

## Chapter 1 – The Earliest Settlers Appear

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

### The North American Continent



Time: 16,000BC to 1500AD

### Native American Tribes Arrive



Lakota Chief Rain-In-The-Face

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

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

Thus the New World is born.

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

The Tlingit people of the Pacific Northwest master the arts of fishing and record their history on totem poles. The Hohokam tribes of Arizona introduce irrigation systems to facilitate desert farming. The Pueblos build roads connecting some 2500 communities from New Mexico to

Utah. The Siouans roam the Great Plains over to the upper Mississippi, while the Natchez people, living in adobe huts with thatched roofs and led by their Sun King, dominate the lower valley.

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

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

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



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

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Time: 1492

## Columbus Reaches The New World



Christopher Columbus (1451-1506)

The European intrusion into the New World begins by accident.

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

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

describes as docile in nature, lacking in weaponry, and easily capable of being conquered, converted to Christianity and placed into servitude.

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

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



First Voyage by Columbus to the New World

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

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Time: 1492-1602

### Spain Leads The European Invasion Of The Americas



Spanish Exploration of North America

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



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

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

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

Two remarkable civilizations fall to his swords and cannon in short order, as Hernan Cortez conquers Montezuma and the Aztec empire by 1521 and Francisco Pizarro ends the Incas rule over Peru in 1541.

Hernando De Soto rampages through Central America and the Caribbean, then north to Florida and west to Louisiana. Alvar Cabeza and Francisco Coronado extend De Soto's tracks in America, driving through Texas to Arizona and up through Oklahoma to Kansas. Some fifty years later, in 1596, Sebastien Vizcaino explores the west coast, from San Diego to Oregon.

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

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

### **The European Exploration Of America: Early Spanish Expeditions**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Explorer</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>Land Covered</b>
1492-1504	Columbus, Christopher	Spain	San Salvador, Cuba, Haiti, Trinidad, Jamaica, Venezuela, Mexico, Honduras, Panama
1493-1521	De Leon, Ponce	Spain	Santo Domingo (DR), Puerto Rico, Florida
1497-98	Cabot, John	England	Newfoundland
1497-1538	Da Gama, Vasco	Portugal	Opens trade route with India ("the Indies")
1499-1502	Vespucci, Amerigo	Italy	S. America, recognizes that new world is not Asia
1519-21	Cortez, Hernan	Spain	Mexico, conquers Montezuma and Aztecs
1524-42	De Soto, Hernando	Spain	Nicaragua, Peru, Cuba, Florida, Louisiana
1524-28	Verrazzano, Giovanni	Italy	Cape Fear, NC, New York, Maine, Newfoundland
1528-37	Cabeza, Alvar	Spain	Cuba, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Mexico City
1532-41	Pizarro, Francisco	Spain	Conquers Incas in Peru, into Panama
1534-41	Cartier, Jacques	France	1000 miles up St Lawrence seaway

1540-42	Coronado, Francisco	Spain	Arizona, NM, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas
1577-80	Drake, Sir Francis	England	2 <sup>nd</sup> after Magellan around the world, California
1584-87	Raleigh, Sir Walter	England	Roanoke colony (NC) in 1584-87, Florida
1596-1602	Vizcaino, Sebastian	Spain	Pacific coast, San Diego to Oregon

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

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

### **Early Spanish Settlements In America**

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

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Time: 1497-1611

## Britain Begins To Colonize America



Queen Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Two British Corporations Found Colonies Along the Atlantic Coast

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

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

#### Joint Stock Corporations Chartered By James I In 1606

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **Early Exploration Of America: English Expeditions**

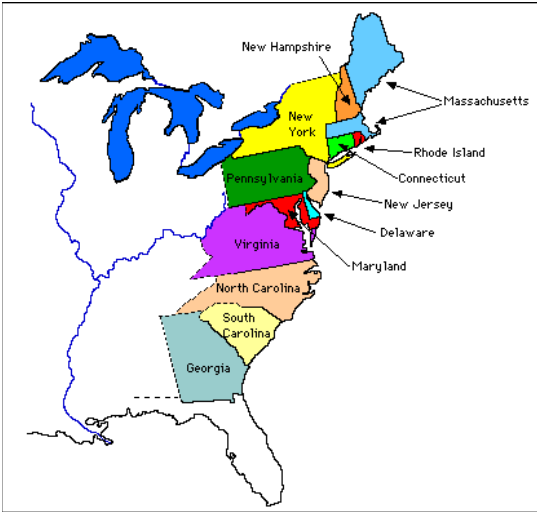
<b>Years</b>	<b>Explorer</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>Land Covered</b>
1497-98	Cabot, John	England	Newfoundland
1577-80	Drake, Sir Francis	England	2 <sup>nd</sup> after Magellan around the world, California
1578-83	Gilbert, Sir Humphrey	England	Newfoundland and Nova Scotia
1584-87	Raleigh, Sir Walter	England	Roanoke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



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Time: 1664-1732

**A Total Of Thirteen British Colonies Are Established**



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

**Approximate Dates And Charters For The Thirteen Crown Colonies**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: 1534-1682

## France Opens Canada And The Mississippi Valley



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

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

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

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

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

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



French Exploration of the Mississippi River

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

### Early Exploration Of America: French Expeditions

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

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

### Early French Settlements In America

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

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





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

About 500,000 eventually arrive in North America.

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



Chained Africans being Readied for Transport

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

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

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

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Time: 1619 - 1750

### Slavery Begins In America With Rhode Island As The Trading Hub

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Distilleries across the region rely on sugar and molasses imports from slave plantations in the West Indies to make rum – which in turn is distributed across the colonies, and exported, to Europe and Africa.

- The New England shipping industry – from boat builders and sail-makers through sailors and long-shore men and accountants – hinges on cargo that is in global demand, including slaves sent from Africa to Newport, and from there to Southern ports like Savannah and New Orleans.
- Northern textile mills begin to spin raw cotton picked by Southern slaves into yarn and thread, which is then shipped to Britain and France to make clothing and other finished goods.

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

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

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**Time: 1775 Forward**

**Slavery Begins To Wither Away In The North**



Aunt Fannie of the Lott Household

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

One of them is the Quaker, Ben Franklin, who calls slavery...  
*An atrocious debasement of human nature.*

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

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

Franklin and Rush are joined by John Jay, who is serving as Secretary of Foreign Affairs in 1785, when he founds the New York Manumission Society, which endures over the next six decades. The Society first battles to end the slave trade, then in support of abolition, and finally for the education of black children. In 1794 it opens the first African Free School in the city, a

one room facility that reaches some forty students. Over time these Free Schools proliferate widely, and prepare many next generation blacks for assimilation into white society.

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

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

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

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

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

So the Northern colonies look away from the slave trade and toward other industries to sustain their drive for wealth. Fortunately for them, new options are right before their eyes. The “triangular trade” between America, Africa and Europe has taught the North that it can manufacture goods like rum and cotton yarn and use its ships to distribute them across the Atlantic.

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

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

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Time: 1775 Forward

### The South's Dependency On Slavery Deepens



Slaves Harvesting Southern Cotton

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

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

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

#### Estimated Population Counts By Race In 1775

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

Their role in the economy of the South is crucial.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Chapter 3 – The Reformation & Enlightenment Threaten Both Church And Crown

Time: 1517 Forward

### Luther Protests Catholic Church Doctrines



Martin Luther (1483-1546)

The period leading up to the settlement of the British colonies in America is marked by a series of challenges to the heretofore unquestioned authority of both the Church and the Crown.

In 1517, a German monk named Martin Luther, nails his 95 Theses on the door of the All Saints Church in Wittenberg, Saxony protesting the notion that paying indulgences to the clergy can insure one's eternal salvation.

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

It takes hold across the 16<sup>th</sup> century and intersects with affairs of state in 1527 when Pope Clement VI refuses to grant a marriage annulment to King Henry VIII.

Exercising his "divine right" as monarch, Henry responds by banishing the existing Catholic Church and replacing it with his own Church of England.

This ends the monolithic dominance of Catholicism in Britain and across much of Europe.

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Time: 1642-1660

### The English Civil Wars Challenge The Monarchy

The 17<sup>th</sup> century also ushers in early resistance to the despotic rule of hereditary Monarchies.

A principal figure here is King Charles I of England who exercises the "divine right of kings" to tax the people at will and marry a queen who is both French and Catholic.

After almost 25 years of his affronts, a Parliamentary movement rises up – under the Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell – that leads to the First English Civil War beginning in 1642. Cromwell's "Roundheads" (for their bowl-cut hairdos) defeat the Royalists on May 5, 1646. After a series of failed attempts to rally his forces and regain the throne, Charles is captured and tried for treason.

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Time: 1689-1789

## Enlightenment Philosophers Explore New Forms Of Governance

Following on the heels of the English Civil Wars comes another revolutionary phase known as The Enlightenment or the Age of Reason. Its focus is again on the Monarchy and challenges to the notion that Kings have the divine right to absolute power over the lives of the citizenry.



Grave of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Four leading philosophers of The Enlightenment argue the time has come for new forms of government that respond to the will of the people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Baron Charles-Louis Montesquieu  
(1689-1775)

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

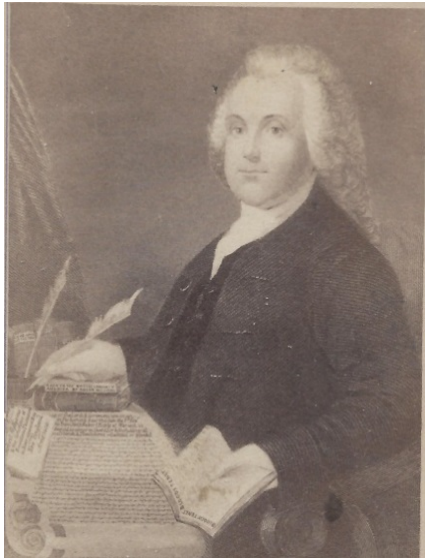
In the end, all four of the Enlightenment thinkers and writers will play a significant role in shaping the beliefs of the American colonists about the full range of institutions they choose to create.



## Chapter 4 – America’s Foundational Churches Take Hold In The Colonies

Time: 1607 Forward

### The Colonists Are Dedicated Church-Goers



Baptist Roger Williams (1603-1683)

One thing that bonds the early American colonists is their church-going traditions and their focus on securing eternal salvation.

For the vast majority of those who arrive in Virginia in 1607 and Massachusetts in 1620 this means a commitment to the Protestant religion.

Some are conservative Anglicans, who will assume an American identity as the Episcopal Church. Their doctrines remain consistent with King Henry VIII’s patchwork amalgamation of Catholicism and Protestant reform, and their governance is clearly top-down, with authority over all church matters resting with a clerical hierarchy. The Anglican liturgy mimics the old world Mass, and its tonality is formal. Followers are heavily skewed toward the Southern colonies.

Others reject what they regard as corrupt practices within the Church of England and intend to go their own way in the new world. Included here are the Puritans and Lutherans who tend to evolve into the Congregational Church. It eliminates the clerical hierarchy and, consistent with democratic impulses, places authority for religious practices in the hands of the membership. Its influence is centered in New England.

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

Another sect, the Society of Friends, or Quakers (who “tremble” at the name of God) arrive in 1656 and take up residence in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Their belief is that everyman can attain salvation by listening to and obeying an “Inner Light” which guides their path toward moral perfection. They have no formal clergy and their church services are “spontaneous” and marked by individual testimonials. In 1681 William Penn founds the Pennsylvania Colony as a “home for persecuted Quakers.” From then on they play a central role in opposing slavery.



Quaker William Penn (1644-1718)

The Presbyterian Church is founded by the Scottish preacher, John Knox (1505-1572) and its theological roots are linked to John Calvin (1509-1564). But church governance here falls to a body of “elders” rather than to the members of the congregation as a whole. Hence its name, derived from the Greek word for elders – “presbyteros.” The Presbyterian Church appears in America around 1706, accompanying immigrants from Scotland. It takes hold mainly in North Carolina, Pennsylvania and the western territories. During the 1830’s “new school and old school” Presbyterians will divide, with the former evolving into Unitarians.

These four important sects – Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Baptist and Quakers – will be joined later on by Methodists and then a host of other Protestant off-shoots which emerge around the “Second Great Awakening” of the 1830’s.

The Catholic Church also finds a home within the colonies. It originates in the Spanish “missions” scattered from Florida west to New Orleans and up the Mississippi River. Then in 1632 England’s Catholic King Charles I cedes the Colony of Maryland to his former Secretary of State, Lord Baltimore. Despite this, the religious ill will evident in Europe carries over to the colonies, with Catholics accused of being loyal to the Pope in Rome instead of the American government.

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

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

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Time: 1730's

## The "First Great Awakening" Sparks Evangelical Christianity



Germantown Church (Jr-2)

Along with the Enlightenment comes a growing sense that by relying on their own capacity to reason, individuals can shape their personal destinies, their societies and their government.

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

Within the religious realm, the enlightenment spirit is reflected in what

becomes known as the "First Great Awakening" which begins in the 1730's. The embodiment of this movement is an otherwise conservative Puritan minister, Reverend Jonathan Edwards, preaching in Northampton, Massachusetts.

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

He serves briefly as a novice pastor in 1722 before returning to Yale as a theological tutor, affirming his strict adherence to traditional Calvinist principles. His personal life is ascetic, marked by self-imposed control over his time, his diet, his study and contemplation, his search for the moral perfection expected of those committed to the Puritan theology.

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

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

By 1732 his spiritual journey comes up against the Arminian movement, named after the Dutch Reformed Church theologian, Jacob Arminius (1560-1609). It posits a profoundly different view about eternal salvation, and one that will be adopted by many American sects over time:

<b>Founder</b>	<b>Belief About Eternal Salvation</b>
Calvin	“Pre-destination.” Only those who are chosen by God’s grace alone to be among “the elect” are saved.
Arminius	“Free will.” All persons are capable of being saved if they choose to lead their lives in accordance with Christian principles and practices.

As the pure Calvinist, Edwards comes down on the side of God as sole arbiter of salvation. In his most famous sermon, “Sinners In The Hands Of An Angry God,” delivered in 1741, he exhibits his “fire and brimstone” fervor:

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

But what distinguished Edwards as the “father of the First Great Awakening” is not his theology but rather the manner of preaching he adopts at his “revival meetings” in Northampton.

These center on “conversion experiences” whereby members of the congregation publicly pledge their lives to Christ. Edwards describes one such event in 1741:

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

Suddenly, with Edwards, the preacher is no longer held above and apart from his flock, but instead comes down from the pulpit to spontaneously share and explore religious feelings and experiences.

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

Needless to say, Edward’s traditional colleagues are shocked and dismayed by the “revival meetings,” which may draw up to 500 people, extend over several days, and dominate a town’s

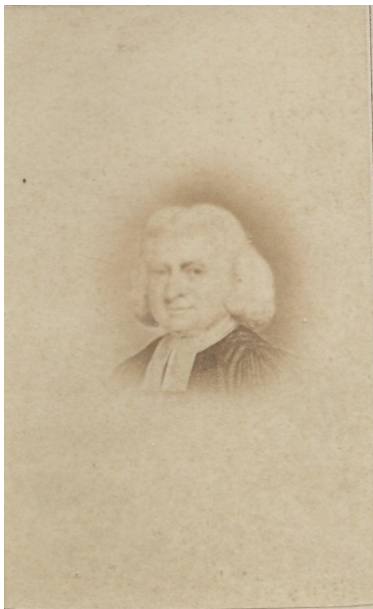
entire life while they last. On rare occasions they are also followed by suicides, as some attendees leave convinced they are among the doomed.

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

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Time: 1730's

### Methodists Expand The Evangelical Spirit



John Wesley (1703-1791)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Wonderful...change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seem'd as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk thro' the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.*

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

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

His beliefs will have great impact on mainstream religious development in America, especially the conviction that all men can achieve salvation, and that the proper path lies in studying God's words in the Bible and in completing soul-saving “missions.”

Over time, Methodists will outnumber all other sects in terms of membership.

It will also play a pivotal role within the black community after a bishop named James Varick opens the first African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1721, located in New York City. From there, the “AME Church” provides a safe harbor and much needed support for blacks trying to survive and become assimilated.

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Time: 1688 Forward

### **Early Church Opposition To Slavery Is Muted**

Despite the professed interest in salvation, America's churches are generally silent when it comes to addressing chattel slavery in the land.

The one institutional exception here is the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania. In 1688, a settler named Francis Pastorious submits the “Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery” at his local meeting, basing his argument simply on the Bible's Golden Rule admonition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## Chapter 5 – Britain And France Begin Their Battles For Global Hegemony

Time: 1701-1714

### The War Of Spanish Succession Spills Over To North America



Monument to General Wolfe  
at Quebec

Going all the way back to the 1066AD invasion of England by William the Conqueror of Normandy, Britain and France have struggled for land and power.

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

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

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

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Time: 1756-1763

### The French & Indian Wars End With Rule Britannia

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

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

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

As the war begins, the French have 75,000 settlers living in North America vs. 1.5 million British colonists. Their military consist of roughly 10,000 regular army forces, complemented by their tribal partners, the Algonquins and the Mohawks. The British muster roughly 40,000 men between their regulars and militia volunteers from their colonies, including one George Washington of Virginia. Their Indian allies are the Iroquois, historical foes of the Algonquin.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



Ownership of North America in 1763

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

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Time: 1607-1760

**Sidebar: America's Growing Population**



A Typical Colonial Magistrate

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

**Colonial Population Growth**

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

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

**Population Profile Around 1760**

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

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

Across the entire region villages and cities dot the landscape.

**Early British Settlements In America**

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

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Time: 1607-1770

**Sidebar: The Search For A New And Better Nation**

Having surrendered their former lives by the risky journey across the Atlantic, the Colonists seem dedicated to building a “better life” for themselves and their families in the New World.

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

*Our posterity will be to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God...For this end, we must be knit together...as one man, we must entertain each other in brotherly affection...make others conditions our own always having before our eyes*

*our community as members of the same body...so the Lord will delight to dwell among us as his own people and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways.*

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

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



"Biblical Mottoes To Live By"

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Time: 1760's

### Sidebar: Building A Viable Economy



Two Lumberjacks

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

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

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

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

But much to the dismay of their English joint-stock investors, this fails to include either gold or silver.

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

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

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



### Primary Commodities Produced As Of 1763

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

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

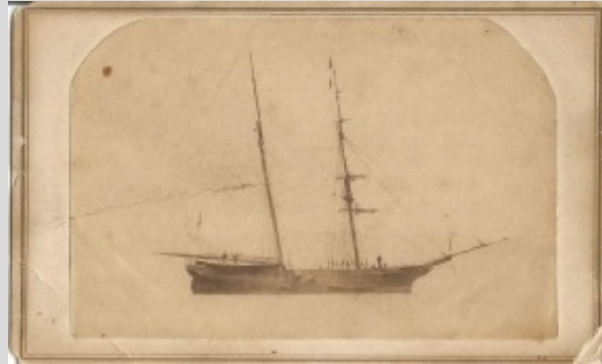
As goods flow in and out, British officials collect tariffs (i.e. taxes) on them to add to corporate and crown profits.

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

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Time: 1655-1718

### Sidebar: Three 17<sup>th</sup> Century Pirates Of The Caribbean



A Two-Masted Schooner

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

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

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

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

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Time: 1607-1775

### Sidebar: Governing The Colonies



A Typical English Magistrate

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Relations with England are generally harmonious. The colonists have acquired their land, developed a viable economy, and enjoy the free pursuit of the religious practices many have sought. The joint-stock corporations have established a profitable system of import/export

trade. The local militias have fought side by side along with the British regulars to defeat France and Spain.

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

## Chapter 6 – The Declaration Of Independence

Time: 1763-66

### Britain Begins “Taxation Without Representation”



Money

Meanwhile in Britain, the twenty-five year old King George III and Charles Townshend, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, turn their attention to conditions in their American colonies.

What they find is that while Britain has triumphed in the field during the French & Indian Wars (1754-63), the battle for North America has been financially costly for the Crown. To help pay off the debts, the King decides to extract more revenue from the colonists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: December 16, 1773

### **The Boston Tea Party Signals Open Resistance**



Commercial Ships in Port

The period of calm, however, is brief.

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

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

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

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



A British Redcoat

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

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

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

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

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

Britain reacts quickly to this “Boston Tea Party.”

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



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Time: September 5, 1774

## The First Continental Congress Convenes



Carpenters Hall in Philadelphia,  
Scene of the First Continental  
Congress

These “Intolerable Acts” further inflame colonial passions.

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

Newspapers and broadsides capture the growing antagonism toward Britain.

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

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

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

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

### Some Delegates At The First Continental Congress

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: April 19, 1775

### The Shot Heard Round The World



Statue of Paul Revere's Ride

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

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

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

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

Four weeks later the inflammatory rhetoric turns into bloodshed.

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

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

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



John Burns of Gettysburg  
(1793-1872)

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

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

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

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

*Concord Hymn (1837)  
Ralph Waldo Emerson*

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: May 2, 1775

## Americans Seize The Governor's Palace In Virginia

Rivalling Massachusetts as a center of discontent is the Colony of Virginia.

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

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

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

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

*Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?*

*Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!*

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

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

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

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Time: May 10, 1775

## The Second Continental Congress Convenes



As the conflict mounts, the colonists must now figure out what to do next.

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

While many delegates are hold-overs from the prior meeting eight months earlier, some important new faces include John Hancock, from Massachusetts, who succeeds an ailing Peyton Randolph as President of the

Congress, along with Ben Franklin, the 69 year old writer, inventor, publisher and political operative from Pennsylvania, and the youthful Thomas Jefferson of the Virginia House of Burgesses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

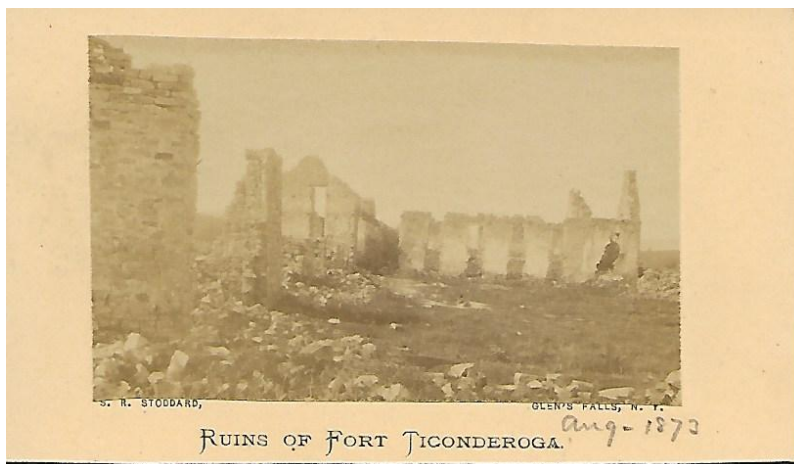
Once this Second Congress opens, it will function continuously until March 1, 1781, an almost six year period that sees 343 delegates cycling in and out of the meetings and 13 different men serving as President.

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

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**Time: May 10, 1775**

### **The Green Mountain Boys Capture Ft. Ticonderoga**



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

A Typical Fortress Guarding a River

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

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

A force of 200 raiders approach the fort at daybreak on May 10, ready for action. The outcome, however, is comical rather than heroic.

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

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

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

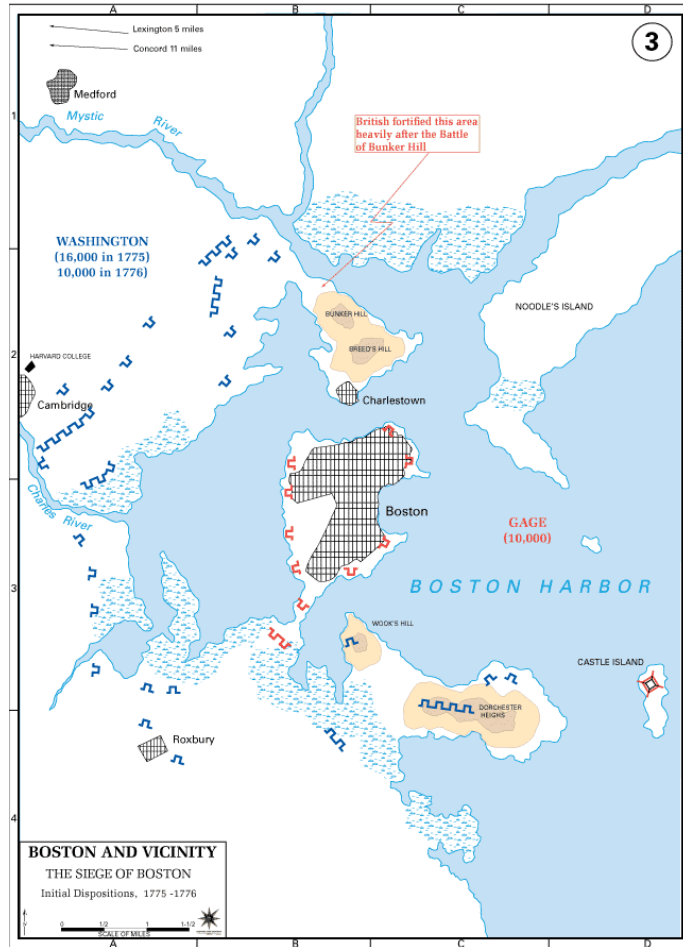


The colonials now control a critical stepping stone into Canada and the long-range French cannon and mortars they will utilize later on.

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Time: June 17, 1775

### The Battle Of Bunker Hill



Gage's Forces Surrounded the City of Boston

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

When word of the Concord defeat reaches England, King George III ships off three top field generals to support, then replace Gage – the conspicuously courageous, but sometimes tardy Lord William Howe; his second in command and often adversary, Henry Clinton, who has

grown up in New York City; and “Gentleman John” Burgoyne, aristocrat, playwright, rake and military man, ambitious for glory.

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



General George Washington (1732-1799)

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

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

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

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Time: August 23, 1775

## George III Vows To Quash The Rebellion



General Washington (1732-1799)

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

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

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

Mowat assembles a five ship fleet, heads out of Boston Harbor, and drops anchor about 115 miles up the coast at Falmouth Harbor. On October 18, he informs the townspeople that he intends to mete out punishment for their defiance of the crown, to commence in two days. When the locals refuse to pledge allegiance to the King, Mowat begins an eight hour bombardment of the now abandoned city, followed by a landing party of marines instructed to burn everything left standing. In the end some 400 buildings and homes are destroyed.

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

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

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Time: December 30, 1775

### Americans Retreat After Defeat At Quebec City



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

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

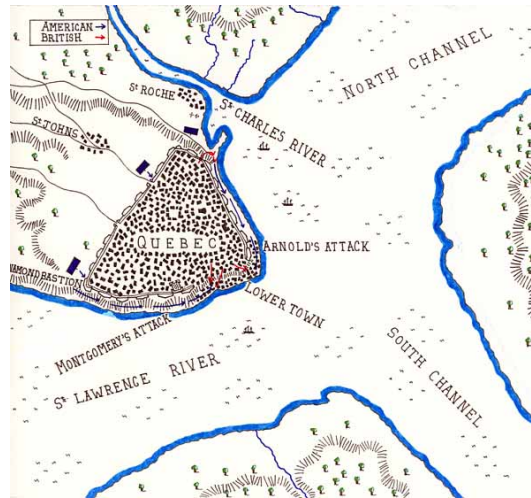
Overall command of the invasion is given to Major General Philip Schuyler, a member of the Second Continental Congress from New York, who fought previously for England in the French & Indian Wars.

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

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

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

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



Montgomery and Arnold Attack Quebec City

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

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

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

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

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

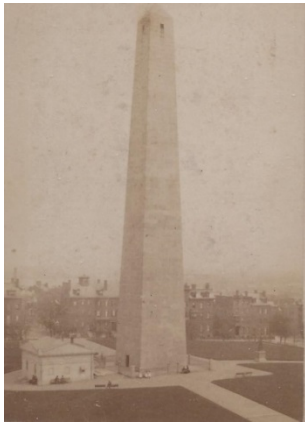
But the English chase him, sailing another 75 miles down Lake Champlain to a victory on October 11 at Valcour Island, over a ramshackle “fleet” of mostly flat-bottomed, single-masted, three gun boats scrounged up by Arnold.

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

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Time: March 17, 1776

### The British Are Forced Out Of Boston



Bunker Hill Monument, Boston

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

So Washington’s focus now shifts south, to Dorchester Heights, which threatens both the city itself and the shipping lanes. But to succeed, Washington needs artillery with two-mile range, and obtaining them will require a minor miracle.

The miracle is performed by 25-year old Colonel Henry Knox.

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

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

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

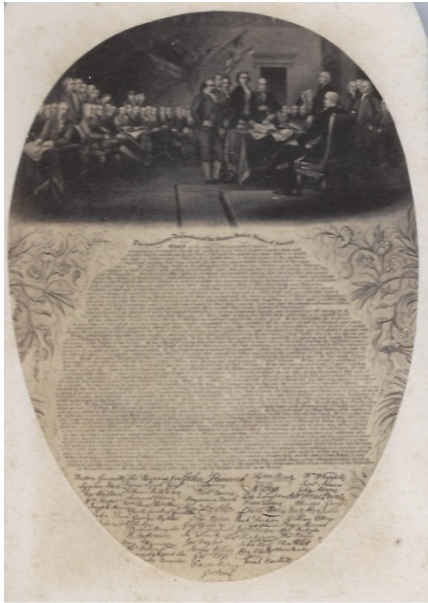
Boston is now back in the hands of the rebels.



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Time: July 4, 1776

## The Second Continental Congress Declares American Independence



Signing the Declaration of Independence

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

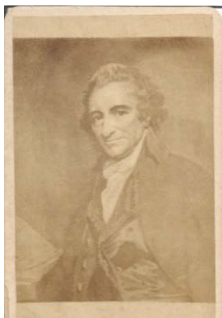
Driven by these tailwinds, the “radicals” at the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia are ready to force the issue of a final break with the crown.

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

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

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

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



Thomas Paine (1737-1809)

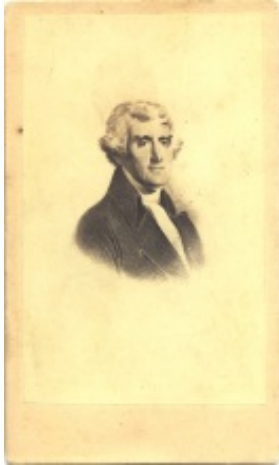
*Resolved: That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.*



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

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

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



Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Declaration then moves into a bill of particulars, in effect a formal indictment of the ways in which the King and the British government in the colonies have jeopardized the well-being of the citizenry. The list includes 27 separate counts, among them refusal to pass necessary statutes, obstruction of justice, imposition of taxes without consent, maintaining a standing army in times of peace, arbitrarily suspending local legislatures, cutting off trade with countries abroad,

abolishing Charters, imposing martial law, “plundering our seas, ravaging our coasts, burning our towns, and destroying the lives of our people.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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### Sidebar: A Glaring Deletion Regarding Slavery



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jefferson's language here is unequivocal.

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: 1607-1775

### Work Begins On The Articles Of Confederation



James Madison (1751-1836)

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

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

#### Prominent Divisions Over Federalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Chapter 7 – The Revolutionary War

Time: August to November 1776

### Washington Almost Loses His Army On Manhattan Island



Washington and his Revolutionary War Generals

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

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

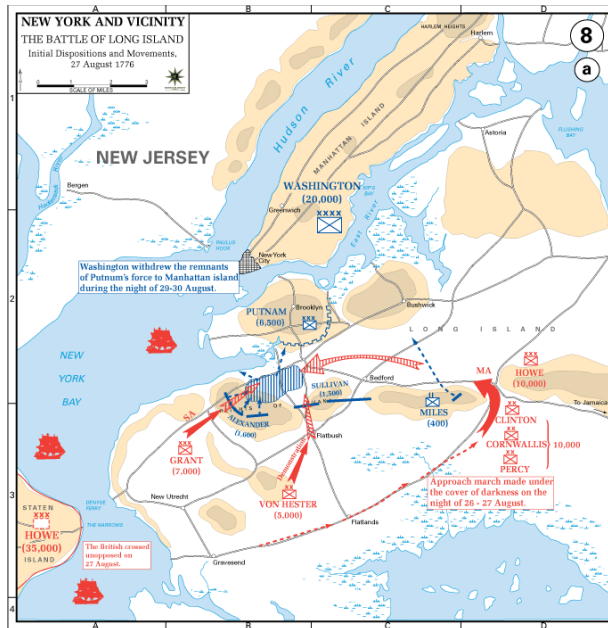
*Whoever commands the sea, must command the town.*

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

Howe recognizes that the fortifications on Long Island are crucial to the American defense, since they dominate both the Hudson and East Rivers surrounding Manhattan. If he can take Brooklyn Heights, he'll transport troops up both rivers, send them inland to link up in a defensive chain, and bag Washington's entire army before it can escape to the north.

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





Howe Takes Brooklyn Heights and Moves on Manhattan

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

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

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

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

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



The Hanging of Nathan Hale (1755-1776)

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

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

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

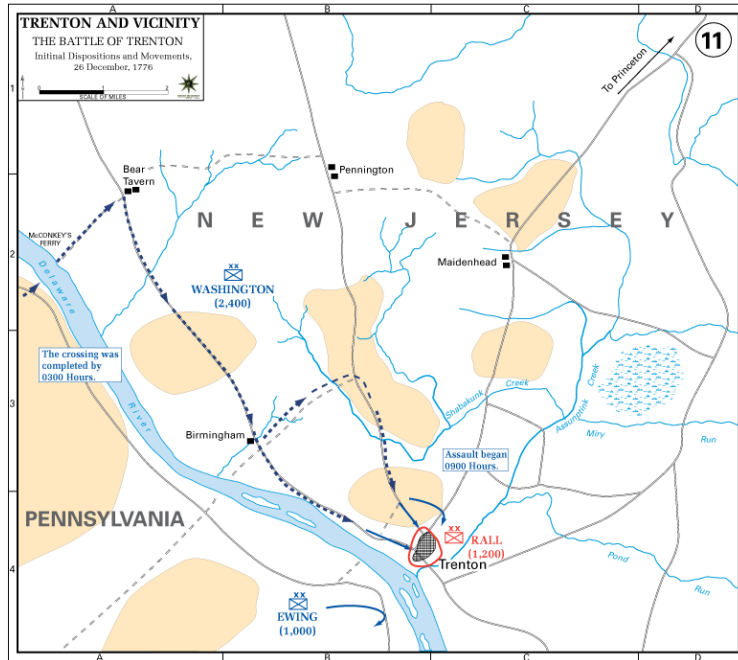
Instead of a further chase of Washington's main army, Howe turns back south to make him pay for dividing his army, by destroying it in detail.

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

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Time: December 25, 1776

### Washington Crosses The Delaware For A Much Needed Victory At Trenton



Washington Crosses the Delaware and Wins at Trenton

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

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

At this moment, Washington does the totally unexpected.

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

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

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Time: October 10, 1777

### America’s Victory Over Burgoyne At Saratoga Stuns The World



Burgoyne’s Roadmap to taking Albany

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

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

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

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

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

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

This British capitulation at Saratoga stuns the world!

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

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Time: 1776-1781

### **Sidebar: Becoming Benedict Arnold (1741-1801)**

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

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

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

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

Instead his path leads on to bitterness and betrayal.

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

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

As his disillusionment grows, he opens a secret channel of communication with Sir Henry Clinton, overall commander of British forces in America from 1778-82. His efforts are supported by his wife and by William Franklin, illegitimate son of Ben Franklin, who is a lifelong supporter of the crown.

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: September 26, 1777

## The British Take The American Capital Of Philadelphia



Howe takes Philadelphia and Washington Retreats to Valley Forge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

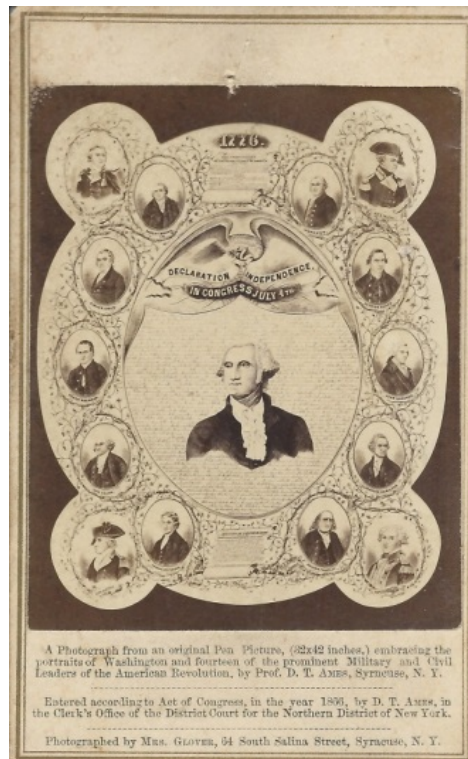
Fighting around Philadelphia continues into the winter as Washington tries to siege the British from two forts that command the Delaware river. But Howe eventually reduces both in mid-November.

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

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**Time: Winter 1777**

**The Continental Army Suffers And Is Transformed At Valley Forge**



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: February 6, 1778

## France Comes Into The War On The Side Of America



Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

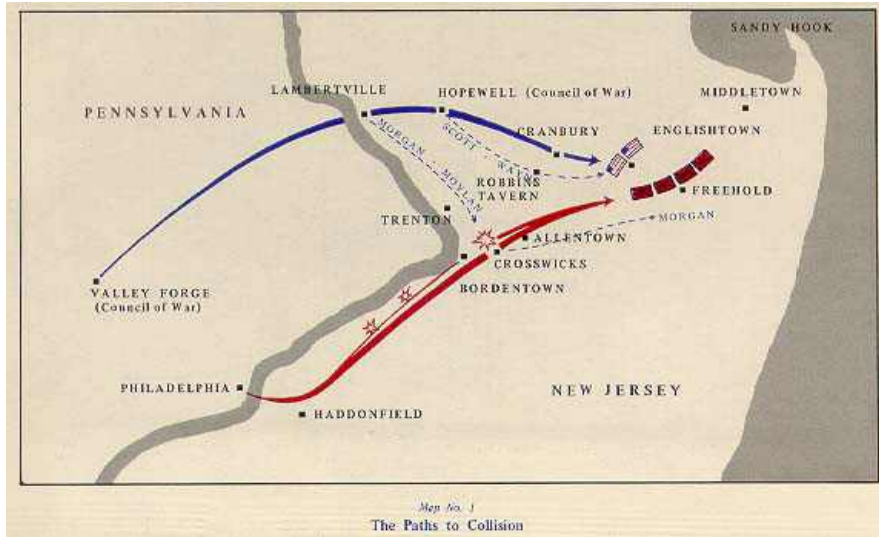
It also greatly ups the financial ante on the British to continue the fight.

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

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Time: June 28, 1778

### Drawn Battle Of Monmouth Ends Infantry Combat In The North



Clinton Heads from Philadelphia toward Manhattan and Washington Follows

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

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

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

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

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

The second signal involves changes in military strategy.

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

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

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

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

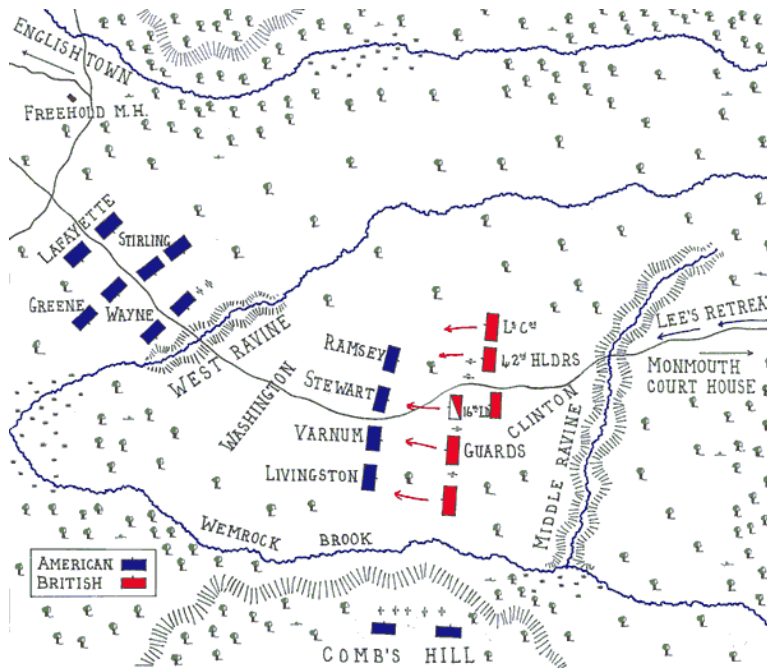
General Clinton departs Philadelphia on June 18, 1778, hoping for an untroubled transfer of his 11,000 troops and artillery trains northeast toward Manhattan and Britain's last impregnable stronghold in the North

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

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

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

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



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

In the end, the battle is a draw.

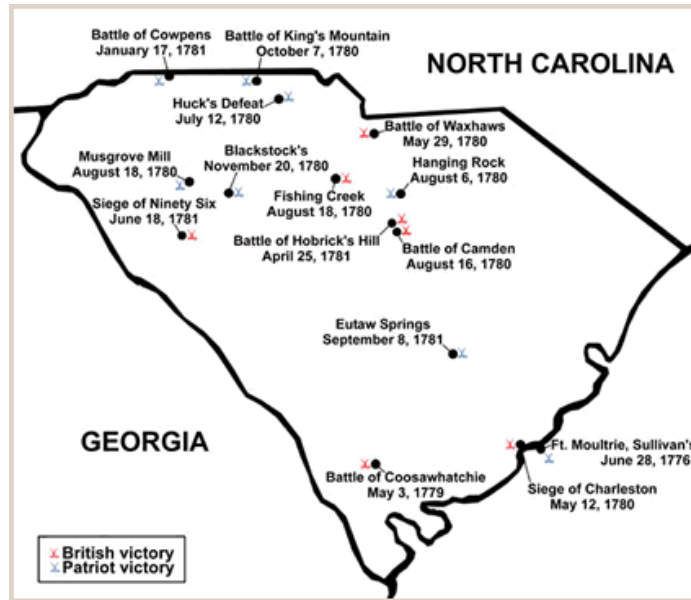
Washington is unable to stop Clinton's move to New York, but he does demonstrate the newly gained proficiency of his army.

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

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Time: 1779-1781

### Britain's "Southern Strategy" Succeeds Then Stalls



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

To succeed with their new efforts in the South, the British need a strong supply base similar to their position in New York City. They already hold Savannah, Georgia, after a failed American siege in the Fall of 1797. But they want a more central location, and they decide that the port city of Charleston, South Carolina, is their best bet.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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Time: August-September 1791

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



LaFayette And Washington

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

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

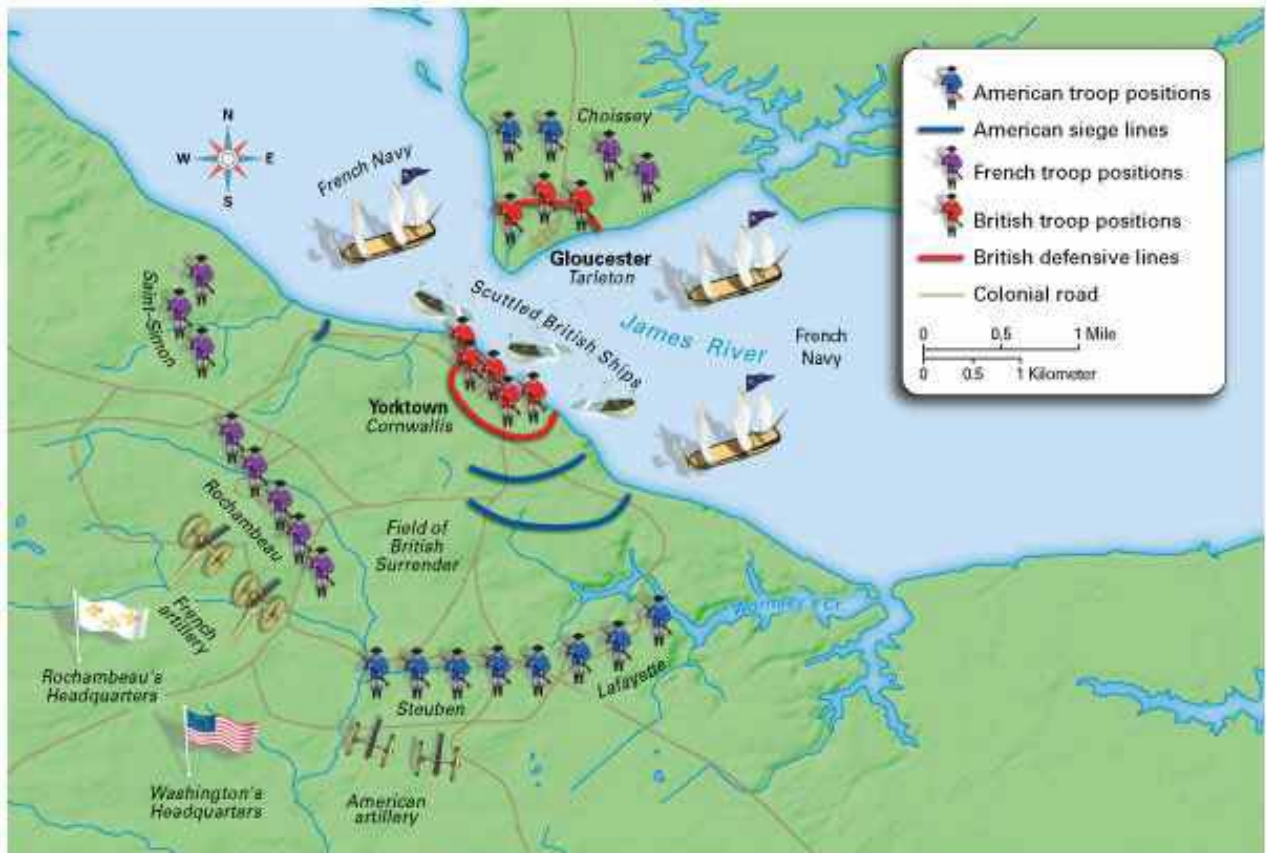
In addition to his navy, the Admiral brings another pleasant surprise – 2,500 French troops, who disembark to bolster the American-French infantry.

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

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Time: October 19, 1781

## The World Turned Upside Down At Yorktown



Cornwallis is Trapped by Washington and the French at Yorktown

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



The World Turned Upside Down

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Time: September 3, 1783

## The Treaty Of Paris Officially Ends The Revolutionary War



John Adams (1735-1826)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## Chapter 8 – Debt Plagues The New Congress Of The Confederation

Time: 1781-1787

### The Congress Of The Confederation Is Born



“We the People”

In March 1781, the Second Continental Congress gives way to what becomes known as the “Congress of the Confederation” or “The United States in Congress Assembled,” operating under the Thirteen Articles framed in 1777.

At that time, the war with Britain remains very much in doubt. Cornwallis’s army is still rampaging across Virginia and the French fleet has not yet committed to supporting Washington and LaFayette. So “managing the conflict” gives purpose and focus to the body.

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

Once the Treaty of Paris is finalized in September 1783, many see the “relevance” of the Federal Government as receding since its powers -- limited to declaring war, making peace, signing treaties, and printing money – seem already accomplished.

The President of the “Congress Assembled” at the time is Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, who has previously signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. He serves until July 1781, when Thomas McKean of Delaware succeeds him.

But the position of President is largely ceremonial and the consensus is that government decisions should reside with the individual States – in accord with the wishes of the Anti-Federalist politicians.

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

**State Governors As The Confederation Phase Begins**

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

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

That issue is financial debt.

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Time: 1783-1787

**The War Debt Becomes A Major Challenge**



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

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



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

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

But Anti-Federalist sentiment dominates the 1777 Articles of Confederation, and it has no interest in granting the central government “authority to lay and collect taxes.” British abuse of this “taxing power” is what prompted the war in the first place, and the colonists do not intend to repeat this outcome on their own.

So, under the Articles, any tax collection will be left up to each individual State, with the expectation that a portion of the revenues will be shared with the Continental Congress to support the war effort. In effect then, the States are asked to “donate” some of their tax revenue to Congress – a path that, in practice, fails miserably over time.

A second revenue source, selling assets, involves auctioning off left-over federal land, but state rivalries over ownership make this a contentious affair

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

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

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

The Federal Government begins to print its own money.

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Time: 1783-1787

## Simply Printing Money Fails To Solve The Problem



Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: 1782

### A Controversial “Central Bank” Proves Helpful



Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804)

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

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

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

In 1857 Morris and Willing’s son, Thomas, form the firm of Willing, Morris & Co., which becomes wildly successful in everything from marine insurance to real estate to shipping ventures, including the slave trade.

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

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

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

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

Resistance to this idea comes immediately from the Anti-Federalists. They fear that a federal bank will erode the power and policies of Congress by putting too much financial influence into

the hands of an elite class of private investors. Besides, men like James Madison argue that the Articles of Confederation actually prohibit Congress from chartering any corporations, that being the province of the States.

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

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

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

**Growth Of State Banks Chartered To Print "Backed" U.S. Dollars**

<b>1783</b>	<b>1790</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1810</b>	<b>1820</b>	<b>1830</b>	<b>1840</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>1860</b>
0	1	15	49	131	163	353	190	494

Warren Weber, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, 2006

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Time: 1785

**The Land Ordinance Of 1785 Also Helps Finance The Government**



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

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

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

**Ownership Of Eventual US Land In 1783**

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

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

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

**Original State Claims On British Land West Of Appalachia**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Each section is put up for sale on a first come, first served basis, at an initial price of \$1 per acre, bumped up to \$2 in 1796. Buyers could be either settlers or speculators, and anyone owning a

“section” was free to sub-divide it for re-sale. The Ordinance also requires that one “section” -- #16 – be set aside for a township school, to encourage the spread of public education.

The Act passes Congress on May 20, 1785.

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

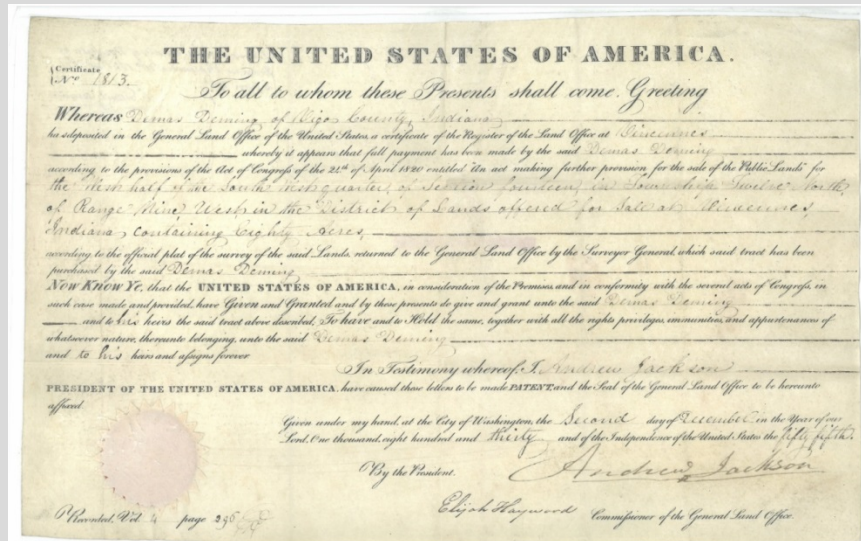
The slave owner Jefferson attacks the practice once again, as he did in one of the “deleted” sections of the Declaration of Independence. But his efforts to outlaw it in the new territories after 1800 are turned back.

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Time: 1830

**Sidebar: A Typical Federal Land Grant Document**

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





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**Time: Mid-1780's**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Estimates Of Real Per Capita Income During The Confederation Era**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While this ends Shay’s Rebellion, the protest has gathered widespread public sympathy, which sets off alarms among members of the Confederation Congress, as well as George Washington, retired at his Mount Vernon plantation. Something must be done to rally and unify the States to escape from its economic woes.

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

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

## Chapter 9 – A New Constitution Is Approved For The United States

Time: May 14, 1776

### The Constitutional Convention Convenes



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

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

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

#### Composition Of Delegates Who Actually Attend

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

NC	5	394	Yes
SC	4	249	Yes
Ga	4	82	Yes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: May 14 – September 17, 1787

## **A Host Of Complicated Issues Faces The Assembled Delegates**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. How will authority for governing be split between the Federal vs. State levels?
2. Does the Federal Government need more than just a Legislative branch?
3. How will representation within the Legislature be apportioned across the states?
4. How will the interests of small states vs. larger states be protected in Legislative voting?
5. How will the interests of states with large vs. small slave populations be balanced?
6. How will the rights of any minority groups be protected against the will of the majority?
7. What range of powers will be granted to the Legislative Branch?
8. How will the government be sufficiently funded?
9. Can an Executive Branch be created with enough, but not too much, power?
10. How should the Executive be chosen and for how long a term?
11. What should the Executive's role be in relation to the military?

12. What checks and balances will exist between the Executive and the Legislature?
13. How will state compliance with federal laws be monitored and assured?
14. Should there be a Judicial Branch created to oversee the legal system?
15. How might such a Judiciary be structured and what powers would it have?

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**Sidebar: A Short Profile Of Several Less Famous Founding Fathers At Philadelphia**

<b>Name and Age</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Impact</b>
John Dickinson, 54	Delaware	His “two solar systems” speech clarifies roles of the national government vis a vis the states
Oliver Ellsworth, 42	Connecticut	Input to Connecticut Plan, member of Committee on Detail
Elbridge Gerry, 43	Massachusetts	Challenges South on “counting slaves,” leads Anti-Federalist drive for state legislatures to ratify, refuses to sign
William Johnson, 59	Connecticut	Chairs Committee of Style & Arrangement, input to Conn. Plan, calming influence start to finish
Rufus King, 32	Massachusetts	Serves on Committee of Style & Arrangement
Luther Martin, 39	Maryland	Opposes slave trade, voice for Anti-Federalist faction
George Mason, 62	Virginia	Anti-Federalist who still pushes for supremacy of the people, demands Bill of Rights and second convention, refuses to sign
Gouverneur Morris, 35	Pennsylvania	Aristocratic by birth, a witty debater, makes most motions at convention. Lead author of final Constitution, proposes strong one man President, openly attacks slavery
William Patterson, 41	New Jersey	Authors New Jersey Plan opening several key issues
Charles Pinckney, 29	South Carolina	Only delegate to openly defend the practice of slavery
Charles C. Pinckney, 41	South Carolina	A lead spokesman for the Southern states, later runs for President as a Federalist.
Edmund Randolph, 34	Virginia	Authors key Virginia Plan and Committee on Detail report, calls for a flexible Constitution changing with the times, also amendments, critical role throughout, refuses to sign
John Rutledge, 48	South Carolina	The “Dictator,” famed General during the war and planter. Another key spokesperson for South, Chairman of Committee on Detail, defends need for slavery, supports strong Executive

Roger Sherman, 66	Connecticut	Once a shoemaker, he authors the Enumeration Clause (3/5 <sup>th</sup> slave count) in support of the Great Compromise, input to Connecticut Plan, strong role in ratification
James Wilson, 45	Pennsylvania	Leads Connecticut Plan with two senators per state enabling the Great Compromise, Committee on Detail, voice for closure, supports equality of new western states

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

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**Time: May 30, 1787**

**The “Virginia Plan” Is Offered By Governor Edmund Randolph**



James Madison (1751-1836)

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

The primary author of the plan is James Madison.

The First Resolve argues that:

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: June 15, 1787

### **New Jersey Proposes A “Small State” Alternative**

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

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

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

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

**Proposed Plans For The New Legislature**

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

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

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

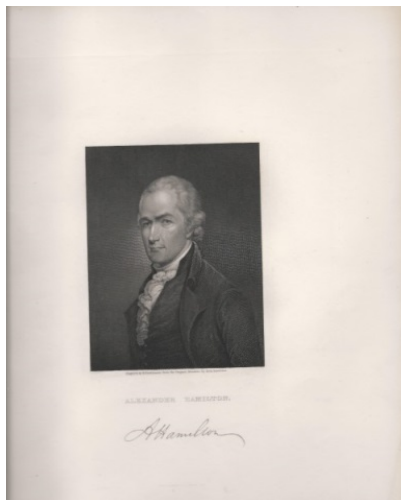
Despite this fundamental failure, the New Jersey Plan announces several other ideas that will become relevant as the sessions continue.

- Congress can raise funds by tariffs and taxes collected from the states.
- A federal Treasury will be set up to handle revenue and expenses and quality assure the money supply.
- Congress will regulate interstate and foreign commerce.
- The Executive branch will include several people, elected by Congress, for one term only.
- A Supreme Tribunal appointed by the Executive will resolve legal disputes (borders, treaties, impeachment).
- A standing army will be created, with States contributing troops in proportion to their population size.
- Military officers will be approved jointly by States and the Congress.

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Time: June 18, 1787

### Hamilton Announces His Revolutionary Option



Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: July 5, 1787

### **Roger Sherman Shares The “Connecticut Plan” In Committee**

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

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

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

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

**Proposed Plans For The New Legislature**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Utterly unattainable, too novel and complex.*

Hearing of these departures, Washington writes that same day:

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

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

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

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

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Time: July 9-13, 1787

### Sharp Conflicts Over Slavery Almost Derail The Convention



Father Abraham, Once A House Slave

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

That issue is slavery.

Its presence has been reptilian all along, and now it strikes over “apportionment” – the process by which states will be allocated seats in the House.

The question becomes: will the Northern states allow the South to include its slaves in their population counts – or not?

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

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

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

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

### The Importance Of Slaves To Various States Population Counts In 1775

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

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

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

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

### Number Of Votes In House Depending On How Slaves Are Counted

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

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

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

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

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

Jefferson’s words capture the dilemma best.

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

Conflicting motives spill over into personal distrust.



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

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

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

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

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

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

*South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: July 13, 1787

**The “Enumeration Clause” Counts Slaves As 3/5<sup>th</sup> Of A Person**



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

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

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

**Compromise Under 3/5<sup>th</sup> Enumeration Clause**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Time: July 16, 1787

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



NORTHWEST TERRITORY

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

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

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

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

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

When a Territory achieves a threshold population of 60,000, it can then write and pass a local constitution, identify its boundaries, and apply for formal admittance to the Union as a new State.

These same “governance principles” are to apply across the South, as soon as documents are signed to cede certain lands still in dispute. When this is completed, in 1789, a Southwest Ordinance is signed into law.

A vigorous debate follows on whether new States will enjoy “equal treatment” vis a vis the original thirteen. The answer is eventually “yes” by a 5-4 floor vote, despite a lasting eastern delegate bias against sharing power with “backwards westerners sporting coonskin caps and twangy dialects.”

What tips the scales here is genuine fear – fear that the Appalachian Mountains, and the westward flowing rivers it feeds, will forever tie the new states to Spanish settlements along the Mississippi River, rather than to the new American union. This is an outcome that few are willing to risk.

All told then, the Northwest Ordinance provides for orderly movement of settlers into the new territory in a way that also binds them to the union – albeit ignoring the rights of the Native peoples already present.

Remarkably the Ordinance also defuses the rising tensions over slavery!

It does this through a last second article added by Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, later referred to as the “father of American jurisprudence.” Dane is not a delegate to the Convention, but is a renowned legal scholar called upon to draft the Ordinance. The article he includes is simple but profound, and, to Dane’s surprise, readily approved by the body.

*Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.*

Article 6 lays out a geographical line certain – in this case the course of the Ohio River – and openly declares that the institution of slavery will be prohibited to its north and permitted to its south.

In agreeing to this line of demarcation, the South acknowledges that the North wishes to ban the spread of slavery in “its region” of the country.

The North, meanwhile, agrees to respect continuation of slavery in the South, and to facilitate it by supporting the return of any run-away slaves who cross the Ohio River.

This definitive Ohio River line will quell some of the acrimony left over the subject of slavery, both in the hall and over the next three decades.

It also opens the door for a deal on “slave trading,” agreed to a month later, on September 6. The practice will be allowed to continue for twenty more years, but then cease in 1808. During that period the Congress will collect a tax of \$10 on every imported slave.

While at first glance, this 1808 ban on importing more slaves may appear detrimental to the South; that is not the case at all. The reason being that, in twenty years, domestic owners expect to “breed” a sufficient inventory of “excess slaves” for sale, thus keeping the profits for themselves rather than handing them over to the importers. This “breeding scheme” is particularly important to the state of Virginia, which is already seeing that selling slaves can be more lucrative than selling tobacco.

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Time: July 16, 1787

### A “Great Compromise” Defines The Legislative Branch Structure



The Senate Chamber, in Later Years

One final roadblock needs resolution before the Legislative branch plan is finalized. It involves fear among the larger states that “money bills” (taxing and spending) coming out of the “equalized Senate” might be tilted unfairly against them by the smaller states.

Ben Franklin steps forward with a solution that becomes known as the “Origination Clause” – stating that all money bills are to originate in the House and cannot be unilaterally

changed by the Senate. In exchange for losing some financial powers, the Senate will be given several important “advise and consent” assignments – approving certain judges and ambassadors, ratifying treaties, trying impeachment cases.

The Convention is well in need of good news, and on July 16 it arrives, in the form of “The Great Compromise,” Mr. Sherman’s plan to structure the nation’s new bicameral Congress, aided by the Northwest Ordinance.

Henceforth the “will of the American people” is to be expressed through a House of Representatives, with members chosen state by state in direct elections and apportioned according to a population count which factors in slaves.

A second body, the Senate, will also weigh in, with large and small states each having two members, to be elected by local legislatures.

All new laws must pass in both chambers for approval.



Members in the House will be elected by the people to two year terms of office. To qualify they must be at least 25 years of age; citizens for a minimum of seven years, and residents of the state.

Senators will be named by state legislatures for six year terms. To qualify they must be at least 30 year old, nine years a citizen, and a state resident.

The Legislature must meet at least once a year, for sure on the first Monday in December. All members who participate will be paid out of the National Treasury with amounts ascertained by law.

### Final Plan For The New Legislature

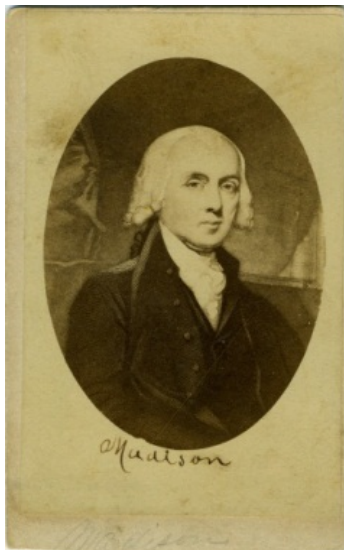
# of Chambers	2 - bicameral
# seats in House	Based on state population
# seats in Senate	Every state has 2

On July 16 then, the logjam is broken – and agreement is reached on the structure of the Legislative Branch.

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Time: July 16, 1787

### America Will Be A Republic, Not A Pure Democracy



James Madison (1751-1836)

The “Great Compromise” reflects the tensions felt by many delegates around “how far to trust” the will of the masses, and of the majority.

Clearly the new government intends to respond to the people’s will. Both James Madison and George Mason are crystal clear about this.

*The people are the fountain of all power... We must resort to the people...so this doctrine with supreme authority over the government. be cherished as the basis of free government.*

“Majority rules” will also be the norm, as Alexander Hamilton points out.

*The fundamental maxim of government...requires the sense that the majority should prevail.*

From these observations one might expect the Convention to have arrived at a “pure democracy” – with every future decision resolved through a direct poll of the people, on a winner-take-all basis.

But this is not what the delegates decide. Instead of a pure Democracy, their solution is a Republic.

*I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands.*

Between the people and the law stand “representatives,” charged with adding their own wisdom and experience to the mix.

The explanation for this goes beyond the geographical impracticality of direct polling, to underlying suspicions that “the people” can easily transform into a mob, inflamed by short-term passions, liable to act out of rashness rather than reason.

There is also fear that, left to their own devices, “the people” may be inclined to trample on the rights of various minorities within the population – for example, the landed gentry, as none other than Madison points out.

*In England, at this day, if elections were open to all classes of people, the property of landed proprietors would be insecure... Landholders ought to have a share in the government, to support these invaluable interests, and to balance and check the other. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. The Senate, therefore, ought to be this body; and to answer these purposes, they ought to have permanency and stability.*

For every Ben Franklin or George Mason in the hall expressing unequivocal faith in the intrinsic wisdom of the masses, there are others, like Alexander Hamilton and John Sherman, much less confident.

That committed democrat, Thomas Jefferson, is another. As he writes, the odds of “mischief” are high whenever men and motives are joined.

*In questions of power then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the constitution.*

John Adams, so simultaneously unlike and like Jefferson, sees it the same way -- any body of men given too much power will become “ravenous beasts of prey.”

The message then from the worldly founders in Philadelphia is that governments are delicate in nature and prone to going off course, either through the masses as mobs, or individual men as dictators.

In turn, the path to preserving the values of self-government lies in a series of “checks and balances,” Jefferson’s “binding chains of the constitution.”

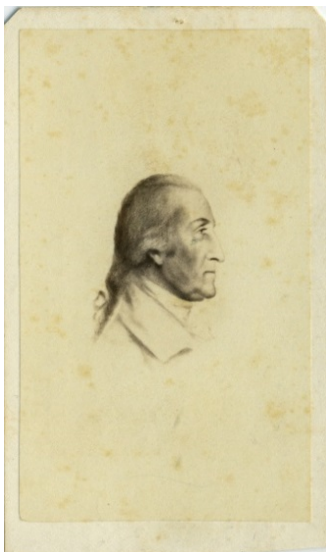
Representatives in the House will “check” the masses; the Senate will “check” the House. Together they will “balance” the wishes of the majority against the proper concerns of the minority.

With that much settled, the delegates turn their attention to the Executive Branch.

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Late July 1787

### A President Of The United States Will Head The Executive Branch



George Washington (1732-1799)

Once again the “Virginia Plan” of May 30 becomes the starting place for discussions, this time on structuring the Executive Branch. It calls for a Council of several men selected by Congress, charged simply with insuring that the laws of the land are being properly carried out.

Then comes Hamilton on June 18 with his radically different approach – insisting that the Executive be one man, titled Governor, serving for life, with powers approaching those of a monarch.

Neither plan feels right to the full body. Somewhere there must be a middle ground between the Executive as fairly minor pawn or mighty king.

A month passes before the ubiquitous Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania rises on July 19 with an alternative.

Morris argues that a strong Executive, one man for sure, is needed as a “check” on the Legislative Branch, a final “guardian of the people.”

- The Executive will be titled the President of the United States, and called “His Excellency.”
- His term will be four years, but he is allowed to continue in office for as long as he is re-elected.

This approach sits well with the majority, although several concerns are voiced.

The Anti-Federalist warns that it will become the “fetus of monarchy.”

James Wilson and James Madison worry that a President “directly elected by the people,” might be too prone to short-sighted populist urgings rather than what is best for the long term.

On top of this, a direct election raises the same questions about state sovereignty that arose with the Legislature. Wouldn't the states with larger populations and therefore more votes dominate the will of their smaller neighbors?

What falls out here is the creation of an "Electoral College" charged with actually choosing the President.

- He will be chosen by "electors" from each State, who will be "named" by the State's legislature.
- Each State will have a number of electors that match their total seats in Congress.
- Each "elector" will nominate two men for the position, including one not from their home state.
- The man with the most votes will become President; second most will be Vice-President.
- In case of a tie, House members will be called upon to break it.

This approach again involves a balancing act.

The bigger states do end up with more voting power – but this seems less threatening in the Executive Branch than in the Legislature, where new laws are originating.

The will of the masses is to be harnessed by "electors," chosen by state officials, exhibiting statesmanship and wisdom in casting their two ballots.

Over 60 separate votes are taken at the Convention before the process for electing a President is resolved.

The outcome also leads to the office of the Vice-President – to be filled by the runner-up in the Electoral College voting. The exact duties of the Vice-President are vague all along. Most feel he would act as a "stand-in" in case the President died, until the Electoral College had time to gather and pick a true replacement. Other than that, he is given the mostly ceremonial job of ex-officio President of the Senate, with the power to break tie votes.

But what of the new President himself? It is abundantly clear that he is to be more than a figurehead and less than a monarch. So what exactly are his powers?

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July 26, 1787

### **Presidential Powers are Defined**

Resolving the Executive's role requires another wrestling match between Federalists and Anti-Federalists.

In the end, the Convention retains the two powers identified in the “Virginia Plan” – to “take care that the laws are faithfully executed” and to make a host of “appointments,” such as ambassadors and federal judges, with the Senate’s consent.

Layered on top of these are a broad range of add-ons. Some are very specific: vetoing bills, writing government checks, granting pardons, making treaties, receiving foreign dignitaries, commissioning officers.

One other power is also much on the mind of the delegates: the role of the President in any future warfare, especially involving a sudden invasion. At the time, this prospect is by no means far-fetched, with the British in Canada and Spain still controlling Florida and all land west of the Mississippi.

The Revolutionary War has proven the futility of hoping for Congressmen from thirteen states to agree on military strategy in timely fashion. Organizing a standing army to speed up action is suggested, but rejected by some who are committed to State militias and fear a military coup. As Madison writes:

*Oppressors can tyrannize only when they achieve a standing army, an enslaved press, and a disarmed populace.*

Of course the “solution” to these concerns is before their very eyes, sitting at the front of the hall, in the person of George Washington – one man with mastery over both military and political affairs. Some, like his aide Hamilton, might wish to make him king; others simply wish that his persona can be cloned over time in future Presidents. But for now it’s clear the delegates intend to look to the Executive to oversee military affairs, if and when war arises.

*The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the Militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States.*

A final add-on to Presidential powers is remarkably open-ended – to do whatever is required “to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution.” The expectation is for a wise statesman-like President who nudges Congress toward actions in the national interest and vetoes harmful legislation when he senses it.

In the long arc of history to follow, America will occasionally encounter a President who lives up to these wishes.

### The Enumerated Powers Of The President Circa 1787

Article I	Power To
Section 7, clauses 2-3	Approve or veto Bills and Resolutions passed by Congress
Section 9, Article II	Write checks (via Treasury) pursuant to Appropriations made by Congress
Section 1, last clause	Preserve, protect and defend the Constitution
Section 2, clause 2	Serve as Commander-in-Chief when Congress calls the army to service Require Executive department offers to write up their assigned Duties Grant Reprieves and Pardons for offenses against the United States
Section 2, clause 3	Advise the Congress periodically on the State of the Union
Section 3	Recommend to Congress such measures as he deems wise Convene one or both chambers of Congress on extraordinary occasions Receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers Take care that the Laws are faithfully executed Commission all the Officers of the United States

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Time: August 6, 1787

### An Enumerated List Of Powers Is Approved For The Congress



A Colonial Magistrate

By the end of July the delegates begin to sense that what they set out to do back in May might actually be within their reach. A whole new government, still respectful of each state’s sovereignty, but bound together by a central authority dedicated to the common good for all.

The time has come for the many lawyers in the room to worry about the fine print – especially codifying the exact powers of the new Congress they intend to create. The “Virginia Plan” simply assigns it “any tasks the States are incompetent to do.”

This “left-overs” definition is far too vague for the delegates, and on July 26 they create a “Committee of Detail” to enumerate the powers one by one.

This very powerful group is chaired by John Rutledge of South Carolina, known to colleagues as “the Dictator” for his dual role during the war as Governor of his state and Commander-in-Chief of its military forces. He is joined by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, James Wilson of Pennsylvania and Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts.

After a two week adjournment, the committee reports out on August 6, including a list of about thirty specific recommendations. Edmund Randolph, who authored the “Virginia Plan,” also crafts this document. In a Preamble, he expresses his hope that each power is clear as written and yet flexible enough to accommodate external change. Thus his stated goals:

1. To insert essential principles only; lest the operations of government should be clogged by rendering those provisions permanent and unalterable, which ought to be accommodated to times and events: and
2. To use simple and precise language, and general propositions, according to the example of the constitutions of the several states."<sup>1</sup>

Front and center in the list is assigning the “power of the purse” to the new Congress. Instead of the futile reliance on “voluntary State donations” under the Thirteen Articles, the House is authorized:

*To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the U.S.*

Delegates, however, remain very aware of America’s visceral opposition to burdensome taxes, tracing from the Boston Tea Party to Shay’s rebellion.

Thus “direct” taxes on a given person’s income or wealth are ruled out in favor of “indirect” taxes -- “Duties or Imposts” (later called “Tariffs”) on imported or exported goods, and “Excises” aimed mainly at taxing the manufacture, sale or consumption of certain goods (e.g. spirits).

Another important financial change gives Congress the power:

*To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures.*

This takes control of the money supply out of the hands of State banks (with their often grossly inflated “bills of credit” printed locally) and places it at the Federal level.

A third proposal relates to war powers:

*To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;*



The enumeration goes on, granting Congress the authority to: raise armies, call forth the militia, build a navy, suppress insurrections, negotiate and enforce treaties, regulate commerce, establish post offices and postal routes, promote science and the arts, issue patents, set up appeals courts, punish counterfeiters and high seas pirates, oversee the naturalization process.

Finally the Federalists slip in one last “catch-all” clause, authorizing Congress to:

*Make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States.*

This “necessary and proper” clause will boomerang after the original Constitution is signed and the Convention adjourns. It will result in a set of ten amendments known as The Bill of Rights, not approved until December 1791, wherein the Anti-Federalists succeed in reining in the scope and power of the Federal Government.

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Time: Mid-August 1787

### Nagging Divisions Over Slavery Persist



“Learning Is Wealth”

While the 3/5ths Clause has enabled the convention to move forward, issues surrounding slavery continue to touch a raw nerve every time they surface.

Southerners are already becoming wary of Northern intentions, and they press hard for three guarantees in the final Constitution:

1. Continuation of the slave trade with Africa until 1808.
2. A promise that Northern states will return fugitive slaves to the South.
3. Iron clad assurance that slavery shall continue over time in America.

Push back materializes on all counts. Gouverneur Morris assails the entire practice of slavery.

*I would never concur in upholding domestic slavery.*

Maryland’s Luther Martin resists the further importation of slaves.

*It is inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution and dishonorable to the American character to legitimize the importation of slaves in the Constitution.*

Even the Virginia plantation owner, James Madison, expresses discomfort over the high moral aims of the new government and the suspect ethics of human bondage.

