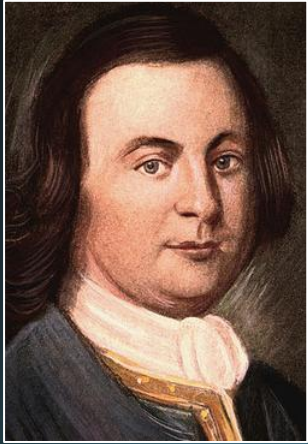
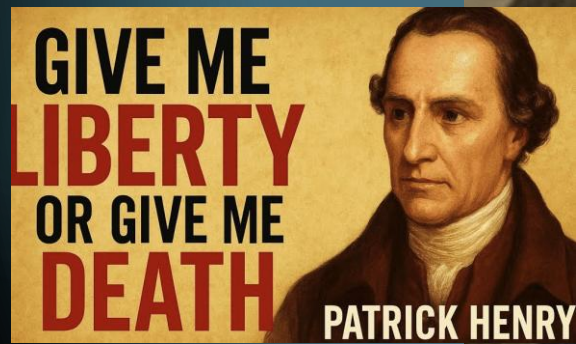


Some ruling men of 1776

J. Adams Sherman Livingston Jefferson Franklin



George Mason



PATRICK HENRY



George Washington



- 1861

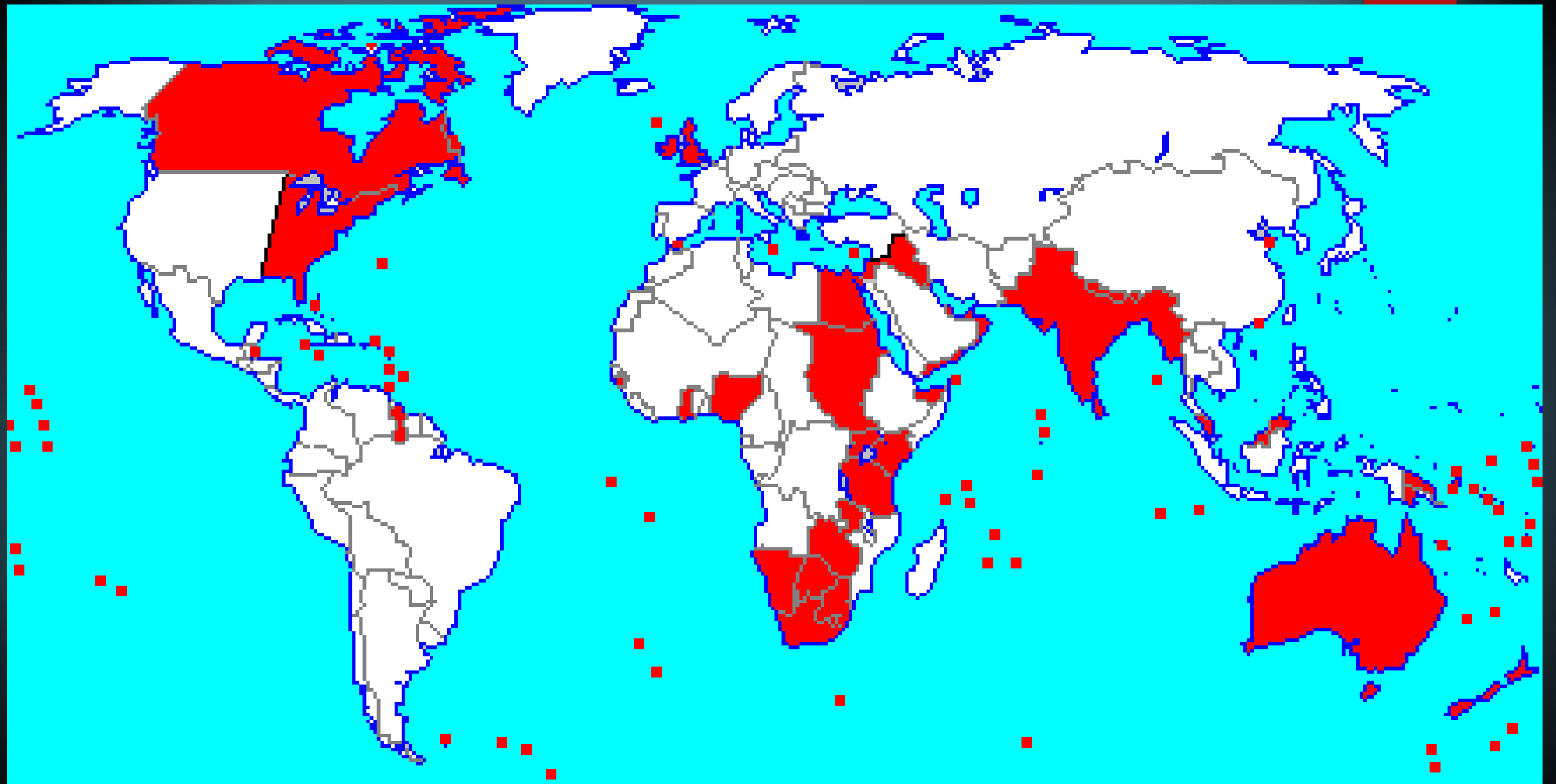
- 1787–89

- July 4, 1776

1771:

“[O]ur Union with
America...in the
Nature of things,
**cannot long
subsist**”.





