bloodshed at Concord and the city of Boston surrounded by angry militiamen, all delegates recognize the importance of some united decisions and actions.

The first priority is national defense, in case the violence intensifies. The delegates agree to form a Continental army to be funded by domestic and foreign borrowing, with each state expected to contribute a fair share of money, men and materials.

The Loyalists balance the military initiatives with what becomes known as the “Olive Branch Petition,” written by the intensely principled Quaker pacifist, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, whose 1768 plea calls for a unified front among the colonialists:

Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all! By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall.

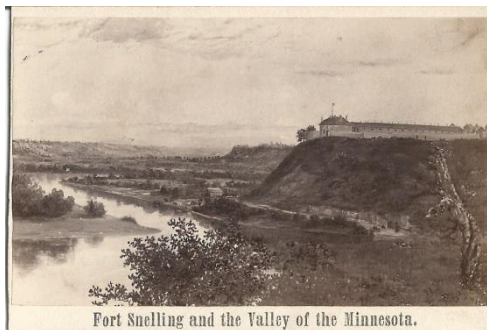
The Petition criticizes Parliament (not King George) for onerous taxing policies, but expresses hope for a peaceful resolution with America remaining in the British Empire. This will be one of many back and forth entreaties on both sides of the dispute over time, none of them healing the breach.

Once this Second Congress opens, it will function continuously until March 1, 1781, an almost six year period that sees 343 delegates cycling in and out of the meetings and 13 different men serving as President.

Despite the lack of formal legal authority to govern, the Second Continental Congress will muddle its way to the policies and procedures that determine the destiny of the fragile new nation

Time: May 10, 1775

An American Militia Band Capture Ft. Ticonderoga



A Typical Fortress Guarding a River

On the same day the Second Continental Congress convenes to map out a unified strategy, an independent band of New Hampshire militiamen known as The Green Mountain Boys capture Ft. Ticonderoga, at the southern tip of Lake Champlain, some 300 miles northwest of Boston.

This raid is led by two firebrands, Ethan Allen, leader of the Boys, and Benedict Arnold, of Massachusetts, who joins the initiative at the last second.

The main goal is to prevent the British from using Ticonderoga as a staging area to mount an attack from behind on the American militia men surrounding Boston. They also hope to capture the fort’s weapons, and to encourage Canada to ally with the colonies in rebellion against the crown.

A force of 200 raiders approach the fort at daybreak on May 10, ready for action.

The outcome, however, is comical rather than heroic.

Ft. Ticonderoga, so pivotal in the French & Indian Wars, has been left essentially unprotected by the British.

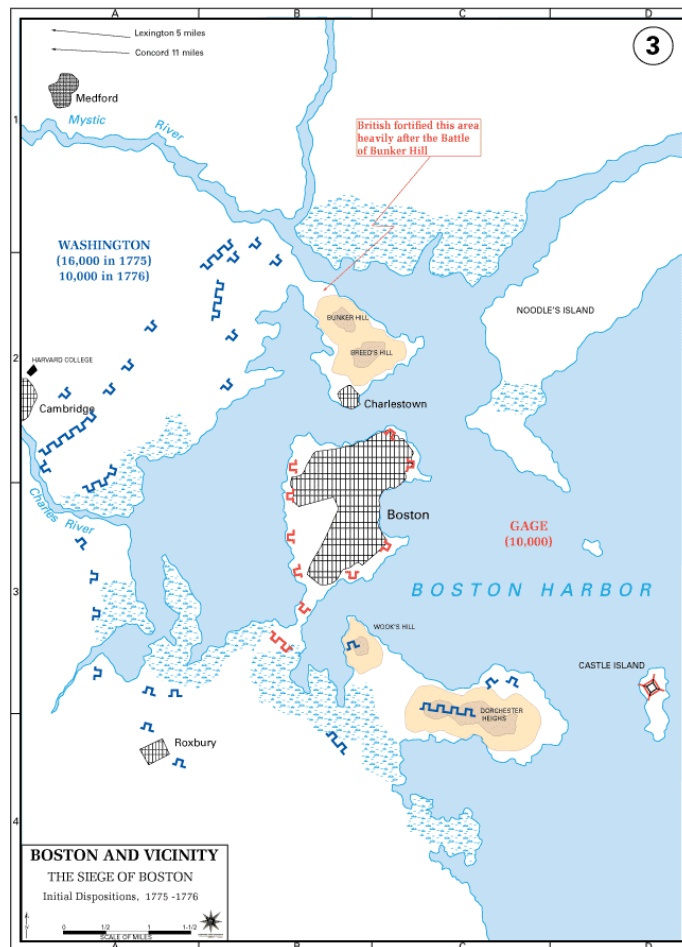
The raiders finally corral a sentry who announces the American's presence to the fort's commander who, in turn, surrenders his sword.

Unlike Concord, the rebels never fire a single shot to record another victory, and one with strategic importance.

The colonials now control a critical stepping stone into Canada and the long-range French cannon and mortars they will utilize later on.

Time: April to June 1775

The Siege Of Boston Gets Under Way



Gage's Forces Surrounded the City of Boston

Back in Boston, the battered redcoats have retreated from Concord to their city enclave, where General Gage is tardily plotting his strategy. He has 6,500 troops at the moment, and a Royal Navy which controls sea lanes that almost totally envelop Boston. He faces more than twice that number of militiamen arrayed across the various land approaches to the city from the east and south.

When word of the Concord defeat reaches England, King George III ships off three top field generals to support, then replace Gage – the conspicuously courageous, but sometimes tardy Lord William Howe; his second in command and often adversary, Henry Clinton, who has grown up in New York City; and “Gentleman John” Burgoyne, aristocrat, playwright, rake and military man, ambitious for glory.

On June 14, the Continental Congress counters by naming George Washington commander in chief of the colonial American. Washington is given \$2million to fund an army, and orders to consult closely with Congress on all major operations. The new commander has served in the British army for seven years, demonstrating remarkable courage and leadership during the French & Indian Wars, before resigning in 1759 at age twenty-seven. His life since then has been that of an English aristocrat, running a vast plantation in Virginia and mastering politics as a local Burgess.



His Continental Army is a motley crew, short on weapons, gunpowder, training, even uniforms – with its officers distinguished by colored ribbons pinned to their vests – pink for Brigadiers, purple for Major Generals, and blue for the commander in chief. In the beginning they enlist simply to “stand up for their basic rights as Englishmen.” But soon enough, in response to the King declaring them “traitors,” this swings to the “Glorious Cause of America” and independence from the crown.

Washington arrives on the scene with two initiatives in mind: drive the British out of Boston by siege, and out of Canada by striking at Quebec City. The key to the siege will lie in controlling the high ground encircling the city – Bunker and Breed’s Hills to the north on the Charleston peninsula and the Dorchester Heights east of the “Boston neck.”

General George Washington (1732-1799)

On June 17, 1775, Washington moves in the north at the Battle of Bunker Hill, a bloody affair that ends with the British controlling the field, but at a cost of over 1,000 casualties. Henceforth there will be no doubt in Howe’s mind about the determination of the rebels.

Time: March 17, 1776

The British Are Forced Out Of Boston



Bunker Hill Monument, Boston

The Bunker Hill battle ushers in a nine month period of essential stalemate around Boston. Washington lacks the long range cannon needed to threaten Gage’s troops in the city – while Gage is able to re-supply his force from British ships entering the harbor unmolested.

So Washington’s focus now shifts south, to Dorchester Heights, which threatens both the city itself and the shipping lanes. But to succeed,

Washington needs artillery with two mile range, and obtaining them will require a minor miracle. The miracle is performed by 25 year old Colonel Henry Knox.

His feat lies in transporting 54 heavyweight mortars and cannon from the captured Ft. Ticonderoga some 300 miles, down Lake George and then overland, across the Berkshire Mountains, to Boston. The task is one of brute force, made doubly difficult by severe winter conditions, snow, ice and bitter cold. But, after a seven week trek, Knox and his guns reach Boston on January 27, 1776.

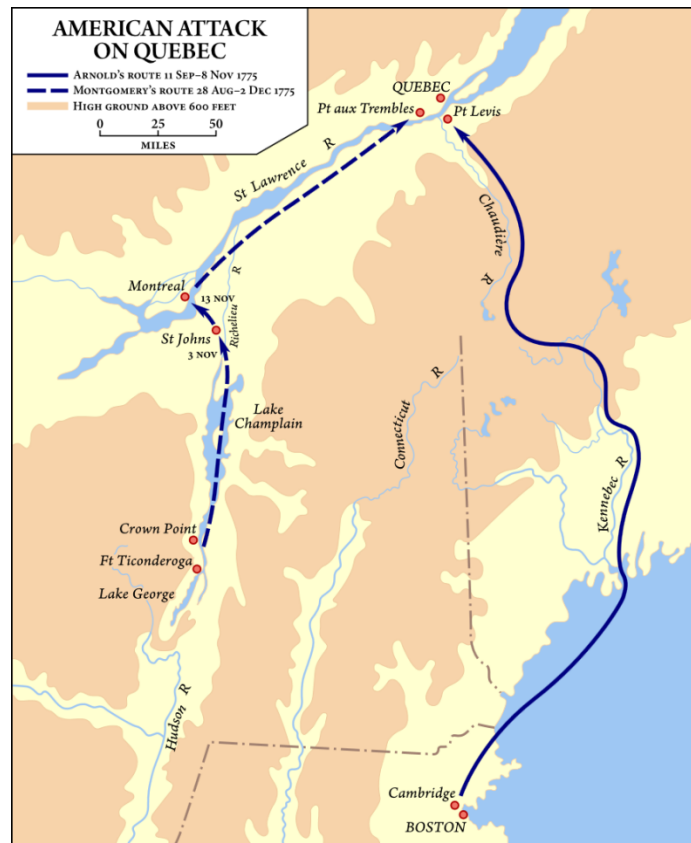
Once they arrive, Washington throws all his resources into constructing a surprise redoubt and battery on Dorchester Heights. His engineers work secretly and silently throughout the night of March 4 – and when the British in Boston wake the next day they see the guns of Ft. Ticonderoga pointed their way.

Washington now hopes that Howe will come out to attack him, but with his fleet vulnerable to the shore batteries, evacuation becomes the only option. On March 8, Howe signals Washington that he will not burn Boston if he is allowed to leave unmolested. Washington accedes, and on March 17, some 120 craft carry 8900 troops and just over 2,000 women, children and Loyalists out to sea, headed for Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Boston is now back in the hands of the rebels.

Time: August 1775 to October 1776

America Advances And Retreats In Canada



Two-Pronged American Invasion of Canada

Soon after the June 1775 battle at Bunker Hill, Washington decides to go on the offensive by invading Canada.

The prize here is the British citadel at Quebec City, scene of their famous victory over the French in 1759. The additional hope, which will prove futile, being that once the fighting begins the British settlers in Canada will join the rebel cause

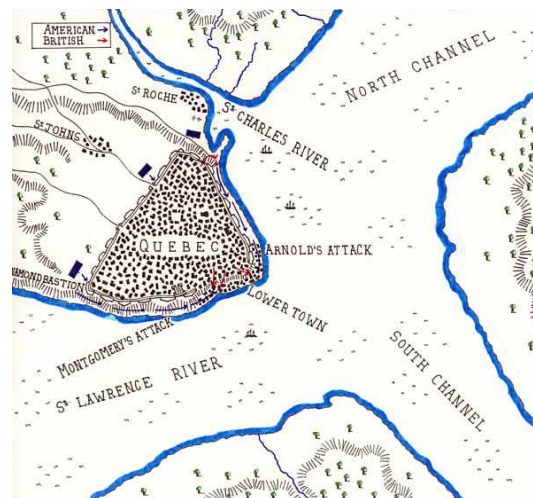
Overall command of the invasion is given to Major General Philip Schuyler, a member of the Second Continental Congress from New York, who fought previously for England in the French & Indian Wars.

Field command falls to General Richard Montgomery, who moves northeast up the St. Lawrence, taking Ft. Ticonderoga on May 10, 1775 and Montreal on November 14.

He is joined there by a precocious 19 year old, Aaron Burr, who interrupts his study of law, to engage in frontline combat against Britain over the next four years. Montgomery immediately promotes Burr to the rank of Captain, and selects him as his aide-de-camp.

On December 2, these two join up below Quebec with Benedict Arnold, who has slugged his way overland from the southeast. Between them they have 900 men to throw against the 1,000 British troops under Major General, Guy Carleton, recently appointed to defend the stronghold.

On the snowy night of December 30, 1775, the Americans begin to move against Quebec City, with Arnold's 600 men advancing on the left toward the Palace Gate and Montgomery's 300 men coming up on the right, across the Plains of Abraham.



Montgomery and Arnold Attack Quebec City

But the American assault fails. Arnold is shot in the ankle and turns command over to Brigadier Daniel Morgan. Montgomery is killed by the first English volley, and Burr, along with his disheartened troops, turns back. By dawn on New Year's Eve, Carleton retains control of the city, with casualties of only 18 men against the American losses of 60 killed or wounded and some 426 others captured.

A lackluster siege of the city follows, but the American momentum has run its course – and the British soon begin their roll-back of America's incursion into Canada.

Naval control around Quebec allows Carleton to be reinforced by 7,000 Regulars and 3,000 German mercenaries, bringing his muster up to 11,000 men. Over the next 10 months he throws them against an expanded force of 6,000 retreating Americans, under Schulyer and General Horatio Gates, who succeeds the dead Montgomery.

Back come the rebels, exiting Montreal in June 1776, with even the belligerent Arnold voicing his dismay.

The junction (with) Canada is now at an end. Let us quit (here) and secure our own country before it is too late.

But the English chase him, sailing another 75 miles down Lake Champlain to a victory on October 11 at Valcour Island, over a ramshackle “fleet” of mostly flat-bottomed, single-masted, three gun boats scrounged up by Arnold.

Both sides now pause for the winter, Carleton back north at St. John’s Island, Schuyler, Gates and Arnold south to their final stronghold at Ft. Ticonderoga.

Time: August to November 1775

Britain Increases The Pressure



General Washington (1732-1799)

The siege of Boston and the initial American move into Canada provokes a sharp response from Britain.

On August 23, 1775, King George declares that an “*open and avowed*” rebellion is under way in America and refuses to even receive the so-called “Olive Branch Petition” offered by the Second Continental Congress.

In early October Admiral Samuel Graves, overall commander of the British fleet in North America, orders Lt. Henry Mowat to conduct reprisal raids on colonial seaports associated with the rebellion.

Mowat assembles a five ship fleet, heads out of Boston Harbor, and drops anchor about 115 miles up the coast at Falmouth Harbor. On October 18, he informs the townspeople that he intends to mete out punishment for their defiance of the crown, to commence in two hours. When the locals refuse to pledge allegiance to the King, Mowat begins an eight hour bombardment of the now abandoned city, followed by a landing party of

marines instructed to burn everything left standing. In the end some 400 buildings and homes are destroyed.

The King then takes another signal step against the colonists on October 27, 1775 in a hard line speech delivered to the opening of Parliament. He states that the rebels have broken their vows of allegiance to the crown – in effect calling them traitors – and that he intends to use his own forces, as well as foreign alliances, to suppress the conspirators.

So much for the hopes of some for an “Olive Branch” solution.

In November, 1775, the pressure is turned up in Virginia, which the British see rivaling Massachusetts as a center fomenting disobedience.

Ever since 1771 the Governor of the “Province” has been the Right Honourable John Murray, a Scotsman whose formal title is Lord Dunmore.

Dunmore’s approach to governing Virginia lies in ignoring the local council, the House of Burgesses, and acting on his own agenda – which focuses on warfare against the Shawnee Tribe for control over inland territory. His efforts in this regard deplete the Virginia militia and the financial coffers.

When Dunmore turns to the Burgesses in 1773 for more men and money, it responds with a list of complaints about increased taxes in general and his administrative abuses in particular. After which, in 1774, Dunmore dissolves the House of Burgesses.

This infuriates the Virginians, especially Patrick Henry, already known as the “Son of Thunder” for his fiery oratory. On March 23, 1775, Henry’s speech to the Virginia Convention, a de facto House back-up, ends with this stirring plea:

*Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?
Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give
me liberty, or give me death!*

Like General Gage in Boston, Dunmore also chooses April 1775 to deprive rebel access to military supplies. His focus is on gunpowder stored in the armory at Williamsburg, and on April 20 he orders a small band of Royal Navy marines to transfer it to their ship docked on James River. But when the 15 barrels arrive, they are met by a contingent of local militia ordering they be returned, as property of the colony and not the King.

The stand-off boils over shortly. The rebels threaten to storm the Governor’s Palace in Williamsburg. Dunmore announces his intent to impose martial law, free all slaves held by the rebels, and “*reduce the city to ashes.*” As word of the April 19 battle at Concord spreads, more Virginia militiamen appear, eager to drive Dunmore and the British out of Williamsburg.

Two prominent Virginians, Peyton Randolph and George Washington, lobby for a peaceful resolution, but on May 2 the 150 man Hanover County Militia, serving under Patrick Henry, march on the capital. They drive Dunmore and his family out of the palace and extract a 330L payment for the gunpowder from a wealthy Loyalist in town. This temporarily ends the conflict, with Henry off to attend the Continental Congress and Dunmore aboard the HMS Fowey, from which he will direct future attacks against the rebels in 1776 before returning to England.

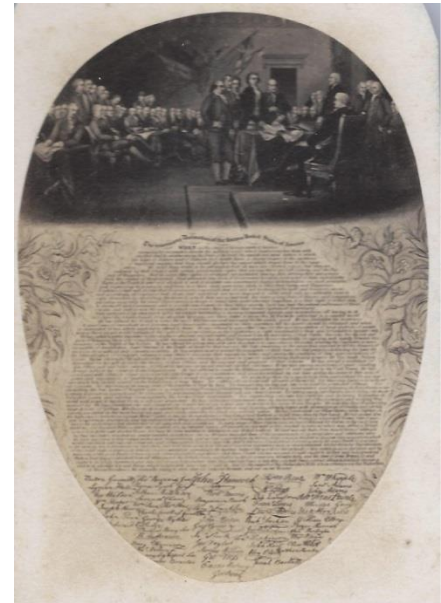
Time: July 4, 1776

The Second Continental Congress Declares American Independence

The summer of 1776 marks fifteen months since the outbreak of fighting at Concord – fifteen months in which the colonies have governed themselves, and roughly held their own in battle against the British Regulars.

Driven by these tailwinds, the “radicals” at the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia are ready to force the issue of a final break with the crown.

