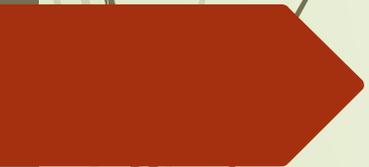


# American History

Talk 7: Creating the United States (1783-1792)





# This talk

- Treaty of Paris, winners and losers
  - The disunited states
  - The Constitutional convention
  - The first Washington Administration
- 

# Treaty Paris 1783...British refuse to pose



# Exit the British

4



British Army consolidates in New York and waits for Peace Treaty...no more battles

Washington demands return of slaves to masters, British refuse and evacuate city November 1783

Washington makes grand entrance at head of army

British soldier leaves Union Jack on top of greased flag pole to prevent its removal

# It doesn't work.....

5



EVACUATION OF NEW YORK BY THE BRITISH, NOVEMBER 25, 1783

After several attempts....wooden cleats were cut and nailed to the pole and, with the help of a ladder, an army veteran, [John Van Arsdale](#), climbs up the pole and replaces Union Jack with [Stars and Stripes](#).... before the British fleet are out of sight.....

British are finally gone...

# Power shifts from military to politicians

6



King George asks Loyalist refugee Benjamin West if Washington will become a dictator. Oh," said West, "they say he will return to his farm." "If he does that," said the king, "he will be the greatest man in the world."

Washington resigns commission and retires to farm

‘Continental Congress becomes National government...and renames itself “Congress of the Confederation”

# Winners and Losers

7

## Winners

- ▶ Colonies gain independence
- ▶ New elite of local merchants, lawyers, and land owners replace royal appointees (Governors, Senates, Judges and civil servants)
- ▶ No change in voting rights for State Assemblies
- ▶ Settlers and land speculators gain rights to Indian lands east of Mississippi
- ▶ Spain: Florida returned

## Losers (apart from 20,000 killed in battle plus 150,000 deaths from small pox)

- ▶ France: bankrupted by cost of war
- ▶ Indigenous peoples
  - ▶ Status: no longer 'subjects' of Empire, occupants of land reserved for 'citizens'
  - ▶ Power: can no longer play British off vs French
- ▶ Loyalists ...property, jobs and identity

# The Loyalists

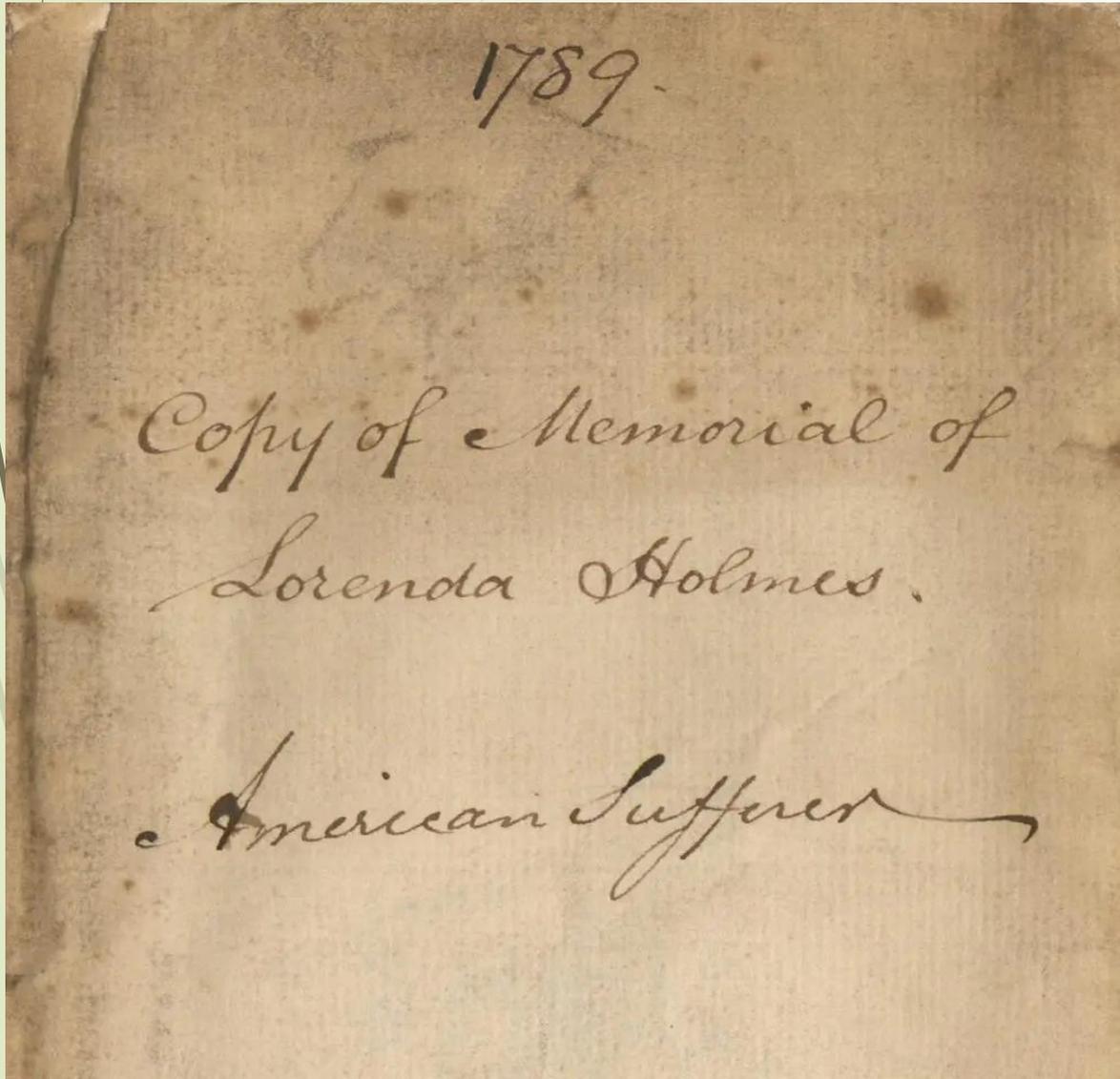
- ▶ 100,000 “Loyalists” leave (5% total population of new United States)
  - ▶ New England Loyalists to Canada
  - ▶ Southern Loyalists to West Indies and Bermuda,
  - ▶ Elite and well connected to England...many struggle to adapt to weather, costs and taxes
  - ▶ Adventurous to India and colonies (Cornwallis appointed Governor General of Bengal after Yorktown....offers his support to aid resettlement)
- ▶ Most Loyalists adapt and remain within new United States
  - ▶ Properties confiscated, jobs lost....but no mass murders
  - ▶ 25% of leavers return during 1790's, as deal made with Britain:
    - ▶ British pay owners for slaves not returned
    - ▶ United States pays debts to Britain/compensates some Loyalists