Favorable to “Let ‘em go”

David Hume
Josiah Tucker
Thomas Pownell
Adam Smith
Edmund Burke

John Cartwright
John Wilkes
David Hartley
Richard Price
Catherine Macauley
**Thomas Paine (arrived
in America 1774)**

Thomas Paine

COMMON SENSE ;

ADDRESSED TO THE
INHABITANTS

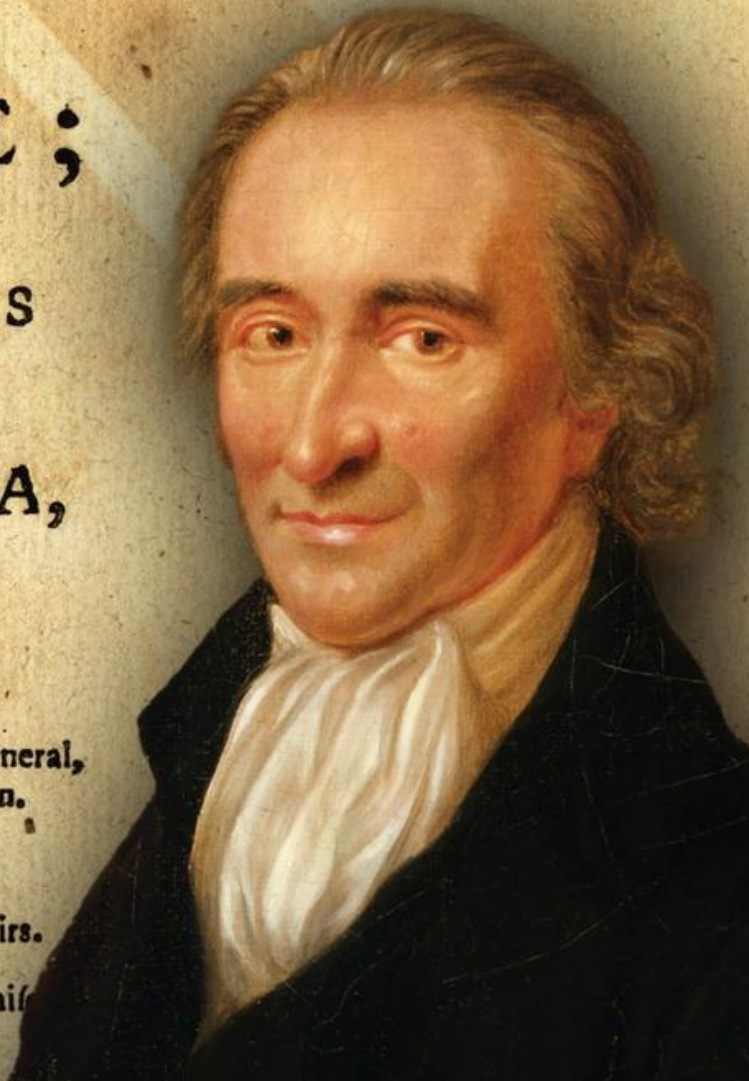
OF

A M E R I C A,

on the following interesting

S U B J E C T S.

