

KING'S MEADOW

HUMANITIES CURRICULUM

American Culture



Instructor's Guide

By Dr. George Grant, Ph.D. Lit.

KING'S MEADOW



Since 1993

King's Meadow Humanities Curriculum: American Culture
Instructor's Guide
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Introduction

Welcome to the *King's Meadow Humanities Curriculum: American Culture*. We here at King's Meadow pray that you'll find your studies stimulating, challenging, and gratifying. This introductory section will, we hope, answer some of the questions you may have as you begin to unpack your *American Culture* course materials.

There are several different parts of the curriculum that you should familiarize yourself with:

- ❖ Lectures
- ❖ PowerPoint Slide Shows
- ❖ Student Syllabus
- ❖ Literature Planning Guide
- ❖ Projects
- ❖ Instructor's Guide
- ❖ Web Links

Lectures

American Culture contains audio recordings of forty-four lectures, taught by Dr. George Grant during the 2010/2011 school year at Franklin Classical School (FCS) in Franklin, Tennessee. Five of the lectures were recorded during the 2004/2005 school year. Each lecture runs approximately one hour; the exact time of each lecture can be found in the program you use to listen to the lectures (for example, iTunes).

Class Slide Presentations

Dr. Grant incorporates slides with outlines, pictures, and maps for his students when he teaches. Where necessary to understand the lecture, we have included these graphics in the *Student Syllabus* and in the *Instructor's Guide*. However, in order to save space and printing costs, all the pictures have not been included. Each slide presentation has been saved as a PDF document, which can be found with the other digital curriculum files on your disc, in the Instructor Folder, in a folder called Class Presentations. Please make use of these documents as you work through the lessons. Each slide presentation is labeled with the appropriate lesson number and title, making it easy to locate the right one.

Student Syllabus

Since different families, co-ops, and private schools use the *King's Meadow Curriculum* in very different settings, in order to give you the most flexibility, four different formats of student syllabus have been included. The first, *Stu-*

dent Syllabus short, is a single-spaced outline that students can follow as they take notes on other paper, in a journal or notebook, or on a computer.

The second, *Student Syllabus widely spaced*, includes wide spaces between points in the outline so students can take notes on the syllabus itself.

The third student syllabus is a rich text format document that can be opened by any word processing program on any kind of computer to enable students to add their own notes to the outline on a computer. Please note, in this document, all footnotes, graphics, headings, and footers have been removed, as these elements don't tend to translate well in a rich text formatted document. Your students may find it helpful to look through the Class Presentations pdf's for each lesson while typing notes on the rich text format document.

To use the rich text student syllabus, open your word processing program of choice (WordPerfect, OpenOffice.org, Pages, or Word) and then open the document via the File/Open menu or command. Command/o or control/o should also work. Alternately, you can find the *Student Syllabus.rtf* file on the disc and open it by right-clicking or control-clicking on it and selecting your word processing program from the drop-down menu.

An epub version of the single-spaced outline has also been included for those students or families who would like to use an e-reader instead of printing the syllabus. Follow the manufacturer's instructions for loading the document onto your e-reader.

Projects

Each year, Dr. Grant assigns his students five creative projects through the course of the year. Projects are designed to integrate with the time period and combine academic diligence with creative expression. Each project requires that a student walk through the five canons of rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, memorization, and delivery. We also encourage each student to follow his own interests and talents in the selection of a topic. At home, you have complete liberty to assign all, some, or none of the projects, based on your specific situation. You may also alter or tweak any projects you assign. If you choose to have your students present their projects orally, you might want to make an evening out of it, inviting extended family, friends, neighbors, or co-op. The projects for *American Culture* include:

- ❖ **Cartography:** a report about some aspect of cartography: a particular type of map, a map-maker's tool, a mapmaker, a specific mapmaker whose work somehow impacted the world; from two to four pages, including three or four sources. Your students may create a visual to go along with their report.
- ❖ **Persuasive Pamphlet:** styled as a two- to four-page replica of the patriot pamphlets of the American Committees of Correspondence. Choose a current issue to interpret from a biblical worldview; research; craft a cogent, logical argument; print in the form of a colonial pamphlet; include a bibliography.
- ❖ **Poetry Project:** choose one of the Puritan poetic forms & write a poem of at least four stanzas reflecting on some aspect of the Christian life from a biblical worldview. This can be as simple or in-depth as you

need it to be. This might be an appropriate time to study poetry to flesh out your students' options. Investigate different verse forms (couplets, quatrains, quintets, sestets, and octets) and poetic meters (iambic, trochaic, anapestic, dactylic). Or, to simplify, you may assign your students a specific poem to imitate.

- ❖ A Thesis Paper: A thesis argues one side of an issue and includes arguments and proofs. The paper, as assigned at FCS is from five to fifteen pages, depending on the grade and age of the students and includes four to twelve sources. This may be adjusted for your students based on your goals and their abilities. (For more information about writing a thesis paper, please see *The Lost Tools of Writing*, by Andrew Kern, available from the CiRCE Institute (www.circeinstitute.org.) Or you may substitute a more traditional research paper.
- ❖ Forty-Hour Project: A forty-hour long creative exploration of some aspect of the year's course of study, the infamous *Forty-Hour Project*. Included in the Bonus Materials folder on your curriculum disc, is an excerpt from a lecture during which Dr. Grant describes the purpose of the Forty-Hour Project. Your students might benefit from listening to this for motivation and guidance.

The forty-hour project, for those of you who are unfamiliar with it or just a little nervous about it, is intended for students to pursue some aspect of this study of American Culture, in an area of particular gifting or interest: music, art, building things or blowing things up, etc. Students should take some particular area studied during the course of this year, and apply their gifts and interests to that area of study and create something. The whole idea of the forty-hour project is to be cross-disciplinary—in other words, students should do something that is different from what they ordinarily do in a classroom or during class time. Secondly, the forty-hour project's purpose is to reinforce students' areas of interest or talents. So if a student is an artist, his art should connect with his studies. This creative project is a way for that to happen. It's also a way for students to reinforce aspects of their calling and to learn much more deeply about a particular area of study than they ever could just reading about it, writing about it, or listening to lectures about it. The forty-hour project is the culmination and the heart of the whole humanities structure. Let your students' imaginations run wild. Then parents and teachers should check it to make sure it's not too wild.

The whole idea behind the *forty hours* in the forty-hour project is that this should take much longer than any single day or single sitting or even a weekend. This project should be spread out over time when students do a tremendous amount of work. The rule on the forty hours is that any time spent driving back and forth between Wal-Mart and home, any time shopping around, anytime sitting about with friends talking about what might be in the forty-hour project—that doesn't count. The only time that counts toward the forty hours is time actually spent working on the project, not gathering materials, not thinking through the details, but actually working on it. This is one of the most fun aspects of this course, but it's also deeply demanding.

One of the things that is an important part of the Forty-Hour project is verifying the forty hours, you may decide to have your students keep a time log. It should not be a scrap of paper, it shouldn't be on the back of a paper grocery sack, but it should actually be a for-real time log where you can tell what it is that your students have done when.

Scheduling

Dr. Grant teaches in a school with other teachers who step in and take their turns. That means that he doesn't teach two times every single week. Instead of trying to follow his schedule, most families, co-ops, discussion groups, and schools will spread the work out fairly evenly through the year, based on their calendars, their other activities, and their students' course loads. Two schedules that have been found to work well are to listen to two lectures one week (say, Monday and Thursday), and one the following week (Wednesday), alternating through the year. Others listen to a lecture every third or fourth school day. Please set up whatever routine works best in your situation. You know when during the week life is more hectic, when during the month life is busier, and when during your school year other things demand more of your time and energy. The Literature Planning Sheets can help you keep track of where you want to be when.

The thing is to be creative and do what will work for your family and schedule. If you're really busy during one season of the year, you might want to shuffle more lessons into a less busy season (so if sports happen in the spring, cover more lessons in the fall; if the fall play is the thing, shift some of the fall lessons to the spring). If you school year-round, your schedule will look very different than a family who schools on a more traditional school schedule. Families with younger children may adopt a different schedule than families with all high school-level students. Decide what will work best for you and then follow through with confidence.

Instructor's Guide

The *Instructor's Guide* contains detailed notes for each lecture, along with textbook assignments, lists of topics covered in each lesson, timeline items, vocabulary words, suggestions for primary source documents, and a list of the items from "This Day in History". Each part of the Lessons is explained further below.

An epub version of the *Instructor's Guide* has been included on the curriculum disc for those parents who would like to use an e-reader or an iPad instead of printing the document.

Parts of the Lesson

Textbook Assignments

There are two ways we could have assigned the textbook reading assignments to go along with Dr. Grant's lectures: 1) align the topics covered in the reading precisely with the topics covered in the lessons, which would mean that some lessons would require lots of reading and some would require little or none, or 2) have students read steadily through the text, with assignments of similar length, knowing that if students read about a topic before hearing Dr. Grant lecture about it, the lecture will reinforce the reading, and if they listen to the lecture first, the reading will reinforce the lecture. We chose the latter approach to spread the work out more evenly for the students.

❖ *Primary Texts*

This book is the more advanced of the two in terms of reading level.

A History of the American People, by Paul Johnson ©1999, ISBN 0060930349

❖ *Alternate Text*

Some students aren't up to the challenge of the higher level primary textbook, and busy moms might not have time to read a more challenging text, so, in addition to the primary textbook, each lesson also lists assignments from an alternate text. This alternate text covers similar topics, in general, as the primary text even if the individual assignments don't line up exactly lesson by lesson. This title is written at an easier reading level. For American Culture, this textbook is:

American, The Last, Best Hope (Volume I): From the Age of Discovery to a World at War, by Bill Bennett © 2006, ISBN 1595550550

As with the Primary Text or any of the other elements of the lessons, these should be adjusted and adapted to your specific students and family situation.

❖ *Additional Suggestions*

If none of the above appeal to you, you might consider the following titles. ISBN's aren't listed because many of these books have been through several editions and any of the editions may work. (While the contents of these books are factually accurate, there may be worldview issues to deal with in the first three.)

- ❖ *The American Promise*, by Roark, et al, Bedford/St. Martin (more modernist in it's perspective)
- ❖ Any of Jackson Spielvogel's college textbooks, many older editions of which can be purchased used.
- ❖ *A Basic History of the United States, Vol. 1-5*, by Clarence Carson, American Textbook Committee (1994), oop but available used

Topics

Each lesson includes a list of topics covered in the lecture. If neither the primary or alternative textbooks appeal to you, you may have your students prepare to listen to the lecture by researching the list of topics in another textbook, an encyclopedia, or in several books. Or, if you have another favorite textbook and you desire to coordinate your students' textbook reading with the lectures instead of breaking down the book equally through the year, the list of topics will make it easier for you to determine which pages to assign, either via the Table of Contents or the index. Or you may want to add a few topics to your students' reading to encourage them to delve more deeply into if the textbook assignment doesn't line up with the lesson topics.

The lists of topics will also help you coordinate younger students' history studies with your King's Meadow students' studies if you wish.

Timelines

Most lessons include a timeline of dates relating to the events and people in the lesson itself to help you place them chronologically.

Vocabulary

There are many vocabulary words listed for each lesson, pulled from the lecture and the lesson outline. Idiomatic phrases are also included. Some of the words will be familiar to your students, but have been included to give

you an opportunity to encourage them to think more deeply about important concepts, for example: *hero* or *leadership*.

Some families assign some or all of the lists or words as formal written assignments — including a definition and a sentence, while some ask their students simply to look up the words to enhance their understanding of the lectures. Some families sit down with their students ahead of time to discuss the words, and then assign the specific words the student doesn't already know or show facility in using and understanding. Families with more than one student listening to the lectures together might want to divide the words out and then ask students to share what they learn, or assign each student all the words and then compare their definitions.

A formal grade may be assigned, or understanding may be assessed informally through discussion. The point is not to generate grades for a grade book, but to benefit you and your students as you explore new words to enhance your understanding of the lectures and to expand your vocabulary. If you wish, consider the vocabulary not necessarily as a formal assignment, but as a tool to help your students understand the lectures better, and then give it a formal grade or not as is best for your students. As in the literature reading, more may be gained by working with your student to learn together.

This Day in History

Dr. Grant starts each lesson with a review of events that happened on the date he lectured, as a reminder that we can see the Lord's hand in all of history. Some of these events are well-known and some are somewhat obscure. Some will relate to the theme or the topic of the lesson, and some are just for fun.

Primary Sources and Documents

Most lessons list one or more primary sources — essays, speeches, newspaper articles, poems, song lyrics, treaties, etc. — mentioned or discussed in the lecture. Assigning these to students to read along with their other reading will help to round out the lessons and enable them to connect the dots more easily.

In the lessons, instead of including page numbers referring to one or more books, the title of each document was used so you can find it where it is most convenient. Most (if not all) the documents listed are also available online. If you can't find these easily in books on your shelves, you may be able to find these via a search engine on the internet.

Many of these items can be found in the following anthologies of primary sources and speeches:

- ❖ *The Patriot's Handbook*, edited by George Grant
(There are at least four editions of Dr. Grant's *Patriot's Handbook*: the original paperback (which was updated and edited at least once), the *Pocket Patriot*, and the newer, hardback edition.)
- ❖ *The Spirit of Seventy Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants*, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris; Da Capo Press, 1958, 1967, 1975, 1995
This is a fairly thick book (over 1,200 pages) which includes song lyrics, letters, essays, poetry, public documents, newspaper articles, and pamphlets. This is a book that will reward browsing!
- ❖ *The World's Greatest Speeches*, edited by Lewis Copeland, Lawrence W. Lamm, and Stephen J. McKenna; Dover, 1999

Opportunities and Exams

Opportunities is the term Dr. Grant uses for what are commonly known as quizzes. He views them as opportunities for his students to show what they've learned. The Opportunities will be found in separate a document with the rest of the digital files, as will the Opportunity Answer Guide. Corrected Opportunities can be used as study guides for the mid-term and final exam.

Also included are a mid-term exam and a final exam, along with answer guides to each. There are suggestions for different ways to use the exams in the Introduction to the Opportunities.

Additional Resources

For additional information about various topics covered in this course, please see

- ❖ Regnery's *Politically Incorrect Guides*: many of the books in this series deal with the topics covered here.
- ❖ David McCullough's works
- ❖ *Ten Tortured Words*, by Stephen Mansfield
- ❖ *The Great Debate: Advocates and Opponents of the American Constitution*, by Professor Thomas L. Pangle, Ph.D., The Great Courses

Additional Items in the Instructor's Guide

Appendix A: Literature Planning Guide

In the Literature Planning Guide, you will find the list of literature titles, which includes poetry, plays, short stories, novels, essays, political philosophy, and nonfiction. In another document included with your digital files, you will also find three separate Literature Planners to help you plan your year. One includes the primary textbook assignments already filled in, one includes the alternate textbook assignments already filled in, and one includes no assignments, so you can fill in your own if you decide to use a different textbook resource.

Appendix B: American Culture Timeline

Each Lesson includes several timeline items that pertain to the topics of that lesson. These have all been compiled into a Timeline of American Culture in Appendix B. Use this to help you keep your bearings as you study through the course. It might be an interesting, year-long project for your students to compile their own timelines, using the dates and events provided in the lessons as a foundation. This timeline should be helpful if you are also teaching younger students.

Appendix C: Primary Resources

A complete list of all the Primary Source Documents, broken out by lesson, is included in Appendix C. Consider these resources to be rabbit trails. Any of them would make for interesting reading and further study, but your King's Meadow course will not be less rich if you choose not to use *any* of these additional resources. There are so many listed that it would be a challenge to try to read them all in one year. The purpose is to provide so many choices that each family will find something that fits. The intent is not to make them necessary if a family needs

a more scaled-down course. Again, parents know best the time demands, energy levels, and schedules of their particular students and teachers.

Lesson 1

Meso-America: Antiquity's Redeux

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the American People*, Europe and the Transatlantic Adventure; Raleigh, the the Proto-American, and the Roanoke Disaster
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 1–12

Lesson Synopsis

America, prior to the coming of Columbus, was not an unpeopled or uncivilized connection of lands and peoples. Instead, it hosted at least six great civilizations: the Olmecs, the Chavans, the Zapotecs, the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas. These great civilizations built remarkable cities, exercised hegemony over vast territories, built great commercial empires, and erected remarkable, stunning monuments that still take the breath away.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Pre-Columbian civilizations of Central and South America

Primary Source Material

none for this lesson

Vocabulary

prominent, cultural, artifact, stele, migratory, ziggurats, cuneiform, elite, hegemony, caste, tyranny, ecclesial, echelon, pictograph, enumerate, codify, hierarchical, cultus, stratification, sociology, stasis, catastrophism, utility, presupposition, sovereign, providence, covenantalism, antithesis, convergence, worldview, malaise, base, incremental, presupposition

Timeline

- ❖ c. 1200 B.C.: Olmec (a.k.a. Toltec) culture emerged
- ❖ c. 650 B.C.: Chavan culture emerged
- ❖ c. A.D. 100: Zapotec culture emerged
- ❖ c. A.D. 200: Mayan culture emerged
- ❖ c. A.D. 600: Aztec military conquests began
- ❖ c. A.D. 800: Tenochtitlan built

- ❖ c. 1438: Incan conquerors began expanding their imperial holdings
- ❖ 1492: Columbus arrived in the New World
- ❖ c. 1600: Native North American tribes entered their final stages of development



Meso-America: Antiquity's Redeux

Even in the most brutal and pagan civilizations of antiquity there is a reflection, however primordial, of the unity of the human race, the continuity of the human story, and the commonality of the human condition. The devil really has no art or culture of his own so, he is forced to plagiarize, imitate, distort, beg, borrow, and steal.
~Thomas Chalmers

Today, we are going to try and make connections and cover about three thousand years of history all squeezed together. I want to tell you this ahead of time, before we actually get into the material, so you understand what we're trying to do. I don't expect you to master the chronology and the history and all of the six civilizations and their distinctives from Meso-America in a single lecture, but I want you to be able to see the connections. So as we start making our way through this material, start thinking, what does this connect to, and how do I process this material? Don't allow it to just be sort of a grab bag of information in your head.

As you can see, we're going to take a quick tour through the civilizations of Meso-America. Meso-America is simply the name that is given by modern historians to the civilizations that existed in North and South America prior to the coming of the European settlers and explorers after the discovery of Columbus. Thomas Chalmers said, "Even in the most brutal and pagan civilizations of antiquity, there's a reflection, however primordial, of the unity of the human race, the continuity of the human story, and the commonality of the human condition. The devil really has no art or culture of his own. So, he is forced to plagiarize, imitate, distort, beg, borrow, and steal." Now, I want you to process that a little bit, and use that as part of the grid in making connections as we make our way through the six great civilizations of Meso-America.

28 August

- ❖ *55 B.C.: Julius Caesar invaded Britain.*

It was on this day in the year 55 B.C. that two great civilizations of antiquity clashed on the beaches of Britain when Julius Caesar brought his Roman legions against the fierce Celtic settlers of Britain and began a four-hundred-year-long experiment in the Romanization of Britain. It's remarkable that, as Caesar described very briefly in his account of the conquest of Gaul, his encounter with the Celts, he reflected back and said, "It was almost as if I was viewing my ancestors from two hundred years prior." Thus Caesar intuitively made the connection between ancient Rome and the ancient Celts and saw the similarities of the two cultures.

- ❖ *1776: Scottish philosopher David Hume died.*

It was in 1776, on this day, that the Scottish rationalistic philosopher David Hume died. Upon hearing the news several weeks later in France, Jean Jacques Rousseau bemoaned the loss of what he called the last, great, reason-

ing primitive. In Rousseau's mind, Hume was like one of the philosophers of antiquity, and he was resurrecting the civilization of antiquity and dragging it into the modern world, giving birth to modern rationalism, reductionism, and the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Rousseau got it. He understood that the civilizations of antiquity, the civilization that Rome and the Celts shared, was the very worldview, culture, civilization, intellectual construct that Hume was trying and ultimately succeeded in bringing into the modern world.

❖ *1875: Writer and diplomat John Buchan was born.*

In 1875, writer and diplomat John Buchan was born. He's one of those remarkable writers and journalists of the twentieth century. He practically invented the genre of the spy novel with such great works as *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and *Greenmantle*. He was also one of the great pioneers of publishing and journalism and was one of the founders of the Reuters News Agency. During WWI, he wrote twenty-six volumes that were serialized during the course of the war that described the deployment of every major army and all the major battles throughout the whole course of the five-year-long war. It was a remarkable accomplishment, but what's even more remarkable is that while he was writing those twenty-six volumes, he was also writing four of his spy novels, and he was running from London the British spy agency that was at the heart of the war and particularly that part of the war that was focused on the Middle East that gave rise to the modern Middle East. Remarkable man. What's really interesting about Buchan, in terms of connections, is that Buchan understood that what was at risk in WWI was the resurgence of the old paganism of antiquity, that what the West was fighting for, against the "forces of disintegration" as he called it, was the preservation of Christendom against that old alien worldview of antiquity.

❖ *1957: The Soviet Union successfully tested an intercontinental ballistic missile ushering in an age of what Marshall McLuhan called "Antiquity's Fearsome Redeux".*

It was in 1957 that the Soviet Union successfully tested an intercontinental ballistic missile, ushering in an age of what Marshall McLuhan called "antiquity's fearsome redeux". McLuhan essentially argued that the atomic age, the age of remarkably powerful technology capable of destroying the whole human race was actually a recovery of an old ideal, in the modern world — that the ethos of Egypt and Rome, of Greece and Carthage, of the Parthians and the Phoenicians was being resurrected. Marshall McLuhan saw, looking at the Soviets, what Caesar saw looking at the Celts.

❖ *1972: The summer Olympics games opened in Munich, West Germany.*

The horror and the barbarism of the modern world was forced upon the whole of the world, when in 1972 the Summer Olympic Games opened in Munich, Germany, against the backdrop of a terrorist conspiracy to assassinate the entire Israeli Olympic team. The plot was ultimately foiled and only twelve people were killed in the horrific, horrific assault that mesmerized the world, but suddenly the old specter of antiquity's strategy of targeting innocents for the sake of some political or imperial purpose — in other words, the old ideal of antiquity's warfare, terrorism — was launched upon the modern world and thus, McLuhan's great fear, "antiquity's fearsome redeux", was upon us all.

All this, on this day, August 26. It's a chilling reminder to us that all through the ages, wherever you look, you can see the connections of God's providence and man's need of redemption, and it only enforces the powerful truth of the gospel and its applicability to all times and all places.

America Before Columbus

❖ *Six great civilizations: Olmec, Chavan, Zapotec, Maya, Aztec, and Incan*

America, prior to the coming of Columbus, was not an unpeopled or uncivilized connection of lands and peoples. Instead, it hosted at least six great civilizations: the Olmecs, the Chavans, the Zapotecs, the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas. These great civilizations built remarkable cities, exercised hegemony over vast territories, built great commercial empires, and erected remarkable, stunning monuments that still take the breath away. No one can stand atop Machu Picchu without realizing that there is something stunning about the civilizations of America's past.

What we want to do right now is to take a quick timeline survey and then we'll double-back and try and make some connections before we go on to arrive at some kind of conclusion about why any of this actually matters and why it's important and how it connects with Caesar, the Celts, the Soviets, and Marshall McLuhan.

❖ *c. 1250 B.C.: Olmec (or Toltec) culture began to emerge as migratory tribes settle into towns.*

Sometime around 1250 B.C., the Olmec, or the Toltec culture as it's sometimes called, began to emerge as a series of migratory tribes settled in coastal cities.

❖ *c. 650 B.C.: Olmec hieroglyphics were developed into phonetics.*

By about 650 B.C., the Olmecs were producing writing — hieroglyphics that were translated over time into a kind of phonetic alphabet, so we see the emergence not just of descriptive but literary languages.

❖ *c. 1000 B.C.: Chavan towns and villages were settled in the Andean highlands.*

By about 1000 B.C., we start to see Chavan towns and villages settled in the Indian highlands.

❖ *c. A.D. 100: Zapotec tribes began to build on the ruins of the Olmec towns.*

By about A.D. 100, Zapotec tribes had begun to build on the ruins of the old Olmec towns. We're not sure what happened to the Olmecs, why they dispersed and scattered again into the jungles, but they did. The Zapotec tribes, perhaps descendants of the old Olmecs, sort of took over those coastal locations and began to build cities.

❖ *c. A.D. 200: The first cuneiform and stele libraries were built by the Zapotec.*

By about A.D. 200, we start to see the first cuneiform and stele libraries built by the Zapotecs in their coastal cities.

❖ *c. A.D. 200 Mayan towns were settled throughout the Yucatan.*

In about A.D. 200, Mayan towns were settled throughout the Yucatan Peninsula in southern Mexico

❖ *c. A.D. 300 Mayan ziggurats were built throughout Central America.*

About A.D. 300, we start to see the first Mayan ziggurats or pyramids erected in those towns and through the spreading Mayan empire.

- ❖ *c. A.D. 600: Chimu tribes built their capital Chan Chan and began to dominate the Quechua throughout the Andes.*

These Chimu tribes eventually become the peoples of the Incas. An interesting fact that we've discovered through archeological digs and anthropological studies — the study of linguistics and genetics — is that in every one of these cases — the Olmecs and the Zapotecs, as well as the Incas — the peoples who call themselves the Incas or the Mayas or the Aztecs were actually the elites, who governed the tribal peoples that they conquered. For instance, if you go to Peru today, you might be tempted to talk about the Incas as this vast civilization and large numbers of people and the concentrations of population and great cities like the capital city of Cuzco, but in fact, the Incas kept themselves racially, linguistically, and culturally distinct from the peoples that they ruled over, the Quechua tribes peoples. As a result, you have this very clear, very distinct two-tier society. This runs through all of the Meso-American civilizations.

- ❖ *c. A.D. 600: Aztec tribal leaders began a program of military conquest throughout Mexico.*

We see the same thing when Aztecs emerged in central Mexico. The Aztec tribal leaders began a program of military conquest about A.D. 600, sometime around the same time that we have the Germanic invasion of Europe, the great migration from the Russian steppes of the Franks and the Gauls, and the Ostrogoths and the Goths; it's about the same time.

- ❖ *c. A.D. 800: The vast Aztec city of Tenochtitlan began to rise over Lake Texcoco.*

It was somewhere around 800 — in other words about the time of Charlemagne — that the vast Aztec capital city, built literally on a lake and an island where Mexico City stands today, Tenochtitlan, began to rise over Lake Texcoco. This great city became one of the most remarkable achievements of the Meso-American cultures.

- ❖ *c. A.D. 900: The solar and lunar sciences were well developed and disseminated.*

Around A.D. 900, the solar and lunar sciences were well developed and used throughout the whole of Aztec culture to govern both commerce and the vast commercial empire.

- ❖ *1438: Incan conquerors began to expand their imperial holdings and establish their military and administrative center in the high Andes at Cuzco.*

It was 1438 before the Incan conquerors began to expand their imperial stronghold beyond just a small territory. They began to establish military and administrative control over a wide swath of the Andes with their capital in the high mountain city of Cuzco.

- ❖ *1492: Columbus arrived in the Meso-American world.*

Just a single generation later, Christopher Columbus arrived in the Meso-American world.

- ❖ *c. 1600: The native North American tribes entered their final stages of development immediately prior to the first French, English, Dutch, Castilian, and Aragonese colonization.*

Meanwhile, further north, it wasn't until about 1600 that the tribal peoples of North America entered the final stages of development immediately prior to the first French, English, Dutch, Castilian, and Aragonese colonization. In other words, those first peoples arrived at roughly the same time that the first explorers arrived to those same lands, taking their tribal organization just prior to the arrival of the European explorers. Prior to that we're

uncertain of their history because they did not have a written history, only an oral history, but the oral history reveals a number of startling facts.

First, the peoples had migrated long distances to arrive at their ancestral tribal hunting grounds, as they would later call them. We're not sure where they came from but they came from far away if their oral tradition is any indication.

Secondly, we know that these people had interactions with strange peoples from faraway places, oftentimes strange peoples with blond or red hair and blue and grey eyes. This is almost universal in all the folk stories of the Native American peoples. All of them had stories of interactions with what sound like Europeans.

Third, all of them expected those Europeans to come back and visit them again. This is universal in all of the tribal folklore, legends, and stories.

It's one of the reasons why, when the initial colonists made contact with the tribal peoples, there were only one of two reactions. There was either fierce resistance or warm welcomes, nothing in between.

❖ *1609: Dutch East India representatives began the first official land transfers of First Nation Peoples in North America. The initial purchases and displacements were completed in 1626.*

So, for instance, in 1609, when the Dutch East India representatives began the first official land transfers with the First Nation Peoples in North America, the initial purchases and displacements were completed in 1626. But from all archeological evidence, those Indian tribes that traded away Manhattan Island for a fistful of beads and a little bit of fire water had only recently arrived on the island themselves.

Antiquity's Redeux: The Pre-Columbian Americas

In order to piece together the story of any ancient people, particularly an ancient people that was only moderately literate, you have to be a bit of a detective and use all kinds of data and information to piece together what little bits of archeological evidence that you've got, so we're going to play detective. We're going to start putting together some things.

Olmecs (1250–300 B.C.)

- ❖ *Migratory Tribes*
- ❖ *Coastal Farming*
- ❖ *Stele Monuments*

First of all, it's remarkable the resemblance that each of these civilizations had with one another. For instance, we know that before the Olmecs settled in their towns, they were migratory tribes that eventually found their way to coastlands and began coastal farming. The most prominent cultural artifacts that they left behind were stele monuments — carved stones, large Ebenezer-like monuments.

Chavans (1000–400 B.C.)

- ❖ *Migratory Tribes*
- ❖ *Coastal Farming*
- ❖ *Stele Monuments*

The Chavans, who come along seven or eight generations later and then extend all the way to some three generations afterwards, were marked by the fact that they were once migratory tribes who found their way to coastlands and began coastal farming and whose primary cultural artifacts were stele monuments.

Zapotecs (A.D. 100–400)

- ❖ *Ziggurats and Mounds*
- ❖ *Cuneiform Libraries*
- ❖ *Walled Cities and Slaves*

The Zapotecs began almost immediately building ziggurats and mounds. They had cuneiform libraries and vast walled cities, where a handful of elites governed with fierce hegemony large numbers of tribal peoples, keeping them essentially as slaves.

Chimus (A.D. 600–1400)

- ❖ *Ziggurats and Mounds*
- ❖ *Cuneiform Libraries*
- ❖ *Walled Cities and Slaves*

The Chimus, likewise, built ziggurats and mounds. They had vast cuneiform libraries, walled cities, and slaves.

Mayas (A.D. 100–400)

- ❖ *Imperial and Caste Tyranny*
- ❖ *Pyramids and Grid Cities*
- ❖ *Solar and Lunar Sciences*

The Mayas exercised a kind of imperial caste tyranny. They built marvelous pyramids, which were always at the center of large grid cities. They had remarkable prowess in the solar and lunar sciences.

Aztecs (A.D. 600–1400)

- ❖ *Imperial and Caste Tyranny*
- ❖ *Pyramids and Grid Cities*
- ❖ *Solar and Lunar Sciences*

The Aztecs, likewise, had an imperial and caste tyranny that they imposed upon the peoples around them. They built great pyramids at the center of magnificent grid cities. They refined the solar and lunar sciences to a remarkable degree.

Incas (A.D. 1200–1500)

- ❖ *Imperial and Caste Tyranny*
- ❖ *Pyramids and Grid Cities*
- ❖ *Solar and Lunar Sciences*

The Incas had imperial ambitions and exercised caste tyranny. They developed remarkable pyramids around grid cities and had great prowess in the solar and lunar sciences.

We must note the remarkable convergence in each of these widely-separated peoples who were also oftentimes wildly-different in terms of race and language.

Architecture

- ❖ *Ecclesial-Imperial: Temples*
- ❖ *Command-Control: Inaccessible*
- ❖ *Imposing-Inhuman: Domination*

The architecture of virtually all of the Meso-American civilizations followed certain patterns. Most of the temples were both ecclesial and imperial. In other words, it was the elite ruling peoples who served as the priests, the mediators between the enslaved peoples and the gods. It was a *ma'at* kind of system very much akin to the *ma'at* system of ancient Babylon or of ancient Egypt or of ancient Greece. It was very much a *hamasantal* system. *Hamant* is an ancient word that comes to us from a number of Middle Eastern languages that means mindless violence — mindless violence used for effect. So a *hamasantal* worldview is one that uses terror, mindless violence, the kind of violence of a drive-by shooting, in order to keep people under control. That kind of command and control system that made the higher echelons of society utterly and completely inaccessible to the ordinary people and thus, the architecture reflected that, making buildings utterly and completely inaccessible, so imposing that they overwhelmed. This imposing, inhuman architecture was designed to demonstrate domination upon the peoples.

Literature

- ❖ *Commercial and Administrative*
- ❖ *Non-Narrative Pictographs*
- ❖ *Measure, Enumerate, and Codify*

Literature was, for all of these Meso-American cultures, largely commercial and administrative. For the most part, they were a kind of cuneiform — non-narrative pictographs designed to measure, enumerate, and codify. In other words, it was not so much a descriptive language, to give expression to the hearts and minds and aspirations of people. It wasn't designed to express ideas but rather to impose various kinds of administrative controls.

Government

- ❖ *Hierarchical Totalitarianism*
- ❖ *Military-Commercial-Cultus*
- ❖ *Stratification and Socialization*

The government of all of the Meso-American cultures was hierarchical and aimed at total control — totalitarianism. It was built around a kind of military commercial cultus, so that there was a direct connection between the religious rites and ceremonies and the governmental control of the peoples, leading to fierce stratification and layering of the peoples and socialization — making sure that the people groups stayed in their proper places and positions.

Let's make a few connections here. Ancient Egypt. Meso-America. Ancient Egypt. Meso-America. The pictographs of Ancient Egypt. The pictographs of Meso-America.

So, what does all this mean? According to Barry Fell in his remarkable book, *Saga America*,

Though separated by as much as three thousand miles and three thousand years, the Meso-American cultures shared the values, social structures, art, architecture, and technologies with all of the Mediterranean's civilizations of antiquity. Making allowances for the elapsed time, differences in geography, topography, weather, and the natural consequences of long periods of isolation, it is not too much to say that these cultures in the Americas essentially mirror those in the ancient Mediterranean.

Now, various theorists have made these connections in the past. For instance, Erich von Däniken,¹ a Danish sociologist and anthropologist, surmised that the reason that Egypt and, for example, the Aztecs looked so similar is that we were visited by the UFO's from outer space and these StarGate-like visitors came into our midst and they deployed some of their technology and they landed in different places, gave to the Egyptians their pyramids and gave to the Aztecs their pyramids and the reason we see similarities is because of visitors from outer space.

Others have surmised that somehow or other, various tribal peoples — depending upon which legend you believe, it's either the lost tribe of Israel or perhaps some Carthaginians who were blown off course one time on a trading mission, or maybe it was a fleet of Phoenician traders, or perhaps it was Greeks or Libyans or ... you name it — were blown off course, came to America, remembered all the cool stuff of their own past, and helped the poor natives in America build cool stuff, too. That's one of the theories, or ten of the theories.

There's probably a much simpler explanation. As we'll see on Tuesday, there were innumerable encounters undoubtedly between the ancient world and the peoples of the Americas. We'll look at the archaeological evidence of that. Sometimes these encounters are explained away — a coin is found and it's supposed that even though it's an ancient Celtic coin or an ancient Roman coin or a distant and far-removed Islamic coin, and it's found somewhere near Natchez, Mississippi, or something like that, the supposition is that one of Hernando de Soto's soldiers carried an old coin in his pocket as a good luck charm and he dropped it, which is a good supposition, except that sometimes coins are found in droves. For instance, on a beach in Beverly, Massachusetts, twenty-eight

¹ *Chariots of the Gods*, first published in 1968

coins all from the same twenty-five year span, in other words coins that were all in circulation at the same time, were found in one spot on the beach. Nobody carries that many coins as a good luck charm. And there aren't going to be a whole bunch of guys who all somehow dropped their good luck charms all in the same place, all at the same time, all from the same vintage. It's very clear that somehow a Roman galley actually made its way to Massachusetts at one time sometime in the fourth century.

Meso-American Presuppositions

So we know that there were contacts, but it doesn't depend upon contacts to realize the great convergence between the civilizations of antiquity and the civilizations of Meso-America. The Meso-Americans had a worldview, a very common worldview, a worldview that has close commonalities with virtually every pagan worldview. The devil has no stories. He can only beg, borrow, or steal. If a people is to believe an untruth, there are only so many versions of untruth for them to believe. If you look at the whole sociology and the philosophy of the Meso-Americans, it closely mirrors that of the Babylonians and the Egyptians, of the Greeks and the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians and the Celts precisely because that's the kind of thing that fallen people believe. It expresses the commonality that we have as people — the unity of our brokenness and the unity of our need for redemption.

Contents

- ❖ *Chain of Being*
- ❖ *Phenomenalism*
- ❖ *Cosmic Stasis*

So the Meso-Americans believed that all of life was somehow connected in a chain of being. There's a kind of hierarchy, the higher you rise on the chain of being. There's an ascent of man to the top of the chain of the being. This chain of being connects all of life. This chain of being is thrown into the midst of a world of unexplained phenomena. This phenomenism marks the mysteries of the world and sparks the curiosity of man's mind. But the cosmos itself is stable and solid. It has stasis. This leads to a series of realities.

Realities

- ❖ *Social Stratification*
- ❖ *Impersonalism*
- ❖ *Cultural Catastrophism*

Because there is a chain of being, it is in the natural order of things to stratify society, to recognize the philosopher kings, the elites, and to recognize those who were simply by the fate of their birth or the nature of their genetics or the strength of their mind or the strength of their back, to be a part of a lower caste. Because phenomena occur, great mysteries, they leads to the realization that we live in a very impersonal world where forces are at work around us that are not controllable by us and oftentimes not knowable by us. That means that nothing is really personal. Everything, in the end, is practical. So, societies can literally say, This is not personal. I can like you as a person, but I can still kill you for the utility of the action. This leads to a kind of cultural catastrophism, where you see sudden rises and sudden falls and revolutionary impulses.

Consequences

- ❖ *Tyranny*
- ❖ *Disincentives*
- ❖ *Fatalism*

The consequence of these contents and these realities is that they create a sociological system rooted in tyranny. There are disincentives imposed upon both the elites who are already at the top, therefore they need no incentives to achieve, creating stability in the hierarchical system, and disincentives for those in the lower castes — they can't improve themselves, they can't go anywhere, and so you have disincentives all across the whole course of the society, leaving the people with a kind of fatalism. That's why Egyptian civilization could last for some two thousand years without much change, despite tumult and disarray and despite the fact that it doesn't function very well, because the people are trapped with no exit from their fatalistic ideas.

Christendom's Presuppositions

Contents

- ❖ *Creator/Creature Distinction*

When you compare that kind of worldview with the worldview that emerges out of the gospel, out of Christendom, you have a very stark distinction. In the pagan worldview, there is a chain of being that connects all living things, but in Christendom there is a clear Creator/creature distinction. That distinction extends to the whole of our being. Everything about us is altogether distinct from everything about God himself, thus, creating very distinct realms for us to understand calling, purpose, and destiny under a sovereign God, the ultimate authority. Everything is not just a mad scramble to climb up or down a ladder.

- ❖ *Imago Dei*

Secondly, Christendom presupposes that we are made in the image of God — *imago dei*. In the pagan worldview of Meso-America, things just sort of happen. Phenomena just occur. So, somehow or another, because the jaguar and the warrior are connected in the chain of being, it's very possible that man came from the jaguar; it's phenomenalism.

- ❖ *Fallenness and Redemption*

But these forces are altogether impersonal. In the Christian worldview, because we're made in the image of God, by his providence, for a purpose, we have clarity about why we're here and what we are to do.

That, in turn, gives clarity to our condition, our fallenness and need of redemption.

Realities

- ❖ *Sovereign Providence*
- ❖ *Covenantalism*

❖ *Moral Antithesis*

This leads to a whole series of realities. For the Christian, we understand that there is a God, he is not silent, and he does act. He is sovereign, and he exercises his divine decrees in accordance with his providence. For the pagan, there is just a kind of social stratification that necessarily occurs based upon power and authority. Societies are organized in a Christian worldview according to relationships, because we're connected to one another and to God by covenant. That means that there are some things that are right and they're always right, in the fourth century and in the fourteenth century or at four o'clock this afternoon — it's always right. And there are certain things that are always wrong. Thus we have real clear division and antithesis between those things which are moral and those things which are immoral.

Consequences

❖ *Right and Wrong*

❖ *Calling and Responsibility*

❖ *Reformational Change*

As a result, we can know the difference between right and wrong, and we can begin to understand a sense of calling and responsibility. For the pagans, there are disincentives to calling and responsibility. The antithesis between right and wrong means that change can be incremental and reformational rather than a culture that is stuck in fatalism or left to revolutionary impulses.

Here's the bottom line: the reason Meso-America looked so much like the pagan civilizations of antiquity was not because of visitors from outer-space or even the transfer of blueprints by Carthaginian sailors at some point on a lost voyage or trading mission. There's a convergence because paganism always looks pagan; it always builds pagan; it always acts pagan. Paganism is a worldview that has certain manifestations in art and music and literature and ideas that have strong convergence. Of course there are going to be differences based upon, as Barry Fell says, the elapsing of time and the development of ideas and the peculiarities of climate and geography, but almost all of those are incidental. What Columbus discovered was the ancient world. The great contrast that existed was the contrast between the captive peoples of antiquity and the emerging peoples of Christendom. This laid the groundwork for the clash of cultures that would occur over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and set the stage for the whole complex of human relations that is the birth of the American civilization.

Now, this whole story, while somewhat fascinating in some regards, looking at the ziggurats and the pyramids — that's all very interesting. But I realize that all this has been really philosophical. We're trying to lay some groundwork. What I want you to see are certain connections.

What you believe will shape how your life looks. If you believe certain things about the nature of man, then you're going to have the impulse to build certain kinds of buildings, exercise certain kinds of technologies, pursue different kinds of military strategies. In other words, your belief-system, your worldview, will shape your world. This is why all members of motorcycle gangs look alike. They wear a uniform. They don't set out to wear a uniform. They don't all say, let's all buy the same kind of blue jeans and that way everyone will know that we're buddies. They don't do that. It's the worldview that causes them to have the same likes and the same desires, and it gives shape to their world. Here's the thing: if what you believe shapes the way your life looks on the outside, be assured that what you believe shapes who you are on the inside.

The implications of this are huge. It explains how cultures can shift and change. Cultures don't change because of fashions. Fashions change because the root belief-systems of people change. When there's a shift in worldview, then you'll get a shift in spending patterns, architecture, music, art, everything. So, what you believe will shape what your life looks like.

What you believe will shape the aspirations of your heart. And what a people believes in common is the basis for its culture. The great reformers through the ages have understood this. It's why the great inspiring leader will always appeal to the greatest aspirations of a people or the fiercest weaknesses of that people. So, Ronald Reagan can stand before the American people in the midst of great malaise and he can say, "It's morning in America, again," and with absolute confidence and an assertion of strength, cause Americans to believe again and create a kind of renaissance in the economy and the culture and a resurrection of old ideals, because he appealed to what the people believed, their greatest aspirations. But at the same time, a great and inspiring leader can appeal to the basest aspects of a people. Adolf Hitler emerged as the leader of the most educated, the most civilized, the most refined culture in the world. Germans had the greatest art, the most publishing houses, the finest universities. They had stunning traditions and all of the things you would think would make a genuinely civilized people, but he appealed to their basest prejudices, and he stirred in them passions that would ultimately undo them. What we need to see from these worldview connections is simply that revolution in the change of a culture — the impulse to rise up, tear down, destroy with violence — is rooted in what people already believe. Revolutionaries play on that, because it's what people are. But reformers do exactly the same thing. They find points of convergence in what the people already believe and they call out the best and they bring about change through incremental building and transforming. All of that we can learn simply by making the connections between the presuppositions that lay between the Meso-American cultures and the European cultures as they clashed at the end of the fifteenth, beginning of the sixteenth centuries. We'll see how all of that works out over the course of the next several hundred years. And we'll see how that story affects us today.

But here's the bottom line: what clearly didn't change over the course of three thousand miles and three thousand years is that ideas always have real, tangible consequences in our lives and in our cultures. What you believe is going to shape your life, your culture, your music, your hair, your shoes, your dress, how you spend your money, what your great dreams and aspirations are, what you think is funny and what you think is not, what you think is smart and what you think is dull. It's rooted in your worldview. Ideas have consequences. So, if we want different consequences than the consequences that we've had, we've got to change our ideas. When we look at Meso-America, we can see that, despite being separated by millennia and thousands of miles, if you believe the same stuff, you build the same stuff. If you believe the same stuff, you'll tyrannize in the same way, enslave in the same way, and fall in the same way. If we can learn that lesson and only that lesson, it'll serve us well going into the future.



Lord, I thank you that you do give us the past to help us make connections. Even though this is pretty dense, philosophical stuff this morning, I pray that the essential lesson would be driven home to us, that we'd understand that we don't have to run to theories about visitors from outer space in order to understand why cultures act in the way that they do. And I pray that that would then inform the way we think about our own world, that we'd make connections with our own lives. Lord, I pray for these students. I ask you to give them insight and discernment, even as the old values of antiquity have a resurgence in modern America today. I pray that you would enable them to see the antithesis and to draw the lines in their own lives in good places. I pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 2

Early Contacts: Myths & Uncertainties

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the American People*, Jamestown: The First Permanent Settlement; *Mayflower* and the Formative Event

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 12–23

Lesson Synopsis

Our theme for this lesson is mythology and how mythology and current events and history often intersect in very peculiar ways. This is one of the areas that historians both love and loathe because there are so many uncertainties in this kind of exploration. There aren't primary source documents. There aren't footnotes that we can follow. Archeological clues are often misleading. Anthropological, even the new genetic-coding clues, also tend to throw the experts for a loop. These unexplained mysteries abound, and while the archeological and anthropological evidence is scattered, the fact remains that there is a tremendous amount of evidence that what we once thought were legends, myths, and fairy tales may actually have some substance, some foundation in the truth. So we're going to explore the mysteries and see where the trail leads us.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Early Norse explorers, Eric the Red, Leif Ericson; early Irish explorers, Ultima Thule, St. Columba, St. Brendan, Alec M'Cheyne, Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd, George Catlin, mysterious archeological finds: Roman coins in Massachusetts, carvings in West Virginia, etc.

Primary Source Material

none for this lesson

Vocabulary

archeological, anthropological, fabrication, epitome, genre, allure, phantasm, rudimentary, topographical elevation, happenstance, artifact, arable, mettle, knorr, drakkar, hone, cache, diocese, dogmatic, schema, presumptuous

Timeline

- ❖ 667: Norse explorers landed in Sussex and Essex.
- ❖ 700: Norse explorers discovered the Hebrides and the Shetland Islands

- ❖ 770: Norse explorers discovered Iceland, the Isle of Man, and the Orkneys
- ❖ 982: Eric the Red discovered Greenland.
- ❖ 1001: Leif Ericson discovered Vineland.
- ❖ 1120: The Ultima Thule Diocese was founded.



Early Contacts: Myths & Uncertainties

*Shall I abandon, O King of mysteries, the soft comforts of home? Shall I turn my back on the ease of my native land?
And turn my face towards the sea, turn my affections to the unknown, and rest my heart in You alone? Shall I take my tiny
boat across the wide sparkling ocean? O Christ, will You help me on the wild waves? O Christ, will You make me Your
adventurer?
~ St. Brendan*

We're in the very beginning stages of our study of American culture this year. And we've already taken a quick look at the Meso-American civilizations that Europeans found when they first came to the Americas at the end of the fifteenth, beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Today, instead of jumping immediately into the Age of Exploration and Navigation, we're going to step back and explore some mysteries.

This is one of the areas that historians both love and loathe because there are so many uncertainties in this kind of exploration. There aren't primary source documents. There aren't footnotes that we can follow. Archeological clues are often misleading. Anthropological, even the new genetic-coding clues, also tend to throw the experts for a loop. So we're going to explore the mysteries and see where the trail leads us.

31 August

- ❖ *30 B.C.: Cleopatra took her own life.*

It was on this day in the year 30 B.C. that Cleopatra, queen of the Ptolomies in Egypt, lover of Mark Antony, took her own life by allowing an asp to bite her. It was the end of one of the most remarkable sagas of political alliances, political marriages, civil war, and manipulation that the ancient world offers us. But it was also the source of many myths, and Hollywood has added to those myths through the years in remarkable ways. The thing that we most know about Cleopatra is that almost everything we know is false, which is the way myth often works.

- ❖ *651: The Irish priest Saint Aidan, bishop of the island of Lindisfarne died.*

The Irish priest, St. Aidan, the bishop of the island of Lindisfarne died. He was one of the great Christian adventurers of the seventh century. Out of Lindisfarne, a little compound of Christian missionaries, he sent forth into the world both over land and sea some of the most remarkable explorers of the early Christian age. Stories abound of the marvelous discoveries of the monks of Lindisfarne out on the high seas — sea monsters, distant lands. Often written up as mere myth, new archeological discoveries are beginning to show us that everything we thought we knew about Lindisfarne is false. In a weird flip from the story of Cleopatra, what we thought was false we now know to be true, whereas with Cleopatra, what we thought was true we now know to be false.

❖ *1688: John Bunyan died.*

Myth often works that way. Legends are often deceiving. Sometimes follow the trail of a legend and it will lead you to a glorious truth. More often than not, like the Blarney Stone, it will lead you to silly fabrications. That's the premise that John Bunyan was working with as he composed his little allegory, sitting in the Bridge Gaol, over the River Ouse in the middle of the seventeenth century.

It was on this day in 1688 that John Bunyan, the author of *Pilgrim's Progress* — the most-read Christian book besides the Bible in all of publishing history including *The Prayer of Jabez* and *The Purpose-Driven Life* and other such stuff — died in the city of London and was buried in the Puritan graveyard, the former garbage dump known as Bunhill Fields.

❖ *1888: Jack the Ripper struck for the first time.*

It was on this day that Mary Ann Nichols¹ was found murdered in London's East End. Jack the Ripper was never caught. In fact, the whole series of murders was never definitively tied to a single person and yet, as in the case of Cleopatra, as in the case of Lindisfarne, even as in the case of John Bunyan and *Pilgrim's Progress*, myths abound and surround the whole story of Jack the Ripper. In fact, Jack the Ripper's story has grown all out of proportion to the actual events that unfolded in the nineteenth century, in the heart of the City of London.

❖ *1941: The Great Gildersleeve debuted on NBC.*

It was in 1941 on this day that the radio program *The Great Gildersleeve* debuted on NBC. It was the first real radio drama that included comedy, song, and dance, which of course you couldn't see, you could only hear it so it wasn't quite like dancing with the stars and Bristol Palin, but, nevertheless, it was a captivating spin-off from the old *Fibber McGee* show. There was a character whose name was Philharmonic Gildersleeve who came to be the epitome of the fumbling, bumbling American male. As this confirmed bachelor tried to raise on his own two of his sister's children, left behind as orphans, thus was born the whole genre of *Father Knows Best* and *Donna Reed* and *Ozzie and Harriet* and all the things that came out of that genre of family situational comedies and dramas.

Now what's interesting is that the writers of *The Great Gildersleeve* used the ancient Greek myths as the basis for each one of the serial plots because the writers believed that the Greek myths would be more believable set in a family dramatic setting than any of the mundane things that actually happened in ordinary American families. *The Great Gildersleeve* became a huge hit throughout America.

❖ *1980: Poland's Solidarity labor movement began.*

Poland's *Solidarity* movement began when Lech Walesa and a handful of laborers at the Gdansk shipyard in northern Poland struck against the Communist government of Poland, and, despite the weight of Soviet and Polish repression, the myth of the invincibility of what Ronald Reagan called "the evil empire" began to crumble. It was really the beginning of the end of the Soviet Union.

¹ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant stated that Mae Ann Nichols was the first victim of the murderer eventually known as Jack the Ripper; however, her name was Mary Ann Nichols and she was known as Polly. Ed.

❖ *1963: The “Hot Line” communications link between Washington and Moscow went into operation.*

On the basis of that hotline, according to Frederick Forsythe, more than five hundred plotlines emerged over the course of the next several years in novels by Ian Fleming and a host of other writers. It created the basis for the modern spy novel — all of it, myth.

As you can probably tell, our theme for this morning is mythology and how mythology and current events and history often intersect in very peculiar ways. According to C.S. Lewis, very wisely,

Myths can arouse in us sensations we have never had before, never anticipated having, as though we had broken out of our normal mode of consciousness and possessed joys not promised to our birth. It gets under our skin, hits us at a deeper level than our thoughts or even our passions, troubles, all the certainties, till all questions are reopened and, in general, shocks us more fully awake than we are for most of our lives.²

That's the power of a lie told for fun and profit. That's the power of legends and myths and fables and fairy stories, which is why there is an allure attached to all of these things since the beginning of time, since the time that men could tell stories around the campfire of the caravan routes, through the heart of the Middle East, all the way up to the present. As Hilaire Belloc said,

All too often the legends old men tell are actually closer to the truth than the facts young professors tell. The wildest fairy tales of the ancients are, in fact, far more realistic than the scientific phantasms imagined by moderns.

Last night, as I was thinking through where I'd go with this lecture, I decided to pick up a book that I'd read probably twenty years ago by Charles Hapgood entitled *Maps of the Ancient Sea Kings*, in which this remarkable professor at King's State College at the University of New Hampshire examines a host of ancient maps — maps of the Phoenicians, maps of the Carthaginians, maps from the old Romans, maps from the Vikings, maps from the Libyan pirates of the fifth and sixth centuries, maps that came from the old Celts, and from those monks at Lindisfarne. He argues that there is concrete evidence of a worldwide culture from prehistoric through late antiquity's times, where technologies were available to map the entire earth with a technology that was, until comparatively recent times, unavailable to men and nations. It's really a remarkable thesis.

Most of the maps are crude and rudimentary. A vast number of the maps from those Mediterranean cultures — the Carthaginians, the Phoenicians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Libyans — are portolans. A portolan is a map of a coastline, so it's not necessarily the kind of map that we're used to seeing. It's more like a navigational chart than a map. It's often difficult to piece together how much of this is imaginary, how much is mythological. Until recent times, most of the maps that Dr. Hapgood examined had been written off as mythological or wild imaginings or mere fantasies. But Hapgood puts together a pretty remarkable case that in the ancient world North and South America were well known to the navigators of the Celts, the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, the Romans, and the Greeks. In fact, explorers and traders visited the shores of America again and again from the second century onward and perhaps earlier than that. They left behind archeological evidence of their visits. One of the maps actually shows in great detail the Hudson Bay. Another shows a perfect topographical elevation map of

² *Surprised by Joy: The Shape of My Early Life*, first published in 1955

the island of Manhattan. Another traces the course and even the streamflow of the Hudson River. Yet another maps out the Gulf coast and the whole of the Mississippi Delta.

Now, crude as they were and often misleading because they were portolans and not geographical maps, historians have dismissed these as happenstance or coincidence or mere oddities in the same way that coins found in places like Kansas or Wyoming, coins from the ancient world, have been dismissed as mere artifacts carried by explorers and dropped and lost on various occasions. It's harder to explain the fact that there are whole Viking villages that have been found in places like Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, including the discovery in 1943, on September 5, of an entire Viking ship remarkably well preserved in the salty brine of the sea coast.

Equally difficult to explain are artifacts from the Carthaginian and even from the Jewish world — artifacts that would have been very difficult for an explorer to carry in his pouch or in his pocket. Large stones, often displaying remarkable and heretofore unknown evidence of visits from the Old World to the New.

A student asks: "Are you suggesting that history is written from a biased angle?"

History is *always* written from a biased angle. War stories are written by the victors, and history is always written from the perspective of the eyes that behold the events through their peculiar perspectives.

These unexplained mysteries abound, and while the archeological and anthropological evidence is scattered, the fact remains that there is a tremendous amount of evidence that what we once thought were legends, myths, and fairy tales may actually have some substance, some foundation in the truth.

So for instance, we have substantial evidence that Carthaginians, Celts, Gaels, Chinese, Phoenicians, Jewish, and African expeditions have accomplished the feat that heretofore we thought only Columbus and a handful of Vikings had accomplished.

In Wyoming County, West Virginia, for instance, there's an inscription carved into a mountain using an ancient language called Ogham. The inscription reads, "At the time of sunrise a ray grazes the notch on the left side on Christmas Day, a feast day of the church, the first season of the Christian year, the season of blessed Advent of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. *Salvatorus Domini Christi*. Behold, he is born of Mary, a woman."

Researchers have found that on every December 25, the day of the winter solstice, a shaft of light penetrates the notch in the rock and a picture of the sunburst next to this inscription is illuminated just as the inscription describes. Dr. Robert Meyer, professor of Celtic studies at the Catholic University has determined that these inscriptions date from early in the fifth to late in the sixth centuries and were probably placed there by Irish monks who used the language Ogham in their chronicles regularly. That Irish monks might have been in the hills of West Virginia some five centuries after the resurrection of Christ, probably evangelizing Indians, is certainly a challenge to the standard textbook history of the coming of Europeans to the New World.

Even here in Tennessee, we have similar stories to tell. There was a stone found at Bat Creek which contains a Hebrew inscription with the words "a comet for the Jews". This is a fairly standard phrase indicating the Bar Kochba revolt of the second century which was associated with a prophecy concerning a comet. Scholars date the stone between the third and the seventh centuries. Again we have to wonder if the Irish monks might have ventured as far as east Tennessee or if, perhaps, they had in tow some exiled Jews.

In 1818, a coin was found near the Elk River, near where the town of Fayetteville stands today. The coin was engraved with the words “*Antonius Augustus Pius Princeps Pontificatus Tertio Consul*” on one side and “*Aurelius Cæsar*” on the other. Scholars believe the coin was issued some time in the middle of the second century from Roman-occupied Wales. It’s very possible that one of Hernando de Soto’s men dropped the coin at the Elk River, or the coin may have been a part of a more intriguing story that has stirred the imaginations of Tennesseans for generations.

But the idea of a dropped coin becomes much more difficult when it comes to the discovery that was made at Beverly Beach in Massachusetts. Early in the twentieth century, some treasure hunters were combing the beach and discovered three Roman coins. These three Roman coins were all from a twenty-five year span, so they would have been circulating at about the same time in the early fourth century. They were found together. Once again, scholars said more than likely some early settlers to Massachusetts had these, they were good luck charms, they had been gathered somewhere and passed as a patrimony through the family, an inheritance and somehow or another after they came to the New World they were dropped on the beach and lost. The problem is that a year later five more coins were found and they also were from that same twenty-five year span. They were circulating at the same time. Eight coins — it’s not likely that a person will just drop eight coins on a beach and lose them, even if he is in a fight for his life, carving out a new life on the frontier of a new land in America. You’d think that you’d realize you lost eight coins, especially some valuable artifact from the ancient past. Still, scholars chalked it up as some odd coincidence. Until five years later, when eighty-two more coins from the same period only extending about forty years, all coins that would have been in circulation at the same time, were discovered on the same beach. At which point, all theories were off. You don’t lose eighty-eight coins. You don’t just drop them and say, *Oops! Where’d that go?* More likely is that there was a shipwreck and the treasury box was lost overboard, which means that Roman galleys made their way to the shores of Massachusetts some time in the fourth century.

All of these ancient maps and the scant and scattered archeological evidence point to the fact that there were great explorers who made their way to the shores of America long before Columbus.

Norse Explorers

Early Exploits

❖ *667: Sussex and Essex*

We know about the Norse, of course. There were early exploits of Norse explorers from the shores of Denmark and Sweden and Norway, making their way out of the fjords. Primarily because over the course of the fifth and sixth centuries there was a remarkable case of global warming. What we have discovered is that because of this global warming, there was massive reforestation of the Scandinavian countries; far more arable farmland was available. As a result, by the end of the fifth century, the beginning of the sixth century, there was a population explosion in Scandinavia. And the amount of land that was available to the farmers and the settlers along the coast became restricted. Second, third, and fourth sons, unable to inherit the lands of their parents were forced to go exploring to find new ways to make a living and opportunities for adventure. As a result, the Norse invasions, first of the Baltic coast and then eventually across the Norman coast and into Sussex and Essex by the year 667, meant that Norse explorers across the North Sea were testing their mettle against some of the fiercest waters to navigate in all the world.

❖ *700: Hebrides and Shetlands*

❖ *770: Iceland, Man, and Orkneys*

The knorrs and the drakkars that they honed, with their flat bottoms and sturdy keels were eminently seaworthy, and the Norse explorers and invaders, the Vikings, made their way first to England and then by 700 up to the Hebrides and the islands of the Shetlands and beyond that out all the way to Iceland, the Isle of Man, and the Orkneys by 770. What we have is a people who were honing their navigational skills in fierce waters, in fierce conditions, adventuring further and further afield in search of new opportunities, new lands, and new adventures.

We know, from the beginning of the sixth century all the way through the ninth century, that the Viking explorers brought back to Scandinavia, to their ancestral homelands, great wealth. For instance, archeological digs have discovered in Norway, huge caches of Roman and Egyptian coins and large caches of Islamic and Byzantine coins, meaning that the Norsemen had made their way into the Mediterranean, they'd begun trading up and down the coast of the North African littoral, all across the eastern Mediterranean, and they brought the wealth in their knorrs and drakkars back to their homes in Norway.

Eric and Leif

❖ *982: Eric the Red and Greenland*

We probably are familiar, too, with the story of this one remarkable family the Ericsons, Eric and Leif. In 982, Eric the Red and his young family were forced to leave their home on the coast of Norway. It seems that Eric had killed five men, which resulted in a warrant of banishment. Kill two men and you can stay, but five is just a little too much — *you've gotta go, buddy!* He was sent into exile and put under the ban; literally, he was cut off from his village and from his people. So he began to do what so many Vikings had done before him; he went exploring for new opportunities and new lands, and it was on one of his great adventures that he made his way all the way to Greenland. He spent some time in Iceland prior to that, but not finding good pastureland, he decided to go to Greenland instead.

❖ *1001: Leif Ericson and Vineland*

In the next generation his son Leif, also a great adventurer and also put under the ban, went exploring and by the year 1001 had, according to his chronicles, made his way to a new land that he called Vineland. Most scholars today believe that it was Leif Ericson who discovered North America, and that Vineland was the New England coast.

❖ *1120: Ultima Thule Diocese*

It was just nineteen years later that the now-Christianized Vikings established a diocese for the Church in a place they called Ultima Thule. In medieval mythology, Ultima Thule was the land on the farthest edges of the world, a land across a great sea, a land that often was bound by ice and snow but at other times of the year abounded with remarkable fruitfulness. Where Ultima Thule actually was, no one is certain, although a number of the ancient seafaring maps put Ultima Thule right where Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and northern New England are today.

There were actually churches established, a bishop installed, communications back and forth between the Ultima Thule diocese and Greenland and Iceland as early as 1120. Those Vikings who set out on these uncharted seas began to chart the seas. It is from some of the Viking portolan maps that we have remarkable descriptions of the

coast of North America. And, of course, now we've got good archeological evidence of villages and settlements and trading centers, and some scholars even believe they have found some of those early primordial log churches on the North American shores.

Explorers from Antiquity

But the Vikings weren't first. Prior to the Viking explorations, we have stories, legends only, but stories of a host of other explorers.

Carthaginians

❖ *Shabaka: Western Africa*

As early as the second century B.C., we have the story of Shabaka, who ventured from western Africa across a vast expanse of sea. According to the legend and the chronicles, which are sketchy to be sure, but according to the stories and the legends, the seas were very rough for the first ten days or so and then suddenly the ships of Shabaka moved into a vast, flat, waveless sea filled with seaweed. They believed that they were approaching the very edge of the world and would be swallowed at any moment by sea monsters. It's a remarkable description of the Sargasso Sea, which sits right in the middle of the Atlantic. It's something that people who cross back and forth across the Atlantic say is very disconcerting. From either coast, from Europe or Africa or the Americas, you have rough seas until you reach the middle of the Atlantic, and all of a sudden everything goes flat and still and there's dense seaweed. The Sargasso Sea almost foiled Christopher Columbus's trans-Atlantic crossing because his navigators were so frightened by the absence of wind and the absence of waves that they were certain that they would be quickly swallowed up. Shabaka describes this but then goes on to describe a land of lush, dense forests and crystalline springs pouring out into the waters and a whole line of islands guarding the coastline, probably the North Carolina coastline.

❖ *Lannibol: Canaries to Gulf Stream*

Lannibol came along in the first century B.C., and this great explorer, too, described a journey from the Canary Islands, which are described in great detail and then the phenomenon of the Gulf Stream.

❖ *Taharka: St. Helena*

Taharka described the discovery of an island that, according to the ancient maps and according to the written descriptions, closely resembles St. Helena, that great island in the southern Atlantic to which Napoleon was exiled following his defeat at Waterloo.

Sudanese

There were also Sudanese explorers, prior to the first century.

❖ *Nefalar: Desertas and Selvagens*

These Sudanese explorers include Nefalar who wrote of these faraway, remarkable lands that he named Desertas and Selvagens. The descriptions of these are quite remarkable. Apparently, what Nefalar came across was the coastline of Mexico and made his way into the interior and found the high plains of Mexico.

❖ *Songhayan: Madeira*

Songhayan described the discovery of the island of Madeira.

❖ *Mali-Akan: Porto Santo*

Mali-Akan describes Porto Santo, all of this prior to the advent of the first century.

Celtic Explorers

The Pioneers

❖ *385-460: St. Patrick in Eire*

There were, of course, the great Celtic explorers — pioneers like Patrick who, once the Christianization of the island of Ireland was nearly complete, sent out explorers to discover islands far afield of Ireland, up into the Hebrides — so thus was discovered the Isle of Man and northward to the Isle of Skye and even posting the initial settlement on the Isle of Iona.

❖ *442-502: St. Ian in Man*

It was in the late fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century that St. Ian sent out explorers from the Isle of Man.

❖ *521-597: St. Columba in Iona*

It was shortly after that that St. Columba established a mission station on the little loch of Iona, just adjacent to Scotland and sent out missionaries from there. Iona eventually became the greatest mission-sending station that the world had known since the time of the Church at Antioch in the first century.

St. Brendan

❖ *485-515: Wales, Man, and Iona*

❖ *516-556: Canaries, Azores, Faroes*

❖ *557-564 : The Great Journey*

There was St. Brendan, whose great chronicle is one of the wonderful treasures of the early Christian age. St. Brendan describes his journeys at the beginning of the sixth century to Wales and the Isle of Man and Iona and then either he or his followers onto the Canaries, the Azores, the Faroes, and then what he describes as his great journey across the sea and beyond the sea into the wilds of what can only be taken as America. His great prayer, the prayer of St. Brendan, which has been passed onto us in Celtic lore by the followers of Brendan, describes fierce, fierce struggles on high waves in the deep ocean and long, long weeks alone in the darkness before arriving at a green and verdant land waiting for the message of Christ to be brought to the heathen, distant peoples.

The Legends

And then there are all kinds of legends as well.

❖ *c. 1000: Alek M'Cheyne*

❖ *c. 1124: Connor O'Ryn*

Alek M'Cheyne; there's a wonderful story of one of those early Celtic missionaries who made his way to a distant land, dense with forests and strange heathen peoples with a strange heathen tongue who desperately needed the gospel to bring them up out of their barbarism.

Connor O'Ryn by the beginning of the twelfth century describes a similar journey.

❖ *c. 1190: Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd*

Then, at the end of the twelfth century, there's a remarkable story of Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd. When European settlers first began to ask the Cherokee in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about their history, one of the stories that they told was of a white-skinned people who preceded them. The Cherokee called these people the Walsh tribe and knew that they claimed descent from white forebears who had crossed the great water. These are the Cherokee. The Cherokee didn't live on the coast. The Cherokee lived in the Smoky Mountains. They lived in northern Georgia and southern Tennessee and up into North Carolina. A legend like this among the Cherokee would probably have gone unnoticed except that in Wales, there are indeed tales of a local prince named Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd, who sailed west and discovered lands sometime after the year 1190. There's sufficient evidence for some to conclude that Madoc's company actually landed at Mobile Bay and made their way north into the Smoky Mountains of eastern Tennessee, thus accounting for several mysterious stone forts near Chattanooga and Manchester according to this reconstructed account.³ According to this reconstructed account, the band continued to the Ohio Valley to the place where Louisville, Kentucky, is today, where they eventually intermarried with the Mandan Sioux and moved up the Missouri River to the Dakotas. Now, if Cherokee legends and Welsh tales were the only supports to this fantastic story, it probably would not have enough strength to survive the centuries. However, in his *Principle Navigations* of 1589, Richard Hackluyt offered the story of Madoc in support of English territorial claims to the New World. Hackluyt insisted that, because of Madoc, it is manifest that this country was by Britains discovered long before Columbus led any Spaniards thither, and he offered a few lines of the famous Madoc ballad as evidence.

Madoc, I am, the son of old Gwynedd, with stature large and comely grace adorned. No lands at home no store of wealth did please, my mind was whole to search the ocean seas.

Additional evidence for this legend possibly being true is found in the writings of the American artist George Catlin. You may know of George Catlin as one of the first artists and historians to make his way into the Dakota territories to try to document the history, the anthropology, the lifestyle, and the habits of the American Indians of the Plains. While drawing pictures of the Mandan Sioux in northern Missouri, and then upward into the Dakota territories, Catlin discovered Indians with uncommonly pale complexions and blue or grey eyes and red hair. He believed that they might indeed be descendants of the legendary Welsh colony of Madoc and argued the case in his famous *North American Indians*, a volume that was written in 1841. Interestingly, the Sioux had as one of their sub-tribes, a tribe called the Kelsh, possibly a peculiar melding of Gaelic and Welsh. We don't know for sure, but even prominent Tennesseans like John Severe believe the Welsh tribe, and more than one Tennessean's heart has been stirred by the vision of heroic monks whose religious zeal brought them to the New World a millennium before Columbus. It was on that basis that many of the most prominent leaders of the state of Tennes-

³ These stories were recounted in *America B.C.*, by Barry Fell.

see fought so fiercely against Andrew Jackson's plan to deport the Cherokee — who had, by that time, become Christians — across the horrific Trail of Tears, one of the great blights in the story of American history.

Now, all of these stories remind us of a couple of important truths. I've introduced all of this to you this morning for two reasons. One, because it's just so interesting, and it just makes for great stories. Secondly, I've introduced all of this to you to cause you to remember that sometimes legends and myths are more reliable than the scientific inquiries and the long line of footnotes of the supposed experts. Just when we think we know what we know, we run across something that causes us to say *hmmm... who'd a thunk it?*

The Christian idea of knowledge and of learning about our world is one of constant discovery. We ought to have restless imaginations. We ought to be constantly saying, *Okay, the evidence seems to be pointing in this direction, but could it be that another hypothesis could be proven correct instead?* The great achievement of Christian learning is *not* having arrived at a settled conclusion. The real mark is a heart full of repentance, a heart that says, *I don't know everything that I ought to know. I've not yet done everything that I ought to do. I've not yet fully arrived at all that I am to journey towards.* The problem with settled conclusions is that they leave very little room for us to say, *I could be wrong. Or, I don't know. Or, this could be a mystery that we'll never solve.* Historians hate mysteries. They want to solve them all, kind of like theologians. We want to put God in a box. We want to say we know everything that we need to know — we know all the profiles, we've got the dogmatic schema in our minds — when, in fact, the Bible constantly tells us what Isaiah reminds us of: God's ways are higher than our ways and his thoughts are higher than our thoughts. The world is a marvel of mystery awaiting discovery. That's what these stories tell us. We don't know for sure if Celts and Carthaginians and Sudanese made their way here. We don't have solid evidence. We have a lot of interesting clues and a lot of peculiarities that we don't have solid answers for, but this much we do know: we don't know. And that kind of humility in a scholar is really what leads to great discoveries. If you're hungry to learn and you don't think that you've got all the answers and you're never satisfied with what it is that you do know — in other words, if you have a heart of repentance, that will serve you far better than a loaded portfolio and transcripts with straight A's.

There's a third reason I wanted to introduce these ideas. When we look back at the shrouded myths and legends and fables of the past, we're reminded that we live in a world full of stories and not all the stories have been told. This ought to stir our imaginations and cause us to wonder *what if...?* As we wonder *what if...*, we are sent on journeys of discoveries, both within our own hearts and minds and in this wide world that still has much to tell us about God's glory, God's majesty, and God's splendor, that we don't yet know. The worst thing that can ever happen to a historian is for the historian to be satisfied that he knows it all, that there's nothing left to challenge his pet theories. The whole history of science, of medicine, as well as of the social sciences so-called — like history and sociology and anthropology and archeology — is that the expert opinions of the past become laughable in days to come because they're so short-sighted and so presumptuous and so certain about things that are absolutely false. It was just one hundred fifty years ago that doctors were still using leeches for people who had colds.

Stories like these remind us that in our pathway of learning, we have a lot more learning to go, and we have a lot of great stories that have yet to be told. They also remind us that sometimes the historians think they're absolutely right, and given the shreds of evidence that they're relying on, they have good reason to hold that, but there may be lots of evidence out there that contradicts their whole pet theory, and that sometimes whole cultures can believe untruths for so long and with such fervor that they ultimately lead them astray and undermine the very thing they value the most. That can be particularly true in American history, where the facts that we think we know or the facts that we've forgotten lead to the undermining of the very fruit that we most cherish — fruits

of freedom and liberty and opportunity. Who was the first president of the United States? Most Americans would say *George Washington*, and of course most Americans would be absolutely wrong, missing the first president by fifteen administrations, for goodness' sake! How can we get stuff so wrong that's patently obvious? George Washington didn't take office until 1789. Why doesn't the historian say, *1776 to 1789, there's a gap here! We've got Continental Armies and Minutemen running the country?* Those are the questions that we have to ask with humble hearts, questions that push us to a discovery of what *is*, so that we can grow in grace, so we can preserve the truth and so we can stand for right.

So, this year, we may explore a few myths, legends, and fables in search of the truth because sometimes that's the best pathway to the truth. Sometimes it's the footnotes that lead us astray and the wild stories that reveal the greatest truth.



Lord, thank you. Thank you for great stories. Thank you for filling the Bible with stories that, for many years, experts believed were myths. Thank you for showing us in tidbits here and there and pieces of archeological and anthropological and linguistic evidence that lead us to the understanding that your ways are higher than our ways and your thoughts are higher than our thoughts. We thank you for scraps of old maps, funny coins found in funny places, and odd artifacts with notches that display the splendor and the glory of Christmas. Thank you for blue-eyed Sioux and for your marvels yet to be revealed. Give us hungry imaginations. Give us repentant hearts. I pray for these, my students, that you would raise them up as a whole new generation of faithful learners, that you bless them, use them for your glory, in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 3

Prince Henry & Exploration

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the American People*, John Winthrop and His 'Little Speech' on Liberty; Roger Williams: The First Dissident

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 23-36

Lesson Synopsis

Prince Henry the Navigator was a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century prince from the royal house of Portugal, which was a unique nation in that it was a nation. We'll see what difference that made in the development and the advance of navigation at the time.

Opportunity

1

Lesson Topics

Prince Henry the Navigator, the Sagres School, exploration and travel through the Middle Ages, navigational developments, Bartolomeu Dias, Vasco da Gama

Primary Source Material

Henry the Navigator's Search for New Lands, by Gomes de Azurara

Vocabulary

thrall, exception, vortex, litoral, indigenous, tenure, cuisine, tantalize, culinary, barque, migrational, longitude, latitude, celestial, caravel, cartographer, cosmographer, keel, steerage, rudder, circumnavigate, protégé, armada

Timeline

- ❖ 1428: Caravel Developed
- ❖ 1434: Cape Bojador Passed
- ❖ 1445: Cape Verde Discovered
- ❖ 1458: Sierra Leone Discovered
- ❖ 1460: Henry Died
- ❖ 1481: Bartolomeu Dias made African Coastal Commander
- ❖ 1487: King John II Orders Expedition
- ❖ 1488: Bartolomeu Dias Discovers Cape of Good Hope
- ❖ 1497: Vasco da Gama assumes command
- ❖ 1498: Southern route discovered around Africa
- ❖ 1502: da Gama's Voyage to India



Prince Henry & Exploration

Infante Dom Henrique—known to history as Prince Henry the Navigator—almost single-handedly coaxed nautical advancement toward modernity. At Sagres, he built a marine observatory that transformed the enterprise of discovery from mere happenstance into science. He brought the ancient tales of St. Brendan, Ultima Thule, the Antipodes, Prester John, and Marco Polo to life and in the process, changed the world.¹

Well, as you can see today, we'll take a look at the extraordinary advances that were made in navigation which enabled the great burst of exploration that took place in the fifteenth century. We'll focus largely on one man; his name is most commonly known as Prince Henry the Navigator, and he was a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century prince from the royal house of Portugal, which was a unique nation in that it *was* a nation. By that I mean, at that time, the fourteenth century, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy did not actually exist in anything like their present forms; they were all divided up into small principalities and kingdoms. Yet Portugal was a united whole and functioned as a united whole. We'll see what difference that made in the development and the advance of navigation at the time.

2 September

❖ *1666: The Great Fire of London began in a baker's kitchen on Pudding Lane.*

On this day in the year 1666, the Great Fire of London started in a baker's kitchen on Pudding Lane. In the four days that it raged, the fire destroyed some thirteen thousand homes and over eighty churches including St. Paul's Cathedral. Four-fifths of the city lay in ashes and it took the genius of men such as the great English architect Sir Christopher Wren to restore it to its glory. It was more than twenty years before the city could say that it had recovered. Interestingly, the great fire of London also created a bit of a difficulty for what was then the greatest navy in the world. The British navy lost its primary port, the city of London, and as a result, disbursed its navy through ports all along the southern, eastern, and western coasts. Many believe this gave Britain a strategic advantage over all of the other navies that were then being built around the world — the great colonial powers as they were emerging — because it was decentralized, they were able to disperse their resources over a wide range of locations. As a result, they were able to raise awareness and a sense of calling so that the navy became one of the chief aspirations of young men growing up in England at the time, and that, ironically, is what thrust England into the sea more than any other nation at the time. It's strange how terrible events can turn out in the end in God's providence to be our greatest strengths and the opportunities for our greatest advances.

❖ *1752: Great Britain abandoned the Julian calendar in favor of the Gregorian calendar — advancing the date by eleven days.*

It was in 1752 that Great Britain and all its colonies finally abandoned the Julian calendar. It was used on September 2, 1752, for the last time. In accordance with the rest of Europe who used the Gregorian calendar, the following day became September the fourteenth. Because people thought that the government had cheated them out of eleven days of their lives, they rose up in protest and rioted in the streets, both in the American colonies

¹ From Dr. Grant's book, *The Last Crusader*

and back home. You can probably understand that. The government steals everything, it might as well be stealing your days and part of your life as well. So, at any rate, there were wild riots everywhere.

What's interesting is that ships at sea did not revert to the Gregorian calendar for another fifty years.² So ship logs for the entire founding era are actually eleven days off which wrecks havoc on historians trying to figure out just exactly when certain sea battles or events took place. It's a quite a mess.

