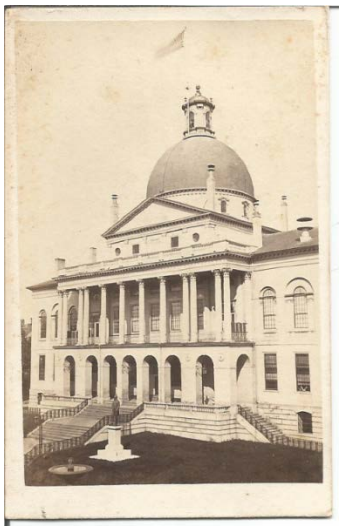
Chapter 21. The Constitution Is Ratified (1787-1790)



Massachusetts State House

Sections

- Five States Ratify Within The First Year
- Mass, Virginia And NY Assure Passage

Macro-Themes

Political Publications
- *The Federalist Papers*

Political Parties
- Federalists vs. Anti-Federalists

Constitutions
- Bill of Rights Demands
- State Ratification Votes

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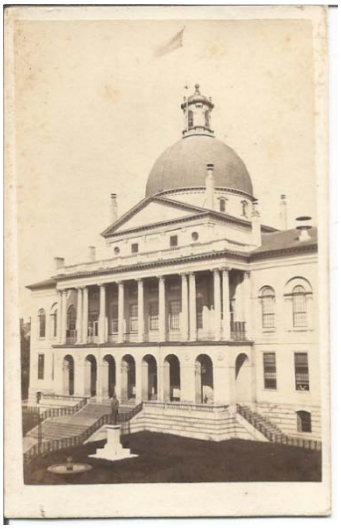
Time: 1787-1788

Five States Ratify Within The First Year



On October 27, 1787, Congress submits the Constitution to the States for ratification.

The bar for acceptance has been set at nine states, but no one is particularly comfortable about "imposing" the contract on hold-outs. So the unanimity Franklin lobbied for is deemed essential.

Proponents are well aware of the States most likely to balk at ratification, including a big three -- Massachusetts, Virginia and New York – whose cumulative population comprise 40% of the nation's total.

To promote acceptance, the strategy lies in "frontloading" the process in States more likely to vote "yes," thereby putting pressure on the others to follow suit.

At the same time, a publicity campaign is mounted in the popular press. Philadelphia alone boasts over 100 newspapers in 1787, and scholars have pegged literacy at 90% in New England, a level surpassed at the time only in Scotland.

The campaign comes in the form of a series of 85 articles, titled *The Federalist Papers*. These are the work of three men: Alexander Hamilton, who authors 51 of the 85, James Madison with 26, John Jay with 5, the others being collaborations.

They are all published under the pseudonym of Publius, “friend of the people” a Roman aristocrat, who helped overthrow a corrupt monarchy in 509BC. Their content is intended to inform the public about the ideas within the new Constitution and reasons why it should be supported.

By January 1788 these strategies are working, with five states voting approval by wide margins, mostly after less than a week of debate.

First Five States To Ratify The Constitution

States	#Days	Date	Pre- Vote	Final Vote	Key Delegates
Delaware	3	Dec 7, 1787	30-0	30-0	Bedford
Pennsylvania	23	Dec 12, 1787	46-23	46-23	Wilson
New Jersey	7	Dec 18, 1787	38-0	38-0	Brearly
Georgia	6	Dec 31, 1787	29-0	26-0	Few
Connecticut	6	Jan 9, 1788	128-40	128-40	Sherman, Ellsworth, Johnson

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Time: 1788-1790
Massachusetts, Virginia And New York Assure Passage

Next comes the first real test, in Massachusetts, where the 355 Convention delegates chosen are evenly divided, 177-178 “for and against” ratification, as they assemble. The debates extend over four weeks, with Rufus King and Nathaniel Gorham pitted against Anti-Federalists led by Sam Adams and, behind the scenes, Elbridge Gerry. The wild card here turns out to be Governor John Hancock, who is accused of tipping toward the “pro” side in exchange for promises of higher office in the new government. Ten votes switch sides and the Constitution is ratified by 187-168 – with an accompanying call for “amendments.”

Despite Luther Martin’s dire predictions, Maryland votes “aye” by a comfortable 63-11 margin. South Carolina follows, and when New Hampshire agrees on June 25, 1788, the nine-state target is achieved. Still all eyes remain focused on Virginia and New York.

Both Madison and Washington have been disappointed by the fact that only three of Virginia’s seven delegates signed their names to the Constitution. The venerable George Mason has refused, as has the sitting Governor, Edmund Randolph. The state also boasts two famous patriots – Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee – both outspoken critics of the new contract, and of Washington himself. The delegates go into the state convention with 84 tentatively pledge to vote “aye” and 84 pledged “nay.” After three weeks, five votes change hands and the Constitution is ratified. Ironically Edmund Randolph decides to lend his support, and plays an important role along the way.

New York is next. Going into the convention, the “pledges” are stacked against approval. Governor George Clinton, a fierce Anti-Federalist, is chosen to chair the assembly. Other opponents include Robert Yates and John Lansing, the two delegates who left Philadelphia in a huff back in July. The battle is joined by an impressive array on the other side: Alexander Hamilton, the diplomat John Jay, as well as many of the state’s old Dutch patroon families (Roosevelt, DeWitt, Ten Eyck). New York’s convention will last longest (39 days) and prove the most contentious. Opponents insist on a bill of rights, along with some 32 amendments. They cannot, however, make the case for being a “lone hold-out” in the grand scheme of things, and a tight 30-27 “aye” vote prevails.

Eight Remaining States To Ratify The Constitution

States	#Days	Date	Pre- Vote	Final Vote	Key Delegates
Massachusetts	28	Feb 6, 1788	177-178	187-168	King, S. Adams, Hancock
Maryland	5	April 26, 1788	64-12	63-11	Martin
South Carolina	11	May 23, 1788	149-73	149-73	Rutledge, CC Pinckney, C Pinckney
New Hampshire	3	June 21, 1788	52-52	57-47	Gilman
Virginia	23	June 25, 1788	84-84	89-79	Madison,Mason,Randolph,Henry
New York	39	July 26, 1788	19-46	30-27	Hanilton,Clinton,Yates,Lansing,Jay
North Carolina	5	Nov 21, 1789	194-77	194-77	Iredell
Rhode Island	3	May 29, 1790	34-32	34-32	---

While two other states – North Carolina and Rhode Island – are still more than a year away from officially signing on, the "wins" in Massachusetts, Virginia and New York assure the creation of the new Union, known henceforth as the United States.

The time has now arrived to elect those who will convert theory into practice

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

Chapter 22. The French Revolution Begins (1789)		
 King Louis XVI (1754-1793)	**Sections** • French Commoners Storm The Bastille And Assert Their Sovereignty	**Macro-Themes** International Affairs - The French Revolution

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July 14, 1789 Bastille
French Commoners Storm Bastille Prison And Assert Their Sovereignty

As America is about to embark on its great experiment, "government of the people," the citizens of France rise up to overthrow their monarchy – which has endured since July 3, 987, when Huge Capet is crowned King of the Franks.

In 1789 the Capetian Dynasty rests with King Louis XVI, who has ascended the throne in 1774, at 19 years old.

Ironically the French Revolution stems from a tax revolt, which mirrors the rebellion in America.

In seeking world dominion over Britain, France has fought two international wars – the disastrous Seven Years War from 1756 to 1763, waged by Louis XV, and the successful "alliance war" with America ending in 1783 at Yorktown. Together they have bankrupted the royal coffers.

The King tries to maneuver his way around the monetary crisis, first by borrowing from abroad, and then by "investing" to stimulate economic growth. Neither strategy works. As the crisis grows, the King's authority begins to erode.

On May 5, 1789 he is forced to convene the Estates General to seek solutions to the nation's finances. This body was abolished in 1641 by King Louis XIII, and its assembly now is another signal of growing internal turmoil.

The assembly includes representatives from the three classes of French society:

- The Catholic Clergy (First Estate), some 10,000 strong, exempt from all taxes.
- The hereditary Nobility (Second Estate), 400,000 in number with vast wealth and also no taxes.
- The Commoners (Third Estate), 25 million including the bourgeoisie (middle class property owners), who also avoid taxes, and the vast mainstream of peasants, constantly more squeezed for money.

The convention falls apart before it can even get to the topic of finances – with the Commoners leaving the hall after a series of procedural power plays by representatives of the clergy and nobility.

By June 17, the Commoners have organized their own convention, which they call the National Assembly. They invite the clergy and nobles to attend, but make it clear that they intend to run French affairs with or without them, "on behalf of the people."

The King steps in to stall this move by shutting down the assembly center, but this only stiffens the will of the delegates. On July 9, they re-convene as the National Constituent Assembly and commit to writing a Constitution for the new government they plan to create.

As the people of Paris take to the streets to express their displeasure, law and order breaks down. The King and the nobles try to rally troops of the French Guard to restore discipline.

On July 12, violent clashes break out, with cavalry units charging into crowds in the center city. This convinces the rebels that a widespread crackdown is about to begin, and they assault various armories and food warehouses around Paris to prepare for battle.

At Hotel des Invalides they acquire muskets, but not the gunpowder needed to fire them. This is stored in the Bastille Prison, which they storm on the morning of July 14. The tide has now turned in favor of the commoners, and they push on toward their own assertion of sovereignty.

The first step comes in the form of a "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" issued on August 20. 1789. This lays out general principles for a constitutional monarchy, leaving King Louis on the throne, but transferring power to a national assembly elected by the people. The country operates this way for the next two years until work on a more detailed Constitution begins in 1791.

For the moment at least, France appears to be headed toward a permanent government run by a legislature similar to the American Congress and the British Parliament.

Chapter 23. The New American Government Starts Up (1788-1789)

George Washington (1732-1799)

Sections

- Washington And The Federalists Win The Election of 1788

Macro-Themes

Elections
- Of 1788

Political Parties
- Federalists vs. Anti-Federalists

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Time: December 1788- January 1789

Washington And The Federalists Win The Election Of 1788

As word of the rebellion in France reaches America, preparations are under way to elect the nation's first Congress and Executive.

Despite pleas from George Washington to avoid partisan politics, the divisions between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists show through quickly.

Some Partisan Tendencies In The 1789 Election

Anti-Federalists	Federalists
Fear federal intrusion on states	Favor a strong central authority
Agricultural economy	Economy is diversifying
Protective of slavery	Not dependent on slavery
Minimize federal costs and taxes	Active funding and support of business
More prevalent in South	More prevalent in North

States schedule their elections on different days, running between December 15, 1788 and January 10, 1779. All states select members of Congress, but three (New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island) do not participate in the presidential race. Of the ten that do, popular voting occurs in only six: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and New Jersey.

The right to vote for president is limited to men with property, with rules varying by state. The actual popular vote count across the six states totals only 43,782, or 1.3% of the nation's total population.

As expected, George Washington is chosen as first President of the United States. He receives almost 90% of all the popular votes cast, and is listed on all 69 of the "elector ballots."

According to the Constitution, all "electors" name two choices for President, including one not from their own state – with whomever receives the second most votes becoming Vice President. This honor goes to John Adams by a wide margin.

Results Of The 1788 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV	South	Border	North
George Washington	Virginia	Independent	39,624	69	22	9	38
John Adams	Mass	Federalist		34			
John Jay	New York	Federalist		9			
Robert Harrison	Maryland	Federalist		6			
John Rutledge	S Carolina	Federalist		6			
John Hancock	Mass	Federalist		4			
George Clinton	New York	Anti-Federalist		3			
All-Others (5)			4,158	7			
Total			43,782	138			
Needed To Win				35			

Note: South (VA, N Carolina, S Carolina, Georgia), Border (Delaware, Maryland), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn)

The "Anti-Administration" candidates fare much better in elections for the first House of Representatives – with victories across the Southern and Border states offset by losses in the North. Overall the Federalists end up with a 37 to 28 margin in the lower chamber.

House Of Representatives Election Of 1788

South	# Seats	Pro-Admin	Anti-Admin
Virginia	10	3	7
North Carolina	5	2	3
South Carolina	5	2	3
Georgia	3	0	3
South	23	7	16
Delaware	1	1	0
Maryland	6	2	4
Border	7	3	4
New Hampshire	3	2	1
Massachusetts	8	6	2
Rhode Island	1	1	0
Connecticut	5	5	0
New York	6	3	3
New Jersey	4	4	0
Pennsylvania	8	6	2
North	35	27	8
Total	65	37	28

State legislators are charged with picking their two Senators, and the outcome favors the Pro-Administration forces by 19-7.

Senate Elections In 1788

South	Pro-Admin	Anti-Admin
Virginia		2
North Carolina	2	
South Carolina	2	
Georgia		2
South	4	4
Delaware	1	1
Maryland	2	
Border	3	1
New Hampshire	1	1
Massachusetts	2	
Rhode Island	2	
Connecticut	2	
New York	2	
New Jersey	2	
Pennsylvania	1	1
North	12	2
Total	19	7

Of the 26 men selected to the upper chamber, 11 had been delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention.

Senators Who Also Served At The 1787 Convention

South	Convention Members
Virginia	None
North Carolina	None
South Carolina	Pierce Butler
Georgia	William Few
Delaware	Richard Bassett, George Read
Maryland	None
New Hampshire	John Langdon
Massachusetts	Caleb Strong
Rhode Island	None
Connecticut	Oliver Ellsworth, William Johnson
New York	Rufus King
New Jersey	William Patterson
Pennsylvania	Robert Morris

Chapter 24. The First President, George Washington (April 30, 1789- March 4, 1793)

George Washington's Mt. Vernon Plantation – Slave Quarters Left of House

Sections

- George Washington – Personal Profile
- Sidebar: Washington's Mt. Vernon Plantation

Macro-Themes

Presidents
- Washington Personal Profile

Southern Culture
- Mt. Vernon Plantation

Slavery
- Impact On Southern Wealth

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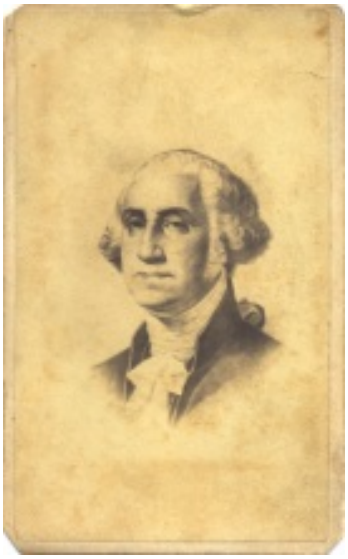
Time: February 22, 1732- December 14 1799

George Washington: Personal Profile



President George Washington (1732-1799)

America's first President is born on February 22, 1732 at his parent's Pope's Creek Estate, situated in northeast Virginia along the Potomac River.

Washington's father, a plantation owner, dies when he is only eleven – and he is raised by his mother and his devoted half-brother, Lawrence, 14 years his senior.

Lawrence, a military man for years, has married into the prominent Fairfax family, owners of vast tracts of land throughout Virginia. Along with his father-in-law, he is also a partner in The Ohio Company, which is dedicated to acquiring acreage west of the Appalachians and opening new British settlements there.

In many ways, Washington will follow in his brother's footsteps as he matures.

His formal education is sparse, but largely through Lawrence he is surrounded by "the best families" and quickly masters the social graces. He is also a very physical man, drawn to horseback riding and hard work on the farm.

Through Lawrence's connections, Washington is appointed Surveyor for Culpepper County at age seventeen, in 1749. His earnings are substantial and they go into buying land in the Shenandoah Valley, the first of many such purchases.

In July, 1752, Lawrence dies after a long battle with tuberculosis at Mt. Vernon.

At age twenty, Washington comes fully into his own – inheriting Lawrence's estate and also succeeding him in the Virginia militia, where he is assigned the rank of Major, by Governor Robert Dinwiddie.

His active military service begins in 1753, just as Britain and France are about to fight the Seven Year's War (1756-63) for worldwide dominion. The North American theater of this war opens in the "Ohio Country" around Pittsburgh, a strategic linchpin connecting French settlements in Quebec with those on the Mississippi -- and also the target of The Ohio Company's planned expansion to the west.

When Governor Dinwiddie, also a partner in The Ohio Company, sends Washington to clear out the intruders, it sparks the French and Indian War (1754-63).

Ironically then, Washington will learn about warfare while serving in the British Army.

As Colonel of the Virginia Regiment, his experience consists mainly of minor battles fought against assorted Indian tribes. But along the way he masters military organization, recruiting, training, tactics, discipline and logistics.

When the war ends, the crown promises him 20,000 acres of land in Ohio in reward for his service – but then reneges after King George III decides against opening new settlements. While the deal is eventually completed, Washington will never forget the British sleight. (He will die owning just over 41,000 acres, or 64 square miles, of frontier land.)

In 1759 he weds the widow, Mary Custis, whose inheritance immediately makes him one of the richest men in the colonies. In quick order Washington doubles the size of his Mt. Vernon estate, buys more slaves, switches his main crop from tobacco to wheat, and settles into the roles of businessman and social host to all the leading families in Virginia and beyond.

This is a pleasing life for Washington, and he lives it outside of the growing unrest that is forming toward the crown.

While he has been a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses since 1758, it is not until 1769 that he speaks up in opposition to Britain's bullying tactics – in this case the Townshend Act imposing duties on "necessities" such as glass, paper, lead and tea that were available only through English shipping.

His proposal is incendiary in character – calling for Virginia to boycott British goods until the act is repealed.

When Parliament responds to the December 1773 Boston Tea Party with the "Intolerable Acts" of April 1774 (closing the port of Boston, banning free assembly, etc.), Washington chairs the session calling for the First Continental Congress to meet in Philadelphia.

As the Revolution plays out, he emerges as the calm and steady presence holding the colonists together, converting the rag-tag militias into a real army, and eventually winning America's freedom from Britain.

After his role in calling for and chairing the 1787 Constitutional Convention, it is clear to all that his destiny lies in serving as the new nation's first Executive leader.

Washington's "bearing" is noted by all in his presence. An English observer writes: "there is a remarkable air of dignity about him." A Frenchman: "he carries himself freely and with a sort of military grace." The patriot, Benjamin Rush, says that his deportment is such "that you would distinguish him to be a general and a soldier from among 10,000 people; there is not a king in Europe that would not look like a valet by his side." Even the sharp tongued Abigail Adams, wife of the new Vice President, is drawn to his graceful demeanor and confidence.

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Time: 1674 and Forward

Sidebar: Washington's Mount Vernon Plantation

Washington inherits Mt. Vernon in 1752, at age twenty – and expands it from 2,000 acres to over 8,000 acres after he weds the very wealthy widow, Martha Custis, in 1759.

The hub of the plantation is a 2½ story mansion with 20 rooms, and 12 outbuildings, including slave quarters which, at their peak, house about 317 blacks, who work in the fields, serve in the residence, or handle duties such as carpentry, shoe-making, weaving, milling and gardening.

Washington treats Mt. Vernon like a business, dividing the property into 5 separate farms, each run by an overseer, and each using the latest methods of mulching and annual crop rotation to maximize their output. Over time he experiments with 60 different crops and also runs a sizable fishing operation, with a catch taken from the Potomac, then cleaned, salted and shipped across the colonies and even abroad.

Mt. Vernon is not a cotton plantation.

Its main crop is tobacco up until about 1765, when Washington decides to concentrate on wheat – a move that eliminates his dependence on English "factors" to complete his sales transactions.

But like other plantation barons, Washington discovers that in addition to the tobacco or wheat or cotton in his fields, he has a "second crop" that is incredibly valuable – the crop of slaves to be breed and sold in the open market.

Like Jefferson, Washington is expanding his inventory of slaves all the way up until his death in 1799, when the count tops out at 317.

Number of Slaves Owned by Washington

1743	1760	1770	1774	1799
10	49	87	135	317

And he is also selling slaves along the way, as in this 1766 request to a sea-going trader:

> *With this letter comes a Negro (Tom) which I beg the favor of you to sell…for whatever he will fetch. This fellow is a rogue…but exceedingly healthy, strong and good at the Hoe..keep him handcuffed till you get to sea*.

Washington is not known to be harsh with his slaves, and is fairly unique among his class by writing a detailed will guaranteeing that each is to be freed and educated upon his death. Still, while alive, his overall attitudes are typical of plantation owners of his era – the blacks are his property and a major source of his total wealth.

As the economist Robert Ransom points out, the presence of even 15-25 slaves on a plantation signals a 60-fold increase in wealth vis a vis the average small farm in the region.

Relative Wealth of Southern Plantations

Slave Labor	%	Value Then	Value in 2010 $
No slave	67	$ 2,362	$ 58,000
A few slaves	31	9,634	237,000
Plantations	2	154,785	3,808,000

Note: Ransom p. 63 (for 1860)

This puts plantation owners like Washington among the economic elites of America, the Southern version of industrial tycoons emerging in New England.

Chapter 25. "We The People" – The United States (1790)

Colonial Americans

Sections

- Our Population
- Our Homes
- Education
- Making A Living
- Overall US Economy In 1790
- Commitment To The American Dream
- Commitment To Personal Freedom
- What Average White Folks Want From Their Government

Macro-Themes

We The People
- Demographics
- Lifestyles
- Beliefs

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Time: 1790

Our Population

Information about what life was like in the United States during its early years is more "anecdotal" than truly "fact-based." Still the combination of data from the Census – completed once every decade beginning in 1790 – and from scholarly analysis of contemporary documents, provides a reasonable overall snapshot.

The very first U.S. Census pegs the total population in 1790 at just over 3.9 million people, including nearly 700,000 slaves.

1790 U.S. Population (000)

Total	White	Free Blacks	Slaves
3,929	3,174	57	698
100%	71%	1%	18%

This figure does not include a "separate nation" living west of the Appalachian mountains -- the Native American tribes, whose numbers are typically estimated to be in the 2-7 million range.

Almost 2/3rd of all white Americans trace their roots back to the British isles, England, Scotland and Ireland – and the language of the realm is predominantly the King's English.

1790 U.S. Population By Country Of Origin (thousands)

Total	England	Africa	Ireland	Germany	Scotland	Neth.	A-O
3,900	**2,100**	**757**	**300**	**270**	**150**	**100**	**223**

The total population is split about evenly between those who live North of the Mason-Dixon line (the 1767 boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland) and those who live South of it.

1790 U.S. Population By State (thousands)

North	Pop	South	Pop	Border	Pop
Penn	434	SC	249	Del	59
NJ	184	Ga	82	Md	320
Conn	238	Va	748	Ky	74
Mass	379	NC	394		
NH	142	Tenn	35		
NY	340				
RI	69				
Vt	85				
Maine	96				
	1,967		1,508		453
% Total	50%		38%		12%

By 1790, some 94% of all slaves live in the South. In four states, slaves comprise 1/3rd or more of all residents.

1790 Slave Population By State (thousands)

Total	Va.	SC	Md.	NC	Ga.	NY	NJ	Del	Pa	CT	RI	NH	Ma
698	293	107	103	101	29	21	11	9	4	3	1	*	0
18%	39%	43%	32%	26%	35%	6%	6%	15%	1%	1%	1%	--	--

The median age for all Americans is very young, only 16 years, a number skewed downward by the fact that roughly 40% of children do not live into adulthood.

The average woman gives birth to 6-7 offspring – often as an economic necessity, to help work the family farm.

In the English tradition, literacy rates are high among whites in America. While public schools will not appear yet for many decades, the 1785 Northwest Ordinance already anticipates these by allocating a plot of land for education in all new township grids.

In the meantime, most children are educated at home by their parents and other family members, who are encouraged to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, common laws and religion.

Reading is deemed particularly important since it connects both adults and children to the “good book,” the Bible, which is expected to guide their behavior.

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Time: 1790
Our Homes

A

Typical American Rural Landscape: Farms and a Cemetery

In 1790, “home” for 93% of all Americans is in the countryside, on the family farm.

Where People Live In 1790

Location	Percent
Rural/farms	93%
Urban/cities	7

Most of these farms are modest in size, with about 40% averaging 25 acres, and another 30% at 75 acres. Only 2% even approach “plantation status” at upwards of 500-1000 acres.

Typical Farm Sizes (NC)

Acres	Percent
Under 10 acres	3%
10-19	7
20-49	31
50-99	28
100-499	29
500-999	2
1000 and over	*

In 1790, true urban centers are few in number and all modest in size and located in major ports along the northeast coast, where they service the fishing and shipping industries.

Five Largest Cities In 1790

	Population
New York	33,131
Philadelphia	28,522
Boston	18,320
Charleston	16,345
Baltimore	13,503

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Time: 1790
Education

Given America's roots in English traditions and culture, the value of getting an education is well established from colonial times forward.

The Puritans of New England are strong proponents of literacy, and Thomas Jefferson's 1779 "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge" in the Virginia Assembly touts its importance to sustaining a democracy.

> *Those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be, to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large.*

Jefferson envisions a two-tier approach to education:

> *One for the learned, and one for the laboring…but reading, writing and common arithmetic…should be taught to all the free children, male and female.*

The capacity to read and to write will quickly become the dividing line between those with good prospects for upward social mobility and those likely to be stymied in place.

Relatively few, however, can take the process of getting an education for granted – since the task of educating children in 1790 is a family matter, not one assumed by state governments.

There are some early signs of a wish for mandatory public schools. The Massachusetts's Law of 1647 decrees that towns with 50 families or more hire a schoolteacher, while the Land Ordinance of 1785 requires that each plat drawn for new public domain territories set aside a 640 acre parcel for a school. However, the actual implementation of state-run school programs is still more than a half century in the future.

In 1790 then, the vast majority of children experience education in a hit or miss fashion. Their teachers are typically concerned parents, most often mothers, who have received enough education themselves to pass along rudimentary skills, using popular "readers" and chalk boards.

The most widely used "textbook" of the time is *The New England Primer*, first published around 1690. It is based on *The Protestant Tutor*, and is used by the Puritans to teach various scriptural lessons to children, often via rote memorization of sayings or prayers.

> *Now I lay me down to sleep, I pray the Lord my soul to keep.*
> *If I should die before I wake, I pray the Lord my soul to take.*

Indeed, the motivation behind much education in the colonial is religious in character. If the path to eternal salvation lies in the Bible, one must be able to read "the good book" in order to embrace its wisdoms.

The Primer is joined in 1785 by a collection called *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language.* This three volume work is written and published by Noah Webster, often referred to as the "father of secular American education." Webster graduates from Yale and takes up teaching to earn a living, an experience that leads to his lifelong interest in advancing the science of pedagogy.

The heart of Webster's compendium is the "Blue Backed Speller," so-called for its binding, which is used for over a century to teach children the alphabet, key words, pronunciation and reading. It is accompanied by a "reader," intentionally non-religious, featuring historians like Plutarch to poets like Shakespeare and political essayists like Addison and Swift. Its purpose according to Webster lies in:

> *Diffusing the principles of virtue and patriotism.*

Actual data on literacy rates in early America do not exist, so historians have tried to piece together various clues from contemporary documents. From this work, it seems likely that upwards of 90% of all men were able to sign their own names when need be. The rate for women is thought to be considerably lower, and Africans are prohibited by law from becoming educated.

The ability to read, as opposed to form letters and write one's name, is a different matter. The two disciplines are taught separately, and reading is thought to be much less common.

By 1790, higher education is also taking hold, with most universities started by, or affiliated with, one Christian church sect or another.

America's Earliest Colleges And Their Religious Affiliations

Original Name	**Later**	**Founded**	**Colony**	**Religious Link**
New College	Harvard	1636	Mass	Puritan/Cong.
College of William & Mary	William & Mary	1693	Virginia	Church of England
King William's School	St. Johns	1696	Maryland	Freemasons
Collegiate School	Yale	1701	Conn	Puritan/Cong.
Bethlehem Female Seminary	Moravian College	1742	Penn	Moravian/Hussians
University of Delaware	Delaware	1743	Delaware	Presbyterian (Old)
College of New Jersey	Princeton	1746	New Jersey	Presbyterian (Free)
King's College	Columbia	1754	New York	Church of England
College of Pennsylvania	Penn	1755	Penn	Church of England
College of Rhode Island	Brown	1764	Rhode Island	Baptist
Queen's College	Rutgers	1766	New Jersey	Dutch Reformed
Dartmouth College	Dartmouth	1769	NH	Congregationalist
College of Charleston	Charleston	1770	So. Carolina	Church of England
Salem College	Salem	1772	No. Carolina	Moravian/Hussites
Dickinson College	Dickinson	1773	Penn	---
Hampden-Sydney Academy	Hampden-Sydney	1775	Virginia	Presbyterian
Transylvania University	Transylvania	1780	Virginia	Episcopalians
Washington & Jefferson	Washington & Jeff	1781	Penn	Presbyterian
University of Georgia	Georgia	1785	Georgia	---

But relatively few Americans ever reach these colleges.