*I think it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men.*

Given these sentiments, it is not by accident that the final Constitution, largely drafted by Madison himself, never once references the word “slavery” in its text.

But the debates prove that dismissing slavery in writing is far easier than resolving it in practice. Just below the outward mask of diplomacy, the two sides remain far apart on the issue.

- The North wishes it could wash its hands of the “African problem,” especially since their presence is no longer important to economic progress in the region. Perhaps the new nation, in service to white men, would be best served by turning back the clock and shipping the blacks off to Africa?
- The South rejects this thinking entirely. For better or for worse, the economic well-being of its entire region now rests on slavery. The North must recognize this fact as well as its original complicity in supporting slave trading in the first place. If true comity is to prevail within the new government, the North needs support the continuation of slavery, not try to erase its presence.

As John Rutledge of South Carolina puts it:

*I would never agree to give a power by which the articles relating to slaves might be altered by the States not interested in that property and prejudiced against it.*

Recognizing fundamental impasses here, the nearly exhausted delegates simply end with a temporary truce on slavery based on compromises already reached.

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Time: Late August 1787

### A Vaguely Defined Supreme Court System Is Approved



A Supreme Arbiter of the Law

As time begins to run out on the Convention, delegates return to the third branch of government identified in the “Virginia Plan,” the so-called Resolve Eleven:

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

The idea for a Judicial Branch at the Federal level springs from the conviction that Legislatures – locally or nationally – must be prohibited from passing laws that violate the principles laid out in the Constitution. As Alexander Hamilton says:

*No legislative act contrary to the Constitution can be valid...It therefore is the duty of the courts of justice...to declare all acts contrary to the Constitution void.*

But who would be responsible for policing the violations?

The “Virginia Plan” posits a “Council of Revision,” composed of the Executive and several members of a National Judiciary, who would review new laws before they are finalized, and then “nullify” any deemed to be contradictory to the “intent” of the Constitution.

Resistance to this “Council” is widespread and varied.

- A review of every new law before it takes effect will paralyze the entire system.
- It would signal distrust and disrespect for the good intentions of the Legislative Branch.
- Power over the law would be transferred to a handful of judges, none of whom are elected by the people.
- Including an Executive who may have no legal training makes little sense.

Eventually a proposal to review laws only after they have taken effect, and only if they are challenged for non-compliance with the Constitution, wins support, as does dropping the Executive from the “Council” in favor of trained lawyers only.

As time runs out on the Convention, the assembly settles for Article III of the Constitution:

*The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.*

The effect of this is to signal the wish for a Supreme Court, with details to be worked out later by the Congress.

Two years will pass before the Judiciary Act of 1789 provides some definition. The Supreme Court will consist of a Chief Justice and five associates who will be nominated by the President and approved by the Senate. Their duties will include “riding the circuit” – traveling twice a year to each of thirteen “judicial districts” across the country to identify laws that may be violating the Constitution. This Act also creates the office of Attorney General, the chief Federal lawyer, whose role is to prosecute all suits that come before the Supreme Court, and to provide general legal advice the President and other government officials.

Over time the Supreme Court will define its own scope and authority, often to the dismay of future Presidents, Legislators and various segments of the public.

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Time: Early September 1787

## Ratification Procedures Are Debated



George Washington (1732-1799)

The delegates know now that they will soon be asked to sign their names to a final document, a prospect that prompts last minute soul searching.

Two topics assume center stage: procedures for ratifying and amending the contract.

Friction materializes immediately around “who will be asked to approve the new Constitution, and by what margin must it pass?”

Two of the most vocal Anti-Federalists, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and Maryland’s Luther Martin, insist that approval must rest with the State Legislatures. But their pleas are beaten back after another strong Anti-Federalist, Virginia’s George Mason, speaks up.

*Whither must we resort? To the people...It is of great moment that this doctrine be cherished as the basis of free government.*

With Mason’s support, the assembly returns to the “Virginia Plan,” which proposes that special Conventions be held in each state involving representatives, elected by the people for the express purpose of debating and voting on the Constitution. As Madison writes, it must be backed...

*By the supreme authority of the people themselves...the fountain of all power.*

The focus now shifts to whether or not all thirteen states must ratify the new contract before it becomes the law of the land. While the rules of the Confederation require unanimity, many fear this will be impossible – especially since one state, Rhode Island, has refused to even show up in Philadelphia.

After some give and take, the requirement is set at 9 states needed for approval.

This further inflames resistance from Gerry and Martin.

Gerry broadens his attack, insisting that, as it stands, the document is full of flaws, and that “amendments” are needed. He adds his doubts that Maryland will ever agree. This time George Mason takes his side, announcing his wish that...

*Some points not yet decided should (be) brought to a decision before being compelled to give a final opinion on the Article. Should these points be improperly settled, (we need) another general convention.*

Alexander Hamilton weighs in, supporting Gerry’s demand that the document be approved unanimously.

Edmund Randolph, author of the “Virginia Plan,” also supports Gerry’s call for amendments – as does Ben Franklin, who, surprisingly, offers a motion in favor of state conventions developing amendments to be brought back for approval to a second Convention.

For Madison and Washington, the notion of any lengthy delay in the start-up of a new functioning government is tantamount to failure. James Wilson shares their frustration in his admonition to the hall:

*After spending four or five months...on the arduous task of forming a government for our country, we are ourselves at the close throwing insuperable obstacles in the way of its success.*

Wilson’s sentiment prevails, and Franklin’s motion is tabled for the moment.

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**Time: September 5 – 12, 1787**

**The Convention Moves Toward Summing Up**

On September 5 the body names a “Committee Of Style and Arrangement” to assemble all of the decisions reached so far and draft a final Constitution, with a one week deadline.

The Committee is headed by Dr. William Johnson of Connecticut, graduate of Yale and Harvard, an honorary doctorate from Oxford, accomplished lawyer, and current president of Kings (Columbia) College in New York. He is joined by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris and Rufus King, the later generally regarded as the finest orator in the nation. Together they are given one week to create their draft.

As they labor on, several other issues are wrapped up.

A national capitol comprising 10 square miles of land is to be established at a site to be determined. It will not be a sovereign State, but rather administered by the Federal Congress.

**Shifting Locations Of The Nation’s Capital**

<b>Governing Periods</b>	<b>Timeframe</b>	<b>Locations</b>
First Continental Congress	9/5 – 10/24 1775	Philadelphia
Second Continental Congress	5/10/75 – 3/1/81	Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, York, Phil.
Articles Of Confederation	3/1/81 – Fall 1788	Philadelphia, Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, NYC
U.S. Constitution	3/4/89 – 11/17/1800	New York, Philadelphia, Washington

Foreigners may serve in Congress after living in America for either seven years (for the House) or nine years (for the Senate) – but the President must be native born.

The Executive, along with members of Congress and the judiciary will swear an oath to uphold the Constitution.

A small standing army will be allowed, even in time of peace -- while state militias will continue to be relied on in case of war.

The definition of “treason” is resolved: engaging directly in war against the United States or giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Two witnesses to treasonous acts are required for conviction. Punishment for the crime will be determined by Congress, and confined to the traitor himself and not carried over to his offspring.

On September 12, Dr. Johnson’s Committee arrives in the hall with a final draft of the new Constitution.

James Madison acknowledges that authorship belongs mainly with Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania.

*The finish given to the style and arrangement belongs to the pen of Mr. Morris.*

The opening words of the document ring true to the spirit of the entire endeavor.

*We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*

It is “we the people” acting as one unified body who are declaring the form and substance by which they expect to be governed. It is the people who will decide, not the States acting like corporate entities.

The individual States will retain their sovereignty, but within specified boundaries. As Gouverneur Morris says:

*When the powers of the national government clash with the states, then must the states concede.*

Out of the countless Resolves presented to the Convention, Morris arrives at a final set of 7 Articles, each with sub-sections, codifying the three branches of government and declaring how the Constitution is to be ratified by the states and, if need be, amended over time.

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Time: September 15, 1787

### **The Constitution Is Approved Absent A “Bill Of Rights”**

Once again the persistent George Mason of Virginia is on his feet, this time asking that a Bill of Rights be added to the final document. He points out that eight state constitutions identify these rights, and that a committee could draft them in a few hours.

*If prefaced with a bill of rights...it would give great quiet to the people.*

The legal scholar, Wilson, rejects Mason’s plea, on the grounds that the Constitution deals with municipal laws, not “natural laws.”

Other opponents are less diplomatic in their criticisms.

Hearing about Mason’s call, the lexicographer and political observer, Noah Webster, cites the folly of trying to codify the rights of man. His sarcastic call goes out for a clause that...

*Everybody shall, in good weather, hunt on his own land...that Congress shall never restrain any American from eating and drinking...or prevent him from lying on his left side...when fatigued by lying on his right.*

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina offers another sound “regional reason” to skip a bill of rights.

*These generally begin that all men are by nature born free. We should make that declaration with very bad grace when a large part of our property consists in men who are actually born slaves.*

Others insist that the Document itself, from start to finish, guarantees personal values and rights.

When a vote is taken, Mason’s call for a Bill of Rights is voted down by a 10-0 margin.

It is closure the delegates want at the moment – and a full year will elapse before Mason’s wish is realized in Ten Amendments that finally codify many of America’s most cherished freedoms.

A vote is now taken on adopting the Constitution as written, with all states voting “aye.”

*E pluribus unum.* Out of many, one.

The thirteen sovereign states have become a new national Union.



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Time: September 17, 1787

## The Delegates Sign The Constitution

After approving the draft, a calligrapher named Jacob Shallus is given the task of “engrossing” the text. He does so on four large pages (28” x 23”) of parchment, comprising some 4,000 words in total. A fifth page is left for signatures.

The document is ready for signing on Monday, September 17, as summer turns into autumn in Philadelphia.

Thirty-eight of the original 55 delegates are present.

After the new Constitution is read aloud, Benjamin Franklin is recognized for a speech delivered for him by his Pennsylvania colleague, James Wilson.

*I confess there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment. But I consent, sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better and because I am not sure it is not the best. I cannot help expressing a wish that every member.. (vote) with me...to make manifest our unanimity.*

With hope for unanimity in mind, Franklin offers a motion, written by Gouverneur Morris, that would allow any individual dissenters to sign the document under the banner of majority support by their state delegation.

Next comes a last second plea from Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts on behalf of expanding the size of the House by allocating one representative for every 30,000 rather than 40,000 state residents.

This suggestion prompts George Washington to speak for the first and only time during the Convention. His remarks are couched within his usual tone of humility. Madison records them as follows:

*Although his situation had hitherto restrained him from offering his sentiments on questions depending in the House, and it might be thought ought now to impose silence on him, yet he could not forbear expressing his wish that the alteration proposed (by Gorham) might take place...since the smallness of the proportion of representatives had been considered by many members...an insufficient security for the rights and interests of the people.*

With Washington’s backing, the change is approved, the result being a sizable jump from 51 to 68 total seats in the House when it finally convenes in 1789.

At this point members are given a final chance to say what they will.

It is with great sadness that Edmund Randolph announces he cannot sign the final document. His role all along has been critical, from presenting the “Virginia Plan” to authoring the Committee On Detail report. But now he declares that his duty as a Virginian is to refrain from endorsing the Constitution until he can hear directly from the people of his state.

Not surprisingly Randolph is joined by George Mason, whose opposition has been clear all along. Mason doesn’t speak on this day, but writes up three pages worth of objections, which he later shares with Washington. These focus on the erosion he senses in state sovereignty, and the absence of a bill of rights.

After Gouverneur Morris voices his support for the document and urges others, including Randolph, to follow, the third and final dissenter left in the room, Elbridge Gerry, has his say. The Massachusetts delegate finds the outcome still too divisive, and likely to lead on to civil war between factions in his own state.

Four others who oppose the Constitution have already departed: the two New Yorkers (Lansing and Yates) and two Marylanders (Luther Martin and John Mercer).

But September 17 belongs not to the dissenters, rather to the 35 other men present who have labored on behalf of a grand vision of government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Each in turn steps forward to sign, beginning with New Hampshire and working sequentially south to Georgia.

**The Thirty-Nine Eventual Signers Of The Constitution**

<b>States</b>	<b>Delegates</b>
New Hampshire	Gilman, Langdon
Massachusetts	Gorham, King
Rhode Island	No delegates
Connecticut	Johnson, Sherman
New York	Hamilton
Pennsylvania	Clymer, Fitzsimons, Franklin, Ingersoll, Mifflin, G Morris, R Morris, Wilson
New Jersey	Brearily, Dayton, Livingston, Patterson
Delaware	Bassett, Bedford, Broom, Dickinson, Read
Maryland	Carroll, Jenifer, McHenry
Virginia	Blair, Madison, Washington
North Carolina	Blount, Spaight, Williamson
South Carolina	Butler, CC Pinckney, C Pinckney, Rutledge
Georgia	Baldwin, Few

The grand Convention then closes, with delegates off for a celebratory dinner together at the City Tavern. Afterwards, several reflect on the outcome.

Washington expresses amazement: “much to be wondered at...little short of a miracle.”

So does the South Carolinian “CC” Pinckney: “astonishingly pleased (that a government) so perfect could have been formed from such discordant and unpromising material.”

The delegate from New Hampshire, Nicholas Gilman, explains how it happened:

*It was done by bargain and compromise... (testing) whether or no we shall become a respectable nation, or a people torn to pieces by intestine commotions, and rendered contemptible for ages.*

From abroad, staunch Federalist John Adams and Anti-Federalist, Thomas Jefferson, both applaud, the latter wishing only for a bill of rights and term limits on the Executive.

Almost all agree that something amazing has just taken place in Philadelphia.

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Time: 1787-1788

### Five States Ratify Within The First Year



Massachusetts State House

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 9, 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**

<b>States</b>	<b>#Days</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Pre-Vote</b>	<b>Final Vote</b>	<b>Key Delegates</b>
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	Brearily
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: By July 26, 1788**

**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**

<b>States</b>	<b>#Days</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Pre-Vote</b>	<b>Final Vote</b>	<b>Key Delegates</b>
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.*

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Time: May 14, 1787 – March 1, 1792

**Sidebar: Timeline Of Key Events Related To The 1787 Constitution**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Convention Events</b>
May 14	Open, no quorum
May 25	Quorum
May 30	Virginia Plan
June 15	New Jersey Plan
June 18	Hamilton's Plan
July 5	Connecticut Compromise
July 13	Northwest Ordinance
July 16	Great Compromise
July 26	The Presidency Is Born
August 6	Committee of Detail Report
August 23	Slave Trade Debate
September 15	Committee On Style and Arrangement Draft
September 17	Signing Day
	Post-Convention
September 19	Constitution Is Published
September 28	Constitution Submitted To States For Ratification
October 27	Federalist Papers Appear
December 7	Delaware Is First To Ratify The Constitution
March 24, 1788	Rhode Island Rejects Constitution
June 21, 1788	New Hampshire Becomes 9 <sup>th</sup> State To Ratify
Sept 13, 1789	New York Chosen As Site of Capitol
March 4	New Government Goes Into Effect
April 1	Quorum Met In House of Representatives
April 6	Washington Elected As First President
April 30	Washington and Adams Inaugurated
September 25	Congress Passes 12 Amendments For Ratification
December 15	Three-fourths Of States Ratify Bill of Rights
January 1, 1790	North Carolina Ratifies Constitution + Amendments
February 2	Supreme Court Meets
May 29	Rhode Island Ratifies Constitution + Amendments
March 1, 1792	Bill of Rights Go Into Effect

**Sidebar: “We The People Of 1790”**

**Our Population**



Colonial Americans

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%	81%	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 as high as two+ million.

Almost 2/3<sup>rd</sup> 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%

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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### Sidebar: Our Homes

#### 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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### **Sidebar: 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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**Sidebar: 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
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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.



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### Sidebar: The Overall U.S. Economy In 1790



A 6 1/4 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
<b>1790 Current Dollars</b>	<b>\$ 190MM</b>	<b>\$ 48</b>
<b>Constant 2005 Dollars</b>	<b>4,030</b>	<b>1,025</b>

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**

	<b>Income</b>
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.

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### **Sidebar: 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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### Sidebar: 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

<b>States</b>	<b>Mottoes</b>
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

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### Sidebar: 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

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

## Chapter 10 – The Plight Of Those Enslaved

Time: 1790

### Slavery Is Continues to Wither Away In The North

As of 1790, there are some 698,000 enslaved blacks living in America alongside another 57,000 who are “freed men and women.”

#### Black Population In America In 1790

Total	Enslaved	Freed
755,000	698,000	57,000

But by that time, six of the eight Northern states have already 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 being that only 40,000 slaves remain up North, with the majority of them in New York and New Jersey.

#### The Black Population In The Eight 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 end of slavery in the region is reflected by the journey of the roughly 2,700 slaves still remaining in Connecticut. By 1774, some 6500 slaves remain, with the Puritans justifying the practice based on various Bible verses and on the notion that captivity had enabled the blacks to learn about Christianity.

To control these slaves, Connecticut 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.

Meanwhile, in 1790, the picture across the South is radically different. The region accounts for 94% of all those in bondage, and in four of them, slaves make up over one-third of the state’s total population.

**The Black Population In The Six Southern States In 1790**

	Total	Virginia	S. Carolina	Maryland	N. Carolina	Georgia	Delaware
Total (000)	658	293	115	108	104	29	9
% Of State Pop	18%	39%	43%	32%	26%	35%	15%

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Time: 1790

**Jefferson’s Stereotypical Views Of His Africans**



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.

No one articulates these prejudices more clearly than Thomas Jefferson, the Squire of the Monticello Plantation. They are best captured in his 1785 book, *Notes on the State of Virginia* where, in clinical fashion, he discusses the differences between blacks and whites, and why these 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 kidneys, 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 on a daily basis.

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 Daily Suffering Of Those Enslaved In The South



Four Slave Boys

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

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 their lot. 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.

Their later 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. Here are their voices;

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*

## Chapter 11 – Blacks Begin Their Uphill Struggle Toward Justice

Time: 1700 Forward

### Black Churches Emerge As Beacons Of Hope

From early on, the kidnapped Africans begin to search for ways to escape their chains and find justice in their new land.

One source of hope for those enslaved lies in their primitive church services, the once-a-week occasions where some 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 take it upon themselves to attend the slave services to offer sanctimonious 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.*

Instead of the staid rituals and sober hymns of the traditional white churches come the plaintiff and often raucous "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: Antebellum Period

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 mostly they are simply pleas for a better tomorrow.

#### 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.*

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**Time: 1700 Forward**

**Free Blacks Seeking Assimilation Are Shunned By White Society**



A No-Nonsense Free Black

While the nearly 700,000 slaves struggle daily for survival, another 57,000 “freed blacks” are scattered across the land. Just under half live in the North; the rest are in the Border states and the deep South.

**The Free Black Population – 1790**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>% Of FB</b>	<b>% All Blacks</b>
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 “mulattos.” 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 Finds 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 in 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: 1790's

## Reverends Richard Allen And Absalom Jones Found The Free African Society

While Prince Hall founds his Lodges 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.<sup>L</sup>*

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 disjoined 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 disjoined from us...*

*If any person neglect meeting every month, for every omission he shall pay three pence, except in case of 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<sup>1</sup>*

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: 1804-1831

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



A Free Black Man Standing Tall

Another pioneer black minister is the Reverend Thomas Paul who is intent on opening an African Baptist Church in Boston.

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 charts 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: 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 under the aegis of “all men created equal,” nearly one fifth of the population are living as chattel slaves, the “property” of their white masters.

They 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	Prince Hall
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."

Despite the declaration in the 1787 Constitution that blacks are only “3/5ths of a person,” 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 12 – George Washington Becomes The First President

Time: December 1788- January 1789

### The Election Of 1788



George Washington (1732-1799)

In December 1788, the United States is ready to hold its first elections under the new Constitution. Since each state sets its own time, the actual voting runs from December 15 to 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 resulting popular vote count across the six states is only 43,782, or 1.3% of the nation's total population.

Despite pleas to avoid partisan politics from the Independent candidate, George Washington, divisions between Federalist and Anti-Federalist are evident immediately.

#### Some Partisan Tendencies In The 1788P 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

As expected, Washington is easily elected chosen as the nation's first President. 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)

“Pro-Administration” candidates win the majority of seats in the first House of Representatives by a margin of 37 to 28, – with sizable wins in the North offsetting losses in the Southern and Border states.

### 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

<b>South</b>	<b>Pro-Admin</b>	<b>Anti-Admin</b>
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 this upper chamber, 11 had been delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention.

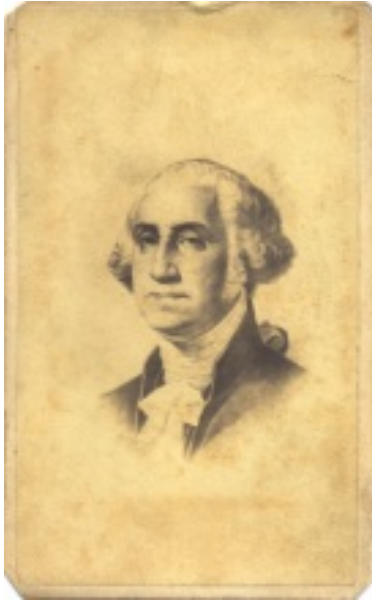
### Senators Who Also Served At The 1787 Convention

<b>South</b>	<b>Convention Members</b>
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

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Time: February 22, 1732- December 14 1799

## President 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



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

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.

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Time: 1789-1793

## Overview Of First Term



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.

Washington in Masonic Garb (1732-1799)

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 10 <sup>th</sup> 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
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	<i>Chisolm v Georgia</i> 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 13 – A “Bill Of Rights” Is Added To The Constitution

Time: 1787

### Anti-Federalists Are Still Not Satisfied With The 1787 Constitution

Even as Washington takes office, it remains 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.

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

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**

<b>1789</b>	<b>Approved by</b>	<b>1790</b>	<b>Approved by</b>
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 14 – The Supreme Court Convenes For The First Time

Time: September 24, 1789

### The 1789 Judiciary Act Structures The Court



An Early Judge, Wig and All

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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 15 – Hamilton’s Capitalism Sets The Economy In Motion

Time: 1755-1804

### President Alexander Hamilton: Personal Profile

Once in office, President Washington’s most immediate task lies in setting the U.S. economy in motion – and to do so he turns to Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the U.S. Treasury.

While Hamilton is only 32 years old at the time, 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.

<b>Five Key Reports To Congress By Hamilton On The Economy</b>	
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.

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Time: 1792

### Eli Whitney's "Gin" Cements Southern Commitment To Cotton

The Southern commitment to agriculture throughout the colonial period centers around its cash crops of tobacco, rice, wheat and indigo.

Meanwhile cotton production remains minimal and is concentrated along the coastal islands of South Carolina. In 1790, American exports of cotton total only 140,000 pounds, valued at just over \$2 million, with almost all of this in the "long-staple" (2 inch fiber) variety.

Its cousin, "short-staple" (1 inch fiber) cotton, is much heartier when it comes to surviving in lower temperature regions -- but 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.



Eli Whitney (1765-1825)

This drawback, however, is about to change in a hurry.

All because of one Eli 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" (short for "engine") 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 and selling excess black slaves to new masters.



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Time: 1789 – 1793

## **Hamilton Agrees To Cover All Federal And State Debt**

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

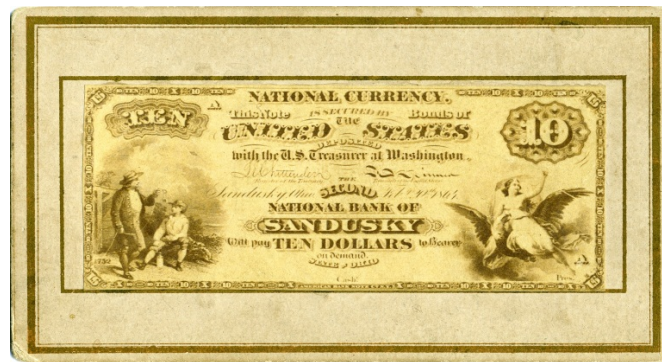
Over time shares in corporations are added to the buying/selling menu and the New York Stock Exchange becomes a weathervane on the health of the American economy.

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 “Continental,” 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 drops 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 worse 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 16 - The French Revolution Overthrows Louis XVI

Time: January 21, 1793

### King Louis XVI Is Guillotined And Robespierre Takes Power



King Louis XVI

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.



Map of Europe As The French Revolution Begins

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

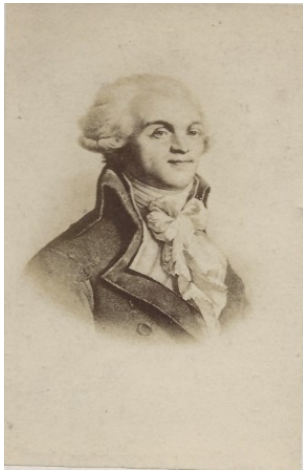
To the east of France lies the Habsburg/Holy Roman/Austrian Empire, ruled by Leopold II (brother of Louis's wife, Queen Marie Antoinette), comprising territories running from Holland, Belgium, the 300+ middle states of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Croatia/Bosnia.

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 Maximillien Robespierre and far left groups (Jacobins and Sans-Couettes) 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.

Maximilien de Robespierre (1758-1794)

*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: 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. Phillippe 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 17 - America's Westward Expansion Picks Up Momentum

Time: 1775 Forward

### A New “Colony Of Transylvania” Is Founded

Throughout the Colonial era, the vast majority of Americans live 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, turn their gaze westward, across the mountains, to land occupied by Indian tribes and 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 “14<sup>th</sup> 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.

Time: 1775 Forward

### Daniel Boone Establishes The State Of Kentucky



Daniel Boone (1734-1820)

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 finds 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 18 - Washington's Second Term

Time: 1790

### Pro-Administration Forces Win The First Mid-Term Elections

According to the 1787 Constitution, elections for membership in the House of Representatives are to be held every two years – or “mid-term” in the sitting President’s time in office.

America’s first such election begins on March 4, 1791 in Vermont and ends on June 1, 1792 in Kentucky – two states which have been recently admitted to the Union. Each has been allocated a pair of seats based on their populations, and this raises the total number in the chamber from 65 to 69.



The results again demonstrate that, despite George Washington’s overwhelming personal popularity, the pro-administration forces enjoy only a narrow 39-30 majority in the House.

A Land Owner Having the Right to Vote

#### House Of Representatives Mid-Term Election Of 1790

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

Opposition to the administration centers mainly across the South, where many voters regard Washington as tilting toward the Federalists and Hamilton and away from their leader, Jefferson.

#### House Of Representatives Election Of 1790

1788 Election	Total	South	Border	North
Pro-Administration	37	7	3	27
Anti-Administration	28	16	4	8
1790 Election				

Pro -Administration	39	7	4	28
Anti-Administration	30	16	5	9

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

Anti-Administration sentiment is strongest in Virginia, while support for the President’s policies is greatest in 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

Control in the Senate remains with the Pro-Administration by a margin of 18-11.

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Time: November 2 to December 5, 1792

### The Presidential Election Of 1792

Reactions to the revolutionary events in France are on the minds of Americans as they go to the polls in 1792.

The Federalist leaders – especially 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 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 America.

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.

Still 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 prefer John Adams of Massachusetts; the Democratic-Republicans offer Governor George Clinton of New York, one 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, but 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			
<b>Total</b>			28,579	264			
<b>Needed To Win</b>				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

The nation’s first “reapportionment” of Congressional seats occurs after the national Census of 1790. Based on the results, the House of Representatives adds 36 new seats in 1792, 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

When the votes are in, the majority in the House has shifted from a 39-30 margin for the Pro-Administration Federalist faction to a 55-50 edge for the Democratic-Republicans.

#### House Of Representatives Election Trends

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

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

### House Trends By Region

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

<b>Anti-Administration</b>				
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

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

<b>Anti-Administration</b>				
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 31<sup>st</sup> 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

<b>1793</b>	
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
<b>1794</b>	
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
<b>1795</b>	
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
<b>1796</b>	
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 <i>Hylton v United States</i> 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
<b>1797</b>	
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: Summer 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.”

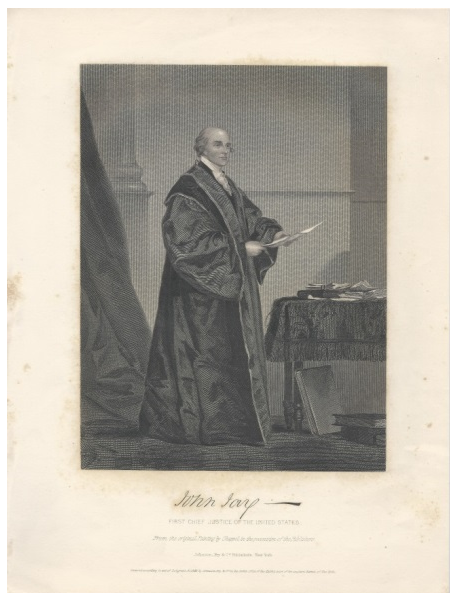
But this overwhelming show of force is enough to shatter the rebellion. The leaders disperse into the mountains, although 20 of them are captured and sent back to Philadelphia for trial. They prove to be a woeful band, and only two are convicted – then pardoned.

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

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Time: 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.

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Time: August 3, 1795

### American Forces Wrest Ohio From The Western Indian Confederacy



The Hunkpapa Warrior,  
Crow King (died 1884)

During his second term, Washington is also forced to come to grips with failing U.S. policies toward the Indian tribes, especially regarding territorial disputes.

From the beginning, the white European settlers have treated the Native Americans in a much more cordial fashion than their black African slaves. In addition to their “aboriginal status” on the land, this is in large part because of the potential they offer as military allies in the international wars to control the continent. Their reputation as warriors is well established; their numbers are sizable; and their tactical knowledge of the geography and potential fields of battle and supply are unmatched. So they are courted.

In the French & Indian War of 1754-63, the dominant Algonquin tribes side with France, while the Iroquois back Britain. In the Revolutionary War of 1776-1781, almost all northern tribes fight alongside the British, while the five main southern tribes (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creeks, Choctaw and Seminoles) remain neutral.

It seems likely that this alignment with the redcoats in 1776 – and later in 1812 – contributes to growing ill will among America toward the Indians. But the stated policy toward them announced by the early presidents is nothing but conciliatory. Unlike the Africans, Indians are

officially regarded as somehow akin to white men in their potential -- “noble savages” to be “civilized” rather than subjugated.

Washington’s initial six-point plan to support this civilizing process includes a call for “impartial justice” toward the tribes, “regulated buying” of their land, punishment of those who violate their rights, and promotion of all efforts to support their commerce and their social advances. The stated hope here being that at least rudimentary assimilation into the American culture would come along with settled villages, property rights, English schooling, farming and exposure to Christianity.

But this rosy vision soon collapses as the tribes refuse to passively relinquish their historical homelands to white settlers crossing the Appalachian range onto “their territory.”

Open warfare over the land soon breaks out in the north and, on November 4, 1791, it is marked by a humiliating U.S. loss at 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. Equally alarming is the rumor that Britain plays a role in the defeat by sending supplies to the Indians and encouraging them to fight.

When this tribal resistance continues into 1794, Washington finally 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 earns his nickname from 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.

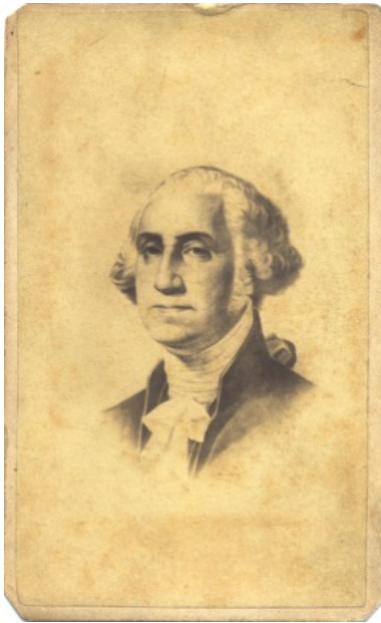
Wayne proceeds further west, occupying British forts along the way, and finishing up in Indiana, near what will become Ft. Wayne, subsequently named in his honor.

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

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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, 1793, 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.

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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 19 - Napoleon Becomes First Counsel In France

Time: July 28, 1794

### Robespierre Is Guillotined As The “Reign Of Terror” Ends

By March 1793 Robespierre has declared war on most of its European neighbors and Britain, driven the moderate Girondist faction out of the government and begun what will be known as the proletariat Reign of Terror.

In the Place de la Concorde, aristocrats are beheaded daily to the sounds of cheering crowds.

But soon enough this domestic chaos spins out of control and Robespierre’s rivals arrest him. They then decapitate him, face up on the guillotine, on July 8, 1794.

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

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Time: November 10, 1799

### Napoleon Ascends To Power



Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)

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 artilleryist, 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)
1796	Directory names him C-in-C of the Armee D'Italie (Mar 2)
1797	Napoleon defeats the Austrians (Oct 17)
1798	He clashes with Admiral Nelson's fleet in Egypt
1799	He overthrows The Directorate & leads France as First Counsel

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

## Chapter 20 - John Adams Presidency

Time: November – December, 1796

### The Presidential Election Of 1796



John Adams (1755-1835)

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 their “tickets” 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 his sitting Vice-President, John Adams of Massachusetts, he becomes the Federalist nominee for the top job. To provide geographical balance, Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina is chosen 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 even 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 casting 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 a strong comeback 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**

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

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

**House Trends By Region**

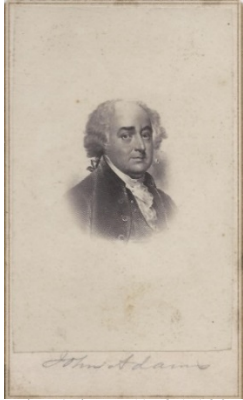
<b>Democratic-Republican</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>Border</b>	<b>North</b>
1795	61	33	7	21
1797	49	30	4	15
Change	(12)	(3)	(3)	(6)
<b>Federalists</b>				
1795	45	5	4	36
1797	57	8	7	42
	+12	+3	+3	+6

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

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Time: 1735-1826

## 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 Adams' 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**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Home State</b>
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

<b>1797</b>	<b>French attack US ships; congress funds 10,000 militia in case of war</b>
March 4	Adams and Jefferson are sworn in
May 10	The first ship in the new US Navy, the <i>United States</i> , is launched
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 <i>USS Constellation</i> joins the Navy fleet
October 18	In the XYZ Affair, Talleyrand demands a bribe to negotiate with the US envoys
October 21	The <i>USS Constitution</i> ("Old Ironsides") is launched
<b>1798</b>	
January 8	The 11 <sup>th</sup> 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 <i>Retaliation</i> in the Caribbean
December 24	Madison's "Virginia Resolution" also oppose the Alien and Sedition crackdown
<b>1799</b>	

February 9	The <i>USS Constellation</i> captures the French frigate <i>l'Insurgente</i> 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
<b>1800</b>	
January 2	Free blacks in Philadelphia petition Congress to rescind the Fugitive Slave Act
February 1	The <i>USS Constellation</i> battles <i>LaVengeance</i> 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
<b>1801</b>	
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 <i>Marbury</i> case

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Time: 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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Time: October 1797 to July 1798

## The “XYZ Affair” Provokes Open Conflict With France



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.

French Minister de Talleyrand (1754-1838)

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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Time: 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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Time: 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.<sup>1</sup>*

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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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.'*

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Time: February 20 to March 3, 1801

### Adams “Packs The Courts” And Picks John Marshall as Chief Justice

In the final days of his presidency John Adams attempts to preserve the legal principles he believes in by “packing the judiciary” with newly named federal judges.

Prior to the 1787 Constitution, legal statutes and courtroom disputes are in the hands of the state judiciaries – and this form of “local control” is favored by Jefferson and his Democratic-Republican supporters.

However, once the new Constitution is ratified, it creates a body of Federal laws that apply to all states, and the need for a judicial structure to insure local compliance. The Judiciary Act of 1789 lays out the basic frameworks.

Legal disputes will continue to be adjudicated in the 13 state courts, by “State/District Judges.”

- Any cases or decisions that may call Constitutional laws into question are to be reviewed by the Federal Supreme Court, consisting of 6 Justices.
- To conduct these reviews, the Supreme Court Justices will travel to each of the states twice a year, in order to hear appeals and either support or overturn the local decisions.
- This travel is referred to as “riding the circuit” – and, in the beginning, there are six “circuits” in Total, to cover all 13 states/districts.

This system remains in place for 12 years, until the lame duck Federalist-dominated Congress changes it, in a move referred to by opponents as the “Midnight Judges Act.” This Act is passed on February 13, 1801, within two weeks of the end of John Adams’ term as President. It makes three significant changes:

- After increasing the number of “districts” from 13 to 16 (recognizing the new states of Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee), it assigns a new “judicial layer” to each, in the form of 16 “Federal Circuit Court Judges.”
- The burdensome task of “riding the 6 circuits” is handed to these 16 new Federal Circuit Court Judges – and removed from the six Supreme Court Justices, who would now operate solely from Washington, DC.
- It reduces the number of Supreme Court Justices, from an even number of 6 to an odd number of 5, in case of split decisions.

### The Shape Of The Court Systems AFTER The 1801 Judiciary Act

Federal Level	Details
Focus	Cases involving federal crimes, cases brought against the federal government, and cases involving citizens living across state lines.
Supreme Court Judges	1 Chief Justice and 4 Associates, freed from riding the circuit
Circuit Court Judges	16 Judge in total, one for each of the 16 states, riding the circuit, reviewing controversial cases/appeals
District Court Judges	Original jurisdiction/trial court judges on federal cases
<b>State Level</b>	
Focus	Cases involving State laws, both criminal and civil
General Court Judges	3 judges per state, court of last resort, meet 2x per year
Appeals Court Judges	In some states, 3 judges, meet in each county in October
District Court Judges	Original jurisdiction/trial court, Quarter Sessions (criminal case), Common Pleas (civil cases).
Justice of the Peace	Tends to handle misdemeanors or small claims (<\$5) disputes.

Between February 20 and March 3, 1801, Adams takes advantage of the new law to name Federalists to all sixteen of the new Circuit Court slots, along with four State District Courts positions and forty-two local Justices of the Peace.

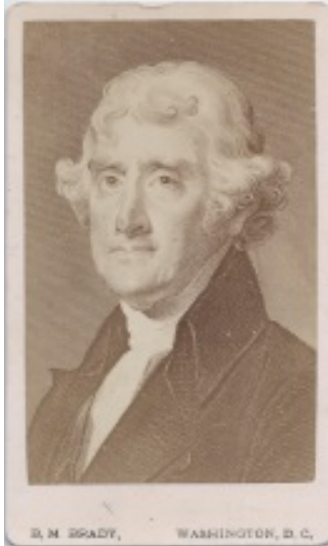
In response Jefferson’s supporters mock the new law as the “Midnight Judges Act” and commit to repealing it once the new Congress is sworn in.

Still Adams has one more trick up his sleeve. On December 15, 1800, Oliver Ellsworth resigns as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, leaving Adams to nominate his successor. After a momentary hesitation, Adams selects his sitting Secretary of State, John Marshall of Virginia – and from there Marshall goes on to become the longest serving (34.5 years) and most influential Chief in the history of the high court. During his early tenure, he will also prove to be a fairly consistent thorn in the side of his second cousin by marriage, Thomas Jefferson.

## Chapter 21 - Thomas Jefferson First Term

Time: February 17, 1801

### The Election Of 1800 Decided In The House Of Representatives



Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

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
<b>Total</b>			<b>67,282</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>146</b>
<b>Needed to win</b>				<b>70</b>			

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 36<sup>th</sup> 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**

<b>Voting For:</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>Border</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>Total</b>
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 12<sup>th</sup> 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**

<b>House</b>	<b>1789</b>	<b>1791</b>	<b>1793</b>	<b>1795</b>	<b>1797</b>	<b>1799</b>	<b>1801</b>
Democratic-Republicans	28	30	55	61	49	46	68
Federalist	37	39	50	45	57	60	38
Congress	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup>
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**

<b>Democratic-Republican</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>Border</b>	<b>North</b>
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**

<b>Democratic-Republican</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>Border</b>	<b>North</b>
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)

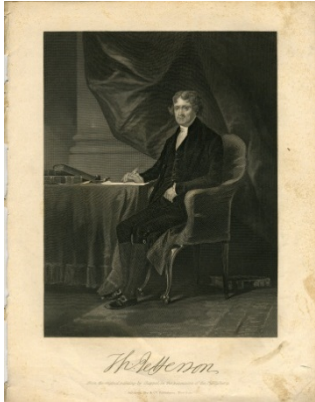
History will show that the Federalist Party is never able to fully recover from the repudiation it suffers in 1800.

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 (1743-1757)

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 William 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**

<b>Age</b>	
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

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Time: 1801-1805

### Overview Of Jefferson’s First Term

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 government.

*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 confidant, 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**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Home State</b>
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

<b>1801</b>	
March 4	Jefferson and Burr are sworn in
May 14	The Pasha of Tripoli declares war on the United States
December 7	The 7 <sup>th</sup> Congress convenes after big gains by Democratic-Republicans
<b>1802</b>	
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
<b>1803</b>	
February 24	In <i>Marbury v Madison</i> 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 12 <sup>th</sup> Amendment to separate balloting for President and VP
December 20	The US officially takes possession of the Louisiana Territory from France
<b>1804</b>	
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 duel at Weehawken, NJ
August 27	The Treaty of Vincennes cedes more Indian land in the west to the US
September 25	The 12 <sup>th</sup> 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
<b>1805</b>	
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 22 - John Marshall's Supreme Court Asserts Its Authority in Marbury v Madison

Time: February 20 to March 3, 1801

### Jefferson Unpacks Adams' Court

Once in power, Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans begin to unwind the “Midnight Judges Act” of 1801 and do away with the Federalist appointments made by John Adams.

Their task is complicated by the fact that sitting judges may be removed only by impeachment involving violations of their public trust. To get around this constraint, Jefferson opts to re-structure the judiciary once again. He does so in the Judiciary Act (or Repeal Act) of 1802:

- The number of Supreme Court Justices returns to its original quota of six.
- The jobs of the 16 new “Federal Circuit Court Judges” added by Adams are eliminated, hence avoiding the impeachment rules.
- Each Supreme Court Justice is returned to “riding duties” over one of the six national “circuits.”

The notion of a handful of Supreme Court Justices, appointed for life and sitting in the Capitol imposing Federal guidelines over State laws and court's decision is anathema to the Democratic-Republicans. As Jefferson says:

*To consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions [is] a very dangerous doctrine indeed, and one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. Our judges are as honest as other men and not more so. They have with others the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps.*

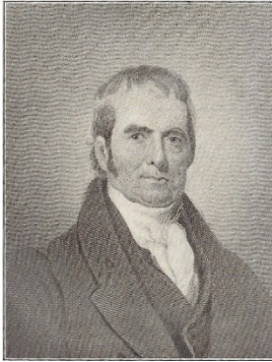
By revoking Adams' changes, Jefferson feels he has once again kept too much power out of too few Federalist hands.



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Time: February 11 – 24, 1803

## The Supreme Court Asserts Its Constitutional Authority



John Marshall (1755-1835)

But one aftermath of the “Midnight Judges Act” is not yet fully “settled” by the 1802 Repeal, and it now comes back to bite Jefferson’s wish to limit Supreme Court power.

The impetus is a suit filed by one William Marbury, a Maryland resident, who is an accomplished businessman, a powerful political figure in the Federalist Party, and an active campaigner against Jefferson in the 1800 election.

He comes before the Supreme Court seeking to assume a prestigious position he has been promised, as Justice of the Peace in the District of Columbia. He backs his claim with a document signed by President John Adams and “sealed” (notarized) by the Secretary of State, John Marshall, on Adams last day in office. The problem is that Jefferson refuses to honor the commission, arguing that it was not actually delivered to Marbury before Adams’ term expired.

Marbury petitions the Supreme Court to support his claim. The case is presented on February 11, 1803 and a decision is handed down quickly, on February 24. John Marshall, who was personally involved as the “notary” before becoming Chief Justice, concludes three things:

- Marbury does indeed have the right to the commission, once Adams signed it and it is notarized.
- Marbury also has the right to legal protection by a court, even in a case involving the President of the United States – a not so subtle jab at Jefferson for acting like he is above the law.
- But no, the Supreme Court cannot grant Marbury’s wish because the Constitution limits its authority to conduct “judicial reviews” only to cases involving ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls...and where the state shall be a party.”

After being advised to re-file his suit within state court, and then return to the Supreme Court if he is denied, Marbury drops the protest.

However, the decision itself establishes the crucial precedent Marshall is after – the Supreme Court’s authority to overturn state and federal laws on the basis of a failure to comply with the 1787 Constitution.

This power has always been implicit in the formation of the High Court and in the “checks and balances” spirit favored by the Founders. But with Marbury, enforcement of the principle is made apparent to all.

In effect then, Jefferson wins the battle against Adams’ appointments, but loses the war against the concentration of power he now sees vested power in the Supreme Court.

He sees no evidence in the Constitution that grants six judges with lifetime appointments the power to override laws written by legislators.

*The question whether the judges are invested with exclusive authority to decide on the constitutionality of a law has been heretofore a subject of consideration with me in the exercise of official duties. Certainly there is not a word in the Constitution which has given that power to them more than to the Executive or Legislative branches.*

And, while Marshall draws boundaries around the types of cases the Supreme Court will hear, the Democratic-Republicans fear that it will ultimately extend its “reach.”

In this regard they are reminded that none other than James Wilson, the leading legal scholar at the Constitutional Convention and former Associate Justice under Washington, called for a Supreme Court capable of striking down any and all federal or state legislation it deemed “unjust.”

Jefferson records his concern that the Constitution may become...

*A mere thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary, which they may twist and shape into any form they please.*

Southerners, in particular, wonder if the Marbury decision might eventually open the door for the Court to eventually “twist” the laws affecting the rights of slave owners.

From 1803 forward, the third branch of the federal government becomes a political force to be reckoned with, especially in the hands of Chief Justice, John C. Marshall.

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**Time: 1801-1809**

### **John Marshall And His Ongoing Conflicts With Thomas Jefferson**

Marshall’s reprimand of Jefferson in the Marbury decision is characteristic of the personal antipathy that develops between these two intellectual giants over time.

Ironically, they are distant cousins, Jefferson’s mother being Jane Randolph, a relative of Marshall’s mother, Mary Randolph. Their fathers are both surveyors and they are both

Virginians and lawyers, similarly tutored by the legendary George Wythe. There the similarities end.

Jefferson is aristocratic in his dress and bearing; distant from the common man he swears to protect; committed to agricultural commerce and his home state; forever suspicious that a powerful central government will evolve into an oligarchy, destructive of personal liberty and prosperity.

Marshall is forever slovenly attired and comfortable around people; supportive of Hamilton's brand of capitalism and industrialization; focused on national rather than state affairs; and believing firmly that a strong national government is necessary to unify, defend and build the republic.

John Marshall's roots are considerably more humble than Jefferson's. He has to scrape for an early education, and is drawn into the Revolutionary War at age 20 years, before embarking on a career. Both Marshall and his father have distinguished military records. The son enters the War as a Lieutenant in 1775 and exits in 1779 as a Captain, after fighting at Brandywine, Monmouth and in Virginia, during Benedict Arnold's invasion.

Some believe that Marshall's disdain for Jefferson traces in part to an episode during this Virginia campaign that finds Jefferson, as Governor, evidently focused on securing his Monticello estate rather than joining in the actual combat against the British. The question "where is Jefferson" is asked throughout the ranks at the time.

His war experiences also influence Marshall's political views. Camped at Valley Forge alongside his hero, George Washington, he watches the failure of the dis-organized, undisciplined and self-centered "confederated states" to supply the basic support systems needed to win the war. This marks him forever as a Federalist.

After leaving the army, Marshall enrolls in a three-month course at William & Mary taught by George Wythe which features "combin[ed] theory and practice, readings and lectures, supplemented with moot courts and mock legislative sessions." From there he is apprenticed under Wythe until his petition to join the Virginia bar is signed in 1780, ironically by Jefferson himself, who is 12 years his senior.

He opens a private practice, specializing in suits related to disputes over debts and real estate titles. His style is that of the savvy litigator, focused less on legal theory and more on practical arguments. When his efforts in court flourish, he is drawn into politics, serving in the Virginia House of Delegates off and on between 1782 and 1796. He is not yet well enough known in 1787 to attend the Constitutional Convention, but he supports its ratification in 1788, citing Federalist principles against stiff Democratic Republican opposition.

From there he is thrust onto the national stage by John Adams, who names him Minister to France in 1797, and then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on January 31, 1801.

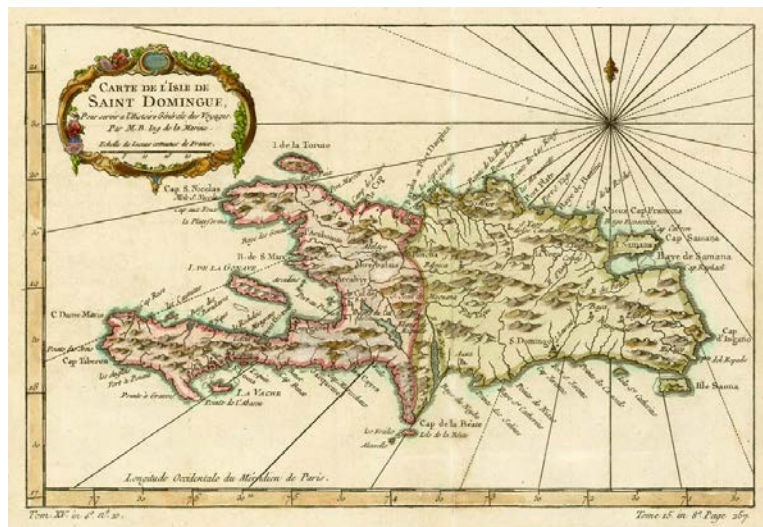
In the final year of his life, Adams – who previously picked George Washington to head the Continental Army -- cites Marshall as his proudest act.

*My gift of John Marshall to the people of the United States was the proudest act of my life. There is no act of my life on which I reflect with more pleasure.*

## Chapter 23 - Toussaint's Slave Rebellion In Haiti Ends With Blacks In Power

Time: 1791- 1801

### Toussaint Louverture Overthrows French Rule



French Colony Of St. Domingue (In Red) -- Site Of Louverture Rebellion  
Hiapaniola Island, with the Western Third Saint-Domingue (Later Haiti)

Thomas Jefferson's dealings with Napoleon will be shaped in part by the results of a slave rebellion that takes place in the French Colony of Saint-Domingue, or Haiti.

Starting in August 1791 a remarkable revolution is carried out there 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-Domingue.

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-Dominique 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.

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**Time: May 6, 1802**

### **Napoleon Captures Toussaint But Fails To Regain Control Over Haiti**

When Napoleon learns of Toussaint’s bold Constitution, he decides the time has come to restore French control over Saint-Dominique – 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.

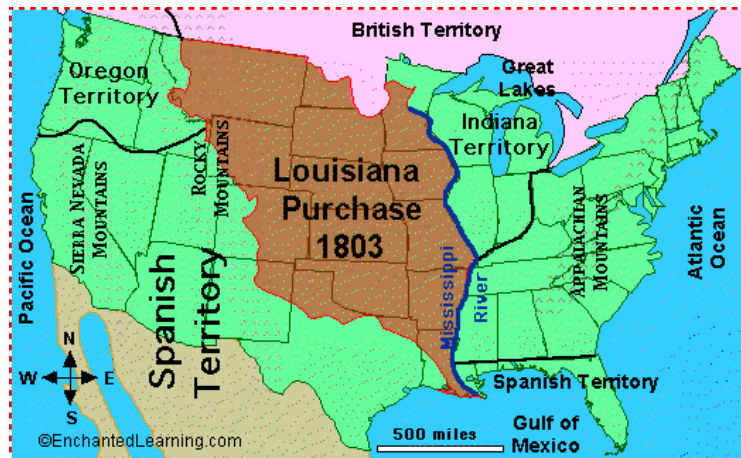
Given these unsettled conditions, along with fears expressed by American slave owners, Jefferson refuses to grant formal recognition to Saint-Dominigue. The former French colony does, however, manage to retain its independence over time, and makes Haiti the oldest republic run by blacks in the western hemisphere.



## Chapter 24 - The Louisiana Purchase Doubles America's Landmass

Time: May 2, 1803

### Napoleon Offers To Sell The Louisiana Territory To The U.S.



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-Dominique 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-Dominique 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. Dominique
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: October 29, 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 Ordinance and the 1790 Southwest Ordinance 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.

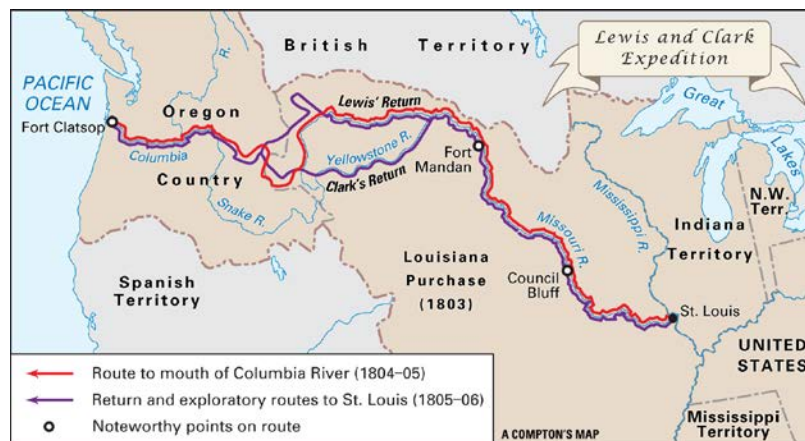
### America's Acquisition Of Land

<b>Year</b>	<b>Land Gained</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>Via</b>	<b>Square Miles</b>	<b>% US</b>
1784	13 colonies to Miss R	Britain	War	888,811	29%
1803	Louisiana Territory	France	Buy	827,192	27

## Chapter 25 - The Lewis & Clark Expedition Maps A Route To The West Coast

Time: January 18, 1803 to May 14, 1804

### Jefferson's Search For A Northwest Passage Gets Under Way



The Route Followed by Lewis and Clark to Reach the West Coast

From the moment he enters office, the visionary Jefferson is already imagining an America that stretches from ocean to ocean – with this vast territory bound together by the unifying ideals of freedom, equality and self-governance.

To begin to realize this vision, he must first focus on exploring the west. Some ten months before the Louisiana Purchase, on January 18, 1803, he gains congressional approval to spend \$2,500 on a one-year expedition to complete the task. (The actual effort will take 26 months and cost \$38,722.)

While he himself is a consummate easterner, his interest in mapping the west traces back at least to 1796, when he encourages colleagues at The American Philosophical Society to send expeditions across the Mississippi.

With the opportunity now his, he turns to Meriwether Lewis, to lead the effort. Lewis is only 27 years old at the time, but Jefferson has known and respected his parents in the Meriwether and Lewis families for years. The young man is born only ten miles from Monticello and proves to be a natural backwoodsman. He moves to Georgia for a while, mingling with the Cherokee Indians, then back to Virginia, where he graduates from Liberty Hall College before serving as a Captain in the state militia.

On April 1, 1801, Jefferson hires him as his personal secretary, at a salary of \$500 a year. Lewis lives in the White House, works in the East Room, and dines regularly with the President and his top advisors over the next two years. When Jefferson asks him to head back into the wilderness, he jumps at the opportunity.

Lewis assembles a band of 33 explorers in total, including William Clark, whom he knows from his militia days, and makes his unofficial co-commander on the trip. Together they assemble their supplies for the journey, including a 55-foot keelboat, two oversized, 40-foot long canoes, food, trading trinkets and 120 gallons of whiskey.

Jefferson names them the Corps of Discovery, and lays out their goals as follows:

*The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri River & such principal stream of it, as, by its course & communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce.*

The hope expressed here is that the Missouri River, flowing westward from St. Louis, will actually extend all the way across the continent to the Pacific Ocean – one continuous “Northwest Passage” supporting east-west commerce as smoothly as the north-south traffic along the Mississippi.

On May 14, 1804, Lewis and Clark set out from St. Louis, west along the Missouri. They will average about 10-15 miles a day, using sails and oars and, at times, even ropes, to head against the current. Lewis tends to explore the shoreline, while Clark guides the boat and handles the critical map-making duties.

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Time: May 14, 1804 – August 17, 1805

### **The Expedition Reaches The Headwaters Of The Missouri River**

In late August, 1804, in South Dakota, they encounter their first tribe of Plains Indians, Sioux warriors. They also begin to spot animals not seen before in the east – antelope, mule deer, buffalo, and coyotes.

By November 1804 they have reached North Dakota, where they build their winter camp among the Mandan tribe, and hire a guide – Touissant Charbonneau, a French-Canadian fur trader who is accompanied by his Shoshone wife, known as Sacagawea. The pair will prove invaluable as the journey unfolds, acting as interpreters and emissaries with future Indian contacts.

Before breaking camp in April 1805, Lewis ships a packet of “finds” – including elk horns, Indian corn, a magpie and a prairie dog – back east. Jefferson receives them in the late summer and plants the corn at Monticello. By then he assumes that the Corps has probably reached their destination on the west coast.

In fact, they are only half way along as they resume their voyage, further north on the Missouri, and then due west into Montana. On June 13, they encounter an amazing sight, a series of volatile rapids leading to five “great falls” over a 21 mile stretch. Lewis records the moment in his diary.

*Hearing a tremendous roaring above me I continued my rout across the point of a hill a few hundred yards further and was again presented by one of the most beautifull objects in nature, a cascade of about fifty feet\*\* perpendicular stretching at right angles across the river from side to side to the distance of at least a quarter mile.*

*I now thought that if a skillfull painter had been asked to make a beautifull cascade that he would most probably have presented the precise image of this one.*

As breathtaking and beautiful as these falls are, they are the first signal that the Missouri will not offer a simple unbroken route to the west coast.

The party celebrates the Fourth of July by consuming what's left of their whiskey ration, and then totes its gear overland around the falls until July 15, when it is back in the water, drifting south toward the Rocky Mountains.

Only a month later, on August 17, their hopes for a Northwest Passage to the Pacific are over, as they discover the “end point” of the Missouri River, the headwaters at Three Forks, Montana.



The Mighty Missouri River Stretching 2341 Miles from St. Louis to Three Forks



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Time: August 1804- October 1805

## A Rugged Journey Across The Rockies Leads On To Success

At this point they are 15 months into a journey that was supposed to take a year. Undaunted, they push on to perhaps their most formidable challenge, crossing the Rocky Mountains – the Great Continental Divide, where America’s waterways (and river currents) begin to flow advantageously west toward the Pacific. Lewis and Clark will be the first white Americans to cross this divide.



The Great Continental Divide of North America

Fortunately the expedition now comes upon the Shoshones, who happen to be Sacagawea’s native tribe. They know the best routes through the mountains, and guide the way – first across the Lemhi Pass, some 7400 feet above sea level, and then along the Lolo Trail, and the rugged Bitterroot Range. Lewis regards this 200 mile slog as the most challenging of the entire trip, with all members suffering from frostbite and a lack of food.

*I have been wet and as cold in every part as I ever was in my life, indeed I was at one time fearful my feet would freeze in the thin Mocki(N)sons which I wore.*

After five weeks in the mountains, new canoes have been built and, on October 7, 1805, they are moving downstream on the Clearwater River. This flows into the Snake and then the Columbia River; at last a known landmark they had previously hoped was linked directly to the Missouri.

On October 18, 1805, they are elated to spot Mount Hood in the distance, another identified marker on their original map. Roughly a month later they have reached the Pacific Ocean, at Astoria, where they set up winter quarters known as Ft. Clatsop. Using his “dead reckoning” skills, Clark estimates they have come 4,162 miles, a figure that proves to be only 40 miles off the true mark. The elapsed time is 18 months, one way.





The Columbia River Running Inland from the Pacific

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Time: March 23, 1806 – September 23, 1806

### The Expedition Returns Home

On March 23, 1806, the expedition begins to retrace its path back home. They are now confident enough in their knowledge to break into four separate parties to further map the Louisiana lands. They record various “incidents” along the way. Clark carves his name into a sandstone outcropping near Billings, Montana, which endures. Lewis survives the only hostile encounter with Indians, leaving two Blackfeet dead after they have tried to steal his horses and rifles. Sacagawea and Charbonneau return to their Mandan village in August. They revisit the grave of Charles Floyd, the one casualty of the trip, who died on the way out of a burst appendix.

On September 23, 1806, they are greeted as national heroes back in St. Louis. Both commanders receive land grants of 1600 acres for their efforts. Jefferson names Lewis the Governor of Louisiana, and Clark a Brigadier General in the militia and Indian agent to the West.

From there the fates of the two explorers will diverge sharply. Meriwether Lewis proves ill-equipped for a life in politics. His land speculation activities go bust, his debts mount along with his alcohol intake, and he either commits suicide or is murdered by gunshot wounds in 1809, at age 35 years. Clark lives almost 30 years beyond Lewis, and becomes a successful businessman and serves seven years as Governor of Missouri. He dies in 1838 at the home of his oldest son, Meriwether Lewis Clark.

But together the exploits, and the learning, of these two explorers will fulfill Jefferson’s highest hope for the Corps of Discovery expedition.

From 1809 onward, Americans will be intrigued by the land across the Mississippi, and Jefferson’s vision of one unified nation, from sea to shining sea.

## Chapter 26 - Violence Remains A Norm For Resolving Public Conflicts

Time: 1621 And Forward

### America Adopts European Style Dueling

While America seeks to become a nation of laws, it continues throughout the nineteenth century to embrace violence as a means of resolving disputes.

Thus a perceived wrong leads to “calling a man out” and engaging in some direct form of battle, from simple fisticuffs to use of deadly weapons.

In less sophisticated circles this is referred to as “frontier justice” – while among the more refined it is elevated to the art of dueling.

Dueling is inherited from traditions of the European aristocracy and practiced throughout the colonial period.

The first recorded duel in America takes place in 1621 in the Massachusetts Colony between an Edward Doty and an Edward Lester. It is fought with longswords and ends with minor wounds to both parties. But dueling will also lurk in the biographies of many of the nation’s most famous political figures, and will threaten to invade the halls of Congress in several notorious instances.

Taken to the extreme, dueling glorifies the notion of “better to die with honor than live in shame.”

The rituals surrounding the combat are carefully codified in 1777 in a manual published in Italy called *The Code Duello*. This details some 26 steps required to execute a fair duel, including:

- The proper issuance of “a challenge” from the offended party;
- Selection of “seconds” to accompany the combatants and see to their needs;
- The choice of weapons, left open to the recipient of the challenge;
- Declaration of a time and place for the event;
- Exact rules of engagement (e.g. shots fired, blows struck, other “allowances”);
- How final “satisfaction” will be expressed and delivered;
- Proper care for those who are wounded or killed;
- Notification of kin in case of death; and
- Procedures for calling the duel off short of actual conflict.

The vast majority of “challenges” are in fact resolved “off the field” – using one’s “seconds” to talk through the underlying grievances and arrive at “gentlemanly resolutions.”

Intemperate men, such as future President Andrew Jackson, will never “walk away” from a challenge, and will both give and receive grievous wounds in the course of several duels. The

more controlled future President, Abraham Lincoln, will find a peaceful way out when he is challenged.

Only 20% of duels end with shots fired, and the majority of these yield treatable wounds to the legs. “Deloping,” or firing one’s shot into the ground, is considered a gentlemanly way to conclude a confrontation.

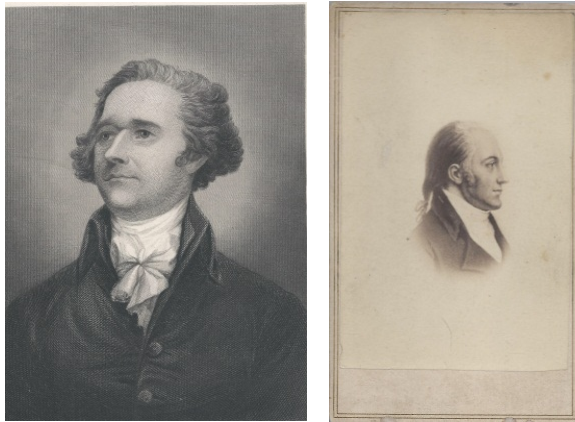
But at times, duels can have lethal outcomes.

Such is the case 1804, the third year of Jefferson’s presidency.

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July 11, 1804

### Aaron Burr Kills Alexander Hamilton



Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804) Aaron Burr (1756- 1836)

On July 11, 1804, Americans learn that Alexander Hamilton, the head of the Federalist Party and former Treasury Secretary, has been shot dead in a duel with their current Vice-President, Aaron Burr.

The bad blood between the two is long-standing.

Both men serve nobly under Washington in the Revolutionary War, but the General always seems to favor Hamilton, a source of some early animosity. Burr fails to get the field promotion he feels he deserves for saving the army on Manhattan; he fails to get Washington’s support for a ministerial post to France; and it becomes clear that the General regards him as overly ambitious and prone to intrigues. Burr senses Hamilton’s hand at work in these reversals.

The two are also on opposite sides in the political arena – Hamilton as staunch Federalist and Burr as a loyal Democratic-Republican. As such, they are forever sniping at each other, especially around New York state elections.

The stakes here go way up in 1791 when Burr runs for U.S. Senator against Hamilton's father-in-law, General Phillip Schuyler. Burr's tactics and victory seem to represent a final breach with Hamilton.

In 1795, Burr and fellow Republican, James Monroe, apparently conspire to pull Hamilton down from his lofty perch as Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, by leaking the story of his affair with Maria Reynolds. This forces Hamilton to make an embarrassing public confession, and to resign from office.

Henceforth Hamilton will search for any and all opportunities to destroy Burr.

His first chance materializes in the election of 1800, when Burr and Jefferson end up tied on electoral votes for the presidency – and the final decision ends up in the Federalist controlled House of Representatives. Hamilton, of course, is unhappy with both options – but, on a 36<sup>th</sup> ballot, he uses his influence to elect Jefferson, as “less dangerous than Burr...who loves nothing but himself.”

Jefferson's convictions about Burr also sour during his first term, and he plans to seek a new Vice-President as the 1804 election approaches. Knowing this, Burr decides to run for Governor of New York against another Republican, former Attorney General, Morgan Lewis. With no entry of their own in the running, some Federalists come out for Burr, until Hamilton, head of the national party, steps in and quashes this movement.

Tensions between the two mount on April 24, when The Albany Register publishes a letter where a third party quotes Hamilton as calling Burr “a dangerous man...who ought not be trusted with the reins of government” and referencing “a still more despicable opinion which Mr. Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr.”

Burr then loses the race for governor by a decisive 58%-42% margin -- effectively ending his hopes for high political office. Again he places much of the blame on Hamilton.

After the election, a series of increasingly tense exchanges occur between the two men in written notes, which lead on to a “challenge” from Burr, accepted by Hamilton.

Both men have been “called out” before on numerous occasions, all so far “resolved” without any shots being fired. But this time, the long-term hostility runs deep, and the duel unfolds.

It is set for July 11, 1804, at the Heights of Weehauken in New Jersey – a popular site for dueling, despite the fact that it is officially outlawed both there and in New York. The ground holds special meaning for Hamilton. On November 23, 1801, his 19 year old son, Philip, is shot dead here in a duel he has initiated in defense of his father's name.

Be it premonition or not, the elder Hamilton writes out a will on July 10, the day before the duel. He states that he intends to “withhold his first fire,” and then addresses his wife:

*Adieu best of wives and best of Women. Embrace all my darling Children for me. Ever yours, AH.*

Around 7AM, Burr and Hamilton arrive by separate boats, rowed from mid-town Manhattan some three miles across the Hudson. Both men greet each other formally, Colonel Burr and General Hamilton, according to the code.

An area extending some ten paces is cleared, with Hamilton standing on one end, facing the Hudson, and Burr at the other, looking inland. Each man holds a .56 caliber pistol, provided by Hamilton, the same pair used earlier by his deceased son. The pistols are loaded by seconds in plain sight. The two combatants assume the classical positions –right foot forward, with bodies tucked sideways to present the smallest possible silhouette for targeting. Hamilton dons his glasses at the last second. The rules are then read aloud, as follows:

*The parties being placed at their stations, the second who gives the word shall ask them whether they are ready; being answered in the affirmative, he shall say- present! After this the parties shall present and fire when they please. If one fires before the other, the opposite second shall say one, two, three, fire, and he shall then fire or lose his fire.*

Hamilton's second is chosen by lot to say the word *present*, which he does. Exactly what happens next is the subject of some debate. All accounts agree that both men fired, but who shot first is open to question. Some argue that Hamilton fired into the air, throwing away his attempt – and a subsequent search for the ball finds it in a tree limb, some seven feet above and four feet wide of Burr's position.

But Burr's ball catches Hamilton above the right hip, fracturing a rib, slicing through his liver, and ending up lodged in a lower vertebrae. Burr advances toward his fallen foe, but is quickly diverted by his seconds and leaves the scene.

Hamilton is down, in the arms of his second, Nathaniel Pendleton, when his medical man, Dr. Hosock, examines the wound and recognizes that it is mortal. Together the two men carry Hamilton, who remains conscious, to his boat, and row him back to Manhattan. He is put to bed and given heavy dose of laudanum for pain. He lives through the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> and dies around 2PM the next day.

The nation is shocked by Hamilton's death, and cries mount to put an end to dueling. Burr is indicted for murder and flees momentarily to South Carolina. But the case for retribution against duelists is not intense, and he returns to Washington to serve out the remainder of his term as Vice-President.

He will live on for another 34 years after the events at Weehauken, in and out of the public spotlight, and forced to flee to Europe for four years after being acquitted in a sensational 1807 trial for treason.

## Chapter 27 - Jefferson's Second Term

Time: 1804

### The Presidential Election Of 1804

As the 1804 election approaches, Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans discard Aaron Burr as their Vice-Presidential candidate in favor of former General George Clinton, now sitting Governor of New York.

With Washington and Hamilton dead and Adams out of the picture, the Federalists begin what will be an on-going struggle to find a candidate capable of winning widespread popular support. In 1804 they choose Charles C. Pinckney, an aristocratic planter from Charleston, Revolutionary War General, influential pro-slavery delegate to the 1787 Constitutional Convention, Minister to France under Washington, and running mate of Adams in 1800.

In advance of the election of 1804, the states have ratified the 12<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution in order to distinguish between party candidates running for President vs. Vice-President. This is accomplished by a simple change – having the electoral college shift from one combined vote for the offices, to two separate votes, one for President, the other for Vice-President. Any “ties” will still be broken in Congress, the House voting on President, the Senate on Vice-President. The possibility of having a President from one party and a Vice-President from the other remains.

#### Change To Voting Procedures Beginning With 1804 Presidential Election

Prior voting process	One ballot, with top vote getter becoming President and the runner-up as VP
After 12 <sup>th</sup> Amendment	Two ballots, one for President and the other for Vice-President

The election takes place between November 2 and December 5, 1804.

A total of 143,110 “popular votes” are cast, double the level recorded in 1800. Eligibility continues to be limited to white men owning various threshold levels of property – and only 11 of the 17 states factor popular votes into their process for choosing “presidential electors. (In the other six they are chosen exclusively by state legislators.)

Still, the 1804 election is the first where mainstream Americans begin to feel that their direct votes have a great deal to do with who will be President. This trend will grow over time, much to the chagrin of the 1787 convention delegates who felt that selection of the Executive was much too important to be left up to “popular passions.”

### Growth In Popular Voting For Presidential Electors

	1788	1792	1796	1800	1804
Popular Votes	43,782	28,579	66,841	67,282	143,110
# States w popular votes for electors	7 of 12	6 of 15	9 of 16	6 of 16	11 of 17

When the ballots are all in, Jefferson is re-elected by an overwhelming majority. He beats Charles C. Pinckney by a 73% to 27% margin in the popular vote, and by 162-14 in the electoral college. He carries 15 of the 17 states (losing only in Connecticut and Delaware), including prior Federalist strongholds across the North.

### Results Of The 1804 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV	South	Border	North	West
Thomas Jefferson	Va.	Dem-Republican	104,110	162	59	17	83	3
Charles C. Pinckney	S.C.	Federalist	38,919	14	0	5	9	0
Total			143,110	176	59	22	92	3
Needed to win				89				

**Note:** South (Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn,Vt), West (Ohio)

**Note:** Total # electors = 176,; must get more than half of 138 voters = 70.

The same story holds true in the race for Vice-President, where Governor Clinton easily outdistances Rufus King, the New York Federalist and former Ambassador to Britain under Washington.

### 1804 Electoral College Vote For VP

Candidate	Party	Votes
George Clinton	Dem-Rep	162
Rufus King	Federalist	14
Total		176

Jefferson's victory reflects approval for his Louisiana Purchase and an uptick in the economy in 1803-4, after a lessening of tensions with France.

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Time: 1804

### Democratic-Republicans Win By A Landslide In 1804

The Democratic-Republicans also dominate the Federalists in the 1804 Congressional races.

In the House, the total number of seats up for grabs has expanded from 106 to 142 based on the new population counts from the 1800 Census. The largest gains in apportionment are in the Northern states, a fact that is already troubling to politicians in the South.

#### Apportionment Of House Seat After The 1800 Census

	Total	South	Border	North	West
1790	65	23	7	35	0
1800	106	38	11	57	0
1802	142	49	16	76	1
Change vs. 1790	+77	+26	+9	+41	+1

The margin of victory for the Democratic-Republicans in the lower chamber is remarkable. Only six years earlier, in 1799, the Federalists held the House by 14 seats (60-46). After the 1804 votes are in, they trail their opponents by 86 seats (28-114).

#### Election Trends – House Of Representatives

Party	1789	1791	1793	1795	1797	1799	1801	1803	1805
Democratic-Republicans	28	30	55	61	49	46	68	102	114
Federalist	37	39	50	45	57	60	38	40	28
Congress #	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>
President	GW	GW	GW	GW	JA	JA	TJ	TJ	TJ

In addition to continuing their dominance across the South, the Democratic-Republicans have now won solid majorities in the North in both 1802 and 1804.