This, by the way, is a part of the reason why Russian historians always had difficulties because the Russian calendar all the way up through the Russian Revolution and into the time of Stalin followed neither the Gregorian nor the Julian calendars and so if you say that the Russian Revolution occurred on such and such a date, you could be anywhere from fourteen to forty days off depending upon how you measure it.

❖ *1901: Theodore Roosevelt quoted an African proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far."*

In 1901 on this day, in a speech that Vice President Theodore Roosevelt was making in order to make the case for a buildup of the U.S. Navy, he quoted an old African proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick and you will go far." The phrase became his hallmark and it was almost forgotten that the phrase was used, not in the context of foreign policy and diplomacy, but in the buildup of the U.S. Navy. In fact, many would say that besides Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt had more to do with the strategic deployment of the American Navy than any other person in all of U.S. history.

❖ *1945: Japan formally surrendered in ceremonies aboard the USS Missouri, ending WWII.*

In 1945 on this day, September 2, Japan formally surrendered in ceremonies aboard USS *Missouri* ending the Second World War. It's interesting that three of the great meetings of the great powers and four of the surrender ceremonies to end WWII all took place aboard ship. The reason for this goes all the way back to maritime law in the early days of Christendom when the only neutral places that were safe for former combatants to meet were on ship, because of the nature of maritime law. At any rate, it was a hold-over that goes all the way into WWII, and we see that marked on this day.

❖ *1985: A French and American expedition located the wreckage of the Titanic.*

Also, just to keep our ocean theme, it was on this day in 1985 that a French and American cooperative expedition located the wreckage of the *Titanic* about five hundred and sixty miles off Newfoundland. It's probably a shock to us that the wreckage of a ship that sunk at the beginning of the century was not definitively located until 1985. We sort of knew where it was and sonar could locate it, but it wasn't until 1985 that we could actually get pictures of it. Just this last week, for the first time we were able to completely circumnavigate the wreckage and see all sides of it. It's a reminder to us that the oceans are vast, deep, and mysterious. They remain as inaccessible to us in some ways as deep space, and, as a result, the oceans have always created an allure for men and sparked many a nation's desire to explore. The sense of great adventure and danger is always attached to a venturing out upon the waves. The Age of Exploration, therefore, is one of the great ages of courage, creativity, and technological innovation in the whole of human history.

² Slip of the tongue! Dr. Grant said that ships didn't revert to the *Julian* calendar, yet it was the Julian calendar that was being abandoned in place of the Gregorian. *Ed.*

The Age of Exploration

In the fifteenth century, the little kingdom of Portugal, had become the international center of nautical experience, and experience is the most important thing about nautical discoveries. The principles of sailing like most other rules can only be proved by exception — experience is thus the chief essential. So Portugal became the vortex of navigational discovery and enterprise. It had the liveliest and most progressive ports in the world. It was an enterprising, brash, and ambitious realm where ideas and ideals alike abounded. It was a culture that reveled in books and maps, azimuths and globes, *almucantars* and compasses, planispheres and astrolabes, sextants and portolans, and all the other things that went with the maritime, technological world.

Medieval Exploration

It was remarkable in that, where all the rest of Christendom remained intellectually ingrown and comfortably confined to the weedy superstitions of medieval familiarities, sailors from Portugal had been steadily enlarging the boundaries of the known world. They plunged into the unexplored Atlantic and discovered islands, established colonies, searched for new trade routes, opened new ways across the African litoral, and probed southward along the African coastline. Portugal differed from virtually every other realm of the time in that it was already a single and unified whole. From Algarve in the south to Minho in the north, there were no conflicting dialects, no semi-independent provinces, no feudal lords with vassals and rear vassals of their own. All the fiefdoms were directly held from the king. All the castles were crown property and there were no robber barons carving off autonomous manorial estates of their own. Four great indigenous crusading orders, St. John, Santiago, Aviz, and Christo, were all garrisoned in their fortresses but all had their intentions focused clearly on the Saracens of North Africa and had ever since the final defeat of the Moors a century earlier.

❖ *1096: Urban II called for Crusade.*

In fact, the real story of navigation for the West and for Portugal actually begins with the Crusades. It was not until 1096 when Urban II called for the chivalrous knights of Christendom to take up the cross and go and liberate the captive lands of the East, then crying out under the oppressive tenure of *di'himma* and the scimitar of the Islamic horde. It was not until then that Europe really looked beyond its very narrow confines and borders. Christendom had been, since the fall of Rome, pretty much hemmed in with the rise of Islam in the seventh century. The whole of the East had been cut off. By the time of the fall of the bulk of the Byzantine Empire, most of Europe was ingrown, inward-looking, and isolated from the rest of the world. Adventure was essentially a making your way to the next town for market day or perhaps, if you were wild enough, taking your little shop and your apprentices and move into an adjacent town to begin a new practice. But with the Crusades, suddenly massive numbers of Europeans were seeing a part of the world that was altogether alien and mysterious, and it brought great allure and the promise of adventure, wealth, and power. Over the course of the next two hundred years, it's not surprising to discover that the thirst and hunger for adventure was stirred up all through the West.

❖ *1099: The kingdoms of Outremer were established.*

In 1099 the first kingdoms of Outremer were established, and as a result, there were way-stations in the East for the adventurous explorers to begin to go beyond the boundaries of Christendom into the wider world. It was also the beginning of the great spice trade. Crusaders brought back tastes, smells, and cuisines that tantalized the

bland culinary arts of Europe and brought to life a real desire to see the wider world. As a result, by the beginning of the twelfth century, we really start to see a lot of adventurers and we begin to receive the chronicles. The travel writings of these adventurers show up in the literature of the day and in the songs of the jongleurs and the troubadours, and that just kind of feeds the passion for travel even more.

❖ *1187: Alexander Neckham described a honed compass.*

It was in 1187 that we have the very first description of a honed compass. They had been in use since the time of the Phoenicians—lodestones set on corks in a bowl of water on the ship's deck which enabled navigators to determine true north. The problem with lodestones was that they were awkward in fierce weather when the deck was unstable. They were terribly unreliable. It wasn't until the twelfth century that honed compasses—magnetic needles set inside nautical instruments—were widely used. The first actual mention of a honed compass in literature was in 1187. Obviously, knowing where you're headed is a real help for adventurers and explorers, and it opened up wide new vistas for travel.

❖ *1245: Innocent IV sent out an envoy to the Mongols.*

It was in 1245 that Pope Innocent IV sent an envoy to the Mongols, Piano Carpini. He was therefore sent far beyond the bounds of Christendom, across the Russian Steppes, into the high plains of Mongolia, and into the heart of China. The stories that he and his brother, Giavanni, brought back were astonishing to the papal court and to the wider world of Christendom.³

❖ *1261: Niccolò and Maffeo Polo sought Kúblái Khan.*

It was in 1261 that two adventurous traders, Niccolò and Maffeo Polo, set out from their home in Venice to open up new trading stations on the Black Sea. From the Black Sea, they determined to seek out the court of the Kúblái Khan, and when they returned some eight years later, the stories they had to tell of the sights and sounds, the foods and exotic worlds was so tantalizing that a whole mythology grew up of the opportunity for Venetian traders not only to bring back great wealth but to indulge in the grand adventure and mystery that the Polo brothers had enjoyed.

❖ *1271: Marco Polo set out for China.*

It was just two years after that that Niccolò's son, Maffeo's nephew, went with them and set out on his famous journey to China. It was during that journey for the first time that we have a real literary hand describing those sights and sounds. When Marco Polo finally returned and told his tales and began to write his account, it was as if the whole world had suddenly been opened up.

❖ *1291: John of Montecorvino left on a missionary journey to India and China.*

In 1291, John of Montecorvino left on a missionary journey, first to India and then finally to China. His accounts were widely distributed and again stirred a passion for adventure and travel.

³ Gianni da Pian del Carpini is the full name of the papal envoy referred to here. He travelled with a brother friar who is unnamed in the manuscripts except as "Giavanni". Historians have identified Giavanni as likely being from Poland and named either Dominick or Benedict of Poland. GG

❖ *1318: Odoric of Pordenone set out for India, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and eventually Tibet.*

In 1318, Odoric of Pordenone set out for India, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and eventually Tibet. It was the first time that the Spice Isles of Indonesia had been opened up to the West since the time of the Apostles. As a result of his account, even more traders ventured out into the high seas to try and find their way to glory, honor, power, and wealth.

❖ *1342: John of Meridenoly visited the Ming court.*

In 1342, John of Meridenoly visited the rising Ming court and likewise tantalized those back home with his marvelous stories.

Navigational Developments

Now you'll notice several things about each of these journeys, including the Crusades: they all ventured to the East by way of land and only ventured out onto the seas once they had come to the end of land and had an island in sight. In fact, the idea of sailing to these distant lands was a dream but only a dream because sailing had been stymied during the age of Christendom and no real advances had been made since the time of the Greeks, Romans, and Phoenicians. Their sailing crafts, navigational skills, and technologies of boat and sail design had all specifically applied to sailing in the Mediterranean. Setting your barque upon the ocean seas and venturing off into the north Atlantic was a totally different concept. The Mediterranean, while it can be quite stormy at times, is relatively calm, has no dominant prevailing winds, and the tidal patterns are regular and predictable. As a result it's relatively easy to sail the Aegean and the Mediterranean. To venture off to the Black Sea is not that difficult a thing, but out into the Atlantic or off into the Indian Ocean, that's a whole different matter. As a result, it was necessary to develop new technologies if sailing the oceans was going to be possible. At the beginning of this burst of new interest in exploration, most of the navigational and maritime technologies were rudimentary at best.

❖ *Line Sighting: triangulating coastal landmarks*

For instance, line sighting was the standard approach for determining where you were in relation to the coastline. Essentially, line sighting is where you triangulate coastal landmarks such as a near rock against a point on the land. Doing that in two different directions at once gives a more or less precise geometric location on the surface of the sea. Of course, the problem with line sighting is that you always have to stay within sight of the coast. If the coast slips past your sight lines, you're in trouble. If the fog sets in, or if you are beset by a storm, you are in real trouble. So line sighting has only limited value.

❖ *Sounding: lead and line depth measurements*

Sounding — measuring the depth of water by the use of a lead and a line — also had a limited value. The problem with that is if you got too far away from the shoreline, the depth of the water was too deep for your lead-in line to measure and as a result you had to hug the coastline.

❖ *Fixed Star Location: measuring fixed “star heights”*

One of the ways that the navigators would determine where they were was what was called fixed star location. That's where you measure the horizon against certain fixed heights in the constellation above. Of course you have to have clear skies and relatively calm seas for that.

❖ *Dead Reckoning: estimating position and trajectory*

Then there is the whole business of dead reckoning. Dead reckoning is where you estimate a ship's current location based upon a previously determined location or fix and then advance that location forward along a predetermined trajectory. In other words, *I know where I was and so based upon how long it's taken me from where I was when I knew where I was, I'm guessing that this is now where I am.* That's dead reckoning and that's all fine as long as you've got calm seas and the sun is shining and everything is wonderful. But in the North Atlantic, that's about four days out of the year.

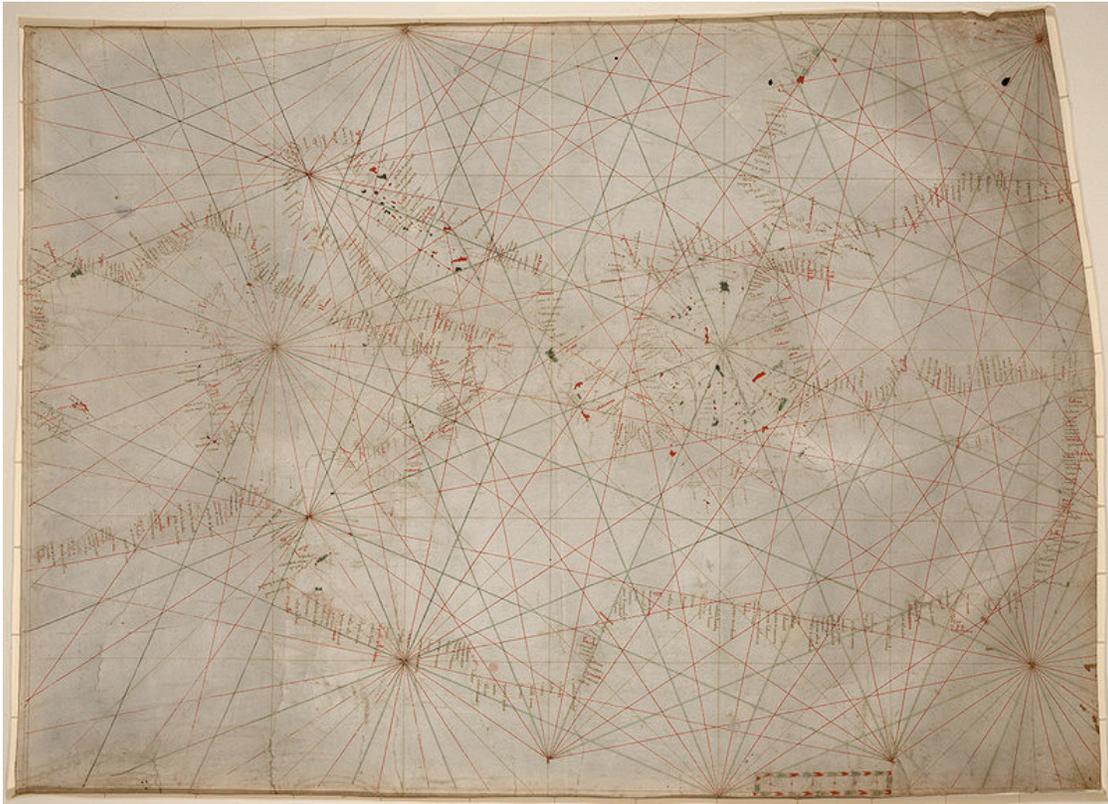
❖ *Avian Flightpaths: observing the migrational patterns*

Then there was the trick of simply watching the skies for where the migrational birds were making their way, determining avian flightpaths, simply observing the migrational patterns of birds. As long as you could see the migrational paths of birds, as long as it's the right time of year, as long as you're in the right spot, as long as you notice, as long as the birds aren't lost, maybe you can find your way.

❖ *Eriplus Charts: written directions for circumnavigation*

From the Greeks and the Phoenicians, the early medieval mariners also had something called eriplus charts. Eriplus charts are written directions for circumnavigation. In other words, if you wanted to go from Venice to Genoa, those mariners who had gone before you would write out directions including descriptions of things that they saw along the way, certain landmarks on the coast, places to watch out for cross winds or dangerous storms, and those written directions would be what was recorded in an eriplus chart. These were only as good as the observers who had gone before were in their descriptions. Also if seasonal changes or changes in prevailing winds altered based upon times of the year, those eriplus charts were no longer of value at all.⁴

⁴ As I was spell-checking *eriplus charts*, I couldn't find it anywhere, but I did find *periplus charts* — “a periplus in the ancient navigation of Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans is a manuscript document that lists in order the ports and coastal landmarks, with approximate distances between, that the captain of a vessel could expect to find along a shore. Several examples of a periplus have survived.” (<http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Periplus>). The changes in language and spelling that occur through time explains the difference. *Ed.*

❖ *Portolans: maps of coastal landmarks*

This anonymous nautical chart in portolan style, probably drawn in Genoa, is the oldest original cartographic artifact in the Library of Congress. It covers the Mediterranean Sea from the Balearic Islands to the Levantine coast; also covers western part of Black Sea. (c. 1320-1350)⁵

Similar to the eriplus chart was something called a portolan.⁶ A portolan is one of the earliest stages of map making. When we think of maps, we typically think of an aerial view that looks down and we can see a coastline as if we were observing it from above. But of course, that's a peculiar perspective unique to modernity. A portolan is a map that observes the world from a horizontal perspective, not from a vertical one. In other words, a portolan will describe what a mariner might actually see on the coast and then draw it out. So a portolan is a horizontal map, sort of an elevation view of a coastline. As the ancient world passed into the realm of Christendom, portolans became more and more complex, more and more accurate, and more and more helpful. But it still required that the mariners stay within sight of the coastline in order to make their way. This is one of the reasons why virtually all early explorations were along the African coast, the Asian coastline, and the Indian coastline.

⁵ This image is in the public domain.

⁶ "A portolan is an early modern European navigation chart, dating from the fourteenth century or later, in manuscript, usually with rhumb lines, shorelines and place names.

"The portolan combined the exact notations of the periplus with the decorative illustrations of the conceptual T and O map but on the whole it offered a realistic depiction of the shore and was meant for practical use by a mariner of the period. The portolan did not take into account the curvature of the Earth, so it was a misleading document for crossing an Ocean. It was useful for navigation in smaller bodies of water such as the Mediterranean or the Red sea. [sic]" (<http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Portolan>)

❖ *Astrolabe: a disc to calculate the horizontal height of an astronomical body*⁷

This was helped somewhat by the development, in about the seventh century or so, of a disc-like instrument —almost like a slide-rule — called an astrolabe. An astrolabe is an incredibly complex mathematical instrument designed to enable a mariner to determine where his ship is. An astrolabe is a disc of metal that is held suspended by a small ring. The disc has a scale with a series of degrees embossed upon the face of the disc and a ruler for measuring the height of an astronomical body. Essentially, a mariner would create sightlines to, say, the North Star, or in some cases the sun or the moon depending upon the time of the year, and then with a sightline first to the astronomical body and then perhaps to land or a fixed point or a known point, then make some calculations in order to determine just precisely where they were in terms of latitude. Astrolabes can't measure longitude, but only measure latitude. The astrolabe was a huge advance and enabled mariners to get out of sight of land for periods of time.



❖ *Cross-staff: a T-shaped device to measure the sun's height against the horizon.*⁸



The astrolabe gave rise to a series of other remarkable devices like the cross-staff, which is a T-shaped device whose base is held up to the eye. One measured the sun's height by pulling the slidable top of the T toward one's eyes until the sun lay at the top and the horizon lay at the bottom, then through a series of calculations you could determine where you were upon the seas. The problem was that it could blind its user because he was looking straight at the sun the whole time. And calculations have to be made while looking at the sun.

❖ *Back-staff: a reversed cross-staff.*

As a result, some ingenious mariner decided that it wasn't worth losing his sight, so he invented the back-staff, which was a reversed cross-staff that enabled one to get the same measurement but with one's back turned to the sun using a series of shadows and other markers.⁹

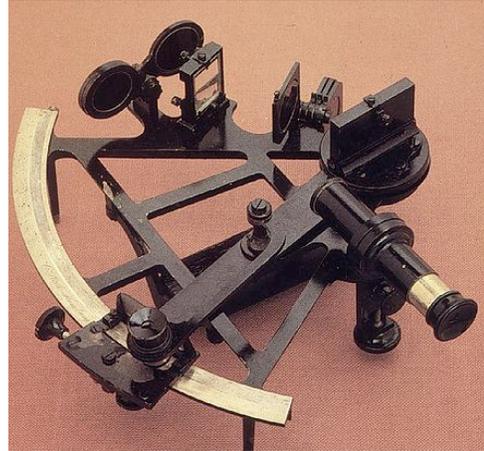
⁷ The image of an astrolabe is in the public domain.

⁸ The image of a man using the a cross-staff is in the public domain.

⁹ "Back-staff is the name given to any instrument that measures the altitude of the sun by the projection of a shadow." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Back_staff

❖ *Sextant: an instrument used to measure the angle between any two visible objects to determine latitude.*¹⁰

This in turn led to the sextant, which is an instrument used to measure the angle between any two visible objects. Its primary use was to determine the angle between the celestial object and the horizon which is known as altitude. Using this measurement is known as *sighting the object* or *shooting the object* or *taking a sight*. It was the primary nautical instrument used by sailors all the way up until the development of radar and sonar.¹¹



❖ *Nocturnal or Nocturlabe: a device for telling the time of night based on star rotation around the North Star.*¹²



Then there was the development of something called the nocturnal or nocturlabe. This was a device used for telling the time of the night based upon star charts and known rotation of the stars around the North Star. Of course, stars don't rotate, it's the earth which rotates, but the stars have the appearance of rotating around the North Star which is a fixed point in the sky. This is a marvelous instrument that can provide the time of night and set the night watches. It's more reliable than something like an hourglass or the burning of candles, which were the ways that they measured the passing of time before the development of the nocturnal. Candles are great but in a heavy storm they're not exactly reliable. They don't stay lit. Of course, the problem with a nocturnal is that you actually have to see the stars, so if you're in a storm, a nocturnal is almost as good as a candle.

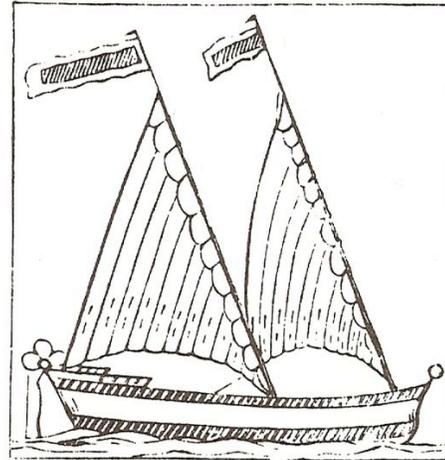
¹⁰ The image of a sextant is in the public domain.

¹¹ For an automation of how to use a sextant, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Using_sextant_swing.gif

¹² The image of the nocturnal is used under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Nocturlabe_Vienne_IMG_8668.jpg

❖ *Lateen Sail: a “Latin-rig” triangular sail mounted at an angle on the mast, running fore-and-aft.*¹³

Then there was the development of the multiple lateen sails or the Latin-rigged sails. Latin-rigs had been in use since the time of the Romans, which is why they're called Latin-rigs. But what the medievals started to do is that they set the triangular lateen sail on a long yard, in other words, a cross beam, mounted at an angle on the mast running in a fore to aft sort of direction, which meant that you could catch the wind wherever it was coming from and you could tack much easier, in other words, move back and forth toward the coastline. It provided a tremendous, tremendous advance in the ability of sailors to keep moving even when the winds had died down.



❖ *Caravel: a small, very stable, highly maneuverable sailing ship utilizing multiple lateen sails.*¹⁴



The greatest single development bringing together all these other technologies was the development of the caravel, the first great advance in the maritime design of ships since the time of the drakkar and the knorr of the Vikings. The caravel was a very small but very stable and highly maneuverable sailing ship with multiple lateen sails, a deep pitched keel, a strong multiple rudder system with castles — literally fortresses — set upon the deck, and large cargo holds. It was the ship that opened the door for exploration across the Atlantic.

Henry the Navigator

❖ *1394: Prince Henry, Fourth Son*

The man who brought all these technological developments together was Prince Henry the Navigator. Prince Henry was the fourth son of King John of Portugal. Future generations would call him Prince Henry the Navigator because of his almost single-handed efforts to coax nautical advancement toward modernity. At the tip of Cape St.

Vincent, he built a marine observatory and hydrographic laboratory that transformed the enterprise of discovery from happenstance and accident into science. There he gathered the greatest pilots and navigators, cartographers, shipbuilders, geographers, astronomers, mathematicians, cosmographers, and mariners in all the world, and he accumulated a vast library of sailing charts, portolans, and *roteiros*. He investigated the ancient tales of

¹³ A seventeenth-century woodcut of a Bermudian sailing vessel, displaying triangular sails. Image is in the public domain.

¹⁴ This image of a model of a Portuguese caravel is used under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:PortugueseCaravel.jpg>

St. Brendan, of the Norsemen, Ultima Thule, Antipodes, of Prester John and Marco Polo, with the objectivity of an academician. He sponsored the discovery and colonization of innumerable far-flung islands including Madeira, Porto Santo, the Verdes, and the Azores. He advanced the design of the ocean-going vessels by building and then perfecting the caravel. In fact, he's an almost perfect picture of the modern scientific man except for one thing; he was a medieval anomaly of purposefulness, logic, and moderation set in the context of his great and overriding motivation which was to confront the Islamic horde that held the Mediterranean in thrall and boxed Christendom off in isolation. As a result, his great passion was to launch a new crusade.

❖ *1415: Crusade at Ceuta*

It's peculiar to think that all these scientific advances, the launching of this great enterprise, and the beginning of exploration and adventure actually begin with something as medieval and foreign to us as a crusade. But in 1415, Henry and his brothers went across the Strait of Gibraltar to try and open up trading routes with the Moroccan Muslim population. They were met with fierce, fierce resistance and found that the once-great centers of Christian learning and advancement in North Africa were held in bondage and under the thrall of tyranny. As a result, the brothers determined that it was their Christian duty to liberate the great cities of North Africa. They launched a series of crusades.

❖ *1419: Porto Santo Discovered*

It was in the course of sending their supply ships back and forth that just four years later, Porto Santo, the great island, was discovered, and at Porto Santo, a new vision was born for Henry. He led three crusading expeditions himself in 1415, 1436, and 1458. He served as the governor of newly-conquered territories in North Africa. He was responsible for the execution of three papal bulls authorizing indulgences to all those who fought many of his various crusades on the African continent. You have to remember that this is in a time when much of what today we call Spain was still occupied by the Muslims and would be all the way up until January of 1492. He was a real pioneer during this time.

❖ *1420: Madeira discovered*

Just a year after the discovery of Porto Santo, the large island of Madeira was discovered.

❖ *1421: Sagres established*

It was at this time that Prince Henry began to dream of establishing a real scientific school of discovery. Remember, North Africa had once been the jewel of Christian civilization. It had produced some of the finest minds of the early Church — Augustine, Tertullian, Anthony, Clement, Cyprian, Origin, and Athanasius. But throughout the seventh and eighth centuries it was put to the scimitar and vanquished. Almost every trace of Christianity was swept away. Churches were destroyed, libraries were burned, cities were pillaged, treasuries were plundered, fields were salted, men were slaughtered, women were raped, and children were enslaved. Europe watched helplessly as their brethren were tyrannized. *Jihad* and *di'himma* swept across the land. Henry wanted more than anything else to remove what he believed was this great shame, and, in the process, he launched the world's greatest adventurers, discoverers, and mariners. It was all for the sake of what he believed was the honor of the gospel in the world.

So in 1421, he established an observatory in southern Portugal called Sagres. At the Sagres school, he began to assemble a great library and brought the finest minds of the day to work on the problems of exploration. Almost immediately they bore great fruit.

- ❖ *1428: Caravel Developed*
- ❖ *1434: Cape Bojador Reached*
- ❖ *1445: Cape Verde Discovered*
- ❖ *1458: Sierra Leone Discovered*
- ❖ *1460: Henry Died*

It was seven years later that the caravel was first developed and perfected. By 1434, the Cape Bojador, on the African Gold Coast, had been reached. By 1445, the Cape Verde Islands had been discovered. By 1458, Sierra Leone was discovered, rounding the western bulge of the African continent. By 1460, when Henry died, Portugal was now the leading maritime nation in the world and had built the greatest navy and assembled the finest mariners anywhere across the whole of the world.

The Sagres School

Caravel

- ❖ *Knorrs/Drakkars/Lateens/Castles*
- ❖ *Masts/Sails/Steerage*
- ❖ *Keel Depth/Stability/Cargo Hold*

The caravel — the greatest of the accomplishments of the Sagres school — built upon the idea of knorrs and the drakkars, borrowed from the Roman lateen sails and the castles that were set at the backs of ships in early medieval times, utilizing stronger masts, better sail design, and multiple keel steerage structures and various kinds of rudders. They increased keel depth for stability in high waves and cargo hold capacity.

Maps & Charts

- ❖ *Compass/Dead Reckoning/Portolans*
- ❖ *Star Charts/Astrolabe*
- ❖ *Coastal Mapping/Sea Lanes/Tidal Lanes*

In addition, the Sagres school made great advances in maps and charts utilizing old techniques of the compass, dead reckoning, and portolans, focusing on the technologies that had been honed with finer star charts and the use of the astrolabe, and they began to create geographical coastal maps. They began to map the sea lanes and even the tidal lanes. The result was that Portugal was suddenly ready to sail the world.

Caravel

Here you see a wonderful example of an early caravel, three-masted with three lateen sails set fore to aft on the long yard.¹⁵ This enabled the Portuguese sailors to venture down the coast of Africa and out into the heart of the Atlantic. Using these tools, they were able to come up with a design for an early kind of sextant and oftentimes would take the astrolabe and combine it with a compass and create instruments that would have multiple uses and multiple purposes — finely-honed instruments of mathematical precision and artistic excellence.



Fruits of Sagres

Bartolomeu Dias

- ❖ 1481: *African Coastal Commander*
- ❖ 1487: *King John II Orders Expedition*
- ❖ 1488: *Discovers Cape of Good Hope*

The fruit of Sagres was the sending out of great explorers like Bartholomew Dias, who in 1481 became the African coastal commander of the Portuguese navy. In 1487, King John II ordered a great expedition to circumnavigate the African continent. Dias made it, in 1488, as far as the Cape of Good Hope. Alas, on his second expedition, he was lost at sea. Originally, he wanted to call the Cape of Good Hope the Cape of Fierce Storms, but, because the king believed that this would discourage future explorers, it was named the Cape of Good Hope instead. Interestingly, Bartholomew Dias died in a storm at the Cape of Fierce Storms.

Vasco da Gama

- ❖ 1494: *Dias Orders Indian Vessels*
- ❖ 1497: *da Gama Assumes Command*
- ❖ 1498: *Southern Route Discovered*
- ❖ 1502: *Second Voyage to India*

His mantle was passed to Vasco da Gama. In 1494, Bartolomeu Dias put together a great armada, but in 1497, at the Cape of Fierce Storms, he was succeeded by his younger protégé, Vasco da Gama, who then discovered a southern route though the Cape and beyond into the Indian Ocean that ultimately led to his great discovery — a way to India, which opened up trade with India. Now there were already land traders from the Portuguese who were there in India, especially in the cities of Calcutta and Madras, but Vasco da Gama demonstrated that they could avoid the months-long journey, the hazards of robbers on the road, the caravaneers, the cost of the tolls,

¹⁵ We didn't have permission to include the image Dr. Grant showed his students in class. This isn't quite what he described, but it is very close. Image used under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:PortugueseCaravel.jpg>

and everything else simply by sailing directly. In 1502, he assembled a larger armada and suddenly trade was opened between India and Portugal.

❖ *1524: Viceroy of the Admiralty*

By 1524, Vasco da Gama was the viceroy of the Admiralty and the ruler of Portuguese India. Portuguese domination in the Indian Ocean and beyond, all the way to Spice Isles, had begun. All of this was driven by a sense in Prince Henry's mind that somehow, some way, God was calling Christendom out of its shell and beyond its boundaries to bring the gospel to the world, to liberate the captives, to impose God's standards of justice, and to free the peoples oppressed under the hands of pagan rulers around the world. "Noble ideals" was Henry's motto and what really drove those early Portuguese explorers. It was taken from Psalm 107, "They that go down to the sea in ships and do business in great waters, these see the works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep."¹⁶

It's fascinating that all the great adventurers — Dias, Vasco da Gama, onto Columbus — had this passionate vision that combined adventure, mystery, and gospel mission. We'll see that even more in the following lecture when we talk about Columbus and the grand enterprise that he hatched, not simply to circumnavigate Africa, but to cross the Atlantic and perhaps reach the great Khanate by sailing directly across the ocean. We'll see some of the remarkable advances that he made in mathematical measurements and nautical measurement and in sailing itself.

The thing to remember is that to make great advances requires tremendous risk, breaking the boundaries of what's assumed to be normal, and it requires great cost. Oftentimes the lives of the people who pioneered the greatest advances were put at risk and lost in the attempt, but that is often what it takes to open up a world. "They that go down to the sea in ships and business in great waters, these see the works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep."



Lord, I thank you for the remarkable pioneers, and the great technological developments that they pioneered. We look at things like astrolabes and we marvel at the technological development that is there. It's like trying to decipher a foreign language, these foreign technologies. They're well beyond our ability to comprehend — we who have grown up with calculators and computers, we whose calculations are made for us — and to imagine actually sitting down creating the star charts and making the calculations and measuring the depth and logging the speeds and marking the horizons. It is remarkable. We thank you that there have been those who've gone before us to make great sacrifices. We thank you that they understood that to go down to the sea in ships and do business is to see your work, your wonders in the deep. I pray that you would stir in us, every single one of us, a sense of that same adventure, the adventure of discovery. We might not be setting sail upon the high seas, but each one of us has a journey before us. Each one of us has discoveries that are available to us. There are developments that only we can bring to pass, technologies that only we, with our peculiar gifts and our peculiar callings, can call into being. Lord, stir in us that same sense of hunger, desire, wonder, and a waiting world, waiting for us to see, for us to do, to bring that to pass in our hearts. Give us the skills and the determination to see those things through. Lord, would you bring about a new day of discovery and set us forth into the world with eyes full of wonder, hearts full of anticipation at what we might see as we do business in great waters. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

¹⁶ verses 23-24

Lesson 4

Christopher Columbus: The Man & the Myths

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the American People*, The Catholics in Maryland; The Primitive Structure of Colonial America
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 36–50

Lesson Synopsis

One of the things you inevitably run into when you deal with Columbus is the mythology that surrounds both his character and his Great Enterprise that brought about the rediscovery of the New World. As we've seen, sometimes mythologies can lead us to the truth. That's particularly true of old myths. But we'll discover that new myths, myths that we concoct because of our own peculiar prejudices or political aspirations, will often be propaganda or nonsense or the two together. That's what we'll be attempting to find out. Are the myths about Christopher Columbus true or false?

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Christopher Columbus

Primary Source Material

The Book of Prophecies, by Christopher Columbus (very rare and hard to find)

Vocabulary

arduous, myth, gluttonous, turnkey, flotsam, jetsam, trade winds, tenacity/tenacious, spunk, enclave, monetize, warrant, unprecedented, fortitude, exonerate, quincentenary, visionary, indenture

Timeline

- ❖ 1451: Christopher Columbus born
- ❖ 1453: The Fall of Constantinople
- ❖ 1461: Columbus began sailing the Ligurian at the age of ten.
- ❖ 1476: Columbus shipwrecked off Portugal
- ❖ 1484: King Joao I rejected Columbus's plan for a Grand Enterprise.
- ❖ 1486-1491: Columbus rejected by Queen Isabella.
- ❖ 1492, January 2: The *Reconquista* succeeded.

- ❖ 1492, January 20: Queen Isabella reconsidered Columbus's proposal.
- ❖ 1492, October 12: Columbus landed on San Salvador.
- ❖ 1493: Columbus's Second Journey to the New World
- ❖ 1498: Columbus's Third Journey to the New World
- ❖ 1502: Columbus's Fourth Journey to the New World
- ❖ 1506, May 20: Columbus died



Christopher Columbus: The Man & the Myths

Few stories in history are more familiar than the one of Christopher Columbus sailing west for the Indies and finding instead the New World. Indelibly imprinted in our memory is the verse from childhood: "In fourteen hundred and ninety-two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue." The names of his ships, the Niña, the Piñta and the Santa Maria, roll fluently from our lips. Yet despite this, the story of Columbus is frustratingly vague and terribly incomplete.
~ John Noble Wilford

Today we're going to be dealing with Christopher Columbus. One of the things you inevitably run into when you deal with Columbus is the mythology that surrounds both his character and his Great Enterprise that brought about the rediscovery of the New World. As we've seen, sometimes mythologies can lead us to the truth. That's particularly true of old myths. But we'll discover that new myths, myths that we concoct because of our own peculiar prejudices or political aspirations, will often be propaganda or nonsense or the two together. That's what we'll be attempting to find out. Are the myths about Christopher Columbus true or false? So we'll be doing a bit of Snopsing today.

7 September

- ❖ *1979: The Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) made its cable TV debut.*
A tiny little cable TV start-up began broadcasting. It was called the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network, not exactly something that flows over the tip of the tongue easily so very shortly after they shortened it to ESPN.
- ❖ *1977: The United States ceded control of the Panama Canal.*
The Panama Canal treaties, calling for the United States to turn over control of the waterway to Panama, were signed by President Jimmy Carter in Washington.

❖ *1776: The first use of a submarine in warfare was attempted by the American Navy.*

The American submarine called the US *Turtle* attempted to sink Admiral Howe's flagship, the HMS *Eagle*, in New York Harbor, in what was the first use of a submarine in actual warfare.¹ The mission failed when Sergeant Ezra Lee of the *Turtle* was unable to complete the mission, which was to take an augur and try to bore a hole in the side of the *Eagle*. They discovered that there was copper cladding on the ship and the augur wasn't sharp enough. So they were unable to fulfill their mission, which was to try to hang a bomb on a hole that they drilled in the hull of the ship. Submarine warfare has come a long way since that time. This first America submarine was later destroyed when another ship sank on top of it.

❖ *1716: The first American lighthouse was built.*

In Boston, Massachusetts, the very first lighthouse on the American shores was built.

❖ *1533: Elizabeth, daughter of King Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne Boleyn, was born.*

Queen Elizabeth I, the daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne Boleyn, was born. She ultimately succeeded to the throne following the ascensions of her younger half-brother, Edward, and her older half-sister, Mary. She would reign as the great Virginia, the Great Virgin Queen, during a period of great ascendancy for England.

❖ *1492: Columbus set out into the open Atlantic from Porto Santo on his "Great Enterprise."*

After a short layover in the Madeira Islands, on Porto Santo, Christopher Columbus was finally able to make his way out into the open Atlantic on his Great Enterprise.

Columbus in the Sargasso Sea

It was just a couple of days after that that he ran into his first serious trouble when he entered the Sargasso Sea. Most people are fairly unaware of the Sargasso Sea today, but for centuries it has been the bane of many a navigator. The phenomenon of the Sargasso Sea makes trans-Atlantic journeys quite difficult if you're not aware of its peculiar difficulties. The Sargasso Sea is a sea within a sea. It's this open section in the heart of the north Atlantic where all of the major tidal systems and weather systems move around, leaving this kind of still lake in the center of the sea. It is a place where there is thick, thick seaweed and unusual ocean life. It's probably the source of all the myths of early mariners who described horrific and dangerous seas, not because they had huge waves, but because they entered into this stillness where there was no wind and where the seaweed was very thick and the animal life was frighteningly unusual. At any rate, Christopher Columbus entered into the Sargasso Sea just shortly after having departed from Porto Santo in the Madeira Islands and sailed through the Sargasso Sea for almost a month's time. It was a long, long, arduous journey through still waters and virtually no wind and created a great deal of doubt among his mariners because the myths about the Sargasso Sea abounded, and the longer they were in it, the more frightened they became. This is one of the reasons why his accomplishment was so remarkable. The story of Columbus is one of amazing tenacity, the overcoming of grave difficulties and doubts. Through pluck, genius, and perseverance, he was able to achieve what he achieved.

¹ This vessel is known to history as the *American Turtle* to distinguish it from the modern DSV submarine, *Turtle*.

Myths

Now, I tell you that in the face of a whole lot of modern myths about Columbus that we're going to have to dispel. One of the great modern myths about Columbus was that he, like so many other fifteenth and sixteenth century mariners of his time, was really only interested in gold, glory, and as one critic called it, gluttonous imperialism. We want to explore that myth and see if it is true or false.

A second myth about Columbus is that when he set out on his great enterprise, he sailed for the nation of Spain. The difficulty is that the nation of Spain did not officially exist until the twentieth century. So for him to have sailed for Spain in the fifteenth would have been more than a little difficult, but we'll explore that as well.

Another myth is that the Queen of Spain, Queen Isabella—of course there was no queen of Spain because there was no Spain—but nevertheless, Queen Isabella financed his journey by selling her crown jewels. She did no such thing. In fact, she didn't finance the journey at all. A team of bankers, mostly from Italy were the financiers. We'll explore that myth.

Another myth is that Columbus just got lucky, that, on a hunch, he was able to sail across the sea in a westward direction, and inevitably someone would do it and he just happened to be the lucky navigator who was in the right place at the right time. We'll explore that as well.

There was long a myth that it was Christopher Columbus who introduced slavery to the New World and that he took captives up on his ship and brought them back to Spain as show-pieces, thus introducing Spain—which of course didn't exist, so this is difficult—but nevertheless, that he was the one who introduced slavery to the economy of Spain. We'll explore that myth as well.

Another myth was that Christopher Columbus lived at a time when virtually all good sailors and mariners believed that the earth was flat and that his real innovation was that he had become convinced for no good scientific reason that, in fact, the earth was round. So we'll explore whether or not that myth is true — whether or not mariners in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries actually believed that the earth was flat.

There are a lot of myths that we'll have to explore as we take a look at the life of Columbus.

Christopher Columbus

Early Life

❖ *1451: A Genoese weaver's son*

He was born in 1451 in the town of Genoa. His father was a weaver and a cloth-merchant. As a result, living in Genoa, right on the water, and living in the household of a weaver, a cloth-merchant, he was introduced to the sea. Cloth-merchants often, particularly in places like Genoa, would ply their trade up and down the Ligurian coastline and take their cloth to market. If you were a weaver, you not only had to create the product, but you had to market the product, distribute the product, nurture relationships with customers, and take the products to your customers. It was a turnkey operation, as were virtually all of the old guild shops in Europe at the time. So

Columbus was introduced almost immediately to the sea, as he went with his father to deliver goods up and down the Ligurian coast. He was introduced to basic business principles. He was around sailors and traders and explorers from his earliest days and as a result, got a very quick start in the mariners' trade.

❖ *1453: Hears of Byzantium's Fall*

When he was just a little over two and a half years old, one of the most indelible impressions in his young life was made upon Columbus when, in 1453, the city of Genoa got word that the great city of Constantinople in Byzantium had fallen to the Turks. This was shocking news and the reaction in Europe was really one of first disbelief and then fierce grief. Columbus remembered to his oldest days the scene that befell Genoa with the bells of the churches tolling and people literally falling down in the streets weeping, believing that, if the greatest city in all of Christendom could fall to the Muslim horde, then it was likely that civilization as they knew it was sorely threatened and that their lives were gravely in danger.

The mourning for the fall of Constantinople extended over a period of months, and it changed the emotional character of Columbus's childhood, introducing fear and reintroducing the idea of the adventurous Crusader into the vocabulary of every child who grew up in the Mediterranean world.

❖ *1461: Begins sailing in Liguria*

It was, therefore, not surprising that this young boy with sailing and trading experience, a taste for adventure, and a world of danger seeming to loom around him took to the sea at an early age. When he was just ten years old, he began his career as a sailor in the Ligurian Sea.

Sea Worthy

❖ *1472: Enters into Trade Partnership*

By 1472, he had entered into a trade partnership with several other weavers and actually began his career as an independent sailor.

❖ *1474: Sails to Chios on Merchant Ship*

By 1474, he had sailed all the way to the eastern edge of the Mediterranean world, had learned the Mediterranean quite well and was trading at the Isle of Chios, an island that specialized in a very peculiar spice. It was far enough east that it had some of the glamour of the eastern world. It also was a place where a number of the Byzantine refugees had made their way, so trading there in Chios, Columbus heard all kinds of remarkable stories about the East and the horrors of the conquest of the Christian East by the Muslim horde. It fed his imagination and stirred his appetite for even more adventure and began to brew in his heart, he would later say, a vision for how God would use him to right the wrongs of his age.

❖ *1475: Sails for Genoese Navy*

In 1475, he began a period of indenture to his own city-state's navy, which was, at that time, the third-greatest navy in the world behind those of Venice, the world's greatest navy, and the Turks', the second-greatest navy in the world. Genoa had innumerable ships plying the waters all through the Mediterranean and out into the Atlantic, journeying up to the Scandinavian world, skirting across the whole of northern Europe, making their way to England. It was during that time that he began to make his greatest sailing adventures. He sailed all the way

to Iceland once, began to learn about the old world of Ultima Thule. He began to collect maps and became quite the navigational scholar.

Connections

❖ *1476: Shipwrecked off Portugal*

By the time he shipwrecked in 1476, off the coast of Portugal — which was in decline following the years of Henry the Navigator's greatest exploits but was still a powerful naval and mariner center — he was already quite capable as a sailor and a really remarkable thinker in terms of navigational advances and technologies. It was there, in Portugal, particularly during his time in Lisbon that he began to build a massive library concerning the navigational exploits of the heroes of the past. He became an expert in Roman and Carthaginian sailors. He became an expert in all of the old technologies of the Greeks and the Phoenicians. He began to collect maps. His brother set up shop as a cartographer in the city of Lisbon and so had access to innumerable old maps. It was then that Columbus became aware of maps of a distant land, that was now out of the reach of European traders, but that he became convinced existed across the great sea.

❖ *1477: Becomes a Commercial Captain*

In 1477, he became a commercial captain, sailing as an independent commercial trader, but working out of Portugal with a Portuguese crew and thus gained a great deal of international experience.

❖ *1479: Marries into Portuguese Royalty*

By the time he married into Portuguese royalty two years later, it was said that he was fluent in nine European languages, which was a necessity if you were going to be a ship's captain with an international crew. He was not your average sea-dog. He was well educated and widely experienced with an inquisitive curiosity, an insatiable appetite for adventure, and a heart full of great courage.

❖ *1482: Captains Ships along the Gold Coast*

❖ *1484: Presents his "Grand Enterprise"*

In 1482, he began a series of expeditions along the Gold Coast of Africa. All this time, he experimented with ideas concerning the sea tides and prevailing winds and came up with a theory that there was a continental land mass on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean that he thought was the eastern edge of Asia, but he was not absolutely certain, and that a grand enterprise could conceivably bring the trading prowess of Portugal to this heretofore unknown world. As he pulled together the details of his plan, he presented it to the royal court, to the king and queen of Portugal. This was the beginning of his "Grand Enterprise".

Influences

❖ *Chios: Exotic East & Captive Byzantium*

The influences in his life by this time were quite obvious. The exotic world of the East, the captivity of Byzantium, the world of spice and adventure that he'd discovered in Chios were driving and compelling influences in his life.

❖ *Porto Santo: Trade Winds & Flotsam*

He also spent a brief period of time living in Porto Santo, in the Madeira Islands. It was discovered early on during Prince Henry the Navigator's first few exploits into the Atlantic. It's a remarkable island that is the furthest thrust of Europe into the Atlantic.

While he was living at Porto Santo, he began to seriously study everything from prevailing and trade winds to the flotsam and jetsam that would wash up onto the shores. He was somewhat baffled by the fact that driftwood from trees that he didn't recognize the grain patterns of would float up from the west onto the eastern shores of Porto Santo. Because of the peculiar way that the tide went around Porto Santo, he was able to watch the movement of this driftwood, which turned out to be pine. He looked at this wood and said *this didn't come from around here; this has come from somewhere else, some great distance*. He studied the composition of the decay in the wood, estimating how long it had been in the water. From the flotsam and jetsam as well as a study of the trade winds, sitting on the edge of the sea at Porto Santo, he began to estimate mathematically how far away the land mass might be that was on the other side of the sea.

It is true that he had no earthly idea about the Pacific Ocean and he had no earthly idea about the actual dimensions of the earth, but what's really remarkable is that he got the distance from the shore of Porto Santo to the shores of Florida within forty-five miles, just by doing the math. It's really quite remarkable.

❖ *Fra Antonio: Tenacity and Prophecy*

At the same time, Columbus had gone through a series of grave tragedies and difficulties in his life with his family back in Genoa and soon in his own family. He was turned to faith in a remarkable way. While he was wrestling with some of these things, a Franciscan friar came into his life, Fra Antonio, who began to mentor Columbus in the hope of the gospel, in the calling upon his own life, and the uniqueness of his own vision. This gave to Columbus a tenacity that he had not had before. He had always had spunk and adventure, an insatiable appetite to learn more, but he didn't have the strength of his convictions to see them through.

Motivations

❖ *Gospel: Good News for the World*

The other thing that Fra Antonio introduced to Columbus was the idea that the Bible itself had a vision of the world that was far larger than anything the Europeans had imagined. He introduced to Columbus the idea that the gospel was not just for the little enclave of Europe but was for the world, that the gospel was to be as beautiful and as powerful in Africa as it was in Iberia, that the gospel was to prevail to the very ends of the earth. Fra Antonio began to show Columbus this global vision for truth and justice prevails all through the Scriptures. That's when things began to come together in Columbus's mind. As a result, much of his planning from the time he met Fra Antonio was rooted in his great motivation to see the gospel become good news for the whole world and not just for the isolated little enclave of Europe.

❖ *Islam: Rear-flanking Crusade*

He was also convinced that one of the great obstacles in the spread of the gospel to the rest of the world was likely to be the great barricade of Islam. He knew the stories of Marco Polo, of how the khans of Mongolia and China yearning for the good news of the gospel asked Marco Polo to bring back missionaries. He knew the stories of African explorers who brought the gospel first to the Gold Coast, finding a ready audience there, but he

realized that with the great blockade of Islam, the gospel would not spread beyond the boundaries of Europe. Somehow, he had to get beyond Islam. So he began to think, *what if we rear-flanked Islam? What if we went the other way around? Instead of trying to break our way through the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, what if we came up behind Islam? And what if we created a missionary and commercial and military crusade to neutralize the evil effects of Islam in the world?* That was the beginning of his thinking.

❖ *Gold: Financing for Jerusalem Quest*

Of course, he wanted to make the commercial part of the grand enterprise central because he did not want to depend upon the fickle whims of European monarchs and their limited treasuries to finance such an endeavor. He thought that, if he attached commercial interests and monetized the enterprise, it would have enough gold to pay for itself. If they opened up a trade route with the khan — with the Ming dynasty — if China could be opened up, then, he thought, perhaps, that would provide sufficient financing to overcome the obstacle of Islam.

Frustrations

Along the way, Columbus faced a host of difficult frustrations.

❖ *1485: King Joao I rejected his plan*

In 1485, King John I — King Joao I — rejected his plan, saying that it was impractical, that there wasn't sufficient warrant for it, that there wasn't scientific evidence for it, that a commercial enterprise couldn't thrive, and that there was no evidence that the khan or the Ming dynasty would actually be cooperative with such an enterprise and he rejected the plan.

❖ *1485: Felipa died*

The very next year, Columbus's dear wife died, leaving him grief-stricken.

❖ *1487: Forbidden to marry Beatriz*

Two years later, he met another woman and fell madly in love, but because of his royal connections with the Portuguese royal family, he was forbidden to marry Beatrice, who was a commoner.

❖ *1486-1491: Rejected in Castile*

Then, in 1486, his first of seven different appeals in the court of Castile were rejected. At the time, what we today call Spain was divided up between five different kingdoms. The two largest kingdoms were Aragon and Castile. Aragon was ruled by King Ferdinand of Aragon. Castile was ruled by Isabella of Castile. These two married but they didn't unite their kingdoms; they continued to rule their kingdoms separately. They had slightly different, but closely-related languages; Castilian is different from Aragonese. Castilian is the parent language of modern-day Iberian Spanish, but Aragonese is a unique dialect that you would hear in a place like Barcelona and it's a very different dialect. They had different courts, different currencies, different flags, different foreign policies, different colonies — they were separate countries.

The Great Enterprise of Castile and Aragon: 1492

Columbus made his appeal to Castile, but at the time Castile was engaged in a great enterprise of its own. Castile and Aragon were in the midst of the *Reconquista*. They were trying to drive the Muslims out of the Iberian Peninsula. There was still a very, very strong country at the south of what today we call Spain. It was the country of Grenada, or more accurately, it was the imam's own territorial khanate of Grenada. They were fighting to drive the Muslims off European soil, and thus were occupied with that and could not be bothered with the idea of a trans-Atlantic enterprise. So, Columbus was frustrated at every turn.

❖ *January 2: Reconquista Succeeds*

By the beginning of 1492, having been rejected for what he thought was the final time, he began to make his way dejectedly back to Porto Santo, where he believed he would live out his days as a dreamer unfulfilled in his aspirations. But, lo and behold, on the second day of the new year, the *Reconquista* succeeded in overrunning the Alhambra in Grenada. The Muslim foothold in Europe had been vanquished.

❖ *January 20: Isabella Reverses Rejection*

By January 20, Columbus had been recalled by Isabella to the court of Castile and she reversed her rejection. She told Columbus that if he could get the financing for his enterprise, he could sail under the flag of Castile. But four days later, realizing that this might be a good opportunity for Aragon, which actually had the larger reach with its colonial possessions — a host of islands and even part of southern Italy at the time — Ferdinand joined in the enterprise as well.

❖ *August 3: Niña, Pinta, & Santa Maria*

Financing was secured from a series of Ligurian banks in central and northern Italy, and by August 3, three ships had been secured, were prepared, and set sail out of southern Castile—the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria* — the *Santa Maria* being Columbus's ship, the *Niña* and the *Pinta* being captained by the Pinzón brothers, who would be commanders along with Columbus on this great enterprise.

❖ *August 12: Canaries for Repairs*

Almost immediately, they ran into trouble as is often the case with the caravels of the time. The rudders were often weak, they often had keel problems, and these ships were no exception. On August 12, barely into their journey, they stopped in the Canaries and there set up for repairs.

❖ *September 5: Boarding for Departure*

On September 5, they boarded for departure. On September 6, they sailed around the Madeiras and on September 7, set out into the open Atlantic. When they sailed into the Sargasso Sea, the Puzón brothers began to have doubts about their captain's ability to lead them onward, but Columbus, tenacious in his vision, pressed them through the Sargasso Sea, and by October 10, it was believed that something was seen on the horizon.

❖ *October 12: Landfall at San Salvador*

On October 11, it was verified — land was before them. On October 12, landfall at San Salvador, a small island that they believed was one of the fringe islands on the Asian coast. They spent a couple of days on that small island and met the friendly natives who lived there. Then they set out to see what else they could discover.

❖ *October 28: Discovered Cuba*

❖ *December 6: Discovered Hispaniola*

❖ *December 25: Established Navidad*

On October 28, they discovered Cuba. On December 6, they discovered Hispaniola, the island that the Dominican Republic and Haiti now possess. On December 25, Columbus, having run the *Santa Maria* aground on the fierce shoals on the northern shore of Hispaniola, decided to establish a small settlement, which he named *La Navidad* for Christmas day, and there they celebrated the nativity of Christ together, gave thanks to the Lord, and erected the flags of Aragon and Castile. They believed that God was opening to them an opportunity unprecedented in modern history.

❖ *January 16: Set Sail for Return*

By January 16, they set sail, this time just in two ships, the *Niña* and the *Pinta*, for their return.

❖ *February 18: Arrived in the Azores*

On February 18, Columbus arrived in the Azores. Shortly after that, he made his way first to Portugal where King John was sorely dejected and then onto the Castilian court where Columbus was received with a hero's welcome. The feat was quite remarkable. It required a tremendous amount of navigational skill and personal fortitude and courage. What they discovered were the islands of the Caribbean. They had not yet discovered the North American or the South American landmass, but they knew they had come upon some grand world. They were still not convinced that what they had discovered wasn't the edge of Asia. In fact, Columbus would continue to think that he had discovered Asia or the outskirts of Asia until the end of his second voyage. Nevertheless, it was a remarkable discovery.

Second Voyage

❖ *Set Sail on September 2, 1493*

❖ *Discovered Puerto Rico and Jamaica*

❖ *Found the Slaughtered Navidad Garrison*

❖ *Hispaniola Campaign and Inquiry*

❖ *Return to Castile*

Almost immediately, Aragon and Castile committed to build a great navy for Columbus. He set sail on September 2, for his second voyage, in 1493, discovering Puerto Rico and Jamaica, making his way back to Hispaniola where he discovered that the *Navidad* garrison and settlement had been slaughtered, and no one remained alive. He attempted to find out what happened there on Hispaniola and tried to pacify the territory. Meanwhile other expeditions were sent from the Castilians, and he returned to Castile angry and feeling betrayed because the lawyers in the court wanted to conduct an inquiry into his conduct. He was exonerated from all wrong-doing and set out on a third voyage in 1498.

Third Voyage

- ❖ *Set Sail on May 30, 1498*
- ❖ *Discovered South American Coastline*

This time, he discovered the South American coastline, and while on the South American coastline, he was able to determine that the South American continent was indeed a massive continent. The way he did this is really quite remarkable. He came to a place where a river was emptying itself into the sea. It was on the northern coast of what is today Venezuela. There was a massive amount of fresh water pouring into the southern Caribbean, and he was able, through a series of mathematical calculations, to determine the size of the land mass based on the speed and the volume of the flow of fresh water from the river into the Caribbean. Simply by seeing the water flow, he was able to determine the size of the South American continent even though he had not sailed along the coast of the South American continent, yet. If you take off the tail-end of Patagonia, he estimated the size accurately.

- ❖ *Faced a Rebellion in Hispaniola*
- ❖ *Arrested and Returned in Manacles*

Unfortunately, while all this was going on, rebellion was underway in Hispaniola, and when he made his way there, his rivals had him arrested and he was returned in chains and manacles to Castile.

Fourth Voyage

- ❖ *Edited the Book of Prophecies in 1500*

As soon as he got to Castile, he was once again exonerated and began to work on his great book, *The Book of Prophecies*.

Here's where the story gets really interesting. We talked at the very beginning of the hour about all the myths about Columbus. Many of them are modern myths that are easily proven wrong. It doesn't take much Snopsing to realize that Columbus didn't sail for Spain because until the civil war of the 1930's there was no such thing as a country called Spain. It's a label that we attach in retrospect to these various kingdoms. It's like calling all of Italy, *Italy*, when Italy didn't exist until the end of the nineteenth century, or all of Germany, *Germany*, when Germany has existed as a single, united nation called Germany for less than seventy-five years in all of history, and most of those seventy-five years have been in our lifetime. So that's an easy myth to dispel.

Some of the other myths are a little more difficult to dispel, unless you actually do your homework. If you want to find out the motives and the capabilities of a person, why not just read his book? Oh, okay, so it's in ancient Castilian, and it's a little difficult, and his handwriting is a little hard, but nevertheless, if scholars were serious and they read Columbus's book, they would discover a tremendous amount of information that immediately dispels modern myths. He worked on his *Book of Prophecies* and had it published in the year 1500.

- ❖ *Set Sail on April 3, 1502*
- ❖ *Discovered Gold at Vergua*

He set sail on his final voyage two years later in 1502 and discovered gold at Vergua. As a result, he returned home once again a great hero and was declared a champion of the whole of the European world.

“Snopsing” the Columbus Myths

So, about these myths. Let's do a little Snopsing here.

❖ *The “Enterprise” was not about “glory and gold”.*

Columbus's primary motivation was, according to Kirkpatrick Sale² in a bestselling book published in 1992 on the quincentenary of Columbus's discovery:

His primary interest in the great enterprise was not glory for the Church but rather it was for his own glory. It was for gold and it was for gluttonous imperialism.

When you read Columbus's own works, you discover that he says absolutely nothing about wealth, and when any question of commercialism comes up, he confesses little interest in the subject apart from “the necessary and vile aspects of financing further enterprise”. Over and over again, what you find in Columbus's book is that he desired for the gospel to go to the ends of the earth. He desired for the oppression that he encountered in various places to come to an end, that the hope of the gospel would bring justice and freedom to ends of the earth, that Islam would be overcome by the grace and the mercy of Christ. That was his motivation. The enterprise was not about glory and gold.

❖ *He did not sail for Spain.*

Secondly, he most assuredly did not sail for Spain.

❖ *Queen Isabella did not finance the expedition.*

Thirdly, Queen Isabella didn't sell her jewels and she didn't finance the enterprise. She didn't have to talk Ferdinand into anything. There were, as Ridley Scott posited in his film *1492*, no romantic sparks going off between Columbus and Isabella. All that is just flap-doodle.

❖ *He was not an “incompetent navigator”.*

He most assuredly was not an incompetent navigator. He was one of the great scholars of the age. He had more maps and more technical prowess than virtually any other navigator at the time. His mathematical wizardry was beyond compare.

❖ *Fifteenth-century sailors did not believe in a flat earth.*

Fifteenth-century sailors did not believe that the earth was flat. Henry the Navigator had disproven that old myth — which, by the way, was not believed by the Phoenicians or the Greeks, either — it was well-known in the ancient world that the earth was a globe. Any of the Portuguese navigators who had sailed up and down the Gold Coast of Africa had easily witnessed the curvature of the earth as they watched ships disappear over the horizon. There was no question whatsoever among most navigators that the earth was indeed a globe. The question was how big a globe is it and how dangerous is it when you sail out of sight of land. At this point, there was still no mechanical device capable of measuring longitude. They could measure latitude with astrolabes, and

² *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy*

they could measure the passing of time with nocturnes. They had rudimentary sextants so they could find themselves, but there was still the problem of longitude and that wouldn't be solved for another two centuries, until the Harrisons. The fact is they didn't believe in a flat earth. They just believed in a dangerous earth, and they were right.

❖ *He did not introduce slavery to the New World. He did not forcibly indenture any Native Americans.*

Columbus did not introduce slavery into the New World. In fact, if you read his *Book of Prophecies*, about half the book is about the need to bring the gracious hope of Christ to all of those who lived in darkness. He talks about the native peoples of Africa, of the East, and, most particularly, of the Indian peoples he had encountered in the New World with the utmost tenderness, compassion, and missionary zeal. He did not take captives back to Spain; this is a myth. There is no corroborating evidence for this — there's no primary source evidence for it — and yet it is constantly propounded and has become a propaganda point over and over again.

Conclusion

As Teddy Roosevelt said,

He was first a Christian, second an adventurer, third a genius, fourth a visionary, fifth a real father, and finally a man of action. Oh, that we had such men in our time.

It was a struggle every step of the way. He never received great acclaim. He came back from his trips as a hero, but almost immediately his rivals found a way to pull the rug right out from under him and to attack him. His vision was widely disregarded, often scoffed at. He was never part of the elite. He fought an uphill battle every step along the way, but he believed that the gospel was true, that the promises of God to bring the blessing of the gospel as far as the curse is found were reliable, should be depended on, and lived by. And so he stuck to his guns.

Part of the reason I love the story of Columbus so much is not just what he was able to do, it's mostly what kind of man he was. Because great advances almost never come easily to those who are called to make them and the leaders who make the most difference almost never have the acclaim of the wider culture. The rich, the powerful, the influential, those who hold the keys of influence — they're almost never willing to follow in the pathway of adventurers like Columbus, servant-leaders like Columbus. That's really important for us to remember. Long after we forget about the little annoyances and distractions, long after those things are forgotten and disregarded, we'll come back to this central truth, which is if you're going to get something done, you will be opposed, it will be hard, nobody will believe you, when you finally accomplish it, no one is likely to give you credit for it, and then the historians of the future will lie about it. That's just the way it is. This is a story we find over and over again, throughout all of history, and yet, as Helen Keller said, "Real progress only comes through persistent little pushes." Columbus just pushed. He continued his little pushes. That's what we learn most about Columbus. I don't expect any of you to learn how to sit at the mouth of a river and estimate landmass based on the water flow of fresh water into salt. I don't expect any of you to take an astrolabe in your back pocket and hop aboard a little sailing ship and find yourself stranded in the middle of the Sargasso Sea. I don't expect you to be able to trot out cool factoids to your friends and say, *Did you know there was no such thing as Spain until the middle of the twentieth century?* That's not the value of knowing this story. The value of knowing this story is learning what it takes to see your

vision, your calling, and your purpose all the way through. It takes everything you've got. You can't waste a moment or a brain cell. It's hard work and it's uphill all the way, but if you fulfill your calling, there is not only a "Well done, good and faithful servant" waiting for you, there is the opportunity to make your mark in history forever, just by doing what nobody else believes is possible, just by doing what you're supposed to do, by being what you're supposed to be. That's why I love the story of Columbus.



Father, I thank you for the fact that there are those whom we can look to in the long span of history who have had the courage of their convictions. They've worked hard to achieve them. Set-backs did not deter them from their tasks. Would you give us a measure of that courage, that vision, that tenacity, that stick-to-it-iveness, that passion, that focus? Would you raise up, right out of this room a new generation of leaders who will go on their own great enterprises in their own fields, and accomplish what you've called them to accomplish. I pray that you'd do this, Lord, in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 5

Hapsburg Conquistadors: Hegemony & *Hamas*

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the American People*, Carolina: The First Slave State; Cotton Mather and the End of the Puritan Utopia

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 50–61

Lesson Synopsis

The word *conquistador* is shared by virtually all of the Spanish, Italianate, and Portuguese languages in one shape or form or another. It literally means conqueror. Here, we look at is the beginnings of the transformation of the New World into colonial and imperial possessions of the European powers.

Opportunity

2

Lesson Topics

The Hapsburgs, Bartolomeu Dias, the Treaty of Tordesillas, John Cabot, Vasco da Gama, Amerigo Vespucci, Vicente Pinzón, Sebastian de Ocampo, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, Ponce de León, Ferdinand Magellan, Hernando Cortéz, Francisco Pizarro

Primary Source Material

The Treaty of Tordesillas,

Vocabulary

confederation, strategic, hegemony, eligible, ply (v.), deploy, propaganda, feat, suzerainty, coalition, nationalism, xenophobia, justify/justification, ideologue, shiftless, impede, deleterious, totalitarian, autonomy, salutary, monopoly, imperialist, hardscrabble, implication, ramification, debunk

Timeline

- ❖ 1486–88: Bartolomeu Dias rounded Cape of Good Hope.
- ❖ 1492–93: Columbus discovered the Americas.
- ❖ 1494: Alexander VI signed the Treaty of Tordesillas.
- ❖ 1497: John Cabot discovered Cape Breton Island.
- ❖ 1497–1499: Vasco da Gama sailed around Africa to India.
- ❖ 1499–1500: Amerigo Vespucci explored coastal Brazil.

- ❖ 1506: Ferdinand Magellan sailed to the Portuguese Indies.
- ❖ 1508–1509: Vicente Pinzón explored the Yucatán.
- ❖ 1508: Sebastian de Ocampo circumnavigated Cuba.
- ❖ 1513: Vasco Nunez de Balboa discovered the Pacific.
- ❖ 1513: Ponce de León discovered and explored Florida.
- ❖ 1521, April 27: Ferdinand Magellan killed in a tribal battle in the Philippines.
- ❖ 1521: Hernando Cortéz and a coalition army conquered Tenochtitlan
- ❖ 1522, September 6: Eighteen men of Magellan's crew arrived home.
- ❖ 1528–1533: Francisco Pizarro and a coalition army conquered Cuzco.



Hapsburg Conquistadors: Hegemony & Hamas

What great European nations would most significantly influence the New World? That, we may say, was the greatest question in American history for the two centuries following the discovery. We know that the answer is the Spanish Hapsburg kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. England would come late. Holland, only briefly. France, hardly at all. Thus, most of the Americas were preeminently and predominantly the domain of the conquistadors.

~ Samuel Eliot Morrison

As you can see, we're talking about the Hapsburgs and their attempt at hegemony in the New World. Having looked at the discovery period, now we're going to move beyond discovery to the conquest. The word *conquistador* is shared by virtually all of the Spanish, Italianate, and Portuguese languages in one shape or form or another. It literally means "conqueror". What we are going to look at is the beginnings of the transformation of the New World into colonial and imperial possessions of the European powers.

9 September

- ❖ *1993: Palestine and Israel agreed to recognize each other and work for peace.*

Palestinian leaders and leaders from Israel agreed to recognize each other, clearing the way for a peace accord. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat signed an agreement in Washington paving the way for peace between Jews and Arabs after forty-five years of war. The agreement meant that the PLO was immediately to recognize Israel's right to exist, which the Palestinians had never done, and Israel agreed to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. That was 1993. Today, as of the present moment, the Palestinians still have not fulfilled the terms of the agreement. They have not recognized Israel's right to exist, so the peace accord has never been signed. Actually, the accord was signed, but none of the terms were ever carried out.

- ❖ *1965: Hurricane Betsy hit Louisiana.*

Hurricane Betsy struck the coast of Louisiana after striking the Bahamas and Florida. It made landfall at Grand Isle, Louisiana, just west of the mouth of the Mississippi River. The storm traveled up-river, causing the Mississippi at New Orleans to rise by ten feet, causing significant flooding of the waters of Lake Pontchartrain and then flooding New Orleans, and leaving seventy-six people dead. Hurricane Betsy was the first billion dollar storm,

without adjusting for inflation, probably about \$15 billion if you *do* adjust for inflation, meaning that it had a destructive capacity at about the level of Katrina. It's always interesting to me, that in all the discussions of Katrina and its aftermath, Betsy is almost never brought up. Virtually all the places that were flooded during Katrina were flooded during the time of Betsy. There was one big difference, however, and that was that during the time of Betsy, there was no such thing as FEMA, there was no federal disaster response, and as a result the city of New Orleans was able to recover within about seven or eight months. Enough said.

❖ *1957: President Dwight Eisenhower signed into law the first civil rights bill to pass Congress.*

President Dwight David Eisenhower signed into law the first civil rights bill to pass Congress since the time of Reconstruction. It was sweeping in its declaration of all of the benefits of the Constitution applying to all of the citizens of the United States. It's always interesting to me that, in all discussions of civil rights, Dwight David Eisenhower's name is never invoked. It's almost as though the civil rights movement began in the sixties with Lyndon Johnson or perhaps Robert Kennedy and the movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr. But in fact, the civil rights movement began some years earlier, and its first great conflict, of course, was in Little Rock, Arkansas, when President Eisenhower forcibly integrated the schools there.

❖ *1956: Elvis Presley appeared on the Ed Sullivan Show.*

Also on this day, on the evening program of *Ed Sullivan*, Elvis Presley made his first appearance. It was a rather raucous affair. We're told that TV monitors were set up all over Times Square and up and down Broadway outside of the Ed Sullivan Theater and that there were riots, that young girls screamed until they fainted. It was a scene unparalleled in entertainment history. It's always interesting to me that when the story of the Beatles is told — the Beatles came along some seven years later — that no mention of the pandemonium of Elvis Presley is ever brought up, as if what the Beatles did was totally unprecedented. Not true.

Isn't it interesting what we choose to remember and what we choose to forget?

❖ *1945: First computer bug was discovered.*

The first computer bug was discovered at the computer facility, the very advanced computer facility, at Harvard — the Harvard Faculty of the Computation Laboratory. They traced an error in the Mark II computer to a moth that was trapped in a relay, thus coining the term "software bug". Literally, that's where we get the term.¹

❖ *1776: The "United Colonies" became the "United States" for the first time.*

The United Colonies, which had only recently declared their independence from the mother realm of the United Kingdom, officially became the United States for the first time. As a result, for several years, Independence Day was celebrated as September 9. It wasn't celebrated on July 4th because not much happened on July 4. The Declaration of Independence had been signed by most of the delegates of the Continental Congress on July 8th,

¹ "In 1946, when Danis Hopper was released from active duty after WWII, she joined the Harvard Faculty at the Computation Laboratory where she continued her work on the Mark II and Mark III. She traced an error in the Mark II to a moth trapped in a relay, coining the term bug. This bug was carefully removed and taped to the log book. Stemming from the first bug, today we call errors or glitch's in a program a bug." (<http://ei.cs.vt.edu/~history/Hopper.Danis.html>)

"American engineers have been calling small flaws in machines 'bugs' for over a century. Thomas Edison talked about bugs in electrical circuits in the 1870's." (<http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/object.cfm?key=35&objkey=30>) So, while it wasn't a brand new term, this was the first time it was applied to computers. *Ed.*

when it was made public. The Declaration was voted on on June 9, several weeks earlier, so July 4 didn't take on any kind of symbolic significance until Alexander Hamilton wrote a speech for George Washington in which George Washington, in a sense, created the mythology of July 4. At any rate, happy Independence Day.

It is interesting what we choose to remember and what we choose to forget. (In case you haven't noticed, that's going to be our theme, today — what we remember and what we forget.)

❖ *1556: Pope Paul IV refused to crown Ferdinand of Austria as emperor.*

Pope Paul IV refused to crown Ferdinand of Austria, the brother of Emperor Charles V of Austria, as the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The reason he did this was that he was fearful of the overarching plan of the Hapsburg family to unite all the crowns of Europe and take possession of all the great colonial establishments across the sea. In other words, he was fearful that Hapsburg hegemony would indeed succeed. That is going to be the lens through which we understand the conquistadors.

Dynastic Change

The Hapsburgs and Hegemony

So we have to do a bit of backwards history, and then we have to define some terms before we can actually enter into this conversation because there are some things that we have chosen to remember and some things that we have chosen to forget.

The Hapsburgs were the Austrian royal family that had held domains in the Germanic lands and all the way over into Burgundy for several centuries prior to the sixteenth. It was the Hapsburgs who took possession of the inheritance rights of the Holy Roman Empire, which had been in existence, in a sense, since the time of Charlemagne's glorious coronation on Christmas Day in the year 800. The Hapsburgs, by the thirteenth century, had taken control of the inheritance rights of the Holy Roman Empire and gradually expanded the holdings of the empire, throughout all of the Germanic and Frankish lands and across most of Christendom. It was a loose confederation that had very little real power, very little taxation power, and very little power to marshal troops. So when Sulieman the Magnificent began to launch his *ji'had* at the end of the fifteenth, beginning of the sixteenth century, it was very difficult for the Holy Roman Emperor to prepare a defense of Europe. So, the Hapsburgs, over a couple of generations, began to plot and plan strategic alliances that would unite all of the crowns of Europe under their authority. If you want to understand the Spanish Armada, if you want to understand the French and Indian Wars, if you want to understand the exploration of the conquistadors — the conquests of South America, the Treaty of Tordesillas — if you want to understand any of that, you've got to understand the thrust of the Hapsburgs toward hegemony. If you want to understand why it was that the Protestant Reformation wasn't crushed militarily, then you have to understand the Hapsburgs' desire for hegemony. If you want to understand all the things that caused France and England to be the chief rivals of the Spanish dominions, then you need to understand the Hapsburg thrust toward hegemony.

❖ *Ferdinand and Isabella*

Ferdinand and Isabella, king of Aragon and queen of Castile, had a number of children including several eligible, marriageable children for the royal crowns.

❖ *Maximilian, Philip, and Joanna*

Maximilian, who was the Hapsburg emperor and who really devised the Hapsburg plan for hegemony, married his son Philip to Joanna, the child of Ferdinand and Isabella. When Ferdinand and Isabella's natural line died out, Philip and Joanna inherited all the crown rights to both Aragon and Castile as well as the other Spanish dominions, like the Basque country of León, and the region around Barcelona known as Catalonia, as well as all of the Sicilian isles and Naples. In other words, into the hand of the Hapsburgs fell a vast amount of the western Mediterranean, but in addition, all of the discoveries of the conquistadors, of Columbus, of Cortés, of Magellan — all of that passed into the hands of the Hapsburgs as well.

❖ *Emperor Charles V*

❖ *Valois, Burgundy, Castile, Catalonia, Aragon, León, and Trastámara*

So the Hapsburgs, under Emperor Charles V — who became king of Castile and Aragon in 1516, when he was sixteen years old, became the king of Austria in 1518 and the Holy Roman Emperor in 1521 — united all of those southern and central European crowns under his authority. He now possessed Hungary, Austria, virtually all of the Germanies, much of what we today call the Netherlands and Belgium, and parts of France, including Burgundy. He had under his authority all of the domains of the Valois, which were, besides the Bourbons, the strongest royal family in all the French-speaking lands. He had Castile and Catalonia, Aragon, León, as well as the royal crowns of the three Napolis — the old Norman possessions of Sicily, Naples, and northward just to the south of Rome, a dominion under Aragon called Trastámara. All of that came under the authority of Charles V.

Meanwhile, his explorers were plying the seas and discovering new lands and new territories in America. During his rule, over the course of about thirty years, some one quarter of a million soldiers, once deployed in the crusading armies of the *Reconquista*, now went across the sea and began to conquer and discover new lands in the Americas, adding them all to the Hapsburg realms.

It wasn't the Spanish who sent the conquistadors. Remember, there is no Spain. It was the Hapsburgs who controlled Castile and Aragon, who had married into the Portuguese royal family, who controlled most of what is today Italy, who controlled most of what is Austria, Germany, and Northern Europe. It was the Hapsburgs, and their plan was total hegemony.

Definitions

❖ *Hegemony: Greek for Total Cultural Domination*

Hegemony is a Greek word. It was devised out of several smaller words in Greek during the time of the Athenian League in antiquity. It literally means total domination by one small group over a vast number of diverse groups. It's domination culturally, politically, and militarily with a centralized control. It was used by the Greeks to describe the *ma'at* governmental system of ancient Egypt² and the *hamasanta*³ worldviews of the Babylonians and the Assyrians. The idea of hegemony was that one very cunning and resourceful power could gain control over the whole world.

² The ancient Egyptian *ma'at* at governmental system was a pyramidal-shaped, hierarchical structure, with all the power at the top and most of the people at the bottom. *Ed.*

³ *Hamasanta* is a neologism that comes from the Hebrew word *hamas*, discussed below. *Ed.*

Tears for Fears may say that everybody wants to rule the world,⁴ but it is just not true. Only people like Charles V want to.

❖ *Hamas: Hebrew for Senseless, Brutal Violence*

There's another word that we need to have in our arsenal before we launch too far into this discussion and that is *hamas*. It's a Hebrew word, used in the Old Testament several times, particularly in the minor prophets. It's a word that describes a particular kind of senseless violence. The kind of brutality that is imposed seemingly for no other purpose than to intimidate or to make a point or to exercise bravado with absolutely no concern whatsoever for the consequences of the victims. It was the word that the Hebrew prophets applied to the Babylonians, to the Assyrians, and to the Egyptians when they exercised totalitarian imperial control over the conquered peoples of the ancient world.

❖ *Hesed: Hebrew for Loving-Kindness and Mercy*

The third word is also a Hebrew word, also used often in the minor prophets. It's the word *hesed*. *Hesed* means lovingkindness or overwhelming mercy, unwarranted, undeserved, unmitigated mercy. What's interesting is that, for the Hapsburgs, there was a peculiar combination in their drive for hegemony of *hamas* and *hesed*. They attempted to justify their *hamas*, their brutal violence, their conquests on the basis of *hesed*, that it was actually a mercy for all of the peoples of the earth to come under their control. Why? Because *they* were the experts, *they* understood better, *they* had a better plan, *they* would force people against their wills to be free.

Sound familiar? It should because the peculiar combination of *hamas* in the name of *hesed* is the propaganda line always used by every dictator, by every oppressive government, by every attempt to force people to do what they don't want to do, supposedly for their own good.

The New World of the Hapsburgs

Unfortunately, most totalitarians, most brutalitarians, aren't as self-conscious about what they're doing as the Hapsburgs were. The Hapsburgs knew exactly what they were doing and why they were doing it. Unfortunately for moderns, the combination of *hesed* and *hamas* has just become a habit. At any rate, those definitions help put into place some of the history that we're about to explore because we're going to look at one of the most remarkable achievements of any army, of any conquest that the world has ever known, one of the fastest conquests of vast territories, and a stunning achievement that was combined with the most brutal, oppressive, and *hamas*-like violence that the world has ever seen. It was the movement of the Hapsburgs.

⁴ The song "Everybody Wants to Rule the World" was released in 1986 on the album *Songs from the Big Chair*, by Tears for Fears, written by Roland Orzabal, Ian Stanley, and Chris Hughes. *Ed.*

Exploring the New World

❖ *1486–88: Bartolomeu Dias rounded Cape of Good Hope*

❖ *1492–93: Columbus discovered the Americas*

Now we've already seen that the world was largely opened up when Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in his expedition of 1486–1488, and then Columbus, essentially on the calculations that he'd been making as he devised his grand enterprise over several years, in 1492 and 1493, opened up the Atlantic Ocean. That pipeline soon became a superhighway for all the former conquistadors of the *Reconquista* to ply their trade of military conquest on a whole new continent.