# Loretta Holmes(1) : loyalist spy

- ▶ New York born socialite, spinster living with aunt.
- ▶ Becomes courier for British army messages during 1776 campaign
- ▶ Patriot mob attacks house, forced to stand naked by window for public shaming, made to stand on hot coals ..but is not shot.
- ▶ Works in boarding house and attends GW, accused of poisoning him...acquitted. GW gives her safe passage to British army
- ▶ Returns secretly to New York, claims to be “reformed” but continues spying for British Army

## Loretta Holmes (2)

10



- Moves to England when British army occupy city
- Presented to Queen, supported by charity, makes Compensation Claim
- Damage claim rejected for lack of evidence, supported by charity and

# Loyalists arriving in New Brunswick 1783

11



British Government covers  
Transportation, food, clothing  
and temporary living costs

Given land Grants &  
subsidised loans

British American Loyalists  
become majority of  
Canadian population

British Government launches  
first national Relief programm

# Loyalist Claims Commission

12



National Welfare organisation  
Operating from 1785 -1830  
To compensate loyalists for loss

Civil servants travel from London  
To America to assess claims

Over 3,000 claims paid.  
Slow, bureaucratic, no  
payment without proof of loss

First ever national relief system

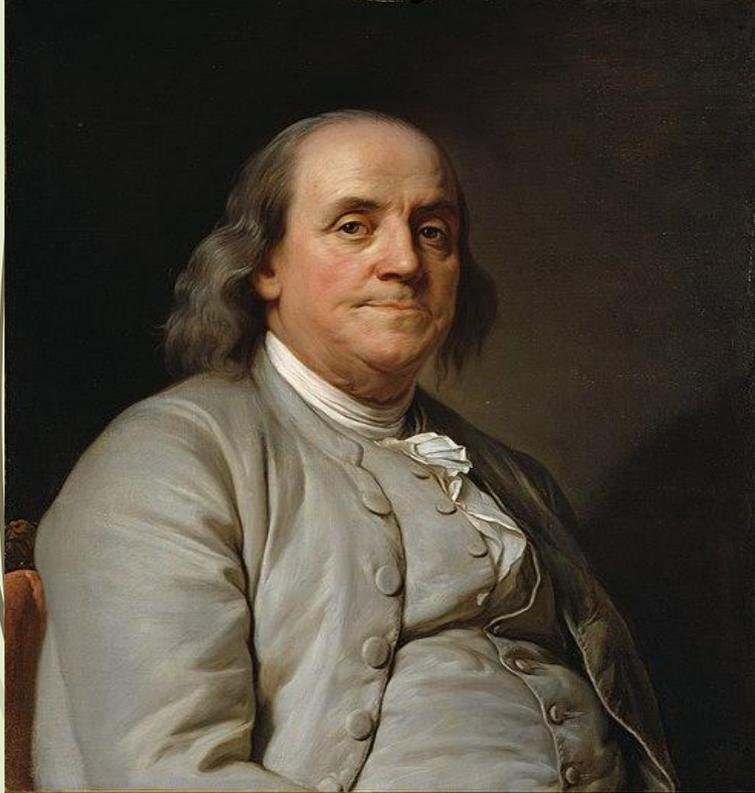
# Benjamin Franklin and son William testing lightning rod...1750's



# A tale of two Franklins...

15

Benjamin Franklin



Inventor, writer, architect of Declaration of Independence & Constitution, US ambassador To France, Deist, Mason, ex Quaker

William Franklin



Ben's illegitimate son, writer, devout Anglican Governor of New Jersey, imprisoned, Released, leads Loyalists but his own son joins Patriots. Moves to England after Yorktown. Attempts to reconcile with father but shunned. Reconciles with son and gives him his American estate



# Black Loyalists

# Black Loyalists

100,000 flee Masters, 20,000<sup>17</sup>  
Join British Army. Most recapture

NEW-YORK, *21 April* 1783.