#### House Trends By Region

Democratic-Republican	Total	South	Border	North	West
1789	28	16	4	8	
1791	30	16	5	9	
1793	55	31	7	17	
1795	61	33	7	21	
1797	49	30	4	15	
1799	46	21	5	20	
1801	68	30	7	31	
1803	102	42	13	46	1
1805	114	48	13	52	1
Change Vs. '03	+12	+6	NC	+6	NC
Federalists					
1789	37	7	3	27	
1791	39	7	4	28	
1793	50	6	4	40	
1795	45	5	4	36	



1797	57	8	7	42	
1799	60	17	6	37	
1801	38	8	4	26	
1803	40	7	3	30	
1805	28	1	3	24	
Change Vs. '03	(12)	(6)	NC	(6)	NC

In the Senate, the Democratic-Republicans now enjoy a 27-7 margin over the Federalists, after a pick-up of two more seats. Recent additions in the upper chamber include the Federalist John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts in 1802 and Henry Clay of Kentucky in 1804, who begins his career as a Democratic-Republican.

#### Election Trends -- Senate

Party	1789	1791	1793	1795	1797	1799	1801	1803	1805
Democratic-Republicans	7	12	14	16	12	10	17	25	27
Federalists	19	17	16	14	20	22	15	9	7
Congress #	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>
President	GW	GW	GW	GW	JA	JA	TJ	TJ	TJ

Regional results in the Senate mirror those in the House, with a steady erosion for the Federalists in the North.

#### Senate Trends By Region

Democratic-Republican	Total	South	Border	North	West
1789	7	4	1	2	
1791	12	5	2	5	
1793	14	7	2	5	
1795	16	7	4	5	
1797	12	8	1	3	
1799	10	8	1	1	
1801	17	10	3	4	
1803	25	10	4	9	2
1805	27	10	4	11	2
Change Vs. '03	2	NC	NC	2	NC
Federalists					
1789	19	4	3	12	
1791	17	3	4	10	
1793	16	1	4	11	
1795	14	1	2	11	
1797	20	2	5	13	
1799	22	2	5	15	
1801	15	0	3	12	

1803	9	0	2	7	
1805	7	0	2	5	
Change Vs. '03	(2)	NC	NC	NC	

Overall then, the Democratic-Republicans emerge from the 1804 election in firm control of the Presidency and both chambers of Congress – while the Federalists are left reeling.

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Time: March 4, 1805

### Jefferson's Second Inaugural Address

On March 4, 1805, Jefferson delivers his second inaugural address in the Senate chamber. Unlike the soaring rhetoric achieved four years ago, his tone is defensive, aimed at justifying his policies and programs against what he regards as ongoing slanders by the press – especially surrounding his mistress, Sally Hemmings.

He seeks peace with the major foreign powers...

*In the transaction of your foreign affairs, we have endeavored to cultivate the friendship of all nations, and especially of those with which we have the most important relations.*

Restraint on taxes and federal spending, to help fund targeted infrastructure improvements...

*The suppression of unnecessary offices, of useless establishments and expenses, enabled us to discontinue our internal taxes. The remaining revenue on the consumption of foreign articles, is paid cheerfully by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comforts...it may be the pleasure and pride of an American to ask, what farmer, what mechanic, what laborer, ever sees a tax-gatherer of the United States?*

*These contributions enable us to give support... in time of peace, to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education and other great objects within each state. In time of war... by other resources reserved for that crisis... War will then be but a suspension of useful works, and a return to a state of peace, a return to the progress of improvement.*

Support for his controversial Louisiana Purchase...

*I know that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some, from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory would endanger its union.... and in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children, than by strangers of another family?*

Favorable treatment of the native American tribes...

*Humanity enjoins us to teach (our aboriginal inhabitants) agriculture and the domestic arts; to encourage to that industry which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence.... But the endeavors to enlighten them... have powerful obstacles to encounter.*

An end of the personal attacks he has suffered in the press...

*During this course of administration, and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been levelled against us, charged with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science, are deeply to be regretted.*

*Our fellow citizens have looked on, cool and collected... they gathered around their public functionaries, and when the constitution called them to the decision by suffrage, they pronounced their verdict, honorable to those who had served them, and consolatory to the friend of man, who believes he may be intrusted with his own affairs... our wish, as well as theirs, is, that the public efforts may be directed honestly to the public good.*

And guidance from that “Being in whose hands we are.”

*I shall now enter on the duties to which my fellow citizens have again called me, and shall proceed in the spirit of those principles which they have approved. I fear not that any motives of interest may lead me astray; I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.*

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Time: March 4, 1805 – March 4, 1809

### Overview Of Jefferson’s Second Term

Jefferson’s wish to concentrate on domestic policy in his second term will be frustrated by America’s inevitable entanglement in the warfare between Napoleon’s France and Great Britain.

As the term begins, the President’s cabinet is largely unchanged from before, except for Clinton as Vice-President and the Virginian, John Breckinridge, as Attorney General.

#### Thomas Jefferson’s Cabinet In 1805

Position	Name	Home State
Vice-President	George Clinton	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	John Breckinridge	Virginia

James Monroe continues as Ambassador to France, with ex-New York Senator John Armstrong remaining in London at the Court of St. James.

Jefferson's financial priority lies in ridding the nation of debt, by reducing the size of the standing army and trimming other federal expenses.

*I place economy among the first and most important virtues and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with public debt.*

His commitment to an agrarian economy and way of life is undiminished.

*Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. It is the focus in which he keeps alive that sacred fire, which otherwise might escape from the face of the earth.*

Achieving this idyllic vision rests on geographic expansion – opening more available land for farming.

With the Louisiana Territory already in hand, he now tries, unsuccessfully, to buy Florida and Cuba from Spain.

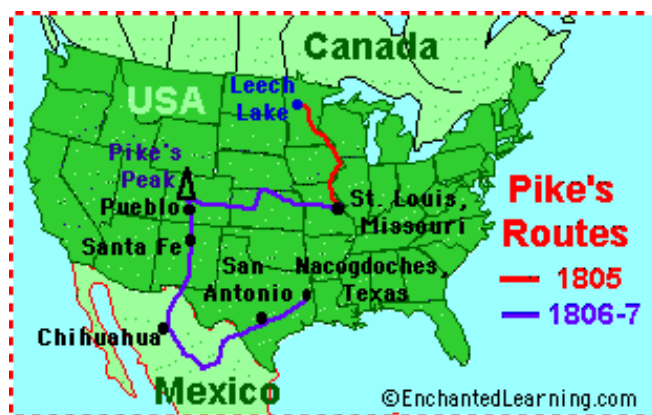
He also has William Henry Harrison, Territorial Governor of Indiana, negotiate two sizable land cessions with native tribes to the west. Unlike his successors, Jefferson claims to be favorably impressed by the capacities of the Indians, and hopes to teach them agricultural skills and assimilate, rather than banish, them. His actions, however, will often belie his words in this regard.

#### **1804 Cessions Of Tribal Lands To The West**

<b>Treaty of:</b>	<b>Main Tribes</b>	<b>Land Ceded to U.S.</b>
Vincennes	Miami and Shawnee	1.6 million acres in central Indiana
St. Louis	Fox and Sauk	5.0 million acres in Wisconsin

His far westward explorations continue, with news flowing in from Lewis and Clark about the Missouri River and a pathway to the west coast, and with another expedition setting out under Zebulon Pike.

Pike – later an army General killed in the War of 1812 – heads into the Louisiana Territory, first up north to Minnesota, then across the southwest to find the headwaters of the Red River and the Arkansas River. This takes him into Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado, and the famous Rocky Mountain peak that bears his name.



Pike's Routes

As he drives westward, Jefferson is intent on weaving the new lands into the fabric of the Union.

To link the old east with the new west commercially, he initiates and funds two major road-building projects -- despite his philosophical aversion to federal spending and debt.

#### Jefferson's Major Road Initiatives

Name	Approved	Miles	Linking
Cumberland Road	1806	620	Cumberland, Md to Vandalia, IL
Natchez Road	1806	500 miles	Nashville, Tn to Natchez, Miss.

While Jefferson is pleased with this progress on the domestic front, he soon finds that threats to national security are occupying more and more of his time and energy.

One threat is particularly grating. Just as he is trying to glue new states onto the Union, he learns that his former Vice-President, Aaron Burr, is plotting with James Wilkinson, his Territorial Governor in Louisiana, to mount a "filibustering" campaign – to create an independent confederation of states extending through New Orleans and into Mexico. He will go after Burr with a vengeance for this transgression.

But the Burr affair is nothing compared to the repeated acts of war being committed against the United States by Britain and France on the high seas throughout Jefferson's second term – as Napoleon attempts to achieve worldwide hegemony between 1805 and 1815.

The US role in the grand scheme is largely that of a pawn -- with the two super-powers intent on blocking all shipping traffic between America and ports controlled by the enemy. To do so means breaking commercial laws -- interfering with US ships at sea, turning them back or attacking them outright, seizing their cargoes and impressing their sailors into foreign duty.

After negotiating efforts in Paris and London fail, Jefferson makes a fatal error in attempting to stay out of the war.

To demonstrate neutrality toward both sides, he secures passage of the 1807 Embargo Act, which bans US ships from sailing to all foreign ports. But this move not only fails to improve

diplomatic relations, it also crushes the east coast shipping industry. In 1808 the value of U.S. exports fall by almost 80% and talk of “nullification” forces the President to repeal the Act just prior to leaving office.

**Value Of U.S. Exports: Before – After Embargo Act**

	1805	1806	1807	1808
\$ 000	95,566	101,537	108,343	22,431
% Ch		6%	7%	(79%)

Across his entire time in office, the overall economy drifts up and down, with per capita GDP ending in 1808 about where it was in 1801.

**Economic Growth During Jefferson’s Two Terms**

	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808
Total GDP (\$MM)	514	451	487	533	561	617	589	646
Per Capita GDP	94	80	84	89	91	97	89	95
% Change		(15%)	5%	6%	2%	6%	(8%)	7%

Milestones during Jefferson’s second term are as follows:

**Jefferson’s Second Term: Key Events**

1805	
March 4	Jefferson and Clinton are inaugurated
April 29	Marines take the port of Derna, a turning point in the Tripolitan War
May 25	A labor strike by the Cordwainer’s Union in Philadelphia is suppressed
June 4	War with Tripoli ends with peace treaty
July 23	Britain invokes Rule of 1756 further constraining US shipping to France
August 9	Zebulon Pike begins first expedition, north into the Louisiana Territory
October 18	Lewis and Clark sight Mt. Hood
October 21	Nelson defeats the French fleet at Trafalgar foiling invasion of England
November 7	Louis and Clark sight the Pacific
December 2	Napoleon annihilates Austrian and Russian armies at the Battle of Austerlitz
1806	
January	Noah Webster publishes his Dictionary of the English language
February 12	A Senate resolution condemns British aggression against US shipping
March 29	Congress approves bill to construct the Cumberland Road
May 30	Future President, Andrew Jackson, kills Charles Dickinson in a duel
July 15	Pike begins second expedition, this time into the future New Mexico and Colorado
July 20	Aaron Burr and conspirators meet to plan filibustering invasion of southwest
September 23	Lewis and Clark arrive back home at St. Louis
October 14	Napoleon destroys the Prussian army at Auerstadt
November 21	Napoleon’s Berlin Decree initiates a shipping blockade of the British Isles
November 27	Jefferson learns of Burr’s annexation plot in southwest

<b>1807</b>	
January 7	British Order in Council blockades shipping to French ports
February 19	Aaron Burr is arrested and charged with treason
March 2	Congress passes bill banning importation of slaves, starting in 1808
March 4	Jefferson pockets disappointing Monroe-Pinckney Treaty with Britain
June 14	Napoleon defeats Russia at Friedland
June 22	British commit act of war as their <i>HMS Leopold</i> attacks <i>US Chesapeake</i> off Norfolk, Va.
July 2	Jefferson proclamation bans British warships from American territorial waters
September 1	Aaron Burr acquitted of treason by John Marshall on a technicality, then flees to Europe
October 26	Tenth Congress convenes, with large Democratic-Republican majority
December 22	Jefferson's ruinous Embargo Act prohibits all US ships from entering foreign ports
<b>1808</b>	
January 1	Ban on importation of slaves takes effect
April 6	JJ Astor incorporates The American Fur Company
April 17	Napoleon's Bayonne Decree says France will seize US ships abroad, per Embargo Act
June 6	Joseph Bonaparte named King of Spain
November 10	Osage Treaty cedes tribal lands in Missouri and Arkansas
December 7	Madison is elected President
<b>1809</b>	
January 9	The Enforcement Act tries to halt smuggling linked to the embargo
February 1	New Englanders debate nullifying the Embargo Act which destroys shipping industry
February 20	In <i>US v Peters</i> , the Marshall court asserts the primacy of federal over state laws
March 1	Pressure on Jefferson finally leads to the repeal of the Embargo Act

## Chapter 28 - Burr's Filibustering Campaign Signals U.S. Colonial Intentions

Time: 1805-1806

### Burr Plans To Create An Empire In The Southwest



Aaron Burr  
(1756-1836)

Aaron Burr is one of those famous figures in American history who climb to the pinnacle of national fame only to fall back into the ranks of the notorious.

He is born on February 6, 1756, in Newark, New Jersey, to parents steeped in religious ties. His mother, Esther, is the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, the famous Puritan minister, whose Calvinist oriented tract, "Sinners In The Hands Of An Angry God," helped fuel the First Great Awakening in 1741. His father, Aaron Sr., is a Presbyterian minister and second president of The College of New Jersey (later Princeton).

But both parents die before Aaron reaches the age of three, and he and his sister are left in the care of their uncle, Timothy Edwards, who raises them within the stern traditions of Calvinism. This fails to sit well with young Aaron, who is simultaneously precocious and rebellious. After trying to run away from home, he applies for admission to the College of New Jersey (Princeton) at age eleven. Two years later, he is allowed in, and graduates at sixteen, in 1772. Despite being pushed toward a career in the ministry, his inclinations are far removed from the Calvinistic austerity he has experienced as a youth. Instead he takes up the law – and is three years into his studies when the Revolutionary War breaks out.

Burr immediately enlists in the Continental army, where his affection for combat over a four-year period earns him both glory and recognition. He fights with Montgomery in 1775 at Quebec, helps Washington and Hamilton escape from their 1776 trap in Manhattan, rises to Lt. Colonel status in 1777, survives Valley Forge and takes part in the pivotal 1778 battle at Monmouth. By 1779 the war has taken a sufficient toll on his health that he resigns his commission and returns to his legal pursuits.

He opens a law office in Albany in 1782 and that same year marries Theodosia Prevost, a widow with five children, who, at 36, is ten years his senior. Despite dalliances, Burr stays with his wife until her death in 1794, and forever dotes on their daughter, also named Theodosia.

In 1784, Burr enters the rough and tumble world of New York politics, as an Anti-Federalist. He begins as a State Assemblyman, then is chosen as Attorney General, under Governor George



Clinton. He serves as U.S. Senator from 1791 to 1797, after defeating General Phillip Schuyler, Alexander Hamilton's father-in-law, in his race.

His ambition leaps ahead, and he expects to be elected Vice-President in 1796, but his electoral votes fall behind Adams, Jefferson and Pinckney. Still he tries again in 1800, ties Jefferson in electoral votes, but then loses out in the House run-off engineered by Hamilton.

After the election of 1800, Burr loses Jefferson's trust, and is dropped from the ticket in 1804. This leads to his decision to run for Governor of New York, but he is soundly defeated.

He blames the loss on political smears, coming from his long-time adversary, Hamilton. The result is a series of letters between the two men, a "challenge" issued by Burr, and the fatal duel at Weehauken Heights that leaves Hamilton dead and Burr's reputation forever tarnished.

With his political days over, Burr joins his old Revolutionary War friend, Major General James Wilkinson, in a plot that will lead to his arrested for treason.

Burr has convinced Jefferson to name Wilkinson Governor of the Louisiana Territory. But he returns the favor first by trying to break off Kentucky and Tennessee from the Union, then by conspiring with Spain to hamper American access to the port of New Orleans, and finally by initiating a "filibustering" scheme with Burr in 1805 to set up an independent confederation of states across the South under his rule as dictator.

Burr's role in the filibustering plan involves raising a small army and heading to New Orleans to foment rebellion. He contacts British officials in an attempt to secure financial backing but is rebuffed. He then meets with one Harman Blennerhasset, who owns an island on the Ohio River, where Burr will store weapons and train troops.

Next comes a visit to New Orleans, supposedly to visit land he owns in the Tejas Province, but actually intended to recruit locals who support an invasion into Mexico.

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Time: February 19, 1807

### **The Former VP Is Betrayed And Arrested For Treason**

By 1806, however, the plan begins to unravel. The Ohio state militia raids Blennerhasset's Island, and Burr fails in his efforts to gather troops.

The scurrilous Wilkinson, fearing for his own reputation, informs Jefferson that Burr is plotting an insurrection. Jefferson is livid and a warrant is issued for Burr's arrest.

He is taken into custody in Mississippi, escapes briefly, and is then re-captured on February 19, 1807. He is shipped back to Washington to stand trial for treason.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: September 1, 1807

## **The Trial Ends With Acquittal And Shame**

The trial itself captures the nation's attention. It is held over seven months beginning in the summer of 1807 at the Federal Circuit Court in Richmond, Virginia. The judge is none other than Chief Justice John Marshall, who is frequently at odds with Jefferson. Those defending Burr include Edmund Randolph, former Attorney General and Secretary of State under Washington. An equally stellar line-up of prosecutors – micromanaged from the start by the President – aim to take Burr's life for treason.

Subpoenas are issued to a host of possible witnesses. Included here is Andrew Jackson, ex-Senator from Tennessee, who had met with Burr, and is suspected of encouraging his move into Mexico. Also President Jefferson himself, whose plea to avoid the subpoena is rejected by Marshall, again asserting that not even the President is above the law. (In the end, neither will actually testify.)

On June 15, 1807, the Grand Jury hears Wilkinson testify against Burr, but the defense pokes numerous holes in his account, and he barely escapes the just indictment he deserves. Nine days later, they enter charges against Burr for treason -- "levying war on the United States" in actions on Blennerhasset's Island – and for "high misdemeanors" related to organizing a military action against Spain in violation of the 1794 Neutrality Act.

As the trial itself closes, however, Marshall instructs the jury that the 1787 Constitution sets the bar very high for proving treason.

*To establish the crime of treason the prosecution must prove that an overt act of treason had been committed by the defendant in a war and that, under the Constitution, the overt act must be testified to by two witnesses and must have occurred in the district of the trial.*

After deliberations, the jury concludes the prosecution has failed to show enough evidence to sustain either charge.

Burr walks out of the courtroom as a free man, despite the ongoing certainty expressed by Jefferson and others that he is guilty on all counts.

Henceforth his name will be synonymous across America for slaying Hamilton and plotting treason. In response, Burr flees to England, hoping that time and distance will eventually allow his return to the States. And this proves to be the case. In 1813 he is back home, living momentarily under an assumed name. His star, which shines so brightly up to 1804, is now dimmed; but he is left with his notoriety as he roams the streets of his beloved New York before dying in 1836, at age eighty, on Staten Island.

## Chapter 29 - Le Jour de Gloire Arrives For Napoleon And France

Time: December 4, 1804

### Napoleon Crowns Himself Emperor And Resumes War With Britain



Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)

On December 2, 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte establishes hereditary power over France for his family, as he crowns himself Emperor at Notre Dame Cathedral.

The service is designed to mimic the standards set for royal successions across Europe.

To insure that Napoleon will reign “in the eyes of God,” Pope Pius VII attends the ceremony in person. The 62 year old pontiff has been in office for four years, and is intent on restoring the Church’s standing in France after seeing papal authority stripped away during the people’s revolution. His first step here is the Concordat of 1801, negotiated with Napoleon as First Counsul, which recognizes Catholicism as the “religion of the great majority” in France, while dropping claims to church lands seized during the overthrow of the old order.

Napoleon enters Notre Dame after Pius is already seated. He arrives with his wife, Josephine, in a carriage drawn by eight horses. He is gowned up in an eighty pound coronation mantle, supported by four manservants, and embroidered with “golden bees,” which he favors over the traditional fleur-de-lis symbol for France.

When the moment comes for the Pope to crown him, Napoleon intercedes by placing the laurel wreath on his own head and repeating the act for Josephine as Queen. Pius then intones his blessing:

*May God confirm you on this throne and may Christ give you to rule with him in his eternal kingdom.*

The action is completed with Napoleon placing his hands on the Bible and declaring his civil oath of office.

*I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Republic, to respect and enforce respect for the Concordat and freedom of religion, equality of rights, political and civil liberty, the irrevocability of the sale of national lands; not to raise any tax except in virtue of the law; to maintain the institution of Legion of Honor and to govern in the sole interest, happiness and glory of the French people.*

As absolute monarch he is now eager to turn his energy against fulfilling the “glory of the French people.”

His sights, as always, are on the British, and reversing the losses suffered four decades ago in the Seven Year’s War. He will attack them on land and sea, along with any confederates who join them.

The days of French ascendance have arrived.

<b>La Marseillaise (1792)</b>	
<b>French lyrics</b>	<b>English translation</b>
<i>Allons enfants de la Patrie,</i>	Arise, children of the Fatherland,
<i>Le jour de gloire est arrivé!</i>	The day of glory has arrived!
<i>Contre nous de la tyrannie,</i>	Against us tyranny's
<i>L'étendard sanglant est levé, (bis)</i>	Bloody banner is raised,(repeat)
<i>Entendez-vous dans les campagnes</i>	Do you hear, in the countryside,
<i>Mugir ces féroces soldats?</i>	The roar of those ferocious soldiers?
<i>Ils viennent jusque dans nos bras</i>	They're coming right into our arms
<i>Égorger nos fils, nos compagnes!</i>	To cut the throats of our sons, our women!
<i>Aux armes, citoyens,</i>	To arms, citizens,
<i>Formez vos bataillons,</i>	Form your battalions,
<i>Marchons, marchons!</i>	Let's march, let's march!
<i>Qu'un sang impur</i>	Let an impure blood
<i>Abreuve nos sillons! (bis)</i>	Water our furrows! (Repeat)

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Time: 1715-1855

**Sidebar: Roll Call Of Key 18-19<sup>th</sup> Century Foreign Monarchs**

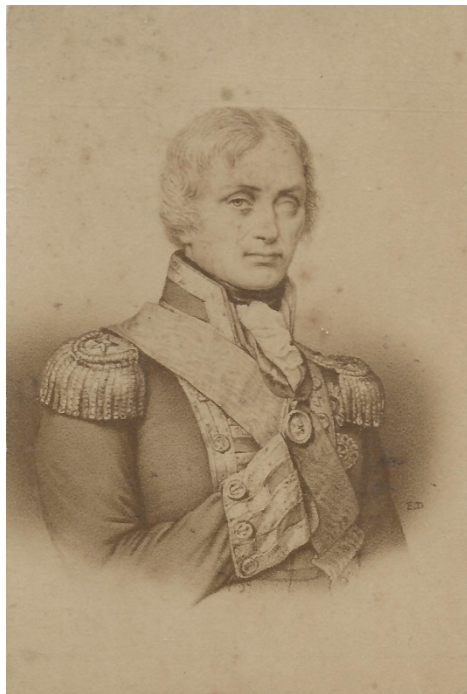
<b>France</b>	<b>Begins Reign</b>	<b>Ends Reign</b>
Louis XV	Sept 1, 1715	May 10, 1774
Louis XVI	May 10, 1774	Sept 21, 1792
First Republic	1792	1804
Napoleon I	May 18, 1804	April 11, 1814
Louis XVIII	April 11, 1814	March 20, 1815
Napoleon I	March 20, 1815	June 22, 1815
Napoleon II	June 22, 1815	July 7, 1815
Louis XVIII	July 7, 1815	Sept 16, 1824
Charles X	Sept 16, 1824	Aug 2, 1830
Louis-Phillipe I	August 9, 1830	Feb 24, 1848
Second Republic	1848	1852
Napoleon III	Dec 2, 1852	Sept 4, 1870
<b>England</b>		
George II	June 11, 1727	Oct 25, 1760
George III	Oct 25, 1760	Jan 29, 1820
George IV	Jan 29, 1820	June 26, 1830
William IV	June 26, 1830	June 20, 1837
Victoria	June 20, 1837	Jan 22, 1901
<b>Spain</b>		
Charles III	Aug 10, 1759	Dec 14, 1788
Charles IV	Dec 14, 1788	March 19, 1808
Ferdinand VII	March 19, 1808	May 6, 1808
Joseph I	May 6, 1808	Dec 11, 1813
Ferdinand VII	Dec 11, 1813	Sept 29, 1833
Isabella II	Sept 29, 1833	Sept 30, 1868
<b>Prussia</b>		
Frederick I	January 18, 1701	February 25, 1713
Frederick William I	February 25, 1713	May 31, 1740
Frederick II (Great)	May 31, 1740	Aug 17, 1786
Frederick-William II	Aug 17, 1786	Nov. 16, 1797
Frederick William III	Nov. 16, 1797	June 7, 1840
Federick William IV	June 7, 1840	Jan 2, 1861
<b>Russia</b>		
Catherine The Great	July 9, 1762	Nov 17, 1796

	Paul I	Nov 17, 1796	Mar 23, 1801
	Alexander I	Mar 23, 1801	Dec 1, 1825
	Nicholas I	Dec 1, 1825	Mar 2, 1855
	Alexander II	Mar 2, 1855	Mar 13, 1881

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Time: October 21, 1805

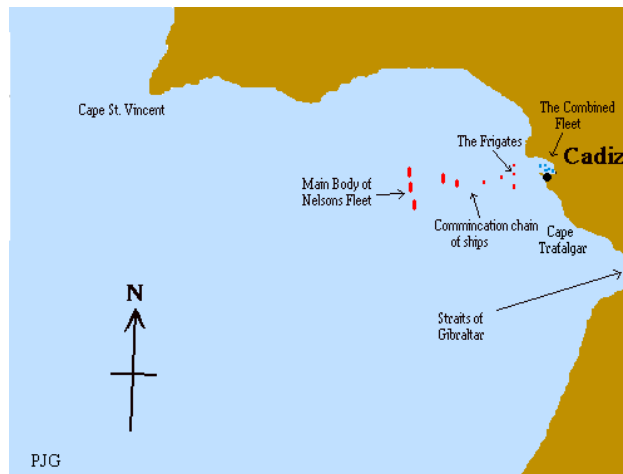
### Napoleon's Momentum Is Hindered Momentarily By Lord Nelson At Trafalgar



Viscount Horatio Nelson (1758-1805)

By the late summer of 1805, Napoleon has completed his plan to invade the British Isles, and has assembled a naval armada of French and Spanish ships to support the attack. But the invasion is delayed after Austria and Russia enter the war. Still, Napoleon is displeased by the lack of aggression he sees in the commanding officer of his fleet, Admiral Pierre-Charles de Villaneuve, who learns that he is about to be relieved.

On October 20, 1805, before his replacement can arrive, Villaneuve departs the port of Cadiz on the southwest coast of Spain, intending to sail south past Cape Trafalgar and the Straits of Gibraltar, into the Mediterranean and the French port of Toulon.



Cape Trafalgar off the Coast of Cadiz above Gibraltar

Villaneuve's fleet is formidable, comprising 33 heavy duty warships, with some 30,000 sailors and 2,568 guns.

At 11AM on October 21, they encounter the British navy, under the command of Captain Horatio Nelson, aboard his HMS Victory.



Nelson's Ship HMS Victory

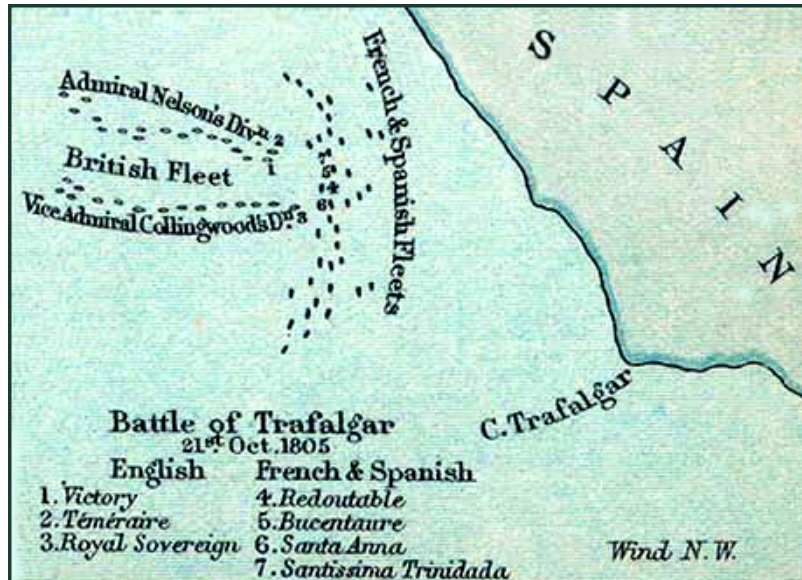
Nelson is already a legend within the Royal Navy. He enlists as an Ordinary Seaman at age twelve, serving under his uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling, who turns him into a first rate sailor, despite his lifelong bouts of seasickness. By December 1778, age twenty, he is Master and Commander of the sloop *HMS Badger*. He is engaged briefly around Boston and New York during America's Revolutionary War, then becomes a national hero in February 1797, after capturing two Spanish warships at the Battle of St. Vincent.

He is almost killed on multiple occasions. In 1794 enemy shot leaves him blinded in his right eye. On July 24, 1797, his left arm is shattered by a musket ball while leading a failed landing party assault on the Canary Island city of Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Amputation follows. In 1798 Nelson is knocked unconscious by shrapnel during the victorious Battle of the Nile. Afterwards he is awarded the honorary titles of Baron and Viscount.

On October 21, 1805, Nelson has been battling the British and French off and on for some twelve years. He is 47 years old and Vice Admiral of the White (ensign) Fleet, second highest command in the Royal Navy. He has 27 warships at his disposal, with 17,000 men and 2,148 guns.

At 8AM the two fleets spot each other from a distance, the French still heading south toward Gibraltar, the English coming at them from the west. Villaneuve order his four-masters "to wear" (or jibe), reversing course to head back to Cadiz. But Nelson keeps coming onto him. The famous command -- "England expects that every man will do his duty"—is flagged up.



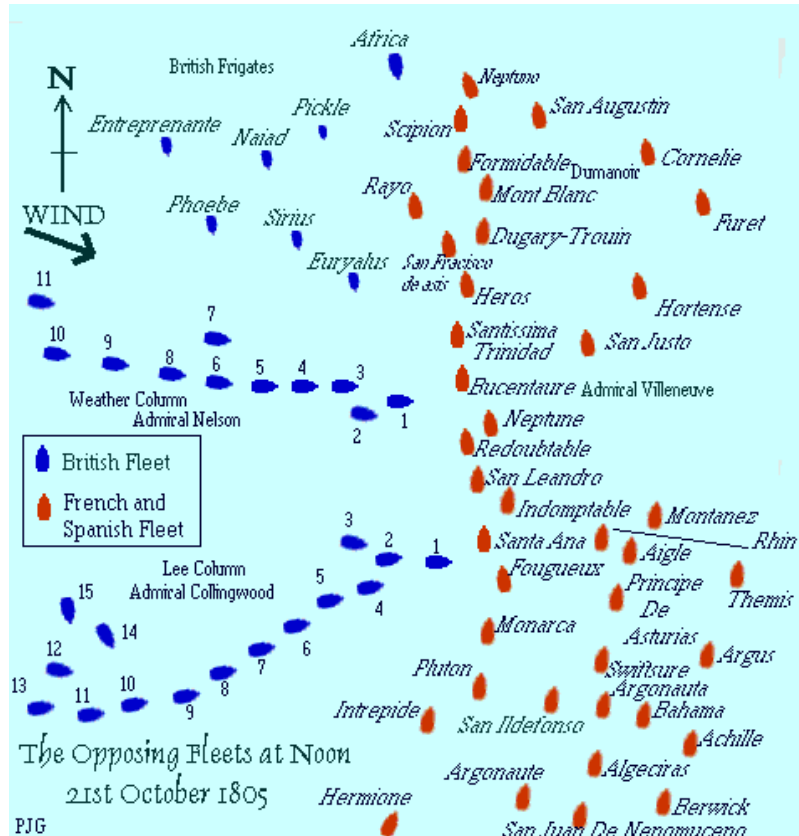


Nelson's Very Unconventional Maneuver against the French Fleet at Trafalgar

Around noon, the ships close on one another, with traditional naval strategy calling for Nelson to turn and “form lines of battle” stations parallel to the enemy. Instead, he plows straight ahead, striking the French in perpendicular fashion, and bringing on a “pell-mell” series of ship against ship action favorable to his more skilled seaman. This move, executed at no small risk of receiving initial broadside fire, also allows him to shoot into the sterns of many French ships, with the fire traveling through the entire length of the ship, to the bow.

Nelson himself commands the lead ship, HMS *Victory*, into the fray.





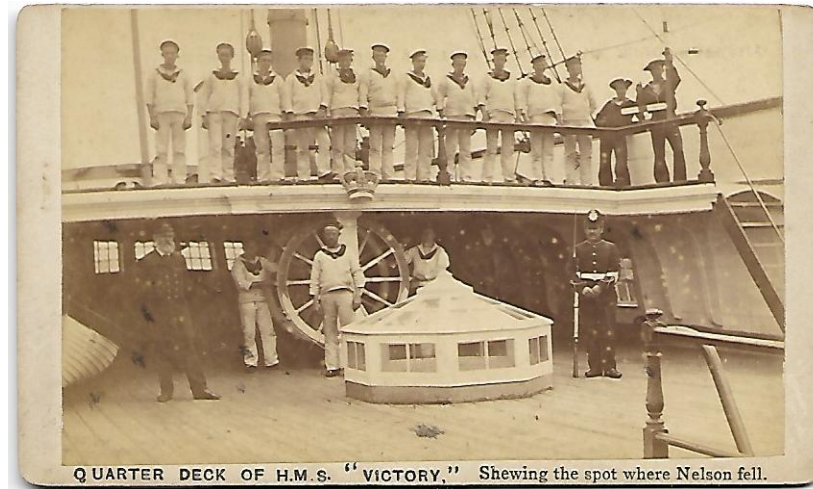
Greater Detail on Nelson's Straight on Line of Attack

British Line Of Battle	
Weather Column	Lee Column
1. <i>Victory</i>	1. <i>Royal Sovereign</i>
2. <i>Temeraire</i>	2. <i>Bellisle</i>
3. <i>Neptune</i>	3. <i>Colossus</i>
4. <i>Leviathan</i>	4. <i>Mars</i>
5. <i>Conqueror</i>	5. <i>Tonnant</i>
6. <i>Agamemnon</i>	6. <i>Bellerophon</i>
7. <i>Britannia</i>	7. <i>Achille</i>
8. <i>Ajax</i>	8. <i>Polyphemus</i>
9. <i>Orion</i>	9. <i>Revenge</i>
10. <i>Minotaur</i>	10. <i>Swiftsure</i>
11. <i>Spartiate</i>	11. <i>Defence</i>
	12. <i>Thunderer</i>
	13. <i>Defiance</i>
	14. <i>Prince</i>
	15. <i>Dreadnought</i>

As *Victory* locks with the French *Redoubtable*, a musket ball takes Nelson in the left shoulder, slices through his seventh cervical vertebrae and lodges in his right shoulder. He knows immediately that the wound is fatal, and says so to his surgeon.

*You can do nothing for me. I have but a short time to live. My back is shot through.*

He lingers below decks for another 3½ hours, still issuing orders, before succumbing to his wound. His last words are recorded as “Thank God I have done my duty.”



And his victory at Trafalgar is striking. Villaneuve’s fleet has suffered one ship sunk, seventeen ships captured, another eleven partially damaged and only four escaping unscathed. Some 4,500 of their seamen are killed, with another 2,400 wounded and 7,000 taken prisoner. On the British side, no ships are lost for good and total dead and wounded total 1,450.

The Royal Navy has again demonstrated its supremacy on the high seas, and Napoleon casts aside all thoughts of an invasion of the English Isles.

Despite this, Britain mourns the loss of its most famous admiral. His body is packed inside a cask of brandy and other agents for preservation. This is towed home along with his wounded ship, Victory. On January 9, 1806, England’s most famous naval figure is interred at St. Paul’s Cathedral.

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December 2, 1805 – October 14, 1806

### **On Land, The French Win One Major Battle After Another**



French Soldiers on the March

Napoleon is characteristically undaunted by the loss at Trafalgar.

On December 2, 1805, in the nine hour “Battle of The Three Kings” – near Austerlitz (now in the Czech Republic) -- his undermanned force (73,000 vs. 86,000) pulls a stunning victory against Alexander I of Russia and the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II. Casualties for the day total a staggering 36,000 men. In response to the loss, Francis gives up his Holy Roman title and becomes simply King of Austria.

Less than a year later, on October 14, 1806, Napoleon soundly defeats the 110,000 man Prussian army, in the two-part battle of Jena-Auerstadt, winning control over territory in what is now central Germany and Poland. Casualties here are even greater than at Austerlitz, totaling 50,000 soldiers.



France Extends its Borders as Napoleon Emerges Victorious

With these two pivotal triumphs, he now effectively controls all of Europe, except for Portugal, and he again moves against the British by imposing a Continental Blockade halting all trade with England in his Berlin Decree, issued on November 21, 1806.

### Napoleon's Early Campaigns

1792	1 <sup>st</sup> Coalition War vs. Austria and Prussia (end 1797)
1793	Siege of Toulon (southern France) – Napoleon wins first fame
1795	N quells pro-monarchy insurrection in Paris
1797	First Italian campaign (victories at Lodi and Arcola)
1798	Expedition to Egypt and Syria
1799	N seizes power in Paris as First Consul of the Republic
	2 <sup>nd</sup> Coalition vs. Russia, UK, Austria, Naples, Vatican, etc (end 1802)
1800	Second Italian campaign (victory at Marengo (nw Italy) over Austria
	Spain trades Louisiana Territory back to France for Tuscan land
	France ends its Quasi-War with the US
1802	Treaty of Amiens ends war with Britain (for one year)
	N expanding his power over France
1803	Britain declares war on France
1804	3 <sup>rd</sup> Coalition vs. Britain, Austria, Prussia
1805	Napoleon crowns himself Emperor of France
1805	British defeat French invasion fleet at Trafalgar
	Battle of the Three Kings at Austerlitz – N beats Austria and Russia
1806	4 <sup>th</sup> Coalition vs. Prussia and Russia
	Battle of Jena-Auerstedt – N beats Prussia

## Chapter 30 - British Acts Of War Lead To The Ruinous “Embargo Act”

Time: 1805-1806

### Britain “Impresses” US Sailors To Fight France



Ships at Sea off Gibraltar

Napoleon’s rampage across Europe and his war with Britain inevitably brings Jefferson into the middle of a conflict he would rather avoid.

The conflict is triggered by British “impressment” of American sailors.

Unlike the French with its dominant land army, the British rely on their Royal Navy to defend the homeland and their possessions around the globe. By 1805, as Napoleon notches one victory after another, they rush to build up their corps of

able-bodied seamen from a peacetime force of 10,000 to the 140,000 level they feel are needed for war. Their search turns in part to British sailors who have deserted the harsh conditions and disciplines imposed by their ship captains. Nelson pegs this figure at around 40,000 men – with many of them taking refuge on board more lenient American ships.

Britain’s plan is to “retrieve” these nationals and return them to the Royal Navy. At the same time, King George III, still smarting from the French-backed defeat at Yorktown, and assuming that Jefferson favors his former allies, supports the notion of snatching American sailors as a justifiable form of pay-back.

Before proceeding, however, Britain looks for a legal rationale to stop and board American ships. Here they cite their own high court decision, rendered on May 22, 1805, against the American merchant ship *Essex*, accused of violating The Rule of 1756 by transporting cargo banned during times of war.

In turn, they now use The Rule of 1756 as a legal excuse for stopping US ship to examine their cargo – and, at the same time, to seize American sailors.

“Press gangs” are formed to carry out this new policy, and by 1806 it’s estimated that some 10,000 seamen have been taken, some British deserters, but also many American citizens. A major diplomatic controversy follows.

On February 12, 1806, the Senate passes a resolution condemning Britain’s seizure of American ships and seamen. Actual sanctions follow on April 18 in the Non-Importation Act which bans

all British hemp, brass, nails, wool, glass, clothing, leather, hats and beer from entering American ports.

Further commercial interruptions follow. Napoleon adds to the controversy on November 11, 1806, with his Berlin Decree which intends to cut Britain off from all foreign imports, including those from the United States. When the British follow suit, all shipping activities between America and the two combatants are curtailed.

Jefferson continually tries to defuse the tensions with Britain. In August 1806, Secretary of State, James Monroe, and his aid, William Pinkney, open talks with representatives of the Whig Prime Minister, Lord Grenville. These lead nowhere, and end with a December 31 Treaty that disappoints Jefferson to the extent that he refuses to send it to the Senate for approval.

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Time: June 22, 1807

### ***HMS Leopard Attacks US Ship Off Norfolk, Virginia***



An American Sailor

Six months later, on June 22, 1807, the conflict ratchets up sharply as the 50 gun *HMS Leopard* attacks an American naval ship, the *USS Chesapeake*, off the coast of Norfolk, Virginia. After falsely informing the *Leopard* that it has no British deserters in its 340 man crew and that it will not submit to a boarding party search, the *Chesapeake* turns to sail away. As it does so, it is struck by a full broadside bombardment. The surprised Americans are able to get off only one round of return fire before they strike their colors and surrender. Three U.S. sailors are killed and another 18 are wounded in the brief action.

A press gang from the *Leopard* boards and searches the *Chesapeake* and arrests four men claimed to be British nationals and deserters. Three turn out to be Americans, eventually released after their sentence of 500 lashes is commuted. The fourth man, Jenkin Ratford, is in fact a British born deserter. He is soon tried and hanged from the yardarm of the *HMS Halifax*.

The American public is outraged by the incident, and Jefferson feels the pressure to retaliate.

*Never since the Battle of Lexington have I seen this country in such a state of exasperation as at present, and even that did not produce such unanimity.*

His response, however, is measured and restrained. Secretary of State James Madison issues a protest which demands that the British government condemn the *Leopard's* actions, return the

captured Americans, remove its warships from American waters and end the practice of impressment.

On October 17, Britain responds publicly, declaring its intent to ignore the American demands and step up its impressment activities.

Jefferson is now caught between the open belligerence of the British and the growing public demand for further action to defend the nation's honor.

He refuses to call Congress into a special session for fear of an immediate war resolution, but he does order all U.S. warships abroad to head home in case they are needed.

He then ponders what to do about America's fleet of merchant ships.

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Time: December 22, 1807

### **The Embargo Act Of 1807 Boomerangs On The Administration**

Secretary of State James Madison proposes a solution: the safest way to avoid war and to protect the nation's ships lies in restricting all commercial traffic between America and all foreign ports.

Ships that stay in American waters and move only between one domestic port and another cannot be accused of interfering in the European conflict, and will be more readily protected by the U.S. naval fleet.

Jefferson announces this idea in his seventh annual message to Congress on December 18, 1807.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: The communications now made, showing the great and increasing dangers with which our vessels, our seamen, and merchandise are threatened on the high seas and elsewhere, from the belligerent powers of Europe, and it being of great importance to keep in safety these essential resources, I deem it my duty to recommend the subject to the consideration of Congress, who will doubtless perceive all the advantages which may be expected from an inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the ports of the United States. Their wisdom will also see the necessity of making every preparation for whatever events may grow out of the present crisis.*

The Embargo Act of 1807 passes in the Senate on December 18 by a margin of 22-6. Of the six nays, three are Federalists (Pickering of Mass, Hilhouse of Md and White of Del) and three are Democratic-Republicans (Crawford of Ga, Maclay of Pa and Goodrich of Conn). The House follows suit by an 82-44 margin, and the bill becomes law on December 22.



Details of the 1807 Act are as follows:

- American merchant ships are banned from setting sail to any and all foreign ports.
- Ships engaged in domestic traffic must post a “good will” bond before departing.
- U.S. Navy warships will enforce these rules.
- Any exceptions must be authorized directly by the President.

If effect, Jefferson and Madison intend to pull America back into a defensive posture, while Britain and France fight it out for European hegemony.

But instead of the public support they expect for the Act, the result is open hostility.

States that depend on international trade experience sharp economic downturns. Traders turn to smuggling to earn a living. Prices jump up on “necessities of life” in short supply and down on embargoed exports. Fear spreads that, if the ban goes on long enough, European customers for American exports will find alternative sources of supply.

On February 1, 1808, ex-Secretary of State Thomas Pickering calls for a convention of states who wish to “nullify” the act. Connecticut Governor John Trumbull follows on February 22 by telling his legislature that the act is unconstitutional, and that he will refuse to have the state militia enforce it.

Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin also shares his concerns with Jefferson.

*As to the hope that it may...induce England to treat us better, I think is entirely groundless...government prohibitions do always more mischief than had been calculated; and it is not without much hesitation that a statesman should hazard to regulate the concerns of individuals as if he could do it better than themselves.*

But neither Jefferson nor Madison is ready to back off in the face of the internal pressure. Rather than reversing course, they embark on an almost Adams-like crackdown on those who resist the ban.

The most egregious violations appear in the Northeast, with overland and river route smuggling to and from Canada becoming commonplace. To suppress this, Jefferson invokes the Insurrection Act of March 3, 1807 -- which gives him the power to call in the standing federal army, not simply state militias, to suppress those obstructing the law.

*[I]n all cases of insurrection, or obstruction to the laws, either of the United States, or of any individual state or territory, where it is lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection, or of causing the laws to be duly executed, it shall be lawful for him to employ, for the same purposes, such part of the land or naval force of the United States, as shall be judged necessary, having first observed all the pre-requisites of the law in that respect.*



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Time: March 1, 1809

### **The Act Is Repealed As Jefferson's Second Term Ends**

On March 12, 1808, further strictures are added to the Embargo Act. Stiff \$10,000 fines for those violating the ban become law, and port authorities are granted the power to search suspect ships and seize cargoes, without securing advance warrants. Madison remains convinced that the Embargo will succeed if only it is properly enforced.

Even Jefferson's most devoted backers are surprised by his readiness to use central government weapons – even the standing army -- against the clear wishes of a host of individual states and citizens. Hamilton might resort to this tactic; but to watch Jefferson and Madison engage this way is shocking to many Democratic-Republicans.

In the end, the 1807 Embargo survives over 15 months before the President gives in. The Act has had little effect on the European war, while producing widespread public resistance at home, including a resurgence of the Federalist party. Its only benefit has been to encourage the growth of domestic manufacturers, to fill the void in foreign imports.

Despite opposition from Madison, Jefferson repeals the Embargo during his last week in office.

On March 1, 1809, the so-called Non-Intercourse Act goes into effect. It allows shipping to resume with all nations except Britain and France. It also dangles a carrot in front of the two belligerents, offering a resumption of trade in exchange for a commitment to end future interference with American ships and sailors.

As with many presidents, the toll taken by second term reversals weighs heavily on Jefferson. His last six months in office reflect near paralysis, and, as typical, he captures his feelings in a succinct metaphor:

*Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power.*

Of course neither his short-term influence on the future course of American politics, nor his long-term legacy, ends in 1809 as he departs for Monticello.

## Sidebar: Thomas Jefferson's Lasting Legacies



### Jefferson's Principles Of Government

Thomas Jefferson's political philosophy will dominate the American scene over the next four decades.

The Democratic Party he founds turns the country away from the Federalist principles espoused by Washington, Hamilton and Adams and relegates their followers to minority status in congress.

Jefferson also works the political process in such a way that he hands the presidency over to his two Virginian protégés – Madison and Monroe – thereby extending his behind-the-scenes' power another 16 years, almost to his death (and Adams) on July 4, 1826, fifty years to the day from the adoption of his monumental Declaration of Independence.

The central themes of Jefferson's presidency will ring down the generations to follow:

- The shift in focus from the original 13 colonies to the acquisition and development of the vast lands west of the Appalachians and then of the Mississippi River – a shift which sets America's "manifest destiny" in motion and provides the Democratic Party with a long-run lock on western voters.
- Commitment to firmly integrating the new states into the Union based on the ideals in the Constitution.
- The libertarian drive to insure that power remains in the hands of individual citizens distributed across the states – and away from centralized power blocks, be they in the form of government or churches or economic entities.
- A wish to sharply limit the size of a central government and concentrate its role on foreign policy rather than domestic policy which, according to "his" Tenth Amendment, involves "rights belonging to the states."
- Belief that common local men will prove superior to distant politicians in debating and resolving social needs or problems arising in their own communities.
- Abhorrence of public debt and strict limits on taxation and spending, in order to minimize government's impact on the lives of citizens.
- A deep and abiding distrust of bankers, soft money and the banking system in general, especially Hamilton's central Bank of the United States.
- A similar fear of capitalism and corporations, where money trumps labor and white men run the risk of being reduced to wage slaves.
- A conviction that all white Americans should have access to free public education, and to the development of outstanding colleges, such as the University of Virginia, which he founded in 1785.
- Undying faith in the power of the Union and a commitment to preserve it against all threats, foreign or domestic.

While also having faith in the basically good intentions of common men, he firmly believes that leadership belongs with a “natural aristocracy.” As he says in an 1813 note to Adams:

*For I agree with you that there a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents. There is an artificial aristocracy founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents. The natural aristocracy I consider the most precious gift of nature for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society.*

Interwoven with all these principles is Jefferson’s commitment to the southern, agrarian way of life he has known since childhood – including slavery.

So a final part of his legacy comes back to his an examination of his words and deeds relative to that institution.

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### **Jefferson’s Rationalizations On Slavery**

Thomas Jefferson lives among slaves all his life. They provide the hard labor required to build his mountain-top home and miniature town, grow and harvest his farm crops, operate his mill and brewery, his spindles and nailery, cook and serve his fine French cuisine, pay off his debts, and, in the case of Sally Hemmings, act as his surrogate wife after Martha dies in 1782.

They seem to fascinate him intellectually. He studies them: their physical, mental and emotional traits, their joys and sorrows, the ways in which they deal with their fate. Almost in scientific fashion, he records these observations in his Farm Book and in his Notes On The State of Virginia, first drafted in 1781 and completed in 1785.

Throughout his life he also reflects on the institution of slavery, and on his personal relationship to it.

In a telling 1805 note to William Burwell, his private secretary, he describes a range of attitudes toward slavery he has encountered among owners:

*There are many virtuous men who would make any sacrifices to effect it. Many equally virtuous who persuade themselves either that the thing is not wrong, or that it cannot be remedied. And very many, with whom interest is morality.*

Over time, he seems to see himself belonging in the first class – ready to make “any sacrifices” to end the practice. This is clear in a 1788 letter to Jacques Brissot, a leading proponent of abolition in France.

*You know that nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition not only of the trade but of the condition of slavery: and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object.*

He reiterates this, using similar words, a quarter of a century later in an 1814 letter to his friend, the academician, Thomas Cooper.

*There is nothing I would not sacrifice to a practicable plan of abolishing every vestige of this moral and political depravity.*

Like Hamlet, Jefferson asserts that he is ready to act to correct that which is morally wrong to him -- if only he can arrive at a proper remedy. And therein lies the rub.

His contact with the Africans has convinced him that they probably have descended from a different species, and are biologically inferior to white men. Given this, he tells Edward Bancroft in 1789 that releasing the slaves would be tantamount to “abandoning children.”

*As far as I can judge from the experiments which have been made, to give liberty to, or rather, to abandon persons whose habits have been formed in slavery is like abandoning children.*

Other barriers to abolition materialize over time.

If freed, the Africans could never be assimilated. His 1785 Notes lay out the reasons why.

*It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race.*

In 1803 a letter to James Monroe cites the events surrounding Toussaint’s slave rebellion in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) as evidence of the inevitable violence between the two races, if freedom is granted.

*I become daily more & more convinced that all the West India islands will remain in the hands of the people of colour, & a total expulsion of the whites sooner or later take place.*

What is left then is re-colonization, the solution he references in his 1814 letter to his Virginia neighbor and anti-slavery advocate, Edward Coles.

*I have seen no proposition so expedient on the whole, as that of emancipation of those born after a given day, and of their education and expatriation at a proper age.*

So Jefferson appears to come full circle, back to his 1785 Notes. His intellect tells him that no matter the biological inferiority of the Africans, taking away their freedom and forcing them into slavery is morally corrupt and an affront to God’s justice.

*The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading*

*submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it...The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.*

*If a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is to be born to live and labor for another ... or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him.*

*Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep forever.*

He “trembles” again for his country during the 1820 Missouri crisis – “a fire bell in the night” – and once more, as seer, in an 1821 autobiographical reflection.

*Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free. Nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government.*

Taken together, Jefferson’s rhetoric is of the virtuous man who recognizes the evils of slavery, is ready to make any sacrifice to end it, but simply sees no viable way out of the dilemma.

All that’s left for him is to do the best he can in the inevitable presence of slavery -- a Herculean task, as he points out in his Notes:

*The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.*

One suspects again that Jefferson sees himself in this observation – the rare “prodigy” able to rise above the coarsening realities of slavery that surround him.

But is this truly the case? How well do Jefferson’s words match up with his actions as a slave owner?

The record here seems mixed.

There is no evidence to support the notion that he was personally harsh in dealing with his slaves. He did, however, expect reasonable levels of “industry” from them, and hired overseers such as William Page and Gabriel Lilly, both known for resorting to the whip to enforce discipline.

More troubling is his assignment of young children to handle some particularly onerous tasks. Because of their short stature, some spend days at a time on hands and knees in the dirt plucking and killing tobacco worms. Others end up in the “nailery,” crowded around a flaming forge in the summer heat, converting iron nail rods into various sizes of finished nails. Jefferson is particularly proud of this factory operation, oversees it himself, and remarks on its profitability.

*I now employ a dozen little boys from 10. to 16. years of age, overlooking all the details of their business myself and drawing from it a profit.*

It is precisely this tendency to prioritize personal profits over the well-being of his slaves that counts most in calling Jefferson's moral sense into question.

On one hand he will insist that the slaves are part of "his family;" on the other, he will sell them off whenever economic necessity calls.

For a man with great sensitivity to language, his words about "breeding women" in his *Farm Book* are both cold and calculating.

*The loss of 5 little ones in 4 years induces me to fear that the overseers do not permit the women to devote as much time as is necessary to the care of their children; that they view their labor as the 1<sup>st</sup> object and the raising their child but as secondary.*

*I consider the labor of a breeding woman as no object, and a child raised every 2. years is of more profit then the crop of the best laboring man. In this, as in all other cases, providence has made our duties and our interests coincide perfectly.... With respect therefore to our women & their children*

*I must pray you to inculcate upon the overseers that it is not their labor, but their increase which is the first consideration with us."*

Likewise his "investment advice" to friends.

*Invest every (spare) farthing in land and negroes, which besides a present support bring a silent profit of from 5 to 10 per cent in this country, by the increase in their value.*

Here indeed his slaves are reduced from "family" to "property," to be bred and fed and sold at auction. And sell them he does. Never as a "commercial trader" like his father-in-law; rather out of expediency, to buy the many things he wants for Monticello and to pay off debts.

In the decade from 1784 to 1794, records show that he disposes of some 161 slaves. More sales would follow, always accompanied by a stated wish to "keep families together"...

*To indulge connections seriously formed by those people, where it can be done reasonably.*  
Always accompanied by...

*Scruples about selling negroes but for delinquency, or on their own request.*

Reservations aside, the commitment to "silent profit" also extends to Jefferson's last will and testament. Unlike Washington, he refuses to free his slaves upon his death, with the exception of some eight members of the Heming's family.

Words and deeds. Weighed in the balance, the record is mixed.

Jefferson is by no means the callous or uncaring slave master; but neither is he the “prodigy” he refers to in his 1805 note to Burwell.

At moments of economic necessity, self-interest too often trumps morality.

## Chapter 31 - James Madison's First Term

Time: Fall of 1808

### Run-up To The Election Of 1808

As the 1808 presidential election approaches, the path to the nomination is open for James Madison despite the negative economic effects of the Embargo Act.

At 57 years old, Madison is eight years younger than Jefferson, who has named him Secretary of State and groomed him for the top job. He has been at the center of American politics since the 1787 Constitutional Convention, and is widely credited with being the principle author of the final agreement.

Along with Jefferson, he has guided the Democratic-Republicans to national dominance.

Within the party, only the hardest line Anti-Federalists retain any reservations about his credentials. This faction is led by John Randolph of Roanoke, George Clinton, Patrick Henry and James Monroe, states-rights conservatives who feel that Jefferson and Madison have allowed too much power to rest in federal hands.

Clinton is Jefferson's sitting Vice-President, and a dominant force in New York politics, having served as Governor for 21 years before joining Jefferson's cabinet. He has run twice before for the presidency, in 1788 and in 1792, where he records 50 electoral votes against Washington. But he is now 69 years old and his time has passed.

Monroe has also criticized Madison for initially arguing against including a Bill of Rights in the Constitution, rejecting term limits, and supporting a standing army. But he has already lost two races against him for a seat in the U.S. House from Virginia.

When the various state caucuses convene and vote, Madison is nominated 83-3, with Clinton selected once again for Vice-President.

Meanwhile, the Federalist Party continues in near total disarray. After Washington's death in 1799, Adams's defeat in 1800, and Hamilton's fatal wounding in 1804, no one has been able to step in and mount a national campaign. The result is a party now largely confined to its original roots in New England.

The hub lies in Boston, led by George Cabot, Harrison Otis and Timothy Pickering, Adams's intensely pro-British Secretary of State. Pickering describes the extent of the Federalist disorder as follows:

*The Federalists here are in point of numbers so utterly impotent, and the (Republicans) govern in nearly all the states with such an overwhelming majority; nothing would be*



*more remote from their contemplation than to set up candidates of their own for President and Vice-President.*

In search of an election plan, Federalists from eight states gather in New York in August 1808 for what is often considered the first attempt at a national political convention. Attendance is sparse and the meetings are held in secret. Consideration is given to actually backing the Democratic-Republican, George Clinton, the majority feel this would further erode “party identity.”

Instead they fall back to the same ticket so soundly defeated by Jefferson in 1804 – former Revolutionary War General Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina, and Rufus King of New York.

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**Time: November-December 1808**

**Madison Wins The Presidency**

Voting takes place between November 4 and December 7, 1808, with the Federalists hoping public sentiment against the year-old Embargo Act will swing the outcome their way.

But Madison beats them 2:1 in the popular vote and by a comfortable margin in the Electoral College. Six electors from New York honor their “favorite son,” Clinton, by writing him in on their presidential ballots, despite his lack of public support.

**Results Of The 1808 Presidential Election**

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV	South	Border	North	West
James Madison	Va	Democratic-Rep	124,732	122	56	16	47	3
Charles C. Pinckney	SC	Federalist	62,431	47	3	5	39	
George Clinton	NY	Democratic-Rep	---	6			6	
James Monroe	Va	Democratic-Rep	4,848	0				
Unpledged			680	0				
<b>Total</b>			<b>192,691</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Needed to win</b>				<b>88</b>				

**Note:** South (Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn,Vt), West (Ohio)

Still the Federalist do make some inroads. Madison’s electoral count is 40 votes shy of Jefferson’s total in 1804.

### Change In Electoral Votes: 1808 vs. 1804

Year	Candidates	Party	Electoral Votes
1804	Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	162
1808	James Madison	Democratic-Republican	122

And three New England states – Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island – are carried by General Pinckney.

### Party Power By State

South	1804	1808	Pick Ups
Virginia	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	
North Carolina	Dem-Republican	Split	
South Carolina	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	
Georgia	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	
Tennessee	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	
<b>Border</b>			
Delaware	Federalist	Federalist	
Maryland	Dem-Republican	Split	
Kentucky	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	
<b>North</b>			
New Hampshire	Dem-Republican	Federalist	Federalist
Vermont	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	
Massachusetts	Dem-Republican	Federalist	Federalist
Rhode Island	Dem-Republican	Federalist	Federalist
Connecticut	Federalist	Federalist	
New York	Dem-Republican	Split	
New Jersey	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	
Pennsylvania	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	
<b>West</b>			
Ohio	Dem-Republican	Dem-Republican	

In the Vice-Presidential race, George Clinton beats King handily, and will now serve under Madison as he has under Jefferson.

### 1808 Electoral College Vote For VP

Candidate	Party	Votes
George Clinton	Dem-Rep	113
Rufus King	Federalist	47
John Langdon	Dem-Rep	9
James Madison	Dem-Rep	3
James Monroe	Dem-Rep	3
Total		175

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Time: 1808

### The Federalists Make Some Gains In Congress

In the House, the Federalists pick up 23 seats, while still trailing well behind the Republicans.

#### Election Trends – House Of Representatives

Party	1801	1803	1805	1807	1809	Change
Democratic-Republicans	68	102	114	116	93	(23)
Federalist	38	40	28	26	49	+23
Congress #	7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>	10 <sup>th</sup>	11 <sup>th</sup>	
President	TJ	TJ	TJ	TJ	JM	

Most of the Federalist gains are in the North, again reflecting anger over the effects of the Embargo on the shipping industry.

#### House Trends By Region

Democratic-Republican	Total	South	Border	North	West
1801	68	30	7	31	
1803	102	42	13	46	1
1805	114	48	13	52	1
1807	116	47	12	56	1
1809	93	41	12	39	1
Change Vs. '07	(23)	(6)	NC	(17)	NC
Federalists	Total	South	Border	North	West
1801	38	8	4	26	
1803	40	7	3	30	
1805	28	1	3	24	
1807	26	2	4	20	
1809	49	8	4	37	
Change Vs. '07	+23	+6	NC	+17	

The make-up of the Senate is largely unchanged from the prior three session.

#### Election Trends – Senate

Party	1801	1803	1805	1807	1809	Change
Democratic-Republicans	17	25	27	28	27	(1)
Federalist	15	9	7	6	7	+1
Congress #	7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>	10 <sup>th</sup>	11 <sup>th</sup>	
President	TJ	TJ	TJ	TJ	JM	

### Senate Trends By Region

<b>Democratic-Republican</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>Border</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>West</b>
1801	17	10	3	4	
1803	25	10	4	9	2
1805	27	10	4	11	2
1807	28	10	4	12	2
1809	27	10	4	11	2
Change Vs. '07	(1)	NC	NC	(1)	NC
<b>Federalists</b>					
1801	15	0	3	12	
1803	9	0	2	7	
1805	7	0	2	5	
1807	6	0	2	4	
1809	7	0	2	5	
Change Vs. '07	1	NC	NC	1	

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Time: 1751 to 1836

### President James Madison: Personal Profile



James Madison (1751-1836)

None other than Thomas Jefferson will refer to James Madison as “the greatest man in the world.” The two will know each other over a fifty year span, and will combine their remarkable intellects and prose writing skills to capture the spirit and structures of America’s new government.

James Madison, Jr., is born on March 16, 1751, the first of his parent’s twelve children.

Like Jefferson, he grows up amidst privilege, on the 4,500 acre Mount Pleasant plantation, some 30 miles to the northeast of Monticello. The land is located in the Piedmont (or “foothills”) region of Virginia, just east of the Appalachians. Madison will later rename the plantation Montpelier, “mount of the pilgrims,” after a famous French resort.

“Young Jemmy” is slight of stature and drawn early on to the life of the mind. His curiosity is fed by a series of outstanding academic tutors who emphasize a combination of classical studies and the Scottish Presbyterian values of Calvinism.

Between the ages of eleven and sixteen he resides at the Robertson School, an institution set up to provide the children of elite families a European-style education. The headmaster of the school is Donald Robertson, a University of Edinburgh graduate, who recognizes and nurtures Madison's intellectual capacities. Many years later, Madison will say of him:

*All that I have been in life I owe largely to that man.*

After returning home in 1767 he studies under Reverend Thomas Martin, who encourages him to attend his alma mater, the College of New Jersey, also a Calvinist dominated institution. Madison completes a four year curriculum there in two years, overseen throughout by Reverend Thomas Witherspoon, president of the college. Witherspoon's track record for turning out government leaders is remarkable, and includes some ten Cabinet officers, three Supreme Court Justices, 28 U.S. Senators and 49 House members, in addition to Madison and Aaron Burr.

Upon graduation in 1771, Madison is able to read six languages, including Greek, Latin and Hebrew, has engaged in political debate as a member of the Whig Society, and is left pondering a career either in law or the clergy. Despite his obvious talents, Madison tends to be shy and bookish by nature, and it is his friends who push him forward at this early stage of life. .

He is back home in Virginia when conflict heats up between the colonists and the Crown. At 5'4" tall and weighing under 100 pounds, he is too physically frail to join the military, so he signs on to the Orange County Committee For Safety and begins to draft a constitution for the state. He is also too young and unknown to attend the Declaration of Independence congress of 1776, but engages heavily in Virginia state politics.

His lifelong linkage to Thomas Jefferson develops at this time, when he helps draft the landmark *Virginia Statute For Religious Freedom* in 1777:

*Be it enacted by General Assembly that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief, but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of Religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.*

In 1780, with the outcome of the Revolutionary War still in doubt, he becomes visible at the national level as the youngest-ever delegate to the Second Continental Congress. He is 36 years old in the summer of 1787 as the Constitutional Convention assembles in Philadelphia. His role here proves pivotal to founding the Union.

As unofficial Secretary he sits at the front of the hall and is accountable for listening to and capturing the key issues, and working behind the scenes to iron them out. The "Virginia Plan" he has drafted for Governor Randolph introduces the basic "three branches of government" structure that will prevail in the end. He engages in many of the floor debates, and pushes the delegation to closure, despite strong anti-Federalist sentiments, often centered in his own Virginia delegation. Then he overcomes his personal opposition to including a Bill of Right,

drafts the initial twelve Amendments, along with 26 of The Federalist Papers, that lead on to ratification.

The Constitution captures Madison's most lasting and profound insights about the minds and behaviors of men in relation to civil power.

It reflects his roots as a Presbyterian Calvinist – left to their natural instincts (or “passions”), the capacity for self-interest or even evil-doing among men is great. Thus a “pure democracy” is doomed to failure. The best alternative is a republic, comprising men most capable of placing the common interest above their own. But even this will prove insufficient, according to Madison. For “government of the people” to work, power given any one man or body must be kept in check by off-setting power in the hands of others. Only by insuring that there is consensus between the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary branches will the people be well served.

Madison's tireless achievements at the 1787 Convention are obvious to all attendees, across Federalists like Washington, Adams, and Hamilton, and the state-centric opposition. From this time on he is widely seen as having the right stuff to someday be president. The College of New Jersey recognizes his work with a Doctor of Laws honoris causa, and with Witherspoon citing him to all alumnae as:

*One of their own sons who had done them so much honor by his public service.*

In 1794, Madison is 43 years old and in the third of his four terms in the U.S House, when he marries Dolley Todd, a 26 year old widow, introduced to him by Aaron Burr. Her outgoing nature complements his reserve, and she will manage social affairs in Washington for both the bachelor Jefferson and her husband.

Philosophically Madison exhibits a host of Federalist-leaning tendencies early on. He favors a republic over a pure democracy; federal laws trumping state laws; a strong Executive with veto powers and no term limits; creation of a standing army; initial opposition to a bill of rights; a national government with sufficient power to unify all factions as needed.

But his center of gravity shifts as he observes the Federalists in action. He concludes that Alexander Hamilton, his colleague in writing *The Federalist Papers*, has co-opted Washington's government and is running it akin to a British monarchy. He becomes so obsessed by Hamilton's activity that he secretly drafts a resolution which he encourages Virginia's William Giles to introduce in the House:

*Resolved: That the Secretary of the Treasury has been guilty of maladministration in the duties of his Office, and should, in the opinion of Congress, be removed from his office by the President.*

Madison continues to see Hamilton's evil hand manipulating John Adams's term in measures like the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 – at which point he throws himself into building the opposition Democratic-Republican Party. His goal remains a “national government,” but one

refusing to run roughshod over those standing in opposition to the will of the Executive branch. Jefferson later comments on his dedication to this cause:

*I do not know in the world a man of purer integrity, more dispassionate, disinterested, and devoted to genuine Republicanism; nor could I in the whole scope of America and Europe point out an abler head.'*

After Jefferson's victory in 1800, he becomes Secretary of State for eight years, despite the fact that he never travels abroad in his lifetime. His time is spent in the middle of the conflict between Napoleon and the British, as both nations interfere with American shipping and commerce on the high seas.

Like Jefferson, Madison tilts toward the French. When offered "honorary citizenship" in France after its revolution, he accepts, unlike Washington and Hamilton. He participates in the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and convinces Jefferson that the 1807 Embargo Act will utilize American commerce to help end Europe's war.

In 1808 he is seen by all as the logical choice to succeed Jefferson, who endorses him enthusiastically.

By nature, however, Madison is more the exceptional legislator than the decisive executive.

Aside from Albert Gallatin, his cabinet is weak. At times he is easily deceived diplomatically both by Britain and by Napoleon, and he fails to prepare the nation militarily for what his critics call "Mr. Madison's War of 1812." But while being forced to watch the British occupy the capital of Washington, he finally rallies the resistance and emerges with a victory in 1815.

One year later he departs the capital, never to visit again. He still has two decades to live, and focuses this time on Montpelier and on a series of final causes.

Financial difficulties plague this period, mainly related to members of Dolley's family who pile up crippling debts, then look to her to bail them out. The main villain in this group is her son, Payne Todd, whom Madison has adopted. The ex-President hopes to turn operations of his tobacco plantation over to Todd, but the young man proves to be a lifelong ne'er do well, drinking, gambling, fighting, and being sentenced to debtor's prison.

Madison hopes that the sale of his notes from the 1787 Convention will provide a windfall profit, and he and Dolley work together to organize them. She will eventually sell them to Congress in 1837 for \$30,000, and they will be published in 1840.

Aside from the work on his papers, the aging Madison helps Jefferson found the University of Virginia, and serves as its second president from 1826 to 1836. He also helps rewrite Virginia's state constitution in 1829.

Like Jefferson, he is troubled by the concept of slavery, while still regarding blacks as inferior to white men, denying their freedom, utilizing their labor to run his tobacco plantation, and, as he

says, “selling off another Negro” as need be. He wishes that slavery would end in America, but cannot conceive of social assimilation. As he tells Lafayette in 1826:

*The two races cannot co-exist, both being free & equal. The great sine qua non therefore is some external asylum for the colored race.*

The only answer lies in buying their freedom and returning them to Africa. With this outcome in mind, he lends his support to the American Colonization Society in 1817.

Over the years, Madison owns some 300 slaves, most typically around 100 at any time. In 1834 and 1835 he sells roughly a quarter of them to cover mounting debts. He ponders freeing the rest at his death, but decides that Dolley’s financial well-being prohibits manumission.

The “father of the U.S. Constitution” dies at age 85 years on June 28, 1836; just six days shy of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Dolley Madison is forced to sell Montpelier in 1844 to relieve family debts, and moves back to Washington. In 1844 she is honored with a permanent visitor’s seat on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, before her death in 1849.



## Chapter 32 - The War of 1812 Begins

Time: March 1809 to September 1811

### Britain And France Frustrate Madison's Attempts To Stay Out Of War

Madison comes into office still believing that access to trade with America will be enough of a bargaining chip to avoid war and stop British and French interference with U.S. ships and sailors.



A British Soldier

The Non-Intercourse Act of March 1, 1809, he inherits bans trade with both combatants – but also opens the door to resumption, should either nation declare its intent to end future aggression.

Over the next year, both will manipulate Madison and his diplomats into believing they are complying with America's wishes.

The British take this tack immediately. On April 19, 1809, the British minister, David Erskine, tells Secretary of State Robert Smith that the Crown will no longer interfere with American ships at sea. Madison takes this at face value, and re-opens American trade with Britain.

On August 9, however, he learns that Erskine's assurance to Smith was not "official" British policy, and so he reinstates the Non-Intercourse ban.

Ten months later, Napoleon steps up the heat on America in his March 23, 1810, Rambouillet Decree, saying that France will seize and sell all American ships it encounters.

The next move belongs to Madison. On May 1, 1810, he seeks reconciliation with both nations in passage of the so-called "Macon's Number 2 Bill," named after its sponsor, Nathaniel Macon, a House member from North Carolina.

*This bill seeks a return to normalcy, re-opening trade with both France and Britain.*

But with one caveat. Madison still wants public confirmation that interference with American ships has been "officially prohibited" – and he offers a "carrot" aimed at getting his way. Should either Britain or France openly announce a favorable change in policy, American will resume the trade embargo on its opponent.

Now it is Napoleon's turn to manipulate Madison. On August 5, 1810, he instructs his foreign minister to tell the Americans that he will renounce future interference with shipping, if they will cut off trade with Britain. At the same time, he secretly orders the seizure of all American ships now in French harbors.

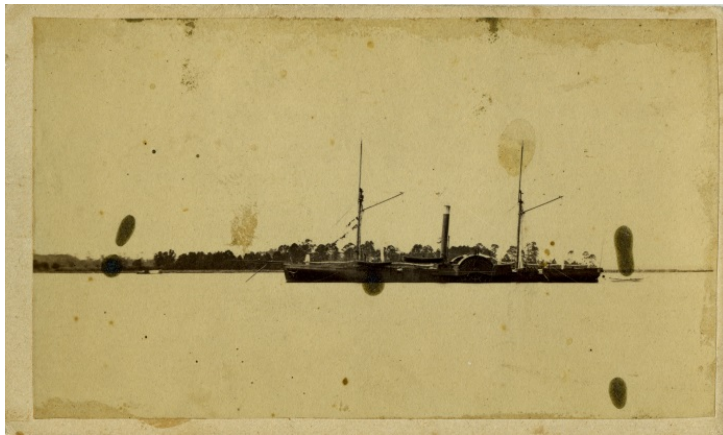
Madison naively takes Napoleon at his word, and, when three months pass without a corresponding message from Britain, he declares on November 2 that shipping to England will end, effective on March 2, 1811.

This enrages the British, who announce plans to step up their impressment activities and even blockade the port of New York.

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Time: May 1-16, 1811

### Naval Battles Amplify War Fever



An American Warship

Two back-to-back naval clashes now increase tensions with Britain.

The first occurs in New York Bay, south of lower Manhattan.

On May 1, 1811, the frigate *HMS Guerriere*, with its 38 cannon and crew of 350 men, comes upon the *USS Spitfire*, a sloop sporting three guns and some 20 sailors, off Sandy Hook, New Jersey. The *Spitfire* is stopped and boarded, and an American-born seaman, sailing master John Diggio, is impressed.