- I. Of the Origin and design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution.
- II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession.
- III. Thoughts on the present State of American Affairs.
- IV. Of the present Ability of America, with some miscellaneous Reflections.



Declaration of Independence:

- **Preamble (2 grafs)**
- **List of grievances
(longest part)**
- **3 grafs including the
DECLARING OF**

Up to 1760

Burke: “salutary neglect”

Smith: “In every thing, except their foreign trade” ... “the liberty of the English colonists to manage their own affairs their own way is complete”.

Consequence of neglect

1. Americans prospered.
2. The Americans learned to govern themselves and became accustomed to doing so.
3. By 1760, Britain had left itself ill-positioned to ever assert rule over the Americans.

Britain



1760: George III ascends to throne.

1756–1763: The Seven Years War [\(link\)](#)

Britain attempts to assert rule

- ▶ 1760–61: general writs
- ▶ 1764: Sugar
- ▶ 1765: Stamp
- ▶ 1766: Declaratory
- ▶ 1767: Townsend
- ▶ 1773: Tea
- ▶ 1774: Coercive
- ▶ 1774: Quebec
- ▶ 1775: Prohibitory

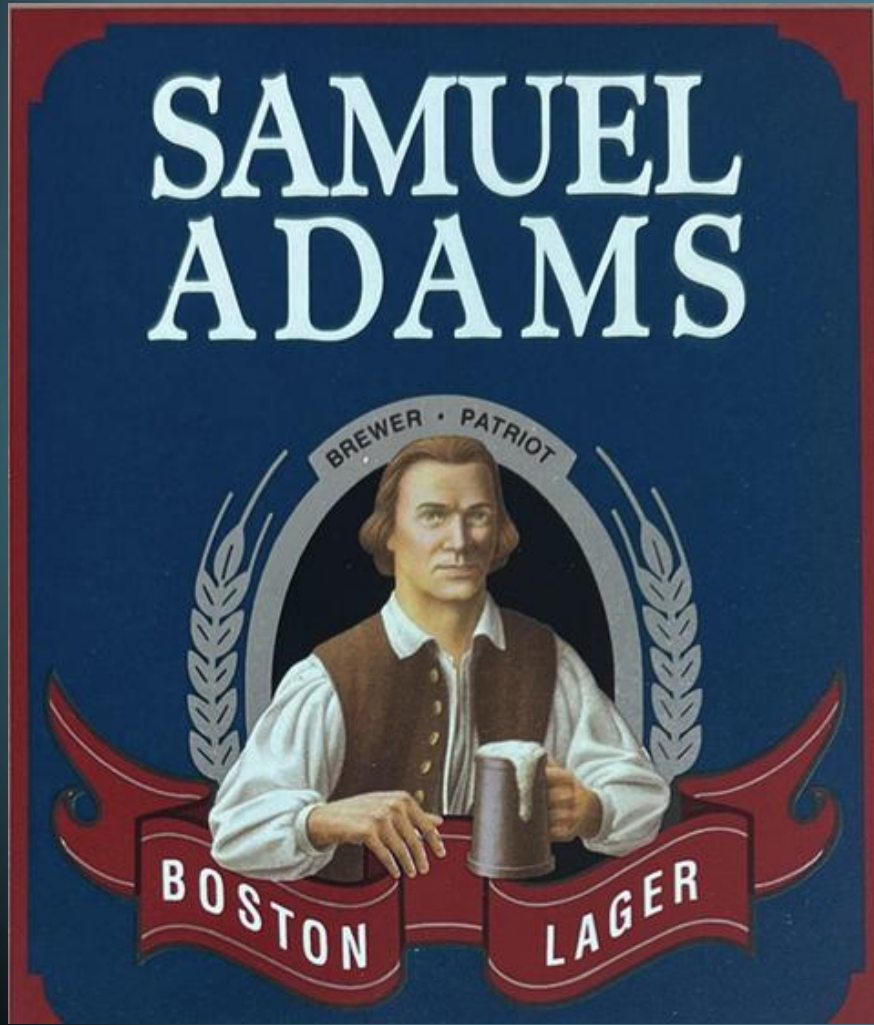
"American Independence was then and there born."
— John Adams

(1770: Boston Massacre)

(1773: Boston Tea Party)