❖ *1494: Alexander VI signed the Treaty of Tordesillas*

In 1494, Pope Alexander VI signed the Treaty of Tordesillas, which essentially said that the new territories that were being discovered in the Americas would be divided between the Portuguese and the Castilians and Aragonese along a particular line⁵ — that is why part of South America passed into Portuguese hands, what we call Brazil, and most of the rest fell into Catalanian, Castilian, Leonese, and Aragonese hands, thus making them Spanish.

❖ *1497: John Cabot discovered Cape Breton Island*

❖ *1497–1499: Vasco da Gama sailed around Africa to India*

In 1497, the English, realizing that they were getting behind the game as more and more galleys from Castile crossed the ocean, decided to hire some Genoese explorers including John Cabot. They sent him across the North Atlantic hoping to find a Northwest Passage to achieve Christopher Columbus's original vision, which was to reach China. He discovered the Cape Breton Islands in 1497. It was that same year that Vasco da Gama sailed around Africa to India.

❖ *1499–1500: Amerigo Vespucci explored coastal Brazil*

Amerigo Vespucci explored coastal Brazil in 1499–1500.

❖ *1508–1509: Vicente Pinzón explored the Yucatán*

After that, a flood of explorers, adventurers, traders, and military commanders made their way across to the Americas. Pinzón explored the Yucatán in 1508–1509.

⁵ "On June 7, 1494, Spain and Portugal met at Tordesillas, Spain and signed a treaty moving the line 270 leagues west, to 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. This new line (located at approximately 46° 37') gave Portugal more claim to South America yet also provided Portugal with automatic control over most of the Indian Ocean."
<http://geography.about.com/library/weekly/aa112999a.htm>

- ❖ *1508: Sebastian de Ocampo circumnavigated Cuba*
- ❖ *1513: Vasco Nunez de Balboa discovered the Pacific*
- ❖ *1513: Ponce de León discovered and explored Florida*

Ocampo circumnavigated Cuba in 1508. Balboa discovered the Pacific in 1513. Ponce de León, that same year discovered and began exploring Florida. The flood of explorers throughout the Caribbean, throughout northern South America, and upwards into North America was astonishing.

The New World of the Hapsburgs

In a span of twenty-five to thirty years, about a quarter of a million explorers came from the Hapsburg realms to explore in the New World. By the end of Charles V's reign, almost one half of the economy of the Hapsburg realm came from trade that had only been initiated twenty to twenty-five years earlier. When you think about travel times and distances, technology, etc., to think that this vast, sprawling, imperial realm that had dominated European politics over the course of the previous three centuries had had such a revolution in their economy that half of it — one-fifth of their silver, one-half of their gold, and virtually all their foodstuffs — came from trade that had just begun, that is astonishing; that's a revolution, the likes of which we can hardly even imagine, even with our iPhones being outmoded every six months. The speed of this transformation was mind-boggling.⁶

Magellan and the Whole World

The result was that vast wealth poured into the Hapsburg domains, solidified their control, and pushed new exploration further and further around the whole globe. Charles V turned to a Portuguese explorer for his greatest ambition.

- ❖ *1506: Ferdinand Magellan sailed to the Portuguese Indies*

In 1506, Ferdinand Magellan began his career by sailing to the Portuguese Indies — around Africa and to the Portuguese trading stations in what is today India.

- ❖ *1513: Captained fleet to Morocco in Battle of Azamor*
- ❖ *1514: Defected to Castile; Captained Trading Vessels*

By 1513, he had captained a fleet to Morocco in the Battle of Azamor, so he had both commercial and military experience. The next year, he defected to Castile. He began captaining trading vessels for the Hapsburgs.

- ❖ *1519: Departed on August 10 for the Spice Islands*

In 1519, he departed for a grand expedition at the behest of Charles for the Spice Islands. This was going to be the real gem. The Spice Islands were the Indonesian islands that had stirred the imaginations of many explorers because of their exotic wildlife, people, foodstuffs, and the opportunities they provided the Europeans.

⁶ Because of copyright issues, the map Dr. Grant showed his students couldn't be included here. If you Google *conquistadors*, you should be able to find several maps online. *Ed.*

- ❖ *1520: Five Ships; Two hundred eighty men; sailed south on Brazilian Coast*
- ❖ *1520: Passage through the Straits; November 1-29*
- ❖ *1521: Reached the Equator on February 13*
- ❖ *1521: Arrived in the Philippines on March 16*

In 1520, he sailed southward along the Brazilian coast with two hundred eighty men in five ships. Later, that year, he passed through the straits at the end of Patagonia — currently called the Straits of Magellan. He reached the equator in the Pacific Ocean in 1521, on February 13th, and arrived in the Philippines, sailing all the way across the Pacific, on March 16th.

- ❖ *1521: Magellan Killed in a Tribal Battle on April 27*
- ❖ *1522: Eighteen Men Arrived Home on September 6*

Alas, Magellan wasn't able to enjoy his great achievement because he was killed in battle in April of that year. Nevertheless, his men carried on the voyage; they sailed south, reached the Spice Isles, stopped in Timor, Java, and Sumatra, and then started to make their way all the way around the world. The discovery of the Strait of Magellan was an extraordinary discovery because every attempt to sail south of Patagonia had resulted in disaster — it's very stormy. By finding the Strait of Magellan, Magellan was able to find a way to navigate around the south of South America, and his achievement around the globe was absolutely astonishing. Only eighteen men ultimately made it all the way back to Castile, but the feat had been accomplished.

Establishing Suzerainty

It was now believed that nothing could stop the Hapsburgs from hegemony across the whole of the globe. Charles V was certain that the original dream of Columbus to rear-flank the Muslim horde was now within his grasp and he would become the ruler of the entire world. In order to establish his absolute suzerainty — his absolute rule, his lordship over the earth — he began to deploy a whole series of remarkable conquests.

Mexico

- ❖ *Hernando Cortéz (1485-1547)*
- ❖ *1519: Five Hundred Men; Eleven Ships; Vera Cruz*
- ❖ *1520: Trade Mission; Aztec Tyranny*
- ❖ *1521: Coalition Conquest of Tenochtitlan*

There was Hernando Cortéz, who in 1519, with five hundred men and eleven ships landed at Vera Cruz. He was actually a fugitive from the governor of what was then Cuba and was attempting to forge his own way. He tried to set up a trade mission with the vast and incredibly wealthy Aztec imperial domain. The Aztecs had imposed a fierce tyranny on the peoples of central Mexico. Cortéz quickly discovered that the peoples who were oppressed by this tyranny were ready for liberation. With a coalition army of about two hundred thousand native peoples, Cortéz and his handful of men conquered the great Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan and came to control nearly all of Mexico.

❖ *1524–1536: Honduras; Baja; Tejas*

It was in 1525–1536 that the viceroy of the region, Cortéz, undertook the conquest of Honduras, Baja, and northward into the territory called Tejas.

Peru

❖ *Francisco Pizarro (1478-1541)*

❖ *1509: Balboa's Chief of Staff*

❖ *1524: Search for the Mythical Empire*

Meanwhile, Francisco Pizarro was beginning his great work in the New World. He had been Balboa's chief of staff in 1509, and while the discovery of the Pacific was a great achievement, Pizarro had greater dreams still. There were legends according to the native peoples in America, who by the way were not yet called Indians — Columbus did not call them Indians; he didn't think he had arrived in India; he originally thought they were on the outer islands of China, so the natives, if he had called them anything, would have been known as Chinamen instead of Indians. The name *Indians* emerged sometime after, with either Cortéz, Balboa, or Pizarro. But in 1524, based upon the stories of these native peoples, Pizarro became convinced that there was some great, rich, mythical empire to the south. He set out in search of it.

❖ *1528-1533: Coalition Conquest of Cuzco*

By 1528, he had discovered that great mythical empire — it was the empire of the Incas in Peru. He put together a coalition using the native peoples, in this case the Quechua peoples who had been dominated by the Incas — the Incas were the names of the rulers, not of the peoples who ruled. Forging a coalition with the Quechua, Pizarro and his troops conquered the great high Andean capital, Cuzco, and began to crush all the Incan resistance.

❖ *1535: Lima and the Hapsburg Empire*

By 1535, he had established Lima as the capital of the Hapsburg Empire in the West. This great conquest paved the way for the vast wealth of the Andes to be poured into Europe. I've visited Peru on a number of occasions, and one of the things that's striking about Peru is how incredibly rich the land is. It's absolutely, stunningly beautiful. It is astonishingly well-appointed with rich fertile valleys, a wide array of foodstuffs, the gold, the silver, they abound in this country, and yet, throughout all of known history, the region has been horribly impoverished. How is it that a nation so rich can have people who are all so poor?

A nation doesn't get rich because of the stuff it has. That's one of the things we've seen throughout history. There's no possible way to explain America as opposed to Brazil, if all you measured were natural resources. Brazil should dominate the world because of its natural resources. Why does it not? Why does America? If natural resources were the only measure, then Russia and South Africa should be the greatest nations on the earth. Why are they not? Why isn't Peru wealthier than Hong Kong and Singapore? Because the peoples have always been oppressed and they have never known freedom. First it was the Incas, then it was the Hapsburgs, then it was one military junta after another all the way to the present day of corrupt and perverse administrations that carry on the legacy of half a millennium of flap-doodle.

The Black Legend

But, all of this together helps to create what was, very quickly, called the black legend. The black legend emerged out of colonial rivalry and a bit of historical truth.

Colonial Rivalry

- ❖ *Emerging Nationalism*
- ❖ *Xenophobia Toward Rivals*
- ❖ *Political Propaganda*
- ❖ *Imperial Justification*

Here's the essence of the black legend — Hispanic peoples are untrustworthy, manipulative, cruel, and destructive. The black legend was perpetrated because of France, England, and Holland's attempts to stop the onward march of Hapsburg hegemony. Whenever you have emerging nationalism, a sort of rivalry between nation-states, there are certain mythologies that the ideologues create about opposing nation-states. The black legend emerged during the sixteenth century about how despicable and vile all the conquistadors were. So we have all kinds of stories about the brutality of the conquistadors, the shiftless character and nature of the conquistadors. It creates a kind of xenophobia. *Xenophobia* is a long and complex term from Greek and Latin origins that means a hatred of outsiders.

When England, France, and others attempted to stem the tide of Hapsburg hegemony, they created a whole series of stories that were essentially political propaganda to try to put the Hapsburgs in the worst possible light. This was to justify their own imperial ambitions because they wanted to do exactly what the Hapsburgs were doing, just unimpeded by the Hapsburgs' own hegemony.

Historical Truth

- ❖ *Ambitious Hegemony*
- ❖ *Intruding *Hamas**
- ❖ *Deleterious Culture Clashes*
- ❖ *Inevitable Pathogens*

Of course, there was some historical truth behind the black legend. There's no question that the Hapsburgs had a clear plan for ambitious hegemony that included intruding *hamas*. And it's true that there were deleterious cultural clashes that inevitably result when two cultures come together. Read anything about the conquest of the Americas and one of the first things you'll see is the claim that 85% of the population of the Americas died in the first two generations from things like smallpox epidemics. It's true that when cultures come together, they swap out diseases that neither of the two cultures have ever encountered before. There were smallpox epidemics among the native American peoples. There were also malaria epidemics among the conquistadors. When you bring two cultures together, you're going to have culture clashes. You're going to have pathogens, conflicting traditions, and all of that kind of stuff. So, all of that is absolutely true. The Spanish suffered as much as the Portuguese and the native Americans did. Here's the bottom line: this period of conquest was a right royal mess for all parties involved. There are no good guys in the story. The Incas weren't good guys. They were totalitarians who happened to be conquered by totalitarians. The Aztecs weren't good guys. They were totalitarians who

were conquered by totalitarians. The British weren't good guys. The French weren't good guys. The Dutch weren't good guys. Everyone was out for some sort of power grab.

The black legend tried to make it look one-sided. The black legend, by the way, persisted through to the Spanish American War in 1898 and all the way into the First World War, when the black legend attached to the Hapsburgs brought down the Hapsburg Empire in Austria and its alliance with Germany. The black legend persists even to the present day, as there are suspicions between cultures.

Essential Differences

English and Dutch

- ❖ *Settlers, Farmers, and Tradesmen*
- ❖ *Commercial Trade Companies*
- ❖ *Autonomy and Salutary Neglect*
- ❖ *Families and Communities*

There are some essential differences between the colonies and the colonization systems, which we'll look at in more detail, but the English and Dutch came primarily as settlers, farmers, and tradesmen who set up commercial trade companies. Because of salutary neglect⁷ and autonomy, their mother nations simply didn't involve themselves in the affairs and administrations of the colonies. The Dutch and the English brought their families and created communities.

French and Spanish

- ❖ *Adventurers, Soldiers, and Traders*
- ❖ *State-Owned Monopolies*
- ❖ *Imperial Governance*
- ❖ *Privateers and Plantations*

The French and the Spanish were primarily adventurers, soldiers, and traders. They were under the Hapsburg-imposed hegemony with state-owned monopolies, imperial governance, privateers, and plantations rather than homesteads, towns, and communities. All this is a part of what makes the difference between North America and South America.

Here's what we need to understand about this whole period. We pick and choose the stuff that we want to remember. We pick and choose based upon our own political preferences and prejudices. As a result, we often paint the conquistadors as murderous imperialists, very unlike the English settlers who came and, while there are differences, the differences are minute. And it's not as if these explorers came and discovered paradise. As we saw, the Mayas, the Incas, and the Aztecs had imposed brutal tyrannies. When Cortéz first saw Tenochtitlan, and saw the great temple and the sacrifices that were performed there, he was astonished at the number of

⁷ *Salutary neglect* will be explained in more detail in a later lecture. It refers to the neglect of the mother countries and their lack of hands-on governance of their colonies, giving the colonies the opportunity to develop traditions of self-government. *Ed.*

women and children slaughtered every single day at the temple, sacrificed to the gods. Pizarro was astonished at the overwhelming wealth that the Incas had possessed for themselves, while the Quechuas lived in hardscrabble poverty. It was not the discovery of paradise, it was the discovery of the ancient world of *hamasantal* tyranny. They found *hamas*. So when we look at the period of the imperial conquest of the conquistadors, we have to keep all that in mind. We have to remember that what we often get in our history books is what we want to remember, not everything that we ought to remember. Then, worst of all, we forget that the implications of these actions have ramifications all the way to the present.

The Hapsburgs were able to justify what they did for the same reasons and with the same arguments that modern governments use to justify the imposition of their tyrannies today. It's the same arguments, the same line of reasoning. If we're not able to pick that apart and see it, if we don't understand the concepts of hegemony and *hamas* and *hesed*, then we're not going to be able to make sense of the modern world. When we can separate these details, then we can understand the application of the Fall to every single human institution and every single nation and the hope of redemption that comes only in the gospel. This is what we've got to understand as citizens of the United States in the twenty-first century just as clearly as it was something that the people under the Hapsburg dominions in the sixteenth century needed to understand. The difference is that they knew exactly what they were doing and often we're completely oblivious to it.

So our great challenge is to look at the world with informed intent. Today I got an email from someone who said that he'd figured out, with the help of some weird website, just exactly what the movie *The Wizard of Oz* was all about. It was this five- or six-paragraph-long description of all the symbolism of the movie, which was made in 1939 by Yip Harburg. It was this very complex description; the tornado that swept through Kansas was the disorientation and the destructiveness of the Great Depression and, all the different things that come up throughout the movie from Dorothy's last name to the difference between the witches and the munchkins. It had excellent explanations of it all. It's fascinating to read. Here's the problem. The book was written in 1898. The movie follows the story of the book very carefully. There are some things that were changed because Yip Harburg was trying to turn it from a diatribe against William Jennings Bryant into a diatribe for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal, so there's some confusion in the imagery here and there, but the book was written in 1898. This person had come along and wrote an ingenious explanation of all the symbolism and all this stuff about tax ID numbers and government conspiracies and why the Tin Man has an ax, a fascist symbol. All of this is very complex; the problem is that it's based on a false premise. They were remembering wrongly. He thought that the film was the story, but the book came thirty years earlier. So this whole imagined history was just fantasy. It wasn't about the Great Depression. The Great Depression was still thirty years in the future.

It's an easy mistake to make. It's why we have to debunk urban myths at every turn. We take one little tidbit of information, often false information, and we run with it. We create this whole scenario in our minds, almost everything we know in modern history has a back-story that we don't know, so to interpret modern history with the few facts that we have and the misinformation that we have means that we're out there creating websites and these long scenarios about stuff that's just not true. It's just not true. You've got to learn how to think. Do your homework, check the facts, even if the facts overthrow your pet ideas. You've got to think. You've got to check, pursue the truth, or you'll be swept up like one more Quechua in the Incan hegemony. And God help us all if that happens.



Lord, I thank you for your kindness in not leaving us to the devices of our own misinformation and our own foolishness. We do pray that you would enable us to think, to understand and then to act accordingly. I pray that you would give these students tools to ask the right questions, to find the right answers, to do the right things. I pray that you would accomplish this for your glory and for the benefit of all your people, in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 6

Scramble for Colonies: Adventurers & Settlers

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the American People*, Oglethorpe and Early Georgia; Why Colonial Control Did Not Work
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 62–72

Lesson Synopsis

Once the Hapsburgs gained a foothold, all of those other kingdoms that desired to halt the Hapsburg push for hegemony started to scramble for colonies as well.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Exploration, John Cabot, Jacques Cartier, Jean Ribaut, Roanoke Island, Samuel de Champlain, Henry Hudson, Jamestown, Peter Minuit, Peter Stuyvesant

Primary Source Material

None for this lesson.

Vocabulary

admixture, pogroms, bequeath, adjacent, haughty, vaunting, havoc, culmination, dissident, disenfranchised, unencumbered, strictures, missional, pervade, amalgamate, subsidize, entrepreneurial, accrue, dispossession, Huguenot, emigrate (contrast with immigrate), privateer, assimilate, tantalize, circumnavigate, dyke, disparity

Timeline

- ❖ 1496: Henry VII commissioned John Cabot to search for the Northwest Passage.
- ❖ 1497: John Cabot lays claims to North American lands for England.
- ❖ 1534: Jacques Cartier claimed New France.
- ❖ 1562: Jean Ribaut established a Huguenot colony called Charlesfort, in Florida.
- ❖ 1564: Fort Caroline established.
- ❖ 1565: All the French Huguenots at Ft. Caroline were slaughtered by the Spanish Hapsburgs.
- ❖ 1572: The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the dispersion of the French Huguenots
- ❖ 1585: The Roanoke Island settlement failed.

- ❖ 1587: The second Roanoke Island colony disappeared.
- ❖ 1603: Henri IV commissioned Samuel de Champlain to search for the Northwest Passage. He discovered the St. Lawrence River.
- ❖ 1607: Henry Hudson hired by the Muscovy Company to search for the Northwest Passage.
- ❖ 1607: Jamestown was founded.
- ❖ 1608: Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec.
- ❖ 1609: Henry Hudson sailed for the Dutch East India Company, which bought out the Muscovy Company.
- ❖ 1609: Champlain discovered Lake Champlain.
- ❖ 1610: Hudson founds the Northwest Trading Company.
- ❖ 1610: Jamestown's Starving Time
- ❖ 1610: Champlain discovered Vermont.
- ❖ 1611: Hudson abandoned in Hudson Bay by his crew.
- ❖ 1618–1648: The Thirty Years' War
- ❖ 1619: The Virginia House of Burgesses was established.
- ❖ 1621: Peter Minuit became the director of the Dutch West India Company.
- ❖ 1624: Fort Orange (modern-day Albany) established by Peter Minuit
- ❖ 1626: Manhattan Purchased for \$24
- ❖ 1638: Delaware's Fort Christina Built
- ❖ 1642–1648: The English Civil War
- ❖ 1646: Peter Stuyvesant became governor of New Netherlands.
- ❖ 1664: New Amsterdam (current-day New York) founded.
- ❖ 1688: The Glorious Revolution; William and Mary ascended the throne.



Scramble for Colonies: Adventurers & Settlers

The scramble for American colonies by the great European powers throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not only defined the history of the Americas, it defined the history of the entire world. Indeed, it continues to define our world today.

It is the one great movement that straddles the feudal and the modern worlds.

~ Barbara Tuchman

Last time, we talked about the Hapsburgs and their various colonial possessions, primarily in Latin America, but pushing upward into North America as well. Once the Hapsburgs gained a foothold, all of those other kingdoms that desired to halt the Hapsburg push for hegemony started to scramble for colonies as well. So today we'll take a look at that scramble for colonies.

14 September

❖ *Holy Rood Day*

❖ *335: The Empress Helena commissioned the building of a magnificent church in Jerusalem.*

Today is Holy Rood Day. *Rood* is the Medieval English word for the Cross of Christ. September 14 was made Holy Rood Day because it was on this day in the year 335 that the Empress Helena commissioned the building of a magnificent church in Jerusalem following the discovery of a piece of the Cross of Christ. The church was dedicated on this day a year later with a ceremony of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, or the Holy Rood. Of course, that church is today the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It's been remodeled and rebuilt a number of times on the old foundations of the Empress Helena's first church, but because of that, this day has long been celebrated throughout Christendom as a day on which we reflect upon the ultimate sacrifice of Christ on the Cross.

❖ *1636: John Harvard donated his library to New College Cambridge.*

It was also on this day in 1636 that John Harvard, a pastor in the Massachusetts Bay Colony bequeathed his library and half of his estate to the new college that had been established in New Town, which was just across the river from the city of Boston. New Town was renamed Cambridge, and New College was renamed the following year for Harvard himself. Thus began Harvard College.

❖ *1741: George Handel completed his Messiah.*

In 1741, on this day, after working without interruption for twenty-three days, George Frideric Handel completed his greatest oratorio, *The Messiah*.

❖ *1814: Francis Scott Key penned the words to the Star-Spangled Banner.*

And it was on this day in 1814 that Francis Scott Key, a Washington, D.C. attorney, penned the immortal words of the *Star-Spangled Banner*. The United States was at the time in the midst of the War of 1812, a fierce battle for its survival with its former colonial master, Great Britain. The War of 1812 had resulted already in the burning of the capital and the White House, and it looked as if the British might actually take possession of their old colonies once again. Francis Scott Key, a lawyer, was sent to the British Naval Command in Baltimore Harbor, adjacent to Ft. McHenry, to secure the release of a prisoner. Key came aboard one of the British ships and watched the fierce bombardment of Ft. McHenry through the night of September 13. As he watched in agony, he also beheld the fierce defense of the Americans on the other side of the harbor. Though the battle raged through the night, the American defenses did stand firm, and the sight of the flag still flying over the fort the next morning at dawn inspired the young lawyer to pen the words. Later, the words were set to the English tune *To Anacreon in Heaven*, and it became a standard on the patriotic repertoire. Congress officially confirmed it as the national anthem more than one hundred years later, just prior to the First World War. Now, we're probably familiar with the first stanza, but we almost never hear the rest of the hymn. We know these words:

O! Say can you see by the dawn's early light,
 What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
 Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight,
 O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?

And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
 Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there;
 O! Say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave,
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
 Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
 What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
 As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
 Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
 In full glory reflected now shines in the stream:
 'Tis the star-spangled banner, O! long may it wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
 That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
 A home and a country, should leave us no more?
 Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
 No refuge could save the hireling and slave
 From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave:
 And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave,
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

O! Thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
 Between their lovèd home and the war's desolation.
 Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the Heav'n rescued land
 Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
 Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
 And this be our motto: "In God is our trust;"
 And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

It's too bad they don't sing that last part at football games because it reminds us that the song is not about the flag. We think that when we recite the pledge, that we pledge to the flag, but what Francis Scott Key understood is that the flag is simply a symbol that stands for the good providence of a sovereign God who has called a people to stand no matter what for freedom, for their freedom and for the freedom of every other person.

❖ *1847: American forces took control of Mexico City.*

It was also on this day in 1847 that American forces under General Winfield Scott took control of Mexico City in the Mexican American War. It was the culmination of a long struggle between the Spanish, the Hapsburg dominions all along the southern coast, and the western borders of America.

❖ *1901: Theodore Roosevelt became president.*

It was also on this day in 1901 that Theodore Roosevelt, at the age of forty-two, became the youngest president when he was sworn in on the death of William McKinley. McKinley died in Buffalo, New York, from gunshot wounds that he had received at the Pan-American Exposition a couple of weeks prior on September 6. So it was that a remarkable era in American history began.

North America Up for Grabs

Obviously, with our discussion today, we make our way into the very beginnings of American history. Up to this point, we've talked about the discovery of the Americas and what the Meso-American cultures were like prior to the coming of Columbus and the other explorers prior to the time of the conquistadors, but today we're going to talk about the settling of North America and the struggle that came to the North American colonies, and we'll talk about a number of peculiar people who are often left out of the story. America's founding doesn't begin with the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the coming of the Pilgrims. There was an English settlement before that at Jamestown and an English settlement before that at Roanoke Island and an English settlement before that, also at Roanoke Island. There were Dutch, Swedish, and French Huguenot settlements. We'll talk about those stories and the admixture of all of these peoples and what was common in their quests and what set them apart in terms of their distinctives. We'll talk about why some of the settlements failed and why some succeeded beyond the expectations of what anyone might have predicted.

Why They Came

You might wonder why people settled, why those accustomed to comforts and the prosperity of western European Christendom would risk everything — perilous trans-Atlantic voyage, the uncertainty of landing on unexplored and unsettled lands. Why would they try to carve out a living for themselves, their wives, and their children in this far-away land? The reasons are wide and varied.

Faith

❖ *Pogroms and Persecutions*

Normally, the textbooks will tell you that most of the early settlers came for one of three reasons. They were seeking either fame, fortune, or grand adventure. Or they were political dissidents, perhaps even disenfranchised political dissidents who made their way to the American shores because they had nowhere else to go. Or they were religious dissidents, and therefore they had no settled place where they had freedom of religion.

While these are partly true, they skim over the whole of the facts. The reality is that not everyone who came to the Americas because of their faith came simply because of the pogroms and persecutions. That is part of the reason. It's also part of the reason why, early in the seventeenth century, New Amsterdam — which became New York — had already begun to settle Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews who were fleeing persecution as well. But persecutions and pogroms weren't the only reasons why people came to the Americas because of their faith.

❖ *Reformation and Counter-Reformation*

Many believed that the call of the Reformation, and others the call of the counter-Reformation, beckoned them to go to the ends of the earth and to bring the faith of the holy road, the faith of the cross, the faith of the gospel, the faith of the hope of ultimate redemption to the ends of the earth. We must realize that, while the Pilgrims were fleeing persecution when they originally left England, they had a stopover in the very tolerant Netherlands and there realized that their aims of a transformative culture might not find its greatest opportunity in Europe. So they began to think and dream of what it might be like to have a city set upon a hill across the ocean in a new land where they could build a Christian civilization, one that was unencumbered by the strictures of politics and of commercial concerns. There were many who came to the Americas because of a positive aspect of their faith, not just a negative aspect.

❖ *The Thirty Years' War*

In addition to that, the Thirty Years' War, which was a war launched by the Hapsburgs against Protestant upstart movements in places like the city of Prague, southern Germany, and Sweden. The Hapsburgs waged this wide-ranging war over the course of thirty years, and it created a tremendous amount of disruption. This disruption — the loss of home and ancestral homelands — caused many men and women of faith to realize that rootedness in place was not, in fact, the greatest and the highest call of the gospel. Rootedness in place was a desired, long-term benefit of the gospel, but in a sense the Thirty Years' War set them free to start thinking and dreaming about new starts in new places and new settlements. It created the first real missionary outlook for the western church in several hundred years. As a result, there was this really strong missional impulse.

Economics

❖ *Primogenitor and a Hierarchical Society*

Of course, economics did play a role in the determination of many to set out and go on the grand adventure of bringing their families and their homes to a new world. There's the problem in the European world of the law of primogeniture, the laws of inheritance, which essentially said that only the oldest son would receive the bulk of the inheritance from any estate. That meant that second and third sons of nobility could either be courtiers, hangers-on in their older siblings' courts, or they could go out and find their own fame and fortune elsewhere. So there were a lot of second, third, fourth, and fifth sons of nobility who went forth.

In addition to that, there was a dawning awareness of the proper role of women in society, particularly among Protestants. As the gospel of liberty and the doctrines of grace began to pervade the culture of Western Europe, there was a growing sense that women too should be exercising their gifts and finding their place in the world. As a result of that, there was a strong economic impulse to begin to seek out a better way than the old hierarchical traditionalism of Europe.

❖ *Collapse of Craft and Trade Guilds*

Also, because of the disruptions of the Thirty Years' War — the transformation of nations from tiny kingdoms into larger ideological nation-states — there began a collapse of the old trade guilds and craft guilds. As a result, it was harder and harder to protect territories and market goods and services over a wide-ranging area. So, many skilled craftsmen began to look for new places to ply their trades.

❖ *Mercantilist Trade Policies*

In addition to that, the kingdoms were amalgamating themselves into larger nation-states, as the old kingdoms that surrounded Paris coalesced into a new nation-state called France, and we start to see the same trend in a number of other places throughout Europe. There was the impulse of governments to attempt to control the marketplace. This is a philosophy known as mercantilism. We'll study mercantilism to a much larger degree later, but let's just give a quick definition. *Mercantilism* is the wedding of big government with big business in order to control the economy. The essence of it is that when government sees as its primary goal the propping up or subsidizing or stimulating the economy, that's called mercantilism. A modern form of mercantilism that we're familiar with from more recent modern history is fascism. *Fascism* is the wedding of big government with big business for the purpose of controlling the economy. The ideas of these emerging colonial powers and the need for kings to enure¹ greater and greater power to themselves, centralizing control and authority around their courts, resulted in mercantilist policies, meaning that there were trade monopolies, controls, and strictures on who could sell what to whom and for how much. There were wage and price controls imposed by the governments. Governments began to interfere with things like weights and measures, the flow of gold and silver and bullion into the economy, all in an attempt to control things like interest rates, usury, market structures, growth, inflation, deflation — all of these things were introduced as a part of the vocabulary of mercantilism.

This means that the ordinary small businessman or tradesman cannot control his economic destiny by the sweat of his brow or the work of his trade. He's now dependent on much larger forces and powers that he has no say over. In addition, he is burdened by an ever-increasing tax liability because, in order to fund mercantilist policies, taxes grow and grow, greater and greater. Certain tax-exemptions are given in order to stimulate certain parts of the economy, a favored industry or trade might receive some sort of stimulus, but the ordinary small businessman is weighed down with these tax liabilities. That form of mercantilist policy caused many entrepreneurial-minded craftsmen and tradesmen to decide to flee from the mercantilist system. It drove them to America.

Politics

❖ *Bourbon and Hapsburg Wars of Succession*

In addition to that, there was a tremendous amount of political turmoil. As the Hapsburgs, the Tudors, and the Bourbons attempted to consolidate control of the economy and accrue great wealth to their crowns — accumulating other nations, kingdoms, and principalities through political marriages, alliances, or conquest — there were, inevitably, wars that broke out in the European theatre. So you have the great wars of Hapsburg and Bourbon succession — the determination of which side of the family would step into the pilot's seat to steer the course of the hegemony for the Spanish Hapsburgs and the French Bourbons.

Because of these wars, there were huge dispossessions of large numbers of peoples. The Scots, for instance, under the hammer and tong of the English fled Scotland and their cotters villages in the tens of thousands, practically dispossessing the whole of the Highlands. Also, after 1572 and the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre — the deliberate suppression of the Protestant Huguenots in France — a huge refugee community of French Huguenots emigrated. Following the death of Gustavas Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War, the same thing happened

¹ *Enure* is a wonderful Old and Middle English word, but, I probably ought to stop using it because *inure*, its more modern derivative means something rather different — to accustom someone to something, especially something unpleasant or to come into operation, to take effect. I first ran across *enure* in the essays of Milton. He uses it to mean to accrue or accumulate. GG.

with a large number of Lutheran Swedes. They were dispossessed from their homes and scattered. Many of those scattered people found their way to refuge cities like Geneva or Str asbourg, but many more determined to find their way in a New World and establish new homes. As a result, much of the peopling of North America came from these peoples: the Scots, the Huguenots, and the Swedes. It's really surprising, once we get to the time of the American War of Independence, we discover that a large amount of the leadership of the resistance to the English comes not from English settlers, but from Scots, Huguenots, and Swedes, as well as a large number of Dutch. In fact, King George III always called the rebellion back in his colonies the Presbyterian Parsons' Rebellion, or the Black Brigades, named for the Scots preachers' black robes. Ultimately, it was this large dispossessed population that made up the fiercest resistance to colonial imperialism.

◆ *The English Civil War*

There was also the English Civil War, the great battle between King Charles I and Oliver Cromwell and the Parliamentarians. Many of the Puritans — the Puritan movement had grown strong in the years following the pacifying of Queen Elizabeth I and, beyond her, to the days of James I — looked at the continual disruption of English life and many decided that their lives would be far better with a fresh start in the New World. The English Civil War sent many scurrying on their way.

◆ *The Glorious Revolution*

Then, by 1688 and the Glorious Revolution with the overthrow of Charles's grandson, James II and the bringing in of William and Mary of the House of Orange to the English throne, there was another wave of refugees who simply thought that England was too unsettled, there would be too many imperial claimants to the throne, and it wasn't worth attempting to carve out righteous lives together there in Merry Olde England, so they came to America.

The English Pioneers

The initial exploration of the North American coast was undertaken by a peculiar mixture of Italians, English, and Dutch pioneers. In fact, sometimes what we'll discover is that some of these pioneers would change companies, almost as if they were swapping between Microsoft and Apple, going back and forth, transferring companies willy-nilly.

Henry Hudson, for instance, was an Englishman who worked for the Dutch. John Cabot, or Giovanni Caboto, was Italian but worked for the English. Peter Minuit was a Dutchman and the director of the Dutch East Indies and then of the Dutch West Indies, who became the founder of New Sweden after he retired his position with the Dutch. We see that kind of crossover a great deal. These were great adventurers looking for great adventures, and sometimes they switched allegiances.

Giovanni Caboto

◆ *Genoa, Venice, and Bristol*

Cabot was an Italian sailor who had sailed in both the Venetian and the Genoese navies, in their merchant marines as well as in their military forces. He eventually had the opportunity to buy a ship and begin his own trade out of the English port of Bristol.

❖ *1496: Henry VII; Northwest Passage*

It was because of his prowess on the north Atlantic and his obvious entrepreneurial skills that King Henry VII commissioned him to search, on behalf of the English crown, for a Northwest Passage. The idea behind the quest for a Northwest Passage was that there surely must be a way to go around the north of North America in order to reach the Pacific Ocean. It was thought that perhaps it would be a shortcut. It was a long way around the Americas to go down past the tip of South America, through the Strait of Magellan and out into the South Pacific. If there was a Northwest Passage, it would be faster, cheaper, and whoever found that trade route would have a jump on all the other colonial and trading powers, bringing great wealth to that kingdom. So Henry VII, who had established a naval observatory and had begun to commission great works of engineering at the city of Greenwich, commissioned Cabot to search for this Northwest Passage.

❖ *1497: North American Land Claims*

Cabot never found the Northwest Passage, but he did explore up and down the North American coast from Newfoundland south to northern New England. By 1497, he had made land claims for the English all up and down that New England coastline up to the southern Canadian and maritime coastline. He staked the claim and established it for the English crown.

Walter Raleigh

❖ *Well-Connected Courtier*

It was a number of years later, almost a generation later, that a well-connected Elizabethan courtier, Sir Walter Raleigh, began to make noises about the possibility of establishing colonial possessions in the southern New England territories called Virginia. Sir Walter Raleigh and his friend, Sir Francis Drake, had brought great wealth to themselves and to Queen Elizabeth through what today we can only call piracy. They had determined that the best and fastest way to bring wealth into the English domain was to go and steal it from the Spanish, so every time a Hapsburg ship would leave Latin America, like a swarm of bees, little privateers and pirates would attempt to take all their Peruvian or Mexican gold for themselves. Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh were particularly proficient at this pirate's trade. But both of them were also courtiers in the queen's circle. Both of them were chivalrous and dashing. They were celebrities in London because they were adventurous, bold, wealthy, and well-positioned. Sir Walter Raleigh began to appeal to the queen for her good graces in commissioning colonial charters to establish trading as well as raiding centers along the North American coastline.

❖ *1585: Roanoke Island Settlement Fails*

In 1584, he was given permission to establish a colony in what today is the outer banks of North Carolina. There were two attempts to establish this colony. In 1585, the first group of settlers determined that there was not sufficient hunting, timber, or security for them to stay. So after just a short attempt, they went back to England.

❖ *1587: Second Colony Disappears*

The second colony was much more disastrous because it involved some one hundred seventeen settlers, including women and children. This time, Sir Walter Raleigh's attempt to establish a colony took off, it seemed. The colony established itself on Roanoke Island. They were able to begin trade. There were ships that went back and forth over the course of a year. But then, because of trouble with the Indians, the settlers sent their governor back to England to bring back military aid and more settlers to bolster their numbers. He made a perilous win-

tertime voyage across the ocean, but he couldn't get navigators to bring him back that winter because of the stormy North Atlantic seas, so he was forced to wait until spring. The problem was, that spring the Hapsburgs launched their famed Spanish Armada and so all English ships were required to secure the coastline of England and to battle off the Armada, which, in fact, they didn't have to do much battling because God took care of the Armada with a whole series of terrible Baltic storms in the North Sea. Nevertheless, the governor was delayed over the course of a year and then his funding ran out, so it was three years before he made his way back with supplies and new settlers and reinforcements.

When he arrived, the colony was there, but no people were. They'd just vanished. There was no sign of a struggle. No battle had taken place, no slaughter had ensued. Houses had been cleared of their possessions. It looked like it had been an orderly dispersement of the colony. There were only a couple of clues. There was, on one of the timbers of the fort, a word carved into the wood: *Croatoan*, the name of an adjacent island and also the name of a tribe of Indians. And on a tree, there was also a partially-carved, incomplete word.² They had had instructions that if they got into trouble and had to leave their protected position inside the fort, they were to carve a Maltese cross on the trunk of a tree and there was nothing carved on the tree, so the assumption was that they had left of their own free will, in an orderly fashion, some time over the course of the three and a half years that they'd been left there by themselves. But no remains were ever found. No evidence of these one hundred fifteen people, including the very first child born of English settlers in the New World, a little girl by the name of Virginia Dare, who happened to be the governor's grandchild — no evidence whatsoever. This is the kind of thing that drives historians absolutely batty, and there are a thousand different theories about what happened to these one hundred fifteen settlers.

Most of the theories involve the idea that the settlers went ashore, inland, and assimilated themselves with the native Indian population. But there are a host of other theories as well — some wildly conspiratorial and almost all of them very juicy. It makes for great reading and research, but the reality is that while there are tantalizing clues — for instance, Indian tribes who already spoke English by the time other English settlers came to find them; some Indian tribes that had at least some knowledge of Christianity; there are tools and implements that were found in places where they shouldn't have been found, far earlier than they should have been — all kinds of interesting clues, but still no resolution to the mystery. I love stuff like that! I guess if I were Virginia Dare I wouldn't love stuff like that because she got tossed out into the woods, but nevertheless, very interesting stuff. Sir Walter Raleigh's piracy was far more successful than his colony.

Henry Hudson

❖ *1607: Muscovy Company*

❖ *1609: Dutch East India Company*

Henry Hudson, on the other hand, was an Englishman who worked for the Dutch. He was hired originally as a navigator for a new company called the Muscovy Company in 1607. The whole point of the Muscovy Company was to try to find a Northwest Passage so that open trade could be conducted between England and Moscow via a shortcut across North America. The Muscovy Company was eventually swallowed up by the Dutch East India Company, which, in the end, became the Dutch West India Company.

² *CRO* was the incomplete word carved in the tree. *Ed.*

❖ *1610: Northwest Trading Company*

But in 1609, Hudson began to put together a fleet of ships for the first of three exploratory expeditions along the North American coast. He discovered Hudson Bay and the Hudson River. He circumnavigated the island of Manhattan and went all the way up as far as present-day Albany, New York, and there established Ft. Orange.

❖ *1611: Abandoned in Hudson Bay*

On his third voyage, he got into a bit of trouble with his crew and they decided they had had enough of his exploring and, perhaps, his surly ways, so they put him in a little rowboat in the middle of Hudson Bay and they sailed away. And that was the end of Henry Hudson. Most of the stories of these explorers wind up being stories of grave complications like that.

The French Pioneers

Jacques Cartier

❖ *1491: Duchy of Brittany*

❖ *1520: Catherine des Granches³*

Jacques Cartier was born in 1491, in the Duchy of Brittany, where he grew up very close to the royal family and became a navigator for the court of Brittany. Brittany is right next to Normandy on the northern French coast, but in the fifteenth century Brittany was a separate kingdom; it was not a part of France. It did not speak French, it did not have French traditions or cuisine, it was just Gaelic, much more closely-aligned with Ireland or Scotland in culture than with France. In 1534, through a series of negotiations, both marital and political, Brittany became a part of the Kingdom of France and ceased to exist as a kingdom on its own. This was during the time when France was swallowing up all the little kingdoms — Burgundy, Aquitaine, and all the others — to make up the new Kingdom of France. It was during the time of all those negotiations that Cartier began to sail for the royal family, first of Brittany and then of France. He was on the great voyage of Giovanni da Verrazano, the great Italian explorer who worked for the crown of Brittany and later the crown of France and discovered the Verrazano Shoals where Verrazano Bridge is today from Staten Island to Brooklyn. Cartier sought territory to claim for France.

❖ *1534: Claimed New France*

In 1534, Jacques Cartier, commissioned now by Francis I, the king of France, went and found territory north of that claimed by England and claimed that as New France.

Meanwhile, the Huguenots, dispersed in 1572, by the great oppression following St. Bartholomew's Day, began searching for their own possible homeland in the New World. Under the former admiral Jean Ribaut, they made their way to what is today the coast adjacent to Jacksonville, Florida. Ribaut, in 1562 established a Huguenot colony called Charlesfort there at the Bay of Jacksonville, Florida. By 1564, Ribaut had established Fort Caroline, just a little to the south, and Fort Caroline became the center of French Huguenot Florida. In 1565, all the French Huguenots were slaughtered by Hapsburg privateers who had come from St. Augustine and, in order to

³ Dr. Grant didn't mention this heading specifically in the lecture. Catherine des Granches was a member of a leading family of Brittany, whom Cartier married in 1520. Ed.

protect their possession at St. Augustine, slaughtered all the French Huguenots. A few Huguenots, who were even then in transit, discovered the slaughter, made their way north, and joined the Dutch in New Amsterdam.

Samuel de Champlain

❖ *1603: Henri IV; St. Lawrence*

Samuel de Champlain was also a great French explorer who was sent out in 1603 by Henri IV, the French king who had formerly been a Protestant, but, in order to inherit the crown of France, renounced his Protestant convictions and was readmitted to the Roman Catholic Church. Henri IV commissioned de Champlain to work on the possibility of a Northwest Passage. In the process of exploring, de Champlain discovered the St. Lawrence Seaway, the river that flows into the Great Lakes. Champlain, on a series of expeditions, explored the whole region of southern Canada and the region of the Great Lakes.

❖ *1608: Founded Quebec*

❖ *1609: Discovered Lake Champlain*

❖ *1610: Discovered Vermont*

By 1608, he'd founded a fort at Quebec. In 1609, he discovered Lake Champlain, which he nobly named for himself. In 1610, he discovered the Green Mountains or Vermont and staked claim for the French in each of those territories.

The French were far more interested in beaver pelts and trade with the Indians than they were in settling, so their possessions were rather sparse.

The Dutch Pioneers

Peter Minuit

❖ *1621: Dutch West India Company*

❖ *1624: Albany Settlement Established*

The Dutch, on the other hand, and the Swedes came to stay. Peter Minuit, in 1621, became the director of the Dutch West India Company. At first, he was responsible for governing the Dutch possessions in the Caribbean, but settled at Fort Orange, which is Albany today, at the headwaters of the Hudson River.

❖ *1626: Manhattan Purchased for \$24*

Two years later, he made that famous purchase from the Mannhattis Indians,⁴ the whole of Manhattan Island for a few beads, a little fire water, and the equivalent of \$24. Oh, how Donald Trump would have loved a deal like that!

⁴ As with so many of the tribes, illiterate and without a documented history or language, these were variously named by the Dutch. They may have called themselves Lenape, but Henry Hudson's first mate seems to have dubbed them the Mannhattis or Mannahatta. James Fortis Geerl's book *Dutch America* has several possible sources. GG

❖ *1638: Delaware's Fort Christina Built*

After his contract with the Dutch expired, he went under contract with the Swedes and found fertile lands leading from the Delaware River to the Potomac and carved out new possessions for the Swedes there, establishing Fort Christina, and what today is Maryland and Delaware became part of New Sweden.

Peter Stuyvesant

❖ *1638: West India Operations Director*

❖ *1643: Governor of Caribbean Isles*

❖ *1646: Governor of New Netherlands*

Peter Stuyvesant was the West India Operations Director in the Caribbean and was so successful that he was promoted to governor of the Caribbean Isles in 1643. Three years later, he was promoted to become governor of the New Netherlands. The New Netherlands were all the territories that Henry Hudson had claimed for the Dutch which included all what is today New Jersey, all of the Hudson Valley, and parts of New York, Long Island, and Manhattan. He was a successful governor and helped to establish New Amsterdam, the city on the southern tip of Manhattan Island as the model settlement in all of the New World. He built a huge dyke along the riverside of the settlement, a kind of retaining wall, and a long street beside it that became the center of marketplaces and commerce in the town. It was called Wall Street. He dug a broad canal, a drainage ditch, that connected the farms in the north, approximately where Central Park is today, with the town settlement in the south, and this broad way became Broadway. He made the whole of the colonial possession prosperous, fair, and tolerant. In fact, it was so tolerant that many of the refugees from Europe who had nowhere else to go flocked to the New Netherlands and to New Amsterdam. It was here that the first of the refugee Jews came to America, both Ashkenazi Jews and Sephardic Jews — those who came from central Europe and those who came from the former dominions of Granada. In addition, it was to the New Netherlands that many of the Swedes went when they were harassed by the English. So that, by 1664, New Amsterdam had more people of other nationalities than they had Dutch.

❖ *1664: New Amsterdam/New York*

That was when the English, under the Duke of York, who would become James II, sent a fleet of ships, determining that this very prosperous and peaceful colonial possession was too close to their own claims and by force, took New Amsterdam and renamed it for the Duke of York, James II. It would be the only possession that would maintain his name because the Duke of York would be overthrown by his daughter and the heir of the House of Orange, a Dutchman, and thus William and Mary supplanted James II. New York is still called New York, but that was the only claim to fame that James II ever got.

The Jamestown Settlement

Failures

❖ *1534: Ottawa Settlement*

❖ *1565: Fort Caroline*

❖ *1562: First St. Augustine*

❖ *1585: First Roanoke Island*❖ *1587: Second Roanoke Island*

Now, when these colonies were established, inevitably there were failures. There was a settlement in 1534 in Ottawa that failed for lack of support from the French. Fort Caroline failed because of the slaughter of the Hapsburgs. The first attempt to settle St. Augustine, the second attempt to settle St. Augustine, both attempts to settle Roanoke Island — all of them failed. It was a difficult thing to establish colonies in the New World so far from lines of support and supply, so far from protection, many times because the settlers themselves were simply unsuited for the hard work of carving out a new home in the New World. The settlement at Jamestown was a perfect example of that.

Jamestown

❖ *1607: Impatient Adventurers*

In 1607, some very impatient adventurers decided to establish themselves at the mouth of the James River. If they had been wise, they would never have selected that spot. It was swampy, filled with mosquitoes, in the summertime excessively humid, the water was tepid and undrinkable, it was indefensible, and there was very little room for farming and no timber available. But, because these English adventurers thought they were going to the New World to make loads of money and it was going to be easy, these second and third sons of nobility got to America, pitched their tents, and thought, *Okay, bring on the wealth.* The problem was that they almost starved because none of them knew how to work. These weren't craftsmen and tradesmen, they were lazy second and third sons of nobility. And in the first year, Jamestown almost failed because of starvation and indolence.

❖ *1608: John Smith Demands Work*

In 1608, a new governor, John Smith began to demand that the settlers work. Some of them didn't like this and twenty-three left. *Work? We came here to get rich, we didn't come here to work!* Over the course of the next few years it was very difficult to carve out a living.

❖ *1610: The Starving Time*❖ *1619: House of Burgesses*

By 1610, the settlers were calling their season there at the mouth of the James River the starving time. But, under Smith's able leadership and because of alliances that were forged with the local Powhatan Indians, including the marriage of John Rolfe to an Indian princess, Pocahontas — who later became royal celebrities back in England when they went on tour there — the colony was finally established, and by 1619 the first colonial institution of democracy was established — the House of Burgesses.

Essential Differences

Now, there were wide differences among many of these colonies, but we can say with certainty that the biggest differences came between those Huguenot, English, Swedish, Scottish, and Dutch settlers who came to farm and make their homes and the French and Hapsburg settlers, who came primarily to establish some sort of imperial or mercantilist control.

English and Dutch

- ❖ *Settlers, Farmers, and Tradesmen*
- ❖ *Commercial Trade Companies*
- ❖ *Autonomy and Salutary Neglect*
- ❖ *Families and Communities*

The former came as tradesmen, to establish commercial trade companies, and to build homes that were given wide autonomy by their home governments. They were governed by a policy of salutary neglect which we'll look at in some detail in a couple of weeks, but they came to establish families and communities.

French and Hapsburg

- ❖ *Adventurers, Soldiers, and Traders*
- ❖ *State-Owned Monopolies*
- ❖ *Imperial Governance*
- ❖ *Privateers and Plantations*

The latter were more interested in establishing themselves as privateers and creating vast commercial plantations than they were in establishing families and communities. They were more interested in state-owned monopolies than they were in commercial trade companies. They wanted control from the mother country. They were committed to imperial governance as opposed to the autonomy of salutary neglect of the Huguenots and the English. They were adventurers, soldiers, and traders. They weren't farmers or settlers. They weren't there to pioneer, they were there to clean up. That's the difference. It's always been the difference.

Did you know that Haiti was, in the first hundred years of the colonial era, far and away the richest and most successful colony? But when they exhausted their resources, it collapsed into disarray, and it's been in disarray in the two hundred and fifty years since. The issue was never resources. It's always worldview. What are you here for? What are you trying to do? What are your goals? What drives you? What makes you think? What makes you love? Those differences and the wide disparity between them will steer the course of the next two hundred and fifty years of history and bring shape to the world of the Americas.

We've done lots of dates and places today. But I hope you clearly understand that why we do things determines how we do things. Why we do things will determine the long-term outcome. Even if there are short-term benefits, bad ideas, temporary notions, and shows of force rather than shows of principle will collapse under the weight of their own absurdity.



Father, thank you for reminding us again of where certain ideas come from and of what the consequences of those ideas are.

We do pray that you would give us insight into our own time, from the lessons that we can learn from other times. We thank you for our heritage and for the fact that it isn't a monolithic heritage. We have rich diversity. From the very beginning, we were a melting pot nation with all kinds of problems and all kinds of difficulties, as we will see, but nevertheless that diversity, that richness, became our strength. I pray that you would teach us to rely on that strength and that we would not grasp for power but stand on principle so that in future days others will look back and say that we laid the foundations for a rich and hopeful future. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 7

International Conflicts: Two Hundred Fifty Years of War

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Why Colonial Control Did Not Work; The Rise of Philadelphia
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 72–86

Lesson Synopsis

the English-speaking peoples were in conflict with the Hapsburgs and the French constantly, for two hundred and fifty years, from 1566 to the defeat of Napoléon in 1815. Prior to the seventeenth century, most historians believed that perpetual warfare was the norm for civilized peoples.

Opportunity

3

Lesson Topics

The wars that embroiled Europe for the approximately two hundred fifty years from 1566 to 1815. See the Timeline below for a list.

Primary Source Material

none

Vocabulary

prefatory, claimant, dynastic, embodiment, unremitting, disarray, resurgence, succession, cohesive, credal, xenophobia, messianic, autocratic, monopoly, sanction, incentive, stimulus, socialism, fascism, imperialism, centralized, letters of marque, dominion, warrant, prolificacy, penal, incorporate, annexation, internecine, exploit, pacifist, status quo, recalcitrant,

Timeline

- ❖ 1566-1604: Hapsburg-Tudor Wars, a.k.a. the War of Dutch Independence
- ❖ 1618-1648: The Thirty Years' War, a.k.a. the Wars of Hapsburg Hegemony
- ❖ 1652-1664: The Anglo-Dutch Wars
- ❖ 1680-1697: War of the League of Augsburg, a.k.a. King William's War
- ❖ 1701-1713: War of Spanish Succession, a.k.a. Queen Anne's War
- ❖ 1739-1743: The War of Jenkins' Ear
- ❖ 1740-1748: The War of Austrian Succession, a.k.a. King George's War

- ❖ 1756-1763: The Seven Years' War, a.k.a. the French and Indian War
- ❖ 1774-1781: American War of Independence
- ❖ 1789-1815: The Continental Wars, a.k.a. the Napoleonic Wars; War of 1812



International Conflicts: Two Hundred Fifty Years of War

There was no recess of the woods so dark, nor any secret place so lovely, that it might claim exemption from the inroads of those who had pledged their blood to satiate vengeance, or to uphold the cold and selfish policy of the distant monarchs of Europe.

~ James Fenimore Cooper

Well, good morning! We've got one more lecture to set the stage. So far in our study of American civilization and culture, we've really been laying the groundwork. We haven't gotten to the Pilgrims and the Puritans, which is really the beginning of the story of American civilization. Everything up to this point has been prefatory. Today we're going to do another prefatory lecture focusing on making sure we have good definitions of terms, chronological scope and sequence, and also a bit of backdrop to the perpetual warfare that plagued Europe for the previous, at least, two hundred and fifty years, although some historians would argue almost five hundred years. We'll survey that and look at its effect on the settling of the Americas. We also want to begin the process of learning, or perhaps re-learning through a little unlearning, what the English colonies actually were that eventually comprised the foundation of the great American experiment in liberty. Many people believe there were just thirteen colonies. But there weren't thirteen colonies, and we'll take a look at that today.

16 September

- ❖ *1893: The Oklahoma land rush began.*

Today is Thursday, September 16. On this day, in the year 1893, the Oklahoma land rush began. It was the opening up of former Indian territory lands to settlers. The spectacle was quite remarkable, with pioneers lining up on their horses, dashing off into the open plains to stake out homesteads for themselves. It was the last great grab for land on the American continent.

- ❖ *1853: Henry Steinway sold his first piano.*

On this day in 1853, Henry Steinway sold his first piano in Brooklyn, New York.

- ❖ *1810: With the Grito de Dolores, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla began the struggle for Mexico's independence.*

It was also on this day in 1810 with the cry *grito de Dolores* that Father Miguel Hidalgo began the struggle for Mexico's independence. He was from the town of Dolores, which was named for St. Dolores. *Grito de Dolores* means

the cry of Dolores. It is therefore on this day that Mexican Independence is celebrated. It's a great national holiday in Mexico.

❖ *1701: James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, became the Jacobite royal claimant.*

In 1701, James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, became the Jacobite royal claimant. It was his son, Bonnie Prince Charlie who captivated the world when he sought to reclaim the crown for his father. The crown, of course, had been taken by the German Hanoverians, and the struggle between the German Hanoverians and the English and Scots Stuarts was just a snapshot of the dynastic warfare, the counter-claims, and the battles for succession that had marked the waning years of Christendom from about the fourteenth century all the way up to the nineteenth century. It's part of the reason why the American experiment in liberty was unique because it was entirely separated from and disinterested in these dynastic wars.

❖ *1638: France's King Louis XIV was born.*

It was in 1638, on this day, that France's great Sun King, Louis XIV, was born. He would become the embodiment of the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. He believed himself appointed directly by God himself to lead the world in a glorious renaissance that would be directed by his hand, ruled by his scepter, and controlled by his throne and his throne alone. He was remarkably successful and, like Charles V, the great Hapsburg emperor, almost achieved his great aim of hegemony.

❖ *1616: Duke John Maitland Lauderdale, Scots Earl and statesman, was born in Lethington.*

It was on this day in 1616 that one of the most remarkable players in the dynastic wars of the seventeenth century was born — Duke John Maitland of Lauderdale, Scots earl. He was a statesman who at various times took the side of the Covenanters and the Royalists, at various times was allied with France, with England, and with the Stuart pretenders. He was, at various times, a rogue and an outlaw. He was, for a time, the appointed prime minister. He basically changed sides whenever opportunity presented itself and he thought he might be able to advance his own cause. It was Lauderdale who handed Charles I over to Oliver Cromwell for his execution. But it was Lauderdale who readmitted Charles II — Charles I's son whose father's death he had insured — it was Lauderdale who brought Charles II back, proclaimed him king of the Scots, and sought to elevate his cause. He was the ultimate pirate, the ultimate privateer, the ultimate mercenary, and the perfect picture of an age that brought unceasing, unremitting warfare to the old world of Christendom, spreading across the European continent and spilling over into the Americas in the earliest days of the founding of the American civilization.

The Two Hundred Fifty Years' War

When you survey the constant warfare from 1566 to 1815, you'll see that the English-speaking peoples were in conflict with the Hapsburgs and the French constantly, for two hundred and fifty years. When you think about the fact that the Iraq war raged on for some seven years and the Afghan war has gone on for eight years and you think about how tired we are of those wars, how constantly we're berated by one side or another with the propaganda about the war or the casualties of the war, or the cost of the war, or the effect of the war on the American psyche or the long-term impact of the war on the economy. Think about all of that for wars that have lasted for less than a decade and then think about perpetual warfare over the course of two hundred and fifty years — constant war for longer than America has existed. That was what the English-speaking peoples faced from 1566 to the defeat of Napoléon in 1815.

Prior to the seventeenth century, most historians believed that perpetual warfare was the norm for civilized peoples. When Christendom had its greatest flowering in the thirteenth century, the seeds of destruction were already being sown. Quick on the heels of the failed Crusades, Christendom turned inward, and corruption and great compromise in the Church led to, in the fourteenth century, everything from the Babylonian Captivity of the Church and the Avignon schism to the various mercantilist schemes to control trade in the north and in the Mediterranean, squeezing out small businessmen and guild traders to the point that poverty rose for the first time in the world of Christendom since the crowning of Charlemagne in the year 800. They were desperate times. Quick on the heels of that disarray came the Black Death, the Hanseatic League, the squeezing out of widespread learning by the Scholastic movement. They were dark days, the fourteenth century.

Reformist movements over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to the new dawning of the Renaissance in southern Europe, the Reformation in northern Europe, and the Counter-Reformation in the Hapsburg territories. The result was that there was a brief moment of respite, before the various reform movements went at each other tooth and nail, hammer and tong. After that it was unceasing warfare.

- ❖ *1566-1604: Hapsburg-Tudor Wars; War of Dutch Independence*
- ❖ *1618-1648: The Thirty Years' War; Wars of Hapsburg Hegemony*
- ❖ *1652-1664: The Anglo-Dutch Wars*
- ❖ *1680-1697: War of the League of Augsburg; King William's War*
- ❖ *1701-1713: War of Spanish Succession; Queen Anne's War*

The Hapsburg-Tudor Wars and the War of Dutch Independence, from 1566-1604,¹ were quickly followed by the Thirty Years' War and the genocidal removal of whole people groups like the Moravians. This bled over into the wars of Hapsburg hegemony and then the Anglo-Dutch wars which led to the War of the League of Augsburg, sometimes called the War of the Grand Alliance in the American theater — King William's War which led quickly to the War of Spanish Succession and Queen Anne's War.

- ❖ *1739-1743: The War of Jenkins' Ear*

There was the war that revolved around pirates and privateering, the War of Jenkins' Ear, when Robert Jenkins, an English sailor, presented himself and his severed ear to Parliament. *See what these barbaric Hapsburgs have done to me and to the English people. Avenge my ear, my brothers! Avenge my ear!!!* Not exactly a great campaign speech, but it did cause a war.

- ❖ *1740-1748: The War of Austrian Succession; King George's War*
- ❖ *1756-1763: The Seven Years' War; The French and Indian War*

Then the War of Austrian Succession, which, in the American theater was called King George's War, and then the Seven Years' War, which in the American theater was called the French and Indian War — actually, in the American theater, all of them were French and Indian wars, but historians have a peculiar way of naming.

¹ While the war ended in 1604, final peace treaties were not signed until 1609 and 1611. This is the reason the latter dates are usually listed as the end of the war. *Ed.*

❖ *1774-1781: American War of Independence*

Then came the American War of Independence, which was actually a widespread colonial war that was fought in multiple theaters, as we'll see in a moment. It wasn't just the thirteen Atlantic coast colonies that were fighting for their independence, there were other colonies fighting at the same time in the same war allied with the thirteen. For instance, we'll learn the story of Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys from Vermont, and you'll remember that Vermont was not one of the thirteen colonies; it was a separate, independent republic called the Republic of Vermont under President Thomas Crittenen. Ethan Allen fought for Vermont, not for the thirteen colonies, but he was allied with them in this wide-ranging colonial war for independence.

❖ *1789-1815: The Continental Wars; Napoleonic Wars; War of 1812*

That led to the series of continental wars that began first in France, then spread beyond France to the Italian peninsula, leading into the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812 in the American theater, which was really just a part of those same Napoleonic Wars. Constant warfare from 1566 to 1815.

The American theaters of each of these wars were affected because there was a rise of a series of global ideologies. The causes of these perpetual wars were these strong ideas. We need to understand these ideas so that, as we make our way through the founding era, we can understand why it is that men like Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams would react so stridently to Parliament and to king. What was it that they were standing against? Obviously, there was disarray in the once-cohesive civilization of Christendom. Christendom was never a united whole. It was never one country or one culture, but it had one credal foundation, one essential principle that bound all the kingdoms and fiefdoms together. But, with the disarray — first in the fourteenth century and the Great Schism and the Babylonian Captivity of the Church and the Avignon papacy, and rival popes excommunicating each other and their supporters — we start to see a breakdown of that unity and that led to the greater schisms that came in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, making a confusing and divided world in Christendom where rivalries became the pitting of one nation-state or people group against another — the beginning of xenophobia. We start to see outbreaks of various pogroms, persecutions of Jews, Huguenots, and other minorities, gypsies, etc.

That created the reemergence of the old pagan ideal of *hamas* — violence for violence's sake, violence as a tool of political pressure, violence as a tool of ideology, terror. This fed the ambitions of imperial hegemony. Remember what *hegemony* means, right? Absolute control over everything, the desire to embrace and control everything.

If you've got disarray and confusion, conflict at every turn, and manifestations of senseless violence, then it's going to be a very easy step for someone to come along and say, *It's time for change, change that matters. Rally around me and I will bring hope to the world, again.*

As a result, you have the rise of these great figures who cannot be questioned because they have a messianic character about them. It's the rise of the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings — kings like Louis XIV of France who declared that he was appointed by God directly, that, in fact, his birth was nearly as miraculous as Christ's, therefore he was an unquestioned sovereign over all. He ruled with an autocratic hand and he ruled over everything, which led to economic mercantilism.

You know what *mercantilism* is, right? *Mercantilism* is the wedding of big government with big business so that big business serves the interests of big government and big government serves the interest of big business. They co-

operate for the purposes of elevating their peculiar and particular causes. Thus we have government-created monopolies, government-created sanctions, government-created incentives, and government-created stimulus packages. This squeezes out the small businessman; this squeezes out the guilds and the various tradesmen. This squeezes out the smaller businesses that drive the economy from the bottom up, because now the economy is controlled from the top down. Government sees, as its primary responsibility, driving the economy.

Mercantilism has had many forms. Socialism is a form of mercantilism in all its forms — there's international socialism, which follows a Marxist model, and there's national socialism, which is what we in the modern world refer to as *fascism*. But it's all varying forms of mercantilism. This policy creates disincentives for small businesses and dries up the bottom two-thirds of an economy, which necessitates government providing benefits for those who no longer can run their businesses and that means that new tax burdens have to be imposed in order to pay for these benefits.

So you have the imposition of these overbearing tax burdens in order to pay for programs that are designed to relieve the miseries that have been created by the government itself. This became the basis for, not colonialism — colonialism can be simply the scattering and settling of a diaspora, of a people out across a wide range of the earth — but of colonial imperialism, where the colonies essentially become supply stations for the centralized authority back home.

With the lower two-thirds of the economy dried up and the overbearing tax burden upon those who try to stay in the economic marketplace, there becomes a sort of fringe desperation that drives people to piracy and privateering. Because piracy and privateering become such an important part of the economy, the government gets involved in regulating the piracy and the privateering and providing the pirates with letters of marque or sanction to exercise their piracy but only in regulated areas. It's like getting a taxi medallion, but you're only allowed to drive in Manhattan. So the government says to Sir Francis Drake or Sir Walter Raleigh, *Sure, we'll give you a letter of marque. You can function, in a sense, as an arm of our foreign policy as long as your piracy only targets Hapsburg ships. You can't ever raid an English ship, but as long as you're making life miserable for the French and the Spanish, go to it and here's a letter of sanction. Bravo. We'll knight you if you bring back enough gold.*

That's the situation that created a two-hundred-fifty-year-long period of warfare. It became a vicious cycle. The wars became necessary in order to protect the ideologies and the economic policies. The economic policies needed war in order to drum up more support at home for the overbearing tax burdens. Because the benefits went to those who most directly affected the ongoing efficacy of the day to day operations of the government, it's the people who were on the fringes, often those in the colonial possessions, who paid the price for the cost of the government's programs and ambitions. That's the world as it existed when the American founders started carving out a home for themselves on the shores of the New World.

The Twenty-one American Colonies

Let's do a quick survey before we go through the four great French and Indian wars that affected the American founding era. Let's quickly review the fact that there were twenty-one, not thirteen, twenty-one English colonies in the Americas. Five of those were Canadian provinces or dominions. But we have a host of others, and some of them may be unfamiliar to you.

❖ *Virginia: 1607*

Virginia was established in 1607 with a warrant for colonial possession by the settlers at Jamestown. Though the Virginia settlement struggled during those early years, under the able leadership of John Smith, the colony took hold and, making their way up the James River and into the interior, first to Middle Colony, which was later renamed Williamsburg, and on further, Virginia became a flourishing colonial possession. What really turned the corner for Virginia was the realization that good tobacco plants could be grown in large enough volume and with great enough prolificacy that they could be exported back to the Old World, and America had its first real export crop.

❖ *Massachusetts: 1620*

Massachusetts was established as a colony in 1620 with first the arrival of the Pilgrims and later the settling of the Boston area. It too struggled early on. We'll talk about those earliest years and the harsh winter of 1621, but in time that colony thrived as well and became an important trading station for Parliament and king, a real trading partner across the Atlantic.

❖ *Rhode Island: 1636*❖ *Connecticut: 1636*❖ *New Hampshire: 1679*❖ *New York: 1669*❖ *New Jersey: 1702*

Rhode Island, a breakaway colony, an establishment that came because of a dispute in Massachusetts Bay, was established in 1636. Likewise, Connecticut, 1636. New Hampshire in 1679 and New York after the second Anglo-Dutch War when the Duke of York claimed New Netherlands and New Amsterdam for the English in 1669. New Jersey, 1702, was comprised of much of Old New Sweden as well as parts of the New Netherlands.

❖ *Pennsylvania: 1681*❖ *Delaware: 1704*❖ *Maryland: 1632*❖ *South Carolina: 1660*❖ *North Carolina: 1712*❖ *Georgia: 1733*

Pennsylvania in 1681 was a warrant to the Quakers. As was Delaware in 1704. Maryland was established as a haven by Lord Baltimore for Roman Catholics initially. South Carolina in 1660, and North Carolina in 1712. Georgia was initially a penal colony — in other words, it was a place to send prisoners who wanted to have a fresh start. Most of the early Georgia settlers were indentured servants. In fact, nine-tenths of the original settlers were indentured servants, all of them either debtors or impoverished craftsmen or members of trade guilds who could no longer practice their trades, who sold away their freedom for a certain amount of time — six years in some cases, seven years in other cases — to come to the New World. The owners of the indenture would pay for the passage and receive part of their earnings of the next six or seven years until the debt was paid off. Georgia was peopled almost entirely by indentured servants.

❖ *Watauga: 1723*

There was the Watauga province which was the overmountain territories, away from the control of the North Carolina colonial government. It was the beginnings of Tennessee. It would take various permutations over the course of years, eventually incorporating itself as an independent nation called the State of Franklin, when it appeared that the United States would not allow Tennessee to come in as a state. They incorporated themselves as a separate nation and then negotiated entry into the United States from that posture, with President John Severe.

❖ *Vermont: 1724*

Vermont was chartered in 1724, variously controlled by the French. We saw last time that it was discovered by Chaplain, but through the course of the French and Indian Wars fell into English hands and was disputed by both New Hampshire and New York claiming it as their own territory. Vermont gained its own royal charter and became an independent nation following the Declaration of Independence by the other thirteen Atlantic colonies. They decided to go their own way because they didn't trust the other thirteen. Apparently, they still don't.

❖ *West Florida: 1755*

Then there was the Republic of West Florida, which was comprised of the Florida parishes of Louisiana, southern Mississippi, southern Alabama and just a little bit of the Florida panhandle, just past Pensacola Bay, this long strip. The Republic of West Florida was established in 1755. They had their national capital at Red Stick, which has reverted to its French name, Baton Rouge, and was absorbed into the United States forcibly by American troops who surrounded the capital building there in Baton Rouge and forced Fulwar Skipwith and the other legislators to pledge allegiance to the United States. This came following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

❖ *Five Canadian Provinces: 1763*

Then there were the five Canadian provinces.

This varied picture and diverse scattering of colonies is often neglected in the story of the American founding experience, partly because it's messy and complicated and partly because it's not been a part of the American mythology. You almost never hear about Watauga, Vermont, or West Florida being separate entities and declaring themselves to be separate nations. It's interesting that until the readmission of Texas following Reconstruction, Texas and Vermont were the only two states in the union that had entered the United States by way of treaty arrangement rather than by way of annexation, and therefore they remained sovereign powers able to constitutionally secede from the union at any time. There is some question about whether Texas can still do that. Texans claim they can and the federal government claims they can't — it's a dispute that we hope never to see forcibly resolved. But Vermont unquestionably has the opportunity to secede from the union at any time, and I say they take Ben and Jerry.

At any rate, all of that provides a backdrop for us to understand why the American settlers were so weary with war and why they didn't want any more of the conflicts of the internecine dynastic succession to bleed over into their new pioneering work in the New World. Nevertheless there were four wars at the early stages of the American experience where that warfare did bleed over, and it shaped the Founding Fathers and their vision of what ought to be done by government and what ought not to be done by government and provides the backdrop for their resistance to Parliament's imperial controls.

King William's War

❖ *Alliances with the Huron and Iroquois*

First, there was King William's War. To set the backdrop, the French had attempted to erode the English settlements in New England by creating a series of alliances, particularly with the Huron Indians. The English, meanwhile, had allied themselves with the Iroquois.

❖ *Voyageurs and Coureurs de Bois*²

The *voyageurs* and the forest-runners, the French pioneers who had not come to settle but who had come to exploit the fur trade and to claim other natural resources, had uneasy relations with the settlers of New England who had come to establish communities, villages, and create, in some ways, a little England in the territories of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire and upwards into Maine. As a result, there were constant conflicts, and every so often there would be a raiding party that would sweep into a village and there would be slaughter.

❖ *1680: Slaughter of the Illinois*

As a result, some of the colonial militias would strike back, and in 1680 there was a slaughter of one Indian encampment of the Illinois that was particularly brutal following a series of village raids. This united the various Indian tribes against the New England villagers.

❖ *1689: War of the League of Augsburg*

❖ *1690: Attack on Schenectady*

❖ *1697: The Peace of Ryswick*

In 1688, in England, the Glorious Revolution occurred. The Glorious Revolution was the throwing out of the Stuarts, James II, and the replacing of them with James II's daughter, Mary, who was married to William of Orange, a Dutchman. Thus William and Mary came to the throne in the Glorious Revolution, and immediately began prosecuting a territorial war against the French. This led to reinforcements of British troops in the Americas to protect the New England villagers against reprisals by the allied Indian tribes. By 1689, it had broken out into a full-scale war. On the continent it was called the War of the League of Augsburg or the War of the Grand Alliance. In America it was the first French and Indian War, better known as King William's War. It resulted in a whole series of raids by Indians on villages and towns including a brutal attack on Schenectady, New York, in 1690. But it was resolved following a series of skirmishes in the Americas and fierce battles in Europe, with the Peace of Ryswick in 1697.

Queen Anne's War

❖ *1701: The War of Spanish Succession*

This was followed almost immediately by Queen Anne's War. Queen Anne was William and Mary's successor, and she almost immediately went to war against the Hapsburgs because they were supporting the Old Pretender, James III, against her claim for the crown of England.³

² *Voyageur* is French for traveller. *Coureur de bois* is French for forest-runner. *Ed.*

³ Queen Anne's War was the name of the American theater of the War of Spanish Succession, in which the French allied with the Spanish against the British and the Dutch.

❖ *1703: Wells Massacre*❖ *1704: Deerfield Massacre*

As a result, all of the Indian tribes allied with the French and the Hapsburgs launched a series of raids on the New England towns including, in 1703, a terrible massacre at Wells, Maine, and another in 1704, in Deerfield, Massachusetts.

❖ *1706: Privateers and Pirates*

These massacres led to the Americans putting into the waters a series of pirate brigades, some of them supplied by and financed by the various American town militias. Thus, we have privateers and pirates plying the waters up and down the Atlantic coast. It's really the beginning of the great age of piracy. The Americans raided the French and the Hapsburgs — the Castilians, and the Aragonese, what we typically call the Spanish Hapsburgs. The Spanish Hapsburgs had their own pirates, and they raided the Americans and the British. The British had their letters of marque and they raided the Spanish, the French, and the Americans. It was just a right royal mess.

❖ *1713: The Peace of Utrecht*

This mess was resolved in 1713 at the Peace of Utrecht.

King George's War❖ *1739: The War of Jenkins' Ear*

That peace didn't long endure because in 1739, the War of Jenkins' Ear broke out. This was the direct result of piracy. Jenkins himself was a pirate. He was raided by Hapsburg pirates when his ship was overtaken, and his ear was cut off. Somehow in the midst of the fray, he was able to recover his ear and stood before Parliament some months later waving his now shriveled, leathery, former ear, calling for revenge.

❖ *1740: The War of Austrian Succession*

That led to a whole new series of struggles, which bled into the War of Austrian Succession, when the Spanish Hapsburgs and the Austrian Hapsburgs, along with the papacy got into a struggle over who would actually succeed to the throne.

❖ *1745: Ft. Louisbourg*

In 1745, there was an attempt by the Americans to storm a French fort on the frontier, Ft. Louisbourg. This was one of the first great battles that tested some of the young militiamen who would later become the generals in the American War of Independence — it became the proving ground.

❖ *1748: Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*

By 1748, King George's War was resolved with the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

❖ *1753: Enter George Washington*

It was in 1753 that, entering into the militia, now called to keep the peace on the frontier and maintain the terms of the treaty, was a young surveyor and lieutenant, George Washington. This is the beginning of his military experience.

French and Indian War

He wouldn't have to wait long because, in 1754, France and England declared war on one another again, this time launching what is called the Seven Years' War, which was fought on four continents in at least nineteen different theaters, but in the American theater it's called the French and Indian War.

❖ *1754: Battle of Great Meadows*

It really began in 1754 not far from where Pittsburgh is today, in the Battle of Great Meadows where the French and their Indian allies overcame the American and the British placement.

❖ *1755: Albany Congress and Ned Braddock*

Calling for a great congress of all the New England colonial powers, the Albany Congress appointed Ned Braddock as the commander of the militia forces and the British forces.

❖ *1756: The Quaker Coup*

❖ *1757: Prime Minister William Pitt*

This was confused to some degree by Quakers who refused to serve in the militias because of their pacifist convictions and the heavy-handed application of conscription by the new Prime Minister of England, William Pitt.

❖ *1759: Wolfe and Montcalm at Quebec*

The great battle for regency in Canada which led to the terrible struggle between Generals Wolfe and Montcalm at Quebec.

During all this, Americans were deployed. Washington is famous for his great courage just outside Ft. Necessity, when he appeared to be bulletproof as horses were shot out from under him and bullets pierced his hat and his cape and he came away unscathed. He learned in these early struggles what it meant to command men, to face hopeless causes, to arrange for quick retreat — something he would do a great deal throughout his career. Until Yorktown, he had no significant pitched battle victories. Washington was a great general because he knew how to get out of a bad scrape when he was losing. He did that over and over again in his career, which is actually a pretty remarkable leadership trait. Live to fight another day. Lose and live to fight another day. Lose again, and live to fight another day. Lose *again*, and live to fight another day. George Washington learned that in the French and Indian War.

❖ *1763: The Treaty of Paris*

The French and Indian War ended with the Treaty of Paris.

By that time, the English had committed so much money and manpower to these perpetual wars that now they were caught in the same vicious cycle that the French and the Hapsburgs had been in from the beginning. As a

result, we have disarray in Christendom, the reemergence of *hamas*, the ambitions of imperial hegemony, and the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, combined with the heavy-handedness of Parliament, economic mercantilism, the imposition of overbearing taxes, colonial imperialism, piracy, privateering, and letters of marque. And the Americans said, *Not for us!* This is where *Give me liberty or give me death* comes from. This is where *Stand free or die* comes from. This is where the whole notion of *Stop this madness, we shall not — our children shall not — be wrapped up in this perpetual cycle of intervention and imposition for the rest of our lives; we shall not; it ends here.*

The problem with that is that it sounds so extreme, and it bucks the status quo. It engages a dangerous enemy who has great power and is obviously willing, across generations, to impose its will upon recalcitrant peoples. But after all this, those American colonial settlers said, *Why was it that we braved the perilous waves and left our homes and families and all that was settled and came to this land, carved out for ourselves new homes, planted churches, established families, and built colleges? Why was it that we risked everything — everything that we were and everything that we had? Why? For the same cycle of violence and madness to afflict us again? No. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.*

It's why the rhetoric of Samuel Adams was so profoundly fierce. Liberty, that divine fruit of gospel prolificacy, must ever root itself in our soil else we must and shall die in the course of her defense. The Americans looked at this long cycle of madness and said, *This is not the fruit of Christendom. This is not the culture of the gospel. This is not the inevitable result of growing populations and complicated economies and rising technologies. This is tyranny. And tyranny must be opposed. If our dreams and our vision are to survive, the opposition cannot be delayed. It must be opposed now. And if now, then us. It seemed like absolute madness, but hopping aboard leaky ships like the *Speedwell* or the *Mayflower* was madness enough already. Arriving on the shores of New England and saying, *Ah, this is great! New England in winter! We'll call this home.* That's madness! The thought of establishing a college with two hundred fourteen books and \$45.38 — that's madness! To say, Yes, we have four students, that's a college. That's madness! It's madness! All of it is madness if you measure by the standards of the world.*

But they said, *Okay, so England is the greatest power militarily and politically in the world, we still must stand for principle and for right. Okay, they've committed themselves to two hundred fifty years of unremitting warfare and they won't allow the smattering of settlements in a far distant, rocky shore to deter them from their hegemony. So what? We've got to stand on principle.* And that's what they did. That really is the American story. They weren't political ideologues. Most Americans never have and, hopefully, never will really care all that much about politics. That's the great American virtue. It was because they didn't care about politics, they didn't want the imposition of government, they didn't believe in complicated mechanisms of foreign policy, trade agreements, commercial monopolies, and mercantilist schemes that they didn't believe those things should reign and rule in their lives. Because they were more interested in raising their families, tending their gardens, and minding their own businesses, they rose up as reluctant revolutionaries and said, *No. No more. Not now. Not with us.*

What history has proven is that that is the only spirit that can long maintain liberty. Without that spirit, liberty is quickly swallowed up in the complexities of a world that always leans toward this. So, the American founders said, *No*, and that is the great American story which we'll pick up next time with the Pilgrims, the Mayflower Compact, and the beginning of the great experiment in liberty.