Those who do are typically born into the upper classes, to parents who themselves are highly educated.

These children of privilege are tutored at home or at boarding schools, where they are exposed to a classical curriculum, straight out of European academies. Around the age of sixteen they enroll at college, completing their degrees four years late, and then transition into careers ordained for their class.

At the same time, there are exceptions to the rule who tell a uniquely American narrative.

These are the "self-taught" men and women who rise to fame and fortune from humble roots.

Their education is often a matter of happenstance – youthful access to a book or a teacher that sparks their curiosity, leads on to an insatiable quest for knowledge, and ends with intellectual powers and accomplishments that transport them up the social ladder.

They demonstrate the great "leveling effects" made possible in America through access to education.

Soon enough, those "to the manor born" leaders like Jefferson and Madison, will be joined center stage by "log cabin" men such as Jackson and Lincoln

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Time: 1790
Making A Living

Two Farm Boys Enjoying a Smoke

For 9 out of every 10 Americans in 1790, the path to personal prosperity centers on owning and farming one's land.

As farmers, their existence is "pre-industrial" in character. They build and heat their own homes, from wood on their land. They grow and hunt their own food. Some even spin their own cloth, sew their own clothes, make their own shoes and candles.

In the North, the yeoman farmer raises livestock and "subsistence crops," for his own food, and to barter for goods and services needed.

In the South, he also raises "cash crops," such as tobacco, cotton, rice and indigo, which are sold or bartered for income and other necessities.

The net value of the "average American farm" – worked without slaves – is $3,858 in the North and $2,362 in the South.

Relative Value Of Small Farms In The North Vs. The South

Location	Own Slaves	Current Money	2010 Equiv Money
North	No	$ 3,858	$95,000
South	No	2,362	58,000

Per Robert Ransom

However, this relationship changes significantly for farms that utilize slave labor.

Throughout the antebellum period, roughly 1 in 3 southerners own slaves, typically five or fewer on the host of small farms, often upwards of 100 on the infrequent plantations.

On average, the net value of these southern farms with slaves is $9,634 – or about four times higher than the non-slave farms. On the mega-plantations, the relative value can be 50- fold as much.

Thus the value of owning slaves is abundantly obvious to all.

How Slaves Impacted The Value Of Small Southern Farms

Location	Own Slaves	Value Then	Value in 2010 $
South	No	$2,362	$ 58,000
South	Yes	9,634	237,000

Regardless of geography or acreage or slaves, however,, the typical American farmer in 1790 is a rugged individualist and a hard worker, proud of whatever land he owns and of the labor he is putting in to make a living for his family.

****

Time: 1790
The Overall U.S. Economy In 1790

A 6 ¼ Cent Bond from the Bank of Philadelphia

While tracking economic growth in the antebellum period is more of an art form than a science, many scholars have tried to patch together data from various sources to estimate what we would now call the nation's gross domestic product (GDP).

GDP captures the value of all newly produced goods and services in a given year. In the modern U.S. economy, about 70% of GDP traces to consumer spending, with the rest split between government services, capital purchases by corporations, and exports.

Value is typically expressed two ways: first in "current dollars" (reflecting the price of goods and services in any given year)) and second in "constant dollars" (which factors "inflation" in to show the equivalent buying power of money from one time to the next). Thus $1 in the antebellum period is typically inflated by 20-25 times to show equivalent value in modern money.

As of 1790, experts peg America's total GDP at about $190 million, while per capita GDP is $48 per year.

After inflation, this $190 million GDP is roughly equivalent to $4.0 Billion in "constant 2005 dollars."

Gross Domestic Product For The U.S. In 1790

	Total GDP	Per Capita
1790 Current Dollars	**$ 190MM**	**$ 48**
Constant 2005 Dollars	**4,030**	**1,025**

Measuring Worth: Prof. Louis D. Johnson and Samuel H. Williamson

Various estimates have also been made on "annual income" for average Americans. The one measure that is trended is for "unskilled laborers," which may be akin to today's "minimum wage" rates. The data here show that the poorest Americans in 1790 try to scrape by on less than $1 income per week.

Annual Income – Unskilled Laborers

	Income
1790 Current Dollars	$ 37

This explains the "value" of the 6 ¼ cents bond shown above – one man's attempt at beginning to save for a rainy day.

****

Time: 1790
Commitment To The American Dream

Regardless of one's current status in the economic hierarchy, an essential part of the American psyche is a belief in upward mobility.

The Protestant religious tradition feeds this belief in what becomes known as "The American Dream."

According to Calvin, God hands each man a "purpose in life" and their duty is to work hard to achieve it. Those who do so, are rewarded with material wealth and success – which, in turn, are "hints" that the individual is among "the elect" chosen by God for salvation.

Herein lie the four main components behind the "American Dream:"

- Labor is an essential and dignified part of life;
- Every man has a right to the fruits of his own labor;
- Hard work pays off in increased prosperity; and
- Along with greater wealth, comes upward mobility**.**

Conversely, anyone or anything that erodes the American Dream hurts the nation.

This includes people who can work, but refuse to do so, along with those who live off the labor of others while "producing" nothing of value on their own.

Likewise, anyone or anything that demeans the dignity or value of labor, or stands in the way of "upward mobility" for all who work hard.

Personal success shows that a man has opted for sobriety, hard work and frugality.

On the other hand, if you are lazy or a drunk or a spendthrift, then you get what you deserve.

From the beginning, commitment to the American Dream – work hard and upward mobility will follow – stands as a core belief in the national psyche.

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Time: 1790
Commitment To Personal Freedom

The Stars and Stripes

Another core value that tends to bind all Americans together in 1790 is their commitment to "personal freedom."

Freedom to bow to no man based on heredity or rank, but rather on earned self-respect.

Freedom to form one's own opinions and speak one's own mind, without fear of repression.

Freedom to progress as far in life as your talent will carry you.

Freedom to experience the other unalienable rights announced in the Constitution.

Americans want nothing more than the chance to make a good life for themselves and for their families.

Playing by the rules is also an integral part of their character. They have written these rules through their own government, and woe be it to those who would skirt the law. Their instinct calls for swift and decisive justice for wrong doers.

But they also tend toward valuing community, helping each other when the need arises, and instinctively looking after those who have fallen prey to a harsh fate.

A certain idealism resides in their hidden hearts. As if the well-being of the nation rested on the moral rightness of their daily behavior.

These shared values are evident in a reprise of their home state mottoes.

- Willingness to stand tall and fight for one's principles.
- The towering importance of personal liberty, freedom and justice vs. tyranny.
- Eagerness to seize the moment and move upward.
- Instinctive optimism and hope for future progress.
- A wish to prosper.
- A love of authenticity, plain speaking and truth telling.
- Admiration for the virtues of preparedness, moderation, virtue and wisdom.
- The desire for peace and unity.

Mottoes For The Original 13 States

States	**Mottoes**
Virginia	Thus Always To Tyrants
Massachusetts	By the sword we seek peace, but peace only under liberty.
New Hampshire	Live free or die
Delaware	Liberty and Independence
New York	Excelsior (Ever Upward)
New Jersey	Liberty and Prosperity
Connecticut	He who is transplanted still sustains
South Carolina	Prepared in mind and resources
Rhode Island	Hope
North Carolina	To be rather than to seem
Georgia	Wisdom, Justice and Moderation
Pennsylvania	Virtue, Liberty and Independence
Vermont	Freedom and Unity

****

Time: 1790

What Average White Folks Want From Their Government

In 1790 most Americans are busy working their farms, far removed from the intense philosophical debates about government that have swirled around the convention in Philadelphia.

Their political leanings, if any, probably tend to align with Jefferson:

- The paramount role for the federal government lies in dealing with foreign policy and keeping the new nation safe from external threats.
- While the role for state governments should focus on addressing any local needs or disputes that arise over time.

When the Militia Acts of 1792 are passed, most able bodied adult men will attend militia drills in the Spring and Fall, and show up with a mandatory musket, as ordered by law.

Beyond national defense, the people's wishes for their government are modest:

- Access to new land at affordable prices.
- An authorized surveyor to insure proper boundaries.
- A magistrate to support law and order and to collect duties.
- A rudimentary court system to adjudicate civil or criminal disputes.
- A postal service to insure certain delivery of letters.
- A state legislature to capture the will of the community on local matters.

All other matters, from educating children to building roads to overseeing most commerce, were left in the hands of the individual yeoman farmer – looking out for his own well-being.

Six Key Economic Classes In U.S. : 1790 Estimate

Farmers	**Section**	**Est %**
Small northern farmers	Northeast	45%
Small southern famers	Southeast	45
Plantation owners	Southeast	1
Industry		
Capitalist entrepreneurs	Northeast	1
Urban wage earners	North	5
Settlers moving west	NW/SW Territories	3

Chapter 26. The Plight Of America's Slaves (1790)

"Old Tom"

Section

- Jefferson Offers The Stereotypical View of Blacks Among The White Population
- The Life Of Slaves In The South
- Black Churches Emerge As Beacons Of Hope
- Slavery Continues To Wither Away In The North
- Sidebar: A Sampling Of Negro Spirituals
-

Macro-Themes

Anti-Black Racism
- Jefferson's Writings
- "Black Codes"

Black Experience
- Slave Narratives
- Black Churches
- "Negro Shouts/Spirituals"

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Time: 1619 and Forward

Jefferson Offers The Stereotypical View Of Blacks Among The White Population

Thomas Jefferson: Plantation Owner
(1743-1826)

By 1790 native Africans have lived among white Americans for well over 150 years. They have begun as slaves, both North and South. But the practice has gradually withered away in the North and the total black population there has leveled off at around 67,000, with some 27,000 living as "manumitted" or free men. Not so in the South, where upwards of 650,000 slaves are critical to the economic prosperity of the region.

Despite these different outcomes, what is common among white men both North and South is a stereotypical view of all blacks as an inferior "sub-species" to be contained and controlled and feared.

In a 1785 book, Notes on the State of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson offers his general views on the Africans, how they differ from white men, and why the two races will never be reconciled.

> *In memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid;*
>
> *They are more ardent after their female: but love seems with them to be more an eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation.*
>
> *Black men prefer white women over their own, just as orangutans prefer black women over their own.*
>
> *They secrete less by the kidnies, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a very strong and disagreeable odour.*
>
> *Those numberless afflictions, which render it doubtful whether heaven has given life to us in mercy or in wrath, are less felt, and sooner forgotten with them.*
>
> *Whether they will be equal to the composition of a more extensive run of melody, or of complicated harmony, is yet to be proved.*
>
> *In imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous.*
>
> *Apart from their lack of respect for property laws, which is understandable, there are…numerous instances of the most rigid integrity, of benevolence, gratitude, and unshaken fidelity.*

Jefferson goes on to wonder what could explain the differences between himself and the over 100 African slaves who surround him daily at his Monticello plantation.

In the end, all he can conclude is that, perhaps, the blacks represent a different species from the whites.

> *I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind…*
>
> *This unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people*.

Herein lies the basis for much of the anti-black racism that infects the white population, both South and North.

It argues that the Africans are “a distinct race” and “inferior in both body and mind.”

In other words, sub-human beings.

By no means created equal.

And incapable of ever rising beyond their present station.

The “American Dream” is for white men, not for the blacks.

So saith the man who will serve as America’s third president.

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Time: 1619 and Forward
The Life Of Slaves In The South

Four Slave Boys

While white American are striving to get ahead in 1790, slaves are simply trying to survive.

Their recorded testimonials tell of hard lives marked by back-breaking labor, gnawing hunger, physical punishment and constant fear of being uprooted from the solace offered by their families and fellow captives.

In 1790, one in every four North Carolinians are slaves. Their reflections speak for themselves.

Moses Grandy of Camden, NC:

> *Daily life for a slave in North Carolina was incredibly difficult. Slaves, especially those in the field, worked from sunrise until sunset. Even small children and the elderly were not exempt from these long work hours. Slaves were generally allowed a day off on Sunday, and on infrequent holidays such as Christmas or the Fourth of July.*
>
> *I was next with Mr. Enoch Sawyer of Camden county: my business was to keep ferry, and do other odd work. It was cruel living; we had not near enough of either victuals or clothes; I was half-starved for half my time. I have often ground the husks of Indian corn over again in a hand-mill, for the chance of getting something to eat out of it, which the former grinding had left. In severe frosts, I was compelled to go into the fields and woods to work, with my naked feet cracked and bleeding from extreme cold: to warm them, I used to rouse an ox or hog, and stand on the place where it had lain. I was at that place three years, and very long years they seemed to me.*

Moses Roper of Caswell, NC:

At this time I was quite a small boy, and was sold to Mr. Hodge, a negro trader. Here I began to enter into hardships. After travelling several hundred miles, Mr. Hodge sold me to Mr. Gooch, the cotton planter, Cashaw county, South Carolina; he purchased me at a town called Liberty Hill, about three miles from his home. As soon as he got home, he immediately put me on his cotton plantation to work, and put me under overseers, gave me allowance of meat and bread with the other slaves, which was not half enough for me to live upon, and very laborious work. Here my heart was almost broke with grief at leaving my fellow slaves. Mr. Gooch did not mind my grief, for he flogged me nearly every day, and very severely.

Harriet Jacobs of Edenton, NC:

Why does the slave ever love? Why allow the tendrils of the heart to twine around objects which may at any moment be wrenched away by the hand of violence? …I did not reason thus when I was a young girl. Youth will be youth. I loved, and I indulged the hope that the dark clouds around me would turn out a bright lining. I forgot that in the land of my birth the shadows are too dense for light to penetrate.

There was in the neighborhood a young colored carpenter; a free born man. We had been well acquainted in childhood, and frequently met together afterwards. We became mutually attached, and he proposed to marry me. I loved him with all the ardor of a young girl's first love. But when I reflected that I was a slave, and that the laws gave no sanction to the marriage of such, my heart sank within me. My lover wanted to buy me; but I knew that Dr. Flint was too willful and arbitrary a man to consent to that arrangement.

James Curry of Person County, NC:

During their few hours of free time, most slaves performed their own personal work. The diet supplied by slaveholders was generally poor, and slaves often supplemented it by tending small plots of land or fishing. Many slave owners did not provide adequate clothing, and slave mothers often worked to clothe their families at night after long days of labor. One visitor to colonial North Carolina wrote that slaveholders rarely gave their slaves meat or fish, and that he witnessed many slaves wearing only rags. Although there were exceptions, the prevailing attitude among slave owners was to allot their slaves the bare minimum of food and clothing; anything beyond that was up to the slaves to acquire during their very limited time away from work.

In the following spring, my master bought about one hundred yards of coarse tow and cotton, which he distributed among the slaves. After this, he provided no clothing for any of his slaves, except that I have known him in a few instances to give a pair of thoroughly worn-out pantaloons to one. They worked in the night upon their little patches of ground, raising tobacco and food for hogs, which they were allowed to keep, and thus obtained clothes for themselves. These patches of ground were little spots, they were allowed to clear in the woods, or cultivate upon the barrens, and after they got them nicely cleared, and under good cultivation, the master took them away, and the next year they must take other uncultivated spots for themselves.

****

Time: 1790
Black Churches Emerge As Beacons Of Hope


A Later Day Black Preacher

Standing from sun-up to sun-down in bug and worm infested dirt or mud or ankle deep water to cultivate rice, tobacco or cotton becomes the lot of the southern slaves. It is punishing labor and intensely monotonous. It is marked by fear at any moment of the lash, delivered by a displeased or arbitrarily sadistic overseer. It is also endless. The only way out is death, and death is all around, in the faces of young and old, men and women and children, all accelerated by meager rations, run-down living quarters and flimsy attire.

In the presence of this despair, slaves turn for survival to any small shreds of resistance and hope they can muster.

In the fields, they rely on "shouts," spontaneous chants, cadenced to signal unity and spur perseverance. At times these "shouts" also include carefully hidden and shared "codes" of mockery or protest.

But for true hope, the slaves turn mostly to their church services, the once-a-week occasions where white masters set aside commerce and encourage the Africans to seek Christian salvation.

The Sabbath gives the slave's a chance to reflect on their fate, and arm themselves to carry on.

In form, the slave's worship is an amalgam of traditions brought over from Africa mixed with rituals borrowed from the white man's church.

It is also intensely evangelical in character.

White masters who, often sanctimoniously, take it upon themselves to attend the slave services, to offer sermons or read from the Bible, tend to express dismay over what they encounter.

> *After the sermon they formed a ring, and with coats off sung, clapped their hands and stomped their feet in a most ridiculous and heathenish way. I requested the pastor to go and stop their dancing. At his request, they stopped their dancing and clapping of hands, but remained singing and rocking their bodies to and fro. This they did for about fifteen minutes.*

The field "shouts" are transformed here into what will become known as "Negro Spirituals" – which give voice to the suffering endured by the slaves, along with their hope for a better future, reunited with lost kin, transported to a better place.

That place is most typically a metaphorical "home."

> *Oh yes, I want to go home…where dere's no whips a crackin…I want to go home.*
>
> *Swing low, sweet chariot, coming for to carry me home…to carry me home.*

Delivery of these spirituals reaches into the soul of the congregation, beginning with a slow and mournful pace, only to shift into rapid fire repetitions, signaling a movement from despair to the strength needed to carry on.

Thus black churches are born in America, in “shouts” across the fields of cotton and in “spirituals” sung around campfires on the Sabbath.

They call upon God to witness their fate and to help them find a way through it.

First to survive another day; then to persevere in their remarkable journey toward freedom and equality.

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Time: 1790
Slavery Continues To Wither Away In The North


Old Tom

By 1790, six Northern states have banned slavery**.**

Dates Of Northern States Bans On Slavery

Year	**State**	**Terms**
1777	Vermont	Constitution bans immediately
1780	Penn	Current slaves kept for life, but their children are free
1783	NH	Current gradually freed; children born free
1783	Mass	All freed immediately
1784	Conn	All 25+ years old and new borns freed immediately
1784	RI	All freed immediately
1799	NY	Current freed in 1827; children born free
1804	NJ	Current slaves kept for life, but their children are free

The result is that only 40,086 slaves remain, with 80% of them in New York and New Jersey.

The Black Population In The Original Northeastern States In 1790

	NY	Pa	NJ	Conn	Mass	RI	VT	NH	Total
Slaves	21,193	3,707	11,423	2,648	0	958	0	157	40,086
Free Blacks	4,785	6,567	2,762	2,924	5,463	3,397	271	631	26,800
Total	25,978	10,274	14,185	5,572	5,463	4,355	271	788	66,886
Tot Pop	340,120	434,373	184,139	237,846	378,787	68,825	85,425	141,885	1,871,400

The journey of the roughly 2,700 slaves still remaining in Connecticut is fairly typical of the region.

The slave population in the state reaches a high point of about 6,500 people by 1774, with Puritans justifying the practice based on various Biblical verses, and on the notion that captivity enabled blacks to learn about Christianity.

To control these slaves, the state passes “Black Codes” in 1730 that outline a series of “whipping offenses:” being outside after 9PM without a signed pass; drinking liquor or selling goods without written permission; disturbing the peace or threatening a white person.

The Puritans tend to treat their slaves in a paternalistic fashion. Many act as household servants rather than field hands, and they are allowed to attend church services with their owners, albeit sitting in segregated pews. Some black children are also allowed to attend local schools.

While voluntary “manumission” occurs from time to time, the formal movement away from slavery begins in Connecticut in 1774 with a ban on the importation of Africans, in response to complaints from white laborers looking for work. When the war with England breaks out in 1776, some blacks join the Continental Army, fight in integrated units, and gain their freedom as a result of their service. Others find ways to accumulate the money needed to purchase freedom from their owners.

Then, in 1784, a Connecticut state law grants freedom at age 25 years to all future newborn slaves, and by the 1820 census, only 97 slaves are remaining.

****

Time: Antebellum Period

Sidebar: A Sampling Of "Negro Spirituals"

I WANT TO GO HOME.

"Dere's no rain to wet you,
O, yes, I want to go home.
Dere's no sun to burn you,
O, yes, I want to go home ;
O, push along, believers,
O, yes, &c.
Dere's no hard trials,
O, yes, &c.
Dere's no whips a-crackin',
O, yes, &c.
My brudder on de wayside,
O, yes, &c.
O, push along, my brudder,
O, yes, &c.
Where dere's no stormy weather,
O, yes, &c.
Dere's no tribulation,
O, yes, &c."

HAIL MARY.

"One more valiant soldier here,
One more valiant soldier here,
One more valiant soldier here,
To help me bear de cross.
O hail, Mary, hail !
Hail!, Mary, hail !
Hail!, Mary, hail !
To help me bear de cross

SWING LOW, SWEET CHARIOT

Swing low, sweet chariot
Coming for to carry me home,
Swing low, sweet chariot,
Coming for to carry me home.

I looked over Jordan, and what did I see
Coming for to carry me home?
A band of angels coming after me,
Coming for to carry me home.

Chapter 27. Free Blacks Begin Their Long Uphill Journey Toward Equality (1775-1831)

A No-Nonsense Free Black

Sections

- Free Blacks Seeking Assimilation Are Shunned By White Society
- Prince Hall Founds Black Freemasons Lodges
- Reverend Thomas Paul Opens A Church And Meeting Hall For Blacks In Boston
- Reverends Richard Allen And Absalom Jones Found The Free African Society
- The Roll Call Of Black Abolitionists Is Formed Early On
- Sidebar: Phyllis Wheatley – Young And Gifted And Black

Macro-Themes

Black Experience
- Freed Blacks In The North
- Lack of Respect/Dignity
- Mulatto/Quadroon Labeling
- "Passing" For White
- Prince Hall Freemason Lodges
- Early Churches: AME, Baptist, etc.

Anti-Black Racism
- Housing Segregation
- Poor Schools And Jobs
- Legal Bias
- 1793 Fugitive Slave Act

Anti-Slavery Movement
- Free African Society
- Black Abolitionists

****

Time: 1775-1808

Free Blacks Seeking Assimilation Are Shunned By White Society

In 1790 there are some 57,000 so-called "free blacks" living in America alongside almost 700,000 slaves. Just under half live in the North; the rest are in the Border states and the deep South.

The Free Black Population – 1790

	Total	% Of FB	% All Blacks
North	26,800	47%	40%
Border	12,056	21	23
South	18,327	32	3
Total	57,183	100%	8

These black men, women and children are now left on their own to make their way in America. Their heritage is one of chains and whips and degradations, and most wish now to simply fit in to the white dominated society around them.

But this is no simple task, since the vast majority of whites regard them as an inferior race, prone to anti-social behaviors and possibly bent on violent retaliation against their prior masters.

Rather than trying to assimilate free blacks, whites in both the North and the South are mainly interested in containing and eliminating the "threats" they represent.

Containment comes in the form of efforts to pen up the free black population in segregated ghettos, and to use local government statutes or codes to restrict their rights.

Across the North and South, free blacks huddle together in downtrodden neighborhoods designated locally as “Darktowns” or “Shantytowns,” and their daily lives remain shaped by the color of their skin.

Relatively few are able to read or write – skills strictly forbidden to their slave ancestors and now limited by a shortage of black schools. Those lucky enough to find work are typically confined to the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. Men are cast as common laborers; women as servants. Both try to survive on minimal wages, with little chance of advancement.

Their inferior status is reinforced in subtle sleights and direct prohibitions. Deference to whites is expected in personal interactions, be it stepping aside on the street or speaking only when spoken to. Segregation is also sharply enforced in some locales – where free blacks are unable to own property or are required to carry “passes” when traveling in certain areas or after dark.

The legal system is rigged against them. Taking disputes with whites to court is discouraged; no black lawyers exist to represent them; and they are not allowed to serve on juries. Punishment of free blacks is harsh and uneven. They are “put back into servitude” for offenses ranging from “laziness” to harboring runaway slaves or receiving stolen goods. Sexual relations with white women, even consensual, is punished by being sold into slavery, castration or hanging.

This is the plight of free blacks in 1790. Seeking ways to fit into the dominant white society, they are met with outright rejection.

While allowed to mingle in public, the color of their skin “brands them” on sight. For some whites, this branding evokes outright fear. Others react with humiliating disdain or pity.

But, almost always, the “lesson” is that blackness is something to be looked down upon. A stain of inferiority.

And the darker the color of the free blacks skin, the deeper the stain in the eyes of most whites.

In fact, an entire taxonomy develops around “blackness and bloodlines,” derived from Spanish and French traditions. Those who are half black and half white are labeled “mulatto’s.” The offspring of mulattos and whites are “quadroons” – followed in turn by “octoroons” and even “quintoons.”

Some free blacks, having escaped from slavery, now attempt to flee to freedom and equality by escaping from their very skins. Hence the practice of light-toned blacks “passing for white.”

But this path is a rarity, and the vast majority are left in a kind of “limbo status” – much better off than field slaves picking cotton in the South, much worse off than their white counterparts.

While the toll taken by this white racial antipathy is great, it prompts free blacks to band together and begin to form their own society, eager to battle for true freedom, citizenship and equality.

Their efforts are led by America’s first “abolitionists” – free black men and women whose efforts will prove to be nothing short of heroic.

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Time: 1775-1807
Prince Hall Founds Black Freemasons Lodges


Kings Chapel Boston – Site of First Freemasons Meeting in America

One of the earliest Black Abolitionists in America is Prince Hall, who devotes his life to bridging the racial gap he encounters through involvement with the Order of Freemasons.

The Freemasons are a fraternal group, probably originating is Scotland in 1599, and officially chartered with London's First Grand Lodge in 1717. The order's stated mission is to support mankind's search for Truth, Charity and Brotherly Love – a search which progresses for inductees through three phrases or "degrees," from apprenticeship to basic achievement to mastery.

For Freemasons the symbol of this mastery on earth lies in the aesthetic perfection they find in ancient architecture, especially medieval churches – the handiwork of stonemasons down through the ages. The Freemason's crest offers up two tools of the mason's trade as essential to man's moral quest – the Square, encouraging actions that "square with virtue," and the Compass, asking that members "circumscribe their own selfish desires" in favor of that which supports society as a whole.

Freemasonry takes hold in Europe and gradually migrates across the Atlantic to America, where the first officially recorded Lodge meeting occurs in 1733 at King's Chapel, Boston.

Several founding fathers are dedicated Freemasons, including George Washington, Ben Franklin, John Hancock and Paul Revere. President James Monroe also joins the order, as does the sitting president in 1828, Andrew Jackson.

Freemasonry comes to the free black community in Boston through the lifelong dedication of one man, Prince Hall.

Hall is thought to have been born in 1735 and purchased at age 11 by one William Hall, a Boston tanner, who decides to teach him to read and write, before freeing him in 1765.

Prince Hall quickly rises up within the free black community, speaking and writing in favor of abolishing slavery, educating black children, and allowing blacks to serve in the military.

He recognizes, however, that his voice on behalf of these causes will be amplified by association with an institution respected by whites, such as the Freemasons. He first tries to join the Boston St. John's Lodge, but is denied admission because he is black. His next attempt – directed at Irish soldiers stationed in Boston in 1775 – pays off first, with the formation of African Grand Lodge #1, comprising 14 free black members and Hall as Grand Master, and after the War in 1784 with recognition of Grand Lodge #459.

Within the Freemason's charter, each Lodge sets its own rules, elects its own officers and pursues its own agenda on behalf of improving the life and moral growth of its members. For Prince Hall, the Lodge becomes a vehicle for teaching Africans about the political process in general, and for then petitioning the Massachusetts's state legislature to end slavery (which it does by 1781) and provide the education blacks need to become equal members of society. Rebuffed here, he begins to school children from his home.

Hall organizes other Freemason Lodges in Philadelphia and Providence, and is recognized as "Provincial Grand Master" in 1791.

On several occasions, he tries to unite his Lodge with white Lodges in Boston in the spirit of "Brotherly Love," but in every case is turned away. Frustrated by ongoing white rejection, he also dabbles for many years in a "back to Africa" colonization program.

While he dies in 1807, the black Freemason movement will live on in the form of "Prince Hall Lodges," projecting the voice of free blacks beyond the safer confines of the church and into the white man's political realm.

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Time: 1804-1831

Reverend Thomas Paul Opens A Church And Meeting Hall For Blacks In Boston

A Free Black Man Standing Tall

While Prince Hall pursues his freemason lodges, another early Black Abolitionist, the Reverend Thomas Paul, is intent on opening an African Baptist Church in Boston.