The move is reinforced by a widely circulated pamphlet titled Common Sense, written by Thomas Paine, formerly a disgruntled tax collector in Britain.



Signing the Declaration of Independence



Thomas Paine (1737-1809)

Paine emigrates to Philadelphia in 1774 on the advice of Ben Franklin, with whom he shares a penchant for science, invention and journalism. He becomes editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine and soon takes up the cause of the American rebellion. Paine is a visionary, and his stirring rhetoric touches the colonists.

We have it in our power to begin the world over again.

On June 7, 1776, the Virginian Richard Henry Lee, who works hand in glove over time with John Adams of Massachusetts, offers a resolution to that effect.

Resolved: That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

Seven States immediately support Lee’s resolution, but six others waver -- which leads to a three week hiatus as delegates return home for further local debate.

In the interim, the remaining delegates set up a series of “writing committees” to draft documents directed at gaining credibility and worldwide acceptance for a new nation.

First and foremost is a Declaration of Independence, assigned to a Committee of Five, including John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, Ben Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, who pens a first draft.



Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

The tone is restrained and appropriately respectful for an audience including the world’s hereditary monarchs -- George III in England, Louis XVI in France, Charles III in Spain, Frederick II in Prussia – all of whom will be threatened by the content.

It begins with a statement of overall purpose – to explain why America is breaking away from the crown.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume...the separate station to which the laws of nature entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes..of the separation

From there it sets out a series of beliefs about the nature of man and of government. These beliefs ring out with bold Enlightenment assertions. That all men are born free, and that natural law endows each with an equal right to seek happiness. That the role of government is to support this quest. That the form of government is up to the will of the people and that they may change it any time it fails to meet their needs.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter and abolish it, and to institute new government laying its foundation on principles...most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

The Declaration then moves into a bill of particulars, in effect a formal indictment of the ways in which the King and the British government in the colonies have jeopardized the well-being of the citizenry. The list includes 27 separate counts, among them refusal to pass necessary statutes, obstruction of justice, imposition of taxes without consent, maintaining a standing army in times of peace, arbitrarily suspending local legislatures, cutting off trade with countries abroad, abolishing Charters, imposing martial law, “plundering our seas, ravaging our coasts, burning our towns, and destroying the lives of our people.”

All attempts at redress have failed, leading on to a conclusion:

A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people...We, therefore, the representatives of the united States of America...declare that...these United Colonies...are free and independent States...absolved from all allegiances to the British Crown.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

The entire document runs to only 1337 words, and Jefferson’s original draft has been heavily edited by delegates, including the memorable opening sentence.

Jefferson’s Original	Final Resolution
We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable that all men are created equal & independent, that from that equal creation they derive rights, inherent & unalienable, that among which are the preservation of life & liberty and the pursuit of happiness.	We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

With a final Declaration in hand, a second vote is taken on the Lee resolution on July 2, with Pennsylvania and New York still hanging in the balance. When both vote “aye,” the motion passes, and the break with Britain becomes official.

Two days later, on July 4, delegates sign the formal Declaration of Independence and the new nation is born.

Once this declaration is made public, Franklin tells his colleagues, “*now we must, indeed, all hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately.*”

Time: July 1776

The Declaration’s Telltale Deletion Regarding Slavery



HQ of Price & Birch, Slave Dealers of Alexandria, Va.

Amidst the back and forth editing that goes into the final Declaration, one other change in Jefferson's original draft will come back to haunt the conscience of the new nation down through the ages.

It occurs in the original list of "indictments" against King George – the charge being that he has been responsible for introducing and sustaining slavery in the colonies.

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.

This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King, determined to keep open a market where men should be bought & sold.

He has...suppressed every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce.

He is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase the liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them; thus paying former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

Jefferson's language here is unequivocal.

Slavery is a "crime" committed upon "men" which "violates their sacred rights to life and liberty" – it is an "execrable commerce" which the colonists have tried to "prohibit or restrain."

The irony, of course, being that Jefferson himself is a lifetime slave owner, as are very many of the leaders of the Second Continental Congress.

One can never know what internal debates took place in Jefferson's mind as he wrote these words – nor in the minds of the delegates who had to consider them.

But the fact is that the final Declaration deleted this paragraph on slavery in its entirety.

Perhaps in seeking to indict the King over slavery, too many attendees felt they were indicting themselves.

Time: July 12, 1776 to November 15, 1777

The Articles Of Confederation Are Drafted To Govern The Nation



James Madison (1751-1836)

Along with the Declaration, a separate group of delegates, the Committee of Thirteen, begins work on how a “government of and for the people” will operate in practice. This committee of is chaired by John Dickinson, who authored the Olive Branch Petition a year earlier.

From the beginning the committee and the delegates as a whole are divided over one central issue – the proper size and power of the central government. The two sides become known as Federalists and Anti-Federalists, and each is well represented in the Congress.

Prominent Divisions Over Federalism

“Federalists”	“Anti-Federalists”
John Adams	Sam Adams
Alexander Hamilton	George Clinton
John Jay	Christopher Gadsden
Thomas McKean	Eldridge Gerry
James Madison	John Hancock
Robert Morris	Benjamin Harrison
George Read	Patrick Henry
John Rutledge	Thomas Jefferson
Roger Sherman	Richard Henry Lee
George Washington	George Mason

The “Federalist” faction argues that a strong central government is needed to create a sense of unity throughout the country, and to act with one purpose in foreign affairs – especially during the current war with Britain.

The “Anti-Federalists” feel that a powerful center compromises the essence of what the rebellion is all about – enabling the common men to decide what government action best suit their needs at the local level. In turn they argue that a strong center will end up like a monarchy – with a distant aristocracy of elites, focused on their own agenda, spending and taxing at will, overruling the wishes of individual states and local citizens.

This debate, however, is far too complex and potentially divisive to resolve in the middle of a war for survival, so the delegates put it off for the moment. Instead the committee comes forward on July 12 with thirteen “Articles of Confederation,” summed up as follows:

1. *The new nation will be referred to as The United States of America.*
2. *Each state will retain control of governing itself, except where specific powers are ceded to the federal level.*
3. *The whole will act together to insure their common defense, secure liberties, support general welfare.*
4. *Citizens will be free to cross state lines and enjoy fair treatment; criminals will be extradited back home.*
5. *Each state will have one vote in a Congress of the Confederation, and 2-7 delegates chosen by the legislature.*
6. *The central government alone conducts foreign policy, declares war, and establishes commercial treaties.*
7. *State militias will be maintained with officers named by the legislature and called out for common defense.*
8. *Central government funding will come from the states, apportioned on assessed real property values.*
9. *Congress declares war, approves treaties, names diplomats, resolves interstate disputes, defines coinage.*
10. *A quorum of nine of the thirteen states is required for Congress to take action.*
11. *If Canada decides to join the Confederation, it will be admitted.*
12. *The Confederation is accountable for paying war debts accumulated before its existence.*
13. *The above articles are perpetual and can be changed only if Congress approves and the states then ratify.*

Aside from failing to resolve the broad philosophical issue of federalism, a host of other shortcomings related to the Articles will become apparent over time. Rules affecting international commerce have not been spelled out. Plans to set and collect taxes remain iffy, and the government is perpetually underfunded. Perhaps most critical in the short run, the center is given little control over individual states when it comes to supplying troops, funds and materials to prosecute the war.

The entire document defining the thirteen Articles runs to only five pages, and begs for greater detail on every point. -- and final ratification will drag on. Ten states ratify the Articles within two years; the last state to approve, Maryland, doesn't do so until February 1781, almost five years later.

Still the Articles, while not "official," will provide the framework for governing the new nation forward from July 1776.

They must do for now. Time for talking is up; time for intensified fighting is on the way.

Chapter 9 -- The Revolutionary War Is Stalemated In The North



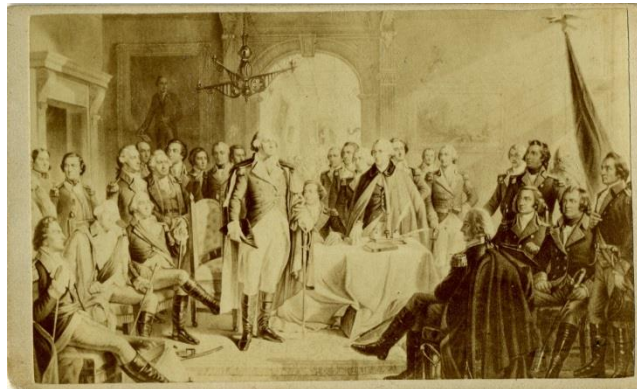
Dates:
1776-1778

Sections:

- Washington Almost Loses His Army On Manhattan Island
- Washington Crosses The Delaware For A Much Needed Victory At Trenton
- America's Victory Over Burgoyne At Saratoga Stuns The World
- Sidebar: Becoming Benedict Arnold
- The British Take The American Capital Of Philadelphia
- The Continental Army Suffers And Is Transformed At Valley Forge
- France Comes Into The War On The Side Of America
- Drawn Battle Of Monmouth Ends Infantry Combat In The North

Time: August 1776

Washington Almost Loses His Army On Manhattan Island



Washington and his Revolutionary War Generals

While Arnold is fleeing Montreal in June of 1776, the British signal their absolute determination to put down the rebellion by off-loading some 32,000 imported troops on Staten Island, eight miles below the southern tip of Manhattan.

From this moment on, Washington's garrison of 28,000 men around Ft. George is in dire jeopardy, absent a naval force to protect either flank of his island salient. His second-in-command, Major General Charles Lee, a professional soldier, sees this immediately:

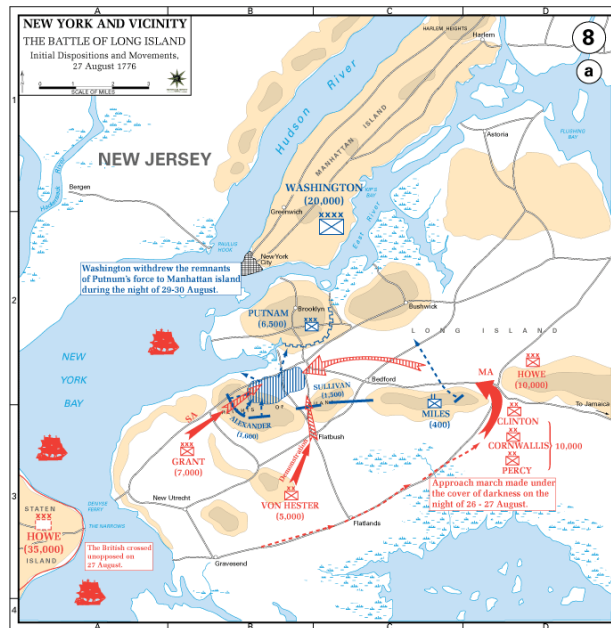
Whoever commands the sea, must command the town.

But Washington rejects Lee's assessment, with encouragement from a Congress that just declared independence and is loath to have it commence with the loss of New York.

Howe recognizes that the fortifications on Long Island are crucial to the American defense, since they dominate both the Hudson and East Rivers surrounding Manhattan. If he can take Brooklyn Heights, he'll

transport troops up both rivers, send them inland to link up in a defensive chain, and bag Washington's entire army before it can escape to the north.

On August 22 the British land on Long Island and move toward Brooklyn. The astute general Clinton leads a flanking movement which routs the American right on August 27, in the first truly sizable battle of the war. But Howe pauses just long enough to allow Washington to execute a risky nighttime evacuation, ferrying 9500 troops across the East River from Brooklyn to Ft. George. Despite this success, the Long Island battle has cost him 1,012 casualties to 392 for Howe.



Howe Takes Brooklyn Heights and Moves on Manhattan

But Washington has moved from one trap to another, in New York City – and once again it is only Howe's slow pursuit that allows the Continental army to survive. Much to Clinton's chagrin, Howe waits until September 15 to move across the river and force Washington to abandon the city.

Captain Aaron Burr engineers the escape plan, which saves both Washington and his aide, Alexander Hamilton. But when he fails to receive a promotion for this action, Burr never quite forgives these two superiors.

Howe gives chase, but Washington survives a crucial stand-up battle, nine miles north, at Harlem Heights on September 16 that provides another momentary respite.

Still Congress refuses to entirely surrender New York, and Washington makes another tactical mistake to try to save it. He divides his army in two, with his main body of 16,000 troops scurrying north another 10 miles to White Plains, and the rest staying behind to hold two Hudson River forts. Colonel Robert Magaw and his 2800 men are left to defend Ft. Washington on the east bank of the Hudson and 3500 men under General Nathanael Greene are assigned to hold Ft. Lee on the west bank, in New Jersey.

One other man left behind is 21 year old Captain Nathan Hale, assigned to spy on Howe's army.



The Hanging of Nathan Hale (1755-1776)

The British quickly apprehend Hale, accuse him of planning to torch the city, and hang him on September 21. His last words from the gallows, however, endure.

I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country.

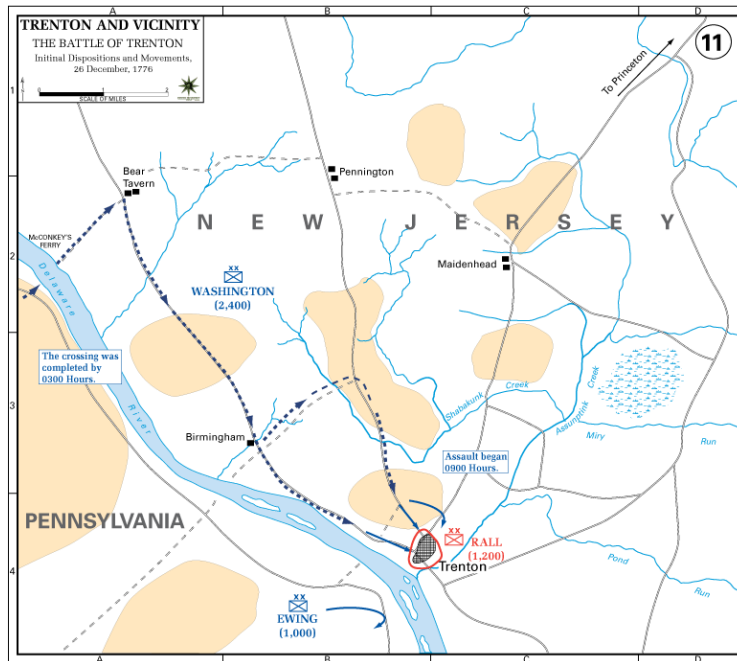
On October 28 Howe catches up with Washington at White Plains and a pitched battle along the Bronx River, ends with the Americans holding their own, but then abandoning the field for another retreat 15 more miles north to Peekskill.

Instead of a further chase of Washington's main army, Howe turns back south to make him pay for dividing his army, by destroying it in detail.

On November 16, Howe attacks the two undermanned Hudson River forts. Magaw and his 2800 men capitulate, and Greene just manages to escape west to Hackensack. The battle for New York is over, with 4,000 Americans lost along the way. From start to finish it has been an unmitigated disaster for the Americans.

Time: December 25, 1776

Washington Crosses The Delaware For A Much Needed Victory At Trenton



Washington Crosses the Delaware and Wins at Trenton

With the winter of 1776 approaching, Washington senses that the morale of his army, and his nation, is rapidly dwindling after the loss of New York. The time has come for bold strokes, and two upcoming battles – at Trenton, New Jersey and Saratoga, New York – will begin to swing the war’s momentum.

Once Washington realizes that Howe is no longer chasing him toward Peekskill, he swings his 5,000 troops west across the Hudson and then all the way south through Hackensack, Newark and Princeton, and over the Delaware River, just below Trenton. By December 8 his weary forces are camped there, facing across the river at a superior British army of 10,000 under Major General Charles Cornwallis. The outlook here is ominous, until Howe decides to end the campaign for the winter. Instead of attacking Washington, Cornwallis decamps Trenton, leaving behind a small force of Hessians.

At this moment, Washington does the totally unexpected.

On Christmas Day he decides to hurl his entire army across the Delaware against the Hessian rearguard. Washington’s plan to make two feints downstream is foiled by icy river conditions, but he himself leads some 2400 men to an upriver ferry and follows up with a devastating surprise attack on the Hessian’s right flank. The result is a rout. The Hessian commander, Colonel Johann Rall, is killed, and 918 troops are forced to surrender.

Washington continues with another victory at Princeton on January 2, 1777, then decides to rest his fought out troops and prepare for the Spring.

June 13 to October 10, 1777

America's Victory Over Burgoyne At Saratoga Stuns The World



Burgoyne's Roadmap to taking Albany

As both sides pause, it's clear the British have become frustrated by the failure to end the rebellion in 1776 and the mounting costs associated with their efforts. General Carleton's efforts in Canada are questioned back home, and his northern army command is handed over to Major General John Burgoyne -- who lays out a bold plan to sail down Lake Champlain, take Ft. Ticonderoga, and then move over-land to assault Albany -- thus cutting off New England from the other colonies.

On June 13, 1777, Burgoyne moves from Montreal to Lake Champlain, and sets sail with a force of 4,000 Regulars, 3,000 Hessians and 1,000 Indians. On July 5 he wins a major victory by forcing General Arthur St. Clair and his 2,500 troops to abandon Ft. Ticonderoga. What follows are ten weeks of hard overland marching and skirmishing, which bring him to the town of Saratoga, some 35 miles north of his objective, Albany.

Waiting for him there is General Horatio Gates, named on August 19 to replace Schuyler, who has arrayed his 7,000 troops in a strong defensive position at Bemis Heights, south of town, along the west bank of the Hudson.

Burgoyne decides to attack the American's left flank, and finally moves out on September 19. But his path west takes him into a series of dense woods that first confuse and hinder the British and then lead them by mid-morning into a pitched battle at Freeman's Farm, an outpost commanded by Benedict Arnold, well north of Gate's main position. After inflicting 600 casualties, Arnold signals Gates that he will bag the entire British force if given reinforcements. The more cautious Gates declines the request, and Burgoyne's demoralized troops retreat to lick their wounds for the day.

At this point, Burgoyne is growing desperate for a victory. He constructs two redoubts around the Freeman Farm ground and attempts to move south from there toward Gates, on October 7. But again, General Arnold turns him back, before falling with a grievous wound to his leg.

Burgoyne loses another 600 men, without even approaching the Bemis Heights position. When he flees north to Saratoga, however, Gates comes after him with his entire force. By October 10, Burgoyne is out of options, and he surrenders his remaining army to Gates.