The second incident, on May 16, involves bloodshed.

The American navy now has its guard up as the frigate *USS President* encounters what it erroneously believes to be *HMS Guerriere* off the coast of North Carolina. An exchange of fire follows, with the two sides disagreeing on who shot first. The British ship – which turns out to be the 18-gun sloop, *HMS Little Belt* – suffers 11 killed and 21 wounded in the battle.

Relations with Britain will never recover from these incidents.

Both occur at a time when U.S. Ambassador William Pinkney has already departed for a visit home, leaving a void in diplomatic relations in London.

At the same time, Napoleon continues to have his diplomats reassure a new U.S. Ambassador to France, Joel Barlow, about his peaceful intentions toward America

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Time: November 7, 1811

### British Backed Shawnee Tribe Defeated At The Battle Of Tippecanoe



The Attack on Harrison's Camp West of Prophetstown

In addition to the confrontations at sea, suspicions grow that British Canadians are building alliances with native tribes along the northern border to impede westward settlements.

Going all the way back to 1794, the burden for handling Indian affairs in the Northwest Territory has fallen on the shoulders of William Henry Harrison, son of the former Virginia Governor, Benjamin Harrison V.

His army career includes numerous battles on the frontier, and involvement in a series of negotiations leading to often forced cession of tribal lands to the United States.

In 1799, at age 26, he is elected to represent the Northwest Territory in the 7<sup>th</sup> U.S. Congress. His friend, Secretary of War, Thomas Pickering encourages John Adams to name him Governor of the Indiana Territory in 1801. Jefferson keeps him on because he seems willing to help the tribes learn agriculture and to become assimilated peacefully. Over time his land negotiations lead to adding millions of acres from Ohio to Wisconsin.

### **Some Of The Indian Land Cessions Negotiated By William Henry Harrison**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Treaty of:</b>	<b>Main Tribes</b>	<b>Land Ceded to U.S.</b>
1795	Greenville	10 tribes together	16.9 million acres, Ohio + strip west to Chicago
1804	Vincennes	Miami and Shawnee	1.6 million acres in central Indiana
	St. Louis	Fox and Sauk	5.0 million acres in Wisconsin
1809	Ft Wayne	Delaware and Miami	3.0 million in eastern and western Indiana

Of course the very notion of “owning land” remains foreign to the Indians – and resistance to these cessions builds as white settlers begin their occupation. In the Great Lakes region, it is the Shawnee Tribe that fights back most aggressively. They are led by the charismatic shaman, Tenskwatawa, called The Prophet, and his older brother, Tecumseh.

Tecumseh realizes that promises of support for native peoples from “the Great Father” in Washington always vanish when the time comes to deliver,

In July 1811, he begins to organize a confederation of tribes intent on driving the white men out and restoring the Indian traditions and way of life. In turn, they tell Harrison that the Ft. Wayne cession is invalid, and that they intend to fight for the land.

They also signal that their cause is being supported by British allies in Canada.

To prepare for battle, Tecumseh gathers some 5,000 warriors on Miami land in Indiana, near the confluence of the Tippecanoe (“buffalo fish”) and Wabash Rivers. This site is called “Prophetstown” by Harrison, and he sets out with a force of 1,000 troops to conquer it, in September 1811.

On November 6, 1811, he encounter a tribal delegation near Prophetstown under a flag of truce. At the time, Tecumseh is in the southwest, attempting to recruit more support from the Cherokees. The two sides agree to meet again the next day.

Instead, at 4AM on November 7, the Indians initiate a surprise attack behind The Prophet on Harrison’s camp, huddled just east of Burnett Creek. The battle rages for two hours, with the American falling back initially, and suffering heavy casualties. But unlike Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa is more the religious leader than the warrior. So Harrison rallies his troops, breaks out of his initial trap and eventually burns Prophetstown to the ground.

This victory at Tippecanoe will insure national fame for William Henry Harrison as a frontiersman who has successfully defeated both the hostile tribes and their British allies.

The truth is much more modest than the legend. Actual losses for each side total only 100 fighters, and the outcome does little to divert Tecumseh and his band from continuing to attack white settlers in the region.

Another two years will pass before Tecumseh’s confederation is finally subdued for good, at the Battle of the Thames, Harrison’s true landmark victory.

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Time: 1811-1813

### Three Political Giants Enter The U.S. House



Calhoun, Webster and Clay

The run-up to, and outbreak of, the War of 1812, witnesses the emergence of three politicians who will shape US foreign and domestic policy over the next four decades.

Henry Clay and John Calhoun enter politics as Democratic-Republicans, before later founding their own political parties in opposition to President Andrew Jackson. Calhoun starts up the “Nullifier” Party in 1828 and Clay begins his Whig Party in 1834.

Daniel Webster is a rock-ribbed Federalist who eventually joins the Whigs, while moving back and forth between public office and his lucrative law practice.

Each man will become the leading spokesman for his region of the country – Webster for the Northeastern states, Calhoun for the South, and Clay for the new West.

All three play critical roles during the War of 1812 and later on as regional differences over slavery threaten to tear the Union apart – with Clay and Webster trying to hold it together and Calhoun eager to have his South secede.

Along the way they will also battle back and forth for the presidency, Clay running on five occasions, Webster on three and Calhoun twice. But each man’s long and often controversial track record in public office invariably leads to defeat.

Together they will earn their reputation as “the Great Triumvirate.”

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Time: June 4, 1812

### Congress Declares War On Britain

Tensions with Britain continue to build after the two naval encounters in May and the Tippecanoe battle in November, 1811.

At this point Madison is being carried along by calls for war with Britain emanating from the public, the politicians and his generals.

His new Secretary of State, James Monroe – appointed April 2, 1811, after Robert Smith is ousted – is a former front line officer and combatant in the Revolutionary War, and ready to take on the British again.

He is joined by two new members of the House, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, who together rally a faction in Congress known as the “Warhawks.”

If Britain is not only threatening U.S. shipping, but also encouraging Indian resistance, then America surely needs to respond with force.

As always, when conflict with Britain arises, special attention is focused on Canada.

Many see the continued presence of the British along the northern border as “unfinished business” from the Revolutionary War. They inhibit the growth of America’s fur trading industry, provoke tribal resistance on the frontier, and present an invasion threat by garrisoning troops across forts along the border.

This threat becomes even more real throughout the winter and spring of 1812 by importation of British regulars and stepped-up recruiting of local militia across Canada.

On April 10, 1812, Congress also gives Madison authority to call up to 100,000 troops from state militias, should the need arise.

American and British diplomats attempt to search for peaceful ways out, but the sticking issue always comes back to impressments. Britain says that it must continue to retrieve its nationals serving on American ships in order to win its naval battles with the French. As much as Madison wants to believe that American commerce is worth more than impressed sailors, this is never the case with the British.

By now, public opinion has swung almost entirely away from the one policy espoused by every president from Washington through Madison – that of maintaining “neutrality in foreign conflicts” and avoiding what Jefferson called the non-productive costs associated with war.

*War (is) but a suspension of useful works, and a return to a state of peace, a return to the progress of improvement*

The only remaining opposition to war lies with the New England merchants, who regard the prospect as even more fatal to their business prospects than the Jefferson-Madison embargos.

Finally the time for compromise runs out. On June 1, 1812, acting in accord with the Constitution, Madison goes to Congress and asks them to declare war against Britain. His principal reasons why include: ongoing impressment of seamen; blockades against American shipping; confiscation of ships; and incitement of the Indian tribes in the Northwest territories.

The actual voting, however, is hardly unanimous. The House supports the war measure by 78-45; the Senate is much closer, with passage by only 18-13. The outcome is determined on June 4 along party lines – with no Federalists supporting the President.

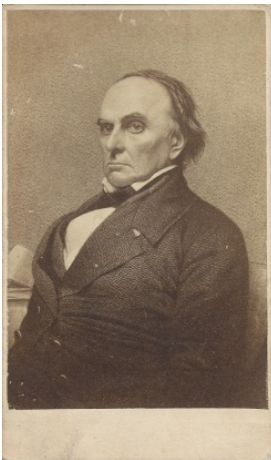
Conjecture remains about exactly why the Democratic-Republicans – so viscerally anti-war by nature – come around in favor of taking on the powerful British once again. Perhaps the most likely explanation lies in the lingering wish to remove Britain from Canada once and for all. This and a belief that an inland war could be won easily and quickly, while America’s navy was now strong enough to hold its own against the British fleet, in battles close to home.

With passage of the bill, the War of 1812 is about to begin.

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Time: July 4, 1812

### The Federalist Daniel Webster Attacks Madison’s Decision And Preparedness



Daniel Webster

New England looks for a powerful spokesperson against the war, and they find one in the Federalist, Daniel Webster, a 30 year old lawyer from New Hampshire, who is on his way to becoming a major political figure in Washington over the next four decades.

On July 4, 1812, in a speech to the Washington Benevolent Society, Webster assails the President for leaping blindly into a very dangerous war the nation is ill prepared to fight.

In what will become his usual dramatic fashion, the speech begins by citing the seriousness of the hour, the wisdom of Washington in regard to avoiding warfare, and the woeful lack of preparation for battle.

*In an hour big with events of no ordinary impact we meet. We come to take counsel of the dead...to listen to the dictates of departed wisdom. We are in open war with the greatest maritime power on earth. This is a condition not to be trifled with.*

*Washington embraced competent measures of defence, yet it was his purpose to avoid war. Would to God that the spirit of his administration might actuate this government.*

*With respect to the war, resistance and insurrection can form no part of our creed. The disciples of Washington are neither tyrants in power, nor rebels without. We are yet at liberty to lament the commencement of the present contest.*

*We believe that the war is premature and inexpedient. Our shores are unprotected; our towns exposed. It exceeds belief that a nation thus circumstanced should be plunged into sudden war.*

He cites the damage to the US economy likely to follow from the conflict.

*The voice of the whole mercantile interest is united against the war. We believe that it will endanger our rights, prejudice our best interests.*

Also that, in opposing Britain, America would be strengthening Napoleon's forces, which might soon be redirected against America.

*Nor can we shut our eyes to the prospect of a French alliance. That we should make common cause and assist her to subdue her adversary and to extend her chains and despotism over the civilized world seems to be a dreadful departure from true wisdom and honest politics. French brotherhood is an idea big with horror and abomination. What people hath come within the grasp of her power and not been ground to powder?*

He closes by calling upon the sons of New England to stand up against support for war and for France.

*But if it be in the righteous counsel of heaven to bury New England, her religion, her governments, and her laws under the tyranny of foreign despotism, there are those among her sons who will never see that moment.*

*They cannot perish better than standing between their country and the embrace of a ferocious tyranny. At the appointed hour, they shall, for the last time, behold the light of the sun not with the eyes of slaves or as subjects of an imperious despotism.*

Indeed, time will show that while Madison believes an easy victory will follow, he has failed woefully to prepare a military force sufficient to carry the day.

The U.S. Army numbers only 12,000 Regulars; so much of the fighting will depend on often poorly trained state militias. The U.S. has the largest "neutral" fleet in the world, but it will be no match for the Royal Navy. And since Congress has shut down the US Bank, his access to funding the war is constrained.

Fortunately for Madison, the British are similarly ill-equipped to fight.

In June 1812 the bulk of their ground forces are attacking the French in Spain, under the future Duke of Wellington. Only 6,000 red coats have been left behind in North America to defend various Canadian forts. Likewise the British navy has its hands full trying to enforce the blockade of cargoes flowing into France.



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Time: July 12 – August 16, 1812

### The War In Western Canada Begins Badly



The War of 1812 Begins Along the Canadian Border

As in 1775 war with Britain, America assumes that a quick strike into Canada will succeed, and perhaps even cause the British to back away from further fighting. As Jefferson says:

*The acquisition of Canada this year will be a mere matter of marching.*

So the battle begins, with the opening gambits along the western edge of Lake Erie and north into Lake Huron.

Things immediately go badly for the US forces.

On July 17 a contingent of 200-300 British and Indian warriors land on Mackinac Island and surprise Lt. Porter Hanks and the American troops garrisoned at Ft. Michilimackinac – who surrender post haste on the belief that they are badly outnumbered. Soon after two U.S. sloops are also taken when they come into port believing that the fort is still in friendly hands. Porter is subsequently court marshalled for cowardice, but is killed by a British shell while still under arrest.

Command of the “Army of the Northwest” lies with Brigadier General William Hull, a Revolutionary War veteran praised by Washington, and presently Governor of the Michigan Territory. But Hull is 59 years old, and has tried, unsuccessfully, to avoid the “offer” from Secretary of War Eustis to return to combat.

When Hull learns of the Mackinac Island debacle, he fears that Ft. Dearborn in Chicago may also be attacked and overrun. He orders the immediate evacuation of the fort. On August 15, some 66 soldiers and 27 women and children evacuate under a flag of truce, only to be set upon by Potawatomi warriors who kill over half of the Americans and capture the rest.

While these two reversals are occurring, General Hull and 2,500 troops are preparing to invade Canada along the western edge of Lake Erie. On July 5, 1812, Hulls sets up camp at Ft. Detroit. One week later he crosses the Detroit River, and issues a proclamation meant to scare his opponents into submission:

*INHABITANTS OF CANADA: After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have once more left no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country. The standard of the union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceful and unoffending inhabitants it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them; I come to protect not to injure you ... I have a force which will break down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest, and the just expectations of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk you.*

Once on Canadian soils, Hull sends out various probes that encounter resistance from a mixture of British regulars, local militia and various tribesmen, notably Tecumseh.

By August 9, the set-backs convince Hull that he cannot advance into Canada without more troops and cannon, and he retreats back over the river to Ft. Detroit.

By now, however, the British are ready to go on the offensive and chase him. They assemble a force of some 300 Regulars, 400 militia and 600 Indians at the Canadian town of Amherstburg, then head out after Hull and his remaining 2200 men at Detroit.

The red-coat commander, Major General Isaac Brock, decides to bluff Hull into believing he is surrounded by overwhelming opposition. His dispatch to Hull also raises the specter of uncontrollable slaughter waged by his tribal bands:

*The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of Fort Detroit. It is far from my intention to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware, that the numerous bodies of Indians, who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond control the moment the contest commences...*

On August 15, Brock fires on the fort, using the few cannon at his disposal, along with support from two Royal Navy sloops on the nearby river. One day later he follows up with demonstrations, led by Indian war whoops intended to spook the Americans.

These succeed immediately. Hull has his daughter and grandchild in the fort, and fears repeat of the slaughter at Ft. Dearborn. He asks Brock for three days to arrange for surrender; Brock gives him three hours.

When news of the capitulation at Detroit reaches Washington, Hull is arrested and his command is handed to William Henry Harrison. A subsequent court martial sentences Hull to death, but his sentence is commuted by Madison, in light of his long service during the Revolution and his advanced age.

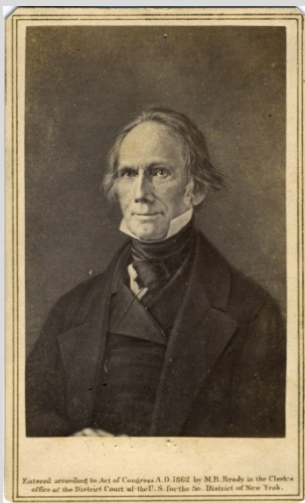
All of these setbacks – Mackinac, Ft. Dearborn, Detroit – occur as the two parties pick their candidates for the election of 1812.

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Time: 1806-1852

### Sidebar: Profiles Of The “Great Triumphant”

#### Henry Clay Of Kentucky (1777-1852)



After serving two brief stints in the U.S. Senate, Henry Clay decides that the House, with its “power over the purse,” is where he belongs. In 1811, at age 33 years, he is elected to the lower chamber. On his first day there, March 4, 1811, he is chosen as Speaker by a 75-38 margin, a signal recognition of his intellect and his ability to find middle ground between his Democratic-Republicans and the Federalist opposition. He will serve his country in Washington over a 46 year span, until his death.

Clay is born on April 12, 1777, in eastern Virginia, where his family has lived for 150 years. His first home is a modest-sized plantation, with 25 slaves, situated in Hanover County, near a swampy area known as The Slashes. When Henry is 14 years old, his family moves west to Kentucky, leaving him behind to find his way in the world. He moves to Richmond, where he first works in an emporium and then lands a job clerking at the state’s high court chancery.

Clay’s formal education is minimal, but he is intensely curious about the world, naturally gregarious, and meticulous, especially when it comes to his handwriting. This latter trait recommends him to Judge George Wythe, who suffers from a crippled hand and is looking for a private secretary. Clay lands the job and stays with the Judge over a four year period.

Wythe has signed the Declaration of Independence, and become a classical scholar at the College of William & Mary, where he mentors a host of political leaders, including Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe. He transforms Clay, intellectually, socially and inspirationally, during their four years together, and prepares him for a planned career in law. He also advises

Clay on slavery, touting the idea that education must accompany freedom, if the problem is to be solved. Clay's posture on the dilemma tends to mirror Jefferson's. On one hand he decries it as an evil practice all his life:

*Can any humane man be happy and contented when he sees nearly thirty thousand of his fellow beings 'around him, deprived of all rights which make life desirable, transferred like cattle from the possession of 'one to another...when he hears the piercing cries of husbands separated from wives and children and parents. 'The answer is no...*

But he too will continue to buy and own slaves up to his death, when he finally embraces Wythe's solution – granting emancipation and supporting education and employment for those freed.

In 1797 Clay passes the bar, heads west to visit his family, and settles down in the well-established town of Lexington. Once there, his law practice, both civil and criminal, takes off, as does his lasting reputation as Shakespeare's "Prince Hal," a good fellow, well met, ready to drink, gamble on cards and horses, and share his opinions with all comers. In 1799 he marries Lucretia Hart, adding both wealth and slaves in the process. He joins the law faculty at Transylvania College, and enters politics in 1803, winning a seat in the Kentucky State Assembly that he will hold for six more years.

In 1806 his national notoriety grows by successfully defending Aaron Burr against charges of treason filed by the U.S. District Attorney in Kentucky.

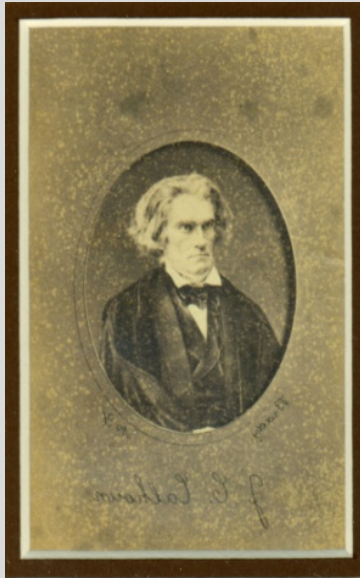
Ill will over this support for Burr accounts in part for the first of two non-fatal duels Clay will instigate during his career. On January 19, 1809, he exchanges three shots with another legislator, Humphrey Marshall, leaving both men with slight wounds.

Within Democratic-Republican circles, he is known as the "Rising Star of the West."

As a leader of the "War Hawk" faction, he supports Madison's call to war with Britain in 1812.

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### John C. Calhoun Of South Carolina (1782-1850)



If Clay brings a western perspective to Congress, John Calhoun will become a leading spokesperson for the more conservative partisans of the south, across his four decades in office.

He is born on March 18, 1782 in Abbeville, South Carolina, a frontier settlement in the northwest corner of the state, abutting Georgia. His ancestors are Scots-Irish immigrants, who put down roots in Long Cane, some thirteen miles to the south, before being driven out by hostile Cherokees. His father, Patrick Calhoun, Jr., a survivor of the Cherokee's Long Cane massacre of 1760, builds a cotton plantation, worked by his family and 30 slaves. Patrick is also active in the state legislature, and known for strong anti-Federalist positions.

John Calhoun is raised as a Presbyterian, with its Calvinistic emphasis on hard work, personal discipline, stern demeanor, and a rather bleak view of human nature. He is frail as a youth, and drawn early on to academics rather than farming. His early formal education is limited, but his parents recognize his bent, and enroll him at Yale University in the fall of 1802. While there, his Calvinist traditions come up against early strains of Unitarianism, with its emphasis on beliefs born of rational, independent thought.

He graduates from Yale in 1804 and soon moves on to Litchfield Law School in Connecticut, run by its founder, one Tapping Read, whose students include both Calhoun and Aaron Burr. Ironically, Read is an outspoken supporter of a strong national government, something his two famous graduates come to question.

In 1807, Calhoun is back in South Carolina and practicing law, when the British frigate *HMS Leopold* attacks the *US Chesapeake* off the Virginia coast and impresses four of her sailors. Calhoun organizes a protest meeting held at the Abbeville courthouse, and delivers a stirring speech in favor of an embargo against Britain and stepped up preparations for war. This entry into the political arena leads to two terms of service in the South Carolina state legislature.

At this time he is also falling in love with his first cousin once removed, Floride Boneau Colhoun, later famous for her outspoken moral rectitude in the 1830 "Petticoat Affair." The strait-laced suitor is uncharacteristically affective in his pursuit of Floride:

*My dearest one, may our love strengthen with each returning day, may it ripen and mellow with our years, and may it end in immortal joys. ... May God preserve you. Adieu my love; my heart's delight, I am your true lover.*

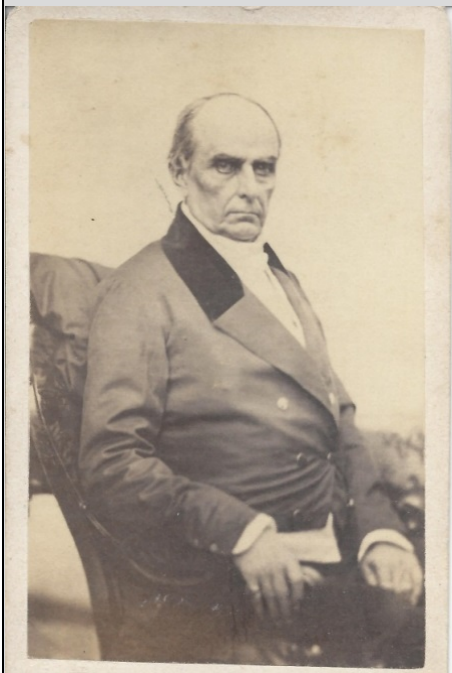
The two marry and move into her 1100 acre Fort Hill Plantation, in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, as Calhoun is about to become a political fixture in Washington. He arrives there soon after the Twelfth Congress convenes on November 4, 1811. Like most congressmen of the time, he resides in a boardinghouse, his named “the War Mess” and shared with his new colleague and ally, Henry Clay of Kentucky.

His administrative skills are immediately apparent to all, as is his willpower. He is appointed in the House to the Foreign Affairs Committee and soon becomes its chair. On June 3, 1812, he sums up the feelings of his fellow committee members toward the recent British aggression:

*The mad ambition, the lust of power, and commercial avarice of Great Britain, arrogating to herself the complete dominion of the Ocean, and exercising over it an unbounded and lawless tyranny, have left to Neutral Nations—an alternative only, between the base surrender of their rights, and a manly vindication of them... (The committee) feels no hesitation in advising resistance by force—In which the Americans of the present day will prove to the enemy and to the World, that we have not only inherited that liberty which our Fathers gave, us, but also the will & power to maintain it.*

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### **Daniel Webster Of Massachusetts (1782-1852)**



The third member of the triumvirate who assume political leadership from 1810 to 1850 is Daniel Webster, whose famous oratory captures the sentiments of the elite Federalist establishment in New England.

Webster’s antecedents emigrate from Scotland to New Hampshire in 1637. His father, Ebenezer, fights in the French & Indian War and in 1761 carves out a 225 acre farm on the western frontier in the town of Salisbury. In 1775 he organizes the Salisbury Militia and leads it throughout the Revolutionary War. Back home, Eben serves in the New Hampshire state legislature and as an elder in the Congregational Church.

Daniel Webster is born on January 18, 1782, Eben’s fourth child. The boy adores his father, who tells him tales of the patriotic war, reads to him from the Bible and encourages his penchant for learning. Unlike his father, young Webster is frail, more prone to books than farming. In 1796 he is admitted to Phillips Exeter Academy, being placed at the bottom of his class for want of Latin. One year later he has risen to the top rank, before being called back to Salisbury to begin working as a teacher.

He escapes this fate with the help of a local minister, Thomas Thompson, in nearby Boscawen, who agrees to tutor him for one dollar a week. In 1797 he enrolls at Dartmouth College. Once there, Webster comes fully into his own. His self-confidence grows – some would say into arrogance – and he uses his powerful memory and love of words to become a dominant public speaker and debater. Classmates label him their “ablest man.”

After graduating, he is prodded into pursuing a legal career by his father. Webster himself sees the profession as filled with cunning and hypocrisy and says “I pray to God to fortify me against its temptations.”

But his feelings change in 1804 when he goes to work in Boston for Christopher Gore, ex-Attorney General of Massachusetts, who has made a fortune in financial speculation around Revolutionary War bonds, and in representing dispossessed Loyalists (to the Crown) in property disputes. Webster regards Gore as a genuine legal scholar to be emulated, and Gore encourages the youth to stick with the law and aim high in his career.

In 1805 Webster passes the bar and opens a law practice in Boscawen. His talents as a trial lawyer are soon evident to all, and his annual income soars to over \$2,000 a year.

The courtroom becomes his stage, a place to show off both forensic logic and a love of language, accumulated over years of reading and memorizing doses of the Bible and Shakespeare and John Milton. One of his legal adversaries admires his innate theatrical talents:

*There never was such an actor lost to the stage as he would have made, had he turned his talent in that direction.*

His legal successes and oratorical skills soon draw Daniel Webster into the political arena, despite his warning in an 1809 Phi Beta Kappa address at Dartmouth:

*The main impediments to moral improvements are love of gold and pursuit of politics.*

His father’s stories of the revolution make him first and foremost a Union man – and his emotionally charged pleadings to preserve the “great experiment of 1776” will form his lasting legacy.

But politically he is a staunch Federalist. His faith lies in the Constitution, in a strong national government and in visionary leaders like George Washington. In an 1812 convention held by New Hampshire Federalists in Rockingham county, he assails Jeffersonian democracy.

*The path to despotism leads through the mire and dirt of uncontrolled democracy.*

He also, prophetically, announces another potential path to doom, this time related to secession.

*If a separation of the states shall ever take place, it will be, on some occasion, when one portion of the country undertakes to control, to regulate, and to sacrifice the interest of another.*

It is finally the impending war with Britain War that draws Webster onto the political stage. He is elected in 1812, at age thirty, to represent New Hampshire in the U.S. House.

Once in Washington, he boards with two influential senators, his former mentor, Christopher Gore, and Rufus King of New York.

Unlike Clay and Calhoun, Daniel Webster will be a sharp critic of Madison's preparations for and management of the War of 1812.



## Chapter 33 - America Wins The War Of 1812

Time: 1812

### Madison Is Re-elected By A Narrow Margin

With things going badly on the battlefield, Madison faces the prospects of a close race for re-election.

Before it takes place, the voting landscape is again altered based on the 1810 Census and the addition of Louisiana to the Union.

The data show that the nation's population grows by 1810 to 7.240 million, up 36% from 1800.

#### U.S. Population (millions)

Year	Total	Whites	Free Blacks	Slaves
1800	5.308	4.306	0.108	0.894
1810	7.240	5.863	0.186	1.191
% Ch	+36%	+36%	+43%	+33%

With the admission of Louisiana in April 1812, America has a total of eighteen states, nine where slave ownership is permitted and nine where it is banned.

#### America's Eighteen States As Of 1812

Region	Slavery	States
South	Yes	Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana
Border	Yes	Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky
North	No	New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont
West	No	Ohio

With each state allotted two senators, the upper chamber totals 36 members.

#### Apportionment Of Senate Seats After The 1800 Census

	Total	South	Border	North	West
1790	26	8	4	14	0
1800	32	10 (Ten)	6 (Ky)	16 (Vt)	0
1810	34	10	6	16	2 (OH)
1812	36	12 (La)	6	16	2

The House allocations are more complicated. As people move from east to west, population shifts vary from state to state, affecting reapportionment. In the House, a total of 7 new seats are added between 1810 (prior to the Census update) and 1812 (after it). The North picks up five

seats; the South loses seven; and the migration of settlers into Kentucky almost doubles Border state representation.

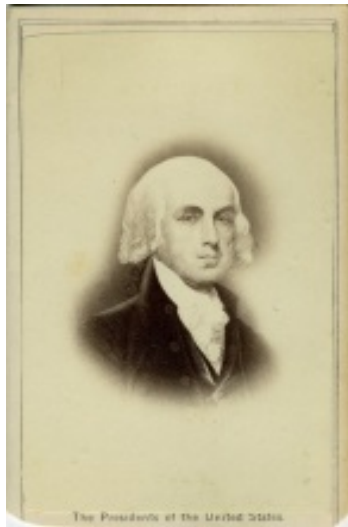
### Apportionment Of House Seats After The 1800 Census

	Total	South	Border	North	West
1790	65	23	7	35	0
1800	106	38	11	57	0
1810	175	65	11	92	7
1812	182	58	21	97	6

In turn, the add-up of senate seats (36) and house seats (182) yields a total of 218 votes in the Electoral College for the 1812 presidential race, assuming all delegates cast ballots. The nine non-slave states account for 121 or 56% of the total.

### Apportionment Of Electoral College Votes As Of The 1812 Election

	Total	South	Border	North	West
1812	218	70	27	113	8



The Federalists have high hopes of making a political comeback by throwing Madison out of office.

This possibility has been gaining credibility as cracks appear in the Democratic-Republican party over the failure to resolve tensions with France and Britain. When the initial Congressional Caucus meets in May, 1812, only 86 of the party’s 134 House and Senate members participate, although they do nominate Madison. The question then turns to choosing a Vice-Presidential candidate to replace George Clinton who has recently died in office. Many favor his nephew, DeWitt Clinton, currently serving his third term as Mayor of New York city. But Clinton fails to jump at the chance, and they end up choosing Elbridge Gerry former Governor of Massachusetts, recently famous for redrawing district voting boundaries in his state (“gerrymandering”).

Soon enough it becomes clear why DeWitt Clinton has passed up the Democratic-Republican nomination – when the Federalists slate him at the top of their ticket!

He is 43 years old, a former U.S. Senator, and master of New York politics. In 1812 he has already begun to lobby for a project that will forever be associated with his name – construction of the 325 mile Erie Canal, linking inland Albany with the port at Buffalo.

As expected, the campaign revolves around the embargos and the war, with the Democratic-Republicans defending their record and the Federalists attacking. In the North, Clinton focuses on the economic damage caused by Madison’s trade policies; in the South, he assails the President for mishandling the war effort.

After General Hull’s embarrassing losses in the west, it is only a few successes by the U.S. Navy in the Fall that restores some public faith in Madison, prior to the election.

The Federalist’s strategy almost succeeds. Clinton wins 49% of the popular vote, along with 89 of the total 217 electoral ballots cast. Madison dominates the South and gets a crucial win up North in Pennsylvania, to insure a second term.

### Results Of The 1812 Presidential Election

1812	Party	Pop Vote	Electors	South	Border	North	West
James Madison	Dem-Rep	140,431	128	70	18	33	7
DeWitt Clinton	Federalist	132,781	89	0	9	80	0
Rufus King	Federalist	5,574	0	0	0	0	0
		278,786	217	70	27	113	7
Needed To Win			109				

**Note:** South (Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia, TN, La), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn, Vt), West (Ohio) Total # electors = 217; must get more than half to win = 109.

Control over both chambers of Congress remain with the President, although Federalists dramatically strengthen their hand in the House.

### Congressional Election Of 1812

House	1811	1813	Chg
Democratic-Republicans	107	114	7
Federalist	36	68	32
Senate			
Democratic-Republicans	30	28	(2)
Federalist	6	8	2
President	Mad	Mad	
Congress #	12 <sup>th</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup>	

Meanwhile, in the Congress, the elections of 1810 and 1812 mark a profound “changing of the political guard” at the national level – with Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster rising to leadership positions.

Madison’s second term will be dominated by the war with Britain and some adjusted thinking about the virtues of a standing army and a federal bank.

### Key Events: Madison’s Second Term: March 4, 1813 To March 4, 1817

1813	
March 11	Tsar Alexander offers to negotiate peace, but Britain rejects the overture
April 27	Americans capture and burn Canadian capital of York on Lake Ontario
Aug 30	Opening of Creek War provokes Andrew Jackson to call up Tennessee militia
Sept 10	Captain Oliver Hazard Perry wins major naval battle at Ft. Erie
Sept 18	British evacuate Ft. Detroit after Perry controls Lake Erie

Oct 5	Harrison defeats fleeing British at Battle of Thames; Tecumseh killed.
Nov 4	British PM Castlereagh suggests negotiations; Madison picks JQ Adams and Clay to lead.
Nov 16	Blockade of American ports along Atlantic coast extended and intensified
Dec 18	Ft. Niagara falls to British forces
<b>1814</b>	
Jan 27	Congress agrees to calling up a 62,000 man army, after Madison asks for 100,000.
Feb 9	Treasury Secretary steps down to travel to England for peace negotiations
Mar 27	General Andrew Jackson ends Creek War with victory at Horseshoe Bend
Mar 31	Madison recommends repeal of the Embargo and Non-Importation Acts
April 6	Napoleon is overthrown in France, freeing British forces to fight in America
July 3	General Jacob Brown's forces move north to take Ft. Erie from the British
July 5	An American victory at Chippewa slows the British advance south to re-take Ft. Erie
July 22	Harrison's Treaty of Grenville ends war with the dead Tecumseh's confederation
July 25	Britain's move toward Ft. Erie is delayed in the war's bloodiest battle at Lundy's Lane
August 8	Direct peace negotiations begin in northern Belgium at Ghent
Aug 24	In the east, American forces are routed at the Battle of Bladensburg
Aug 25	The British occupy Washington DC and burn parts in return for the earlier sack of York
Aug 27	Madison names James Monroe as interim War Secretary replacing Armstrong
Sept 14	Baltimore withstands attacks by land and sea; Key writes Star Spangled Banner poem
Sept 17	British abandon siege of Ft. Erie, ending war activities in the Canadian theater
Dec 15	Federalists issue secession threat at the Hartford Convention
Dec 24	The Treaty of Ghent officially ends the War of 1812
Year	Francis Lowell opens first U.S. textile mills, in Massachusetts
<b>1815</b>	
Jan 8	After the war is officially over, Andrew Jackson whips the British at New Orleans
Feb 7	Secretary of Navy position in the cabinet is created
Mar 3	Congress restores open trade with all nations
June 18	Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo
Aug 5	Captain Stephen Decatur negotiates peace treaty with Tunis to end naval conflicts
Dec 5	Madison urges congress to support a second US Bank, a strong army, infrastructure work
<b>1816</b>	
Jan 8	Clay and Calhoun now support US Bank, while Webster opposes it.
Mar 14	Congress approves Second Bank of US, to open January 1, 1817
Mar 16	Democratic caucus nominate James Monroe over William Crawford for presidential
April 11	Blacks in Philadelphia open African Methodist Church, first independent of white control
April 27	Tariff Act passed to protect American manufacturing, with Clay and Calhoun supporting
Oct 27	William Crawford named Secretary of the Treasury
Dec 4	James Monroe is elected president
Dec 11	Indiana is admitted to the Union (#19)

Dec 28 <b>1817</b>	American Colonization Society founded to return Africans to Liberia
Jan 1	Second Bank of the US opens in Philadelphia
Mar 3	Madison vetoes a bill to spend Federal funds on infrastructure, calls it unconstitutional

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Time: June 4, 1812 to January 15, 1815

### The Three Theaters Of War



The Three Theaters in the War of 1812

America’s War of 1812 – or “Mr. Madison’s War,” as it is called by the Federalists – will drag on for two and a half years before a truce is signed.



An 1812 War Survivor Named Lenaux

It is fought on land and water in three separate theaters and phases:

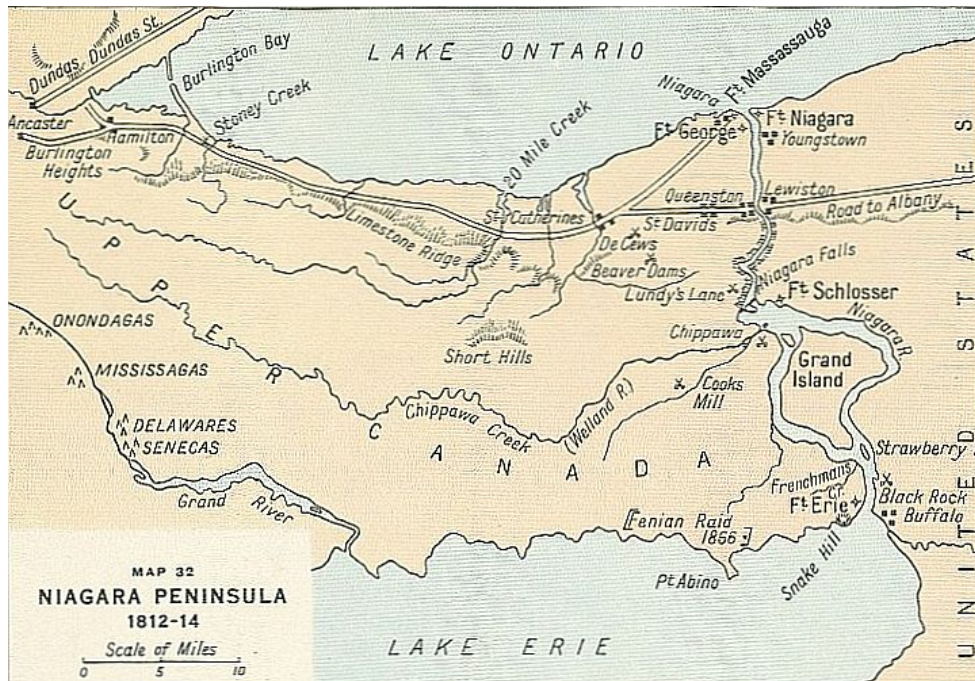
- Along the Canadian border – with the U.S. trying to invade north, and Britain, with certain tribal allies, threatening territories from Ohio to Michigan.
- On the Atlantic coast – featuring the British naval blockade and eventually leading to the short-lived thrusts against Washington and Baltimore.
- In the deep South – culminating in a landmark battle around New Orleans.

It will end when both sides recognize that the costs of continuing to fight outweigh the realistic gains left to be had.

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Time: Fall to Winter 1812

### The War Along The Border Is Stalemated



Battle Sites from Ft. Niagara (Lake Ontario) to Ft. Erie (Lake Erie)

What Madison and Secretary of War Eustis expect to be easy victories along the western edge of Lake Erie around Ft. Detroit, have turned into a string of humiliating defeats, capped by the August 16 surrender of the garrison and the sack of General William Hull.

The next American attack takes place on October 13, 1812, some 200 miles to the east of Detroit at Queenston Heights, just north of Niagara Falls. It pits a new U.S. commander, General Stephen Van Rensselaer and his 3500 troops against some 1300 British regulars and Mohawk warriors under Major General Isaac Brock, who had thrashed Hull eight weeks earlier.

Van Rensselaer is a political appointee, with limited training in warfare. His attack is poorly planned, an attempt to move from the east, via Lewistown, across the Niagara River and up a 300 foot incline to the entrenched British defenders. As the American cross over by boats, they come under withering fire from the British. Van Rensselaer fights heroically, while being hit six times by musket balls. But only a fraction of his forces cross the river, while the bulk cower in safety on the other side. Finally, those who crossed are forced to surrender.

The Americans suffer 270 killed or wounded and another 800 captured; British losses are around 100 men, most notably General Brock, who dies leading a charge. Van Rensselaer survives his wounds, but resigns his command.



These reversals drive increased criticism of Adams's overmatched Secretary of War, William Eustis. Madison wishes to replace him with Secretary of State, James Monroe, a Revolutionary War combat veteran, but Monroe declines. So instead, on January 13, 1813, Madison chooses John Armstrong, former Revolutionary War fighter, U.S. Senator from New York, and ambassador to France. But Armstrong too is a controversial figure. The senate confirms him by a narrow 18-13 margin, and he too will be replaced 18 months later, for failing to defend Washington.

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Time: Spring to Fall 1813

### America Scores Victories At York, The Niagara Forts And Detroit



It is not until the spring of 1813 that fortunes begin to turn for the Americans in the Canadian theater. The strategy belongs to Armstrong, and it involves gaining control over Lake Ontario.

On April 27, 1813, General Zebulon Pike, the western explorer, sails from Sackett's Harbor along with 1700 troops to capture the provincial capital

town of York (Toronto), situated on the northwest edge of the lake. The disorganized British defenders are quickly overwhelmed, although Pike is killed when they blow up their own magazine to keep it out of American hands. Over the next two days the U.S. forces plunder and set fire to private homes and to the Legislative Assembly – a favor the British will return 16 months later in Washington.

Once York is secured, the American forces turn south to the two key British forts along the Niagara River, Ft. George on the southern shore of Ontario and Ft. Erie some 25 miles below it on Lake Erie.

The defenders of Ft. George expect the Americans to bombard and attack from their base at Fort Niagara on the east side of the river. But instead they come in landing craft on Lake Ontario, led by Lt. Colonel Winfield Scott, whose gallantry in the battle earns him lasting fame.

On May 27, the British commander, fearing encirclement, abandons Ft. George and retreat south, past Niagara Falls, and toward Ft. Erie.

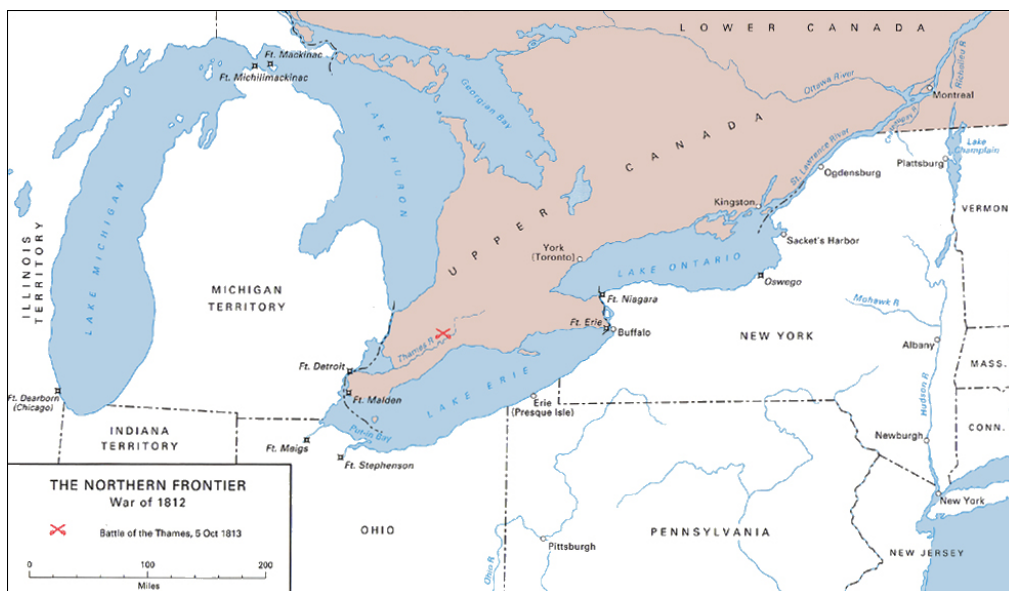
Ft. Erie is the oldest British bastion in Ontario, and it is supported by royal navy vessels under Commander Robert Barclay. On the morning of September 10, 1813, he steers his six ship

flotilla into a line of battle engagement with nine smaller U.S. ships under Admiral Oliver Hazard Perry. By 3PM, the Americans have won the day, and Perry sends off a message to General William Henry Harrison, leading ground troops against the fort itself:

*General. We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop. Yours. Perry*

The Battle of Lake Erie is modest in size, but strategically important. It signals America's growing naval strength and it inhibits potential British and tribal incursion into Ohio, Pennsylvania and western New York.

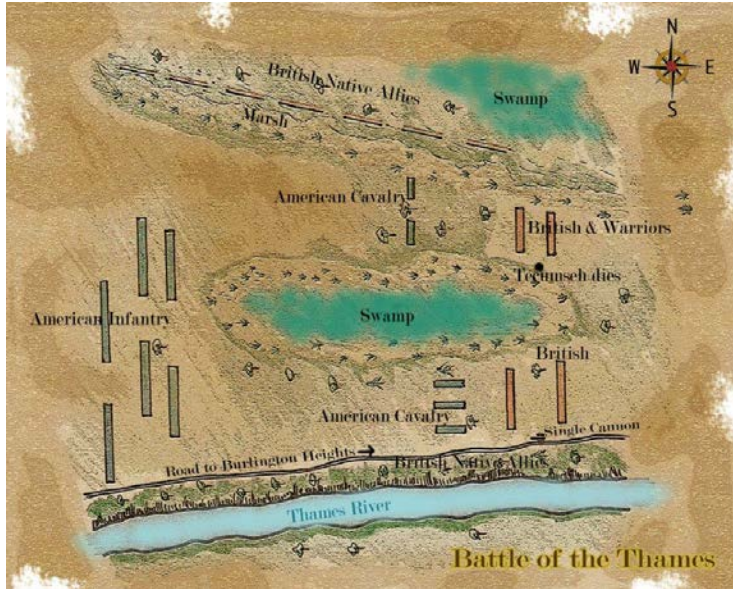
Next comes an equally important victory, back west toward Detroit, in the Battle of the Thames.



With Perry and the American fleet now in control of Lake Erie, the British garrison at Detroit is immediately vulnerable. The commander, Major General Henry Proctor, moves his 800 regulars inland, to the east, along the Thames River. He is accompanied by a contingent of some 500 mostly Shawnee warriors, led by Tecumseh.

Harrison's forces number 3700 men, and he comes onto the retreating British on October 5, 1813, in a swampy area, some 65 miles upriver, near the town of Thamesville.





The red-coats are half-starved, fire off a few desultory rounds, and then surrender. Not so the Shawnees.

They put up stiff resistance – led by Tecumseh, who dies in battle. His death ends the threat of coordinated tribal and British action against the northwestern territories. And it propels the victorious “Tippecanoe” Harrison even further into the national spotlight.

After Thames, the Americans are happy to let the border war with Canada stabilize.

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Time: Winter 1813 to Summer 1814

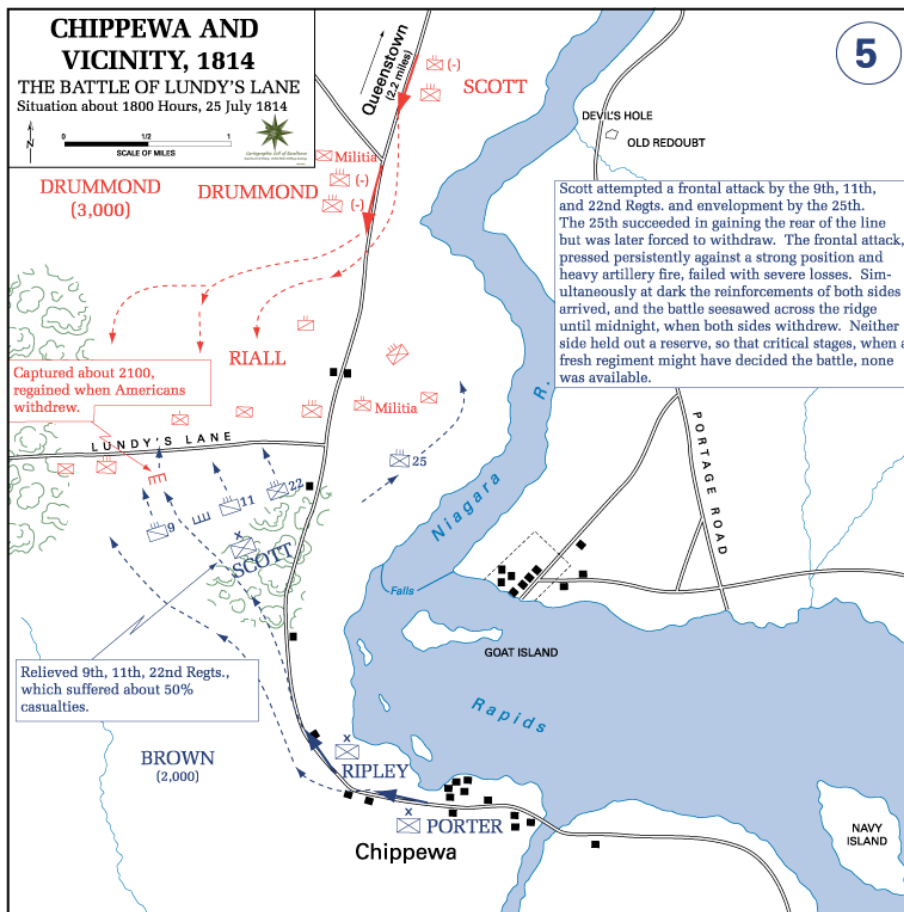
### A Drawn Battle At Lundy's Lane Ends Fighting On The Border

But now the British refuse to cooperate.

By December 1813, they have retaken control of Ft. George along with America's Ft. Niagara, and begin to consolidate their forces for a drive south down the Niagara River toward Ft. Erie.

By July 5 they are some sixteen miles north of the fort when their progress is halted by American forces under General Winfield Scott at the Battle of Chippewa. Both sides suffer over 300 casualties before the redcoats withdraw from the field.

Three weeks later, on July 25, 1814, the fighting resumes, this time at Lundy's Lane in the bloodiest single battle of the war. The site of the clash is in Canada, roughly two miles west of Niagara Falls, the border line between New York to the east and Ontario to the west.



The Battle at Lundy's Lane (Ontario) Some Two Miles West of Niagara Falls

This engagement pits 3500 troops under British Generals Drummond and Riall against 2500 Americans under General Jacob Brown who come out to meet them.

This battle lasts from morning to midnight, ending in a stand-off. Casualties approach 875 men on each side. Among those severely wounded is Winfield Scott, whose military drilling and leadership have earned him the lasting moniker of “Old Fuss and Feathers.”

While both generals claim victory at Lundy’s Lane, the British continue their march south, and begin a siege of Ft. Erie, occupied since July 13 by the U.S. troops under General Edmund Gaines. The siege lasts for a month, before the British lift it on September 17, 1814.

At this point the conflict along the Canadian border is essentially over.

The easy victories that Madison expected in 1812 have never materialized. However, the Americans have proven again that they can hold their own with Great Britain, even in modest naval actions like the Battle of Lake Erie.

And, with the death of Tecumseh, they have diminished the threat of a tribal coalition, backed by the British, impeding westward expansion from Ohio to the Mississippi.

**Key Events Along The Canadian Border: War Of 1812**

1812	July 12 Americans under Hull cross Detroit River into Canada
	July 17 British capture Ft. Mackinac in Hull’s rear
	Aug 16 Hull surrenders Ft. Detroit without a shot fired
	Oct 13 British win Battle of Queensland Heights, near Niagara Falls
1813	Jan 13 Secretary of War Eustis resigns
	Jan 18-23 Battle of Raisin River (Monroe, MI), US prisoners massacred
	April 27 US captures York (Toronto) and plunders the town
	May 27 Americans capture Ft. George on Lake Ontario
	Sept 10 US Admiral Perry wins Battle of Lake Erie
	Oct 5 WH Harrison wins at Thames, killing Tecumseh
	Dec 19 British fight back, taking Ft. George and Ft. Niagara
1814	July 13 Americans occupy Ft. Erie
	July 25 bloody battle at Lundy’s Lane a stand-off
	Aug 14 British begin siege of Ft. Erie
	Sept 17 British retreat from siege

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Time: Summer 1812 – Summer 1813

## Britain Routes American Forces On The Atlantic Coast



A British Redcoat

Britain's Royal Navy dominates the second theater of war – on the seas off the Atlantic coast – with a blockade that essentially shuts down America's international commerce, and leads to a secession threat by the New England states.

When hostilities break out, the British have 85 warships already patrolling American waters to enforce their ban on cargoes headed toward Napoleon's France.

The United States, on the other hand, begins with a fleet of 21 ships, composed of:

- 8 "frigates," also 3 masts, but lighter and faster with one deck of 28-44 guns.
- 13 smaller escort ships, war sloops, brigs and schooners, with 12-18 guns apiece.
- 0 "ships-of-the-line," the three-masted, multi-decked 74 gunners built for broadside attacks.

With this limited force, all the Americans can hope to do is occasionally break out of their ports and go after an isolated foe.

And one such opportunity arises early in the war, on August 19, 1812, when the frigate *USS Constitution* – 44 guns and 456 sailors under Captain Isaac Hull – wins an intense five hour battle with the 38-gunned *HMS Gurriere*, off the coast of Halifax. This victory, the first of five that *Constitution* will record over British warships, earns the frigate its lasting sobriquet, "Old Ironsides."

But this British defeat proves an anomaly, and the Royal Navy gradually expands its stranglehold on the east coast sea lanes. By the end of 1812 they have shut down American shipping from the Chesapeake Bay, marking the Virginia coast, through South Carolina.

In April 1814, they extend their tight blockade north into New England, which further stirs opposition to Madison's conduct of the war in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Both states have refused to place their militia under the federal War Department, and, in turn, Madison has denied them federal funding support for their own defense.

This further prompts the question: is the government effectively protecting the nation?

In August 1814, both the New Englanders and the entire nation are reminded of the mortal danger posed at any moment by the powerful British navy.

By this time, the war against France has turned and Britain is able to free up more land troops to fight the Americans. One of these is the Dublin born Major General, Robert Ross, who has fought valiantly alongside Wellington, and is now given command over all army troops.

Along with his naval counterpart, 3-star Vice Admiral George Cockburn, Ross plans a two-pronged assault aimed at his opponent's heart, the capital city of Washington.

The plan involves a naval flotilla consisting of 4 ships-of-the-line and 20 more frigates and war sloops, under Admiral Alexander Cochrane, along with transport boats to carry Ross and his 4,400 men, mostly veteran Royal Marines to land.

On August 19, Ross disembarks at Benedict, Md. and begins marching northwest toward the town of Bladensburg, about 10 miles above Washington, on the east branch of the Potomac River. Once there they encounter an American force consisting of 6500 Maryland militia and 400 U.S. Regulars under Brigadier General William Winder.

The August 24, 1813 Battle of Bladensburg proves to be one of the greatest routs in American military history. Winder has aligned his troops poorly and they are decisively thrashed by Ross. Lacking any pre-planned line of retreat, the U.S. forces turn tail and make a dash for Washington, DC, 10 miles to the southwest. This flight, which includes both President Madison and Secretary of State Monroe, is immortalized as "The Bladensburg Races" in a satiric British poem in 1816.

*Away went Madison, away Monroe went at his heels,  
And all the while his laboring back, a merry thumping feels.*

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**Time: Summer To Fall 1813**

### **British Sack Washington But Are Turned Back At Baltimore**

But the worst is yet to come on this day. At Washington City.

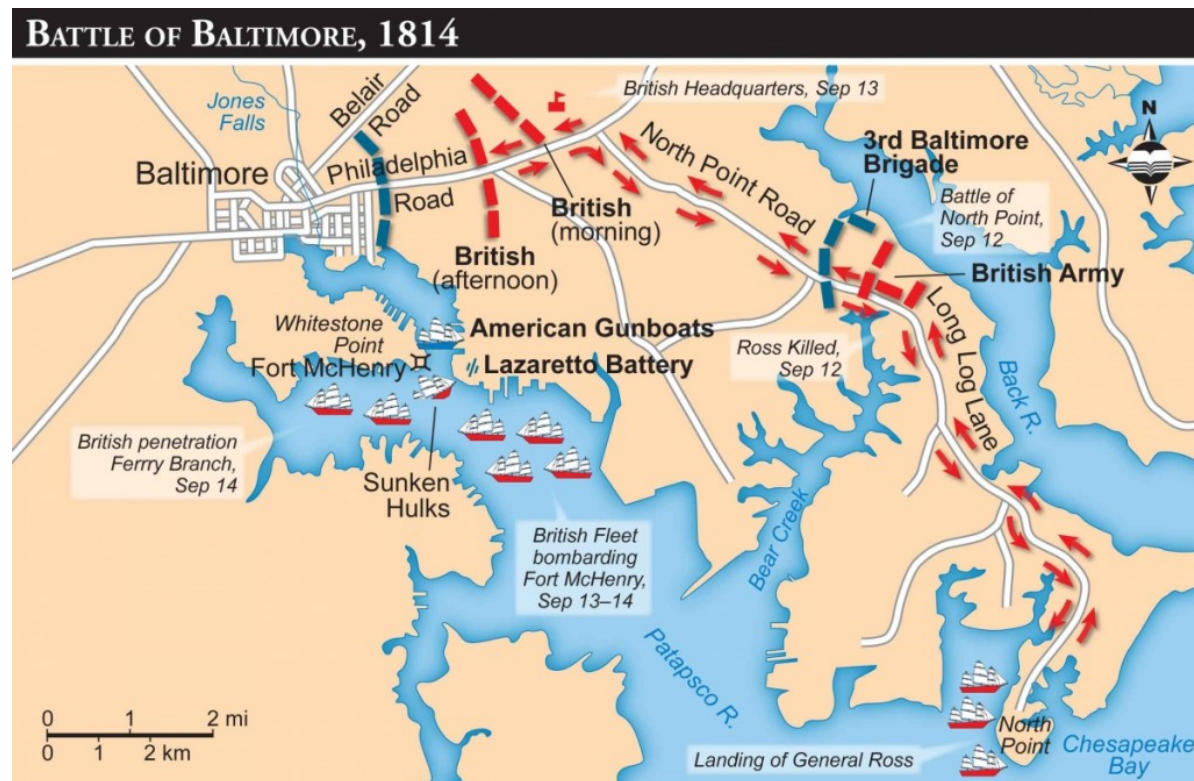
Secretary of War Armstrong is certain that the British will never reach the capital, and has made essentially no preparations to defend it.

Ross's troops arrive in the capital by evening on the 24<sup>th</sup> and are shot at when they approach under a truce flag. This leads to a 26 hour rampage in which the Capitol, the White House and



the US Treasury are all pillaged and burned – in return, the British claim, for similar destruction of their provincial capital of York in April, 1813.

With the US government stunned and momentarily homeless, Ross and his troops exit Washington to rejoin Admiral Cochrane's flotilla on August 26<sup>th</sup> and take aim at their second objective, capturing the critical port city of Baltimore.



The British Attack On Ft. Henry And Baltimore

On September 12, Ross disembarks at the town of North Port, on Chesapeake Bay, twelve miles southeast of Baltimore. But now the Americans are ready for him.

General John Stricker has laid out a strong defensive position between North Port and redoubts around the city, marked by tidal swamps and creeks that force the British to funnel through a narrow strip of land, where his 3200 Maryland militia men wait.

While the battle ends after two hours with the Americans withdrawing, the British suffer a crucial loss when General Ross is mortally wounded by a musket round that strikes him in his right side.

On September 13, the Battle of Baltimore hangs in the balance.

The now 5,000 strong British ground troops, under Colonel Arthur Brooke, encounter very stiff resistance at Hampstead Hill from what has grown to be 11,000 militiamen, led by Generals

Stricker and William Winder. At 3AM, Brooke concludes that the initiative is lost, and begins to withdraw his men.

Meanwhile, the Royal Navy is encountering similar opposition on the water.

Admiral Cochrane sails his 19 ship flotilla into Baltimore Harbor, briefly exchanges cannon fire close up to the American defenders in Ft. McHenry, and then anchors just beyond range of the fort's guns.

He then proceeds to bombard the Americans for almost 25 straight hours, until daylight on the 14<sup>th</sup> – when the Americans send aloft an oversized flag signaling their ongoing presence within the Fort.

In the harbor, a 35 year old American lawyer named Francis Scott Key, on board a British ship to conduct a goodwill mission for President Madison, watches the bombardment through the rainy night, wondering what the morning of September 14 will bring.

At dawn, Key glimpses the Stars and Stripes still flying over the ramparts. The Americans have held Baltimore, Key is moved to capture the moment in words.

*Oh say does that star spangled banner yet wave o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?*

After the stalemate along the Canadian border and in the harbor at Baltimore, both nations are growing weary of the now two year old conflict. The war in the two northern theaters is over.

But one more great battle remains to be fought in the third theater of the war, the deep South, at New Orleans.

#### **Key Events On The Atlantic Coast: War Of 1812**

1812	Aug 19 USS Constitution defeats HMS Guerriere
	Nov English ships blockade South Carolina coast
	Dec Blockade extended to Chesapeake and Delaware Bays
1813	Mar Blockade reaches Long Island and Mississippi
1814	April Blockade extended to New England
	Aug 24 British invade and burn Washington
	Sept 13- 14 US stops British at Ft. McHenry and Baltimore

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Time: Spring 1814 To January 8, 1815

## U.S. Triumphs Across The South End The War



General Andrew Jackson, The Hero Of New Orleans

One figure dominates events in the deep South during the War of 1812: Andrew Jackson, Major General of the Tennessee militia.

Jackson is 45 years old when the second conflict with Britain begins. He has been in the militia since fighting in the Revolutionary War at age thirteen and has lived on the western frontier since 1787. He is a natural leader, the right man to lead American forces in the interior.

He does so in the two important battles that take place in the deep South – one at Horseshoe Bend in what will become Alabama, the other at the port of New Orleans.



The Southern Theater in The War Of 1812

The war is nearing the two-year mark on March 27, 1814, when Jackson approaches an Indian camp nestled in a bend in the Tallapoosa River. The General is accompanied by a force of 2,700 militia and another 600 Cherokee and Choctaw tribesmen.





The Battle of Horseshoe Bend

The encampment they encounter consists of some 700 “Red Stick” Creeks, the one tribe that Chief Tecumseh has previously recruited to fight alongside his Shawnees and the British.

While the Creeks feel safe surrounded by the river, the fact is that they are trapped in a cul du sac, with only one narrow pathway in and out over open ground. When the Red Sticks throw up breastworks to defend this camp entrance, Jackson attacks it repeatedly with artillery and charges and also sends probes across the river into their rear. After some five hours of battle, the Creeks disintegrate, with upwards of 80% of their number being killed, wounded or captured.

The Battle of Horseshoe Bend ends the Creek resistance, and at the Treaty of Fort Jackson on August 9, the Nation cedes 23 million acres of their land to the U.S. In addition to Jackson, two other American fighters – Sam Houston and Davey Crockett – both win fame from this fight.

Ironically the other memorable battle in the deep South occurs after diplomats from Britain and the U.S. have signed the peace Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814, ending the war.

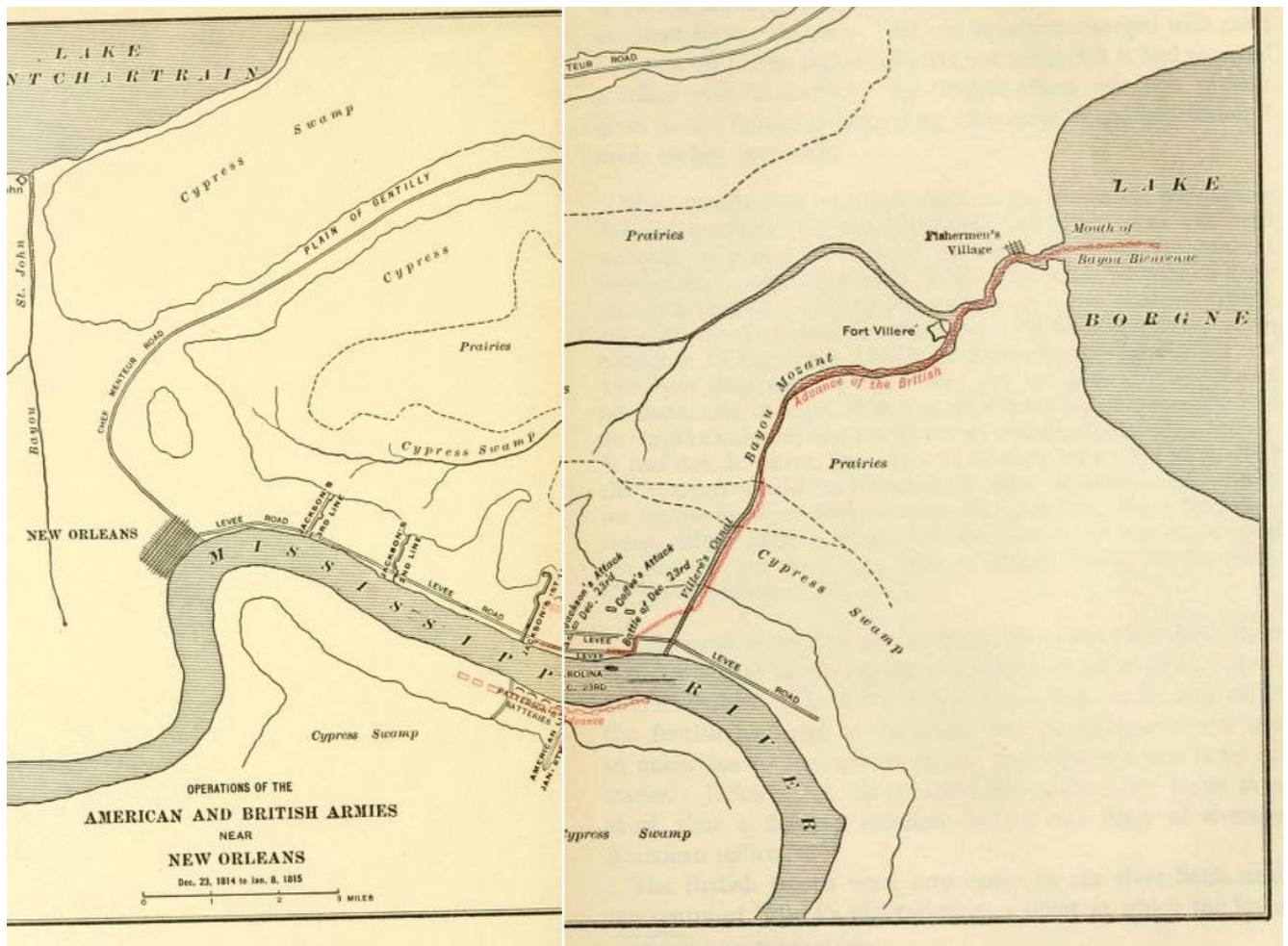
The word, however, does not reach America before the British attack is under way.

In late November General Edward Pakenham, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars, and brother-in-law of Wellington, sails from Jamaica with 18,000 crack troops to join the American campaign – his objective being to capture, hold and then govern the city of New Orleans.

But Pakenham and Admiral Alexander Cochrane first need to choose how best to approach the city. One path is to send British ships up some 100 twisting miles up the Mississippi, past Ft. St. Philip and other outposts, and attack from the south to north.

The other, which Cochrane chooses, is to locate the fleet in the Gulf of Mexico, just below and to the east of Lake Pontchartrain – and attack overland for some 15 miles from the east.

On December 12, Cochrane anchors on Lake Borgne at Fisherman’s Village, and Pakenham disembarks.



The British and American Armies Reach the Battlefield, Seven Miles South of New Orleans City

Pakenham does not, however, race directly toward the prize, instead choosing to proceed at a leisurely pace to set up a base camp and prepare his eventual assault.

This delay gives General Jackson, who doesn't arrive in New Orleans until November 30, the time he needs to organize his opposition.

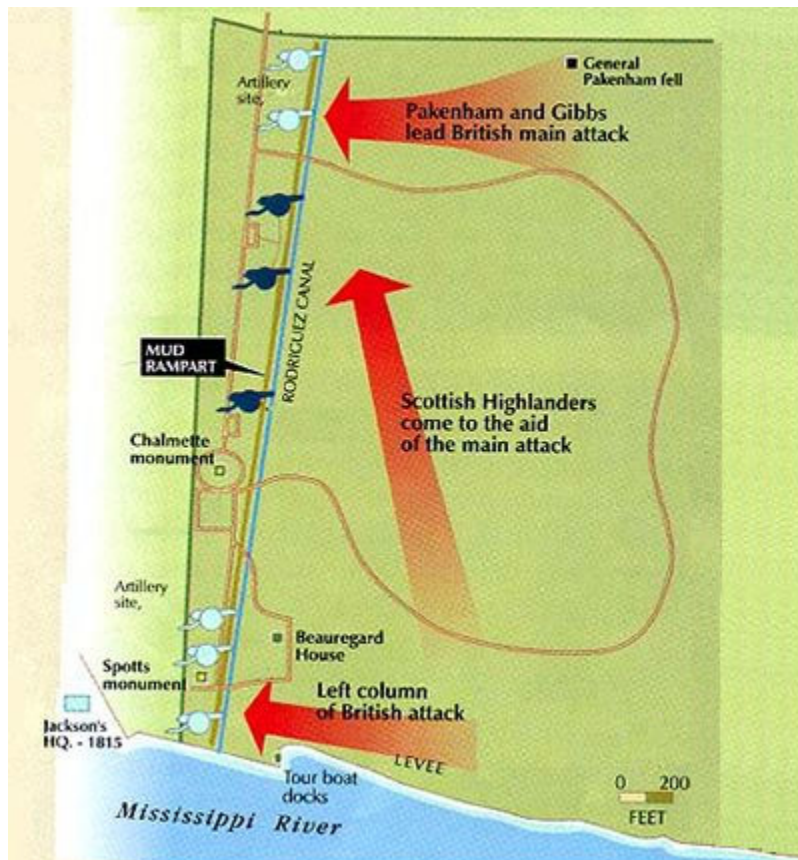
When he hears on December 23 that Packenham's advance guard of 1800 troops under General John Keane have reached the Mississippi at Lacoste's Plantation, some 7 miles downriver from the city, he sets in motion a three-pronged attack against the encamped British.

His rallying cry at the moment is pure Jackson, the leader of men into battle: "By the Eternal, they shall not sleep on our soil."

The battle on the 23th proves a stand-off, but it again slows down the British move north to New Orleans and gives Jackson even more time to build defensive positions.

On December 28, Packenham sends out probing attacks to assess the challenge which lies ahead for him.

It is not until January 8, 1815 – with all 8,000 troops on hand – that he advances from south to north against the "Jackson Line" set up at Chalmette Plantation, five miles below New Orleans.



The British Assault on Jackson's Line of Defense

Jackson's main position is flanked on his right by the Mississippi River and on the left by swampland. He has arrayed his 4,000 militia and 16 cannon behind breastworks that run roughly

a thousand yards in from the river to the swamp. Across the river, he has also stationed a force to protect his right flank.

Packenham's strategy is to drive two separate columns of redcoats straight at Jackson, while also sending a detachment across the river to try to enfilade the Americans on their right. But the later maneuver develops too slowly for the General.

So he sends his lines forward, as the overnight fog lifts on the field leading to the US positions. First it is General Gibbs with 3,000 men on the British right, who try to force Jackson, but are turned back well short of the ramparts.

Seeing this repulse, Packenham himself leads Keane's left-side column of 900 Highlanders in an oblique march across the face of the American guns – to join Gibbs in a second charge. But chaos accompanies this assault, as the British command is cut down one by one.

Packenham is wounded by gunfire in the left knee, then the right arm, and finally is hit by a shell that severs an artery in his leg, bleeding him out in minutes. Gibbs receives a mortal wound in the neck and Keane is also wounded and carried from the field.

Still the British make a third and final assault on their right, led by a Major, the highest ranking officer left. This time they penetrate all the way into Jackson's lines, before being turned back – effectively ending the battle.

Jackson has triumphed and saved New Orleans!

And the casualty figures prove the size of the victory, the defensive minded Americans suffering 101 killed, wounded, and captured, to 2,037 for the attacking British.

After the battle, Andrew Jackson is hailed as a national hero, and begins his trail toward the presidency. Edward Packenham, a hero of the day in his own, has his body packed into a preserving cask of rum and shipped home to Ireland for burial.



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Time: December 24, 1814

### The Treaty Of Ghent Brings Peace



Henry Clay (1777-1852)      John Q Adams (1767-1848)

On December 24, 1814, two American emissaries – John Quincy Adams, serving as Ambassador to Russia, and Speaker of the House, Henry Clay – sign the Treaty of Ghent with British counterparts, thus ending the War of 1812.

The toll on both sides has been high. Britain has lost 1600 killed, 3700 wounded and another 3300 lost to disease; American losses are even higher, 2260 killed, 4500 wounded and 8000 dead from illnesses. In monetary terms, the bill is roughly \$100 million for each side.

#### Estimated Casualties Of America’s Two Wars With Britain

Revolutionary War	Years	Killed	Wounded	Disease	Total
America	1775-1783	8,000	25,000	17,000	50,000
Britain		4,000	12,000	8,000	24,000
Germans		1,800	3,700	1,700	7,500
<b>War of 1812</b>					
America	1812-1815	2,260	4,505	12,740	20,000
Britain		1,500	3,700	3,300	8,500

And to what end, the costly War of 1812?

Neither side has won new territory from the other, and a major cause of the war – the British practice of seizing American sailors – has ceased after Napoleon’s defeat in Russia in 1812.

Still the United States has some positive things to show for the 30 month conflict:

- The threat to western settlers from Tecumseh's confederated Indian tribes affiliated with Britain has been diminished.
- A series of future national leaders have emerged from the events, Harrison, Scott and Jackson on the military side, Henry Clay in particular on the political front.
- Of greatest importance, America has once again demonstrated to itself, and to the world, that it has the might and will to hold its own against the powerful British lion.

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Time: December 15, 1814 – January 5, 1815

### The Spector Of Secession Arises At The Hartford Convention



Samuel Hall, A War Of 1812 Vet.

One more fall-out from the war is the specter of secession, in this case pitting the Northeast states against the South.

From the opening debate in congress onward, the old-time Federalists of New England have stood in firm opposition to "Madison's War" -- a war which has cost their region dearly in terms of lost manufacturing and shipping revenues, and left them feeling vulnerable at any moment to a Royal Navy invasion.

The sack of Washington and the threat to Baltimore over the summer of 1814 heighten their fear and anger.

A powerful trio of Massachusetts's men are particularly outspoken critics of Madison's conduct of the war and its effect on the economy. They include Timothy Pickering, former Secretary of State in Washington's cabinet, the Boston lawyer, John Lowell, Jr., and Josiah Quincy, later president of Harvard University.

Others join them in the call for New England to band together and challenge federal operations and policies.

These ideas are aired at the "Hartford Convention," which is gavelled to order in the Connecticut capital on December 15, 1814.