**T**HIS is to certify to whomsoever it may concern, that the Bearer hereof

*Cato Hammsay*

a Negro, resorted to the British Lines, in consequence of the Proclamations of Sir William Howe, and Sir Henry Clinton, late Commanders in Chief in America; and that the said Negro has hereby his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton's Permission to go to Nova-Scotia, or wherever else *He* may think proper.

*By Order of Brigadier General Birch,*

Many flee to Florida.. join Indians creating "Maroon" culture

British army in NY refuse to Hand over slaves, evacuate 3,000 black soldiers and families to Halifax

Names recorded in 'Book of Negroes' and given 'passes'

Given land and living costs ...best sites to white Loyalists

# Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia

18



Given clothing and 80 days rations

Best sites reserved for White Loyalists, used as cheap labour by locals. Blacks elect leaders to protest.

Governor sends them to London to petition for help

Meets abolitionists Thomas Clarkson and Wilberforce brothers in London

“Great Fleet” sent to Nova Scotia, 1,500 Colonists form colony of Sierra Leone in 1789

Rest stay in Canada

...community remains to this day

# Thomas Peters (1738-1792)

19



Son of Yoruba chief enslaved by Spanish in 1763  
And transported to Louisiana

Sold to Scottish planter and located to Carolina

Escapes master to join British Army, becomes  
Pioneer, wounded twice at siege of Charleston

Evacuated to Canada, elected leader of  
Loyalists travels to England to petition  
Parliament

Goes to London and organises "Great Fleet"

Considered founder of "Freetown" Sierra  
Leone, loses election to Thomas Clarkson lead  
abolitionist, dies of malaria (and broken heart)  
two years later 1792



# The Disunited States 1783-88

# Territorial Gains for Congress of Confederation

21

Map: 1783

Gains from  
Treaty of Paris  
1783

13 Colonies  
1776

Florida returned  
to Spain

Britain keeps Canada and West Indies, loses all Territory east of Mississippi  
Returns Florida to Spain

United States increases from 360,000 to 800,000 sq. miles

Indigenous peoples neither consulted or Informed...Proclamation of 1763 boundaries abolished ...land open to Settlement...if it can be taken

# Congress of the Confederation

22

New 'national' government established by Continental Congress

- ▶ One house, no executive, no judiciary or civil service
- ▶ Changes location each year, no permanent members
- ▶ Amendments require 2/3 vote from each State
- ▶ Members appointed by State Assemblies and come and go as they wish

**Could not** raise taxes regulate trade, manage currency

**Could** sign treaties, declare war, draft plans on how new lands would be made into states (Wilmot Proviso 1787)...but no ability to enforce....anything

# The situation 1783-1789

23

## Economic depression

- ▶ Trans Atlantic trade disrupted, economy shrinks by 30%
- ▶ No recognised currency, barter and gold economy
- ▶ No credit, \$40 million owed to France and Holland \$25m internally
- ▶ Barbary pirates (Algiers, Tunisia) seize American ships, enslave crews

## Insecure borders (no navy, national army reduced to 8 men!)

- ▶ British refuse to leave Western territories, encourage Indian resistance
- ▶ Spanish Florida becomes haven for escaped slaves and pirates

## Internal Disorder

- ▶ Thousands of unpaid soldiers
- ▶ Trade wars between states
- ▶ State assemblies triple taxes but cannot collect

Survival of New Republic in doubt.... Tax Rebellion of 1787

# 'Shays Rebellion February 1787

24



4,000 former soldiers  
March on Boston to  
Seize armoury

Samuel Adams (Patriot)  
Raises militia (no national  
Army available) and  
Orders "hang them all"

Rebels routed by  
8 killed, 2 hanged

Congress asks states to  
meet and Amend Articles of  
Confederation. Meet in  
Philadelphia to discuss

# Constitutional Convention

# Constitutional Convention (May-September 1787) <sup>26</sup>



59 delegates eventually show up  
Appointed by 13 state Assemblies ,  
attendance varies day to day

All male white Lawyers, bankers,  
planters, merchants Land speculators,  
Average age 44, 9 in their 30's, 17  
delegates slave owners

**Present:** George Washington (48)  
Presiding Officer, Benjamin Franklin  
(81) just returned From France

**Not Present** ...53 of the 59 signers  
of Declaration of Independence.  
...Jefferson ambassador in France.  
....Adams, Hancock. Busy hanging  
rebels