This British capitulation at Saratoga stuns the world!

The American's Continental army has just proven that it can go toe to toe with Britain and come out on top.

Time: 1776-1781

Sidebar: Becoming Benedict Arnold (1741-1801)

One of the great ironies related to the American victory at Saratoga involves the fate of its undeniable hero – General Benedict Arnold.

Arnold is born in Connecticut, builds a successful business as a pharmacist and book seller in New Haven, joins the militia, and later the Sons of Liberty, protesting British taxes. When the war begins, Arnold is a Captain in the Connecticut militia. But he soon proves an excellent military strategist and leader of men in the field, famous on both counts for his aggressiveness.

His two most famous battles – at Quebec City in December 1776 and Saratoga in October 1777 – end with crippling gunshot wounds to his left leg. Medical attempts at reconstruction leave it two inches shorter than his right leg, resulting in a permanent limp.

Had this second wound, at Saratoga, been fatal, Benedict Arnold would be regarded today as a military legend. But that was not to be his destiny.

Instead his path leads on to bitterness and betrayal.

In June 1778, Washington appoints him military commander of Philadelphia, the nation's capital city. But Arnold becomes gradually dismayed by America's prospects in the war. He marries into a family with Loyalist sympathies and makes a series of investments in the city that are seen by some as taking advantage of his position for personal gains. Arnold is outraged by the criticism:

Having become a cripple in the service of my country, I little expected to meet ungrateful returns.

As his disillusionment grows, he opens a secret channel of communication with Sir Henry Clinton, overall commander of British forces in America from

1778-82. His efforts are supported by his wife and by William Franklin, illegitimate son of Ben Franklin, who is a lifelong supporter of the crown.

Further inquiries into his personal conduct lead to a rebuke from his long-time supporter, George Washington, and a monetary fine for mishandling finances. This tips Arnold all the way over to the British side and the beginning of treasonous disclosures about American military operations.

After resigning his post in Philadelphia, he is given command over West Point, a bastion on the Hudson that Clinton plans to attack. On August 15, 1778, Clinton offers Arnold 20,000 pounds to weaken the defenses at West Point and support a British attempt to capture it. Arnold accepts the offer on August 30, and the two begin plotting through coded messages delivered by couriers.

On September 23, one of these couriers is arrested by militiamen and the Arnold-Clinton plot is revealed to Washington. Arnold, however, manages to escape, joining British forces in Virginia as a Brigadier General, and later leading successful attacks on Richmond and around New York.

In December 1781 Arnold and his wife, granted safe passage despite her role in the plots, leave America for London – and another decade of life as a British military advisor, politician, businessman and adventurer, before dying at the age of 60.

But the name Benedict Arnold will ring down through the ages in American lore not as the hero of Saratoga as he was, but as the turncoat and traitor he became.

Time: September 26, 1777

The British Take The American Capital Of Philadelphia



Howe takes Philadelphia and Washington Retreats to Valley Forge

While Burgoyne is moving south in Canada, General William Howe loads 13,000 troops onto 260 ships and exits New York on July 13 – intent on capturing the American capital of Philadelphia.

He plans to embark in Delaware Bay, but is warned off and diverts to Chesapeake Bay, where he finally lands on August 25. From there he begins to march north through Newark and toward Philadelphia.

Washington decides to cut him off some 25 miles southwest of the city, along Brandywine Creek, where he entrenches.

The two armies, both numbering around 11,000 men, meet on September 11, in a battle that is a mirror image of the British win on Long Island.

Once again Howe outmaneuvers Washington, fainting at his center and executing a flanking movement which leaves the right wing of the American army vulnerable to a crushing blow.

Then Howe characteristically pauses, this time just long enough to allow Major General John Sullivan to realign his men to face the assault head on rather than from their flank. This shift doesn't prevent a victory for Howe at Brandywine, but it does, once again, allow Washington to escape east, after suffering roughly 1,000 casualties.

Hearing of the defeat, the Continental Congress decides to vacate the capital on September 19, in favor of greater safety at York.

This move proves wise when Howe overruns American forces under “Mad” Anthony Wayne at Paoli on September 20, then crosses the Schuylkill River near Valley Forge, putting his army between Washington and Philadelphia.

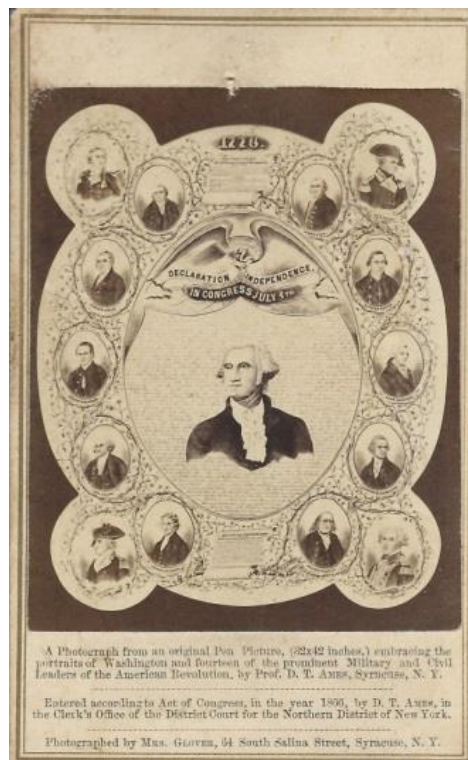
On September 26, Howe marches triumphantly into the American capital.

Fighting around Philadelphia continues into the winter as Washington tries to siege the British from two forts that command the Delaware river. But Howe eventually reduces both in mid-November.

Washington has now lost both New York and Philadelphia to Howe between August 1776 and September 1777. It is indeed a low point for him as he goes into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

Time: Winter 1777

The Continental Army Suffers And Is Transformed At Valley Forge



Washington and his key generals, among them are Henry Knox, Charles Lee and Nathanael Greene.

The winter of 1777 at Valley Forge proves to be a test of America's willingness and ability to fight on against the British, and of Washington's capacity to lead. As overall commander of the army, he is roundly criticized for "losing Philadelphia," and he responds with defiance.

Whenever the public gets dissatisfied with my service...I shall quit the helm and retire to a private life.

His sense of despair, however, continues to mount. He wonders how men can survive, much less fight, when upwards of two-thirds face a winter without even shoes for their feet?

Unless some great and capital change suddenly takes place...this Army must inevitably starve, dissolve, or disperse, in order to obtain subsistence in the best manner they can.

This is almost the case, as 2500 men perish from malnutrition, poor sanitation and disease over the next five months.

But Washington and his men at Valley Forge are eventually saved by two things – renewed financial support from Congress, and arrival on the scene of one Baron Friedrich Von Steuben.

Von Steuben is 48 years old and out of work as a staff officer in the Prussian Army under Frederick The Great when he encounters Benjamin Franklin in Paris and inquiries about service in the American army. He is hired on and sent to Valley Forge, arriving late in the winter.

Once there, he introduces the military training and iron-willed discipline characteristic of the Prussian forces.

He begins by selecting the best 100 soldiers he finds to form a “model company,” then runs them over and over through basic drills. The 8 step/15 motions required to fire the standard 5’6” long flintlock musket, with accuracy and with maximum speed. Marching formations and adjustments to maintain line integrity, respond to enemy maneuvers, and foster courage. Even the basics of camp sanitation and diet to sharply reduce illness such as dysentery and cholera. All accomplished to bursts of profanity in German aimed at slow learners. Once this “model company” takes shape, Von Steuben than distributes his “graduates” among other units to clone the progress.

By late Spring his results are self-evident. Washington’s rag-tag force now takes on a professional look and feel, and Von Steuben is named Inspector-General for the Continental Army.

Time: February 6, 1778

France Comes Into The War On The Side Of America



Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)

While Washington struggles at Valley Forge, word of the major American victory at Saratoga reaches Europe in December, and prompts the French government under Louis XVI to re-think its stance on allying with the colonials.

France, of course, is still smarting in 1776 from its losses to Britain in the Seven Years War (1756-63), including the bitter defeats driving it out of Canada. So they are inclined to seek revenge

America recognizes this historical animosity and tries to leverage it from the start of the war. John Adams drafts a series of possible treaties with the French, and Benjamin Franklin tries repeatedly to sell them in Paris.

But the French balk. They do not wish to align with a losing partner, and that is exactly what the Americans look like after Washington barely escapes from Howe in New York in August 1776.

This leads to a “wait and see” attitude that prevails in France all the way to December 1777, when Gates and Burr rout Burgoyne at Saratoga.

From that moment on, diplomatic action moves along quickly, the culmination coming on February 6, 1778 at Hotel De Crillon in Paris, where two agreements are signed:

- A Treaty of Alliance, in effect a mutual defense pact, whereby the two sides agreed to take military action in response to any future attacks on either by Britain.
- A Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which confers “most favored nation” status on the two countries, for the purpose of carrying on trade. Included here is promised protection by the French navy of American ships on the high sea.

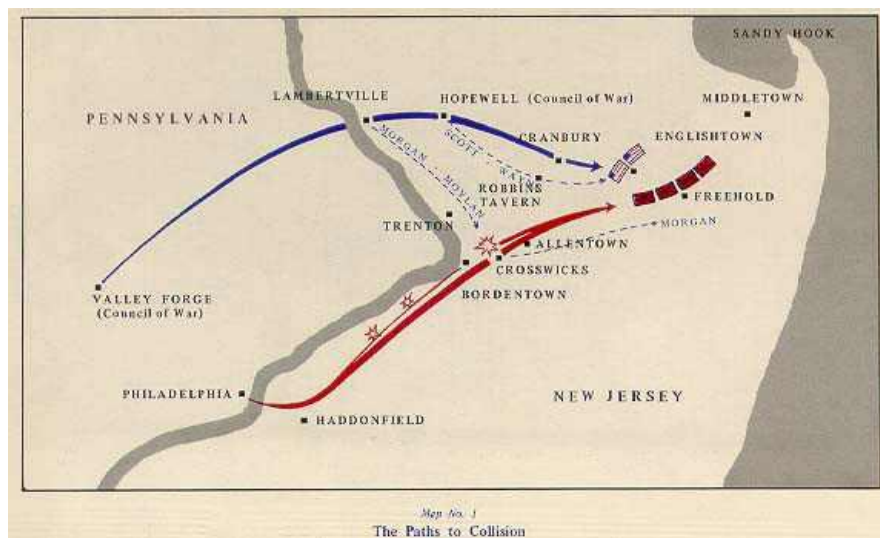
This recognition by France immediately confers global legitimacy on the Americans, in addition to materially strengthening their military resources, especially in confronting the Royal Navy.

It also greatly ups the financial ante on the British to continue the fight.

When the French ambassador informs England of the two treaties, the response is predictable and fast. On March 17, 1778, Britain declares war on France.

Time: 1778

Drawn Battle Of Monmouth Ends Infantry Combat In The North



Clinton Heads from Philadelphia toward Manhattan and Washington Follows

The French are not the only ones impressed by the American victory at Saratoga.

Three years have now passed since the April 1775 skirmish at Lexington, and British Prime Minister, Lord Frederick North, comes under increasing pressure from the Opposition Party in Parliament.

On three counts: failure to put down the American rebellion; the alarming costs (some 12 million pounds per year) and tax increases required to pursue it further; and the new global threats associated with the intervention of France – especially to the lucrative sugar producing islands in the British West Indies (Jamaica, Barbados, Grenada).

In response, Britain begins to back off from its determination to crush the colonists.

The first signal of this occurs in June 1778, when King George III sends a delegation headed by Frederick Howard, the Earl of Carlisle, to America to offer terms by which the colonies would remain under British rule, but with representation in Parliament, and much greater control over their own affairs. The Continental Congress rejects the Carlisle Commission proposals, demanding full independence instead.

The second signal involves changes in military strategy.

Instead of concentrating its forces against the more openly rebellious Northern colonies, the decision is made to focus on the South – where public support for the crown is thought to be more widespread and intense.

If Britain can convince Loyalists in the region to fight on their behalf, a faster and cheaper end to the rebellion might materialize.

Execution of this new southern strategy begins with publicity announcing the Carlisle Commission and Britain's willingness to welcome the colonists back into the fold, with greater self-autonomy.

This is coupled with the evacuation of Philadelphia by General Henry Clinton, who has replaced the retired General William Howe as overall commander of Britain forces.

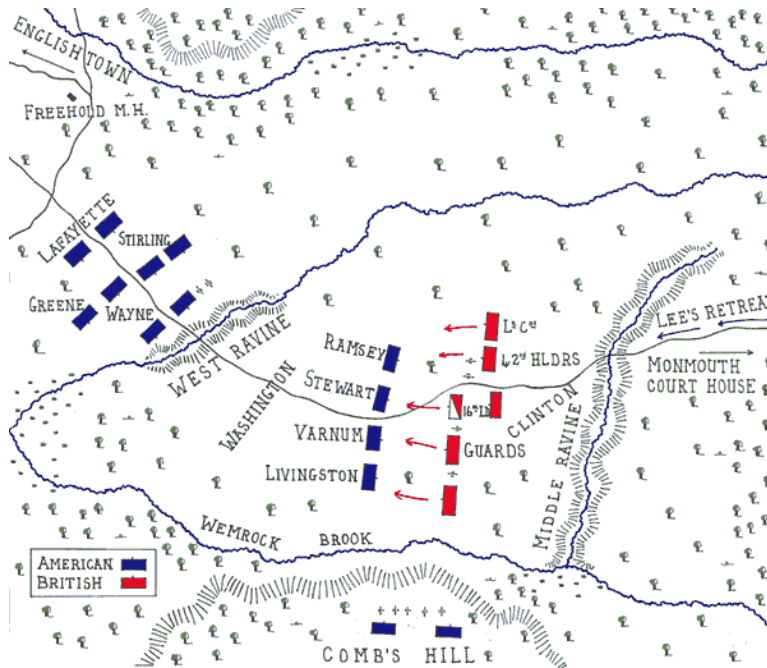
General Clinton departs Philadelphia on June 18, 1778, hoping for an untroubled transfer of his 11,000 troops and artillery trains northeast toward Manhattan and Britain's last impregnable stronghold in the North

Washington, still at Valley Forge, responds quickly. He sends small bands of local militia to harass Clinton as he moves across the Pennsylvania countryside and up into New Jersey – then prepares for a general engagement around Monmouth Court House, about 40 miles below the southern tip of Staten Island, New York.

One of Washington's generals, Charles Lee, balks at the notion of risking another major battle, when it appears the British may be in the process of giving up. But Washington will have none of that. His confidence in the Continental army is high and a win over Clinton before he reaches the safe haven of New York City could prove decisive.

On the morning of June 28, the reluctant Lee and his 5,000 troops approach the British rearguard under the able Cornwallis, just north of Monmouth. Lee fights for several hours, but his battle plan lacks cogency and he is eventually forced to retreat.

Washington is apoplectic when he learns of Lee's defeat and subsequently sacks him. But the battle resumes in the afternoon, another stand-up affair, with Washington in a superior defensive position able to beat back multiple assaults by the British regulars.



The Final Clash in the North is Fought at Monmouth, NJ

In the end, the battle is a draw.

Washington is unable to stop Clinton's move to New York, but he does demonstrate the newly gained proficiency of his army.

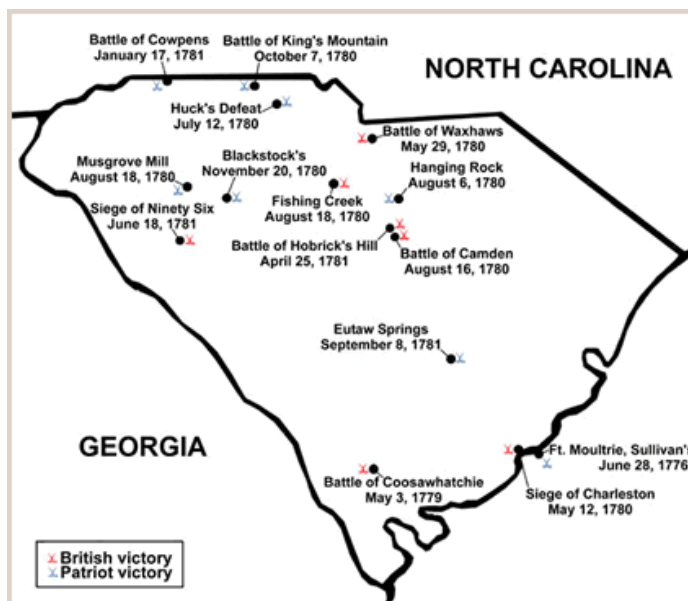
The Battle of Monmouth represents another turning point in the war. It is the last sizable infantry clash that will take place in the North – despite the fact that the conflict drags on for another three years and the final resolution treaty is five years hence.

Chapter 10 -- The French Help America Win Its War With Britain

	<p>Dates: 1779-1783</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Britain's "Southern Strategy" Succeeds Then Stalls • The Three Year Old American-French Alliance Takes Hold In 1781 • The Endgame At Yorktown • The Treaty Of Paris Officially Ends The Revolutionary War
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Time: 1779-1781

Britain's "Southern Strategy" Succeeds Then Stalls



Revolutionary War Battles Rage Across South and North Carolina in 1779-81

To succeed with their new efforts in the South, the British need a strong supply base similar to their position in New York City. They already hold Savannah, Georgia, after a failed American siege in the Fall of 1777. But they want a more central location, and they decide that the port city of Charleston, South Carolina, is their best bet.

On December 26, 1779, Clinton and Cornwallis leave New York harbor with 8,500 men, weaponry and supplies, for what proves to be a six week, stop and start voyage through winter storms, ending on February 11, 1780, just to the south of their objective.

What follows is a siege of Charleston, lasting through the Spring, and finally forcing the surrender on May 12 of General Benjamin Lincoln's entire 5,500 man army, trapped in the city.

At this stage, Clinton turns command of his southern forces over to Cornwallis and his second, Lt. Colonel Banastre Tarlton, who quickly earns a "no quarters" reputation on the battlefield.

After Charleston, the American's are left with only local militia to try to fend off the British.

For the next two and a half years, the Revolutionary War will be fought across the South, often pitting local Loyalists against their neighbor Secessionists.

Many of the encounters will take place in the interior of South Carolina. On August 16, 1780, General Horatio Gates, chosen by Congress to revitalize American troops after Charleston, blunders into a solid trouncing at Camden, SC. At King's Mountain on October 7, Cornwallis's move toward North Carolina is turned back by frontiersmen under Colonel John Sevier.