The convention is chaired by George Cabot, a well-known seaman, merchant, and ex-Senator from Massachusetts.

A total of twenty-six delegates attend, representing five states – Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont and Massachusetts. The meetings are held in private over a three week period and result in a report to be delivered to Congress.

At first glance this final document will appear fairly moderate. It suggests that five Amendments be added to the U.S. Constitution:

1. Prohibit trade embargoes lasting over 60 days;
2. Require a 2/3<sup>rd</sup> vote majority to declare war, impair foreign trade, admit new states.
3. Limit future presidents to one term.
4. Insure that future presidents are from different states than the incumbent.
5. End the unfair voting advantage the South has in the House owing to the 3/5<sup>th</sup> slave count.

It is the fifth amendment that quickly stirs regional tensions.

It does so by re-opening an old wound -- the controversy at the 1787 Constitutional Convention whereby the South was “allowed to count their slaves as semi-citizens” (i.e. the 3/5<sup>th</sup> Enumeration Clause).

The North never quite lets go of this concession, and, at Hartford, it resurfaces as the source of an “unfair voting advantage” enabling the South to wield more than its fair share of power in Washington.

The result being two more Virginia presidents in a row – Jefferson and Madison – who have imposed trade embargos and brought on a war that has been ruinous to New England’s well-being.

In the face of these “unconstitutional infringements” on the region’s wishes, the only recourse left would seem to be breaking with the union or refusing to obey self-destructive laws.

Ironically this latter option is exactly what John Calhoun and the South will echo down the road, first over the tariff and then over slavery. The “right” of the states to nullify federal statutes detrimental to their well-being.

However, by the time the Hartford Convention report reaches Washington, the outlook for New England’s shipping economy is looking up. The war with Britain has ended, and what’s left of the French army is straggling back from Moscow. Prospects are suddenly hopeful for a natural return to free and secure trade on the high seas.

Still the proposed amendments from Hartford will have a residual political effect when the Democratic-Republicans cite them as evidence of Federalist antipathy toward the South, and possible disloyalty toward the Union.

## Sidebar: Napoleon’s Triumphs End With Defeat At Waterloo

### Napoleon Controls All Of Europe By 1811

“Mr. Madison’s War” results directly from the existential threats posed to Britain by the Emperor Napoleon of France. This leads Britain to interfere with American ships and “impress” American sailors in order to man the Royal Navy, to stop a French invasion.

The British have every reason to fear since, between 1806 and 1811, the French empire expands unabated.

By 1807 it controls all of central Europe, after Napoleon and his Spanish ally capture Lisbon on December 1 and the royal family of Portugal transfer their regency to the colony of Brazil.

Further intrigue follows in February 1808, as Napoleon makes a move he has long avoided, turning against Spain. The betrayal catches the Spanish army by surprise and it quickly gives way. However, bloody public uprisings occur in many cities, including Madrid, and lead on to the reprisal executions later immortalized by the artist, Goya. It is not until May 5, 1808, that Napoleon is able to name his older brother, Joseph, King of Spain.

While the local Spanish population refuses to bend to the French will, and guerilla (“little war”) actions persist over time, supported in part by British expeditionary forces, Joseph is able to remain on the throne until the tide turns against the French in 1812-13.

To the East, the Austrian monarch, Francis II, loser at Austerlitz, decides to challenge Napoleon once again. He does so in 1809 at Wagram, 6 miles northeast of Vienna, in a fierce artillery dominated battle that covers July 5-6, involves 300,000 men, and counts 80,000 casualties – with the French once again emerging victorious.

By 1811, Napoleon’s power is at a zenith.

He has effectively isolated Britain from its three potential “coalition partners” on the continent – Austria, Prussia and Russia – by thrashing their armies and by signing peace accords with each.

The only things limiting France’s horizons are the presence and superiority of the British navy – and the small chance that Napoleon will eventually make a strategic blunder.

### Napoleon’s Triumphs In 1807 To 1811

<b>1807</b>	<b>Battle of Friedland – Napoleon beats Russia</b>
	Peninsular campaign – Napoleon beats Portugal
1808	Napoleon turns on ally Spain, Joseph Napoleon on throne
1809	5 <sup>th</sup> Coalition vs. Austria and Britain



	Battle of Wagram – Napoleon beats Austria, occupies Vienna
	Napoleon divorces Josephine; marries Marie-Louisa of Austria seeking heir
1810	Napoleon and France rule the European continent
1807	Battle of Friedland – Napoleon beats Russia
	Peninsular campaign – Napoleon beats Portugal
1808	Napoleon turns on ally Spain, Joseph Napoleon on throne
1809	Battle of Wagram vs. 5 <sup>th</sup> Coalition including Austria and Britain
	Napoleon divorces Josephine; marries Marie-Louisa of Austria seeking heir
1811	Napoleon and France rule the European continent

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Time: June to December 1812

### Sidebar: France Suffers A Crushing Defeat In Russia



Napoleon (1769-1821)

In June 1812 Napoleon makes the strategic mistake that will cost him his empire.

When Russia, encouraged by Britain, withdraws from Napoleon's continental blockade of English goods, the Emperor decides to invade. He assembles a huge army, over 400,000 men (half French, half foreign conscripts), and begins to march east on July 24, 1812. The Russians at first retreat, under the scorched earth strategy of the Scotsman, Barclay de Tolly, Minister of War. When troop morale deteriorates, command passes to the 67 year old veteran, General Mikhail Kutuzov.

Kutuzov has suffered two horrible head wounds in battle, which leave his right eye misshapened and cause him constant pain. He has also fought Napoleon before, losing at Austerlitz, which leads Alexander I to doubt his talents. But Kutuzov is a native Russian, much beloved by the troops, and he is charged with resisting the French approach to Moscow.

By the time Napoleon is ready to attack, the strength of the central army wing under his direct command has already dwindled sharply, from a combination of battles, winter cold, dysentery and typhus.

At 5:30AM on September 7, 1812, his remaining 130,000 men attack Kutuzov's 120,000 troops just west of Borodino, some 65 miles from Moscow. Both generals blunder during the day -- Kutuzov's troop deployment is flawed and Napoleon refuses to send his Old Guard in to finish off the battle. It turns into a bloodbath, with French losses at 30,000 and Russian losses at 44,000.

After Kutuzov retreats, Napoleon continues his march to Moscow, reaching the city on September 14. By that time, however, only 15,000 of the city's population of 270,000 have stayed behind, the mayor has put the torch to most of the buildings, and both food and shelter are in short supply.

Napoleon is now some 1500 miles from Paris and 600 miles from his jumping off point for the invasion, the Nieman River, in Poland. What was the Grande Armee 400,000 strong in July has been reduced to 95,000 tired and starving men eight weeks later.

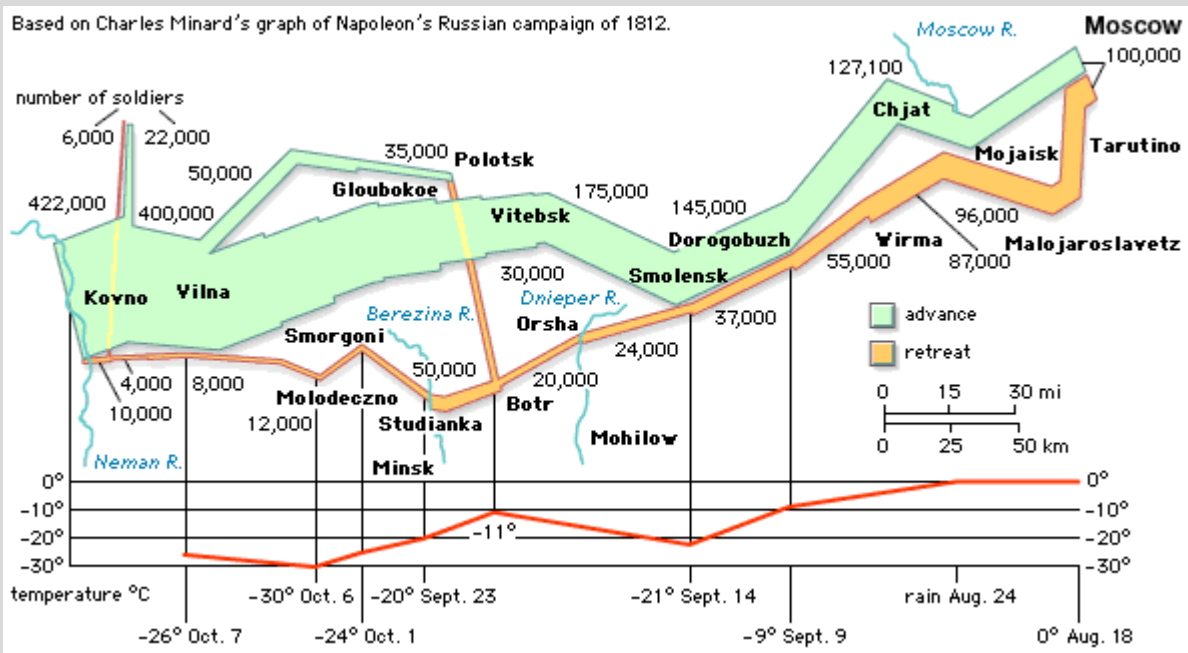
When Alexander I refuses to discuss a treaty to end the conflict, an exhausted Napoleon decides to exit Moscow on October 19. The road back west is tortuous and marked by death from ambushes, starvation and disease. While various commanders cite the winter weather as a sizable factor in the defeat, the first snowfall is not recorded until November 5 and temperatures tend to hold in the 15-20 degree Fahrenheit range until early December.

On December 14, 1812, the survivors of the Russian campaign re-cross the Nieman. Most estimates peg this number at around 30,000 men.

In less than five months Napoleon has lost over a quarter million dead and wounded and another 100,000 captured. He has lost Russia. And he has forever lost his mantle of invincibility.

PICTURE MISSING?

Invasion of Russia.



A statistical map of the Russian campaign

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Time: Winter 1813

### Sidebar: Joseph Napoleon Is Driven Out Of Spain



Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769-1852)

While the military tide in 1812 is turning against Napoleon himself in the east, it is likewise threatening his brother Joseph's rule in Spain.

The main source of the western threat is none other than the Irishman, Arthur Wellesley, destined for future fame as the Duke of Wellington. Wellesley is born into wealth in 1769, educated at Eton, and travels to France to learn horsemanship and to speak French. He wishes to pursue his love of music, but his mother pushes him into the military. He serves multiple tours of duty with the British army in Europe and India, is knighted and elected to Parliament. In 1808 he begins a six year campaign to dislodge France from Portugal and Spain.

His efforts bear fruit on July 22, 1812 – two days before Napoleon begins his ill-fated march into Russia – when his 52,000 strong coalition army (Britain, Portugal, Spain) defeats the French at the ancient city of Salamanca, 120 miles west of Madrid. The victory makes Wellesley a national hero in Britain, and lays the groundwork for a final drive against the French in Spain.

This culminates on June 21, 1813 at the Battle of Vitoria, in the northwest Basque region of the country.

While Napoleon has been plundering his army in Spain to support the invasion of Russia, General Wellesley has gathered and trained 110,000 troops (52,000 British, the rest from Portugal and Spain).

His attack at Vitoria overwhelms the much smaller French army (60,000 men) under Joseph Napoleon, and hurls them across the Pyrenees into southwestern France.

All hopes for a French resurgence in Spain disappear in October when Napoleon suffers another major setback in the east, at the Battle Of Leipzig.

After Joseph Napoleon hears of this loss, he officially abdicates the throne of Spain on December 11, 1813.

He will live on for another thirty years, first in America from 1817-32 (where he reportedly sells the crown jewels of Spain) and then back in Italy where he dies in 1868 and is buried in Les Invalides Paris, along with his younger brothers, Napoleon and Jerome.

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Time: Spring 1813

### **Sidebar: The Sixth Coalition Occupies Paris**

Napoleon's 1812 defeat in Russia emboldens the conquered nations of Europe to once again seek their liberation from France.

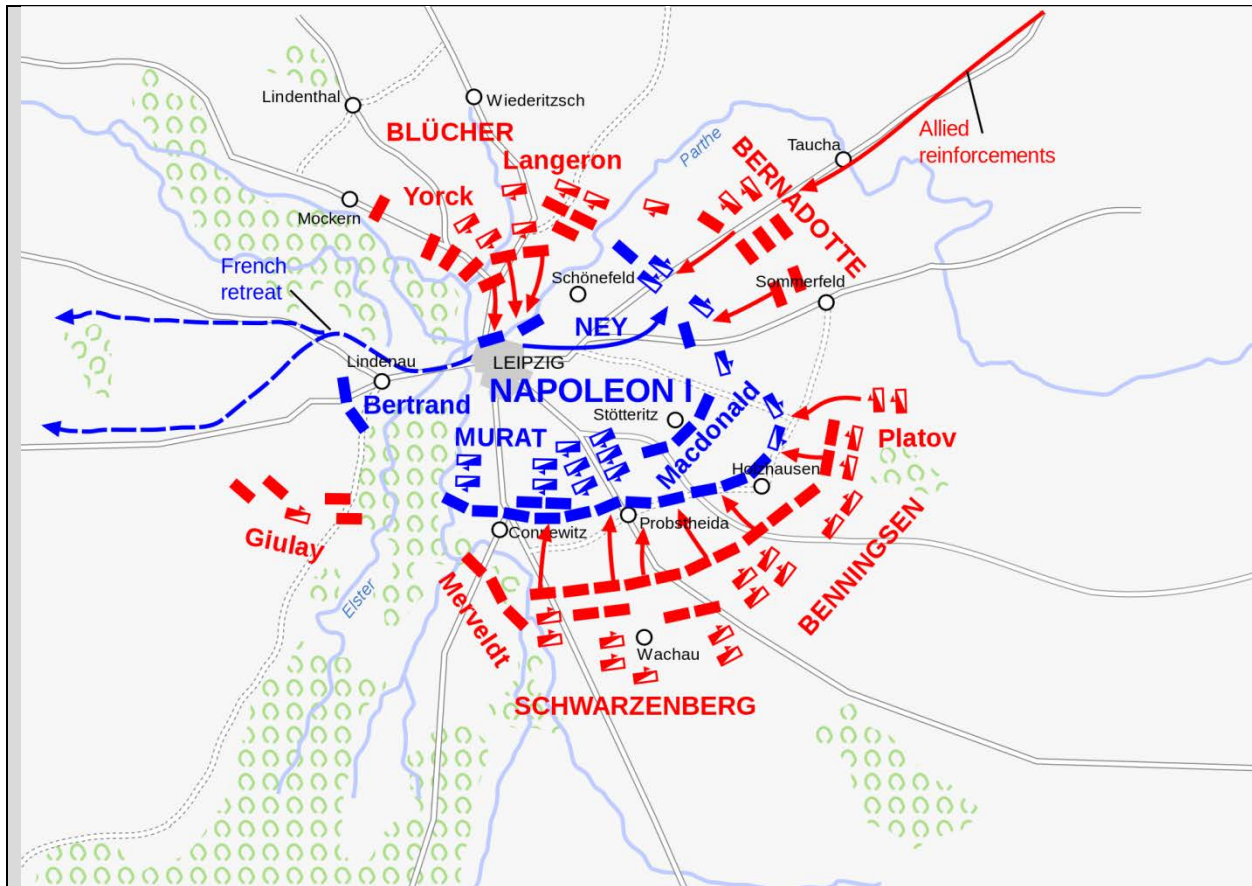
Prussia makes the first move here, ending its alliance on December 30, 1812, then declaring war on March 16, 1813.

In response, Napoleon assembles a large invasion force and moves east, defeating a combined Prussian and Russian army under General Peter Wittgenstein, first at Lutzen on May 2 and then at Bautzen on May 20. Both sides lose roughly 40,000 in these battles.

With the momentum on his side, Napoleon inexplicably agrees to a truce (he calls it "the greatest mistake of my life") which commences on June 4. This gives the allies a chance to regroup – and for Austria to join the coalition, tipping the manpower edge against France.

Despite this, Napoleon almost encircles the allied army under the Austrian, Karl Furst zu Schwarzenberg, just outside Dresden, on August 26-27. The allies lose almost 40,000 men here to only 10,000 for the French, and, were it not for Napoleon's sudden illness, the rout could have been even more devastating.

Six weeks now pass before the largest ground battle prior to World War I is fought over a four day span, October 16-19, 1813, at the Saxon town of Leipzig.



Napoleon Is Surrounded And Retreats At Leipzig

Napoleon fields 195,000 troops, Frenchmen and alliance forces from Italy, Poland and the German confederation. Together they are led by a host of famous field marshals – Michel Ney, Joachim Murat, Jacques MacDonal, Jozef Poniatowski.

But Napoleon is vastly outnumbered by the 365,000 man coalition army, comprising Russia, under Alexander I, the Austrians, commanded by Schwarzenberg, von Blucher's Prussians, and the Swedes, under Crown Prince Charles John.

The Battle of Leipzig – also known as The Battle of Nations – seals Napoleon's fate.

Over four days the two massive armies fight it out in towns north and south of the central French command in Leipzig. On the morning of October 18 the coalition launches a coordinated attack on all sides that endures for nine hours. By day's end, Napoleon knows that the battle is lost, and he begins a successful retreat westward that continues into the 19<sup>th</sup>.

The French have suffered 38,000 killed or wounded and other 15,000 prisoners; coalition losses are put at 52,000.

Napoleon is now in headlong retreat, back across the Rhine toward Paris, with the vastly superior coalition army on his tail.

He has one last moment of brilliance left, in the Five Days campaign, from February 10-14, 1814.

The allies have three massive armies coming after him, which means that his only chance lies in beating them in detail. His first move, pitting his 30,000 men against von Blucher's 110,000 some 50 miles northwest of Paris leads to four consecutive victories.

But the allied wave coming his way is now overwhelming.

The coalition, however, is not all together on the endgame it seeks.

Francis I of Austria and his foreign minister, Metternich, hope to conclude a treaty with Napoleon that would cost the French territorial gains, but leave the nation strong enough to avoid any chances of an English invasion of Europe.

But Alexander I of Russia in particular wants revenge, with Paris taken, Napoleon both deposed and humiliated, and the French army neutered. In the end, the coalition supports Alexander and marches on Paris. Their cause is helped by assurances to the war-weary population that the goal is to remove Napoleon, not harm the civilians.

After rear guard resistance is overcome, the allies occupy Paris on March 30, 1814 – the first time it has fallen in nearly 400 years.



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Time: May 1814 – March 1815

### Sidebar: Napoleon Is Banished To Alba Before Returning



King Louis XVIII

On April 14, 1814, the French minister, Talleyrand, suggests that Louis XVIII, a Bourbon, be chosen to replace Napoleon and to rule under a charter restoring pre-Revolutionary conditions. All sides agree on this option.

This leads to the Treaty of Paris, signed on May 30, 1814, restoring France's 1792 borders and exiling Napoleon to the Isle of Alba, just off the southern coast of France, near Corsica, where he was born.

He spends 300 days on Alba before deciding to return to Paris, in response to rumors of popular uprisings against the monarchy, and fears that his country and army will be victimized by the Congress of Vienna dictates.

On March 1, 1815, he lands with 600 troops near the southern coastal town of Antibes and is back in Paris on March 19, with supporters flocking to his banner and with Louis XVIII in flight.

He quickly holds a plebiscite, showing the world that the French people back him.

His next step will be to restore France to its former preeminence in Europe.

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Time: June 15, 1815

**Sidebar: The French And Coalition Forces Arrive In Belgium**

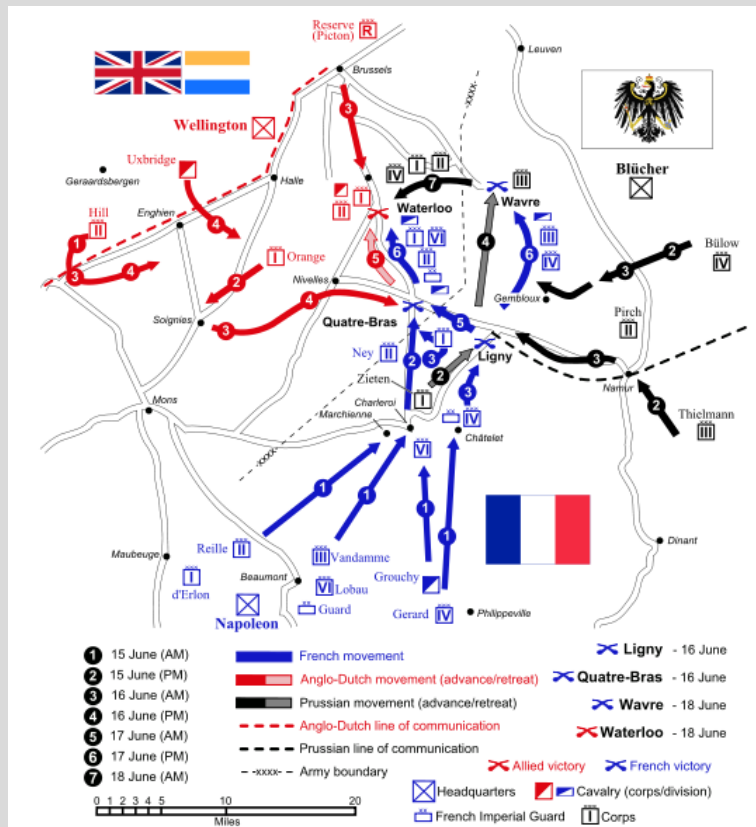


Field Generals at Waterloo

Despite Napoleon’s wishes, the Seventh Coalition countries – mainly Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia – will have none of this. They brands him an outlaw and reassemble a huge army to oust him.

True to form when threatened, Napoleon goes on the offensive with his Armee du Nord, 130,000 strong and filled with veterans of his prior victories. He intends to take on the Coalition and attack it in detail, before it is able to concentrate the mass needed to overwhelm him.

He sets his sights on the heavily French oriented city of Brussels, 160 miles to the northeast of Paris, where he expects to encounter second tier British troops under Wellesley (soon to be Wellington) and worn out Prussians, under Blucher.



The Combatants Arrive in the Vicinity of Waterloo

As Napoleon draws near, the allies anticipate that he will sweep north in an attempt at encirclement, but instead he dives straight between them – crossing the River Sambre on June 15 and dividing his force in two. At Quatre Bras, on his left, he places 70,000 troops under General Ney to block the English, while he moves to his right, eastward, with 60,000 men to attack Blucher's force of 83,000 around the town of Ligny.

Ligny will be Napoleon's final victory.

The Battle of Ligny opens at 2:30PM on June 16 and remains in the balance until Bonaparte sends in the Old Guard around 7:45 and drives the Prussians off the field to the west. During the fight, the 72 year old Blucher leads a charge, but is knocked unconscious when his horse is shot and falls on him.

But Napoleon knows that the Prussians have only been bruised at Ligny, not routed, and he worries that they will try to reunite with the British.

He needs to attack again before that can occur.

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Time: June 18, 1815 -- 2AM To 4:30PM

### Sidebar: The Decisive Battle Of Waterloo Begins



Chateau Hougoumont Destroyed At The Battle of Waterloo

When Wellington hears the outcome at Ligny, he retreats from Quatre Bras, north to a high ground position he has staked out on a 2.5 mile ridge running east and west in front of the town of Mont St. Jean. A country road runs along the ridge, and intersects on the east with the main route toward Brussels, some 8 miles north.

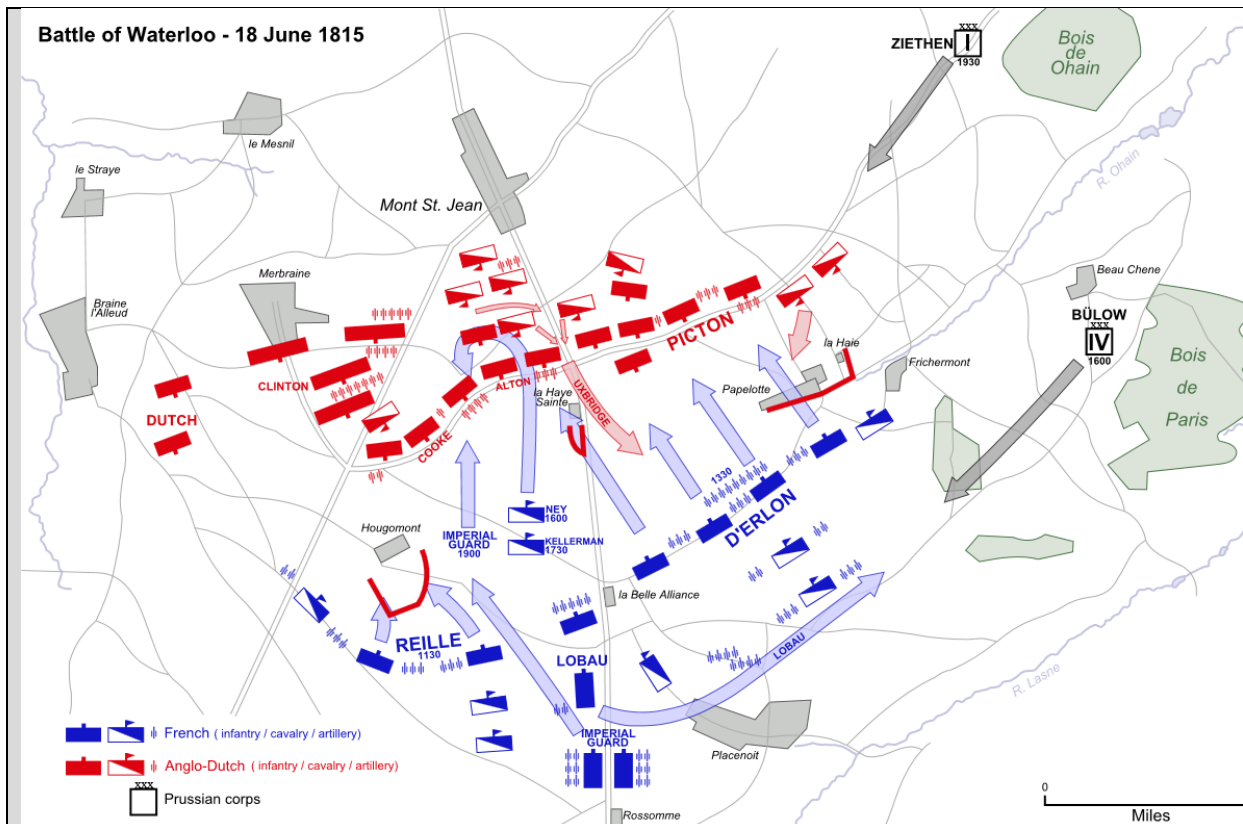
The British General is a long-standing proponent of defensive warfare, and he deploys his forces in a way that will enable him to grind down any frontal assault on his center.

He does this by fortifying three sets of farmhouses and out-buildings., on his right flank, the Chateau Hougoumont, a half mile down from the ridge; on his near left La Haye Sainte, and on his far left Papelotte, along the road west toward the Prussians. Each site is manned and ready to send enfilading fire into all French troops trying to ascend the ridge.

Wellington has one other trick up his sleeve, and that is the ability to have his troops along the ridge lie down along the back slope while enemy artillery charges fly over their heads.

At 2AM on the morning of June 18, the Duke, headquartered further north in Waterloo, hears that Blucher will provide one Prussian corps to support him, if the battle occurs later in the day. This convinces him to make his stand on his current ground.

As the dawn arrives, the two sides each assemble roughly 70,000 men to do battle in a confined space of roughly 2.5 miles by 2.5 miles.



The French Forces Attack Wellington's High Ground Position

Napoleon makes his headquarters at La Belle Alliance, south of La Haye Sainte.



He rises at 8AM, takes breakfast, and rides north to review his troop alignments – his light infantry chasseurs in bright green, the light cavalry hussars, mounted cavalry dragoons and carabineers with long guns strapped to saddles, cuirassiers wearing metal breastplates, the towering grenadiers, chosen to lead assaults, in their blue and scarlet uniforms and bearskin headgear designed to add to their natural height, the cavalry lancers with their 10 foot wooden staffs tipped by a sharp steel blade, and the artillerymen, “his most beautiful daughters,” whose mastery and courage have won him many a victory.

The French Emperor is eager to conquer the British in his front and march into Brussels for his evening meal. While he has never met Wellington before, he remains typically confident. And his troops cheer and call out his name as he passes in front of them.

Meanwhile on the ridge, the Duke's troops are lined up shoulder to shoulder according to the traditional 21 inch spacing proclaimed in the manuals. Nobody cheers his presence when he passes, because he has forbidden all such shows from within the ranks.

Napoleon is in no rush to attack. It has rained all night on the 17<sup>th</sup>, and the field of rye across which the French will make their assault is muddy and slippery. So he waits until 11:30AM, at which time he makes his first move of the day – against the crucial fortifications on his left at Hougoumont.

If Hougoumont falls, his canoners can ascend the ridge on the left, send enfilading fire down the entire British line, and claim a certain victory.

Artillery fire announces the French move, and it is quickly returned in kind: 4-12 pound solid iron balls bouncing along the ground and gouging body parts, sometimes 15-20 soldiers at a time, before being spent. Next comes the infantry, marching in order up the slope to the Chateau. The hand to hand fight there lasts for 90 minutes, the only action on the field.



The North Gate at Hougoumont Where The British Hold

When Hougoumont holds out, Napoleon next tries the British right, a heavy artillery barrage followed by massed infantry, 24 columns deep, coming up east of the Brussels road and past the fortified buildings of La Haye Sainte. Again the defenders drive the French back, led by a heroic cavalry charge behind Sir Thomas Picton, who is mortally wounded.

It is now 3PM and a pause leads many to think the battle is over. While the Duke is constantly visible along the ridge, Napoleon remains slouched in a field chair 1.5 miles back from the action, sending few orders and trusting Marshall Ney to manage the tactics. Amazingly the two do not meet face to face from 9AM until 7PM.



Around 4:00PM, Ney, evidently on his own, decides to test the British center. He does so in highly irregular fashion, using cavalry alone, unsupported by infantry.

Wellington responds by “forming squares,” the traditional defense against cavalry. The goal here is first to discourage the horses via planted pikes, and then to shoot them – leaving their armor clad riders stumbling on the field.

And this strategy succeeds. Some 12,000 French cavalymen ascend the slope in magnificent order, only to be broken up into mingling clusters by the square’s concentrated firepower. By some estimates they re-form on twelve occasions to charge again and be rebuffed.

By 4:30PM Wellington, stationed openly in one of the squares, tells an aide:

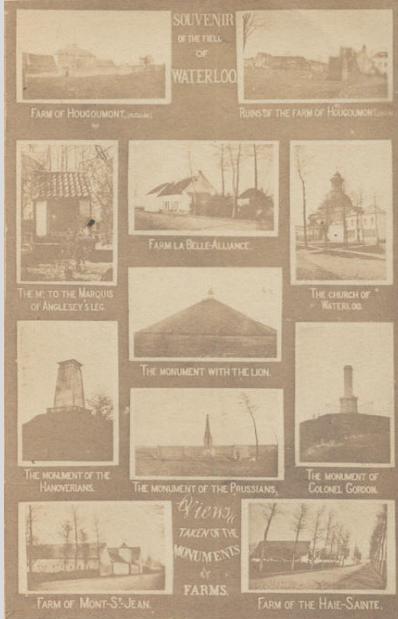
*The battle is mine, and if the Prussians arrive soon, there will be an end to the war.*

But when the French finally take La Haye Sainte, his confidence lessens – and the outcomes again hangs in the balance. Wellington has shot his bolt, his troops are fought out, and his hope for victory rests on the appearance of Blucher’s Prussians to plug his gaps.

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Time: June 18, 1815 – pm

### Sidebar: Napoleon Loses At Waterloo And Is Deposed For Good



Key Battle Sites on the Field at Waterloo

By 7:00PM the Emperor now knows that the Prussians, under Blucher and Bulow, are attacking his right flank, through Papelotte and, further south, at Plancenoit.

His options are running out. He has held fourteen regiments of his best troops, The Imperiale Garde, in reserve to the south. Does he use his reserves to hold off the Prussians or fling them up toward the British on the ridge? At 7:30PM he chooses the latter course.

He mounts his horse and leads five regiments of his Imperiale Garde north to the battle.

The Garde, the “Immortals,” famed for their courage – “the Garde dies, it does not retreat.”



Many expect Napoleon himself to ride at the front of his troops, but he turns them over to Ney who has already had five horses shot from under him and is near collapse. Instead of taking the Brussels road up to the ridge, Ney veers left across the same ground as his prior cavalry charge. This adds 1,000 yards to the task, with the remains of the British artillery firing away.

As the Garde reaches the apparently accessible ridge, some 1,000 British infantrymen, the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot, under the command of Major General Peregrine Maitland, rise as if from nowhere, and shoot them down. And the Garde turns and flees back down the slope.

At this moment, the French have indeed lost the battle.

Wellington waves forward his troops, just as the Prussians break through from the east.

Napoleon rallies the remnants of the Imperiale Garde, south at La Belle Alliance along the Brussels road, and enables his troops to exit the field toward the south and west.

Around 9:30PM Wellington and Blucher meet up on the southern part of the field to seal their victory. The Duke has lost 15,000 killed and wounded; Blucher another 7,000.



Napoleon has lost 15,000 men – and his empire.

As the Coalition army closes again on Paris on June 24, Napoleon abdicates. He surrenders personally on July 22 to the British, seeking “hospitality and the full protection of their laws.”

According to the traditions of the age, Napoleon again suffers banishment not execution, this time to the Island of St. Helena, one of the most isolated in the world, off southwestern Africa. He lives there until his death in 1821, presumably of stomach cancer. In 1840 his remains were shipped back to Paris, where he lies in Les Invalides.

Final photo of Nap at St. Helens – find it

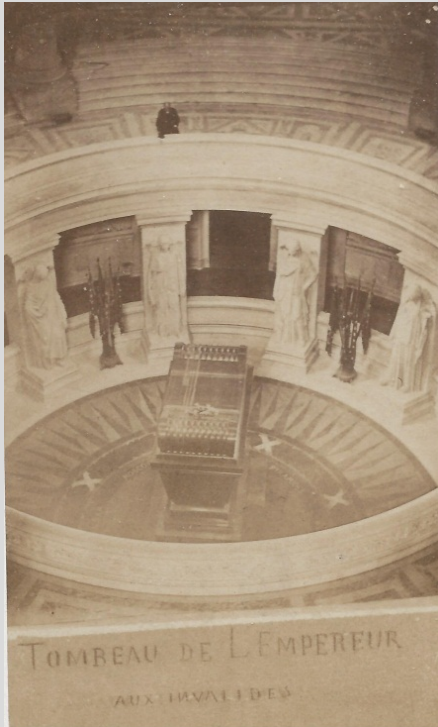
Le jour de gloire has come and gone – for Napoleon and for revolutionary France.

*le jour de gloire s'en est allé" -- the day of glory has vanished*

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Time: 1814-1914

### Sidebar: The World Reshaped After Waterloo



Napoleon's Tomb at Les Invalide Paris

After the turmoil of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the monarchs of Europe are eager to restore their authority and permanence by creating a stable balance of power between their nations.

They use the 1814 Congress of Vienna and the 1815 Paris Peace Conference to attempt to achieve these ends.

At the center of the diplomacy lies ongoing fear of France and a wish to contain any further thoughts of expansion on her part.

Within France itself, a “constitutional monarchy” is created under the Bourbon King Louis XVIII, Napoleon and his heirs are banned for life, reparations of 700 million francs are demanded and foreign troops remain on French soil until 1818.

In addition, steps are taken to surround her with more formidable border states:

- To her southwest, along the Pyrenees, the Bourbon King Ferdinand VII is returned to the throne of Spain.
- Her southeastern border with Italy is controlled by the Kingdom of Sardinia/Piedmont backed by Austria which gains control of Milan and Tuscany.
- Directly east of central France lie a jumble of states sharing both French and German roots, including what will become Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg.
- But to her northeast lie two sizable forces – the first being the new United Netherlands, with its seven provinces, including the two Hollands, under King William I of Orange.
- And then Prussia, which has traded off some of its claims to Poland to acquire a toehold along both banks of the Rhine River, in the incredibly resource rich Ruhr Valley.

When the Prussian minister Bismarck finally patches together a united Germany in 1867, France will have found a powerful foe all along its eastern border.

What of Britain, Napoleon's original nemesis from the time he came to power?

Their prize is absolute control of the seas with the Royal Navy and of their colonial empire stretching around the globe.

In the end, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars have shaken the monarchical pillars of Europe from Lisbon to Moscow. But, by in large, the work done in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna and The Treaty of Paris restore their crowns and deliver relative stability over the next one hundred years.



The Remade Map of Europe after Waterloo and Napoleon's Fall

### The Napoleonic Empire: Key Events 1812-1815

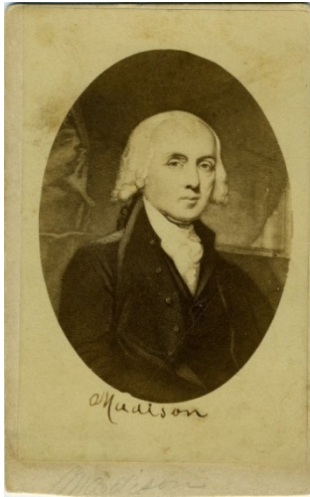
<b>1812</b>	22 July French loss at Battle of Salamanca; Wellesley hero in Spain
	24 July Napoleon crosses into Russia
	7 Sept Borodino
	19 Oct Napoleon leaves Moscow and begins retreat
	14 Dec recrosses the River Nieman into France
	30 Dec – Prussia withdraws from French alliance
<b>1813</b>	Mar 16 Prussia declares war on France
	April 13 France initiates campaign west
	May 2 Napoleon wins at Lutzen
	May 20-21 another victory at Bautzen
	June 4 Temporary armistice til Aug. 13
	Allies regroup and Austria joins coalition
	Aug 26-27 Napoleon victory at Dresden

	June 21 Battle of Vittoria begins drive French out of Spain
	Oct 16-19 Napoleon defeated by the Allies at Leipzig in the largest battle prior to WWI
	Dec 11 Joseph Bonaparte abdicates throne of Spain
<b>1814</b>	Feb 10-14 Five Days Campaign west of Paris– a brilliant Napoleon wins, but proves futile
	March 30 Allies occupy Paris
	April 14 Louis XVIII placed on French throne
	May 30 Treaty of Paris ends war; Napoleon exiled to Alba
<b>1815</b>	Napoleon escapes Elba and returns to France
	“Hundred Days” March 1-June 18, 1815.
	7 <sup>th</sup> Coalition vs. Britain and Prussia
	Waterloo ends the Napoleonic Wars

## Chapter 34 - Madison Concludes His Second Term

Time: April 13, 1816

### The War Of 1812 Adjusts Madison Views On The Army And The BUS



James Madison

With the War of 1812 over, President Madison adjusts his thinking about two policy matters – namely, his historical opposition to a standing army and to a federal Bank of the United States (BUS).

As a life-long Anti-Federalist, Madison has always regarded a standing army as a weapon by which an aspiring king/dictator can muffle popular political dissent.

However, the nation's military vulnerability evident in the sack of Washington convinces him of the need to strengthen America's defense posture.

On March 3, 1815 he calls for “standing army” of 20,000 troops, a move that is still anathema to many Democratic-Republicans. He also sees the impact that the Humphrey class frigates, built from 1794-1800 by the Federalists, have had on battling the British fleet, and supports more upgrades of the navy.

The war also causes Madison to change his mind about the value and role of a Federal Bank of the United States (or “BUS”).

With Jefferson he has previously viewed a Federal Bank as creating an unelected plutocracy of private financiers who will corrupt the political system by using their “insider knowledge” about upcoming government initiatives to line their own pockets.

*A private central bank issuing the public currency is a greater menace to the liberties of the people than a standing army. (Quote attributed to Jefferson.)*

For example, in making “loans” to fund “federal projects,” the BUS officers will be tipped off in advance of upcoming projects – say to build a road or canal or railroad or bridge that crosses state lines. The logical result of this early, private knowledge is almost certain to be “speculative actions” by the “insiders.” For example, a rush to buy up land required for the projects at low prices and then sells them back to the government at high prices.

Assuming these projects play out as planned, the BUS officials end up with windfall profits, thus unfairly increasing their private wealth and power.

But the Democratic-Republicans believe that such a bank could threaten the democracy itself.

For example, if the shape of these projects were to change along the way – say a new route is chosen for a road across different land – the BUS’s investment losses could prove staggering not only to the bank owners but also to the general public. It could lead to a spiraling down collapse of the nation’s financial system, as follows:

- The BUS sinks public funds into buying land that is suddenly worth less than what it paid.
- Its cash on hand to pay back principal and interest owed to its depositors begins to run out.
- It tries to replenish its cash by selling the original land, but every sale results in a sizable loss.
- Eventually the cash crisis reaches a point where the BUS is unable to make the payments due.
- News of the shortfalls spread, the public loses confidence in all banks, tries to retrieve deposits.
- Panic runs on all banks break out and bring the entire credit system to a halt.

Fear about this kind of corruption and collapse is why Jefferson had opposed Hamilton’s plans for “multiplying capital” (soft money notes backed by hard gold/silver) and for the Federal Bank.

It is also why, on January 15, 1815, Madison vetoes a bill to charter the Second Bank of the United States.

But as 1815 plays out, Madison experiences first-hand the devastating post-war effects of currency instability and inflation on the economy, and a nation again teetering on the brink of bankruptcy.

His new Secretary of the Treasury, George Dallas, of Pennsylvania, a close friend of Albert Gallatin, convinces him to change his mind about the BUS.

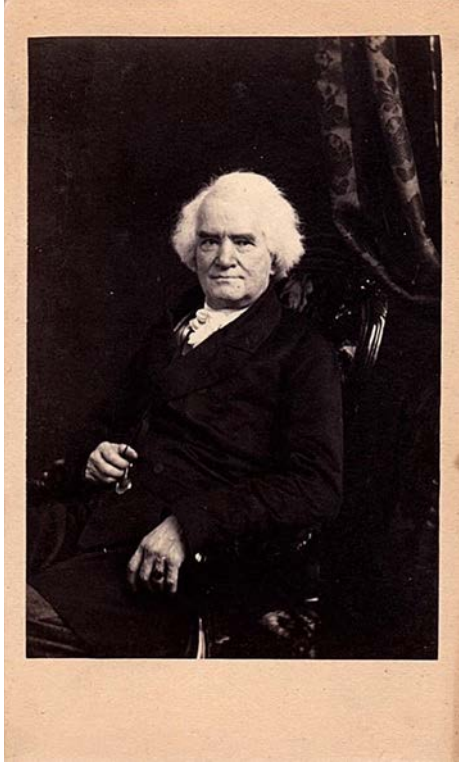
On April 3, 1816, congress to vote in favor of chartering the Second Bank of the United States and Madison signs the bill.



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Time: April 27, 1816

### “Dallas Tariff”



George Dallas (1792-1864)

The new BUS gives the President a way to issue Treasury Bonds, as one source of added revenue. But Dallas tells him that far more revenue is needed to cover debts related to the war.

His solution becomes known as the “Dallas Tariff,” a tax to be levied on select goods imported from abroad.

Over time, the Tariff will become a central issue dividing the South from the rest of the country. But when first proposed, under Madison, it easily passes the House on April 27, 1816 by an 88-59 margin.

While Dallas favors a fairly complex framework – varying the duty tax on whether or not US manufacturers could meet the internal demand for a given good – the final plan is simple:

- A 25% tax on all cotton and woolen imports; and
- A 30% duty on iron, hats, furniture and fine paper.

This tariff would not only add more revenue to the federal government coffers, but also restore good will among New Englanders by “protecting” their emerging manufacturers.

Both Calhoun, and Clay support the tariff, regarding it as a way to lessen regional tensions without much threat to their own local interests. The Southern view is that its economy -- fueled by cotton and slave sales – is progressing at the moment, the Democratic-Republicans are firmly in control politically, and the tariff is viewed as a temporary measure anyway.

Madison, however, is not about to bend on one principle – what his Constitution says about the powers vested in the States vs. the federal government.

Thus when Congress allocates funds to build a national road using federal funds from the U.S. Bank, the President’s last act in office is to veto it, based on the Tenth Amendment. Infrastructure projects belong with the States, not in Washington.

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Time: March 4, 1817

### Madison’s Term Ends And A War-Induced Economic Recession Begins

Madison’s eight years in the White House are now up. They have been consumed largely by the threat and reality of war and with its impact on the economy. As the data on U.S. exports show, he has twice had to resuscitate American trade, first in 1809 after Jefferson’s Embargo Act, and then in 1815, after the end of his own war with Britain. In both instances he has been more successful than not.

**Value Of U.S. Exports: Before – After Embargo Act Of 1807 And War of 1812**

	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816
\$ 000	\$108.3	22.4	52.2	66.8	61.3	38.5	28.0	6.9	52.6	81.9
% Ch		(79%)	133	28	(9)	(37)	(27)	(75)	+++	56

The nation’s GDP also experiences a string of dislocations. Domestic activity spikes up in 1813 and 1814, in response to fighting the war, then cools off alarmingly in 1814 and 1815, with the peace. It will soon turn into America’s first great depression.

**Changes In GDP During Madison’s Terms**

	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816
\$ 000	687	706	767	786	969	1,078	925	819
% Ch	6%	3%	9%	2%	23%	11%	(14%)	(11%)
Per Cap	98	98	103	103	123	133	111	96

After leaving Washington, Madison will live another 17 years, until his death, at 82 years old, in 1836 – the last of the “founding fathers” to pass.

His tobacco plantation at Montpelier has suffered severe financial losses owing to the trade embargoes, and, as his health declines, he obsessives over defining and defending his role in in the founding of the republic.

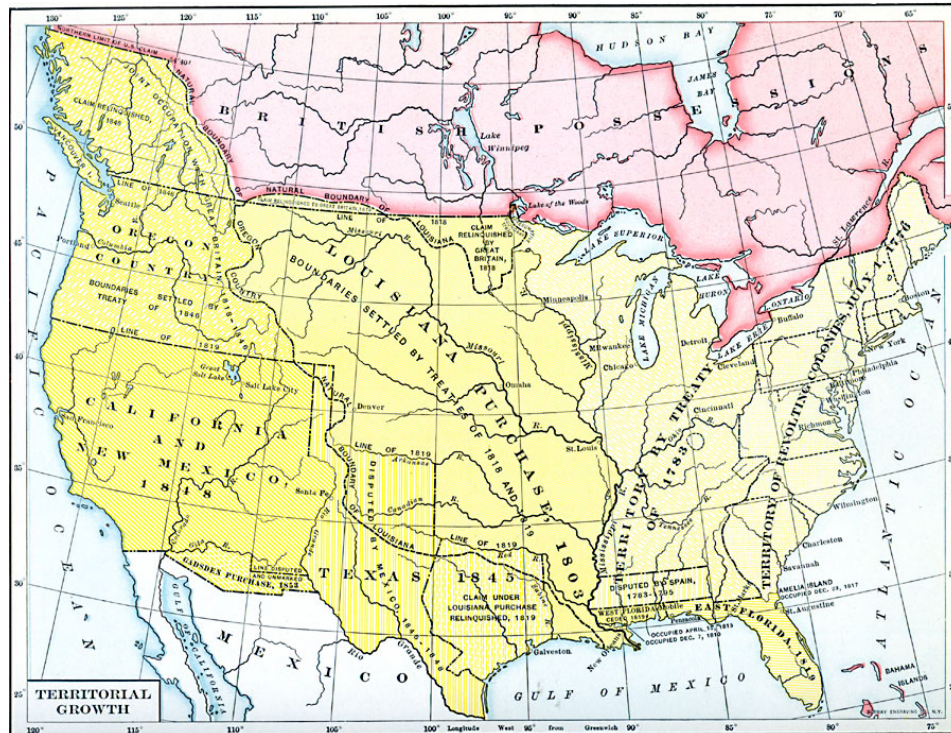
But here he needn’t worry. The nation he helped create is now on the brink of achieving the greatness he imagined in 1787 as the acknowledged “father of the Constitution.”



## Chapter 35 -- Westward Expansion Re-Opens Conflicts Over The Destiny Of America's Blacks

Time: 1787 Forward

New States Must Write Constitutions For Admittance To The Union



Map of US Territories and Expansion Westward

By the time Napoleon's attempt to conquer Europe ends, America's attempt to expand westward is already well on its way.

In 1775 Daniel Boone has crossed the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky in search of creating a 14<sup>th</sup> colony he calls Transylvania. He is followed in turn by many other western explorers.

The rugged Meriwether Lewis and his aristocratic partner William Clark voyage down the Ohio River, up the Missouri, across the Rocky's and the Columbia River, and to the Pacific in their 1804-1806 expedition.

In 1805 General Zebulon Pike heads north along the Mississippi River to discover its headwaters in Minnesota, followed by his 1806-1807 expedition southwest into New Mexico and Colorado.

To the north, the fur trader, John Jacob Astor, has traversed the Canadian border from east to west, with an outpost established in 1811 on the Pacific coast in Oregon at Ft. Astoria.

By 1815 then, American settlers are primed to pack up their families and possessions and move en masse to the western territories.

This migration brings with it a host of issues for federal officials, beyond surveying, pricing and recording sales of the new lands. The most challenging relates to the process by which a new territory will achieve statehood and, in turn, be admitted to the Union.

As of Madison's first term, a total of four new states have been admitted, west of the Appalachians – Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), Ohio (1803), and Louisiana (1812). Each has reached a threshold population level within its borders, held a convention to draft a constitution, had it approved by a local vote, and applied for acceptance to the federal Congress.

On the surface this process appears clear and simple.

But in practice, the task of arriving at a state constitution forces the settlers in each state to deal with the same thorny issue that almost sabotaged the founding father's efforts in 1787 – namely, how to deal with black people within their borders, be they enslaved or free.

Resolution is, of course, easy in the South. About-to-be states like Mississippi (1817) and Alabama (1819) will build their economies around the need for enslaved black people – to work their existing plantations, and to be bred for sale to those hoping to start-up new plantations.

In the North, however, where slavery is already banned, the issue becomes one of how the dominant white settlers intend to deal with freed blacks who hope to settle in the new states.

The answer will quickly become evident in language written into the initial state Constitutions for Ohio (1804), Illinois (1816) and Indiana (1818).

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Time: 1804

## Ohio Takes The Lead In Trying To “Cleanse Itself” Of All Blacks



Two Veteran Chimney Sweeps

Ohio is the first “western state” to express its views regarding the presence of blacks within its borders.

Under the 1787 Northwest Ordinance, slavery is banned in Ohio, although masters are still allowed to come and go with “their property.” But it is the body of “freed men” who might wish to take up permanent residence in the state that most troubles the white settlers.

To deal with what they regard as this “perceived threat,” Ohio first passes a series of “black codes” aimed at “cleansing” the state of its freed men. The centerpiece of an 1804 bill sets up two hard-to-meet requirements for all blacks seeking permanent residence:

- Produce court papers proving they are free rather than run-away slaves; and
- Post a \$500 bond backed by two people to guarantee their “good behavior.”

Beyond these hurdles and humiliations, free blacks in Ohio experience the same daily deprivations heaped upon their brethren back east – segregation, poor housing, and the lowliest jobs, little to no education.

The message here from white Ohioans is obvious: “blacks keep out.”

It is overlaid by the threat of physical violence, most evident along the banks of the Ohio River, where black refugees from Kentucky – slaves or freedmen – hope to cross to a semblance of freedom.

As one self-defined guardian of the border puts it:

*The banks of the Ohio...are lined with men with muskets to keep off emancipated slaves.*

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Time: 1813

### **Black Abolitionist James Forten Pleads For Assimilation**

In the face of these cleansing efforts, James Forten becomes one of the first blacks to issue an emotional plea to white men to look into their hearts and put an end to their prejudices.

Forten's amazing life stands as a symbol of free blacks capable of making their own way in a white dominated society.

He is born to free black parents in Philadelphia on September 2, 1766. By age eight, he is attending a Quaker school while working alongside his father in a sail-making business. He volunteers in 1780 to serve in the Revolutionary War, and ends up on a privateer, which is captured at sea by the British. After refusing to pledge allegiance to the crown, he spends eight months on a prison ship before being exchanged.

After the war, Forten works briefly in London's shipyards before returning home to capitalize on his experience as a sail-maker. He rejoins his old firm in Philadelphia, rises from one job to the next, and in 1798, when the owner retires, he is asked to stay on and oversee the operation.

When Forten devises a new sail that facilitates greater speed and maneuverability, customers begin to flock to his loft. In 1801, at age 35, he becomes its outright owner. His business employs some 30 workers, a mix of whites and black, who are expected to comply with his rigid standards, including punctuality and dedication at work, along with abstinence and regular church attendance.

During the War of 1812, he again exhibits his patriotism by recruiting some 2500 blacks to defend Philadelphia against a possible invasion by the Royal Navy. They construct defensive fortifications along the Schuylkill River and prepare for militia duty.

By the end of the war, the demand for his unique sails makes black James Forten a wealthy man.

Once in possession of capital, Forten follows Alexander Hamilton's admonitions by leveraging it. In his case this involves investing the money he has made from sail-making in Philadelphia real estate and railroad start-ups, with both rapidly appreciating in value.

Forten is remarkable not only for his business acumen, but also for his commitment to black freedom and eventual citizenship. After many discussions with Cuffee about repatriation, he decides that America, not Sierra Leone or Liberia, should be the proper home for future generations of blacks. With that goal in mind, he begins to act on behalf of needed reforms here in America.

Like his fellow Philadelphian, the Reverend Absalom Jones, Forten recognizes that influencing the political process will be crucial to bettering the lives of freedmen and slaves.

In 1813 he learns that the Pennsylvania senate is considering a bill mimicking efforts in Ohio and Indiana to effectively “cleanse” the state of its free black population. This would be accomplished through an outright ban on allowing any new free blacks from settling in Pennsylvania. Forten decides to speak out against this act, and he does so by publishing his *Letters From A Man Of Color On A Late Bill Before The Senate Of Pennsylvania*.

The five letters stand as a plea to white men of integrity to abandon their unholy abuses of black people and to grant them the liberty and rights they are due as Americans. In many ways Forten’s sentiments and tonality foreshadow a comparable appeal, sixteen years hence, by the Boston freedman, David Walker.

Forten rejects outright the popular notion that blacks are somehow a different species from whites.

*Are we not sustained by the same power, supported by the same food, hurt by the same wounds, pleased with the same delights, and propagated by the same means. And should we not then enjoy the same liberty, and be protected by the same laws.—*

He finds slavery “incredible” in a nation founded on liberty and fair treatment.

*It seems almost incredible that the advocates of liberty, should conceive the idea of selling a fellow creature to slavery...O miserable race, born to the same hopes, created with the same feeling, and destined for the same goal, you are reduced by your fellow creatures below the brute. The dog is protected and pampered at the board of his master, while the poor African and his descendant, where a Saint or a felon, is branded with infamy, registered as a slave, and we may expect shortly to find a law to prevent their increase, by taxing them according to numbers, and authorizing the Constables to seize and confine everyone who dare to walk the streets without a collar on his neck—what have the people of colour been guilty of, that they more than others, should be compelled to register their houses, lands, servants and children.*

He hopes that the legislature will be guided by humanity and mercy to correct the suffering of all blacks.

*It is to be hoped that in our legislature there is a patriotism, humanity, and mercy sufficient to crush this attempt upon the civil liberty of freemen, and to prove that the enlightened body who have hitherto guarded their fellow creatures, without regard to the colour of the skin, will stretch forth the wings of protection to that race, whose persons have been the scorn, and whose calamities have been the jest of the world for ages. We trust the time is at hand when this obnoxious bill will receive its death warrant, and freedom still remain to cheer the bosom of a man of colour.*

Passing the exclusion bill before congress will only increase the sense of degradation that already exists.

*Are not men of colour sufficiently degraded? Why then increase their degradation...If men, though they know that the law protects all, will dare, in defiance of law, to execute their hatred upon the defenseless black, will they not by the passage of this bill, believe him still more a mark for their venom and spleen—Will they not believe him completely deserted by authority, and subject to every outrage brutality can inflict —too surely they will, and the poor wretch will turn his eyes around to look in vain for protection.*

For the sake of humanity, won't the white rulers become advocates for blacks rather than add to their despair.

*Pause, ye rulers of a free people, before you give us over to despair and violation—we implore you, for the sake of humanity, to snatch us from the pinnacle of ruin, from that gulf, which will swallow our rights, as fellow creatures; our privileges, as citizens; and our liberties, as men!*

*I have done. My feelings are acute, and I have ventured to express them without intending either accusation or insult to anyone. An appeal to the heart is my intention, and if I have failed, it is my great misfortune, not to have laid a power of eloquence sufficient to convince. But I trust the eloquence of nature will succeed, and the law-givers of this happy Commonwealth will yet remain the Black's friend, and the advocates of Freemen, is the sincere wish of every freeman.*

James Forten continues his efforts to prove that blacks can thrive in white society if only given a fair chance. He joins ministers Jones and Allen in supporting The Free African Society, and spends a large share of his fortune paying owners to free their slaves. Before his death in 1842, he also helps the white abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, publish his *Liberator* newspaper, and participates in the underground railroad movement to transport run-away slaves to Canada.

In 1833 his wife Charlotte helps found a Female Anti-Slavery Society chapter in Philadelphia, and his legacy as a black abolitionist is carried on by his three daughters.

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Time: 1816

### **Indiana's Black Codes Follow Ohio's Precedents**

When the time comes for Indiana's application for admittance, it follows a long history of attempting to allow slavery within its borders.

The territory is officially organized on July 4, 1800, with frontier fighter, William Henry Harrison, serving as first Governor from 1800-1812. Harrison grows up on Berkeley Plantation in Virginia, surrounded by slaves. Despite early brushes with Dr. Benjamin Rush and Quaker abolitionists, he concludes as Governor that Indiana would be more economically attractive to settlers were slavery allowed.

In turn, from 1803 onward, he attempts to skirt the sanctions imposed by the 1787 Northwest Ordinance -- and white settlers from the South begin to filter into Indiana with slaves in tow.

Harrison touts this *fait d'accompli* to federal politicians, including Jefferson (who opposes it), but still fails to change the 1787 law. His next ploy is to recast all of the Indiana slaves as “indentured servants, serving terms of 90+ years.”

What follows is an open battle between white factions in the state that will be replicated over the next sixty years as America move west. On one side are southern slave owners who insist on the “right” to bring their “property” with them as they settle. On the other are northern whites, unlike Harrison, who want absolutely nothing to do with any blacks – slave or free – within their state.

The level of anti-black vitriol among the latter group is evident in “petitions” they address to the provisional state legislature at the time:

*Your Petitioners also humbly pray that if your hournable boddy think propper to allow a donation of land to Setlers, People of Color and Slaveholder may be debarred from the lands so appropriated.*

*We are opposed to the introduction of slaves or free Negroes in any shape... Our corn houses, kitchens, ' smoke houses... may no doubt be robbed and our wives, children and daughters may and no doubt will be insulted and abused by those Africans. We do not wish to be saddled with them in any way.*

As usual, the Africans are caught in the middle between those whites who wish to treat them as cattle and those who hope they will disappear completely.

By 1810 the population of the Indiana Territory is approaching “admission to statehood” levels, with 23,890 whites counted and 630 blacks – 237 recorded as slaves, 393 as freed.

This leads to a battle over writing a Constitution that includes a direct reference to the “black issues.”

With William Henry Harrison off to fight the War of 1812, the thought of converting Indiana into a slave welcoming state vanishes, and popular interest shifts to a “cleansing” solution.

In the end, Indiana follows suit with Ohio in its 1816 black codes. These require that all blacks must be able to “show their papers” on demand. For example:

*I, Andre Lewis, clerk of the Gibson Circuit Court, hereby certify that Lilly Ann Perry, a negro age 28 years, with light complexion, born in the state of North Carolina, resides now in Gibson, Indiana..*

They also include posting of the \$500 bond to guarantee good behavior.



But then Indiana goes even further, piling other constraints on its free blacks – by barring rights to schooling, to testifying in court, to serving in the militia, and to voting.

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Time: December 10, 1815

### **The Black Abolitionist Paul Cuffee Explores The Option Of Repatriation**

From the inception of slavery in America, heroic black activists have sought ways to put an end to it.

One of the first is Paul Cuffee.

Cuffee is born in 1759 on Cuttyhunk Island off the coast of Massachusetts. His mother is Native American and his father an African, granted freedom by his Quaker owner. Their values and industriousness shape Cuffee, and prepare him to achieve two lifetime goals: starting up a successful shipping business and reuniting black slaves with their African roots.

His life at sea begins as deckhand on a whaler, shifts to running a cargo boat around Nantucket, and builds over time to ownership of several international merchant ships that make him a rich man, living on the waterfront in Westport, Massachusetts.

With his newfound wealth, he turns toward restoring freedom and dignity to America’s slaves.

His travels abroad connect him with freed men in Britain attempting to transport blacks to a new home in Sierra Leone. This crown colony on the west coast of Africa, is first established by the “Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor” in 1787.

In 1810 Cuffee sails to Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, to assess progress among the early settlers. He then returns to the U.S. to gather financial support for his own initial transport.

On December 10, 1815, he sets off for a return trip with 38 freed slaves in tow.

With proof of early successes in hand, Cuffee petitions Congress in 1816 for funds to greatly expand the Sierra Leone project, but is turned down.

He continues to search for financial support into 1817, when his health deteriorates and he dies, leaving behind an estate valued at \$20,000 (roughly \$4 million in today’s dollars).

What refuses, however, to die with Cuffee are two things: the black man’s interest in finding his freedom and roots in Africa and the white man’s interest in repatriation as a path to solving the slavery issue.



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Time: December 21, 1816

## Whites Proposes A “Colonization” Answer

On December 21, 1816, a group of prominent whites back east gather in Washington to form “The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America.” The founders include:

- Reverend Robert Finley, a renowned educator and Presbyterian minister, who initiates the idea.
- Speaker of the House, Henry Clay, of Kentucky.
- John Randolph, a Virginia planter and member of the House.
- Richard Lee, Virginia planter, brother of General Harry Lee (whose son is Robert E. Lee).
- Charles Mercer, a Federalist lawyer and member of the Virginia Assembly.

Motivations behind this “American Colonization Society” vary widely.

Some appear to be well intentioned, viewing repatriation as the best hope for gradually ending slavery and giving those freed a decent life back home.

Most, however, are driven by fear and prejudice. An address to the opening session of the ACS sums this up as follows:

*We say in the Declaration of Independence that “all men are created equal and have certain unalienable rights.” Yet it is considered impossible, consistent with the safety of the State, and it is certainly impossible with the present feeling towards these people, that they can ever be placed upon this equality... while they remain mixed with us. Some persons may call it prejudice. No matter! Prejudice is as powerful a motive, and will certainly exclude them, as the soundest reason.*

This latter faction see colonization as a way for Northerners to achieve the kind of racial “cleansing” being pursued in Ohio and Indiana, and for Southern plantation owners to remove “uppity slaves” who might cause uprisings.

The Society first explores a site in the Sierra Leone area already opened up by repatriation proponents in England -- but it conclude that conditions there aren’t viable.

Instead it sends a ship in 1821 to a potential site at Cape Mesurado, just south of Sierra Leone. Once there the voyagers “buy” land from local tribesmen in exchange for trinkets and set up an outpost.

They name the outpost Liberia, and the capital Monrovia, in honor of James Monroe, a member of the Society.

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Time: January 15, 1817

### **Rev Allen And AME Church Oppose Colonization**

On January 15, 1817, some three thousand free blacks pack into the Reverend Richard Allen's African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia to debate and vote on the American Colonization Society's repatriation plans.

Their decision provides a remarkable statement about what the assembly regards as justice for their race.

It begins by citing the vital role that slave labor played in building America and the injustice implied in denying blacks the right to enjoy the fruits of this labor through repatriation.

*Whereas our ancestors (not of choice) were the first culttors of the wilds of America, we their descendents feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured; and that any measure...having a tendency to banish us from her bosom would not only be cruel, but in direct violation of those principles, which has been the boast of the republic.*

It then resolves to remain in America, to keep faith with other blacks still enslaved, and to support efforts to gain their freedom.

*It is resolved that we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrongs; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.*

This outcome represents one more turning point on behalf of black emancipation and assimilation.

Despite this, the American Colonization Society will go forward with its plans. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the ACS will transport some 16,000 blacks to the colony of Liberia -- and in 1847 it will be declared an independent republic.

But the scheme sputters as white proponents find that costs are simply prohibitive -- first to purchase the slaves from their owners and then to transport them back across the ocean.

Opposition from free blacks like James Forten, Richard Allen and their followers also eliminates the possibility of using colonization to "cleanse" their cities and frontiers of all people of color.

What remains then for Northern whites who want nothing to do with blacks is to pass ever more burdensome local statutes to discourage new residents and to segregate and punish those already in their midst.

## Chapter 36 - James Monroe's First Term

Time: 1815-1816

### Run-up To The Election Of 1816

As the presidential race of 1816 begins, the popular momentum enjoyed by the Federalist Party during the early struggles of the War of 1812 has dissipated, and their desperate ploy in selecting DeWitt Clinton to run against Madison has left them without a viable candidate going forward.

Largely by default, they put forward Senator Rufus King of New York, who has already been defeated twice, in 1804 and 1808, for the Vice Presidency.

King's credentials are actually quite credible. Graduate of Harvard College, a brief militia stint during the first war with Britain, member in 1787 of the Committee On Style that drafted the Constitution, first-rate orator and outspoken opponent of slavery, close ally of that essential Federalist, Alexander Hamilton.

In 1796 Washington offers him the Secretary of State post, which he turns down in favor of the Ambassadorship to Britain. Remarkably when Jefferson becomes President in 1800, he retains King in that critical assignment until 1803.

Along with the 61 year old King, some Federalists put forward 64 year old John Howard of Maryland as a Vice-Presidential candidate. Howard is an ex-Revolutionary War hero, who owns a large slave-holding plantation, has previously served back in 1803 as a U.S. Senator, and appears to have little in common with King.

By contrast, a genuine race for the presidential nomination develops among the Democratic-Republicans.

The hand-picked candidate of both Jefferson and Madison is their fellow Virginian, James Monroe, currently serving as Secretary of State and Secretary of War.

However, the long-term anti-Jefferson faction of the Party decides to contest the top slot. This wing is led by John Randolph of Roanoke, who argues that Madison's policies have become no more than:

*Old Federalism, vamped up into something bearing the superficial appearance of Republicanism.*

Their option to Monroe is the formidable Georgian, William Crawford, who has served under Madison as Minister to France and Secretary of War.

Crawford is the first of several politicians from his state who will emerge on the national stage with a reputation for arriving at independent positions and promoting them aggressively.

He is another self-made man, growing up in Appling, Georgia, along the eastern border with South Carolina. As a young man he is a farmer and teacher, before receiving a classical education at Carmel Academy under tutelage of the well-known Presbyterian minister, Moses Waddel. He is an excellent student and briefly joins the Academy staff before leaving to teach at Richland Academy, where he also studies law and passes the bar in 1799, at 27 years old. His scholarship on Georgia law and his outgoing personal style carry him readily into politics.

Crawford is physically and verbally a brawny man, and he engages in two bloody duels early in his career, both times involving political rivals backing future Governor John Clark. In 1802 he kills a Clark supporter named Peter Van Allen, and in 1806 is wounded in another duel, by Clark himself.

Later that year he is off to Washington, where he serves as U.S. Senator for six years, and is a popular choice as President pro tem in 1812. Madison appoints him Minister to France in 1813 and then Secretary of War in 1815.

Unlike the “Warhawks,” Clay and Calhoun, Crawford is initially opposed to fighting another battle with Britain, but his considerable influence in the Senate fails to carry the day. In 1813 he declines Madison’s offer to become the new Secretary of War, and instead takes a posting as Minister to France. After the conflict ends, he accepts the War slot, and serves there from 1815 to 1816, after which he becomes Madison’s Secretary of the Treasury, a position he will continue to hold over a nine year stretch, until 1825.

Crawford has just begun his new duties when various supporters put him forward as an option to Monroe for the 1816 nomination.

They tend to see in him a commanding presence, inclined to favor “old school” domestic virtues: power to the states over the national government; concerns about a centralized bank; free trade rather than debilitating embargos; limited taxation and Bill of Rights guarantees on freedom; a laissez-faire attitude toward slavery.

Others simply see him as an end to the monopoly that Virginians seem to have on the presidency.

Over time, Crawford’s flexibility on many issues will fail to conform to the “assumed preferences” of his backers – but in the 1816 caucus they put up a good fight. In the final balloting for the nomination, he comes up just short, garnering 54 votes against 65 for Monroe.

**1816 Presidential Nomination**

<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Votes</b>
James Monroe	65
William Crawford	54

As has become the norm by 1816, selection of a running mate for Monroe is more about geographically balancing the party ticket than about lining up a successor for the presidency. If anything, that path for the Democratic-Republicans now runs through tenure as Secretary of State.

**The Political Fate Of Early Vice-Presidents Vs. Secretaries Of State**

Year	President	Vice-President	Secretary of State	Presidential Nominee
1788	Washington	Adams	Jay, Jefferson	
1792	Washington	Adams	Jefferson, Randolph, Pickering	Adams in 1796
1796	Adams	Jefferson	Pickering, Lee, Marshall	Jefferson in 1800
1800	Jefferson	Burr	Lincoln, Madison	Jefferson in 1804
1804	Jefferson	Clinton	Madison	Madison in 1808
1808	Madison	Clinton/Vacant	Smith/Monroe	Madison in 1812
1812	Madison	Gerry/Vacant	Monroe	Monroe in 1816

In the end, the party settles on Daniel Tompkins, the sitting Governor of NY, as its nominee. Tompkin’s fame rests on his personal efforts to strengthen the state militia during the War of 1812. Unfortunately this has involved sizable loans to purchase equipment, which he backs against his personal wealth. In the end these bankrupt him and turn him to drink and an early death only three months after his term as Vice-President is under way.

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**Time: November-December 1816**

**Monroe Wins In A Landslide**

Actual voting in the election of 1816 is completed between November 1 and December 4. The popular turn-out is down dramatically from the 1812 race which featured intense controversy over both the trade embargos and the war with Britain.

**Popular Voting For President & Number Of States Where Electors Chosen By Their Votes**

1788	1792	1796	1800	1804	1808	1812	1816
43,782	28,579	66,841	67,282	143,110	192,691	278,786	112,370
7 of 12	6 of 15	9 of 16	6 of 16	11 of 17	10 of 17	9 of 18	10 of 19

As expected, Monroe wins in a landslide, carrying 16 states, losing only in traditionally Federalist strongholds, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.

**Results Of The 1816 Presidential Election**

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV	South	Border	North	West
James Monroe	Va	Dem-Rep	76,592	183	70	20	82	11

Rufus King + locals	NY	Federalist	34,740	34	0	3	31	0
Unpledged			1,038					
Total			112,370	217	70	23	113	11
Needed To Win				109				

**Note:** South (Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia, TN, La), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn, Vt), West (Ohio, Indiana) Total # electors voting = 217; must get more than half to win = 109.

His margin of victory in the Electoral College is well ahead of what Madison accomplished before him, and almost comparable to Jefferson's victory in 1804.

### Winning Margin In Electoral Votes Actually Cast

Year	Candidates	Party	Electoral Votes
1804	Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	162 of 176/92%
1808	James Madison	Democratic-Republican	122 of 175/70%
1812	James Madison	Democratic-Republican	128 of 217/59%
1816	James Monroe	Democratic-Republican	183 of 217/84%

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Time: November-December 1816

### The Democratic-Republicans Strengthen Their Control Over The House

Two new states – Indiana and Mississippi – participate in the election of the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress. Both end up in the Democratic-Republican column, sending one House representative and two Senators to Washington.

### First Time Voting Among New States

Year	South	Border	North	West
1791			Vermont	
1792		Kentucky		
1796	Tennessee			
1803				Ohio
1812	Louisiana			
1816				Indiana
1817	Mississippi			

Overall the election represents the beginning of the death spiral for the Federalist Party in the House. They give back all of the gains they recorded in 1812 and 1814, and end up with only 40 of the 185 total seats.

### Election Trends – House Of Representatives

Party	1801	1803	1805	1807	1809	1811	1813	1815	1817
Democratic-Republicans	68	102	114	116	93	107	114	119	145
Federalist	38	40	28	26	49	36	68	64	40
Congress #	7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>	10 <sup>th</sup>	11 <sup>th</sup>	12 <sup>th</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup>	15 <sup>th</sup>
President	TJ	TJ	TJ	TJ	JM	JM	JM	JM	JM

Democratic-Republican dominance extends across all geographic regions. They continue to “own” the South, losing only a few seats in Virginia and North Carolina. In the North, they win the big states of Pennsylvania (23 seats) and New York (27) by wide margins, and even take 9 of 20 races in Massachusetts.

### House Trends By Region

Democratic-Republican	Total	South	Border	North	West
1801	68	30	7	31	
1803	102	42	13	46	1
1805	114	48	13	52	1
1807	116	47	12	56	1
1809	93	41	12	39	1
1811	107	43	12	51	1
1813	114	49	16	43	6
1815	119	51	14	47	7
1817	145	54	16	68	7
<b>Federalists</b>					
1801	38	8	4	26	
1803	40	7	3	30	
1805	28	1	3	24	
1807	26	2	4	20	
1809	49	8	4	37	
1811	36	7	4	25	
1813	75	9	9	57	
1815	64	7	7	50	
1817	40	5	5	29	1

The Federalists hold their own in the Senate. Three states – Connecticut, Delaware and Maryland – remain in their control, and they strengthen their hand near term in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

### Election Trends – Senate

Party	1801	1803	1805	1807	1809	1811	1813	1815	1817
Democratic-Republicans	17	25	27	28	27	30	28	26	29
Federalist	15	9	7	6	7	6	8	12	13
Congress #	7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>	10 <sup>th</sup>	11 <sup>th</sup>	12 <sup>th</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup>	15 <sup>th</sup>
President	TJ	TJ	TJ	TJ	JM	JM	JM	JM	JM

But the Democratic-Republicans continue to shut them out across the South and the West.