# Two factions ...apparently irreconcilable

27

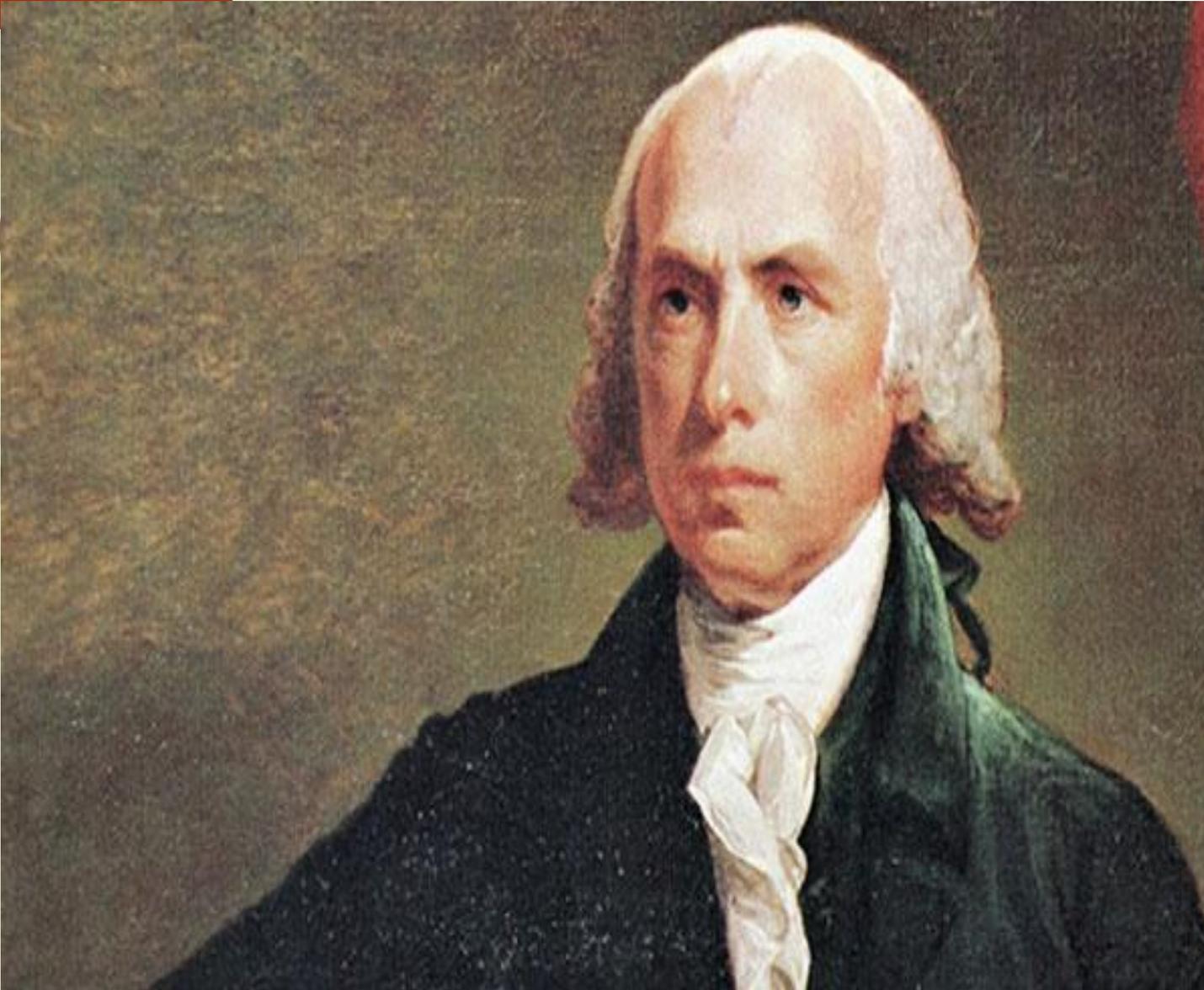
## Federalists (Madison and Hamilton)

- ▶ Republic is in crisis
- ▶ United States needs powerful central government and financial institutions
- ▶ Need army and navy
- ▶ The future to be delivered by merchants, bankers, and lawyers
- ▶ **Anti Federalists (Jefferson, Patrick Henry—not present)**
  - ▶ Republic facing difficulties
  - ▶ Temporary association of independent states all that is required
  - ▶ No army or navy needed
  - ▶ Yeoman farmers and plantation owners to run government

No one considered giving vote to non property owners, blacks, Indians or women  
Any change must be agreed by 2/3 of states...Anti Federalists dominate states

# James Madison (1751-1836)

28



Born Virginia, son of wealthy planter, Princeton educated, Classical scholar, Qualified as lawyer but never practiced,

37 year old member of Virginia Assembly no military service during Revolution

Creature of 'enlightenment' :  
"Religious bondage shackles and debilitates the mind and unfits it for every noble enterprize"

Workaholic perfectionist, arrives at Convention with "Virginia Plan"

# Alexander Hamilton (1) (1757-1804)

29



Born Nevis, West Indies, illegitimate son of Scottish Merchant and French Huguenot

Orphaned at 13, uncle adopts , self taught, works as clerk in import export office

Writes letter about hurricane, read by father, who secures donations to send Alexander to go to New York at age 15

# Alexander Hamilton (2)

30



Irish landlord gets him job in merchant office,

Attends Kings College New York, joins student soldiers to fight British occupation of New York...noticed by GW and put on staff then to front line

Studies law and finance, excels at finance, founds Bank of New York, elected to New York Assembly and sent to Convention at age 30

Deist Liberal beliefs: “Real liberty is neither found in despotism or the extremes of democracy, but in moderate governments”