Thomas Paul is born in 1773 to free parents living in Exeter, New Hampshire. He is educated at the Free Will Society Academy, run by the Free Will Baptist Church. Like two of his brothers, he sets out to become a preacher. He is ordained in 1804 and marries before moving to Boston at 31 years of age.

Once there he takes up residence among some one thousand other free blacks living just west of City Hall in a segregated area which becomes known as "The Hill."

As an aspiring minister, he finds that the only religious services open to blacks occur in white churches, where they are forced to sit in segregated and out of sight pews. He recalls this humiliation as follows:

> *I raised my head up (from prayer) and saw one of the trustees having hold of the Reverend Absalom Jones pulling him up off his knees and saying "you must get up, you must not kneel here.*

Mr. Jones replied," wait until prayer is over and I will trouble you no more. With that he beckoned to one of the other trustee…and went to William White to pick him up."

Henceforth Paul is determined to establish an independently run black church in his neighborhood.

At that time, only two such black run churches exist in America, one in Savannah, Georgia, the other in Petersburg, Virginia. Both are Baptist and both are less than two years old.

But Paul is undeterred by the odds, and, together with twenty other free blacks he charters The African Baptist Church and Meeting House in August 1805. His group buys land, builds the church itself and holds its first service on December 6, 1806. Membership is open to blacks and to all others who are "benevolently disposed to Africans."

Paul's Church of Boston quickly becomes the model for "mutual aid societies" across free black enclaves.

Children are given their first exposure to education at the church, initially through tutoring by adults who can read and write, then by a more formal school run by Prince Hall's son, Primus.

For free black adults on The Hill, the Meeting House annex proves as impactful as the church itself. It becomes their social hub, a safe harbor where they can "be themselves," away from the humiliations imposed by white society. It is also a place where they can gather freely, locate shelter, engage in commerce from banking to buying groceries and clothing to hairstyling and barbering, advance their own education, and learn trades.

Administering the affairs of the Church provides members with a chance to experience the governmental and political challenges integral to white social structures. In his wisdom, the Reverend Paul charges them with selecting their own leaders and rules; funding their operations; learning from each other, supporting each other and building self-confidence.

As a clergyman, Thomas Paul is recognized both for his oratory skills, including impassioned sermons to white audiences, and for his theological arguments linking biblical scripture to the cause of abolishing slavery.

Like Prince Hall, his legacy extends beyond his initial work in Boston. In 1808 he helps found the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York. His work as a Freemason takes him to England, where he meets with William Wilberforce, the evangelical white MP instrumental in eventually abolishing slavery in the United Kingdom. He also travels in 1823 to Haiti as a missionary.

The Reverend Paul dies in 1831 at 58 years old, but his African Baptist Church and Meeting Hall continues to serve the free blacks of Boston.

In 1832, the white abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, convenes the first gathering of the New England Anti-Slavery Society at the church. In 1834 a school building is erected on Joy Street, adjacent to the church, from funds willed by the white philanthropist, Abiel Smith, for the education of black children.

Paul's children also advance their father's cause. His son, Thomas Paul, Jr., becomes the first black graduate of Dartmouth College in 1841, and joins his two siblings in lifelong support of black advancement, especially through black access to schooling.

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Time: 1790's
Reverends Richard Allen And Absalom Jones Found The Free African Society

As in Boston, a grass-roots movement on behalf of advancing the cause of free blacks is also under way in Philadelphia.

It is led by two black ministers, who share similar backgrounds.

One is Reverend Absalom Jones, born in 1746 and a slave in Delaware until manumitted by his master in 1784. After moving to Philadelphia, he takes up the ministry within the Methodist Church. He is, however, frustrated by the segregation and slights he encounters there, and moves on to later found the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas. Its charter rings out its purpose as follows:

> *To arise out of the dust and shake ourselves, and throw off that servile fear, that the habit of oppression and bondage trained us up in.*[1]

The other is the Reverend Richard Allen, born in 1760, and, like Jones, an ex-slave from Delaware. Allen is able to purchase his freedom in 1780, becomes a preacher, and founds the first independently run African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Together these two men and churches form the rallying point for free blacks in Philadelphia.

Even before their churches open in 1794, Jones and Allen have worked together to set up The Free African Society, aimed at providing aid to blacks in need. Its preamble proposes that men of the African race join together in a society, cutting across religious sects, aimed at helping those in need.

> *Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, two men of the African race, who…often communed together… (decided) that a society should be formed, without regard to religious tenets, provided, the persons lived an orderly and sober life, in order to support one another in sickness, and for the benefit of their widows and fatherless children.*

Members will pay dues of one shilling a month to create a fund which will subsequently be distributed to worthy persons in need.

> *We, the free Africans.. do unanimously agree, for the benefit of each other, to advance one shilling in silver Pennsylvania currency a month; and after one year's subscription from the date hereof, then to hand forth to the needy of this Society, if any should require, the sum of three shillings and nine pence per week of the said money: provided, this necessity is not brought on them by their own imprudence.*

Those who join the Society must live up to a series of requirements.

> *And it is further agreed, that no drunkard nor disorderly person be admitted as a member, and if any should prove disorderly after having been received, the said disorderly person shall be disjointed from us if there is not an amendment…without having any of his subscription money returned.*

If any should neglect paying his monthly subscription for three months, and after having been informed of the same by two of the members, and no sufficient reason appearing for such neglect, if he do not pay the whole the next ensuing meeting, he shall be disjointed from us…

If any person neglect meeting every month, for every omission he shall pay three pence, except in case or sickness or any other complaint that should require the assistance of the Society, then, and in such a case, he shall be exempt from the fines and subscription during the said sickness.

We apprehend it to be just and reasonable, that the surviving widow of a deceased member should enjoy the benefit of this Society so long as she remains his widow, complying with the rules thereof, excepting the subscriptions.

We apprehend it to be necessary, that the children of our deceased members be under the care of the Society, so far as to pay for the education of their children, if they cannot attend the free school; also to put them out apprentices to suitable trades or places, if required.

We unanimously agree to choose Joseph Clarke to be our Clerk and Treasurer; and whenever another should succeed him, it is always understood, that one of the people called Quakers, belonging to one of the three monthly meetings in Philadelphia, is to be chosen to act as Clerk and Treasurer of this useful Institution.

The following persons met, viz., Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, Samuel Baston, Joseph Johnson, Cato Freeman, Caesar Cranchell, and James Potter, also William White…This evening the articles were read, and after some beneficial remarks were made, they were agreed unto[1]

In addition to helping those in financial need, the Free African Society will play an important role in opening up schools to educate black children, as well as providing funds to slaves to purchase their freedom.

Reverend Absalom Jones is also remembered for his groundbreaking petitions to the U.S. Congress protesting abuses associated with the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act. This law becomes a daily nightmare for free blacks everywhere – allowing bounty hunting "agents" to seize blacks off the streets, haul them in front of a judge, use flimsy evidence to label them run-aways, and then return them to slavery. He fails to get the act changed, but his petitions set the stage for future "political actions" by blacks to seek redress from congress.

While Absalom Jones dies in 1818, Richard Allen lives on until 1831, long enough to see his African Methodist Episcopal Church take hold in early black communities across the nation. In his later years he also pioneers the Free Produce Society, an economic movement that boycotts the sale of goods made by slave labor.

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Time: 1775-1808

The Roll Call Of Black Abolitionists Is Formed Early On

Even as the nation prepares to embark on its new form of government, future turmoil looms around the long-term fate of America's black population.

For the vast majority of whites, the Africans are regarded as an inferior species, incapable of ever being assimilated into mainstream society.

In the South their presence has become essential to economic prosperity – slaves to pick cotton and be bought and sold at auctions for profit.

In the North, their economic utility is gone and they are mostly considered a nuisance – "free blacks" to be feared, to be "constrained," and to be shunned.

Amidst this daily despair, however, come the voices of America's earliest Black Abolitionists, determined to make a new home for themselves against all odds.

Black Abolitionists: Early Milestones

Year	Milestone	Where	Leaders
1775	African Grand Lodge #1	Boston	Paul Cuffe
1787	The Free African Society	Phil	Jones and Allen
1794	African Methodist Episcopal Church	Phil	Richard Allen
1794	African Episcopal Church Of St. Thomas	Phil	Absalom Jones
1805	First African Baptist Church & Meeting Hall	Boston	Thomas Paul
1808	The Abyssinian Baptist Church	New York	Thomas Paul

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Time: 1753-1784

Sidebar: Phyllis Wheatley – Young And Gifted And Black

Casseopia, "A Slave Girl of N.O.

Just as Jefferson and white America are stereotyping all blacks as a lesser species – "3/5ths of a person" in the 1787 Constitution – up pops a prodigy like young Phyllis Wheatley to make a liar of the inferiority claim.

Phyllis is purchased in 1760 off a slave ship anchored in Boston harbor. The seller gives her up "for a trifle," fearing that his only option is to get nothing for the frail seven year old. The buyer is a local tailor named John Wheatley, who gives the girl her last name and turns her over to his wife, Susanna, to make her into a domestic helper.

But it quickly becomes apparent to all that the child is blessed with extraordinary talent, especially when it comes to reading and writing and languages. She is tutored by the Wheatley's son and daughter, and, at age twelve, has learned both Greek and Latin. She soon turns her attention to poetry, including the works of John Milton and Alexander Pope, and at fourteen, begins to try her own hand at the art form.

Those who read her early poems are won over by their authenticity and emotional impact, and encourage her to publish them to reach a wider audience. But neither American printers nor their white audiences are ready to accept the notion of black authorship – a bias that will persist all the way up to and beyond the narratives of David Walker and Frederick Douglass.

So in 1773 the Wheatleys send the twenty year old girl off to London, along with their son, to explore the possibility of having her early poems published

there. She soon finds patrons, and her first collection of poetry is distributed that same year.

It is then that recognition from the outside world comes to Phyllis Wheatley.

Celebrity follows, including correspondence with a host of dignitaries and a personal visit with George Washington in 1776, soon after the Revolutionary War is under way.

In 1778 John Wheatley dies and emancipates her in his will. That same year she marries a free black grocer, John Peters, and begins to make her own way in the segregated enclave of Boston – which will prove to be a difficult journey to the end of her life.

Her husband is thrown into debtor's prison, two of their babies die in infancy, and she is left working as a scullery maid to try to support herself and her one remaining son. Her strength runs out in 1784 and she dies in Boston age thirty-one, followed shortly by her child.

The person Phyllis Wheatley is soon forgotten, but not her poetry. It lives on beyond her time, graceful and haunting, telling her story, moving those who hear it.

She writes her English patron of the trauma surrounding her enslavement in a poem titled *To The Right Honourable William, Earl Of Dartmouth:*

> *Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song,*
> *Wonder from whence my love of Freedom sprung,*
> *Whence flow these wishes for the common good,*
> *By feeling hearts alone best understood,*
> *I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate*
> *Was snatch'd from Afric's fancy'd happy seat:*
> *What pangs excruciating must molest,*
> *What sorrows labour in my parent's breast?*
> *Steel'd was that soul and by no misery mov'd*
> *That from a father seiz'd his babe belov'd:*
> *Such, such my case. And can I then but pray*
> *Others may never feel tyrannic sway?*

In another poem, *On Being Brought From Africa To America,* she acknowledges and laments the racial prejudice she has encountered and asserts that "Negroes…may be refin'd and join th' angelic train."

> *Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan land,*
> *Taught my benighted soul to understand*
> *That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too:*
> *Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.*
> *Some view our sable race with scornful eye,*
> *"Their colour is a diabolic die."*
> *Remember, Christians, Negros, black as Cain,*
> *May be refin'd and join th'angelic train.*

In a third poem, *To A Clergyman On The Death Of His Lady,* she echoes the solace found in many Negro Spiritual about the "perfect bliss" to come in God's hereafter.

> *WHERE contemplation finds her sacred spring,*
> *Where heav'nly music makes the arches ring,*
> *Where virtue reigns unsully'd and divine,*
> *Where wisdom thron'd, and all the graces shine,*
> *There sits thy spouse amidst the radiant throng,*
> *While praise eternal warbles from her tongue;*
> *There choirs angelic shout her welcome round,*
> *With perfect bliss, and peerless glory crown'd.*

In her poetry, her letters and her manner, young Phyllis Wheatley signals the world that blacks are not to be denied on their road to freedom and respect

Chapter 28. Washington's First Term In Office (April 30, 1789-March 4, 1793)

Washington in Masonic Garb (1732-1799)

Sections

- The First President Establishes The Executive Branch

Macro-Themes

Presidents
- Washington
- First Term Milestones

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Time: 1789-1793

The First President Establishes The Executive Branch

Washington's inaugural takes place in the capital, New York City, at Federal Hall, which will serve as the initial home of the U.S. Congress. The oath of office is administered on the balcony in front of a cheering crowd, and he then delivers a brief address in the Senate chamber. Like all presidents over the next 75 years, Washington's annual pay is set at $25,000.

Several critical challenges face the new President as he assumes power:

- On the domestic front, he needs to create from scratch a strong Federal government structure capable of fixing the many shortcomings that have plagued the Confederation years.
- In foreign affairs, his number one priority lies in assuring the nation's security against the potential military threats on each of its borders.
- Above all else, he must insure that the "sovereign states" he governs begin to behave as one unified entity, avoiding divisive factions, moving America toward the destiny he sees for it.

He begins by setting up the infrastructure needed to run a federal government, including the "cabinet system" that places senior officials at the head of various departments. Washington's cabinet is limited to five men.

Washington's First Cabinet: 1789

Position	**Name**	**Home State**
Vice-President	John Adams	Massachusetts
Secretary of State	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia
Secretary of Treasury	Alexander Hamilton	New York
Secretary of War	Henry Knox	Massachusetts
Attorney General	Edmund Randolph	Virginia

As Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson's brief is to play off the European powers against each other, in order to keep America out of further wars. Jefferson has just returned from four years as Ambassador to France, and is a renowned Francophile all his life. He supports the "people's revolution" already under way there, and is forever suspicious of British intentions.

Alexander Hamilton's job is to create a vibrant and forward looking economy, get the nation out of debt, and set up a stable banking system that protects the value of the currency, both domestically and in foreign markets.

Henry Knox, famed for transporting the cannon of Ft. Ticonderoga to Dorchester Heights in 1776, is charged with building a capable army, should it be needed.

Finally, Edmund Randolph, author of the "Virginia Plan," who refused to sign the Constitution in Philadelphia and then worked hard to ratify it in Virginia, is asked to oversee the Federal judicial system, as Attorney General.

But Washington's focus during this first term is on domestic policy, especially around creating the foundations for economic growth and for running the government.

The burden for setting up the required policies and mechanisms falls on the President's right hand man, Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury.

Washington's First Term: Key Events

1789	Milestones
January 10	Voting ends in first general election
March 4	New York chosen as site of capital
April 1	New government goes into effect
April 6	Quorum met in House of Representatives
April 30	Washington and Adams are inaugurated
July 4	First Protective Tariff (5-15%) passed by Congress
July 14	Bastille Day – French Revolution begins
1790	
March 26	Naturalization Law (for citizenship) is passed
May 29	Rhode Island is last to ratify the 1787 Constitution
July 16	The District of Columbia chosen as the permanent capital
August 4	Federal government assumes all debts from war with Britain
September 25	Congress passes 12 Amendments For Ratification
December 6	Capital moves from New York to Philadelphia
December 13	Hamilton calls for a federal Bank of the United States (BUS)
1791	
February 2	North Carolina Ratifies Constitution + Amendments
February 15	Jefferson protests BUS on the basis of the 10th Amendment
February 25	Washington signs bill to create the BUS
March 3	First Internal Revenue Bill (including tax on spirits) is passed
March 4	Vermont admitted to the Union (#14)
May 29	The Supreme Court meets for the first time
November 4	Miami Indians defeat US force of 1400 in Ohio
1792	
January 12	Thomas Pinckney named first Ambassador to England
March 1	Rhode Island Ratifies Constitution + Amendments
May 8	The Militia Act requires all white males 18-45 to sign up
May 17	The Buttonwood Agreement initiates the NY Stock Exchange
June 1	Kentucky admitted to the Union (#15)
August 21	First protests against the Whiskey Tax, in Pittsburg
September 9	Jefferson resigns as Sec of State to protest Hamilton's policies
October 2	Washington tries to end the Jefferson-Hamilton feud
October 13	Cornerstone laid at site of the future White House
December 5	Second presidential election ends with Washington the winner
1793	
January 21	Louis XVI is guillotined during the Reign of Terror in France
February 1	France declares war on Britain, Spain and the Netherlands
February 12	Congress passes a Fugitive Slave Act mandating return of run-aways
February 18	*Chisolm v Georgia* decided by the Supreme Court; later overturned

Estimates of economic activity during Washington's first term signal the start of rapid expansion for America.

Key Economic Overview – Washington's First Term

	1790	1791	1792	1793
Total GDP ($000)	189	206	225	251
% Change	---	9%	9%	12%
Per Capita GDP	48	51	54	58

Chapter 29. Alexander Hamilton Prepares America For Capitalism (1789-1793)

Bust of Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804)

Sections

- Alexander Hamilton: Personal Profile
- Hamilton And Jefferson Have Different Visions For The American Economy
- Hamilton Agrees To Cover All Federal And State Debt
- The First Taxes Are Levied On Foreign Imports And Domestic Spirits
- Hamilton Floats U.S. Treasury Bonds To Add More Revenue
- Hamilton Turns His Attention To The Money Supply
- Sidebar: How Banks Work And How They Fail
- How Banks Work And How They Fail
- The Controversial First Bank Of The United States Is Chartered
- Assessing Hamilton's Influence

Macro-Themes

The Economy
- Hamilton vs. Jefferson
- Agriculture vs. Industrialism
- Adam Smith Wealth Of Nations
- Capitalism
- Rewards vs. Risks
- Paying Off The War Debt
- Funding The Government
- US Treasury Bonds

Tariffs
- Taxation/Tariffs
- Southern Resistance To Tariffs

Banking
- Expanding The Money Supply
- Banking Fundamentals
- How Banks Fail
- Bank Of United States (BUS)

Corporations
- NY Stock Exchange

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Time: 1755-1804

Alexander Hamilton: Personal Profile

While Hamilton is only 32 years old when he becomes the first U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, he is already a well know figure on the political stage.

His background is unique among the founding fathers.

Born to an unmarried mother on the island of Nevis in the British West Indies, he grows up in poverty and goes to work at age eleven for a trading firm in St. Croix. His success here is remarkable and the New York owners bring him to Manhattan in 1772 to attend King's (Columbia) College.

When war breaks out, Hamilton distinguishes himself as a soldier, serving over four years as aide-de-camp to Washington, and leading a battalion at the decisive battle of Yorktown. Along the way, he learns that a nation unable to finance a war will be hard pressed to fight one successfully. Thus, under the Articles of Confederation, the government is perpetually unable to secure enough revenue to buy needed arms and to pay its soldiers,

After the war, Hamilton returns to civilian life, mastering the law, marrying into the prominent Schuyler family, and in 1784 founding the Bank of New York, the first in the city.

His fame leads to attendance at the 1787 Constitutional Convention, where he breaks with his Anti-Federalist colleagues from New York and joins his mentor, Washington, in calling for a strong central government.

He signs the final document, and goes on to author many of the *Federalist Papers* articles that enable it to be ratified by the States.

After Washington is elected President he calls upon Hamilton to be his Treasury Secretary, and to establish policies that create sustained growth in the nation's economy, while properly funding the revenue needs of the central government and guaranteeing a sound and stable money supply.

Hamilton serves in this job for five years, during which time he sets America on the road to capitalism. Along the way he exhibits his penchant for gathering and analyzing information prior to reaching policy decisions. In the first two years of his tenure, he provides seminal reports to Congress on progress.

Five Key Reports To Congress By Hamilton On The Economy	
Date	Topic
January 14, 1790	First Report on Public Credit
April 23, 1790	Operations of the Act Laying Duties on Imports
December 14, 1790	Second Report on Public Credit
January 28, 1791	Report on the Establishment of a Mint
December 5, 1791	Report on Manufactures

Hamilton resigns in 1795 after details appear in the press about his extra-marital affair with Maria Reynolds. This liaison begins in 1791 when the two fall in love after Hamilton helps her escape from an abusive husband. But James Reynolds learns of the affair and forces Hamilton to make blackmail payments to avoid public embarrassment. When a Philadelphia tabloid publishes the story in 1795, Hamilton is convinced that his political rivals, James Monroe and Aaron Burr, are behind it.

Hamilton challenges Monroe to a duel, which is subsequently avoided. But the damage has been done. Hamilton acknowledges the affair, resigns from his post, and returns to his law practice in New York, with political scores left to be settled in the future.

Despite his departure, Hamilton continues to lead the Federalist Party and shape government policy for another decade. He will essentially bend John Adams' Cabinet to his will, and hurt his chances for re-election – then go on to insure that Burr is denied the presidency.

His political conflicts with Aaron Burr will, however, end in tragedy on July 12, 1804, when the sitting Vice-President slays him in a duel.

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Time: 1789 - 1793

Hamilton And Jefferson Have Different Visions For The American Economy

Bust of Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson kept one in his home in Monticello, saying: “Opposed in death as in life.”

Within Washington’s cabinet there is immediate friction over the future direction of the economy, which will have much to say about America’s upcoming influence worldwide.

One side of the debate rests with Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State and Virginia planter, who envisions a nation of “yeoman farmers.” On the other side is the Treasury Secretary, Alexander Hamilton, who favors what will become “industrial capitalism.”

Jefferson’s plan simply involves expansion of the agricultural economy already in place in America. He sees it built around 50 acre farms, operated by an independent and self-sufficient owner, motivated to care for the needs of his family. Each farm would produce food, along with various crops and handmade wares to be exchanged for other goods and services at local markets. With simple “barter” as the basis for the “economic exchange.” My bale of cotton for your milled wheat and a leather belt.

This plan, according to Jefferson, would leverage America’s greatest natural strength – its abundance of prime agricultural land, already equal in 1790 to that of France and 1.5 times that of Britain. And that is even before casting an eye across the Mississippi River to further westward expansion. All good things will follow if the new national government focuses on acquiring more land and transferring it at modest prices to migrating settlers. He says this to Madison in a 1787 letter:

> *I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. when they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe.*

When it comes to optimizing the local economy, Jefferson argues that the individual States are in the best position to tax and spend efficiently against their unique conditions. If a given State wishes to build new roads or open more schools, the ways and means should be left up to them. Likewise on all economic policies related to slavery. The Federal government is too far removed from local realities and must be restrained from interfering with "sovereign state" decisions. So says Jefferson.

Hamilton's response is outright rejection across the board.

He argues that Jefferson is stuck looking backward to the eighteenth century, when he should be looking ahead to the nineteenth.

Instead of a landscape filled with small farmers bartering crops to sustain their own families, Hamilton imagines the growth of central cities, along with businesses run by "owners" who employ "wage earners," and provide the public with the full range of goods and services they seek.

Hamilton's economic vision is influenced by Adam Smith's 1790 treatise titled, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Smith attacks the old-world system called "mercantilism" in which enterprise is tightly controlled by the state, and fueled by a very limited money supply of gold and silver coins kept largely in the hands of the aristocracy.

To accelerate national wealth, Smith argues that the common man needs to be able to participate in starting his own business. This, he asserts, will benefit society as a whole in two ways:

- To succeed, the businessman will be guided, almost by an "invisible hand," to provide only those things that society needs in order to progress; and
- To maximize personal wealth, he will rely on "specialization," inventing the most clever and efficient ways to provide these things at the lowest possible cost.

As these future businesses prosper, so too will all citizens, according to Hamilton – along with the economy as a whole, and America's standing in Europe.

Hamilton also fundamentally disagrees with Jefferson when it comes to the role of the national government in guiding and supporting economic growth.

Instead of a "hands-off" approach, Hamilton argues that the central government must be actively involved in policies that will enable "capitalism" to succeed. Four of these policies in particular will gall Jefferson and his fellow Anti-Federalist supporters:

- Expanding the supply of capital available by printing soft money to supplement scarce minted coins.
- Creating a central U.S. Bank to handle government funds and regulate state banks and the money supply.
- Setting high enough tariffs on imported goods to "protect" the development of American manufacturers.
- Investing national tax dollars in local infrastructure projects that support domestic business growth.

Hamilton's vision of capitalism is both baffling and threatening to Jefferson.

Small farming and personal bartering are transparent and understandable to the common man. But not so this “capitalism model” with its owners and wage earners, banks and soft money, credit and debt, tariffs and federal government involvement. Won’t these new banks and businesses concentrate great wealth and great power in the hands of a new elite, another form of aristocracy, which would diminish the common man, along with the tenets of freedom and democracy? Won’t they further erode “state sovereignty” and perhaps even threaten the South’s commitment to slavery?

Jefferson’s nation of yeoman farmers vs. Hamilton’s call for new cities, capitalism and industrial commerce.

These two views will increasingly come into conflict in the first half of the nineteenth century. At first they will simply divide a few early industrialists in the northeast from the vast bulk of farmers in the rest of the country.

But as time passed, one region of the country – the South – will become frozen in the old agrarian economy built around slave labor, while the other – the North –will transition to the new industrial capitalism and wage labor.

In 1790, however, Washington has turned to Hamilton, not Jefferson, to fix the nation’s broken economy and get the new government out of debt.

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Time: 1789 - 1793
Hamilton Agrees To Cover All Federal And State Debt

On September 11, 1789, the Senate confirms Hamilton’s appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, which consists of 40 staffers (tenfold the 4 employees approved for Jefferson at State).

The opening challenges Hamilton faces are enormous.

The first is the huge debt the new nation has run up in the six year war with Britain.

According to “The First Report On Public Credit” published on January 14, 1790, the United States owes a total of $54 million -- $13 million to foreign interests and another $41million to domestic investors. Individual States owe an additional $14million.

These debts are owed to wealthy men, Americans and many foreigners, who have “bet” their money on an eventual American victory over Britain in the Revolutionary War.

Their bets are made in the form of “bonds” or IOU’s, typically constructed as follows:

- In exchange for my loan today of $900 dollars…
- The government promises to pay me back $1,000 dollars on this later date.

While the above bond would be said to have a “par value” of $1,000, the “holder” might decide to sell it to another investor either above or below its face/par value – depending on the outlook for the American cause at any point in the war. And, in fact, in 1790 many of these bonds are owned by secondary investors who purchase them at amounts well below their par value.

Hamilton knows that the United States cannot immediately pay off this entire $68 million debt, given a total economy (GDP) valued at only $190 million.

But bold action is integral to Hamilton's persona.

So he quickly assures bond-holders that the new federal Treasury will pay all of them back, at full par value.

He makes this pledge in spite of resistance from Anti-Federalist factions within Congress and others who argue the debt should be substantially reduced, since secondary speculators had purchased many of the bonds at prices well below their par value.

But Hamilton beats them back, on the grounds that recalculating bond values would be detrimental to securing future loans.

Many of these same critics also oppose his plan to assume the State's $14 million in debts, for fear that this would further concentrate power with the central government. They concede after Jefferson, Madison and Hamilton work out the so-called "dinner party compromise," whereby agreement is reached on moving the capital from Philadelphia, south to Washington City, by 1801.

At this point, Hamilton has assumes all U.S. debt under his federal Treasury.

Now all he needs to figure out is how to pay it off.

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Time: 1789 - 1793
The First Taxes Are Levied On Foreign Imports And Domestic Spirits

Since the 1787 Constitution expressly forbids anything like an income or property tax on individual citizens, Hamilton begins his quest for funding with a "tariff" to be imposed on goods entering American ports.

Once he has settled on the idea of the tariff, the challenge then becomes one of which items to tax and at what rates.

The debates here produce an immediate firestorm in Congress, with each industry and state attempting to lobby on behalf of its own economic interest.

The most intense conflicts center on tariffs that appear to favor one section of the nation at the expense of another. Goods made from iron are one example – with the North wanting a high tariff to "protect" their start-up smelting operations and the South seeking a low tariff on imported necessities such as nails, horseshoes and the like.

In the end, the Tariff and Tonnage Act of 1789 lays out a simple, compromise formula:

- American ships entering U.S. ports shall be taxed at 6 cents per ton of cargo; and
- Foreign ships shall be taxed at 50 cents per ton.

This tariff provides 85% of the total revenue Hamilton is able to collect to fund the new federal government. The other 15% comes from excise taxes (mostly on whiskey and tobacco) and from the sale of public lands.

The Tariff gives Hamilton and the country the revenue stream it needs to begin to pay down its debts and to cover its expenses.

At the same time, however, it also produces the first threat to secede from the Union, in this case issued by a founding father, Senator Pierce Butler of South Carolina.