### Senate Trends By Region

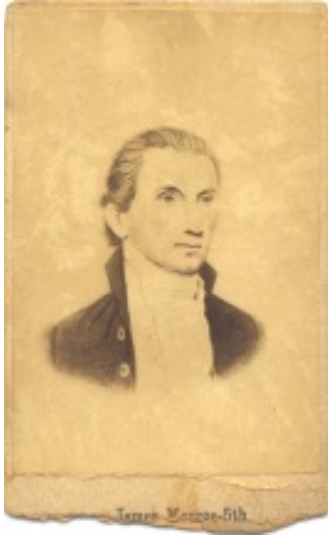
Democratic-Republican	Total	South	Border	North	West
1801	17	10	3	4	
1803	25	10	4	9	2
1805	27	10	4	11	2
1807	28	10	4	12	2
1809	27	10	4	11	2
1811	30	12	4	12	2
1813	28	12	3	11	2
1815	26	12	2	8	4
1817	29	14	2	7	6
<b>Federalists</b>					
1801	15	0	3	12	
1803	9	0	2	7	
1805	7	0	2	5	
1807	6	0	2	4	
1809	7	0	2	5	
1811	6	0	2	4	
1813	8	0	3	5	
1815	12	0	4	8	
1817	13	0	4	9	



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Time: 1758-1831

## President James Monroe: Personal Profile



James Monroe (1758-1831)

James Monroe is born on April 28, 1758, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, also the birthplace of George Washington and Robert E. Lee. His roots are considerably more humble than the three other presidents who precede him in the so-called “Virginia dynasty.”

His father, Spence Monroe, inherits some 500 acres of land, and builds a four room wooden cabin on it, which measures a mere 58x20 feet. He and his wife have five children and apparently own “several slaves,” who help him raise tobacco, corn, barley and livestock. The family is considered well off, but by no means aristocratic.

James Monroe works the farm, while also attending Campbelltown Academy, where he is tutored, along with his friend John Marshall, by the Scottish Reverend, Archibald Campbell, of the Church of England. In 1774, his father dies, and, as the oldest son, he inherits the plantation.

At this point he also comes under the ongoing influence of an uncle on his mother’s side, Judge Joseph Jones. Jones has served on the Virginia Courts, as a member of House of Burgesses, and later as representative to the Continental Congress. His friendships include Washington, Jefferson and Madison. Jones steers Monroe to enroll at the College of William & Mary.

But his education is interrupted after one year by the war with Britain. His father, Spence, had been outspoken in his criticism of abuses in colonial taxation, and now his son is eager to pick up arms as open conflict begins. He joins the 3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Militia and, within two weeks of the Concord battle, he participates in a raid on the arsenal at the Governor’s palace in Williamsburg. He is seventeen years old at this time.

Monroe’s military career will extend over five years. His regiment is with Washington in August, 1776, when British Generals Clinton and Howe almost trap it in Manhattan. He then joins in the long retreat north, and from there across the Hudson and back south to New Jersey. On Christmas Day, 1776, he crosses the Delaware along with Washington and attacks the Hessians at the Battle of Trenton, where he almost loses his life. A musket ball severs an artery in his shoulder during a heroic assault, and he nearly bleeds out before a doctor saves him. Monroe’s combat role ends with Trenton, although he does continue to serve in the militia almost until the end of the war.

Monroe's early experiences in life will mirror Washington more so than Jefferson or Madison. His perspectives on America are formed on the battlefield rather than in the library, and they endow him with a bias toward independent thought, leadership and action.

After the war he returns to Virginia, and the need to attend to his personal finances, something that will plague him through-out his life. He picks up the study of law, not out of particular interest, but as a proven path to required income. His connections result in two distinguished tutors, Jefferson and his former teacher, George Wythe, who has also apprenticed John Marshall, Edmund Randolph and Henry Clay in the law.

In 1783 he sells his inherited farm, passes the bar, and opens a practice in Fredericksburg. But his interest in politics continues. He serves in the state assembly and then as a delegate to the fourth session of the Congress of the Confederation. He is now on the national stage, and focused already on issues of national security and westward expansion that will mark his political future.

*There are before us some questions of the utmost consequence...whether we are to have standing troops to protect our frontiers or leave them unguarded...whether we will expose ourselves to the...loss of the country westward...and the intrusion on settlers by European powers who border us.*

While in New York at the Congress, he falls in love with Elizabeth Kortright, whose family is prominent in local society. Their marriage in 1786 will span 44 years and produce a son, who dies in infancy, and two daughters.

When time comes for the 1787 Constitutional Convention, Monroe is still "ranked" by other Virginians, and, to his annoyance, is left out of the delegation. His stated views exhibit a streak of political independence. Like the Federalists, he favors a strong central government, and supports its authority to nationalize the militia in times of crisis. But he stands with the Anti-Federalists in demanding the inclusion of a personal Bill of Rights.

Monroe steps up to challenge James Madison, who is eight years his senior, for a House seat in America's first election, in 1788. He loses, but is soon selected as a U.S. Senator in 1790. In Philadelphia, he boards with Madison and Jefferson, and aligns with the Democratic-Republican Party. After four years, he is entrusted by his old war commander, George Washington, with his first ministerial assignment, to a Paris dominated by Napoleon.

His task there, a thankless one, involves coddling France while his counterpart in London, John Jay, negotiates his Amity Treaty of 1794 with the British. Jay keeps him in the dark from start to finish, and Monroe ends up being humiliated when the French learn of the treaty in the press. The fiercely pro-French Monroe lashes out publicly against Jay, and Alexander Hamilton convinces Washington to recall him. This wound is not forgotten, and Monroe is involved in exposing the "Reynold's adultery affair" which forces Hamilton to resign in 1795.

He returns home to resume his law career and set up his new plantation called Highland, situated on 1,000 acres immediately adjacent to Jefferson's Monticello. His true calling, however, is politics, and in 1799 he is elected Governor of Virginia. Then Jefferson becomes president in

1801 and grooms both Madison and Monroe as likely successors. As special envoy to France, Monroe helps negotiate the Louisiana Purchase. He serves as Minister to Britain from 1803-1808, and rejects attempts by an anti-Jefferson wing of the Democratic-Republican Party to have him run against Madison in the 1808 election. Madison rewards his loyalty by naming him Secretary of State, an office he holds from 1811-1817. After the British burn Washington on August 24, 1814, he also assumes the post of Secretary of War until the fighting is over.

In 1816 he is a natural candidate to succeed Madison, and he goes on to complete two terms (1817-25) during a period that becomes known as the “Era of Good Feelings” – despite the nation’s first tremor around the issue of slavery, leading to the 1820 Missouri Compromise. His own recorded thoughts about slavery mirror Jefferson, and he is an early sponsor of the American Colonization Society. The capital city of Liberia, Monrovia, is named after him.

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Time: 1809

**Sidebar: For Sale – Monroe’s Plantation, Including A Stock of Cattle And Slaves**

*LOUDOUN LAND  
FOR SALE*

*For sale on Thursday, the 21st of December next on the premises, the tract of LAND on which the late Judge Jones resided in Loudoun County with about 25 slaves, and the stock of Horses, Cattle, and Hogs, on the estate. The tract contains nearly 2000 acres [8 km<sup>2</sup>], and possesses many advantages which entitle it to the attention of those who may wish to reside, in that highly improved part of our country. Two merchant mills are in the neighbourhood, one on the adjoining estate, and the other within two miles [3 km]. It is 10 miles [16 km] from Leesburg, 35 [56 km] from Alexandria and 40 [64 km] from Georgetown. The new, Turn-pike from Alexandria crosses a corner of the land, and terminates at the nearest merchant mill. The whole tract is remarkably well watered, Little river passing through the middle of it, and many small streams on each side emptying into that river. About 50 or 60 acres [200,000 or 240,000 m<sup>2</sup>] are already well set with timothy, and at leats 300 acres (1.2 km<sup>2</sup>) are capable of being made excellent meadow. It will be divided into tracts of different dimensions to suit the convenience of purchasers. A credit of one, two and three years will be allowed. Bonds with approved security, and a trust on the land will be required. The negroes are supposed to be very valuable, some of them being good house servants, and the others, principally, young men and women. For them the same terms of credit will be allowed, and that of a year for every other article.*

*N.B. The above lands, being yet unsold, notice is given that they will be disposed of, by private sale, upon terms which will be made known on application to Israel Lacy Esq. of Goshen, Col. Armstead T. Mason, near Leesburg, Maj. Charles Fenton Mercer of Leesburg, or to the subscriber, near Milton in Albemarle county.*

*JAMES MONROE.  
December, 23d 1809.*

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Time: March 4, 1817

## Monroe's First Inaugural Address



James Monroe (1758-1831)

The Capitol is still being rebuilt after the 1815 fire, when James Monroe is inaugurated, on March 4, 1817. The ceremony takes place in the temporary quarters of the House, known as the Brick Capitol. He is sworn in by his childhood friend, Chief Justice John Marshall, and then sets a precedent by stepping outside to deliver his address to a gathered crowd.

His speech begins by reflecting on the current state of the nation, which he finds flourishing under the government institutions in place since the Revolution.

*I should be destitute of feeling if I was not deeply affected by the strong proof which my fellow-citizens have given me of their confidence in calling me to the high office whose functions I am about to assume.... From the commencement of our Revolution to the present day almost forty years have elapsed... During a period fraught with difficulties and marked by very extraordinary events the United States have flourished beyond example. Their citizens individually have been happy and the nation prosperous.*

He then outlines several of his proposed priorities: strengthening the national defense; developing infrastructure and manufacturing to expand the domestic economy and export trade abroad; managing public finances; and achieving harmony between western settlers and the Indian tribes.

*In commencing the duties of the chief executive office it has been the practice of the distinguished men who have gone before me to explain the principles which would govern them in their respective Administrations.*

*National honor is national property of the highest value... To secure us against dangers our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our Army and Navy, regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing.*

*Other interests of high importance will claim attention, among which the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place.*

*Our manufacturers will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the Government*

*Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition it will enhance the price and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.*

*With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations and to act with kindness and liberality Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.*

*The great amount of our revenue and the flourishing state of the Treasury are a full proof of the competency of the national resources for any emergency, as they are of the willingness of our fellow-citizens to bear the burdens which the public necessities require*

*It is particularly gratifying to me to enter on the discharge of these duties at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it...*

Monroe concludes with comments on the favorable state of the nation, and a wish for help from both citizens and the Almighty in the job that lies ahead.

*Equally gratifying is it to witness the increased harmony of opinion which pervades our Union. Discord does not belong to our system.*

*Never did a government commence under auspices so favorable, nor ever was success so complete.*

*Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of the Government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens with my fervent prayers to the Almighty that He will be pleased to continue to us that protection which He has already so conspicuously displayed in our favor.*

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Time: (March 4, 1817 – March 3, 1821)

## **Overview Of Monroe's First Term**

In assembling his cabinet, Monroe begins with a heady move by naming John Quincy Adams as his choice for Secretary of State. Adams's foreign experience begins at age eleven when he accompanies his father to his post in Britain. From there he serves as a U.S. Senator, then as minister to the Netherlands, followed by Prussia, Russia and, from 1814-17 in England, where he

first establishes a level of respect and trust with then Secretary of State Monroe that endures. Politically, Adams has grown up a Federalist, but he is forced out of the party in 1807 when he helps to draft the 1807 Embargo Bill and caucuses with the Democratic-Republican side in choosing Madison as their 1808 nominee. The partnership between Monroe and JQA will compare with that between Jefferson and Madison.

The new President retains Crawford in his Treasury post, and reaches out to Congressman John Calhoun, an outspoken supporter of the 1812 conflict. These two, along with Adams, will contend to succeed Monroe when the 1824 presidential race begins.

**James Monroe Cabinet In 1817**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Home State</b>
Vice-President	Daniel Tompkins	New York
Secretary of State	J Quincy Adams	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	William Crawford	Georgia
Secretary of War	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
Secretary of the Navy	Benjamin Crowninshield	
Attorney General	Richard Rush	Pa son of Benj

Adams, like Monroe, believes that America is poised in 1817 to put aside its external concerns about safety and concentrate on its many opportunities for internal development.

*Every serious difficulty which seemed alarming to the people of the Union in 1800 had been removed or sunk from notice in 1816. With the disappearance of immediate peril, foreign or domestic, society could devote all its energies...to its favorite objects.*

This outlook is so pervasive that, in July 1817, the *Columbia Sentinel* newspaper declares that the nation has entered an “era of good feelings.” Symbolic of this view is the start of work on an audacious engineering project that will last for eight years – construction of the Erie Canal, which will ultimately create a water route for commerce from Lake Erie to New York harbor.

Unfortunately, the rosy outlook predicted upfront fails to materialize as planned.

First off, Monroe finds that the War of 1812 has had serious residual effects on the American economy, and these lead to the so-called “Panic of 1819.”

Then events in 1820 multiply the challenges.

In South America, the famous liberator, Simon Bolivar, is busily overthrowing Spain’s colonies, with the effects reaching all the way up to America’s southern neighbor, Mexico. Concerns mount about incursions from Spain or surrogates back into the Western Hemisphere. Troubles in Spanish Florida around rebel Seminole Indians increase these worries.

Then comes another shock, this time from a Pennsylvania congressman, James Talmadge, who offers up an amendment to a bill involving statehood for Missouri that sets off a firestorm around

the long suppressed topic of slavery. It will prove to be the opening thrust in a 40 year conflict between the South and the North that ends up in civil war.

The good news is that, by the close of his first term, Monroe has navigated many of these setbacks quite well.

### Key Events: Monroe's First Term (1817-1821)

<b>1817</b>	
March 4	Monroe inaugurated
July 4	Construction begins in Rome, NY on DeWitt Clinton's Erie Canal project
July 12	Columbia Sentinel newspaper dubs the period "the era of good feelings" in America
Sept 27	Ohio Indians cede 4 million acres of land to state of Ohio
Oct 8	John C. Calhoun named Secretary of War
November	First Seminole War begins
Dec 2	Monroe asserts that federal funds can be used for infrastructure projects
<b>1818</b>	
Jan 8	Sharp post-war declines in manufacturing output are recorded
Feb 28	New York passes bill requiring debts be paid with specie or US banknotes
May 24	General Andrew Jackson takes Spanish outpost at Pensacola, Florida
June 20	Connecticut becomes the first eastern state to drop property requirement for suffrage
July 1	Second US Bank tightens money supply by requiring states to pay off debts in gold
Aug 23	First steamship trip goes across Lake Erie to Detroit
Oct 19	Chickasaw Indians cede lands between Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers
Oct 20	US and Britain sign Convention of 1818 on Canadian borders, except for Oregon region
Nov 20	Bank of Kentucky suspends operations, causing public panic
Nov 28	JQ Adams informs Spain that it must either control Seminoles or cede Florida to US
Dec 3	Illinois admitted as 21 <sup>st</sup> state
<b>1819</b>	
January	Beginning of widespread bank failures, foreclosure and financial collapse
Jan 12	Clay bill to condemn Andrew Jackson's unilateral actions in Florida fails to pass
Feb 2	In <i>Dartmouth v Woodward</i> , Supreme Court says corporate charters are valid contracts
Feb 13	James Tallmadge seeks to amend Missouri statehood bill by ending slavery there
Feb 22	In Adams-Onis Treaty, Spain cedes East Florida to US for \$5MM and "hands-off Texas"
Feb 27	After Tallmadge Amendment passes in House on Feb 17, the Senate votes it down
Mar 6	In <i>McCulloch v Maryland</i> , Supreme Court says USB is legal and state cannot tax it



May 5	Sermon by William Ellery Channing announces Unitarian schism with Christian churches
June 20	Steamship Savannah completes trans-Atlantic journey to Liverpool
Dec 14	Alabama admitted as 22 <sup>nd</sup> state
<b>1820</b>	
Jan 23	The House votes to admit Maine as 23 <sup>rd</sup> state, but the senate holds this up
Jan 26	The House supports the Taylor amendment allowing Missouri to enter as a slave state
Feb 6	Ship carrying 86 free blacks sets sail from New York headed to Sierra Leone
Feb 17	The Thomas amendment in the Senate adds the 36°30' free/slave dividing line in La. land
Mar 3	Missouri Compromise admits Maine as free, Missouri as slave state and 36°30' as redline
Mar 15	Maine is admitted as 23 <sup>rd</sup> state, making 12 free and 11 slave at the moment
April 24	Public Land Act passes: price/acre down from \$2 to \$1.25; minimum plot from 160 to 80
May 15	To stop smuggling of foreign slaves into US, congress deems this piracy punishable by death
July 19	Initial Missouri constitution bars free blacks and mulattos from entering the state
Dec 6	Monroe wins second term in a landslide
December	Kentucky Relief Party set up to relieve debtors, opposed by Clay, supported by Jackson
<b>1821</b>	
Jan 17	Spain gives Moses and son Stephen Austin okay to settle 300 Americans in San Antonio
Feb 24	Mexico declares independence from Spain
Mar 2	Congress agrees to admit Missouri, if it drops unconstitutional ban against free blacks
--	Benjamin Lundy begins publishing <i>Genius of Universal Emancipation</i> newspaper

## Chapter 37 - America Experiences A Post-War Economic Depression

Time: 1812-1814

### The War Of 1812 Prompts A “Boom Cycle” In America’s Economy

From his first day in office, James Monroe is plagued by the economic troubles he inherits from his predecessor.



A \$50 Banknote

These materialize out of the “boom-bust cycle” that begins in 1812 as America gears up to fight the war with Britain.

A continental army needs to be formed and equipped, housed and fed, transported and re-supplied, all in a short time frame and with no clear-cut end in sight. Additionally, the British blockade of American ports greatly increased the need for domestically produced goods.

#### “Boom Cycle” During War Of 1812

GDP	1812	1813	1814
\$ 000	786	969	1,078
% Ch	2%	23%	11%
Per Cap	103	123	133

Taken together, this increased “demand” represented a windfall opportunity for a host of suppliers – who turn to local bankers to borrow the money needed to invest in added capacity.

The banks are only too happy to comply with this increased demand for more loans, often at higher than usual rates of interest.

But many face a problem: a lack of sufficient cash on hand to complete the loans.

They solve this problem by resorting to a time-honored tactic – simply printing and issuing more soft money banknotes, while ignoring the rules about properly “backing them” with reserves of gold or silver.

The result is a sharp increase in the money supply in circulation, followed by inflation.

The price of goods across the economy goes up in response to a decline in the “true value/buying power” of each dollar in the system.

And, in 1812, there is no longer a federal Bank of the United States in place to curtail the run-away printing of soft money unrelated to specie on hand. That’s because Jefferson views the BUS as another of Hamilton’s monarchistic devices to centralize governmental power – and he allows its charter to expire in 1811.

By 1813 then the American economy is enjoying a flat-out “boom cycle.”

Those who have taken out loans for investment are reaping large gains in profit, and are able to pay off their debts to the banks in full and on time. In turn, bankers are able to meet their payments to depositors, while also increasing their own private profits.

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Time: 1815-1816

### A “Bust Cycle” Follows When The War Ends

The increased prosperity continues until the war with Britain comes to a close in 1815.

At which time, the ramped-up “demand” for goods suddenly drops, and suppliers find themselves with excess inventory they can’t sell, along with excess operating costs they need to shed.

The more conservative investors are able to work their way back to a sustainable equilibrium; but others are left with crippling financial losses.

When their banks demand pay back on their loans taken, they are left in default.

This signals the shift from “boom cycle to bust cycle.”

The rapid economic growth evident in 1813 and 1814 disappears, and down years take over.

#### “Bust Cycle” Begins At End Of War

	1814	1815	1816
\$ 000	1,078	925	819
% Ch	11%	(14%)	(11%)
Per Cap	\$133	111	96

The early losses materialize in 1815 and 1816, while Madison is still in office. Aggregate demand for goods drops, along with production. Prices increase as the excess money supply leads on to inflation.

As alarm sets in, Treasury Secretary Gallatin finally persuades Madison to reverse his opposition to Hamilton's financial model, and the Second Bank of the United States is approved in 1816.

Its role is twofold:

- To restore credibility to the nation's supply of soft money and thereby tamp down inflation; and
- To expand the revenue available to the federal government through the issuance of treasury bonds.

In 1817 the burden falls on Monroe and Crawford to successfully execute this strategy.

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Time: 1817-1818

### **America's First Prolonged Depression Sets In**

Nothing they do, however, can unwind the problems facing the banking system – in what will go down as the “Financial Panic of 1819.”

Because once the bankers are out on a limb, wantonly printing money to chase windfall profits, there are no easy fixes if the loans they've made cannot be paid back.

By 1818 that outcome is all too often the norm.

Widespread defaults on loans rapidly upsets the delicate cash flow balance that keeps banks viable.

Incoming cash from interest on their loans falls short of outgoing cash needed to pay interest to depositors.

The banks are now in a spiraling “money squeeze” of their own.

In an often desperate search for more incoming cash, the banks “foreclose” on customers whose loans are in default. But these foreclosures often leave them with assets (e.g. homes, farms, goods) they don't want to hold and can only sell at rock bottom prices.

Public protests call for “stay laws” to delay loan repayments and foreclosures, as general hostility toward banks spreads. Ohio congressman William Henry Harrison captures this anger, when he says:

*I hate all banks!*

As the “squeeze” on local banks continues, the Second Bank of the United States launches a new policy that will make things even more difficult in the short-run.

It requires that state banks complete future transactions with the BUS using gold or silver specie rather than paper currency. (Andrew Jackson will repeat this same tactic some seventeen years hence.)

On the surface, the rationale for this move is sound. The federal government itself still needs to pay off sizable loans made by foreign investors during the 1812 War – and the demand here is for gold or silver coins rather than soft money. In addition, transactions in specie are also intended to reassert the need for adequate bank reserves, reduce over-printing of soft currency and reduce inflation. All worthy goals.

But many local banks who wish to borrow money from the BUS to offset their cash flow problems now find that “window” closed to them because their inventory of specie is too limited.

All that’s left for them at this point is to refuse payments of interest to their depositors – and when this happens, panic sets in among their customers. “Runs on banks” pop up around the country, as depositors line up to withdraw their life’s savings before whatever cash left on hand runs out.

This simply accelerates the downward cycle until the target banks are forced to close their doors.

In 1818 the Bank of Kentucky suspends all operations – a fate shared by roughly 30% of the nation’s 420 state banks over the course of the panic.

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Time: 1819-1820

### **Time Alone Ends The Downturn**

As 1819 plays out, all that can go wrong with America’s capitalistic system has gone wrong.

The allure of windfall profits has upped the demand for speculative loans. Banks respond by wantonly printing paper money not backed by gold or silver reserves. Uncontrolled expansion of the money supply erodes the true value of cash and leads to damaging price inflation. The anticipated windfall profits dry up due to a sudden change in external conditions (in this case, the end of the war). When loans come due, borrowers are unable to pay them off. Defaults upset the bank’s cash flow balance and they lack the money needed to pay interest due on deposits. Panic sets in among all depositors leading to “runs” on banks who are then forced to shut down.

Unfortunately, history will show this pattern of economic boom and bust repeating itself in America every two decades or so – thus the panics of 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, 1907, 1929, and so forth.

Many lives are damaged by its effects.

In Pennsylvania, land values plummet from \$150 per acre in 1815 to \$35 in 1819. Over 50,000 men are unemployed in Philadelphia, and some 1800 are sent to debtor’s prison. Beggars appear on city streets, along with soup kitchens and homeless shelters.

Senator John Calhoun sums up conditions in 1820:

*There has been within these two years an immense revolution of fortunes in every part of the Union; enormous numbers of persons utterly ruined; multitudes in deep distress.*

In the end, the depression extends over six years, roughly from 1815 to 1820 – although GDP per capita remains depressed until many years later.

**GDP Trends During The Depression Following The War Of 1812**

	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825
\$ 000	1,078	925	819	769	737	726	710	735	805	759	754	822
% Ch	11%	(14%)	(11%)	(6%)	(4%)	(2%)	(2%)	3%	9%	(6%)	(1%)	9%
Per Cap	\$133	111	96	87	81	78	74	74	79	72	70	74

Government policies do not escape criticism during the downturn – and ominously some of the anger takes on a sectional tone.

When first passed in April 1816, the “Dallas Tariff” on imported goods is almost universally approved.

But three years later, as the depression drags on with Monroe in office, it begins to come under attack.

The South wants the tariff lowered -- so that prices on finished goods (e.g. clothing) from Europe will fall, domestic sales will grow, and the export market for raw cotton will spike up, along with planter’s profits.

New Englanders want exactly the opposite. Aside from raising federal revenue, the tariff was adopted to “protect” American manufacturing of finished goods – by keeping the prices of domestically produced goods below their European competition.

This North-South tension over the tariff is soon to be further fueled in 1820 by controversies surrounding admission of Missouri as the 23<sup>rd</sup> state in the Union.



promised generous land grants, and slavery is permitted to draw Southern settlers and crops, especially cotton and indigo.

But British control over the two Floridas is only twelve years old when America's Revolutionary War erupts.

The early settlers side unequivocally with the Crown, and local militias are called out for defense. When the conflict shifts to the southern theater in 1780, the Floridians are comforted by early victories at Charleston and Savannah. Then comes the stunning defeat at Yorktown in 1781, followed by the 1783 Treaty of Ghent, where America's negotiators take what they can get: formal recognition of their independence and British land from west of the Appalachians to the Mississippi.

Canada remains in British hands and La Florida is returned to France's ally, Spain.

In regaining the two Floridas, Spain controls almost all of the critical southern port cities along the Gulf of Mexico, save for New Orleans, which America wins in the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Almost inevitably a string of border disputes erupt between Spain and the US, starting in the west.

Jefferson argues that West Florida is actually a part of its 1803 acquisition from France, and Madison supports the 1810 takeover of Baton Rouge. He then orders American troops to secure control over all of West Florida in 1813.



American Seizures of the two Floridas

Under Madison, the focus shifts to East Florida, with tensions centering on its status as a haven for run-away slaves from Georgia and South Carolina, and ongoing raids by Seminole tribes north of the border.



These raids are initially suppressed in 1816 by General Andrew Jackson's in the First Seminole War.

In 1818 Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, again calls upon Jackson to march into Spanish Florida.

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Time: 1818

### General Andrew Jackson Rampages Across Florida



Map of General Andrew Jackson's Florida Incursion in 1818 from the Apalachicola (left) to the Suwannee Rivers (right)

General Jackson of course has won national fame during the War of 1812 with his landmark victories at Horseshoe Bend and New Orleans, so he is well accustomed to leading troops into action.

On March 15, 1818, Jackson sets out against East Florida from Ft. Scott (upper left) with a mixed force of some 4200 regulars, militia and friendly Creek Indians. Moving south down the Apalachicola River, he pauses to construct a new stronghold, Ft. Gadsden (lower left), and garrisons some his troops there.

He then swings back up north and east, assaulting and burning an Indian village at Tallahassee on March 31, and taking the town of Miccosukee the following day.

The General continues south to San Marcos de Apalache, a port city on the Gulf of Mexico, home to the Spanish Fort of St. Marks -- where he finds two British nationals, Robert Ambrister and Alexander Arbuthnot, who are rumored to be selling guns to the Indians. Jackson sets up a court martial to try both men, who are found guilty. Ambrister is executed by firing squad on April 29, and Arbuthnot is hanged.

After a sweep further east along the Suwanee River, Jackson feels he has accomplished his mission, and heads back west, first to Ft. Gadsden and then into West Florida, where he reduces the Spanish Ft. Barrancas at Pensacola on May 28.

This ends Jackson's ten-week rampage across northern Florida.



Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

It is followed, however, by a barrage of criticism back in Washington that will forever make adversaries of Jackson and then Speaker of the House, Henry Clay, and some twelve years later divide President Jackson from his then Vice-President Calhoun.

Clay regards Jackson's executions at St. Marks and his seizure of Pensacola as "acts of war," carried out in rogue fashion by the General without authorization from Congress, as required in the Constitution.



Henry Clay (1777-1852)

When Clay's complaint is discussed within Monroe's cabinet, Calhoun attempts to dodge responsibility, saying that Jackson exceeded his orders and should be arrested -- a political maneuver that Jackson learns of more than a decade later.

Jackson's successes are again applauded by the public, and he defends himself, arguing that he was acting under direct orders to carry out his patriotic duty.

But Clay is undeterred. He calls congressional hearings to review the Ambrister and Arbuthnot cases and presses to officially censure Jackson.

At this point, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams steps in and argues that his colleagues should back off from their attacks on Jackson.

*My principle is that everything he did was defensive; that as such it was neither war against Spain nor violation of the Constitution.*

This works, but the General will neither forget nor forgive Clay, and the Speaker will henceforth refer to Jackson as “King Andrew,” ever ready to act above the law.

Their very personal feud will continue all the way up to Jackson’s death in 1845.

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Time: February 22, 1819

### Spain Cedes Florida To America In The Adams-Onís Treaty



As Jackson is on the march, Adams is continuing to negotiate with Luis de Onís, Spain’s ambassador to the United States, to acquire Florida. Onís is a clever adversary according to Adams:

*A finished scholar in the Spanish procrastinating school of diplomacy.*

The Minister has long tried to deflect inquiries about surrendering any of Spain's land holdings in America, be they related to La Florida or to the vast territory west of the Louisiana Territory.

But by 1818 Spain's colonial empire in the western hemisphere is crumbling. One attempt at independence has already been made and turned back in Mexico, and the liberator, Simon Bolivar, is well on his way to ending Spanish rule in South America.

So when Secretary of State Adams approaches Onis again about Florida, the door is opened to resolution.

Onis recognizes that Spain's military forces in Florida are incapable of controlling the border – either to stop further Seminole incursions into Georgia or to drive out American occupiers. Thus trying to hold on to Florida strikes him as a lost cause.

Instead, his focus turns to protecting Spain's much more important boundaries in the west – from Texas and Mexico all the way across the southwest to the Pacific coast. The key to this lies in defining exactly where America's Louisiana Purchase land ends and where Spanish land begins.

Disputes on this have surfaced repeatedly since Napoleon's 1803 sale – and Adams and Onis begin negotiations far apart on their claims. Adams argues that American land should extend to the Rio Grande River, thus encompassing the province of Tejas. Onis counters by asserting that the proper boundary should be far east, at the Mississippi River.



The Disputed Province of Tejas/Texas

After this difference stalls progress, Adams takes a hard-nosed stance, essentially an ultimatum, “giving” on the Rio Grande proposal, while demanding a line that goes north along the Mississippi, then west on the Sabine and Red Rivers, then north again to the Arkansas, followed by another northward turn to the 42<sup>nd</sup> parallel and all the way from there to the west coast.

If accepted, such a line would insure that America would become a transcontinental nation, with the Oregon Territory becoming its window on the Pacific.

To further provoke a settlement, Adams writes a long memorandum to the Spanish government in Madrid asserting that Jackson’s actions were in self-defense, and that the “derelict province” of Florida must either be properly policed or ceded immediately.

Spain finally capitulates some nine months after Jackson’s occupation. On February 22, 1819, the Adams-Onis (Transcontinental) Treaty is signed by the two diplomats. The key provisions include:

- Spain cedes West and East Florida to the United States for \$5,000;
- The western border of the Louisiana Purchase is resolved;
- Spain gives up its claims north of the 42<sup>nd</sup> parallel (Oregon);
- The U.S. formally gives up its claims to the Texas territory.

Henry Clay feels that the treaty gives up too much, especially as it relates to Texas, which many have viewed as part of the Louisiana Purchase.

But the Senate passes the Treaty on February 24, 1819, and, under the terms, it goes into effect two years later.

The ever-self-critical Adams will later reflect on his work in uncharacteristically effusive terms:

*The Florida Treaty was the most important incident in my life, and the most successful negotiation ever consummated by the Government of this nation.*



## Chapter 39 - The Marshall Court Issues Three Landmark Legal Rulings

Time: March 16, 1810

### **In *Fletcher v Peck* The Supreme Court Overturns A State Law As Unconstitutional**

Between 1801 and 1835 President Monroe, childhood friend, John Marshall, will lead the Supreme Court to a series of rulings that define and enforce the laws of the land.

In 1803 his ruling in the famous case of *Marbury v Madison* establishes the Supreme Court as final arbiter over the meaning of the articles and clauses in the 1787 Constitution

In 1810 the *Fletcher v Peck* dispute from Georgia finds the Supreme Court further asserting its authority -- overturning a bill passed by a state legislature on the grounds that it violates the federal constitution.

The focus here is on “contract law,” with the facts of the case as follows.

After the Revolutionary War, the state of Georgia claims ownership of territory to its west, known as the Yazoo Lands or the Indian Reserve. This is a vast expanse, some 35 million acres in total, which will ultimately encompass the states of Alabama and Mississippi.

In 1795 land speculators hand over bribes to members of the Georgia state legislature to sell them the Yazoo lands for less than two-cents an acre.

When word of the bribery slips out, voters elect a new set of representatives in 1796, who pass a statute voiding the prior sale. Widespread confusion about ownership follows, and many lawsuits are filed.

One of these suits involves a parcel of 15,000 acres, sold by John Peck to Robert Fletcher, before the 1796 bill went into effect.

Fletcher still wants the land, but wishes to make sure that it is unencumbered by the 1796 statute. So he files a suit against Peck in 1803 to find out for sure.

After many back and forth rulings in lower courts, the suit finally reaches Marshall in February, 1810 – with the question focused on whether the 1796 state legislature acted legally in overturning the corrupt 1795 land sale.

The opinion is delivered on March 16, 1810, with Marshall summing up a unanimous 5-0 decision.

Despite the corruption surrounding the contract signed in 1795, the Marshall Court decides that the attempt by the 1796 legislature to overturn it violates Article I, Section 10, Clause 1 of the U.S. Constitution.

*No State shall pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts*

This decision, favoring Peck's claim of ownership, is the first time the Supreme Court declares that a state law must be voided because it is unconstitutional. It will not, however, be the last time that Marshall limits the power of the states.

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Time: February 2, 1819

### **The *Dartmouth College v Woodward* Decision Defines Rights For American Corporations**

During Monroe's presidency, several other High Court decisions will prove particularly impactful.

The first, in 1819, involves an attempt by the state of New Hampshire to take control over Dartmouth College, a private institution, by replacing its existing trustees with a slate of their own.

Dartmouth is founded in by a Congregationalist minister, Eleazar Wheelock, as a school for missionaries and Native Americans. A corporate charter, approved by the Royal Governor of New Hampshire colony in 1769, sets up two boards of trustees – one English and one American – to oversee college finances.



Daniel Webster (1782-1852)

Wheelock dies in 1779 and is succeeded by his son, John, who encounters financial difficulties that threaten the viability and assets of the college. This prompts several, now American--only, board members to demand his resignation. When he refuses, they turn to Anti-Federalist members of the state legislature, who pass a bill converting Dartmouth from a private to a public school and naming a new set of trustees.

But others on the board oppose the change, arguing that, according to Article I, Section 10 of the Constitution, the government has no right to interfere with the operations of a private corporation.



In February 1817 they file a law suit against William H. Woodward, one of the original trustee dissidents, now serving as Secretary-Treasurer on the replacement state-sponsored board. The suit demands that the college be returned to private status, and that Woodward be compelled to return all records and seals, while also paying a \$50,000 fine.

The Supreme Court of New Hampshire, however, rules in favor of Woodward – on the grounds that the school’s corporate charter was null and void after the Revolutionary War and independence from the Crown. This ruling is sufficiently important and controversial that the Marshall Court decides to review it.

The plaintiff’s case is argued by Daniel Webster, at 37 years already regarded as the leading constitutional lawyer in America, and a former two term member from New Hampshire in the U.S. House (1813-17).

Over time, Webster will argue some 223 cases before the Supreme Court, winning roughly half of them. In this instance, the matter is very personal to him, since he is an 1801 Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Dartmouth.

“Black Dan” Webster is forever an imposing figure in the courtroom and the halls of Congress, and his pleas ring with an emotional fervor that seldom fails to touch the minds and the hearts of his audiences. This is again the case in his summation to the Chief Justice about Dartmouth:

*This, sir, is my case. It is the case not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in our land... Sir, you may destroy this little institution; it is weak; it is in your hands! I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out. But if you do so you must carry through your work! You must extinguish, one after another, all those greater lights of science which for more than a century have thrown their radiance over our land. It is, sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet there are those who love it!*

By a 5-1 majority, the Supreme Court comes down in favor of Webster and the inviolability of Dartmouth’s corporate charter, albeit originally signed with King George III.

This ruling will have a profound effect on the evolution of “private corporations” in America.

It establishes the principle that private corporations are allowed to operate in their own self-interest rather than on behalf of the state.

They cannot act in violation of state or federal laws. But they have the right to pursue their own ends – for example “adding to the wealth of their shareholders” – without arbitrary or frivolous interference from government.

In 1825 the Court will re-visit the rights of corporations in: *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts v Town of Pawlet*. Here the state of Vermont tries to revoke land grants held by an English corporation dedicated to Christian missionary work in America.

Again, the Marshall court sides with the corporation against the state.

Writing for the majority, Justice Joseph Story concludes that corporations enjoy the same rights to their property that are enjoyed by everyday citizens.

Over time, Story’s analogy between the rights of individual people and corporations – literally a “body of people” – catches hold as a precedent in common law.

In 1832, Marshall picks up on Story’s analogy in defining another characteristic of corporations, namely their right to exist beyond the lifetimes of their original founders.

*The great object of an incorporation is to bestow the character and properties of individuality on a collective and changing body of men.*

The principle that corporations have the right to establish their own charters, to possess property and to endure across generations becomes a driving force in the development of private businesses and economic growth in America.

Backed by a 5-1 majority, Marshall argues that a corporate charter is a “contract” and, as such, it cannot be arbitrarily breached by the state.

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Time: March 16, 1819

### **The *McCulloch v Maryland* Decision Declares That Federal Laws Trump State Laws**

Six weeks after the Dartmouth College decision, on March 16, 1819, the Marshall court again reins in the power of individual state legislatures.

This time the state in question is Maryland, and its adversary is none other than the federal government itself.

The dispute arises when the Second Bank of the United States decides to operate a branch in the city of Baltimore, and the Maryland legislature passes a bill to collect a state tax on transactions done by the bank.

The head of the US Bank, James McCulloch, refuses to pay the tax, and goes to court to affirm the legality of his refusal. But the Maryland Court of Appeals not only rules against McCulloch, it also declares that the federal government had no right under the Constitution to even charter a Bank of the United States in the first place.

According to Maryland, the Constitution says nothing about the federal government’s role in establishing bank charters, and, therefore, under the Tenth Amendment, it is the “state’s right” to act as it sees fit.

Here indeed is a constitutional question around defining federal vs. state powers that is worthy of the Supreme Court's closest scrutiny.

In the final ruling, backed by a 7-0 majority, Marshall opens the door to a broad interpretation of the powers the founders intended to place in the hands of the federal government.

He first observes that no single document could be expected to provide a list of enumerated powers sufficiently detailed and comprehensive enough to cover all issues coming before the courts.

From there he zeros in on Article 1, section 8, clause 18 of the Constitution and the notion that the federal legislature has the power to pass whatever laws it deems "necessary and proper" to fulfill its duty to the citizens.

*The Congress shall have power to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution...the powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States.*

But what is "necessary and proper" when it comes to banking?

For the Marshall court, it is whatever the voice of the people deem it to be when the issues are debated and voted upon by their representatives in Congress.

Thus the fact that the first session of Congress found it "necessary and proper" to charter the First Bank of the United States provides a sound precedent for the legitimacy of a Second U.S. Bank.

Finally, the decision to charter the U.S. Bank was reached at the national level, by majority rule, after all sides had a chance to make their arguments pro or con. Surely the voice of the people operating together as a unified nation deserves to trump the voice of any one dissident state.

So Marshall and his colleagues side unanimously with McCulloch over Maryland.

For the Jeffersonians, this decision threatens their wish to limit federal powers via the Tenth Amendment.

*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.*

If the Congress in D.C. gets to decide what is "necessary and proper" when it comes to setting up bank charters, what else might follow from this precedent?

For many Southerners, the focus turns immediately to "the future of slavery."

Yes, the right to own slaves within the 1787 boundaries of the United States is expressly stated. But does that right extend automatically to new land, such as the Louisiana Territory, acquired after the original contract between the states?

Or, based on this Marshall Court principle, will the Federal legislature claim that it is “necessary and proper” for this decision to rest on their shoulders?

If so, many Southerners begin to see the Federal legislature as a clear and present danger to their economic prosperity. What would happen to future “demand” for their cotton and their slaves if the U.S. Congress decided to “contain slavery” within its original boundaries rather than allow it to spread across the Mississippi River?

In 1820 that question will move from idle speculation among wealthy planters to center stage on the floor of Congress.

## Chapter 40 – A Crisis Over Slavery Is Averted By The “Missouri Compromise”

Time: February 13, 1819

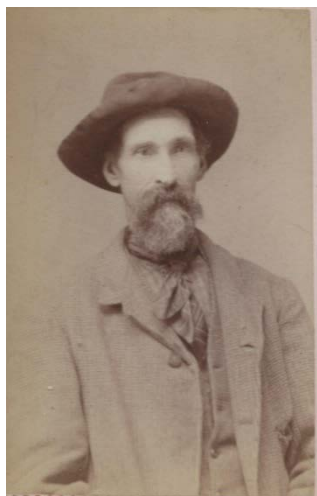
### Missouri Applies To Become America’s 44<sup>th</sup> State



The Proposed State of Missouri (yellow), Bordering Illinois, in 1819

On February 13, 1819, a bill is laid before the House of Representatives to authorize the settlers in the Missouri territory to form a state constitution and apply for admission to the Union.

Missouri has grown up around the boom town of St. Louis, which the French settle in 1673. By 1818 St. Louis is a key port for the new steamboat trade along the Mississippi, and it offers its 9500 inhabitants a post office, three banks, a flour mill, several distilleries and a brewery, along with roughly 40 retail storefronts.



A Western Settler

As soon as the territory population hits the 60,000 threshold, Missouri is eager to become America’s 23<sup>rd</sup> state.

At first glance, this seems simple enough. The process required is laid out in the Enabling Act of 1802, and it has been used successfully to admit five new western states from Ohio in 1804 to Illinois in 1818.

But Missouri comes with a difference. It will be the first state west of the Mississippi River, situated on “new land” acquired in the Louisiana Purchase.

It will also be the first state where the presence or absence of slavery is not determined according to the Ohio River line of demarcation, as laid out in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

As such, it ignites a fresh debate about what “slavery policy” should apply on this new soil.

An outcome in favor of extending slavery across the river is crucial to the South!

For two reasons. The first is economic. The old South has bet its future wealth on opening new plantations in the west to buy its excess slaves and to grow cotton. Missouri is a prime prospect for this scenario, but only if slavery is allowed. The second reason relates to political power. If slavery is allowed, the South would gain a 24-22 edge vs. the North in Senate seats and greater leverage over all forms of future federal legislation.

The Southern case is also bolstered by the fact that over 10,000 slaves, about 1 in 6 of all settlers, already reside in Missouri by 1819.

Surely, the argument goes, the federal government has no right to deprive owners of migrating with their existing “property in slaves” into whatever territory they choose.

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Time: 1607 Forward

### **Northerners Fear Expansion Of The Black Population**

Northern legislators are not, however, ready to go along with the southern plan.

Their publicly stated rationales vary widely.

- Some point to a map showing that 90% of the Missouri landmass lies due west of Illinois, a “free state” – under the 1787 Northwest Ordinance line of demarcation traced by the Ohio River.
- Others argue that making Missouri a “slave state” would set a precedent for its western neighbor, the Nebraska territory, drawing plantation owners onto land already set aside for the “relocation” of the eastern Indian tribes.
- A few rail against the South for trying to use Missouri to gain a voting edge in the Senate.

But behind these rationales lies a simpler truth – recognition by northern politicians that their white populations hope to cleanse all blacks, slave or free, from living in their midst.

Attempts to do so are already well established by 1819. “Black codes” discouraging freed men from living in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois are already in place, and “modifications” to state Constitutions begin to materialize. Thus the apparently high-minded first clause opposing slavery in the states...

*Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall be hereafter introduced in this state.*

Is followed by a subsequent clause which bans free blacks from taking up residency within state borders:

*No free negro or mulatto not residing in this state at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall come, reside or be within this state*

The message here is clear – all blacks, slave or free, stay out! They are viewed as a menace to white society, and it is up to the South to deal with “their problem,” not spread it to the North

On February 3, 1819, a New York congressman delivers this same blunt message to his colleagues in an amendment to the Missouri admission bill.

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Timeline: February 13, 1819

### **The Tallmadge Amendment Sparks A Firestorm In Congress Over Slavery**

The congressman is James Tallmadge, Jr., a 41 year old graduate of Brown University, a lawyer and ex-soldier in the War of 1812. When the Missouri bill arrives on the floor, he is about to end his one and only term in congress, and is away from DC mourning the recent loss of an infant son.

He returns, however, with a proposal, forever known as the Tallmadge Amendment, which seeks to attach the following rider to the bill granting statehood for Missouri:

*Provided, that the further introduction of slavery...be prohibited...and that all children born within the said State after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years.*

In a flash, the floor debate shifts from admitting Missouri to banning the spread of slavery!

For two days, Tallmadge is attacked by Southerners in the House, before he rises on February 16 to defend his proposal, with arguments that will echo all the way to 1861.

He reassures the audience by acknowledging that slavery was thrust upon America by the British rather than initiated here.

*Slavery is an evil brought upon us without our own fault, before the formation of our government, and as one of the sins of that nation from which we have revolted.*

He also points out that his amendment does not call for abolition in existing states.

*When I had the honor to submit to this House the amendment now under consideration I accompanied it with a declaration...that I would in no manner intermeddle with the slaveholding states.*

*While we deprecate and mourn over the evil of slavery, humanity and good morals require us to wish its abolition, under circumstances consistent with the safety of the white population.*

*I admitted all that had been said of the danger of having free blacks visible to slaves, and therefore did not hesitate to pledge myself that I would neither advise nor attempt coercive manumission..*

Instead, his focus is on opposing the spread of “the evil” into the new territories.

*But, sir, all these reasons cease when we cross the banks of the Mississippi, a newly acquired territory never contemplated in the formation of our government, not included within the compromise or mutual pledge in the adoption of our Constitution — a territory acquired by our common fund, and ought justly to be subject to our common legislation.*

He expresses shock over the intemperate responses he has experienced.

*When I submitted the amendment now under consideration...I did expect that gentlemen would meet me with moderation. But...expressions of much intemperance followed. Mr. Cobb of Georgia said that “if we persist the Union will be dissolved ; and, with a fixed look on me, he told us, “ we have kindled a fire, which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out ; which seas of blood can only extinguish !”*

*Sir, has it already come to this — that, in the legislative councils of Republican America, the subject of slavery has become a subject of so much feeling — of so much delicacy — of such danger, that it cannot safely be discussed?*

But is unwilling to back down, even if it were to mean civil war.

*Language of this sort has no effect on me ; my purpose is fixed ; it is interwoven with my existence ; its durability is limited with my life ; it is a great and glorious cause, setting bounds to a slavery, the most cruel and debasing the world has ever witnessed ; it is the freedom of man ; it is the cause of unredeemed and unregenerated human beings.*

*If civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten, must come, I can only say, let it come!*

*I know the will of my constituents, and, regardless of consequences, I will avow it as their representative, I will proclaim their hatred of slavery, in every shape.*

During the debate, the horrors of slavery have passed by the very windows of the Capitol.



*A slave driver, a trafficker in human flesh, has passed the door of your Capitol, on his way to the West, driving before him about fifteen of these wretched victims of his power, torn from every relation, and from every tie which the human heart can hold dear.*

*The males, who might raise the arm of vengeance and retaliate for their wrongs, were hand-cuffed, and chained to each other, while the females and children were marched in their rear, under the guidance of the driver's whip ! Yes, sir, such has been the scene witnessed from the windows of Congress Hall, and viewed by members who compose the legislative councils of Republican America.*

The slaves are both the greatest cause of individual danger and of national weakness.

*Extend slavery, this bane of man, this abomination of heaven, over your extended empire, and you prepare its dissolution.*

*By your own procurement, you have placed amidst your families, and in the bosom of your country, a population producing, at once, the greatest cause of individual danger and of national weakness.*

Some slaves may be contented, but others might seek revenge if given the chance.

*When honorable gentlemen inform us, we overrate the cruelty and the dangers of slavery, and tell us that their slaves are happy and contented... they do not tell us, that the slaves of some depraved and cruel wretch, in their neighborhood, may be stimulated to revenge, and thus involve the country in ruin.*

Spreading their presence only threatens the white population and order in our society.

*It has been urged... that we should spread the slaves now in our country, and thus diminish the dangers from them.. (But) it is our business so to legislate, as never to encourage, but always to control this evil ; and, while we strive to eradicate it, we ought to fix its limits, and render it subordinate to the safety of the white population, and the good order of civil society.*

Finally, banning slavery in the new territory in no way violates the 1787 Constitution.

*We have been told by those who advocate the extension of slavery into the Missouri, that any attempt to control this subject by legislation, is a violation of that faith and mutual confidence, upon which our Union was formed, and our Constitution adopted.*

*This argument might be considered plausible, if the restriction was attempted to be enforced against any of the slave- holding states, which had been a party in the adoption of the Constitution. But it can have no reference or application to a new district of country, recently acquired, and never contemplated in the formation of government.*

Talmadge closes his rebuttal with a call for House support of his amendment.

*Sir, I shall bow in silence to the will of the majority, on whichever side it shall be expressed; yet I confidently hope that majority will be found on the side of an amendment, so replete with moral consequences, so pregnant with important political results.*

In one fell swoop, this February 16, 1819, rebuttal to the South by Tallmadge picks the scab off the sectional wounds that threatened in 1787 to derail the effort to arrive at a national Constitution and Union.

The heated exchanges remind many present of those at Philadelphia between Gouverneur Morris, the ardently anti-slavery delegate from Pennsylvania, and his pro-slavery antagonist James Rutledge of South Carolina.

Tallmadge has let the slavery genie out of the bottle and for the next four decades future members of Congress will be left to struggle with this fact.

Two founding fathers weigh in on the debate. In a letter to his wife, John Adams comments:

*Negro Slavery is an evil of Colossal magnitude and I am utterly averse to the admission of Slavery into the Missouri Territories.*

Meanwhile, from his peaceful mountaintop in Monticello, the 76 year old Thomas Jefferson, recognizes the import of the Tallmadge Amendment:

*This momentous question, like a **fire bell in the night**, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union.*

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Timeline: February 17, 1819

### **House Passage Of The Tallmadge Amendment Shocks The South**

On February 17, 1819, the Tallmadge Amendment passes the House, with support from Northern and Western congressmen outweighing Southern opposition.

The margin of victory is 87-76 on the clause “prohibiting further introduction” of new slaves and 82-78 on the clause “freeing any born after admission at age 25 years.”

This loss shocks the South.

Its assumption has been that since some 10,000 slaves are already present in the Missouri territory, congress would have to approve the practice as a fait d’accompli.

Instead they are faced with several alarming new realities.

First and foremost, that white people outside the South are ready to resist the introduction of blacks within their state boundaries, for a variety of reasons. Simple racism is one, the conviction that blacks are an inferior species, only 3/5<sup>th</sup> of a human. Outright fear is another, the belief that blacks will try to kill whites if given the chance. A third centers on western settlers who do not want to compete with rich planters in buying farmland. Then there is a feeling among some that the intrinsic value and dignity of the white man's labor is diminished by sub-human blacks performing similar tasks under a whip, and for no pay.

A second reality is that the House of Representatives – the people's house – will henceforth become a forum for voicing opposition to the further spread of slavery. The topic will no longer be off limits as has been the case for three decades.

And a third reality, the unavoidable reality that the make-up of the House is going against the South, as the membership tilts North and West in response to shifts in population density.

**Shift In House Of Representative Membership: 1790 To 1820**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>Border</b>	<b>West</b>
1792	132	72	45	15	0
1820	205	98	58	22	27
Change	+73	+26	+13	+7	+27

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Time: February 21 – March 2, 1819

**The Senate Rejects The Controversial Amendment**

To defend itself, the South looks to the Senate where voting power remains evenly split between the eleven slave states and the eleven free states.

The House bill is brought to the floor on February 21 by Senator Charles Tait of Georgia, who is serving his final year in Congress before appointment as a federal judge.

Vigorous debates follow off and on over the next nine days.

The result, however, is a victory for the South.

The first clause in the Talmadge bill – prohibiting slavery in Missouri – is defeated by a wide margin of 31 to 7.

The second clause – favoring gradual emancipation – is much closer, although still voted down by 22-16.

In turn, the original Missouri Admission bill – minus the Tallmadge amendments -- is returned to the House.

But the House is not about to be ram-rodged by the Senate's action.

A serious threat to the entire statehood process is barely avoided when the House refuses a motion to indefinitely suspend consideration of Missouri's application. Instead, the lower chamber votes again in favor of the original Tallmadge Amendment bill and returns it to the Senate.

The process is now stalemated, and the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress adjourns on March 4, 1819 without a final decision.

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Time: December 6, 1819

### Speaker Of The House Henry Clay Steps Into The Fray



Henry Clay (1777-1852)

Ten months pass before the 16<sup>th</sup> Congress is convened on December 6, 1819, and the Missouri question is again taken up in the House. During the hiatus, the issue has been debated across the north, south and west in local legislatures and assemblies.

The expansion of slavery and the black population across the Mississippi has become front and center, much to the chagrin of the South.

After Henry Clay is again chosen Speaker, he takes the lead in searching for a way to move forward on the Missouri admission.

Clay is in his tenth consecutive year of wielding the gavel, and he remains forever suspicious of Monroe's capacity as President.

After the 1816 election, Clay hopes to be named Secretary of State, "the path to the White House," but Monroe chooses JQ Adams instead. In turn, Clay refuses to attend Monroe's inauguration, a sign of the vanity that will both fuel and ultimately inhibit his ambitions. From that point on, Clay will be at loggerheads with Monroe on one issue after another.

But at the moment, with Missouri, the battle is within his own domain, the House, and he intends to solve it.

Clay's personal positions on slavery are very much akin to Jefferson's. He owns some 25 slaves, while intellectually regarding the practice as "inhumane." He is convinced that the Africans are an inferior race who will never be assimilated into white society. The best that could be done for them would be to pay owners for their freedom, then ship them home to Africa, a plan he backs

in 1816 as a co-founder of the American Colonization Society. But like so many conflicted slave owners, he opposes all federal mandate that would end the practice.

In the initial floor debate over the Tallmadge Amendment, Clay had been anything but temperate in his response. In fact, he not only says that the proposal violates the Constitution, but also argues that blacks are treated better as slaves in the South than freedmen in the North. Down the road, this initial stance will come back to haunt him in future national campaigns.

However, as he hears the rhetoric in the House heating up on the issue, including a threat of secession from Thomas Cobb of Georgia, Clay the political master, recognizes the need for a peaceful compromise.

What he faces is a sectional, rather than a party, schism. In fact, the original Federalist Party is so weak and disorganized by 1819-20 as to be almost irrelevant to the debate – even though many believe that the Federalist leader, Rufus King, has engineered the entire controversy, using Tallmadge as a surrogate.

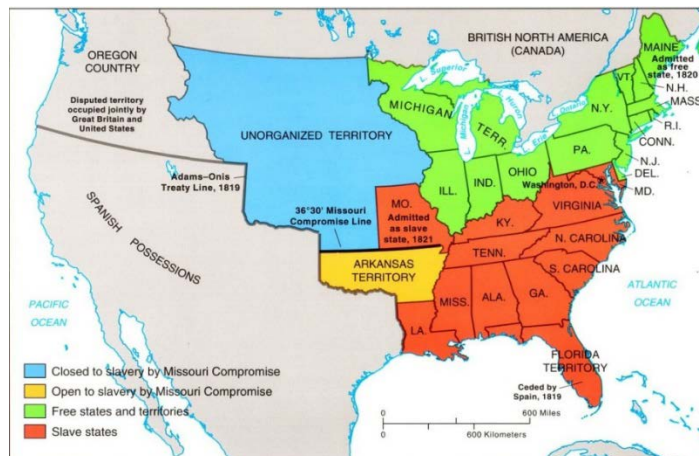
Personal philosophy aside, Clay begins to search for an immediate and practical compromise on Missouri. The solution needs to be one that satisfies both the South and North, while not jeopardizing his own presidential aspirations vis a vis JQ Adams, Calhoun and Crawford, and, for certain, Andrew Jackson.

Monroe himself remains distant from the political fray, in fairly characteristic fashion. His only interest lies in reaching a peaceful solution that doesn't violate the Constitution.

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Time: March 2, 1820

### Agreement Is Reached On A 36'36'' Demarcation Line



The 36'36'' Line of Demarcation that Resolves Slavery in the Remaining Louisiana Territory

Clay recognizes the intemperance he displayed in his initial address to the House, and concentrates now on defusing the anger present in the chamber. A speech from later in his career reveals his down-home approach to tempering the political rhetoric:

*We are too much in the habit of speaking of divorces, separation, disunion. In private life, if a wife pouts, and frets, and scolds, what would be thought of the good sense...of a husband who should threaten her with separation? Who should use those terrible words upon every petty disagreement in domestic life? No man ...would employ such idle menaces. He would approach with...kind and conciliatory language...which never fail to restore domestic harmony.*

But rhetoric alone will not restore harmony in this case. The South sees the North's effort to contain slavery as an existential threat to its economic survival. They believe, properly, that slavery will either be allowed to expand geographically, or it will wither and eventually disappear.

Solving the impasse will prove complex and involve two key breakthroughs.

Credit for the first belongs to Clay himself. He recognizes that part of the Northern resistance to allowing Missouri's entry as a "slave state" is that this would tip the voting power in the Senate in favor of the South. But what if the ongoing efforts to break Massachusetts into two states could be resolved now? Might a quid pro quo – Missouri entering as a slave state and Maine as a free state – swing some Northern votes? This "trade" becomes an important part of the final compromise.

What remains, however, is the real lightning rod issue – will congress vote to "contain" slavery east of the Mississippi River or not?

The eventual answer here comes from the Senate, where Jesse Thomas of Illinois proposes a Solomon-like solution – simply draw a line on the map west from the Mississippi through the Louisiana Territory lands, and declare that all future states north of the line are to be free and south of the line to be slave.

Thomas argues that a hard line worked in the 1787 Northwest Ordinance and it should work again with the new territories.

To sweeten the pot here for the North, Thomas proposes to draw the new line from the southern, not the northern, border of Missouri – at latitude 36'30". Thus roughly 80% of the remaining Louisiana land will be declared "free" while only the Arkansas Territory will be open to slavery.

On February 17, 1820, a full year after Talmadge offered his amendment, the Senate passes the Thomas "hard line" proposal, a watershed moment in the controversy.

Still the Senate version needs confirmation in the House. On March 2, 1820, members agree to allow slavery in Missouri by a very close 90-87, which includes 14 years from Free State representatives.

The final decision now rests with President Monroe.

He recognizes the volatility of the issues, and has largely stayed on the sidelines as his own 1820 re-election campaign plays out. At the same time, as a southerner and a slave owner, he is troubled by the fact that Congress has weighed into the debate at all. The 1787 Constitution has sanctioned slavery and its presence in Missouri has already been established. But the conflict needs resolution, so he signs the bill into law on March 6.

In the end, the Missouri Compromise legislation appears to settle the slavery question by resorting to the same “hard line on a map” solution of the founding fathers.

The South emerges with a tactical victory – Missouri is admitted to the Union as a slave state.

Stability is maintained in the North-South 12:12 state balance of voting power in the Senate.

**Balance Of Power In The Senate: After The Missouri Compromise**

<b>Free States</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b># Slaves</b>	<b>Slave States</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b># Slaves</b>
Pennsylvania	1787	200	Delaware	1787	4,500
New Jersey	1787	7,500	Georgia	1788	149,000
Connecticut	1788	100	Maryland	1788	107,400
Massachusetts	1788	0	South Carolina	1788	251,800
New Hampshire	1788	0	Virginia	1788	425,200
New York	1788	10,100	North Carolina	1789	205,000
Rhode Island	1790	50	Kentucky	1792	126,700
Vermont	1791	0	Tennessee	1796	80,100
Ohio	1803	0	Louisiana	1812	69,100
Indiana	1816	200	Mississippi	1817	32,814
Illinois	1818	900	Alabama	1819	47,400
Maine	1820	0	Missouri	1821	10,200

Meanwhile the North’s wins will prove to be more strategic in nature.

Yes, they have given ground on their wish to contain all blacks in the old South -- but their long-term leverage on the issue has been greatly strengthened in two ways.

First, to the chagrin of the South, the precedent is now established that Congress has the power to make calls about where slavery will or will not be permitted in all new U.S. territory.

Second, the 36’30” demarcation line set for the Louisiana Purchase land all but guarantees eventual dominance by the Northern free states in the Senate. And, in fact, the Louisiana land split will yield nine free states vs. only three slave states.

Some Southern leaders like the astute John C. Calhoun see this potentially ominous handwriting on the wall and try to rally opposition. But most are simply glad with the Missouri state outcome.

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Time: August 10, 1821

## **A Second Compromise Is Needed To Finally Admit Missouri**

The Missouri question appears to be over until the new state legislature submits a final constitution prior to the seating of its congressional members.

This document adds one more ominous coda to the entire debate – by seeking to ban all “free blacks” from taking up residence in the state.

In this way slave owners hope to make sure that freedmen do not stir up trouble and rebellions.

The U.S. House, however, balks once again.

Clay resorts to quoting Article IV, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution in search of closure.

*The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.*

Southerners fire back, this time arguing that free blacks are not “citizens” according to the true meaning of the word in the Constitution.

When this debate threatens to further divide the South and North, Clay again works his way out by offering each side a partial victory.

The clause banning free blacks will stay in the Missouri Constitution, but the state will never pass a law to actually enforce it.

After a final flurry, both sides back off, and Missouri officially joins the Union on August 10, 1821.

The outcome on Missouri, however, is no more satisfying for the men of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> congresses than it was for delegates to the 1787 Convention.

Once again sectional divisions around slavery have sounded like Jefferson’s “*fire bell in the night,*” and, instead of resolution, another momentary truce prevails.

The North signals its racist resistance to black people and its intent to try to pen them up in the South, below politically agreed to lines of demarcation.

In turn, the South realizes that protecting the future of its plantation economy will rest not on language in the Constitution, but on winning political battles that expand slavery into new territory west of the Mississippi.



This battle is joined by the Tallmadge Amendment and the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

In effect it marks the moment in time when, for many northerners, the South is transformed into “the Slave Power.”

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## Sidebar: “We The People” In 1820

### Settlers Continue To Move West Across The Appalachian Range



A Typical Log Cabin Residence In The Early 1800's

A remarkable migration west has already taken place between 1790 and 1820. It begins in Kentucky and then filters in all directions -- expanding the total number of people living across the Appalachians from 386,000 to over 1.6 million, fully one sixth of the total population.

One by one pioneers have driven through mountain gaps, along primitive trails, into possible danger from native tribes, facing the uncertainties of building new log cabins, planting crops, founding towns, and starting their lives over from scratch on the frontier.

Their motivation is as old as the republic itself – the chance to realize the American Dream, to advance one’s wealth and station in life by as much as individual daring and initiative permit.

This constant drive for upward mobility is one reward of freedom, and an intrinsic part of the American character.

For those moving west, the dream comes in the form of new farmland, more of it, and better, than what one had “back East.”

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### Ample Land Exists For Expansion

The land sought extends from the Appalachians, across the Mississippi River and into “Louisiana.” It has been “extracted,” first from Britain by warfare, then France by treaty, and finally from the Indian tribes, largely through force and deception.

By 1820 much of the land is “in the public domain,” owned by the Federal Government, and divided into “Territories,” with boundaries mostly defined by the meanderings of major rivers, and negotiations with the original thirteen states to settle disputed claims.

Terms for its sale of vary over the years -- the latest established by The Land Act of 1820.

- The minimum size of a tract sold will be 80 acres (reduced from 320 in 1800);
- The price is set at \$1.25 per acre (down from \$1.65, before the Panic of 1819); and
- A minimum down payment of \$100 is required of all buyers.

The rest is simple. Frontiersmen are told to go find the site that strikes their fancy; have a surveyor define its span; make payment to the government; write and record the deed; and the land is yours.

As always, speculators flock to acquire the new acreage, then parcel it out into smaller lots for resale and quick profits. Despite these maneuvers, data from North Carolina sales indicate that the average settler probably starts his new life with roughly the 80 acres originally intended.

**Size Of Farms In North Carolina (1860)**

Acre Size	3-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-499	500-999	1000+
% Total	3%	7%	31%	28%	29%	2%	0.5%

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**The Promise Of Future Statehood Is Also A Draw**

Along with the new land comes the opportunity to form new states and be admitted to the Union.

The path to statehood requires that a given Territory achieve a threshold population level of at least 60,000 residents, establish a local legislative body in some city or town, then write, vote on, and pass a state constitution, and apply to the federal government for admission.

Between 1790 and 1820, an additional eight “western” states have already joined the union – with a ninth, Missouri, about to follow suit.

**Western States Admission To The Union**

#	Year	State	Slavery
15	1792	Kentucky	Yes
16	1796	Tennessee	Yes
17	1803	Ohio	No

18	1812	Louisiana	Yes
19	1816	Indiana	No
20	1817	Mississippi	Yes
21	1818	Illinois	No
22	1819	Alabama	Yes

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## Sidebar: Changes Appear In The American Landscape In 1820

### Most Americans Still Live On Farms



A Prosperous Rural Setting in Connecticut

In 1820, the vast majority of Americans – over nine in ten – still live in the country, on farms.

#### Where Americans Live

Year	Rural	Urban
1820	93%	7%

They are proudly independent and self-reliant, but also “neighborly” by nature, and drawn to establishing communities, for commerce and for the common good.

Gradually their farms are connected to one another by cart paths and dirt roads, some bordered by wooden fences to contain livestock.

At the intersection of these roads, small towns form up.

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### Small Towns And “Main Streets” Take Hold



A Small Town in America: Circa 1820.

The towns are typically built along a Main Street, lined on both sides by storefronts. Most are simple wooden structures, with signs announcing their wares.

The center of activity in town tends to be the General Store, a place for people to gather, to socialize, and to buy the everyday necessities of life.

#### **Range Of Goods Sold In General Stores**

Soft Goods	Cloth bolts, silk, thread, pins and needles, buttons, underwear, hats, shoes, leather, dungarees, dresses.
Hard Goods	Firearms, ammunition, lanterns, lamps, rope, crockery, tableware, cooking utensils, tools, farm equipment.
Consumables	Coffee beans, tea, flour, sugar, spices, baking powder, crackers, molasses, tobacco, candy, select foods.
Apothecary	Patent medicines, remedies, soaps and toiletries.



America's First "General Stores"

As towns expand, other venues open up – a saloon, an inn, a stables, possibly a jail, eventually a post office.

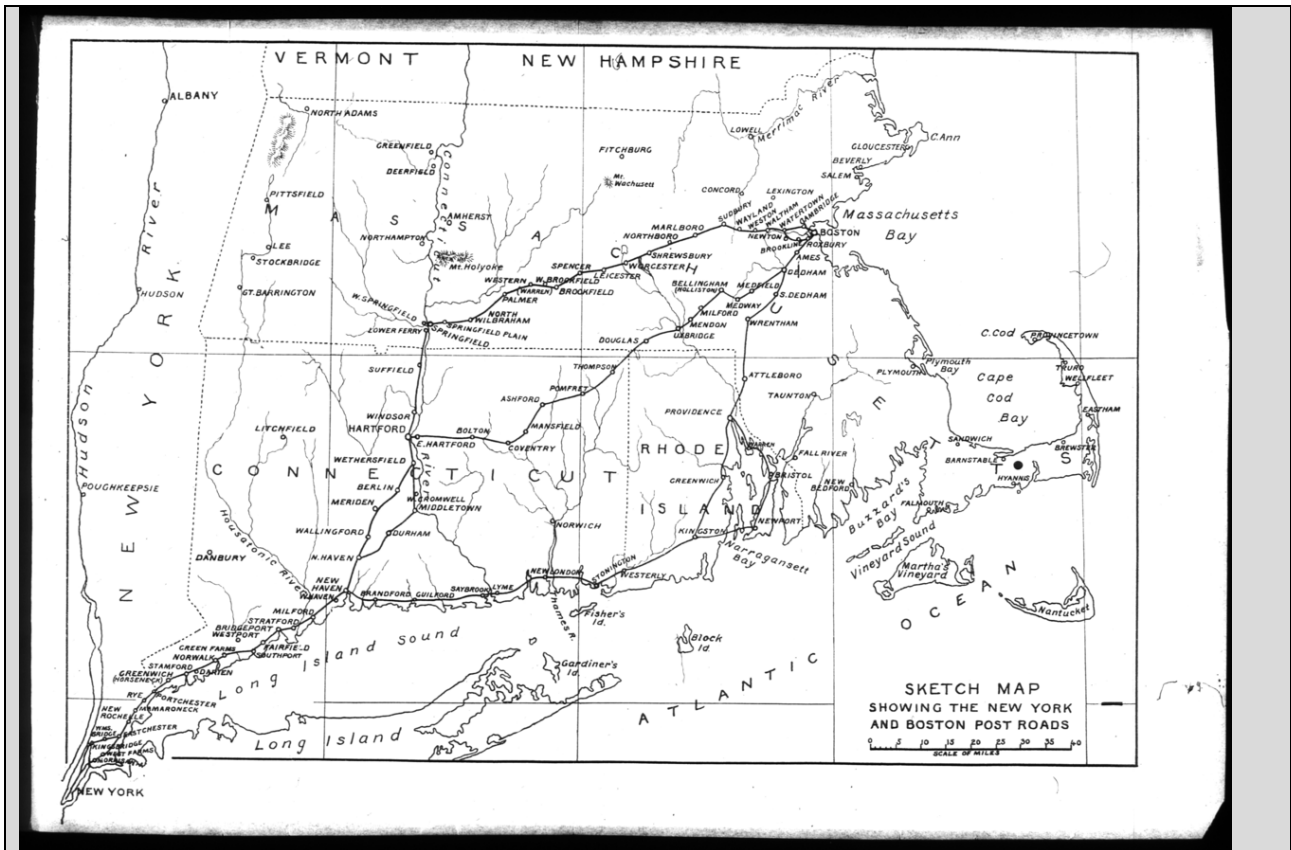
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### **Sidebar: The Physical Infrastructure Is Upgraded**

#### **Major Roads And Turnpikes Evolve**

From the beginning America's "on-the-make" society searches for ways to rapidly transport both people and produce from here to there. The first answer lies in roads.





America's First Major Highway: The Boston Post Road (Boston to New York City)

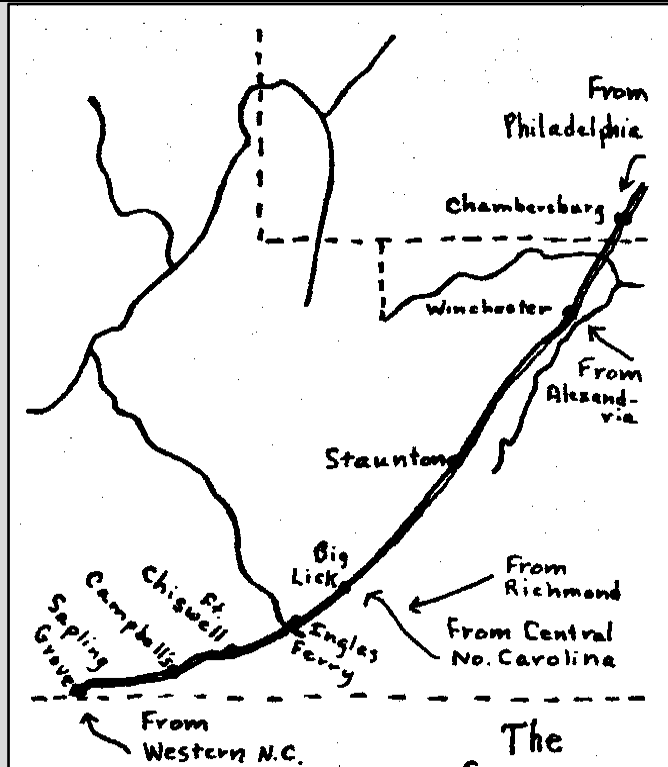
Many of these originate as Indian trails, and are gradually upgraded to handle increased traffic, including the mail (or "postal letter").

During the colonial period, most roads run roughly north and south, linking the colonies along the Atlantic coast.

The first true thoroughfare is known as the Boston Post Road, from Massachusetts through various "upper and lower" routes in Connecticut, all the way to New York City. Its name derives from the role it plays in delivering mail across the region.

The Great Wagon Road (also known as the Valley Road) opens the way for settlers and commerce moving into the southern states. It originates at the port of Philadelphia, heads west to Chambersburg and then swoops south through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia to the Roanoke River and into North Carolina.





The Great Valley Road From Philadelphia To Lexington, Va.  
 Note: Map by Beverly Whitaker

Other important north-south roads include the original King's Highway, which reaches Charleston South Carolina, and the Fall Line Road, linking Fredericksburg, Virginia and Augusta, Georgia.

### Important North-South Trails And Roads In The East

Name	Opens	From	To	Distance
Lower Post Road	1678	Boston	Greenwich, Conn.	180
Upper Post Road	1673	Boston	New Haven, Conn	135
Boston Post Road	1772	Boston	New York City	215
King's Highway	1650	Boston	Charleston, SC	975
Albany Post Road	1703	New York City	Albany, NY	150
Great Wagon/Valley Road	1744	Philadelphia, Pa	Lexington, Va	330
Fall Line Road	1735	Fredericksburg, Va	Augusta, Ga	500

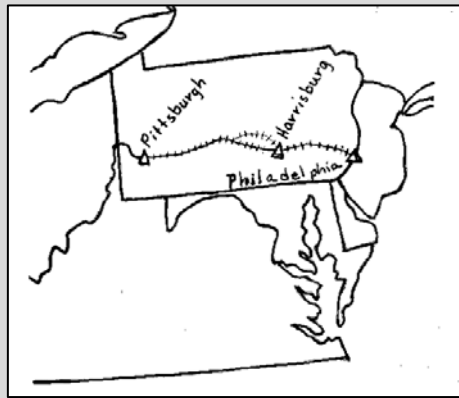
Opening up new land across the Appalachian Mountain barrier hinges on development of east to west roads.