# Breaking the Impasse

31

## “Compromised democracy”

- ▶ People vote for ‘electors’, electors choose President
- ▶ Senators appointed by State Assemblies
- ▶ 2 senators for each state regardless of population
- ▶ States free to decide who has right to vote
- ▶ Commitment to Bill of Rights
- ▶ Slavery a non issue:
  - ▶ Slavery not seen as economic in long term, slaves to be either repatriated to Africa or dispersed across new territories
  - ▶ Mandate ending of importation of slaves from Africa in 20 years (1807)
  - ▶ Future of slavery to be a ‘state decision’

**Tyranny to be avoided by “Separation of Powers”**

# The Separation of Powers

32

## Article 1

Creates and proposes laws to Executive  
Approval needed by both Houses  
“necessary and proper laws”  
2/3 both houses to override veto  
Power to impeach 2/3 vote

## Article 2

4 Year term, chosen by state electors,  
Approves or vetoes laws from legislators  
Commander in Chief  
Can issue Pardons  
Other powers not defined

## Executive

President & Vice  
President

## Legislature (Congress)

### Senate (Upper House)

2 per state/6 year term)

### House of Representatives

### (Lower House)

Proportional by state/  
(2 year term)

## Judiciary

## Article 3

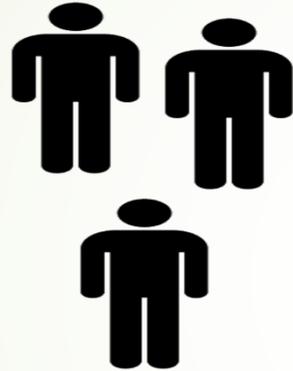
Creates Supreme Court  
Life time appointment  
Proposed by President,  
ratified by Senate  
Scope: “highest court”  
Remit vague beyond:  
inter state issues  
Treason trials

final appeals

# Election System 1789: Compromised democracy <sup>33</sup>

President  
Executive  
(4 yr term)

Electors  
# in proportion  
to state



2 votes each . Rules  
decided by States

Northern State  
Voted by property  
owning whites

South: appointed by  
State Assemblies

President  
(highest number)



Vice President (second  
highest\_)



Senators (Upper House)  
6 yr term

Appointed by  
State Legislatures

2 per state **regardless**  
of population

Congress  
Legislature

Representatives  
2 yr terms

Rules set by state  
North white property  
owning males (60%)  
South: wealthy only (10%)

Number based on  
Population (blacks  
3/5 of person, Indians not  
counted)

# Congress approves Constitution

34



Famous painting but...according to Adams constitution left guarded on desk and delegates dropped by to sign when in town

Signed by 39 of 41 delegates present..

Most Anti Federalists not present. Saw no need

Copies sent to 13 states for approval  
September 1787

Congress waits for response most go home...

# Intermission

# The Fight for Approval

36

- “Slow response, only 5 states approved by March 1788, much opposition/ fear of tyranny loss of state power
- Madison and Hamilton go on attack...publish “Federalist Papers” arguing for Constitution.....brilliant, readable, persuasive
- 9th state (New Hampshire) approves June 1788

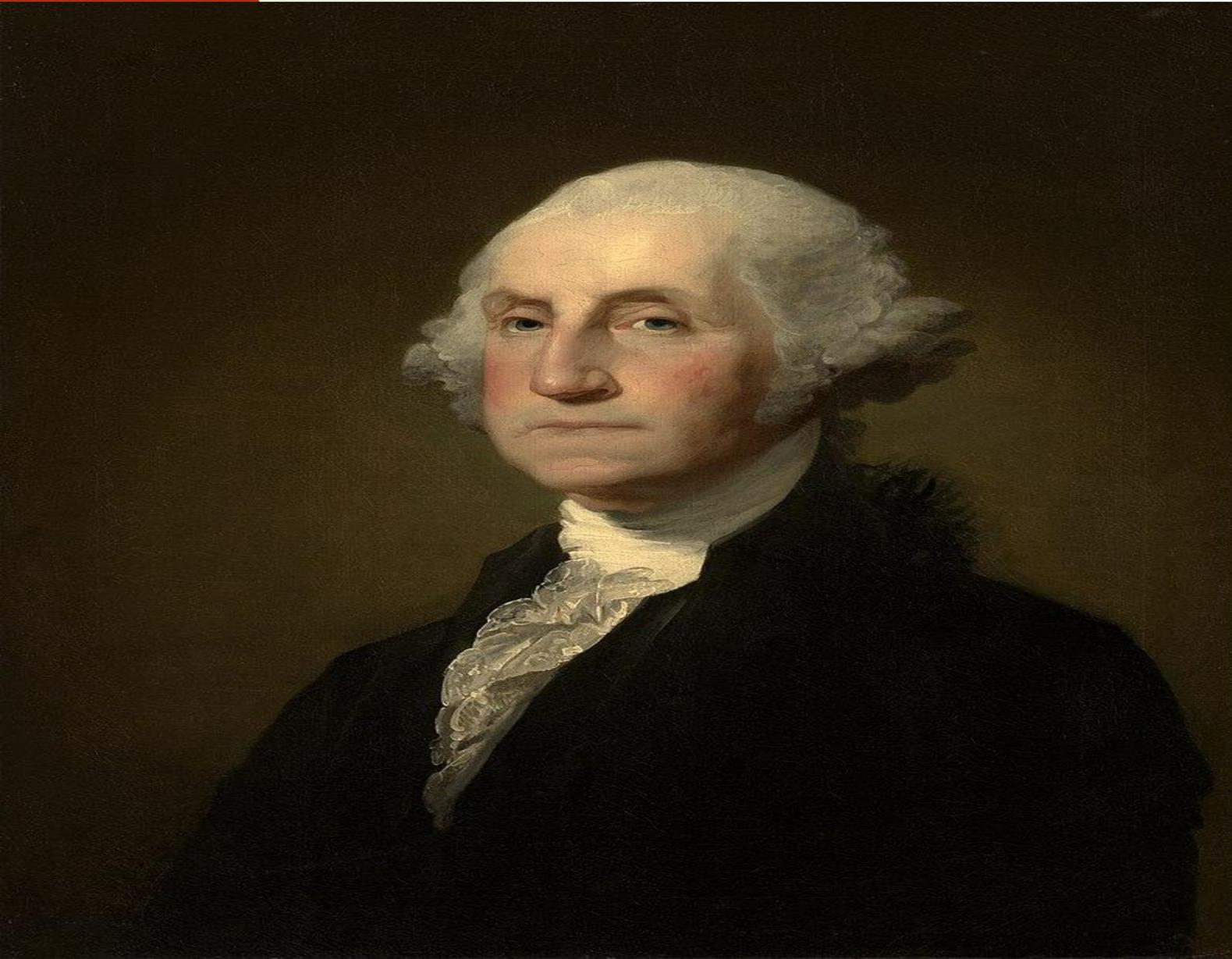
New government to open for business March 1789