Butler is particularly critical because he views the tariff as damaging to the profitability of what is becoming the South's key industry – production of raw cotton,

> *High tariffs on finished goods from the UK increase their retail prices and therefore reduce sales demand in the U.S. In turn this reduces UK demand for our cotton. So a win for the new northeastern mills comes at the expense of southern cotton farmers.*

This complaint about tariff rates on cotton imports will rage off and on for the next three decades, culminating in the Nullification Crisis of 1830.

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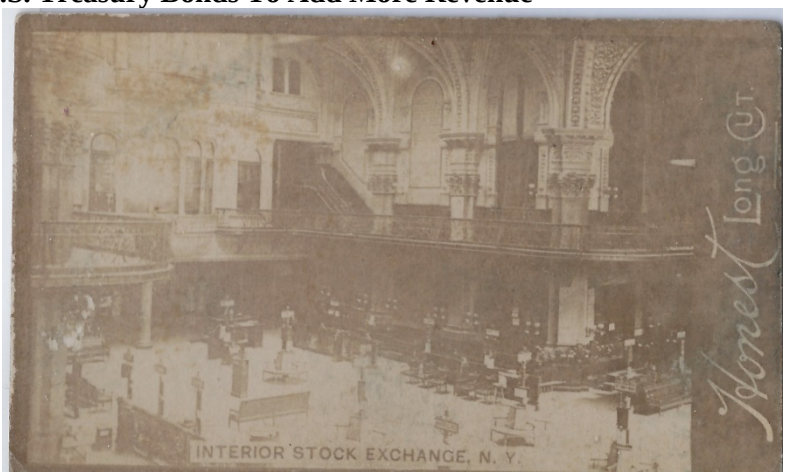
Time: 1789 - 1793

Hamilton Floats U.S. Treasury Bonds To Add More Revenue



Interior of the New York Stock Exchange, Started Up in May 1792

Hamilton's second source of government funding comes in the form of IOU bonds, similar to those used by the colonialists to finance the war.

These are now cast as "U.S. Treasury Bonds."

He offers these to investors – along with a promise to redeem them at a future date, paying the face value plus a rate of interest to be established on a daily basis, depending on economic conditions.

> "You lend the government $100 today and it will pay you back $104 in a year."

Hamilton puts these Treasury Bonds up for auction to investors six times every week, and because they are backed “by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government,” they quickly become popular.

Investors christen these U.S. Treasury notes as “The Stock.”

And they begin to meet informally in New York at the Merchant’s Coffee House on Wall Street to buy and sell “The Stock,” with help from brokers, or “stockjobbers,” who manage the transactions.

By 1792 a formal New York Stock Exchange is established to quote prices on five different securities, all bank bonds.

Over time shares in corporations are added to the buying/selling menu and the New York Stock Exchange becomes a weathervane on the health of the American economy.

Along with the Tariff, the Anti-Federalists also attack Hamilton’s Treasury Bonds, which they see as a spend now-pay later scheme that will run the country into long-term debt and insolvency.

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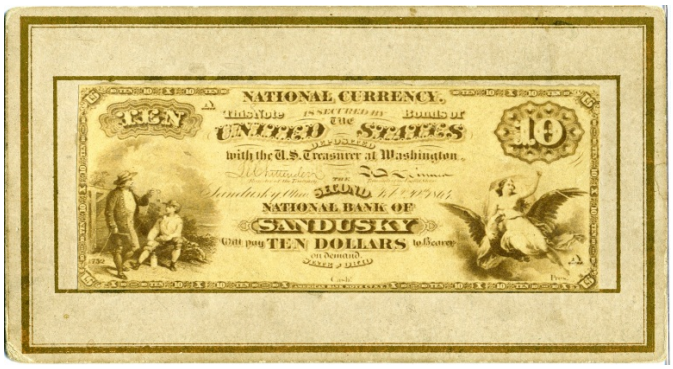
Time: 1789 - 1793
Hamilton Turns His Attention To The Money Supply



A $10 Bill of Credit Issued by the Bank of Sandusky, Ohio

With his plan in place to secure sufficient funding to run the federal government, Hamilton turns to jumpstarting the nation’s economic growth.

He believes the key to this lies in getting sufficient capital (money) into the hands of clever men who are intent on starting up their own businesses – to mill grain or make rum, to transport goods over roads or waterways, to open store-fronts in small towns or big cities.

The money itself must be simultaneously in abundant supply, so enough entrepreneurs can access what they need, and viewed as “trustworthy” in terms of value, to facilitate transactions. This poses a problem for Hamilton:

- The public has great faith in the value of minted gold and silver coins, but they are in far too short a supply to cover the needs of prospective businesses.

- Conversely, the option to coins are “bills of credit” or “Continentals,” issued by state banks during the War in such out-of-control inflationary quantities during the War that no one trusts them.

Since America is still some 60 years away from discovering large gold and silver deposits in the West, Hamilton will have to make do with “soft money” for the time being.

His challenge then lies in restoring confidence among a skeptical public toward banknotes. As he says:

> *There is scarcely any point in the economy of national affairs of greater moment than the uniform preservation of the intrinsic value of the money unit. On this, the security and steady value of property essentially depend.*

To restore trust, Hamilton will try to insure that those entities handling “bills of credit” – largely unchartered state banks – maintain a sufficient supply of gold or silver coins on hand to “back up” their value. He decides that a ratio of 3:1 (soft money to hard money) will work.

> For every $3.00 worth of banknotes in circulation the “bank” must maintain $1.00 worth of coins.

To enforce this ratio, he promises to bring “fraud charges” against anyone refusing a customer’s “demand” to exchange banknotes for gold or silver coins on a dollar for dollar basis. As time passes this “exchange pledge” will appear on many banknotes:

> Ten Dollars In Gold Coin Payable To Bearer Upon Demand

He then adds to his “enforcement power” by another move the Anti-Federalists regard as further intrusion on State sovereignty – creation of the First Bank of the United States**.**

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Time: Ongoing

Sidebar: How Banks Work And How They Fail

As a banker himself, Hamilton understands how they work and how they fail.

Their primary role is to distribute capital/money to people who need it to start up or sustain their businesses.

Bankers think of these as “investments.”

The most common form of investment is a “Loan” made by a bank to someone who needs money (e.g. a farmer requiring $20 to purchase seed) in exchange for a promise to pay it back one year later with “interest” (e.g. after his crop of grain sells, the farmer pays $22 to the bank).

Another form of “investment” might involve a direct purchase by the bank of an asset that appears likely to “appreciate” (increase) in value. For example, a bank might decide to buy up land out west at $1 per acre, believing it can later be sold for $2 per acre – delivering a handsome profit.

Bankers are also always interested in expanding the amount of money or coins they have available to make these investments.

They can accomplish this by convincing individuals or businesses to make “deposits” in exchange for “interest” paid over time. For example, an individual or merchant with a spare $20 may “deposit” it today in a bank in exchange for a promise to get $21 back in “principle and interest” one year hence.

To pay this “interest,” banks expect to “invest” this $20 in businesses or asset purchases that “return” more than the $21 they will owe their depositors.

In the vast majority of cases, this banking system works out to the benefit of all sides. Individuals and businesses get access to the money they need and pay back their loans. Banks invest wisely, make a profit and pay back the principle and interest they owe to depositors.

But this is not always the case. “Capitalism” involves “risks” and, as Hamilton knows, banks are perpetually subject to these. They typically involve an “unexpected outcome” affecting a given investment.

A drought strikes, and the farmer, losing his crop, is unable to pay his loan back to the bank as planned. Perhaps the bank forecloses (seizes) his land instead. The value of the land bought by the banker drop sharply, creating a loss and making it impossible to pay back depositors when they come to collect. Perhaps the bank closes as a result, with all depositors losing their principle and interest.

Or the “spread” between the “interest” being paid out to depositors vs. collected from borrowers suddenly turns against the bank. For example, the bank finds that it

has made too many loans charging only 2% interest, while simultaneously promising too many depositors 3% interest – the "spread" has turned against them. Or, suddenly, inflation causes new people to demand 4% interest to make deposits, causing sudden withdrawals of cash.

All these banking risks are real and, when they occur, the entire economy can be adversely affected.

What's even wore is that the "profit motive" in banking, as in any form of capitalism, can easily get out of hand.

"Defalcation" – misuse of funds by bank personnel -- occurs from time to time, often in the form of embezzlement. But the effects here are local and limited.

The banking risks that really impact the nation's economy typically involve wild "speculation" in supposedly sure-fire investments. In the antebellum U.S., this speculation will often center on the purchase of new land in the west, where expected jumps in per acre prices fail to materialize and "bankruptcy" follows – along with "panic runs on banks" by depositors hoping to retrieve their deposits in time.

As America's first Treasury Secretary tries, like his successors, to steer between the rewards and risks associated with the banking industry.

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Time: 1791

The Controversial First Bank Of The United States Is Chartered

Hamilton's First Bank of the United States, or BUS, is chartered by Congress on February 25, 1791. It is a "private corporation" owned not by the government, but by individual stockholders expecting to make a profit on their investments.

This charter calls for it to begin with $10 million in capital, allocated across 250,000 shares of stock, offered at $400 apiece. The federal government owns $2million of this stock, with the remaining $8 million owned by outside stockholders, each required to make 25% of their buy-in payments in gold or silver specie.

Hamilton sees his "BUS" as having two main public sector functions:

- First, to handle the government's monetary needs – taking in federal revenue and paying bills to cover federal spending -- while operating at arm's length to avoid conflicts of interest.
- Second, to help "regulate" the banking system and money supply across the states.

"Bank regulation" under Hamilton will take several forms. Formal "chartering" of state banks will accelerate – from a total of three in 1790 to over 300 three decades hence. The U.S. Mint will take control over setting and insuring weight standards and values for gold and silver coinage. The BUS will also flex its muscles with state banks who appeal to it for cash loans. Those local banks in compliance with the 3:1 soft to hard money target, will get loans at lower interest rates; those out of compliance, will suffer higher interest charges or be turned down entirely.

Needless to say, these attempts at regulation are viewed as unfavorable intrusions on state sovereignty by the Anti-Federalists, who express a host of concerns:

- Isn't the "fractional formula" a fraud, designed to print imaginary money?
- Won't this system of phony money and usury lead on to wild speculation by banks?
- Who are the people profiting from these banks – and how can corruption be avoided?
- What happen if everyone wanted their money at the same time, in a panic?

To rein in the power of the BUS, they add a series of constraints to the 1791 charter:

- The charter will last only 20 years, expiring in 1811.
- The BUS must be run as a private company, not another "branch" of government.
- The directors of the company must be rotated after fixed terms.
- No foreigners will be allowed to own stock in the bank.
- The BUS cannot purchase any government bonds.
- The Treasury Secretary may audit the BUS books at any time.
- While it would be the only "federal" bank, states could open as many banks as desired.

Jefferson's distrust of the BUS – and of Hamilton – is unwavering. He writes:

> *Hamilton's financial system… had two objects; 1st, as a puzzle, to exclude popular understanding and inquiry; 2nd, as a machine for the corruption of the legislature; for he avowed the opinion, that man could be governed by one of two motives only, force or interest; force, he observed, in this country was out of the question, and the interests, therefore, of the members must be laid hold of, to keep the legislative in unison with the executive.*

The BUS also ruptures James Madison's commitment to the Federalist cause. Henceforth he will align himself with Jefferson in what will become the Democratic-Republican Party.

When political power eventually shifts to Jefferson, he will de-charter the BUS and do away with many of the banking controls initiated by Hamilton.

These moves, however, will backfire over time, as banks veer out of control every two decades or so, driven by wild speculation in search of windfall profits, and accompanied by public panic and often prolonged economic downturns for the nation.

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Time: 1755-1804
Assessing Hamilton's Influence

Alexander Hamilton's effect on the U.S. economy will prove profound.

In the short run, the combination of tariffs and excise taxes, along with the issuance of the first U.S. Treasury Bonds, moves the nation out of debt – despite his bold agreement to assume the state's red ink and to pay full par value to War investors.

By the time he resigns in 1795, America enjoys the highest credit rating in Europe, with its bonds often selling well above par value.

He makes remarkable progress toward his goal of “insuring the intrinsic value of the money unit.”

The U.S. Mint standardizes and controls the weight of gold and silver in America’s coinage.

He begins to rebuild confidence in “soft money” banknotes by assuring the public that “on-demand conversion into equivalent value coinage” is the law of the land.

His efforts to tighten regulations on the banking industry also pay off. The number of officially “chartered” state banks grows. His 3:1 soft-to-hard money ratio “multiplies” the capital in circulation without letting the number of banknotes expand to levels where they are de-valued. He is also able to enforce the 3:1 ratio by varying the interest rates his BUS charges state banks on loans.

The BUS itself functions about as Hamilton hopes. Federal government revenues flow in and bills are paid out in orderly fashion, signals of a stable and confident nation.

But above all else, Hamilton ushers in the system of “capitalism” that will enable America to build a modern economy which eventually become the envy of the world.

While his career is brief, he goes down in history as the father of American banking and capitalism.

Chapter 30. A "Bill Of Rights" in Tenth Amendments Is Added To The Constitution (1787-1791)

James Madison (1751-1836)
Authors the Bill of Rights

Sections

- Anti-Federalists Are Still Not Satisfied With The 1787 Constitution
- Madison Takes The Lad In Crafting A "Bill Of Rights"
- The Bill Of Rights Become Law

Macro-Themes

Political Parties
- Federalists Vs. Anti-Federalists
Constitutions
- Bill of Rights Amendments
- Tenth Amendment – States Rights

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Time: 1787
Anti-Federalists Are Still Not Satisfied With The 1787 Constitution

Even as Washington takes office, it clear that Anti-Federalist factions in many states will not be fully behind the Union unless and until a Bill of Rights is added to the 1787 Constitution.

To do so will require the development and passage of formal amendments, first in the Congress and then through ratification by at least three-quarters of the states. This promises to be a long and contentious process, and one which neither Washington and Madison, nor their more hard-core Federalist allies, wish to entertain. They point out that the vote was 10-0 against adding a Bill of Rights just before the Philadelphia Convention adjourned, so why re-open the debates again?

The answer lies in the fact that nine states have submitted proposed amendments to Congress coming out of their local ratification meetings – far too many to simply ignore.

Constitutional Amendments Proposed

State	#
North Carolina	46
Virginia	40
New York	32
Rhode Island	21
Pennsylvania	15
Maryland	13
New Hampshire	12
Massachusetts	9
South Carolina	4
Total	192

Seven of the states have begun their own constitutions by asserting the “rights of individual citizens” within their borders, mostly modeled after the liberties guaranteed to their English forbears.

Ominously, however, one amendment appearing on all the state submissions relates to federal taxation. If passed, it would prohibit the national government from collecting any “direct taxes” on citizens (e.g. based on their income or total wealth) without first asking state legislatures to donate the funds sought.

Since “direct taxes” are already ruled out by the Constitution, this prohibition is hypothetical in nature. But it still rankles the Federalists, who have fought so hard to guarantee that the new government is properly funded. Washington in particular says he will oppose any amendment that “goes to the prevention of direct taxation.”

The task of dealing with the proposed amendments falls to James Madison, whose election to the House from Virginia is threatened by his vocal opposition to a Bill of Rights. After switching his position, he wins his seat and is left with the duty of fulfilling on his new promise. His wish, as he says on the floor, is that…

> *Something should be done, that those who have been friendly to the adoption of this constitution, may have the opportunity of proving to those who were opposed to it, that they were as sincerely devoted to liberty and a republican government, as those who charged them with wishing the adoption of this constitution in order to lay the foundation of an aristocracy or despotism.*

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Time: June-October 1789
Madison Takes The Lead In Crafting A “Bill Of Rights”

Madison begins by reading through the nearly 200 amendments developed by the states. They tend to fall into two buckets: those focused on personal rights of citizens versus others wishing to alter the set-up or functioning of the government.

It is the latter group that Madison intends to avoid, since they re-open many old and divisive issues – calls for a larger number of House seats, restrictions on a standing army, term limits for the President and Senators, a prohibition on government-sponsored monopolies, rejecting federal accountability for state debts, annual pay for congressmen, on and on.

Instead he concentrates on the amendments that spell out the “rights” of American citizens.

This leads to drafting an initial list of 19 amendments, which Washington approves, albeit with little enthusiasm.

Madison brings this list to the House on June 8, 1789, where it is soundly rejected by the Federalist majority. Six weeks pass before he tries again on July 21, this time securing an eleven member committee to study the proposals and report back. This group arrives at 17 amendments, including one that is crucial to the Anti-Federalists.

In the end it will become the Tenth Amendment – reassuring the states of their authority over all local matters not overtly delegated to the federal government in the Constitution. Included here will be matters related to slavery.

> *The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.*

The House also agrees to bundle the amendments together as an appendix to the original Constitution, rather than intersperse them throughout the Articles, as Madison had proposed. After an eleven day debate these are passed on August 24, 1789.

The Senate adds its own changes, consolidating from seventeen to twelve Amendments, and passing these on September 9.

The final version is approved by Washington on September 25, 1789, and sent on to the states for ratification on October 2.

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Time: November 1789 - December 1791
The Bill Of Rights Become Law

Another 811 days will elapse before the nation has its Bill of Rights – with Virginia becoming the tenth of the original thirteen states to ratify, on December 15, 1791.

Vermont, finally admitted on March 4, 1791, approves on November 3, 1791. The remaining three states reject the amendments. Georgia says they aren't needed; Connecticut feels they undercut the original agreement; while Massachusetts simply fails to reach consensus.

First Ten Original States To Ratify The Bill Of Rights

1789	**Approved by**	**1790**	**Approved by**
November 20	New Jersey	January 28	Delaware
December 19	Maryland	February 24	New York
December 22	North Carolina	March 10	Pennsylvania
1790		June 7	Rhode Island
January 19	South Carolina	1791	
January 25	New Hampshire	December 15	Virginia

The first two amendments deal with functional matters – House membership and congressional pay – and fail to gain enough state support for ratification.

The other proposed amendments spell out individual rights possessed by all Americans and not to be infringed upon by the government. The great freedoms – of speech, assembly, religion, the press. Trial by a jury of one's peers. The right to bear arms. Protection from unlawful search or seizure.

Many of these rights respond to violations suffered by the colonists at the hands of the King. In spirit they reflect the motto of the first corps of Marines, assembled during the Revolutionary War – "Don't Tread On Me!"

Constitutional Amendments Proposed

#	**Description**
x	Proposes a formula for boosting the # of seats in the House of Representatives.
x	No law increasing congressional pay can take effect until after a new election.
1	Freedom of religion, speech, the press, right to assemble and petition the government.
2	Right to keep and bear arms and maintain a militia.
3	Protection from being forced to quarter troops on one's property.
4	Protection from unreasonable search and seizure.
5	Right to due process, to avoid self-incrimination, double jeopardy, unlawful seizure of property.
6	In criminal cases, right to speedy, public trial by impartial jury where crime committed, confront accusers, have legal adviser.
7	The right to trial by jury also extends to civil (i.e. non-criminal) cases, involving $20 or more.
8	Prohibits excessive bail charges for accused, and cruel and unusual punishment for the guilty.
9	The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.
10	The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Passage of the Bill of Rights effectively ends the call of staunch Anti-Federalists to hold a second Constitutional Convention, and enables the country to move forward on actual matters of foreign and domestic policy.

Chapter 31. The Supreme Court Convenes For The First Time (1789)

An Early Judge, Wig and All

Sections

- The 1789 Judiciary Act Structures The Court
- The Courts Early Case Load And Impact Is Minimal

Macro-Themes

The Supreme Court
- Organizational Structure
- The First Justices
- "Riding The Circuit"
- Early Cases Of Judicial Review

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Time: 1789

The 1789 Judiciary Act Structures The Court

The branch of the federal government, set up to oversee compliance with the Constitution and Bill of Rights, is finally defined more fully in the 1789 Judiciary Act, passed some two years after the Philadelphia Convention.

It will be designated the Supreme Court, and will consist of a Chief Justice and five associates, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Their duties will include "riding the circuit" – traveling twice a year to "federal courts" in each of thirteen "judicial districts" across the country to identify laws and decisions that may be violating the Constitution.

The Judiciary Act also creates the office of Attorney General, the chief Federal lawyer, who will prosecute all suits that come before the Supreme Court, and provide general legal advice the President and other government officials. Edmund Randolph of Virginia is the nation's first Attorney General, and a member of Washington's Cabinet.

All the Justices are lawyers and all are known Federalists. After Jay resigns to serve as Governor of New York. John Rutledge will serve as Chief Justice in 1795, on a "recess appointment" by Washington. The Senate, however, fails to confirm him, and he exits after only four months in office.

The First U.S. Supreme Court

Chief Justice	Home State	Position When Named	Years on Court
John Jay	New York	U.S. Secretary of Foreign Affairs	1789-1795
Associates			
John Blair	Virginia	Judge, Virginia General Court	1790-1796
William Cushing	Massachusetts	Chief Justice, Massachusetts Court	1789-1810
James Iredell	North Carolina	North Carolina State Commissioner of Laws	1790-1799
John Rutledge	South Carolina	South Carolina Court of Chancery	1789-1791, 1795
James Wilson	Pennsylvania	Professor of Law, College of Philadelphia	1789-1798

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1790-1793

The Court's Early Case Load And Impact Is Minimal

The number of cases coming before the full court averages less than five per year during Jay's tenure – and only two have particular significance.

One, known as "Hayburn's Case," is never actually decided by the court, but represents the first attempt by the Judicial branch to overturn an act of Congress, rather than simply clarifying its intent.

In a 1792 bill, Congress charges Federal judges with the duty of making recommendations to the Secretary of War regarding the eligibility of Revolutionary War veterans to receive pensions. The judges challenge the act on two counts: the legitimacy of Congress assigning them non-judicial duties and then also giving a Cabinet member authority to overrule judicial calls. Before this battle is fully joined, however, Congress backs off. Still Hayburn's Case is the first close call around "judicial review" of laws passed by congress, something that will take center stage with Supreme Courts in the future.

In the second case -- *Chisholm v Georgia* – the Court rules in 1793 that one State can be sued in federal court by a citizen of another State. Anti-Federalists view this decision as another attack on "state sovereignty," and go so far as to pass the 11th Amendment in 1795, outlawing this interpretation.

> *The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State*.

Chapter 32. America Holds Its First Mid-Term Elections (1791-1792)

A Land Owner Having the Right to Vote

Sections

- Pro-Administration Forces Maintain Their Hold In Congress

Macro-Themes

Elections
- Congressional

****

Time: 1791-92

Pro-Administration Forces Maintain Their Hold In Congress

Two new states – Vermont and Kentucky – are admitted to the Union in time to participate at least partially in the Second U.S. Congress. Each are allocated two seats in the House, based on their population counts, and this boosts the total membership from 65 in 1788 to 69 in 1790.

Since the first true "session" in the House doesn't begin until October 24, 1791, the actual voting is strung out over time, according to the wishes of each state. The earliest election takes place in Vermont on March 4, 1791; the latest in Kentucky, on June 1, 1792.

The results again demonstrate that, despite George Washington's overwhelming personal popularity, a sizable anti-administration faction continues to exist in the House. It remains, however, in the minority, still nine votes (30-39) shy of the majority.

House Of Representatives Mid-Term Election Of 1790

	# Seats	Pro-Admin	Anti-Admin
1788	65	37	28
1790	69	39	30
Change	+4	+2	+2

Resistance to administration policies centers mainly across the South, where the Anti-Federalist sentiment evident at the 1787 Constitution Convention continues to fester.

House Of Representatives Election Of 1790

Pro-Administration	Total	South	Border	North
1788	37	7	3	27
1790	39	7	4	28
Change	+2	NC	+1	+1
Anti-Administration				
1788	28	16	4	8
1790	30	16	5	9
Change	+2	NC	+1	+1

Note: South (Virginia, N Carolina, S Carolina, Georgia), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn, Vermont)

Virginia and Georgia remain most unhappy with the centralization of power at the federal level, and they are joined by the two newly added states of Kentucky and Vermont. The Federalist stronghold resides in the North, especially Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey.

House Of Representatives Election Of 1790

South	# Seats	Pro-Admin	Anti-Admin
Virginia	10	2	8 +1
North Carolina	5	2	3
South Carolina	5	3 +1	2
Georgia	3	0	3
South	23	7	16
Delaware	1	1	0
Maryland	6	3 +1	3
Kentucky	2	0	2 +2
Border	9	4	5
New Hampshire	3	3 +1	0
Massachusetts	8	7 +1	1
Rhode Island	1	1	0
Connecticut	5	5	0
New York	6	4 +1	2
New Jersey	4	4	0
Pennsylvania	8	4	4
Vermont	2	0	2 +2
North	37	28	9
Total	69	39	30

Chapter 33. Eli Whitney Transforms Cotton Industry Economics (1792)

Eli Whitney (1765-1825)

Sections

- Invention Of The Cotton Gin

Macro-Themes

The Economy
- Impact Of The Cotton Gin

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Time: 1792

Invention Of The Cotton Gin

Just as Hamilton is opening the way for America to build an industrial economy, a Massachusetts man named Eli Whitney patents a “cotton gin” (short for “engine”) that reshapes the South’s commitment to agriculture.

Throughout the colonial period, the primary southern crops are tobacco, rice, wheat and indigo.

Cotton production is minimal and concentrated along the coastal islands of South Carolina, in the variety known as “long-staple (2 inch fiber) cotton.”

Its cousin is the “short-staple (1 inch fiber) cotton,” which is much heartier when it comes to surviving in lower temperature regions. However it has many more sticky seeds per “boll,” and separating these seeds from the fiber by hand is so labor intensive as to be cost prohibitive.

In 1790, American exports of cotton – mainly long staple from South Carolina – total only 140,000 pounds, valued at just over $2 million.

But that is about to change in a hurry.

All because of Whitney, a Westborough, Massachusetts man, who tinkers with nail manufacturing as a youth, graduates from Yale University and, after visiting a plantation in Georgia in 1792, invents and patents his “cotton gin.”

Whitney’s “gin” is ingenious. It removes seeds from cotton lint at 50 times the speed of human hands, and, in turn, it enables the profitable planting of short staple cotton across the South from Virginia westward.

Almost immediately the production and sale of cotton sky-rockets – and, as it takes off, it also dawns on plantation owners that they have a “second crop” capable of very high demand and very high prices.

That “second crop” lies in breeding their black slaves.

Chapter 34. The French Overthrow Their King And Re-ignite Global Warfare (1793-1799)

Maximilien de Robespierre (1758-1794)

Sections

- King Louis XVI Is Guillotined And Robespierre Takes Power
- Robespierre Is Overthrown And Napoleon Becomes A National Hero
- Sidebar: Madame Marie Tussard's Death Masks Of The King And Queen

Macro-Themes

International Affairs
- French Revolution
- The Reign Of Terror
- Robespierre
- "Mobocracy"
- Monsieur Gillotine
- The Directorate Phase
- Revolt Of The Royalists
- Rise Of Napoleon
- Napoleon Rule As First Consul

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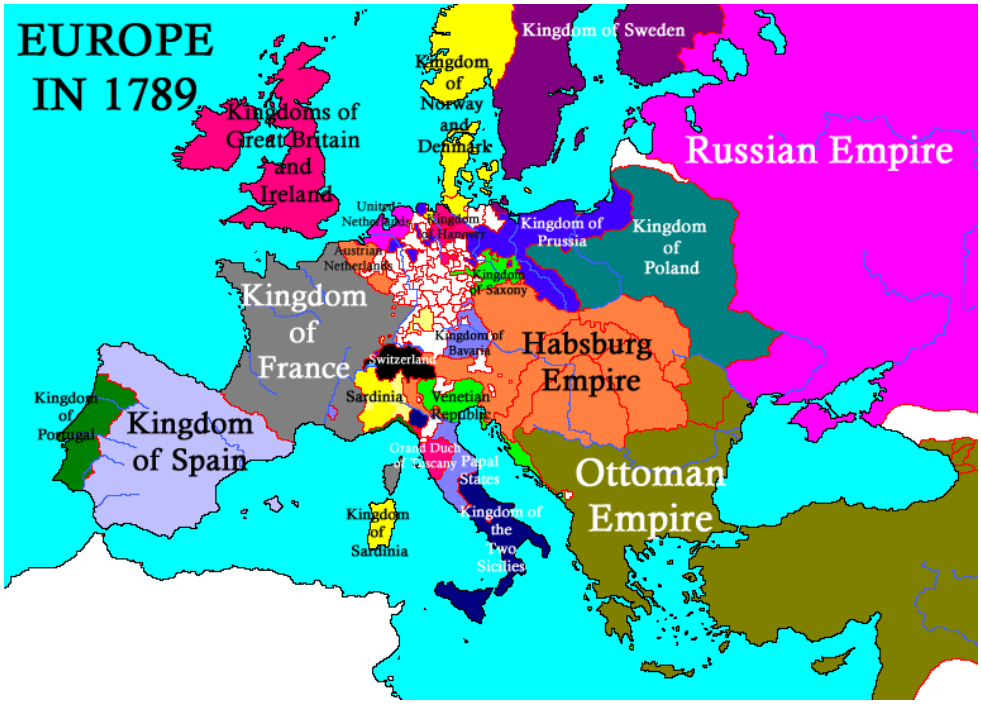
January 21, 1793
King Louis XVI Is Guillotined And Robespierre Takes Power



Map of Europe As The French Revolution Begins

From the moment George Washington begins his presidency, global events are about to be dictated by the revolution under way in France.