American resistance stiffens further when Washington sends 39 year old Major General Nathanael Greene to replace Gates. On January 17, 1781, Greene's men thrash Tarleton's Loyalist cavalry at Cowpens, S.C. Tarleton loses 1,000 men, along with his image for invincibility. Cornwallis remains undaunted, and again pushes into North Carolina, encountering Greene on March 15, 1781, at Guilford Court House (later the town of Greensboro). At day's end, Britain owns the field but at a disproportionately high cost of 500 casualties.

After one more draw with Greene at Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden, SC, Cornwallis decides it's time to fight the war in Virginia, linchpin between Washington's northern army and Greene in the South.

The broad "Loyalist uprising" across the Carolinas and Georgia that British MP Lord North hoped for has failed to materialize, and the Americans have now proven they can stand toe to toe with the redcoats in land battles. All that England has left to show for its move South are Savannah and Charleston, both secured by their superior fleet.

But the Royal Navy is about to be tested in Virginia by America's new ally, the French.

Time: August-September 1791

The Three-Year Old American-French Alliance takes Hold In 1781



Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834)

■ By the time Cornwallis completes his 240 mile trek from Wilmington, NC to Petersburg, Virginia, units under now turn-coat British General Benedict Arnold and William Phillips have burned and pillaged towns along James River and taken control of the new capital city of Richmond.

This incursion into his home state alarms Washington and he sends 5,000 troops under command of the French General Marquis de Lafayette, to defend Virginia and capture the traitor, Arnold.

Given that Cornwallis has 7,000 troops at his disposal, Lafayette decides to avoid a major battle, instead maneuvering his army along the Rapidan River toward Williamsburg. A sharp skirmish is fought there on July 6, 1781.

At this point, General Clinton, resting comfortably in Manhattan, senses that the combined 9,000 man force of Washington and the Frenchman, Rochambeau, may be readying a move against him. In response he first orders Cornwallis to detach 3,000 men back to NYC, then changes his mind and tells him to occupy the deep water port at Yorktown, which he does.

At first, this move to Yorktown looks safe – but then two crucial factors shift the equation.

On May 22, Washington learns that French Admiral Francois Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, plans to move his fleet from the Caribbean to America in the Fall, to support the alliance. For the first time in the war, Britain’s absolute dominance of all sea lanes will be challenged.

Then Washington settles on a major gamble, reminiscent of his desperate move across the Delaware to Trenton some five years earlier.



LaFayette And Washington

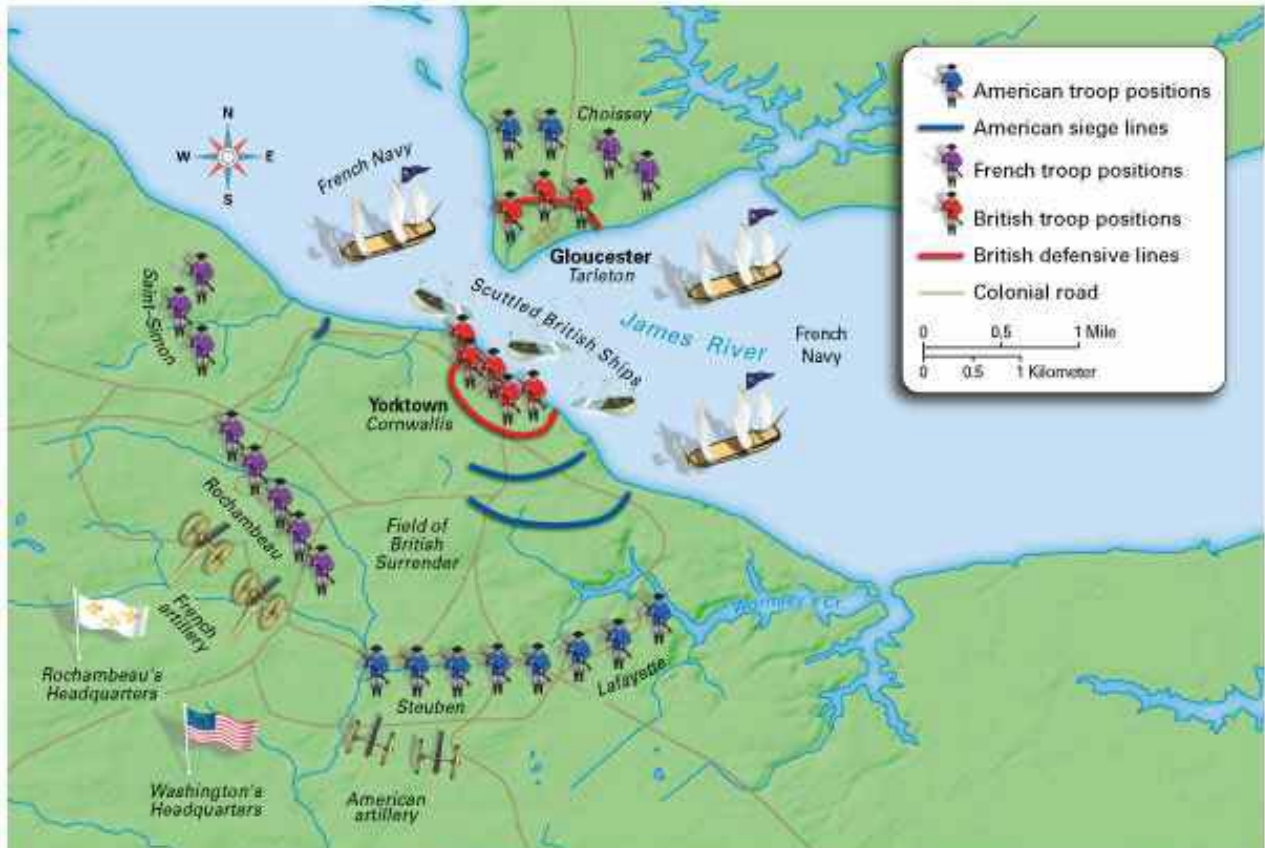
He leaves a shadow army of 3,000 to contain Clinton in New York, and secretly marches with Rochambeau and 6,000 men on August 21 to join Lafayette. Fortunately Clinton does not learn of the move until September 2, when Washington’s army meets Admiral De Grasse’s fleet in Chesapeake Bay, north of Baltimore.

In addition to his navy, the Admiral brings another pleasant surprise – 2,500 French troops, who disembark to bolster the American-French infantry.

Suddenly a joint land and sea attack on Cornwallis at Yorktown becomes possible.

Time: October 19, 1781

The Endgame At Yorktown



Cornwallis is Trapped by Washington and the French at Yorktown

After settling on a plan of attack, Washington and Rochambeau move overland for 12 days to join up with LaFayette in Williamsburg on September 14.

In the interim, Admiral De Grasse fights a crucial sea battle with British Admirals, Sir Thomas Graves and Sir Samuel Hood, that will seal the fate for Cornwallis at Yorktown.

When DeGrasse moves north from Haiti on August 15, Graves and Hood follow him, but with only a part of the fleet, leaving the rest behind to defend the West Indies. This decision proves fateful on September 5 in the Battle of the Capes, fought for control of the entrance to James River and the Yorktown harbor.

In the early afternoon De Grasse brings his 24 warships out past Cape Henry, heading southeast and signaling the classical order "form line of battle." The awaiting British fleet of 19 ships tacks with him, foregoes a thrust at his center, and instead opts for a broadside exchange of fire. But Hood's rear guard never quite catches up to the French, and only eight of the Royal Navy actually close within range of

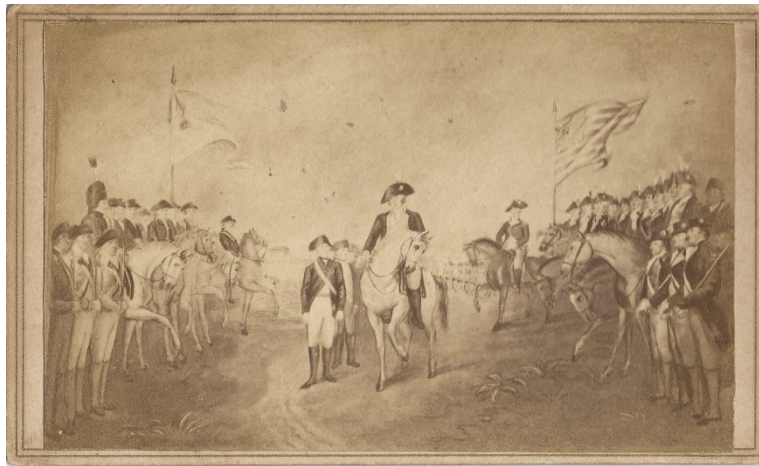
DeGrasse's main body of fifteen. This nearly 2:1 advantage in firepower pays off in a French victory, after two hours of intense fighting.

The two fleets continue to maneuver out of range off the capes until September 10 when DeGrasse move back into the shelter of Chesapeake Bay. There he is greeted by another French squadron under Admiral de Barras, which brings his strength up to 35 ships, guaranteeing control of the waters surrounding Yorktown.

At this point, Cornwallis's 7200 man army is trapped – between the French fleet on the York River and Washington's predominantly French force of 16,500 infantry who have surrounded him by September 28 from the east and south.

When Clinton sends word promising a relief force from New York, Cornwallis abandons his outer defenses and pulls back to a more tightly controlled perimeter. In turn, Washington and Lafayette are able to construct close-in siege operations, with cannon fire taking its daily toll on the British defenders. By October 10, Cornwallis signals Clinton that his only remaining hope is a rescue by the Royal Navy. Four days later, two critical redoubts (#9 and #10) are stormed, closing the gap between the British and their assailants to only 250 yards.

The end comes on the morning of October 19, 1781, to the beat of the long roll followed by a white flag of surrender from Cornwallis. Formal papers are signed and in the early afternoon the British army marches out of their fortifications to surrender, accompanied appropriately by a popular London tune, "The World Turned Upside Down."



The World Turned Upside Down

Time: September 3, 1783

The Treaty Of Paris Officially Ends The Revolutionary War



John Adams (1735-1826)

The success of the American-French alliance at Yorktown effectively signals the end of British rule over the thirteen colonies – although it takes almost two more years of sporadic warfare to drive the point home in London.

King George is willing to continue the fight, but his Parliament is not. The wartime Prime Minister, Lord North, is forced out in March of 1782.

In the spring, Ben Franklin opens unilateral talks with British counterparts, fearing that the French commitment to an ongoing alliance may be softening. He is joined over time by two other American diplomats, John Adams and John Jay.

By November 1782 a draft treaty is signed, with the opening declaration reading:

His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States...to be free, sovereign and independent.

Still another ten months pass before a final agreement is concluded in Paris on September 3, 1783.

Franklin wants Britain to cede eastern Canada to reduce the odds of a future invasion, but the crown balks at the idea. Instead, the British transfer the land west of the Appalachians to the Mississippi River, to the dismay of their tribal allies.

Other articles grant fishing rights to the United States in Canadian waters and access by Britain to the Mississippi River; finalize payment of outstanding debts; arrange for exchange of prisoners; and protect the rights of any residual Loyalists.

The Treaty of Paris ends the first war between mostly British brethren in America.

The victory of the upstart rebels is an improbable one, and much of the credit falls to one man, General George Washington, whose leadership and sheer determination span over six years of often desperate warfare.

Before long the new nation he secured will ask him to forego private life for another call of duty.

Chapter 11 -- The New Nation Encounters Early Difficulties Governing Itself



Dates:
1783-1787

Sections:

- The “Congress Of The Confederation And Perpetual Union” Starts Up
- Dealing With The War Debt Becomes A Major Challenge
- Simply Printing Money Fails To Solve The Problem
- A Controversial “Central Bank” Proves Helpful
- The Land Ordinance Of 1785 Also Helps Finance The Government
- Sidebar: A Typical Federal Land Grant Document
- Debates On The Need For A Stronger Central Government Re-emerge

Time: 1783

The “Congress Of The Confederation And Perpetual Union” Starts Up



“We, the People”

On March 1, 1781 the Continental Congress gives way to the new Congress of the Confederation, one month after Maryland becomes the final state to ratify the Thirteen Articles, written way back in 1776.

The President of the Continental Congress at the time is Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, who has previously signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Thirteen Articles. Since his position is largely ceremonial, he transitions readily to his new title and serves until July 1781, when Thomas McKean of Delaware succeeds him.

But most of the real decision-making power in government resides with the individual States – in accord with the wishes of the Anti-Federalist faction.

Each state is headed by a Governor – among them men like Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Rutledge of South Carolina, Hancock of Massachusetts, Clinton of New York and Reed of Pennsylvania who will continue to shape America’s destiny.

State Governors As The Confederation Phase Begins

State	Name	Served
Connecticut	Jonathan Trumbull	1769-84
Delaware	John Dickinson	1781-83
Georgia	Myrick Davies	1780-81
Maryland	Thomas Sim Lee	1779-82
Massachusetts	John Hancock	1780-85
New Jersey	William Livingston	1776-90
New York	George Clinton	1777-95
North Carolina	Abner Nash	1780-81
Pennsylvania	Joseph Reed	1778-81
Rhode Island	William Greene, Jr.	1778-86
South Carolina	John Rutledge	1779-82
Vermont	Thomas Chittenden	1778-89
Virginia	Thomas Jefferson	1779-81

What's left up to the Federal Government under the Thirteen Articles, are the powers to declare war, make peace, sign treaties, and print money.

Of course in March 1781, when the Confederation Congress convenes, the outcome of the war with Britain remains very much in doubt. Cornwallis's army is rampaging across Virginia and the French fleet has not yet committed to supporting Washington and LaFayette. So "managing the conflict" gives purpose and focus to the body.

But by the end of October 1781, the victory at Yorktown makes it quite clear that America will soon emerge victorious. The standing army totaling 29,000 soldiers in 1781 shrinks to 13,000 by 1783.

At which point the "relevance" of the Federal Government and the Confederation Congress seems to recede.

Once the Treaty of Paris is finalized in September 1783, many in Congress feel that its purpose has been served.

According to the Thirteen Articles, responsibility for governing should now fall to the individual States.

One issue, however, prevents the total withering away of central government.

That issue is financial debt.

Time: 1783-1787

Dealing With The War Debt Becomes A Major Challenge



Printed Money, often not “Backed” by Gold/Silver, Suffers from Inflation

Fighting the Revolutionary War has proven immensely costly to both sides.

For Britain the estimate is 250 million £, more than enough to antagonize its tax-payers, sack the Prime Minister and eventually lead to capitulation. For the American Congress the tab is pegged around \$150 million – in a nation whose treasury probably has no more than \$12 million in “hard money” (gold and silver) in 1775, as the first shots are fired.

To pay for wars and other spending, advanced eighteenth governments typically rely on three sources of revenue – collecting taxes, selling assets, and floating interest bearing bonds.

But Anti-Federalist sentiment dominates the 1776 Articles of Confederation, and it has no interest in granting the central government “authority to lay and collect taxes.” British abuse of this “taxing power” is what prompted the war in the first place, and the colonists do not intend to repeat this outcome on their own. So, under the Articles, any tax collection will be left up to each individual State, with the expectation that a portion of the revenues will be shared with the Continental Congress to support the war effort. In effect then, the States are asked to “donate” some of their tax revenue to Congress – a path that, in practice, fails miserably over time.

A second revenue source, selling assets, comes down to left-over federal land, but little remains available.

Congress does enjoy some success with the third option, selling bonds – collecting money now in exchange for a promised return of both principal and interest at a future date certain. The risk here for lenders is that the Americans might lose the war and be unable to pay off. Despite this, some bonds are sold domestically – often to wealthy patriots (e.g. Washington and George Clinton) investing in the

nation's survival – and abroad, to nations like France, Spain and the Netherlands, all with a self-interest in seeing Britain lose the war.

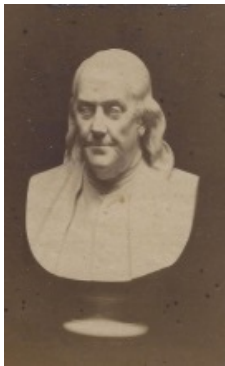
One American plays a particularly noteworthy role in this kind of fundraising. He is Haym Solomon, a Polish born Jew, who emigrates to New York City in 1775, becomes wealthy as an international trader, joins a “Sons Of Liberty” chapter in protest against the crown, is sentenced to death by the British, but escapes to safety in Philadelphia. Once there he is instrumental in securing French loans, as well as rallying domestic support. None other than George Washington calls repeatedly for Solomon's help, whenever his army becomes desperate for supplies. Sadly Solomon never recoups his loans after the war, and dies in poverty at age 44 years in 1785.

After failing to cover the cost of the war with these three conventional paths, Congress turns to an alternative option as a last resort.

The Federal Government begins to print its own money.

Time: 1783-1787

Simply Printing Money Fails To Solve The Problem



Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)

During the colonial period, America's economy has utilized three forms of “money:”

- Commodities acting as money, such as plugs of tobacco or beaver pelts, used in bartering.
- Minted coins called “specie,” most often Spanish dollars, comprising 24 grams of pure silver.
- Paper notes, issued by banks in each State, denominated in pounds, shillings or pence, and redeemable upon demand for a fixed quantity of “specie,” coined silver or gold

The war, however, forces the desperate Congress to come up with a fourth form – printed “bills of credit” that will become known as “continentals.”

Between 1776 and 1783, “continentals” with a face value totaling some \$240 million will be put into circulation by order of Congress. Denominations run from 1/6th of a dollar on up to \$80, with variations in between.

The government will use this new money to pay for all things needed to fight the war – gunpowder, armaments, supplies and soldiers. As such, they keep the army and the nation afloat from year to year.

But these “continentals” will turn out to be a sham form of money. The reason being that, unlike prior soft money, holders of the new bills are not guaranteed the right to redeem them for hard assets, silver or gold coins.

Without this “backing in specie,” suspicions build about the actual worth of the “continentals” – and as more flood into the market, “inflation” effects drive their purchasing power well below their asserted “face value.”

What was a \$1.00 bill of credit in 1776 drops in worth to around \$.58 by 1778 and to about \$.11 in 1780. Thereafter the bills become the butt end of jokes, as in “shoddy goods, not worth a continental.”

Of course astute financial men in Congress, like Ben Franklin, recognize the inflated “continentals” for what they are – a devious way around the “direct tax” prohibited in the Thirteen Articles.

Thus when the Federal Government buys a barrel of gunpowder with a \$10.00 face value “continental” actually worth \$8.00, it is in effect “directly taxing” the seller to the tune of \$2.00.