# Washington's First Administration 1789-1792

- Setting the right style
- Keeping the Anti Federalists loyal
- Creating financial and military institutions
- Fixing the borders

# George Washington (1732-1799)

38



Retired to Mount Vernon  
After leading Patriot Army to  
Victory, married, childless, poor  
speaker but trusted.

Elected unanimously by Congress

Has to borrow money to pay for 7  
day journey to

*"About ten o'clock I bade adieu to  
Mount Vernon, to private life, and to  
domestic felicity; and with a mind  
oppressed with more anxious and  
painful sensations than I have words  
to express, set out for New York ...with  
the best dispositions to render service  
to my country in obedience to its  
call, but with less hope of answering  
its expectations"*

# A Government to be formed

39



Debate on Etiquette, 'His majesty' "his Excellency" till 'President'. agreed

Takes oath April 30th 1789

No institutions, army or navy, bureaucracy or credit

Anti Federalist and foreign Powers, especially British expect experiment to fall apart ....and fast

Washington meets challenge

# Establish right “style”

40

How balance dignity of office with need for  
to get things done

Weekly ‘levees’ for men on Tuesdays  
Congressmen and wives Thursdays

“Be courteous to all, but intimate with few;  
and let those be well-tried before you give  
them your confidence.”

“Let your ceremonies in courtesy be proper  
to the dignity of his place with whom you  
converse, for it is absurd to act the same  
with a clown and a prince.

(from GW “Rules of Civility and behaviour”



# Procession around the Country 1791

41



Makes four month tour along coast to see, be seen

Develops awareness of differences and vulnerabilities,

Uses this insight to guide Policy of neutrality during French revolutionary wars

# Secures Anti Federalist loyalty

42

Anti Federalists) accept Constitution on condition “rights” embedded into Constitution...do not run for office...stay in their states

80% of First Congress Federalists and don't see Bill of Rights a priority

Washington and Madison push through Bill for first 10 Amendments to Constitution ...approved Sept 1789

Approved by 9 out of 13 states and added to Constitution December 1791

# Bill of Rights (First 10 amendments)

43

- 1. Congress to make no law establishing religion or prohibiting freedom of speech, religion, right of assembly, right to petition**
- 2. A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed**
3. No soldiers quartered in homes
4. No searches of homes without warrant for probably cause
5. Protection vs self incrimination, no double jeopardy,
6. Speedy trial, right to counsel, informed of causes of trial
7. Right of jury trial
8. Prohibits excessive fines and 'cruel or unusual punishments
9. People retain rights not set out in the Constitution (never used)
10. US Government has only those powers set out in Constitution

Most content from English Bill of Rights 1688, Toleration Act 1689 ,plus Magna Carta 1215...Anti Federalists do not trust reliance on 'Common Law'

# Perilous financial status of USA 1789

United States 1789 13 currencies, most trade barter or gold....

Government owes \$80 million, annual revenues \$4m ... largest single obligation \$600,000 annual 'Tribute' to Barbary Pirates as British Navy no longer available (11 ships seized 1790, 100 Americans sold into slavery when payment late....)