### Important East-West Trails And Roads

Name	Opens	From	To	Distance
Mohawk Trail	1664	Albany, NY	Buffalo, NY	288
Allegheny Path	1755	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	305

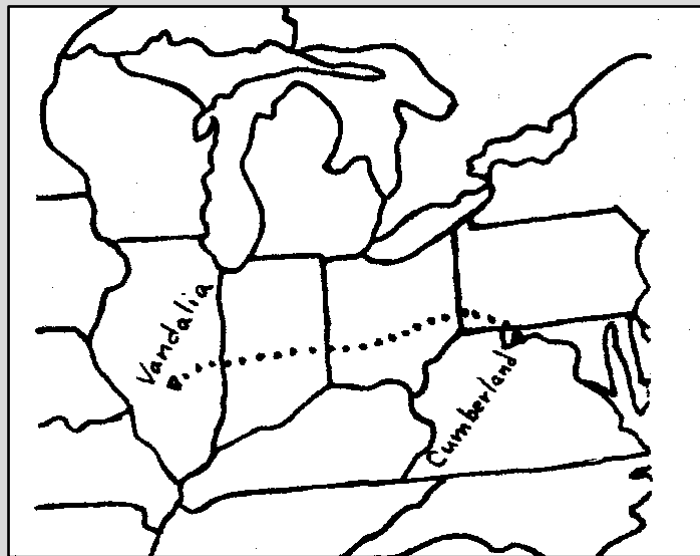
Pennsylvania Road	1775	Harrisburg, Pa	Pittsburgh, Pa.	200
Braddock's Road	1755	Cumberland, Md	Braddock, Pa	95
National Road	1811	Cumberland, Md.	Vandalia, Illinois	615
Federal Road	1806	Washington, DC	New Orleans, La	1,085
Wilderness Road	1775	Bristol, Va.	Frankfort, Ky	255
Zane's Trace	1796	Wheeling, WVa	Maysville, Ky	230

The state of New York is transversed by the Mohawk Trail road, from Albany to Buffalo, on Lake Erie. Travelers move west from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh along the Allegheny Path and the Pennsylvania Road.



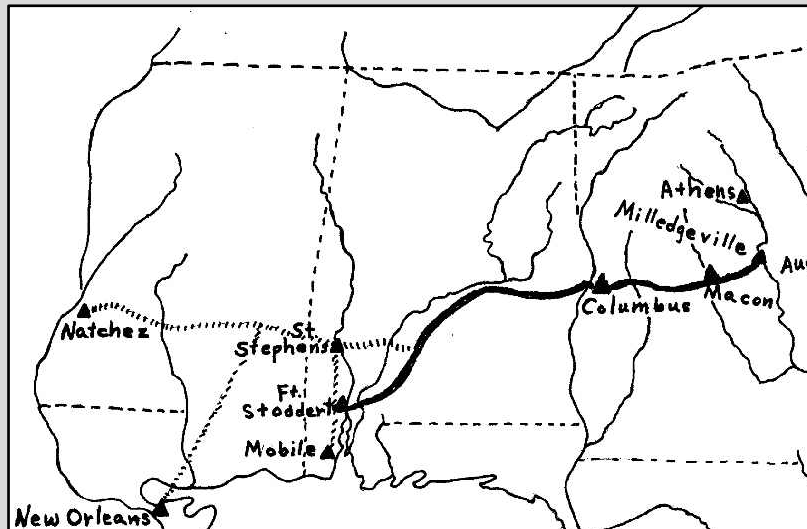
Pennsylvania Road: Philadelphia To Pittsburgh

The most famous east-west thoroughfare of the time, the “National Road” is about half-way finished in 1820, extending west from Cumberland, Maryland – at the “gap” in the Appalachians – to Wheeling, in western Virginia. Eventually it will run some 611 miles, all the way west to Vandalia, Illinois.



National Road: Cumberland, Md. To Vandalia, IL

The Federal Road will become another critical east-west juncture, eventually linking Washington, DC to New Orleans, over 1,000 miles to the southwest. It comprises a series of roads, dropping down from the capital through the piedmont region of Virginia and the western Carolinas to Augusta, Georgia – where it swings across Alabama and Mississippi to Louisiana.



The Federal Road: Extension From Augusta To New Orleans

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### **Road Quality Is Transformed**

The condition of these major roads varies widely in the 1820's.

Most remain dirt paths, albeit smoothed and widened by decades of use.

By some, however, are already being “macadamized,” according to construction guidelines developed by the Scotsman, John MacAdam, around 1815 in England. MacAdam's idea is a simple one that involves laying a bed of finely crushed stones over a carefully leveled dirt path, slightly bowed in the center to facilitate the run-off of rain and snow.

The use of stones enables Macadamized roads to avoid the bane of travel along dirt paths, which easily turn into mud in the presence of rain.

The benefits of these new improved stone roads are so obvious to users that some become “turnpikes” – built by entrepreneurs who line them with “toll booths” to collect fees and turn a profit.

Bridges, too, facilitate transportation, with those crossing sizable rivers often built by corporations with the intent to reap profits from user fees.



A Bridge Under Construction

President Monroe proudly reports progress in the construction of “post roads” in his December 2, 1821 address to the Congress:

*There is established by law 88,600 miles of post roads, on which the mail is now transported 85,700 miles, and contracts have been made for its transportation on all the established routes, with one or 2 exceptions. There are 5,240 post offices in the Union, and as many post masters.*

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### **The Water Ways Become Long Distance Transportation Highways**

America is also able to leverage its rich abundance of water-ways to cover long distances. First with triple-masted sailing ships crammed with cargo headed toward European ports.



Then with simpler canoes, boats and barges heading up and down inland rivers.

These rivers cross-hatch the old and new states, and help bind them together around trade. Many flow for hundreds of miles, are easily navigated and cut across state lines.



Major North-South Rivers In The East

### Major North-South Rivers East Of The Mississippi

	Miles	States
Kennebec	170	Maine
Connecticut	419	Connecticut, Vermont, NH, Vt
Hudson	315	New York, New Jersey
Susquehanna	464	Maryland, Pennsylvania, NY
Scioto	231	Ohio
Wabash	503	Indiana, Illinois, Ohio
Pee Dee	232	South Carolina, North Carolina
Savannah	301	South Carolina, Georgia
St Johns	310	Florida
Alabama	318	Alabama, Georgia
Oconee	220	Georgia

Others flow east and west, and play a crucial role in opening up the new states west of the Appalachian Mountain range. The longest eastern river, the Ohio, becomes the official line of demarcation in 1787 between the “free” states of the North and the “slave” states of the South.

### Major East-West Rivers East Of The Mississippi

	Miles	States
Ohio	981	Pa, Ohio, WV, Va, Ky, IN, Illinois
Cumberland	688	Kentucky, Tennessee
Tennessee	652	Tennessee, Ala, Miss, Ky
James	348	Virginia

To the north, across eastern Canada, the St. Lawrence River – Great Lakes system, runs 2,340 miles from the Atlantic coast to the tip of Lake Superior. This route will prove very important to the fur trade, which is already booming in 1820.

**The St. Lawrence To Great Lakes System**

	<b>Miles</b>	
Canada	2,340	Atlantic Ocean To Lake Superior

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**Man Made Canals Also Appear**

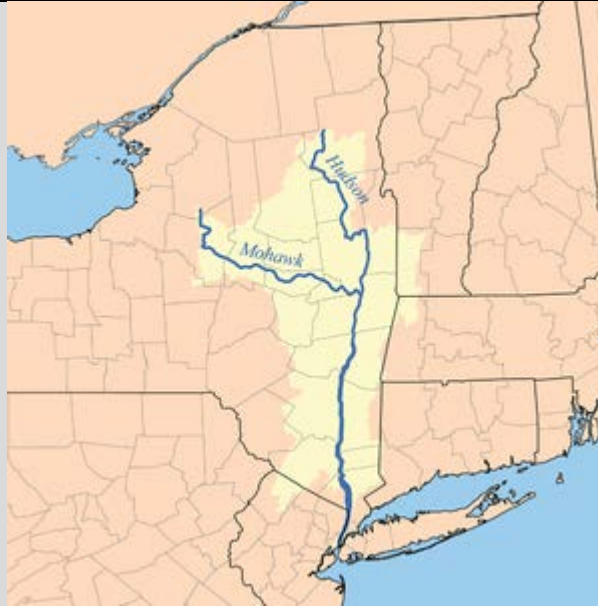
The notion of taming the natural twists and turns and ups and downs of rivers by digging adjacent man-made canals goes back to ancient times.

By the 1770's, however, an Englishman named James Brindley pioneers new engineering methods for canal-building that revolutionize the economics of transporting coal from mines to nearby cities.

Both George Washington and Gouverneur Morris learn of the European canals and interest grows in the colonies.

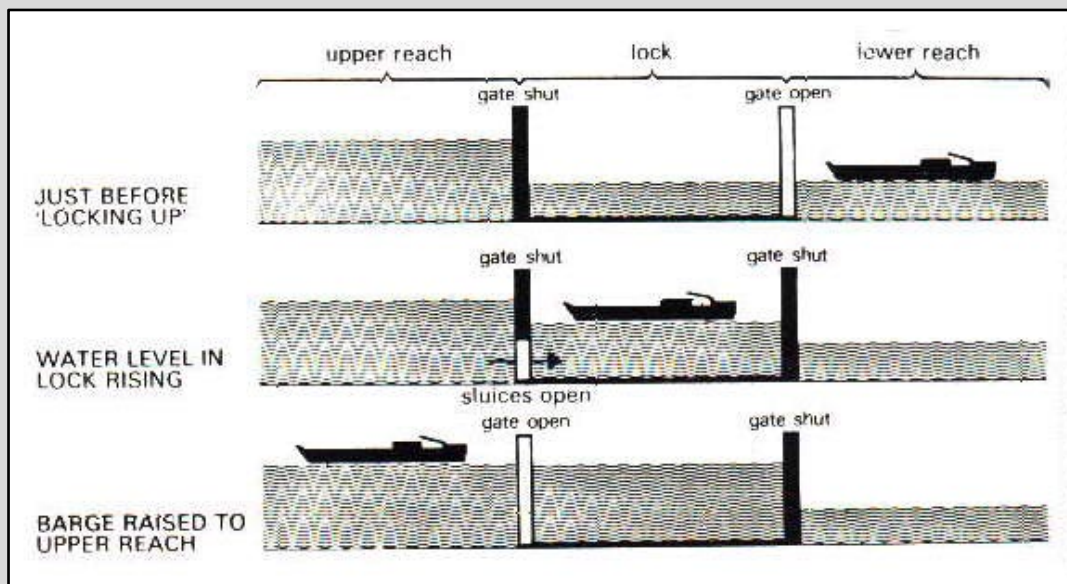
But it takes the construction of the Erie Canal in New York to capture the imagination of the public and the business entrepreneurs alike. The “grand vision” for the project involves two initiatives:

- First, “taming” the Mohawk River, which flows 149 miles east and west through the Appalachian range, between the Adirondacks to the north and the Catskills to the south.
- Then “extending” the flow another 214 miles west to the city of Buffalo on Lake Erie.



Junction Of The Mohawk And Hudson Rivers Into Manhattan

One key to canal building success lies in constructing “navigational locks” that work. Their role is to enable barges or boats to pass through sharp rises or drops in land and river elevations (e.g. “falls or rapids”) without damage. They do this by “locking” the barge in a contained tank of water, which is then flooded or drained to allow it to rise or fall to a desired height, before an exit door opens to pass it along.



Locking System Schematic

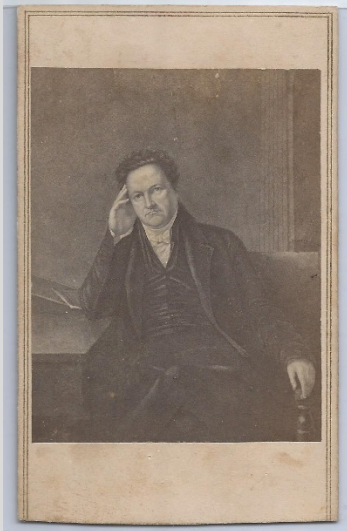
When President Jefferson hears of the Erie Canal scheme in 1808 he calls it “little short of madness.”



His conclusion is prompted by the fact that land elevation drops some 600 feet between Buffalo to the west and Albany to the east. With each individual “lock” able to accommodate no more than a 12 foot change in water height, this means the canal will require construction of over 50 such individual stations – at a total cost deemed unaffordable by all who assess it.

All that is except for one Jesse Hawley, a flour merchant in Geneva, NY, who begins to calculate the cost savings the canal could deliver, especially to grain merchants in the Ohio valley. Hawley shares his estimates with Joseph Endicott, whose Holland Land Company owned land in central and western NY, and hopes the canal will boost its value.

Together these two take their plan to the powerful politician, DeWitt Clinton, who serves as Mayor of New York City between 1803 and 1815, and barely loses out to Madison in the 1812 presidential election.



DeWitt Clinton (1769-1828)

Clinton sets up The Erie Canal Commission in 1810, and becomes a fierce and tireless supporter of the venture. His assessment of the project’s effects on the city will prove prescient.

*The city will, in the course of time, become the granary of the world, the emporium of commerce, the seat of manufactures, the focus of great moneyed operations...and before the revolution of a century, the whole island of Manhattan, covered with inhabitants and replenished with a dense population, will constitute one vast city.*

But opposition to the effort – soon labeled “Clinton’s Folly” – remains staunch. He perseveres, however, getting some 100,000 New Yorkers to sign a petition supporting the canal and securing \$7 million to fund construction.

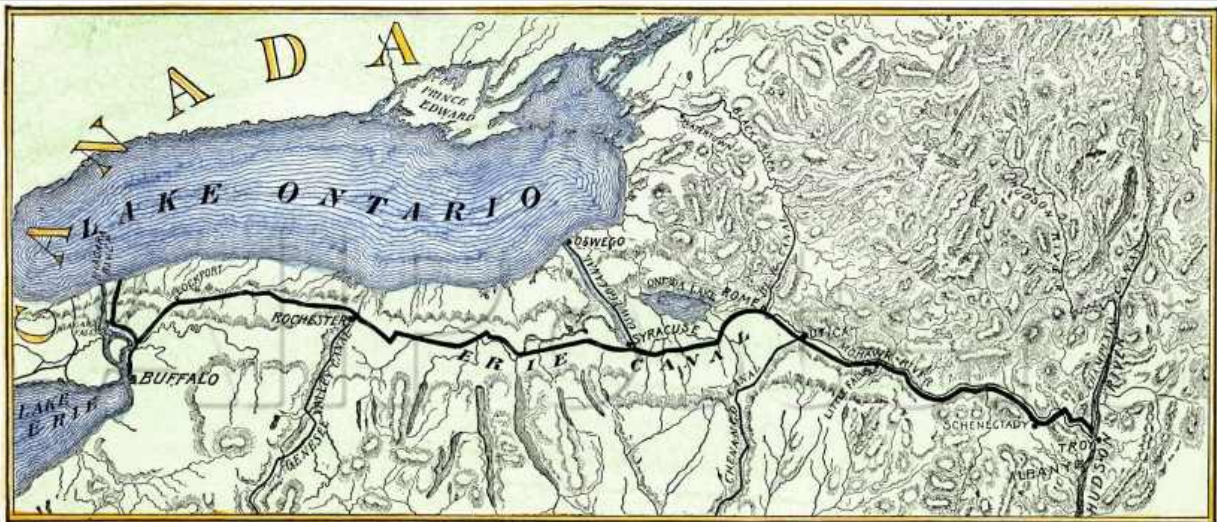
Work begins on July 4, 1817 in Rome, New York, heading east some 15 miles toward Utica. Completion of just this phase requires two years, which again raises concerns about feasibility. But the early construction lessons prove the hardest, and the building pace picks up sharply.



The canal specifications call for a breadth of 40 feet and a depth of 4 feet. Tow paths are laid out along both sides of the canal, enabling cattle or manpower to tug the barges forward.

The work is backbreaking in many ways. Trees need to be felled and their stumps pulled out; primitive bulldozer-like plows scrape the soil; clay and limestone linings form the channel; and complex aqueducts are required to steer the water. The effort continues through the intense summer heat and the frigid winters.

In the end, almost eight years and 57 locks are required to complete the project, one of the engineering marvels of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Clinton celebrates with a ten day voyage over the canal, from Buffalo to New York City – ending with a ceremonial “wedding of the waters,” pouring a vial from Lake Erie into Manhattan harbor.



The Erie Canal Stretching 363 Miles From Albany To Buffalo, New York

The Erie Canal immediately transforms economic prosperity throughout the state. Wheat transport on the waterway jumps from some 3500 bushels in 1820 to over a million bushels in 1830, with costs per bushel cut by 90%.

Tolls collected for use of the canal pay off the \$7 million cost during that same time -- and New York becomes the busiest port in America, surpassing Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and New Orleans.

Unfortunately, DeWitt Clinton dies suddenly of heart failure in 1828 and, despite his public prominence, lacks the personal funds even to be properly buried, much less care for his surviving family. Despite this, his famous canal will be forever immortalized in American folklore and song: *Low Bridge* by Thomas S. Allen

*I've got a mule, her name is Sal  
Fifteen years on the Erie Canal  
She's a good old worker and a good old pal*

*Fifteen years on the Erie Canal  
We've hauled some barges in our day  
Filled with lumber, coal, and hay  
And we know every inch of the way  
From Albany to Buffalo  
Chorus:  
Low bridge, everybody down  
Low bridge cause we're coming to a town  
And you'll always know your neighbor  
And you'll always know your pal  
If you've ever navigated on the Erie Canal*



An Early Canal In Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

### **Infrastructure Gains Support Growing Urban Centers**

While towns that are inland and “off the beaten path” tend to grow at a slow pace, full-fledged cities are appearing by 1820

Their size is determined by several factors.

One is their proximity to a sizable body of water – the east coast ocean or an inland river or lake – together with a port that accommodates shipping.

Infrastructural supports are also crucial -- most notably access to one or more high traffic roads or, eventually, access to as canals and railroad tracks.

When several of these factors overlap, a city’s growth can be exponential.



Traffic along Main Street in an Emerging City

In the North, for example, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore all double or triple in population between 1790 and 1820 – and the New York count reaches 123,706, a four-fold jump.

Two Southern port cities – Charleston and New Orleans – top the 20,000 mark in total residents.

And the nation’s capital, Washington, DC, also joins the top ten list on population.

#### Top Ten Cities In America

1790	Pop	1820	Pop
New York	33,131	New York	123,706
Philadelphia	28,522	Philadelphia	63,802
Boston	18,320	Baltimore	62,738
Charleston	16,345	Boston	43,298
Baltimore	13,503	New Orleans	21,176
No. Philadelphia	9,913	Charleston	24,780
Salem	7,921	No Philadelphia	19,678
Newport	6,716	So Philadelphia	14,713
Providence	6,380	Washington DC	13,247
Marblehead	5,661	Salem	12,731
ave	14,641		39,987

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## Sidebar: The Overall U.S. Economy In 1820

### America Forms A Viable Domestic Marketplace



A Farmer Bringing His Crop To Market

The advent of towns and cities goes hand and glove with the development of a viable domestic marketplace.

At first it has simply been “the farmer’s market.”

On given days and times, families pile their surplus crops into wagons, haul them into towns, and exchange them for cash or barter.

This “exchange” symbolizes America’s free market in action:

- Sellers offering up goods or services
- To buyers with needs or wants
- In exchange for cash or barter.

“Demand” for things meets the “supply” of things, and both buyers and sellers profit from the transactions.

One man’s bushels of beans are sold for pennies used to buy a much needed cloth shirt.

Once this demand/supply ritual takes hold in rural towns, the domestic economy booms.

Buyers and sellers; supply and demand; the engine running the U.S. economy kicks into gear.





Arriving In Town To Conduct Business

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### The Macro Economy Takes Off

As of 1820, one-third of all American's (3.1 million) are participating in the labor force.

This percent is much higher among slaves (62%) –where men, women and older children are forced workers – than among the free population (28%), where non-domestic labor is dominated by men.

**Labor Force Participation (000) In 1820**

	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>In Labor Force</b>	<b>% In Labor</b>
Free	7,830	2,185	28%
Slave	1,538	950	62
Total	9,368	3,135	33%

Despite some intermittent shocks, growth in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is robust, up from \$190 million in 1790 to \$700 million in 1820.

**Overview Of U.S. Economy: Current Dollars (Millions)**

	Total GDP	% Change	GDP Per Capita	Shocks
1790	\$190		\$48	
1800	480		90	
1805	560	17%	90	
1810	700	25%	97	1807 Embargo Act
1815	920	31%	110	1812-15 War
1820	700	(24)	73	1819 Bank Panic

America’s exports follow the same pattern, with rapid growth registered until Jefferson’s 1807 Embargo on trade and the dampening influences of the War of 1812 against England. But as of 1820, total exports stand at \$70 million, up from \$20 million in 1790.

**Value Of US Exports (millions)**

Year	Total	% Ch
1790	\$20MM	---
1805	96	++%
1810	67	(30)
1815	53	(21)
1820	70	33

Note: North p.221

Despite some volatility, America’s long-term economic outlook looks positive.

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**But The Shape Of The Economy Varies Sharply By Region**

The nature of this labor differs sharply by region.

While farming and fishing remain dominant in the North, Hamilton’s vision of a diverse economy, including manufacturing, distributing and selling goods, is already materializing.

Roughly 11% of America’s total work force are engaged in the manufacturing sector in 1820, with 70% of them located in the North.

**People Working In Manufacturing Jobs In 1820**

Region	1820 (000)	% of Total
North	241.2	69%
Border	41.1	12
South	64.5	19

Total U.S.	346.8	100%
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Meanwhile the Southern economy remains steadfastly committed to Jefferson’s agricultural model.

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**Sidebar: The Southern Economy In**

**The South Bets Its Future On Agriculture**



An Agent Selling Russell Mills Cotton Duck (Canvas)

During the colonial period, plantations spring up across the South, with crops varying by terrain and weather. In the Upper South, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, tobacco is dominant. The low country states of South Carolina and Georgia, with greater access to irrigation, turn to the generally more profitable production of rice. But the economic die is cast for all southern states in 1792 once Whitney’s seed-removal “gin” transforms the economics associated with growing and harvesting “short fiber” cotton.

From that moment on, every farmer and plantation owner in the South that can get into cotton does so.

And production soars – reaching almost 142 million pounds by 1820.

Prices for the crop vary from year to year in responses to shifts in supply and demand, with the latter affected by tariffs levied on finished cotton goods from abroad.

But in 1820, the value reaches \$235 million – fully one-third of the country’s total GDP for the year!

**Value Of Cotton**

Year	Cotton Lbs	Cents/Lb	Value	Index
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1790	0.1 million	\$14.44	\$2 million	
1805	59.9	22.59	\$135	100
1810	68.9	14.20	98	73
1815	81.9	25.90	216	160
1820	141.5	16.58	235	174

As cotton profits soar, so too does interest in opening new plantations – particularly to the west of the Appalachian range, in the newer states of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

To do so, however, requires not only available land, but also available slaves.

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### The South Also Bets On “Breeding” And Selling Slaves

February 27th, 1858, at 12 o'clock, at Banks' Arcade, on Magazine street, the following gang of likely slaves, mostly from the plantation of the late Mr. Pisero, of the Parish of St. Charles, comprising Mechanics, Sugar makers, and hands brought up to the culture of Cane, to wit:

One Family:  
 1 JIM, aged 24; extra No. 1 field hand.  
 2 PHILLIS, his wife, aged 22; first rate hand.

3 ALECK, aged 23; extra No. 1 field hand, understands machinery, and boiler making, and has run centrifugal machines.  
 4 JOE KEY, aged 24; first rate field hand, cart and plough boy; very useful, understands machinery.  
 One Family:  
 5 SUSAN, age 24; good field hand.  
 6 CHARLOTTE, age 8; her children.  
 7 LONDON, age 2; One Family:  
 8 LEWIS, aged 47; good carpenter and sugar maker; a trusty and superior subject.  
 9 SALLY, his wife, aged 40; good field hand and hospital nurse, and is trusty.

10 SAM, aged 14; works in field and cart driver.  
 One Family:  
 11 JOE, aged 26; extra No. 1 field hand and plowman.  
 12 TYRA, his wife, aged 23; No. 1 field hand.

13 SAMBO, aged 42; good field and kettle hand; useful in sugar house.  
 14 NANCY YELLOW, aged 22; good hand and seamstress.  
 15 LAWRENCE, aged 19; good hand, cart and plough boy.  
 16 ANNE, aged 17; good field hand.  
 17 TINSLEY, aged 12; useful in field.  
 18 JOSEPHINE, orphan, aged 9; useful.  
 One Family:  
 19 JEFFREY, aged 44; extra No. 1 field and kettle hand; useful in sugar house; very trusty.  
 20 DOLLY, his wife, aged 36; extra No. 1 field hand.

21 WILLIAM, aged 22; extra No. 1 field hand, cart and plough boy.  
 One Family:  
 22 SUE, aged 21; No. 1 field hand.  
 23 FELICIE, her child, aged 2 years.

24 SARAH, aged 18 years; No. 1 field hand.  
 25 BINAH, aged 13; good field hand.  
 26 JEFF, aged 13; useful in field.  
 27 STEPHEN, aged 16; useful in field.  
 28 HENRY, aged 22; good field hand.  
 29 PHILLY, aged 12; useful in field.  
 30 FANNY, aged 11.  
 31 SAMSON, aged 10; useful in field.  
 32 JACK, aged 10; ox driver and field hand.  
 33 JEAN, aged 17; good driver, cart and plough boy.  
 34 RICHARD, aged 50; has two legs, gardner and field hand.  
 35 JEAN BAPTISTE, aged 42; good field and kettle hand.  
 36 LIDDY, aged 21; No. 1 field hand.  
 One Family:  
 37 SIBBY, 23; No. 1 field hand.  
 38 DORSEY, her child, 2.

New Orleans Delta Newspaper: Slavery Sale Ads

By 1820 prosperity in the South rests as much on the domestic sale of slaves (“black gold”) as on sales of its raw cotton (“white gold”) to worldwide textile mills.

Since 1807 the ban on “importation” agreed to in 1787 Constitution has been in effect, and hence the only place new plantation owners in the west can get the labor they need is to buy “excess slaves” being bred on plantations in the east.

And “breeding slaves” becomes a major industry, especially in the state of Virginia.

### A Typical Newspaper Ad For Upcoming Slave Sales

This shocking “breeding practice” is described by ex-slave, Maggie Stenhouse, as follows:



*Durin' slave'y there was stockmen. They was weighed and tested. They didn't let 'hem work in the field and they kept them fed up good. A man would rent the stockman and put him in a room with some young women he wanted to raise children from.*

Once bred, these “excess blacks” are shipped to cities like Louisville, Kentucky and New Orleans, where daily slave auctions are advertised in newspapers and held in various locations around town.

The combination of growing demand and limited supply leads to high prices for slaves, especially for “prime field hands” and “breeding women.” In 1820 the average price for a slave has risen to \$393.

This means that the total economic value of the 1.5 million slaves has reached the staggering level of \$600 million, at a time when the annual value of all goods and services (GDP) is \$700 million.

**The “Economic Value” Of Bred Slaves**

<b>Year</b>	<b># Slaves</b>	<b>\$/ Slave</b>	<b>Total \$</b>	<b>\$/Prime</b>
1805	1,032M	222	\$229million	504
1810	1,191	277	330	624
1815	1,354	272	368	610
1820	1,538	393	604	875

Shrewd plantation owners throughout the South will focus on sustaining this economic growth engine.

To do so, they will constantly support the expansion of slavery into new territory west of the Mississippi.

They will also pay careful attention to breeding excess slaves for sale in these new territories.

One such shrewd owner has been Thomas Jefferson, master of Monticello, whose *Farm Book* observations record concerns about his “breeding women” and their off-spring:

*The loss of 5 little ones in 4 years induces me to fear that the overseers do not permit the women to devote as much time as is necessary to the care of their children; that they view their labor as the 1<sup>st</sup> object and the raising their child but as secondary.*

*I consider the labor of a breeding woman as no object, and a child raised every 2. years is of more profit then the crop of the best laboring man. In this, as in all other cases, providence has made our duties and our interest coincide perfectly.... With respect therefore to our women & their children I must pray you to inculcate upon the overseers that it is not their labor, but their increase which is the first consideration with us.*

Jefferson's correspondence also encourages his friends to...

*Invest every (spare) farthing in land and negroes, which besides a present support bring a silent profit of from 5 to 10 per cent in this country, by the increase in their value.*

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### **A Missed Economic Opportunity For The South**

The South's near-sighted focus on agriculture finds it overlooking the economic opportunity to be had in processing cotton into thread, weaving it into whole cloth, and finishing it into the dress and household goods Americans need.

Had the South acted on this opportunity to "vertically integrate" its cotton operations – i.e. win all of the profit to be had from raw cotton, spun thread and yarn, woven cloth, completed wares – its wealth could have increased dramatically.

While a few southern attempts are made to mimic the textile mills in New England, their success is limited. The question is "why?"

Several factors seem to explain this "missed economic opportunity" by the South:

- Planters are probably satisfied making money hand over fist simply by growing raw cotton, and feel no urgent need to tackle the complexities of further processing it.
- The knowledge required to set up and run a textile mill is a closely guarded at the time and requires engineering and machine-making skills that the South lacked.
- Smaller cities in the South meant that a local factory would not enjoy the benefits of a nearby, concentrated consumer marketplace for its finished goods.
- Finally, the prospect of hiring white women (like the "Lowell girls") to work in textile factories for wages is culturally anathema in the South.

Whatever the causes, the result is that the Northern textile mills reap the profits of whole cloth and finished goods made from the South's raw cotton – an outcome that will cause tensions and rancor between the two regions going forward in time.

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## Sidebar: The Northern Economy

### Industrialization Begins To Take Hold In The North



Workers Gathered in Front of Brown's Factory in Boston

While the southern economy is narrowly focused, the North is beginning to realize the benefits that Alexander Hamilton envisioned in capitalism and industrialization.

His ambition is to have America lead the world in “manufactures,” soon referred to as “manufacturing.”

Manufacturing is where “supply meets demand” for desired goods – especially those things that the typical farm household of the time is unable to make readily on their own. Fine clothing, furniture, glassware, carriages, firearms, timepieces, books, tools and so forth.

According to Hamilton, “manufacturing” will be driven by individual entrepreneurs who:

- Spot the emerging needs and wants of consumers;
- Design a workshop/factory to produce the desired goods;
- Secure needed capital through bank loans, stock offerings or their own cash;
- Locate the space, machines, workers, etc. to start up their operation;
- Make and deliver high quality products at affordable prices; and
- Achieve sufficient profitability to pay back investors for risking their capital.

Clearing all these hurdles will prove challenging, and many will fail.

But some entrepreneurs will persevere and succeed.

“Specialization” will be one key determinant.

Making “bolts of cloth,” for example, will require first de-constructing the overall process into discrete steps, and then optimizing methods used at each step. Critical “know-how” accrues from trial and error – the more bolts of cloth produced, the more efficient and effective the manufacturer becomes.

If high demand and profitability continue over time, opportunities to “automate” some of their processes may materialize. A new machine may be invented to spin cotton into thread or weave it into yarn that produces higher quality cloth at lower costs than was possible using hand labor.

Furthermore, they may be the only manufacturer around with enough “scale” (i.e. demand for their cloth) to be able to invest in the new machine and enjoy its cost “economies.” This endows them with competitive advantages that can become monopoly-like.

Finally, enough buyers of cloth may decide that one manufacturer consistently delivers better value for their money (high quality at fair prices) than its competitors, and become loyal to that supplier’s “brand.”

Those few companies that achieve “brand loyalty” can long endure.

#### **Earliest Manufacturer Brands In The U.S.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Brand Name</b>	<b>Industry</b>
1795	Dixon Ticonderoga	Pencils
1796	Jim Beam	Distillery
1798	Pratt Read	Tools
1801	Crane & Co.	Papermaking
1802	DuPont	Chemicals
1806	Colgate	Consumer Goods
1807	Sterling Sugars	Sugar
1811	Pfalzgraff	Ceramics
1812	Waterbury Button	Buttons
1813	Conti Group	Meat Products
1815	Loane Brothers	Tents
1816	Remington	Firearms
1818	Brooks Brothers	Clothing

The growth of manufacturing in America is also hastened by events such as the 1807 Embargo, the War of 1812 and the Dallas Tariff of 1816, each of which limit foreign imports.

One entrepreneur who takes advantage of these events is Francis Cabot Lowell, who founds the Boston Manufacturing Company in 1814.

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## Francis Lowell's Purloined Textile Mill Starts Up



Lowell's Textile Mill in Massachusetts

Francis Lowell is born in Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1775 to wealthy and influential parents. After graduating from Harvard in 1793, he starts up a sizable business in Boston that imports textiles made in China and India and sells them from a retail storefront on the city wharf.

The interruption of his trade owing to Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807, sparks Lowell's interest in manufacturing his own textiles domestically. But he initially lacks the know-how required to start up such a complicated operation.

He solves this on a two-year trip to England and Scotland, where he visits various textile mills and literally memorizes the details of their manufacturing processes – in the grand capitalist tradition of “know the world and steal the best.”

Upon his return to Boston, he transfers the blueprints he has carried home in his head to paper, sets up a corporation, The Boston Manufacturing Company, and begins the search for the cash needed to build his own factory.

He quickly raises the money by selling \$1,000 shares of stock in his corporation to a string of wealthy investors who have enough faith in his venture to risk their own money to back it.

Lowell's first mill, completed in late 1814, is located in Waltham, Massachusetts, with its spinning and weaving machines powered by water turbines driven by the currents of the Charles River. (Steam powered machines will not appear until the 1840's.)

It becomes the first U.S. mill that completes all of the steps required to convert raw cotton into finished cloth – under one roof.

Raw cotton → cleaning → carding → spinning to thread/yarn →  
weaving → whole cloth

As such it delivers on all of the promises of efficient production that Hamilton foresaw, and is hugely successful from its start-up.

Unfortunately Lowell suffers from a condition known as tic douloureux, an excruciatingly painful nerve disease of the face that hastens his death in 1817, at age 42 years.

But by then a second mill is up and running, and in 1822, several more north on the Merrimack River have been built by Lowell’s corporate partners and successors. To honor him, they name their new industrial town Lowell, Massachusetts.

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**Northern Industrialization Fosters A New Workforce**

Frank Lowell’s textile mill is symbolic of how America’s industrial economy opens up new ways to make a living, apart from agriculture. By 1820, about 1 in 5 have embraced these other options.

**How People Make Their Living**

Year	Agriculture	Other Options
1820	79%	21%

Ransom p.260

“Town Workies” is the name many are given, and they have traded off a strictly pastoral life on the farm for the more crowded and complex urban setting. The economic path they choose is also very different from that of Jefferson’s entirely self-sufficient farmer.



Three in-Town “Workies

Their city jobs are wide ranging in content and pay.

At one end of the spectrum are the “unskilled workers,” such as day laborers, longshoremen and draymen, and factory workers, who live off of muscle power and are hired on or laid off at the whim of their employers. They form the lowest rung of the economic ladder, with jobs that are always threatened, especially by immigrants who may be willing to work for lower wages.  
”

**Estimated Annual Income – Unskilled Laborers**

1790	1800	1805	1810	1815	1820
\$37	\$60	\$62	\$88	\$92	\$67

At the other end are “professionals,” such as doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers and financiers – who tend to acquire unique skills through higher education, then sell this know-how on a pay for service basis to clients in need of their help. Because of their knowledge, people in these

“white collar” jobs retain a high level of independence, often “working for themselves” as entrepreneurs. In turn both their incomes and prestige tend to be higher than all but the elite “owner classes.”

Between the “unskilled” laborers and the professionals are the emerging “urban middle class,” some working independently, others as part of a business. Some work with their hands, as “artisans” who make goods functional or decorative in nature, from clothing to furniture, household items to jewelry, tools to machinery. Others rely more on their minds, running small businesses, writing for newspapers, acting as clerks.

The breadth of jobs available varies by the size and geographic location of any given town or city. But in major cities like New York or Philadelphia, the list of occupations is quite amazing.

### Non-Farming Occupations: 1820 America

Raw Materials	Clothing/Appearance	Professionals
Shanties/Lumbermen	Seamstress	Clergymen
Miners/Sappers	Hatter	Educators
Trappers	Leatherdresser	Doctors
Fishermen	Weaver	Attorneys
	Tanner	Politicians
Transportation/Goods	Tailor/Sartor	Magistrates
Coopers/Barrelers	Shoemaker/Cobbler	Judges
Rivermen	Tonsors/Barbers	Surveyor
Sailors		Military
Teamsters	Personal Transport	Undertakers
Draymen	Stablers	
	Blacksmith/Farrior	Journalists
Converters	Saddler	Printers
Textiles	Carriagemaker	Bookbinders
Smelters		
Ironworkers		
Plowrights	Food & Drink	Financiers
Gunsmiths	Bakers	
Clowers/Nailmakers	Butchers	Entrepreneurs
Cutlerymakers	Packers	Ship Owners
Soapmaker	Brewer/Maltster	Factory Owners
Candlemaker	Distillers	Plantation Owners
Ropemakers		Other Capitalists
Watchmaker		
Gold/Silversmith	Merchants	Lower Skill Workers
	Dry Goods	Factory Labor
Housing	Apothecary	Clerks
Houseright	Haberdashers	Servants
Carpenter	Saloonkeeper	Longshoremen
Mason	Innkeeper/Ostler	Rag Pickers



Joiner		Peddlers
Glazier	Middlemen	Tinkers
Cabinetmaker	Warehousers	Chimneysweeps
Locksmith	Factors/Brokers	Waiters

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### Women Enter The Industrial Labor Force

Lowell’s textile mills also open the door for women to enter the industrial labor force.

Lowell, Massachusetts soon becomes a boom town, with over 30 textile mills being operated by some 8,000 workers. The majority of these are young women, who become known as “the Lowell girls.”

While Charles Dickens found working conditions in the Lowell factories far superior to their counterparts in London, the labor was strenuous. A typical shift for “Lowell girls” ran from 5AM to 7PM on a production line consisting of 80 workers, two male overseers, and the non-stop racket of spinning and weaving machines and air filled with cotton and cloth detritus.



“Lowell Girls”

“Lowell girls” work about 70 hours a week on average and are paid about 6 cents per hour or around \$4 per week – a generous wage at the time.

The girls live and eat together in company boarding houses, obey a 10PM curfew, and are expected to attend church on the Sabbath and exhibit upright behavior at all times. Time off is granted for short vacations, trips to the city, exposure to various cultural events.

Despite the offer of steady work, shelter and pay, the average job tenure for a “Lowell girl” is roughly four years

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## John Jacob Astor: An American Tycoon



John Jacob Astor (1763-1848)

The vast majority of men who travel east to west by 1820 are content to stake out their farm and make enough of a living to raise their family.

But a few are driven by the allure of building vast new businesses that span the continent and offer the allure of almost limitless wealth.

These men will become America's first industrial age tycoons. One of them is John Jacob Astor.

John Jacob Astor is generally regarded as the fifth richest man in American history, with assets valued at \$116 Billion in current dollars. He is also the very symbol of the "rags to riches" dream that has remained in the country's culture from its inception.

Astor is born in Waldorf, Germany in 1763 and goes to work at age 14 in his father's butcher shop. Like his brothers before him, he soon flees from home, first to London, where he learns English, and then to New York city in 1784.

On the trans-Atlantic crossing he meets a German passenger whose stories about fur-trading opportunities in America fascinate him.

In 1785 he marries one Sarah Todd, daughter of a prominent Dutch family, who brings with her a sizable \$300 dowry and a keen eye for quality fur products. Together they open a shop in the city which she manages in 1786, when he goes off to Canada in search of a steady supply of beaver, otter, ermine and other pelts.

At the time, the North America fur trade resides in outposts scattered around the great salt water lake known as Hudson Bay, north of Ontario and also bordering on Quebec. These outposts are controlled by the Hudson Bay Company, chartered in 1670 by Britain's Charles II. They trade blankets, tools and other goods to local Indian tribes for pelts, which are exported abroad and converted into felt hats, coats and blankets.

Astor ventures off into this wilderness on his own, exhibiting great physical courage, along with the business acumen needed to survive and then prosper among the native trappers and cutthroat traders. His instincts for "the right deal" are remarkable. He knows which furs will appeal to the public and how to assess supplies against prices.

As his reputation grows, he connects with leaders of another leading firm in Montreal, The North West Company, who help him become the dominant importer of pelts from eastern Canada.

He then leaps to the insight that maximum profit lies not in converting the pelts into clothing, but rather in trading them for other goods available in Europe and China. He studies international shipping, and in 1800 sends a cargo ship loaded with seal and beaver skins and other pelts to Canton in exchange for scarce supplies of silks, satins, porcelain, nutmegs and souchong teas.

The China trade makes Astor incredibly wealthy, and he spends \$27,000 to buy the Rufus King mansion at 233 Broadway in NYC to house his family of six.

He founds his American Fur Company in 1808 and sets his sights next to cornering the fur trade in western Canada and the Rocky Mountains. He sends an expedition to open the Columbia River port town of Astoria, Oregon, with the intent being to ship pelts from there west to China and back east to NYC. The War of 1812 temporarily dashes his plan, but he perseveres and later dominates the western trade.

At no point does Astor relent when it comes to extending his wealth by leveraging his capital.

When Madison desperately needs funds to fight the war, he makes another killing by purchasing high yield bonds. This support, along with his political contacts in the NYC Masonic Lodge, earn him one of the five director's slots on the Second U.S. Bank when it is formed in 1816.

He is also one step ahead of others in understanding market demand.

He sells his American Fur Company in 1834, when he senses a shift from beaver to silk hats.

The profits go into a continuing quest to buy up all available real estate on and around the island of Manhattan. He purchases Greenwich Village. He pays \$25,000 to the sugar importer, James Roosevelt (great grandfather of FDR), for 120 city blocks north from 10<sup>th</sup> street to 125<sup>th</sup> and east from 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue to the East River. After the Bank Panic of 1837, he adds more plots north of the city, at bargain prices.

His strategy is to lease his properties rather than build, and by the time of his death in 1848, Astor is known as the "Landlord of New York City" and the richest man in America.

He goes down in history as the first entirely self-made tycoon in the nation's history.

### **Sidebar: Gender Roles In 1820**

#### **America Remains A Patriarchal Society**

True to its Protestant roots and its English traditions, America remains a patriarchal society in 1820.

Men are cast as the head of their households and of public affairs in general; women are expected to conform to the subservient roles they are assigned by their fathers and husbands.

Religious beliefs and practices contribute heavily to contemporary views of women – especially the Garden of Eden tale of Eve luring Adam into original sin. For the dominant Calvinist sects such as the Puritans, this forever casts doubt on the moral rectitude of all females. Eternal salvation is in the balance daily, and the prayer – “lead us not into temptation” – is often focused on women and sins of the flesh. (In 1850, author Nathaniel Hawthorne will capture these Puritan tensions in his novel, *The Scarlet Letter*.)



Abigail Adams and America's Other First Ladies

But women's subservience at this time extends beyond religious doctrine and into the realm of law.

According to English Common Law, carried over to America, women's legal rights are established under the principle of “coverture.”

Which means that, once a woman is married (or “covered”), she forfeits her legal rights as an independent person. Thus she is no longer allowed to own property, to sign contracts, or to participate in any business ventures. As the soon to be suffragette, Lucy Stone (1818-1893), will point out...

*Coverture gives the custody of the wife's person to her husband.*

A host of orthodoxies regarding both men and women follow from these religious and legal precedents.

Men are expected to be in charge of their household; to work hard to support their own family's well-being; and to participate in public affairs, from service in the militia to involvement in politics and government. In all critical decisions facing the family, their word is final.

Women too had clearly defined roles in 1820. Since their futures in society were so directly determined by marriage, girls were tutored early on to find a worthy husband. “Proper behavior” was deemed essential here, including the virtues of outward piety, modesty, appropriate dress and manners. Marriages were seldom “arranged,” and those failing to attract a husband were reduced to “spinsterhood” and probable poverty, left to live at home with their parents.

Once married, women were expected to have children, especially male heirs; to raise them properly and contribute to their education; to carry out a multitude of chores associated with maintaining a household; often to help out with farm duties; and to support and obey their husbands. While labeled “the weaker sex,” the physical demands on farm women were often extreme, doubly so since multiply pregnancies and minimal health care were commonplace.

These generalized gender roles were the norm across all regions of the country – although the stereotypes tended to be amplified across segments within the South.

Such deviations were particularly true among the elite planter class in Virginia and the Carolinas, where the culture was prone to mimicking the old world French traditions of chivalry and elegance over the more down to earth mindsets of the English Puritan “Yankees” of New England.

Fragile “Southern belles” placed on pedestals by dashing cavaliers were extant in 1820, but they were few and far between. The vast majority of females, South and North, were farm women, laboring hard from dawn to dusk to care for their homes and families.

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### **Only A Few Women Dare To Make Their Voices Heard In 1820**

Relatively few women in 1820 deviated much from their subservient roles.

But some do.

They are helped along as early as 1742, by the opening of the Bethlehem Female Seminary in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Its charter argues on behalf of a revolutionary idea: “when you educate a woman, you educate an entire family.” Its curriculum covers a range of cultural and intellectual topics, spiritual exploration, vocational training and physical exercises. It encourages women’s participation in a range of fields, including education, the ministry and nursing. (It endures today as Moravian College).

Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814) soon picks up the banner. She is a member of the prominent Otis family of Massachusetts and writes political propaganda surrounding the war with Britain. She also corresponds regularly with America’s first three presidents, publishes novels, and befriends another outspoken woman of her time, Abigail Adams.

Adams, of course, becomes the early symbol of a strong and independent women, demanding to have her say in the “affairs of men.” In addition to her role as “first lady” during her husband’s presidency, she engages many of the founding fathers, especially Thomas Jefferson, on public policy. Her written admonition to her husband, John, sets the stage for things to come during the second great awakening of the 1830’s:

*Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands, Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have not voice, or Representation.*

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## Sidebar: Our Educational Systems In 1820

### Formal Education Remains A Hit Or Miss Proposition

While education is seen as important to most Americans, little progress occurs between 1790 and 1820 in making it broadly available to all children.

Those lucky enough to be born into well off families – across regions – still benefit from personal tutors, prep schools and the higher-ed universities.

For others, formal education remains a hit or miss proposition.



University Graduate in Formal Garb

The bastion of childhood education is New England, based on its staunchly Puritan heritage. It becomes the model for “grammar schools,” open to the public, albeit with optional, not mandatory, attendance. These facilities are all privately owned until 1821, when the first government run “public school” appears in Boston.

The odds of accessing formal education also go up for children clustered in towns and cities, where “one room schoolhouses” become more commonplace.

However, in 1820, the majority of America’s children still reside on farms, outside of New England, and lack the family wealth required to hire tutors or go off to school full time.

For them, and for their parents, learning is probably an aspiration, although hard to come by, and likely relegated to second place, behind farm duties and household chores.

Despite all this, the trend lines on literacy and general education are tilting upward by 1820 -- with more children getting more years of formal education, on average.

This traces in part to the greater availability of teachers, as university attendance and graduation rates grow. While the vast majority of graduates are men, the teaching career is already beginning to attract women in search of options to traditional housewifery.

Literacy is also advanced by the fact that reading materials are becoming more prevalent, including children’s “readers and spellers,” which facilitate in-home schooling.

Parents too are more likely than ever to be reading, with local newspapers growing in popularity.

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## Newspapers Advance Literacy Along With Political Awareness



Time Out to Absorb the Daily News

Between 1800 and 1820, the number of local newspapers in circulation more than doubles, from around 200 to over 500. They exist across all states, with New York alone offering roughly 75 different publications.

Their content includes coverage of current events, especially the political arena, public announcements, and advertising for local merchants.

But the vast majority of these newspapers survive for only a few years. Some build a reliable base of paid subscribers, but most cannot generate enough to cover their costs. Their revenue is also hurt by the fact that, once bought, papers are “passed around for free.”

The ones that do manage to survive typically supplement their income by other printing work done for businesses or state governments. To secure the latter, newspapers often align with political parties, who return the favor in the form of patronage.

### Early Newspapers That Survive Over Time

Date	Title	Location
1704	The Boston News-Letter	Boston, Mass
1721	The New England Courant	Boston, Mass
1756	The New Hampshire Gazette	New Hampshire
1764	The Hartford Courant	Hartford, Conn
1785	The Augusta Chronicle	Augusta, Georgia
1785	The Poughkeepsie Journal	Poughkeepsie, NY
1786	The Boston Chronicle	Boston, Mass
1786	Daily Hampshire Gazette	Northampton, Mass
1786	Pittsburgh Post Gazette	Pittsburgh, Pa
1789	The Berkshire Eagle	Pittsfield, Mass
1792	The Recorder	Greenfield, Mass
1794	The Rutland Herald	Rutland, Vermont
1796	Norwich Bulletin	Norwich, Conn
1801	New York Post	New York, NY
1803	The Post and Courier	Charleston, SC

## Chapter 41 - The Black Experience In 1820

Time: By 1820

### The Slave Population Is Concentrated In The South And West

As of 1820, there are a total of 1.77 million blacks in America, or 18.4% of the entire population. Almost nine out of ten of them are enslaved.

**Total US Population In 1820 By Race**

	(000)	% Total
Total US Population	9,638	100.0%
Total White	7867	81.6
Total Black	1,771	18.4
Slaves	1,538	16.0
Free	233	2.4

But only 117,000 blacks -- or 6.6% of the 1.77 million -- now reside in the North.

The eight original Northern states account for just under 110,000 blacks -- with some 90,000 "classified" as freedmen and only 18,000 as slaves. Almost all of them are located in New York and New Jersey, where emancipation progress at a gradual pace.

**The Black Population In The Original Northeastern States In 1820**

	NY	Pa	NJ	Conn	Mass	RI	VT	NH	Total
Slaves	10,088	211	7,557	97	0	48	0	0	18,001
Free Blacks	29,275	30,202	12,460	7,870	6,740	3,554	903	786	91,790
Total	39,363	30,413	20,017	7,967	6,740	3,602	903	786	109,791
Tot Pop	1,372,812	1,049,458	277,575	275,248	523,287	83,059	235,981	244,161	4,061,581

The three new states to the west -- Ohio, Indiana and Illinois -- have all written constitutions and local "codes" to keep blacks out. These tactics succeed, and in 1820, their total count is only 7,500 blacks -- or less than 1% of all residents.



**Black Population In Three New NW States: 1820**

	<b>Ohio</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>IL</b>	<b>Total</b>
Slaves	0	190	917	1,107
Free Blacks	4,723	1,230	457	6,410
Total	4,723	1,420	1,374	7,517
Tot Pop	581,434	147,178	55,211	783,823

Meanwhile, 93.4% of all blacks are living in the South – and making up sizable percentages of total state population.

In the original six states below the Mason-Dixon Line, just over 4 out of every 10 people are enslaved, on average. In South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia whites and blacks are about equal in numbers. In the two Border states of Maryland and Delaware, the ration of blacks to whites is about one in four.

**The Black Population In The Southern And Border States In 1820**

	<b>Va</b>	<b>SC</b>	<b>NC</b>	<b>Ga</b>	<b>Md</b>	<b>Del</b>	<b>Total</b>
Slaves	425,153	251,783	205,017	149,656	107,398	4,509	1,143,516
Free Blacks	23,493	13,518	14,612	1,763	3,681	12,958	70,025
Total	448,646	265,301	219,629	151,419	111,079	17,467	1,213,541
Tot Pop	938,261	502,741	638,829	340,989	407,350	72,749	2,909,919

But what is most striking about the slave population in the South is an accelerated migration to the new states west of the Appalachians.

The driving force here is the economy, with new western plantations starting up and increasing the “demand” for more slave labor. In turn, this “market” is being met by eastern owners who discover the windfall profits available in “breeding and selling their inventory of excess slaves.”

By 1820, just over 500,000 slaves have appeared in states from Kentucky to Louisiana, and this will prove to be only the start of the “rush.”

**Slave Population In Western States (000)**

<b>State</b>	<b>1790</b>	<b>1820</b>	<b>Growth</b>
Kentucky	12.4	126.7	10x
Tennessee	0	80.0	++
Georgia	29.3	149.7	5x
Alabama	0	47.4	++
Mississippi	0	32.8	++
Louisiana	0	69.1	++
Total	41.7	505.7	12x

In the five western states below the Ohio River, nearly 3 in every 10 residents are slaves.



### The Black Population In The Border And New Southern States In 1820

	Ky	Tenn	La	Ala	Miss	Total
Slaves	126,732	80,107	69,064	41,449	32,814	350,166
Free Blacks	2,759	2,737	10,476	1,001	458	17,431
Total	129,491	82,844	79,540	42,450	33,272	367,597
Tot Pop	564,317	422,823	153,407	127,901	75,448	1,343,896

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Time: 1619 Forward

### All Blacks Remain Denigrated And Feared

The upbeat vision of America in 1820 is not shared by the black population, be they enslaved or living as freed men and women.

Ever since their arrival in chains they have been dismissed as outcasts.

Everything about them -- from their skin color to their geographic origins, language, manners and customs – sets them apart from the largely homogeneous white Anglo-Saxons who first settle the land.

As such, they personify “The Other,” a different tribe and likely a hostile one, to be subjugated and feared, not embraced.



An Example of Anti-Black Racial Stereotyping

Beyond that, arriving in shackles, they prick the consciences of those who have traveled to the new world in search of personal freedom and the moral teachings of their Christian faith.

Is their treatment, as slaves, consistent with the tenets of the Bible – or not? And, if not, is one in jeopardy of losing eternal salvation by participating in the abuses inherent in their captivity.

From these uncomfortable starting points, the human tendency to rationalize the status quo – especially when it is self-serving – outweighs the reservations, at least for the vast majority of whites focused on their own survival in a new land.

If these African slaves can be tamed to put in our subsistence crops, then so be it. In return, perhaps, over time, we can even “civilize them,” convert them to Christianity, help save their immortal souls, perhaps even emancipate them.

But in the interim, the here and now, we will keep them in chains, and compel them to do our bidding, as dictated by the status quo.

As with all forms of human atrocities, those in power come to rationalize their complicity. One in particular comes to symbolize this trait. He is President Thomas Jefferson, who appears particularly conflicted by his own thoughts and behavior toward “his blacks,” especially during his early years at Monticello.

This most complex man clearly recognizes the sin of slavery he is engaged in, but proceeds down the path anyway. He does so, in the end, by deciding that, indeed, blacks are The Other, a different and lesser species, somewhere above his cattle, perhaps the 3/5<sup>th</sup> of a man agreed to in the US Constitution – and certainly incapable of ever rising to equality with his own white race.

Jefferson of course is joined in this rationalization by seven of America’s first twelve Presidents – Washington, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Tyler, Polk and Taylor –who, like him, will own slaves while in office.

By 1820, slavery has been in place for over two centuries and has achieved institutional status in the nation.

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Time: 1820

### The Daily Lives Of Those Enslaved In The South



Field Hands Harvesting Cotton

The daily life of those enslaved differs dramatically, depending upon their assigned role on the farm or plantation. Some serve as field hands, others as house domestics. While both exist without precious freedom or respect, their fates are unequal.

House slaves – especially those directly serving the master and mistress -- escape from the back-breaking physical labor endured by the field hands. The women are assigned cleaning, cooking, sewing and gardening chores, along with tending to child care, as “mammy’s.” The men may act as butlers or footmen, tackle household repairs, care for horses and carriages. Both genders are often housed under their owner’s roof, have access to better clothing, diet, and medical care, and are exposed to the trappings of upscale white society and manners.

Since the grooming and behavior of house slaves can also be a reflection on the master’s wealth and magnanimity, they often become a chip in impressing visitors. Obedient and properly trained house servants signal a properly gentrified lifestyle.

On the other hand, the field hands are out of sight and often the province of hired overseers. Their measure of worth lies not in niceties, but in daily production of cotton.

A cotton crop planted around April 1 is ready to be harvested and sent to the ginning mill in July. An average field hand, bent over or crawling in the hot sun, might pick about 100 lbs. of cotton bolls a day, enough to fill up two 12-foot long “drag-along” sacks. After about 15 days of labor, the slave would have filled a standard 1500 lb. wagon, which would then be shipped to the ginning mill. After ginning, this wagon load would yield 500 lbs. of cotton fiber – or one finished “bale” – and 1000 lbs. of seed, for replanting or disposal. At a typical price of 20 cents a pound for fiber, the 500 lb. bale picked by the slave would sell for about \$100 on the market.

Thomas Jones, a slave from North Carolina, captures the round-the-clock labor imposed seven days a week during the peak seasons.

*During the planting and harvest season, we had to work early and late. The men and women were called at three o'clock 'n the morning, and were worked on the plantation till it was dark at night. After that they must prepare their food for supper and for the breakfast of the next day, and attend to other duties of their own dear homes. Parents would often have to work for their children at home, after each day's protracted toil, till the middle of the night, and then snatch a few hours' sleep' to get strength for the heavy burdens of the next day.*

No one is spared from this toil. Pregnant women work the fields. Older children are formed into gangs of weed pickers; younger children tote water from wells to workers.

During breaks, “slave food” is carried in pails to the fields. The typical diet is loaded with starch, in the form of cornmeal, and fatback, from salted pork. Access to vegetables and fruit goes to slaves lucky enough to maintain their own small garden plots.

Any perceived lapses in the daily toil are met by the wide range of punishments open to the bully over the defenseless. On one end is the lash, administered with a whip, tearing and scarring naked backs. On the other, the more subtle indignations, from cutbacks on rations to banning the smallest traces of freedom and dignity, like church gatherings.



Slave Quarters in South Carolina

Field slaves live in dirt floor log cabins held together by clay-based mortar and vulnerable to rain in the summer and cold in the winter. Their dress is derived from flimsy “Negro cloth,” worn until disintegration. Many go shoeless; others wear “Negro brogans.”

Taken together, the living conditions for slaves leave them vulnerable to a host of killing diseases, including malaria, cholera, dysentery, tuberculosis and pneumonia. Mortality statistics bear this out – the death rate for slave babies and children up to age 14 being twice as high as for their white counterparts.

Thus, while plantation owners always wish to expand their “crop of slaves,” the daily treatment they afford them backfires – and across the antebellum period, life expectancy at birth is only 21 years as opposed to the 42 years averaged by whites.

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Time: 1790’s Forward

### Freed Blacks Inch Toward Respect



A Free Black Woman

In 1820 there are roughly 233,000 “free blacks” in America, with some 98,000 in the North and 135,000 in the South.

Freedom has come to them in a host of ways: military service in the War of 1812, buy-outs, manumission, “passing for white,” northern laws abolishing slavery now or for new births.

Roughly two-thirds of free blacks are females, often left to fend for themselves, frequently with children in tow fathered by men who remain in slavery. The result here being a matriarchal cast to the society created.

While theoretically free, local “black codes” circumscribe their daily lives.

Failure to produce papers proving their freedom can return them directly to bondage. In the South, their homes often abut plantations, and some continue to live in slave quarters. In the North, they typically find themselves in cities, segregated into all-black neighborhoods, labeled by names like “Darktown” or “Shantytown.”

The first challenge facing these free blacks lies in simple economic survival.

Many of them, especially the women, transition from slavery into domestic servitude.

Others, especially men, try to scratch out a living as day laborers, draymen, porters and the like.

A few begin to the move up the economic ladder by acquiring special know-how and skills always in demand.

Self-taught skills such as barbering, hairstyling, sewing and tailoring become popular occupations among free blacks. Some wrangle apprenticeships, and find work as blacksmiths, saddlers, carpenters, masons, butchers or shoemakers. Access to professional or white collar jobs, however, is sharply limited by historical prohibitions against teaching them to read, write or master numbers.

Despite all of these hurdles, blacks who have escaped enslavement begin to inch their way into the white dominated social structure they encounter. Men like Prince Hall, Paul Cuffee and James Forten demonstrate the talent and tenaciousness to achieve economic success and work on behalf of others in the black community.

Black churches in particular provide a refuge from daily oppressions and a place to advance survival skills.

Indeed, the gradual movement toward “coloured citizenship” will be shaped inside Thomas Paul’s Boston church, the 1819 African Methodist Episcopal Church founded in Philadelphia by Reverend Richard Allen, Samuel Cornish’s First Colored Presbyterian Church of New York (1821), the African-American Church of Charleston (1822), the First Black Baptist Church of New Orleans (1826) and others.

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Time: 1820

### The Roll Call Of Black Abolitionists In 1820

Among the early black fighters for freedom and citizenship, three notables – Prince Hall, Paul Cuffee, and Absalom Jones, have passed from the scene by 1820.

#### A Few Early Black Abolitionists Who Have Passed By 1820

	<b>Death</b>	<b>At Age</b>
Prince Hall	December 4, 1807	72
Paul Cuffee	September 9, 1817	58
Reverend Absalom Jones	February 13, 1818	72

But James Forten remains, as does the Reverend Thomas Paul – and they are about to be joined by a next generation of reformers who will advance the cause in the decades ahead.

### Early Black Abolitionists Still Alive In 1820

	Age In 1820
James Forten	56
Reverend Thomas Paul	47
Austin Steward	27
Thomas Dalton	26
Reverend Samuel Cornish	25
Reverend Theodor Wright	23
Sojourner Truth	23
David Walker	22

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Time: 1820

#### Sidebar: Old Fanny, Uncle Abraham And The Lott Family Of Brooklyn



“Old Fanny” and her mistress,  
Aunt Lizzie (Mrs. Nicholls)

“Uncle Abraham”

One destiny for slaves freed in the North lay in ongoing servitude to their former owners – and such was the case with “Old Fanny” and “Uncle Abraham” of the Lott household in Brooklyn.

The Lott family migrates from Holland to New York around 1630. At the time, slave ownership is widespread among the Dutch, with blacks originally comprising about 20% of the state’s population. In New York city over half of all residents own at least one slave, and the Lott family owns twelve, according to the 1790 census records.

In 1800 Hendrick I. Lott (1760-1840) builds a 22 room home on 245 acres of farmland in the Flatlands (Brooklyn) and moves in with his wife, Mary Brownjohn, daughter of a prominent family also from New York city. One of their offspring, a son, Johannes, marries Gashe



Bergen in 1817, and fathers seven children. One is Henry DeWitt Lott (b. 1820), another, Eliza Lott (b.1828).

At some point, Henry Lott comes to own the slave Abraham, while Eliza owns Fanny.

And at some point, Abraham weds Fanny, and they have at least one child, a daughter, Fannie Lew, who is owned by Elsie (Ray) Lott.

When slavery finally withers away around 1830 in New York, Abraham and Fanny transition from slaves to “coloured servants” of Henry and Eliza.

A trip into New York City by Eliza probably prompts the photograph above, taken by Fredericks & O’Neill of 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue, of an aging “Old Fanny,” standing beside the seated “Lizzie.” By the time it is taken, “Uncle Abraham,” whose photo originates at Isley’s Studio in Jersey City, has presumably passed away.

The Lott property remains a NYC landmark to this day, and restoration work shows that the slave quarters were well hidden within the building through a trap door in the kitchen. Artifacts found in this space include candle drippings, a mortared-over oven, a cloth pouch, oyster shell and corncobs, the latter arranged in a starburst pattern suggesting that they were used as part of West African religious rituals.

Conjecture also has it that a secret 6’x12’ room concealed behind a closet on the second floor of the Lott house may have been used in the 1840’s by run-away slaves moving north along the Underground Railroad.

Over 150 years have passed since Aunt Lizzie and “Old Fanny” posed for the camera, on their visit to NYC. But there they are, captured in time, forever symbolizing a limbo-like moment where some black people in America were no longer slaves, but not nearly all the way free and equal.

## Chapter 42 - A White Abolitionist Movement Gets Underway

Time: 1619 Forward

### Moral Opposition To Slavery Is Muted Up To The 1800's

The institution of chattel slavery goes largely unchallenged on moral grounds up to the early 1800's.

Indeed there are some exceptions, but these are few and far between.

#### Some Early Anti-Slavery Protests

Date	Action
1688	<i>The Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery</i>
1743	Quaker John Woolman's anti-slavery pamphlets and reform tours
1747	Minister Jonathan Mayhew's crusade
1773	Dr. Benjamin Rush's assertion that blacks are not intellectually inferior to whites
1774	Methodist John Wesley's missions to end slavery
1775	Ben Franklin's "Pennsylvania Society For Relief Of Negroes Unlawfully Held In Bondage"
1787	Attacks by Gouverneur Morris and Luther Martin at the Constitutional Convention
1785	Rush and Franklin found the New York Manumission Society

Once Northerners find that the international slave trade is no longer profitable, the vast majority focus on segregating and controlling the few blacks left in their own neighborhoods and ensuring that those enslaved in the South stay there.

Southerners by then have discovered that their "peculiar institution" is the basis for their ongoing economic prosperity, and are ready to defend it to the death.

So the only opposition to slavery seems to come from those who would oppose its future geographical spread – based on prejudice and greed -- not from any drive to end the practice entirely based on moral grounds.

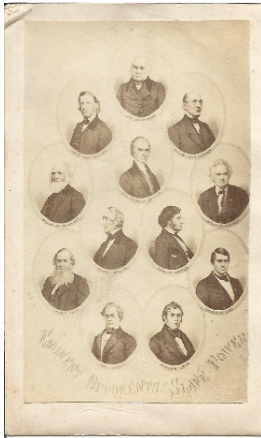
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Time: 1815

### Three Quakers Found A Small Scale Abolitionist Movement

The notion of emancipating all slaves in America has its roots in three New England Quakers, Elias Hicks, Benjamin Lundy and Lucretia Mott.





“Eminent Opponents of the Slave Power,”  
Including Ben Lundy (lower right)

Hicks is a New Yorker, born in 1748, who becomes a carpenter and farmer by trade. He joins the Assembly of Friends at age 21 and is quickly recognized by his congregation for the spiritual insights he voices during prayer meetings. As such he is chosen as a “recording minister,” and becomes an itinerant preacher.

From the beginning he converts his beliefs into action. He frees his family slaves in 1778, sets up a Charity Society for Africans in 1794, and by 1811 advocates an economic boycott of all goods – especially cotton and sugar – produced by slaves. By his words and deeds, Hicks influences not only Ben Lundy but also Lucretia Mott.

Lundy is born in 1789 and raised on a farm in New Jersey. At 19 years he moves to Wheeling, in western Virginia, in order to apprentice as a saddler. While learning the craft, he is exposed to, and horrified by, the slave trade that is active in the town. Like many other converts to abolition, he is particularly bothered by the sight of chained “coffles” of slaves in pens, awaiting shipment south. He later reflects on this experience:

*It grieved my heart, and the iron (to oppose it) entered my soul.*

Lundy’s saddling business leads to economic success, and, in 1815, he moves west to Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, where he sets up shop, marries, begins a family and commences on a quiet and prosperous life.

His Quaker conscience, however, convinces him that his purpose in life lies in a personal crusade against the evils of slavery he witnessed years ago. So he sells his business and sets out on his mission.

In 1815, with help from other Friends, Lundy founds The Union Humane Society – the first such group in his time to publicly speak up on behalf of emancipation.

He begins to tour the countryside and deliver public lectures attacking the evils of slavery. He also writes articles for a Friend’s newspaper, and, when the owner dies in 1821, he becomes the hands-on publisher. He names the paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

Over the next eighteen years, Benjamin Lundy will devote all of his resources and strength to eradicating slavery in America, and enlisting important new converts in his cause.

In 1825 he escorts freed slaves to Haiti, then returns home to learn that his wife has died and his five children have been placed in a foster home. He decides to leave them there, and free himself totally to carry on his quest, earning this tribute from the poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, on his death in 1839:

*It was“(Lundy’s) lot to struggle, for years almost alone, a solitary voice crying in the wilderness, and, amidst all, faithful to his one great purpose, the emancipation of the slaves.*

Lundy will also be remembered for one of his final acts, in 1829, when he strikes up a conversation in Boston with a 23 year named Garrison – an iron-willed Baptist and neophyte reformer -- whom Lundy encourages to join the crusade. Soon enough Garrison will become the face of the abolitionist movement across the nation.

The third founding member of the early abolitionist movement is the charismatic Lucretia Mott.



Lucretia Mott (1793-1880)

She is born Lucretia Coffin in 1793 in Nantucket, Massachusetts. At age thirteen her parents send her off to Nine Partners Quaker Boarding School, where she is educated and where she begins her career as a teacher, alongside her future husband, James Mott.

She marries, becomes a teacher, then a biblical scholar and finally a lay minister in 1821, at the age of 28 years.

Like her counterparts, she rebels against the rote traditions of her church and calls for:

*Practical godliness over ceremonial religion.*

The search for “truth,” according to Mott, begins by looking inside oneself and connecting with the potential perfection, “the inner light,” that lies within.

Then comes action. The duty of the awakened is to go forth and reform the world’s ills – something she will pursue all the way to her death in 1880.

By 1815, Mott, along with Lundy, will influence the Quaker General Assembly to speak out on behalf of abolition, declaring that the practice of buying and selling slaves is “inconsistent with the Gospels.”

“Mother Mott” will later take Garrison under her wing as his chief spiritual advisor.

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Time: 1818

### **A Virginia Attacks Slavery**

While public criticism of slavery is almost unheard of in the South, one exception is George Bourne, a Presbyterian minister in Virginia.

He begins a life-long abolitionist crusade in 1818 by issuing his screed, *The Book And Slavery Irreconcilable*, in which he declares that the Bible cites “man-stealing” as a sin.

His sermons against slavery are soon met by a firestorm of resistance, and he is cast off from the ministry, first by his local congregation and then by the General Assembly.

Like all of the outspoken abolitionists of the era, Bourne risks his safety on a daily basis, and he soon abandons his home in Virginia to move north.

He lives on until 1845, becoming a newspaper editor in New York City and a leading national voice for immediate abolition.

George Bourne’s nominal heirs in this regard will include the martyred editor, Elijah Lovejoy, and his friends, Lloyd Garrison and the philanthropist, Lewis Tappan.

## Chapter 43 - Another Bloody Slave Uprising Occurs

Time: 1800/1805/1811

### Gabriel, Chatham, Deslondes



The Stern Look of an Overseer

The vast majority of blacks living as slaves in 1820 have little hope of freedom – either through manumission in America or “re-colonization” to Liberia.

For a few, daily despair leads them to seek revenge on their white masters.

Some aspire to grand schemes, along the lines of Toussaint Louverture’s successful rebellion across all of Haiti in 1791. Others are small scale in nature, aimed solely at murdering their immediate tormentors.

All will be readily put down by local authorities, and avenged with ruthless punishment to deter repetition.

Even so, they play a part in the long road to black freedom.

One early uprising, in 1800, ends with James Monroe himself, then Governor of Virginia, calling out the state militia for support. A slave named Gabriel, a blacksmith, and his brother Martin, a preacher, plan to gather their forces, march on Richmond under the Patrick Henry banner (“Liberty or Death”), kill as many whites as possible, and then, possibly, sail off to Haiti to survive. But word of their plot slips out in advance, and on August 30, Gabriel and others scatter in hopes of escape. Monroe’s militia quickly tracks them down, and a total of 26 blacks are subsequently hanged, including Gabriel, Martin and another brother.

Five years later, in January 1805, spontaneous resistance breaks out at Chatham Manor, the prestigious plantation owned by Washington’s friend, William Fitzhugh. Slaves there overpower and whip their overseer and four other whites. In response one black is executed, two die trying to escape and two others are sold and sent away.

A much broader rebellion takes place in Louisiana in January 1811. It is led by a mulatto slave named Charles Deslondes who hopes to repeat Toussaint L’ouverture’s successful black revolution in Haiti. His targets are the cane field plantations along Louisiana’s “German Coast” (so named for its original European settlers) and the city of New Orleans some 20 miles to the south.

Deslondes plans well and recruits an initial band of 25 slaves to join his attack. It begins on the night of January 8, 1811 on the 1900 acre Manual Andry Plantation, where 24 year old Gilbert Andry is hacked to death while his parents barely escape the scene in a canoe. Armed with the

Andry's militia gear, the rebels begin their march south along the River Road on January 9, destroying the Reine, Laclaverie, Meuillon and Fortier plantations and adding upwards of 200 slaves to their force.

Upon learning of the raids, Louisiana's Territorial Governor, William Claiborne responds quickly. He calls out the local militia and troops under Major General Wade Hampton, seals off the roads and bridges into New Orleans, and imposes a 6pm curfew on all black males in the city.

Around 8:00am on January 10, Deslondes' men are confronted in the Fortier fields by Hampton's troops and some 80 planters, led by Manual Andry himself. A pitched battle ensues until the rebels run out of ammunition and surrender. Roughly twenty blacks are killed in action, fifty are captured, and the rest attempt to escape into the nearby swamps, with Deslondes among them. But tracking dogs run him down on January 11, after which reports say "Militiamen chop off his hands, break his thighbones, shoot him dead and roast his corpse."

On January 13 a five-man tribunal convenes, with many of the rebels tried and hanged or shot before their severed heads are displayed on poles along the River Road entrance to New Orleans.

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May 30, 1822

### **Denmark Vesey's Insurrection**

In 1822 the banner is again picked up, this time in South Carolina, by a slave named Denmark Vesey.

After spending his youth in Haiti, and witnessing the Toussaint revolt, he is brought to America as a house slave by his owner, Joseph Vesey. But luck shines on him when he wins \$1500 in a Charleston city lottery. He uses some of the cash to buy his freedom, then makes his living as a carpenter. He is also instrumental in founding the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the city in 1817.

Vesey is well spoken and involved with the slavery debate. He cites both the Bible and the Declaration of Independence in arguing for abolition. But his hopes are evidently dashed when city authorities shut down his church, and DC politician's compromise over Missouri.

In response he puts together a plan that mirrors Gabriel's revolt in 1800. This plan, which filters out to many slaves in the area, calls for slaves and free blacks to band together, murder the plantation owners, then rampage through Charleston before sailing off to liberty in Haiti.

All this is to occur symbolically on July 14, 1822, the 33<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Bastille Day in Paris.

Like Gabriel's plan, however, authorities learn of the attack and arrest a host of possible co-conspirators in advance. As usual they are tried summarily and 67 of them are hanged, including

Denmark Vesey. In the tradition of the Roman legions of old, many of their heads are then cut off and displayed on pikes in public places, as a warning.