Lord, thank you. Thank you for reminding us again of the lens of another time and another skirmish. Thank you for reminding us of what it costs to have freedom, what we have to risk in order to bequeath it to our children and our children's children. Lord, I pray that you would give us the courage of conviction that you gave to those founders. We don't stand on pioneering shores, but these may be pioneering times. We've not yet carved out homes from the wilderness, but in a howling wilderness of political ideology, we have a new opportunity to forge again the bright and shining hope of liberty, which can come, as the Apostle Paul tells us, only from the gospel of Christ, only from the fruits of the good news of the sacrifice of Jesus. We pray that you would make us beacon lights of that truth now and for the rest of our lives. Cause us to recoil at the imposition of petty tyrannies. And enable us to understand the role that we're to play in the days yet to come. I pray that you would use these students, that you would raise them up as champions, that you would glorify yourself in and through their callings. I pray in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 8

Puritans & Pilgrims: New Life in a New World

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Elected Assemblies versus the Governors; The Great Awakening and Its Political Impact

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 87–102

Lesson Synopsis

When we talk about something like the Reformation or the Puritans and the Pilgrims, we've got to remember that often our assumptions are based upon other people's assumptions and we might be wrong. It's amazing to think about one hundred two seasick, inexperienced refugees, Pilgrims, who lost half their number in the first winter, who were saved by the peculiar, special instrument of God who walked out of the woods looking for beer.

These fifty-some-odd people changed our whole world, launched an experiment in liberty that is now felt from the mountains of Afghanistan to the deepest jungles of Burma? Sometimes the best thing we can do is to recover the scraps and to remember.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Background to the migrations of the Pilgrims and Puritans; succession from Henry VIII to James I

Primary Source Material

The Mayflower Compact; *Five Kernels of Corn*, by Hezekiah Butterworth, the Presbyterian Remonstrance

Vocabulary

spectacles, dastardly, fiefdom, pedigree, excommunicate, bucolic, curator, posterity, obscure, brittle, juror, collaborate, authentic, verify, assumption, incumbent (adj.), dynastic, confidant, annulment, autonomous, ardent, exclusion, avenge, impediment, consummate (adj.), liturgy, filibuster, centralized, imbibe, asunder, conform, episcopal, adhere, regulative, migration, imposition, regency, systematic, sponsorship, constitute, ordinance, adversity

Timeline

- ❖ 1509: Henry VIII married Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, and succeeded his father to the throne.
- ❖ 1521: Henry VIII awarded papal *Defensor Fidei*.

- ❖ 1533: Henry VIII divorced Catherine of Aragon and married Anne Boleyn, against the wishes of the pope.
- ❖ 1547: The ascension of nine year-old Edward VI to the throne of England.
- ❖ 1548: Prayer Book reforms instituted by Edward VI
- ❖ 1550: Exclusion Statutes ban Roman Catholics from high office or the monarchy.
- ❖ 1553: Mary I deposed Lady Jane Grey and succeeded to the throne of England.
- ❖ 1554: Marriage alliance between Philip Hapsburg and Mary I
- ❖ 1556: Mary I unleashed fierce persecution of Protestants in England.
- ❖ 1558: The ascension of Elizabeth I to the throne of England.
- ❖ 1559: Settlement Policy's *Via Media*
- ❖ 1603: The ascension of James I to the throne of England.
- ❖ 1608: A group of Puritans, known to us as Pilgrims, fled Scrooby in Nottinghamshire to Leyden in the Netherlands.
- ❖ 1617: The Book of Sports first published
- ❖ 1620: Plymouth Plantation founded in Massachusetts
- ❖ 1625: The ascension of Charles I to the English throne
- ❖ 1627: Star Chamber Re-instituted
- ❖ 1628: The Book of Sports re-published
- ❖ 1629: Parliament dismissed
- ❖ 1630: The Great Puritan Migration began
- ❖ 1633: Bishop Laud appointed to re-write the liturgies of the Churches of England and Scotland.
- ❖ 1634: The Presbyterian Remonstrance
- ❖ 1638: National Covenant in Scotland
- ❖ 1643: Solemn League and Covenant in Scotland
- ❖ 1643: Directory of Public Worship



Puritans & Pilgrims:

New Life in a New World

The world's most important experiment in civil governance began, much like most great innovations do, as a principled spiritual conviction. Thus, was the American experiment founded as a Reformed theological covenant.
 ~Murray Rothbard

Today we're going to talk about the Puritans and the Pilgrims and we'll pick up this theme again next time, so we won't discuss all the material. If it goes by way too fast for you, don't panic. We'll recircle and come back to it.

21 September

❖ *1949: The People's Republic of China was proclaimed by Mao's Communist insurgency.*

It was on this day in 1949 that the People's Republic of China was proclaimed by its Communist leaders.

❖ *1937: The Hobbit, by J.R.R. Tolkien, was published.*

In 1937 on this day, Sam and all of the other wonderful characters of Hobbiton, including Bilbo, made their first appearance in print when *The Hobbit* by J.R.R. Tolkien was first printed.

❖ *1827: Joseph Smith reported an angelic visit.*

Also on this day in 1827, Joseph Smith reportedly was visited by the angel Moroni who gave him a record of golden plates, one-third of which Smith translated into the Book of Mormon using special spectacles made of the Old Testament Urim and Thummim¹ upon which he was able to look at the golden plates. Of course, the Urim and Thummim disappeared, the golden plates disappeared, the angel Moroni never made another appearance. He revealed to Joseph Smith the marvel of a once-glorious American civilization from the lost tribes of Israel. Of course, there's no archeological evidence that any such civilization ever existed. Nevertheless, it was on this day in 1827 that Joseph Smith reported his angelic visit.

❖ *1792: The French Monarchy was abolished.*

It was on this day in 1792 that the French National Convention voted to abolish the monarchy.

❖ *1780: Benedict Arnold betrayed West Point.*

In 1780, on this day, Benedict Arnold gave the British plans to West Point, thus betraying the American cause which he had heretofore helped to lead as an American general.

❖ *1745: At the Battle of Prestonpans the Hanoverians were defeated by the army of Bonnie Prince Charlie.*

It was on this day in 1745 that the Battle of Prestonpans was fought when a Hanoverian army under the command of a general, Sir John Cope, was defeated in ten minutes by the makeshift rabble army of Jacobite forces under the leadership of Bonnie Prince Charlie, Charles Edward Stuart. As a result, Bonnie Prince Charlie was able to march his army, in an attempt to overthrow the German Hanoverians — George II was then on the throne. His ultimate plan was to restore his father, the rightful heir of the Stuart monarchy to the throne of England. He would have done it; he was on his way to London, his army was well-prepared. After the Battle of Prestonpans, it looked like it was a done deal, but Scottish lords betrayed him. Through a series of dastardly maneuvers, he had to make his way back to Scotland, where he was defeated at the Battle of Culloden. It was almost a repeat of the story of William Wallace, who was likewise betrayed, not by the English, but by his own Scottish lords.

¹ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said, "Urim," but the Old Testament stone, and the stone Joseph Smith claimed to have used to translate the golden plates, was called the Urim. See, for example, Ex. 28:30 and Lev. 8:8, among numerous other passages. *Ed.*

❖ *1558: Emperor Charles V died.*

And it was on this day in 1558 that emperor Charles V, Charles Hapsburg, died at the monastery where he had retired in Extremadura in the south of what we today call Spain, at the monastery of San Geronimo de Yuste. Charles was one of the most remarkable men in history, serving as the king of Castile and Aragon and the Holy Roman Emperor for forty years. He was one of the central figures of the Reformation. He very nearly succeeded in uniting the world into a vast Roman Catholic fiefdom, stretching from the Americas to the frontiers of Asia. He was born with the finest royal pedigree, the finest since the time of the Cæsars. He was the son of Philip I, king of Castile; maternal grandson of Ferdinand V of Castile and Isabella I; the paternal grandson of the Hapsburg Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I; and the great-grandson of Charles the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy. On the death of his father in 1506, he inherited the Burgundian realm and then the vast interconnected Spanish kingdoms and became Holy Roman Emperor. It was Charles, shortly after his twenty-first birthday who confronted Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms in 1521. It was Charles who mounted the armies to fight off the assaults of Sulieman the Magnificent, the great Islamic *ji'hadist* and his march against Christendom. It was Charles who attempted to have Henry VIII of England excommunicated and his daughter, Mary, elevated. It was Charles who supported the horrid years of Bloody Mary. It was Charles who died on this day in 1558.

Westminster Assembly

Charles does not figure directly into the story of the Pilgrims and Puritans, but it's a story that cannot be told apart from the backdrop of the wars and the conflicts that he brought. This is a great picture of the Westminster Assembly,² but the Westminster Assembly, which gathered to reform the English Reformation, was struggling with, wrestling with, the legacy of Charles



as much as they were with the legacy of Henry VIII and Edward VI and James I and Elizabeth. They were wrestling with how to make the doctrines of the Scriptures come alive in a nation in order to shape a culture. That was their charge.

² *The Assertion of Liberty of Conscience by the Independents at the Westminster Assembly of Divines 91844*) by John Rogers Herbert (1810–1890)

A Shaky Start Toward Reformation

In order to get the backdrop of this whole story, we should probably back up a little and make mention of a couple of things. First, we'll talk a little about the Mayflower Compact, which is probably the ripest fruit that came from the whole Reformation of England. It's interesting that the Mayflower Compact is one of the things you learn about in American history. It's this bucolic scene of Pilgrims on their way to this great experiment in liberty after a difficult voyage across the sea and a perilous journey even to get to their seaward journey across the ocean. We don't really understand the fact that the Mayflower Compact itself was only a matter of rumor. We didn't actually have the actual document until 1897. The logbook of the Mayflower was, in that year, uncovered in the archives of the Archbishop of Canterbury, just across the Thames from the Houses of Parliament. In 1776, the document had been captured by British troops, taken out of Boston, transported to Nova Scotia first — where somehow the logbook fell into the hands of shopkeepers who used several leaves of the journal to wrap fish and pickles in — but a museum curator discovered the remainder of the document at the end of the eighteenth century and took them back to England as the last prisoner of war in the American conflict with the Mother Country. The logbook was significant because it recorded for posterity a number of vital facts that provided new insights into one of the most remarkable journeys and settlements in the New World, the establishment of Plymouth. It was that establishment that grew out of this Reformation that we'll discuss and the conflicts that were wrought in the reformation of the Church of England during the difficult years of the seventeenth century.

I bring all of that up partly because it's a really fascinating story. We knew about the Mayflower Compact only by secondary sources until the end of the nineteenth century when the logbook was recovered. That's remarkable and mysterious. Part of the reason I wanted to talk about that mystery is because it's interesting, but part of it is that yesterday in the mail, my favorite bookseller in Scotland sent me my most recent purchase. I just had to trot it out and show you. It's amazing how little documents can be lost and how they turn up in the oddest spots. A lot of history is simply going about and hunting for obscure scraps of paper and finding them by simply recognizing what they are. What I have here are seven rare documents from the nineteenth century from the pen of Thomas Chalmers, almost none of them published in other places, none of them bound in books, all of them from obscure spots all over Scotland. From these odd, old, brittle, fragile documents, I hope to be able to pull together some interesting new facts about an era that I have particular interest in.

That's the way a lot of history works. It's not like these facts are all known. We are a forgetful and stupid people. We forget important details all the time or we get the facts wrong. We don't remember things correctly. This is one of the things that jurors wrestle with constantly. There may be five eyewitnesses to a particular incident that may or may not be a crime and if there are five witnesses there will probably be significant details that will differ among all five accounts. So, how do you know what's true? You have to dig, find, collaborate, hunt for obscure documents, and pore over them to determine how authentic they are and whether or not they reveal any new facts. Then you verify and verify again. It's kind of like the scientific method. The scientific method for good science requires not just a series of assumptions made once, based on simple observation. You have to make the observations, then you have to test the results and see if you can repeat the observations. If you can, then you can begin to draw conclusions. That's the way history works, too. So when we talk about something like the Reformation, when we talk about the Puritans and the Pilgrims, we've got to remember that often our assumptions are based upon other people's assumptions and we might be wrong.

Were there thirteen American colonies that fought for their independence? Or were there seventeen or were there twenty-one? Were Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys part of the American struggle for independence? Was that great moment at Ft. Ticonderoga an American moment or was it some obscure little Vermontese moment?

Henry VIII

These are questions that often aren't asked, but they sometimes can be the most important questions of all. For instance, you know that the English Reformation was not a reformation about doctrine, it was a reformation about authority. It wasn't a fight about whether or not the Roman Catholic Church taught what was true. It was whether or not the pope had authority over the affairs of local kings. This is one of the reasons why, by the time we get to the seventeenth century, there were many English reformers who believed that the work of the Reformation had never been done in England, even though the Anglican Church had broken away under King Henry VIII.

❖ *1509: Married Catherine and Succeeded Father*

In 1509, Henry VIII married his brother's widow. His older brother Arthur, who was the heir to the throne, died before he could take the throne. Because of a series of alliances that Henry's father, Henry VII, had made, particularly with the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, it was incumbent upon the young Henry to marry the older Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow. So in 1509 he did so and, in short order, succeeded his father to the throne.

❖ *1521: Awarded Papal Defensor Fidei*

Henry was one of the most remarkable humanists — a romantic renaissance man, a fine musician, a good writer, an excellent thinker. He was, with Francis I of France, one of the great learned men of the age. He embraced the Renaissance and wished to bring it to England. He was also an ardent Roman Catholic and a fierce opponent of the reforms of Martin Luther, so much so that in 1521, he was awarded the papal Defender of the Faith medal for a paper he'd written about the heresies of the Reformation.

❖ *1533: The Great Matter's Denouement*

However, there were dynastic concerns for the Tudor House. The concerns involved the inability of Catherine, at least in Henry's mind, to produce for him a son. Though she had given birth to children, only one of those children succeeded in making it outside of infancy and that child was a daughter, and Princess Mary wasn't sufficient for the dynastic ambitions of Henry VIII. So he began to work with Cardinal Wolsey, the archbishop of Canterbury and his close confidant to somehow obtain an annulment of his almost twenty-year-long marriage.

There were multiple concerns that went back and forth between Rome and London, between Westminster and the Vatican, along with a tremendous amount of diplomacy. But here's the problem: Charles V was the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and who was Catherine, but his aunt.³ So, he fought hard to protect Catherine's integrity in the marriage. The result was that Cardinal Wolsey was unable to persuade the pope to annul the marriage, and so in 1533, Henry decided to divorce his wife and marry his lover in order to produce heirs to the throne and protect his dynastic ambitions. It was a nasty mess. That was the beginning of the break of the

³ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said that Catherine was Charles' cousin, but she was actually Charles' aunt, the sister of Charles' mother, Joanna of Castile. *Ed.*

Church of England. It wasn't about doctrine: *sola scriptura*, *sola fide*, *solī deo gloria*, or *solo gratia*; it was about authority. As a result, when Henry VIII died, the English church was an autonomous church, but it had not actually been reformed. Theologically it was virtually identical to the Roman Catholic Church. The difference was that it was a national church rather than an international church.

Edward VI

❖ *1547: Nine Year-Old Succession*

❖ *1548: Prayer Book Reforms*

By that time, however, Henry had succeeded in producing another daughter and a son, who succeeded Henry when he was only nine years old in 1547. He was an ardent believer in the doctrines of the Reformation. He immediately set about putting in place real reforms in the English church, including, in 1548, a call for radical reforms of the prayer book that was used in English worship services.

❖ *1550: Exclusion Statutes Drafted*

In 1550, exclusion statutes were ratified which essentially put into place bans on Roman Catholics from holding high office or from succeeding to the throne in England.

Mary I

Alas, Edward was a sickly child. He was succeeded by his older half-sister, Mary, who was the daughter of Henry and Catherine in that first marriage. Mary was determined to avenge her mother's shame. While she didn't reunite the Anglican Church — the English Church — with Rome because of a series of impediments along the way that were both political and personal, she did unleash a horrific persecution against the Puritans, those who had brought about the reforms of Edward.

❖ *1553: Deposes Lady Jane Grey*

In 1553, she successfully overthrew the claims of her cousin, Lady Jane Grey, and had her executed at the Tower of London.

❖ *1554: Marriage Alliance with Philip Hapsburg*

❖ *1556-1558: The Bloody Years*

By 1554, she had arranged an alliance with Philip of Hapsburg, and by 1556, she had unleashed a fierce persecution — one that earned her the name *Bloody Mary* — launched against those English Protestants who were attempting to reform the English church along the lines of the Reformation in continental Europe under Calvin, Luther, and Zwingli.

Elizabeth I

❖ *1559: Settlement Policy's Via Media*

Mary died after only five years on the throne and she was succeeded by her half-sister, Edward's still older sister, but the only remaining child of Henry VIII, Elizabeth I. Almost immediately Elizabeth, who was sympathetic to the Protestants but who desired the dignity and the glory of the Catholics, signed an agreement called the Settlement Policy, or the *Via Media*, the middle way.

❖ *1562: Royal Injunctions*

In 1562, she issued a series of royal injunctions that consolidated authority and power. Elizabeth was the consummate politician, regal presence. She ignited the land, settled the disputes between warring factions to a remarkable degree and the Anglo-Catholics and the Puritans settled into an uneasy peace during *Pax Virginia*. She was known as the great Virgin Queen, and the peace that reigned during her time on the throne was quite remarkable. Alas, because she was the Virgin Queen, she died without issue. She never married.

James I

❖ *1603: Ascension*

In 1603, the crown was passed to her Scottish cousin, James VI of Scotland, James I of England — James Stuart. James had grown up in the Presbyterian church. His mother, Mary Queen of Scots was an ardent Roman Catholic and an opponent of John Knox, the great Reformer in Scotland, but he had been tutored by the great Presbyterians of the early Covenanting Age. As a result, he had some mixed views. He wanted to maintain a national church, but, like his mother, he wanted both control of the liturgy and he wanted control of the church. Because we're Americans and we've got this separation of church and state lodged in our heads, we're all non-conformists; most of us come from an Evangelical tradition, so we've got some rogue genes in us and we come by them naturally. So we look askance at the meddling of the royals in all of this theological stuff, but here's what they understood that we often don't: what happens in the worship of the church shapes all of history. What happens when the church arrays itself around the throne of grace is the first determinant of what happens in world history. Today, the United States Congress will take up a defense spending bill to which the Democratic leadership has attached three riders. The first rider, or amendment, calls for an unshackling of all restrictions on abortions on military bases and by military personnel all over the world, so that taxpayers in America will directly fund the killing of children. Secondly, they will vote on a rider that will dismantle altogether the "Don't ask, don't tell" policy of the U.S. military regarding homosexuality. Third, they will take up an amendment that would provide 6.3 million illegal immigrants' children immediate citizenship rights and then a quick pathway for their parents to citizenship rights as well. Those three amendments have almost nothing to do with defense spending, but that's what the U.S. Senate will vote on, probably, today, unless a Republican filibuster is successful in putting it off.

Now, here's my point: what your church did this past Sunday morning is, was, and ever will be more important than what the Senate does today. What the Senate does today isn't unimportant, it will affect all of our lives. It may change the course of our nation. But over and over again, the Bible makes it plain that what happens in worship is more significant in changing the course of world history. And James I understood that. We often don't. We have a casual, sloppy approach to the majesty, splendor, and glory of the Most High God. We think that the stuff that we decide, the things that we do, the policies that we enact, the schedules that we put into place are far more important than arraying ourselves around the throne and acknowledging the majesty of the Most High God. We may disagree with everything that James I wanted to enact, but he understood this, and that's why he fought.

❖ *1605: Decree of Conformity*

In 1605, he imposed the Decree of Conformity requiring all Dissenters, all Puritans, all Non-Conformists to submit to the decrees of a centralized Anglican Church.⁴

❖ *1606: The Separatist Persecution and Purge*

In 1606, he began a persecution and purge — the fiercest since the time of “Bloody” Mary — of all the Separatists.

Charles I

❖ *1625: Ascension*

He was succeeded by his son in 1625, Charles I, who had not only imbibed his father’s authoritarian ideas but understood his father’s need to control the church if he was going to have control of the culture and the nation. Charles I picked up right where his father left off.

❖ *1627: Star Chamber Re-instituted*

In 1627, he instituted a secretive, hanging jury, called the Star Chamber, which became the terror of all those Puritans, Non-Conformists, and Separatists who were attempting to bring reform to the churches. It was during this time that men like John Bunyan spent years in jail, simply for the crime of preaching the gospel without a license from the government in accordance with government regulations.

❖ *1628: Republication of Book of Sports*

In 1628, he republished the *Book of Sports*, which essentially called for the ripping asunder of all the previous regulations regarding the Sabbath throughout England and Scotland.

❖ *1629: Parliament dismissed*

❖ *1633: Archbishop William Laud*

In 1629, he dismissed Parliament because they were objecting to his authoritarian ways, and in 1633, he appointed Archbishop William Laud to rewrite the liturgies of all the churches in England and in Scotland in order to conform to his particular and peculiar views.

Reforming the English Reformation

There were a lot of different viewpoints that were part of the English and of the Scottish church during this time, so we need some quick definitions.

⁴ The Popish Recusants Act was aimed at Roman Catholics after the Gunpowder Plot of Guy Fawkes, but it was also used to persecute Puritan dissenters. Later, the Act of Conformity and the Great Ejection of 1662 would codify the repression of dissent. GG

Anglicans

- ❖ *Episcopalian Anglo-Catholics*
- ❖ *Episcopalian Erastians*
- ❖ *Episcopalian Cavaliers*

Among the Anglicans, those who believed in an episcopal, hierarchical form of government with bishops and parishes, there were at least three wide-ranging branches. There were the Anglo-Catholics who were essentially Roman Catholic in doctrine, but they held to the national church. There were the Erastians, who believed that the hierarchical system of Anglicanism was uniquely distinct from Roman Catholicism, but that could not be questioned. Then there were the Episcopalian Cavaliers, who were much more Protestant, but who held to the episcopal form of government.

Puritans

- ❖ *Episcopalian Articulists*

There were the Puritans, all still within the Episcopal system, including Episcopal Articulists. The Articulists held to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Book of Common Prayer, a credal statement.

- ❖ *Episcopalian Confessionalists*

There were also the Episcopalian Confessionalists, who were much more concerned that the church adhere to the great creeds and confessions of the past and that the church reform itself in line with those great creeds and confessions.

- ❖ *Non-Conformist Restorationists*

Then there were Non-Conformist Restorationists, who desired to hold to the regulative principle. In other words, worship should be regulated entirely by Scripture rather than the artifices of bishops and of kings.

Dissenters

- ❖ *Continuing Presbyterians*

Of course, there were also Dissenters, who weren't a part of any of these ongoing Anglican movements. There were the Continuing Presbyterians, English Christians who held to the form of government of either Geneva, on the continent, or of Scotland, not having bishops but having councils or presbyteries, multiple levels of appeal in the courts so that there would be checks and balances, but no single individuals elevated above the others.

- ❖ *Secessionist Continentalists*

There were Secessionist Continentalists, those who wished to end the authority of the Church of England altogether and institute instead a continental, or Genevan, form of government, following after John Calvin.

- ❖ *Secessionist Congregationalists and Baptists*

Then there were Secessionist Congregationalists and Baptists, who believed that every single congregation should have the authority to rule their affairs independently of any outside body.

Migrations

All of these were thrown into flux in 1605, when James I put into place the Decree of Conformity. That decree sent all these various groups into reaction mode. First, there was a series of migrations.

- ❖ *1608: The Pilgrims Flee to Leyden*
- ❖ *1618: The Pilgrims Flee to Plymouth*
- ❖ *1630: The Great Puritan Migration*

In 1608, the Pilgrims, who were from the little village of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, fled to Leyden. By 1618, the Pilgrims fled again from Dutch Leyden to Plymouth and attempted to carve out a new life in the New World.⁵ In 1630, a great Puritan migration began that filled up New England.

Scots Respond

- ❖ *1634: Presbyterian Remonstrance*

There were also reactions in Scotland. In 1634, there was the Presbyterian Remonstrance, a declaration against the imposition of Charles I.

- ❖ *1638: National Covenant*

In 1638, a National Covenant was signed, in which it was declared that King Jesus had first authority and first regency in Scotland, not King Charles.

- ❖ *1643: Solemn League and Covenant*

By 1643, they had signed the Solemn League and Covenant to preserve the Reformation in Scotland and to hold themselves accountable to the doctrines of Scripture.

Westminster

- ❖ *1643–1652: Parliamentary Sessions*
- ❖ *1643–1644: Directory of Public Worship*
- ❖ *1647: Larger and Shorter Catechisms*

The Westminster Assembly, during the time of Charles and throughout the Civil War under Oliver Cromwell, began to meet to wrestle with what the doctrines of the Scripture might mean if adopted by a nation. What would that nation look like? How would that nation live? In 1643–44, they produced a Directory of Public Worship, then in 1647, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, which became for the English Puritans guidelines for life and worship.

⁵ This trip was from Leyden to Plymouth in England. Then, in 1620, they set off for what became Plymouth Plantation in Massachusetts. *Ed.*

First Migration: The Pilgrims

Scrooby

The Pilgrims were therefore just one of many different Puritan groups. All the Pilgrims were Puritans, but not all the Puritans were Pilgrims. The Pilgrims were just one small group within this larger complex of Puritans.⁶

❖ *Nottinghamshire Village Church*

In fact, most of those who eventually settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony weren't Pilgrims; only those who came from the little Nottinghamshire village church of Scrooby were Pilgrims.

❖ *William Ames (1576–1633)*

❖ *John Robinson (1575–1625)*

They were led by two remarkable theologians — William Ames, who wrote one of the great systematic theologies of the age, still used as a guide to Puritan theology; and John Robinson, one of the great pastors of the age. On Sunday mornings, he would preach two and a half hours and then on Sunday evenings, he would come back for another hour-long Bible study and then a three-hour-long Bible study on Thursdays. He lectured throughout the week on various topics, ran his own business, refused the title *pastor* because he believed that he was merely a teaching elder, and he built in the little congregation there in Scrooby a fierce and unrelenting faith. Alas, because of the persecutions unleashed, beginning in 1605, by James I, the pastor and many of the elders — John Robinson and those who led the congregation — were thrown in jail, beaten, and persecuted constantly. Robinson spent time in jail twelve times between 1605 and 1609, when they finally decided to remove themselves and move to Holland.

Leyden

A large number of the people from the Scrooby congregation uprooted themselves and moved to Leyden. William Ames had already gone there and had set up a printing press and was printing pamphlets and books from Leyden.

❖ *Woes of Covenantal Succession*

The Netherlands was, at the time, much more tolerant, so they thought that they would find a home there, but they quickly discovered that they were losing their English heritage. Their children were becoming Dutch. They wrestled with what this meant in terms of covenantal succession. How could they preserve their legacy?

❖ *Virginia Company Sponsorship*

❖ *William Brewster (1567–1644)*

So, they made contact with the Virginia Company to seek a sponsorship perhaps to go to the new English colonies in Virginia to establish a new settlement. They worked out a deal, and William Brewster, one of the elders of the church, was charged by Robinson to be the pastor and the elder of this small group.

⁶ Here, by Pilgrims, Dr. Grant is referring to the group of Puritans who migrated from Scrooby to Leyden and not to the group that came on the Mayflower, which included both unbelieving Strangers and believing Puritans. *Ed.*

Mayflower

❖ July 22, 1620: On the Speedwell

So, on July 22, 1620, they left Leyden on a leaky little ship called the *Speedwell*. It should have been called the *Leakwell*. It was a horrid ship, tiny and hardly seaworthy.

❖ August 5, 1620: With the Mayflower

Nevertheless, they made their way back to England on the *Speedwell*, and on August 5, 1620, they boarded two ships, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*, in order to make their journey across the ocean. They set out, and almost immediately had to turn back because the *Speedwell* was sinking well.

❖ September 16, 1620: Mayflower Alone

So it wasn't until September 16, 1620 that they were able to depart, this time with one hundred two passengers,⁷ all on the *Mayflower*, a ship which had the capacity of only fifty-five. Thirty-four were children. The crew of the *Mayflower* wasn't particularly sympathetic. In fact, almost all of the one hundred two passengers aboard became sick. For several days, the whole of the journey was one hundred two people leaning over the rails. One of the crew members found this particularly amusing. He mocked them and mocked their faith. He rode them mercilessly. Two days later, he caught a virus and he died. God is not mocked, and apparently, neither are the Pilgrims.

Signing the Mayflower Compact

They had a perilous journey across the ocean. This is a great picture⁸ of the signing of the Mayflower Compact. The journey across the sea was perilous; as a result, the captain decided to shorten the journey and took a different route, which is why they didn't land in Virginia, where they were headed. Instead, by November, when they first sighted land, they were far to the north of Virginia, just off Cape Cod.



The Mayflower Compact

But once they'd sighted land, and because they wanted to ensure that their little experiment would adhere to the principles of the Reformation, they decided to compact together, to covenant together for a vision that would

⁷ All the *believing* Pilgrims were Dissenters and Puritans, but included in their number were Strangers, unbelievers who decided to come along and make a new start in the New World along with this group of Puritans. *Ed.*

⁸ *Signing the Mayflower Compact* (1900) by Edward Percy Moran

represent the highest ideals of the Reformation. They wanted to make certain that what they were about would be the advancement of the faith, the honor of king and country, and most of all for the glory of God. This is what the Mayflower Compact says:

Preamble

❖ *In the Name of God*

In the name of God, Amen.

It began in the preamble simply by invoking the name of the most high God. They knew that whatever it was that they were about was not about them. It was about him.

❖ *Loyal Subjects*

❖ *By the Grace of God*

We whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc.

That always strikes me as remarkable. They were running from King James, running from his persecutions. They disagreed with his policies. But they saw themselves as men and women and children, even in their flight, under authority.

Purpose

❖ *For the Glory of God*

❖ *For the Advancement of the Faith*

❖ *For the Honor of King and Country*

Principle

❖ *Covenant Together as a Body*

❖ *Ordering and Preserving Ends*

❖ *Enact Just Laws*

❖ *For the General Good*

Having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

Murray Rothbard, Jewish historian, says that thus was begun the great American experiment in liberty, with a vow to God to submit to him and to one another and all appropriate authorities therein, to constitute themselves a body politic, to enact just laws in order to advance the faith and give glory to God. My guess is that, on the floor of the Senate today, they won't remember this, but they should, and so should we.

New Life in a New World: Plymouth

- ❖ *One Hundred Two Passengers with Thirty-four Children*
- ❖ *The Mayflower Compact*
- ❖ *November 11, 1620: Cape Cod*
- ❖ *A Bitter Winter; A Plaguing Sickness*
- ❖ *Five Kernels of Corn*

The story of the Pilgrims, from this great start, is one of terrible adversity. They were tested time and time and time again. For the hundred two passengers and thirty-four children, the signing of the Mayflower Compact on November 11, off Cape Cod in 1620, was just the beginning. They stepped off onto Plymouth Rock and attempted to carve out a settlement for themselves in the rolling hills of Cape Cod. They faced the bitterest winter imaginable and lost half of their number that first year. At one point, they were reduced to five kernels of corn rationed for every man, woman, and child, which inspired Hezekiah Butterworth's famous poem.

- ❖ *March 16, 1621: Samoset*
- ❖ *Squanto: "A Special Instrument"*

They knew that to do right was always hard, that it doesn't look like what we think it looks like. Victory almost always looks like defeat long before the shining light of hope ever shines. Amazingly, that next spring, an Indian walked out of the woods, right up to these starving men, women, and children who had just survived this bitter winter where they had buried half their number. This Indian, named Squanto,⁹ walked up and said, *Welcome, Englishmen. Do you have beer?* They were astonished! They began to believe he was some special instrument from God and, indeed, he was. Some years before, he'd been captured by an English fisherman and taken to England. He'd lived there for nine years, learned the language perfectly, somehow made his way back on another fishing expedition, rejoined his tribe, and, on that spring day, walked into Plymouth Plantation looking for beer, which the Puritans always had plenty of, including these Pilgrims. On board the Mayflower they had nine times more beer than water because water can make you sick. Squanto knew of a place where a former tribe had died of a plague and where all of their stores remained, and thus the experiment was saved.

- ❖ *William Bradford (1590-1657)*

William Bradford, who became the second governor of the plantation, was a remarkable man of unique leadership skills and despite this very difficult beginning and many adversities yet to come, led the Pilgrims and the Puritans who would join them in a series of exploits that would become the lore of American history and civilization.

⁹ Slip of the tongue: Samoset is the Indian who approached Plymouth Plantation. The next day, Samoset brought Squanto, who spoke better English because of his nine years living in England and who helped the Englishmen. Ed/

❖ *Miles Standish (1584-1656)*❖ *A Thanksgiving Feast*

Men like Miles Standish, a former military man who became convinced of the Reformation doctrine, who had a glorious conversion — he became the standard-bearer for the protection of the little colony. By the next fall, though there were many adversities yet to come, they could give thanks to a sovereign God who had preserved them safe thus far. It's not likely on the floor of the Senate that they're going to remember this, either, but they should. And so should we.

Sometimes, in order to know the truth, we have to pore through obscure little details and find oddities that no one else thinks are important. On several of these documents, there's a rubber stamp that says, "Withdrawn." That means that these were part of libraries somewhere. They were thought unimportant, stamped and discarded, and sold to some auction house. Somebody somewhere picked them up and thought, *Maybe there's some crazy preacher in Tennessee who might buy these.* It's a lot of the way that history is done. We recover what's been lost. We take the scraps off the ash heap and we think, *This is worth preserving. This is worth fighting for, paying for. And when all the others forget what matters, what makes a difference, there are a few who will pay the price and make the difference.*

Isn't it amazing to think about one hundred two seasick, inexperienced refugees, Pilgrims, who lost half their number in the first winter, who were saved by the peculiar, special instrument of God who walked out of the woods looking for beer. Isn't it amazing that these fifty-some-odd people changed our whole world, launched an experiment in liberty that is now felt from the mountains of Afghanistan to the deepest jungles of Burma? Isn't it astonishing that fifty people could have that kind of impact, simply because they wanted to compact themselves together and live for the advancement of the faith and to honor their commitments to all those whose authority they were under and who they were in authority over.

Sometimes the best thing we can do is to recover the scraps and to remember. That's why I needed to tell you this story today because quite frankly I needed it for my own heart. One day, you will for yours, too.



O, God, we are so grateful for those who gathered so long ago on American shores with so few prospects and so few hopes to do what no one imagined they could ever do. Help us to remember and enable us to recover the scraps of our legacy and broadcast the good news to all the world that we're not done, yet. We pray this, with hope in Jesus' name. Amen.



The Mayflower Compact

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia,

do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November [New Style, November 21], in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Dom. 1620.

Lesson 9

Heros, Troublers, & Salutory Neglect

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, George Washington and the War against France; Poor Quality of British Leadership

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 102–115

Lesson Synopsis

Twenty-one American colonies, for one hundred years and more, took root in the fertile soil of opportunity and freedom. What emerged was something like what had only been dreamed before by men and nations. It was altogether different from any other experiment at any other time in all history. That was the birthing of this unique and new thing called America.

Opportunity

4

Lesson Topics

The founding of the twenty-one American colonies, the Puritan migration, the settling and development of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Endicott, Simon and Anne Bradstreet, John Winthrop, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Morton, Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, John Hawthorne, Solomon Stoddard, politics in England from 1628–1746

Primary Source Material

The Arbroath Declaration, the Cambridge Resolves, the Declaration of Rights, “A Model of Charity” by John Winthrop, the Massachusetts Body of Liberties

Vocabulary

heraldic, gentry, retroactive, migration, land grant, indigenous, divergent, linguistic, brusque, resolve, provision (v.), endow, civic, tare, maturation, simultaneous, simplify, pessimism, triumphalism, precedent, infrastructure, expositor, wellspring, bureaucratic, component, dissension, charismatic, disruption, dogmatic, stability, articulate, discernment, undermine, contentious, polarize, denigrate, egregious, apostate, jurisprudence, standard (n.)

Timeline

- ❖ 1320: The Arbroath Declaration
- ❖ 1620: The Pilgrims founded Plymouth Plantation.
- ❖ 1627: Cambridge Resolves

- ❖ 1628: Salem Settlement Company founded
- ❖ 1628: John Endicott led the founding of Salem.
- ❖ 1628–1642: Parliamentary Conflict
- ❖ 1629: William Lee led the founding of Charlestown.
- ❖ 1629: Massachusetts Bay Company founded
- ❖ 1630: The Great Puritan Migration began under John Winthrop.
- ❖ 1630: John Winthrop led the founding of Trimountain (later renamed Boston).
- ❖ 1630: Massachusetts General Court
- ❖ 1635: Boston Latin School
- ❖ 1636: Harvard College
- ❖ 1636: Rhode Island founded
- ❖ 1636: Connecticut founded
- ❖ 1641: Massachusetts Body of Liberties
- ❖ 1642–1648: The English Civil War
- ❖ 1653–1660: The English Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell
- ❖ 1660–1688: Stuart Restoration
- ❖ 1669: New York founded
- ❖ 1679: New Hampshire founded
- ❖ 1681: Pennsylvania founded
- ❖ 1688: Glorious Revolution
- ❖ 1689: Declaration of Rights
- ❖ 1694–1714: English Succession Crises
- ❖ 1702: New Jersey founded
- ❖ 1714–1746: Jacobite Rebellions
- ❖ 1723: Watauga founded
- ❖ 1755: West Florida founded



Heros, Troublers, & Salutory Neglect

“The colonies in America emerged out of the frontier and onto the world stage in a burst of self-governance due to the policy of salutory neglect. Indeed, the whole American attitude toward politics has been shaped by that policy ever since.”
~ Paul Johnson

This morning as you can see we’re going to pick up where we left off, trying to gather some of the loose ends together as we make our way into the more familiar territory of American history that you may have already read about or studied in past years. We’ll be looking at the great Puritan experiment, the last of the great migrations following two hundred fifty years of perpetual warfare and more than one hundred years of ecclesiastical disruption and turmoil.

21 September

- ❖ *19 B.C.: The author of the epic poem The Aeneid, Publius Vergilius Maro, known simply as Virgil, died.*

Today is, of course, Thursday, September 21, and it was on this day in the year 19 B.C. that the author of the epic poem *The Aeneid*, Publius Vergilius Maro, simply known as Virgil, died.

- ❖ *1558: Charles V, the great Hapsburg emperor, died.*

It was also on this day in 1558 that Charles V, the great Hapsburg Emperor who attempted to wield authority across the whole globe under his own personal hegemony, finally died in frustration and in personal defeat in a monastery that he had retired to after yielding all his authority and power, dividing it between his son, Philip, and his brother, Ferdinand, and thus ended one of the great chapters in personal ambition in the history of the world.

- ❖ *1792: The French National Convention voted to abolish the monarchy.*

Also on this day, September 21, in the year 1792, the French National Convention voted to abolish the monarchy.

- ❖ *1937: The Hobbit, by J.R.R. Tolkien, was first published in Britain.*

It was in 1937, on this day, that J.R.R. Tolkien first became a published author. His little book that he thought of as bedtime stories for his children, that he'd been building from his linguistic studies and his studies of mythology, a little story called *The Hobbit* was first published. The sequel to *The Hobbit* or rather the backdrop and the ongoing story of *The Hobbit* would take quite a few more years. Even though the publishers, Allen & Unwin, really wanted the sequel the very next year, and Tolkien started promising it the very next year, obviously *The Lord of the Rings* turned into something far more grand and a great deal more complex than what was originally envisioned on this day in 1937 when *The Hobbit* was first published.

- ❖ *1998: President Clinton's grand jury testimony was publicly broadcast on radio and television.*

Of course, it was on this day in 1998 that President Clinton's grand jury testimony was publicly broadcast for the first time on radio and television, with his famous question to his interrogators about the meaning of the word *is*. It was one of the great high points in American political theater.

- ❖ *1622: The investment group that would soon become the Massachusetts Bay Company was granted a royal charter for the Province of Maine.*

But for our purposes, perhaps the most significant thing that happened on this day occurred in the year 1622. That's when the investment group that would soon be known as the Massachusetts Bay Company was granted a royal charter for what was then called the Province of Maine. The Massachusetts Bay Company was the result of a long series of meetings, convocations, and conventions among various Puritans throughout England and even some of the Covenanters from Scotland, as they looked forward to what they could expect for their children and their grandchildren as covenantal succession proceeded through the generations. They had come to the determination that the two hundred and fifty years of warfare, the religious turmoil that had ransacked their hopes and their dreams over the course of the previous century, made it advisable to leave England, to leave Europe altogether, and to attempt to start anew in a new land where they could finally, in freedom, establish a city on a hill, a beacon light to the whole world, of what might be possible if a society was actually grounded in the princi-

ples of the rule of law and the principles of godly self-government. This was to be one of the bulwarks of a widespread movement to the Americas over the course of the next seventy-five years that would establish not thirteen, not fourteen, not twenty, but twenty-one American colonies.

The Twenty-One American Colonies

This is really important for us to establish in our minds, but even more complicated than this is the fact that there were some ninety-two royal charters. For instance, the charter that we discussed concerning the Province of Maine united with the charter for the Plymouth Plantation, and four other charters combined together to create what became the Massachusetts Bay Colony. So when we talk about these colonies, we're talking about sort of an evolution over time. Various charters were given to individuals or to small companies like the Massachusetts Bay Company, so that by the time of the French and Indian theater of the Seven Years' War and beyond, all the way up to the time of the American War of Independence, there were twenty-one separate colonies, not thirteen. This is important for us to clearly understand some of the dynamics that will occur. For instance, if we only think about thirteen colonies, then we really don't have a category to put Vermont into. Vermont fought against the British at the same time as George Washington, Nathan Hale, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and all the other heroes of the American War of Independence. In fact, some of our most familiar stories about the American War of Independence come from the Vermont theater — Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys, the Battle of Saratoga, the great moment when the canons that overlooked Lake Champlain were captured by supposedly American troops and dragged into American captivity. These things were not American battles; they were battles fought by the Republic of Vermont, an independent and separate nation that rebelled at the same time as the united thirteen colonies.

In fact, Vermont didn't become a part of the American union until 1791, after the Constitution had been amended ten times, thus becoming the fourteenth state.

❖ *Watauga: 1723*

Now if you don't grasp the fact that there were these separate movements, separate colonial establishments, with separate histories and separate sociologies, then you're not going to really understand. Likewise when you start talking about the great and final battle in the South during the American War of Independence, the Battle of King's Mountain, that battle was fought by the residents of the Watauga province, or the Watauga colony, and at that time it was not a part of any of the other thirteen colonies, although North Carolina claimed it. What we will discover is that, later on, those in the Watauga province actually made a declaration to the North Carolina Legislature that they were in fact independent. They established their own separate republic following independence, called the Republic of Franklin. The first president of the Republic of Franklin was a man by the name of John Sevier, from whom the town Sevierville is named. He would later negotiate a settlement with the United States Congress that would allow the Republic of Franklin to enter into a new land grant status that would establish the Tennessee and Kentucky provinces or territories, and they would then become the fifteenth and sixteenth states in the United States. But, you don't understand any of the complexity of any of that if you start talking about thirteen colonies. There were not thirteen colonies; there were twenty-one. There were five Canadian provinces, and then there were all of these others, some of them very familiar, some of them not so familiar.

❖ *Virginia: 1607*

Virginia combined five different land grants to comprise a new colonial settlement, the first of which was Jamestown established and settled in 1607, as we have seen. It was part of what later came to be known as the Middle Colonies. It was primarily large landholders, settled sons of the gentry from back in England, and they established these large plantations like what existed in the middle section of England at the time.

If you go to Westminster Abbey and walk around the cloister of Westminster Abbey, one of things that you will discover is that many of the landed gentry in England from the Medieval Age forward have their coats of arms embedded in small stone or ceramic tiles in various places around that cloister. If you know where to look, just to the right of the Jerusalem Chamber at about eye level, or at least my eye level, you will see a little ceramic tile of red and white bars and a blue field with white stars on it. It's almost eerily familiar because it looks like some sort of an American emblem. But it's not an American emblem; it's the family crest, the heraldic device, of an old landed family from the Midlands region of England, the Washington family. It was from that family that the second and third sons of gentry from the Midlands came to the Virginia Colony, settled, established themselves, and thus, when given leadership in the new American experiment in liberty, George Washington naturally turned to familiar symbols of freedom, red and white bars and a blue field with white stars, which became the emblem of a whole nation, but it was rooted in the traditions of the landed gentry and familial connectedness from back in England. That's part of the reason why, when you go to Virginia even to this day, there is this kind of air of the settled, landed gentry, the same feeling that you get in the English Midlands, the part of the English Midlands that are not industrial.

❖ *Massachusetts: 1620*

In 1620, the Pilgrims came and established Plymouth Plantation. They had a royal charter granted to them retroactively, because they came initially as refugees and exiles. They actually bribed their way onto the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*, so they did not get royal charters immediately. But the royal charters they received five years after the establishment of Plymouth Plantation were made retroactive. So officially, even though they didn't have charters at the beginning, they received charters later that established Plymouth Plantation as a royal colony in 1620.

At the same time, floods of other Pilgrims and Puritans began to come over, and by 1630, a great migration began with John Winthrop and large well-stocked ships. They made their way up the St. Charles River a little farther to Charlestown and to Trimountain and to what would be called Cambridge but at first was named Billtown. *Cambridge* sounds so much better than *Billtown*, doesn't it? At any rate, they were then absorbed into the Massachusetts Colony, and together they became the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

❖ *Rhode Island: 1636*

Rhode Island received a land grant when certain persons from the Massachusetts Bay Colony became troublers of the stable culture and society there and were sent into exile. Roger Williams received a royal charter for his new Island of Providence and Prosperity as he called it, establishing the little village of Providence. This little island was named after the great island of fortitude in the middle of the Mediterranean, the Isle of Rhodes. So Rhode Island became the next New England colony.

❖ *Connecticut: 1636*

1636 was also the year that a number of people following the pastor of the prominent church just outside the city of Boston named Thomas Hooker determined to establish some new inroads in the region that we today call Connecticut. So we start to see the fleshing out of New England.

❖ *New Hampshire: 1679*

❖ *New York: 1669*

❖ *New Jersey: 1702*

By 1679, New Hampshire was established. In 1669, New York was established. New Jersey comes along in 1702, and then all of those that followed.

❖ *Watauga: 1723*

❖ *West Florida: 1755*

❖ *Five Canadian Provinces: 1763*

The ones that you probably do not recognize, Watauga and West Florida and the five Canadian provinces, were all established in similar fashions. Individuals with connections in Europe to the great families received royal charters, and they were given land grants.

❖ *Pennsylvania: 1681*

Pennsylvania, for instance, was given to the religiously rebellious son of a high profile cabinet office so that those following his peculiar sect, the Quakers, would have a place to establish themselves in peace and in prosperity.

All of these various colonial establishments, had their own peculiar histories, established their own standards of law, built their own indigenous systems of legal enforcement, their own peculiar economies, and, at least until sometime following the French and Indian theater of the Seven Years' War, they hardly saw themselves connected to one another at all. In other words, they did not think of themselves as Americans. A Virginian would have far more in common with his relatives back in the Midlands in England than he would have with any of the people who had settled in Massachusetts.

There were virtually no roads that connected the colonies. There were virtually no mechanisms for commerce between the colonies. Virtually all the commerce was back and forth across the Atlantic or within a colony. They were very much separate islands. This is one of the reasons why often, when historians look at the American War of Independence, one of the things that they might be surprised by is the different way that the various colonies decided to go, in terms of what they would contribute to the federal government, in terms of troop commitments to the continental army, in terms of Vermont not desiring at all to be a part of the United States for those first fifteen or twenty years, and the separate path that the Canadian provinces took. What we'll see later on is that this tradition continues with the West, and there will be at least five, some would argue nine, separate new governmental establishments that occurred in the West. In other words, new countries were established that eventually were folded into the United States, but at their beginning, they had no desire whatsoever to be part of the United States. They were separate independent nations based upon separate independent colonial establishments. This is really important for us to understand because later on, when we come to questions like states' rights, the Bill of Rights, the nature of federal government, the nature of federalism, the rise of political

parties, and the differences between regions and economies that ultimately led to a war of brother against brother, the Civil War, we're not going to understand any of that background if we don't see these very, very separate and independent establishments, from the beginning growing up very separate cultures, not connected to one another at all.

Interestingly, what finally brought a level of connection among the colonial administrations wasn't worries about oppression from Parliament and king, nor the quartering of troops in the city of Boston, nor the American War of Independence and the drive for liberty. What began to unite all these colonial establishments was the Great Awakening and the preaching of one man, George Whitefield. But that's another story and we will get to it later. For our purposes right now, the most important thing for us to see is that we had wildly divergent, different, independent, and isolated colonial establishments whose primary connection with each other actually traveled first through the city of London, and not from the cities of Jamestown and Williamsburg to Boston or Charlestown.

Therefore, the structure, life, culture, and society that emerged on the American shores was unlike anything we can imagine. One of the really interesting things about Benjamin Franklin's early days as a publisher in the city of Philadelphia is that the very first *Poor Richard's Almanac* — which was established financially and as a cultural force in the American colonies — the very first edition of *Poor Richard's Almanac* was actually designed as a means by which people from the northern colonies, the Middle Colonies, and the southern colonies could learn to understand each other.

The dialects of English that were spoken in the South, in the Middle Colonies, and in the northern colonies were so distinctively different that it was said that a man in Boston could not understand a man from Charleston for the life of him. Some would argue that that is still the case, but it was much more the case then — very separate cultures.

Language is an expression of culture, an expression of worldview, so when there are peculiar linguistic traits, those peculiar linguistic traits will always be tied to certain worldview assumptions. So when you listen to a southerner and he's dragging his syllables out for what seems to be an eternity and he seems to put the emphasis on the wrong syllables, and, at the end of a sentence, no matter what the declarative sentence might be, it still sounds like a question. *I'm going to church? Yes, I think we're goin' back to the house?* Is that a question or a statement? That is a worldview expression. The softness, the slowness, and even the openness of a southern accent expresses certain aspects of southern life and culture. It is intended, purposefully, to show forth certain ideas that are an essential part of the worldview of that culture. We tend to pick those things up from our parents and from the surrounding culture, but that's the way worldview is passed on. It's covenantal succession. So, even though it's unconscious to us, there are certain aspects of worldview that are expressed. Therefore, when we go to New York and we hear this sort of brusque, rough, and edgy talk over here, and *we're real excited, you guys, about all the things that we're gonna talk about today, let me tell ya. I was walking down the street and it was amaaazing what I saw. You wouldn't believe it, I'm tellin' ya. I'm tellin' ya right now, right here, just as if I was standin' before God,*¹ that's a worldview expression that tells us something about the culture from which that language comes.

We see this in the Bible, all the way back to the Tower of Babel, where, when worldviews divide, languages divide as well. Therefore, when we look at this time period, we need to think in terms of their distinctive and separate religious, cultural, worldview, linguistic, and social establishments.

¹ Dr. Grant was using his New York accent during this section of the lecture. *Ed.*

❖ *The Great Migration of the Puritans*

As a result, when we look at the Puritans and what they brought to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, what we're seeing is not just the peculiarities of a culture, we're seeing the establishment of a separate civilized order. They were deliberate about this and purposeful, as you can see from John Winthrop's sermon "A Model of Charity," from the Mayflower Charter, or from any of the documents to come out of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Reading stories like the "Story of Miles Standish and John Alden," we see that these were a purposeful establishment of a worldview expression in a new place.

Charters

❖ *1627: Cambridge Resolves*

The Puritans, of course, began their experiment back in England as they gathered together, first in 1627 with the Cambridge Resolves. They gathered in the city of Cambridge, which was then very much the center of the Puritan movement — several colleges, Pembroke College, for instance, and King's College, were very much the center of a Puritan movement and of a Puritan revival.

Eventually though those Puritans in Cambridge determined that there was no future for them in England, that their best and last hope for the establishment of an enduring experiment in liberty would be across the ocean. So in 1627, they resolved together in a series of covenants to find some commercial, viable, practical means to establish a company or a series of companies that would enable them to finance a migration across the ocean.

❖ *1628: Salem Settlement Company*

❖ *1629: Massachusetts Bay Company*

As a result, in 1628, the Salem Settlement Company was established, and in 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Company was established.

Settlements

❖ *1628: John Endicott, Salem*

Immediately following the Salem Settlement Company structure, investors were found, and two hundred twelve prospective new settlers were gathered together, equipped, trained for the journey, and led by a remarkable man named John Endicott, who was a brilliant theologian, a lay theologian, a teaching elder in a local Puritan Congregationalist parish that had lost its pastor years before because of the persecutions. As a result of his leadership, the investment strategies that they put together, and the strong cadre of individuals among those two hundred twelve, they set sail and were probably the first really well-funded, well-prepared group of colonists to go to the Americas. When they got to the Massachusetts Bay Area, they sailed up the Charles River and made their way to the present site of Salem, Massachusetts. There they established the city of Salem, the city of Peace. The colony flourished. Almost immediately, they sent word back to England in three separate ships of the beauty, prosperity, and opportunity that lay for them there in the land. That really encouraged other Puritans to follow up.

❖ *1629: William Lee, Charlestown*

In 1629, William Lee took another four hundred, again well prepared, well organized, all Puritans of varying stripes. As we saw last time, there were lots of different kinds of Puritans, but they were united in their desire to

establish a new work in a new place. They settled just across the river from what today we call Boston and established Charlestown.

❖ *1630: John Winthrop, Trimountain*

In 1630, the largest and best organized group yet, with the strongest leadership yet, under John Winthrop, some seven hundred six made their way across the Atlantic, well-provisioned with lots of communications back and forth across the Atlantic. They came, and just across the river from Charlestown, they established their little village on a series of three hills that they called Trimountain. *Trimountain* was an awkward name, and in honor of one of the pastors that they had brought with them, a man by the name of John Cotton who was the pastor of St. Boltoph's in the village of Boston in England, they renamed Trimountain Boston; thus was established this great establishment.

Expansion

❖ *1630: Massachusetts General Court*

Almost immediately under John Winthrop's leadership, the little Trimountain community, later known as the Boston community, flourished. It was that year, just two and a half months after they landed and began to carve out their home in the wilderness that Winthrop helped to establish the Massachusetts General Court, the longest-standing, longest continuously-acting general court in the United States.

❖ *1635: Boston Latin School*

In 1635, just five years after they had come, they established the Boston Latin School, which is to this day one of the most extraordinary classical schools. During its first two hundred years of existence, it was a committed Christian and classical school, in the last hundred years much more of a secular institution, and very much an elitist school. I went online to see if I could find the latest statistics on the tuition to attend Boston Latin School. I couldn't find it, but I saw in my notes, although I wasn't able to verify this because the amounts are not online, but my notes from four years ago indicate that four years ago a single year's tuition at Boston Latin School was \$48,000 a year, for a ninth-grader — \$48,000 a year to go to high school!² At any rate, it's obviously quite the prestigious school.

❖ *1636: Harvard College*

It was the next year that Harvard College was endowed. Harvard College actually began as a gathering of students who had graduated from the program at Boston Latin School or who had already graduated from secondary school back in England. It was really just a gathering of scholars that met in a pastor's study and they just talked about books. But in 1636, they were endowed by John Harvard's library and estate. As a result, a small piece of property was acquired and that became Harvard Yard. Interestingly, John Cotton, the pastor for whom the city of Boston was named, his little settlement — his cabin, his kitchen garden and paddock, and the field behind his house — is a large part of what is today Harvard Yard.

❖ *1641: Massachusetts Body of Liberties*

In 1641, Massachusetts, now a thriving community just eleven years after the settlers had come to the New World to carve out a living in the wilderness, cutting down saplings for the first time and building their homes, the Mas-

² This lecture was taught in 2003. The rates Dr. Grant quotes are from 2002.

sachusetts Body of Liberties, the first what we might call bill of rights, was established and a whole new vision of how a civilization might flourish took root on American soil.

Founders of the Civic Order

Now in this new and remarkable settlement, there were obviously many strong leaders, and, as you might expect, there was also trouble in paradise. There has never been a time in all of history where you don't constantly have the intermingling of wheat and tares. In fact, the story that Jesus told of the wheat and the tares is really, in many ways, his attempt to give his disciples an understanding of how history works. Remember the story? It's in the Gospel of Matthew. Jesus tells his disciples about a man who takes good seed, tills up the soil, and plants it. After his labors, he takes his rest, but during the night his enemy comes and he sows amidst the wheat weeds, tares, thorns, and thistles. Now, the master of the field doesn't know that tares have been mixed in with the wheat until after the crops have begun to sprout. As they begin to sprout, the servants of the master come and say, "There are tares amidst the wheat. Should we go in and weed?" And the master says, "No, let's let them grow up together, lest, when we pull up the tares we tear up the wheat, also. Therefore let them grow up together and in the day of harvest, we will lay aside the wheat on the thrashing floor and will take the tares, and we'll bundle them up and they will be burned then." Jesus tells this story in order to provide a sense of how history works. History is a process of wheat maturation and tare maturation, simultaneously. That's what history always looks like. We love to simplify it and often do in our history books. We like to say, *Oh, this is a time of great wheat harvest.* And then we look at other times in history and we think, *Oh, this is a time when the tares were really taking over.* There are some views of the future that even Christians have, where they begin to think that the tares will overtake the wheat or the wheat will ultimately overtake the tares. On the one hand, great pessimism about the future — *Oh, things are getting worse and worse and worse, and all of human history is on the downgrade* — Or there is this view of triumphalism — *The wheat will ultimately choke out all the tares, and the world will get better and better and better until everything is just marvelous and Jesus can come back.* What Jesus teaches is that history really is tare maturation and wheat maturation, simultaneously. That's what we see immediately in the glory days of the American experiment in liberty, the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Sometimes when you study this in detail it can become discouraging, kind of like when you study early church history in detail and you discover that in the first three hundred years of the Church, while we have the great patriarchs of the Church emerging and writing marvelous things and crafting great creeds and manifestos and turning the world upside down with the good news of the gospel, and converting the Roman Empire and establishing hospitals, and launching Western Civilization, at the same time there were bad guys who were messing stuff up in the local churches. They create hubbubs in church meetings, and good pastors and great heroes got kicked out of their churches right at the height of their ministry. Athanasius got sent out of town seven times. That's what history looks like — tare maturation and wheat maturation, simultaneously.

❖ *John Endicott (1559–1665)*

So, in these early days, when we have great and remarkable heroes, the brilliant administrator John Endicott helped to establish Salem. This was a guy who kept meticulous records. He was one of those guys who took notes about everything and could catalog everything. That became a vital source for the establishment of American legal theory and practice. John Endicott demonstrated that, by careful administration and careful

documentation, you could appeal to precedent so that consistency could apply to the whole of the legal system and the culture.

❖ *Simon Bradstreet (1603–1695)*

There was Simon Bradstreet, who was also an able administrator and judge. He was in many ways the father of the flowering of American culture. He was a patron of the arts. His wife Anne Bradstreet was the first American poet. Her poetry provided a vision for the Puritan ideal, the ideal family, the ideal hunger for productivity and opportunity, the Puritan ideal of living under the rule of law, raising up godly seed, and sending forth succeeding generations. Simon Bradstreet was remarkable for his patronage and love of the arts and embrace of the beautiful life, the rich life, the full live, and for setting his wife free not only to write extraordinary poetry but to publish it and thus to establish a precedent for American literature and to begin the process of creating an indigenous American voice.

❖ *John Winthrop (1588–1649)*

Then there was John Winthrop, whose able administration at first in gathering together the Puritans, organizing them, bringing them across the sea, establishing what would become Boston, and then becoming the governor of the entire Massachusetts Bay Colony and writing its laws and gathering its legislature and founding all of the essential infrastructure of a flourishing society. He was, in many ways, the founding father of the American experiment.

❖ *John Cotton (1584–1652)*

John Cotton of course was the able expositor of the Bible, that each one of these others drew from, the well-spring of their inspiration. Cotton was a beloved pastor back in England. When most of his flock determined that they would come across the ocean, though he had no desire to leave his rooted life in the covenant community, he realized that his rooted life in the covenant community was the people, not the place. It was the relationships, not the office. It was his connectedness, not his job. So he came with them, established a thriving, Bible-teaching, sacramental ministry, a Puritan expression of a whole life of the church. He was one of those remarkable scholar-pastors who was not constantly scurrying about, trying to do the bureaucratic things, building up a big institution. He wanted the institutions to form outside the life of the church. He wanted to see John Winthrop exercising his giftings in the culture. He wanted to see Simon and Anne Bradstreet exercising their giftings outside the church. The church in his mind was to be what fed that creativity, and therefore he took very serious his call to be a student of the word, to live a settled life, and as he often said, “to model for my flock what it means to have a healthy, full, rich, and blessed life”.

There's a lot to be learned there. I know so many pastors who have no life. They have tasks and meetings. They have a job. They're important. They have a voice. But they don't have a life. They don't know how to rest. They don't really know how to have fun. John Cotton did, and that provided a framework for the whole of the culture to grow up around.

❖ *Thomas Hooker (1586–1647)*

Thomas Hooker was perhaps the most brilliant of all these early pioneer founders. He was, like John Cotton, also a pastor but he had a stunning legal mind. He became the founder of the Connecticut Colony and some of the legal documents that he wrote, the Resolves of Connecticut and so forth, became the basis upon which the

whole legal foundation and legal theory of the United States ultimately sprang. Gouverneur Morris, who actually wrote most of the Constitution many years later, would say that it was Thomas Hooker and his legal theory that provided the framework for such ideas as the separation of power, which is a key component in the brilliance of the Constitution, the idea that you create magistratal centers of jurisdiction. And those jurisdictions would overlap but not compete so that the Supreme Court could actually check and hold to account the presidency, and the legislature could check and hold to account both of those two institutions. Those ideas sprang out of Thomas Hooker's writing.

Troublers of the Civic Order

❖ *Thomas Morton (1591–1648)*

There were of course troublers of the civic order. There was Thomas Morton, who was one of the early settlers who in the words of John Winthrop, "went native". He was not a Puritan by conviction. He had bizarre theological ideas and therefore never quite fit in with the rest of the Puritans. He did fit in quite well with some of the American Indian tribes that he traded with. He was, in the end, exiled for his wild and lascivious and concupiscent life, as the Massachusetts General Court called it. Those are wonderful, old King James words that simply mean that he was a party animal, emphasis on animal. And as a result created a great deal of dissension, some of the earliest dissension.

❖ *Roger Williams (1603–1683)*

Roger Williams was apparently a very very gifted orator and rhetorician, a young assistant pastor who came with the Puritans and made his mark and gathered a following, as charismatic figures often do. But he was quite unstable theologically and changed theological positions a great deal during his time, first as an assistant pastor and later as a pastor there in the Massachusetts Bay. In fact, throughout most of his life, his theological positions remained in transition. He's often cited as the father of American Baptists, but he did not come to Baptist opinions until very late in his life. He became the founder of Providence and of Rhode Island but only after he was sent into exile for his disruption of the settled life in Boston. He was a dogmatic character and was quite certain of his opinions and quite certain that God spoke directly to him and provided him special insight, if not special revelation into the topics that were discovered as he received his visions and prophecies and revelations. It was a peculiar mark of his that he remained uncertain of the salvation and the stability of everybody around him. His most famous quote is "I do not know of the eternal destiny and the salvation of anyone except me and my wife, and of my wife, I am not altogether certain." He was the sort of fellow who could most assuredly bring trouble.

❖ *Anne Hutchinson (1591–1643)*

Anne Hutchinson was also a remarkably brilliant and articulate woman. She began to gather what we would today call a home Bible study following sermons on Sundays to discuss the ideas in the sermon with a number of women in the village. Over the course of months and years, she began, like Roger Williams, to form strong theological opinions. It was said in the early years that she had remarkable theological discernment. She was also opinionated and began to take an issue with various things that were said in the sermons, so much issue that she began to undermine the authority of the local church. The church would come to her and work with her and see if there were issues of merit that were involved. She became more and more and more contentious, began to polarize members of the community. She also began, during this time, to have some bizarre visions and revelations. Eventually she too was sent into exile. She made her way to Rhode Island, although Roger Williams was

not sure of her salvation and therefore she was forced to go to live outside the secured walls of Providence and eventually established her own little farm elsewhere where she got into a bit of trouble with the Indians, whom she also disturbed greatly. Eventually the Indians came and scalped her and all of her children, though she survived — I'm not sure I'd want to survive a scalping, but she did — and one of her daughters did as well. They go down in history as some of the most remarkable troublers of the civic order.

❖ *John Hawthorne (1636–1699)*

John Hawthorne was a judge in the city of Salem. Several years on, there was something called the Salem Witch Trials. He was one of the judges in these trials. He was also an ancestor of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Nathaniel Hawthorne, when he discovered that he was related to this John Hawthorne, was horrified. This was part of the reason he spent the rest of his life attempting to denigrate the Puritans. But John Hawthorne, interestingly, was the only one of the Salem Witch Trial judges to later apologize and confess that he'd been carried away by the hysteria. He came before the church and sought their forgiveness in an act of repentance. So, though he committed egregious errors in that particular proceeding, he was a man of remarkable humility, but a troubler of the civic order, nonetheless.

❖ *Solomon Stoddard (1643–1729)*

Solomon Stoddard was a prominent pastor in one of the western cities of the new Massachusetts Bay Colony, a place called Northampton. It was there that he wrestled with the peculiar trouble of second and third generation Puritans who might not have had any evidence of a conversion experience. Here's the question: if you have covenantal succession, if you have a society that's built around the life of the church, if everybody goes to church and everyone's expected to go to church — if you don't go to church, and if you don't tithe, you're probably some sort of a renegade and you might even be prosecuted in the law — everybody goes to church but obviously not necessarily everybody is actually converted. What happens if you have a second and third-generation Puritan, a young man who marries a young woman, neither one of them have ever expressed or shown evidence of conversion experience and they have children. Do you baptize those children? How do the parents take vows? Do you wait until they have a conversion experience? Solomon Stoddard wrestled with these things, and he came up with something called the Half-way Covenant, which allowed non-Christians to become members of the church without conversion but with only essentially half the privileges that come with church membership. This created a huge amount of turmoil and great confusion going forward because it was neither a covenantal view nor a Baptist view, and it created a governmental structure where non-Christians could gain control of the apparatus of the church. Therefore, the ground was laid for apostate churches, not just apostate individuals.

Salutory Neglect

External Factors

- ❖ *Parliamentary Conflict: 1628–1642*
- ❖ *Civil War: 1642–1648*
- ❖ *Commonwealth: 1653–1660*
- ❖ *Stuart Restoration: 1660–1688*
- ❖ *Glorious Revolution: 1688–1689*
- ❖ *Succession Crises: 1694–1714*
- ❖ *Jacobite Rebellions: 1714–1746*

Now all this was done in the context of an isolated and separated colonial establishment, far, far away from king and Parliament because back in England, as we've seen, there was terrible parliamentary conflict between 1628 and 1642 that led to the Civil War from 1642 to 1648 and the establishment of the Commonwealth between 1653 and 1660, the Stuart Restoration of 1660 to 1688, the Glorious Revolution that came quick on the heels of that, and then a series of succession crises that led to the Jacobite Rebellions. England was obviously preoccupied.

Then, throw into that mix all the wars: the wars with France and the wars with the Hapsburgs. We've got the struggle of the Spanish Armada, all the way across to the Seven Years' War. Therefore, externally there were factors that meant that these new colonial establishments across the ocean in America were on their own. If they were going to govern themselves, if they were going to have the rule of law, if they were going to establish proper procedures of jurisprudence, if they were going to have taxation, if they were going to have representation in a legislature, they had to do it themselves. This is called salutory neglect. *Salutory* meaning that it was a blessing. They were left alone. It was a blessing largely because these people had strong principles of self-government. They knew what was right and what was wrong. They wanted to live godly lives, so it wasn't a lawless situation like the Wild, Wild West; it was salutory neglect. They were able to establish independent mechanisms of justice and freedom on their own.

Internal Factors

- ❖ *Royal Grants and Charters*
- ❖ *Arbroath Declaration of 1320 and Declaration of Rights of 1689*

This was reinforced by the power of the royal grants and charters which gave them the authority to create these structures of culture, governance, and freedom. In addition, there was the precedent of the Arbroath Declaration of 1320 and the Declaration of Rights in 1689, following the ascension of William and Mary after the Glorious Revolution.

- ❖ *The Rule of Law*

These two documents established the notion that every single person under the Crown had rights. Those rights could not be violated by anyone including the king without recourse and resort to law. Therefore, all these colonies during this time of salutory neglect lived with the incredible blessing of the rule of law. There was a stan-

dard. That standard could always be appealed to, and therefore freedom could flourish in a stable and fair environment. For the almost one hundred years from the time of the establishment of these colonies all the way up to the time of the conflicts with Crown and Parliament, there was this independent, flourishing vision of righteous administration, genuine justice, a flowering of art, music, literature, and ideas, a crafting of culture, a working of the land. It was what the Puritans had always dreamed — an opportunity to show what might occur if God's purposes for man were actually followed.

So those twenty-one American colonies, for one hundred years and more, took root in the fertile soil of opportunity and freedom. What emerged was something like what had only been dreamed before by men and nations. It was altogether different from any other experiment at any other time in all history. That was the birthing of this unique and new thing called America.



Father, we're grateful for this remarkable legacy, for the rule of law, the recognition of the rights of men, recognized because of that profound theological notion that we are made in your image and therefore have sanctity and value because you have placed your sanctity and value upon us. In the years since this experiment began, we've lost sight of some of this but not all of it, which is why we today remain the most blessed of all the civilizations of the earth, we North Americans. Thank you for the extraordinary legacy that is the legacy of the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America and all those cultures that have been influenced by this establishment of hope in the midst of this poor fallen world. We do pray that this thing called America would recall its roots and look forward in the future to a yet greater flowering that would be a blessing to the whole of the earth rather than simply a power to be feared or a scourge to be hated. For we pray all of this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 10

The Great Awakening: Decline & Revival

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Role of Benjamin Franklin; Thomas Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 115–126

Lesson Synopsis

From the very beginning, the renewal of hearts in Christ was intimately tied to the renewal of the idea of liberty and freedom. To look at the unique providence of God to stir a great awakening with Dutch, American, and English preachers, to fill churches with Scots Presbyterian elders and pastors at just the right moment to lay the foundations for an unflinching commitment to liberty — this is not possible apart from the truth that America can only exist as a Christian experiment and its influence around the world has only been as powerful as it has been because it is indeed a Christian vision.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

The Great Awakening, European revival before the Great Awakening, Theodore Frelinghuysen, William Tennent, Gilbert Tennent, Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, Samuel Davies, Arthur St. Clair

Primary Source Material

The Magna Carta, the Arboath Declaration, the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, the Connecticut Compact, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God”, by Jonathan Edwards; The Connecticut Constitution; The Cambridge Resolves

Vocabulary

integrate, façade, epitome, compact (v.), hew, inalienable, tenacity, franchise, adversity, classicist, antinomian, bacchanalia, jeopardy, fledgling, jeremiad, imminent, nascent, methodology, forthright, exhortation, rapt, dire, rickety, affect, renewal, lamentation, protégé, fervor, cohesion, expulsion, dispossession, edict, emblematic, coalesce, legitimacy, regency

Timeline

- ❖ 1627: The Cambridge Resolves
- ❖ 1628: John Endicott led the founding of Salem.

- ❖ 1629: William Lee led the founding of Charlestown.
- ❖ 1630: Massachusetts General Court
- ❖ 1635: Boston Latin School
- ❖ 1636: Harvard College
- ❖ 1641: Massachusetts Body of Liberties
- ❖ 1642: Harvard College held its first commencement exercise.
- ❖ 1673: William Tennent born
- ❖ 1691: Theodore Frelinghuysen born
- ❖ 1702: *Magnalia Christi Americana*, by Cotton Mather
- ❖ 1703: Jonathan Edwards born
- ❖ 1703: Gilbert Tennent born
- ❖ 1714: George Whitefield born
- ❖ 1715: The First Jacobite Rising
- ❖ 1721: The Second Jacobite Rising
- ❖ 1723: Samuel Davies born
- ❖ 1738: Whitefield established an orphanage in Georgia. The beginning of his first American preaching tour.
- ❖ 1745: The Jacobite Rising led by Bonnie Prince Charlie
- ❖ 1746: The Battle of Culloden
- ❖ 1746: William Tennent died
- ❖ 1748: Theodore Frelinghuysen died
- ❖ 1758: Jonathan Edwards died.
- ❖ 1761: Samuel Davies died.
- ❖ 1764: Gilbert Tennent died
- ❖ 1765: Arthur St. Clair immigrated to America.
- ❖ 1770: George Whitefield died



The Great Awakening: Decline & Revival

*One man awake, awakens another.
 The second awakens his next-door brother.
 The three awake can rouse a town
 By turning the whole place upside down
 The many awake can make such a fuss,
 It finally awakens the rest of us.
 One man up, with dawn in his eyes,
 Surely then multiplies
 ~ Lawrence Tribble, 1751*

We're making fast progress through the early stages, leading up to the American War of Independence. We'll talk about some of the philosophical foundations that were laid that led to the American War of Independence. Today, we'll talk about the migrations of both Puritans and Covenanters over the course of a hundred years or so and the foundations of awakening and renewal that would shape the American character and mind.

23 September

Today is Thursday, September the 23. We're in full harvest-moon mode, and it doesn't feel like it quite yet, but the beginning of autumn.

❖ 1980: Bill Gates purchased Q-DOS

It was on this day in 1980 that Bill Gates and two friends from Harvard University combined their earnings to purchase a small software program called Q-DOS or quick and dirty operating system for \$50,000 from a company called Seattle Computer. Licensing revenues from the system, which was later shortened to DOS, and from the subsequent Windows programs that were built upon that same platform turned Bill Gates, the president of the new company Microsoft, into the world's richest man.

❖ 1806: Lewis and Clark arrived at the Pacific Ocean.

Also on this day in 1806, after two years and four months, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark arrived back from the first successful expedition to the United States' Pacific Coast. Their record of their journey — their observations and their exploits — are the stuff of American legend.

❖ 1780: John André was captured with plans to surrender West Point to the British.

In 1780, on this day, British spy John André was captured along with papers revealing Benedict Arnold's plot to surrender West Point to the British. It was the first great American scandal during the American War of Independence.¹

❖ 1779: The Bonhomme Richard defeated the HMS Serapis.

It was in 1779, that the American warship *Bonhomme Richard* defeated the HMS *Serapis* after the American commander whose name was John Paul Jones was said to have declared, "I have not yet begun to fight."

❖ 1758: Robert and James Adam opened their architectural practice in the city of London.

It was on this day in 1758, that Robert and James Adam opened their architectural practice in the city of London. They were the sons of an architect, and all of his brothers were architects. They followed in their father's footsteps and were able to travel all around Europe on a Grand Tour which influenced his architectural style, developing an integrated, elegant sense of proportion and unified façades that marked all of his designs ever afterward. In the city of London, he designed Portland Place, but perhaps his greatest monument was to design New Town in the city of Edinburgh. Just adjacent to the castle mound, New Town is a model of the pre-Victorian town design that came to be the hallmark of the British empire — replicated all over the world in places like Vancouver on the North American continent, Sidney and Melbourne in Australia — marking Edinburgh as the most elegant and notable urban area in the world. It's a sight to behold, especially from the castle mound, to look down and see New Town, its layout and its vision. Interestingly, it is the model of the Adams and their whole approach to architectural practice that is the basis of what is called New Urbanism, today. New Ur-

¹ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said that this was the first scandal during the War Between the States, not the American War of Independence. *Ed.*

banism is a trendy, architectural style and approach to community that has taken the United States and many communities throughout continental Europe by storm.²

❖ *1642: Harvard College held its first commencement exercise.*

But for our purposes, perhaps the most significant thing that happened occurred in the year 1642 on this day. That's when Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, held its first commencement and graduated its first graduates. It had been founded some six years earlier and it was intended by the founders of the little Puritan settlement there in Cambridge — by the way, it wasn't called Harvard for the first three years of its existence; it was called simply New College Cambridge — for the purpose of raising up Puritan ministers of substantial education, trained in the classical methodology in order to perpetuate the vision of this new city set on a hill that was hoped to be a light to all the nations. In fact, Harvard was the epitome of all the ideals of the Massachusetts Bay Company and the founders of the great experiment that was Massachusetts Bay: to demonstrate that Christian principles applied in every sphere of life — from commerce and business to family life, architecture and town design across the board to civil government and the ordering of societies, all of that yielded to Christ — could produce a great civilization, rich societies, and freedom and liberty that the world had never yet known.

The college was the fruit of a great Puritan migration that began with a splinter group of the Puritans, known as the Pilgrims, in the 1620's, but by the 1630's, a literal torrent of Puritans were making their way to the New World. It all really began with a gathering at Cambridge in England. There at the university, a number of educated clergymen and leaders in thought and society gathered, and in 1627, they compacted together in what they called the Cambridge Resolves. The Cambridge Resolves simply asserted that they would resolve themselves for the rest of their lives to apply biblical principles to all the details of life in order to bring forth the great hope of freedom and liberty.

The Great Awakening

Prelude to Revival

By 1628, a number of commercial companies were beginning to form to put together expeditions to establish new settlements in the New World. One of them was the Salem Settlement Company. A year later, the Massachusetts Bay Company was established. In short order, the settlements began. In 1628, John Endicott took two hundred twelve settlers and established Salem, Massachusetts.

In 1629, William Lee took four hundred Puritans and established Charlestown on the newly named Charles River, which was named for the new king, Charles I, the son of James I. Charlestown and the settlements along the Charles River were quickly joined in 1630 by John Winthrop and seven hundred six more Puritans who settled just adjacent to Charlestown in a little place called Trimountain. Today, Trimountain, Charlestown, and all the settlements along the Charles River are what we call Boston. By 1630, the various settlements had organized themselves and had resolved to create the Massachusetts General Court in order to hear any legal proceedings that might arise among the Puritan settlements.