States bankrupt, unable to raise taxes without rebellion

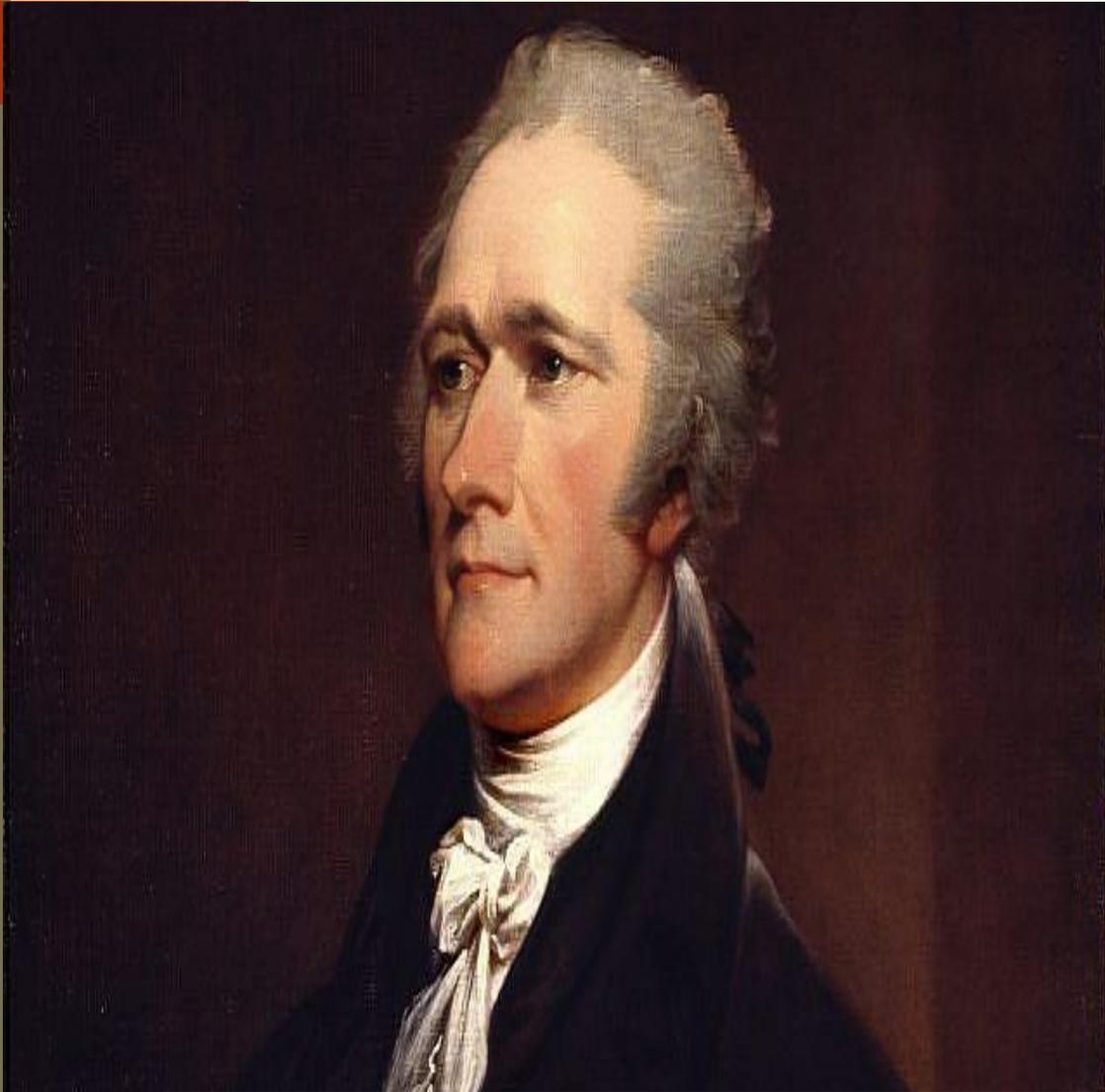
Speculators have bought pensions and bonds at discount... Anti Federalist do not want to reward the "idle rich"

No army or navy, veterans unpaid...and dangerous.

**Alexander Hamilton to the rescue.**

# Alexander Hamilton Secretary of

45



Appointed by Washington 1790-1796 based on banking and war record. Trusted, cannot become President since born in West Indies

Establishes Bank of United States in New York

Consolidates Debt (Debt as Asset)

- Government assumes debts of all states

- Pays off speculators

- Guarantees all foreign debt (even to British)

Increases revenue:

- Creates tax collection service

- Raises import taxes

- Imposes high excise taxes

Economy booms.....Hamilton becomes most respected and despised man in America....seen as friend of the rich and British



Fixing the borders...resolving unfinished  
business with the Indians in NW

# North West Territory 1783

47



Claimed by France 1600's

Won by British from France during  
"French and Indian War 1756

Reserved for Indians by Proclamation of  
1763)