Like many a financial charade, the funny money Congress prints does allow the nation to get through the war.

Still, no such sleight of hand can overcome the stark reality that America is bankrupt by 1780.

Time: 1782

A Controversial “Central Bank” Proves Helpful



Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804)

The perils of this bankruptcy are best known to the soldiers fighting the war, especially George Washington and his principal aide-de-camp, Alexander Hamilton. Both men are Federalists, and together they push Congress to name a “Superintendent of Finance” to restore the American economy.

Their pick is Robert Morris, and Congress names him to the job in 1781.

Morris is born in 1734 in Liverpool and emigrates to Maryland at age thirteen to work with his father as a “factor” (middleman) in the international tobacco trade. He masters his craft and moves to Philadelphia where he apprentices with Charles Willing, a wealthy financier, who serves as Mayor of the city before an early death.

In 1757 Morris and Willing’s son, Thomas, form the firm of Willing, Morris & Co., which becomes wildly successful in everything from marine insurance to real estate to shipping ventures, including the slave trade.

By 1776 their stature around Philadelphia leads both men to be named delegates to the Second Continental Congress. Although they both oppose the Declaration of Independence, once the war begins, they play a crucial role in trying to finance it.

Morris recognizes right away that funding the Congress will depend upon linking public men who understand government with private men who operate in the world of finance.

With this goal in mind, Morris proposes that a “central bank” be chartered – to effectively manage the assets and debts of the Federal Government, as well as establish “credible backing in specie” for the money supply.

He titles this “The Bank of North America” and seeks approval from Congress to form a private corporation to run it. Start up funds will come from investors who will receive 1000 “shares” in the company in return for every \$400 they put in. In effect then, this central bank will operate like any other joint-stock corporation.

Resistance to this idea comes immediately from the Anti-Federalists. They fear that a federal bank will erode the power and policies of Congress by putting too much financial influence into the hands of an elite class of private investors. Besides, men like James Madison argue that the Articles of Confederation actually prohibit Congress from chartering any corporations, that being the province of the States.

Despite this opposition, the desperate circumstances surrounding the debt are such that Congress backs the central bank, and it opens on January 4, 1782. Its first president is none other than Morris’s long-time partner, Thomas Willing.

While Willing’s son-in-law purchases 9.5% of the bank’s shares at the first offering, the bulk of the shares, some 63%, come from foreign investors in France and the Netherlands brought in by Morris. Over time, this heavy stake in America held abroad will also become a sore point with the Anti-Federalists.

Once up and running, The Bank of North America will become a major success. It attracts investors and builds a sizable war-chest of money to help deal with the debt. It helps stabilize the true value of the money supply, by assuring that new bills of debt are backed by reserves of silver and gold. It reassures other nations that America’s finances are sound enough to warrant renewed international commerce.

Growth Of State Banks Chartered To Print “Backed” U.S. Dollars

1783	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
0	1	15	49	131	163	353	190!	494

Warren Weber, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, 2006

Time: 1785

The Land Ordinance Of 1785 Also Helps Finance The Government



Federal/Public Domain Land Created from State Cessions under the Thirteen Articles

One other development – The Land Ordinance of 1785 -- will also help the Federal Government finance itself over the long-run.

In winning the war, America acquires all of the British land from west of the Appalachians to the Mississippi River. This land represents a very attractive asset, capable of generating needed government revenue, if Congress can figure out “who actually owns” the acreage and how to sell it off.

Ownership Of Eventual US Land In 1783

Total Sq Mi	U.S.	Spain	Britain
3.09 million	29%	61%	10%
	East of Miss R	West of Miss + Fla	Oregon

The issue of ownership is immediately contentious, and heated debates on this point begin way back to 1776 when the Second Continental Congress is drafting the Declaration of Independence and the Thirteen Articles of Confederation.

Seven states claim ownership of the new land, based largely on historical “sea to sea border grants” made between the British crown and the joint-stock corporations who founded their colony.

Original State Claims On British Land West Of Appalachia

Area	Boundary	Claimed By
Northwest Territory	Above the Ohio River	Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York
Southwest Territory	Below the Ohio River	Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia

Predictably the other six “left out” states balk at this arrangement – and announce that they will refuse to ratify the Thirteen Articles of Confederation unless they share access to this land. This threat leads to a compromise whereby the States agree the land is “public domain property,” belonging to the Federal Government, and to be sold to help cover war debts owed by both the Congress and the States.

In 1784, the Confederation Congress goes to work on a structured plan for surveying and selling land in the new territories, and eventually creating new states. The challenge goes to a Committee of Five: Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, Jacob Reed of South Carolina, David Howell of Rhode Island and Hugh Williamson of North Carolina.

Together they accomplish the first part of the task, in The Land Ordinance of 1785.

It calls for certified surveyors to map out all of the new land, and then divide it into 6 square mile plots called “townships.” From there each township is broken into 36 equal “sections” of 640 acres. Each section is then “numbered” according to a set schematic, from 1 to 36.

36	30	24	18	12	6
35	29	23	17	11	5
34	28	22	16	10	4
33	27	21	15	9	3
32	26	20	14	8	2
31	25	19	13	7	1

Each section is put up for sale on a first come, first served basis, at an initial price of \$1 per acre, bumped up to \$2 in 1796. Buyers could be either settlers or speculators, and anyone owning a “section” was free to sub-divide it for re-sale. The Ordinance also requires that one “section” -- #16 – be set aside for a township school, to encourage the spread of public education.

The Act passes Congress on May 20, 1785.

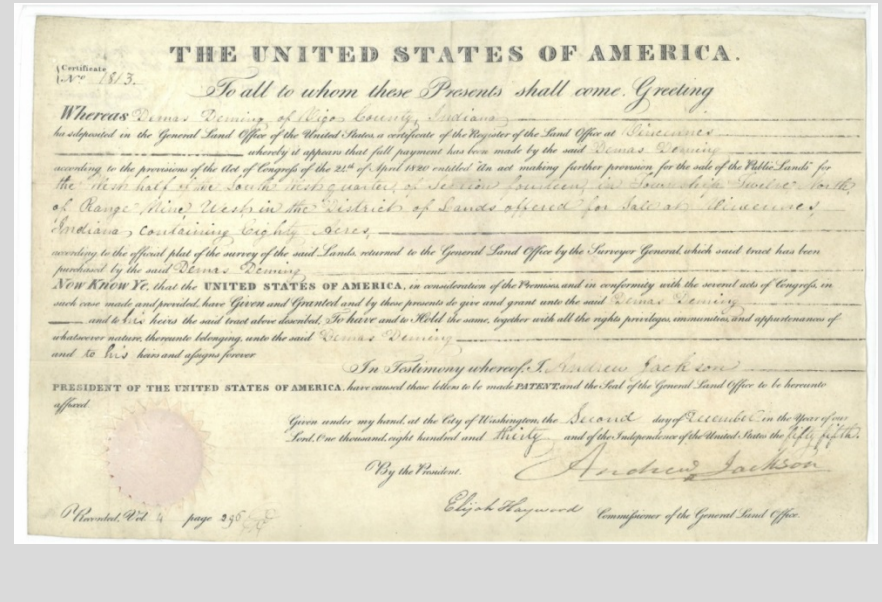
It fails, however, to resolve several important issues related to governance in the new territories – among them the qualifications for becoming a new State and, ominously, whether or not slavery will be permitted or banned.

The slave owner Jefferson attacks the institution once again, as he did in one of the “deleted” sections of the Declaration of Independence. But his efforts to outlaw it in the new territories after 1800 are turned back.

Time: 1830

Sidebar: A Typical Federal Land Grant Document

A Land Register Document Selling 80 Acres In Vincennes, Indiana to Demas Deming On December 3, 1830, signed by President Andrew Jackson



Time: Mid-1780's

Debates On The Need For A Stronger Central Government Re-emerge

The Revolutionary War has proven a sobering experience for the new nation – not only for George Washington and his Generals, but also for leaders in the Confederation Congress.

It has tested – and found wanting – the theory in the Thirteen Articles that the independent States will act together effectively around big challenges like war. Neither the men nor the money needed from the States arrives when it is needed.

While the war is eventually won, it is the French who finally make the difference at Yorktown.

America meanwhile enters the war as a remarkably prosperous country and exits it with severe financial and economic problems.. Best estimates available from scholars of the Confederation period show that annual per capita income drops by 22% across the entire nation – from \$86 per person in 1775 to \$67 in 1800.

The South is particularly hard hit by the war, and its agriculturally-based economy will never regain the regional edge it enjoys in 1775, despite the fabulous wealth concentrated in the “planter class.

Estimates Of Real Per Capita Income During The Confederation Era

Year	New England	Mid-Atlantic	South Atlantic	Total America
1774	\$57	\$76	\$108	\$86
1800	56	68	71	67
Change	(2%)	(11%)	(34%)	(22%)

Professors Peter Lindert (UC-Davis) and Jeffrey Williamson (Harvard)

The crushing financial debt experienced by both Federal and State governments reverberates across the entire population. Ex-soldiers are often hardest hit by the economic downturn, having left their farms to chance, and returned with worthless “continentals.” Many have only broken promises of future pay to show for their sacrifices, and Washington fears the result will be domestic unrest.

But the veterans are not alone. Debt is widespread across the land, and many families are unprepared when the State shows up at their doors to collect taxes.

Under the Thirteen Articles, State governments are allowed to levy direct taxes, and they do so in a variety of ways. New Englanders often pay excise taxes on specified goods, taxes on their real estate and occupational taxes. Mid-Atlantic residents pay property taxes and a “head or poll tax” charged to each adult male. In the South, taxes tend to focus more on import and export levies.

Those unable to pay their taxes with “bills of credit” issued by State banks or with minted coins end up behind bars in Debtor’s Prison, until they sell off their farms or otherwise pay what they owe.

By the mid-1780’s, those in debt have reached alarming proportions, and revolts begin to break out against tax collectors – Americans this time, not British.

The most famous revolt occurs in January 1787 in Massachusetts, where local farmers plead with the legislature to provide tax relief and to release those held in debtor’s prisons. After being turned down, some 1500 protesters band together under one Daniel Shays, a former Continental Army Captain, and disrupt court hearings and efforts to collect taxes. George Washington hears of this revolt and urges the Governor to act.

Comotions of this sort, like snow-balls, gather strength as they roll, if there is no opposition in the way to divide and crumble them.

On January 27, 1787, the crisis comes to a head. Shay’s men attempt to storm the Springfield federal armory and are met by the 1200 militia troops called out by Massachusetts, under General Benjamin Lincoln, a close associate of Washington’s. The ensuing battle is brief but bloody, with Shay’s routed men suffering 24 casualties.

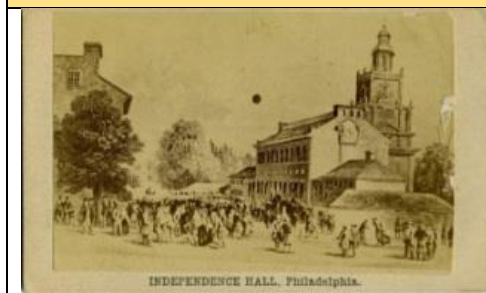
While this ends Shay’s Rebellion, the protest has gathered widespread public sympathy, which sets off alarms among members of the Confederation Congress, as well as George Washington, retired at his

Mount Vernon plantation. Something must be done to rally and unify the States to escape from its economic woes.

It is Washington's observation – “we have errors to correct” – that prompts a series of “conferences” at Mt. Vernon and Annapolis, where a consensus is reached around the call for another “Grand Convention”

This Convention will become the first chance for the new nation to exercise its “right to institute a new government,” exactly as promised in the Declaration of 1776!

Chapter 12 -- A Convention to Write A New US Constitution Gets Under Way



Dates:
1787

Sections:

- The 1787 Constitutional Convention Opens
- A Host Of Complicated Issues Face The Assembled Delegates

May 14-25, 1787

The 1787 Constitutional Convention Opens



The Constitutional Convention at Independence Hall in Philadelphia is in session for four months, from May 14 to September 17, 1787 – with spotty attendance the norm throughout. Rhode Island boycotts the entire event, infuriating Washington. Delegates from New Hampshire appear nine weeks late. Only two states, Virginia and Pennsylvania, are present on the first day, and a quorum of seven isn't achieved until May 25. Of the 74 men chosen to attend, only 55 ever show up, and less than 30 stay from start to finish.

The 55 delegates who do attend are consistently white males, well-educated, wealthy, and have been active in politics. All have participated in the Revolution – 41 having attended the Continental Congress and 29 having served in the Continental Army. Their careers are diverse: 35 are lawyers (but not all practicing), 14 oversee plantations and slaves, 13 are merchants, 11 are financiers, 7 are land speculators, 4 are doctors, 2 are small farmers, another 2 scientists, and one is a college president. Just over half are slave owners.

At the state level, attendance is well balanced.. Six states are smaller (populations under 300,000) and six are larger. Six are from the North and six are from the mid-to-deep South. Six have very sizable slave populations and six do not.

Composition Of Delegates Who Actually Attend

North (25)	# Delegates	1790 Pop (000)	High % Slaves
Penn	8	434	No
Mass	4	379	No
NY	3	340	No
Conn	3	238	No
NJ	5	184	No
NH	2	142	No
RI	0	69	No
Border (10)			
Md	5	320	Yes
Delaware	5	59	Yes
South (20)			
Va	7	748	Yes
NC	5	394	Yes
SC	4	249	Yes
Ga	4	82	Yes

Several prominent figures from prior enclaves are missing from this one, Jefferson and John Adams, serving as ambassadors to Paris and London respectively, along with leading Anti-Federalists such as Sam Adams, John Hancock, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry.

The work of the convention is thus done by a relatively small number of men with, fair to say, a tilt toward strengthening the hand of the Federal Government vis a vis the individual States. The work is hard and it is contentious. So much so that the delegates agree to operate entirely in closed session – for fear that the acrimony involved in the debates will tear the country apart rather than strengthen its unity.

The “record” of each session is compiled by the unofficial Secretary, James Madison, whose “Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787” will not be made public until 1840.

Decisions reached by the body are often very close calls, based on horse-trading compromises. Some issues are so divisive they are simply set aside for future generations to resolve. Then comes the need for each State to vote on the agreements. This process is nip and tuck and drags on for over three years, with Rhode Island’s approval in May 1790 and Vermont, as 14th state, agreeing in January 1791.

In hindsight the fact that the Convention actually “institutes a new government” is positively remarkable.

The lion’s share of the credit for this outcome belongs to George Washington, who comes out of retirement to attend, who speaks out on issues only once during the session, but whose reputation for placing the needs of the nation above his own personal preferences sets the standard for the delegates.

Washington is supported throughout by 81 year old Benjamin Franklin who is instrumental in defining the vision and values of the new nation, negotiating disputes among the delegates at the Convention, and codifying the agreements in plain-spoken language. Of all the founding fathers, Franklin alone signs all four documents integral to the Revolution: the Declaration of Independence, the Treaty of Alliance With France, the Treaty of Paris ending the war, and the U.S. Constitution.

In a roomful of 55 strong-willed, often self-interested and hot-tempered delegates, Washington and Franklin act as the two wise men who eventually steer the ship of state into safe harbor.

Time: May 14 – September 17, 1787

A Host Of Complicated Issues Faces The Assembled Delegates

Procedural matters mark the start of the convention. The nation’s “Superintendent of Finance,” Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, nominates Washington to serve as presiding officer. After John Rutledge, the powerful leader of the South Carolina delegation, seconds the nomination, Washington is affirmed unanimously. He will sit at the front of the hall on a raised dais, in an armchair backed with an elaborate carving of a rising sun. He wears his old military uniform, and is addressed through-out as “General Washington.”

Next comes a gentlemen’s pledge to conduct the proceedings in secrecy, doors and windows shut, despite the stifling summer heat -- with some 600 pages of notes captured by Madison, as record keeper.

From there the business of the convention gets under way quickly.

Most of the delegates share Washington’s observation that the Articles of Confederation need to be re-worked, given the hard lessons learned from conducting the war and the financial and economic crises that follow.

But having a shared problem is not the same as arriving at a shared solution.

This will prove especially true for the Anti-Federalists who are present. One who is not, Patrick Henry, goes so far as to declare “I smell a rat” upon learning of the secrecy pledge. His fear, and that of his faction, is that a re-write of the Articles will result in a victory for those who favor an all-powerful centralized government that behaves like the British monarchy – distant from the people, dictatorial in power, taxing and spending at will, totally eroding the sovereign prerogatives of the individual states.

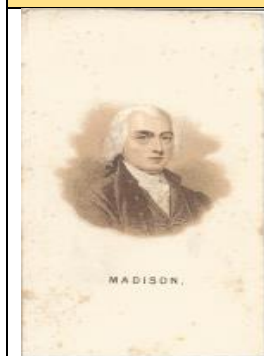
These concerns, voiced most shrilly by the Anti-Federalists, will set the stage for the vigorous debates that occur over the next four months. A host of diverse and important issues will assume center stage at various times:

1. How will authority for governing be split between the Federal vs. State levels?
2. Does the Federal Government need more than just a Legislative branch?
3. How will representation within the Legislature be apportioned across the states?
4. How will the interests of small states vs. larger states be protected in Legislative voting?
5. How will the interests of states with large vs. small slave populations be balanced?
6. How will the rights of any minority groups be protected against the will of the majority?
7. What range of powers will be granted to the Legislative Branch?
8. How will the government be sufficiently funded?
9. Can an Executive Branch be created with enough, but not too much, power?
10. How should the Executive be chosen and for how long a term?
11. What should the Executive’s role be in relation to the military?
12. What checks and balances will exist between the Executive and the Legislature?
13. How will state compliance with federal laws be monitored and assured?
14. Should there be a Judicial Branch created to oversee the legal system?
15. How might such a Judiciary be structured and what powers would it have?