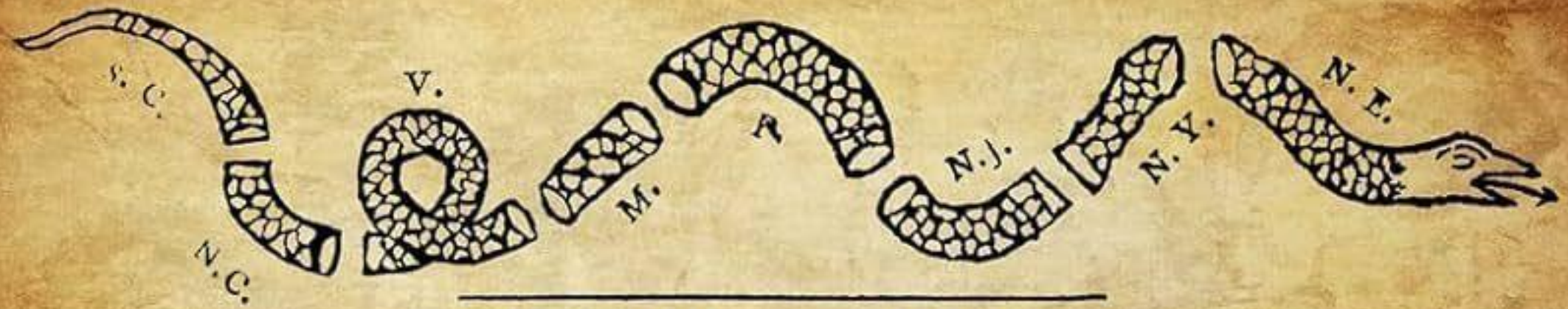
(April 19, 1775: Lexington and Concord)

Provocateur, propagandist,
populist, conspirator, patriot,
brewer



John Adam's second cousin.
Both were signers of The
Declaration of Independence.

Riots, wrecking homes, tar & feather, assault,
Intimidation to resign or not enforce Brit law,
nonimportation



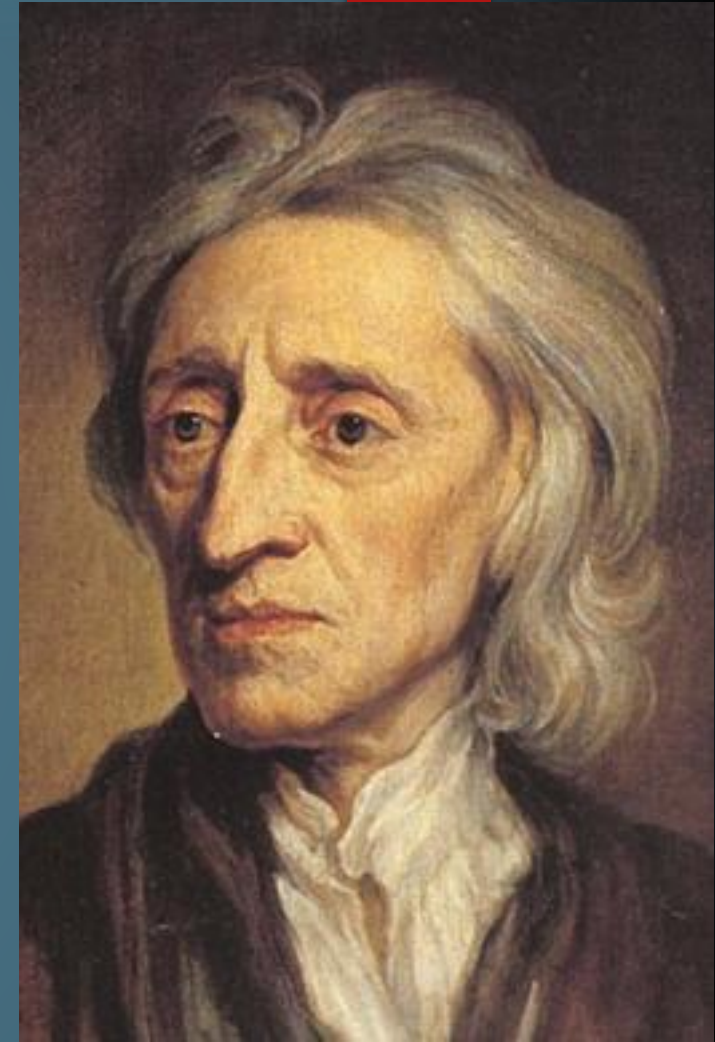
JOIN, or DIE.