² Sorry about that moment of supreme lack of clarity. It was Robert I was speaking of when I used the singular, both Robert and James when I used the plural. GG

By 1635, the Boston Latin School had been established, thus relieving the parents of the heretofore all homeschooled Puritans. It enabled high-school-aged students to receive classical education from classically trained tutors. It was remarkable. They had some of the finest Puritan educators and former professors from Cambridge there to teach in the Boston Latin School.

The very next year, 1636, Harvard was established. If you think about this, it's rather astonishing that these settlers came to a new world and carved out of an absolute wilderness homes for themselves. They had to cut down the trees, hew the logs, build the cabins, carve out the roads, create the infrastructure from scratch by hand with whatever tools they could bring with them on tiny ships from England, and within ten years of settling, they had a classical school and Harvard College.

What's evident here is that these weren't just pioneers who were hacking out a homestead somewhere out in the wilderness. Their intent was to build a new civilization, create a fresh start for freedom, liberty, and opportunity. They wanted to demonstrate that applied Christian principles could change the world.

By 1641, they had created, based upon Christian principles established into law, the first great declaration of human rights anywhere in the world. Prior to this, the Arbroath Declaration of Scotland and, prior to that, the Magna Carta had created the notion that there were certain inalienable rights. In the case of the Magna Carta, those inalienable rights were preserved solely to noblemen. In the case of the Arbroath Declaration, those inalienable rights were limited to the free-holders of land. But now, with the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, there was broad declaration that God intends for societies and churches to organize themselves in such a way as to bring about justice on the earth, to exercise mercy to the hurting, and to protect the integrity of life wherever it is found. It was a remarkable start. It occurred within half a generation of the Puritans' arrival in the New World to a wilderness, untamed and untouched by western hands. Very quickly, we see a distinctive and unique civilization emerging. They were English. They were Puritans. They had been educated at Cambridge and some at Oxford, but very quickly, what emerged in New England was a whole new civilization. Within twenty years, it was said that accents were beginning to change, that they weren't recognizable as regular Englishmen. Visitors to the new settlements remarked about how different the society seemed from their previous homes in England. This was going to be a whole new society.

It was wrought by a whole host of brilliant leaders who had a clear-cut vision and who were unwavering in their principles. John Winthrop, one of the governors of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the early years — reelected twelve times because of his strong leadership — set forth for the colonists a great vision of a society that was indeed a beacon light of hope to all the world. He preached a sermon while still onboard ship before landing and establishing Trimountain in which he called forth from this handful of Puritan settlers a courage and tenacity of principled living that would indeed be a light to the nations and a model of charity.

He was succeeded as governor by John Endicott, who was likewise a brilliant Puritan thinker and leader who brought many of Winthrop's ideas into the infrastructure of the society and laid foundations for the future.

John Cotton — the grandfather of Cotton Mather, the father-in-law of Increase Mather, one of the founders of Harvard, and one of the principle Puritan preachers — declared that the American civilization, despite its tiny numbers and that it was just clinging to the edge of the North American continent with the waves of the North Atlantic lapping at its heels, had the opportunity to bring the hope of freedom to the entire rest of the world. The Puritans were gripped with this notion that the Great Commission of Matthew, chapter 28, wasn't supposed

to be just theoretical. They believed that, by living humble lives in accordance with the Scriptures, in their sphere of responsibility, by exercising servant-leadership in their spheres, they could accomplish that great work and model freedom and charity in such a way as to change the world.

Thomas Hooker was the founder of Connecticut and one of the men who drafted the Connecticut Compact, which was another declaration of great liberties and probably the first true constitution on North American shores and the first true constitution granting liberties to individuals and a wide-ranging Christian franchise to all of those who professed the principles of the Scriptures.

❖ *Religious Decline in the Colonies*

Of course, no matter how perfect the foundations, no matter how wonderful the intentions, we always have to remember that we live in a fallen world and that everyone in that fallen world is a sinner, every single one — Winthrop, Endicott, Cotton, Hooker — all of them. There are some sinners who make a great show of it and create great disturbances. In the early days, the New England settlements were no different. Yesterday, I had a conversation with a student and he was saying, *After so many times of being hurt, betrayed, lied to, wounded, broken, how can you possibly still believe in the church? How can you possibly still believe that it is feasible, that it's even worth it, to work for covenant community?* It's a great question. I'm sure the New England settlers, every time they ran across another Thomas Morton or Roger Williams or Anne Hutchinson or Solomon Stoddard, every time there was trouble in their community, I'm sure they thought to themselves, *Why is this worth it? We could have stayed in England if we'd wanted this kind of trouble.* The answer is that our principles don't flourish and flower until they're tested, until they're violated and practically stolen away from us, until we question the very foundation of those principles, until we have to wonder whether or not we're right. It's only in those moments of adversity that the principles are steeled and enabled to endure. We can have iron-like principles, but iron doesn't turn into steel until it passes through the fire. That's what the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the New England settlers discovered very quickly.

They had a brilliant man by the name of Thomas Morton who was a tutor, and he was very interested in bringing the gospel to the native Indians. He was brilliant, a great classicist, but he also had a proclivity for drunkenness and immorality. He began to teach an antinomian — literally, lawless — version of Christianity, which said, *As long as you proclaim the doctrines of grace, it's okay to live in what heretofore has been called a sinful fashion.* He created great disturbances. He celebrated bacchanalia and erected Maypoles. John Winthrop, deeply grieved, records in his accounts of the Massachusetts Bay Colony the disruptions that this created in the hearts of young men and women who were turned away from the truth because of it.

Roger Williams, often heralded as a great hero in American history, was a unique character. He is often called the founder of the Baptist movement in America. Eventually, when he was sent into exile from Massachusetts Bay, he founded Rhode Island. Roger Williams, however, wasn't your typical Baptist. He had very peculiar views which changed dramatically over the course of time. He would have new revelations or new insights. His doctrines dramatically changed. He was absolutely convinced that he had divine inspiration and that he knew better than anyone else because of that divine inspiration. In fact, one of the things that, apparently, the Lord gave him was the ability to determine who was saved and who was not. By the end of his life and his ministry, he declared that he was uncertain if any of the settlers in the Puritan settlements were saved at all, except for himself and his wife, and he wasn't certain about his wife. His teachings created great disruption and great uncertainty in the settlements.

Anne Hutchinson was a gifted Bible teacher who grew a home Bible study to a point where there were about eighty people in it. She was charismatic and thoughtful, but she also had an antinomian perspective. *Antinomian* simply means anti-name or against the law. Her basic premise was that the doctrine of the security of the saints means that after Christ has redeemed a person, he can just go do whatever he wants. He can sin however he wishes and his salvation is not placed in jeopardy. She did not recommend that this be taken to the extreme. In fact, she was quite prim and proper, but the doctrine itself the Puritans believed was sowing seeds of disaster and created a tremendous amount of disruption.

Over the course of a couple of generations, it came to pass that there were, in the Puritan settlements, young men and women who had not made professions of faith. But because the church was the central organization of the society, there was a difficulty. Do you admit to the Lord's Table people who were self-confessedly not Christians even though they were baptized and brought into the church? They were members of the covenant. Do you simply allow them to have all the privileges of the covenant? Solomon Stoddard was a pastor in Northampton, Massachusetts. He was the grandfather of Jonathan Edwards. He devised a theological system called the Half-way covenant. The Half-way covenant essentially said, *You can be a member of the church. You can have some of the privileges of the church, but not all of them. And if you have been a member of the covenant, even though you're not a professing Christian, you can have your children admitted into the covenant.* This created a kind of category of Christian in the church that could create all sorts of havoc within the church. A group of unbelievers in the church with power, but not with the full privileges of life in the body was a rather large mess. As a result, very quickly there were calls for spiritual renewal in the Puritan settlements. As the rest of the settlements along the Atlantic coast began to establish themselves, with unique distinctives in each of them, there was a grave need for the church to be renewed and revived. In fact, God, in his great grace brought a remarkable awakening within a hundred years of those first fledgling establishments in Massachusetts Bay.

- ❖ *Revival in England*
- ❖ *Revival on the European Continent*
- ❖ *Religious Decline in the Colonies*
- ❖ *Failure of Jeremiads*

The prelude to this Great Awakening, or this rich revival in America, was a stirring, a revival of faithfulness in England and a widespread renewal on the European continent, which coincided with the peculiarity of religious decline in the very place where you would expect it to be thriving the greatest, in the Puritan settlements of the colonies. There were many who had come to both the English church and the old reformed churches of the European continent as well as to America, and they had issued grave jeremiads, warnings like the warning the prophet Jeremiah issued, warnings that God's judgement was imminent.

- ❖ *Religious Strife and Turmoil*

Cotton Mather, one of the great heroes of Puritan Boston, wrote in his book *Magnalia Christi Americana*, the Great Work of Christ in America, that prosperity had been born of the rich legacy of the gospel in America, but now prosperity was about to consume her mother. There was religious strife and turmoil created by the Hutchinsons and the Williamses of the world. As a result, there was great unrest and uncertainty in the churches of the colonies and back home in England.

Early Leaders

❖ *Theodore Frelinghuysen (1691–1748)*

That's when we start to see a number of reforms take place. They take peculiar forms. There was Theodore Frelinghuysen, who was a Dutch Reformed pastor from New York, descended from settlers there in Old New Amsterdam as well as family members who had recently come from Old Holland. He was a fiery preacher and a great reformer. One of the things he undertook was the establishment of training schools for future ministers to be trained in the Scriptures, not just in church polity and not just in the handling of the affairs of a Sunday morning, but in the rich biblical theology that had been neglected in the training schools over the course of the last generation. One of the schools that he established was a little place just over the river from New York City that he called The Queen's College. Today The Queen's College is Rutgers University. There, he hoped to raise up young men who would go forth and proclaim the doctrines of grace and the hope of the gospel with great clarity. He created a large following and many stirrings, and as early as the 1720's, we start to see a rich, rich renewal movement beginning to stir all through the colonial world.

❖ *William Tennent (1673–1746)*

It was at about the same time that a Scots Presbyterian by the name of William Tennent began his work, also in New Jersey, just to the south, near Pennsylvania. His training had come at a little place just outside Philadelphia called Faggs Manor, which would become famous in the renewals. He had been trained by another Scots Presbyterian, who, like Freylinghausen, was a brilliant orator.³ Tennent began the practice of preaching in the open air. He'd go and find farmers at work, stand on a fencepost, and proclaim the gospel. He also believed that it would be critical for future renewals to establish training schools, so he established a little training school in a log cabin, the Log College, which is today known as Princeton University.

❖ *Gilbert Tennent (1703–1764)*

His son, Gilbert Tennent, took the ministry of his father and spread it far and wide, up into New England and southward into the Carolinas, using all the training he'd received from his father. He had a wide following and a rich reaction to the gospel. Churches were renewed, new churches planted, the hope of the good news proclaimed.

The Tennents, senior and junior, turned the open-air preaching of the gospel into one of the most effective tools for reaching the Americans. They didn't have big auditoriums or stadiums. You couldn't go and have a typical, modern-day crusade by renting an auditorium or hall because there weren't any, so they would go to town squares and sometimes erect a small scaffolding and a makeshift pulpit. As they preached, crowds would gather. God's grace was abundantly poured forth.

Some of the leading lights of this renewal movement, after that first generation, were men like Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield.

³ Rev. Archibald MacLain

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758)

❖ *Grandfather: Solomon Stoddard*

❖ *Northampton Church*

Edwards, the grandson of Solomon Stoddard, was trained at Yale University, had the opportunity to have a fine classical education, became an intern to his grandfather, and eventually the assistant pastor at the Northampton Church there in Massachusetts. If you go to Northampton, Massachusetts, today, it's a little disappointing to discover that there's hardly any reference to Jonathan Edwards anywhere, but the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, on the other hand, which also came from Northampton, Massachusetts, are displayed everywhere, including on police cars.

❖ *Theologian and Historian*

But Edwards' impact upon the town and upon the fledgling colonies was remarkable. Many historians believe that he, to this day, remains the finest mind — philosopher, scientist, theologian, thinker, writer — that America has ever produced. If we were to make a top ten list of the most brilliant Americans ever, right at the top of the list would be Jonathan Edwards and Cotton Mather. They were stunningly brilliant. Cotton Mather wrote more than four hundred thick volumes during his life and ministry, besides pastoring the Old North Church in Boston. Jonathan Edwards was an expert in science. He wrote a number of important science textbooks, including one of the most remarkable textbooks on spiders that has ever been produced in the United States — still in print; it's been continuously in print since he first wrote it — as well as encyclopedic works on theology, history, biography, across the wide span of history. His was a remarkable mind.

❖ *Revivalistic Preaching*

❖ *Conflict and Controversy*

He learned from the nascent renewal movement the methodology of revival preaching and calling for conversion. Being in the Northampton Church with the Half-way Covenant, it was obvious that there were unconverted people who were attending church and who were regular church members. Following in the footsteps of the Tennents, he proclaimed the gospel clearly and forthrightly, which necessarily meant that there would be controversy; there always is when the gospel is proclaimed. There's always controversy. You can't escape it.

Because of a whole series of conflicts which started with a series of exhortations to the youth group at the Northampton Church. (Watch out for choirs and youth groups, there's always trouble there.) He gave a series of strong exhortations to the youth to live in a pure and chaste fashion that rubbed some of the parents the wrong way, and they started a kerfluffle which went from being a kerfluffle to a hubbub, eventually moving from kerfluffle and hubbub straight to crisis. Jonathan Edwards — who, over the course of his ministry, was responsible for the conversion of virtually every person in that congregation, who had had a wide effect all across the colonies, who was one of the most esteemed thinkers in theology, who had been offered positions at Cambridge and St. Andrew's in Scotland — was voted out of office. He was fired by the church. So, he went back home to the parsonage where his wife and his children were and informed them that they would have to move. Of course, they had nowhere to move and no money, no means. They were on their way out when the committee that had just fired him realized that it was Thursday and they didn't have anyone to preach on Sunday. So they came back to Jonathan Edwards and asked him if he would fill the pulpit that he was just fired from in a church that he had pastored for the past twenty years. He said yes. He filled the pulpit for the next six months and never once men-

tioned the controversy. He picked up in his preaching exactly where he'd left off the previous Sunday and made no mention of it whatsoever.

❖ *Stockbridge and Princeton*

Eventually, he went out to the far western frontier, to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to minister among the Indians and was shortly thereafter appointed the new president of Princeton, which was then called the College of New Jersey. He never took his post as president of Princeton because, ever the scientist, he was experimenting with a smallpox vaccination, and, in the experiment, he succumbed and died — a remarkable man, a remarkable impact.

His one sermon, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,” is an undoubted literary classic in the American canon. The impact it had on its listeners was stunning. Edwards was not exactly a great orator. He actually read his sermons from a manuscript. Though he would look up from time to time, his head was basically down as he preached. But it is said that, when he preached, his listeners were rapt and captured by the power of the gospel. “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,” was delivered a number of times in various places all throughout New England. It is said that he could not get more than halfway through the sermon before people began to weep, wail, and cry out for God’s mercy to save them. It’s a picturesque sermon of the dire calamities faced by those who do not know Christ. He used an analogy from his own scientific work of a spider that is hung from a single, thin strand of web over the flickering flame of hell. He said this is the plight of those who don’t know Christ. He pictured a great bridge across the chasm of hell as a rickety, rotten bridge upon which sinners try to make their way, but invariably, are consumed by the flames. It was so powerful and so affecting. The result was a remarkable awakening all throughout New England. In the Northampton Church and everywhere else, there was renewal. It was said by David Brainerd, the intended son-in-law of Jonathan Edwards, that there were times on Sunday afternoons when you could walk through the various towns of New England and hear nothing but Psalm-singing and lamentation, crying out to God to bring upon their towns and villages the hope of the gospel, the shining light of liberty, and the freedom that was promised in the gospel.

George Whitefield (1714–1770)

❖ *Son of an Inn-Keeper*

Jonathan Edwards’ friend and partner in the proclamation of the glorious truths of the gospel was George Whitefield. He was from England and only visited America for preaching tours. He came seven times.

❖ *Georgia in 1738*

He was the son of an innkeeper who came first to Georgia in 1738 to establish an orphanage, which exists to this day. In order to raise funds for the orphanage, he’d go forth and give the vision for caring for orphans and widows in their distress, and inevitably he would preach the gospel. The purpose was to give the vision and take an offering, but eventually preaching the gospel became the center point of his work.

❖ *Open-Air Preaching*

❖ *Tours of the Colonies*

His open-air preaching caused great disruption back in England. His friends and protégés, whom he greatly influenced and brought into his open-air preaching movement, the Wesleys — John and Charles — eventually took over the work in England, and Whitefield focused on his work in America. It was said that, when Whitefield

went and visited a town, the whole countryside cleared out just to make their way to hear him. The great Shakespearean John Garrick would say that Whitefield's voice was as clear as a bell, that he would "give a hundred guineas just to be able to say 'O' like Mr. Whitefield". Benjamin Franklin, who became a friend of Whitefield and, eventually, his publisher in the United States, would say that Whitefield could convert an entire throng of people simply by saying the word *Mesopotamia*. Many years ago, I was invited to preach in Pennsylvania at Faggs Manor, a historic place with a pulpit that Whitefield had preached from. I went up the stairs of this rickety little Puritan pulpit. There was a little pillow there that I put my Bible on, and I looked out at this little congregation and I said, "Mesopotamia." And they didn't get it. I was so disappointed. I had so looked forward to standing there and having them either go, *Ah, this is so wonderful. He knows our history*, or *Ha ha ha, that's so funny*. Instead, there was nothing. It was totally dead. They looked at me as if they were thinking, *What is up with you?*

One time, Whitefield was at a town square in Philadelphia where he was preaching. Benjamin Franklin gave his friend all his money, saying, "Keep this. Keep this because at the end of the sermon when he takes the offering, I'll give it all away if you don't keep it. I don't trust myself. You keep it." At the end of the sermon, his friend emptied his pockets and put it all in, including Ben Franklin's money. Franklin asked, "What did you do?" and he answered, "You warned me about *you* not being able to withstand his ministrations, but you said nothing about my own weakness!"

Another time, he was there in Philadelphia, and Benjamin Franklin was astonished at his vocal ability, his ability to communicate the gospel so clearly and to such huge crowds. He decided to walk away from the preaching to see how far away he could get before he could no longer distinguish every single word. This square was thronged with thousands of people. Franklin started to walk away, and he was six blocks away before Whitefield's voice became muffled. Six blocks! It's astonishing.

Revival and Controversy

❖ *New Light and Old Light*

❖ *New School and Old School*

His impact was remarkable. Churches were established, older churches were renewed. There was a fervor for faith that created a tremendous sense of a vision and culture for America. It created new schools of theology, new lights and the old lights — those who embraced the new vision of renewal and reformation in the church and those who resisted it. There was the new school and the old school.

❖ *Deism and Unitarianism*

It brought forth among those who resisted the evangelical call of the gospel new liberal theologies including a heightened new awareness of Deism and Unitarian Universalism.

❖ *Samuel Davies (1723-1761)*

The revival produced a whole new generation of great Christian leaders including Samuel Davies, who was eventually the president of Princeton and one of the leading lights of the Hanover Presbytery. He was responsible for training many of the ministers who would make their way into the American frontier, including men like Gideon Blackburn and Sam Houston and others who would forge the new civilization across the mountains from North Carolina to Tennessee.

Results and Effects

❖ *Unity and Cohesion in the Colonies*

❖ *Spread and Growth of Christianity*

The effects of the renewal were widespread. For the first time, there was real unity and cohesion in all the colonies. George Whitefield was the first American celebrity, the first person who was known in all of the colonies. Those colonies that, heretofore, had been isolated from each other, were now united because of a common faith, a common vision, and a common renewal, a Great Awakening.

❖ *Missions to Indians and Africans*

Because of the Great Awakening, there was a renewed interest and emphasis on missions to the Indians and those Africans who had been brought as indentured servants to the Americas.

❖ *Spread of Christian Education*

❖ *The Rise of Evangelicalism*

There was a widespread new emphasis on the establishment of schools and training colleges, on Christian education and the spread of classical education. It was really the beginning of the movement that, today, we broadly call evangelicalism, that crossed denominational boundaries, that tied together those conservative, Bible-believing Anglicans, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, and that provided the basis for a whole new kind of culture that was the essence of the American culture.

Part of the problem with a large number of new Christians and a great desire for new churches was that there was a need for church planters and for pastors who were capable of leading these new churches. Because of the spread of the Great Awakening all along the frontier where many of the communities were widely scattered with only handfuls of people in each of the regions, the need for pastors and elders was extremely great, which is why the next wave of migrations was so vital and so important. At the same time the Great Awakening was occurring in the Americas, there was a terrific expulsion and dispossession of the Scots Covenanters out of Scotland.

It all really began with the conflict between the Stuart and the Hanoverian houses. In 1713, James II attempted to create a revolt against the Hanoverians. There was a crisis that occurred that led to a change in the dynastic line because James II professed Roman Catholicism. According to the edicts put into place by the Tudors, he wasn't eligible to remain on the throne. He was intending to marry a Roman Catholic, which created a crisis. As a result, the cousins of the Stuarts, the Hanoverians, a German family, were brought to England and established as the new royal line.

This succession crisis produced, in 1715, the first great revolt of those who were loyal to the Stuarts. It was put down by the Hanoverians, but the revolt was repeated in 1721. It too was put down, but by 1745, a charismatic leader, the son of the man who would have been James III, Bonnie Prince Charlie, came as a very young man with just a handful of followers, no money, no weapons, and no organizational skill, landed on the Isle of Skye, and began to rally the people of Scotland behind him. The Great Rising of Bonnie Prince Charlie was crushed the next year at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. The Hanoverians, now with George II on the throne and his brother the Duke of Cumberland exercising his authority, decided to punish the Highlanders and the Covenanters who had risen up and supported Bonnie Prince Charlie. The result was the clearance of the highlands and the cotter rent crisis, where small craftsmen cottagers were cleared out and the people were simply sent into

diaspora. As a result of those clearances, thousands upon thousands of well-trained, catechism-learned, Scottish Presbyterians flooded the colonies of America, at the very time that America was going through this rich renewal and was crying out for well-trained theological minds to be pastors and elders. These Scots Presbyterians came and discovered a whole world of new church plants, frontier settlements, and small town militias just waiting for their influence. And influence they did.

In 1765, Arthur St. Clair, whose father and uncles had all fought at, and many of his uncles had died at Culloden, immigrated to America after serving a time in the British military. In 1768, a Covenanting pastor and theologian who had been imprisoned during the time of Bonnie Prince Charlie's uprising, John Witherspoon, arrived at Princeton. He would become the president of Princeton. He would reform its entire curriculum and would be the man who would mentor presidents, senators, governors, and legislators.

In 1775, it was because of these sorts of fellows that George III would declare that the little rebellion that seemed to be brewing in the American colonies was really just a Presbyterian parsons' rebellion. We'll learn more about what men like Arthur St. Clair and John Witherspoon would do, but imagine that these fierce Scots Presbyterians had been crushed by the hated English, disrupted from their ancestral homelands, sent into exile; they came to America, were brought into churches, became influential in their communities. They were pastors, elders, and leaders in civic affairs, and then the British started doing things like passing the Stamp Act, the Tea Act, the Townshend Acts. People started grumbling. These Scots Presbyterians hated the English. They *hated* them. And every little thing that the British did, the Scots were ready to say, *See, it's tyranny! They're going to do here what they did back in Scotland! We have to stop them!, or everything we believe in and that we hold dear will be lost to us.* When George III talked about the Black Brigades of America, he was talking about the preachers in their black robes. Bonnie Prince Charlie became emblematic for the Americans. As a result, Charlie (we'll come back to this, you don't have to write this down) became, for them, the means by which the rebellion would coalesce with the Awakening to create a whole new American mindset.

There's controversy among some scholars who wonder whether or not America really was ever established as a Christian nation, who wonder whether or not the Christian influence was ever really very strong. They question the legitimacy of Christians today speaking into civic affairs, saying that the founders of the American experiment in liberty had always intended a strong separation between church and state. They've obviously not read the Cambridge Resolves. They've obviously not read the Connecticut Constitution. They've obviously not read any of the orders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They obviously don't know a thing about John Witherspoon or Arthur St. Clair. Because the fact is that America, its uniqueness, its vision, the creation of its remarkable documents, the establishment of its remarkable civilization is not impossible, it's inconceivable, can't be thought of, imagined, dreamed about apart from the distinctive work of the gospel in this land.

Cotton Mather said it well in *Magnalia Christi Americana*, when he said, "If a hope of freedom is to endure, it will endure as the fruits of the gospel, for only the gospel proclaims liberty to mankind." He understood. From the very beginning, the renewal of hearts in Christ was intimately tied to the renewal of the idea of liberty and freedom. To look at the unique providence of God to stir a great awakening with Dutch, American, and English preachers, to fill churches with Scots Presbyterian elders and pastors at just the right moment to lay the foundations for an unflinching commitment to liberty. This is not possible apart from the truth that America can only exist as a Christian experiment and its influence around the world has only been as powerful as it has been because it is indeed a Christian vision. May God give us the courage to preserve that. May God give us the cour-

age of a Witherspoon or a St. Clair. As we'll see, they risked their lives and their fortunes for this simple idea: *Christ is Lord. Over everything, Christ is Lord.*



Lord, I acknowledge the regency of King Jesus. And I pray that all that we do and all that we are in this day and time would follow in the path of those who have gone before us. Give us the courage to stand for our principles and to prepare for a grand future for yet another great awakening through the establishment of schools and the planting of churches, raising up the next generation of leaders. O, God, do your work in and through us here and now we pray, in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 11

The Founders & the Classics: A Lifetime of Learning

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Galvanizing Effect of Tom Paine; Washington, the War, and the Intervention of Europe

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 141–153

Lesson Synopsis

The Founding Fathers were able to accomplish what they were able to accomplish precisely because they had been prepared for it. They were ready for it. They'd had substantive, classical educations.

Opportunity

5

Lesson Topics

The education our Founding Fathers received and how it prepared them for their appointed tasks

Primary Source Material

None for this lesson.

Vocabulary

self-revelatory, irony, tenure, substantive, prodigy, lowest common denominator, blatant, brazen, bias, epistemology, ontology, reincarnation, scatological, perverse, endowment, discernment, antitheses, conservative, progressive, analogy promiscuity, provocation, adversity

Timeline

none for this lesson



The Founders & the Classics:

A Lifetime of Learning

Historically, when we first set up the public school systems across the country, we were leaps and bounds ahead of the vast majority of countries around the world. That just is not true anymore.
 ~ President Barak Obama, September 27, 2010

This generation is miserable. What is worse, it is so blind to this that it does not recognize its own miseries.”
 ~ Jan Amos Comenius, 1634

Before we do Today in History, I'm gonna do a Yesterday in History. You may know that Pres. Obama appeared on the NBC *Today Show* yesterday — or maybe you blissfully do not know that — but, at any rate, Pres. Obama appeared on the *Today Show* and spoke with Matt Lauer and said this:

Historically, when we first set up the public school systems across the country, we were leaps and bounds ahead of the vast majority of countries around the world. That just is not true anymore.

I wonder why.

At the same time, I came across this wonderful, ironic, erupt-in-utter-paroxysms-of-laughter quote. I was also reading Jan Comenius's *The Labyrinth of the World*. He was describing how all the elites in the world with all their wealth, with all their power, with all their influence actually only make things worse for themselves and the world. The worst part of it is that they don't even get it. They don't even see it. Comenius says,

This generation is miserable, foolish, stupid, and forgetful. ...

I just love this quote!

What is worse, it is so blind to this that it does not recognize its own miseries.

Now I have to say, these two quotes together tell us volumes about why it is that we do what we do, why it is that, right now, so many of you are so overwhelmed and why so many of you are wrestling and struggling with your opportunities¹ and why it is that we persist in pushing you forward. This really is what we're going to talk about today. A lot of it is going to be self-revelatory because, for a very long time, I would not have been able to see the irony that comes by comparing these two quotations.

¹ The Opportunities referred to Dr. Grant's quizzes, opportunities for the students to show what they know. *Ed.*

28 September

❖ *1943: William Franklin Graham became a pastor.*

Today, of course, is September 28, and it was on this day in 1943 that William Franklin Graham, best known as Billy, became the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Western Springs, Illinois. He was born in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1918, educated at Bob Jones University, the Florida Bible Institute, and Wheaton College. He was ordained in the Southern Baptist Convention in 1939 before briefly entering the pastorate. Graham turned to large scale evangelism in 1949 and embarked on a series of tours of the United States and Europe. He was a forceful, eloquent, and charismatic preacher, and he attracted audiences that totaled in the millions to his meetings. In 1975, he actually had a meeting in Seoul, Korea, where he was able to preach the gospel to one and a half million people in one place at one time — the most ever in the history of the church. He created a magazine called *Decision Magazine*. He created a radio program called *The Hour of Decision* and a television program that broadcast his crusades. His numerous best-selling books include *Peace with God*, written in 1953; *The Secret of Happiness*, in 1955; *A World Aflame*, in 1965; *How to Be Born Again* in 1977, which interestingly became a part of the popular American iconography of the day because of the presidential campaign of Jimmy Carter the year before. He published his autobiography, *Just as I Am*, in 1997, and remains one of the great figures of modern church history. At any rate, it was on this in 1943 that he first became a pastor.

❖ *1931: C.S. Lewis was converted.*

It was in 1931 on this day that C.S. Lewis was converted while arriving at a zoo in his brother's motorcycle sidecar. "When we set out," he said, "I did not believe that Jesus was the Son of God and when we reached the zoo, I did." Lewis had already become a theist, but his conversion followed a long talk he had the week before with two Christian friends, Hugo Dyson and J.R.R. Tolkien.

❖ *1920: The White Sox became the Black Sox.*

It was on this day in 1920 that eight baseball players with the Chicago White Sox were indicted for deliberately throwing the previous year's World Series against the Cincinnati Reds. They were thereafter dubbed the Black Sox instead of the White Sox.

❖ *1913: Edith Pargeter was born.*

It was in 1913, on this day that Edith Pargeter was born. She went on, as Ellis Peters, to write the renowned *Brother Cadfael Mysteries*, as well as a host of other wonderful historical mysteries.

❖ *1924: The first round-the-world flight was completed in one hundred seventy-five days.*

In 1924 on this day, two U.S. Army planes landed in Seattle, Washington, having completed the first round-the-world flight in one hundred seventy-five days.

❖ *1787: The Constitution was sent to the states.*

It was on this day in 1787 that Congress voted to send the just-completed Constitution of the United States to the state legislatures for their approval.

❖ *1781: American forces laid siege to Yorktown.*

It was on this day in 1781 that American forces fighting in the war for independence, backed by a French fleet, began their siege of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown Heights in Virginia.

❖ *1066: William the Conqueror crossed the Channel to invade England.*

And it was on this day in the year 1066 that William the Conqueror, a Norman prince and cousin of the royal family of Saxon England, launched an invasion by crossing the English Channel in an effort to claim the crown from his cousin King Harold. He won the great Battle of Hastings two days later when his cousin King Harold was shot through the eye with an arrow. I hate it when that happens. Immediately, William marched to the city of London, to Westminster Abbey, where he was crowned, seated upon the Throne of Scone, and ushered in the royal family that still reigns. It was the last time England was successfully invaded — 1066.

What is really interesting is that William brought with him from Normandy the thing that he thought was most needful for the establishing of a long-tenured regime. It's not the sort of thing that we would normally think to do. In fact, I dare say, it's not something that we have done very often in our history, but, with the invading armies, he brought with him a library of the great classics of Christian civilization going all the way back to the time of the great patriarchs of the Church. His vision was to establish an enduring civilization, so he brought with him warriors, he brought with him armaments, he brought with him supplies, but chief among the things that he used to establish the foundation of his reign was a library. He understood that our success in establishing any movement is limited only to the degree that we do not prepare substantively for the future. So he brought with him a library, and thus was begun the rich tradition in the English world of classicism.

Where Are They?

Years ago when I first began my career, I started not as a teacher or a pastor. My career began in politics. I was a speechwriter and a researcher, and I wrote books for politicians who were running for office or launching some movement or some campaign. I really loved the tussle of politics. I loved the idea of wrestling with the big ideas of the day.

Heroes

❖ *Christendom's Leadership Legacy*

I wanted to see Christians have an impact and change the world. That was my great desire. But after a few years of working in politics, I began to have serious problems. It boiled down to this: as I was researching and writing for these politicians, I naturally returned to sources. I started reading a great deal about the Founding Fathers and I was astonished by how substantive they were. I was amazed by the stories of men like Jonathan Edwards, George Whitfield, and Cotton Mather — sort of the fathers of the Founding Fathers. Then I was even more amazed as I began to read the lives of men like Patrick Henry, George Washington, Samuel Adams, Peyton Randolph, John Adams, Henry Middleton, and Arthur St. Clair.

❖ *The Modern Dilemma*

I was astonished by how thoughtful, how well educated, how widely read, how substantive these men were. The reason I was so astonished was because I was already getting used to the fact that I was working in Washington,

with empty suits, people with great hair and great teeth and nothing in their heads. I started to compare, asking myself where were the great statesmen of our day? Where are they? Why don't we have any Patrick Henrys or Samuel Adamses. I really liked the people I was working for. They were good people with good stands on good issues. I didn't just go off and work for any politician; I worked for politicians whose stand and what they stood for I really believed in. But no matter where I turned, I was constantly met by this vast void, what Ross Perot called the huge sucking sound of Washington, D.C. As I looked back at the great American prodigies, I was increasingly aware of the fact that they were incredibly well educated in the classic tradition. They drank deeply of the tradition that William the Conqueror had begun when he dragged all those old manuscripts across the English Channel during the time of his invasion.

I was fascinated by the story of Peyton Randolph. When I was a kid, I went to Williamsburg and had a chance to go into Peyton Randolph's home — anybody who goes to Williamsburg today can do the same; you can see his home and what remains of his library. But when he was a child, he had access to the libraries of his father, of his uncle, and of his grandfather, vast classical libraries. They had all of the great books in Greek, Latin, and English stretching back all the way to the time of antiquity. According to the testimony of all his contemporaries, Peyton Randolph actually mastered all the books in his father's, his uncle's, and his grandfather's libraries by the time he was twelve years old. He'd read them all. He understood them all.

This should not astonish us when we look at, for instance, the entrance requirements for Harvard College from those early days all the way through the colonial period. In order to get into Harvard, one had to be able to translate, from the Greek and the Hebrew, large passages of the Old and New Testament and be able to answer a massive number of questions that spanned a booklet that was more than forty-six pages long about all the great literature of antiquity. One had to know this stuff before one could get *into* Harvard. One had to be able and facile in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, and in all the great classics.

This great story is told about Peyton Randolph: not only did he have this mastery of all the classics by the time he was twelve, but his father used to drill him on Bible verses using a very unusual drill. His father would take the big family Bible, the great Bible that had been brought over from England by their Puritan forebears, and he would take a long needle, pierce a passage in the family Bible with the needle, and Peyton had to tell him what the verse was on the opposite page; in other words, underneath where the needle was going through he had to be able to quote it *verbatim*. By the time he was fifteen, he could do that anywhere in the Bible, through the whole Bible. As he got older, he stretched his facility a little bit so that he could pierce the page and be able to tell you what verse was pierced by the needle three pages later. He had an astonishing intellectual ability.

Peyton Randolph also had the ability to write two different letters to two different people in two different languages simultaneously, one with his left hand and one with this right hand. For those of us who have difficulty walking and chewing gum at the same time, the thought of being able to write two different letters — some of you are still trying to learn how to type with two hands and ten fingers — think about writing two different letters to two different people on two different subjects in two different languages, one with your left hand and one with your right hand. Oftentimes, when he was writing important correspondence, he would write a letter and make a duplicate. Because he was left-handed, he would make the duplicate with his right hand because he said that his handwriting was messier. Go and visit the archives in Williamsburg and you'll see what messy looks like. Oh, my goodness! Astonishing breadth and depth!

Patrick Henry studied law for three and a half months before he passed the bar exam. He didn't go to law school, he simply studied the law, mastered it, and was able to identify all the precedents that were presented in the bar exam. He passed the bar after studying for *three and a half months*. How was he able to do that? Was it just native brilliance? No, it was the fact that over the course of his young life, he had been trained to think, analytically and substantively, so that he knew how to learn. He had learned how to learn.

❖ *American Prodigies*

The American prodigies were not more brilliant than those of us in the modern era. They simply were more substantively trained. This got me thinking about what it was that I was doing. I became convicted. For one thing, I kept running across stuff I had never learned before. As I was reading the Founding Fathers and as I started to read what the Founding Fathers read and as I started to read what those the Founding Fathers read had read and started to follow the footnote trail backwards, I was astonished by all the things that I thought I knew that were just false and the huge gaps in my understanding.

Culture

❖ *Lowest Common Denominator*

I began to question everything that I had learned and everything that I was doing at the time. I started to wonder. Is the best way to change America by going to Washington and propping up these empty suits with great hair and good teeth, fancy ads and plush offices or is there a better way? One of the things that happens when you don't have that kind of substance is that culture descends to the lowest common denominator.

❖ *Substance v. Distraction*

We're constantly dumbing down for fear of leaving anybody behind. We favor distractions, anything to keep us occupied. We have intellectual ADD because we're allergic to substance. Do you know why we're allergic to substance? Because substance is hard. Substance takes work. Substance requires thinking. In order to get yourself acclimated to the prose of the great writers of the past, you have to read it over and over and over again until you start to sense the rhythms of the language. You have to read words in context, words that are no longer used, words that wouldn't ever pass muster with the editors of *USA Today* and would never find their way into a factoid because, as Comenius says, "We're foolish, stupid, and forgetful."

❖ *Revolutionary Counter-Culturalism*

As a result, all we're left with in an effort to change anything is a kind of revolutionary impulse, a kind of counter-culturalism. This is one of the reasons why Christians have had so little long-term impact in the last thirty-five years in American culture. We fought for all the good causes, we've got great TV stations, radio stations, bookstores full of books, and publishing houses that turn them out, but we're not making much of a difference. In fact, turn on *60 Minutes* and they will just mock us, up and down — the most blatant and brazen forms of bias — and we've done it to ourselves for our lack of substance.

Worldview

❖ *Erosion of Epistemology*

As a result, we have this eroding epistemology. We don't know how to learn. *Epistemology* is the study of how we learn, how we know what we know. It leads to a corruption of our understanding of ontology — the essence of being. It means that 85% of all Americans can affirm that they believe the Bible and in the same survey they can

say that they believe one hundred fifty different things that are specifically, *specifically* undermined by the Bible. How is it someone can say, *Oh, yes I'm an evangelical, Bible-believing Christian, and oh, by the way, I believe in reincarnation?* Or, *I'm an evangelical Bible-believing Christian, and I believe that the world's greatest spiritual leaders today include the Dalai Lama?*

❖ *Corruption of Ontology*

❖ *Subjugation of Theology*

It's a corruption of our whole epistemology and ontology, which in the end means that we subject our theology to our experience, our feelings, and our cultural prejudices. We truly have become the Church of What's Happenin' Now. We've replaced the great refrain of "Prepare to meet thy God," with a kind of "Don't worry, be happy" jingle because we're really not willing to do the hard work.

Do you know what the number one checked-out book in the Philadelphia public school libraries last year was? The number one book checked out of the Philadelphia public school libraries is part of a long series of books that have just come out called *Butt Books*. It's a series about potty humor because, you see, educators believe that in order to get kids to read, they've got to give them stuff that they're interested in. So they've got books about butts. One of the titles is *The Night My Butt Went Crazy*. What is this about? Since when has scatological humor, the kind of stuff that bizarros carved with old pennies on bathroom stalls — how did that become preferred reading in our schools? Because we're thinking, *Okay, we've got to get them reading, so let's get them reading what they want to read — butt humor!* What are we thinking about? On Friday, in the *Wall Street Journal* there was an article² about this, about how is it that we think we're actually going to educate young men and women who have character, if what we give them is bathroom-stall, scatological humor?

The Character of the Leaders

Intellect

❖ *Substantive Classical Education*

The Founding Fathers were able to accomplish what they were able to accomplish precisely because they had been prepared for it. They were ready for it. They'd had substantive, classical educations.

In 1814, the Library of Congress, along with many of the national archives and many of our great national treasures were burned by the invading British in the War of 1812. They came through Washington, D.C. They burned the White House and Congress, and the fire consumed the Library of Congress. So Thomas Jefferson offered to take his personal library and donate it for basically just a shipping charge to Congress to replace the Library of Congress. So the Library of Congress began with thirty-seven thousand volumes of classics. Think about that for a second: *thirty-seven thousand volumes*. That's more than the full holdings of the downtown Nashville Public Library. That's more than the Williamson County libraries in Franklin and Brentwood and five more county libraries combined. They were just the books he had in his house. Almost all of them had been well-thumbed, well-read. Many of them with Jefferson's own personal notes in them, highlights and marks. That

² <http://tinyurl.com/29bxhnx>

now becomes a national treasure, the foundation for this magnificent collection called the Library of Congress. They were just the books in his *house*.

❖ *Lifetime Reading and Learning*

❖ *Libraries as Arsenals of Truth*

Again and again and again, we see that the Founding Fathers were men who believed in lifetime learning and lifetime reading. They built these great libraries to be arsenals of truth in the midst of a war for the souls of men and nations that they knew would be waged from generation to generation. That's why Ben Franklin was so keen to start public borrowing libraries in Philadelphia, why Samuel Adams in his pub in Boston had more than a thousand books related to the subject of liberty stretching all the way back to the patristic fathers. They understood that in order to be something and to do something, we must constantly be learning something.

Piety

❖ *Faith: Yielding to the Gospel*

So they laid these great foundations, which gave rise to their soberness in piety. Because they understood the world around them, because they had the insights, the discernment, and the discretion of ages and ages of wisdom catalogued in their hearts and their minds, they were able to establish for themselves a worldview that was rooted in the faith. The more well-informed they became, the more thoroughgoing in their faith.

A lot of people don't know this, but Thomas Jefferson was a renowned deist, not an orthodox Christian at all throughout most of his life and career. When he became president, however, there was this grave conflict that was taking place along the North African littoral that was threatening U.S. merchant shipping. Islamic terrorists, pirates, were waylaying merchant ships and holding the captives for ransom. This became the United States' first foreign war. During that conflict, Jefferson began to note the distinctive differences between Islam and Christianity. He began to search through the Scriptures, as well as the Qur'an. In fact, the Qur'an that he used is the very volume that was in the news recently when a Michigan Democratic candidate for Congress was elected and chose to be sworn in on a Qur'an. President Obama made much about the fact that it was President Jefferson's Qur'an. The fact is that Jefferson had that Qur'an because he wanted to understand why Islam was so perverse and so violent. It wasn't because he liked the Qur'an; he was wrestling with the ideas.

(Do you know that at one time there was an evangelical church that met in the old Supreme Court chambers at the capital and Thomas Jefferson used to walk over from the White House on Sunday mornings to go to this church? This church produced Gardiner Spring, one of the great evangelical pastors who laid the groundwork for the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City and wrote the famous book — which Thomas Jefferson owned, read multiple times, and marked up and which is now in the Library of Congress — *The Obligations of the World to the Bible*,³ which explained why the Bible really opened up all the mysteries of the world. The more

³ As I researched this book for inclusion on the literature list, I was a bit confounded to find that it was first published in 1839, when Jefferson had died in 1826. Dr. Grant, always a fount of information, had this to add: It was published sermon by sermon first. Then, in a small collection. The 1839 edition was an enlarged edition — with several newer sermons added. Gardiner Spring became the pastor at the Brick Church in 1810. Sermons were published weekly starting that year and book collections of them by the next year. He produced an astonishing amount, spending sixty-three years there in that one pastorate. At first, the books were ingeniously titled *Congregational Sermons, volume 1, Congregational Sermons, volume 2, Congregational Sermons, volume 3*, etc. But, in future editions, they were given topical names and often, as was the case here, arranged according to topic.

informed Jefferson became about his world, the more carefully read, the more substantive he was, the more he yielded his life to the gospel. By the way, so much for separation of church and state! There was a church meeting on Sunday mornings in the Supreme Court chambers and Thomas Jefferson went to that church while he was president of the United States! What's wrong with this? Stephen Colbert, please report this the next time you go to Congress.)

❖ *Family: Putting First Things First*

The more informed they became, the more they realized the value of covenantal connectionalism, the more passionate they became in the protection of families and the more committed they were to put first things first.

Of the first sixteen presidential administrations, five of the men resigned early from their office because of illness or trouble in their families. They put their families first. They understood that the nation could not be great if their families were not great. They didn't abandon their wives and their children for the sake of their political ambitions; they gave themselves to their families because they understood from their wide reading and their understanding of the civilizations of the past and the wisdom of all the great classics that the family is the cornerstone of society.

❖ *Work: Committing to the Long Term*

Obviously the more they read, the more they understood and recognized how important it was to work hard, to labor diligently. I look at the agenda of some of these men on any single day and it's absolutely astonishing what they were able to accomplish — up very early in the morning to read the Scriptures and spend time with God, and then out to tend the farm animals, and then hours of correspondence. Patrick Henry, typically on the average day, would write thirty letters — thirty letters of correspondence and that dipping a quill and writing on parchment — *thirty* each day, on a typical day. If we get in thirty text messages a day, our thumbs are sore. They worked hard because they were committed to the long term.

Risk

❖ *Lives: Boldness in Defense of Truth*

❖ *Fortunes: The Cost of Freedom*

❖ *Sacred Honor: Controversy*

Their substantive preparation enabled them to risk everything — their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. They were bold in their defense of truth, they understood the cost of freedom, and they were willing to suffer through controversy for the sake of a greater cause, a cause greater than they were.

The Classics

True Education

- ❖ *Not an Ending Place*
- ❖ *A Deposit and an Endowment*
- ❖ *Lessons that Never End*

They understood that a true education isn't an ending place but a beginning. It's the beginning of a lifetime of learning. They understood that a good education was a kind of deposit or endowment for their lives and that lessons are not the kinds of things that you finish. The object of education is not to get done; the object of education is to get started.

Antitheses

- ❖ *Opposing Principles*
- ❖ *What Is Wrong with the World*
- ❖ *Problems and Solutions*

Good education sharpens your focus — you're able to see distinctions. That's the meaning of the word *discernment*. It's the ability to separate things, right from wrong, light from darkness, truth from error. It's the ability to see the antitheses, the opposing principles of the world, to understand what's wrong with the world, to be able to trace the effects of sin through the whole course of the world, to follow from where we are all the way home so that our thoughts are consistent. It's that kind of thinking that enables us to move from problems to actual solutions, which more often than not produce their own sets of problems which have to be dealt with individually as well.

Repentance

- ❖ *Knowing What We Don't Know*

They understood that, at heart, all education is repentance. It's acknowledging that *I don't know everything that I need to know, I have not yet become everything I ought to become, I haven't done everything I ought to do, I don't know what I need to know*. Repentance is a perpetual cycle. As soon as I get past the first thing I need to know, need to learn, need to believe, need to do, and need to be, I move onto the next thing, which is why the Founding Fathers understood the concept of being reformed and ever reforming. They never landed and said, *Okay, we've got it now. The Constitution, man, that is the pinnacle, the greatest! Who, baby! We nailed it with this one! It's gonna be great. Two hundred years from now, two hundred fifty years from now, they're gonna say, "Who, doggy! Those guys knew a lot!"* No! Do you realize that, within a year, they already understood that the Constitution was so flawed that it had to be amended ten times? They wanted to amend it twelve times, but two of the amendments didn't pass. Those ten amendments that did pass are called the Bill of Rights.

- ❖ *Reformed and Ever Reforming*

They were reformed, ever reforming. They weren't conservative, they were progressive, understanding that we have to progress our lives, our societies, our families. We have to progress from where we are to the next step of repentance, because it is repentance itself — that moment when we have that *ah-ha* realization when the light-

bulb comes on and we realize where we've gone wrong — that gives us the light to see the next step. That's why, in the Scriptures, we have the analogy of God's Word being a light to our path, a lamp for our feet.

❖ *The Tipping Point*

When we come to the place where we genuinely repent, we arrive at the tipping point where real change can occur. It's the hundredth monkey syndrome. Do you know what the hundredth monkey syndrome is? It's an experiment that sociologists have done. They set out broken coconuts on a beach and monkeys will come along and they'll eat the coconuts. Of course, sand gets into the coconut and it's not as pleasant with sand in your coconut. Ninety-nine monkeys will come along and eat the coconut with sand in it, but typically, somewhere around a hundred, some smart monkey will say, *Huh. We're on a beach. We got coconuts. There's sand here, but there's water there.* And he'll drag the coconut to the water and wash it out and then eat it without sand in it. Suddenly, every other monkey does it, too. Monkey see, monkey do.

Did you know that wickedness is catching? Wickedness is the sort of thing that you can catch from others. Do you ever wonder why things like drug use, promiscuity, or even something as heartbreaking and horrific as suicide can run in numbers together? There's a kind of tipping point. Someone breaks the ice and all of a sudden it becomes thinkable. The Bible says that repentance has a tipping point as well. Your repentance can become the provocation to another's repentance, and after a time, when many of us together repent, suddenly it's like the hundredth monkey syndrome. Everyone is rushing to the water to wash the grit away. The Founding Fathers understood that. As a result, they had momentum for their repentance, for their vision, for their courage, for their reforming work.

Even things like getting people together, crazy ideas saying, *Let's just do something insane, something crazy.* Four years ago, we did. Remember this? Four years ago, we did something, and it was a crazy idea that I had. Almost no one thought we could pull it off. I was opposed by board members at FCS. I said, "What if we were just to get the whole FCS community together and we run, walk, and bike one hundred seventy-five miles in three days? And we all go out and find sponsors and raise money for scholarships for needy students at FCS. Some of you all were here. Some of you only know about this secondhand. It was really fun. We started doing this and it was a lot of fun. We did a lot of fun things, but it's remarkable. People who ordinarily wouldn't think of themselves as walkers or runners or willing to get out and bike showed up. And we had a great time! It was a tipping point. We encouraged one another, we cheered one another, we were exhausted together. We ran a half marathon each day and we ran a 5K each day; we had a two-mile walk each day. We had a forty-mile bike ride each day. And we had twelve students plus this crazy big guy who did it all. We had more than one hundred forty people from FCS and Artios Academy participate. It was amazing. It was so much fun. It was a tipping point, a crazy idea, but when we buy off on the crazy idea and when we reinforce one another in that crazy idea, it's amazing what we can accomplish. Most of the people who ran the half marathons had never run a half marathon before, but we had this sort of notion that, if we did it together, we could accomplish almost anything. And we did. We raised a lot of money that went toward scholarships for our students, and we forged a bond that endures for some of us to this day.

What you're about, with all of your exhaustion and being overwhelmed and the opportunities that you are just blowing big time, thinking to yourself, *I don't know how I'm going to make any headway* — all of that preparation is laying foundations. You're walking in the footsteps of those who have done great things in the past. I don't expect that someday you'll be able to do a parlor trick like Peyton Randolph and pierce your family Bible and be able to say that on the opposite side of Deuteronomy 13, three pages later, is Deuteronomy 18 and be able to

quote me the verse, but I do expect that when you take your place in your calling, you're not just going to be an empty suit with great hair and good teeth, that in your heart and life there won't be a vast sucking sound. That's why we do what we do. That's why I do what I do. I quit writing books for politicians years ago. I did a one-off book in 2001 that I still regret. I almost did one in the last election-cycle and I'm so glad I didn't because what I do right here is more important. It has longer-lasting effects. I don't want to write a book for them, I want to help you see your calling and help you know what God is preparing you for. I want to lay foundations in your heart that will last you the rest of your life. That's more important.

Later that year, several of the veterans from the Uttermost ran the Country Music Marathon together. It was like, *Yeah, we can do this. Of course, we can do this because we ran one hundred seventy-five miles in three days.* Who would have ever thunk it? One hundred seventy-five miles, three days, running, walking, and biking for a great cause. We made a difference. By the way, I've had another crazy idea. What do you think? Two hundred miles, thirty hours straight, twelve team members, eight volunteers, two vans, and one great cause. How about running from Coolidge Park in downtown Chattanooga, all day and all night, winding up the next day at the Country Music Hall of Fame to raise scholarship funds? What do you think? If an old codger like me, a decrepit, old man like me, can do this, then anything can be done. We do this stuff because what we're doing is important, because it matters. It matters more than almost anything else that we can do. It's what lays the foundations of faith, family, and work for us and, my prayer is, for the generations yet to come. Let's go do it. We'll fight through the lousy times, the difficult set-backs, the seasons of grief, when we lose someone from our community like Chris Brown. We face down the adversity and we do what's right because there is a future that matters. Substance is far better than distraction. May God be pleased to use you for his purposes and for his glory in the days to come.



Lord, I thank you for your kindness, your grace, your mercy, and the opportunity to start afresh. Thank you for every one of these students and for their callings. Use us Lord, prepare us, Lord. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 12

Mercantilism & the Stirrings of Revolt

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Patriots and Loyalists: America's First Civil War; The Constitutional Convention

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 126–141

Lesson Synopsis

If you look at this just on the surface, it looks like it's just about money, economics. But ideas have consequences and when they have consequences, often they have consequences in areas where they're not expected. By messing with the economy, apart from the standard of the rule of law, the Crown and Parliament erased the dependability of law at all. Thus they erased the possibility of a stable, vital, free culture. This is as true today as it was back then.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

George I through George III, the colonial spoils system and the end of salutary neglect, the Currency Act, the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Quartering Act, the Declaratory Act, the Townshend Acts, Boston Troop Quartering, boycott of British goods by the colonies, the Boston Massacre, the Tea Tax

Primary Source Material

None for this lesson.

Vocabulary

mercantilism, digestible, effeminate, effete, abrogation/abrogate, stevedore, rhetoric, due process, revolutionary, expediency, comply, boycott

Timeline

- ❖ 1688: The Glorious Revolution
- ❖ 1714: Hanoverian Accession of George I
- ❖ 1727: Accession of George II
- ❖ 1745: The Jacobite Rising led by Bonnie Prince Charlie
- ❖ 1760: Accession of George III

- ❖ 1763: The Peace of Paris ended the Seven Years' War
- ❖ 1763: George Grenville became Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury
- ❖ 1764: Colonial Spoils System Introduced
- ❖ 1764: Currency Act and Sugar Act
- ❖ 1765: The Stamp Act
- ❖ 1765: The Quartering Act
- ❖ 1765: Stamp Act Congress
- ❖ 1765: Sam Adams helped found the Sons of Liberty.
- ❖ 1766: The Declaratory Act
- ❖ 1767: The Townshend Acts
- ❖ 1767: British Troops Quartered in Boston
- ❖ 1768: Non-Importation Agreement; the colonies refused to trade with England, setting the backdrop for the Boston Tea Party.
- ❖ 1768: Reimposition of the Tea Tax by Lord North
- ❖ 1770: Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, by John Dickinson
- ❖ 1770: Boston Massacre



Mercantilism & the Stirrings of Revolt

The imbecility of her military leaders abroad and the want of energy in her councils at home, had lowered the character of Great Britain from the proud elevation on which it had once been placed.
~ James Fenimore Cooper

26 September

- ❖ *1580: Francis Drake and his crew arrived in Plymouth after circumnavigating the globe.*

It was on this day, after thirty-three months, almost three years, that Sir Francis Drake and the fifty sailors that comprised the crew of the *Golden Hind* returned to Plymouth as the first Englishmen to circumnavigate the globe. It was the beginning of what would be a mercantilist system for the British and the beginning of the vision for a global British Empire.

- ❖ *1772: Medical licenses were required for the first time.*

In 1772, on this day, for the first time doctors in the American colonies were required by law to hold a medical license. The New Jersey Legislature gave exceptions for anyone who pulled teeth, drew blood, or gave free medical advice, even if that medical advice included surgical procedures. So you didn't have to have a license if you were drawing blood, pulling teeth, or doing free surgery.

- ❖ *1789: The first federal appointments were made.*

In 1789 on this day, Thomas Jefferson was appointed the United States' first Secretary of State, John Jay was named the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Samuel Osgood became the first Postmaster General, and

Edmund Jennings Randolph became the first Attorney General. It was the first day of appointments for the new federal government under the Constitution of 1789.

❖ *1887: T.S. Eliot was born in St. Louis.*

It was on this day in 1887 that poet and playwright Thomas Stearns Eliot was born in St. Louis, Missouri. He once wrote, “There never was a time when those that read at all, read so many books by living authors rather than books by dead authors. Therefore there was never a time so completely parochial, so completely shut off from the past.”¹ It was his stern rebuke against what he called “malignant contemporaneity,” the tendency to believe that only modern things are valuable things.

❖ *1913: A tugboat made the first voyage through the Panama Canal.*

Also on this day in 1913, the first tugboat made its voyage through the Panama Canal.

❖ *1960: The first televised presidential debate aired.*

In 1960 on this day, Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy participated in the first televised presidential debate in Chicago. It proved to be the undoing of Richard Nixon’s hopes for the presidency. He was the vice-president at the time.

❖ *1964: Gilligan’s Island premiered on CBS.*

And significantly, it was on this day in 1964 that America first heard those wonderful words “Hey, little buddy,” as *Gilligan’s Island* premiered on CBS. It has reportedly never gone off the air since.

❖ *1768: Two regiments of British troops were transferred from Nova Scotia to Boston.*

But for our purposes perhaps the most significant thing that occurred on this date occurred in 1768. That was when two regiments of British troops were transferred from Nova Scotia to Boston, following a dispute over the Townshend Acts. The Townshend Acts were part of a series of legislative efforts on the part of Parliament back in England to garner revenue and build the imperial ambitions of the British Crown, by utilizing the prosperity of the new American colonies, those twenty-one colonies scattered along the American Atlantic coast. The Townshend Acts were among the most noxious of all the acts. The problem with the Acts was not that Parliament had passed a law, it was that the Americans believed that Parliament was abandoning the rule of law and passing a series of measures that were in fact unlawful, imposing standards that had no basis in common law traditions. In other words, these were illegal laws, and the rule of law was quickly diminishing.

Economics Explained

A lot of times, when we look at the problems with the Stamp Act, the Sugar Act, the Townshend Acts, and the various other acts, we tend to look at them in merely economic terms. In fact, it is very common for the whole dispute between Parliament and the American colonials to be described as a fight over money. It is true that eco-

¹ This is Dr. Grant’s paraphrase. The complete quotation reads: “There never was a time when those that read at all, read so many books by living authors rather than books by dead authors. Therefore there was never a time so completely parochial, so completely shut off from the past.”

nomics was at the heart of the problem. The British had adopted a mercantilist economic model. It's important for us to define some terms, and so I thought it might be helpful to resort to this old illustration to understand how economics works.

- ❖ *Communalism: You have two cows, you get to keep one and give one to your neighbor.*
- ❖ *Communism: You have two cows, the government takes both of them and then asks you to stand in line for hours in order to receive your free subsidy of watered-down, spoiled milk.*
- ❖ *Fascism: You have two cows and the government takes both of them and sells you the milk at a premium.*
- ❖ *Bureaucratic Liberalism: You have two cows. The government takes both of them, shoots one, milks the other, pays you for the milk, and then pours the milk down the drain.*
- ❖ *Democratic Socialism: You have two cows. The government taxes you to the point that you have to sell both of them in order to support some man in a foreign country, who only has one cow, which was a gift from your government.*
- ❖ *Free-Market Capitalism: You have two cows. You sell one of them and buy a bull.*
- ❖ *Centralized, Multi-national-Corporation-Based Capitalism: You have two cows. You sell one, force the other to produce the milk of four cows, and when it dies you write off the depreciation, hire a lobbyist, and garner a government subsidy or tax breaks in order to purchase two new cows, at which point, you repeat the whole cycle.*
- ❖ *Mercantilism: You have two cows, the government takes them both, then sells you the milk at a premium.*

Mercantilism is a little bit like that last one — centralized, multi-national-corporation-based capitalism, but it also has a little bit in common with what we call fascism. You have two cows, the government takes them both, then sells you the milk at a premium.

Mercantilism is essentially the marriage of big government, which runs the structure of the economy, and big business, which benefits through special deals and special privileges from the government running the structure of the economy. Mercantilism is typically based on big, nameless, faceless corporations that utilize laws to their advantage rather than simply allowing the market to prevail. So it's a form of capitalism, but it's not free-market capitalism. It's a form of socialism, but it's not the form of socialism that impoverishes everyone because a handful of people, namely the capitalists, are able to benefit greatly. That's mercantilism.

Brewing Rebellion

Culture of the New Britannia

- ❖ *1714: Hanoverian Accession of George I*

The British began to adopt a model of mercantilism shortly after the Hanoverian succession. The Hanoverians were German princes who were related by marriage to the Stuarts. Remember, Charles I was the one that had the Civil War, the rising of Parliament and Oliver Cromwell against him. He was overthrown and finally beheaded. A Commonwealth was put in place of the monarchy for a decade. It was during the time of the Commonwealth that the Puritans really gained power and began to exercise sway and put into place a system of the

rule of law that followed along the pattern of that Scottish Covenanter and friend of the Puritans, Samuel Rutherford, and his ideas from *Lex Rex*.

Following the death of Queen Anne, the last of the Stuart line, Parliament had the option of giving the crown to the direct heirs of the Stuarts, James III and his young son, Charles, the Pretender, but chose not to because they were Roman Catholic and they had the same views of absolute monarchy that Charles I and Charles II had had and that had brought all the trouble that James II had had, that resulted in the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

So they bypassed James III and offered the crown instead to James's cousin, who was a German prince in the province of Hanover in northern Germany. George I of Hanover's grandmother was Charles I's sister — complicated, I know, but in 1714 the crown passed to George I. Here's the thing about George — he didn't speak English. He thought England was a barbaric land. He hated the food, he hated the weather. He loved Germany. After having spent a week in his new dominions, he said, "There is not a digestible sausage in the entire country," which is still true to this day, it seems. He despised the rainy winters. He despised what he believed was the doggerel language of the English. Therefore, he spent very, very little time in his new dominions. He always returned back to Hanover and lived there with great joyfulness in the Germanies.

This was good news in many ways for the continued growth and prosperity of the American colonies because it meant that the king and Parliament were distracted with other things, and they didn't pay much attention. They allowed the rule of law to take root and the Puritan experiment to flower and flourish. The economy in the Americas flourished indeed during these days. Colleges were established. Great literary traditions flourished.

By the end of George I's reign, despite the fact that there were less than one million people in the twenty-one American colonies, there were some three thousand newspapers and some four hundred fifty publishers. It was a flourishing world of culture, ideas, opportunity, and freedom, rooted in the rule of law. The rule of law says that there are essential principles of liberty that reside with every individual. Chief among those is the security of property and persons, the right to private property. The security of private property, the sanctity of private property, as it was sometimes referred to in some of the newspapers, was the basis upon which the dependability and the stability of governance is built, they believed. And they had it.

◆ 1727: Accession of George II

In 1727 George II, the grandson of George I, ascended the throne, and he was only slightly more interested in the English dominions than his grandfather had been. He too was a native German speaker. He too much preferred Hanover and the electorate of Hanover, the principality there, which had great power in the selection of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and all the doings on the continent and therefore focused almost all of his attention there. Again, this is good news for the flourishing of liberty back in the Americas.

He was also largely distracted by the attempts of the old Stuart line to recover their crown rights. There had been rebellions, or risings, in Scotland and later in Northern Ireland, against the rule of the Hanoverians — these German usurpers, as the Scottish saw them. The result was that there was the possibility of another outbreak of real civil war throughout all the British Isles.

In 1745, Bonnie Prince Charlie, the son of the Pretender to the throne, the heir to the Stuart legacy, charismatic, courageous, and chivalric, came to Scotland. He led a great rising. If it were not for a series of betrayals, he

could very well have swept George II out of London and off the throne. In fact, George actually fled London when Bonnie Prince Charlie was just fifty miles away. He put on his little silk slippers, tiptoed out of the palace, slid into his gilded coach, and said, "Away, away, let's get away." It wasn't a particularly manly thing to do. His younger brother, the Duke of Cumberland, saved the day though. He was a large man who killed four horses in battle simply from his girth. Nevertheless, he was able to prevail through a series of betrayals against Bonnie Prince Charlie, and Bonnie Prince Charlie was swept away.

But all that, in 1745 and 1746, meant that, once again, the British had other things to tend to. They weren't worrying about the Americans, and so the Americans were simply building their lives, tending their gardens, minding their businesses, raising their children, and nurturing a native vision for culture, community, and civilization. The rule of law was firmly established.

❖ *1760: Accession of George III*

In 1760, George III succeeded his father and became the new king. He was absolutely determined to be an entirely different kind of king. He was going to be engaged. He loved England. He loved the ways of the English. For instance, he became enamored with all of the thatched roofs of the countryside. He decided that, as a good king, he must learn the trades. So he learned how to thatch roofs, and he became an avid gardener. He threw himself fully into the English way of life. He became the quintessential Englishman. He also determined to take a firm hand in the rule of Britannia, to bring solidarity and prosperity to the whole realm, the colonial dominions as well as the home dominions. He wanted a new Britannia, the glory of British life spread across the whole globe. It was George III who first dreamed of an empire, as he said, "upon which the sun would never set". He had great ambitions, perhaps a more ambitious man has never lived since the time of Charles V, the Hapsburg emperor.

❖ *1763: The Peace of Paris*

It was just three years later that finally the Treaty of Paris was signed in which the long-raging Seven Years' War came to an end. It was then that George III dismissed the brilliant and moderate William Pitt as Prime Minister. Pitt had steered the course of the British economy so that it was now the most prosperous economy in the world, primarily through the exercise of restraint, the giving of liberty through a fundamental rule of law rather than the rule of man. George III wanted to be much more proactive.

❖ *1764: Colonial Spoils System Introduced*

As a result, the following year, he enacted the colonial spoils system, in which he tried to create incentives among the nobility by giving them prime appointments, governorships, and ambassadorships around the globe to spread the influence of the British way of life. The problem was that many of his closest friends in the nobility were spoiled, corrupt and, in some cases, incredibly perverse men. The result was that this thriving, robust, American economy with these pioneers, spirited men of heart, mind, and soul, were sent effeminate, effete nobles who were supposed to govern the territories. The Americans were just nauseated. New York got a cross-dressing governor. Boston got three drunkards in a row to oversee the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Virginia received a raging homosexual who had a consuming appetite for young boys. You can imagine, among the Puritans and the Cavaliers and these robust pioneers that had carved out a life and an economy, with a vision for freedom in the American wilderness, that this was not the kind of thing that went over too well.

This was the beginning of that great American tradition called redneck culture. There's this wonderful little bit in Patrick Henry's diary where he describes having to deal with one of the king's ambassadors who was, in his words, "particularly effeminate". Patrick Henry, who was a remarkable orator, great rhetorician, and a well-educated, fine lawyer, noted in his diary, "I found that I began speaking in a more gruff tone. With every interchange in which his softness was shown, I felt that I needed to meet it with sterner words." You can almost see this incredibly articulate Patrick Henry beginning the conversation in high tones and by the end of the conversation going, *Look here, buddy, I ain't takin' no more of this stuff. I tell you what, I'm an American. I'm an American, through and through. I bleed red, white, and blue. Don't you mess with me or I'll knock your silly little sissy butt right on the ground.* This was Patrick Henry.

George Grenville

❖ 1763: *Prime Minister; First Lord of the Treasury*

In 1763, George III appointed a new prime minister, George Grenville. He was also the first Lord of the Treasury, and Grenville was shocked to discover that, following the French and Indian Wars in the American theater and the rest of the Seven Years' War with the French, following this long period of two hundred fifty years of warfare, the British crown was now £130,000,000 in debt. He began to look for ways to increase the revenue of the Crown.

❖ 1764: *Currency Act and Sugar Act*

In 1764, he passed the Currency Act and the Sugar Act. The Currency Act essentially abolished all forms of exchange except for the monetary exchange notes of the Crown. In other words, he gave the monopoly of exchange to the Crown. Now this is something that we're quite accustomed to, because of course our means of exchange is monopolized by a federally mandated, semi-private bank called the Federal Reserve. But this was pretty much an anomaly, particularly in the Americas. There were letters of credit, checks, and various other forms of exchange that were created by banks, trade guilds, smaller associations, towns, and principalities, even by the colonies themselves. So there was a wide diversity and an open freedom in the mechanism of exchange. There was no monopoly in the way exchanges were to be handled, especially in the colonies. But with the Currency Act, that was all banned, instantly, overnight. All those traditional methods of exchange were suddenly banished. All transactions, including barter transactions, had to be registered and were taxed. That meant that when Farmer Brown, who every spring traded half the meat from one cow for all the springtime eggs from Farmer Jones, that exchange was no longer a free and open exchange. They had to register it, and it was taxed.

In addition, there was a new level of duties, a series of taxes on imports and exports, on sugar, coffee, wine, and textiles. At the same time, the taxes or duties on molasses, which were widely ignored in the Americas, were lowered but now were to be enforced.

Here's the real clincher: instead of trying cases of violations of these new currency standards and exchange standards and violations of the tax laws in the regular courts, Grenville introduced standards that would require that all economic crimes be tried in the Admiralty courts. The Admiralty courts did not have judges and juries. Instead, they had panels appointed directly by the king and Parliament. So there was no real system of justice, simply an administration of bureaucracy.

The Americans rightly saw this as the removal of their right to a trial by jury if accused of a crime. They rightly saw this as an abrogation of the rule of law because in the Admiralty courts, whatever the Admiralty says is the law, no matter what laws might exist on the books. It was an imposition of economic and judicial tyranny.

❖ *1765: The Stamp Act*

As you can imagine the Currency Act and the Sugar Act created a tremendous uproar and a great deal of resistance. But this was quickly followed by the Stamp Act in 1765. The Stamp Act essentially said that every newspaper, every letter, every diploma, and every deck of playing cards had to be licensed, and taxes had to be paid on each of these items as they were produced and as they were delivered. As we've seen, there was a thriving publishing industry in the American colonial dominions, and now a huge portion of their profit margin was removed. More importantly, there was a mechanism for control and censorship because the Stamp Act not only levied taxes, it was the prerogative of the Admiralty panels that oversaw the giving of these licenses. There was the prerogative of denying, even through payment, these stamps to be given. So it was a way to censor. By the way, whenever you buy a deck of playing cards to this day, you will see that little red stamp at the top, the little seal that you have to break. It's a funny looking stamp. That's a holdover from the old Stamp Act. It's no longer a law, it's now a tradition, but that's where that came from. The Stamp Act was hugely unpopular, not only because it affected the economy, but because now Americans could see that this tyranny was creeping into the realm of censorship, the reduction of free speech — the opportunity to lift up protests. Several newspapers were closed down by the authorities because they could not obtain proper licensing. Now the government was not only running the economy, it was determining what information could or could not go out by both the limitations of economics and by the limitations of permission. The Americans absolutely went berserk.

❖ *1765: The Quartering Act*

But that was not the worst of it. Later that same year, Grenville passed the Quartering Act. The Quartering Act stipulated that any unoccupied building that remained unoccupied for more than thirty days within the colonial dominions could be commandeered by the British military in order to house troops. That meant that if you owned rental properties, if you had built four houses in the city of Boston and you lived in one and rented out the other three and that's how you made a living — perhaps one of them was an inn and two others were private residences — it meant that, if you were going to spend some time renovating one of those buildings or if you wanted to add onto it and therefore there were no tenants in it for more than thirty days, that building could be immediately commandeered and possessed by the British military. You didn't receive any rent. You didn't receive any compensation. You simply had your property commandeered in order to house the military. Parliament justified this simply by saying that the military was there for the protection of the colonials. It was a service that was being rendered to them. The problem was that this was selective. It removed private property rights, and once again it diminished the value of those private properties that were still held in private hands because now the security of private property was no longer sure or secure.

George Grenville did not last long in his office. He died at the age of forty-one, but the standard had been established for the way that the British economy and colonial rule would be run.

Resistance

As a result, real resistance began to emerge in the American dominions.

❖ *1765: Stamp Act Congress*

In 1765, a number of representatives from nine of the twenty-one colonies gathered in October in New York City. There they met and pledged themselves as loyal subjects of both Crown and Parliament, but pledged themselves to resist the Stamp Act. They began to circulate among the legislatures protests and purposeful plans on how to evade the impact and the enforcement of the Stamp Act. It was, in the eyes of Crown and Parliament, an act of insurrection and rebellion, even though they said at the beginning of the Congress, *We're loyal subjects. We want to submit to the rule of law, but when laws are unlawful, it's the duty of the citizen to resist that unlawfulness for the sake of his community, of his children, and of his grandchildren.* It was at the Stamp Act Congress that they first began to give voice to the idea that to resist a tyrant is to obey God.

❖ *1765: Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty*

That same year, a small businessman from the city of Boston, well connected with the Quincy and the Adams families, Samuel Adams, who was then a small time brewmaster and legislator in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, gathered together a group of friends. They called themselves the Sons of Liberty. They initiated what they called Committees of Correspondence. The purpose of the Sons of Liberty and the Committees of Correspondence was to consciously resist all efforts at tyranny, to create active protests, to intimidate the tax collectors, and communicate their ideas and all their acts of resistance to others in the other colonies.

Samuel Adams was a pretty remarkable man. He was the first person in American history to be called a fire-breather. It would be a term that would later be used in the American War Between the States for anyone who took a radical and unbending stand. Samuel Adams was a fire-breather for liberty. He desired that the freedoms that the Puritan forefathers had fought for and established would long endure and become a legacy for an emerging people and culture. He was a strong and bold leader and gathered around himself a number of really brilliant and quite ardent followers. They would play an important role in the downfall of the Admiralty courts in the colonial realm.

❖ *1766: The Declaratory Act*

At about this time, the Marquis of Rockingham became the new prime minister. Realizing that the American colonials, especially those where the Sons of Liberty and the Committees of Correspondence were active, were on the verge of open rebellion, he repealed the Stamp Act, recognizing that it was, in fact, a terrible failure. Grenville had promised that the Stamp Act would produce a tremendous new flow of revenue back to Parliament and Crown. In fact, it had only increased the treasury's debt and had thrown the whole British economy into a real crisis. So he abolished the Stamp Act.

But, in 1766, he passed something called the Declaratory Act. In America, not much attention was given to this because everybody was so happy that they'd won the big battle over the Stamp Act. This is something that must always be learned. When you're dealing with tyrannical systems, there is this remarkable tendency of tyrants to pull a little political ploy called bait and switch. You give everybody something that they really, really, really want. Meanwhile, behind the scenes, you undermine that and everything else at a much more horrific rate. Because everybody is so happy about this little thing over here, they don't notice this big thing over there. The Declaratory Act was a huge bait and switch. Essentially the Declaratory Act stipulated that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies in all matters with no representation. It was the end of the rule of law and the imposition of the rule of men.

Charles Townshend

He was not a long-lived prime minister, either. William Pitt was elevated to the prime ministership in 1767, although he was so ill that he allowed his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, to do most of the work of the prime minister. Pitt was only a prime minister in name.

❖ *1767: The Townshend Duties*

In 1767, the Chancellor of the Exchequer passed through Parliament something called the Townshend Duties, new taxes on glass, paper, lead, and tea. Again, the new taxes were not that much. It really wasn't that huge of a burden on the economy. The problem was the way it was done. It was done in a way that bypassed all the normal legal processes. There was no mechanism for appeal. There was no opportunity for the Americans who received the full weight of these taxes to respond to them. It was simply sent down from above. Now the Americans realized the power of the Declaratory Act, and they realized that the rule of law was gone.

It was that same year, in 1767, in September, because of resistance to the Declaratory Act and these new Townshend Acts, that the Massachusetts Legislature sent out a circular to all the other legislatures, to the House of Burgesses in Virginia, to the lower parliament in Vermont, to all the other legislatures in the twenty-one colonies, calling upon them to resist the Townshend Acts and to demand that the Declaratory Act be removed on the basis that it was a violation of English common law and a violation of the rule of law. The response of the king was immediate. He dispatched troops from Nova Scotia to the city of Boston and demanded that the legislators there in Boston rescind their decree. The legislative powers voted ninety-eight to fourteen *not* to rescind their decree and to send a stronger plea to all the other colonial legislatures.

❖ *1767: Boston Troop Quartering*

The result was that the king demanded that troops be quartered in the city of Boston and the quartering was to be done in any available beds or bedrooms, meaning that British troops were dispatched into neighborhoods. They went looking for places to stay and often displaced family members, so that troops would take over whole bedrooms and, in some cases, whole houses. Thus the city of Boston was essentially occupied by the troops.

❖ *1768: Non-Importation Agreement*

In 1768, in response to this, the Americans decided that they would enter into a non-importation agreement. They would no longer buy goods from England and bring them to the colonies, which would devastate the economy of Britain. That does not mean that the Americans were able to produce everything they needed. There was a sudden surge in the creation of cabinet shops and furniture shops and cobblers and everything else in order to meet the demand of the American colonies, given the fact that these things could not be imported anymore from the mother country. In addition, piracy became a vital part of the American economy. Remarkably innovative and entrepreneurial men like John Hancock put together shipping consortiums to bring in those goods and services which could be sold to the American colonials from other sources than the British, the mother country. This then elicited a response from Parliament saying that the Americans could not trade with the French, the Spanish, the Spanish dominions in the Caribbean, or anybody else. They could only trade with the British.

❖ *1768: Sons of Liberty Boycott*

This created a backlash, and the Sons of Liberty organized a systematic boycott across the whole of the colonies of all British-made goods. They simply would not buy any of the products. This is the backdrop of the Boston

Tea Party, and this is why English tea was sitting on the docks and nobody was buying it and why it was that the Sons of Liberty dressed as Indians and threw that tea into the harbor as a demonstration that they would not participate in this tyrannical system any longer.

❖ *1770: Boston Massacre*

In March of 1770, problems escalated all the more. British troops were greatly resented in the city of Boston. They were constantly heckled and jeered by the citizens of Boston. One snowy evening, March 5, 1770, a British century on the docks of Boston Harbor was being heckled and jeered by a small crowd of dock hands and thugs who had been out at the pubs a little too late and had a little too much of Sam Adams's best brew. Things tended to get a little out of hand when these sorts of confrontations occurred, so the century called for some backup. His commander dispatched several other guards to come and join him. When he did that, several of the pubs that were lined up along the docks emptied out as American dock hands began to realize that a little fun might be had on this snowy March evening. They gathered around and started shouting and screaming. Somebody started picking up some of the snow and lobbing snowballs at the Redcoats, who were of course called lobster backs as a derogatory term. The commander dispatched more troops to gather around and take a stand. They lined up and held their muskets menacingly, but the American crowd threw all the more. Word got down to the end of King Street, where one of the largest taverns emptied out, and this former slave by the name of Crispus Attucks came charging out. He was, by all accounts, a big man with massive shoulders and massive arms, working as a stevedore on the docks; he was ripped. He was also a little tipped. He'd had a bit too much ale that evening and was in a frisky mood, shall we say. He charged to the front of the crowd and enjoyed seeing the lobster backs getting plunked with snowballs, but thought that that was a little too wimpy. So he made himself a snowball with a rock in the middle, hurled it at one of the centuries, split open his forehead, then picked up a club, and started to charge toward the men menacingly. Accounts differ as to exactly what happened next, but apparently Crispus was able to lay into one of the centuries, and the century's musket went off, perhaps accidentally, perhaps not. Before you knew it, all the other troops were firing with fear. When the smoke cleared, five Americans lay dead, six others wounded, and the Boston Massacre was now history.