Sidebar		
A Short Profile Of Several Less Famous Founding Fathers At Philadelphia		
Name and Age	State	Impact
John Dickinson, 54	Delaware	His “two solar systems” speech clarifies roles of the national government vis a vis the states
Oliver Ellsworth, 42	Connecticut	Input to Connecticut Plan, member of Committee on Detail
Elbridge Gerry, 43	Massachusetts	Challenges South on “counting slaves,” leads Anti-Federalist drive for state legislatures to ratify, refuses to sign
William Johnson, 59	Connecticut	Chairs Committee of Style & Arrangement, input to Conn. Plan, calming influence start to finish
Rufus King, 32	Massachusetts	Serves on Committee of Style & Arrangement
Luther Martin, 39	Maryland	Opposes slave trade, voice for Anti-Federalist faction
George Mason, 62	Virginia	Anti-Federalist who still pushes for supremacy of the people, demands Bill of Rights and second convention, refuses to sign
Gouverneur Morris, 35	Pennsylvania	Aristocratic by birth, a witty debater, makes most motions at convention. Lead author of final Constitution, proposes strong one man President, openly attacks slavery
William Patterson, 41	New Jersey	Authors New Jersey Plan opening several key issues
Charles Pinckney, 29	South Carolina	Only delegate to openly defend the practice of slavery
Charles C. Pinckney, 41	South Carolina	A lead spokesman for the Southern states, later runs for President as a Federalist.
Edmund Randolph, 34	Virginia	Authors key Virginia Plan and Committee on Detail report, calls for a flexible Constitution changing with the times, also amendments, critical role throughout, refuses to sign
John Rutledge, 48	South Carolina	The “Dictator,” famed General during the war and planter. Another key spokesperson for South, Chairman of Committee on Detail, defends need for slavery, supports strong Executive
Roger Sherman, 66	Connecticut	Once a shoemaker, he authors the Enumeration Clause (3/5 th slave count) in support of the Great Compromise, input to Connecticut Plan, strong role in ratification
James Wilson, 45	Pennsylvania	Leads Connecticut Plan with two senators per state enabling the Great Compromise, Committee on Detail, voice for closure, supports equality of new western states

Note: Hamilton is 30, Madison 36, Washington 55, Franklin 81. Average life expectancy for white males is 38.

Chapter 13 -- Delegations Present Four Possible Macro Frameworks



Dates:
1787

Sections:

- The “Virginia Plan” Is Offered By Governor Edmund Randolph
- New Jersey Proposes A “Small State” Alternative
- Alexander Hamilton Announces His Revolutionary Option
- Roger Sherman Shares The “Connecticut Plan” In Committee

Time: May 30 to June 15, 1787

The “Virginia Plan” Is Offered By Governor Edmund Randolph



On May 30, Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia gets things under way by proposing a series of nineteen “Resolves” to create a new central government, fundamentally different in scope and procedures from the Thirteen Articles of Confederation.

The primary author of the plan is James Madison.

The First Resolve argues that:

1. A national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme legislative, executive and judiciary.

James Madison (1751-1836)

This sentence alone strikes the Anti-Federalists in the hall like a thunderbolt, turning their most fundamental beliefs upside down. The Thirteen Articles guaranteed the “sovereignty” of the States, and now here comes a “national” government claiming “supremacy” to its laws over individual state laws.

Later comes another blow to “state sovereignty” in the Seventh Resolve. Under the Thirteen Articles, each State enjoys equal power -- “one vote” apiece -- in deciding on new legislation. The tiniest state of Delaware has as much say in the outcomes as the largest state, Virginia. But under Randolph’s proposal, the number of votes would vary according to the size of its population. Virginia might now have 13 votes against 1 for Delaware.

7. The national legislature ought to accord to some equitable ratio of representation – namely in proportion to the whole number of white and other free citizens...and 3/5ths of all other persons, except Indians...

The Second Resolve divides the national legislature into two chambers, a clever move that will eventually result in a House and a Senate, and yield crucial compromises with the Anti-Federalist and small state factions.

2. That the national legislature ought to consist of two branches.

The Third Resolve insures that legislators in the first chamber be chosen directly by the people – rather than being “named” by those already serving in the state’s legislature.

3. That the members of the first branch of the national Legislature ought to be elected by the People of the several States for the term of three years.

A Fourth defines the second legislative chamber, with presumably more senior figures serving seven year terms, chosen by state officials.

4. That the members of the second Branch of the national Legislature ought to be chosen by the individual Legislatures. to be of the age of thirty years at least. to hold their offices for a term sufficient to ensure their independency, namely seven years.

The Sixth Resolve lays out a broad scope for the new national legislature, covering issues “beyond the competence” of the individual states or where the “harmony” across all states is in play. It also grants the national body power to “negative” (i.e. overrule) state laws which violate the common interests of the nation.

6. To legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent: or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation. to negative all laws passed by the several States contravening, in the opinion of the national Legislature

The Executive Branch of the new government is profiled in the Ninth Resolve. Randolph calls here for one person, chosen by the national Legislature, serving 7 years, charged with seeing the laws are carried out, and at risk of being impeached for violations.

9. That a national Executive be instituted to consist of a single person. to be chosen by the National Legislature for the term of seven years with power to carry into execution the national Laws...and to be removable on impeachment and conviction of malpractice or neglect of duty.

The Tenth Resolve gives the Executive power to veto any legislative act, unless overturned by a 2/3rds vote.

10. That the national executive shall have a right to negative any legislative act: which shall not be afterwards passed unless by two third parts of each branch of the national Legislature

Resolves Eleven to Thirteen establish the Judicial Branch of government, along with various operating rules.

11. That a national Judiciary be established to consist of One Supreme Tribunal. The Judges of which to be appointed by the second Branch of the National Legislature to hold their offices during good behavior

The remaining eight Resolves fill in other considerations for the new government, among them, admission of new states to the union and future passage of amendments to the Constitution.

The “Virginia Plan” offered by Randolph on May 30 proves critical to the life of the Convention.

It serves as the starting point for the debates that follow – and, despite the appearance of other Plans, delegates always cycle back to its basic frameworks when decisions are required. Ironically the man who proposes the plan, Randolph, will be one of only three men who fail to sign the final document he has done so much to advance.

Time: June 15, 1787

New Jersey Proposes A “Small State” Alternative

Once the Virginia Plan is on the table, two things become immediately clear: a House of Representatives dealing with the nation’s important issues enjoys overwhelming support -- while the proposed composition of this House is intensely divisive.

The sticking point lies with the smaller states, who have no intention of surrendering their power in the new legislature to the larger states. If Virginia is to end up with 13 votes to every 1 for Delaware, based on population, then Delaware will never support the new Constitution.

After fifteen days of paralysis over this “apportionment” barrier, the Attorney General of New Jersey, William Patterson, offers the Convention his “small state alternative.”

What Patterson proposes on the Legislative Branch is that the unicameral approach existing under the Thirteen Articles be kept in place, with each State retaining its equal voting power.

Proposed Plans For The New Legislature

	Virginia Plan	New Jersey Plan
# of Chambers	2 - bicameral	1 - unicameral
Apportionment	Based on state population	Every state has 1 vote
Power Derived From	Popular voting in House	States Legislators

When this is put to a vote, the New Jersey alternative goes down, with only three states favoring it against seven for the Virginia Plan and two states divided.

While this loss is decisive, it fails to resolve the matter – with several small states threatening to go home rather than surrender their “sovereignty.”

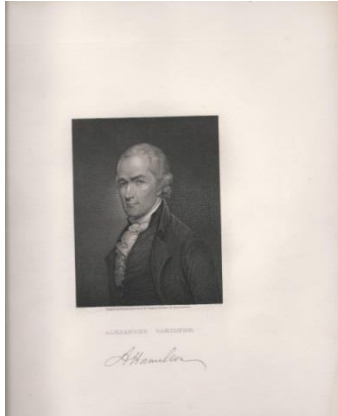
Despite this fundamental failure, the New Jersey Plan announces several other ideas that will become relevant as the sessions continue.

- Congress can raise funds by tariffs and taxes collected from the states.
- A federal Treasury will be set up to handle revenue and expenses and quality assure the money supply.
- Congress will regulate interstate and foreign commerce.
- The Executive branch will include several people, elected by Congress, for one term only.
- A Supreme Tribunal appointed by the Executive will resolve legal disputes (borders, treaties, impeachment).

- A standing army will be created, with States contributing troops in proportion to their population size.
- Military officers will be approved jointly by States and the Congress.

Time: June 18, 1787

Alexander Hamilton Announces His Revolutionary Option



Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804)

The next move belongs to Alexander Hamilton of New York, who has lobbied to hold this Convention over seven long years. On June 18 he addresses it in an impassioned six hour speech.

The 32 year old Hamilton is already a renowned Federalist, whose standing traces to his father-in-law, Major General Philip Schuyler of Revolutionary War fame, and to none other than George Washington, whom he has served as Chief of Staff during four years on the battlefield.

Despite these credentials, many view the British West Indies born Hamilton as a “foreigner” who, as Jefferson later writes, has been “bewitched and perverted by the British example.”

Indeed Hamilton’s speech is a paean to the British government, which he calls “the best in the world.”

He advises the Convention to adopt the core British principles, especially that of an all-powerful Executive. He proposes that this be a single person, titled “Governor,” but having power comparable to a monarch, and holding office for life.

He ought to be hereditary, and to have so much power, that it will not be in his interest to risk much to acquire more. The advantage of a monarch is this – he is above corruption – he must always intend, in respect to foreign nations, the true interest and glory of the people.

Like many others, Hamilton is very suspicious of a “pure democracy,” fearing its tendency toward momentary passions and mob-like swings in governance.

The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God...but it is not true in fact.

Neither does he trust the States, who “will prefer their particular concerns to the general welfare.”

Now is the time, Hamilton argues, for American to act as one nation, unified and powerful, capable of taking its place alongside Britain, France and Spain on the world stage. This will be possible only if power is placed in the hands of responsible statesmen who will devote their lives to advancing the welfare of the nation.

Hamilton’s views are those of the Federalist faction writ large.

They are immediately rejected by his two fellow delegates from New York, Robert Yates and John Lansing, both pledged to the virulently Anti-Federalist Governor, George Clinton, now serving his fourth term in office.

Others in the room signal their displeasure toward Hamilton’s Plan in their silence.

Two days later, disheartened, Hamilton heads home for a two month hiatus from the Convention.

His fierce commitment to a powerful Union is appreciated by all, but his vision for an Executive is far too reminiscent of King George III for his audience.

Time: July 5, 1787

Roger Sherman Shares The “Connecticut Plan” In Committee

Another two weeks pass with progress stalled over the apportionment of seats in the new Legislature.

A committee is set up to deal with the matter, chaired by Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and including Roger Sherman of Connecticut -- “a man who never said a foolish thing” according to Jefferson.

On July 5 Sherman presents a compromise to Gerry’s Committee, intended to break the logjam.

- The Legislative branch will have two chambers (House and Senate), according to the Virginia plan.
- The number of House seats a state enjoys will be based on its population count in a Census.
- The number of Senate seats for each state will be set equally, at two.
- State legislatures will elect its two senators.
- To “pass” Congress, all bills must gain majorities in both chambers.

Proposed Plans For The New Legislature

	Virginia Plan	New Jersey Plan	Connecticut Plan
# of Chambers	2 - bicameral	1 - unicameral	2 - bicameral
# seats in House	Based on state population	Every state has 1	Based on state population
# seats in Senate	Based on state population	---	Every state has 2

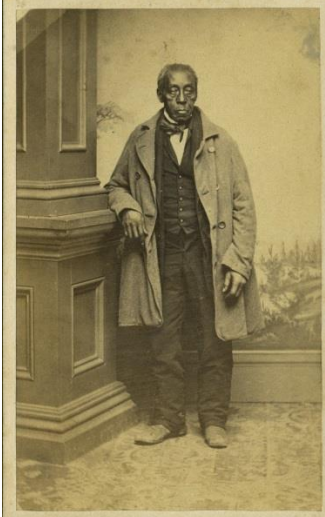
Sherman’s proposal leaves the Virginia Plan untouched when it comes to having two chambers in the Legislature, and having apportionment in the House based on each state’s population count.

But in the Senate he restores the equality of the Thirteen Articles by allocating two seats to each state, regardless of their size.

This proposal becomes known as the “Connecticut Plan,” in honor of the three state delegates who have crafted it – Sherman, Dr. William Johnson, and Oliver Ellsworth.

Gerry supports the plan and promises to take it to the full assembly.

Chapter 14 -- Debates Over Slavery Almost Derail The Convention



Dates:
1787

Sections:

- The Convention Reaches A Low Point As Conflicts Over Slavery Emerge
- Counting The Population Sparks A North-South Debate
- Are The Slaves Property Or Are They Persons?

Time: July 10, 1787

The Convention Reaches A Low Point As Conflicts Over Slavery Emerge



As the Connecticut Plan is taking shape in committee, the atmosphere in the hall is rapidly deteriorating.

It reaches a low point on July 10 when the two remaining New York delegates, Lansing and Yates, announce they are giving up and going home, the first open defections so far. As he leaves, Lansing offers his summary of the various plans:

Utterly unattainable, too novel and complex.

Hearing of these departures, Washington writes that same day:

I almost despair of seeing a favorable issue to the proceedings of the Convention.

Everywhere he looks, Washington sees the “monster of state sovereignty” blocking the path to progress.

Father Abraham, Once A House Slave

On one hand, the smaller states balk at a possible loss of power to the larger states; on the other, the larger states feel like they are forfeiting their authority to a new “national” power. As James Wilson of Pennsylvania puts it...

If no state will part with any of its sovereignty, it is in vain to talk of a national government.

And now another issue emerges – one that is capable of blowing up the entire Convention.

That issue is slavery.

Its presence has been reptilian all along, and now it strikes over “apportionment.”

Will the Northern states allow the South to include its slaves in their population counts – or not?

In his “records,” James Madison picks up on the crucial nature of this issue.

The most important question regarding the make-up of the legislature was whether or not to count slaves.

Time: Mid-July 1787

Counting The Population Sparks A North-South Debate

The mathematics associated with “if and how” the slaves are counted register immediately with the politically savvy men present, both South and North.

A 1775 estimate says that some 450,000 slaves live in the South, roughly 40% of its entire population -- while in the North, blacks number around 50,000 or 5% of the total.

The Importance Of Slaves To Various States Population Counts In 1775

Section	States	Whites	Slaves	Total	% Black
Lower South	Ga, NC, SC	247,000	171,000	418,000	41%
Upper South	Va,Md,Del	481,000	282,000	763,000	37
Mid-Atlantic	Pa,NY,NJ	462,000	30,000	492,000	6
New England	Con,RI, NH, Ma	621,000	19,000	640,000	3
		1,811,000	502,000	2,313,000	22%

Nothing short of “regional power” in the Legislature therefore rests on the “counting” outcome.

Assuming that slaves are counted fully in each State’s official population, and one seat is allocated for every 40,000 residents, the Legislature would be divided 30-28 in favor of the South (given the total size of the nation, circa 1775).

On the other hand, if the slaves do not count at all, the North ends up with a commanding 27-18 majority.

Number Of Votes In House Depending On How Slaves Are Counted

Section	States	Slaves = 1	Slaves = 0	Difference
Lower South	Ga, NC, SC	11	6	+5
Upper South	Va,Md,Del	19	12	+7
All South		30	18	+12
Mid-Atlantic	Pa,NY,NJ	12	12	---
New England	Con,RI, NH, Ma	16	15	+1
All North		28	27	+1
Grand Total		58	45	+13

Note: assumes 1 House member for every 40,000 people and a total population of 2.3 million, 22% black.

As the debate here unfolds, the depth of the dilemma facing the new nation around slavery becomes apparent.

What began as an economic initiative benefitting both the South and the North is now the source of deep division between the two regions.

The North wishing to rid itself of the entire “African problem;” the South dependent on slavery to prosper.

Jefferson’s words capture the dilemma best.

Slavery is like holding a wolf by the ears – one can neither safely hold him, nor safely let him go.

Conflicting motives spill over into personal distrust.

If the North gains dominance in the new “national” Legislature, will it try to force the South to follow its lead and “let go” of slavery?

This is what’s on the minds of the Southern delegates as the “slave counting” debate opens up.

Time: Mid-July 1787

Are The Slaves Property Or Are They Persons?

Southerners quickly begin to make their case. The Anti-Federalist Virginian, George Mason, first claims personal disdain for slavery, then blames the British for forcing it upon his region. Given this historical context, Mason argues that the Africans should be viewed as a “national burden,” shared equally by the South and North.

This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants, and they checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it.

Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the immigration of whites, who enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of Charleston is next to weigh in, admitting openly that after slavery took hold in the South, several states, including his own, have become economically dependent on it.

South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves.

His fellow South Carolina delegate, Rawlins Lowndes, reinforces this theme -- then openly lashes out against the North, accusing them of trying to rob his region of its wealth.

Without negroes, this state is one of the most contemptible in the Union. Negroes are our wealth, our only natural resource.

Yet behold how our kind friends in the North are determined soon to tie up our hands, and drain us of what we have.

Pinckney's cousin, also Charles, becomes the only member arguing not only that slaves are good for the South, but that the institution lifts the slaves from savagery to civilization.

To drive these views home, both the South Carolina and Georgia delegations threaten to leave Philadelphia unless the slaves are included in their population counts.

Two Northerners will have none of this, and stand nose to nose against their Southern counterparts.

The first is the merchant, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, who asks how the South can assert that slaves are "property" -- the moral equivalent of cattle -- and simultaneously argue they are "persons," the same as white men, when it comes to the population count?

Blacks are property and are used by the south as horses and cattle in the north, so why should their representation be increased on account of the number of slaves?

Gerry's views are seconded by the pugnacious peg-legged Federalist from New York, Gouverneur Morris, who leads all of his colleagues in speaking time and motions offered over the entire convention.

Morris is one of the few delegates unrestrained in his opposition to slavery, and his wish to have it end.

His attack on the Southern position is devastating, and will ring down the decades to come.

Like Gerry, he asks if the slaves are property or persons? Surely the South cannot have it both ways.


On what principle shall slaves be computed in the representation? Are they men? Then make them Citizens and let them vote. Are they property? Why then is no other property included (in calculating votes)?

The inhabitant of Georgia and SC who goes to the coast of Africa and in defiance of the most sacred laws of Humanity tears away his fellow creatures from their dearest connections and damns them to the most cruel bondages, shall have more votes in a Government instituted to protect the rights of mankind than the citizen of Pennsylvania or New Jersey who views this practice with laudable horror.

At this point the debate has become personal, and threatens to turn into a run-away firestorm.

To save the day, a delegate from Pennsylvania, James Wilson, offers up a possible compromise.