In 1754, Benjamin Franklin created the now famous Snake, or Die, symbol for his newspaper the Pennsylvania Gazette. His original was meant to encourage the British ruled 13 colonies to unite against the growing threats from the French and Spanish who had united themselves to fight the British. In an article about 11 years later, Franklin published the symbol again during the American Revolution, but told them it was used as a warning not to let the 13 colonies in their pursuit of freedom and independence from British tyranny. 11 years later, it again appeared during the Civil War. For over 250 years the image has been edited, parodied, and re-created. To this day it still has the same message: Unifying Americans of every race, color, and creed to unite to end slavery "the land of the free and the home of the brave." The Snake, now 250.

1754, Benjamin Franklin — actually about combatting the French & allies in North America

Gladsden
Flag
1775





Locke

Up to 1760:

Americans definitely were liberty-minded.

Two tendencies:

1. Proud Britons. Loyal subjects of the king. The rights of Englishmen.
2. A libertarian strain susceptible to rationalism. Ideological sources:
 - ▶ John Locke, Algernon Sidney
 - ▶ John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters* (1720s)

General, predictable rules, republican element, checks
and divisions, *habeas corpus*, etc., etc.



General, predictable rules, republican element, checks
and divisions, *habeas corpus*, etc., etc.

- ▶ “A great sacrifice of liberty must necessarily be made in every government”.
- ▶ “[L]iberty is the perfection of civil society; but still **authority must be acknowledged essential to its very existence**”.

Since authority depends on violations of liberty, *liberty depends on violations of liberty.*



The simplistic strain—pointing toward independence—was in the back of some people’s minds.

But it was taboo.

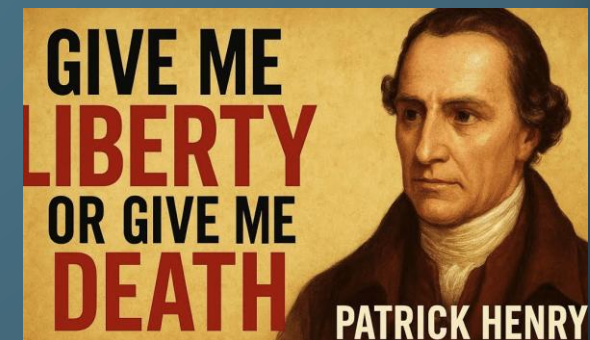
Gradually comes out of the shadows only from about 1765.

Tipping point: Late 1774/early 1775

J. Adams 1765:

“There seems to be a direct and formal design on foot, to enslave all America.”

March 1775



[link](#)

General, predictable rules, republican element, checks
and divisions, *habeas corpus*, etc., etc.