Lord North

❖ *1768: Reimposition of the Tea Tax*

You can imagine British troops quartered in British homes, shooting into a mob of angry American dockhands would send shudders throughout all of the colonial dominions. The next of the prime ministers attempted to bring order. He lifted most of the duties but reimposed the tea tax.

❖ *1769: Enter John Hancock*

In 1769, an entrepreneur who had been in the rum running business and the molasses smuggling business, a kind of American pirate by the name of John Hancock, began to write and issue forth with speeches about the importance of liberty and the rule of law for the maintenance of a stable economy.

❖ *1770: Enter John Dickinson*

Within the next year, John Dickinson began to write his famous letters of freedom in American newspapers.² Rhetoric began to build all across the Americas. In England, they still thought that the fight was all about money,

² *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, included in the literature list. See Appendix A.

so they tried to adjust their decrees accordingly, but that only made the Americans madder because the point for the Americans was not the money. It was the fact that Parliament was doing whatever it wanted to with laws, without precedent, without consultation, and without representation. There was no due process. There was no freedom, therefore law was a farce. It was whatever those in London wanted to impose upon everybody else. And the law could change from day to day.

First there was a Stamp Act; then there wasn't a Stamp Act. First there were Townshend Acts, and then there weren't Townshend Acts. There was a Declaratory Act; then there wasn't a Declaratory Act. There was a tea tax; then there wasn't a tea tax, then there was a tea tax.

What is the law? How could they know how to live? How do you build a business when everything changes constantly? How are you supposed to know whether or not the house you built and that you've lived in for the last fourteen years really is your house? How do you know whether or not the business you started in the bottom as a greengrocer for your children to inherit — how do you know that they're actually going to be able to inherit it if the law changes every single day? If the government decides one day we're going to license playing cards and the next they we're going to license newspapers and the next day we're going to license silverware, pewterware, and glassware, how do you know? "That's not law. That's tyranny," they said.

The amazing part was they wanted to be loyal to the system that had brought the freedom and the opportunity, that had birthed the prosperity that they had known. They wondered how it was that their government had left them. They didn't want to rebel. They wanted to restore. They were reluctant to raise their voices because their real desire was to go back to doing what the Puritans, the Covenanters, the Pilgrims, and the settlers had always done — mind their businesses, raise their children, tend their gardens, and follow their callings.

Because the rule of law had been abrogated, all that was in jeopardy. The Americans were not revolutionaries. They were the conservatives. They wanted to preserve the order. They felt like the revolutionaries were sitting in Parliament, erasing the gains of the Magna Carta, the Arbroath Declaration, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the Constitution,³ and the establishment of all of the charters, of the Mayflower Compact, of the city set on the hill. That gave rise to the American War of Independence.

I want you to notice something here. If you look at this just on the surface, it looks like it's just about money, economics. But ideas have consequences, and when they have consequences, often they have consequences in areas where you don't expect them. By messing with the economy, apart from the standard of the rule of law, they erased the dependability of law at all. Thus they erased the possibility of a stable, vital, free culture. This is as true today as it was back then.

Perhaps the lessons that we learn from this are even more relevant today than they were then.



³ Here, Dr. Grant does not refer to the U.S. Constitution. Historians regularly refer to either "English common law" or the "Constitution of English Order." These were the basis of the British system — and though written, they were a body of works, court precedents, and Parliamentary procedures rather than a single document. *Ed.*

Father, I pray that we would learn from the courage and the steadfastness of men and women who stood by principle rather than expediency. When it would have been far more comfortable, far easier for them to simply comply, they stood for principles. Those principles became the foundations of our freedoms today. We thank you for their courage, for their willingness to speak, for their willingness to act, for men like Samuel Adams, who, because of his Christian principles, knew that he could not simply be quiet, who knew that he could not simply stand idly by, who called together a band of brothers, the Sons of Liberty, who said that what is wrong must be declared to be wrong. Justice is preserved in just such a way. For men like Crispus Attucks, who, even in his brawling, provided a pathway for African Americans to become heroes in the new land, that would become America. For all of these lessons, we praise you and thank you. In Jesus' name, Amen

Lesson 13

*Reluctant Revolutionaries:
The Surprising Stirrings of an
American Reformation*

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Ratification Debate; Citizen, the Suffrage, and “The Tyranny of the Majority”

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 153–165

Lesson Synopsis

A fairytale is never the story of extraordinary men of extraordinary talents and extraordinary means overcoming the dragon or the giant or the monster. What makes a fairytale great is when the weakling, the fool, the cast-off, the neglected one rises to the occasion and does what he could not ever imagine that he could do, what no one could imagine that he could do, in standing and slaying the dragon, the giant, the monster. That’s really the story of all the patriots.

Opportunity

6

Lesson Topics

Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, Charles Carroll, Samuel Chase, George Clymer, John Dickinson, Benjamin Franklin, Elbridge Gerry, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Harrison, Rufus King, John Marshall, George Mason, Gouverneur Morris, Robert Morris, Charles Pinckney, Charles Thomson, Edmund Randolph, John Adams, John Hancock, Henry Laurens, James Wilson, Roger Sherman

Primary Source Material

Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer, by John Dickinson; “Speech in the Virginia Convention” March 23, 1775, by Patrick Henry (“Give Me Liberty”); First Bill of Rights (1776)

Vocabulary

subvert, abrogate, arbitrary, capricious, supra-legal, conservative, archipelago, sunder, orator, ideological, whig, raucous, tumult, aspiration, reticence, recourse, insurrection, articulate, transcend, charter, mitigate, expound, exaction, stalwart, nullify/nullification, resolution, initiate, delve, eloquent, enunciation, throes, bereavement, formidable, irresolution, supinely, preside, vigilant, election, inevitable, extenuate, consensus, tract, gerrymander, lofty, infrastructure

Timeline

- ❖ 1763: The Parsons' Cause argued by Patrick Henry
- ❖ 1765: Stamp Act Resolutions Pass
- ❖ 1770: Boston Massacre
- ❖ 1772: Declaration of Colonial Rights
- ❖ 1773: Committees of Correspondence formed.
- ❖ 1773: Boston Tea Party
- ❖ 1774: First Continental Congress
- ❖ 1775: Paul Revere's Ride
- ❖ 1775: "Give Me Liberty" Speech
- ❖ 1775: Second Continental Congress
- ❖ 1776: First Bill of Rights
- ❖ 1776: Declaration of Independence



Reluctant Revolutionaries: The Surprising Stirrings of an American Reformation

*"Our founding fathers were reluctant revolutionaries. They were conservative by nature. They exhausted every remedy to their grievances before ever resorting to war."
~John Quincy Adams*

*"There was no American Revolution; it was instead, a Great Reformation of Civil Liberty."
~Andrew Jackson*

As you can see, today we're getting into the meat and potatoes of what is commonly called the American War of Independence or the American Revolution. You'll immediately notice both from the title of the lecture and from these two quotations, one from Andrew Jackson and the other from his contemporary John Quincy Adams — both of whom were young men during the time of the War for Independence, both of whom later rose to prominence as great leaders of the second generation of American patriots — that they both saw the American War of Independence as anything but a revolution. They understood the worldview connotations of the ideas that separated revolution from reformation. They understood this in ways that even the founding patriots might not have because they had the ability to look back in hindsight on the differences between the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. That distinction dramatically changed the way they viewed their own American experience. We'll later see that Alexander Hamilton wrote extensively on the distinctions between the American experience and the French experience and that helped to shape the worldview of the second and third generation of American patriots. As early as John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, already these distinctions were being made. John Quincy Adams saying, "Our founding fathers were *reluctant* revolutionaries. They were conservative by nature. They exhausted every remedy to their grievances before ever resorting to war." Andrew Jackson, took it one step further, saying, "There was no American revolution it was instead a great reformation of civil liberty."

12 October

❖ *1960: Nikita Khrushchev pounded his shoe on the podium of the United Nations General Assembly.*

Today is Tuesday, October 12. It was on this day in the year 1960 that Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, angered by delegates refusing to vote on the Soviet draft Declaration against Colonialism, took off one of his shoes, pounded it on the desk of the U.N. podium in the great Secretariat Hall, and declared, “We will bury you.” How wrong he was.

❖ *1900: T.R. renamed the Executive Mansion, dubbing it the White House.*

It was also on this day in 1900 that the executive mansion in Washington, D.C., was renamed on a whim in a press conference by Teddy Roosevelt. Immediately, the nickname for the building caught on, and by the time of Harry Truman, it had become official. Ever after, the executive mansion was known as the White House — one more contribution of T.R. to our American political lexicon.

❖ *1870: Robert E. Lee died in Lexington, Virginia.*

In 1870, on this day, the scion of one of America’s most prominent founding families, Robert E. Lee, died in Lexington, Virginia, at age sixty-three.

❖ *1492: Columbus “discovered” America.*

It was on this day in 1492 that, early in the morning, Christopher Columbus left his command of the *Santa Maria* in a tiny skiff. A few yards from shore, he plunged into the shallows, collapsed on the beach, and, prostrate there on the tiny Guanahani Island of the Bahamian archipelago, he wept tears of joy, having crossed the Atlantic and discovered or, perhaps, we might say rediscovered, America.

❖ *732: Charles Martel stopped Muslim invaders in southern France between Poitiers and Tours.*

It was on this day in the year 732 that Charles Martel, the Mayor of the Palace of the Franks and a handful of his stalwart Merovingian knights engaged Islamic invaders between Poitiers and Tours in a battle that lasted several days. The Franks were on foot, while the Muslim army had a mighty cavalry. Units of the Franks routed the invaders, and, as a consequence, Europe was spared the terrible fate of the Christian lands of the Middle East and of North Africa. Europe would remain Christian territory. After beating back the Islamic horde, Charles Martel gained great prominence, and his descendants had tremendous influence over the history of Europe. Indeed his grandson became Charles the Great, better known as Charlemagne, emperor of the revived Holy Roman Empire.

❖ *451: The Fourth Ecumenical Council of the Church began in Chalcedon.*

It was on this day in 451 [FOOTNOTE: Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said that the Fourth Ecumenical Council began in 751 instead of the correct date of 451.] that the Fourth Ecumenical Council began in earnest after several days of ceremonial preliminaries in the town of Chalcedon just across the Bosphorus from Constantinople. The church had been gathering in these grand councils ever since the year 325 when the first ecumenical council had taken place in Niceæ to settle disputes over the nature of Christ. That council issued the Nicene Creed which was based largely on the Apostles’ Creed, agreeing that Christ was both man and God and that, as the Son of God, he had the same divine nature as the Father. The next two councils affirmed that truth, and now at this

fourth synodical meeting, nearly six hundred bishops once again debated the nature of the incarnation of Christ. Their final resolution was that Christ was 100% man and 100% God simultaneously, and that the two natures of Christ were without confusion, without conversion, without severance, and without division. This, many historians believe, laid the foundations for an understanding of Western civilization — the idea of the one and the many, coinciding in a single world, being co-equal, both natures functioning fully without confusion. It's a philosophical idea, but this philosophical idea in many ways did indeed lay the foundations for the West.

It's always interesting to me to survey a single day's history through the ages and see how the convergence of seemingly disparate ideas come together. Here we have the story in just this one day, October 12, of the founding of Western culture, the saving of Western culture, and the discovery of the future of Western culture. Then the great epics of the sundering of that culture — the Civil War — the establishing of that culture for modernity and the American century, and the great challenge that came ultimately from the Soviet Socialists and the Cold War, all summarized in a single episode: the story of October 12.

The Surprising Stirrings of an American Reformation in Civil Liberty

In many ways the story of American patriotism during the “great reformation of civil liberty,” as Andrew Jackson called it, is likewise a great summary. If you walk along the Freedom Trail in the city of Boston, you come to this rather imposing building. Back in colonial days, it was even more imposing, before the skyscrapers around it dwarfed it. It's the old South Meeting House. It was built in 1729 as a Congregational Church. It's one of my favorite spots along the Freedom Trail. I love taking people to it and telling the whole story of this remarkable building. It was the largest building in colonial Boston and often served as a kind of community gathering place whenever attendance grew too large for Faneuil Hall, another landmark building in Boston. The Old South Meeting House had hosted some of the greatest including the likes of George Whitefield. It was marked out for greatness from its earliest days. Town meetings were frequent at Old South especially in the years prior to the War for Independence.

The most famous meeting, of course, took place on December 16, 1773, when a local brewmaster and tavern owner, Samuel Adams, met with members of the Sons of Liberty and several of the surreptitious Committees of Correspondence to consider a new royal tax on tea. After the meeting, several of the citizen patriots disguised themselves as Indians. They left Old South for the waterfront where they boarded three ships and dumped their cargoes of tea into the harbor — the Boston Tea Party, Samuel Adams later dubbed it. He was great at these sort of bumper-sticker phrases, which is one of the reasons he was such a stirring orator. He was the guy who came up with the name for the Boston Massacre some three years earlier. The Boston Tea Party caused the English Parliament to close the port of Boston, bringing the country one step closer to armed rebellion.

Samuel Adams was the most unlikely of all the patriot leaders. According to G.K. Chesterton, “The real hero is not he who is so bold as to fulfill predictions, but rather he who is so bold as to falsify them.”¹ By all accounts, Samuel Adams was a real hero, but he upended every expectation, confounded every prophecy, and falsified

¹ *What's Wrong with the World?*, 1910

every prediction about himself. Thus he laid enduring foundations of greatness in his own life and in his beloved nation.

To begin with, he was the most unlikely leader that you could ever imagine coming out of Boston, as was the case with several of his other fellow patriots — Patrick Henry, John Hancock, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, James Iredell, Henry Laurens, Samuel Chase, and John Dickinson. He was, like them, profoundly conservative. By conservative, I don't mean that he had an ideological inclination toward right-wing politics, I mean truly conservative. He wasn't ideological at all. He just wanted to mind his own business, focus on his family, tend his garden, and brew his beer. He wanted to focus on his life. He was loathe to indulge in any kind of radicalism that might erupt into violence — rhetorical, political, or martial. Indeed, he was a faithful heir of the settled, colonial, Yankee gentry. He was devoted to conventional Whig principles — the rule of law, *noblesse oblige*,² another term for chivalry; unswerving honor; squiry superintendence and the maintenance of corporate order, a tranquil, serene, and settled society, free of the raucous upsets and tumults of agitation, activism, and unrest. He hated politics, which is precisely why he was so effective when he was forced into political action. He would later oppose most politicians on the basis of the fact that they were politicians and had political aspirations. He said never trust one of those sorts of men, never, never, never. What a motto! Late in life, he said, "Any man who desires to be president is not qualified simply on the basis of his desire."

Adams overcame his initial reticence to squabble with the Crown because he realized that the time had come when liberty was at risk at every turn. He desired to exhaust every recourse to law before any of them ever entertained the idea of a resort to armed resistance. For more than a decade, he supported the innumerable appeals, suits, and petitions which colonial leaders sent to both Parliament and king. Even after American blood had been spilled, he refrained from embracing impulsive insurrection.

He was, at best, a reluctant revolutionary. When he did finally throw in his lot with the rebellion in what became the American War of Independence, he became freedom's most articulate champion. What was it that caused him to overcome his native conservatism? By his own account, it was his traditionalism. It wasn't that somehow he'd been moved away from his conservatism. It was that the agitations of Crown and Parliament had actually made him more conservative and less political than ever before. His commitment to those lasting things that transcend the ever-shifting tides of situation and circumstance drove him to action. He urged his fellow patriots to fight against king and motherland in order to preserve everything that king and motherland were supposed to represent. He believed that the revolution had been launched by Parliament, not by the patriots. He asserted that only a grave responsibility which the leaders of the colonial settlements held to God and their fellow countrymen could possibly compel the peace-loving people of America to fight.

He believed that the combined tyranny of economic mercantilism — the politicization of matters of commerce — and legislative despotism — the politicization of matters of conscience — had assured that an appeal to arms and the God of hosts was all that was left to them. It was appallingly evident to him that the colonial charters had been subverted or even abrogated and that, therefore, their citizenship rights according to English common law had been violated, that freedom of religious practice and moral witness had been curtailed. Thus, the rule of the colonies became arbitrary and capricious. It had become supra-legal and therefore intolerable. Under such circumstances a holy duty demanded a holy response. Adams's reluctant conclusion was that ideological and

² *Noblesse oblige* is a French term which literally means "nobility obliges" and refers to the responsibilities of the nobility to those of lower stations.

political encroachments upon the whole of society could no longer be ignored. That opinion was shared by most of the other great leaders, but most of all it was shared by the pulpits all across the land including the pulpit of Old South. The very conservative, colonial pastors did not set out to “stir up strife or political tumult at the cost of the proclamation of the gospel,” as Charles Laine of Savannah³ put it. On the other hand, “the gospel naturally mitigates against lawless tyranny in whatever form it may take,” said Ebenezer Smith of Lowell. As Charles Turner of Duxbury asserted, “The Scriptures cannot be rightly expounded without explaining them in a manner friendly to the cause of freedom.” Thus, “Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty”⁴ became one of the favorite pastoral texts, as was “Ye shall know the truth and it shall make you free,”⁵ and “Take away your exactions from my people says the Lord God.”⁶ This is what was preached Sunday by Sunday from the pulpit, and amazingly there was not one there who said, *Whoa, whoa, whoa! What are you doing mixing the gospel with politics?* Because they understood that if Jesus Christ is Lord, he is Lord of Cæsar, as well as of sons and daughters, that if Jesus Christ is Lord, he is Lord over the totality of life including over the totality of totalitarianism.

It was in that vein that Samuel Adams acted. He was not a firebrand in the old Enlightenment-style of rhetoric. He had no passion for political upheaval and no restless vision for social reform. Instead, what Samuel Adams wanted more than anything else was his life back. He knew that if the tyrants continued their exactions, no one would be able to have their lives back, and that was worth risking your life for. In the end, he was forced to arms by a recognition of the fact that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. Thus was birthed an unflinching stalwartness, and an unlikely hero was born. He wasn't a politician; he wasn't a speech-maker. He was a husband, a father, a business-owner, who realized that if he did not act, he would have to answer to God. He asked himself simply this question: if not us, then whom? If not now, then when?

His story is almost remarkable in that, in almost all of the events that unfolded from 1763 all the way through to the Declaration of Independence in 1776, either he or his dear friend and fellow compatriot from the Virginia colony, Patrick Henry, had a hand.

❖ 1763: *The Parsons' Cause is Argued*

In 1763, Patrick Henry argued the Parsons' Cause. Essentially, it was a case of nullification, arguing that Parliament did not have the legal right, in accord with English common law, to nullify duly-enacted laws of the colonies. It had to do with pay for preachers, but the essence of it, for Patrick Henry, was what is law and who makes it? Is law some legal wrangling, some trick, some parliamentary ploy foisted upon the people? Or does it arise from the desires of the governed?

³ Charles Laine of Savannah was the pastor of Ebenezer Presbyterian Church and a prominent leader of the clergy in Georgia.

⁴ II Corinthians 3:17

⁵ John 8:32

⁶ Ezekiel 45:9

- ❖ *1765: Stamp Act Resolutions Pass*
- ❖ *1770: Boston Massacre*
- ❖ *1772: Declaration of Colonial Rights*
- ❖ *1773: Committees of Correspondence*
- ❖ *1773: Boston Tea Party*

In 1765, Samuel Adams helped draft the Stamp Act Resolutions, which were passed in nine of the thirteen colonial legislatures. Samuel Adams named the Boston Massacre in 1770. Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, working together, along with several other patriots, created the Declaration of Colonial Rights. Samuel Adams initiated the Committees of Correspondence in 1773, along with many other friends that he drew in, including Patrick Henry. In 1773, Samuel Adams masterminded the ploy of the Boston Tea Party.

- ❖ *1774: First Continental Congress*
- ❖ *1775: Paul Revere's Ride*

Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry helped to call together the first Continental Congress in 1774. Paul Revere rode on that fateful night before Lexington and Concord, declaring to all the militias along the way from Boston to the hinterlands that the Redcoats were coming, the Redcoats were coming, precisely because John Hancock and Samuel Adams needed to be protected.

- ❖ *1775: "Give Me Liberty" Speech*
- ❖ *1775: Second Continental Congress*
- ❖ *1776: First Bill of Rights*
- ❖ *1776: Declaration of Independence*

Patrick Henry delivered the great "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" speech before the House of Burgesses, meeting just outside Richmond in the St. John's Parish in 1775. Both Adams and Henry contributed to the Second Continental Congress. Henry and Adams together worked on forging the first Bill of Rights in 1776 and, of course, they were stalwart supporters of the Declaration in 1776.

Patrick Henry, like Samuel Adams, was an unlikely American hero, although he did delve into politics — he was the first governor of the state of Virginia and member of the first Continental Congress, but it was for his extraordinary power of oratory that he is best remembered.

His "Give Me Liberty" speech, delivered at Richmond's historic St. John's Church the year before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, remains one of the most passionate and eloquent enunciations of the American ideal ever delivered. It was a fiery call to arms that caused an immediate and rousing reaction, but what has generally been neglected by historians in studying the period is the fact that Henry was in the throes of an aching grief at the time that he issued his famous clarion call. Less than thirty days prior to the assembly in 1775, Henry's beloved wife, Sarah, died after a short illness. Henry's grief was so deep that he confided to his family physician that he was a distraught old man and was not certain he would breathe another day. His bereavement was smothering. Indeed, many of his fellow delegates to the Virginia convention, including President Peyton Randolph, questioned whether he was fit to attend the deliberations of the government. No doubt, they were all

stunned when he arrived to take his seat among the other burgesses. Then, on the second day of the meeting when he arose and began to speak, the hall fell utterly quiet.

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. The millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable — and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.”

As he said those words the first time, there was a stirring in the room. A few raised a muffled clamor. *What? What is he saying?* To which Henry replied,

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace — but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? 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!

The room was utterly silent for about four heartbeats. His words hung in the air, and then suddenly every man rose from his place and cried, “Huzzah! Huzzah!” They didn’t want war. They wanted their lives back. They didn’t want to take up arms, they wanted to take up their freedoms. They understood that, in this poor, fallen world, often you have to fight for what’s right, you have to risk for what is good and true, and if you don’t, those things will vanish and only the whimpering will remain.

America's Reluctant Founding Fathers in the Great Reformation of Civil Liberty

Adams and Henry were part of an extraordinary generation. We look back on the patriots now and we think, *What giants these men were!* And, in some ways, they were indeed giants, but they were giants precisely because they foiled the prophecies, they frustrated the expectations, they became what they were not natively capable of being. They weren’t a generation of supermen, they were a generation of ordinary men. G.K. Chesterton said that that’s what makes a fairytale great. A fairytale is never the story of extraordinary men of extraordinary talents

and extraordinary means overcoming the dragon or the giant or the monster. What makes a fairytale great is when the weakling, the fool, the cast-off, the neglected one rises to the occasion and does what he could not ever imagine that he could do, what no one could ever imagine that he could do, in standing and slaying the dragon, the giant, the monster. That's really the story of all the patriots.

In *The Patriot's Handbook*, you've got a few lists of them. When you read their stories there, they are most remarkable for how unremarkable most of these men were.

❖ *Peyton Randolph, Virginia (1723–1775)*

Peyton Randolph of Virginia was the consensus leader of the First and the Second Continental Congresses, a man of stalwart standing, a man that people like George Mason, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson looked to as their mentor. But, in fact, Peyton Randolph was a quiet-spoken man, settled in his little townhouse in Williamsburg, managing a handful of farm properties for his family. His great desire throughout the whole course of his life was simply to be left alone with his seeds, his crops, and his family.

❖ *Charles Carroll, Maryland (1737–1832)*

Charles Carroll was one of the great landholders in the New World from Maryland. He was the leader of the Catholic settlement in Maryland and thus was somewhat of an outcast in colonial society though he'd made much of himself. He was the only Roman Catholic who actually signed the Declaration of Independence. He was a very unlikely hero who rose to become one of the great stalwarts of the patriot movement.

❖ *Samuel Chase, Maryland (1741–1811)*

Samuel Chase, also of Maryland, eventually became a Supreme Court justice.

❖ *George Clymer, Pennsylvania (1739–1813)*

George Clymer was a man from Pennsylvania, best-known for his prowess as a banker.

❖ *John Dickinson, Pennsylvania (1732–1808)*

John Dickinson of Delaware and of Pennsylvania — back in those days you could actually hold office in both states at the same time — is known as the Penman of the Revolution. He wrote the famous series of tracts entitled "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer". He'd never written anything in his life until the time came for the cause of freedom to be put forward. A remarkable, unlikely hero.

❖ *Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania (1706–1790)*

Benjamin Franklin was a part of the pull-yourself-up-by-your-own-bootstraps establishment and really saw his role as cozying up to the British. He opposed the rebellion of the colonies early on. He was a free thinker and a deist at a time when most of the other patriots were faithful biblical Christians, and yet somehow the cause of liberty transformed this man, so that he became the friend and publisher of George Whitfield and, despite being a free thinker and a bit of a rogue all his life, was the one who called the Constitutional Convention to prayer as an old man.

❖ *Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts (1744–1814)*

Elbridge Gerry from Massachusetts was one of those few true politicians who was involved in the patriots' cause. In fact, he was a bit of a scandalous politician, and yet, somehow, instead of playing the game of politics, he threw in his lot with the patriots and became one of the great champions of liberty. After independence, he returned to his old political ways. In fact, he was involved in this peculiar redistricting plan in Massachusetts. He created a district that would be safe for his political party which many looked at and said, *It makes no geographical sense whatsoever, and it looks more like a salamander than it does a congressional district.* One cartoonist had fun with this and took the idea of the salamander and Elbridge Gerry's name and called it a gerrymander, and we've had *gerrymandering* as a political term ever since.

❖ *Alexander Hamilton, New York (1755–1804)*

Alexander Hamilton from New York was not a native-born American. He was actually born in the Caribbean isles. He was an orphan and by all accounts an abused child, but he rose in prominence because of his great brilliance. At length, he became one of George Washington's most trusted advisors. In fact, virtually all of George Washington's most famous speeches were written by Alexander Hamilton.

❖ *Benjamin Harrison, Virginia (1726–1791)*

Benjamin Harrison was a Virginia landholder and one of those remarkable family men who nurtured in his sons and grandsons a great vision of preserving liberty. His son and his great-grandson both became presidents of the United States.

❖ *Rufus King, Massachusetts (1755–1827)*

Rufus King of Massachusetts was the author of the Northwest Ordinance. He ran for vice-president twice, president once, and was America's greatest champion against slavery in the earliest days of the Republic.

❖ *John Marshall, Virginia (1755–1835)*

John Marshall from Virginia rose from being a planter to become a Supreme Court justice.

❖ *George Mason, Virginia (1725–1792)*

George Mason was a mentor to George Washington and Thomas Jefferson and a friend of Peyton Randolph. He was also one of the great champions against what he called "the despicable and vile institution of slavery".

America's Reluctant Founding Fathers

❖ *Gouverneur Morris, New York (1752–1816)*

Gouverneur Morris of New York penned some of the most remarkable and enduring words of the era. It was Gouverneur Morris who wrote, "We, the people, in order to form a more perfect union". He actually wrote most of what became the Constitution of the United States. But, like Dickinson, he was not a writer, he wasn't widely published. He was driven to words and these lofty ideals by the circumstances of the moment.

❖ *Robert Morris, Pennsylvania (1734–1806)*

Robert Morris of Pennsylvania was one of only two men who signed the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution.

❖ *Charles Pinckney, South Carolina (1757–1824)*

Charles Pinckney was a South Carolina planter. I should make note of the fact that there were two Charles Pinckneys. One is best known as Charles Coatsworth Pinckney and the other just Charles Pinckney. In fact, both of them were named Charles Coatesworth Pinckney, but I don't want to confuse you just because they were cousins, just because both they came from South Carolina, and just because they voted pretty much the same way on everything.

❖ *Charles Thomson, Pennsylvania (1729–1824)*

There was the remarkable presence of Charles Thompson of Pennsylvania, who was the secretary of the Continental Congress from the time of its first convening in 1774 all the way until its last meeting when the Congress dissolved itself in favor of the newly ratified Constitution in 1789. Virtually everything that we know of the minutes and the proceedings of the Continental Congress and the Articles Congress comes from the pen of this remarkable man. He never ran for political office.

❖ *Edmund Randolph, Virginia (1753–1813)*

Edmund Randolph, another of the Randolph clan from Virginia, was a planter, not a politician.

❖ *John Adams, Massachusetts (1735–1826)*

John Adams of Massachusetts got involved in politics like his cousin Samuel Adams, but John Adams's purpose in politics was to preserve that old Yankee legacy and to hold onto the principles of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He became one of the great stalwarts of the era.

❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*

John Hancock of Massachusetts was a pirate and a traitor. The fact that he rose to prominence went against all logic and principles. He had so much to risk.

❖ *Henry Laurens, South Carolina (1724–1792)*

Henry Laurens of Carolina was one of the great stalwarts of the South Carolina colony. It was assumed by Parliament that they would find friends in the Laurens family because they had so many commercial ties back to London. Laurens himself had gone to school in London.

❖ *James Wilson, Pennsylvania (1742–1808)*

James Wilson was from Pennsylvania and was originally born in Scotland, so he had no love of the English. He wrote the very first draft of the Constitution.

The Three Sons of Thunder

- ❖ *Samuel Adams, Massachusetts (1722–1803)*
- ❖ *Roger Sherman, Massachusetts (1721–1793)*
- ❖ *Patrick Henry, Virginia (1736–1799)*

And then, of course, there were the three sons of thunder: Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and Roger Sherman, who was the other man to sign the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. He also had his hand in the Bill of Rights and was a member of the committee for the drafting of all those documents.

Extraordinary, extraordinary individuals, but extraordinary precisely because they were so ordinary, and that's what you've got to understand about this epic struggle for liberty. There were no political parties. There were no standing armies. There was no structure for political union. There were no documents that bound the various colonies together. There were no central leaders. There was no ad campaign. They had none of the infrastructure of a modern movement. They were ordinary people who simply said, *Enough is enough. You will not have the legacy of our families, our settlements, and our communities. You will not have it at your whim. We will risk everything for its preservation.*

When I read about or write about some of the great heroes of this era, inevitably the response in my own heart or those who've read what I've written, inevitably the response is, *Oh, if we could just have men of substance and character like that today, what a difference it would make.* Of course, any one of these men could have looked out to the horizon waiting for that great champion to ride in on a white charger to save the day, but they didn't wait, as Patrick Henry said, for some day when they might be stronger because they knew that as every day passed, they could only grow weaker, be more bound, suffer the calamities of petty tyranny.

It's one of the things that historians often times look askance at. When you read just exactly what the Townshend Acts and the Stamp Act and all the acts the North Administration had imposed upon the colonial charters and merchants, it seems so petty. It was really nothing, absolutely nothing, compared to the kinds of shackles that we bear today. So what was it that stirred them up over pennies, that somehow cannot stir us over billions? They somehow had the foresight to realize the theft of pennies ultimately leads to the theft of billions and they would not wait for that day. So this unlikely band of men like Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams stood against the most powerful nation on the face of Europe with the largest economy, the strongest army, and the most powerful reach. They stood against them because of principle, come what may. They risked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor for principle. It's hard to find anyone, anywhere with that kind of courage today. May God have mercy on us.



Lord, we are so grateful that despite all the water that's under the bridge, we still do share some of the legacy left to us by these great stalwarts of the past. Would you somehow stir in us, by the spirit of liberty that same commitment to principle? Would you use these students and their families to bring about a new day? When winds from the north bring us the sounds of chains forged, would you cause us to rise, not out of ideological zeal but out of a commitment to life, faith, family, and

home, to risk our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor for that which is right and good and true? Use these students here for that purpose. For we pray it in Jesus' name, he who is the King of kings of the Lord of all lords. Amen.

Lesson 14

Covenant Lawsuit: The Declaration of Independence

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Role of Religion in the Constitution; The Presidency, Hamilton, and Public Finance

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 165–176

Lesson Synopsis

The Declaration of Independence is usually seen as a patently political maneuver by the founders, but for them it was far more than that.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

The Declaration of Independence, the first Continental Congress, starting in June 1774, the forgotten presidents

Primary Source Material

The Olive Branch Petition; the Declaration of Independence; *Common Sense*, by Thomas Paine

Vocabulary

recalcitrant, breach, appropriate, definitive, blithely, scion, dissolution, covenant, disquisition, federal, unassailable, sovereignty, jurisdiction, justice, fickle, interpose/interposition, benevolence, altruism, condescension, edict, ordinance, encroachment, autonomy, jeopardy, abrogate, arbitrary, relativism, partiality, inalienable, Cincinnati, republic

Timeline

- ❖ 1774, June: The First Continental Congress; Peyton Randolph elected president.
- ❖ 1775, April: Second Continental Congress
- ❖ 1775, May: Peyton Randolph re-Elected president.
- ❖ 1775, June: Sixty-nine Articles of War
- ❖ 1775, June: Commander in Chief Washington
- ❖ 1775, June: The Olive Branch Petition
- ❖ 1776, May: British Treaty with German States

- ❖ 1776, May: Richard Henry Lee proposed a covenant lawsuit be drafted against King and Parliament.
- ❖ 1776, July: The Declaration of Independence was approved.
- ❖ 1789: George Washington elected president under the current Constitution.



A Covenant Lawsuit: The Declaration of Independence

Good morning, everybody. It's good see all of you this morning. It's one of my favorite topics that we're going to talk about today, a mixture of some of the most remarkable stories of the American founding all woven together into a single mishmash. I normally separate what we're going to cover today into three separate lectures, so we've got a lot to cover, but I think it all fits together and so we should not have too much trouble.

Today we're going to be talking about the covenant lawsuit sequence of the American founders. It's not often described as this. The Declaration of Independence is usually seen as a patently political maneuver by the founders, but for them it was far more than that.

14 October

- ❖ *1066: William the Conqueror defeated King Harold at the Battle of Hastings.*
- ❖ *1322: Robert the Bruce defeated King Edward II.*
- ❖ *1529: Sultan Suleiman gave up his siege of Vienna.*
- ❖ *1531: Ulrich Zwingli was killed in battle.*
- ❖ *1933: Nazi Germany formally withdrew from the League of Nations.*
- ❖ *1947: Chuck Yeager broke the sound barrier.*
- ❖ *1964: Martin Luther King, Jr. won the Nobel Peace Prize.*

So, today all kinds of remarkable things occurred throughout the course of history, everything from the Battle of Hastings in 1066 to the great victory of Robert the Bruce in the pivotal battle of Scotland's independence, the Battle of Byland against Edward II. It was also the day in which the incredible victory in Vienna was won when Sultan Suleiman II gave up his siege of the city, thus saving the West. It was this day in 1531 when Ulrich Zwingli, the pastor of the church in Zurich, the prominent leader of the Reformation, was killed in the Battle of Capel as Catholic forces of the Hapsburgs laid siege on the city's defenses. It was on this day also in 1933 that Nazi Germany announced it was withdrawing from the League of Nations, really the first step toward impending war in World War II. It was on this day in 1947 that Chuck Yeager broke the sound barrier with the *XS-1*,¹ a United States Army rocket plane, in Muroc, California. It was on this day in 1964 that the youngest ever recipi-

¹ The XS-1 was later renamed the X-1, which is the name most people are familiar with. *Ed.*

ent of the Nobel Peace Prize, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., received the prize for his work in civil rights. He donated the entirety of the prize money — in those days it was \$54,000 — to further the cause for which he eventually gave his life.

A Covenant Lawsuit

But of all these events, perhaps the most significant occurred when Thomas Jefferson began working on a series of drafts for the causes of war between the mother country, Great Britain, and her American colonies.

These causes of war were not a declaration of independence. They were not intended to be, in any way, a series of articles of war, although articles of war would be drawn up almost a year later. Instead they were drafts of certain ideas that Jefferson had been working with as he heard the speeches of men like John Adams, Samuel Adams, and Patrick Henry. He wanted to sort out in his mind just what might be actual cause for war against the mother country. Those drafts would be woven into three vital documents that would shape the cause of the patriots in the earliest days of the great experiment in liberty that we call America.

So let's back up little bit. Before that October 1775 draft of Thomas Jefferson, there were a series of events. First of all, after Lexington and Concord, the Stamp Act, the Townshend Acts, the North Acts, and the Intolerable Acts, in 1774 a call went out largely from the Boston patriots who were then under siege, whose port had been occupied and shut down, and who were facing the occupation of homes by British troops — they called for delegates from all the other colonies to come together for a meeting to decide whether or not they had common cause against the British. As they gathered in the city of Philadelphia in June, 1774, they called themselves a Continental Congress. The delegates' first order of business was to elect various officers to direct the proceedings of the congress. Elected president was Peyton Randolph, the great stalwart of freedom from Virginia whose home you can visit whenever you go to Williamsburg to this day. Then a series of other officers were appointed. It very quickly became evident to all the delegates that there were really two parties, two lines of thought, in the Continental Congress.

One line of thought was led by the great patriot, John Dickinson. He believed that, because English common law called for the rule of law under which even king and Parliament must bend their knee, it was possible to make wise appeals back to the mother country and that until every one of those wise appeals was exhausted, no recourse to arms or rebellion should be taken. About half of the delegates agreed with Dickinson.

The other half of the delegates believed that Parliament and king had gone so far — as the shedding of blood in Boston, Lexington, and Concord demonstrated beyond any shadow of a doubt — that at this point war was inevitable. These delegates were led by John Adams.

They both argued their cases quite articulately, so that, at length, the Congress ended deadlocked — half the delegates believing that war was inevitable, and the other half believing it was still possible to make a wise appeal to the mother country and resolve the issues amicably, that English common law could pave a way for them to achieve peace, harmony, and prosperity.

The conflicts continued unabated between the mother country and the colonies, so, after Congress had broken up, they realized that they would have to reconvene. They did so at the end of April of 1775. As they gathered

together, they once again elected their delegates and once again they selected Peyton Randolph to preside over the proceedings as the executive officer and, for the first time, declared themselves not simply United Colonies but United States, thus making Peyton Randolph the first president of the United States, in May, 1775.

By June, those early notes of Thomas Jefferson had passed among many of the others, and they took one hundred one of his notes and boiled them down to sixty-nine articles of war, calling for the defense of the colonies. They then selected as the commander in chief of the defensive forces, George Washington.

Before committing themselves to war, John Dickinson once again persuaded the delegates, and with the support of President Peyton Randolph, they determined to send one more petition to the Crown and Parliament, the Olive Branch Petition, in July of 1775. This Olive Branch Petition essentially argued that all the differences between Crown and colonies could be resolved by the use of the common law of Great Britain. The response of the Crown, however, was that the colonies did not have the privileges of English common law because they were not English. They were colonies, they were possessions, they were land-grants, and therefore the rights of Englishmen did not apply to the colonials. By the next spring, Britain had determined to posture itself for war with its recalcitrant colonies.

Through a series of a treaty arrangements with various German states — remember that the king of England, George III, was a German; he came from Hanover, and his father, George II, didn't speak English, and his father before him, George I, hated England and spent most of his time back in his native Germany and so there were already German ties with the English Crown — a series of defensive and offensive treaties were signed with various German states, in which mercenaries would be deployed to the American colonial possessions. That was the breach that ended all possibility of peace between Crown and colonies.

Leading Up to the Declaration

What's interesting in the backdrop of all this and what's often neglected when we study American history is the whole idea of how American government was run from the time of June, 1774, all the way up to the time of the institution of the third Constitution of the United States, the Constitution that we presently have, in 1789. Ask anybody who the first president of the United States was, and their answer, of course, would be George Washington. *George Washington was the first president of the United States.* This is obviously true. Go to any American textbook — except mine, of course — and you will discover that George Washington was the first president, John Adams was the second president, Thomas Jefferson was the third president, James Madison was the fourth, and so on. This is just one of those two-plus-two-equals-four-obvious answers, except that it's false. George Washington didn't become president until 1789. The United States had a self-determining governance beginning in June of 1774, declared independence in July of 1776, appropriated various forms of government, had congressmen and delegates, and elected presidents for fifteen years before George Washington ever laid down his sword and came from Mount Vernon to take up the task of being the chief executive officer of the nation.

Congress

- ❖ *June 1774: First Continental Congress²*
- ❖ *April 1775: Second Continental Congress*
- ❖ *May 1775: Peyton Randolph Re-Elected*
- ❖ *June 1775: Sixty-nine Articles of War*
- ❖ *June 1775: Commander in Chief Washington*
- ❖ *July 1775: Olive Branch Petition*
- ❖ *May 1776: British Treaty with German States*

Lawsuit

- ❖ *May 1776: Richard Lee Proposes Lawsuit*
- ❖ *June 1776: Draft Committee Appointed*
- ❖ *July 1776: Independence*

President Peyton Randolph

He was, by far, the most popular political figure in all of Virginia, then the largest, wealthiest, and most influential of all the American colonies. He had already risked much for the cause of liberty. In addition, he was the most experienced diplomat, jurist, and legislator. It was only natural that he should be selected by acclamation, the first of our presidents.

~Thomas Jefferson

So, what did we do for those fifteen years? Well, we had presidents. Peyton Randolph, according to Thomas Jefferson, was, by far, the most popular political figure in all of Virginia. This is when George Washington wasn't really on the scene. Virginia, then the largest, wealthiest, and most influential of all the American colonies, had already risked much for the cause of liberty. He was the most experienced diplomat, jurist, and legislator. It was only natural that he should be selected by acclamation the first of our presidents.

The Forgotten Presidents

There were sixteen presidential administrations prior to that of George Washington. Each was led by an able President. Each made a significant contribution to the history of our nation. ~
John Quincy Adams

² The official date of the First Continental Congress is listed in the history books as 5 September through 26 October, 1774, however they actually began to meet in June. They didn't get a quorum of nine colonies until September. But, the congress had already been meeting for three months by then with representation from seven colonies — it was unofficial until they could get representatives from the other two colonies. *Ed.*

“There were sixteen presidential administrations prior to that of George Washington.” This is what John Quincy Adams said. Each led by an able president. Each made a significant contribution to the history of our nation. Technically, George Washington was the seventeenth president of the United States, although two of the prior presidents actually served two terms: Randolph and John Hancock, so you could say that George Washington was the fifteenth president of the United States, if you wanted to count it that way. But either way, he was a far cry from being first.

❖ *Peyton Randolph, Virginia (1723–1775)*

❖ *Henry Middleton, South Carolina (1717–1784)*

❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*

The first president of the United States was Peyton Randolph of Virginia. He was succeeded by Henry Middleton of South Carolina, who was succeeded by John Hancock of Massachusetts. Do you ever wonder why John Hancock's signature is so big, front and center on the Declaration of Independence? It's because he was president. He signed first.

❖ *Henry Laurens, South Carolina (1724–1792)*

❖ *John Jay, New York (1745–1829)*

❖ *Samuel Huntington, Connecticut (1732–1796)*

❖ *Thomas McKean, Delaware (1734–1817)*

❖ *John Hanson, Maryland (1715–1783)*

He was succeeded by Henry Laurens of South Carolina, who was succeeded by John Jay, the great jurist from New York and founder of the American Bible Society. He was succeeded by Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, who was succeeded by Thomas McKean of Delaware, who was succeeded by George Washington's neighbor who lived right across the Potomac — in fact, if George Washington ever had thrown a silver dollar, it would've landed on the property of John Hanson of Maryland. Elias Boudinot was the successor to John Hanson — by the way, it was John Hanson whom many call the first president of the United States because he was the first to serve under the new constitution, the Articles of Confederation. The old constitution was simply a compact called the National Covenant. The third constitution wouldn't come along, of course, until 1789.

❖ *Elias Boudinot, New Jersey (1741–1802)*

❖ *Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania (1744–1800)*

Elias Boudinot was succeeded by Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania, who was at the center of one of the most remarkable scenes in all of American history. The War for Independence was finally won, and George Washington, commander in chief now and hero of the nation, made his farewell at that famous scene in the pub in lower Manhattan. He then made his way to Philadelphia, where he was met by the Continental Congress. George Washington came down the aisle in a solemn ceremony and knelt in front of the president of the United States. The general surrendered his sword to the president, saying, “Mr. President, I now yield my sword to its proper authorities, returning as Cincinnatus to my home and my farm.” It was a remarkable scene. Henry Cabot Lodge would later say, “This is one of the definitive moments in American history because having the loyalty of the Continental Army, now successful following the great victory against Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown and then

sweeping the British Navy out of New York, Washington could have had himself acclaimed king of America. It is likely that many of his officers, including Alexander Hamilton, would have supported him had he so chosen. Lodge says that the fact that George Washington came and pledged himself to the principles that had birthed the nation in the first place and yielded his sword to the president was among the most remarkable in all of American history.

- ❖ *Richard Henry Lee, Virginia (1732–1794)*
- ❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*
- ❖ *Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts (1738–1796)*
- ❖ *Arthur St. Clair, New Jersey (1734–1818)*
- ❖ *Cyrus Griffin, Virginia (1736–1796)*
- ❖ *George Washington, Virginia (1732–1799)*

Thomas Mifflin was succeeded by one of the scions of one of America's greatest families, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia. He was succeeded by John Hancock, who took his second term widely separated from his first — Peyton Randolph's two terms were together. He was succeeded by Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts. He was succeeded by Arthur St. Clair of New Jersey, the only president of the United States not born on native soil; he was born in Scotland. He was succeeded by Cyrus Griffin of Virginia, who oversaw the transfer between the old constitution called the Articles of Confederation and the new Constitution which had originally been chartered by Congress, merely as a revision of the Articles. Of course, it was he who handed over the reins of authority in the executive office to George Washington, who was *not* the first president of the United States.

One of the great mysteries to me in American history is how we could just skim over these facts so blithely. How could we study the American founding era and miss the fact that it wasn't just armies in the field that won the day, that there was a functioning government that hammered out treaty arrangements, provided all of the provisions for that army, coordinated communications among all the states, established foreign policy, stated domestic policy, minted the money, and did all the other things that a federal government would do? How can we just ignore that entire process? At best, in American history textbooks is a paragraph or two about the Articles of Confederation which discusses why it was an inadequate compact — awfully inadequate. A ragtag group of colonials banded themselves together and defeated the greatest military power on the face of the earth.

The Father of Our Country

- ❖ *1721: Peyton Randolph Born; Scion of Williamsburg*
- ❖ *1733: Admitted to William and Mary College*
- ❖ *1739: Admitted to London's Middle Temple*

George Washington called his friend and mentor, Peyton Randolph, the father of our country. He was born scion of a landed Williamsburg family in 1721. He grew up in a home that greatly valued education and greatly valued the life of the mind. As a result, at a very early age, he began to master the great canon of classical literature. So that, when he was admitted in 1733, as an adolescent, he was ready to tackle all of the challenges of William and Mary College. In 1739, he was admitted to the Middle Temple in London, one of the great training grounds for lawyers and jurists.

❖ *1743: Appointed the King's Attorney*

Because of his great prowess, he was appointed the King's Attorney for the Virginia colony in 1743. How old was he in 1743? He was twenty-two! At twenty-two, he was appointed the King's Attorney for the largest colony in the New World! This is astonishing!! It's evidence of his prodigious knowledge, his fast ascent, his regal bearing, his posture with the powers that be. This is remarkable.

❖ *1746: Married Elizabeth "Betty" Harrison*

In 1746, he married the love of his life, Betty Harrison, thus wedding two great families, the Randolphs and the Harrisons of Virginia.

❖ *1749: Land Company; Justice of the Peace; Vestryman*

❖ *1754: Pistole Tax Representative in London*

In 1749, he began a land company, became a justice of the peace and a vestryman — essentially the equivalent of a deacon or an elder in an Anglican church — there in the city of Williamsburg. By 1754, he was one of the tax representatives for the appeals of the House of Burgesses, back in London. Now, he had not only the great experience of serving the king, he had become a diplomat, working on both sides of the argument.

❖ *1756: Commander of the "Associators" Militia*

In 1756, he was appointed commander of the first militia assembled by the Virginia vestrymen, called the Associators.

❖ *1758: William and Mary Board of Visitors*

In 1758, he was appointed to the William and Mary Board of Visitors, essentially the Board of Trustees. He was a man of great experience, widely respected by his peers, and both those who had authority over him and those over whom he had authority.

❖ *1765: Stamp Act Petitions*

So in 1765, when the House of Burgesses was looking for someone to present their grievances to the Crown concerning the Stamp Act, they turned, of course, to the man they called the Old Speaker, Peyton Randolph, to write the Stamp Act Petitions.

The Good Old Speaker

❖ *1766: Speaker of the House of Burgesses*

❖ *1769: The Townshend Protest; Burgesses Dissolution*

The good Old Speaker became the leader of the House of Burgesses in 1766. He led the Townshend protest in 1769, and threatened dissolution of the Burgesses over the imposition of tyranny by the Crown.

❖ *1773: Committee of Correspondence*

❖ *1774: Boston Port Act; Fasting and Prayer; Dissolution*

In 1773, he became a leader of the Committees of Correspondence in Virginia. In 1774, he called for fasting and prayer because of the Boston Port Act, when the Crown and Parliament shut down the city of Boston, closed its harbor, and called for a dissolution of all of the royal compacts with the House of Burgesses.

❖ *1774: First Continental Congress; Chair; President*

❖ *May 10, 1775: Second Continental Congress; President*

❖ *March 20: Virginia Convention at St. John's Parish*

In 1774, he was selected by the House of Burgesses of the Assembly of Legislators in the State of Virginia to represent that state — no longer calling itself a colony — to the first Continental Congress. There he was selected first chair and then president. He was reelected in May of 1775 as president of the second Continental Congress and hosted the great Virginia convention at St. John's parish in March of that year, calling on his friend Patrick Henry to make that great "Give me liberty or give me death" speech.

❖ *September 5: Congress Reconvened in Philadelphia*

❖ *October 22: Suffered a Stroke and Died*

❖ *October 23: Succeeded as President by Henry Middleton*

In September of that year, Congress reconvened in Philadelphia, but by October he had become very, very ill, and late in the month that year, he suffered a stroke and died. He was succeeded as president in October by his friend, Henry Middleton.

Leading Up to the Declaration

Congress

❖ *May 1775: Second Congress in Philadelphia*

❖ *May 1775: Peyton Randolph Re-Elected*

❖ *June 1775: Sixty-nine Articles of War*

❖ *June 1775: Commander-in-Chief Washington*

❖ *July 1775: Olive Branch Petition*

❖ *October 1775: The American Navy Launched*

❖ *May 1776: British Treaty with German States*

This story of this great man is the backdrop to all the drama leading up to the Declaration of Independence, because it was only Peyton Randolph, who, knowing the common law tradition of England, having been schooled in the principles of *Blackstone's Commentaries* and understanding the relations, having been a part of all the negotiations from the time of the Stamp Act and the Tax Petitions all the way through to the Committees of Correspondence and the first and second Continental Congresses, could lead the nation in a time like that. Having been schooled and mentored by Peyton Randolph, the Continental Congress realized that they would have to

take action, when the Olive Branch Petition was rejected, and when Great Britain contracted with mercenaries in the German states to launch an invasion of the colonies.

Lawsuit

- ❖ *May 1776: Richard Lee Proposes Lawsuit*
- ❖ *June 1776: Draft Committee Appointed*
- ❖ *July 1776: Independence*

So in May of 1776, Richard Henry Lee proposed on the floor of the Continental Congress that a covenant lawsuit sequence should be levied against king and Parliament. The idea of a covenant lawsuit sequence was one that was well understood by all the men in the Continental Congress, indeed by virtually anyone in the common law tradition of the eighteenth century from Britain. As a result, a draft committee was appointed in the first week of June, 1776. That draft committee was comprised of five men, five of the most respected men in all Congress: Richard Henry Lee himself, Thomas Jefferson, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin.³ They were to bring together all of the articles of war, all of the grievances, and put those grievances and articles into a covenant lawsuit, suing for God's intervention and to propose God's resolution. It would ultimately be called the Declaration of Independence. The final draft was presented on July 4, 1776. It was finally approved and signed by July 8, 1776, and published about a week later.

Covenant Lawsuit Sequence

An Old Testament Pattern

- ❖ *Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Jefferson*
- ❖ *Sherman, Livingston, Adams, Franklin*

This covenant lawsuit sequence was familiar because most of the colonials and virtually anyone who was schooled in the common law tradition knew of it from the Old Testament. Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Jefferson were given the charge of creating the initial draft, Jefferson being, besides John Dickinson, the most articulate writer of the lot. Unfortunately, Richard Henry Lee was forced to abandon the task because his wife was taken ill and he had to go back to Virginia, and so he came late one night to Thomas Jefferson and charged him with the task of drafting this covenant lawsuit on his own. Lee left him three books. One of the books was John Locke's *Disquisition on Government*, the second was Richard Hooker's *Commentary on the Book of Judges*, and the third was *Lex Rex*, by Samuel Rutherford. Lee handed Jefferson those three books and said, *Everything that you need to understand how to draft a covenant lawsuit sequence, you'll find in these three books*, and he took his leave. The three books outlined a remarkable vision of accountability and connectionalism that can be summarized in two phrases: *sphere sovereignty* and *federal theology*.

³ Dr. Grant listed six individuals as part of the Committee of Five. While, the Committee didn't actually include Richard Henry Lee, who was called home to be with his sick wife, his words from the resolution to draft the Declaration are quoted in the closing paragraph of the document, making him also a contributor. Ed.

❖ *Sphere Sovereignty and Federal Theology*

Sphere sovereignty essentially argues that, because man is inevitably a sinner, there are no perfect, unquestionable, unassailable institutions or offices that men or nations can erect. Therefore, it's important to recognize the various spheres of authority that God puts into place to check and balance them. So, for instance, God gives to the family certain rights, privileges, and authorities that the state does not have. And God gives to the state certain rights and authorities that the church does not have. God gives to the church certain rights and authorities that neither the family nor the state have. These spheres are to operate in the realm of their jurisdictions with a level of sovereignty, so that if one of the other jurisdictions gets out of line, steps out of bounds, exerts authority that does not belong to it, then the other spheres can check and balance, correct and bring back into line, that other jurisdiction.

This is, in essence, the idea behind federal theology as well. The word *federal* is actually just another word for *covenantal* and means taking many parts and bringing them together so that they do not lose their distinctiveness and yet, they're pulled into a coalition that allows them to cooperate. So *many* function as *one*, but they remain distinctive as *many*. The idea for this theology of the one and the many is derived directly from the Scriptures, where we see it not only in the Godhead, in the Trinity, one and many, but we see that applied to society, when we come to nations like Israel, which is both one and many. The governance of institutions in the Bible is always one and many, so that there are always ways to appeal. There are always ways to come to some sort of council or tribal meeting or to stand before judges, to have causes of justice prevail. So Jefferson took these books and wrestled with the ideas of federal theology and sphere sovereignty.

❖ *The Major and Minor Prophets*

❖ *Prosecuting Covenant-Breakers*

He looked to the patterns of the major and minor prophets. He read through the whole of the commentary of Hooker on Judges where we see the prosecution of covenant breakers. Then he came up with four basic principles for the drafting of this covenant lawsuit.

Covenant Lawsuit

National Covenantalism: Vorthos Veritas

The first principle is that of national covenantalism. The idea of national covenantalism is that a nation exists not by political right, not by geographical association, not by cultural affinity, or the unity of language. National covenantalism is derived from a people standing before a sovereign God and pledging to him and to one another common cause. It's based on the idea *vorthos veritas*, a phrase that literally means truth is rooted in the unchanging principles of God, that the only thing that *can* be true is that which is *always* true, absolutely true.

❖ *The Rule of Law: Lex Rex*

The second principle is that of the rule of law, that men and nations are fickle, constantly changing. In fact, the call of every tyrant throughout all the ages has always been change that you can believe in, but the rule of law says that there are certain standards that remain true always, whether it's the third century or the fifteenth century or the twenty-first century, whether it's three o'clock in the morning or three o'clock in the afternoon. These things don't change. This is summarized in the phrase *lex rex*, the law is king.

❖ *Magistratal Interposition: Axiom Juris*

The third principle was magistratal interposition, the idea that God creates checks and balances, even in structures, so that, if a higher magistrate imposes a tyrannical ruling, it is the obligation of lower magistrates to interpose themselves between the tyranny of the higher magistrate and the freedom of the people. The concept of checks and balances in sphere sovereignty or jurisdictionalism, the concept behind federal theology, is that there are always lower magistrates who can stand between the people and higher magistrates who step beyond their bounds. It is the duty of the lower magistrates to protect the people when the higher magistrates go astray. That's summarized by the phrase *axiom juris*, which means first principles are the foundations of the practice of law.

❖ *Personal Stewardship: Caveat Lector*

Finally, Jefferson noticed all through the Scriptures and through John Locke's treatise and the declarations of Samuel Rutherford the obligation of personal stewardship. It's the principle that if you see some cause, some need, some work, and it appears that no one else sees it, you're probably the one who is called to it. If you see it, you're probably called to it. The idea here is that, at some point, someone has to ask the question *if not me, then whom?* At some point, someone has to stand in the gap and say, *Not here, not now, not on my watch.* This is the idea of *caveat lector*, the principle of speaking out, speaking now.

A Covenant Declaration

Lawsuit Sequence and Structure

So, Jefferson and his committee began to work. The work that they did was really quite remarkable. They understood that the liberties that we enjoy in America have been secured against the arbitrary and fickle whims of men and movements by the rule of law. Our social system was not designed to depend upon the benevolence of magistrates, the altruism of the wealthy, or the condescension of the powerful. Every citizen, rich and poor, man or woman, native born or immigrant, hale or handicapped, young or old, is equal under the standard of unchanging, immutable, and impartial justice.

This is what Thomas Paine talked about when he wrote a little booklet that helped spark the thinking of so many in the American War of Independence, *Common Sense*, "In America, the law is king." This was derived directly from the English common law tradition. Essentially, those who forged this covenant lawsuit understood that if left to the mere discretion of human authorities, even the best intended statutes, edicts, ordinances, and laws inevitably devolve into some form of tyranny. That's because they will always serve somebody else's interest rather than the interests of the people. There must, therefore, be an absolute against which no encroachment of prejudice or preference can ever interfere. There has to be a foundation that the winds of change and the waters of circumstance cannot, ever, erode. There has to be a basis for law that can be depended upon at all times, in all places, and in every situation. They understood that, apart from this uniquely Christian innovation in the affairs of men and nations, there can be no enduring freedom. There never has been before, there never will be again. Our Founding Fathers understood that only too well.

- ❖ *Laws of Nature and Nature's God*
- ❖ *Self-Evident Truths*
- ❖ *Endowed by the Creator*
- ❖ *Certain Inalienable Rights*
- ❖ *Life, Liberty, Happiness*
- ❖ *Governments Are Instituted*

So, the opening refrain of the Declaration of Independence affirms the necessity of that kind of absolute standard upon which the rule of law can then be established — “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men.” To secure these rights, we elect representatives so that they don't kill babies, and when we elect magistrates who do with profligacy, our freedom is lost. Appealing to the Judge of the world for guidance, relying on his divine providence for wisdom, the framers committed themselves and their posterity to the absolute standard of the laws of nature and of nature's God.

- ❖ *Deriving Just Powers*
- ❖ *From the Consent of the Governed*
- ❖ *Becoming Destructive of These Ends*
- ❖ *The Right and Duty of the People*
- ❖ *Light and Transient Causes*
- ❖ *Long Train of Abuses and Usurpations*
- ❖ *Absolute Tyranny*

They're not ambivalent about this, they're not namby-pamby, they're not dancing around all this stuff. They're as clear as they can possibly be. When these just powers are turned to some other course, they become destructive of the ends for which they were established, and at that point, it becomes the right and the duty of the people to throw off the shackles. A just government exists, they argued, solely and completely to provide guards for the future security of that unchanging standard. Take away those guards and the rule of law is no longer possible. That's precisely why they felt compelled to so boldly declare their autonomy from the British Crown. The activist government of the Crown had become increasingly intrusive, burdensome, and fickle, and thus the possibility of the rule of law had been thrown into jeopardy. The founders merely protested that the fashion and the fancy of political, bureaucratic, and systemic innovation, change that people can believe in, had alienated that which was inalienable.

- ❖ *Defining a Just Government*
- ❖ *Creating Illegal Offices and Officers*

So they followed that Old Testament pattern. They said that the king's government had erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. In other words, the government had become essentially a series of bureaucratic rules where the people had to stand in line to get one thing after another stamped by officials, and in so doing they had to pay at every turn, thus eroding all their prosperity.

- ❖ *Inopportune Legislative Assemblies*
- ❖ *Refusing Assent to Law and Laws*
- ❖ *Imposing of Taxes without Consent*
- ❖ *Plundering the Property of the People*
- ❖ *Supreme Judge and His Providence*

It had called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant for the sole purpose of fagging them into compliance with the king's measures. It had refused assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary to the public good. It had imposed taxes without consent, taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our government. It had plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, destroyed the lives of our people, and so excited domestic insurrections among us. They enumerated all the ways that the Crown and Parliament had broken covenant. It was a covenant lawsuit.

Thus they acted boldly to form a more perfect union. They launched a sublime experiment in liberty, never before surpassed and never again matched. The founders believed that no one in America, no one, in fact, in Britain could be absolutely secure under the king because absoluteness had been thrown out of the constitutional vocabulary. Because certain rights had been abrogated for at least *some* citizens by a smothering, dominating, political behemoth, *all* liberties of *all* the citizens were at risk because suddenly arbitrariness, relativism, and randomness had entered into the legal equation. The checks against petty partiality and blatant bias had been disabled. It's hard to read the Declaration of Independence, actually read it, without being astonished by its immediate application.

Yesterday, I was driving in my car and I turned on National Public Radio, which is always bad for my blood pressure, but I did it anyway, and there was an expert talking about the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln. He's just written this massive book on the Emancipation Proclamation, and it became immediately evident to me that he hasn't actually read it. His book is about all the secondary sources on it and all the contemporary commentators on it, but if he'd actually read it, he wouldn't have arrived at the conclusion that he did. I'm convinced that most people never get past the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence, all that cool stuff about inalienable rights. They give up as soon as they see that one of those inalienable rights is the right to life and never go on to read all the rest of it. P.J. O'Rourke comments, "There are twenty-seven specific complaints against the British Crown set forth in the Declaration of Independence. To our modern ears, they still sound reasonable. They still sound reasonable in large part because so many of them can be leveled against the present federal government of the United States."⁴ God help us all.

What do you think that Patrick Henry would say about Washington, D.C., today? What do you think John Adams would say about Congress? What do you think George Washington would suggest we ought to do about the Senate? What do you think Peyton Randolph would think about the state of the modern American presidency? What do you think the patriots would say about our current political parties? Do you think they would be any happier with the Democrats than Republicans or vice versa? My guess is that they would say what John Dickinson said, when he stood before the Continental Congress just before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. When one of the delegates had made an appeal based upon the protest of the Whigs in Parliament, Dickinson stood up and said, "A pox on both their houses."

⁴ From *Parliament of Whores*

What all this boiled down to is that they understood the principles. Even when they made their bold declaration, they did it in a principled fashion. They didn't just rattle off a series of complaints and then declare themselves independent. They went through this long and tortured process. They were very careful to follow a pattern that does not change with the times. They were certain and secure in the principles upon which they stood because they were principles that were absolute, that were not derived from their own petty preferences, but which were derived from the Scriptures themselves, and, ultimately, that was the vision, the principle that even the mightiest power on the face of the earth could not resist. Someday, we will remember that pragmatism is not always pragmatic. Someday, we'll remember that some things are worth fighting for. May God hasten that day.



Lord, I am so grateful that you entrusted to our national experience men of principle like Peyton Randolph and those that he mentored, those who drafted and committed their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors to the covenant lawsuit sequence leveled against King and Parliament. May we have the courage to walk in their footsteps, to uphold those same principles, and to secure them once again for our children, our grandchildren, and our great grandchildren to come, for how-ever long the Lord Jesus may tarry — freedom, hope, sphere sovereignty, federal theology, gospel sanity. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 15

The Forgotten Presidents

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Success of Washington and His Farewell Address; John Adams and the European War

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 177–189

Lesson Synopsis

From 1774 all the way up until the ratification of the new Constitution in 1789, the United States was self-governed, assembled itself as a representative of the people, in duly-elected state and national governments, with duly-elected magistrates, including a chief executive called the president of the United States. They levied taxes, issued writs and decrees in foreign policy, entered into alliances with the major nations, and created a Continental army and navy. They assembled an appropriate command structure with civilian control over the military. They raised taxes, provided for a mail service and roads, stood foursquare against the greatest military power that the world had ever seen, and prevailed in a war of independence. That government is always, utterly and completely, ignored, left out of the historiography. All the men who served as presidents during that time are just altogether forgotten.

Opportunity

7

Lesson Topics

Peyton Randolph, Henry Middleton, John Hancock, Henry Laurens, John Jay, Samuel Huntington, Thomas McKean, John Hanson, Elias Boudinot, Thomas Mifflin, Richard Henry Lee, Nathaniel Gorham, Arthur St. Clair, Cyrus Griffin

Primary Source Material

The Articles of Confederation

Vocabulary

hymnody, metaphorical, imagery, levy, foursquare, ardent, propagation, ratify/ratification, bursar, emancipate, comprehensive, delegate (n.), elite, resolution, revision, selective, myopic, intelligentsia, multilingual, amorphous, factions, hallmark, grotesque, historiography, rift, effectual

Timeline

- ❖ 1774: First Continental Congress; Peyton Randolph elected president.
- ❖ 1776: Declaration of Independence
- ❖ 1781: Articles of Confederation ratified
- ❖ 1789: The Constitution ratified; George Washington elected president.



The Forgotten Presidents

There were sixteen administrations prior to that of George Washington. Each was led by an able President. Each made a significant contribution to the history of the nation.
~John Quincy Adams

As you can see we're going to backpedal today and focus again on the forgotten presidents.

19 October

❖ *1960: The United States imposed an embargo on Castro's Communist Cuba.*

Today is October 19, and it was on this day in 1960 that the United States imposed an embargo on exports to Cuba covering all commodities except medical supplies and certain food products. It was the beginning of the isolation of that Caribbean island because of its oppressive Communist dictatorship.

❖ *1879: Thomas Edison exhibited the electric light bulb.*

It was in 1879 on this day that Thomas Alva Edison first publicly exhibited his incandescent electric light bulb, one of the most remarkable and enduring technological innovations, which is quickly passing into extinction because of the very idea that there are much more energy efficient ways to light our homes. But, of course, if you've tried any of those little squiggly lights, they're awful, almost as awful as these, but only almost.¹

❖ *1872: Anthony Comstock began his crusade against the grisly legal abortion trade.*

It was also on this day in 1872 that one of the most hated and most admired men in the nineteenth century, Anthony Comstock, began his prosecution of both obscenity and profanity and the grisly legal abortion trade. Most people don't realize that abortion was legal in every single state in the Union all the way through the nineteenth century, and it was a profitable, booming business. Because of Anthony Comstock and a number of others — including the fledgling American Medical Association and a number of other coalitions of doctors, pastors, and social reformers — all the laws in all the states in the Union were changed, and the grisly abortion trade was made illegal, as was child pornography, and a number of other social ills. All of this was led by Anthony Comstock, a special prosecutor for the U.S. Post Office and the director of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. That began on this day in 1872.

❖ *1860: Abraham Lincoln wrote his famous "Whiskers Letter" to eleven-year-old Grace Bedell.*

It was on this day in 1860 that Abraham Lincoln wrote his famous "Whiskers Letter" in response to Grace Bedell, an eleven-year-old girl who wrote saying that she would try and persuade her older brothers to vote for Abraham Lincoln if he would grow whiskers. Abraham Lincoln wrote back saying, "My dear little miss, as to whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think that people would call it a piece of silly affectation if I were to begin it now?" The girl wrote back to the presidential candidate and said that she believed that it would add

¹ Here, Dr. Grant is referring to the long fluorescent lights in the classroom.

dignity to his otherwise undistinguished and rather angular face. By November, he was growing an early bit of whiskery beard, just upon his chin. It became an iconic emblem, and he wore them for the rest of his life.

❖ *1781: General Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown.*

In 1781 on this day, General Charles Cornwallis surrendered his eight thousand British troops at Yorktown, effectively ending the Revolutionary War. It's the reason why, for the first fifty years of the life of the nation, there was a good deal of dispute about when Americans should celebrate Independence Day. Some argued that Independence Day should be celebrated on July 8 which is when the Declaration of Independence was actually finally signed, approved, and released. July 4 was simply the day that it was first presented, so July 4 wasn't even in the running at the time. Others suggested that it should be April 19 because it was in April that the militias of Lexington and Concord arrayed themselves and first presented armed resistance to what they perceived as British tyranny. So there were many arguments for America's Independence Day to be celebrated in April, Patriots' Day. There were others who argued that Independence Day should be celebrated on June 9 because it was on June 9 that Richard Henry Lee first presented the petition to the Continental Congress. The Continental Congress voted overwhelmingly to receive his petition, which was to form a committee to write a covenant lawsuit against king and Parliament suing for the independence of the colonies. But there was strong sentiment after Yorktown to declare October 19 Independence Day. So for several years there was a long argument back and forth. They eventually came up with a compromise — July 4, on which day almost nothing happened. This is exactly the way politics works — you simply come up with a solution that solves absolutely nothing, that makes absolutely no sense, and then built huge traditions around it so that it seems to be unquestionable. There you have it! That's the way Washington works. And we learn that lesson on October 19, when something actually happened but nobody knows it.

❖ *1779: William Cowper and John Newton published the classic collection of Olney Hymns.*

It was on this day in 1779 that William Cowper and John Newton worked together to collaborate in one of the most remarkable publishing events in the fledgling evangelical revival in England, the creation of a little collection of hymns, called the *Olney Hymns*, a classic collection of evangelical and reformed hymnody, which reshaped the whole approach to hymnody, giving rise to a whole new generation of hymn writers and poets that launched the whole new industry. The original collection remains among the best. C.S. Lewis argued that the best hymns theologically were always the worst hymns in terms of their poetry and their music, and the worst hymns theologically were always the best hymns poetically and musically. That was simply not the case with the *Olney Hymns*. Cowper was a remarkable poet, renowned in his day for his penetrating verse, his remarkable architectural forms, and his rich metaphorical imagery. He wrote some of the most affecting hymns, but also the most remarkable epic poetry of the age. John Newton, the former slave trader who was radically converted and who helped to mentor men like William Wilberforce to fight for the abolition of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery itself throughout the entire British world — Newton, famous for “Amazing Grace” — combined the two, creating a rich theological and artistic tradition that has rarely been matched in the years since.

❖ *1765: The Stamp Act Congress, met in New York.*

It was of course on this day in 1765 that the Stamp Act Congress, meeting in New York, first drew up a Declaration of Rights and Liberties. It was really and truly the beginning of the movement toward independence. It was at the Stamp Act Congress that the first generation of American patriot leaders emerged. Many of the men who would serve the nation and the highest office in the land emerged from that Stamp Act Congress.

Presidents of the United States

It has always been a bit of a mystery to me the way American history has been taught. Well, I say “always” — not always. I actually went all the way through grade school, middle school, high school and then college. I was for a time a political science major, a history major. I was planning to go to law school, preparing myself for law school. It really was not until I had made my way through all of that, had my first master's degree, and was working on my first doctorate, before I realized that I had been robbed. I was under the perverse and wrong-headed, some would even say dunderheaded, notion that George Washington was the first president of the United States. Here's the thing: just a little bit of math and a tiny smidgen of logic would disabuse anyone of that notion, if we ever actually did the math or applied the logic.

Think about this. It was in 1774 that the first Continental Congress met. It was in 1777 that the Articles of Confederation were first written. It was in 1781 that the Articles of Confederation went into effect. It was in 1776 that the Declaration of Independence was lodged as the covenantal lawsuit against king and Parliament. All during that time, from 1774 all the way up until the ratification of the new Constitution in 1789, the United States was self-governed, assembled itself as a representative of the people, in duly-elected state and national governments, with duly-elected magistrates, including a chief executive called the president of the United States. They levied taxes, issued writs and decrees in foreign policy, entered into alliances with the major nations, and created a Continental army and navy. They assembled an appropriate command structure with civilian control over the military. They raised taxes, provided for a mail service and roads, stood foursquare against the greatest military power that the world had ever seen, and prevailed in a war of independence. That government is always, utterly and completely, ignored, left out of the historiography. All the men who served as presidents during that time are just altogether forgotten.

What are we thinking about? How can we assume that George Washington was the first president if he doesn't take office until 1789, if there are all these scenes? You can see one in one of the grand paintings in the nation's capital in the Capitol Rotunda of George Washington surrendering his sword to the president of the United States, and the Continental Congress arrayed around him.² There's a scene of George Washington, the general, the military man, surrendering his sword and getting ready to go back home. Yet, we still think that George Washington was the first president? Was he a time traveler? Did he present the sword to himself? *I now surrender my sword, Mr. President. Okay, thank you.* What are we thinking about?



² *General George Washington Resigning His Commission* (1824) by John Trumbull

It's a question I really began to wrestle with a great deal about twenty years ago. I started collecting — as I was going through this sort of transformation in my thinking, about what it was I was called to do and what it was that I needed to dedicate the rest of my life to — a lot of really old American history textbooks. Beginning in the 1820's, there was a tradition that every sixth-grade student — or the equivalent of six grade — would receive something called an American patriots' handbook or a citizenship manual. There are tons of these available. Almost every little school system and almost all small publishers regionally all around the country began to publish these because every student received one. These little patriots' handbooks or citizenship manuals would provide a quick glimpse of all the presidents and provide a little lithograph portrait of them, a quick biographical sketch, and a timeline of the great events. It would include poetry of the day, some of the great speeches, and, of course, there would be great documents of the founding era — from portions of the Federalist Papers across the board to things like the Northwest Ordinance and, obviously, the Bill of Rights and the Constitution, the Articles of Confederation, and all the rest.

I was struck by the fact that the historiography, all the way through the 1860's, always made mention of the presidents prior to George Washington. All that changed after the 1860's. I started to wonder what have we done and why? That really began a huge intellectual journey for me, as I wrestled with the character and nature of history, how we tell our story, what it is that we remember, and what it is that we don't remember.

First & Second Continental Congress

- ❖ *Peyton Randolph, Virginia (1723–1775)*
- ❖ *Henry Middleton, South Carolina (1717–1784)*
- ❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*

As we saw last week, Peyton Randolph was elected in 1774 as the president of the Continental Congress assembled. He was the first president of the United States. We talked about his life and his ascendancy as one of the great patriot leaders. When the Continental Congress met again the next year in 1775, he was reelected. He was succeeded by Henry Middleton of South Carolina and then John Hancock of Massachusetts.

It was during that first John Hancock administration that the small committee comprised of Thomas Jefferson, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Richard Henry Lee³ reported back and presented the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, and the reason that John Hancock's signature is so big and sits right in the center of the document is that he was president at the time, and he signed the document. That's what happened on July 4, 1776. Then the document, which was passed among all of the delegates, was debated and discussed over the course of the next four days, when it was finally signed by all the other delegates on July 8. But John Hancock's signature was front and center and big and bold and large because he was the president and was issuing his authorization of this motion from the committee to present to the entire Continental Congress as a petition. It was at the time of this great declaration that the Continental Congress portrayed the Declaration of Independence as the first national covenant.

³ The Committee of Five consisted of Jefferson, Sherman, Franklin, Adams, and Robert Livingston. Richard Henry Lee is not considered an official member of the committee since he was called away to the bedside of his sick wife and couldn't participate. *Ed.*

First National Covenant (1776–1779)

❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*

It is on the basis of that covenant lawsuit in the Declaration that the next several administrations functioned as well as the second part of John Hancock's administration.

❖ *Henry Laurens, South Carolina (1724–1792)*

Hancock was succeeded by Henry Laurens of South Carolina. Henry Laurens was a remarkable man, the son of a planter and merchant family from South Carolina. If you go to the South Carolina Statehouse, today, you notice this wonderful, colonial architecture, these broad steps that come out on the east and west sides of the capitol building there in Columbia. If you come down the steps on the east side, you'll see this wonderful bronze statue of George Washington standing front and center, kind of holding court over this broad vista that looks out on these beautiful magnolia trees. Over on the west side in the same position, is a beautiful bronze statue of Henry Laurens, who was president of the United States a number of administrations before George Washington ever took office. He was the hero of South Carolina for many reasons. It's a really interesting story. After he finished his term in office, he determined to continue to serve the patriot cause, and he was sent by the Continental Congress to serve papers and forge a treaty arrangement with the Dutch Netherlands. He was on his way to the Netherlands across the Atlantic on an American ship, which was intercepted by the British. Although he was disguised as an ordinary seaman, he had taken all his diplomatic papers and tossed them overboard when they realized that they were about to be captured by the British. The leather satchel filled with air and floated. So, it was retrieved by the British, who realized that there was a diplomat on board; they weren't all just ordinary American seamen. Laurens came forward and volunteered that he was who he was. Immediately, the British realized that they had a prize — Henry Laurens, former president of the United States! They'd captured him! They took him back to London, where he was imprisoned in the Tower of London. Two different times, he was brought down out of the Tower and into the famous Beefeaters' Yard. He was given the decree of execution, twice. His head was on the block with the ax raised in the air, one of the times, before the stay of execution arrived. It was during his time there in the Tower of London that Laurens, who had grown up in the faithful Christian tradition of his family but who had become rather worldly over the course of his adult years, underwent a radical and dramatic conversion, as any of us would if our heads were on the block a couple of times with the ax raised in the air. He communed with his Maker.

On this day, October 19, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered, he was taken prisoner by George Washington and the American troops. A prisoner exchange was arranged — Lord Cornwallis was exchanged for Henry Laurens. When Henry Laurens was put on a ship and brought back across the Atlantic, he arrived in New York Harbor and was met with a hero's welcome. Who should be waiting there but George Washington, who hailed him as the hero of the nation, the father of the country, and the beloved patriot president returned. It's a great scene, a great story, amazing.

❖ *John Jay, New York (1745–1829)*

Anyway, Henry Laurens was succeeded by his dear friend, John Jay, who became even more dear in the days following his conversion in the Tower. John Jay, a remarkable and eloquent lawyer, was also one of the most ardent evangelicals among the founding fathers. In fact, he and a number of his friends decided that, for the propagation of liberty in the land, the propagation of the gospel was necessary. So he and his friends formed a little society called the American Bible Society. John Jay was its first president. Most of the time, when we read the story of John Jay, we read about the fact that he was an American diplomat, who helped secure a number of treaty

arrangements — in fact, he was instrumental in arranging for the complete independence of America in the negotiations in 1783 with the British following the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. He was also renowned for being a Supreme Court justice, following the ratification of the Constitution in 1789. But to his fellow patriots, he was best known as the most ardent and beloved follower of the Lord Jesus and the most careful student of the Bible.

Second National Covenant (1779–1781)

A second national covenant was formed in 1779. The reason was that in 1777 a new constitution had been written but was held up and had not been ratified. That new constitution was called the Articles of Confederation. It was felt in 1779 that something stronger than the Declaration of Independence was needed, so the Continental Congress passed a resolution acknowledging the operating status of the Articles of Confederation, prior to its full ratification.