Chapter 15 -- A Compromise On Slavery Allows The Convention To Proceed

	<p>Dates: 1787</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The “Enumeration Clause” Counts Slaves As 3/5th Of A Person • The Northwest Ordinance Provides A Firm Truce On Slavery In The New Territory
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Time: Mid-July 1787

The “Enumeration Clause” Counts Slaves As 3/5th Of A Person



James Wilson is born in Scotland, mingles with leading Enlightenment thinkers such as David Hume and Adam Smith, emigrates to America in 1776, and becomes a successful lawyer in Philadelphia. As a pamphleteer, he argues that Britain has no right to raise taxes on the colonies because they have no representation in Parliament. When the war breaks out, he serves as a Brigadier General in the Pennsylvania militia. He plays a large role in shaping the Connecticut Plan, and is considered by many to be the most learned man at the 1787 convention

When confronted with the dispute over whether or not to include blacks in a state’s population count, his solution is positively Solomon-like in nature. He proposes to split the difference between the two sides.

Again relying on simple math, he calls for weighting slaves as 3/5th of a person for the sake of determining each states official population count. When applied to estimated head counts from 1775, the result projects to 28 seats in the House for the North and 25 for the South.

Compromise Under 3/5th Enumeration Clause

Section	States	Slaves = 3/5th
Lower South	Ga, NC, SC	9
Upper South	Va, Md, Del	16
All South		25
Mid-Atlantic	Pa, NY, NJ	12
New England	Con, RI, NH, Ma	16
All North		28
Grand Total		53

Note: assumes 1 House member for every 40,000 in official population count

This gives the North prospects for a slight majority, albeit not the commanding lead were slaves to be excluded entirely from the calculations.

On the other hand, the South get partial credit for their slaves without needing to accede to the notion that they are “full persons” rather than “property.” Besides which, Southerners firmly believe that future census figures will show much greater population growth in their region given its favorable climate – an outcome that fails to materialize in the long run.

Wilson’s “solution” will eventually be captured in the infamous “Enumeration Clause” of the Constitution, favoring whites over both blacks and all Native peoples.

Article I, Section 2. Representation and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, and three fifths of all other Persons.

“All other Persons” is the euphemism chosen to avoid the indelicate word “slaves.”

To allow the convention to move forward, they are to “count” as 3/5ths of a white man -- somewhere between cattle and human beings.

The importance of Wilson’s compromise cannot be overstated, and in later years many will regard him as the “unsung hero of the Convention.”

Madison’s “convention notes,” withheld until 1840, state flat out that the North-South divide over slavery was the biggest threat to finalizing a new government.

I was always convinced that the difference of interest in the US lay not between the large and small but the northern and southern states...and it was pretty well understood that the institution of slavery and its consequences formed the line of discrimination.

With the Enumeration Clause in place, the Connecticut Plan is almost ready to move from the Gerry Committee to the full floor.

Time: July 16, 1787

The Northwest Ordinance Provides A Firm Truce On Slavery In The New Territory



NORTHWEST TERRITORY

On July 16, another piece in the new government puzzle falls into place. It is called the Northwest Ordinance, often regarded as the third most important document (behind the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself) in the formation of the United States.

It deals with a topic on the mind of all delegates from the first day of the Convention – what to do with the new territories west of the Appalachians, won from Britain, and then ceded to the Federal Government in The Land Act of 1785. Surveys are already under way to divide this land into plots, but many questions remain. How will it be settled and governed? Will it involve the creation of new States and, if so, how will they be tied into the union?

Finally, will slavery be allowed in this new land – or not?

As a practical matter, some 100,000 settlers have already put down stakes in “the west” by 1787. They have also christened their “territories” with a host of new names – some lasting (Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee) and some that will fade away (Transylvania, Westsylvania, Franklin).

The Northwest Ordinance Act agreed to on July 16 says that the land will be divided into 3-5 new Territories, with exact borders to be laid out when the time comes to do so. Once the population in a new Territory reaches a threshold of 5,000 settlers, the Federal Congress will appoint a Governor, a Secretary and three Judges to provide administrative oversight. The Territory may also elect a representative to attend the House of Representatives as a non-voting member.

When a Territory achieves a threshold population of 60,000, it can then write and pass a local constitution, identify its boundaries, and apply for formal admittance to the Union as a new State.

These same “governance principles” are to apply across the South, as soon as documents are signed to cede certain lands still in dispute. When this is completed, in 1789, a Southwest Ordinance is signed into law.

A vigorous debate follows on whether new States will enjoy “equal treatment” vis a vis the original thirteen. The answer is eventually “yes” by a 5-4 floor vote, despite a lasting eastern delegate bias against sharing power with “backwards westerners sporting coonskin caps and twangy dialects.”

What tips the scales here is genuine fear – fear that the Appalachian Mountains, and the westward flowing rivers it feeds, will forever tie the new states to Spanish settlements along the Mississippi River, rather than to the new American union. This is an outcome that few are willing to risk.

All told then, the Northwest Ordinance provides for orderly movement of settlers into the new territory in a way that also binds them to the union – albeit ignoring the rights of the Native peoples already present.

Remarkably the Ordinance also defuses the rising tensions over slavery!

It does this through a last second article added by Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, later referred to as the “father of American jurisprudence.” Dane is not a delegate to the Convention, but is a renowned legal scholar called upon to draft the Ordinance. The article he includes is simple but profound, and, to Dane’s surprise, readily approved by the body.

Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Article 6 lays out a geographical line certain – in this case the course of the Ohio River – and openly declares that the institution of slavery will be prohibited to its north and permitted to its south.

In agreeing to this line of demarcation, the South acknowledges that the North wishes to ban the spread of slavery in “its region” of the country.

The North, meanwhile, agrees to respect continuation of slavery in the South, and to facilitate it by supporting the return of any run-away slaves who cross the Ohio River.

This definitive Ohio River line will quell some of the acrimony left over the subject of slavery, both in the hall and over the next three decades.

It also opens the door for a deal on “slave trading,” agreed to a month later, on September 6. The practice will be allowed to continue for twenty more years, but then cease in 1808. During that period the Congress will collect a tax of \$10 on every imported slave.

While at first glance, this 1808 ban on importing more slaves may appear detrimental to the South; that is not the case at all. The reason being that, in twenty years, domestic owners expect to “breed” a sufficient inventory of “excess slaves” for sale, thus keeping the profits for themselves rather than handing them over to the importers. This “breeding scheme” is particularly important to the state of Virginia, which is already seeing that selling slaves can be more lucrative than selling tobacco.

Chapter 16 -- A Framework For The Legislative Branch Is Achieved



Dates:
1787

Sections:

- Finally A “Great Compromise” Is Struck Defining The Structure Of The Legislative Branch
- America’s New Government: A Republic, Not A Pure Democracy

Time: July 16, 1787

Finally A “Great Compromise” Is Struck Defining The Structure Of The Legislative Branch



The Senate Chamber, in Later Years

One final roadblock needs resolution before the Legislative branch plan is finalized. It involves fear among the larger states that “money bills” (taxing and spending) coming out of the “equalized Senate” might be tilted unfairly against them by the smaller states.

Ben Franklin steps forward with a solution that becomes known as the “Origination Clause” – stating that all money bills are to originate in the House and cannot be unilaterally changed by the Senate. In exchange for losing some financial powers,

the Senate will be given several important “advise and consent” assignments – approving certain judges and ambassadors, ratifying treaties, trying impeachment cases.

The Convention is well in need of good news, and on July 16 it arrives, in the form of “The Great Compromise”

- Mr. Sherman’s plan to structure the nation’s new bicameral Congress, aided by the Northwest Ordinance.

Henceforth the “will of the American people” is to be expressed through a House of Representatives, with members chosen state by state in direct elections and apportioned according to a population count which factors in slaves.

A second body, the Senate, will also weigh in, with large and small states each having two members, to be elected by local legislatures.

All new laws must pass in both chambers for approval.

Members in the House will be elected by the people to two year terms of office. To qualify they must be at least 25 years of age; citizens for a minimum of seven years, and residents of the state.

Senators will be named by state legislatures for six year terms. To qualify they must be at least 30 year old, nine years a citizen, and a state resident.

The Legislature must meet at least once a year, for sure on the first Monday in December. All members who participate will be paid out of the National Treasury with amounts ascertained by law.

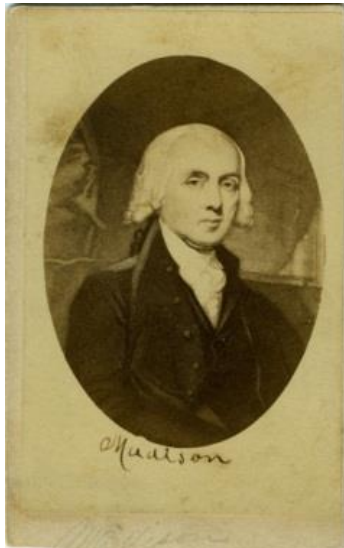
Final Plan For The New Legislature

# of Chambers	2 - bicameral
# seats in House	Based on state population
# seats in Senate	Every state has 2

On July 16 then, the logjam is broken – and agreement is reached on the structure of the Legislative Branch.

Time: July 16, 1787

America’s New Government: A Republic, Not A Pure Democracy



James Madison (1751-1836)

The “Great Compromise” reflects the tensions felt by many delegates around “how far to trust” the will of the masses, and of the majority.

Clearly the new government intends to respond to the people’s will. Both James Madison and George Mason are crystal clear about this.

The people are the fountain of all power... We must resort to the people...so this doctrine with supreme authority over the government. be cherished as the basis of free government.

“Majority rules” will also be the norm, as Alexander Hamilton points out.

The fundamental maxim of government...requires the sense that the majority should prevail.

From these observations one might expect the Convention to have arrived at a “pure democracy” – with every future decision resolved through a direct poll of the people, on a winner-take-all basis.

But this is not what the delegates decide. Instead of a pure Democracy, their solution is a Republic.

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands.

Between the people and the law stand “representatives,” charged with adding their own wisdom and experience to the mix.

The explanation for this goes beyond the geographical impracticality of direct polling, to underlying suspicions that “the people” can easily transform into a mob, inflamed by short-term passions, liable to act out of rashness rather than reason.

There is also fear that, left to their own devices, “the people” may be inclined to trample on the rights of various minorities within the population – for example, the landed gentry, as none other than Madison points out.

In England, at this day, if elections were open to all classes of people, the property of landed proprietors would be insecure... Landholders ought to have a share in the government, to support these invaluable interests, and to balance and check the other. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. The Senate, therefore, ought to be this body; and to answer these purposes, they ought to have permanency and stability.

For every Ben Franklin or George Mason in the hall expressing unequivocal faith in the intrinsic wisdom of the masses, there are others, like Alexander Hamilton and John Sherman, much less confident.

That committed democrat, Thomas Jefferson, is another. As he writes, the odds of “mischief” are high whenever men and motives are joined.

In questions of power then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the constitution.

John Adams, so simultaneously unlike and like Jefferson, sees it the same way -- any body of men given too much power will become “ravenous beasts of prey.”

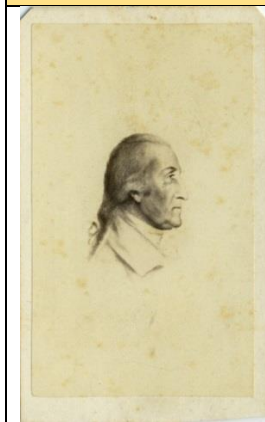
The message then from the worldly founders in Philadelphia is that governments are delicate in nature and prone to going off course, either through the masses as mobs, or individual men as dictators.

In turn, the path to preserving the values of self-government lies in a series of “checks and balances,” Jefferson’s “binding chains of the constitution.”

Representatives in the House will “check” the masses; the Senate will “check” the House. Together they will “balance” the wishes of the majority against the proper concerns of the minority.

With that much settled, the delegates turn their attention to the Executive Branch.

Chapter 17 -- The Office Of The President Is Defined



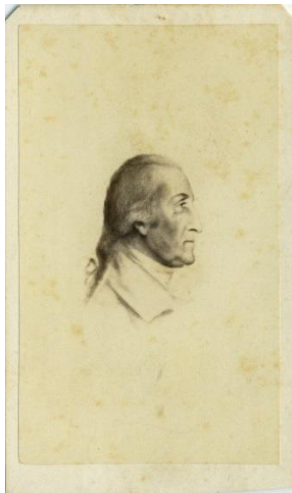
Dates:
1787

Sections:

- A President Of The United States Will Head The Executive Branch
- Presidential Powers Are Defined

Late July 1787

A President Of The United States Will Head The Executive Branch



Once again the “Virginia Plan” of May 30 becomes the starting place for discussions, this time on structuring the Executive Branch. It calls for a Council of several men selected by Congress, charged simply with insuring that the laws of the land are being properly carried out.

Then comes Hamilton on June 18 with his radically different approach – insisting that the Executive be one man, titled Governor, serving for life, with powers approaching those of a monarch.

Neither plan feels right to the full body. Somewhere there must be a middle ground between the Executive as fairly minor pawn or mighty king.

A month passes before the ubiquitous Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania rises on July 19 with an alternative.

George Washington (1732-1799)

Morris argues that a strong Executive, one man for sure, is needed as a “check” on the Legislative Branch, a final “guardian of the people.”

- The Executive will be titled the President of the United States, and called “His Excellency.”
- His term will be four years, but he is allowed to continue in office for as long as he is re-elected.

This approach sits well with the majority, although several concerns are voiced.

The Anti-Federalist warns that it will become the “fetus of monarchy.”

James Wilson and James Madison worry that a President “directly elected by the people,” might be too prone to short-sighted populist urgings rather than what is best for the long term.

On top of this, a direct election raises the same questions about state sovereignty that arose with the Legislature. Wouldn’t the states with larger populations and therefore more votes dominate the will of their smaller neighbors?

What falls out here is the creation of an “Electoral College” charged with actually choosing the President.

- He will be chosen by “electors” from each State, who will be “named” by the State’s legislature.
- Each State will have a number of electors that match their total seats in Congress.
- Each “elector” will nominate two men for the position, including one not from their home state.
- The man with the most votes will become President; second most will be Vice-President.
- In case of a tie, House members will be called upon to break it.

This approach again involves a balancing act.

The bigger states do end up with more voting power – but this seems less threatening in the Executive Branch than in the Legislature, where new laws are originating.

The will of the masses is to be harnessed by “electors,” chosen by state officials, exhibiting statesmanship and wisdom in casting their two ballots.

Over 60 separate votes are taken at the Convention before the process for electing a President is resolved.

The outcome also leads to the office of the Vice-President – to be filled by the runner-up in the Electoral College voting. The exact duties of the Vice-President are vague all along. Most feel he would act as a “stand-in” in case the President died, until the Electoral College had time to gather and pick a true replacement. Other than that, he is given the mostly ceremonial job of ex-officio President of the Senate, with the power to break tie votes.

But what of the new President himself? It is abundantly clear that he is to be more than a figurehead and less than a monarch. So what exactly are his powers?

July 26, 1787

Presidential Powers are Defined

Resolving the Executive’s role requires another wrestling match between Federalists and Anti-Federalists.

In the end, the Convention retains the two powers identified in the “Virginia Plan” – to “take care that the laws are faithfully executed” and to make a host of “appointments,” such as ambassadors and federal judges, with the Senate’s consent.

Layered on top of these are a broad range of add-ons. Some are very specific: vetoing bills, writing government checks, granting pardons, making treaties, receiving foreign dignitaries, commissioning officers.

One other power is also much on the mind of the delegates: the role of the President in any future warfare, especially involving a sudden invasion. At the time, this prospect is by no means far-fetched, with the British in Canada and Spain still controlling Florida and all land west of the Mississippi.

The Revolutionary War has proven the futility of hoping for Congressmen from thirteen states to agree on military strategy in timely fashion. Organizing a standing army to speed up action is suggested, but rejected by some who are committed to State militias and fear a military coup. As Madison writes:

Oppressors can tyrannize only when they achieve a standing army, an enslaved press, and a disarmed populace.

Of course the “solution” to these concerns is before their very eyes, sitting at the front of the hall, in the person of George Washington – one man with mastery over both military and political affairs. Some, like his aide Hamilton, might wish to make him king; others simply wish that his persona can be cloned over time in future Presidents. But for now it’s clear the delegates intend to look to the Executive to oversee military affairs, if and when war arises.

The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the Militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States.


A final add-on to Presidential powers is remarkably open-ended – to do whatever is required “to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution.” The expectation is for a wise statesman-like President who nudges Congress toward actions in the national interest and vetoes harmful legislation when he senses it.

In the long arc of history to follow, America will occasionally encounter a President who lives up to these wishes.

The Enumerated Powers Of The President Circa 1787

Article I	Power To
Section 7, clauses 2-3	Approve or veto Bills and Resolutions passed by Congress
Section 9, Article II	Write checks (via Treasury) pursuant to Appropriations made by Congress
Section 1, last clause	Preserve, protect and defend the Constitution
Section 2, clause 2	Serve as Commander-in-Chief when Congress calls the army to service Require Executive department offers to write up their assigned Duties Grant Reprieves and Pardons for offenses against the United States
Section 2, clause 3	Advise the Congress periodically on the State of the Union
Section 3	Recommend to Congress such measures as he deems wise Convene one or both chambers of Congress on extraordinary occasions Receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers Take care that the Laws are faithfully executed Commission all the Officers of the United States

Chapter 18 -- Compromises Reached On Congressional Power And Slavery

	<p>Dates: 1787</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> An Enumerated List Of Powers Is Approved For The Congress Nagging Divisions Over Slavery Persist
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Time: August 6, 1787

An Enumerated List Of Powers Is Approved For The Congress



A Colonial Magistrate

By the end of July the delegates begin to sense that what they set out to do back in May might actually be within their reach. A whole new government, still respectful of each state’s sovereignty, but bound together by a central authority dedicated to the common good for all.

The time has come for the many lawyers in the room to worry about the fine print – especially codifying the exact powers of the new Congress they intend to create. The “Virginia Plan” simply assigns it “any tasks the States are incompetent to do.”

This “left-overs” definition is far too vague for the delegates, and on July 26 they create a “Committee of Detail” to enumerate the powers one by one.

This very powerful group is chaired by John Rutledge of South Carolina, known to colleagues as “the Dictator” for his dual role during the war as Governor of his state and Commander-in-Chief of its military forces. He is joined by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, James Wilson of Pennsylvania and Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts.

After a two week adjournment, the committee reports out on August 6, including a list of about thirty specific recommendations. Edmund Randolph, who authored the “Virginia Plan,” also crafts this

document. In a Preamble, he expresses his hope that each power is clear as written and yet flexible enough to accommodate external change. Thus his stated goals:

1. To insert essential principles only; lest the operations of government should be clogged by rendering those provisions permanent and unalterable, which ought to be accommodated to times and events: and
2. To use simple and precise language, and general propositions, according to the example of the constitutions of the several states."¹

Front and center in the list is assigning the “power of the purse” to the new Congress. Instead of the futile reliance on “voluntary State donations” under the Thirteen Articles, the House is authorized:

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the U.S.