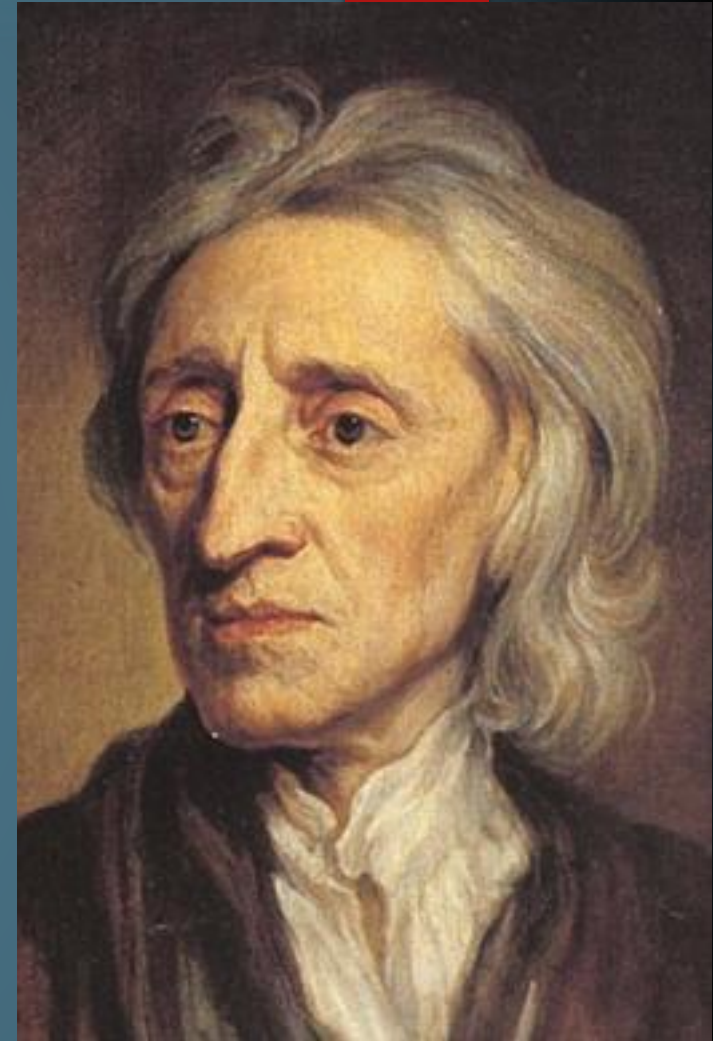


General, predictable rules, republican element, checks
and divisions, *habeas corpus*, etc., etc.

English liberty: rights and principles [link](#)

- ▶ Representative government
- ▶ Representatives only can initiate taxes and spending (power of the purse)
- ▶ No taxation without representation
- ▶ Eminent domain just compensation
- ▶ Habeas Corpus, due process
- ▶ The king must enforce the law
- ▶ The king must provide for equal and fair justice
- ▶ Right to bear arms
- ▶ Right to petition the government for redress
- ▶ Punishment must be proportional and traditional
- ▶ Free speech/press — had grown customary in England

“[N]o one can be...
subjected to the
political power of
another, without his
own consent.”



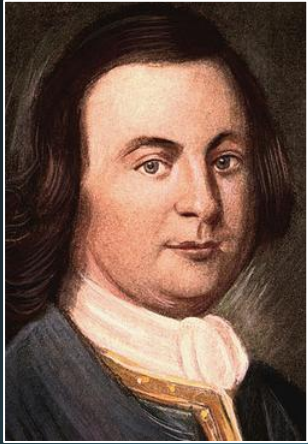
Central concepts puzzled over

- ▶ Constitution
- ▶ Sovereignty
- ▶ Dominion
- ▶ Representation
- ▶ (putative) political Consent
- ▶ Authority (& allegiance, obedience, acquiescence)
- ▶ Law (& rights, duties, obligation)
- ▶ Liberty

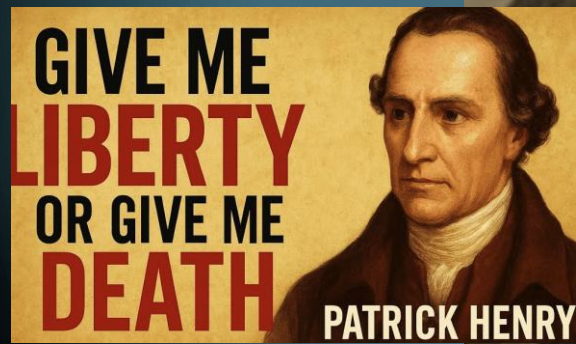
*This is the stuff of
Political
Theory*

Some ruling men of 1776

J. Adams Sherman Livingston Jefferson Franklin



George Mason



PATRICK HENRY



George Washington

Declaration of Independence

G. K. Chesterton said the United States “is the only nation in the world that is founded on a creed,” one that is set forth with “theological lucidity in the Declaration of Independence”.

Thus, the United States has been called a *creedal nation*.

Declaration of Independence

Preamble, first paragraph:

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

2nd Preamble-graf begins

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 or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

2nd Preamble-graph continues

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

2nd Preamble-graf ends

--Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

First of closing three grafes

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. 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.

Second of closing three grafes

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

Third of closing three grafes

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, 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; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. 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 war years

- ▶ **1775:** Lexington and Concord
- ▶ **1776:** Declaration
 - ▶ *America doesn't need to win.*
 - ▶ *It needs **to not lose**.*
- ▶ **1781**, Oct.: The decisive American victory at the Battle of Yorktown (VA) effectively ended major combat operations.
- ▶ (**1781:** Articles of Confederation fully ratified.)
- ▶ **1783:** The Treaty of Paris, formally ending the war and recognizing independence. ([link](#))

1787–1789: Constitutional convention and ratification

FEDERALISTS: Hamilton, Madison, Jay, Washington, Franklin, James Wilson, J. Adams, Rufus King, John Marshall, Timothy Pickering, and Charles Pinckney.