King Louis XVI's authority vanishes on July 14, 1789, when the Paris commoners assault Bastille Prison in search of gunpowder to resist local military intervention. But the expectation is for a new government styled after England's combination of Parliament and a constitutional monarchy.

Despite this prospect, other European monarchs remain deeply shaken by events in Paris.

To the west, the Kingdom of Spain is ruled by Charles IV.

To the east of France lies the Habsburg/Holy Roman/Austrian Empire, ruled by Leopold II (brother of Louie's wife, Queen Marie Antoinette), comprising territories running from Holland, Belgium, the 300+ middle states of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Croatia/Bosnia.

To the northeast is the Kingdom of Prussia, stretching from the capital in Berlin along the Baltic Sea, under its hawkish monarch, Frederick II.

On August 27, 1791, Leopold II and Frederick I decide to warn the French revolutionaries to not harm the royal family. At first these threats simply exacerbate popular contempt for Louis.

But then the threats grow more dire. On April 20, 1792, the French National Assembly declares war on Leopold and the Habsburgs, and begins an invasion, which quickly draws Prussia into the conflict.

When early battles go against France, a second revolution – called the "Reign of Terror" – sweeps the nation.

It is led by Maximillian Robespierre and far left groups (Jacobins and Sans-Coulettes) who envision a "utopian society" run by the direct voice of the common man and marked by increased wages for all, an end to food shortages, and punishment meted out to nobility.

On August 10, 1792, Parisian's attack the King's palace and place him and his family under house arrest. He is tried before the National Convention, convicted of treason, and sentenced to death. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI, is driven through Paris in his carriage, arriving at the Place de la Revolution around 10AM. The final act is described by the High Executioner, Charles-Henri Sansone, who oversees some 3,000 such events in his day, and becomes known as "Monsieur de Paris" for his exploits.

> *Arriving at the foot of the guillotine, Louis XVI looked for a moment at the instruments of his execution and asked Sanson why the drums had stopped beating. He came forward to speak, but there were shouts to the executioners to get on with their work. As he was strapped down, he exclaimed "My people, I die innocent!" Then, turning towards his executioners, Louis XVI declared "Gentlemen, I am innocent of everything of which I am accused. I hope that my blood may cement the good fortune of the French." The blade fell. It was 10:22 am. One of the assistants of Sanson showed the head of Louis XVI to the people, whereupon a huge cry of "Vive la Nation! Vive la République!" arose and an artillery salute rang out which reached the ears of the imprisoned Royal family.*

With the King now dead and war in progress, pressure rises on the National Convention to take charge of the nation's destiny. This will involve a new battle between the bourgeoisie (middle class) and the proletariat (lower classes).

Robespierre steps up to the challenge as head of the Committee of Public Safety. He calls on France to create a "Republic of Virtue," run by the common man, and based on concepts laid out by Rousseau.

Included here was the “Cult of the Supreme Being.”

> *Is it not He who decreed for all peoples liberty, good faith and justice? He did not give us priests to harness us to the chariots of kings and to give us examples of baseness, pride, perfidy, avarice, debauchery and falsehood. He created men to help each other, to love each other, to attain happiness by way of virtue.*

Anyone standing in the way of Robespierre’s vision needs be dealt with quickly and harshly – and roughly 16,000 “aristos” or other enemies are publicly guillotined to purify the nation.

Included here, on October 16, 1793 is Louis’ wife, Marie Antoinette.

The French Revolution: Key Events – 1789-1793

1789	Financial crisis over cost of American war triggers increased taxation
	Troops put down riots over low wages and food shortages
	Citizens storm Bastille (July 14), symbol of monarchy
	Great Fear begins, peasants revolt against feudalism and aristos
	Assembly adopts Lafayette’s Declaration of the Rights of Man
1790	Nobility abolished by National Assembly
1791	Lafayette orders arrest of 400 aristocrats
	Massive slave revolt in French colony of Haiti
1792	France declares war on Leopold II’s Habsburg monarchy (April 20)
	Frederick II and the Kingdom of Prussia joins Leopold’s side
	Tuileries Palace stormed and Louis XVI imprisoned
1793	Louis Capet XVI is guillotined (Jan 21)
	Jacobin Party and Robespierre take control of the government
	France declares war on Britain and Holland (Feb 1)
	France declares war on Spain (March 7)
	Girondist (moderate) faction expelled from National Assembly
	Robespierre’s Reign of Terror begins (September 5)
	Marie Antoinette guillotined (Oct 16)

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Time: 1794-1799

Robespierre Is Overthrown And Napoleon Becomes A National Hero

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)

The proletariat Reign of Terror in France, now at war with most of its neighbors, plays itself out roughly five years after it begins.

When Robespierre uses his power to eliminate his political rivals, often without any form of trials, those around him finally sense that no one is safe. They arrest and behead him, face up, on July 28, 1794.

At this point, the Revolution enters its second stage, lasting from 1794 to 1799.

The Constitution of 1795 is approved, and establishes a government consisting of 750 legislators led by a rotating "Executive Directory" of five senior men, one retiring each year.

Not all factions support this outcome, especially the pro-Catholic forces who resent the Revolution's virulent attacks on the church. They band together with Royalist forces and march on Paris with a force of 30,000 men, including 2,000 troops from Britain.

The Directory is ill prepared to counter this threat.

In desperate straits, they turn to a 26 year old artillerist, recently promoted to Brigadier General for his daring campaign in December 1793 that drives the Royalists and British out of the Mediterranean port city of Toulon.

The soldier's name is Napoleon Bonaparte..

On October 5, 1795, Napoleon assembles 40 cannon, places them strategically throughout Paris, and fires grape-shot into the Royalist troops, routing them despite being outnumbered by 6-1 in man-power.

For this feat, Napoleon immediately become a national hero. He has calmed the internal struggle for power within the French capital, and now turns his attention to the foreign wars under way beyond its borders. He is named Commander of the Armee d'Italie, and heads off to win four years' worth of victories abroad.

On November 10, 1799 he will return to Paris, stage a coup that ends the "Revolutionary period," and makes himself First Counsel and head of the French Republic.

The French Revolution: "Second Stage" – 1793-1795

1792	France declares war on Leopold II's Habsburg monarchy (April 20)
	Frederick II and the Kingdom of Prussia joins Leopold's side
	Tuileries Palace stormed and Louis XVI imprisoned
1793	Louis Capet XVI is guillotined (Jan 21)
	Jacobin Party and Robespierre take control of the government
	France declares war on Britain and Holland (Feb 1)
	France declares war on Spain (March 7)
	Girondist (moderate) faction expelled from National Assembly
	Robespierre's Reign of Terror begins (September 5)
	Marie Antoinette guillotined (Oct 16)
	Napoleon wins fame at Siege of Toulon (Dec 18)
1794	Robespierre arrested and guillotined (July 28)
	The Executive Directory (5 men) takes control of government
1795	Napoleon Bonaparte quells Paris insurrection (October 5)
1799	Napoleon rules France as First Counsel

Between 1799 and 1815 Napoleon's France will largely dictate the fate of nations across the globe.

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Time: 1789 And Forward

Sidebar: Madame Marie Tussard's Death Masks Of The King And Queen

Queen Marie Antoinette (1755-1793)

Having just killed their King and Queen, the French decide to immortalize both through the ancient practice of creating death masks. This involves molding a wet plaster cast over the head of the deceased, allowing it to dry, and then removing and reassembling the front and back into a lifelike representation. The famed "golden death mask" of the 18 year old King Tutankhamen dates the art as far back as the Egyptians.

The National Convention calls upon one Marie Tussaud (1760-1851) to create the death masks.

Madame Tussaud is thirty years old when King Louis is guillotined. She has learned wax sculpture from Dr. Phillipe Curtius, a medical man who uses the art mainly to study and teach anatomy. In 1765, however, Curtius opens a "portrait museum" in Paris, featuring wax figures of famous people.

By the 1789 Revolution, Marie Tussaud had already created waxwork representations of the French philosopher, Voltaire, and the American diplomat and inventor, Ben Franklin. Her work is also embraced by the Royal family, and exhibited at the Palais Royal.

This connection to nobility almost leads to her own death, as the Reign of Terror sweeps up its victims. Her head is shaved and she awaits transfer to the scaffold before a friend of Curtius gains her release.

Once free, she is called upon to make death masks from the severed heads of the King and Queen. Her memoirs are emotionally circumspect about this task, and her work, in this case, is never put on public display.

In the years ahead, Madame Tussaud continues to "capture" many famous personalities of her era. She assists Curtius in creating tableaux, using lifelike wax sculptures to memorialize events, and displaying these in "pay-to-visit" galleries.

In effect, these figures and tableaux serve as precursors to a coming age of photography and film.

When Curtius dies in 1794, she inherits his collection, and in 1804 she moves to London, where she remains until her death at 88 years of age. While there, she and her son establish “Madame Tussaud’s Waxworks Museum,” a popular attraction located on Baker Street. The establishment stays in her family’s hands over many generations, and remains open to the present.

Chapter 35. Washington Wins A Second Term (1793-1797)

George Washington (1732-1799)

Sections

- The Presidential Election Of 1792
- The Democratic-Republicans Gain Seats In Congress
- Overview Of Washington's Second Term
- Sidebar: Washington's Second Inaugural Address
- John Jay's "Amity Treaty" With Britain Sparks Controversy
- A Show Of Federal Force Puts Down The Whiskey Tax Rebellion
- American Forces Wrest Ohio From The Western Indian Confederacy
- Washington's Farewell Address
- Washington's "Retirement" And Death At Mt. Vernon

Macro-Themes

Elections
- Presidential And Congressional In 1792

International Affairs
- Reactions Vary To The French Revolution
- Jay's "Amity Treat" With Britain

Politics
- Anti-Federalists Are Pro-French
- Jefferson Resigns In Protest

Wars
- France and Britain Resume Warfare
- Proclamation Of US Neutrality
- "Citizen Genet" Attempts To Drag US In
- War Vs. Indians In Ohio And Indiana

The Economy
- Boom Cycle as Capitalism Starts Up
- Whiskey Tax Rebellion Put Down By Force

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Time: November 2 to December 5, 1792

The Presidential Election Of 1792

Reactions in America to the French Revolution vary greatly.

The Federalist leaders – including Washington, Hamilton and Adams – applaud the move away from absolute monarchy, but are distressed by the Reign of Terror. They view the riots in Paris and the violence against the nobility, as what happens when democracy turns into mob rule. They are also very alarmed by France's declaration of war on its European neighbors, and fear that it might spill over to Britain – which it does.

Meanwhile, Jefferson and the Anti-Federalists, now referred to as Democratic-Republicans, are much more comfortable with the "will of the people" being carried out on the streets of France and in mass assemblies. They are forever suspicious of British intentions toward America, and regard the French as more certain allies.

But the election of 1792 focuses much more on domestic policies than on foreign affairs. Hamilton's economic initiatives – the assumption of state debts, the tariff and excise taxes, capitalism in general and

the U.S. Bank in particular – have exacerbated the on-going rift between the Federalists and their opponents. So the election of 1792 is the first to be openly fought over by "political parties."

Madison in particular senses threats here to national unity, and he persuades Washington to accept a second term rather than retire to Mt. Vernon, which is his stated preference. Some worry that this will lead on to monarchy, but the fact that Washington is without children quells this fear.

Since all sides share confidence in Washington, the political battle is about "who will be Vice-President?" The Federalist candidate is John Adams of Massachusetts; the Democratic-Republicans offer Governor George Clinton of New York, who lobbied aggressively against ratifying the 1787 Constitution.

The voting process itself is unchanged from 1788. Each State has a number of "presidential electors" equal to their representation in the House. Roughly half of the states choose "electors" by popular voting; the other half relies on votes by state legislators. Each elector names his top two choices for President. The leading vote getter will become President as long as he surpasses half of the total ballots cast; the runner-up will become Vice-President. Fifteen states participate, including Vermont and Kentucky, both recently admitted.

Only 28,579 citizens – less than 1% of the 4 million+ population – cast their own votes for the Executive in 1792. Over time this turn-out will grow substantially, as suffrage rules become more inclusive and political party divisions intensify public interest in the presidential outcomes.

In 1792, however, George Washington is again named on every elector's ballot, and wins a second term in office.

The race for Vice-President is fairly close, with John Adams getting 77 votes to Clinton's 50 votes.

Results Of The 1792 Presidential Election

Candidates	**State**	**Party**	**Pop Vote**	**Tot EV**	**South**	**Border**	**North**
George Washington	Virginia	Independent	28,579	132	45	15	72
John Adams	Mass	Federalist		77			
George Clinton	New York	Dem-Rep		50			
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Dem-Rep		4			
Aaron Burr	New York	Dem-Rep		1			
Total			28,579	264			
Needed To Win				67			

Note: South (Virginia, N Carolina, S Carolina, Georgia), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn,Vt)

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Time: 1792

The Democratic-Republicans Gain Seats In Congress

Despite Washington's universal popularity, opposition to the Federalists grows in the Congress.

Based on population gains reported in the first national Census of 1790, the House of Representatives adds 36 new seats in 1992, with 20 of these coming in the Northern states.

House Of Representatives – Post 1790 Census Seat Adjustments

	Total	South	Border	North
1790	69	23	9	37
1792	105	37	11	57
Change	+36	+14	+2	+20

There is also a shift in the political make-up of the lower chamber. In 1790, the Pro-Administration Federalists enjoy a 39 to 30 voting edge over the Anti-Federalists. Two years later, Anti forces, now called Democratic-Republicans, hold a 55-50 majority.

House Of Representatives Election Trends

	# Seats	Pro-Admin	Anti-Admin
1789	65	37	28
1791	69	39	30
1793	105	50	55

The stronghold for the Federalists continues to lie in the Northern states, although the Democratic-Republicans do pick up ground there in 1792, especially in Pennsylvania and Vermont, as well as expanding their control of the South.

House Trends By Region

Pro-Administration	Total	South	Border	North
1789	37	7	3	27
1791	39	7	4	28
1793	50	6	4	40

Anti-Administration				
1789	28	16	4	8
1791	30	16	5	9
1793	55	31	7	17

In the Senate, the "staggered cycles" approach has a total of 10 seats up for election in 1792. The same patterns seen in the House are evident in the upper chamber – with the Anti-Federalist opposition strengthening year after year, particularly in the South.

Senate Trends By Region

Pro-Administration	Total	South	Border	North
1789	19	4	3	12
1791	17	3	4	10
1793	16	1	4	11

Anti-Administration				
1789	7	4	1	2
1791	12	5	2	5
1793	14	7	2	5

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Time: March 4, 1793 – March 4, 1797
Overview Of Washington's Second Term

When the time comes for Washington's second inaugural, on March 4, 1793, the U.S. capital has moved from New York City to Philadelphia, where it remains until "Washington City" is completed in 1800.

Stability is a key virtue with the President, and his Cabinet remains intact as his new term begins. This will not, however, last long, as Jefferson will resign in 1793 over a foreign policy dispute, and Hamilton will exit in 1795 after his enemies expose an extra-marital affair.

Washington's Cabinet: As Second Term Begins

Position	Name	Home State
Vice-President	John Adams	Massachusetts
Secretary of State	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia
Secretary of Treasury	Alexander Hamilton	New York
Secretary of War	Henry Knox	Massachusetts
Attorney General	Edmund Randolph	Virginia

The challenges facing Washington in 1793 are fundamentally different from 1789. The basic structure and daily functions of the federal government are now fairly well established – so the focus shifts to executing the domestic programs set by the Federalists, and participating in foreign affairs.

In foreign policy, his second term will be marked by the "Amity Treaty" and other efforts to remain neutral in the face of renewed warfare involving Britain and France. In October 1795 the Pinckney Treaty with Spain settles U.S. boundary lines – west to the Mississippi River and south to the 31st parallel, the northern line of Spanish Florida.

Domestically, he will sign the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, and use force to help settlers combat Indian tribes west of the Appalachians and to put down a tax revolt in Pennsylvania known as the Whiskey Rebellion. His 1795 Naturalization Act requires that future immigrants reside for five years in America before achieving citizenship.

In regard to the economy, recent "ballpark estimates" of activity during Washington's tenure suggest that America's prosperity – derailed during the Revolutionary War – has been restored by 1793 or so, under Hamilton's leadership.

Economic Growth During Washington's Terms

	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796
Total GDP ($MM)	$189	206	225	251	315	383	417
Per Capita GDP	$ 48	51	54	58	71	84	89
% Change		6%	6%	7%	22%	18%	6%

While his many supporters urge him to continue with a third term, Washington demurs.

The new nation he helped to found is up and running, at peace abroad and with the strong central government he wanted in place.

As Washington exits, he will pen a memorable farewell to America, summarizing his learning as President and his advice to his successors.

Washington's Second Term: Key Events

1793	
March 4	Washington and Adams are sworn in
April 8	"Citizen Genet" arrives in Charleston and begins to foment anti-British feelings
April 22	Washington issues proclamation of neutrality in France vs. Britain war
May 9	French declare they will seize ships bearing cargo to Britain
June 5	Jefferson warns Genet against further mischief; Genet ignores the message.
November 6	Britain begins to seize neutral ships and impress sailors to fight the war
December 31	Jefferson resigns as Sec. of State over belief that US is tilting toward Britain
1794	
March 22	Congress bans slave trading with foreign nations
March 27	Congress authorizes establishment of the US Navy
April 19	Chief Justice John Jay appointed Ambassador to Britain
May 1	America's first labor union ("Cordwainers/shoemakers) begins
May 27	James Monroe appointed Minister to France
June 5	Congress passes The Neutrality Act
August 7	Washington assembles 13,000 man militia to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion
August 20	Rebellious Miami tribe defeated near Toledo by "Mad" Anthony Wayne
November 19	John Jay concludes an "Amity Treaty" with Britain
December	The 61 mile Lancaster Turnpike (road) is completed
1795	
January 29	Naturalization Act requires a 5 year residency prior to citizenship
January 31	Hamilton resigns as Treasury Secretary amidst marital scandal
June 24	Jay's "Amity Treaty" is finally approved by the Senate
July 19	The Connecticut Land Company buys the large Western Reserve tract in Ohio
August 3	The Treaty of Greenville cedes large Ohio tribe land tracts to the US
October 27	Treaty of Lorenzo with Spain defines land boundaries in the US southeast
December 15	The Senate rejects John Rutledge, Washington's choice as Chief Justice

	Washington's Second Term: Key Events (Continued)
1796	
February 29	The Amity Treat with Britain is announced publicly and France is outraged
March 4	The Senate confirms Oliver Ellsworth is as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
March 8	In *Hylton v United States* the Supreme Courts rules its first law unconstitutional
April 30	Democratic-Republicans criticize funding of Amity Act provisions, which pass.
May 18	Land Act opens up more NW Territory Land at $2 per acre, 640 acre minimum.
June 1	Tennessee is admitted to the Union (#16)
July	France announces it will board all ships bound for Britain, even neutrals
August 22	French refuse to accept Thomas Pinckney as new Ambassador, given grievances
September 19	Washington's Farewell Address to the nation is published; signals no third term
October 29	First US ship reaches California, at Monterrey Bay
November 4	US signs treaty with Tripoli to end pirating raids on commercial ships
November	Andrew Jackson becomes Tennessee's first member of the US House
December 7	John Adams is elected as the second US President, with Jefferson as VP
1797	
February 27	Sec of State Pickering reports losses from France's prohibitions of trade

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Time: March 4, 1793

Sidebar: Washington's Second Inaugural Address

The President lives up to his reputation for brevity on March 4, 1793, with the shortest inaugural address in American history – 135 words in length delivered in under two minutes of time.

> *I am again called upon by the voice of my country to execute the functions of its Chief Magistrate When the occasion proper for it shall arrive, I shall endeavor to express the high sense I entertain of this distinguished honor, and of the confidence which has been reposed in me by the people of united America.*
>
> *Previous to the execution of any official act of the President the Constitution requires an oath of office. This oath I am now about to take, and in your presence: That if it shall be found during my administration the Government I have in any instance violated willingly or knowingly the injunctions thereof, I may (besides incurring constitutional punishment) be subject to the upbraidings of all who are now witnesses of the present solemn ceremony.*

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Time: April 23, 1793 to June 24, 1795
John Jay's "Amity Treaty" With Britain Sparks Controversy

John Jay (1745-1829)

Washington is at Mt. Vernon in February 1793 when he learns that Robespierre's France has declared war on Britain. He quickly returns to Philadelphia and an emergency meeting where he poses 13 questions to his Cabinet members. These range from the tactical – "whether to receive a new French ambassador" – to the strategic – "whether to issue a proclamation of neutrality."

All agree that America must avoid direct involvement in a British-French conflict, but a rift develops around how quickly and aggressively to signal this policy. Secretary of State Jefferson, forever siding with France, argues for withholding any official proclamation, at least for the time being. Treasury Secretary Hamilton, perpetually pro-British, disagrees vehemently.

This leaves the final call up to Washington, who supports Hamilton, and issues a Proclamation of Neutrality on April 22, 1793.

> *Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the Netherlands of the one part and France on the other, and the duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers.*

The President soon learns,, however, that two weeks before the Neutrality decree, the new ambassador from France, "Citizen" Edmund-Charles Genet, has landed at Charleston, South Carolina, and begun to recruit a local militia to attack Spanish Florida. When later asked by Washington to desist, Genet responds by sending his privateer navy to raid British transports along the Atlantic coast. Genet's stunts undermine Jefferson's pro-French arguments and embarrass him personally. On December 31, 1793, he resigns from the Cabinet.

Jefferson has threatened this action before on several occasions, only to be talked back on board by Washington. But this time the President lets him go. Jefferson expresses relief at the prospect of a return to Monticello.

> *Liberated from the hated occupations of politics and into the bosom of my family, my farm, and my books.*

Federalist critics are suspicious of his real motives. As John Adams writes:

> *Jefferson thinks by this step to get the reputation as a humble, modest, meek man, wholly without ambition or vanity…But if the prospect opens, the world will see and he will feel that he is as ambitious as Oliver Cromwell.*

Washington names Attorney General Edmund Randolph to the Secretary of State post, and moves to reassure the British by sending John Jay, the sitting Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to London for bilateral talks.

This is just one more critical role for Jay in America's path to independence. He serves as a delegate to both the First and Second Continental Congresses, Minister to Spain (1779-82), and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1784-1790) before joining the high court. He is also comfortable in politics, later becoming Governor of New York.

Jay arrives in London on June 8, 1794, and negotiates over the next five months with Foreign Secretary, Lord Grenville. Washington feels the results are fairly lackluster, but at least they dampen some ongoing tensions.

- Both sides agree to cease raiding the other's ships and pay compensations for prior damages.
- The British will finally withdraw from border forts along the Detroit to Sandusky line, while any further border disputes will be resolved by a joint commission.
- Free trade will resume across America and the British Indies – including relief of restrictions on American exports and a continuation of England's involvement in the fur industry.
- America will cover debts owed to British interests back to 1776.

Jay signs the treaty on November 21, 1794, and from there resistance to ratifying it gets under way.

Washington's Minister to France, James Monroe, is left in the dark about the terms, and when he learns them his hostility toward Jay and the treaty boils over. Instead of acting the role of "diplomat," Monroe sympathizes with the French, who argue that the Jay Treaty violates their 1788 Treaty with America. Monroe becomes so publicly outspoken on the matter that Washington sacks him.

In addition to Monroe, many citizens are still smarting from the war with Britain, and recall that it was the alliance with France that actually led to victory. Both Jefferson and James Madison remain outraged. Still the Federalists muster enough support in Congress to finally approve it on June 24, 1795. It squeaks by the 2/3rds rule in the Senate on a 20-10 count, and barely secures funding in the House by a 51-48 margin.

The result is that America now has "Amity Treaties" with both France (the crucial 1778 accord) and Britain – although neither is particularly amicable at the moment.

That however suits Washington's policy. If the two European powers wish to battle each other, so be it. America intends to remain neutral, while also trading freely with both partners.

****

Time: July 16, 1794
A Show Of Federal Force Puts Down The Whiskey Tax Rebellion

As Washington is busy navigating foreign policy, he faces a domestic revolt over taxes.

The first levy imposed by the new Congress on American products targets whiskey and goes into effect on March 3, 1791. It is met by stiff resistance from grain farmers, whose backyard "stills" provide a lucrative source of secondary income.

The economics here are simple. Earn $6 in profit by loading 24 bushels of milled rye on three pack mules and sending them east over the Alleghenies, or earn $16 by shipping two eight gallon kegs of whiskey on one mule.

For many small farmers this income means the difference between surviving the lingering post-war recession or going under and losing their land to banks or wealthy speculators.

Given these realities, they ask why the government has decided to penalize whiskey production in the first place, and why the burden falls disproportionately on small farms, which run their stills below the "rated maximum" output level which determines the tax.

Western Pennsylvania, with a quarter of all the "stills" in the country, quickly becomes a rallying point for open rebellion against local tax collectors.

The first victim is one Robert Johnson, who is "tarred and feathered" in September 1791 by a band of anti-tax men, while making his rounds. More attacks follow, and in August 1792 the Mingo Creek Association is formed to consolidate resistance in southwestern Pennsylvania and beyond. Some 500 men sign on to the cause.

The threat continues to escalate over the next two years, with more violence against tax collectors, talk of seizing and "re-distributing" land from wealthy property owners, and even the possibility of turning to Spain for help.

Two Anti-Federalist congressmen from Pennsylvania, Albert Gallatin and William Findlay, petition Hamilton to change the law. Gallatin, later Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson, writes:

> *We have punctually and cheerfully paid former taxes on our estates…because they were proportioned to our wealth…we believe this (tax) to be founded on no such equitable principles…we respectfully apply for a total repeal of the law.*

Hamilton, who needs the money for his budget, will have none of this.

On July 16, 1794, the protests turn into the "Whiskey Rebellion," as a 500 man mob assaults the home of Revolutionary War General John Neville, a wealthy farmer and distiller also serving as the local Inspector of Revenue. Neville fights off the attack with the help of his slaves and 10 regular army soldiers from the federal fort in Pittsburgh. Two rebels and one soldier are killed in the battle.

In August a gathering of 7,000 near Pittsburg hear a rebel named David Bradford, citing the French Revolution, and calling for a redistribution of wealth and independence from the oppressive union.

President Washington knows treason when he sees it and nationalizes state militias from Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey and Maryland. A total of 13,000 troops, more than participated at Yorktown, march off to suppress the rebels. The old General himself leads the troops into Pennsylvania before turning the lead over to Hamilton and "Lighthorse Harry Lee."

But this overwhelming show of force is enough to shatter the rebellion. The leaders disperse into the mountains, although 20 of them are captured and sent back to Philadelphia for trial. They prove to be a woeful band, and only two are convicted – then pardoned.

In 1802 the hated Whiskey Tax bill is repealed by the staunch Anti-Federalist, Jefferson.

****

Time: August 3, 1795
American Forces Wrest Ohio From The Western Indian Confederacy

The Hunkpapa Warrior,
Crow King (Died 1884)

Another major initiative in Washington's second term involves the forceful displacement of Indian tribes west of the Appalachian range from land ceded by Britain after losing the war.

The tribes have not been participants to the cession and resist what they rightfully regard as an invasion of their property by the American settlers.

Open warfare breaks out in 1790, and is marked on November 4, 1791 by the Battle of the Wabash, fought at Fort Recovery, on the western edge of Ohio. This pits the Shawnee tribe, under their leader, Blue Jacket, and the Miami, under Little Turtle, against a militia led by Arthur St. Clair, a Major-General during the Revolutionary War. The outcome is a rout, with some 600 soldiers killed, the worst defeat ever suffered by America's military at the hands of tribal forces. It also seems that Britain plays a role in this resistance, sending supplies to the Indians and encouraging them to fight.

Washington has finally had enough of these battles by 1794, and he calls upon one of his most trusted Generals from the Revolutionary War to come out of retirement and suppress the Indians.