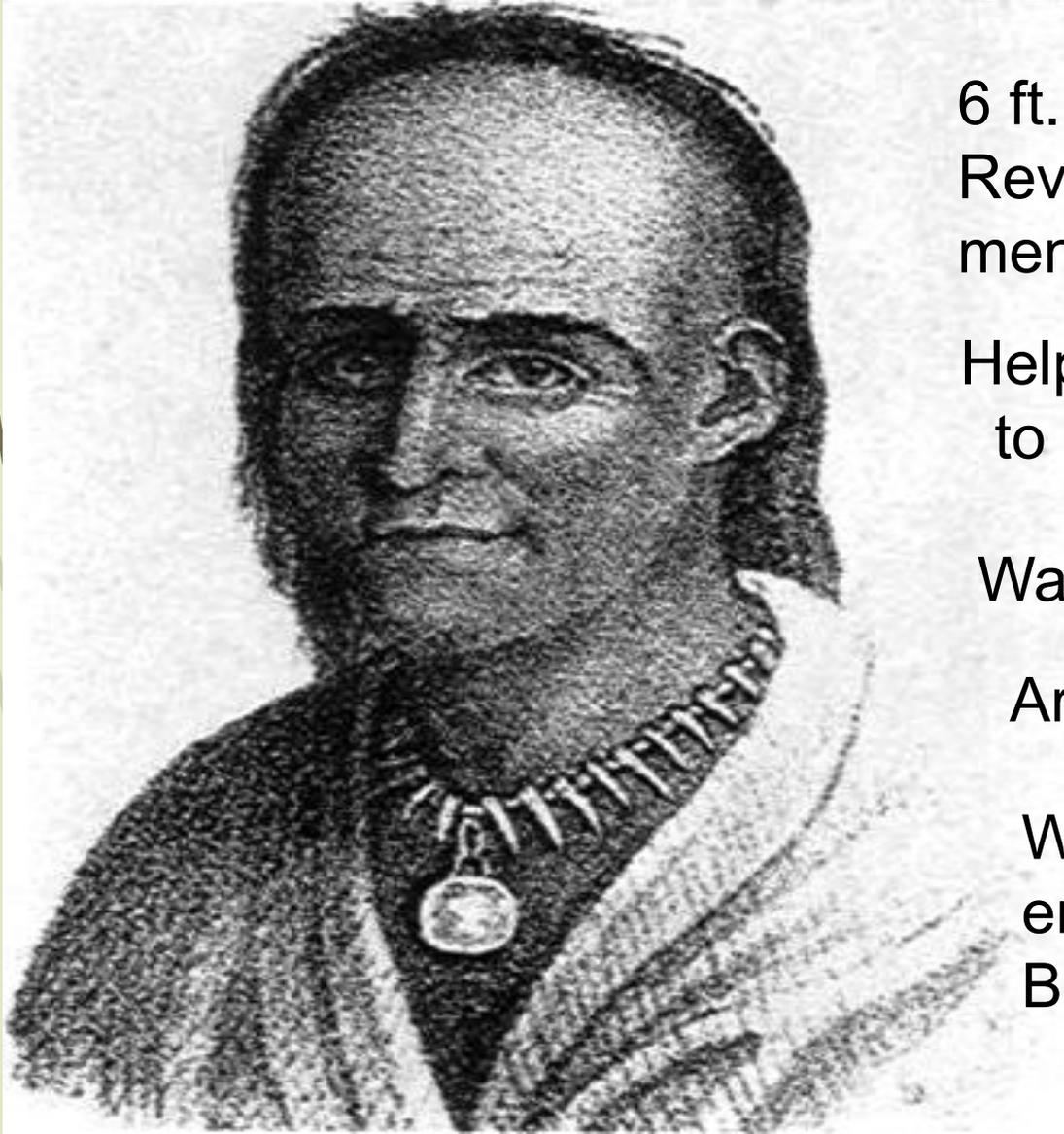
United States gains territory in Treaty of  
Paris 1783 ... sets aside 'public domain'  
by Ordinance of 1787..sell land to settlers

Indian tribes not consulted, reduced from  
1 million in 1500 to 100,000 in 1790 by  
small pox ..but still powerful

American expedition to Ohio during  
Revolutionary War annihilated

# Little Turtle, chief of the Miami people (1747-1812)

48



6 ft. 3 , teetotaller, fought for British in Revolutionary war wiped out French army of 100 men,

Helps form 'North West Tribes Confederation to resist US settlement of territory, military leader

Washington sends army of 1,500 to seize land

Army destroyed at battle of Kehianga, 500 men lost

Washington sends Generals St Clair with half of entire US army (2,000 men funded by Hamilton's Bank) to try again

# Battle of Wabash (St Clair's Defeat) 1791

49



St Clair sets up camp, does not entrench

Miami and Shawnee attack  
1,200 US Troops killed vs 30  
Indians.

Greatest ever Indian  
Victory (4X 'Little Big  
Horn) ...30% of entire  
US army dead

Washington resilient,  
Does not give up

# Aftermath of Wabash

50



Washington raises taxes  
Creates new army of 5,000

General 'mad dog'  
Wayne sent to try again

Battle of Fallen Timbers  
1794, Indian army of  
1,000 retreat. Both sides  
lose 100 men

Little Turtle seeks help  
From British army

British say no

Little Turtle seeks term

# Treaty of Greenville 1795

51



Indian Confederation surrenders land for cash and agree to 'take up white man's ways.....first of many concessions..

Little Turtle becomes ambassador to Washington. Seeks help to stop sale of liquor

Dies of rheumatism and gout 1812.. US gives him full military honours

# Situation 1792

52

- Washington re-elected by state legislatures unanimously
- Government up and running
- Government and states solvent
- Barbary Pirates Tribute paid (slaves recovered)
- Borders secure

USA is a going concern



Next Talk: The growing Pains of the early Republic