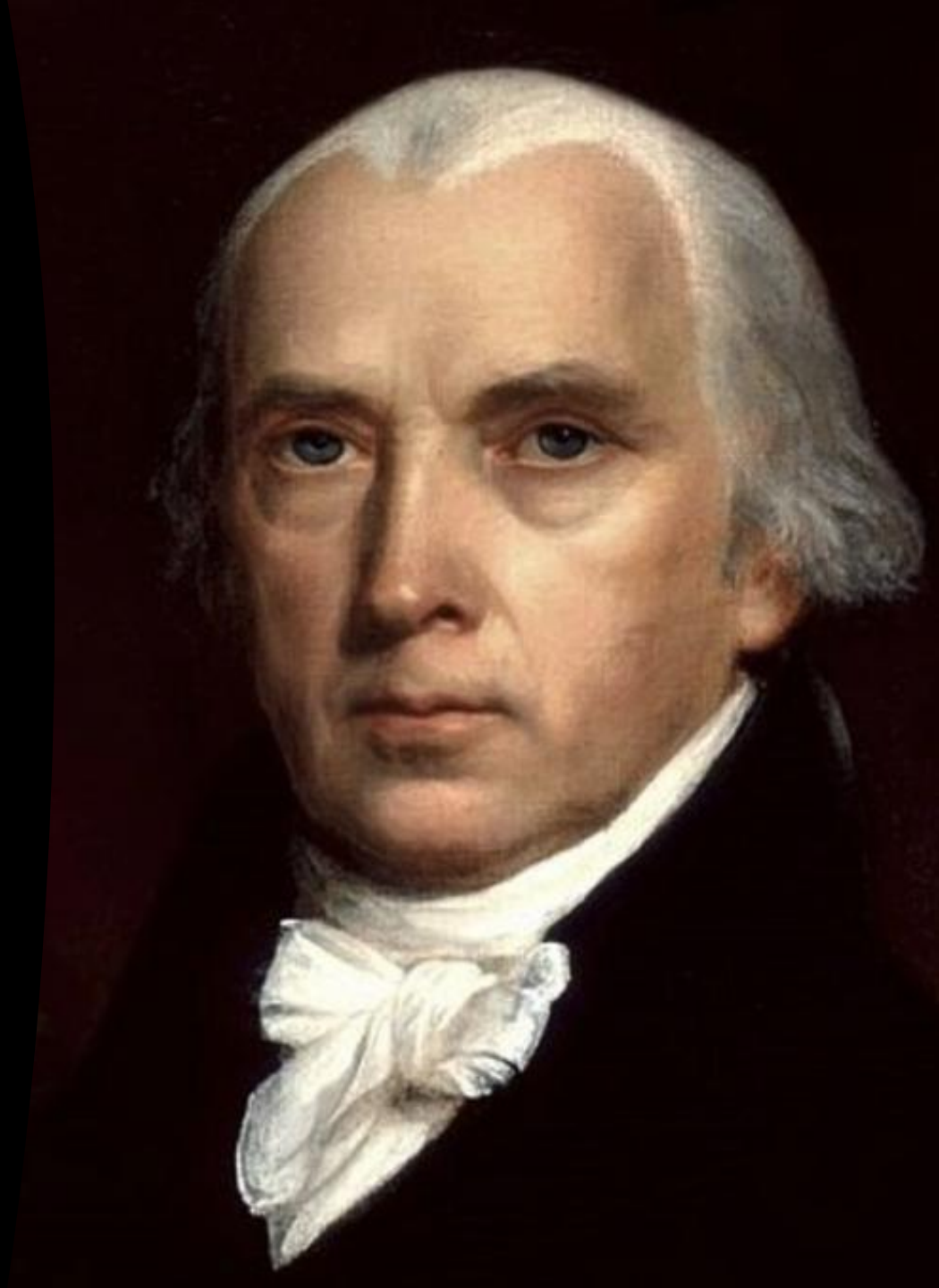


Hamilton

Madison

Jay

“In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place **oblige it to control itself.**”