General "Mad" Anthony Wayne is a Pennsylvania native, a practicing surveyor and then a legislator in his home state before forming a militia unit in 1775. Fame finds him quickly. He joins Aaron Burr in the failed attack on Quebec City in 1776. He is with Washington at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777 and is a hero in the crucial victory at Monmouth in 1778. Promotions follow and he ends the war at Yorktown in 1781, afterwards being named a Major-General. He then negotiates peace treaties with the Creek and Cherokee tribes in Georgia, for which he is rewarded with a rice plantation, where he is living when Washington requests his help in Ohio.

"Mad" Anthony is noted for his fiery temperament and his bold approach to combat. He quickly assembles and trains up 3,000 soldiers at a camp in far western Pennsylvania. He calls them the "Legion of the United States."

Once they are ready, Wayne marches them some 200 miles north and west toward Maumee, Ohio, attacking various Indian outposts as he goes.

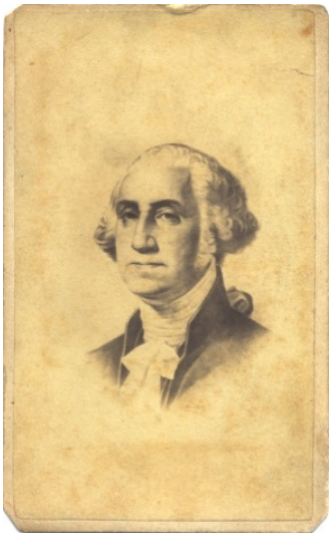
On June 30, 1794, his troops are engaged by upwards of 2,000 tribesmen, but find safety at Fort Recovery, where St. Clair was beaten in 1791. General Wayne recovers from this set-back and advances, meeting the Indians on August 20, 1794, in the pivotal Battle of Fallen Timbers, near Toledo. With a two to one edge in manpower, Wayne defeats Blue Jacket and Little Turtle, thus effectively closing out tribal resistance in Ohio.

Wayne proceeds further west, occupying British forts along the way, and finishing up in Indiana, near what will become Ft. Wayne, named such in his honor.

"Mad Anthony" has once again served Washington well, and the Treaty of Greenville, signed on August 3, 1795, officially ends the war. It will not, however, be the last time that the native peoples of America are forced to forfeit their land to white men and rigged treaties.

****

Time: September 19, 1796
Washington's Farewell Address


George Washington (1732-1799)

Washington's time of service to his nation now appears to be ending.

Before leaving for Mt. Vernon, he wants to share parting thoughts on securing the new nation he did so much to create. His farewell address is first published on September 19, 1796, six weeks in advance of the third presidential election.

The President begins by declaring that he will not run again, then goes on to thank the nation for the many honors he has received while in office. At this point he pauses…

> *Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But solicitude for your welfare… urges me…to offer…some sentiments… which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you…as the disinterested warnings of a parting friend…who can have no personal motive to bias his counsel.*

He then charges forward with his advice to all citizens:

> *The unity of government which constitutes you one people is …now dear to you.*
>
> *It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness.*

Think and speak of (your union) as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity;

Discountenance… even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned…frown upon…every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

The name of American, which belongs to you… must always exalt the just pride of patriotism.

With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a Common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels…common sufferings and successes.

The most commanding motives (exist) for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole… Protected by the equal laws of a common government…the North…the South…the East…the West…secure enjoyment of …outlets for their own production…across agriculture and manufacturing.

All the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger – (along with) an exemption from…wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict countries not tied together by the same government.

(Union will) likewise…avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty.

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government…

(It is) the duty of every individual to obey the established government. All obstructions to the execution of the laws… are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.

Beware) of cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men…subverting the power of the people and usurping for themselves the reins of government.

(Beware) of the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations…The alternate domination of one faction over another, shaped by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension…is itself a frightful despotism….But it inclines the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual…and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction…turns this disposition to his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

A wise people (will) discourage and restrain…the spirit of party. It agitates the community with Ill founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door…to corruption.

(Preserve) the necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by others.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports.

Promote institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge… (since) it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the twenty-second of April, I793, is the index of my plan.

He then closes.

I fervently beseech the Almighty that, after forty five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Washington's "sentiments" will ring down the corridors of time, as the nation he helped to found hurtles toward prosperity and then toward dissolution:

- Preserving the Union is sacrosanct to liberty, safety and prosperity.
- Frown upon any attempt to alienate any portion from the rest.
- It is the duty of all men to obey the laws they have created.
- Rely on distributed power and checks and balances to preserve liberty.
- Avoid an overgrown military establishment.

- Religion and morality are essential supports to good government.
- An informed and knowledgeable public is also essential.
- Public credit must be cherished and debt avoided to maintain strength.
- Cultivate peace and harmony towards all nations.
- Beware of political parties who seek domination and revenge.

In addition to his closing advice to his fellow countrymen, the "Farewell Address" also signals that Washington does not intend to run for a third term. This puts an end to early fears that the President would be transformed into a European-style monarch, once in office.

It foretells an orderly transition to a successor – even in the midst of threatening events abroad and no small degree of political tension at home.

The fate of the nation will rest on the laws and institutions that have been established between the 1787 Constitution and the first eight years of government of the people.

The United States of America will now survive without George Washington, the one man who has done more than any other, to set it in motion.

In 1797 the time has come for the still vigorous 65 year old General and President to lay down the burdens of public office and retire to his beloved Mt. Vernon estate. Fate, however, does not turn out as planned.

****

Time: 1797-1799
Washington's "Retirement" And Death At Mt. Vernon

George Washington (1732-1799)

When Washington arrives back home on March 15, 1797, he finds that the time and devotion he has put into the presidency has left Mt. Vernon in need of fundamental repairs, almost top to bottom. What follows is a daily influx of carpenters and painters and groundskeepers, all working long days to meet the master's commands. But soon enough, his step-granddaughter, Nelly Custis, reports that:

> *Grampa is very well and much pleased with being once more Farmer Washington.*

In retirement, Washington pursues his art collection, oversees his plantation and begins to worry about mortality and about the fact that he finds himself land rich, but cash poor. To cover his sizable living expenses he begins to aggressively sell off his large land holdings in the west.


A Front View of Washington's Beloved Mt. Vernon

He also finds himself being drawn back into the controversy surrounding what the Democratic-Republicans argue was his favoritism for Britain over France. This has long been a cause celebre for men like Jefferson and Monroe, and Washington now encounters various pamphlets and messages he finds dismaying. He is particularly upset once again with Monroe, saying in a letter that he has exhibited a:

> *Mischievous and dangerous tendency, exposing to the public his private instructions and correspondence with his own government.*

Dismay soon converts, however, into a level of open hostility toward the Anti-Federalists and the French that he had eschewed over his many years on the political stage. By December 1797 he is intent on stepping back into the arena to ward off the threat he sees from France.

> *I cannot remain an unconcerned spectator of the attempt of another power to accomplish (our downfall).*

As France increases its hostile actions against the US, Adams decides to send a clear warning their way and chooses, as one path, the nomination, on July 2, 1798, of Washington to return as

Lieutenant General and Commander-in-Chief of all US military forces. He accepts the post two days later and devotes much of his time over the next seventeen months preparing an army to defend against a French invasion. Along the way he also bickers with Adams over strategy and over his staff, especially his wish to name Hamilton, the President's nemesis, as his top-ranked general.

Washington is still serving his country when he dies suddenly at Mt. Vernon on December 14, 1799.

Two days earlier he records the following in his diary:

> *Morning cloudy. Winds to northeast and mercury 33. A large circle round the moon last night. At about ten o'clock it began to snow, soon after to hail, and then to a settled cold rain. Mercury 28 at night.*

The storm he mentions starts soon after he rides out to inspect the far reaches of his farm. He returns home after five straight hours, soaking wet from the weather. He eats dinner and acknowledges that his throat is sore.

On December 13 he stays close to home and reads the daily newspaper with Martha and his aide before retiring. By 3am he awakens, feeling very ill, breathing heavily, and barely able to speak. He immediately senses that his life is in danger, and physicians are called. Before they arrive he tries, but is unable, to swallow a concoction of molasses, butter and vinegar. He then demands that bleeding should commence immediately, a common practice thought to rid the body of disease.

Three doctors finally arrive on December 14. More blood is drawn directly from Washington's throat and from his arm. He remains unable to swallow liquids. The diagnosis they settle on is "quinsy," a virulent form of tonsillitis, which calls for more bleeding and the application of blisters and purges. When nothing works, a trachea is debated to assist easier breathing, but it is rejected as too dangerous. One doctor finally insists that the bleeding stop, given the patient's age and growing weakness – but the others disagree, and Washington is bled again, for a fourth time.

By afternoon, Washington knows he is about to die, and calls on Martha and his aide to make final arrangements. He burns one of two final wills and finally waives the doctors away when they try to continue the treatment. As night comes on, his mind turns to fear of being buried alive. He says to his aide:

> *I die hard, but I am not afraid to go….My breath cannot last long…Have me decently buried and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead. Do you understand me?*

With those words, the General passes. Elaborate memorials honoring Washington's death will follow across the nation, but on December 19, a simple ceremony, organized by his local Masonic Lodge, carries him to a final resting place on his farm.

Washington's Burial Site at Mt. Vernon

Of all the founding fathers, only Washington is unequivocal in his determination to eventually free all of his slaves. Fearing that a future executor might waver, he issues a military-like command:

> *I do hereby forbid the sale of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. See that this clause, respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled…without evasion, neglect or delay.*

One year after Washington's death in 1799, Martha declares their freedom, and also sets aside a fund to educate the slave children in preparation for their new life.

Chapter 36. The Federalist, John Adams, Becomes America's Second President (1797)

John Adams (1735-1826)

Sections

- The Presidential Election Of 1796
- President John Adams: Personal Profile
- Overview Of Adam's Term
- Tensions Rise Between The United States And France
- The "XYZ Affair" Provokes Open Conflict With France
- Adams Unleashes Federal Power To Prevent A Feared Breakdown In Law And Order
- The "Virginia Kentucky Resolutions" Assert Limits On Federal Powers
- Adams Tries Again To Settle The Quasi-War With France
- The Treaty of Mortefontaine Ends The Conflict For Now

Macro-Themes

Elections
- Of 1796
- Sectionalism Appears
- 1800 Jefferson-Burr Tie

Presidents
- John Adams

International Affairs
- The "XYZ Affair" With France
- French Revolution
- Napoleon

Wars
- The "Quasi-War" With France

Governance
- The Alien And Sedition Acts
- "Kentucky Resolutions"
- "Nullification"

The Constitution
- Suppressing Political Dissent

Politics
- Federalists vs. Anti-Federalists

The Supreme Court

Slavery
- Anti-Fugitive Slave Act Petitions
- Gabriel's Rebellion

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Time: 1796

The Presidential Election Of 1796

With Washington retiring, the United States experiences its first genuine "race" for the presidency, in 1796.

The contest pits the Federalist Party against the Democratic-Republican Party, each promoting its own distinct philosophies about how the government should operate.

Both parties hold caucuses to select the two candidates they hope to elect for President and Vice-President, even though the actual "electoral process" as yet fails to distinguish votes for one position versus the other.

When Washington endorses the sitting Vice-President, John Adams of Massachusetts, he becomes the Federalist nominee for the top job. The party then settles on Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina for the second slot. Pinckney is educated abroad, a veteran of many Revolutionary War battles, member of his state legislature, and the successor to Adams as Minister to Great Britain. He is also favored over Adams by Alexander Hamilton, whose power among the Federalists is undiminished since his departure from the Treasury slot.

The opposition candidates are Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and Aaron Burr of New York. With Washington gone, they see the 1796 election as an opportunity to turn the country away from the Federalist vision for America. And they almost succeed.

The tone of the election becomes quite contentious. Foreign policy plays a large role during the campaign period, with Adams arguing that Jefferson's philosophy will lead to the kind of "mob rule" chaos being played out in France. In response, Jefferson accuses Adams of favoring an English-style monarchy for America, citing his proposal in 1787 to refer to the President as "His Highness."

Voting takes place between November 4 and December 7, 1796. While the popular turn-out more than doubles to 66,841, this is still only 1.5% of the total population of 4.6 million. When it comes to choosing "electors," a total of 9 of the 16 states now rely, at least in part, on the public results.

Role Of Popular Voting In Choosing Presidential Electors

How Electors are Chosen	**States**
Exclusively by state legislators	Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont
Exclusively by popular voting	Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia
Mix of popular and legislator voting	Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Tennessee

As president of the Senate, Adams himself has the duty of tallying the "elector's" ballots and announcing the winner. Much to his relief, he finds that he has won – by a 71-68 margin in the College and by a slim margin in the popular voting.

Results Of The 1796 Presidential Election

Candidates	**State**	**Party**	**Pop Vote**	**Tot EV**	**South**	**Border**	**North**
John Adams	Mass	Federalist	35,726	71	2	10	59
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Dem-Republican	31,115	68	46	8	15
Thomas Pinckney	SC	Federalist		59			
Aaron Burr	NY	Dem-Republican		30			
Samuel Adams	Mass	Dem-Republican		15			
Oliver Ellsworth	Conn	Federalist		11			
Other Federalists				13			
Other Dem-Repub				9			
Total			66,841	276*			
Needed To Win				70			

Note: South (Virginia, N Carolina, S Carolina, Georgia), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn,Vt)

Note: Total # electors = 138, each casing 2 votes = 276 total votes; must get more than half of 138 voters = 70.

The results reveal a sectional pattern that will persist over time – with large electoral majorities for the Federalists in the North and for the Democratic-Republicans in the South. Ironically Adams victory rides on support from two southern electors, one in Virginia and the other in North Carolina.

Jefferson congratulates his adversary and friend in a gracious letter:

May your administration be filled with glory and happiness to yourself and advantages to us… (I say this) as one who though, in the course of our voyage through life, various little incidents have happened or been contrived to separate us, retains for you the solid esteem of the moments when we were working for our independence, and sentiments of respect and affectionate attachment.

The Federalists also make strong gains in the people's House, adding twelve new seats and stopping the long-run gains by their opponents -- and they win back control of the Senate.

Congressional Election Trends

House	**1789**	**1791**	**1793**	**1795**	**1797**
Democratic-Republicans	28	30	55	61	49
Federalist	37	39	50	45	57
Senate					
Democratic-Republicans	7	12	14	16	12
Federalist	19	17	16	14	20
	Wash	Wash	Wash	Wash	Adam
Congress #	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th

The "pick-ups" by the Federalists extend across all sections, including the southern and border states.

House Trends By Region

Democratic-Republican	**Total**	**South**	**Border**	**North**
1795	61	33	7	21
1797	49	30	4	15
Change	(12)	(3)	(3)	(6)
Federalists				
1795	45	5	4	36
1797	57	8	7	42
	+12	+3	+3	+6

So Adams will go into office with apparently solid backing from the Fifth Congress.

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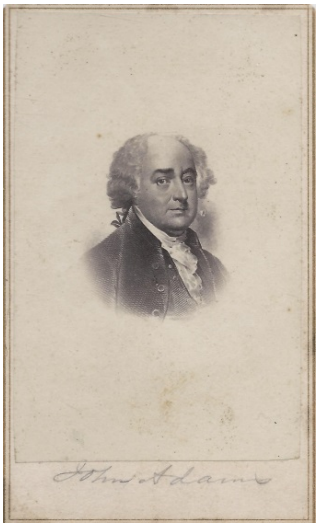
Time: 1735-1836
President John Adams: Personal Profile



John Adams (1735-1826)

As Jefferson points out, John Adams has come to the presidency after many years of struggle and personal sacrifices on behalf of the United States.

His roots are humble, the first born son of a modest farmer and shoemaker in Braintree, Massachusetts.

He is a good student and earns a scholarship to attend Harvard College. His father wishes him to become a minister, but he is uncomfortable with the "pretended sanctity" of the clergy, and eventually switches from being a traditional New England Congregationalist to a much less conventional Unitarian.

After a short stint in teaching, Adams settles on a legal career, earning a master's degree at Harvard and reading law as an apprentice. In 1758, aged 23, he opens an office in Boston. Three years pass before he wins his first case but from there his practice flourishes.

His distinct personal traits are evident from early on. His logic is pristine and he retains remarkable objectivity about issues that come his way. Once his mind is made up, he is unshakeable in getting others to follow suit. He is intensely loyal, ambitious, hardworking, and frugal. His spirits vary from upbeat and humorous to melancholy and bitter. While capable of great warmth, his tendency to speak bluntly and honestly limits close friendships.

But he is blessed with one unwavering friendship in his wife, Abigail, whom he marries in 1764 and remains by his side for the next 54 years. She is a remarkable figure in her own right, intelligent, witty, an astute judge of political matters, and the one who holds farm and family together when duty calls her husband away.

Adams is first drawn into politics by the British Stamp Act of 1765. He sees the act as a violation of his rights as an Englishman, a principle captured best by another Boston lawyer, James Otis, Jr. --"taxation without representation is tyranny."

As the conflict grows around Boston, Adams the lawyer is compelled to stand up for another principle, this time involving "due process." His clients are eight British soldiers, charged with killing five civilians and wounding seven others on March 5, 1770, during the "Boston Massacre." He puts forth a compelling defense, arguing that the soldiers were forced to defend themselves against a mob action threatening their lives. He wins the case and is widely vilified. But for Adams, the law is the law.

> *Facts are stubborn things, and whatever may be our wishes, our inclinations, or the dictums of our passions, they cannot alter the state of facts and evidence.*

After the trial, he is soon back into the political struggle with Britain.

He is elected to the Massachusetts Assembly in 1770, and subsequently serves as a delegate to both the First and Second Continental Congresses. When the 1775 fighting breaks out, he nominates George Washington to act as Commander-in-Chief of the army. He is selected by the Convention to serve on the Committee of Five and draft a Declaration of Independence. He calls upon Jefferson to lead the group, who asks "why." In characteristically direct fashion, Adams responds:

> *Reason first: you are a Virginian and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason second: I am obnoxious, suspected and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason third: You can write ten times better than I can.*

During the Revolutionary War, Adams serves on some 70 different committees, most notably as head of the Board of War and Ordnance, charged with trying to provide the troops with adequate supplies. His younger brother, Elihu, dies of dysentery while serving.

In 1778 he begins a ten year tour of duty as roving ambassador in Europe, which will include five straight years without seeing Abigail. He suffers greatly during this period, racked by frequent loneliness, despair and even illness. But on February 6, 1778 his efforts are rewarded when he joins Franklin in signing the Amity Treaty with France that brings them into the war on the American side, and leads to the 1781 victory at Yorktown.

In 1782 he negotiates a critical loan from the Netherlands to avoid American bankruptcy, and in 1783, along with Franklin and John Jay he meets with a British delegation from King George III to sign the Treaty of Paris, officially ending the Revolutionary War.

Ben Franklin captures two sides of his long-term colleague:

> *He means well for his country, is always an honest man, often a wise one, but sometimes, and in some things, absolutely out of his senses.*

His experiences abroad have left him with firm convictions about government and the presidency.

> *The greatest dangers to any polity comes from unbridled democracy and an unrestrained aristocracy capable of becoming an oligarchy. The antidote to these dangers is a strong executive*.

He regards the Executive as the "father and protector" of the nation and of all its citizens, the one man able to act in an independent and disinterested manner on all issues.

His views are those of the Federalists writ large, and Washington selects him to run on the 1788 ticket. He is chosen by 34 of the 69 electors, far ahead of all other contenders for the second slot.

While the President largely relies on Alexander Hamilton rather than Adams for advice, he serves faithfully as Vice-President from 1789-97 and, over that period, casts 31 tie-breaking votes as head of the Senate in favor of Washington's policies.

When the 1796 election rolls around, Adams feels like he is "next in line," but also under-appreciated within the political arena. The spotlight in Paris has fallen on Franklin, not on him. Washington seems to favor Hamilton, although the Treasury Secretary has now resigned due to his marital scandal. Adams also knows that his basic temperament is not well suited for politics. He is forever outspoken and often prickly. Those who basically like him, such as Jefferson, often do so grudgingly.

In light of all this, he is delighted when the President endorses him to lead the country and also openly praises his son, John Quincy, who has served as minister to Holland, Portugal and Prussia since 1793.

In 1797 John Adams begins his time in office. It will be a challenging time, and he will forever rank it as less valuable to America than his efforts to win independence.

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Time: March 4, 1797- March 4, 1801
Overview Of Adam's Term

John Adams arrives at his inauguration as the short, somewhat portly, modestly dressed man walking between two tall and elegantly attired Virginian planters, Washington and Jefferson. But his opening address is forceful and it lays out the central issue that will occupy his entire time in office – navigating toward neutrality and peaceful relations with both France and Britain as they again battle for worldwide supremacy.

This task involves political intrigue not only abroad, but also at home, because his Federalist Party, especially Alexander Hamilton, is strongly aligned with the British cause, while the Democratic-Republicans, and notably his Vice-President, Jefferson, favor France.

Adams' first decision in office is fateful and will come back to haunt him. He chooses to retain Washington's entire cabinet, most of whom will prove more loyal to Hamilton than to him. His rationale goes as follows:

> *Washington had appointed them, and I knew it would turn the world upside down if I removed any of them.*

Secretary of State Pickering is a military man, who fought alongside Washington and has previously served as Postmaster General and Secretary of War. He is a particularly strong personality, and thoroughly on the side of England – "the world's last hope: Britain's fast anchored isle" – against the French. His views on this are shared by both Treasury Secretary Wolcott and the Secretary of War, ex-surgeon James McHenry, a signer of the 1787 Constitution.

Adams finds only one true supporter for his policy of strict neutrality, and that is Benjamin Stoddert, who joins the cabinet in 1798, after Adams acts to create a formidable U.S. Navy. Unlike the others, Stoddert will actually try to convert the President's policies into their intended outcomes.

John Adams Cabinet

Position	**Name**	**Home State**
Vice-President	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia
Secretary of State	Timothy Pickering	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	Oliver Wolcott, Jr.	Connecticut
Secretary of War	James McHenry	Maryland
Secretary of the Navy	Benjamin Stoddert	Maryland
Attorney General	Charles Lee	Virginia

John Adams entire presidency will be dominated by U.S. relations with France, and the effort to avoid war with America's former ally. To do so, he must deal internationally with the likes of the devious and

corrupt foreign minister, Prince de Talleyrand, and his master, Napoleon Bonaparte, positioning himself to conquer the world.

As punishment for the 1794 Amity Treaty with Britain, the French begin to intercept American merchant ships on the high seas, seize their cargo and "impress" captured sailors. Over time some 300 vessels fall victim to this form of piracy.

Adams responds by sending peace commissioners to Paris, where they are rebuffed, and by materially upgrading his military strength at home, which is viewed as needlessly provocative to his Democratic-Republican critics.

When homeland criticism mounts, the President responds with a series of highly divisive "law and order" measures (The Alien And Sedition Acts) that clearly bend, if not break, several guarantees in the five year old Bill of Rights.

The drums of war intensify into 1798, with Adams actually luring George Washington out of retirement to create a standing army capable of combatting a French invasion.

By 1799, however, Napoleon suddenly turns his focus away from the American conflict for the time being, and toward an invasion of Britain. This shift leads to the Treaty of Mortefontaine which ends the "Quasi-War" with France.

In response, the American economy, which has dipped in 1797-98, begins a slow rebound as greater safety is restored to international trade.

Economic Growth During Adams' Term

	1796	**1797**	**1798**	**1799**	**1800**
Total GDP ($MM)	417	409	413	442	480
Per Capita GDP	89	84	83	86	91
% Change	6%	(6%)	(1%)	4%	6%

Adams has achieved the neutrality sought, albeit paying a high price in domestic politics along the way.

John Adams' Presidency: Key Events

1797	**French attack US ships; congress funds 10,000 militia in case of war**
March 4	Adams and Jefferson are sworn in
May 10	The first ship in the new US Navy, the *United States*, is launches
May 31	With relations eroding, Adams names three emissaries to visit France
June 1	Sec of State Pickering reports that 300 US ships have been seized by France
June 24	Congress approves an 80,000 man militia in case of war with France
September 7	The *USS Constellation* joins the Navy fleet
October 18	In the XYZ Affair, Talleyrand demands a bribe to negotiate with the US envoys
October 21	The *USS Constitution* ("Old Ironsides") is launched
1798	
January 8	The 11th Amendment becomes law
January 17	John Marshall formally rejects the proposed French bribes in the XYZ Affair
April 3	Adams releases the XYZ correspondence to Congress for its scrutiny
April 7	The Mississippi Territory is created by Congress (Alabama + Mississippi area)
May 3	The Department of the Navy is officially begun; Stoddert to head it.
May 28	Congress authorizes naval action against French ships interfering with commerce
June 18	Congress passes the first Alien and Sedition Act, silencing criticism of government
June 25	The Alien Act authorizes deportation of any non-citizen deemed dangerous
July 2	Adams appoints George Washington to head an army vs. a French invasion
July 11	A fourth Sedition Act prohibits "any false and malicious writing" about government
July 11	The US Marine Corps is founded
September 12	Ben Franklin's grandson, Ben Bache, is imprisoned for Anti-Federalist editorials
November 16	Jefferson's "Kentucky Resolutions" oppose violations of Bill of Rights guarantees
November 20	The French seize the American schooner *Retaliation* in the Caribbean
December 24	Madison's "Virginia Resolution" also oppose the Alien and Sedition crackdown
1799	
February 9	The *USS Constellation* captures the French frigate *l'Insurgente* in the Caribbean
February 18	To the dismay of Hamilton and the hardliners, Adams signals wish to talk with France
March 29	New York passes a "gradual emancipation" statute
November 10	In a coup against The Director, Napoleon rules France as First Counsel
December 14	George Washington dies suddenly at Mt. Vernon
1800	
January 2	Free blacks in Philadelphia petition Congress to rescind the Fugitive Slave Act
February 1	The *USS Constellation* battles *LaVengeance* in the Caribbean
March 8	Napoleon officially receives the US envoys seeking negotiations to restore peace
April 24	The Library of Congress is begun
May 10	Congress passes the Harrison Land Act, allowing smaller 320 acre parcels for sale
May 12	Adams sacks Sec of State, Thomas Pickering, for colluding against him with Hamilton
June	The Government officially transfers from Philadelphia to Washington, DC
June 14	Napoleon scores a major victory over Austria at the Battle of Marengo
August 31	A slave rebellion plot, planned by Gabriel Prosser, is foiled near Richmond, Va.
September 30	The Treaty of Mortefontaine ends the "Quasi-War" with France
October 1	Napoleon signs the secret Treaty of Ildefonso whereby Spain returns Louisiana to France
December 3	Voting takes place in the presidential election of 1800
1801	
January 27	Adams' choice for Chief Justice, John Marshall, is approved by the lame-duck Senate
February 11	Electoral College votes show that Jefferson and Aaron Burr are tied for the Presidency
February 17	Hamilton breaks the deadlock in favor of Jefferson, whom he calls "the lesser evil"
February 27	The Judiciary Act defines the structure of the Supreme Court and other federal courts
March 3	Adams attempts to pack the court with Federalist judges, leading to the *Marbury* case

****

Summer 1797
Tensions Rise Between The United States And France

France is very upset by John Jay's 1794 Amity Treaty with Britain. They regard it as a direct betrayal of the 1778 Treaty that Adams himself, along with Franklin, signed in Paris – which led to the crucial French role in the Battle of Yorktown and America's independence. Adams had promised that America would provide military support to France in case of a future war with Britain, and now it is backing out.

To signal displeasure, France threatens the United States militarily and economically by seizing its merchant ships on their way to and from Europe.

As these violations of international trade accelerate, President Adams responds with "a carrot and a stick."

He announces these in a carefully worded speech to Congress on May 16, 1797. The "carrot" to France will be a ministerial commission seeking peace; the "stick" will lie in a build-up of America's military might.

> *While we are endeavoring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiation, with the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of our affairs, render it my duty to recommend your consideration of effectual measures of defense.*

The pro-British Federalists, including Washington and Hamilton, are delighted by Adams' response. Both men are alarmed by the chaotic Reign of Terror and intent on suppressing any similar breakdown at home.

On the other hand, Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans, roundly criticize Adams, claiming that the buildup of America's military will only boost the odds of French belligerence

Adams is undeterred by the opposition, and turns his attention to naming the negotiators he will send to Paris.

His first choice is James Madison, and he asks his Vice-President, Jefferson, to convince Madison to accept his request. When Madison refuses, Adams holds it against Jefferson for what he regards as allowing party politics to get in the way of the national interest. Adams distances himself from Jefferson, who reacts with a bitter letter to a political friend in France.