Delegates, however, remain very aware of America’s visceral opposition to burdensome taxes, tracing from the Boston Tea Party to Shay’s rebellion.

Thus “direct” taxes on a given person’s income or wealth are ruled out in favor of “indirect” taxes -- “Duties or Imposts” (later called “Tariffs”) on imported or exported goods, and “Excises” aimed mainly at taxing the manufacture, sale or consumption of certain goods (e.g. spirits).

Another important financial change gives Congress the power:

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures.

This takes control of the money supply out of the hands of State banks (with their often grossly inflated “bills of credit” printed locally) and places it at the Federal level.

A third proposal relates to war powers:

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

The enumeration goes on, granting Congress the authority to: raise armies, call forth the militia, build a navy, suppress insurrections, negotiate and enforce treaties, regulate commerce, establish post offices and postal routes, promote science and the arts, issue patents, set up appeals courts, punish counterfeiters and high seas pirates, oversee the naturalization process.

Finally the Federalists slip in one last “catch-all” clause, authorizing Congress to:

Make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States.

This “necessary and proper” clause will boomerang after the original Constitution is signed and the Convention adjourns. It will result in a set of ten amendments known as The Bill of Rights, not approved

until December 1791, wherein the Anti-Federalists succeed in reining in the scope and power of the Federal Government.

Time: July to August 1787

Nagging Divisions Over Slavery Persist



“Learning Is Wealth”

While the 3/5ths Clause has enabled the convention to move forward, issues surrounding slavery continue to touch a raw nerve every time they surface.

Southerners are already becoming wary of Northern intentions, and they press hard for three guarantees in the final Constitution:

1. Continuation of the slave trade with Africa until 1808.
2. A promise that Northern states will return fugitive slaves to the South.
3. Iron clad assurance that slavery shall continue over time in America.

Push back materializes on all counts. Gouverneur Morris assails the entire practice of slavery.

I would never concur in upholding domestic slavery.

Maryland’s Luther Martin resists the further importation of slaves.

It is inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution and dishonorable to the American character to legitimize the importation of slaves in the Constitution.

Even the Virginia plantation owner, James Madison, expresses discomfort over the high moral aims of the new government and the suspect ethics of human bondage.

I think it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men.

Given these sentiments, it is not by accident that the final Constitution, largely drafted by Madison himself, never once references the word “slavery” in its text.

But the debates prove that dismissing slavery in writing is far easier than resolving it in practice. Just below the outward mask of diplomacy, the two sides remain far apart on the issue.

- The North wishes it could wash its hands of the “African problem,” especially since their presence is no longer important to economic progress in the region. Perhaps the new nation, in service to white men, would be best served by turning back the clock and shipping the blacks off to Africa?

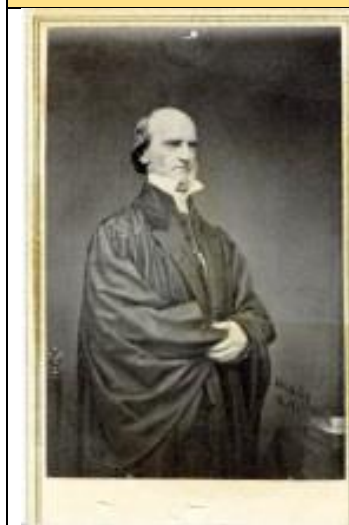
- The South rejects this thinking entirely. For better or for worse, the economic well being of its entire region now rests on slavery. The North must recognize this fact as well as its original complicity in supporting slave trading in the first place. If true comity is to prevail within the new government, the North needs support the continuation of slavery, not try to erase its presence.

As John Rutledge of South Carolina puts it:

I would never agree to give a power by which the articles relating to slaves might be altered by the States not interested in that property and prejudiced against it.

Recognizing fundamental impasses here, the delegates continue to search for a temporary truce based on compromises and ground-rules to dampen the conflicts.

Chapter 19 -- A Vaguely Described Judicial Branch Is Approved



Dates:
1787

Sections:
• Advent Of The Supreme Court

Time: Late August 1787

Advent Of The Supreme Court



As time begins to run out on the Convention, delegates return to the third branch of government identified in the “Virginia Plan,” the so-called Resolve Eleven:

11. That a national Judiciary be established to consist of One Supreme Tribunal. The Judges of which to be appointed by the second Branch of the National Legislature, to hold their offices during good behavior.

The idea for a Judicial Branch at the Federal level springs from the conviction that Legislatures – locally or nationally – must be prohibited from passing laws that violate the principles laid out in the Constitution. As Alexander Hamilton says:

A Supreme Arbiter of the Law

No legislative act contrary to the Constitution can be valid...It therefore is the duty of the courts of justice...to declare all acts contrary to the Constitution void.

But who would be responsible for policing the violations?

The “Virginia Plan” posits a “Council of Revision,” composed of the Executive and several members of a National Judiciary, who would review new laws before they are finalized, and then “nullify” any deemed to be contradictory to the “intent” of the Constitution.

Resistance to this “Council” is widespread and varied.

- A review of every new law before it takes effect will paralyze the entire system.
- It would signal distrust and disrespect for the good intentions of the Legislative Branch.
- Power over the law would be transferred to a handful of judges, none of whom are elected by the people.
- Including an Executive who may have no legal training makes little sense.

Eventually a proposal to review laws only *after* they have taken effect, and only if they are challenged for non-compliance with the Constitution, wins support, as does dropping the Executive from the “Council” in favor of trained lawyers only.

As time runs out on the Convention, the assembly settles for Article III of the Constitution:

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

The effect of this is to signal the wish for a Supreme Court, with details to be worked out later by the Congress.

Two years will pass before the Judiciary Act of 1789 provides some definition. The Supreme Court will consist of a Chief Justice and five associates who will be nominated by the President and approved by the Senate. Their duties will include “riding the circuit” – traveling twice a year to each of thirteen “judicial districts” across the country to identify laws that may be violating the Constitution. This Act also creates the office of Attorney General, the chief Federal lawyer, whose role is to prosecute all suits that come before the Supreme Court, and to provide general legal advice the President and other government officials.

Over time the Supreme Court will define its own scope and authority, often to the dismay of future Presidents, Legislators and various segments of the public.

Chapter 20 -- The US Constitution Is Signed By The Delegates



Dates:
1787

Sections:

- Ratification Procedures Are Debated
- The Convention Moves Toward Summing Up
- After Rejecting The Need For A Bill Of Rights, The Constitution Is Approved
- The Delegates Sign The Constitution

Time: Early September 1787

Ratification Procedures Are Debated



The delegates know now that they will soon be asked to sign their names to a final document, a prospect that prompts last minute soul searching.

Two topics assume center stage: procedures for ratifying and amending the contract.

Friction materializes immediately around “who will be asked to approve the new Constitution, and by what margin must it pass?”

Two of the most vocal Anti-Federalists, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and Maryland’s Luther Martin, insist that approval must rest with the State Legislatures. But their pleas are beaten back after another strong Anti-Federalist, Virginia’s George Mason, speaks up.

George Washington (1732-1799)

Whither must we resort? To the people...It is of great moment that this doctrine be cherished as the basis of free government.

With Mason’s support, the assembly returns to the “Virginia Plan,” which proposes that special Conventions be held in each state involving representatives, elected by the people for the express purpose of debating and voting on the Constitution. As Madison writes, it must be backed...

By the supreme authority of the people themselves...the fountain of all power.

The focus now shifts to whether or not all thirteen states must ratify the new contract before it becomes the law of the land. While the rules of the Confederation require unanimity, many fear this will be impossible – especially since one state, Rhode Island, has refused to even show up in Philadelphia.

After some give and take, the requirement is set at 9 states needed for approval.

This further inflames resistance from Gerry and Martin.

Gerry broadens his attack, insisting that, as it stands, the document is full of flaws, and that "amendments" are needed. He adds his doubts that Maryland will ever agree. This time George Mason takes his side, announcing his wish that...

Some points not yet decided should (be) brought to a decision before being compelled to give a final opinion on the Article. Should these points be improperly settled, (we need) another general convention.

Alexander Hamilton weighs in, supporting Gerry's demand that the document be approved unanimously.

Edmund Randolph, author of the "Virginia Plan," also supports Gerry's call for amendments – as does Ben Franklin, who, surprisingly, offers a motion in favor of state conventions developing amendments to be brought back for approval to a second Convention.

For Madison and Washington, the notion of any lengthy delay in the start-up of a new functioning government is tantamount to failure. James Wilson shares their frustration in his admonition to the hall:

After spending four or five months...on the arduous task of forming a government for our country, we are ourselves at the close throwing insuperable obstacles in the way of its success.

Wilson's sentiment prevails, and Franklin's motion is tabled for the moment.

Time: September 5 – 12, 1787

The Convention Moves Toward Summing Up

On September 5 the body names a "Committee Of Style and Arrangement" to assemble all of the decisions reached so far and draft a final Constitution, with a one week deadline.

The Committee is headed by Dr. William Johnson of Connecticut, graduate of Yale and Harvard, an honorary doctorate from Oxford, accomplished lawyer, and current president of Kings (Columbia) College in New York. He is joined by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris and Rufus King, the later generally regarded as the finest orator in the nation. Together they are given one week to create their draft.

As they labor on, several other issues are wrapped up.

A national capitol comprising 10 square miles of land is to be established at a site to be determined. It will not be a sovereign State, but rather administered by the Federal Congress.

Shifting Locations Of The Nation's Capital

Governing Periods	Timeframe	Locations
First Continental Congress	9/5 – 10/24 1775	Philadelphia
Second Continental Congress	5/10/75 – 3/1/81	Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, York, Phil.
Articles Of Confederation	3/1/81 – Fall 1788	Philadelphia, Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, NYC
U.S. Constitution	3/4/89 – 11/17/1800	New York, Philadelphia, Washington

Foreigners may serve in Congress after living in America for either seven years (for the House) or nine years (for the Senate) – but the President must be native born.

The Executive, along with members of Congress and the judiciary will swear an oath to uphold the Constitution.

A small standing army will be allowed, even in time of peace -- while state militias will continue to be relied on in case of war.

The definition of “treason” is resolved: engaging directly in war against the United States or giving aid and . comfort to the enemy. Two witnesses to treasonous acts are required for conviction. Punishment for the crime will be determined by Congress, and confined to the traitor himself and not carried over to his offspring.

On September 12, Dr. Johnson’s Committee arrives in the hall with a final draft of the new Constitution.

James Madison acknowledges that authorship belongs mainly with Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania.

The finish given to the style and arrangement belongs to the pen of Mr. Morris.

The opening words of the document ring true to the spirit of the entire endeavor.

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It is “we the people” acting as one unified body who are declaring the form and substance by which they expect to be governed. It is the people who will decide, not the States acting like corporate entities.

The individual States will retain their sovereignty, but within specified boundaries. As Gouverneur Morris says:

When the powers of the national government clash with the states, then must the states concede.

Out of the countless Resolves presented to the Convention, Morris arrives at a final set of 7 Articles, each with sub-sections, codifying the three branches of government and declaring how the Constitution is to be ratified by the states and, if need be, amended over time.

Time: September 15, 1787

After Rejecting The Need For A Bill Of Rights, The Constitution Is Approved

Once again the persistent George Mason of Virginia is on his feet, this time asking that a Bill of Rights be added to the final document. He points out that eight state constitutions identify these rights, and that a committee could draft them in a few hours.

If prefaced with a bill of rights...it would give great quiet to the people.

The legal scholar, Wilson, rejects Mason's plea, on the grounds that the Constitution deals with municipal laws, not "natural laws."

Other opponents are less diplomatic in their criticisms.

Hearing about Mason's call, the lexicographer and political observer, Noah Webster, cites the folly of trying to codify the rights of man. His sarcastic call goes out for a clause that...

Everybody shall, in good weather, hunt on his own land...that Congress shall never restrain any American from eating and drinking...or prevent him from lying on his left side...when fatigued by lying on his right.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina offers another sound "regional reason" to skip a bill of rights.

These generally begin that all men are by nature born free. We should make that declaration with very bad grace when a large part of our property consists in men who are actually born slaves.

Others insist that the Document itself, from start to finish, guarantees personal values and rights.

When a vote is taken, Mason's call for a Bill of Rights is voted down by a 10-0 margin.

It is closure the delegates want at the moment – and a full year will elapse before Mason's wish is realized in Ten Amendments that finally codify many of America's most cherished freedoms.

A vote is now taken on adopting the Constitution as written, with all states voting "aye."

E pluribus unum. Out of many, one.

The thirteen sovereign states have become a new national Union.

Time: September 17, 1787

The Delegates Sign The Constitution

After approving the draft, a calligrapher named Jacob Shallus is given the task of “engrossing” the text. He does so on four large pages (28” x 23”) of parchment, comprising some 4,000 words in total. A fifth page is left for signatures.

The document is ready for signing on Monday, September 17, as summer turns into autumn in Philadelphia.

Thirty-eight of the original 55 delegates are present.

After the new Constitution is read aloud, Benjamin Franklin is recognized for a speech delivered for him by his Pennsylvania colleague, James Wilson.

I confess there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment. But I consent, sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better and because I am not sure it is not the best. I cannot help expressing a wish that every member.. (vote) with me...to make manifest our unanimity.

With hope for unanimity in mind, Franklin offers a motion, written by Gouverneur Morris, that would allow any individual dissenters to sign the document under the banner of majority support by their state delegation.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of *the States* present the seventeenth of September .

Next comes a last second plea from Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts on behalf of expanding the size of the House by allocating one representative for every 30,000 rather than 40,000 state residents.

This suggestion prompts George Washington to speak for the first and only time during the Convention. His remarks are couched within his usual tone of humility. Madison records them as follows:

Although his situation had hitherto restrained him from offering his sentiments on questions depending in the House, and it might be thought ought now to impose silence on him, yet he could not forbear expressing his wish that the alteration proposed (by Gorham) might take place...since the smallness of the proportion of representatives had been considered by many members...an insufficient security for the rights and interests of the people.

With Washington’s backing, the change is approved, the result being a sizable jump from 51 to 68 total seats in the House when it finally convenes in 1789.

At this point members are given a final chance to say what they will.

It is with great sadness that Edmund Randolph announces he cannot sign the final document. His role all along has been critical, from presenting the “Virginia Plan” to authoring the Committee On Detail report. But now he declares that his duty as a Virginian is to refrain from endorsing the Constitution until he can hear directly from the people of his state.

Not surprisingly Randolph is joined by George Mason, whose opposition has been clear all along. Mason doesn't speak on this day, but writes up three pages worth of objections, which he later shares with Washington. These focus on the erosion he senses in state sovereignty, and the absence of a bill of rights.

After Gouverneur Morris voices his support for the document and urges others, including Randolph, to follow, the third and final dissenter left in the room, Elbridge Gerry, has his say. The Massachusetts delegate finds the outcome still too divisive, and likely to lead on to civil war between factions in his own state.

Four others who oppose the Constitution have already departed: the two New Yorkers (Lansing and Yates) and two Marylanders (Luther Martin and John Mercer).

But September 17 belongs not to the dissenters, rather to the 35 other men present who have labored on behalf of a grand vision of government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Each in turn steps forward to sign, beginning with New Hampshire and working sequentially south to Georgia.

The Thirty-Nine Eventual Signers Of The Constitution

States	Delegates
New Hampshire	Gilman, Langdon
Massachusetts	Gorham, King
Rhode Island	No delegates
Connecticut	Johnson, Sherman
New York	Hamilton
Pennsylvania	Clymer, Fitzsimons, Franklin, Ingersoll, Mifflin, G Morris, R Morris, Wilson
New Jersey	Brearily, Dayton, Livingston, Patterson
Delaware	Bassett, Bedford, Broom, Dickinson, Read
Maryland	Carroll, Jenifer, McHenry
Virginia	Blair, Madison, Washington
North Carolina	Blount, Spaight, Williamson
South Carolina	Butler, CC Pinckney, C Pinckney, Rutledge
Georgia	Baldwin, Few

The grand Convention then closes, with delegates off for a celebratory dinner together at the City Tavern. Afterwards, several reflect on the outcome.

Washington expresses amazement: “much to be wondered at...little short of a miracle.”

So does the South Carolinian “CC” Pinckney: “astonishingly pleased (that a government) so perfect could have been formed from such discordant and unpromising material.”

The delegate from New Hampshire, Nicholas Gilman, explains how it happened:

It was done by bargain and compromise... (testing) whether or no we shall become a respectable nation, or a people torn to pieces by intestine commotions, and rendered contemptible for ages.

From abroad, staunch Federalist John Adams and Anti-Federalist, Thomas Jefferson, both applaud, the latter wishing only for a bill of rights and term limits on the Executive.

Almost all agree that something amazing has just taken place in Philadelphia.

Time: May 14, 1787 – March 1, 1792

Sidebar: Timeline Of Key Events Related To The 1787 Constitution

Date	Convention Events
May 14	Open, no quorum
May 25	Quorum
May 30	Virginia Plan
June 15	New Jersey Plan
June 18	Hamilton's Plan
July 5	Connecticut Compromise
July 13	Northwest Ordinance
July 16	Great Compromise
July 26	The Presidency Is Born
August 6	Committee of Detail Report
August 23	Slave Trade Debate
September 15	Committee On Style and Arrangement Draft
September 17	Signing Day
	Post-Convention
September 19	Constitution Is Published
September 28	Constitution Submitted To States For Ratification
October 27	Federalist Papers Appear
December 7	Delaware Ratifies The Constitution
March 24, 1788	Rhode Island Rejects Constitution
June 21, 1788	New Hampshire Becomes 9 th State To Ratify
Sept 13, 1789	New York Chosen As Site of Capitol
March 4	New Government Goes Into Effect
April 1	Quorum Met In House of Representatives
April 6	Washington Elected As First President
April 30	Washington and Adams Inaugurated
September 25	Congress Passes 12 Amendments For Ratification
December 15	Three-fourths Of States Ratify Bill of Rights
January 1, 1790	North Carolina Ratifies Constitution + Amendments
February 2	Supreme Court Meets
May 29	Rhode Island Ratifies Constitution + Amendments
March 1, 1792	Bill of Rights Go Into Effect