❖ *Samuel Huntington, Connecticut (1732–1796)*

The presidents who served under this second national covenant were men like Samuel Huntington of Connecticut. If you go to Samuel Huntington's home in Connecticut, which is preserved as a national shrine to his great heroism and patriotism as well as to his ardent anti-slavery zeal, you'll notice that they will often claim, at least in Connecticut, that he was the first president of the United States. They claim that he was the first president because he was the first to serve under the Articles of Confederation, even though the Articles of Confederation hadn't actually been ratified by all the states, yet. It's a little confusing but, hey, you're a bursar in a museum, you can say whatever you want, I guess.

❖ *Thomas McKean, Delaware (1734–1817)*

Huntington was succeeded by Thomas McKean of Delaware, who actually lived in Pennsylvania and not in Delaware, but he held office in Delaware because the Pennsylvanians and residents of Delaware could actually hold office in each other's states all the way up through the time of the Civil War. The only reason that they were divided in the time of the Civil War was that Delaware was a slave state and Pennsylvania was a free state. A lot of people don't realize Delaware was a slave state. In fact, a lot of people don't realize that Delaware was a slave state even after the Civil War was over, all the way up until eighteen months after the Civil War was over. That's because the Emancipation Proclamation didn't actually emancipate any slaves. It was aimed at freeing the slaves in the southern rebel states, but the southern rebel states didn't recognize the authority of Abraham Lincoln or the federal government, so they ignored the decree. All the slave states that were in the north — states like Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri, and eastern Tennessee, — were specifically exempt in the Emancipation Proclamation from freeing their slaves. The last slave-trading state in the Union was Delaware. Fortunately, Thomas McKean of Delaware wasn't actually from Delaware, so this is a rabbit trail that doesn't really matter. It's just fun to talk about.

❖ *John Hanson, Maryland (1715–1783)*

McKean was succeeded by George Washington's neighbor, just across the Potomac, John Hanson of Maryland. John Hanson was himself the heir of a remarkable legacy — a legacy that traced all the way back to his great-grandfather, who was the chief aide to King Gustavus Adolphus,⁴ great champion for the Protestants of the Thirty Years' War, but at the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Hanson family decided to make their way to New

⁴ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said, "King Adolphus Gustavus," but the Swedish king who died during the Thirty Years' War is known to us as Gustavus Adolphus. *Ed.*

Sweden, which became Maryland through treaty arrangement with Lord Baltimore who had received land grants from the English. So New Sweden became a part of Maryland. The Hansons, who had been there since the earliest days of the establishment of New Sweden, became among the greatest of all of the governmental leaders there. John Hanson, the scion of that great clan, lived on a plantation, Mulberry Grove, which you can visit to this day, just across from George Washington's home, Mount Vernon. Lots more people visit Mount Vernon, but John Hanson was president a long time before George Washington was, so even our patriotic pilgrimages seem to have things a little mixed up.

The Articles of Confederation (1781–1789)

❖ *John Hanson, Maryland (1715–1783)*

It was during John Hanson's administration, and largely due to his efforts, that the Articles of Confederation were passed. We'll look at the Articles of Confederation in the future, but they provide us with one of the most remarkable experiments in liberty that the world had ever seen. It was the first full constitution granting comprehensive rights to all people. It was controversial among slaveholders — particularly the slaveholders and slave traders in the northern states like Rhode Island, which based virtually all of its economy on the slave trade, and Delaware which had the largest slave trading centers — because the Articles of Confederation had language that seemed to imply that all men were created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, language from the Declaration of Independence. At any rate, the Articles of Confederation provided a loose confederation or a federal system for the thirteen states that had allied themselves together.

Of course, there were a number of states that did not enter into this Confederation — Vermont, for instance, remained independent, drafted their own constitution, and became the Republic of Vermont. The Watauga province decided that the threats and oppressions of North Carolina were far too much; they separated themselves and declared an independent republic named for Benjamin Franklin, since he was a land grant holder in the region, and he and George Whitefield, the great evangelist, had planned to create a Christian colony. That Christian colony led by men like John Sevier established themselves as the Independent Republic of Franklin. The Independent Republic of Franklin with its national capital in Knoxville, later renamed Knoxville, became the center of a separate republic. (None of that has anything to do with this lecture either, it's just fun to talk about.) The thirteen colonies that became the thirteen states allied together, ratified the Articles of Confederation, and John Hanson was the first president under those Articles.

Now some, particularly in Maryland, say that John Hanson was the first president of the United States because, of course, he was the first president to serve under a duly-ratified constitution. But, of course, in Connecticut, they would argue for Samuel Huntington, and in Williamsburg they would argue for Peyton Randolph — and, of course, all the rest of America is absolutely clueless, as dumb as a Jay Leno street interview, and we still think that George Washington was the first president.

❖ *Elias Boudinot, New Jersey (1741–1802)*

Elias Boudinot succeeded John Hanson. Elias Boudinot was, like John Jay, an ardent evangelical, and was party to the formation of the American Bible Society. He was also deeply interested in missionary endeavors, including missionary endeavors among the Native Americans, the Indian tribes that were still holding their lands independently just to the west of the Appalachians. Elias Boudinot became involved in a remarkable missionary effort among the Cherokee people who lived in the Smoky Mountains, ranging from what is today North Carolina and Tennessee all the way down into Georgia and Alabama. In fact, he adopted into his home a number of

young Christian converts, orphans of the Cherokee tribe. One of them, Elias Boudinot, Jr., became the chief of the Cherokee tribe in the sad epic of the Trail of Tears, one of the most shameful events in American history. Elias Boudinot was this remarkable figure of evangelical zeal, and he served as president of the United States following John Hanson.

❖ *Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania (1744–1800)*

Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania was an adjunct to George Washington in the field. When he had finished his term in the Continental Army, he returned to Pennsylvania and was sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress, duly elected as a congressman for that state, and in time, due to his organizational skills, was widely recognized among his fellow delegates and was elected the next president of the United States.

It was Thomas Mifflin who actually received the sword from George Washington in that scene that Henry Cabot Lodge described as the most brilliant in all of American history, where it was demonstrated once and for all that the experiment in liberty would endure because the man who had become the national hero recognized that he could not seize the reins of power. Though he was widely acclaimed by his own men and by many politicians as a potential king of America, he humbly surrendered his sword and thus made his declaration that if American liberty was to endure, personal sacrifices must be made, and service in the public sector must *always* take the form of service, not the exercise of power or popularity. It was because of the scene of George Washington surrendering his sword to Thomas Mifflin that the idea emerged that America should not have politicians but instead statesman, citizen servants, who have lives and jobs and experience before they take up the mantle of public service. And then, having served, they return to their lives, their jobs, their callings, their families, and their communities. They don't form a permanent ruling elite. It's amazing what we can portray, what we can model when we simply do what's right. That's the scene that unfolded during the Mifflin administration.

❖ *Richard Henry Lee, Virginia (1732–1794)*

❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*

Richard Henry Lee was the man who, in many ways, launched it all in June of 1776 when he called for a resolution for a covenant lawsuit to be lodged against king and Parliament. He was elected president next. He was followed by a second John Hancock administration. Hancock was ill by this time and only served a very short while.

❖ *Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts (1738–1796)*

Hancock was immediately succeeded by his friend and close confidant in Massachusetts, Nathaniel Gorham. It was under Nathaniel Gorham that the delegates to the Continental Congress began to wrestle with the idea that the Articles of Confederation probably needed to be amended to be truly effectual, so delegates were selected by the various state houses — some simply volunteered their services — and eventually in 1787 they gathered together in the city of Philadelphia to work out amendments to the Articles of Confederation. They were not authorized to do anything other than to find compromises and create amendments to the existing constitution. They went far further than that. They actually drafted a whole new constitution though they were not authorized to do so. They created a whole new governmental structure even though it was not under their authority that they could do such a thing. They were actually taking great risk, but they believed that the Articles of Confederation, as written, could not be sustained long-term without some kind of significant revision. They wrote a whole new document.

❖ *Arthur St. Clair, New Jersey (1734–1818)*

It fell to Arthur St. Clair, the only president of the United States not born in America, to wrestle with whether or not Congress and indeed he as president should somehow punish the members of the Constitutional Convention for going beyond their authority. He believed that they should not be punished.

Arthur St. Clair was born in Scotland and was a former member of the British military. In a peculiar turn of events, when he was sixteen years old, his father came to him following the terrible tragedy of the Battle of Culloden, when the Scots Covenanters and the Scots followers of Bonnie Prince Charlie were crushed by the Duke of Cumberland and King George II's troops, and told him that he must join the British military. He was astonished that his father would suggest such a treasonous idea. *Join the despised British? Why would I serve the British? The British are the oppressors of our nation, the destroyers of our liberties. The British killed four of my uncles! Why would I serve the British?* he asked. His father said, *I want you to learn everything about the British military. Serve faithfully and ably. Learn everything that you can, and then one day God in his providence will give you the opportunity to fight for freedom.* Arthur St. Clair had this trust riding in his breast all during the years that he served in the British military, and then when he saw all of the Scots settlers in America during his deployment during the Seven Years' War, what we call the French and Indian War, he saw the opportunity to perhaps fight again, and so he settled in New Jersey, helped to establish the New Jersey, the Pennsylvania, and the Delaware militias, rose in the ranks as a general, and finally was elected president of the United States. He later went on to become the governor of the Northwest Territories. He established a great fort that became the basis for the settlement of the city of Cincinnati, opposed the new constitution, even though he did not choose to prosecute those who established it, and went down in history as one of the most remarkable of the American patriot heroes.

❖ *Cyrus Griffin, Virginia (1736–1796)*

❖ *Constitution (1789–Present)*

❖ *George Washington, Virginia (1732–1799)*

St. Clair was succeeded by George Washington's friend and close confidant, Cyrus Griffin, who really was a trustee for the handing over of the old structure of federal government to the new structure of federal government following the passage and ratification of the Constitution in 1789, after which, George Washington was elected by the electoral college and became the sixteenth president of the United States.

So, Why Do We Ignore Them?

Now, here's the question. Why do we ignore all these men and all these stories? These are *our* stories. These are stories that give us clues as to how it was that the American patriots were able to succeed when no one predicted that they could succeed. Why do we ignore this huge part of our legacy, this fascinating story? I'd like to suggest several possibilities.

Sloppy Historiography and Revisionism

One is simply that we're really sloppy when it comes to doing history, and we are very prone in every generation to rewrite the history books to suit our present fads, fashions, and fancies. That's what's happening right now as textbook committees are rushing after political correctness to try to rewrite the history books to suit the mood of the day. That's just sloppy history.

❖ *Selective Remembrance*

A second reason is that we always remember the things that we think are important, and we're quick to forget things that are inconvenient truths. We have selective remembrance. We all do this. We all have highlight reels in our minds of those events that are great and are always surprised when someone who was at the same event notices something that we didn't see. They remind us of it, and we say, *Really? I don't remember that.*

❖ *The Orthodoxy of Ideological Nationalism*

The trouble is that when selective remembrance is combined with political correctness, you come up with a myopic, out-of-focus view of the events of the past. This is largely due to the fact that in the nineteenth century, particularly in the middle of the nineteenth century, all around the Western world there was a new ideological fashion that gripped the minds of the intelligentsia, the academics, the politicians. It was the idea of ideological nationalism, a peculiar idea that arose in the nineteenth century. It's why all the fiefdoms, kingdoms, principalities, and duchies of once-diverse lands like the Germanies and the various Italian Republics in the middle of the nineteenth century were forged into multilingual, often multicultural, amorphous entities called nation-states. You'll recall that before the nineteenth century, there was no such thing as a place called Spain, no such thing as a place called Italy, no such thing as a place called Germany. These were forged through a series of civil wars that afflicted virtually all of the Western world. We have to understand that the Russian Revolution was essentially a civil war fought over various factions of ideological nationalism. We can understand the Napoleonic wars in terms of ideological nationalism. Bismarck's uniting of the Germanies is a hallmark of ideological nationalism. Garibaldi's reunification of the various Italian kingdoms was ideological nationalism. The last and perhaps the most grotesque was the unification of all the Spanish kingdoms under Generalissimo Franco in the twentieth century, creating modern-day Spain. These are all manifestations of an ideological movement that has afflicted us as well.

❖ *Civil Religion*

So, men who did not fit in with that notion of ideological nationalism were left out of our remembrance, and those who fit conveniently in became a part of our civil religion, and we give it sanctity and the blessing of our historiography.

❖ *Political Correctness and Incorrectness*

So, political correctness and incorrectness created this rift. When you start talking about men like Elias Boudinot and John Jay, there's a lot of political correctness there. You don't want to talk about John Jay very much because you can hardly find a quote where he's not talking about Jesus and why it is that, apart from Jesus, the American experiment in liberty cannot long endure or survive.

❖ *The Character and Nature of Anti-Federalism*

❖ *The Character and Nature of Covenantalism*

That leads to the whole question of anti-federalism and federalism, which was a raging controversy at the time. We, in these postmodern times, talk about it in terms of Tea Party principles versus progressive principles or states' rights or nullification, but these are all part and parcel of the question of anti-federalism versus federalism, covenantalism versus anti-covenantalism, and these are things that we just don't talk about, so we think that George Washington was the first president. It's just easier that way. It's also wrong and gives us a false impression of the founding of the nation and the principles that our nation was founded on and the principles that

might yet ensure freedom for our children, our grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. And now that you know, this becomes your job, not just mine.



Father, thank you. Thank you for reminding us that, in fact, you've given us a rich legacy, much of which we no longer remember anymore, but it is rich, nevertheless. The recovery of that legacy may well be one of the great inducements for the future, for the preservation of our hopes, our dreams, and our liberties. So Lord God, I pray that you would enable us to remember and then to act, to recover and then rebuild. I pray that you would use these students, their gifts, and their abilities to do just that. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 16

Unlikely Friends: Franklin and Whitefield

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Central Importance of John Marshall; Jefferson's Ambivalent Rule and Character

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 189–198

Lesson Synopsis

Two of the most remarkable characters of the eighteenth century, two of the greatest geniuses of the eighteenth century, two men who come from the ends of the earth, became very unlikely friends, fast friends, fierce friends.

One can understand both the brilliance and the weakness of the American attempt to gain independence by looking at the alliance between these two men: George Whitefield and Benjamin Franklin.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Benjamin Franklin, George Whitefield, the Great Awakening

Primary Source Material

The Silence Dogood letters; sermons of George Whitefield

Vocabulary

polymath, epitomize, gruesome, thesis, pennon, epigram, precocious, bevy, voracious, diminish, Deism, itinerant, prelate, virtue, amplification, smitten, adhere, defer, pomp, pox, jeer, debase fervor, incentive, dint, utopianism, verge, skeptic

Timeline

- ❖ 1706: Benjamin Franklin born
- ❖ 1714: George Whitefield born
- ❖ 1718: Franklin was apprenticed to his brother's print shop.
- ❖ 1723: Franklin ran away to Philadelphia.
- ❖ 1727: Franklin established the Junto Council.
- ❖ 1728: Franklin established the Pennsylvania Gazette.
- ❖ 1733: Poor Richard's Almanac published.

- ❖ 1735: Whitefield converted
- ❖ 1736: Whitefield was ordained into the Anglican Ministry.
- ❖ 1738: Whitefield's first of seven American trips
- ❖ 1742: The Cambuslang Revival in Scotland
- ❖ 1744: Franklin published Whitefield's journals.
- ❖ 1770: George Whitefield died
- ❖ 1776: Franklin appointed to help draft the Declaration of Independence.
- ❖ 1790: Benjamin Franklin died



Unlikely Friends: Franklin and Whitefield

Theirs was a friendship that epitomized America.

~ Stephen Mansfield

If you know history at all, you probably would be surprised to discover that two of the most remarkable characters of the eighteenth century, two of the greatest geniuses of the eighteenth century, two men who come from the ends of the earth, became very unlikely friends, fast friends, fierce friends. Today, I want to explore their lives and their friendship because I'm of the opinion that you can understand both the brilliance and the weakness of the American attempt to gain independence by looking at the alliance between these two men: George Whitefield, the evangelist, and Benjamin Franklin, the great entrepreneur and polymath.

According to Stephen Mansfield, theirs was a friendship that epitomized America. He doesn't explore that thesis in his biography of Whitefield, so we're going to explore it a little bit this morning.

26 October

Today is the day following the great victory of Agincourt when Henry V finally realized that perhaps he was about to regain his long-coveted rights to the throne of France following his victory in the year 1415. It was really the day after St. Crispin's Day, Shakespeare notwithstanding, that he came to realize that the glorious victory at Agincourt, the unlikely victory at Agincourt, the stunning victory at Agincourt, might actually change the course of history. And it did, not because of Henry V but because of the long bow, but that's a whole different story, but it's just too fun not to mention.

- ❖ *1517: Martin Luther began composing his Ninety-five Theses of protestation against corruption in the Western Church's hierarchy.*

It was on this day in 1517 that Martin Luther actually sat down in his small study in the Augustinian friary at Wittenberg and began to compose the final structure of his famous Ninety-five Theses, what he called Protestations against Corruptions in the Western Church.

❖ *1967: The Shah of Iran crowned himself and his queen on the great Peacock Throne of Persia.*

It was also on this day in 1967 that the most expensive coronation event in the history of the world took place in Persepolis just to the south of Tehran, Iran. That was when the Shah of Iran, who had actually ruled for some twenty years prior, had himself and his queen crowned on the great Peacock throne of Persepolis, the old capital of the Persian empire, recalling all the glories of the Persians and declaring himself to be the heir of Xerxes and Artaxerxes. He didn't last a whole lot longer as a series of protests during the height of his glory just a few years later sent him toppling, and a fundamentalist Shi'ite government was instituted in Iran, that has shifted the balance of power in the Middle East ever since.

❖ *1825: The Erie Canal opened.*

It was in 1825, on this day, that the Erie Canal opened, providing a water route between Lake Erie and the Hudson River. The construction of this great engineering work and waterway took eight years and cost \$7.6 million, something akin to \$3.7 billion in modern terms. It had been the superhighway of antebellum America. When it opened, it was a marvel of engineering and human labor. From Albany to Buffalo, it opened up the American frontier and made westward expansion possible. It also made the settling of cities like Cleveland and Chicago possible as the Great Lakes opened up and became the center of America's new industrial muscle.

❖ *1774: The First Continental Congress adjourned in Philadelphia still laboring for peace with Britain.*

It was on this day in 1774 that the first Continental Congress adjourned their meetings. They were still determined to pursue peace with Britain. In fact, already men like Roger Sherman and John Dickinson were trying come up with some kind of proposal that might ease the tensions between Parliament and king and the colonies in America. At length, the Olive Branch Declaration and Petition would be presented to the king in 1776, but he would reject it, and the efforts of that first Continental Congress would be frustrated.

❖ *1775: The Continental Army went into battle carrying flags and banners made from relics taken from the tomb of George Whitefield.*

It was also on this day, October 26, in 1775 that American troops under the command of then-loyal patriot Benedict Arnold went into battle carrying some unusual scraps and relics, some of them made into banners and pennons, some of them attached to their clothing as a sort of military regalia. It was a peculiar gesture that occurred somewhat serendipitously. On September 16, just a month earlier, the troops, in preparing to march north to engage British regulars in Quebec, had stopped in Newburyport, Massachusetts. They arrived on a Sunday and decided to put on a spectacular display with all the patriots there cheering their presence. So they marched in a grand parade down the main street, then called King's Street, now called Federal Street, and right up to the steps of the Presbyterian church in the center of town. They then presented their arms, laid their armaments upon the steps of the church, paraded in, and took their places in the pews to hear the Sunday sermon. It was during the sermon that the pastor, John Williamson, happened to mention that, on this grand occasion, they were standing above the crypt of the greatest man in all the colonies. He was not actually a colonial himself, but had been the man to unite all of the colonies in an extraordinary way. They were standing above the burial place of George Whitefield, who had died just five years earlier during an evangelistic crusade in America and was buried in a stone tomb in the crypt of the church. After the services, the troops paraded down into the crypt to behold the tomb of the great one. On a whim, one of the officers moved the stone on top of the crypt and revealed the decaying body of George Whitefield. After five years, the man was unrecognizable, but his clothing was still intact. One of the officers reached over with a penknife and cut off a piece of his jacket cuff. After that, every single man filing through cut off another piece of the fabric. They then took those pieces of fabric and

tucked them into their boots or slipped them into their pockets. Some of the bits and pieces were turned into parts of flags and pennons, and when they went into battle just a little over a month later, they were arrayed carrying relics from George Whitefield.

It's a gruesome and somewhat bizarre story, but it reveals how deeply revered Whitefield was by all the people in America at the time. There were soldiers there who had actually heard Whitefield preach. There were some who had been converted under his preaching. There were others who heard stories of family members who had thronged into the great crowds to listen to the great man. And there were still others whose lives had been utterly changed because their parents, their grandparents, their children, their cousins, or relatives had been transformed by the renewing work of God's grace through the agency of George Whitefield's preaching. Now, when they went into battle, they did so with great confidence because they believed they carried with them the hopes and dreams of America. For them George Whitefield represented America.

An American Icon: 1706-1790

Of course, there was another side to America, a side that remained quite skeptical, a side that remained rooted in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, a side that was a part of the genius of America. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, was a lifelong skeptic, a doubter, flaunting Christian conventions at almost every turn in his life. He was one of the great geniuses and a bulwark of American liberty, one of the fathers of the patriot movement, but he was hardly the sort of man that you might want to associate with the revered evangelist. And yet, the two men were deep and abiding friends, both of them referred to one another as their best friend. How does a renowned skeptic, a doubter in virtually everything that an evangelist had staked his life upon, how does he become the best friend of that very evangelist and vice versa? It's part of the story of the genius of America.

Beginnings

❖ *1706: Deprived Childhood in Boston*

Benjamin Franklin was born in 1706 to a Puritan family in the city of Boston. Unfortunately, Josiah Franklin was never able to provide his children with the kind of education and opportunities that he most desired for them. Young Benjamin was enrolled in the Boston Latin School, but he was only able to be there for about a year and a half because his father could not afford the tuition. His father and mother desperately wanted him to become a Puritan minister like so many of their ancestors had been, but it was not to be.

❖ *1718: Apprenticed to Brother's Print Shop*

Young Benjamin was apprenticed to his brother, James, in a print shop there in the city of Boston, where they produced a small newsletter. It would be hard to call it a newspaper, but it carried some of the news of the day and some advice columns. It was a single sheet, printed there in James's print shop. It was Benjamin's job to learn the trade, learn the craft, and he did very well.

Benjamin, though, always had greater aspirations. He wanted to be a writer, so he began to petition his older brother to allow him to write small pieces. At first, advertisements were his suggestion, or perhaps slugline copy, as they called it, the throwaway lines that are thrown in at the bottom of pages to fill out the columns. Perhaps, he could find witty quotations or relevant epigrams to slip in. But his father and brother agreed that young Benjamin was precocious but not capable. So his brother, supporting their father's sentiments, denied him at every

turn. Enterprising young Benjamin decided that he would begin anonymously sending in advice columns from Mrs. Dogood. The columns were witty and practical. They were incredibly well-written and James, seeing that he had found himself quite a wonderful line of submissions, began to publish the columns. They were a hit. They doubled the circulation of the little newspaper and brought in a good deal of new revenue for the small business. Alas, James discovered that Mrs. Dogood was no missus at all but, instead, it was his scrawny little brother. He put an end to Mrs. Dogood immediately, at which point a very frustrated Benjamin ran away from his apprenticeship. In those days, the craft guilds were very tightly run, the equivalent of a moral law community. In a sense, Benjamin, by running away from his apprenticeship, was a fugitive from justice.

❖ *1723: Ran Away to Philadelphia*

He ran as far away as he could to the city of Philadelphia and attempted to rebuild a life for himself. He went to work for a small print shop, but he also was now free to spread his wings and explore all the things that he was interested in. Over the next couple of years, he accomplished a number of remarkable things, including teaching himself how to play the violin.

Rise to Fame

He began to experiment with his various scientific ideas and had several patents that earned him enough of a living to establish himself in the Philadelphia society of young, bright, advancing colonials. He opened his own small business.

❖ *1727: Established the Junto Council*

In 1727, he pulled together a group of his young friends, all intellectually precocious, all interested in a wide range of concerns, and he established what was called the Junto Council. The Junto Council would be the first and the greatest of the seedbeds of a remarkable flowering in the city of Philadelphia. Out of the council would come a bevy of ideas, most of them from Franklin himself — everything from the beginnings of a lending library, to the first public hospital, the first museum, a society for the advancement of the arts, a society for the advancement of the sciences. It would be the seedbed for remarkable entrepreneurial growth, and it established Benjamin Franklin as one of the brightest and most inquiring minds of the day. Alas, Franklin was through and through a total doubter when it came to both public morals, upheld in the colonial administrations and churches, and the Puritan religion which dominated the area.

❖ *1728: Established the Pennsylvania Gazette*

By 1728, when he established the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, his first newspaper, he was already known as a man who could skewer the poor morals and the hypocritical pretensions of American life.

When we think of America in the eighteenth century, even when we think of Britain in the eighteenth century, we have this idealized view. In fact, in the eighteenth century the English-speaking world had fallen into a moral stupor the likes of which had not been seen since the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries in Europe. J.C. Ryle describes it like this,

I venture to think that there is no period of English or American history which is so thoroughly instructive to a Christian as the middle of the eighteenth century. From the year 1700 until about the year of the French Revolution, the English-speaking world seemed barren of all that

is truly good. How such a state of things can have arisen in a land of free Bibles and professing Puritanism is almost past comprehension. Christianity seemed to lie as one dead. The only life to be seen was in the deists and the Enlightenment thinkers. When such was the state of things in churches and chapels, it can surprise no one to learn that the land was deluged with infidelity and skepticism. The prince of this world made good use of his opportunity. His agents were active and zealous in promulgating every kind of strange and blasphemous opinion.

Franklin was fascinated by every one of those strange and blasphemous opinions. The celebrated lawyer, William Blackstone, had the curiosity, early in the reign of George III, to go from church to church and hear every clergyman of note in the city of London. He says that he did not hear a single discourse which had more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero and that it would've been impossible for him to discover, from what he heard whether the preacher was a follower of Confucius, of Mohammed, or of Christ. In ninety-two sermons, he never heard the Bible quoted once. J.C. Ryle goes on:

In the greater part of the parishes and especially in the rural districts, there was no education at all. Nearly all the rural schools had been built since 1800. So what were the morals of that day? It may be suffice to say that dueling, adultery, fornication, gambling, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and drunkenness were hardly regarded as vices at all. In fact they were the fashionable practices of people in the highest ranks of society and no one was thought the worse of for indulging in them. Indeed, they were celebrated for their indiscretions in the tabloids and the pamphlets of the day.

We think that the *Hollywood Minute*, the *Gossip Moment* on CNN, or salacious celeb rags like *Us* and *People* are modern inventions. They were rife in the eighteenth century. Ryle goes on,

Wilberforce had not yet attacked the slave trade. Howard had not yet reformed prisons.¹ Raikes had not established Sunday schools.² We had no Bible societies, no ragged schools, no city missions, no pastoral aid societies, no missions to the heathen, no hospitals. The spirit of slumber was over the land.

And then came Whitefield. It's no wonder that men like Benjamin Franklin were doubters. It's no wonder that men like Franklin today are doubters, when the saints are asleep in the light, when they don't understand what's important and what's not, when they cannot mark their days and their hours in accordance with the gospel, but instead keep in step with the world, following its fashions and fancies. Who can blame them for doubting?

You've got friends who despise and reject the fake morality, the silly theatrical parade of Sunday mornings, don't you? They have good reasons to do so. That was Franklin. He saw through the hypocrisy and the pretension and he said, *A pox on your house*. He was a man of deep and abiding curiosity and intellectual precociousness, so he was always in search of something that was solid, true, good, and beautiful. He explored science and art. Along with Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson, he was one of the greatest polymaths of the day. He was a

¹ John Howard (1726–1790) was a philanthropist and the first English prison reformer. *Wikipedia*

² Robert Raikes (1736–1811) was an English philanthropist and Anglican layman, noted for his promotion of Sunday schools. *Wikipedia*

voracious reader. The reason he started the first lending library in Philadelphia was that he couldn't afford to buy all the books that he wanted, so he decided to create a means by which the citizens of Philadelphia — his friends and neighbors — could indulge in the opportunity to learn as he did.

❖ *1733: Published Poor Richard's Almanac*

It was in that spirit that, in 1733, he first published a little almanac of wit and wisdom called *Poor Richard's Almanac*. It was there that Benjamin Franklin really honed his writing skills and began to forge his sense of moral certainty, even if that moral certainty was yet without an anchor. It was in *Poor Richard's Almanac* that some of the greatest things that Benjamin Franklin ever wrote were the first published.

A penny saved is a penny earned.

A place for everything and everything in its place.

An investment in knowledge pays the best interest.

A countryman between two lawyers or two politicians is like a fish between two cats.

I love that one!

In this world, nothing is certain but death and taxes.

A good conscience is a continual Christmas.

A great empire, like a great cake, is easily diminished at the edges.

A house is not a home unless it contains food and fire for the mind as well as for the body.

A learned blockhead is a greater blockhead than an ignorant blockhead.

A man wrapped up in himself makes for a very small bundle.

Admiration is the daughter of ignorance.

All mankind is divided into three classes, those that are immoveable, those that are moveable, and those that move.

All who think cannot but see that there is a sanction like that of religion which binds us in partnership in the serious work of the world.

He was really searching for some kind of moral certainty.

As we must account for every idle word, so we must account for every idle silence. Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.

At twenty years of age, the will reigns, at thirty, the wit, and at forty, the judgement.

Be at war with your vices, at peace with your neighbors, and let every new year find you a better man.

Be slow in choosing a friend, slower in changing.

Beauty and folly are old companions.

Beware of little expenses. A small leak will sink a great ship.

By failing to prepare, you are preparing to fail.

Contentment makes poor men rich. Discontentment makes rich men poor.

Creditors have better memories than debtors.

Diligence is the mother of good luck. Necessity is the mother of invention.

Distrust and caution are the parents of security.
Do good to your friends to keep them, to your enemies to win them.

We could go on and on. Obviously, he was a witty writer, an incisive thinker, and a deeply moral searcher.

As a result, he rose quickly in society. His accomplishments were many. Despite his skepticism, his Deism, and his peculiar habits — he had many peculiar habits — he was held in high regard.

❖ *1754: Represented Pennsylvania at Albany Congress*

In 1754, he was asked to represent Pennsylvania at the Albany Congress and ever afterwards was a representative for the state in all of the most difficult negotiations.

Glory Years

❖ *1756: Sent to London for Trade Talks*

❖ *1763: Helped to Organize Local Militia*

❖ *1776: Draft Declaration Committee*

In 1756, he was sent to London for trade talks. In 1763, he worked with Arthur St. Clair in establishing the Pennsylvania militia and worked with the militia to ensure that they had proper regulations, uniforms, and access to retirement benefits. And, of course, in 1776, he was made one of the five members of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, and he guided that document through the process of ratification.

An American Celebrity: 1714-1770

Beginnings

❖ *1714: Deprived Childhood in Gloucester*

George Whitefield couldn't have been more different or more alike. He too had a deprived childhood. He was born in 1714, in the city of Gloucester, and was left in dire straits when his father died just eighteen months later. His mother remarried, but it was a very, very unhappy, difficult, and abusive relationship that ended shortly thereafter. As a result, he had very little growing up. His family moved from place to place and lived in little better than garrets and carriage houses.

❖ *1732: Servitor at Pembroke Oxford*

Nevertheless, young George was obviously precociously bright and so, determined that he would, despite his lack to education, find a way to make it to college, eventually, he got a job as a servitor at Pembroke College in Oxford. Essentially that was the job of servant to all the other students, where, with your wages, you were enabled to take a few classes with the hope that, eventually you would be able to enter the college on your own.

❖ *1735: Converted in the Holy Club*

It was just a few years later that he became associated with the Wesley brothers, John and Charles, and was brought into something called the Holy Club there at Oxford. The Holy Club was an interesting collection of like-minded searchers, some of them skeptics, some of them Deists, some of them Enlightenment thinkers, none

of them actually Christians. But they desired something far more substantial. It was there at the Holy Club that George Whitefield, in studying the Bible, was converted. His conversion was dramatic and instantaneous. In fact, it was so dramatic that the other members of the Holy Club held him at arm's length and with some deep suspicion.

Rise to Fame

❖ *1736: Ordained into Anglican Ministry*

Nevertheless, the next year, in 1736, Whitefield was ordained into the Anglican ministry, initially as a deacon.

❖ *1737: Electrifying Preaching in Bristol*

Almost immediately his preaching aroused great excitement, so much so that he determined to take his message of the gospel of grace, the radical transformation of the heart and all of culture, to the very difficult coal-mining city of Bristol. There, initially preaching in a chapel and later preaching in the open air, he began his great itinerant ministry. Thousands upon thousands of coal miners gathered in Bristol to hear this young preacher proclaim the doctrines of grace. It was said that his voice was stunningly clear, often compared to the ringing of a bell. His theatrical delivery was passionate and ardent. His grasp of theological orthodoxy was a novelty in a day when liberalism and higher learning passed for religion. It sparked a remarkable revival.

❖ *1738: First of Seven American Trips*

It was the next year that he determined to go to America and preach in the colonies. He had a vision of becoming a missionary and serving on the mission field. Part of the reason he decided to go was that he was receiving great resistance from the bishops, the prelates, and the curates of the Anglican Church. They didn't like the fact that he was stirring the pot. They didn't like his theology, which was rooted in the Bible and the Reformation doctrines of Martin Luther and John Calvin. They didn't like the fact that he drew vast crowds when their churches were empty. With the resistance pushing him away from his native England, he decided to go to America and see if the fields there were white unto harvest, as he had heard.

❖ *1739: Established Bethesda Orphanage*

It was that next year that he established his great work in America, which was the Bethesda Orphanage in Savannah, Georgia. Georgia, at the time, was a prison colony peopled primarily by convicts, who served as indentured servants, laboring on large plantations in the New World. It was very, very difficult work, and there were large numbers of orphaned children left behind when parents died either of physical exhaustion or the plague of typhoid that seemed to ravage the community at regular intervals. So he established the Bethesda Orphanage and made that orphanage the hallmark of his work. Virtually all his preaching after that was really a twofold operation — to proclaim the gospel of grace and the great hope of the good news, but also to raise funds for the Bethesda Orphanage.

Glory Years

❖ *1741: Wesley Attacked Reformed Faith*

Just two years later his old friend, John Wesley, recently converted, began to attack the doctrines that Whitefield was preaching — the doctrines of the Reformed faith. Wesley had an egregious interchange with Whitefield, and Whitefield decided to leave the work that he had started, a work that they called Methodism because of the

methods of prayer and small groups and accountability that they created. He decided to leave Methodism in England to Wesley, and he would focus on his work in America. So Wesley inherited Whitefield's work.

❖ *1742: Cambuslang Revival*

In 1742, shortly after this dispute, no longer welcome in England by either his former friends from the Holy Club or his prelates in the Anglican Church, Whitefield went north to Scotland and began to preach in the open air there, and found a ready reception. In fact, one of the greatest revivals of the eighteenth century is what is known as the Cambuslang Revival that swept through Scotland and laid the foundations for the rise of Scotland from its long, deep slumber since the time of John Knox.

❖ *1744: Franklin Published Journals*

Then, in 1744, on another of his trips to America, Whitefield decided to allow a publisher in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin, to publish his sermons and his journals. The journals wound up becoming the bestselling books in the world and brought a great deal of wealth to Franklin. They provided the necessary resources to run the Bethesda Orphanage for Whitefield, but it was also the beginning of a remarkable friendship between the two men.

An American Ideal: 1769

The thing about Whitefield was that he seemed to be unlike any other preacher that Franklin had ever met or heard of. He was incorruptible. He was not attracted to money, power, or fame. He was intellectually precocious, as precocious as any of Franklin's friends. He was widely read, understood the classics, and was interested in art, music, literature, and ideas. He desired in his sermons to apply the message of the gospel to every single area of life. There was hardly a time when Whitefield spoke that he didn't speak of all spheres of life. It was an astonishing revelation for Franklin, and Franklin was deeply attracted. The men actually shared three great principles that bound them together.

Virtue

❖ *Transformation of Lives and Cultures*

❖ *Claiming the Moral High Ground*

Both Whitefield and Franklin greatly valued virtue. They both believed that the transformed life, living in accordance with that which is right, good, and true, can change the world. They believed that virtue could transform lives, cultures, and communities, and that that was the only hope for the future. They both believed that the virtuous man was always able to claim the moral high ground in any battle, in any struggle.

❖ *Works Righteousness v. Grace Works*

The difference, of course, was that Benjamin Franklin believed that virtue could be achieved by the sheer pluck, the hard work, the diligence, and the unflinching, visionary purpose of man himself. Benjamin Franklin believed in works righteousness. George Whitefield believed that grace and grace alone could produce the virtuous works necessary for the transformation of culture. Benjamin Franklin had never heard anything like that in all his life and he was stunned by it. He became absolutely fascinated with Whitefield and thoroughly investigated his life and his works.

One of the first times he ever heard Whitefield preach, he was astonished because, though his reputation had preceded him, Franklin didn't believe the reputation. One of the things that was said about Whitefield was that he could preach to crowds of thousands right in city centers and everyone to the very edge of the crowd could actually make out every word of the sermon. Franklin knew that, scientifically, this was impossible. Franklin had stood in the middle of the market squares in the city of Philadelphia. He knew how noisy crowds of people could be, the rustling and bustling. Sometimes, just sitting in this room with just a hundred people in it, if everyone's talking or if there's a rustling going on, you can barely hear yourself think. How could a person actually preach to a crowd of ten thousand, twenty thousand? During the Cambuslang Revival, it was said that he often preached to crowds of more than *one hundred thousand* with no amplification and that everyone could hear his voice distinctly and clearly. Franklin said, *That's mythology. That's typical of Christianity, making stuff up, then dolling it all up with some nice, prim, proper Bible verse and all. I'm not going to have a thing to do with this.* But he went to hear Whitefield speak for the first time, and he was astonished. He was standing not far from where Whitefield was standing, on the courthouse steps there in Philadelphia's city center, and he was astonished by how clear and precise Whitefield's pronunciation was. The great Shakespearean actor, Garrick,³ often said that he would give a hundred guineas just to say, "O" like Mr. Whitefield. Jonathan Johnson said that "whole crowds can be converted simply by Mr. Whitefield pronouncing the word *Mesopotamia*." So, Franklin decided to walk away from Whitefield and see how far he could go and still hear the sermon. He got six blocks away and estimated that there were some thirty thousand people crowded into the side streets and along the large avenue there — thirty thousand people listening to Whitefield preach.

Another time, Franklin went with a friend to hear Whitefield preach and realized that he had money in his pocket. He took all his money out of his pocket and handed it to his friend. His friend asked him what he was doing. He said, *By the time he comes to the end, he'll take an offering, and I'll give all my money, so I'm giving it to you to keep it safe because I know what's going to happen at the end of this sermon.* So the end of the sermon came, the offering was taken, the two friends walked away, and Franklin stuck out his hand and asked for his money. His friend said, *Oh, no, I gave it during the offering.*

Franklin was fascinated by this man. He began to read his books, listen to his sermons, and he became smitten by this idea that there was a God, that he had spoken, that he extended his grace, and that lives could be transformed not by just the sheer energy of man but by the mercy and kindness of God.

Vision

- ❖ *Beauty, Goodness, Truth, Progress*
- ❖ *Believing for the Future*

Both men also shared a great vision. Both men were able to see the connections between different disciplines and ideas. They believed that beauty, goodness, and truth made way for progress for mankind. They believed that there were objective standards for beauty, goodness, and truth and that those objective standards, when properly adhered to, could produce a better society, a greater hope, a brighter future. Their vision was a vision largely fixed not on the present. They believed it was necessary for their generation to defer gratification for a greater day yet come.

³ David Garrick (1717–1779) was an English actor, playwright, theatre manager, and producer. *Wikipedia*

In the eighteenth century, this was rare. It was a time when people were fixed on the moment. They could hardly think of anything but this present moment. Young people in the eighteenth century seemed to have no direction and no ambition. One chronicler said that to sum up the philosophy of the day, but a single word was necessary to describe the lack of initiative. That single word was *whatsoever* — we've shortened it to *whatever* — but it was the same affliction, *whatsoever*.

❖ *Not Despising Small Beginnings*

This vision for the future meant that both men understood the importance of starting fresh, beginning anew, launching out, venturing forth without fear, not despising the day of small beginnings. The rich and powerful would often mock the fledgling councils, academies, and associations that Franklin and Whitefield were prone to start. It was said that in his lifetime, Franklin established three hundred twelve different organizations, societies, and groups. Over the course of his lifetime, George Whitefield established one hundred twelve. They were *start-aholics*, because they did not despise the day of small beginnings.

They had a vision for the future. They weren't stuck in the *now*. They didn't believe that big and successful were necessary in the present moment. They believed that sacrifices had to be made, that the road had to be paved for that greater day in the future. They were both intensely fixed on a greater day yet to come. They sacrificed themselves in labor for that day.

A New Freedom

One of the things that obviously attracted Franklin to Whitefield was that both of them had a knack for phrasing the apt epigram. I read you some of the epigrams from *Poor Richard's Almanac* from Benjamin Franklin. Here are a few of Whitefield's:

Take care of your life and the Lord will take care of your death.

To preach for more than half an hour, a man should be an angel himself or have angels for hearers, for the mind cannot absorb what the behind cannot endure.

We are immortal until our work on earth is done.

True Christianity is a far cry from the theatrical pomp on display in most of our respectable churches. A pox on them. A pox on them all.

Hast thou never been despised, mocked, jeered, and debased for your faith? I fear then that you know ought of faith at all.

Fight the good fight of faith and God will give you great mercy.

The religion of Jesus is a social religion. It cannot be had in the heart of one man alone.

Press forward. Do not stop, do not linger on your journey. Strive for the mark set before you.

Never, ever, ever give in.

❖ *The Puritan Work Ethic*

❖ *Fervor, Incentive, Opportunity*

As you can see, Whitefield had that Puritan work ethic that Franklin so deeply admired. Whitefield had the sense of fervor and incentive, the creation of opportunities where no opportunities presented themselves that Franklin greatly admired. Here was a man who spent his entire life preaching with no church, proclaiming the gospel with no salary, going from place to place with no organization and no support, establishing a network of ideas

and people and disciples that would transform thirteen fledglings separate colonies into a single force that would stand against the greatest power the world had never known.

❖ *Multi-Generational Blessing*

Both men believed in a multi-generational approach to the blessings of labor, vision, and tenacity. They believed that blessing could be bestowed on future generations by the dint of labor in the present one.

❖ *The Ideal Christian Community*

It's not surprising that in 1769, the two men got together — they'd been corresponding for some months about an idea. *What if we took all these ideals, brought them together, and established the ideal town?* It was long before nineteenth-century utopianism would shake the Western frontier. Franklin was fascinated by the notion that perhaps Whitefield understood how a culture could be reformed. So why not go out to the West, establish a little colony, and bring all these principles together. Franklin said that he was on the verge of receiving the Christ that Whitefield proclaimed. He made note of it several times in their correspondence back and forth. Franklin, the great skeptic, the great intellect, the engine of productivity and creativity, had met his match in Whitefield and was ready to relent his heart. He was ready to throw in his lot to establish a new colony in the West, over the mountains from Virginia and North Carolina in the lush valleys of the Watauga province. They began to pursue the possibility of getting a land grant for the territory. The vision of Franklin abounded. Whitefield was a little skeptical. Whitefield said, "Would it not be better, though admittedly harder, if we were to apply all our efforts to Boston and Philadelphia and to those difficult fields where we must plow iron for a season, where the sky is bronze but the need is great?"

Alas, they were never able to speed their vision to fruition. Having traveled his entire life cross the ocean and on horseback and in rugged conditions, Whitefield's body finally just wore out. While on a preaching tour of New England, he died in 1770 in Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he was buried in the crypt of the First Presbyterian Church. Whitefield's instructions to Franklin, concerning that ideal Christian community, were never altogether lost. Some of Franklin's associates, who had likewise been greatly influenced by Whitefield's preaching, journals, and sermons, decided to pursue that vision themselves. They brought that vision to the Watauga province — among the men who fought at the Battle of King's Mountain, men like Gideon Blackburn and Sam Houston. Ultimately, though much diminished in its form, the idea of that ideal community, now named for one of the great men just recently departed, was established, but the vision has yet to be realized, but it still can be, and it should be. By God's grace, it will be.



Father, what great grace you have poured out upon us. The heirs of a remarkable vision and the peculiar sort of relationship that existed between two men, who were despised by all those who should have loved them and loved by all those who should have despised them, so much like today. Lord, we're often prone to think that it would be so much easier if all we had to do was fight our enemies instead of having to fight our friends, too. But this is the way reformation has always been. You've shown us that again and again through history and so, Lord, give us strength for the day to realize the vision that you have called us to, never to flinch, never to waver, never to draw back, to rely upon your grace and to look for the transformation of everything. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 17

The Mid-term Election of 2010: Principles & Propositions

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Louisiana Purchase; Madison's Blunders and Their Punishment

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 198–212

Lesson Synopsis

This Election Day is perhaps one of the most important election days in recent history. This could be either the beginning of a real, dramatic change in the temperature of the American electorate, or it could be a time of greater polarization. There is an independent spirit in America, the likes of which we have not seen since the breakup of the old major parties and the recalibration of all the new ones in the 1840's. It is absolutely madcap out there.

Opportunity

8

Lesson Topics

The mid-term election of 2010; Psalm 97; American Policy Roundtable; iVoters.com

Primary Source Material

Psalm 97

Vocabulary

gubernatorial, electorate, polarization, incendiary, counterbalance, fugitive, coercion, abduction, frenzy, speculation, recalibration, madcap, referendum, hubris, behemoth, leviathan, compendium, gobbledygook, deficit, partisan, comprehensive, doldrum, infanticide, amnesty, concord, halcyon, sovereignty, nonpartisan, invocation, extravaganza, sanctuary, parity, ascendancy, equity, operational, savor

Timeline

none for this lesson



The Mid-term Election of 2010:

Principles & Propositions

“Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. Where there is liberty, then there is the true covenant community standing fast in its defense.”
~Samuel Adams

All right. We've got several special things in store for you today. We have a couple of special guests. Today is Election Day. We are fortunate to be studying American Culture this year, so the opportunity to spend time on the election itself is fortunate.

2 November

❖ America's Traditional Election Day

Today is Tuesday, November 2, Election Day. Election Day always falls on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November. That may sound redundant, but it's not. If the first Tuesday of November is the first of November, then Election Day would be the following Tuesday. In colonial America prior to the first Continental Congress, election days were set for that first Tuesday after the first Monday because the fall harvest was completed. They did not want the election to fall on the first day of the month because that was when businesses typically did their bookkeeping from the previous month and their planning for the next month; therefore the earliest that it is possible for an election day to fall is the second day of November.

At any rate, today is Election Day, and it is perhaps one of the most important election days in recent history. We could see historic changes in the power of the House of Representatives, perhaps in the Senate. Certainly it looks as if there will be a massive shift of power in the gubernatorial races around the country and massive shifts, perhaps, in state houses and state senates as well. This could be either the beginning of a real, dramatic change in the temperature of the American electorate, or it could be a time of greater polarization — we will have to see what the results of this day and the coming months will bring. There are already some astonishing trends that we have not seen in American political life probably since the 1840's.

❖ All Souls' Day

Today is also All Souls' Day. Yesterday was All Saints' Day. All Souls' Day came about because, in the tenth century, Abbot Odilo of the Cluny Monastery decided to add to the celebration of All Saints' Day — a feast that was set aside to remember the martyrs of the faith through the ages — declaring the following day as a feast day to honor, not just the martyrs, but all Christians who had fulfilled their callings in this life and had gone on to receive their eternal reward. In other words, it's a day set aside to celebrate faithfulness in the Christian life and in the Church. I thought to myself, “What better day than today, a pivotal election day, for us to remember that it is a glory to celebrate faithfulness in the Christian life!”

❖ *1533: The reforming theologian and pastor John Calvin narrowly escaped from the city of Paris.*

Today is the anniversary of the great escape of John Calvin in 1533. It wasn't quite as dramatic as the escape of the Apostle Paul who was delivered from the city of Damascus by being lowered over the wall in a basket, but in 1533, John Calvin made a similarly thrilling escape from the city of Paris. To be sure, Calvin was hardly a prime candidate for such adventures. He was a young speech writer for the canon of Notre Dame Cathedral. He had written a number of speeches and pamphlets, and, in particular, an incendiary sermon. At least, it was incendiary to the listeners at Notre Dame Cathedral because, in the sermon, he actually asserted the primacy and the authority of Scripture for all of life.

Now that might not sound particularly radical, but in that day the universal teaching of the church was that the Scriptures came alongside tradition and the authority of the church and they counterbalanced each other. What Calvin said in his sermon, written for Nicholas Cop who delivered it at Notre Dame, was that there was no authority greater than the living Word of God. Calvin, who was always frail of health as well as retiring, serious, and scholarly, was discovered to be the writer of this sermon. Not only was Nicholas Cop sent into exile, but Calvin was as well. He had to flee for his life with the police hot on his heels. Calvin lowered himself from his third-story window on bed sheets tied together and escaped from Paris dressed as a farmer with a hoe on his shoulder.

For three years he wandered as a fugitive evangelist under assumed names. When he finally settled in Geneva, very much against his will under the coercion of William Farel who found out that he was passing through the city and compelled him to stay, it was there that he became perhaps the greatest theologian of the Reformation, and according to many, the founding father of the vision that, in due time, gave rise to American freedom. So, it is very appropriate that this should be remembered on this particular day.

❖ *1734: The frontiersman and explorer, Daniel Boone, was born near Reading, Pennsylvania.*

Also, on this day in 1734, Daniel Boone was born in Berks County near Reading, Pennsylvania. He was a great frontiersman, explorer, and militia officer. What many do not know is that he was also a frontier pastor. Wherever he founded a settlement, he also planted a church and held services in the various settlements until an ordained pastor was brought to those settlements. His many adventures included his abduction by Shawnee Indians who adopted him and named him Big Turtle. He was captured by the British in 1781. He was an avid sportsman and continued hunting into his eighties. I think Daniel Boone would've been the sort of man who would have supported the constitutional amendment to the Tennessee Constitution which is on the ballot for voters today allowing the Second Amendment to actually remain the Second Amendment.

Lord Byron immortalized Daniel Boone in his famous poem, *Don Juan*, with these lines:

Of all men, saving Sylla, the man-slayer,
Who passes for in life and death most lucky,
Of the great names which in our faces stare,
The General Boon, back-woodsman of Kentucky,
Was happiest amongst mortals anywhere;
For killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
Enjoyed the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.

A man of God to the very end.

- ❖ *1954: South Carolina's Strom Thurmond became the first senator elected by a write-in vote during the national elections.*

Also on this day in 1954, the only senator to be elected as a write-in candidate to the United States Senate, Strom Thurmond, was elected. He wasn't on the ballot. He ran as an independent. Interestingly, we may see the same thing happen today. A write-in campaign in Alaska appears on target to re-elect a former Republican, now Independent, to the United States Senate — very interesting, the voting trend for these mid-term elections. You should know by the frenzy of silly season advertising that has just ruined television watching and football games for everyone in America and the frenzied speculation of the media that nobody knows what to make of this particular election because the mass of the electorate is trending neither Republican nor Democrat. There is an independent spirit in America, the likes of which we have not seen since the breakup of the old major parties and the recalibration of all the new ones in the 1840's. It is absolutely madcap out there.

Critical Issues: 2010

- ❖ *Referendum on Obama and the "Obama Doctrine"*
- ❖ *Referendum on Bush and the "Bush Doctrine"*

And there are a lot of issues that are floating to the top. Among them are a sudden, stunning, referendum on President Obama and what is now being called the Obama Doctrine, which Shelby Steele, an astute historian and observer of American culture and politics, said in the *Wall Street Journal* was a combination of hubris and bullying that has Americans on all sides outraged. If, indeed, that outrage turns in the direction that many think it might, this election could also be yet another referendum on President Bush and the Bush Doctrine because what was once a very unpopular foreign policy has now taken on a bit of a shine.

- ❖ *ObamaCare and the Future of Health Care*

In addition, this election will inevitably deal with ObamaCare — that behemoth, that monstrous leviathan of a bill, or compendium of bills, or hodgepodge of bills, or coal train load or boxcar of bills called ObamaCare, or the Healthcare Reform Plan. It's rather astonishing that no one in public office and virtually no one in America knows where they stand when it comes to healthcare. None of us know what this means, where our healthcare will come from, whether or not we're going to be able to get the kind of medicines that we need, or if we'll have to go through government bureaucracies in order for our doctors to get approvals for the most basic of care. Nobody knows because almost no one can make heads or tails out of this massive, five-phonebook-high bill, which as far as I can tell, no sitting congressman or -woman has read. Or if they have read it, how can they understand it, because after the third page it gets all gobbledegook, anyway? Anyway, that's an issue.

- ❖ *Taxation and Deficit Spending*

Then, there is the whole question of big government, taxation, deficit spending.

- ❖ *Partisan Control of the House and Senate*

There's the question of partisan control of the House and the Senate. Currently, two of the branches of government are comprehensively controlled by a single party.

❖ *Jobs and the Economy*

There is the question of the economy which is still in the doldrums. The experts continue to say things like, *We don't understand it. Why is this recession continuing?* Well, if you go into debt a trillion dollars in a hiccup of time, it's probably going to put a damper on the planning of large and small businesses alike.

❖ *The Rise of Independents and the Tea Party*

Then, of course, there is the big question of the day and that is, What does it mean, long term and short term, this business of the Tea Party and the rise of an astonishingly independent streak in the American electorate.

❖ *The Afghan War and the Islamic Terrorism*

The Afghan War and Islamic terrorism are once again in the headlines.

❖ *Abortion, Infanticide, and Fetal Research*

Once again we go to the polls with pressing questions before us, questions that lie somewhat below the surface. The media certainly are not talking about them, but there are a whole slew of moral issues including the definition of marriage, how we spend our healthcare dollars — you may not be able to get treatment for your asthma, but you sure can bet on the fact that the government is going to pay for abortions, infanticide, and fetal research.

❖ *Illegal Immigration and Amnesty Programs*

Then, of course, in various places around the country — not everywhere, but particularly across the Southwest, the question of illegal immigration and various proposed amnesty programs top the list of concerns.

As Christians, we need to be aware of these issues. If any of these critical issues is something that you are unfamiliar with, then you need to inform yourself. But more important than informing yourself on these headline-making issues, are the underlying issues of the reality of the universe.

Psalm 97

The LORD reigns, let the earth rejoice;
let the many coastlands be glad!
Clouds and thick darkness are all around him;
righteousness and justice are the foundation of his throne.
Fire goes before him
and burns up his adversaries all around.
His lightnings light up the world;
the earth sees and trembles.
The mountains melt like wax before the LORD,
before the Lord of all the earth.

The heavens proclaim his righteousness,
and all the peoples see his glory.
All worshipers of images are put to shame,

who make their boast in worthless idols;
worship him, all you gods!

Zion hears and is glad,
and the daughters of Judah rejoice,
because of your judgments, O LORD.
For you, O LORD, are most high over all the earth;
you are exalted far above all gods.

O you who love the LORD, hate evil!
He preserves the lives of His saints;
he delivers them from the hand of the wicked.
Light is sown for the righteous,
and joy for the upright in heart.
Rejoice in the LORD, O you righteous,
and give thanks to his Holy Name.

Psalm 97 outlines a vision of how the world works. You know, from personal experience, that if you do something that is out of concord with the way the world works you get hurt. “You don’t tug on Superman’s cape. You don’t spit into the wind,” to quote a great American philosopher.¹ If you do something stupid, you’re going to get hurt. Doing something stupid is doing something that is out of sync with the way things actually are. Psalm 97 tells us how things are. “The Lord reigns.” God is sovereign. It doesn’t matter what Rahm Emanuel or Emma Thompson say. God is sovereign. He is there; he is not silent. He rules and reigns over all of the earth. If you try and live as if that is not true, you will stumble and fall. Your policies will fail, you will be hurt, the economy will falter, the military will have setbacks, families will be disrupted, if you don’t recognize this basic reality.

The Lord² reigns; let the earth rejoice.
The LORD reigns, let the earth rejoice;
let the many coastlands be glad!
Clouds and thick darkness are all around him;
righteousness and justice are the foundation of his throne.
Fire goes before him
and burns up his adversaries all around.
His lightnings light up the world;
the earth sees and trembles.
The mountains melt like wax before the LORD,
before the Lord of all the earth.

The heavens proclaim his righteousness,
and all the peoples see his glory.

¹ Jim Croce, lyrics to “You Don’t Mess Around With Jim” (1972)

² Slip of the tongue: here, Dr. Grant said, “The *earth* reigns,” instead of “the *Lord* reigns”.

That's the reality. After the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, crowds were gathered in the streets of New York City ready to riot. A police commissioner grabbed a former general — now congressman, from the halcyon days of the Civil War when the war was ultimately turned in favor of the Union — thrust him onto a ladder, and asked him to try to calm the crowd. That's when James Garfield quoted Psalm 97. He wanted the crowd to realize that whatever they thought was wrong with the world, whatever they thought was bringing destruction, was just an appearance because God still ruled and reigned. In fact, he actually used the phrase, "God rules and reigns despite all appearances in Washington." It's a really important thing for us to remember.

Psalm 97 goes on to say,

All worshippers of images are put to shame.

In other words, you do something stupid and you will get hurt.

All worshipers of images are put to shame,
who make their boast in worthless idols;
worship him, all you gods!

Zion hears and is glad,
and the daughters of Judah rejoice,
because of your judgments, O LORD.
For you, O LORD, are most high over all the earth;
you are exalted far above all gods.

O you who love the LORD, hate evil!
He preserves the lives of His saints;
he delivers them from the hand of the wicked.
Light is sown for the righteous,
and joy for the upright in heart.
Rejoice in the LORD, O you righteous,
and give thanks to his Holy Name.

Biblical Principles of Politics

Sovereignty

- ❖ *Hope and Gladness*
- ❖ *Worldwide Kingdom*
- ❖ *Truth and Justice*
- ❖ *Turning from Idols*

We need to be clear about a couple of local principles that emerge from Psalm 97. The first is that God's sovereignty means that the people who recognize his rule and reign will know hope and gladness. They will begin to see a great and glorious vision of a worldwide kingdom where truth and justice reign, and where, progressively to

the very ends of the earth, as far as the curse is found, people turn away from their idols — the idols of wealth, power, and self, as well as the false idols that men erect before themselves and humiliate themselves in front of.

Jurisdictionalism

- ❖ *Ecclesia*
- ❖ *Familia*
- ❖ *Communitas*
- ❖ *Civitas*

Secondly, Psalm 97 reinforces the idea that this sovereign God exercises authority over all the spheres and over all the jurisdictions of life. We see God's authority over the realm of *ecclesia* — the realm of the church — but no more or less than his exercise of authority and sovereignty over the jurisdiction of *familia* — the family — or *communitas* — the wider community — or *civitas* — the civil government. God's sovereignty extends to all things.

iVoters.com

Really the big story in this election season is that we have a lot of independent voters. Many of you have seen brochures for iVoters.com, which is a Facebook for politics covering every race all over the United States. It is totally nonpartisan, providing all of the newspaper endorsements and comments from people in districts all across the country.

We actually have the brains behind iVoters.com with us. He is one of our FCS dads and he has been in the battle to bring nonpartisan, substantive, Christian support to good, solid candidates for more than thirty years. He's been my dear friend, for most of those thirty years. In the years that he wasn't my friend, I liked him, he just didn't like me, but that's okay. Dave Zanotti would you come? We want to have dialog and talk about some of the issues that are before us.

But first, I want to share my favorite Election Day quote. I use it every Election Day and have since 1992. My mentor, Dr. D. James Kennedy, was asked to give the invocation at the GOP Convention in 1992. It was held in the Astrodome in Houston. It was an extravaganza. The Astrodome was filled with politicians. He comes to the podium as only Dr. Kennedy could, and he said, "Let us pray." And then he bowed his head and said, "Oh Lord, deliver us from politicians and give us statesmen instead." The place began to murmur, and there were catcalls from the floor of the Republican Convention, and I thought to myself at that moment, "I've never been more proud of Dr. Kennedy than I am at this moment."

Dr. Grant (GG): How do you respond to that particular moment and what it tells us about politics and the need for statesmen as opposed to politicians?

Mr. Zanotti (DZ): What year was that?

GG: 1992

DZ : Where were you?

GG: I was in the audience, up in the nosebleed section.

DZ : Did you write that for him?

GG: I did not write it for him, but I would have loved to! I actually was there because I'd written a book that John Ashcroft, later the Attorney General, but at that time the senator from the state of Missouri, had commissioned me to write for the campaign. It was a little book called *Hillarious*, which was about Hillary.³ It wasn't funny.

DZ: In response to your question, I would submit that the illustration that you gave in your lecture several weeks ago about Washington's resignation is perhaps the historical example that applies best. We've been talking about that a lot in some interesting places.

GG: You used that illustration in a wonderful speech in which you took the health care plan and slammed it down on the stage and said, "Above all else, above *all* else, deliver us from this!" He threw it down on the stage, and the whole crowd is going crazy; it was covered on C-SPAN. It's gone viral.

DZ: Yes, the *New York Times* was there. John Boehner was sitting right there, which was the point.

GG: It kind of rattled his feet. I don't know if you noticed when you slammed it on the stage, his eyes grew wide, he didn't know quite what to do. By the way, John Boehner is...

DZ: ...the Minority Leader of the House and the person whom they are projecting to be the next Speaker of the House if, in fact, tonight's election results come out as the polling is showing.

GG: Wait, wait! He's a Republican. Isn't he the good guy?

DZ: You have a lot of questions. That would be question two. Let's go back to your question one about Washington and the resignation. Dr. Grant referenced an event that is actually a painting that I referenced to Mr. Boehner and someone by the name of Bill Johnson who is running for Congress in a race that was viewed as absolutely impossible to win just eight months ago, maybe even eight weeks ago. But this painting is a beautiful painting. It's not historically accurate. It has, in the balcony of the assembly hall, Mrs. Washington, when she was not there at the time — creative license was used by the artist — and it shows Washington surrendering his resignation of the armed forces back to the Congress — the right of the military power giving its authority back to civil power — and Dr. Grant rightly discerns that that is the moment in which American public service was defined not as the accumulation of power toward an individual, but in service for the common good, which is a Pauline doctrine which was from the teachings of Jesus Christ, himself, and that we should love our neighbor as we love ourselves.

It's a profound moment. That's what a statesman is — a person who knows when it's time to go home. The realm of politics is not reality; it's simply service. The difference between a plumber and a congressman, in most instances, is that a plumber is more important when you really need him. The congressman is there to make sure things don't collapse and to keep us in a position where, as you rightly discern, the core of American government

³ The full title is *Hillarious: The Wacky Wit, Wisdom and Wonderment of Hillary Rodham-Clinton*.

is to give us our lives back, not to take our lives over. So, it is a field of service. That's what a statesman is — a person who knows when it's time to go home.

What was that second question?

Audience member: Isn't the Republican the good guy?

Mr Zanotti: May I read here from the Book of Isaiah?

The Lord spoke to me with his strong hand upon me, warning me not to follow the way of this people. He said do not call conspiracy everything these people call conspiracy; do not fear what they fear, and do not dread it. The Lord Almighty is the one you are to regard as Holy; he is the one you are to fear, he is the one you are to dread. And He will be a sanctuary.⁴

In Isaiah 8:20,⁵ it goes on to say this

To the law and to the testimony, if they do not speak according to this word, they have no light of dawn.

It doesn't matter what a person's true political party is because the true history of America is that our first three presidents were elected before political parties existed, and two of those presidents, upon their departure from office, warned America that if we ever became a country divided between political parties, we would lose the nation. It would be a fundamental disaster. That is at the core of *what's wrong with America*.

GG: And, by the way, we're going to see this in full form when we get to the discussion of the Civil War. Almost lost in all the discussion of the Civil War is that what happened was a fundamental breakdown in American politics because of partisanship. No party was able to do what Wilberforce was able to do in England and fight for abolition; no political party was able to do what Shaftesbury did in England and fight for parity in the labor markets, in the export markets. They were so polarized that the country *had* to go to war. It was the only way to break the loggerhead. And it's interesting that the political parties that existed prior to the war did not exist after the war. There were new parties after the war and what we fail to realize is that the Civil War was not just about slavery, it wasn't just about trade, it wasn't just about states' rights. It was a breakdown in the political system because of partisan politics, the very thing George Washington warned us about in his farewell address.

DZ: The catchphrase, *principle over party*, has always been the operational reality. You have to do the right thing and then worry about politics after. Political parties, why political parties? Inevitably, we are going to make up teams. We always do. We have cliques, we have teams. Sometimes they're practical, sometimes they're necessary, but they should never control. But with the ascendancy of government — as government gets bigger, the people who work in public office have the opportunity to control lots of revenue. Think about this, there are four hundred thirty-five members in the United States House of Representatives. Add another hundred for the Senate and you have five hundred thirty-five people to control trillions and trillions of dollars every year. They are,

⁴ Isaiah 8:11–13

⁵ Slip of the tongue: Mr. Zanotti said, "Isaiah 20:8" instead of Isaiah 8:20. *Ed.*

in essence, the largest corporation in the world. And with their votes, which they spent nothing of their own personal investment to get — they did not go out and buy stock; they didn't put in sweat equity to have access to this multi-trillion dollar corporation — by getting elected, they now control that money, and it's somebody else's money.

GG: And, and on top of that, they are their own bosses. They give themselves their own raises. If you could go out and get a job, and you could just make up your own salary, no matter what, how good a job would that be? Just tell your boss, "This is how much I make." This is what Congress has.

DZ: What surprises many people to discover is once you become a member of Congress, you are also handed a million-dollar operating budget of someone else's money. A million-dollar budget to run your office.

GG: Here's a little story. In the first Bush administration, I was offered three different jobs as an undersecretary; two were in one department and one was in another department. They were talking to me in making this job offer, and we get down to money. The salary was fairly modest for Washington, D.C. — \$85,000 a year. This was ten years ago. I'm thinking to myself, "That's a good salary in Franklin, Tennessee, but in Washington, D.C., that's not so great. I'm not sure I want to give up what I have here to go to Washington for \$85,000." I said this and, in both cases, the person on the transition team of the Bush administration said, "George, you don't live on your salary. You just put that in the bank. You'll have a budget for everything else." I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "A place to live, car, clothes, entertainment expenditures. You don't spend your salary, your salary you just put in the bank." So it's \$85,000 a year in the bank. And then I live on the government's tab for everything else. That's what decided it for me. I wasn't real tempted before, but when they said that, I thought, "I want nothing to do with this scam."

DZ: So that goes back to the question of aren't the Republicans the good guys? In the Book of Isaiah it says, "Don't call everything conspiracy that they call a conspiracy." The flip-side of that would be to be careful not to be trapped into thinking that just because someone comes to you proclaiming to be the good guy that he necessarily is. The Word and the Testimony — we need to judge the political process according to the revealed Word of God. And if they do not abide by, confess, and live in the Word of God, in word and in deed, then they have no light of dawn. They can't help you. In fact, they are going to hurt you.

GG: Out of all the critical issues, how many of them really hinge on the issue you just raised?

DZ: All of them. The problem of America is 100%, across the board on all issues, a problem of trust. That's the problem; we don't trust each other anymore. And the reason we don't trust each other anymore is because we recognize that the question of lordship is unresolved.

GG: So, if we resolve this issue, if we resolve that principle first ...

DZ: We resolve all those other things. Let's figure out how we fix them. Start from the bottom. As far as, illegal amnesty, that's an easy problem to fix. Just obey the Holy Scriptures. Love your neighbor as you love yourself. If you see the illegal as just an entity, as an object, just a person who is an illegal, then you can't find God's truth there because that is a person made in God's image. At the same time the Holy Scriptures certainly commend us to the rule of law, so we balance love of neighbor with rule of law. Once we get the two fundamental crashing issues together, then we figure out how to work it out. We throw out whichever political party would take advan-

tage by looking like they care more about the illegals, and we come together and say *We all care about the illegals*. You understand? Because they are not illegals; they are people. So we come to the Scriptures, and the Scriptures bring us the resolution. Obviously, the whole entire question about abortion, infanticide, and healthcare, and on and on is a question of the right to life. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights among which are the right to life.” That’s the first priority. We put life back into its proper order and everything else flows quickly from there. Behind life in importance comes property.

Then, I realized that, transactionally, if I want to protect my life I need a free-market system that enables me to purchase healthcare and rewards someone for paying the price to become a healthcare expert. In other words, keep the government out as lord, bring the Word of God back in as the operational platform, and suddenly we have resolution. You go the whole way up the list. Principle over party. And, guess what? None of this is new stuff. It’s been around for thousands of years. It’s just that we slid off the mark, and we’ve become functional pagans in this country for at least a hundred years. Sadly, my friend, many of us in the church are just as functionally pagan as everybody else. We just dress it up with religion. We use this concept of the Lordship of Christ and the sovereignty of God as a default position and say, *Oh well, we don’t have to care because God is sovereign, and he will take care of everything*. Wrong answer! That will not work. *Well, Jesus is coming back. That will take care of everything*. Wrong answer! The Scripture tells us when he comes the first question he’s going to ask is, “What have you been doing while I’ve been gone?” *Well, we’ve just been sittin’ here waitin’ fer you to come back, Jesus*. It won’t work. That’s the wrong answer. We, of all people, are supposed to lead, we’re supposed to be the head, but sadly we have been the tail.

GG: Okay, we have seven minutes left. These students don’t vote today. Of course, God’s not voting today.

DZ: Right, God’s not voting today, either. I know someone who wrote a book by that title.⁶

GG: So, why did we just devote an hour to this? Why should they care? Why is this important? What should they do? I’ll help you with a little slide here.⁷

DZ: Well, number one, they should know that next year, many will be voting; in two years, more will be voting; and within four years, they’ll all be voting.

Number two, many of them will go on to be parents and build families, and it will be your first and primary responsibility to teach your children what you have learned because that’s the hope of America.

1 Timothy 2: 1-2, 8

First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all people, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a peaceful and quiet

⁶ A reference to David Zanotti’s book, *God Won’t Vote This Year*, American Policy Roundtable, 2007

⁷ Dr. Grant went back to the slide listing all the questions and issues of this election, which were used in the headings above. *Ed.*

life, godly and dignified in every way. I desire then that in every place the men should pray, lifting holy hands without anger or quarreling.

And, of course, we have the commandment from St. Paul that says, as a matter of first priority, we should always pray for those in authority over us. I have a problem remembering that commandment and I do this for a living; I am a missionary in the field of public policy. Ask yourselves how many times you've heard in the pulpit of your church a prayer uttered for those in authority over you. How many times in class have you stopped and prayed for those in authority over you? One of the big problems we have in our country is that we're disobeying a first commandment of the Scriptures to us, the people of faith. So, here's the problem, we keep looking out the window and saying, *This is the bad guy*, and, *That's the bad guy*, and *That's the bad guy*. Instead, we should be looking in the mirror and realizing that when we start obeying God's commands ourselves, then we can be salt and light in this culture. How does the salt get its savor back? Right there. We go back to the Master and ask him to renew our wineskins and to make us new again.

GG: Two quick questions: You're from Ohio, what are you doing *here*?

DZ: It depends on what day it is. Today, I'm from Tennessee. Tomorrow, I might be from Florida. We're missionaries; we travel to the major cities, and we live in the major cities where we are building major organizations, which right now happen to be northeast Ohio, western Pennsylvania, central Florida, and middle Tennessee. That's why I'm here because that's what we do.

The organizations are: the Florida Policy Roundtable, the Tennessee Policy Roundtable, the Ohio Roundtable, and the Pennsylvania Roundtable, under the blanket of the American Policy Roundtable, which is a 501(c)3, not-for-profit, education research organization founded in 1980, and dedicated to the concept of the Constitution, the Declaration, and the principles upon which they stand. The radio show is *The Public Square*, heard coast-to-coast on weekends and daily in sixteen states and has been since 1989. It can also be heard round the clock online at www.aproundtable.org or www.publicsquare.com.

GG: Tell us about Hanoverton.

DZ: We had a little meeting, and this is very important because out of the brain trust of the Franklin Dialogue, which you graciously hosted last year, here in Franklin, we rediscovered one of Dr. Grant's principles written in his 1988 book, *Grand Illusions*, in which he speaks about the way to overcome a howitzer is with one thousand mosquitos. That particular comment was very cogent because he made that comment to fourteen of us standing on top of Winstead Hill. The context was interesting — the day after the memorial of the battle, he talked about overcoming a howitzer with a thousand mosquitos. He wrote that back in 1988, and we discussed it last year at the Franklin Dialogue. Out of that conversation came a book which I wrote called *Free Agents*, which quantified this thirty-year common experience. We talked about the necessity, particularly of people of faith, but certainly for all Americans to divorce themselves from political partisanship, come back to first principles, and get involved in political life as a responsibility of citizenship not as any loyalty to party, income, or personality cults. Do the right thing for the right reason.

Now, what people have not been noticing in the media and are still distorting today is that this has been going on in this country for the last thirty years. Last night Fox News reported in error that the largest percentage of registered Independents is in some state on the east coast, at 41%. That's nonsense. In Ohio, 60% of the people are

registered non-aligned or Independents. Only 13% are Republicans and 17% are Democrats. This revolution has been going on for a generation, and the media is only now awakening to it because as long as the media continues to pit D against R and you believe that's the reality, people give millions of dollars to campaigns D against R, and those millions of dollars are transferred directly to radio and television stations. Do you get it? It's a money scam! And they are all in it together!

A guy decided to run for Congress based on the concept of free agency. He chose to be a Republican, which is fine — it doesn't matter whether you want to be a Republican, Democrat, Independent, Green, Red, or Yellow; we don't care if you want to be a Martian, it doesn't matter. The party is insignificant; the parties aren't the issue. A guy decided to run in an obscure district which actually runs three hundred miles in length along the Ohio River valley. Can you imagine being a congressman and you have a district that covers three hundred miles. He's a Republican in a Democratic district, in a depressed area, and he decides to run for office and everybody laughs out loud and says, *He can never win*. What they don't realize is this message of free agents, this message of the public square, this message of party over principle was going out into this region for year upon year upon year upon year. He stood up as an Air Force vet, completely unencumbered, not married to anybody in the system, decided to run, and all of a sudden last Saturday, all the polls show he is going to beat the Democrat handily, out of nowhere. It's the biggest upset in the history of American politics on the congressional level. Nobody could do what this guy has done. So we had a little rally over in Hanoverton to talk to people about what was going on, and suddenly John Boehner and the New York *Times* and all the big, big, bigs show up and say, *Oh look at this look, look at this, look at this!*

GG: And that's when you decide to take the Healthcare plan and throw it down on the ground?

DZ: Yes. That's what I did because that's in the tradition of this class and of FCS and of our years together. I went back to one final principal. It's like in the old days, people like Sam Adams used to instruct their members of Congress. The community would get together, draft a document, sign the document, and say, "Here are your instructions as you go to Congress." So as Bill Johnson is about to go to Congress in this amazing upset of historic proportions, he ought to know what people want.

Above all things, get rid of this obscene, absurd healthcare takeover. And that's what we did. So with Boehner sitting right there, with C-SPAN and CNN and everybody else, we just took opportunity to take it out of a bag and throw it down on the ground, and I guess that was kind of big deal.

GG: I have to say, you had a sparkle in your eye and couldn't do it without smiling.

DZ: Yes. Our legislative directors read that thing six times. It sat on my table; I have been through that legislation. We did this in 1994. We read every word of Hillary's plan as well. We know what is in there; we know what a disaster it is, and that it absolutely has to be removed.

GG: Today, we wanted to take a break from our normal mode of operation so that you could get a sense of the historic nature of the election today, but we wanted to do it in a way that you understood things, not from a partisan perspective, not from an R or D perspective, Republican or Democrat, but from an eternal perspective. That's why we started with Psalm 97. As you watch the evening news today, as you see things unfold over the coming months and days, I pray that Psalm 97 would continue to ring in your ears. "The Lord reigns. The Lord reigns. Let the earth be glad." May that shape and frame everything that we think about today and in the days

that come afterward and may that shape the way you live out your callings wherever it is that the Lord is calling you.



Lord I thank you for the freedoms we have in this land, freedoms that really grow out of the glory of the Gospel which has been institutionalized and formalized in so many aspects of our culture, but which simultaneously is under assault this day. We pray that you would purify our hearts, clarify our thinking, strengthen our hands, embolden our hearts, and send us forth into the midst of this poor fallen world, as your ambassadors, as your witnesses, bearing testimony to good news, glad tidings, the great joy of Jesus Christ our Savior. We pray this in Christ's name. Amen.

Lesson 18

*Post-Election:
Where do we go from here?*

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Andrew Jackson, the Deus Ex Machina; Jackson and the Destruction of the Indians

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 212–227

Lesson Synopsis

This week, we witnessed what can historically only be described as a miracle. And it's not a miracle because of any electoral balloting or which party controls which House or any of that. It's a miracle because we've witnessed a dramatic change of power without bloodshed. In the history of the world, the peaceful transfer of power is truly, historically, a miracle. It just never happens that such a dramatic shift in political allegiance occurs without revolution, without bloodshed, without disruption and destruction. This is a modern anomaly of monumental proportions.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

The Election of 2010; the Election of 1824

Primary Source Material

none for this lesson

Vocabulary

allegiance, anomaly, monumental, fathom, parameter, belligerent, prominent, harbinger, delegate (v.), jurisdiction, commentary, gridlock, specter, mess of pottage, torrent, viability, Electoral College, constituency, keening, caucus, debilitate, mudslinging, misconduct, brouhaha, acquiesce, partisanship, unrelenting, pragmatism, contentious, randomly, characteristic, intrigue, reluctant

Timeline

none for this lesson



Post-Election: Where do we go from here?

*O Lord, we pray that You would deliver us from politicians—and give us statesmen instead.
~D. James Kennedy*

All right, we're going to follow up our discussion from last Tuesday. Obviously, this week, we witnessed what can historically only be described as a miracle. And it's not a miracle because of any electoral balloting or which party controls which House or any of that. It's a miracle because we've witnessed a dramatic change of power without bloodshed. If you watched MSNBC, you might be questioning whether or not there was bloodshed. There were a couple of times when I wanted to crawl through the television and lay my hands on a couple of commentators, and I've seen a couple of articles that have caused my blood to boil. But believe it or not, no blood has been shed. And in the history of the world, the peaceful transfer of power is truly, historically, a miracle. It just never happens that such a dramatic shift in political allegiance occurs without revolution, without bloodshed, without disruption and destruction. This is a modern anomaly of monumental proportions.

So, we want to take a look at it. We want to look at the significance of it. For most of us, it's very difficult to begin to fathom the peculiarity of this miraculous thing called representative free government. But we'll do our best to try and examine some of the parameters of what this election means and where it goes. And as always we are going to look at the deeper and more fundamental worldview issues at hand, rather than the kind of things you might read in the newspapers or the blogs, left and right, all across America.