> *Mr. Adams is vain, irritable, stubborn, endowed with excessive self-love, and still suffers pique at the preference accorded Franklin over him in Paris.*

With Madison out of the picture, Adams selects a three man delegation to meet with the French. One is the current Minister To France, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, named to his post by Washington in 1796. He will be joined by Elbridge Gerry, like Pinckney a former delegate to the 1787 Constitutional Convention, and John Marshall, a Revolutionary War veteran and lawyer, and a lifelong antagonist of Jefferson, who is his cousin.

The commission completes the 10 week voyage across the Atlantic and arrives in Paris in October 1797.

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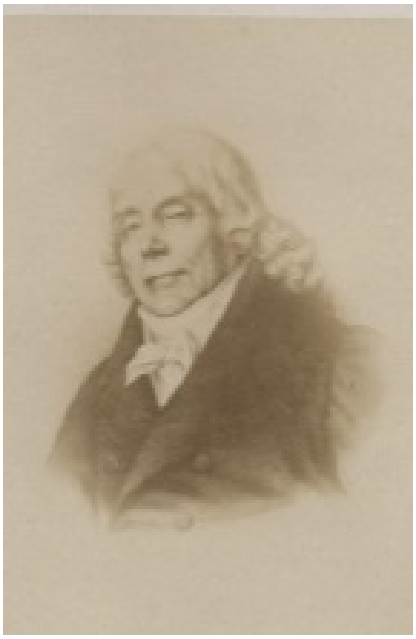
October 1797 to July 1798
The "XYZ Affair" Provokes Open Conflict With France



French Minister de Talleyrand (1754-1838)

Between October 1797 and July 1798 the American delegation is subjected to a series of humiliations at the hands of the French Foreign Minister, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord.

Talleyrand is the very definition of the scheming political survivor, having served the guillotined King Louis XVI, shifting allegiances to the Robespierre led rebels, then ingratiating himself to Napoleon Bonaparte, before finally backing and serving the restored monarchies of Louis XVIII and Louis Philippe. He will consistently use his power to extract personal bribes during diplomatic negotiations, achieve great wealth, and die peacefully on his estate at age 84, in 1838.

He commences his manipulations of the American ministers as soon as talks begin. Nothing "official" can occur, he tells them, unless and until President Adams makes a public apology for his threatening policies and France receives a $12 million "loan" from America. For good measure he demands a payment of $250,000 to his personal account to continue the negotiations.

When Charles Pinckney responds with "no, not a sixpence," Talleyrand goes into a prolonged stalling phase that drags on into 1798. As the Americans announce their intention to depart, he threatens that France will declare war on the United States if they do so.

President Adams is informed of all this via dispatches that filter home over time. In March 1798 he learns of the treatment of his ministers and the bullying demands from Talleyrand. He shares the news with his Cabinet, but decides to withhold public disclosure of the dispatches in which the exploits of Talleyrand's three go-betweens – code named X and Y and Z – are detailed. He fears that these revelations will fan the American flames of war, at a time when he still hopes to prevent it.

Secretary of State Pickering and Attorney General Lee insist that Adams should in fact declare war. Washington and Hamilton also signal their support for aggressive action.

In Congress, the Democratic-Republicans demand that all the dispatches related to the negotiations be released to the public and their bill to this effect wins by a 65-27 margin in the House. On April 3, 1798, Adams complies.

The documents expose what becomes known as the "XYZ Affair," including the French arrogance toward the American delegation and Talleyrand's bribe. The pro-France Republicans are shocked by the disclosures, which blunt much of their criticism of Adams.

Later in April of 1798, Pinckney and Marshall abandon the talks and sail home. Elbridge Gerry stays in Paris, still hoping to break through with Talleyrand on his own, to secure peace.

The growing fear of war prompts Congress to finally authorize the funds needed to convert the objectives of the 1794 Naval Act into an actual United States Navy, capable of contending with European adversaries.

Adams is delighted by the congressional support, and on May 3, 1798, he names Benjamin Stoddert to the new Cabinet post of Secretary of the Navy, and considers this move one of the high points of his presidency. The heavy frigates, *USS Constitution* ("Old Ironsides"), United States and *Constellation,* are about to be joined by the *USS Chesapeake, Congress* and *President* on the high seas.

Two months later, on July 7, 1798, Congress annuls the landmark 1778 Treaty of Alliance binding America militarily to France in case of war involving Britain, and authorizes attacks on French ships at sea. Thus begins what will become known as the "Quasi-War" with America's former ally.

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July 1798
Adams Unleashes Federal Power To Prevent A Feared Breakdown In Law And Order

The collapse of the peace negotiations, together with Napoleon's stunning victories in Austria and Italy, amplify Federalist concerns about national security. With war on the horizon, America's survival may hinge on its ability to prevent the collapse of law and order they associate with the French version of democracy.

They settle on two tactics, often employed in the future course of American history, to quell internal dissent.

The first is directed against "foreign immigrants," especially those from France and Ireland, whose heritage or religion places them outside the dominant American class – white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant.

On June 18 Congress passes a Naturalization Act which sounds this "nativist theme." It boosts the "waiting period" for immigrants to become citizens from four to fourteen years.

This is followed one week later by the Alien Enemies Act – allowing citizens of an enemy nation to be arrested and deported should war break out -- and the Alien Friends Act, enabling deportation of any non-U.S. citizen deemed a threat to national safety.

It is, however, the Sedition Act of July 14 that immediately draws criticism. This Act, in four sections, is aimed at stifling political opposition until March 3, 1801, which encompasses the remainder of Adam's term.

> *Section 1.That if any persons shall unlawfully combine or conspire together, with intent to oppose any measure or measures of the government of the United States…or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly… he or they shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction…shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment during a term not less than six months nor exceeding five years…*
>
> *Section 2. That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or…willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or the Congress or the President, with intent to*

defame (them) or bring them…into contempt or disrepute…or to stir up sedition within the United States…or to resist, oppose, or defeat any… law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation… then such person…shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

Section 3. That if any person shall be prosecuted under this act…it shall be lawful for the defendant, upon the trial of the cause, to give in evidence in his defence, the truth of the matter…charged as a libel. And the jury who shall try the cause, shall have a right to determine the law and the fact, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

Section 4.That this act shall continue and be in force until the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and one, and no longer:

The Democratic-Republican opposes the Act, on grounds that it violates the First Amendment right to free speech.

First Amendment. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Federalists respond in line with British law, arguing that "free speech" is indeed protected "in advance" of its commission, but are fair game for prosecution if it proves to be factually wrong and damaging to those attacked.

In October 1798, a Republican congressman from Vermont, Matthew Lyon, becomes the first citizen convicted under the Sedition Act, for asserting that Adams is power hungry and belongs in a madhouse. Lyon serves a four month jail sentence, pays a $1,000 fine, and emerges as a hero in his state for speaking out freely against the President.

Other indictments under the Sedition Act, some thirteen in total, will mainly target Republican newspaper editors – such as Benjamin Bache of Philadelphia, Franklin's grandson -- who criticize the Federalist administration.

Opponents of the law regard it as one more attempt by the federal government to trample on the rights of the people, and search for a "legal basis" to overturn it.

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November 10, 1798
The "Kentucky Resolutions" Assert Limits On Federal Powers

Jefferson ponders a call to the states to "nullify" the law, but instead joins with Madison to criticize it for violating the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.[1]

According to the Virginians, the federal government lacks the power to impose the Alien and Sedition Acts on its citizens. To be legal, any such laws must originate with the people acting through their state legislatures.

Jefferson is the first to act in opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts by authoring what becomes known as the "Kentucky Resolutions."

He writes these secretly and conveys them to his friend, John Breckinridge, who is serving in the Kentucky House of Representatives, to propose their adoption. Jefferson deflects all public inquiries as to his role all the way up to 1821, when one of Breckinridge's sons probes him about the history of the document.

Jefferson's document reaffirms the State's sovereign authority over the kinds of issues raised in the Sedition Act.

> *Kentucky Resolution 1: Be it resolved that the States…are NOT united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government…but that, under a Constitution, they delegated to that government certain definite powers reserving…to each State the residuary mass of rights to their own self-government*

It then goes on – in its original form – to propose that state "nullification" is the proper remedy for cases of overreach by the central government.

> *The several states who formed [the Constitution], being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction; and, that a nullification, by those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy.*

The idea of "state nullification" is, however, softened before the bill passes on November 16, 1798.

> *And that, whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force and that each party has an equal right to judge for itself the extent of the powers delegated to itself.*

It is not until one year later, in a further attempt to rally support, that the "nullification" remedy is restored in a second Kentucky Resolution of 1799.

After Jefferson, it is Madison's turn to attack Adams and the Sedition Act. He does so in a "Virginia Resolution" passed by the state legislature on December 24, 1798.

> *RESOLVED, That the General Assembly of Virginia, doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution...declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States..views the powers of the federal government…to which the states are parties as limited.. and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers…is duty bound, to maintain…their respective limits…*
>
> *That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret, that a spirit has in sundry instances, been manifested the federal government, to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them…so as to consolidate the states by degrees, into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable consequence of which would be, to transform the present republican system of the United States, into an absolute, or at best a mixed monarchy.*

That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution, in the two late cases of the "Alien and Sedition Acts"…which exercises… a power not delegated by the constitution, but on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments that this state having by its Convention…expressly declared, that among other essential rights, "the Liberty of Conscience and of the Press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States,"…it would mark a reproachable inconsistency. If…indifference were now shewn, to the most palpable violation of… the Rights, thus declared…

The two Republican resolutions are eventually voted on more broadly, but to no effect. Ten states reject the proposals and another four decide to take no action.

With a possible war looming and the Federalists enjoying political control, debates over state sovereignty win only limited support in 1798. Over the decades ahead, however, this issue will return with a vengeance, first over taxes and then over slavery.

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Time: 1798-1799

Adams Tries Again To Settle The Quasi-War With France

U.S.S. Constitution, Commissioned in 1797.

As 1798 closes, Adams' efforts to hold out for peace are being off-set by Hamilton and even Washington, both apparently eager to fight the French. Secretary of War McHenry conspires in the effort, sharing secret documents with Hamilton while cautioning him to act surreptitiously.

Do not, I pray you, in writing or otherwise, betray the confidence which has induced me to deal thus with you.

Plans are under way now to raise a standing army. Adams names Washington Commander-in-Chief, and the old General demands that Hamilton, the President's nemesis, be appointed second in command. Jefferson imagines an upcoming Federalist coup, with a crackdown on individual and state's rights, enforced by Hamilton at the head of a federal army.

Then suddenly, on October 4, 1798, the tide turns in favor of John Adams.

The lone surviving member of his Paris delegation, Elbridge Gerry, tells him that the French now want peace!

Adams holds this news close to his vest, needing to make sure of its veracity. He continues to publicly back all military preparations under way, while staunchly refusing to ask Congress to declare war. As a result, he is whipsawed between the pro-French Republican doves and his own pro-British Federalist hawks.

But Adams is undeterred. In January 1799, his ambassador son in Europe, John Quincy, reassures him that France wants to negotiate, and on February 9, 1799, his naval build-up begins to pay out. The *USS Constellation* defeats the frigate, *La Insurgente*, with its 36 guns and reputation as the fastest boat in the French navy, off the coast of Nevis Island in the Caribbean Sea.

The President plunges forward on February 16 with a message to Congress announcing the choice of his Dutch ambassador, William Vans Murray, to lead a second negotiating party to France. This stuns Adams's critics in both political parties. His sanity is questioned by some, including Secretary of State, Pickering; others push for older and more experienced replacements for Murray. Adams responds by adding the Republican, Patrick Henry, and Oliver Ellsworth, sitting Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Despite word in August that Talleyrand will officially receive the ministers, departure is delayed. On October 15, 1799, Adams asks his Cabinet for support to send the mission. Pickering, McHenry and Wolcott refuse, leaving only Lee and the ever loyal Stoddert on Adams' side. After also hearing opposition from Washington and Hamilton, Adams decides to send the delegation anyway. They depart on November 15, 1799.

While they are enroute, America suffers an emotional shock: George Washington dies suddenly on December 14, at age sixty-seven. Two full days of supervising Mt. Vernon farm work on horseback in snow, hail and rain lead on to a sore throat and a streptococcus infection which kills him within 48 hours.

The burden of leading the nation now falls even more heavily on John Adams, as the new century dawns.

Naval battles with the French persist, cleverly countered by Secretary Benjamin Stoddert across the Caribbean. On the night of February 1, 1800, the *USS Constellation*, exchanges roughly 1500 rounds with *La Vengeance*, while scoring another victory, off the island of St. Kitts, 600+ miles due west of Haiti.

By mid-May, Adams finally concedes that retaining Washington's Cabinet was a mistake. On May 5, he asks his scheming War Secretary, McHenry, to step aside. On the 15th he sacks Secretary of State Pickering, who refuses to submit his resignation when asked. He then names John Marshall to succeed Pickering – before later insuring that Marshall is installed as Chief Justice of the Supreme, in a host of last second efforts to shape the judicial system along Federalist lines.

Still, peace negotiations with France drag on without resolution into the presidential election season – with Adams attacked by Hamilton and the "hard Federalists," and by the Democratic-Republicans, who decide to run Vice-President Jefferson against him in the 1800 election.

The fate of Adams' bid for a second term is sealed by the time the French talks reach resolution.

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Time: September 30, 1800
The Treaty Of Morfontaine Ends The Conflict For Now

By June of 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte is essentially dictator of France. He has overthrown the Directory and replaced it with the Consulate, naming himself First Consul. He has also won another landmark victory, at the Battle of Marengo in June, driving the Austrians out of Italy. Talleyrand is now "his" foreign minister, and they are plotting a campaign to invade Britain -- the one country that stands in his way of reasserting the global dominance France enjoyed in the 17th century.

To do so, he wants to ease all secondary military pressures, first from Spain and then from America.

On October 1, 1800, he concludes the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso with Spain, trading land won in the Tuscan region of Italy for a return of the vast Louisiana Territory that France had ceded to Spain in 1762, after losing The Seven Years War.

Napoleon turns next to freeing up his naval forces from the Caribbean engagements with the United States.

With ownership of the middle third of North America, along the Mississippi, in his hands, he can assuage the Americans now and return to possible battles there at a later date, after Britain is defeated.

So he tells Talleyrand to conclude a treaty with the U.S.

The fact that France again owns Louisiana would prove very alarming to the American negotiators, but this fact is kept secret for another year, until November 1801.

A deal ending the "Quasi-War" is finally concluded on November 30, 1800, the Treaty of Morfontaine. Article One captures the overall spirit:

> *There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere Friendship between the French Republic and the United States of America, and between their respective countries territories, cities, towns, and people without exception of persons, or places.*

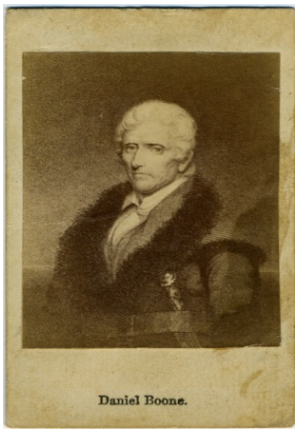
The other details are straight-forward and standard: captured vessels will be returned; claims dropped; cargo ships shall not be attacked; and favorable commercial terms will be granted to both sides.

After all his years devoted to winning America's freedom as a patriot, John Adams can finally say that he further kept it secure as a President.

As he says later in life:

> *I desire no other inscription over my gravestone than: 'Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of peace with France in the year 1800.'*

Chapter 37. America Begins Its Inevitable Expansion To The West (1767-1820)



Daniel Boone (1734-1820)

Sections

- Daniel Boone And The "Colony Of Transylvania"

Macro-Themes

Exploration
- Into The Northwest Territory
- The Transylvania Company
- Daniel Boone

Transportation
- The Wilderness Road

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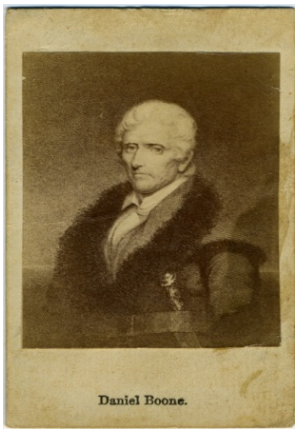
Time: 1774-1820

Daniel Boone And The "Colony Of Transylvania"



From 1607 to 1800, the end of Adams' term, the vast majority of Americans have lived within 125 miles of the Atlantic coast, east of the Appalachian Mountains "barrier," which runs 1500 miles from Newfoundland and Massachusetts, southwest across 17 states into Georgia and Alabama.

Some, however, have long turned their gaze westward, across the mountains, to land occupied by Indian tribes, but claimed by the British crown.

Many of these are wealthy speculators, aware of the profits to be had in buying and selling land. Their vision lies in founding "corporations" along the lines of those underlying the original colonies – the Virginia Companies of London and Plymouth, the Massachusetts Bay Company, the Dutch East Indies – and then reaping the personal wealth that follows.

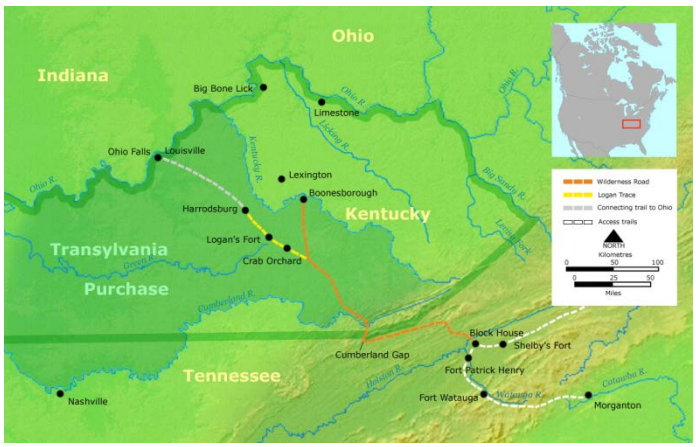
One such venture materializes in 1774, when a wealthy judge from North Carolina, James Henderson, founds the Transylvania Company. His vision lies in a new "14th Colony" of some 20 million acres lying in the southwestern half of what becomes Kentucky.

On March 14, 1775, Henderson signs the "Treaty of Sycamore Shoals," buying this land from the Cherokees. He thinks his purchase will be declared legal – which won't be the case – and proceeds to generate profits by selling plots to prospective settlers. He then sends his hired explorer, Daniel Boone, to facilitate their movement west.

Boone is a Quaker by birth, who grows up in western Pennsylvania, in close contact with the Lenape (Delaware) tribe, and then moves with his family to North Carolina, where he earns his reputation as a "backwoodsman." He makes his living as a hunter and trapper, and begins in 1767 to explore Kentucky. James Henderson learns of Boone's prowess and signs him on with the Transylvania Company.

The main challenge Boone faces in this trek is the Appalachian range. It is a formidable natural boundary, rising over two miles above sea level in places, and sprouting dense woods throughout most of its ridges and valleys.

But Boone is already familiar with a depression known as the Cumberland Gap, and a path through it that will become known as the Wilderness Road -- a well-travelled route the tribes have used for generations, moving east and west. In early 1775 he guides some thirty pioneers over this path to the Kentucky River, where he founds the settlement of Boonesborough (near Lexington).



The Transylvania Purchase And Cumberland Gap

In May 1775 Henderson gathers roughly one hundred settlers there for a three day convention aimed at writing a formal constitution for the colony. The result of this is the Transylvania Compact, a document which Henderson tries repeatedly to get approved by the Assemblies of both Virginia and North Carolina.

In December 1778, with the Revolutionary War under way, Virginia denies Henderson's claim, while awarding him a 12 square mile land parcel along the Ohio River. This ends his plan for the 14th Colony, Transylvania.

However, the die has already been cast for settlers to flow west across the Wilderness Road.

Other homesteaders follow behind, and by 1800, the Census reports a total of 387,000 American living in new Territories, west of the Appalachian Mountains. Roughly one in five are African slaves.

American Population Living West Of The Appalachians In 1800 (000)

All Territories	Kentucky	Tennessee	Ohio	Indiana	Mississippi
387,000	221,000	106,000	45,000	6,000	9,000

Boone himself continues to live in the town bearing his name between 1775 and 1779, and then in other homes across Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana and Missouri over the rest of his life. During the Revolutionary War, he serves as Lt. Colonel of the Fairfield Militia, seeing action in Ohio and Kentucky. His second son, Israel, is killed on the battlefield.

After the war, he is elected to the Virginia Assembly, representing the land it will claim until Kentucky becomes a state in 1792. He becomes a vigorous but unsuccessful land speculator, and, according to legend, accompanies an expedition which reaches west to the Yellowstone River in 1814, at age 82 years. He dies in 1820 of natural causes in Defiance, Missouri, and is ultimately laid to rest in Frankfort, Kentucky.

His presence is immortalized in tree carvings – “D. Boon kilt a bar here” – and in American folklore. The author, James Fennimore Cooper, bases his 1826 novel, *The Last of the Mohicans*, on an Indian kidnapping of two of Boone’s daughters -- and Lord Byron references him in an epic poem.

But his lasting legacy will be as the frontiersman who initiated America’s westward expansion.

Chapter 38. Thomas Jefferson And The Democratic-Republicans Win The Presidency (1800)

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

Sections

- Jefferson Is Elected President By The House Of Representatives
- The Democratic-Republicans Also Gain Control Over Both Houses Of Congress
- President Thomas Jefferson: Personal Profile
- Overview Of Jefferson's First Term: March 4, 1801-March 3, 1805

Macro-Themes

Elections
- Of 1800

Presidents
- Jefferson

Politics
- Collapse Of Federalists
- Repealing Adams' Laws

Expansion
- Louisiana Purchase
- Tribal Lands In NW Territory

Exploration
-Lewis & Clark

International
- Napoleon As Emperor
- War With Tripoli

Supreme Court
- *Marbury v Madison*

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Time: 1800

Jefferson Is Elected President By The House Of Representatives

State voting in the election of 1800 –extending from October 31 to December 3, 1800 – finds Adams and the Federalist Party in a state of disarray.

The President has sacked disloyal Cabinet members in May; his peace commissioners to France won't conclude a treaty until November 30, after most votes are cast; and Hamilton, the de facto head of the Party, comes out in favor of Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina over Adams.

Hamilton's opposition to Adams is long-standing and intense. In October 1800 he attacks the President in a 54 page pamphlet, *Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams*. In this diatribe, Hamilton says that his choice is Pinckney:

> *Resulted from the disgusting egotism, the distempered jealousy, and the ungovernable indiscretion of Mr. Adams' temper, joined to some doubts of the correctness of his maxims of administration.*

The Democratic-Republicans are delighted by the split within the Federalists and add their own attacks against Adams, especially around the Sedition Act -- which they cast as another attempt by the federal

government to override individual freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. Their "intended" ticket calls for Thomas Jefferson to become President, with Aaron Burr as his Vice-President.

When the electors gather to vote on February 11, 1801, John Adams is able to make a race of it, despite all of his vulnerabilities. In a contest requiring at least 70 of the 138 ballots to win, he is chosen by 65 electors, only 6 less than his 1796 total.

But what follows next shocks the entire election system set up in the 1787 Constitution. Two men – Jefferson and Burr – end up in a dead tie for the top spot, with 73 votes apiece.

Results Of The 1800 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV	South	Border	North
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Democratic-Rep	41,330	73	44	9	20
Aaron Burr	NY	Dem-Rep		73	44	9	20
John Adams	Mass	Federalist	25,952	65	4	8	53
Charles C. Pinckney	S.C.	Federalist		64	4	8	52
John Jay	NY	Federalist		1			1
Total			67,282	276	96	34	146
Needed to win				70			

Note: South (Virginia, N Carolina, S Carolina, Georgia), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn,Vt)

Note: Total # electors = 138, each casing 2 votes = 276 total votes; must get more than half of 138 voters = 70.

This outcome throws the election into the House of Representatives, where each of the sixteen states is asked to caucus and cast one vote for either Jefferson or Burr. The winner must achieve an absolute majority of at least nine votes.

Ironically, the existing House, elected in 1798, is dominated by Federalists who enjoy a 60-46 margin. It is clear to them that the "intent" of the Democratic-Republicans is to choose Jefferson, but many actually favor Burr, who is a New Yorker, rather than another Virginian.

For eleven days in a row, across 35 ballots, the House voting is frozen, with 8 states favoring Jefferson, 6 for Burr and 2 deadlocked. Neither man is able to achieve the nine vote majority required by law.

House Voting For President: Ballots 1-35

Voting For:	South	Border	North	Total
Jefferson	Va, NC, Ga, Tenn	Ky	NY, NJ, Pa	8
Burr	SC	Del	Mass, Conn, NH, RI	6
Tie		Md	Vt	2

On February 17, 1801, just two weeks before the new President is to assume his office, none other than Alexander Hamilton steps in to push for resolution. His very public feuds with both men are legendary at this point. He has clashed with Jefferson repeatedly during his tenure as Treasury Secretary, and he holds Burr, along with James Monroe, accountable for publicizing his extra-marital affair with Maria Reynolds.

But after weighing the two in the balance, he comes down on the side of Jefferson as the lesser of two evils.

> *Mr. Jefferson, though too revolutionary in his notions, is yet a lover of liberty and will be desirous of something like an orderly government. Mr. Burr loves nothing but himself, thinks of nothing but his own aggrandizement. In the choice of evils, let them take the least. Jefferson is in my view less dangerous than Burr.*

Though out of office, Hamilton has retained enough power to derail Adam's re-election bid, and now he does the same against Burr. On the 36th and final ballot, his behind the scene's voice helps move Maryland and Vermont into Jefferson's column, while also removing South Carolina and Delaware from the Burr side.

House Voting For President: Ballot 36

Voting For:	South	Border	North	Total
Jefferson	Va, NC, Ga, Tenn	Ky, Md	NY, NJ, Pa, Vt	10
Burr			Mass, Conn, NH, RI	4
Tie	SC	Del		2

Jefferson ends up with ten votes and is named President. The Congress ends up convinced that the "election process" must change, to avoid future chaos. This leads to passage of the 12th Amendments, ratified on June 15, 1804. It ends the practice of having "electors" vote for their "two top choices" for President, and forces them to cast one ballot for President and a separate one for Vice-President.

"Ties," of course, will still be resolved by voting in the House of Representatives, as will be seen again as early as the controversial election of 1824.

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Time: 1800

The Democratic-Republicans Also Gain Control Over Both Houses Of Congress

In addition to Adams' loss, the Federalists suffer a devastating reversal of fortune in the 1800 races for Congress.

This is particularly true in the "people's" House, where the upward momentum they exhibited in the prior two elections comes to a screeching halt. What was a commanding 60-46 majority going into the vote, becomes a 38-68 deficit coming out.

Congressional Election Trends

House	1789	1791	1793	1795	1797	1799	1801
Democratic-Republicans	28	30	55	61	49	46	68
Federalist	37	39	50	45	57	60	38
Congress	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
President	GW	GW	GW	GW	JA	JA	TJ

Furthermore the 22 seats lost by the Federalists are spread across all regions of the country, including their historically strong home base in the North.

House Trends By Region

Democratic-Republican	Total	South	Border	North
1795	61	33	7	21
1797	49	30	4	15
1799	46	21	5	20
1801	68	30	7	31
Change	+22	+9	+2	+11
Federalists				
1795	45	5	4	36
1797	57	8	7	42
1799	60	17	6	37
1801	38	8	4	26
	(22)	(9)	(2)	(11)

This same pattern is repeated in the Senate, where the Federalist's comfortable 22-10 majority swings over to a 15-17 minority position – again with the losses evident in all regions.

Senate Trends By Region

Democratic-Republican	Total	South	Border	North
1795	16	7	4	5
1797	12	8	1	3
1799	10	8	1	1
1801	17	10	3	4
Change	+7	+2	+2	+3
Federalists				
1795	14	1	2	11
1797	20	2	5	13
1799	22	2	5	15
1801	15	0	3	12
Change	(7)	(2)	(2)	(3)

History will show that the Federalist Party is never able to fully recover from the repudiation it suffers in 1800.

The nation now seems intent on tinkering with the form of government it wants – ready to move away from Hamilton's tight federal control in the hands of a few powerful men and toward Jefferson's more de-centralized and broadly shared option.