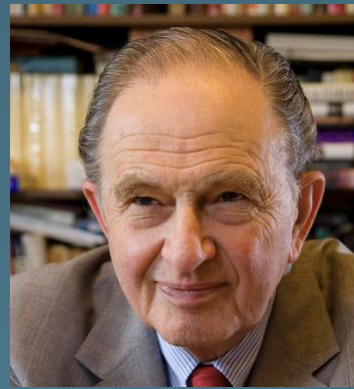




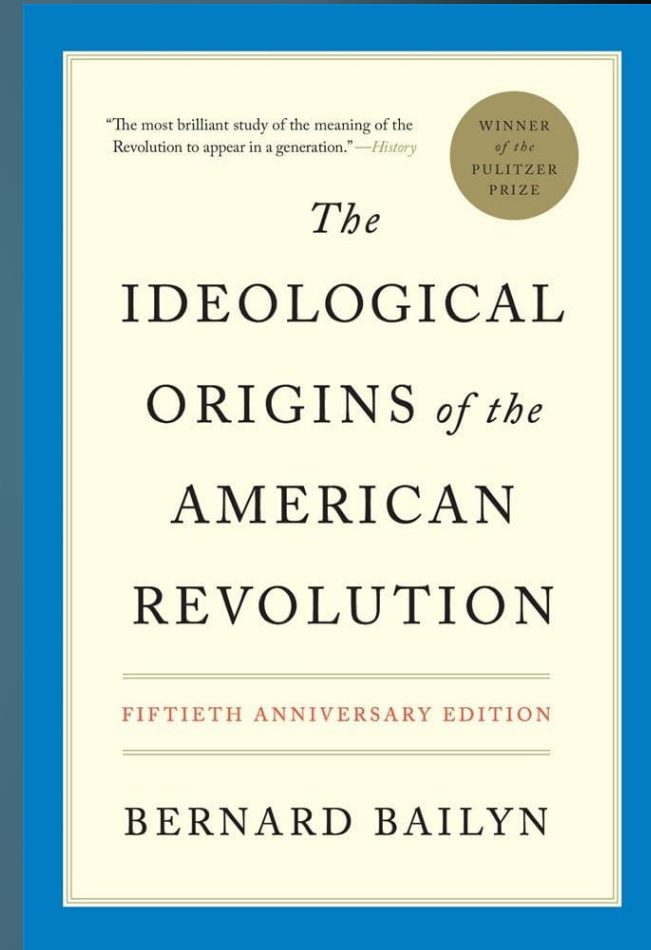
John Adams and Thomas Jefferson
were in Europe in 1787.

Gertrude Himmelfarb:

*“...the clearest sign of Providence
intervening in American history.”*



“The identity between antifederalist thought and that of the most fervent ideologists of ‘76 is at times astonishing.” (331)



ANTI-FEDERALISTS:

Patrick Henry, VA

George Mason, VA

Richard Henry Lee, VA

James Monroe, VA

Samuel Adams, MA

Amos Singletary, MA

John Hancock, MA

Mercy Otis Warren, MA

James Winthrop, MA

James Warren, MA

Joshua Atherton, NH

Robert Yates, NY

George Clinton, NY

Melancton Smith, NY

Luther Martin, MD

Samuel Bryan, PA

American leadership

Federalists	Anti-Federalists
Serious about higher law	Serious about higher law
Serious about liberty	Serious about liberty
Virtue as precondition	Virtue as precondition

1776	1788
Serious about higher law	Serious about higher law
Serious about liberty	Serious about liberty
Virtue as precondition	Virtue as precondition

American leadership

1776	1788
Rebel	Authority
Revolutionary	Loyalist
Populist	Elite
Lockean	Humean
Shallower justice notions	Deeper justice notions
Against dual sovereignty	Pro dual sovereignty

General, predictable rules, republican element, checks and divisions, *habeas corpus*, etc., etc.



General, predictable rules, republican element, checks and divisions, *habeas corpus*, etc., etc.

...Life, Liberty,
and
the Pursuit
of Happiness

“In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place **oblige it to control itself.**”



There is scant substitute for wisdom and virtue in our rulers.

Add slide with narams after Civil