In hindsight, none of these early uprisings, from Gabriel to Vesey, represent an existential threat to the Southerner's control over the slave population.

Nevertheless each one, in its own way, strikes terror in the minds of white men.

The vision of an African savage approaching with a pitchfork or scythe in hand becomes every bit as imaginable as that of an Indian tribesman brandishing a war club.

And this is true both for Southerners who live in the midst of blacks – and Northerners who progressively conclude that they do not want to.

## Chapter 44 - James Monroe's Second Term

Time: November-December 1820

### Monroe Wins Re-Election Unopposed

The economic depression that continues to plague the country in 1820 would seem to offer the Federalists an opportunity to revive their political fortunes, but it is beyond saving, for multiple reasons.

Perhaps foremost is the absence of a strong and well known leader in the mold of Washington, Hamilton and John Adams. DeWitt Clinton, who ran well against Madison in 1812, has returned to his roots as a Democratic-Republican, and is serving as Governor of New York. Senator Rufus King, has lost the last two races by large margins, and is now 65 years old. Meanwhile, the most logical Federalist contender, 53 year old John Quincy Adams, has been drummed out of the party for his support of Jefferson's 1807 Embargo, and is serving as Monroe's Secretary of State.

In addition to lacking a credible presidential candidate, the Federalists are without a platform that resonates at the national level. Most people regard them as the party of wealthy New Englanders, touting the narrow wishes of the shipping and mercantile industries, out of touch with the rest of the country. Still others have never forgiven them for their "treasonous threat," at the 1814 Hartford Convention, to secede from the Union.

The result is that Monroe in 1820, like Washington in 1792, runs essentially unopposed in the election. The voter turn-out is only 107,000, about the same as in 1816. The President wins every state in the Union, and all but one electoral vote. The lone hold-out is an elector from New Hampshire who regards Monroe as a failure, and casts his vote for John Quincy Adams.

### Results Of The 1820 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV	South	Border	North	West
James Monroe	Va	Dem-Rep	87,343	229	75	27	107	20
Anti-Monroe	--	Federalist	17,465	0				
DeWitt Clinton	NY	Independent	1,893	0				
John Quincy Adams		Dem-Rep	---	1			1	
Total			106,701	230	75	27	108	20
Needed To Win				116				

**Note:** South (Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia, TN, Ala, Miss, La), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn, Vt, Maine), West (Ohio, Indiana, IL) Total # electors voting = 230; must get more than half to win = 116.

The Federalists do continue to slate candidates for Congress, but their influence outside of New England remains trivial.

### Results Of Congressional Elections

House	1817	1819	1821
Democratic-Republicans	146	160	155
Federalist	39	26	32
Senate			
Democratic-Republicans	25	37	37
Federalist	13	9	9
Vacant			2
Congress#	15 <sup>th</sup>	16 <sup>th</sup>	17 <sup>th</sup>
President	Mad	Mon	Mon

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Time: March 5, 1821

#### Monroe's Second Inaugural Address

Since March 4, 1821 falls on the Sabbath, Monroe delays his inauguration until Monday the fifth. His speech is lengthy and mixes praise for the nation's progress since independence along with his priorities for his second term.

He begins with foreign policy, recalling the second war with Britain, and the nation's need for a strong military to avoid similar costly conflicts in the future.

*Just before the commencement of the last term the United States had concluded a war with a very powerful nation...Provision was (then) made for the construction of fortifications at proper points through the whole extent of our coast and...augmentation of our naval force...It need scarcely be remarked that these measures have not been resorted to in a spirit of hostility to other powers They have been dictated by a love of peace, of economy, and an earnest desire to save the lives of our fellow-citizens from that destruction and our country from that devastation which are inseparable from war when it finds us unprepared for it. It is believed, and experience has shown, that such a preparation is the best expedient that can be resorted to prevent war.*

*The conduct of the Government in what relates to foreign powers is always an object of the highest importance to the nation. Its agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fisheries, revenue, in short, its peace, may all be affected by it. Attention is therefore due to this subject.*

Relations with Spain seem to be progressing well. For the moment, the United States will remain neutral in regard to Spain's ongoing wars with its South American colonies. The recent acquisition of Florida was important to America's future, and signals the opportunity for ongoing friendly relations.



*The war between Spain and the colonies in South America, which had commenced many years before, was then the only conflict that remained unsettled. Our attitude has therefore been that of neutrality between them, which has been maintained by the Government with the strictest impartiality. Should the war be continued, the United States, regarding its occurrences, will always have it in their power to adopt such measures respecting it as their honor and interest may require. Great confidence is entertained that the late treaty with Spain, which has been ratified by both the parties, and the ratifications whereof have been exchanged, has placed the relations of the two countries on a basis of permanent friendship.*

*But to the acquisition of Florida too much importance cannot be attached. It secures to the United States a territory ...whose importance is...of the highest interests of the Union. It opens to several of the neighboring States a free passage to the ocean...by several rivers...It secures us against all future annoyance from powerful Indian tribes. It gives us several excellent harbors in the Gulf of Mexico for ships of war of the largest size. It covers the Mississippi and other great waters within our extended limits, and thereby enables the United States to afford complete protection to the vast and very valuable productions of our whole Western country...*

The outlook for commercial relations with Britain and France are also favorable.

*By a treaty...on the 20th of October, 1818, the convention regulating the commerce between the United States and Great Britain...was revived and continued for the term of ten years from the time of its expiration. The negotiation with France for the regulation of the commercial relations...will be pursued on the part of the United States...with an earnest desire that it may terminate in an arrangement satisfactory to both parties.*

On the budgetary front, the message is mixed. Some progress has been made on paying down the public debt, without overburdening taxes – but government revenues have fallen and more bonds have been issued to cover expenditures.

*The situation of the United States in regard to...resources...revenue, and the facility with which it is raised affords a most gratifying spectacle. The payment of nearly \$67,000,000 of the public debt, with the great progress made in measures of defense and in other improvements of various kinds since the late war, are conclusive proofs of this extraordinary prosperity, especially when...these expenditures have been defrayed without a...direct tax and... in a manner not to be felt.*

*Under the present depression of prices, affecting all the productions of the country... revenue has considerably diminished, the effect of which has been to compel Congress...to resort to loans or internal taxes to supply the deficiency. On the presumption that this depression and the deficiency in the revenue arising from it would be temporary, loans were authorized for the demands of the last and present year.*

*I am satisfied that internal duties and excises, with corresponding imposts on foreign articles of the same kind, would, without imposing any serious burdens on the people,*

*enhance the price of produce, promote our manufactures, and augment the revenue, at the same time that they made it more secure and permanent.*

After turning once again to fair treatment of the Indian tribes, and expressing concerns about renewed conflicts in Europe, he zeroes in on his optimism around America’s future.

*If we turn our attention, fellow-citizens...to our country...we have every reason to anticipate the happiest results In this great nation there is but one order, that of the people, . By steadily pursuing this course in this spirit there is every reason to believe that our system will soon attain...such a degree of order and harmony as to command the admiration and respect of the civilized world.*

*Twenty-five years ago the river Mississippi was shut up and our Western brethren had no outlet for their commerce The United States now enjoy the complete and uninterrupted sovereignty over the whole territory from St. Croix to the Sabine. New States, settled from among ourselves in this and in other parts, have been admitted into our Union in equal participation in the national sovereignty with the original States. We now, fellow-citizens, comprise within our limits the dimensions and faculties of a great power under a Government possessing all the energies of any government ever known to the Old World, with an utter incapacity to oppress the people.*

*With full confidence and with a firm reliance on the protection of Almighty God, I shall forthwith commence the duties of the high trust to which you have called me.*

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Time: March 4, 1821 – March 4, 1825

**Overview Of Monroe’s Second Term**



James Monroe (1758-1831)

All cabinet members in place at the end of Monroe’s first term remain in place through the second, except for one turn-over in the Navy post.

**James Monroe Cabinet In 1821**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Home State</b>
Vice-President	Daniel Tompkins	New York
Secretary of State	J Quincy Adams	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	William Crawford	Georgia
Secretary of War	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
Secretary of the Navy	Smith Thompson	New York
Attorney General	William Wirt	Virginia

The focus of the second term turns out to be foreign policy.

The stage for this is set early in 1821 when Alexander I of Russia asserts a claim to vast acreage in the Pacific northwest, including what becomes the Oregon Territory.

Then comes pressure from King Ferdinand VII of Spain, demanding that the United States refrain from recognizing new governments in his break-away colonies across South America.

Monroe eventually sees both these acts as affronts to America's growing power in the world, and in need of a firm response. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams promotes this stance, and completes careful diplomacy with Britain and France to head off any thoughts they might have of aligning with either Spain or Russia.

The final word on foreign intrusions comes in Monroe's annual speech to Congress on December 2, 1823. As a lifelong military man, the President places national security ahead of all other duties, and decides that the time has come to end further attempts by foreigners to impose their wills within the hemisphere.

In years ahead, this "hands-off" policy becomes known as the "Monroe Doctrine," and it set the stage for America to achieve hegemony over North America.

As the President's second term plays out, intense jockeying is under way to find his successor in office. Three men in particular – John Quincy Adams, William Crawford and Andrew Jackson – will vie for the office, in an election that will, for the second time, end up decided in the House of Representatives.



Monroe's Final Tomb – Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond

James Monroe is 66 years old when he retires to his Highland plantation, which has expanded to some 3,500 acres and is worked by 30-40 slaves. But his final six years will not be happy ones. Like Jefferson and Madison, his personal finances are in a shambles, only he lacks their inherited wealth to fend off ruin. He repeatedly petitions government officials for "reimbursement" of expenses incurred during his public service, but to no avail.

He is forced to sell Highland Plantation in 1825 and move 125 miles north to Oak Hill plantation, inherited from his uncle, Judge Jones. His wife dies in September of 1830, another terrible blow.

*After having lived with the partner of your youth, in so many vicissitudes of life, so long together, and afforded each other comforts which no other person on earth could do...to have her snatched from us, is an affliction which none but those who feel it, can justly estimate.*

Monroe lives but ten months from his wife's passing. He is forced to sell Oak Hill, and is taken in, virtually destitute, by his younger daughter in New York city. He dies there of heart failure on July 4, 1831.

### Key Events: Monroe's Second Term

<b>1821</b>	
June 21	Waterford Academy For Young Ladies opens in Waterford, NY
Aug 10	Missouri admitted to the Union as 24 <sup>th</sup> state
Sept 4	Czar Alexander I of Russia claims all of North America north of 51 <sup>st</sup> parallel
	Republic of Liberia opened by American Colonization Society
<b>1822</b>	
Mar 30	East and West Florida joined, with Andrew Jackson as territorial governor
May 30	Slave rebellion plot of Denmark Vessey foiled; 35 blacks hanged.
June 19	US recognizes Bolivar's Republic of Gran Columbia
July 20	Tennessee state legislature declares support for Andrew Jackson for 1824 presidential race
July 24	US protests Russian claims to Oregon territory region
Oct 27	270 mile stretch of Erie Canal opened
Nov 18	Kentucky state legislature says it will support Henry Clay for the 1824 nomination
Dec 12	The US recognizes Mexican independence from Spain under emperor, Augustin de Iturbide
<b>1823</b>	
Jan 27	The US recognizes Chile and Argentina as independent nations
Feb 18	Iturbide confirms land grant from Mexico to Moses and Stephen Austin in Tejas province
July 17	JQ Adams informs Russia that it will resist any further foreign colonization in the Americas
Aug 20	Britain supports US resistance to Russian claims in the Oregon Territory region
Oct 9	France declares it will not support Spanish efforts to regain colonies in South America
Dec 2	The "Monroe Doctrine" announced in the President's annual speech to Congress
<b>1824</b>	
Feb 14	66 House members nominate Treasury Secretary William Crawford for the 1824 nomination
Feb 15	Boston politicians advance the candidacy of JQ Adams for the nomination
Feb	Explorer Jed Smith opens "South Pass" (Wyoming) through Rocky Mountains
Mar 2	In <i>Gibbons v Ogden</i> , Supreme Court says Fed trumps states on interstate commerce issues
Mar 31	Speaker Henry Clay supports protectionist Tariff of 1824 and need for infrastructure upgrades
April 17	Russia signs treaty with US renouncing claims south of 54'40", including the Oregon Territory
May 22	Congress supports Clay's Tariff of 1824 bill

May 26	The US recognizes Brazil's independence
Jun 17	The Bureau of Indian Affairs is established
Oct 5	The Renssalaer School Of Theoretical And Practical Science opens
Dec 1	The 1824 presidential election ends with no candidate getting an electoral college majority
--	Benjamin Lundy moves publishing of <i>Genius of Universal Emancipation</i> newspaper to Baltimore
<b>1825</b>	
Jan 3	The utopian New Harmony community opens in Indiana
Feb 9	JQ Adams is elected President when Clay supports him over Jackson in a House vote

## Chapter 45 - Monroe Issues His “Hands Off The Americas” Doctrine

Time: 1819-1821

### Spain Pressures Monroe Over Diplomatic Policies Related To Latin America



With the domestic conflicts over the admission of Missouri palliated, President Monroe and Secretary of State JQ Adams turn their attention to diplomatic concerns provoked by King Ferdinand VII of Spain.

Ferdinand has been kicked off his throne in 1808 and imprisoned in France for five years, while Napoleon’s brother, Joseph Bonaparte, rules the nation. He returns in 1813, after the French army is beaten back from Moscow, only to find that his once far reaching colonial empire much diminished in his absence.

Ferdinand is particularly distraught over lost revenues from his colonies in Latin America, where various “liberators” are at work, with the effects reaching all the way up to America’s southern neighbor, Mexico.

Spain Hopes to Preserve its Colonies in Central and South America

The Mexican independence movement begins in 1810 with the renegade priest, Miguel Hidalgo, whose peasant army wins several battles before being defeated in July 1811. After Hidalgo’s execution, leadership of the army falls on Jose Maria Morelos, who fights on, holds a conference declaring independence, but is ultimately defeated and killed in 1815.

Ferdinand is able to hold onto Mexico for seven more years before independence is finally achieved -- ironically under the leadership of Colonel Augustin de Iturbide. This caudillo initially opposes the rebels, but then seizes on populist anger with the Spanish throne, to declare himself Emperor of Mexico.

Further south, the picture is no better for Ferdinand.

There the uprisings against Spanish rule are led by Simon Bolivar, who descends from a long line of Basque aristocrats in Spain, grows up in Caracas, Venezuela, masters warfare at the

military academy there, and goes on to assume command of a series of armies which, in 1820, proclaim a new nation called Gran Colombia.

This nation, which will endure for a decade under Bolivar's rule, extends from what is today Panama, south through the top quarter of South America, including Ecuador, northern Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and northwest Brazil.

By 1820, the Spanish hold over Paraguay, Chile and Argentina has also collapsed.

King Ferdinand VII hopes to reverse these losses and restore his rule across South America, perhaps with military help from other European monarchists bent on destroying secular governments wherever they are found, including the United States.

Ferdinand uses the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 to try to leverage Monroe into tacitly supporting his vision.

This diplomatic quid pro quo appalls many American politicians – most notably Henry Clay – who accuses Monroe of siding with an absolutist king over oppressed people seeking freedom and self-rule. Clay's speeches to this effect make him a hero throughout Latin America, and eventually force Monroe and Adams to exhibit a stronger hand with the Spanish monarch.

It is within this context that a new threat of foreign intrusion materializes -- in the form of Tsar Alexander I, ruler of Russia and member of the powerful Holy Alliance with Austria and Prussia, who issues a decree that further rattles the administration.

In the Ukase (decree) of 1821 the Tsar proclaims Russian sovereignty over a large swath of North America, running from Alaska in the north and west all the way down to the 45° 50' parallel within the Oregon Country.



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Time: 1741-1821

## Russia Enters North America Through Alaska



Like Britain and America, Russia is originally drawn to the Pacific Northwest by the fur trade.

Tsarist interest here begins in Alaska, or “mainland,” in the dialect of the native Aleutian Island natives who inhabit the region.

In 1741, a Russian expedition led by the Dane, Vitus Bering, first explores Alaska. It

finds a vast expanse, with latitudes ranging from 70 degrees in the north to 55 degrees in the south, and sub-freezing temperatures lasting upwards of seven months each year in the arctic zone. It also encounters almost endless herds of fur bearing mammals (seals, otters, bears, hares, fox, ermine) there for the taking.

Russian trappers follow on, with settlements springing up mainly along the southern coast. In 1784 one Grigory Shelikhov and 200 settlers found the Three Saints Bay colony on Kodiak Island. In 1799 Tsar Paul I issues a Ukase, claiming ownership of land south to the 55<sup>th</sup> parallel, and chartering Russia’s first joint-stock corporation, The Russian-American Company. It will be led by Aleksandr Baranov, a crafty fur trader and businessman, from 1799 to 1818. He drives along the southern coast, wins a major victory over the native Aluets tribes at the Battle of Sitka in 1804, and begins a push down into the Oregon Country.

Baranov establishes Russian settlements almost to San Francisco after finding that Spain has failed to occupy land in northern California. His operation there is anchored at Fort Ross, a name whose roots tie to the word Russia in his native tongue. The fort thrives from 1812 onward, with inhabitants including Russians and other Slavic people, along with native Aluet Indians.

At this point, however, Russia is operating well south of its recognized territory in Alaska – and intruding on Oregon Country land coveted not only by Spain, but also Britain and America.



Along with Ferdinand's ambitions in Latin America, Alexander's Ukase of 1821 serves to reignite American fears over another round of foreign invasions into the western hemisphere..

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Time: September 4, 1821

### Russia Asserts A Claim To Land In The Oregon Country



Territorial disputes to the south of Alaska over the Oregon Country are long-standing.

They begin in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century when ships from both Spain and England sail along the Pacific coast.

The Spanish are first to actually claim the land, after expeditions by explorers from Juan Perez in 1774 to Bruno de Heceta and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra in 1775.

The British christen the territory "Ouragon" in 1765, and Captain James Cook makes land there in 1788 at the 43<sup>rd</sup> parallel, before proceeding north and mapping all the way over to the Bering Straits.

Then come the Americans, with Captain Robert Gray in his ship *Columbia*, also exploring the region in 1788. Gray is first to enter the mouth of the geographically critical 1200 mile long river he names the Columbia in 1792. From Oregon, Gray heads west with a shipload of furs to trade in China, and becomes the first American to circumnavigate the globe. His published journals spur others to pursue trapping and trade around Oregon.

In 1792 British Captain George Vancouver sails up the Columbia River, setting the stage for operations by the Hudson Bay Company in their attempt to dominate the worldwide fur industry.

Three decades later, in 1824, Hudson will open Fort Vancouver, inland headquarters of their “Columbia District.”

The American explorers, Lewis and Clark, arrive overland in the Oregon Country in 1806. They are followed in 1811 by the tycoon, John Jacob Astor, whose American Fur Company will compete tooth and nail against Hudson Bay over the next two decades, from his post at Ft. Astoria.

Spain renounces its claims to Oregon in the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819, apparently leaving Britain and America as the only two contenders for the land rights.

But then Alexander’s Ukase of 1821 adds further complications.

After much cabinet level discussion, Monroe and Adams decide it’s time for America to resolve the borders in the Oregon Country and assert a foreign policy decree of its own.

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Time: December 2, 1823

### **The Monroe Doctrine Spells Out America’s Foreign Policy Across The Hemisphere**



James Monroe (1758-1831)

The policy decision reached is quite remarkable, and it signals the rest of the world that American democracy is now on equal footing with the monarchies of Europe and Asia.

This is Monroe at his finest, the last of the Revolutionary War presidents, determined to insure the nation’s political integrity and borders from any and all foreign threats.

Which first means the answer will be “no” to Spain’s demand to withhold recognition of the newly independent nations of Latin America, and “no” to Russia’s assertion of control over the Oregon Country.

The former comes in June of 1822, when America opens diplomatic ties with Bolivar’s Gran Columbia and in December of the same year when an independent Mexico is officially recognized.

The Russian claims are dealt with soon thereafter in what will become known as the Monroe Doctrine.

The President announces this doctrine in his annual address to Congress of December 2, 1823. The speech is lengthy, but its essence is captured in four paragraphs.

These begin with an olive branch, signaling peaceful intentions into the future, unless America's national interests are menaced.

*The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do.*

*It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers.*

Then comes an obvious, but crucial declaration – namely, that America's "political system" is fundamentally different from the norm in the rest of the world. It stands for "enlightened citizens" choosing their own governments, and in opposition to the principle of government imposed on people by unelected dictators.

*The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.*

This is followed by a policy statement informing the heads of state around the world that America will no longer tolerate new attempts at colonization anywhere in the western hemisphere.

*We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or control ling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.*

This "Monroe Doctrine" will forever draw a line in the sand against any foreign power wishing to flex its military might in the Americas. It also announces to the world that the grand experiment of 1787 – a nation of free men forming their own political system – is both prosperous and viable.

It does not, however, resolve all the territorial disputes in Oregon overnight. These take time. Alexander will try to enforce his decree by seizing the American ship *Pearl*, but it is released

with compensation paid, after a protest is made. Russia's west coast colonies will linger until the 1840's when they prove unprofitable. Two decades later another Tsar, Alexander II, will sell Alaska and all other North American claims to the United States, in what critics will call "(Henry) Seward's Folly."

Despite the delayed effects, the December 2, 1823 declaration is generally regarded as the defining moment in James Monroe's two terms as president.

## Chapter 46 - Political Fault Lines Related To Geography And Slavery Are Amplified In The 1824 Presidential Race

Time: 1822

### The Democratic-Republicans Split Into Three Factions In The 1822 Congressional Election

By the mid-terms of 1822, it's clear that the "Virginia Dynasty" of Jefferson to Madison to Monroe will come to an end in the upcoming presidential race. So too will the smooth political harmony enjoyed by the Democratic-Republicans over the last twenty-four years.

Three factions within the party emerge at once: one backing Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams; a second favoring Treasury Secretary, William Crawford; and a third committed to General Andrew Jackson.

The mid-term election in 1822 tests the relative strengths of the presidential contenders.

The results in both the House and the Senate demonstrate that, as of December 1822, no one man enjoys the majority position needed to win the prize.

**1822 House Election**

Winners Who Support	Total	South	Border	North	West
JQ Adams	87	4	14	58	11
Andrew Jackson	71	26	7	33	5
William Crawford	55	37	2	14	2
	213	67	23	105	18

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Time: Spring 1824

### Five Candidates Vie For The Presidency In 1824

By 1824, the absence of a clear front-runner expands the list to five contenders.

The most obvious successor to Monroe is John Quincy Adams, 55 years old, son of an ex-President, serving in government for over three decades, and supremely qualified after working alongside Monroe for eight years as Secretary of State.

The problem with Adams is his personality, or lack thereof.

He is in the mold of the old-time Puritans, hard working to an extreme, prone to signaling superior moral rectitude, stern and mostly humorless. All admire his talents and

accomplishments; few count him a close friend. His political strength is centered in New England, especially his home state of Massachusetts.

Monroe's Treasury Secretary, William Crawford of Georgia, enjoys support from two critical centers of electoral gravity – the Virginian trio of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, and the so-called “Albany Regency” in New York. The latter is controlled by Martin Van Buren, a political mover and shaker from age seventeen onward, and serving since 1821 in the U.S. Senate. His “city hall machine,” is built on patronage, and can be counted on to deliver the bulk of New York's electors. Van Buren lines these up behind Crawford.

Adams and Crawford are joined in the race by two other powerful Washington men -- Secretary of War, John Calhoun, and House Speaker, Henry Clay.

Calhoun is respected for his brilliant intellect, but, along with Adams, is seldom well-liked at the personal level. Many regard his demeanor as unpleasantly messianic, as if he alone were capable of discerning what is right for the country, while being held back by lesser men around him. His overt ambitiousness leads to questions about his motivations and trustworthiness, and Northerners suspect that his agenda is skewed toward southern rather than national interests.

Unlike Calhoun and Adams, Henry Clay is a comfortable figure, ever ready to drink and gamble and party with his fellow politicians, and flexible about meeting them half way on most contentious issues. He also comes with a “platform” of sorts, in the form of what he calls his “American System” of government, focused on accelerating economic growth through federally funded infrastructure initiatives, a protective tariff and a strong central bank. According to his supporters, Clay is a symbol of America's future – born in the east (Virginia), venturing to the west (Kentucky), linking the old with the new in search of a strong, enduring Union.

The fifth contender for president, Andrew Jackson, differs from the others. He is a military man rather than a politician -- but also a national hero, first for his stunning defeat of the British in 1815 at New Orleans, and more recently for various victories over Indian tribes in Georgia and Florida. As an outsider to Washington, he is initially dismissed as a serious candidate until astute handlers in Tennessee get the state legislature to officially nominate him for the presidency in 1822, and then elect him to the Senate in 1823. From that point forward he bursts on the scene as the frontrunner, and the common target to be stopped by his four competitors.





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Time: Fall 1824

### **JQ Adams And Andrew Jackson Emerge As Favorites**

Jackson's sustained popularity convinces the party pro's that no candidate will be capable of securing an electoral vote majority in December 1824, and that it will ultimately be up to the House to choose Monroe's successor.

According to established rules, the top three vote-getters in the general election, will be eligible for a run-off. This sends each candidate in search of locking in states they hope to win in the first round and then individual House members who might tip the balance in the follow-up.

Amidst this scramble, the electoral math shifts dramatically in September of 1823, when William Crawford, favored by the Virginians and Van Buren, becomes ill and is given an overdose of digitalis, a powerful drug that leads on to a massive stroke. He is left partially paralyzed, nearly blind, and unable to speak, with none knowing if the condition is temporary or permanent. On the hope that he will recover, his condition is kept largely secret throughout the campaign.

Despite his health, Van Buren tries to force the issue in Crawford's favor through a traditional nominating caucus of congressional members, held on February 24, 1824. But only 66 of the 216 members show up, sharply reducing the impact of the Crawford-Gallatin ticket chosen.

Meanwhile Calhoun's chances vanish when his one hope for northern support, Pennsylvania, declares in favor of Jackson, and Clay is attacked for leading a libertine lifestyle and for promoting programs that sound more like the Federalists than like Jefferson.

Characteristically, JQ Adams, who very much wants the presidency, finds it beneath his sense of dignity to campaign for it in any fashion.

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Time: 1824 Forward

### **Sectional Issues Begin To Reshape The Political Landscape**

The election of 1824 also amplifies two emerging political factors.

One relates to geography.

Over two million Americans, one in every four, already reside west of the Appalachian Mountains, and their number is growing rapidly. The daily lives of these frontier families differ from those in the "settled East," as do some of their wishes and expectation for the national government. The 1824 race represents a chance for their voices to be amplified.

The second factor beginning to divide the electorate involves tension over the long-term fate of the black population.

As demonstrated by the conflict surrounding the 1819 Tallmadge Amendment, Southerners are committed to expanding slavery into the western territories, while Northerners want to banish all blacks, enslaved or free.

Taken together, the one nation harmony of 1820, is challenged in 1824 along two regional fault lines: East vs. West and North vs. South.

**Political Fault Lines Emerging In 1824**

<b>Geography</b>	<b>Slavery Allowed (12)</b>	<b>Slavery Banned (12)</b>
Old Established East Coast States (15)	Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, N Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia	Mass/ Maine, NH, Vermont, Conn., Pa, RI, NY, NJ
Emerging States West Of Appalachia (9)	Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri	Ohio, Indiana, Illinois

Voting power within these four cells differs dramatically, and is a key determinant in choosing a president. The lion’s share (106 in total) of the Electoral Votes remains in the northeastern states, with Pennsylvania (29) and New York (28) particularly important. States where slavery is banned, and blacks are unwelcome, also enjoy a 129-113 edge.

**Voting Power In 1824: # Of Seats In Congress**

	<b>Slavery Allowed (12)</b>	<b>Slavery Banned (12)</b>	<b>Total</b>
Old East Coast States (15)	73	106	179
Emerging States West (9)	40	23	63
Total	113	129	242

Once Calhoun drops out in favor of seeking the vice-presidency, four contenders remain.

JQ Adams, as the lone representative of the northeast, begins with a solid base, despite his shift in 1808 from his father’s Federalist Party to the Democratic-Republican side.

Crawford’s original strength in the old South and, via Van Buren, in New York, is formidable, but weakening as word of his uncertain health spreads. (Miraculously, he eventually recovers some of his faculties and lives until 1834.)

Then come the two “men of the West” who have already come to detesting each other: Clay, the Washington political infighter for over a decade; and Jackson, the military man and outsider.



## Chapter 47 - A Troubling House Vote In The U.S. Hands The Presidency To JQ Adams

Time: October-December 1824

### The General Election Ends Without A Winner

Voting in 1824 takes place between October 26 and December 2. Turnout surpasses all prior contests, as three in every four states now choose electors based on the popular votes, and real competition draws public interest.

#### Popular Voting For President & Number Of States Where Electors Chosen By Their Votes

1788	1792	1796	1800	1804	1808	1812	1816	1820	1824
43,782	28,579	66,841	67,282	143,110	192,691	278,786	112,370	106,701	365,833
7 of 12	6 of 15	9 of 16	6 of 16	11 of 17	10 of 17	9 of 18	10 of 19	15 of 24	18 of 24*

\* State legislators in Delaware, Vermont, New York, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana still choose electors in 1824

As expected, none of the four candidates reach the 131 electoral vote level needed to become president in the traditional fashion. Andrew Jackson comes closest, at 99 votes, with Adams a close second. Crawford edges Clay for third place, even though he remains physically incapable of serving.

#### Results Of The 1824 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV
Andrew Jackson	Tn	Dem-Rep	151,271	99
John Quincy Adams	MA	Dem-Rep	113,122	84
William Crawford	Ga	Dem-Rep	40,856	41
Henry Clay	Ky	Dem-Rep	47,531	37
Unpledged			6,616	0
Total			365,833	261
Needed to win				131

Jackson alone demonstrates national appeal, garnering significant votes in all four regions of the country. Adams support is almost exclusively in the northeast. Crawford splits the old South with Jackson, and Clay wins his home state of Kentucky and its northern neighbor, Ohio.

**Shifting State Alignments: Old/New And Slave/Free**

	<b>Slavery Allowed (12)</b>	<b>Slavery Banned (12)</b>
Old Established East Coast States (15)	36 Crawford 33 Jackson 4 Adams 0 Clay 73 Total	77 Adams 37 Jackson 5 Crawford 4 Clay 103 Total
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	22 Jackson 17 Clay 2 Adams 0 Crawford 41 Total	16 Clay 7 Jackson 1 Adams 0 Crawford 24 Total

**Note:** East Coast slave states (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia); east coast free (Maine, Mass, NH, Vt, Conn, Penn, RI, NY, NJ); west slave (Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, La, MO); west free (Ohio, Ind, IL)

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**Time: Winter 1824**

**Sidebar: Detailed Tables From The Election Of 1824**

**Electoral Votes Cast: Total US**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Adams</b>	<b>Crawford</b>	<b>Clay</b>
East	196	70	81	41	4
West	65	29	3	0	33
Slave	114	55	6	36	17
Free	147	44	78	5	20

**Old Established East Coast States: With Slavery**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Adams</b>	<b>Crawford</b>	<b>Clay</b>
Maryland	11	7	3	1	
Delaware	3	2		1	
Virginia	24			24	
N. Carolina	15	15			
S. Carolina	11	11			
Georgia	9			9	
Total	73	35	3	35	

**Old Established East Coast States: No Slavery**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Adams</b>	<b>Crawford</b>	<b>Clay</b>

Massachusetts	15		15		
Maine	9	1	8		
New Hampshire	8		8		
Vermont	7		7		
Connecticut	8		8		
Pennsylvania	29	3	26		
Rhode Island	4		4		
New York	28	28			
New Jersey	17	8		5	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>

**Emerging Western States: With Slavery**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Adams</b>	<b>Crawford</b>	<b>Clay</b>
Kentucky	14				14
Tennessee	11	11			
Alabama	5	5			
Mississippi	3	3			
Louisiana	5	3	2		
Missouri	3				3
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>17</b>

**Emerging Western States: No Slavery**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Adams</b>	<b>Crawford</b>	<b>Clay</b>
Ohio	16				16
Indiana	5	5			
Illinois	2	2			
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>7</b>			<b>16</b>

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Time: February 9, 1825

### Clay Maneuvers To Insure That The House Elects Adams

According to the 12<sup>th</sup> Amendment rules, the choice of president now falls into the House of Representatives, which meets on February 9, 1825, to decide the outcome. Each state will cast one vote for the winner within their caucus. Since there are 24 states in total, a candidate must take at least 13 to be elected.

In the general election, Jackson has led the pack, winning twelve states, with Adams as runner-up with seven.

#### States Won In General Election

Candidates	#
Andrew Jackson	12
John Quincy Adams	7
Henry Clay	3
William Crawford	2

Jackson's lead, however, quickly slips away in the House. He loses Delaware and North Carolina to Crawford, and then Louisiana to Adams. At the last moment, New York also slips away, after Daniel Webster and Henry Clay convince the Dutch patron, Stephen Van Rensselaer, to break his promise to Van Buren, and cast a deciding vote in the caucus for Adams.

The rest of Jackson's losses also trace directly to the Speaker. From the beginning, Clay dismisses Jackson's readiness to be president in no uncertain terms:

*I cannot believe that killing 2500 Englishmen at N. Orleans qualifies for the various, difficult and complicated duties of the Chief Magistr.*

He is joined in this conclusion by Jefferson and others who regard the General's temperament as too rash for the office, as demonstrated by his recent rampages in Florida.

But Clay now must choose between Adams and Crawford, and he meets with the former before the House vote. Two very different views of this meeting emerge in hindsight. One is that Adams convinces Clay that he will support the Speaker's "American System" initiatives if elected. The other is that Adam's secures Clay's support by promising to name him Secretary of State.

Whatever the reason, Clay decides to steer three key states he won in the general – Kentucky, Missouri and Ohio – over to Adam's column on the first ballot. This give him the thirteen states needed for victory.

**House Run-Off For President: 1<sup>st</sup> Ballot (13 Needed To Win)**

<b>Old East - With Slavery</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Adams</b>	<b>Crawford</b>
Maryland	AJ		X	
Delaware	AJ			X
Virginia	WC			X
North Carolina	AJ			X
South Carolina	AJ	X		
Georgia	WC			X
<b>Total</b>		1	1	4
<b>Old East – No Slavery</b>				
Maine	JQA		X	
Massachusetts	JQA		X	
New Hampshire	JQA		X	
Vermont	JQA		X	
Connecticut	JQA		X	
Pennsylvania	JQA	X		
Rhode Island	JQA		X	
New York	AJ		X	
New Jersey	AJ	X		
<b>Total</b>		2	7	0
<b>New West – With Slavery</b>				
Kentucky	HC		X	
Tennessee	AJ	X		
Alabama	AJ	X		
Mississippi	AJ	X		
Louisiana	AJ		X	
Missouri	HC		X	
<b>Total</b>		3	3	0
<b>New West – No Slavery</b>				
Ohio	HC		X	
Indiana	AJ	X		
Illinois	AJ		X	
<b>Total</b>		1	2	0
<b>Grand Total</b>		7	13	4

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Time: April 25, 1825

## Clay Fights Yet Another Duel To Defend The Election

When Adams names Clay as his Secretary of State, Jackson is convinced that a “corrupt bargain” trumped the will of the American people and cost him an election that was his. He quickly vents his spleen:

*Clay voted for Adams and made him President and Adams made Clay Secretary of State. Is this not proof as strong as holy writ of the understanding and corrupt coalition between them? So, the Judas of the West has closed the contract and will receive the thirty pieces of silver. His end will be the same. Was there ever witnessed such a bare faced corruption in any country before.*

With that the 56 year old General resigns from the Senate and rides back home to Tennessee, with the firm commitment to defeat Adams in 1828 election and oppose Clay at every future step of the way.

Adams attempts to move past the fractious election, but many Jackson supporters are in no mood to either forgive or forget. This soon leads to another episode of violence involving high government officials.

The impetus in this case is a speech made by the ever-volatile Senator, John Randolph of Roanoke. In a six-hour harangue on the floor, he accuses the administration of violating America’s long-standing policy of “avoiding foreign entanglements” by wishing to participate in Bolivar’s upcoming Panama conference

As his rhetoric becomes increasingly inflammatory, John C. Calhoun, serving as pro-tem of the Senate, allows him to rail on – a fact which Adams properly interprets as treachery from his own Vice-President.

Randolph ends with a personal attack on both Adams and Clay, whom he refers to as...

*The Puritan and the Blackleg.*

The Puritan, of course, is Adams, the stern Massachusetts man, and the Blackleg – a vicious disease which kills livestock, not to mention slang for a card-cheat – is Clay.

Randolph is well known to Clay. He is Thomas Jefferson’s cousin, and his career in congress dates back to 1799. Along with Clay, he is a co-founder of the American Colonization Society in 1816, who will, if fact, free all of his slaves in his final will.

His political values are those of the extreme “states-rights” wing of the party, including a belief that federal laws can be “nullified” by a vote of local legislators. His fame rests on his general

flamboyance, his powerful oratory, his capacity for consuming alcohol, and his shooting prowess.

The latter is no deterrent to Clay, who challenges him to a duel for his remarks on the floor. Attempts by the Secretary's friends to avoid the obvious risks are met with characteristic resistance.

*No public station, no, not even life, is worth holding, if coupled with dishonor.*

Randolph is astonished to receive the challenge, saying that it violates a senator's right to protected speech within the chamber. He informs his aides, but not Clay, that he has no intention of firing to harm should the duel actually take place.

Clay, however, plunges ahead, much as he had back in 1809 when called a "liar" in the Kentucky State House by Representative Humphrey Marshall. This affair ended with a total of four shots exchanged and both men wounded, Clay to the extent that further rounds were called off.

On April 25, 1825, rowboats carry the two combatants across the Potomac to their native Virginia, and the two men – a 51 year old United States Senator and the 49 year old Secretary of State – square off with pistols.

Randolph appears in a vast morning gown, which makes the outline of his body difficult to discern.

Tensions are high, and the hair-trigger on the Senator's gun causes a misfire, which Clay forgives.

Both men then let off their first shots, with neither hit. On the second round, Clay's shot nicks Randolph's outer garment, while Randolph fires aimlessly in the air – signaling the Secretary that the event is over.

In accord with tradition, the two men shake hands and exchange cards. Clay purportedly says that he is thankful not to have injured Randolph, and Randolph retorts that Clay now owes him a new coat. With that the two sail back across the river, with at least minimal courtesy restored.

## Chapter 48 - John Quincy Adams Term

Time: 1767-1848

### President John Quincy Adams: Personal Profile

While John Quincy Adams's track record of public service qualifies him to become a superb President, his temperament proves ill-suited to the executive role, and his lasting fame will rest on his remarkable service both before his term, as Secretary of State, and after, when he returns to the House of Representatives as the first political crusader against the institution of slavery.

JQA, as he calls himself, is born in Braintree, Massachusetts, on July 11, 1767, the second child and first son of John and Abigail Adams. His father is a fifth generation American, a farmer and lawyer, and already caught up in the politics surrounding resistance to the British Stamp Act of 1765. His mother is a stern Puritan through and through, who micromanages every aspect of the boy's life into adulthood, sparking a resentment that ends with his failure to attend her sickbed and funeral in 1818.

In the Calvinist tradition, Abigail teaches JQA that personal discipline is essential to salvation, and that each day must be parceled out in rigid fashion to meet that end: up before dawn, exercise, reading the Bible, duties until evening, diary entries to record achievements and failings, no more than 4-5 hours of sleep. Both parents also burden the youth with elevated expectations around public service, his father demanding that he:

*Become a guardian of the laws, liberty and religion of your country.*

Predictably the youth suffers early on from a sense of guilt and failure. At age seven, he writes to his parents:

*I hope...you will have no occasion to be ashamed of me.*

Unlike his two brothers, Charles and Thomas, who wilt under parental pressure into dissolution and alcohol, JQA is blessed with enough fortitude to bear up. This includes enormous intellectual capacity, which, by ten has him mastering Greek and Latin, on his way to fluency in six other languages besides English. By fifteen, he devours the historical classics (Hume, Macaulay, Gibbons, Caesar's *Commentaries* and Cicero's *Oratories* in Latin), masters Adam Smith's economic tome, *Wealth of Nations*, allows himself to indulge in literature from Shakespeare to the English poets. He loves school and is settling into life as a student in 1778.

His plans evaporate, however, when his father is sent by George Washington to join Ben Franklin in Paris as joint ministers seeking French support in the Revolutionary War.

John and Abigail decide that JQA's worldview will be broadened if goes along with his father. At age twelve, he boards a ship for what will be the first in a long series of back and forth stints



in Europe. These will propel him before his time into adulthood, make him America's leading diplomat, and set the stage for his presidency.

At fifteen he is an aide in St. Petersburg translating the court language (French) for Ambassador Francis Dana and befriending the future Tsar, Alexander I. Three years later he is back home, enrolling at Harvard, then graduating in 1787, opening a law practice, and falling in love, only to be vetoed by his mother, who says he is not financially prepared to support a wife.

In 1794, with backing from his father, then Vice-President, JQA is named Minister to the Netherlands. He is 27 years old at the time, but already a recognized figure in Europe. On a visit to Britain, he meets English-born Louisa Johnson, who becomes his wife in 1797. Abigail calls her "the Siren," and the two remain forever at odds.

As President, his father names him Minister to Prussia, and he serves there from 1797 to 1801. With Jefferson now in office, JQA returns to Boston to resume his law practice, but that is again short-lived. Federalist friends convince him to run for state senator and then, in 1802 for the U.S. House. He loses this election, but is chosen by the state legislature in 1803 to serve as U.S. Senator.

During his term, he commits political suicide within the Federalist Party by backing two of Jefferson's controversial acts: the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and the 1807 Trade Embargo on British imports. When he caucuses with the Democrat-Republicans in selecting Madison to run in 1808, the Federalists disown him for good, and he resigns his seat in 1808. He continues to teach logic at Harvard University until 1809, when Madison chooses him to be America's first Minister to Russia. He remains there for five years before heading to London to 1814 to join Speaker Henry Clay and Treasury Secretary Gallatin in negotiating the Treaty of Ghent, which ends the War of 1812. He stays there until 1817 when Monroe appoints him Secretary of State.

Adams is finally back home after eight straight years abroad. He and Louisa have had four children, a daughter who dies in infancy in Russia and three sons, two who descend into alcoholism and one, Charles Francis, who will become an accomplished public servant. Monroe exhibits great confidence in his chief diplomat, and Adams responds in kind. His many achievements include the Adams-Onis/Transcontinental Treaty of 1818 and the framework known as the Monroe Doctrine, announcing America's diplomatic stance as a world power.

Throughout the years Adams retains the steely discipline imposed on him as a child. He works from morning to night, allowing himself only infrequent breaks for a swim in the Potomac, a game of billiards, an occasional cultural event.

Adams's ascent to the presidency at age 58 is in many ways a fulfillment of the awesome expectations placed upon him by his mother and father. He arrives prepared with vast experience as a diplomat, high moral principles and a commitment to advancing the welfare of the nation.

As a presidential politician, however, he will prove even more inept than his namesake.

His term in office leaves him vastly disappointed with his achievements, and this is followed by a decisive loss to Jackson in 1828. At this point, most men would simply fade away from the public stage. But not JQ Adams.

In 1831 neighbors convince him to run again for the House, and he will serve there for almost 17 years until his death from a cerebral hemorrhage suffered in the chamber in 1848. This “second act” for the former President far outshines what he was able to accomplish in the White House.

Most notably he emerges here as the outright champion of the move to free all slaves and find ways to assimilate them into American society. His commitment to this cause brings the taboo subject of slavery into the people’s House and sets the stage for all future political efforts to end it through legislation. In this quest he is every inch the Puritan son seeking the “holiest rights of humanity” for all Americans.

*They look down upon the simplicity of a Yankee's manners, because he has no habits of overbearing like theirs and cannot treat negroes like dogs. It is among the evils of slavery that it taints the very sources of moral principle. It establishes false estimates of virtue and vice: for what can be more false and heartless than this doctrine which makes the first and holiest rights of humanity to depend upon the color of the skin?*

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Time: 1776-1861

**Sidebar: The U.S Diplomatic Corps**

John Quincy Adams’ years as a U.S. diplomat during the nation’s earliest and often most hazardous period put him in the company of other important figures who served in London and Paris, up through the Civil War.

Included here were five who became President (John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, JQ Adams, Martin Van Buren, and James Buchanan), two Vice-Presidents (William King and George Dallas), and a host of other Cabinet officers and congressional leaders.

**U.S. Ambassadors to Great Britain**

Years	Name	Appointed By	Party	Highest Political Office
1785-1788	John Adams	Washington	Federalist	President (1797-1801)
1789-1791	Vacant			
1792-1796	Thomas Pinckney	Washington	Federalist	Gov/SC – Prez Nominee
1796-1803	Rufus King	Washington	Federalist	Senate/NY – Prez Nom.

1803-1807	James Monroe	Jefferson	Dem-Rep	President (1817-1825)
1808-1811	William Pinkney	Jefferson	Dem-Rep	Senate/Md
1812-1813	Vacant			
1814-1817	John Q.Adams	Madison	Dem-Rep	President (1825-1829)
1818-1825	Richard Rush	Monroe	Dem-Rep	Sec. of Treasury
1825-1826	Rufus King	JQ Adams	Federalist	Senate/NY – Prez Nom.
1826-1827	Albert Gallatin	JQ Adams	Dem-Rep	Sec. of Treasury
1828-1829	James Barbour	JQ Adams	Dem-Rep	Sec. of War
1829-1831	Louis McLane	Jackson	Democrat	Sec. of State
1831-1832	Martin Van Buren	Jackson	Democrat	President (1837-1841)
1832-1836	Aaron Vail (charge)	Jackson	Democrat	--
1836-1841	Andrew Stevenson	Jackson	Democrat	Speaker of US House
1841-1845	Edward Everett	Van Buren	Democrat	Secretary of State
1845-1846	Louis McLane	Polk	Democrat	Sec. of War
1846-1849	George Bancroft	Polk	Democrat	Sec. of the Navy
1849-1852	Abbot Lawrence	Taylor	Whig	US House
1852-1853	Joseph R. Ingersoll	Fillmore	Whig	US House
1853-1856	James Buchanan	Pierce	Democrat	President (1857-1861)
1856-1861	George Dallas	Pierce	Democrat	Vice-President (1845-1849)
1861-1868	Charles F. Adams	Lincoln	Republican	US House

**U.S. Ambassadors to France**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Appointed By</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Highest Political Office</b>
1776-1785	Benjamin Franklin	Washington	Indep.	Postmaster General
1785-1789	Thomas Jefferson	Washington	Dem-Rep	President (1801-1809)

1790-1792	William Short	Washington	Federalist	---
1792-1794	Gouvernor Morris	Washington	Federalist	US Senate
1794-1796	James Monroe	Washington	Dem-Rep	President (1817-1825)
1796-1797	Chas. C. Pinckney	Washington	Federalist	Presidential Nominee
1801-1804	Robert Livingston	Jefferson	Dem-Rep	---
1804-1810	John Armstrong	Jefferson	Dem-Rep	Sec. of War
1811-1812	Joel Barlow	Madison	Dem-Rep	---
1813-1815	William Crawford	Madison	Dem-Rep	Sec. of Treasury/Prez Nom
1816-1823	Albert Gallatin	Madison	Dem-Rep	Sec. of Treasury
1824-1829	James Brown	Monroe	Dem-Rep	US Senate
1829-1833	William Rives	Jackson	Democrat	US Senate
1833	Levett Harris	Jackson	Democrat	---
1833-1836	Edward Livingston	Jackson	Democrat	Sec. of State
1836-1842	Lewis Cass	Jackson	Democrat	Sec. of State/Prez Nominee
1844-1846	William King	Tyler	Democrat	Vice-President (1853)
1847-1849	Richard Rush	Polk	Democrat	Sec. of Treasury
1849-1853	William Rives	Taylor	Whig	US Senate
1853-1859	John Mason	Pierce	Democrat	US Attorney General
1860-1861	Charles Faulkner	Buchanan	Democrat	US House
1861-1865	John Bigelow	Lincoln	Republican	---

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Time: March 4, 1825

**Adams’s Inaugural Address Announces His Vision For America**

Chief Justice John Marshall administers the oath of office to Adams in the House chamber. His hand is on a law book at the time, and he is the first president who substitutes modern trousers for the knee-high breeches favored in colonial times. His inaugural speech is 2915 words long, slightly briefer than Monroe, more than twice that of Madison.

In traditional fashion, Adams begins the speech by recognizing his solemn duties and his commitment to the Constitution, while offering praise for America’s stellar progress over its first half century.

• .. I appear, my fellow-citizens, in your presence...to bind myself by the solemnities of religious obligation to faithful performance of the duties allotted to me in the station to which I have been called....In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be governed in the fulfillment of those duties my first resort will be to that Constitution which I shall swear to the best of my ability to preserve, protect, and defend.

*It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all...Liberty and law have marched hand in hand. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished...at a cost little exceeding in a whole generation the expenditure of other nations in a single year...Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition under a Constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights.*

He then turns to partisan politics, likely prompted by the divisive election. He argues that while the emergence of “two great political parties” has at times “shaken the Union to its center,” the cause of the “strife” has been laid to rest with the end of the European wars. (This will quickly prove to be a naive wish on his part!)

*...From the experience of the past we derive instructive lessons for the future. Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices to the formation and administration of this Government, and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error.*

*The revolutionary wars of Europe... excited a collision of sentiments and of sympathies which kindled all the passions and embittered the conflict of parties till the nation was involved in war and the Union was shaken to its center... With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French Revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted.*

*From that time no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed or been called forth in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties or to give more than wholesome animation to public sentiment or legislative debate.*

Next comes a litany of principles he intends to embrace during his presidency.

*Our political creed is that the will of the people is the source...of all legitimate government upon earth; that the best... guaranty against the abuse of power consists in.. the frequency of popular elections; that the General Government of the Union and the separate governments of the States are all sovereignties of limited powers...; that the firmest security of peace is the preparation during peace of the defenses of war; that a rigorous economy and accountability of public expenditures should guard against... the burden of taxation; that the military should be kept in strict subordination to the civil power; that the freedom of the press and of religious opinion should be inviolate; that the policy of our country is peace....*

These principles will continue to work for the nation, if only the remnants of party rancor can be laid aside.

*There still remains one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation who have heretofore followed the*

*standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancor against each other, of embracing as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone that confidence which in times of contention for principle was bestowed only upon those who bore the badge of party communion.*

As a lifelong astute diplomat, Adams is well aware of the sources of rancor, even if he is overly optimistic about overcoming them. He properly identifies “geographical divisions” as one “dangerous” concern.

*The collisions of party spirit which originate in speculative opinions or in different views of administrative policy are in their nature transitory. Those which are founded on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life are more permanent, and therefore, perhaps, more dangerous.*

In turn, he senses renewed tensions around the balance of power between the federal and state governments, and articulates his view of the guidelines laid out in the Constitution.

*It holds out to us a perpetual admonition to preserve alike and with equal anxiety the rights of each individual State in its own government and the rights of the whole nation in that of the Union. Whatsoever is of domestic concernment, unconnected with the other members of the Union or with foreign lands, belongs exclusively to the administration of the State governments. Whatsoever directly involves the rights and interests of the federative fraternity or of foreign powers is of the resort of this General Government. The duties of both are obvious in the general principle, though sometimes perplexed with difficulties in the detail. To respect the rights of the State governments is the inviolable duty of that of the Union; the government of every State will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole.*

Adams has served for the past eight years under Monroe, and his aspiration is to continue in his footsteps.

*I (now) turn to the Administration of my immediate predecessor....In his career of eight years the internal taxes have been repealed; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the Revolution; the regular armed force has been reduced and its constitution revised and perfected; the accountability for the expenditure of public moneys has been made more effective; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific Ocean; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognized, and recommended by example and by counsel to the potentates of Europe; progress has been made in the defense of the country by fortifications and the increase of the Navy, toward the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves; in alluring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind, in exploring the interior regions of the Union, and in preparing by scientific researches and surveys for the further application of our national resources to the internal improvement of our country.*

With foreign threats largely contained, the new President plans to focus on “internal improvements” aimed at the common good – one example being renewed work on “national roads.” This emphasis on strengthening domestic infrastructures is essential to what Henry Clay is already calling his “American System.”

*...improvement in our common condition...will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations. The roads and aqueducts of Rome have been the admiration of all after ages....But nearly twenty years have passed since the construction of the first national road was commenced. The authority for its construction was then unquestioned. To how many thousands of our countrymen has it proved a benefit? To what individual has it ever proved an injury?*

Here again he hopes that party differences can be resolved around the federal government’s authority to pursue these important upgrades.

*I can not but hope that by the...process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation...the extent and limitation of the powers of the General Government in relation to this transcendently important interest will be settled and acknowledged to the common satisfaction of all, and every speculative scruple will be solved....*

As Adams nears the end of his lengthy address, he acknowledges the “peculiar circumstances” of his election, and asks openly for the trust and support he will need to advance “the welfare of the country.”

*Fellow-citizens, you are acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the recent election, which have resulted in affording me the opportunity of addressing you at this time... You have heard the exposition of the principles which will direct me in the fulfillment of the high and solemn trust imposed upon me in this station. Less possessed of your confidence in advance than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand more and oftener in need of your indulgence. Intentions upright and pure, a heart devoted to the welfare of our country, and the unceasing application of all the faculties allotted to me to her service are all the pledges that I can give for the faithful performance of the arduous duties I am to undertake. I shall look for whatever success may attend my public service; and knowing that "except the Lord keep the city the watchman waketh but in vain," with fervent supplications for His favor, to His overruling providence I commit with humble but fearless confidence my own fate and the future destinies of my country.*

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Time: March 4, 1825 – March 4, 1829

### Overview Of JQ Adams’s Term

Unlike Monroe, Adams can no longer count on a Congress ready to advance his agenda. In 1825, he still enjoys a slim margin in both houses of congress – perhaps a signal that the will of the people, not the “corrupt bargain,” favored Adams in the recent election.

But already congressional members are openly labeled as Pro vs. Anti-Adams.

#### Congressional Make-Up In 1825

	House	Senate
Pro-Adams	105	26
Anti-Adams	97	20
	202	46

Unfortunately, Adams squanders whatever slight political edge he has in setting up his administration.

His high moral tone is uncomfortable around using “patronage” to reward loyalty, and his Cabinet appointments include turn-coats who will actively work on behalf of his opposition. The first is Postmaster General John McLean of Ohio, who backs Jackson throughout his tenure, and is later rewarded by the General with a Supreme Court appointment.

The ever-slippery Calhoun serves as Vice-President, but soon swings over to Jackson’s side, while still maneuvering for the top job himself.

The Senate does confirm Henry Clay as Secretary of State, but not without embarrassing him with 14 of 41 voting against his appointment.

#### JQ Adams Cabinet In 1825

Position	Name	Home State
Vice-President	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
Secretary of State	Henry Clay	Kentucky
Secretary of Treasury	Richard Rush	Pennsylvania
Secretary of War	James Barbour	Virginia
Secretary of the Navy	Samuel Southard	New Jersey
Attorney General	William Wirt	Virginia
Postmaster General	John McLean	Ohio

The decision to name Clay to State also removes from the House the one man whose legislative mastery would give the American System initiatives their best chance for approval.



Instead the victories in this regard are few and far between. Congress approves an extension of the National Road through Ohio, the Erie Canal becomes fully operational, and America's first genuine railroad company, the Baltimore & Ohio line is chartered in Maryland.

But then come a steady stream of setbacks, ironically involving diplomatic issues, Adam's supposed forte.

- Attempts to engage America in building bridges to Latin America are sidelined in Congress.
- Mexico rejects a sizable cash offer aimed at acquiring Texas.
- A border dispute between Maine and New Brunswick turns into violent confrontations.
- Trade with the British West Indies is shut down after negotiations over terms end in failure.
- Efforts to move the Creek tribes out of Georgia provoke a serious federal vs. state conflict.

With each misstep, the Jackson Democrats in Congress grow more vocal in their attacks on the President.

In the mid-term election of 1826, the Anti-Adams/Pro-Jackson forces gain control over both the House (113-100) and the Senate (26 to 21). Of particular note here are gains by Jackson in the Northeast, largely the result of backing from Senator Martin Van Buren of New York.

#### Results Of House Elections In 1826

	<b>Slavery Allowed(12)</b>	<b>Slavery Banned (12)</b>
Old Established East Coast States (15)	Pro Adams – 17 Anti-Adams – 44	Pro Adams – 61 Anti-Adams – 44
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	Pro Adams – 8 Anti-Adams – 21	Pro Adams – 14 Anti-Adams – 4

**Note:** East Coast slave states (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia); east coast free (Maine, Mass, NH, Vt, Conn, Penn, RI, NY, NJ); west slave (Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, La, MO); west free (Ohio, Ind, IL)

#### Results Of Senate Elections In 1826

	<b>Slavery Allowed(12)</b>	<b>Slavery Banned (12)</b>
Old Established East Coast States (15)	Pro Adams – 1 Anti-Adams – 11	Pro Adams – 12 Anti-Adams – 5
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	Pro Adams – 3 Anti-Adams – 9	Pro Adams – 5 Anti-Adams – 1

While Adams is beset by one political problem after another, he oversees a domestic economy which recovers nicely from the doldrums of the Monroe era.

### Economic Overview During Adams's Presidency

	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828
Total GDP (\$MM)	\$ 750	822	866	916	897
% Change		10%	5%	6%	(2%)

The final years of Adams's term are given over to the lowest forms of political skullduggery on record to date – as the opposing parties attempt to blacken the names of Adams and Jackson before the 1828 election.

One particularly cynical legislative effort by the Jackson forces involves the Tariff of 1828 to shift support away from Adams in western “swing states.” The bill does this by imposing higher duties on foreign imports of raw wool, rum and other staples produced by farmers from Pennsylvania to the frontier – while adding features almost certain to irritate New England and the old South. Sponsors assume that Adams will veto it in the end, thus costing him western support.

Instead he actually signs the bill, which is soon labelled the “Tariff of Abominations.” Ironically, antagonism toward the bill centered in South Carolina will come back to haunt the Jackson men in the years ahead.

### Key Events: JQ Adams Term

<b>1825</b>	
Mar 8	John Poinsett approved as first minister to Mexico
Mar 24	Mexican province of Tejas declared open to American settlers
July 25	Approval given to extend the Cumberland road west from wheeling through Ohio
Oct	Tenn leg nominates Jackson for 1828 president
Oct 26	Erie canal is completed
Dec 6	Adams message to congress sparks controversy
Dec 26	Congress approves sending two “observers” to Bolivars panama conference
1826	
Jan 6	Anti-Adams newspaper U.S.. telegraph starts up in dc
Feb 13	American temperance society founded in Boston
April 8	Secretary of State Henry Clay and Senator John Randolph fight a bloodless duel called by Clay
May 2	The US recognizes Peru
July 4	John Adams and Thomas Jefferson both die on 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of Independence
Sept 12	Former Freemason William Morgan disappears, provoking Anti-Mason Party founding
Oct 7	First US rail tracks laid in Quincy, Mass.; 3 miles long and for horse drawn wagons
Nov	Anti-Administration/Jackson politicians win majority in Congress
1827	

Jan 10	Bill to increase tariff (above 1824) on woolens passes in House, loses in Senate on Calhoun vote
Feb 28	The B&O Railroad chartered by state of Maryland
July 2	President of SC College, Thomas Cooper, says that the tariff favors north at expense of south
July 30	Delegates from 13 states meet in Harrisburg to support call for higher tariffs
Aug 6	US and Britain renew 1818 Treaty to “share” Oregon Country for another 10 years
Nov 15	Creek Indians sign treaty ceding all remaining land in Georgia to US
Dec 24	Congress rejects Harrisburg proposal to raise protective tariff
1828	
Jan 12	US and Mexico agree on Sabine River boundary line in southwest
Jan 31	Jackson forces in Congress pass cynical Tariff hike aimed at embarrassing Adams
April 21	Noah Webster publishes his American Dictionary of the American Language
May 13	Tariff hike passes House 105-94 and senate 26-21
May 19	“Tariff of Abominations” signed into law by Adams
Oct 16	Delaware and Hudson canal opens
Dec 3	Jackson is elected president
Dec 19	South Carolina legislature “nullifies” the Tariff of 1828 according to Calhoun assertions
1829	
Mar 4	Jackson inaugurated

## Chapter 49 - Prospects Grow For A “Second Political Party System”

Time: March 1825 Forward

### The Political Landscape Shifts In 1824

Ever since Washington’s exit in 1797, the division in American politics has pitted Federalists such as John Adams against anti-Federalists such as Thomas Jefferson. This split is known among scholars as the “First Party System.”

When the Federalists stagnate, the Jeffersonians enjoy 24 years of essentially one party rule as Democratic-Republicans during the Virginia Dynasty.

Then something appears to change in 1824.

Jefferson himself looks at the outcome and concludes that JQ Adams and Henry Clay are simply Federalists in disguise, intent on replacing states’ rights with federal government mandates.

*The (party) amalgamation is of name only, not of principle. Their aim is now therefore to break down the rights reserved by the constitution to the states as a bulwark against that consolidation, the fear of which produced the whole of the opposition to the constitution at its birth.*

But a closer examination suggests several other factors at work.

One is the impact of America’s shifting population. The North with its large cities is adding voters far in excess of the South. The West is booming and both Clay and Jackson are “men of the West” who will give voice to that region.

A second factor is slavery and the future of the institution, especially as it relates to its expansion into the new territories across the Mississippi River. The Tallmadge Amendment surfaces this issue and, while the 1820 Missouri Compromise tamps it down, the North-South divide remains profound.

Finally the gap continues to grow between those who favor an agrarian economy and those who support diversification and industrialization.

As much as the Jeffersonians long for continuation of un-challenged Democratic-Republican rule, the signs are pointing the way toward a “Second Party System.”

For the moment, however, it will be Adams’ “National Republicans” against the Jackson “Democrats.”

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Time: 1825-1829

### **The Anti-Adams Forces Stymie His Agenda**

In his Inaugural, Adams lays out a very ambitious agenda built around Clay's "American System" initiatives designed to insure America's place as a first-rate global power.

His internal plan includes upgrades in physical infrastructure (roads, bridges, canals), basic knowledge (a national university, naval academy, observatory), science (standardized weights and measures) and exploration (a new Department of the Interior). A protective tariff will help finance these along with any needed measures taken by a strong U.S. Bank.

Diplomatic proposals center on participation in a Pan-American conference hosted by Simon Bolivar (a "good neighbors" gesture) and continued efforts aimed at expanding the borders across the entire continent.

Accomplishing these goals will require an active federal government, which Adams announces in no uncertain terms.

*The spirit of improvement is abroad upon the earth...Let us not be unmindful that liberty is power. While foreign nations...are advancing with gigantic strides...were we to slumber in indolence or...proclaim to the world that we are palsied by the will of our constituents, would it not doom ourselves to inferiority?*

The President's cabinet warns him in advance that his proposals will be met with resistance, and they are quickly proven right.

Traditional Democratic-Republicans, in the Jefferson mold, accuse Adams of grabbing power for the national government that has been reserved to the states in the 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment. In their eyes, Clay's "American Systems" is no more than a warmed-over version of what Alexander Hamilton proposed a quarter century earlier.

Andrew Jackson weighs in, latching onto one unfortunate phrase in the speech, which seems to call upon the congress to override the will of their constituents.

*When I view...the government, embraced in the recommendation of the late message, with the powers enumerated...together with the declaration that it would be criminal for the agents...to be palsied by the will of their constituents, I shudder for the consequence – if not checked by the voice of the people, it must end in consolidation & then in despotism.*

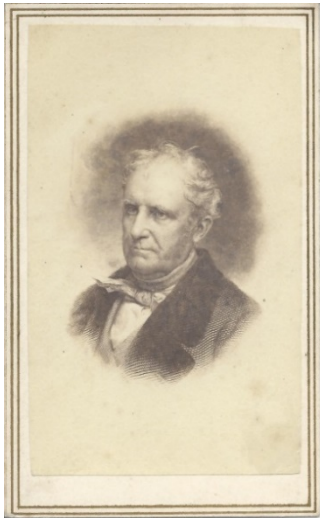
From this moment forward, congressional resistance to both Adams and Clay gains momentum.

The effect will be a three-year stymie of almost all of the President's programs.

## Chapter 50 – Pressure Continues On The Eastern Tribes To Abandon Their Households

Time: Mar 1825

### Adams Wishes For Fair Treatment Of The Native American Tribes



James Fennimore Cooper's Novels  
Portray "Noble Savage" Indians

Like all Presidents before him, JQ Adams struggles over how best to deal with America's native tribes.

He clearly agrees with conventional wisdom that Indians are a "lesser race" than their European counterparts, and recognizes the intense pressure from frontiersmen to grab their land and turn it over to white settlers.

Yet, like his predecessors in office, he is hesitant to act.

Moral qualms play a role here. After all, the tribes have occupied the continent for generations before the white man arrived, and uprooting them by force smacks of injustice.

But the hesitancy seemed to run deeper than that.

The answer may lie in the Enlightenment writing of the Frenchman, Henri Rousseau, familiar fare for many early presidents. Rousseau touts the vision of what he calls the "noble savage," uncorrupted by the greed and ruthlessness of modern society. These are truly free men, not slaves, living independently off the land, governed by the communal will of their tribe – all virtues that resonate with the American spirit.

*Nothing is so gentle as man in his primitive state, when placed by nature at an equal distance from the stupidity of brutes and the fatal enlightenment of civil man.*

This image of the "noble savage" is also reinforced at the time by the author, James Fennimore Cooper, who stands alongside Washington Irving as the nation's first popular story-teller. While Irving's tales poke fun at the Dutch knickerbockers of New York, Cooper's fame rests on the adventures of the frontiersman, Natty Bumppo, and his loyal Mohican companions, Chingachgook and Uncas.

These two are neither fully civilized nor Christian, but they do exhibit native intelligence, personal courage, and intense loyalty for their American friend – all traits that suggest a "capacity for growth" almost never accorded the fully beaten down Africans.

In turn, this seems to prompt the early Presidents not to enslave the Indians, but to reform them – to help them realize their potential under the guiding wing of a benevolent “Great White Father.”

Monroe’s 1817 Inaugural Address captures the obligations he feels America owes its first inhabitants:

*With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations and to act with kindness and liberality...*

*Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.*

Adams’s 1825 speech reinforces the same theme in his wish to...

*Extend equal protection to all the great interests of the nation (and) promote the civilization of the Indian tribes.*

But it will not take long for the new President to discover that all the high-minded talk of “civilizing the noble savages” counts for little against the growing demands of speculators and settlers intent on driving the Indians off their historical homelands.

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Time: 1825-1827

### **Georgia Forces Adams’s Hand In Support Of “Indian Removal”**

The day before Adams takes office, the Treaty of Indian Springs is approved by the Senate. The terms have supposedly been worked out between chiefs of the Creek and Cherokee tribes in Georgia and two U.S. Commissioners – with the Indians ceding their lands in Georgia and Alabama in exchange for equal acreage in the west and a cash bonus of \$400,000. September 1, 1826 is set as the deadline for the tribes to move west.

But the deal is fraudulent, top to bottom, the work of only one Creek leader, John McIntosh, and Georgian officials eager to line their own pockets. When McIntosh is murdered by rival chiefs for his betrayals, the matter comes to Adams’s attention.

The President’s response is indecisive.

Even though he has signed the Treaty, he is troubled by the reports of fraud, and orders a halt to state land surveys scheduled to start sixteen months hence. This triggers a violent response from Governor George Troup of Georgia, who threatens to defy the President and begin the survey at once. At this point General Edmund Gaines is dispatched to investigate further. He sides with the Indians and reports that Troup is a “madman.” In turn, Adams signals Troup that U.S. military forces are to be used against any attempt by the state to enter the lands.

After Troup backs off, Adams tells the Creeks that Congress is unlikely to deny the original Treaty unless it can be replaced with a new one involving a land trade. The tribes meet and offer an option, but Adams tells them their proposed boundaries are unacceptable. Adams turns to his Cabinet in search of a solution.

Secretary of War Barbour argues for gradual diffusion of the Indians rather than any mass exodus, in hopes of seeing them assimilated into white civilization. Clay finds this impractical, saying that the Indians, like the Africans, are an inferior race, and will never be successfully integrated.

Senator Howell Cobb of Georgia, a rising southern spokesperson, tells Adams that his delegation will be forced to side with Jackson unless he acts immediately to enforce the original treaty. In characteristic fashion, Adams fires back at Cobb:

*We could not do so without gross injustice. As to Georgia being driven to support General Jackson, I feel little care or concern for that.*

After more pressure from Adams, the Creeks agree on January 24, 1826, to the Treaty of Washington, which fails its critics on two counts. First, it cedes more, but not all of their Georgia lands; second it sets a precedent whereby the U.S. officially recognizes the Indian tribes as “sovereign nations.”

Adams forwards the new Treaty to the Senate, but Governor Troup says that he plans to start surveying the land immediately, on the grounds that...

*Georgia is sovereign on her own soil.*

Clay urges Adams to send federal troops in to force Troup’s hand, but the President opts to push the Creeks once again to surrender more territory. And they do. On November 13, 1827 they cede their remaining land in Georgia in exchange for another \$42,000 and a promise that the government will protect them as they move west -- a promise ignored when the time comes.

Not only has Adams alienated Georgians and looked weak throughout the negotiations, he also concludes, in hindsight that he has violated his own ethical standards along the way.

*These (treaties) are crying sins for which we are answerable, and before a higher jurisdiction.*

While unknowable, it may be that his sense of failure over treatment of the Indians will lead on to his often heroic stances later in life on behalf of the African slaves.



### **Sidebar: The Founding Fathers Pass Away**

#### **The Simultaneous Deaths Of Adams and Jefferson**

One other event that marks Adams's term is the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of independence from Britain.

As flag waving, parades and memorial speeches play out in local town squares across the nation, an eerie coincidence forever defines the moment, for all Americans, but especially for JQ Adams.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, his 90 year old father, John, lies dying. In the early morn, he is awakened momentarily by a memorial cannonade. When told that it is the Fourth, he replies: "It is a great day. It is a good day." Then he lapses. In the late afternoon his mind wanders back to the past and a reassuring thought: "Thomas Jefferson survives." A pause, and he is dead around 6:20PM.

But, ironically, so is Thomas Jefferson, at 83 years of age. As if by sheer will, he too struggles toward the Memorial Day. In the evening of July 3 he asserts a last wish, "this is the Fourth of July." When told that the day is indeed approaching, he fades back into sleep. He wakes briefly around 4AM on the Fourth, then succumbs in the early afternoon, around 1:00PM.

The second and third presidents, dead on the same day, the day of the bold Declaration, of the grave risk giving way to the prospect of a glorious reward, now a half century in the past.

The two have shared a love-hate relationship over the entire time.

Adams plays the role of the squat New England Yankee, working his own farm in Quincy, horrified by slavery, constantly pinching pennies to end up with a \$100,000 estate at his demise, forever speaking his mind in plain language that lacks in diplomacy. It is he who coerces Jefferson into drafting the Declaration on the grounds that he is "ten times the better writer."

Jefferson is the tall, rail-thin Southerner, master of his Monticello plantation run by slaves, a congenital spendthrift whose inheritance will be \$100,000 in debts, forever the quiet, often sneaky politician, but also the one truest author of America's hopes and ideals. From the beginning he sees in Adams the "colossus of America's independence" with the bulldog tenacity needed to make his elegant phrases come to life in practice.

Throughout their lives, both are certain they are right in their lifestyles and convictions.

Adams knows the nation needs a strong central government run by the best people to keep it safe and promote prosperity. Jefferson is sure that local governments are better equipped to

solve problems and that concentrated federal power will ultimately cost the people their freedom.

Eventually their political differences lead to a painful falling out.

But this ends in 1812 when their mutual friend, Dr. Benjamin Rush, prompts a rapprochement in the form of a short New Year's day letter sent by Adams to Jefferson. It will be one of the 380 notes the two will exchange from then on, reflecting on the country's past and future.

They are both amazed and pleased by what they have proven together – the many promises of government by the people and for the people.

Both, however, also sense that something is being lost in America, that the once strong bonds of Union may be fraying in the face of sectional differences. In a moment of nostalgia, Adams recalls the spirit of 1776:

*I look back with rapture on those golden days when Virginia and Massachusetts lived and acted together like a band of brothers.*

Jefferson is laid to rest at 5PM, the day after his death, in a simple ceremony at Monticello. No invitations are sent out, but friends are allowed to visit his grave. According to his wishes, a headstone in the shape of an obelisk spells out the three things he wishes to be remembered for.

*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*

Adams's funeral is held in Quincy on July 7, with some 4,000 spectators on hand. It is marked by canon salutes and a procession from Adams's home to the First Congregational Church that includes dignitaries from Congressman Daniel Webster to John Kirkland, head of Harvard College, to Governor Levi Lincoln,. Three weeks later Webster eulogizes both Adams and Jefferson at Faneuil Hall in Boston.

*Their fame, indeed, is safe. Although no sculptured marble, should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance... remain; for which American Liberty it rose, and with American Liberty Only can it perish.*

Their deaths in 1826 narrow the list of survivors from the revolutionary period. The two Pinckneys are gone. Luther Martin, Rufus King and John Jay will follow soon. When Charles Carroll dies in 1832 all signers of the Declaration will have passed – and less than five years later, the voices of the remaining founders are silenced.

### Founders Who Live On Past 1820

1820+	Deaths	At Age
Charles Pinckney	Oct 29, 1824	67
CC Pinckney	Aug 16, 1825	79
William Eustis	Feb 6, 1825	71
John Adams	July 4, 1826	90
Thomas Jefferson	July 4, 1826	83
Luther Martin	July 8, 1826	78
Rufus King	April 29, 1827	72
John Jay	May 17, 1829	83
James Monroe	July 4, 1831	73
Charles Carroll III	Nov 14, 1832	95
John Randolph	May 24, 1833	59
William Johnson	Aug 4, 1834	62
Nathaniel Dane	Feb 15, 1835	82
John Marshall	July 6, 1835	79
James Madison	June 28, 1836	85
Aaron Burr	Sept 14, 1836	80

It will now be left to the next generation to continue to advance America along the paths laid out by the founders.