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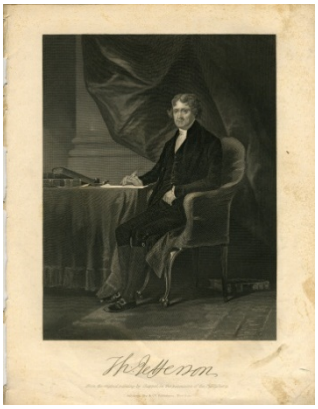
Time: 1743-1826
President Thomas Jefferson: Personal Profile



Thomas Jefferson's life is noted for remarkable personal and public achievements, offset at times by intense self-indulgences and a wavering moral compass.

His father, Peter, starts from modest means, enters public service as a county surveyor and sheriff in Virginia, and along the way befriends William Randolph II and Isham Randolph, two sons of Willian senior, an aristocratic planter. In 1736 Peter buys 200 acres of land at Shadwell from William junior, and in 1739 he marries Isham's oldest daughter, Jane.

Thomas Jefferson is born on April 13, 1743, at Shadwell, the oldest son in a family of ten children. From birth he will benefit from the practical know-how of his father and the elite intellectual lifestyles and worldly connections of the Randolphs. The bond between Peter Jefferson and the two Randolph sons is such that both entrust him with guardianship over their younger children when they pass. In turn, Peter's wealth grows dramatically, and by 1757 he has extensive land and slave holdings at two estates, Shadwell and Snowden, Virginia.

But Peter Jefferson dies suddenly in 1757, with Thomas, age 14, inheriting his Shadwell Plantation (which includes Monticello), and his younger brother, Randolph, the land at Snowden.

Two years later, Jefferson enrolls at William & Mary College, where he graduates with high honors in two years, learning six languages and studying philosophy and science. He then masters the law under the renowned George Wythe, and goes on to pass the bar in 1767. As a lawyer, he will handle over 900 cases, mostly involving disputes over land claims.

In 1768 he begins a lifelong preoccupation with building his own land at Monticello. The effort will tap into many of his polymorphic capacities. On one day he is an architectural designer; the next an agronomist; then an inventor; a gourmet; an aesthete; a librarian; a manufacturer; a financier; and finally, a very astute capitalist. Over time, Jefferson will raise tobacco here, then switch to wheat, corn, and clover. He will build a 1200 foot canal and a grain mill for his own use and as a sideline business. He will set up a nail-making operation operated by slave children too small to work in the fields.

Other slaves will also play a crucial role in the development of Monticello and in Jefferson's accumulation of wealth. He begins in 1757 with 52 slaves inherited from his father. In 1769 he marries a widow, Martha Wayles Skelton, whose father, John, dies the following year, leaving her another 135 Africans. Included here are Betty Hemmings and her ten mixed-race children, all fathered by John Wales. Over the years at Monticello, Jefferson will own roughly 650 different slaves, and will keep detailed notes and "observations" on their "characteristics and capacities" in his *Notes On The State of Virginia.*

Jefferson's lifestyle is lavish, and he is forever in financial difficulties – including a staggering $107,000 debt left upon his death. When in need of short-term cash, he turns to selling off his "slave property" – and some 110 such transactions are recorded in contemporary documents.

With his operations at Monticello moving along, Jefferson steps into the political arena in 1769, representing Albamarle County from then until 1775, in the Virginia House of Burgesses. In 1770 he is appointed Colonel in command of his local militia.

Jefferson joins the rebellion against the crown in 1774 after the British impose the Coercive Acts on the colonies in response to the Boston Tea Party. In 1776 he is chosen as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, where he becomes a friend of John Adams of Massachusetts. Adams uses his influence to get Jefferson to join him on the Committee of Five that writes The Declaration of Independence. His role here in expressing America's values and vision secures his place as a future political leader.

Jefferson is not involved in actual fighting during the Revolutionary War, but does continue to oversee activities of the militia, first at the local level and then the state level, after he is elected Governor of Virginia in 1779.

On September 6, 1782, personal tragedy strikes with the death of his thirty-three year old wife, Martha, soon after delivering the couple's sixth child. Jefferson is shattered by the loss, suffering from depression and "many a violent burst of grief." Months will pass before he records his "emerg(ence) from that stupor of mind which had rendered me as dead to the world as was she whose loss occasioned it."

Jefferson returns to public service as a Virginia Delegate to the Confederation Congress in 1783-84 before heading off on a four year assignment as United States Minister to France. This experience will mark him forever as an unwavering Francophile.

Joining him in Paris in 1787 will be one of his slaves, a 14 year old girl named Sally Hemings. Sally is one of the ten mixed-race offspring of the slave, Betty Hemmings, and her master, John Wayles, who was also the father of Jefferson's now dead wife, Martha. Thus Martha Jefferson and Sally Hemmings are actually half-sisters by blood.

From this time in Paris until the end of his life, Sally will be Jefferson's mistress, bearing six children and overseeing his domestic life at Monticello. She will be one of the only five slaves he frees in his will.

This inter-racial affair will be revealed in 1802 by Richard Callender, the same tabloid publisher who Jefferson had supported in his attacks on Adams during the 1800 presidential campaign. The Irish poet Thomas Moore follows with a witty thrust at the hypocrisy inherent in the liaison.

> *The weary statesman for repose hath fled*
> *From halls of council to his negro's shed,*
> *Where blest he woos some black Aspasia's grace,*
> *And dreams of freedom in his slave's embrace!*

Like John Adams, Jefferson is still in Europe throughout the 1787 Constitutional Convention, where his powerful voice is missed on many occasions by his Anti-Federalist cohorts. But he generally approves the outcome, with two exceptions – a wish to add a Bill of Rights and to limit the President to one term in office.

Upon returning home, Jefferson rounds out his preparation to become President. He serves from 1790-93 as Washington's Secretary of State, then spends the next seven years organizing the Democratic-Republican Party and, by a quirk of electoral college fate, serving as John Adams' Vice President.

On March 3, 1801, his time comes to lead the nation he helped to shape twenty-five years ago.

Despite his eight years in office, the epitaph he subsequently writes for his tombstone will ignore his presidency in favor of other "testimonials I have lived, (which) I wish most to be remembered:"

Here was buried Thomas Jefferson
Author of the Declaration of American Independence
of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom
& Father of the University of Virginia

The Remarkable Lifetime Accomplishments Of Thomas Jefferson

Age	
9	Studies Latin, French and Greek
16	Enrolls at William & Mary College
23	Starts his law practice
25	Elected to Virginia House of Burgesses
31	Authors "Summary View of the Rights of British America"
32	Delegate to Second Continental Congress
33	Writes The Declaration of Independence, a revised Virginia legal code and The Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom
36	Governor of Virginia
40	Member of Confederation Congress
41	Minister to France
46	Secretary of State
51	Invents "wheel cipher" encryption machine for secret documents
52	Invents the "Jefferson agricultural plow"
53	U.S. Vice-President and president of American Philosophical Society
55	Writes "Kentucky Resolutions" and organizes his national party
57	President of the United States – first term
61	Second term as President
64	Invents a "polygraph," a letter copying machine
68	Invents "revolving bookstand"
76	Completes the "Jefferson Bible," capturing his views on Christianity
80	Helps shape the "Monroe Doctrine"
81	Founds The University of Virginia and serves as first president

****

Time: 1801-1805
Overview Of Jefferson's First Term: March 4, 1801-March 3, 1805

Thomas Jefferson is the first President inaugurated in the new capital city of Washington, D.C. – still a primitive setting as described by John Adams' wife, Abigail:

> *The President's House is in a beautiful situation…but the country around is…a wilderness at present. George Town is the very dirtiest hole I ever saw for a place of any trade, or respectability of inhabitants. It is only one mile from me but a quagmire after every rain.*

Standing in front of the not yet completed Senate wing of the capitol, Jefferson is sworn in by his cousin and frequent opponent, Chief Justice John Marshal. His inaugural address is brief, reflecting his penchant away from long-winded oratory and toward concise insights delivered in the written word. After a bruising election, he opens with a conciliatory tone.

> *Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists.*

He then proceeds to articulate, with great precision, his core beliefs about good governme**nt.**

> *It is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear.*
>
> *Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people…; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected.*
>
> *These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.*

Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

Jefferson assembles a strong cabinet, led by his close confident, James Madison, as Secretary of State.

The Treasury will be run for the next thirteen years by Albert Gallatin, whose wide-ranging accomplishments mirror Jefferson in many ways. Gallatin is born and schooled in Switzerland, an intellectual who is drawn to the Enlightenment philosophers, before coming to Boston in 1780. He teaches French at Harvard, buys land in Pennsylvania, tries his hand at farming and glassworks manufacturing, enters politics and serves in the Senate and House from 1793-1801. Along the way he becomes recognized for his mastery of public finance and the budget, which leads to his selection by the President. Gallatin is a Democratic-Republican who focuses intently on eliminating the national debt. But he also supports Hamilton's Bank of the United States and selects internal improvement projects aimed at strengthening economic growth.

With the possibility of international conflict still looming, Jefferson picks General Henry Dearborn as Secretary of War. Dearborn is a physician by training, but a veteran of Revolutionary War battles fought from Quebec to Yorktown.

Thomas Jefferson's Cabinet In 1801

Position	**Name**	**Home State**
Vice-President	Aaron Burr	New York
Secretary of State	James Madison	Virginia
Secretary of Treasury	Albert Gallatin	Pennsylvania
Secretary of War	Henry Dearborn	Massachusetts
Secretary of the Navy	Robert Smith	Maryland
Attorney General	Levi Lincoln	Massachusetts

The President enters office intending to shift the philosophy and focus of the national government..

The Federalist Adams has concentrated on unifying the original Atlantic coast states behind a strong central authority. Jefferson's sights are set on expanding west to the nation's second sea coast – the Mississippi River – and contracting federal power in favor of restored sovereignty for state and local legislatures.

His early domestic moves are modest in character. He allows the Sedition Act to sunset on his first day in office, and pardons all eleven men who have been convicted since its inception. He does away with the unpopular Whiskey Tax, and attempts to cover the loss of revenue by downsizing the Navy program begun by Adams. He pushes through another Judiciary bill, undoing Adams' attempt to limit his impact on the Supreme Court.

During the term he also sets the wheels in motion to support statehood for Ohio and other Territories in the Northwest, and convinces Georgia to cede its claims in the Southwest over to the public domain. He also sponsors a series of expeditions to explore the "unknown land" beyond the Great River.

But as with all Presidents, his actions are suddenly dictated by unpredictable events – in Jefferson's case, like Adams, related to threats of warfare.

This begins on an insignificant scale in May 1801, when Jefferson refuses to pay the Kingdom of Tripoli a bribe of $225,000 to forestall its asserted “right and duty as faithful Muslims to plunder and enslave non-believers.” The Kingdom responds by declaring war on the U.S., followed by four years of repeated piracy and sea battles in the Mediterranean Sea. It ends in 1805, when the President sends naval vessels along with a small contingent of marines backed by local mercenaries to the region. They cross the desert from Egypt and win a decisive victory at the port city of Dema, forcing the Kingdom to sign a peace treaty. Henceforth, victory on the “shores of Triopli” will become part of the marine’s heritage.

The so-called Barbary War in north Africa is, however, only a minor event relative to threats from both France and Britain that will occupy Jefferson across his entire time in office.

As Commander-in-Chief, the new President, along with the rest of the world, has his eyes fixed on the predatory figure of Napoleon Bonaparte. Only two years will pass between Adams’ treaty ending the “Quasi War” with France and Napoleon’s incursion into the Caribbean to suppress a slave rebellion and take back control over the sugar plantations on Saint Domingue (Haiti). When Jefferson also learns that Spain has ceded its Louisiana lands along the Mississippi to France, he fears that Napoleon will turn on America next.

Instead of waiting, he acts, and is rewarded with the pivotal achievement of his administration, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. In one fell swoop, it doubles the nation’s land mass and promises to fulfill the economic vision of his inaugural speech – a nation of independent yeoman farmers with…

> *Room enough for our descendants to the thousandth generation*

Assuming, of course, that renewed belligerence from Britain -- growing during his first term – can be kept under control.

Jefferson's First Term: Key Events

1801	
March 4	Jefferson and Burr are sworn in
May 14	The Pasha of Tripoli declares war on the United States
December 7	The 7th Congress convenes after big gains by Democratic-Republicans
1802	
January 8	$2.6 million in war reparations paid by US to British Loyalists and merchants (Jay deal)
January	Napoleon sends 20,000 troops put down the black slave rebellion in Saint Dominigue
February	Treasury Sec. Gallatin secures support for road building projects in Ohio
March 8	Congress repeals the 1798 Judiciary Act
March 27	A treaty momentarily pauses the warfare raging in Europe
April 6	Congress repeals all excise taxes, including on whiskey
April 14	Congress repeals the 1798 Naturalization Act; restore a 5 year wait period, not 14 years
April 29	A new Judiciary Act restores the number of justices at six, not five
April 30	An Enabling Act defines how NW territories may organize for statehood
April	Jefferson learns that France now owns Louisiana and starts acquisition plans
June	Toussant Louverture, who led the black take-over of Saint Dominque, is captured
July 4	The US Military Academy at West Point opens
October 16	Napoleon has Spain close the port of New Orleans to US commerce
November 29	An Ohio territorial convention passes a state constitution and applies for admission
December 6	Jefferson addresses Congress stressing the need for economy in government spending
1803	
February 24	In *Marbury v Madison* the Supreme Court asserts its authority over what is lawful
March 1	Ohio is admitted to the Union (#17)
April 19	Spain re-opens the port of New Orleans to US commerce
May 2	Ambassador James Monroe signs Louisiana Purchase Treaty with French for $15M
June 7	Tribes in Indiana cede more land to Governor William Henry Harrison
August 31	Lewis and Clark set out on their three year expedition down the Ohio and to the west
October 20	The Senate ratifies the Louisiana Purchase Treaty
October 29	The House appropriates the funding needed to buy the Louisiana land from France
November	War between France and Britain, etc. begins anew
November 18	France loses a key battle against black forces on Saint Domingue
December 9	Congress approves the 12th Amendment to separate balloting for President and VP
December 20	The US officially takes possession of the Louisiana Territory from France
1804	
February 15	New Jersey passes law to grant gradual emancipation to slaves
February 16	Hamilton calls Vice-President Burr "a dangerous man" not to be trusted in government
March 26	The Land Grant of 1804 lowers the price to $1.64 per acre and sets 160 acre minimum
April 25	VP Burr loses race for NY Governor in large part due to Hamilton's opposition
May 18	Napoleon crowns himself Emperor of France in Paris
July 11	Burr kills Hamilton in a dues at Weehawken, NJ
August 27	The Treaty of Vincennes cedes more Indian land in the west to the US
September 25	The 12th Amendment is approved to separate ballots cast for President and VP
October 1	The port city of New Orleans is officially in US hands
October 27	Lewis and Clark make their winter camp near present day Bismarck, North Dakota
December 5	Jefferson is re-elected, with George Clinton as VP
December	Napoleon withdraws his troops from Saint Domingue and focuses on invading Britain
1805	
January 11	A Michigan Territory is formed out of the western part of the old Indiana Territory
January	Both Britain and France pass laws barring neutral ships to enter enemy harbors

Chapter 39. Toussaint Louverture's Black Revolution In Saint-Dominigue/Haiti (1791-1802)

Hiapaniola Island, with the Western Third Saint-Dominigue (Later Haiti)

Sections

- Touissiant Louverture Leads A Successful Slave Revolt
- Napoleon Captures Toussaint But Fails To Regain Control Over The Colony

Macro-Themes

Black Experience
- Slavery In Saint-Domingue
- French Abuse Of Slaves

Black Abolitionists
- Toussaint Louverture
- Slave Rebellion

International
- Napoleon In The Caribbean

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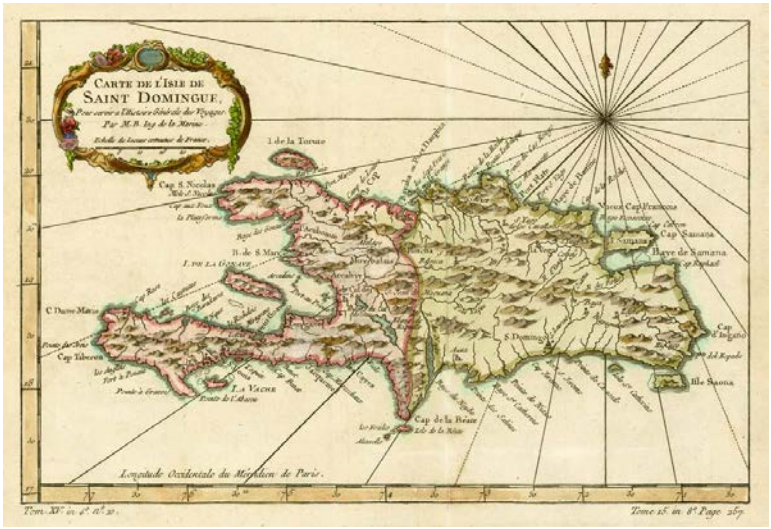
Time: 1791- 1801

Touissaint Louverture Leads A Successful Slave Revolt



French Colony Of St. Domingue (In Red) -- Site Of Louverture Rebellion

Starting in August 1791 a remarkable revolution is carried out on the French colony of Saint-Domingue by black slaves, under the leadership of one Toussaint Louverture.

The rise of Saint-Domingue as an important possession for France follows many years of disappointment with its explorations in the Americas.

The Jesuit priest, Jacques Marquette, and the fur trader, Louis Joliet, have opened up outposts along the Mississippi in the 1670-80's, but these fail to return the gold and silver once sought. By 1762 the French are so dismayed by their economic prospects in North America that they cede their entire Louisiana

territory to Spain – an ally who has been forced to surrender both Cuba and the Philippines in the Seven Year's War against Britain.

But an entirely different story for France plays out south of America's borders, in the colony of Saint-Dominigue.

The colony lies on the island of Hispaniola, first discovered for Spain by Columbus, and divided in 1697 – with the French owning the western third (Saint-Dominique, later Haiti) and the Spanish owning the eastern two-thirds (later the Dominican Republic).

Saint-Dominique soon becomes the economic jewel in the crown of French holdings in the New World.

It does so on the backs of some 800,000 African slaves who are imported by their French masters to raise sugar and coffee crops on vast plantations, later to be replicated in cotton fields across the American south. Various witnesses attest to the gruesome tortures inflicted on the slaves by the overseers:

> *Have they not hung up men with heads downward, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive, crushed them in mortars? Have they not forced them to consume faeces? And, having flayed them with the lash, have they not cast them alive to be devoured by worms, or onto anthills, or lashed them to stakes in the swamp to be devoured by mosquitoes? Have they not thrown them into boiling cauldrons of cane syrup? Have they not put men and women inside barrels studded with spikes and rolled them down mountainsides into the abyss? Have they not consigned these miserable blacks to man eating-dogs until the latter, sated by human flesh, left the mangled victims to be finished off with bayonet and poniard?*

By 1780 these slaves are producing 40% of the sugar and 60% of the coffee consumed across Europe. In turn Saint-Domingue becomes the focal point for all French commerce in the Americas, and wins it nickname as the "pearl of the Antilles."

But all of this comes to a sharp halt in August 1791 – due to a slave rebellion that lasts over three months and eventually pits up to 100,000 blacks against their plantation masters. During this period, an estimated 4,000 whites are killed and hundreds of sugar, coffee and indigo plantation are overthrown.

Reports on the savagery of the slave reprisals – marked by rapes, torture and mutilations – are circulated widely, and strike terror in the minds of plantation owners, including in America, for decades to come.

The rebellion is led by two black men, Francois Toussaint Louverture, and his lieutenant, and later successor, Jean-Jacques Dessalines.

Relatively little is known for sure about Toussaint's background, beyond the fact that he is born on Saint-Domingue, probably around 1740, and is a slave, presumably a house servant, on a plantation until 1776, when he becomes a free man. Along the way he picks up some education (perhaps from Jesuit missionaries) and learns to speak and write French. According to his own account, he also accumulates enough wealth to rent a small coffee plantation and becomes a Freemason.

Toussaint is apparently moved by the spirit of the French Revolution, and offers his services behind a slave rebellion, initiated by a Voodoo priest, which has broken out against the plantation owners in August 1791. He announces his intent late in that month:

Brothers and friends, I am Toussaint Louverture; perhaps my name has made itself known to you. I have undertaken vengeance. I want Liberty and Equality to reign in St Domingue. I am working to make that happen. Unite yourselves to us, brothers, and fight with us for the same cause.

Your obedient servant, Toussaint Louverture, General of the armies of the king, for the public good.

He quickly exhibits the skills of a natural born military commander and civilian leader, and maneuvers through a host of challenges to emerge as head of a functioning government that controls Saint-Dominque for a decade.

On July 7, 1801, he promulgates a new Constitution for the colony. It does not declare outright independence from France, but bans slavery ("all men are born, live and die, free and French") and announces that he will retain the title of governor-general for life.

****

Time: 1802-1806
Napoleon Captures Toussaint But Fails To Regain Control Over The Colony

When Napoleon learns of Toussaint's bold Constitution, he decides the time has come to restore French control over Saint-Dominigue – and, perhaps, to also venture back into America.

As always, Napoleon is exceedingly devious in his approach, on both counts.

His first step toward America lies in the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, on October 1, 1800, whereby Spain returns Louisiana to France. This is followed by the November 30 Mortefontaine Treaty with Adams, ending the "Quasi War" and hopefully lulling the Americans to sleep.

In January 1802, he makes his move against Saint-Dominique.

He sends his brother-in-law, General Charles Leclerc and a force of 20,000 troops to the island, along with an assurance to Toussaint that his intentions are entirely peaceful. But hostilities quickly break out, and Toussaint's forces fight back ferociously.

The battles continue until May 6, 1802, when Toussaint meets with Leclerc and works out an apparent cease-fire agreement. But Toussaint's subordinate, Dessalines, turns on him, and he is put under arrest by Leclerc. His response includes this warning to France**:**

In overthrowing me you have cut down in Saint Domingue only the trunk of the tree of liberty; it will spring up again from the roots, for they are numerous and they are deep

Toussaint – known by now as "the black Napoleon" – is put on a ship back to France and imprisoned once there. He is subjected to harsh treatment and dies in short order, on April 7, 1803.

But the black nation he has created on Saint Domingue lives on after him.

Resistance to the French now falls on Dessalines' shoulders. Its intensity is flamed by the dual threats of white revenge and a return to slavery for the blacks. Dessalines is also aided by an outbreak of yellow fever that kills Leclerc and decimates the French ranks.

After a significant loss at the Battle of Vertieres on November 18, 1803, the French decide to put their remaining 7,000 soldiers back on ships heading home.

Napoleon has had enough for the moment in the Americas, and refocuses all of his energy and resources against a planned invasion of Britain.

Meanwhile Dessalines names himself Emperor of Saint-Domingue and oversees a bloodbath that wipes out all white plantation owners who do not swear allegiance to his rule. His reign is, however, fleeting, and rival black factions assassinate him in 1806, and break the country into the Kingdom of Haiti to the north and a republic to the south – both headed by blacks.

Given these unsettled conditions, along with fears expressed by American slave owners, Jefferson refuses to grant formal recognition to Saint-Dominigue. The former French colony does, however, manage to retain its independence over time, and makes Haiti the oldest republic run by blacks in the western hemisphere.

Chapter 40. Napoleon Sells The Louisiana Territory To America (1803)

The Louisiana Purchase

Sections

- Jefferson Doubles America's Land Mass With His Louisiana Purchase
- After Fiery Debate Congress Approves The Purchase

Macro-Themes

Expansion
- The Louisiana Purchase

Governance
- Limitations On Executive Power

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Time: May 2, 1803

Jefferson Doubles America's Land Mass With His Louisiana Purchase

Territory Gained by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803

With Leclerc's efforts against Saint-Domingue in motion, Napoleon looks toward America, and begins to test its will. He begins by ordering his Spanish surrogate administrator to shut-down the port of New Orleans to U.S. shipping, on October 16, 1802. He also assembles an army in Holland intended for a probe into America.

Jefferson and his advisors are fully alarmed at this point.

On May 29, 1801 – some 16 months after the fact – the American minister to France, Robert Livingston, informs Jefferson of a rumor that Napoleon has reacquired Louisiana.

Jefferson can easily imagine how his aspirations to expand westward would be impacted by hostile French forces lining up along his new western seacoast, the Mississippi River, and closing the port of New Orleans, the emerging hub of all commerce on the frontier. His reaction is telling:

> *There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans.*

Unlike Touissant, he acts swiftly to deter Napoleon. He vigorously protests the shipping restraints and then, in March 1803, sends his trusted friend, James Monroe, to France with approval to spend up to $9 million to try to buy the crucial port of New Orleans, along with West Florida.

By the time Monroe arrives, however, the situation has changed for Napoleon.

The Saint-Dominque intervention, which started so well, has begun to fall apart.

This set-back, along with the complexities of planning for the invasion of Britain, dampens Napoleon's interest in any immediate action against America. Instead he decides that France is best served by taking America's money and encouraging her to join in the fight against British, with her developing naval power.

So, when Monroe arrives, Napoleon's surrogates, Talleyrand and Marbois, signal their willingness to discuss a purchase – not only of New Orleans, but of the entire Louisiana Territory.

Jefferson, ever the western expansionist, jumps at the opportunity. On May 2, 1803, American Ambassador Robert Livingston agrees to buy 827,000 square miles of land from France for $15 million, or roughly 3 cents/acre.

The President sees the Louisiana Purchase as "land for the next twenty generations" of American farmers, the key to the agrarian ideal in his vision.

Napoleon shrugs off the deal as a momentary set-back. He will use the money to defeat the British and then re-visit America at a later date, if he decides to take it.

Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase: Key Events

1697	Spain cedes Saint-Dominque to France
1756	The Seven Years War ("first world war") pits Britain vs. France/Spain
1762	France "unloads" Louisiana on Spain
1763	Treaty of Paris ends The Seven Years War, with Britain victorious
1781	America wins its war with Britain
1794	Jay's Treaty with Britain: abandon forts for fur-trading rights
1780	Saint-Dominique slave plantations dominate sugar and coffee production
1791	Slave revolt leaves Toussaint Louverture in control of St. Dominque
1799	Napoleon assumes power in France as First Counsel
1800	Spain gives Louisiana back to France in secret Treaty of San Ildefonso
1801	America learns that France again owns Louisiana
	Ambassador Robert Livingston begins negotiations with Talleyrand
1802	In January LeClerc lands in San Dominique with 20,000 troops
	Toussaint is lulled into captivity and sent back to a French prison to die
	Yellow fever decimates the French troops and kills LeClerc
1803	Monroe arrives with $9 million to try to buy New Orleans
	Napoleon begins to plan invasion of Britain
	The US acquires the entire Louisiana territory for $15 million
	Jefferson sends Lewis and Clark off to explore the new land
1804	Dessalines drives the French out and names himself Emperor
1805	Horatio Lord Nelson defeats a French invasion fleet at Trafalgar

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Time: 1803

After Fiery Debate Congress Approves The Purchase

Ironically, in agreeing to buy Louisiana, Jefferson oversteps the limitations on Executive power he has tried so hard to impose in his Tenth Amendment and in the "Kentucky Resolutions" of 1798 where he calls for "nullification" of Adams' Sedition Acts.

The result is a firestorm of opposition in Congress.

While the Senate is upset by Jefferson's unilateral activities, it does ratify the Louisiana Treaty on October 20, 1803, some five months after the deal was agreed to in Paris.

The House, however, is a different matter. It controls the nation's purse strings, and is determined to demonstrate its prerogatives in this regard. It hurls a series of challenges Jefferson's way.

Some question whether France even owns Louisiana, or whether it still belongs to Spain.

Others ask about the boundaries of the territory and the number of new states it might generate – only to find that precise answers are lacking.

Easterners are immediately concerned that opening this much new land will eventually erode their power in the Congress – and go so far as to suggest that such a deal actually violates the original contract of 1787.

The debate also touches on the issue of slavery. The 1787 Northwest Ordnance and the 1790 Southwest Ordnance have delineated the Ohio River as the demarcation line for slavery, out to the Mississippi River. But what about the new land to the west of the Great River – will it allow slavery or not?

Jefferson is surprised by the opposition to an acquisition that seems so obviously right to him. In response he ponders the need for a constitutional amendment to justify the deal, but soon dismisses the idea.

Finally a House resolution to reject the Louisiana Purchase fails to pass by a slim majority of 59-57.

On October 29, 1803, the House passes an appropriations resolution giving Jefferson the go-ahead he wants.

Upon completion of the purchase, America now owns 56% of its eventual east to west coast land mass. The remainder is in the hands of Spain.

America's Acquisition Of Land

Year	Land Gained	From	Via	Square Miles	% US
1784	13 colonies to Miss R	Britain	War	888,811	29%
1803	Louisiana Territory	France	Buy	827,192	27