4 November

❖ *1979: Sixty-five Americans were seized as hostages by Iranian militants at the American Embassy in Tehran.*

Today is, of course, Thursday, November 4, and it was on this day in 1979 that one of the greatest foreign-policy crisis in American history began to unfold when sixty-five Americans were seized as hostages by Iranian militants and followers of the Ayatollah Khomeini at the American Embassy in Tehran. It would be the start of four hundred forty-four days of captivity for most of those hostages. They let several of the women free right at the very beginning, and there were also some Canadians who were taken hostage at the very beginning; they were released as well. It began a very dramatic season, a time of crisis, a crisis of the soul for the American nation, and the end of Jimmy Carter's presidency. It's astonishing that within hours of the inauguration of the new president, Ronald Reagan — who promised at one point to turn Tehran into a parking lot if the hostages were not released — they were released. It just shows the power of political will.

❖ *1956: Soviet troops moved in to crush the popular Hungarian pro-democracy movement.*

It was on this day in 1956 that Soviet troops rolled with their tanks, their halftracks, and their personnel carriers into the heartland of Hungary stopping a pro-democracy movement there and crushing it in just a few hours.

❖ *1939: The United States modified its neutrality stance in order to help the British and French at the start of World War II.*

It was also on this day in 1939 that the United States modified its rock-solid commitment to neutrality in World War II allowing cash and carry purchases of arms by belligerents, meaning Britain and France.

Each one of these events on this day really demonstrates the peculiarities and the shifts in global history that can be wrought by political decision.

❖ *1897: Humorist Will Rogers was born near Oologah in the Oklahoma Indian Territory.*

It was also on this day in 1897¹ that humorist Will Rogers was born in Oologah in the Oklahoma Indian Territory. His epitaph would one day read, “I joked about every prominent man in my lifetime, but I never met one I didn’t like.” Will Rogers was the great American humorist of his day, and he was a practical, some would say, cowboy, philosopher. This cowboy philosopher would often stand in front of crowds doing a starched lariat rope trick while he told his jokes, capturing the nation’s attention at a time of great crisis. He was the voice of reason through the worst of the Great Depression. He was the voice of practical concern throughout the whole season of disruption when, by various terms, the Socialists and the Communists seemed ready to seize power in several states in the United States, when wild-eyed ideas of utopian design from Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points all the way to FDR’s New Deal seemed to be a harbinger of bigger and bigger government, more and more intrusion, and design of life by the experts. Will Rogers was a voice of restraint and of reason. It’s amazing that during that time between the death of Teddy Roosevelt and the rise of the conservative movement under Robert Taft, there was virtually no strong voice of reason — Calvin Coolidge perhaps being the one great exception, other than a humorist named Will Rogers. Here are some of the things he said over the years:

There’s no trick to being a humorist when you have the whole government working for you.

If it were not for government, we should have nothing left to laugh at.

Two characteristics of government are that it can’t do anything quickly and it never knows when to quit.

The government has made more liars out of the American people than golf has.

I belong to no organized political party. I’m a Democrat.

There is something about a Republican that you can only stand him for just so long. On the other hand, there’s just something about a Democrat you can’t stand him for quite that long.

The Democrats are the party that says government can make you richer, smarter, taller, and get the chickweed out of your lawn. The Republican Party is the party that says government doesn’t work and then they get elected to prove it.

No party is as bad as its leaders.

¹ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said that Will Rogers was born in 1879, not 1897. *Ed.*

A liberal is a man too broad-minded to even take his *own* side in a quarrel.

Christmas is a time when kids tell Santa that they want various things and they want their parents to pay for them. Deficits are when adults tell the government what they want and have their kids pay for them.

He was a man of astonishing perception and reach. His wisdom carried the day with a large part of American society and life. Will Rogers clearly understood those lessons that we saw last time from Psalm 97, the basic principles of statesmanship and politics laid out in Psalm 97, broadly arranged in the two great categories of God's sovereignty over all the nations. Remember Psalm 97 begins by saying, "Our God reigns. Let the nations be glad." It outlines essential principles of a global kingdom of absolute rule and reign by a sovereign God whose purposes cannot be foiled or flustered and whose end is to bring truth, justice, and righteousness to all of the earth and to cause the worthless idols of men to be exposed and to crumble under the weight of their own absurdity. But God exercises this sovereignty through the responsibility and faithfulness of his people, as he delegates authority to them in certain jurisdictions — the jurisdiction of the church, the jurisdiction of the family, the jurisdiction of the wider community, and the jurisdiction of the civil sphere.

Will Rogers understood that ultimately tyranny is the result of the spheres violating one another's jurisdictions and that biblical reason results in justice and truth when the natural and normal inclinations of sinful men and institutions are checked. In other words, the genius of Psalm 97 is that it portrays for us separation of powers, checks and balances, accountability, and the rule of law. It's an astonishing notion. The experiment in liberty known as the American Republic is such an anomaly in American history because our foundations were laid with these essential principles.

Critical Issues Going Forward

Now you may be tired of the red and blue maps over the last couple of days. We've seen a lot of them. I hope that you at least watched the red and blue maps with the sound turned off, so that you didn't have to listen to CNN, MSNBC, NBC, ABC, CBS, or Fox, or any of them actually comment on the maps because, quite frankly, the map by itself tells the whole story of this particular election. No commentary really needed.

On Tuesday, we talked about the critical issues going into the election. The question now is what are the critical issues now coming out of the election, now that the map has turned rather crimson? What are the issues for our nation now? I'd like to suggest just a few.

❖ *What will Congress do about ObamaCare?*

One of the big questions is, will this new Congress actually do anything, and, in particular, will they do anything about ObamaCare?

One of the things that commentators are wringing their hands about is the possibility of gridlock. Well, for a large part of the crimson part of the map, gridlock may be the best thing that we can hope for because gridlock means the government can't do anything. Gridlock means that the mechanism for raising taxes, for imposing new programs, for passing new laws is stopped dead in its tracks. It may be that the best thing that can happen is

gridlock. It may be that ObamaCare doesn't need to be overturned, just don't fund it. So what will the new Congress actually do? Will they do anything?

❖ *Will the Republicans do what they have promised they would do?*

Secondly, what about these new Republicans? Senator Jim DeMint said that the great question going into this next season is will the Republicans actually do what they promised? If they don't, then they'll be out on their keisters just as fast as the Democrats were and the Republican Party will be dead, and it *should* be. That's kind of gotten a lot of Republicans on Capitol Hill all tied up in knots. In fact, there's a big article in the *New York Times* this morning saying that many key Republican staffers are saying that Jim DeMint is not the kingmaker, he is the undertaker, meaning that he's the one who is going to bury the Republican party. Meanwhile, Jim DeMint is saying is that if the Republicans don't act like Republicans — the principled, fiscal conservative guardians for the people's liberties — then the Republican Party needs to go the way of the Whigs. It just needs to go away.

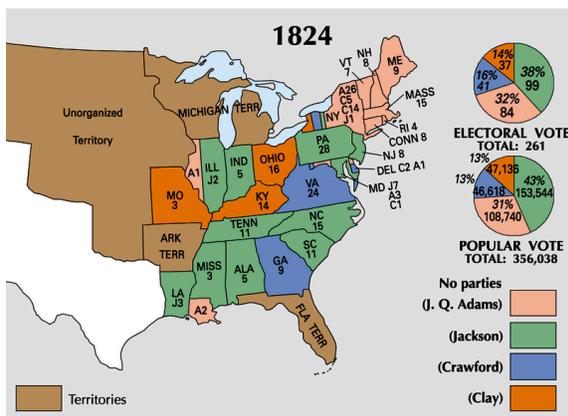
❖ *What will the House do the check the Senate on taxation and deficit spending?*

So the question then becomes what will the House do to check the Senate on taxation and deficit spending?

❖ *Will the 2012 presidential race take front and center in the political arena instead of the pressing problems of the present?*

And, maybe the biggest question of all is, *Okay, now that this election is over will CNN, Fox, and all of the talking heads, all the bloggers and all the radio talk show hosts, actually begin to make us think about 2012 before we even take the next step in 2010?* Are they going to make the next two years a presidential race when we've got tons of work to do right now? Will we be fooled into thinking that the big issue is to watch who's gonna posture themselves and become the next big presidential candidate and, in turn, continue to think that the most important position in the political world is actually the president of the United States? Couldn't it be that our local sheriff, our local city council members, our state legislators are more important to the next season of the American experiment in liberty than the president of the United States?

❖ *Will cooperation between the parties co-opt real principled change?*



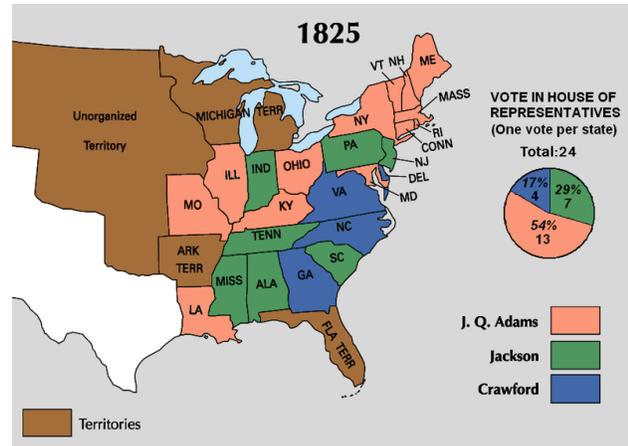
And then, finally, will the now-rising specter and the hue and cry for cooperation between the parties which are, by the way, at ideological polar opposites at least from a platform basis — are we actually going to want and expect them to cooperate at this point? If they do cooperate, that means that the map that is crimson got sold out for a mess of pottage.

Let's get a little bit of historical perspective. I want to take you to a map² that is not red and blue. It couldn't have been red and blue because in fact at the time there was no Republican party and there was no Democratic

party.

² These two maps are both in the public domain.

In the election of 1824, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee won both the electoral vote and the popular vote, but the House of Representatives wound up choosing John Quincy Adams as president, unleashing a torrent of controversy, questions about the viability of the Electoral College, and concerns about corruption in high places that have never quite disappeared. Every time there's a controversy about the Electoral College, the election of 1824 is used as prime example number one. So even though we're still talking about the foundations of the nation and won't get to Adams and Jackson for several more weeks, I thought that a backward look at 1824's great election might be helpful for us in thinking about the issues of our nation going forward from here.



In this election five men were running for president. Each was popular in a different section of the country — Adams in the Northeast, Jackson in the Southwest, William Crawford in the Southeast, Henry Clay in the West, and John C. Calhoun in the mid-Atlantic.

On election day when the votes were counted, Jackson had won the most electoral and popular votes. Jackson won ten states and 43% of the electoral vote — in other words, just slightly more than Bill Clinton won in his first run for president. John Quincy Adams came in second. He won nine states with 31% of the popular vote. Crawford won three states and 13% as did Clay with 13% and three states. As it turned out, this election was locked because, though Jackson had won the electoral and popular votes, he failed to carry a majority of the electoral votes, and it fell to the House of Representatives, according to the Constitution, to choose the president from among the top three electoral vote getters — Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. Henry Clay threw his support to Adams who was rumored to have offered his former rival a cabinet post in exchange for the support of his constituency. As a result, Adams carried the vote on the first ballot and was named president, sending up wails and keening from all around the nation that somehow a corrupt bargain had been struck.

According to the Constitution each state got one vote in the House of Representatives, and as a result of this compromise Adams got thirteen states and 54%, Jackson got seven states and 29% even though he had won the popular vote and the electoral vote. Crawford got four states and 17% of the vote. As it turned out, the election of 1824 was really more about the personalities of the candidates and their respective regional alliances and rivalries than it was about partisan politics and divisive national issues. In fact, all the presidential and vice-presidential candidates were from the same party.

John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts was the son of the former president, John Adams. He had a very formal and deliberate manner. He had served as minister to the Netherlands, Prussia, Russia, Brittany, was a U.S. Senator and President Monroe's Secretary of State. He was the author of the Monroe Doctrine, and was far and away the most experienced politician among all the candidates. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee was perceived to be much more down-to-earth, a man of the people altogether unlike any of the other presidents up to that time. He was also extremely popular as a war hero and territorial governor. Besides his military experience, he had

served in Congress both as a representative and as a senator, and had spent time at the bar as a state judge. William Crawford of Georgia was the chosen candidate of Congress.

In fact, back in those days there was something called a congressional caucus. It was prior to the time of organized party conventions, where a convention would actually choose a candidate. Instead the congressional delegations would gather, and they would form, in a sense, the convention or the congressional caucus, and they would choose their candidates and Crawford was the choice of the members of Congress. But the people had grown increasingly wary and weary of Congress — there was this sense that Congress was corrupt and did its own bidding far more than it did the bidding of the people. There was this sense that Congress wasn't doing its job constitutionally, as the second branch of government. It was supposed to be checking the executive branch. It was supposed to be guiding the judicial branch, but instead it was allowing the judicial branch to take the lead in assigning authority to any and all legislation, and it was allowing the executive branch to set the legislative agenda. Sound familiar?

And so the people had grown weary of Congress. Crawford was seen as aristocratic, elitist, and undemocratic, and had served as a senator, a minister to France, and Secretary of the Treasury for both the Jefferson and Monroe administrations. Despite the fact that former presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe all endorsed Crawford's campaign, he was not particularly popular and it harmed his chances considerably. In addition, just about a year before the election, he suffered a debilitating stroke that weakened him considerably throughout the campaign.

Henry Clay of Kentucky was a popular legislator who would later earn the nickname The Great Compromiser for his efforts to prevent what would become the War Between the States, the Civil War. Like Jackson, he was seen as closer to the people than the blue-bloods like Adams and Crawford. He served as a state legislator and in Congress both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, served as a state legislator and U.S. Representative and President Monroe's Secretary of War. Late in the race in 1824, he decided to drop out and instead became the vice-presidential favorite of Adams, Jackson, and Crawford; so no matter which one of those guys was elected, he was going to become the vice-president.

And so the election took place. Supporters of each candidate focused less on issues and more on the character traits of their opponents. As a result the campaign dealt with no specific details in policy. It was all mudslinging. Adams was mocked for his careless appearance and formal manners. Jackson was accused of being a brutal butcher. Some even said he was a murderer for some of his war exploits. Crawford was charged with misconduct in his official duties. Whole legions of reporters were sent to secretly follow each of the candidates and try and catch them in some indelicate, personal brouhaha. Sound familiar?

It was remarkably like our modern campaigns — no substance, no policies, all personality. Fortunately, they didn't have television, so it really didn't depend upon \$300 haircuts and great orthodontics. At any rate, following the general election when the votes were finally counted, Jackson led both the popular vote and the Electoral College vote; however, he did not have a majority of the Electoral College votes so, following the instructions set out in the Constitution, the House of Representatives had to choose the president from among the top three vote getters, Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. Clay, who happened to be the Speaker of the House, and therefore had a tremendous amount of power in the proceedings for the selection of the next president, had gone to both

Jackson and John Quincy Adams and asked for a vital role in the cabinet either as vice-president and thus president of the Senate or as Secretary of State, thus directing the foreign affairs of the nation. John Quincy Adams acquiesced and offered him the post in return for his support. Later both men would flatly deny the charge. There's only scanty diary evidence that this actually took place, but most historians agree that indeed it did. It only took one ballot for the House of Representatives to declare Adams the president.

Jackson supporters were upset, claimed that the will of the people had been ignored since he'd won both the popular vote and the Electoral College vote. While technically true, Jacksonians ignored the fact that the popular vote was not a true indicator of the will of the people in 1824. Hardly any state had all the candidates on the ballot. Most did not even have three. Six states didn't even have a public vote. The franchise was not extended to any of the women, and, in nine of the states, unless you had land holdings at a certain level, you were not allowed to vote. So there were all kinds of questions about how wide the franchise actually went and what its significance was. Their outrage increased when several days later Adams named Clay his Secretary of State and the Corrupt Bargain, as it was quickly called, became a banner issue for the next four presidential races. The next one Jackson would win and win decisively against the incumbent Adams.

Principled Leadership

Now I give you this historical background because it portrays several things that are essential for us to see.

One of the men standing on the outside of this whole escapade was Daniel Webster, the great orator of the North. Webster outlined some basic principles for Congress to reform itself. He called for a Congress that would return to principle over party and partisanship. His idea was simply this: politics never solves anything in the long run. It can only divide. But statesmanship can lead, is rooted in principle, and can have long-lasting effects. (Very much paraphrased, summarized and, quite frankly, cherry-picked, the principles of Webster are outlined here.)

❖ *Leaders are always controversial*

He said, first of all, leaders can never play to the camera. Real leaders have to shut their eyes to public opinion polls while at the same time opening their ears to the voice of the people. That's a delicate balance. You have to hear what the people are saying, but you have to lead. You have to understand that when you lead you will always invite criticism. Do anything and you're going to be criticized. Do nothing and you can stay safe. But if you actually step forward and do something, you are going to be criticized.

❖ *To affirm one thing is to deny another.*

Secondly, if you're going to stand for anything, that necessarily means that you are standing against some things. There are a lot of politicians out there who just want to affirm everything, they're *for* everything. You can't be for everything. If you are for anything, you've got to be necessarily, by the nature of things, against some things.

❖ *Accept the nature of the struggle.*

Third, it is hard, it is laborious. It takes cunning and skill, it takes courage. It's a battle to get anything done. The least little thing requires a tremendous amount of effort. As Helen Keller, the great life philosopher of the

last generation said, out of her world of silence and darkness, “It is the little pushes of unrelenting labor that move civilization forward.” “It is the *little* pushes of *unrelentingly* labor that push civilization forward.”

❖ *If we have to fight, fight fairly.*

At the same time, while it is a battle, while it's inevitable that we are going to have to fight, if we are principled, we must always fight fairly. We must always realize that pragmatism is, at its root, a lie at some level. To do whatever you need to do to accomplish your agenda is a very dangerous thing because inevitably you have to violate your own principles to get there.

❖ *Admit the mystery and complexity of the world.*

Fifth, we live in a world that is mysterious. We're mysterious, our world is mysterious, the electorate is mysterious. The mood of the nation is mysterious. We just have to accept it. It's not a science. There's no such thing as political *science*. It is *not* a science.

❖ *Run toward the roar.*

Sixth, the battle is, wherever the clash of arms is, that's what you have to run toward. You don't run away from abortion because it's a contentious issue. If you are a statesman, you run toward it. You deal with the stuff. That's what leaders are for.

❖ *Leadership is an inherently dangerous affair.*

Leaders aren't supposed to tip toe around the dangerous things. Leave that to the dainties of King George. If we are actually going to do something, we've got to wade in, roll up our sleeves, and muck it out in the mess. We made a mess. You can't clean up a mess unless you get messy. Run toward the roar. That necessarily means that whatever you do, if you take a stand, if you wade in, if you talk about something that people don't want you to talk about, if you deal with issues that people don't want to deal with, you have to acknowledge, *Look, it's dangerous*. Every single time I sit in my office and I have a counseling appointment, I know it's dangerous if I tell the truth. I could be nice, I could be, oh, dear Pastor Grant, oh we just love Pastor Grant, as long as I don't tell the truth, as long as I just dry the eyes and pat the back and do the little sideways Christian hug with the three pats for the Trinity. As long as I do that stuff, I'm great! But if I tell the truth and I say, *No, it is not a phobia, and no, it is not a psychosis — it's sin and you've just got to stop it. Got it? Stop it! Stop it, stop it, stop it!* That's dangerous. Now, the question is, at this point, with the map crimson, do we have the guts to do that?

Dr. Grant (GG): Mr. Zanotti, would you come real quickly and just answer that question. Do we have the guts to do that, the wherewithal, the moral courage? (They hug.) Did you notice that was only two pats? He doesn't believe in the Holy Spirit.

Mr. Zanotti (DZ): You didn't feel the third one.

GG: (laughter)

DZ: Can I sit down now?

GG: No.

DZ: The answer to your question is, no.

GG: Why?

DZ: Because we have the wrong people there.

GG: So what do we do, where do we go?

DZ: The answer is in this room.

GG: Ahhhh, and I didn't write that line for him.

DZ: Because as we said on Tuesday, most of these folks can't vote yet. They'll do that in a year or two. But in seven years or eight years all of them could run for the United States Congress, and right now I would take the number of seats in this room and displace a number of randomly selected members of Congress, including friends, and put these people there.

GG: Are you ready to run for Congress in eight years? Eight years? Congress?

DZ: Now, here's how we start. I've got a survey for you. I'd like you all to answer three questions, and if you'd like you can start a new piece of paper, you can hand them to me anonymously. I'd love to have your answers, but you have to answer these things first for yourself. Somebody might turn this into a project. What are the three traits, the three traits that *you* would like to see in an elected official? The three traits or characteristics. What are the three traits?

GG: That's a great question.

DZ: All right, three traits. I'm going to give you a chance to think about that.

GG: What's at the top of your list? What are you looking for in a leader?

Student: Honesty

GG: Honesty.

DZ: All right, honesty, somebody said honesty.

GG: That's rare.

Student: Affirmation of faith

DZ and GG: Affirmation of faith. All right.

GG: Good.

DZ: A lot of ways to say that — a personal, experienced faith walk? All right.

GG: I love the word *affirmation* there because it is not declaration of faith, it's affirmation of faith.

DZ: As if words matter.

GG: (laughter)

DZ: I'm not going to go any more because . . .

GG: We all have TV's, we know that words don't matter.

DZ: (laughter) Ahhh, and you have to live with him all the time. He does this to me always. So think about these things. This is something to think about. One, two, three, you're not going to answer this in a second. While you are thinking about it, I want to tell you a quick story. I don't have time to tell all the stories that have happened since the election. There are so many good stories. I just want to tell you one that came from a gentleman who, years ago, I called on election night. He had been scheduled to be the next Speaker of the House in Ohio. And in a desperate, intriguing moment, or moment of intrigue, the political powers in the state conspired against him; took away the position he had rightly earned...

GG: Now wait a minute, you're telling me that corrupt bargains have occurred since 1824?

DZ: And left him in the dust.

GG: Ooooh

DZ: Well, he went away. He went on to be a judge. He went on to do other things, and his family has quite an interesting role of service. His name is Bill Batchelder. You'll Google him and find out he's an unusual character because Bill Batchelder doesn't fit. He is a creature out of time. You look at his picture and you say, *Ooh, who could that be?* By his own admission, he has bit of a cartoon-like character. He looks like Orville Redenbacher's little brother.

GG: A face made for radio.

DZ: Exactly, exactly. He is not what you would think to be a television leader. And that is another story because, unfortunately, we need television leaders.

GG: We do.

DZ: And if we don't nominate candidates for television positions that have television gifting, then we have a problem because they can't get elected, and the Republicans have been wrestling with that since the early 90's and refuse to accept it.

GG: Who in here thinks they need to replace somebody on CNN in about eight years?

DZ: Yeah, real good idea. So I got a call many years ago, as this man was washed out of the establishment by some unfortunate dealings and intrigue. Well, I also got a call from him yesterday. We spoke because in Ohio, like in the nation, the House flipped from Democrat to Republican. He had decided to come back four years ago and once again run for a humbly, lowly state rep's position and worked like crazy for four years to recruit new candidates. So he went out, found enough candidates across the state with his own money, his own gasoline, his own time, and got enough people elected so they took back over the House of Representatives. And I had the opportunity to answer the telephone, "Hello, Mr. Speaker."

GG: Orville Redenbacher rules!

DZ: He will be the next Speaker of the House in Ohio. In essence, in most legislative processes, the most powerful person in the state is not the governor, it's the Speaker of the House.

GG: That's right, that's right.

DZ: And he did it because he went out and found new leaders. That's what we need. So, no, we don't have the courage today. The question is, will we have the courage eight years from now? You could all move all across the country — sorry, moms and dads who are listening to this — and run all over the place. There's a spot for all of you. To get there, what you need to do over the next seven or eight years is to start to pay closer attention and to start to find the local sheriff, the local mayor, the local city council person, and help them in their elections. Get familiar with the processes. All these folks should serve as interns at the state legislature downtown. All of them should have experience on the floor, even if just for a few days; go learn what that's like. That should be your service.

GG: Have you been to a missions' conference at your church where the call went up? Some of you may be called to missions. Have you even been to a missions' conference where the issue of calling to missions has been raised? Raise your hand. Have you ever heard from the pulpit at your church a call to young people to consider the possibility of going into the ministry? Become a preacher? Any of you ever hear a call to do that kind of full-time Christian service? And have you ever heard anybody say, *Maybe, just maybe, full-time Christian service for you, for your calling, may be to be a journalist, a television broadcaster, a state legislator, a congressman, a mayor?* That's what he's saying. Maybe, just maybe, we need to take this Christian worldview stuff so seriously that we actually say that full-time Christian service on the mission field may be Capitol Hill. And maybe the state capital in Nashville. Is that what you are saying?

DZ: Yeah, that would be it. Can I ask you a question?

GG: Yes.

DZ: Would it be fair to ask you how you'd answer that survey?

GG: How would I answer that survey?

DZ: Three traits.

GG: Number one, I would say someone who has a life with his family, his community, and a real job. That's one thing that I look for in a candidate.

Obviously, it's assumed that this someone has a Biblical worldview, but I want to see a Biblical worldview that is worked out, secondly, in real service because public service is supposed to be the exercise of, well, *service* in the public sphere. I want to see a candidate who actually knows what it means to serve. We put such a high premium on these CEO types who run big businesses and large corporations and can bring in the million-dollar donations. How about somebody who's actually worked in their community when nobody was looking? I want to see a state representative who was standing side-by-side with me, hauling garbage out of a house the day after the flood.

And then, third, on the top of my list for a candidate, I want to see somebody who is reluctant but who feels the call and can't wait for the day when, like Washington, he surrenders his sword and is ready to go home. Those are the three things at the top of my list.

DZ: Just think what he would have said if I had given him any time to think about it. I would like to see your lists. We're going to be asking people all over the country that question over the next several months, and let me tell you why that's important. You're going to be bombarded with this personality cult stuff about the next presidency. If I could come up with any bumper stickers right now that would help America, I would put a picture of the White House there and ask a simple question, *Why should we care?* Because the truth of the matter is, whoever *resides* in that house, we should care far less about him than we do who resides on Capitol Hill, who works on Capitol Hill. We should be focused far more on the legislative body and the others and, to affirm what you said earlier, if I could come up with the second bumper sticker for all of us it would simply be *Stop being stupid*, because that's really what you're trying to say in those counseling sessions and that's what we need to say to Congress. You know, it's embarrassing to talk with young people about the shame of those of us that are older, in our generation. But, I have to tell you, we have been infected by a large amount of stupidity which we have embraced. We are very poor examples in many cases. That's why I'm glad you are studying history because you can find better examples than those who have gone before, and this is no disrespect to your mother and father at all, nor should you ever disrespect them. I just have to talk as a generation at large. Those of us who came up out of the 60's have not been very good models for you. So you're going to have to be pioneers for justice and righteousness. You've got a nation to rebuild, and it starts by deciding now what kind of traits you want in leadership because if you establish what you're looking for in someone else, then in and of itself it will become a calling to your own soul.

GG: Thank you.

clapping (The two men embrace. David Zanotti says, "One more," and gives Grant one more pat on the back.)

GG: I guess that one was for the Virgin Mary, I don't know.

A couple of things, as we close this time. Next Tuesday, we'll get back to the founding era, and we'll start making our way towards the framing of the Constitution. We'll look at the Articles of Confederation and all of that. But it's been important, I think, for us to take a step back this week and focus on those primary Biblical principles. We have to understand that America is a great experiment in liberty because America took seriously these Bibli-

cal mandates, and because those patriots really were reluctant statesmen. They had lives, they had communities, they lived in the midst of real accountability, and that is precisely the thing that we need to yearn to recover. We've got eight years perhaps before some of you are ready to take up callings in that broader arena. But starting right now, you can do what the Apostle Paul says is our responsibility to do right now, right here, today. So let's close this time, crying out to God that He would fill our hearts with the courage to do and to be everything that he has called us to do and to be. And that He would, by His good providence, guide our nation and those who lead us in the realm of the magistratal spheres, toward godliness, justice, and truth.



Lord, we do cry out to you with supplications, prayers, thanksgivings, and intercessions, that you would superintend the doings of all of those in high places, the kings, and the princes of our world, that you would cause them to leave us in peace, to lead the quiet, godly, dignified lives so that the kingdom might be extended as far as the curse is found. O, God, deliver us from politicians and instead give us statesmen, for we pray in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 19

*The Forgotten Founding:
Extraordinary Individuals,
Remarkable Transformations*

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, High Birth-Rates and the Immigrant Flood; The Market in Cheap Land

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 227–240

Lesson Synopsis

Leadership is not being the smartest guy in the room. Leadership is not being the most charismatic personality on the stage. Leadership is not grasping at ambition. Leadership is simply walking in the fullness of our callings and living out the biblical worldview through consistent, virtuous character, by grace, through faith, this not of ourselves. The forgotten Founders understood that, and they lived that. And against all possible odds, they changed the world. We need to know their stories because we need to walk in their footsteps.

Opportunity

9

Lesson Topics

The forgotten presidents: Peyton Randolph, Henry Middleton, John Hancock, Henry Laurens, John Jay, Samuel Huntington, Thomas McKean, John Hanson, Elias Boudinot, Thomas Mifflin, Richard Henry Lee, Nathaniel Gorham, Arthur St. Clair, Cyrus Griffin

Primary Source Material

none for this lesson

Vocabulary

probity, anthology, commendation, patriot, orator, needful, quietistic, pietistic, indictment, statesman, politician

Timeline

- ❖ 1774: Peyton Randolph was elected as president of the first Continental Congress.
- ❖ 1775: Henry Middleton succeeded Randolph as president.

- ❖ 1775: John Hancock succeeded Middleton as president.
- ❖ 1777: Henry Laurens succeeded Hancock as president.
- ❖ 1778: John Jay succeeded Laurens as president.
- ❖ 1779: Samuel Huntington succeeded Jay as president.
- ❖ 1781: Thomas McKean succeeded Huntington as president.
- ❖ 1781: The Articles of Confederation were ratified.
- ❖ 1781: John Hanson succeeded McKean as president.
- ❖ 1782: Elias Boudinot succeeded John Hanson as president.
- ❖ 1783: Thomas Mifflin succeeded Boudinot as president.
- ❖ 1783: Mifflin accepted Washington's resignation.
- ❖ 1784: Richard Henry Lee succeeded Mifflin as president.
- ❖ 1786: Nathaniel Gorham succeeded Lee as president.
- ❖ 1787: Arthur St. Clair succeeded Gorham as president.
- ❖ 1788: Cyrus Griffin was elected as the last president under the Articles of Confederation.
- ❖ 1789: George Washington became the first president under the current Constitution.



The Forgotten Founding: Extraordinary Individuals, Remarkable Transformations

“The nearly forgotten history of our Founding Fathers must be told and retold for the generations to come lest we fail to appreciate the cost of freedom.”
~John Quincy Adams

Alright. We're going to have a peculiar lecture today. I want to prepare you ahead of time for it. First of all, just a word of warning: you need to go fast because I'm going to go fast. There are thirty-five slides, and at least seventeen or eighteen of them are full of information. Okay? So that's a foretaste, but let me tell you that I'm aware of the fact that thirty-five slides means that we have less than a minute and a half per slide. I know that, okay? I'm aware of that. You don't have to be squeakin' and squawkin', okay?

I want to take this one, last opportunity to look at these extraordinary individuals who brought about one of the most remarkable transformations that the world has ever seen and ushered in the great experiment in liberty that we call America. Though we feel like we're familiar with it, much of the story is really quite alien to us and forgotten like so much of the rest of history.

9 November

- ❖ *1989: The Berlin Wall fell.*

Today is Tuesday, November 9. It was on this day in 1989 that the Berlin Wall was breached for the first time. For several days prior, borders had been opened between Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and East Germany, and peo-

ple were fleeing from the world behind the Iron Curtain for the first time since World War II. It was astonishing to see caravans of cars going from East Germany through Hungary and Czechoslovakia to freedom. But on that day, the people from the East — who, one day before, if they had even come close to the wall, would have been shot — were dancing on the top of the wall and breaking it into pieces with sledgehammers. It was a sight that most people who lived through the Cold War never believed could happen. Who would have believed that the Soviet Union, one of the great powers of the world, would actually collapse and that its satellite system would disappear almost overnight? It's a reminder to us that history can change in a moment. We forget this. We begin to think that the way things are is just the way things are, and the way things will always be. But the Berlin Wall, this day in 1989, is a great reminder to us that the howitzers don't win. It's not just power that ultimately prevails.

❖ *1970: French general, statesman, president, and hero of WWII, Charles de Gaulle, died.*

It was also on this day in 1970 that the French general, statesman, president, and hero of WWII, the founder of the Fifth Republic of France, died — Charles de Gaulle. He once said, “The graveyards of Paris are filled with indispensable men.” It's a great reminder that no matter how important someone is, no matter how big, no matter how powerful, in the end, we all meet the same fate. One day, our work will be done, and therefore one of the most important things that we can ever do in this life is to ensure that our work goes on after us, by preparing others to take up the task in our place. The most important thing that we can ever do is not accomplish something; it's to give ourselves up to such a degree that lots of people accomplish something.

❖ *1938: The Nazis launched the infamous Kristallnacht.*

Also on this day in 1938, the Nazis unleashed the horror that was known as the *Kristallnacht*. It was the night when more than thirty-thousand Jews were rounded up and arrested. Synagogues were looted and destroyed, and the horror of the Holocaust began. Interestingly, it was all done under the pretense of the rule of law. Nothing illegal was done. Government — arguably the government of the most educated, the most cultured, the most technologically advanced, the most artistic, and the most industrious nation on the planet — created laws that made it legal to identify a particular class of people who simply had no rights. Their lives were legally taken. Alas, while we vilify the Holocaust, we continue to forget that governments still do this every day. *Our* government still does this every day in the Holocaust against the unborn.

❖ *1918: Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II announced he would abdicate. He then fled to the Netherlands where he lived out his days.*

Also on this day in 1918, Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II announced that he would abdicate. He then fled to the Netherlands where he lived out the rest of his days. In the West, it was heralded as a great victory. Little did we know that by forcing the one unifying traditional element in German society to flee into exile, we were paving the way for the Nazis come to power. It's those little details in history that we tend to forget. The great victory of WWI, Winston Churchill said, was merely a cease-fire, not peace.

❖ *1906: Theodore Roosevelt became the first sitting president to visit a foreign country.*

In 1906 on this day, Theodore Roosevelt became the first sitting president to go on a foreign visit. President Obama is presently in Indonesia. Just yesterday, he was in India. It's become commonplace for us to think of presidents going on these foreign trips. President Bush, during his eight years in the presidency, went on nineteen foreign trips. But all the way up until the beginning of the twentieth century, presidents just stayed home. It's

one of those little details in history that we often forget, details that remind us how different our time is from all of the other times in the past combined.

❖ *1834: John Quincy Adams published his first memoir.*

It was also on this day, November 9 in 1834, that John Quincy Adams published his first of many personal memoirs of the founding era. Many of the quotes that you're going to see on the thirty-five slides — which now have less than a minute apiece — come from his memoirs. Among the most remarkable of the remembrances he wrote about in that first set of memoirs was the scene that we've already discussed, the scene of George Washington's resignation. There are four or five



wonderful paintings that portray this

resignation. This is one of my favorites.¹ It's not the one that hangs in the Capitol Rotunda, but it is one of my favorites and probably far more accurate than many of the others. It shows this remarkable man in his remarkable moment, surrendering his commission and his sword to the president of the United States and readying himself to just go home, which endeared him to the American people all the more, the ones who thought, *Maybe we should make Washington king of America*. This moment proved that he was probably worthy of it but also that he understood that there was far more at stake than his own personal glory and his rise to power, that he had fought for something far more substantial than just another monarchy.

Forgotten Presidents

John Quincy Adams in his memoirs said, "This was the defining moment in American freedom." It's also a reminder to us of how absurd it is that we've forgotten that there were presidents before him. For Washington to surrender his sword to the president of the United States means that there had to have been a president of the United States prior to George Washington.

- ❖ *Peyton Randolph, Virginia (1723–1775)*
- ❖ *Henry Middleton, South Carolina (1717–1784)*
- ❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*
- ❖ *Henry Laurens, South Carolina (1724–1792)*

¹ *Washington Resigns* (1858) by Edwin White

- ❖ *John Jay, New York (1745–1829)*
- ❖ *Samuel Huntington, Connecticut (1732–1796)*
- ❖ *Thomas McKean, Delaware (1734–1817)*
- ❖ *John Hanson, Maryland (1715–1783)*
- ❖ *Elias Boudinot, New Jersey (1741–1802)*
- ❖ *Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania (1744–1800)*
- ❖ *Richard Henry Lee, Virginia (1732–1794)*
- ❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*
- ❖ *Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts (1738–1796)*
- ❖ *Arthur St. Clair, New Jersey (1734–1818)*
- ❖ *Cyrus Griffin, Virginia (1736–1796)*
- ❖ *George Washington, Virginia (1732–1799)*

There were in fact several, beginning with Peyton Randolph, whose life we've looked at in some detail; and then moving on to Henry Middleton; John Hancock, who served multiple terms as president; Henry Laurens of South Carolina; John Jay of New York; Samuel Huntington, whose career involved holding office from two states, Pennsylvania and Delaware, and often during his career he held offices from both states simultaneously; Thomas McKean, who likewise held office in two states; and John Hanson from Maryland; Elias Boudinot from New Jersey — who adopted into his family a Cherokee child whom he named Elias Boudinot, Jr., who later became chief of the Cherokee — the only president of the United States who had a son who was a chief, and who, alas, suffered the indignity of the Trail of Tears along with John Ross² and a number of others; Thomas Mifflin; Richard Henry Lee, a scion of one of the great families in American history; John Hancock, serving yet another term; Nathaniel Gorham, who was John Hancock's secretary and closest friend; followed by Arthur St. Clair, the only president of the United States not born on American soil; followed by Cyrus Griffin, a close friend and confidant of George Washington and the last of the presidents to serve under the Articles of Confederation.

Today, I want to give a quick glimpse of the character and nature of these men. There's no possible way that I can tell you their whole story, but make note of what John Quincy Adams says about each of them.

Henry Middleton (1717–1784)

During his lengthy career, Middleton was regarded on all sides as a man of singular probity and sound judgment, ever to be relied upon in times of trouble, and firmly attached to his country, in whose behalf he readily hazarded his life and fortune. ~John Quincy Adams³

² John Ross was the Cherokee chief who led the tribe on the Trail of Tears.

³ All the quotes about the forgotten Founding Fathers in this lecture come from an old anthology of pieces from John Quincy Adams's *Diaries*, edited by Henry Adams and Charles Francis Adams, his grandsons, and published in 1889 by Harper Brothers in NY.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has the unedited, chronological diaries available online, but they are much more difficult to navigate in order to find the gems of insight that the Adams brothers were able to highlight. GG

This is hardly the sort of commendation one would make of most politicians. Middleton wasn't a politician. He was a patriot and a statesman.

The Elder Statesman

- ❖ *1717: Born near Charleston, South Carolina*
- ❖ *1721: Began a Classical Education at Home*
- ❖ *1729: Prepared for Cambridge at St. Paul's in London*

He was born in Charleston, South Carolina. He began a classical education, as did virtually all of these forgotten founders, at home, and prepared for Cambridge at St. Paul's in London. One of the things that's remarkable is that so many of these forgotten founders had close ties to the mother country. They spent years there, sometimes preparing for their legal careers, sometimes preparing for Cambridge, sometimes living there because of family business.

- ❖ *1739: Appointed as Justice of the Peace*
- ❖ *1747–1754: Speaker of the South Carolina Assembly*
- ❖ *1755–1756: President of South Carolina Congress*

When he returned to South Carolina, he became the Justice of the Peace in South Carolina and then was elected to the South Carolina legislature, rising to the office of the Speaker. Then, in 1755, in South Carolina, very early on in the patriot cause, he called together a congress to determine whether the acts of Parliament and king were legal. He was elected president of the South Carolina Congress.

- ❖ *1775: Succeeded Randolph as President*
- ❖ *1776: Resigned Seat in Congress to his son Arthur*
- ❖ *1776: Appointed to Frame South Carolina Constitution*
- ❖ *1781: British House Arrest and Loss of Twenty Thousand Acres*

It's not surprising that when Peyton Randolph had to step down from the presidency of the new Continental Congress, Middleton succeeded him. In 1776, he resigned his seat in Congress and his son, Arthur, succeeded him. But he was not yet done. In 1776, later that year, he was appointed to help frame the South Carolina Constitution. When the British launched a surprise attack against the city of Charleston, he was captured, held in house arrest on his lavish plantation which, in due course, was burned down, and he lost more than twenty thousand acres. He died a pauper.

John Hancock (1737–1793)

Hancock's role was to hold the centrifugal forces of Congress in check while, at the same time, moving the body forward to action. It was a Herculean task made even more difficult for him by the uncertainty of his own position. Yet, he was ever the bold patriot. ~John Quincy Adams

What Adams was talking about was that Hancock was a businessman. He worked primarily in the world of imports and exports. During wartime, imports and exports were nearly impossible. The business ties he had in London were severed by the cause of independence.

The Bold Patriot

❖ *1737: Born in Braintree, Massachusetts*

❖ *1745–54: Educated at Boston Latin School and Harvard*

He was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, but went as a young boy to live with his uncle in the city of Boston. His family was very poor and entrusted him to this entrepreneurial uncle who saw to young John's education, first at the Boston Latin School where he had a fine classical education and then on to Harvard. He was a member of the first Harvard class that had more than twenty-five students. We often forget that Harvard remained tiny all the way through to the beginning of the twentieth century.

❖ *1764: Inherited His Uncle's Fortune*

In 1764, Hancock inherited his uncle's fortune and business. According to the British, he was somewhat of a pirate and a brigand. He was a fierce competitor and looked for a profit anywhere he could find it, and if he could skirt the revenuers, he oftentimes did.

❖ *1765: Represented Boston in the General Assembly*

❖ *1769: Speaker of the House*

He represented the city of Boston in the general assembly in 1765, and, like Middleton, rose to prominence became the Speaker of the House.

❖ *1775: Succeeded Middleton as President*

In 1775, he succeeded Middleton as president. It was John Hancock who oversaw Congress when the Declaration of Independence was signed, which is why his signature is front and center and so large. He wasn't thinking about how many other signatures had to go on the page but boldly set his hand to it. It was Hancock, along with Samuel Adams, whom the British troops were after when they began to march towards Lexington and Concord.

❖ *1778: Major-General of the Massachusetts Militia*

In 1778, this businessman who had, in a sense, been raised in the lap of American luxury and who had no military experience whatsoever became a major general of the Massachusetts militia, risking his whole life, not just his fortune for the cause of freedom.

- ❖ *1780: Governor of Massachusetts*
- ❖ *1785: Reelected President*
- ❖ *1793: Died in Boston*

In 1780, he became governor of Massachusetts. In 1785, he was reelected president. Though he did not serve out a full term, he was one of the hands that steered Congress toward the adoption of a new constitution, following the Articles of Confederation. He died in Boston in 1793.

Henry Laurens (1724-1792)

Hancock was succeeded by Henry Laurens, whose statue stands just opposite George Washington's in Columbia, South Carolina, at the grand Capitol Rotunda. According to John Quincy Adams,

Henry Laurens was the first father of the Founding Fathers. He was the first anti-slavery man from the South. He was the first patriot orator from the South. He was the first mentor to a host of the Founders. He was first in all his doings.

The First Father

- ❖ *March 6, 1724: Born in Charleston, South Carolina*
- ❖ *1744-1747: Studied Business in London*

Laurens was born, like Middleton, in South Carolina, in the city of Charleston. From 1744 to 1747, he studied business in London, as a young man learning the ropes and discovering the ways of the mercantilist world. But when he came home, he was immediately engaged in the cause of freedom, writing a number of incendiary tracts. Warrants for his arrest were posted five times in his young career.

- ❖ *1757-1762: Lieutenant-Colonel in Cherokee Campaign*
- ❖ *1757: Elected to the South Carolina Assembly*

In 1757, he became a lieutenant colonel in the South Carolina militia and was charged with prosecuting the Cherokee campaign. In that same year, he was elected to the South Carolina Assembly.

- ❖ *1771: Henry in England for Sons' Education*
- ❖ *1777-1778: Succeeded Hancock as President*

He lost his beloved wife in 1770. Henry took his young sons and, in mourning, got away from his business, his home, and everything that reminded him of his loss. He enrolled his sons in a classical school in the city of London. But he was quick to return. The patriot cause stirred his fervor, and he brought his sons home and enlisted himself in the cause of freedom, serving in Congress and succeeding Hancock as president.

❖ *1778: Appointed Minister to Holland*

❖ *1779–1781: Held Prisoner in the Tower of London*

Following his term, on the very day that he resigned the presidency into the hand of his successor, he was appointed by Congress as the next minister, or ambassador, to Holland. It was a dangerous thing to try to cross the Atlantic because the British Navy controlled it. The story of his capture by the British and the years that he was held in the Tower of London as a prisoner of war, under the pall of the death penalty, actually being brought out to that famous yard in the Tower to be executed twice in that same year, is a story of great legend.

In 1781, he was exchanged in a prisoner exchange for Lord Cornwallis. His homecoming to the harbor of New York was one of the great spectacles of the founding era. George Washington met him at the docks and called him the father of our country.

❖ *1782: Signed Preliminary Peace Treaty in Paris*

❖ *December 8, 1792: Died at Mepkin*

It was Laurens who signed the preliminary peace treaty in Paris with the British, which was confirmed in 1783. In 1792, he died at his beloved family home just outside of Charleston, Mepkin, which today is one of the great sites to visit to recall the founding era.

John Jay (1717–1784)

Laurens was succeeded by John Jay, who, according to John Quincy Adams,

was of French Huguenot and Dutch Reformed descent, making him one of the only Founding Fathers who had no British blood. He had the blood of martyrs instead, and the background of his family's suffering for the sake of justice was always a reality to him.

The Father of Justice

❖ *December 12, 1745: Born in New York City*

❖ *1760: Entered King's College*

Jay was born in New York City and entered the King's College there in New York — later renamed Columbia — where he studied and proved himself an able scholar. His purpose was to enter into the ministry. He desired to be a preacher of the gospel, but because of family circumstance, he determined that he needed to study law. But even that study was interrupted by the patriot cause.

❖ *1775: Elected to the Second Continental Congress*

❖ *1777: Appointed Chief Justice of the New York*

❖ *1778: Succeeded Laurens as President*

In 1775, he was elected to the second Continental Congress. In 1777, he was appointed Chief Justice of New York, and in 1778, he succeeded Laurens as president.

❖ *1783: Chief Negotiator at Paris Peace Talks*

❖ *1788: Wrote Federalist Numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, and 64*

In 1783, he was the chief negotiator at the Paris peace talks. He was a leader in the federalist cause, following the Constitutional Convention, in which he played a prominent part. He helped to write the Federalist Papers, along with his great friend from Virginia, James Madison, and his fellow New Yorker, Alexander Hamilton. He wrote Federalist numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, and 64.

❖ *1789: Appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court*

❖ *1795: Elected Governor of New York*

❖ *May 17, 1829: Died at Bedford*

In 1789, following the confirmation of the Constitution and the creation of the new federal government, he was appointed the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Later he stepped down from the court to take what he thought was a higher honor — to serve his beloved home state as governor. He died in 1829 at Bedford.

Samuel Huntington (1737-1793)

Jay was succeeded by Samuel Huntington. Huntington was one of those who served from multiple states: Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Connecticut.

Samuel Huntington was the nearest of any of the Founding Fathers to being a self-made man. He arose out of the common schools, a farmer's son, to be one of the greatest legal minds of the century.

His story is one of the great Horatio Alger stories. He out-Horatioed Horatio Alger.

The Self-Made Founder

❖ *July 2, 1731: Born in Windham, Connecticut*

❖ *1760: Moved to Norwich and Established Law Practice*

Huntington was born in Windham, Connecticut, in 1731. He was of ordinary farmer's stock with no formal education. While he was out with his father plowing, he taught himself how to read. Honestly, I don't even know how someone does that! I understand how, today, people teach themselves how to read playing with a cool, little Playskool® toy that says, "Cat, cat." How do you teach yourself how to read while you're plowing? It's astonishing. But he did. And then he went on to prepare himself for what he believed was God's call on his life to be a great legal mind. Concerned as he was with what appeared to be the illegalities and the injustices imposed by king and Parliament, he taught himself law, and without ever having a tutor or going to law school, he took the bar exam and passed on his first try.

❖ *1765: Appointed King's Attorney*

In 1765, after having established a small private law practice five years prior, he had become so renowned for his legal skills that the king appointed him the King's Attorney for Connecticut, later serving a similar role in both Delaware and Pennsylvania.

❖ *1775: Appointed as a Delegate to Congress*❖ *1776: Signed Declaration of Independence*❖ *September 28, 1779: Succeeded Jay as President*

In 1775, he went to Congress and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1779, he succeeded John Jay as president.

❖ *1784: Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Connecticut*❖ *1786: Elected Governor; Served a Decade*❖ *January 5, 1796: Died at Home on the Farm*

In 1784, he became the chief justice of the Superior Court of Connecticut. In 1786, he was elected governor and served a decade. Here's the thing, when presidents today, they serve out their terms and when they're finished, they go home and write a book, hang out for a couple years, and then go on the *Tonight Show*. Look at what Samuel Huntington did after he was president! In 1796, he died right where he wanted to be, at home, on the farm.

Thomas McKean (1724-1792)

Thomas McKean succeeded Huntington. According to John Quincy Adams,

There is no limit to the bold Presbyterian McKean's vision or ambition and his rapid rise might well have been due to rather than despite a lively competition. He was, in all respects, a true and energetic Scotchman.

I really hate that word *Scotchman*. I much prefer *Scot*, but who am I to argue with John Quincy Adams? John Quincy Adams was right about McKean, though. McKean was a remarkable man.

The Energetic Scotchman

❖ *1734: Born in Chester County, Pennsylvania*❖ *1754: Admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar*❖ *1757: Appointed to Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*

He was born Chester County, Pennsylvania, and, following a rudimentary education, when he was twenty years old, he was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar. In 1757, he was appointed to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, when he was twenty-three — *twenty-three* years old! Do you know that according to the census taken this year,

40% of all twenty-five-year-olds in America still either live at home or are totally dependent upon their parents. He was on the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania when he was that age.

- ❖ *1765: Delegate to the Stamp Act Congress*
- ❖ *1766: Founded Delaware's Committee of Correspondence*
- ❖ *1776: Colonel of 4th Battalion Pennsylvania Associators*

In 1765, he served as a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress. He was one of the founders of Delaware's Committee of Correspondence. In 1776, he served as a colonel in the 4th Battalion of the Pennsylvania Associators, the Pennsylvania militia.

- ❖ *1777: Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; Served Twenty-five Years*
- ❖ *1781: Succeeded Huntington as President*
- ❖ *1812: Served as the Coordinator of Philadelphia Defenses*
- ❖ *June 24, 1817: Died at the Age of Eighty-four*

In 1777, he became the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, where he served for twenty-five years. While he was serving in that role, he was simultaneously serving in Congress. He succeeded Huntington as president in 1781. In 1812, with the British once again invading America's shores, he served as the coordinator of the Philadelphia defenses. In 1817, he died in his beloved City of Brotherly Love at the age of eighty-four.

John Hanson (1717-1784)

McKean was succeeded by John Hanson. According to John Quincy Adams,

Hanson was not a reckless firebrand; he was a statesman but not an orator; he was ripe in years, full of patience, and stubborn only when it was needful to be stubborn for the right. He would be slow to take a deliberate position. But, if and when he took one, younger men would trust and follow him.

Don't you love that? He was stubborn but only when he needed to be so.

The Father of Federalism

April 3, 1715: Born at Mulberry Grove

Hanson was born in Mulberry Grove in Maryland, just right across the Potomac River from the home of George Washington. They considered one other neighbors and friends. He was ascended from the great Swedish patriots who established New Sweden in Maryland and in Delaware and who had fled following the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.

- ❖ *1750: Sheriff of Charles County*
- ❖ *1765: Drafted Stamp Act Congress Delegate Instructions*
- ❖ *1773: Presided at the Frederick Courthouse Meeting*

He became the sheriff of Charles County in 1750, went as a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, and wrote the delegate instructions for the Maryland delegations. In 1773, he presided at the very famous Frederick courthouse meeting which precipitated the patriot cause throughout Maryland.

- ❖ *1779: Elected to Continental Congress*
- ❖ *1780: Hanson Pushed Through Final Articles Ratification*
- ❖ *November 5, 1781: Succeeded McKean as President*
- ❖ *May 10, 1782: President Hanson Declares a Fast Day*
- ❖ *November 22, 1783: Died at Oxon Hill*

In 1779, he was elected to Congress. It was Hanson who pushed through the final ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1780. And in 1781, he succeeded McKean as president, thus becoming the first president under the Articles of Confederation. In 1782, he declared America's first national day of fasting and prayer. Just a year later, he died at Oxon Hill.

Elias Boudinot (1740-1821)

Hanson was succeeded by Elias Boudinot. According to John Quincy Adams,

After his very able service in Congress and as President, Elias Boudinot, a dedicated Presbyterian layman, dedicated his entire energy and substantial fortune to Christian causes such as the American Bible Society, which he founded. He was surely the father of America's character.

The Father of American Character

- ❖ *April 21, 1740: Born in Philadelphia*
- ❖ *1760: Licensed to practice law in Elizabethtown, New Jersey*
- ❖ *1772: Mentored the young Alexander Hamilton for two years*

He was born in Philadelphia of hardy Scots-Irish stock. Like so many of the other founders was largely self-taught. He was licensed to practice law when he was twenty years old in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in Philadelphia, and in the surrounding area. In 1772, he mentored the young Alexander Hamilton for some two years, preparing him for his legal career.

❖ *1778: Elected to Congress representing New Jersey*

❖ *1782: Succeeded John Hanson as President*

In 1778, he was elected to Congress representing New Jersey. All during this time, he wrestled with a sense of call to the ministry. He really did not want to be involved in politics. He only relented to the tug of politics because of the pressure of the moment, the need of the time. The cause of freedom would not turn him loose. He took great solace in the fact that surely there was a gospel calling even in this, though he yearned to return to what was his great heart, which was personal evangelism and the distribution of the Scriptures. He succeeded John Hanson as president. After his presidency, he retired to private life and dedicated himself to the ministry, the distribution of the Scriptures, and personal evangelism.

❖ *1787: Forged the Northwest Compromise that created Ohio*

He was called back at a time of crisis when Congress was trying to determine what to do with the Western territories. He forged the Northwest Compromise that ultimately created Ohio, which was a huge breakthrough and paved the way for the great Manifest Destiny of the nation, across and throughout the continental U.S.

❖ *1789: Reelected to Congress against his will*

He actually forged the idea of a Northwest Territory. In 1789, he was reelected to Congress against his will. Now here's the thing, sometimes we have write-in candidates, sometimes we have third-party candidates, sometimes we have dark horse candidates, but have you ever heard of somebody who says, *Please don't elect me*, and he gets elected anyway?

❖ *1805: Resigned to private life and ministry again*

❖ *1816: Founded the American Bible Society in N.Y.C.*

❖ *1821: Died at home; succeeded at the American Bible Society by John Jay*

In 1805, he resigned to private life and ministry, again. This time, he began to lay the framework for what would become the American Bible Society — he and his original board members, which included John Jay. In 1821, he died at home. He was succeeded as president of the American Bible Society for the Cause of the Distribution of the Scriptures by his dear friend, John Jay.

Thomas Mifflin (1744-1800)

Boudinot was succeeded by Thomas Mifflin. Mifflin was thought of by some to be a bit of a rogue. John Quincy Adams said of him that

Mifflin had the privilege of witnessing perhaps the greatest single moment of honor in American history — the surrender of General Washington's commission. Mifflin was thus, in many ways, the father of the Great American Moment.

The Father of the Great American Moment

❖ *1744: Born to wealthy Quaker parents in Philadelphia*

He was born to wealthy Quaker parents in Philadelphia, but he wrestled with the pacifism of Quakerism and with much of the theology. He came under the influence of more mainstream Protestant traditions and began to question his quietistic, pietistic roots.

❖ *1764: Moved to France to further his business interests*

❖ *1772: "Read Out" of a Quaker meeting*

In 1764, he moved to France to further his business interests and to pursue his theological and cultural studies. While he was there, he also took to drink which proved to be his bane throughout most of his career and part of the reason why so many thought that he was a rogue and a drunkard. He probably was not. It was probably greatly exaggerated, but he was never able to live down the fact that, in 1772, he was read out of a Quaker meeting, which is about as close to an excommunication as a pacifist organization can get.

❖ *1774: Elected to the Continental Congress*

❖ *1775: Appointed Quarter-Master General of the Army*

Two years later, he was elected to the Continental Congress because of his energy and his passion for the cause of the patriots. In 1775, to the astonishment of even those Quakers who read him out of the Quaker meeting, he became the Quartermaster General of the Army. His time there as quartermaster was filled with a great deal of controversy. There were many in the Congress as well as in the army who thought that he was enriching himself or that he made decisions that imperiled the cause of freedom. Of course, anytime anyone leads there will always be questions, and everyone who leads makes mistakes, and he was no exception.

❖ *1783: Succeeded Boudinot as President*

❖ *December 23, 1783: Accepted Washington's Sword*

❖ *1790: Elected Governor of Pennsylvania*

❖ *1799: Resigned after a decade due to ill-health*

❖ *1800: Died at his retirement home at Lancaster*

Nevertheless, his rise to power was fast, and he succeeded Elias Boudinot as president. On December 23, 1783, it was the rogue, the suspected drunkard, Thomas Mifflin, who stood at the president's desk and received George Washington's sword and his resignation. In 1790, he was elected governor of Pennsylvania. Nine years later, he resigned due to ill health after serving almost ten years. The next year, he died at his retirement home, which is still there in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Richard Henry Lee (1732-1794)

Mifflin was succeeded by Richard Henry Lee, of whom John Quincy Adams, himself an incredibly complex man, said

The most complex of the generation of the Founders, Lee was the political ally of Samuel Adams and Thomas Mifflin, making him the father of difficult compromise and principled consensus.

It was said that he was a man who was difficult to like and impossible not to admire.

The Father of Compromise and Consensus

- ❖ *1732: Born into one of Virginia's most esteemed families*
- ❖ *1743–1752: Educated at Wakefield Academy in England*
- ❖ *1754: Designed and built Chantilly on the Potomac*
- ❖ *1768: Beloved wife, Anne, died of pneumonia*

He was born into one of Virginia's most esteemed families and educated at Wakefield Academy in England. In 1754 when he was just twenty-two years old, he designed and built a magnificent estate called Chantilly on the Potomac River. Alas in 1768 his beloved wife Anne died of pneumonia. In his grief and despair, he disposed of all his business interests and plunged himself solely and completely into the service of the patriot cause.

- ❖ *1769: Introduced a bill to abolish slavery in Virginia*
- ❖ *1776: Introduced the resolution for independence*
- ❖ *1784: Succeeded Mifflin as President*

In 1769, he introduced a bill to abolish slavery in Virginia — a long tradition in the Lee family that would endure all the way through until slavery was finally abolished in the last state where slavery existed, Delaware, two years after the Civil War. In 1776, it was Lee who introduced the resolution for independence. He succeeded Mifflin as president in 1784.

- ❖ *1787: Led in the passage of the Northwest Ordinance*
- ❖ *1789: Elected to the new Senate*
- ❖ *1796: Died surrounded by his nine children*

He led the fight for the passage of the Northwest Ordinance in 1787. In 1789, following the ratification of the Constitution, he became Virginia's first senator. Just seven years later, he died surrounded by his nine children.

Nathaniel Gorham (1738–1796)

Lee was succeeded by Nathaniel Gorham. John Quincy Adams said of Gorham that

Gorham sacrificed his entire fortune for the sake of liberty. A strong leader with strong centralist views, he was an ardent advocate of a strong federal system and was ultimately the father of the new Constitution.

Of course, he didn't write the new Constitution. The new Constitution was written by Gouverneur Morris; nevertheless it was Gorham who really pushed the fight through, both to create the constitutional convention and to press forward the cause of ratification.

The Father of the Constitutional Convention

- ❖ *May 21, 1738: Born in Charlestown outside Boston*
- ❖ *1752: Entered into a business apprenticeship*
- ❖ *1759: Opened his own import-export business*
- ❖ *1761: Incorporated the Charles River Bridge*
- ❖ *1771: Elected to the Massachusetts Colonial Legislature*
- ❖ *1775: Served in the Massachusetts State government*

He was born in Charlestown, right across the Charles River, that big muddy river, outside of Boston. In 1752, he entered into a business apprenticeship. By 1759, he had opened his own import export business. Along with John Hancock, he made his fortune plying the waters back and forth between England and the colonies. But of course that was put into jeopardy by the patriot cause, the cause of independence. Nevertheless he was an ardent patriot, and in 1771, he was elected to the Massachusetts Colonial Legislature. He served as the Coordinator General of the Massachusetts state government.

- ❖ *1782: Elected to Congress*
- ❖ *1786: Succeeded Lee as President*

In 1782, he was elected to Congress. Four years later he succeeded Lee as president. One of the peculiar anomalies is that, before he pressed forward the new Constitution, because he had so many profound doubts about the Articles of Confederation and the possibility of holding together the diversity of the thirteen states, he contacted Bonnie Prince Charlie who was living in exile at the time in northern Italy, in the Kingdom of Lombardy, to inquire as to whether or not he would be willing to come and be America's king in a constitutional monarchy. What's interesting about this is that it reminds us that men like this were thinking constantly, *How do we solve these problems? How do we deal with these issues?* Sometimes entrepreneurial ideas are bad, sometimes they're good, but Gorham wasn't one to just sit back and wait.

- ❖ *1787: Attempted to institute an American monarchy*
- ❖ *1787: Elected Chairman of the Constitutional Convention*

In 1787, later, after his idea for Bonnie Prince Charlie as a decrepit old man to come and be America's king, when that was shot down, he pushed forward another idea and was elected chairman of the Constitutional Convention.

Arthur St. Clair (1734-1818)

Gorham was succeeded by Arthur St. Clair, a military man.

St. Clair was one of the few in the founding generation who had a solid and professional military background. He was, to a great extent, the father of the American military, founding three state militias and ably commanding troops in the Continental Army.

That was John Quincy Adams' testimony of him. His story is fascinating.

The Father of the American Military

- ❖ *March 23, 1734: Born into a Laird's family in Edinburgh*
- ❖ *1745: Suffered the loss of family and lands in the Rising*
- ❖ *1757: Purchased "ensign's commission" in the 60th Foot*

He was born to a laird's family in Edinburgh. During the rise of Bonnie Prince Charlie, in 1745, they suffered the loss of family and lands and thus purchased an ensign's commission in the 60th Foot of the British military. He served capably, at the command of his father, to learn everything he could about the British military, so that one day, some day, he might be able to fight the despised English perhaps in another place, perhaps in another land, but just as surely for the cause of freedom.

- ❖ *1762: Resigned and settled in Boston*
- ❖ *1768: Helped to establish militias in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware*
- ❖ *1776: Promoted to Brigadier General in Continental Army*

He served until 1762, when he resigned his commission and settled in Boston. In 1768, he was a busy man. He helped to establish new militias in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. In 1776, the Continental Congress recognized his military proficiency, and, side-by-side with George Washington, he was promoted to Brigadier General in the Continental Army.

- ❖ *1787: Succeeded Gorham as President*
- ❖ *1787: Explored possibility of constitutional monarchy*
- ❖ *1788: Appointed as first Governor of the NW Territory*
- ❖ *1818: Died in poverty*

He served in Congress after the war had been won and succeeded Gorham as president in 1787. He too explored the possibility of a constitutional monarchy, but ultimately let that notion go. In 1788, he was appointed the first governor of the Northwest Territory and established as a center for commerce, trade, and defense of those territories a fort at the site of Cincinnati. He resigned his commission and denounced the new Constitution as providing too many structures for the possibility of the growth of a huge and dominating federal government. In 1818 he died in poverty.

Cyrus Griffin (1748-1810)

St. Clair was succeeded by Cyrus Griffin. According to Adams,

The last president of the old Confederacy, Griffin was essentially a caretaker for his friends who were even then fighting for the ratification of a Constitution which would make his office obsolete.

The Last President of the Confederacy

- ❖ *July 16, 1748: Born into an aristocratic Virginia family*
- ❖ *1766: Studied law at the Inner Temple in London*
- ❖ *1770: Eloped with the daughter of the Earl of Traquair*
- ❖ *1778: Elected to the House of Burgesses*
- ❖ *1779: Elected to Congress*

He was born into one of Virginia's great aristocracies, one of the great families of Virginia, and studied law in London at The Inner Temple. He had a rather tempestuous romance that stirred scandal in all of the little patriot pamphlets and broadside sheets when he eloped with the daughter of the Earl of Traquair. Nevertheless, he was elected to the House of Burgesses in 1778 and Congress in 1779.

- ❖ *1788: Elected as the last President of the Confederacy*
- ❖ *1789: Appointed as Commissioner to the Creek Nation*
- ❖ *1790: Appointed to the Federal Bench*
- ❖ *1806: Presided over the treason trial of Aaron Burr*
- ❖ *1810: Died in Yorktown*

By 1788, he had been elected as the last president under the Articles of Confederation. The next year, following his term of office once the new Constitution had been ratified, he was appointed as a commissioner to the Creek Nation. In 1790, he became a federal judge. It was in that capacity, in 1806, that he presided over the treason trial of the former vice president of the United States and great-grandson of Jonathan Edwards, Aaron Burr. In 1810, he died in Yorktown.

The Character of the Leaders

They were all remarkable, remarkable men. The fact that we ought to know these stories but we don't is an indictment of our understanding of what it took to win our great freedom.

Realism

- ❖ *Facing the Facts*
- ❖ *Dealing with the Problems*
- ❖ *Proposing Solutions*

These were men who were realists. They faced the facts, dealt with problems, and proposed solutions. They weren't simply exercising pomp and glory for the sake of the advancement of their own lives.

Experience

- ❖ *Real-Life Expertise*
- ❖ *Bootstrap Ethic*
- ❖ *Statesmen not Politicians*

They were men of experience. They had real-life expertise. These were people who pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps. They built businesses. They were statesmen, not politicians.

Substance

- ❖ *Community-Minded*
- ❖ *Faith-Filled*
- ❖ *Family-Centered*

They were men of substance, community-minded, faith-filled, family-centered.

Consistent

- ❖ *Governed by Principle not Passion*
- ❖ *Unwavering in Commitment*
- ❖ *Steady through the Vicissitudes of Life*

The kind of character that these men demonstrated was a character that was consistent with the whole broad range of the Christian worldview. They were governed by principle not passion. They were unwavering and unflinching in their commitment. They were steady, even through the greatest adversities and vicissitudes of life.

Varied

- ❖ *Wide-Ranging Interests*
- ❖ *Sociable and Gracious*
- ❖ *Beloved at Home and Abroad*

They were diverse. Even the men themselves had wide-ranging interests. In other words, these were people who actually had lives, families, homes, concerns. They weren't all-consumed with being the big-wigs. Most of them were incredibly sociable and gracious. They were beloved at home and abroad.

Civic

- ❖ *Public-Minded*
- ❖ *Sense of Social Responsibility*
- ❖ *Private and Public Sacrifice*

They gave themselves to their communities, they were public-minded. They had a sense of social responsibility. They were willing to commit themselves to both public and private sacrifice.

That's what leadership is. Leadership is not being the smartest guy in the room. Leadership is not being the most charismatic personality on the stage. Leadership is not grasping at ambition. Leadership is simply walking

in the fullness of our callings and living out the biblical worldview through consistent, virtuous character, by grace, through faith, this not of ourselves. They got that. They lived that. And against all possible odds, they changed the world. We need to know their stories because we need to walk in their footsteps.



Lord, would you enable us to do that? To walk in their footsteps? Would you, Lord, enable us to learn lessons from this amazing legacy? Would you use feeble hands like ours, faltering feet like ours, stuttering lips like ours for your glory, for your purposes, to change the world? Would you, Lord? Would you give us a vision for something that's way bigger than us? Would you give us a kingdom vision — kingdom vision for men and nations, kingdom vision for families and communities, kingdom vision for churches? O, God, would you enable us to walk in their footsteps? We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 20

*Against All Odds:
From the Outbreak of Hostilities to
Valley Forge*

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Spread of the Religious Sects; Emergence of the South and King Cotton

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 240–253

Lesson Synopsis

Sometimes the most remarkable breakthroughs occur when it's least likely, when you're standing against all odds. That really is the story of the American War of Independence, as it is the story with so much of the rest of history.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

The lead-up to hostilities through the winter at Valley Forge

Primary Source Material

Rule of Law, by John Adams; On Conciliation with the American Colonies, by Edmund Burke; Speech in the Virginia Convention," Patrick Henry, March 23, 1775 ("Give me liberty or give me death."); Bunker Hill Oration, by Daniel Webster

Vocabulary

codify, rote, trite, reconciliation, implicate, astride, foretell, implications, straggling, fractious, *fiat*, influx, revenue, garner, enshrine, conciliation, domestic, tranquility, mutually exclusive, munitions, harry (v.), provisions, delegate (v.), subvert, magistrate, interpose, jurisdiction,

Timeline

- ❖ 1774: The Massachusetts Government Act ended local government.
- ❖ 1774, December: General Gage mobilized his troops.

- ❖ 1775, February: *The Rule of Law*, by John Adams
- ❖ 1775, March 22: Edmund Burke's On Conciliation with the American Colonies
- ❖ 1775, March 23: Patrick Henry's *Liberty or Death*
- ❖ 1775, April 5: Articles of War
- ❖ 1775, April 16: Militia warnings issued by the Continental Congress
- ❖ 1775, April 18: The Ride of Dawes and Revere
- ❖ 1775, April 19: Lexington and Concord
- ❖ 1775, May 10: Ethan Allen at Fort Ticonderoga
- ❖ 1775, June 17: Battle of Bunker Hill
- ❖ 1776, March 17: Knox laid siege on Howe.
- ❖ 1776, August 27: Howe landed on Long Island.
- ❖ 1776, September 11: Washington lost New York City.
- ❖ 1776, December 2: Washington retreated from New Jersey.
- ❖ 1776, December 26: Washington crossed the Delaware.
- ❖ 1777, January 3: Battle of Princeton
- ❖ 1777, August 17: Battle of Bennington
- ❖ 1777, September 11: Battle of Brandywine
- ❖ 1777, September 26: Philadelphia Abandoned
- ❖ 1777, October 17: Battle of Saratoga
- ❖ 1777-1778: Winter at Valley Forge



Against All Odds: From the Outbreak of Hostilities to Valley Forge

*That prodigy of modern times, at once both the wonder and the blessing of the modern world, is the American Revolution;
or rather, it is the American War for Independence.*

~ Daniel Webster

Sometimes the most remarkable breakthroughs occur when it's least likely, when you're standing against all odds. That really is the story of the American War of Independence, as it is the story with so much of the rest of history.

30 November

❖ *St. Andrew's Day*

Today is Tuesday, November 30, and it was on this day in history that throughout Christendom the great celebration of St. Andrew's Day was recognized. St. Andrew, of course, was numbered among the apostles, brother of

Simon Peter. Eventually, he became the revered patron of both Greece and Scotland, where his feast day remains a holiday. Andrew may well have been, as tradition asserts, the founder of the church at the site of Constantinople, Istanbul, that our Iraq team was just able to see. But, he was most assuredly the great reconciler, as Scripture asserts. As a result, his memory is celebrated as a day of forgiveness, and services of reconciliation are often followed by a great feast of roasted or smoked beef, telling heroic tales, reciting epic poetry, and the singing of great ballads. King David of Scotland, the son of Malcolm Cranmore and Queen Margaret, codified the day as a national holiday in 1125, and it has been a national holiday in Scotland ever since. It was brought over by many of the Scots-Irish who emigrated to America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, as a result, St. Andrew's Day is still a day in which forgiveness services are held in many old Scots-Irish Baptist or Presbyterian churches. A forgiveness service essentially involves all of the people of the congregation going to every single other member of the congregation and asking for forgiveness for sins committed, either purposefully or unintentionally. It's a very powerful thing. Essentially what happens is everybody in the congregation lines up around the walls of the church, and then one at a time every single person goes all the way around the circle and looks every single person in the eye, holding them hand by hand, and saying, "If there are things that I have done to offend you or to hurt you, if I have sinned against you, would you forgive me?" Now a ritual like that can seem really rote and trite; you're saying the same things over and over, maybe a hundred times as you go around the circle, but invariably — I've actually been in services like this — invariably, at some point, the wells just break. It is really hard to look someone in the eye that you know that you have hurt and say those words without the forgiveness actually coming. So, this day, November 30, has actually been a day of rich reconciliation, against all odds.

❖ *1935: Pastor, theologian, and author, Dietrich Bonhoeffer returned to Berlin to lead the German Confessing Church's opposition to the Nazis.*

It was also on this day, November 30, in 1935 that author and theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer returned to Berlin from safely pastoring an exile community of Germans in London, in order to head the church's opposition to Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime. He became the leader of the Confessing Church, and became the primary teacher and the director of the Confessing Seminary. It was a decision that ultimately cost him his freedom and his life. In 1944, he was implicated in a conspiracy that had been linked to the German resistance and was imprisoned at the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Convicted of treason, he was sent to the gallows the following year just three days before the Allies liberated the camp.

❖ *1782: The fledgling United States and Great Britain signed preliminary peace articles in Paris, ending the American War of Independence.*

Also on this day in 1782, the United States and Britain signed preliminary peace articles in Paris, officially ending the American War of Independence. In fact, many, particularly those of Scots-Irish extraction which comprised virtually the entire officer corps of the Continental Army, for years afterwards argued that November 30 was actually Independence Day, thus bringing together St. Andrew's Day and Independence Day, so happy Independence Day.

❖ *1835: Mark Twain was christened Samuel Langhorne Clemens.*

It was also on this day in 1835 that Mark Twain, best known as a great American humorist and novelist, author of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, was christened Samuel Langhorne Clemens in the little Missouri village of Florida just astride the Mississippi River. Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain, wrote an autobiography which, according to his will, could not even be opened from the lockbox in which it was stored until one hundred years after his

death. So, a hundred years after his death, last year, editors finally got their hands on Mark Twain's autobiography. It was published earlier this summer, and for the first time in a hundred years, he has a brand-new book on the bestseller list. Against all odds.

❖ *1864: The decisive Battle of Franklin was fought, effectively ending the War Between the States.*

And, of course, it was on this day, St. Andrew's Day, in 1864, that the five tragic hours occurred here in Franklin, Tennessee. The decisive Battle of Franklin was fought just south of where we are presently. In fact, many of the stragglers from the Union army repaired to this very bluff adjacent to the Harpeth River to recover from their wounds. It was an engagement that was perhaps the single most decisive battle in all the Civil War, and, perhaps, many historians argue, the most decisive battle ever fought on American soil, in that, some sixty thousand combatants, over the course of less than five and a half hours, saw more than nine thousand casualties — including five generals and nineteen officers from the Union, twenty-nine officers from the Confederacy — fall on the fields just to the south of Franklin. It was bloody and brutal. Although the Confederate forces overran and held the field that had been previously held by the dug-in Union troops, the losses were so great that the Confederate army was no longer able to muster a full fighting force and essentially that ended the War Between the States. It occurred on this day, November 30, in 1864. Once again, we see that against all odds strange things, unlikely things, can occur in history where the outcome by no means foretells the implications down the road.

We see that most assuredly with the American patriot cause. The American patriots had good legal and moral standing in their dispute with king and Parliament. They went into the conflict with the high moral ground firmly beneath their feet, but the possibility of the straggling American populace numbering less than one million souls scattered all across the frontier, clinging to the edge of the Atlantic in North America, — the chance that they might have at defeating the world's greatest military and imperial power with unbelievable reach across the world, with a standing army, with allies throughout the Western world — the thought that they could defeat Britain was absolutely absurd.

The Cold, Hard Facts

❖ *Only fifteen of the twenty-one British colonies joined the cause of independence (and two of those sought to go it alone).*

Just looking at the cold hard facts of the American War of Independence, we see the absurdity of the patriot cause. Only fifteen of the twenty-one British colonies actually joined in the cause of independence — two of those sought to go it alone, West Florida and Vermont. Those thirteen that did band together were often in border disputes and trade disputes with one another, carefully guarding their sovereignty, jealous of opportunities that might go to one or the other of the colonies. They were a fractious and fractured bunch.

❖ *The Continental Army never had more than sixty thousand men under arms at any given time (while the British deployed three times that number).*

In addition to that, the Continental Army, which was created by *fiat*, out of nothing almost, *ex nihilo*, by the Continental Congress by the signing of a decree in 1775, never had more than sixty thousand men. At various times, the army got down to less than two thousand men during the course of the war, supplemented by a handful of local militias. There were never more than sixty thousand men under arms at any given time, while the British

were able to deploy three times that number and were able to refresh their troops constantly with new influxes of regulars as well as mercenaries from German allies.

❖ *Congress had no revenues, budgets, banking agreements, or treaty arrangements to draw on to supply the fledgling Continental Army, while the British had the world's greatest imperial army and navy.*

Congress had no revenues; remember, they created their government out of nothing. So, they had no tax base, they had no resources stored up. They had no budgets, no banking agreements, and no treaty arrangements to draw on in order to supply this fledgling Continental Army, much less, to create all the infrastructure services necessary to hold the thirteen fledgling colonies together in any sort of union. Meanwhile, the British had the world's largest imperial army and navy. In addition, because the Continental Army was created by *fiat*, there were no battle-tested commanders, none — no captains, no majors, no generals, who actually had battlefield experience. Men like George Washington had served in what would be the equivalent of the National Guard and had seen a few skirmishes, mostly with French frontiersmen and trappers and a handful of Indians on the frontier. So they had, at least, come under fire, but that was the best that could be said, while the British had commanded standing armies since the time of the Hundred Years' War and had been battle-tested all over the globe.

❖ *No more than forty to forty-five percent of the general population supported independence, while about twenty-five thousand Tories fought with the British Regulars and Hussars.*

And then on top of that, the cause of independence, according to most historians, never was able to garner more than forty or forty-five percent of the support of the general population. In other words, somewhere in the neighborhood of sixty percent of all the people settled in America for whom the cause of freedom was being fought, didn't want to be independent. They remained either loyal or neutral. This is evidenced by the fact that, according to most historians, somewhere in the neighborhood of twenty-five thousand loyalists, or Tories, actually fought side-by-side with the British Regulars and Hussars. In other words, almost half of the Americans fighting on the fields in the War of Independence were fighting against the patriots. The possibility that these guys could actually win was pretty absurd.

At this point I want to stop for a second and remind you of a story. It was a story that the American patriots reminded themselves of any number of times according to Donald Lutz¹ in his compendium of patriot tracts, pamphlets, and sermons. The story that is contained in I Samuel 13 was told some forty-seven times that we can document in the sermons and pulpits of the Scots-Irish Presbyterians and the revivalistic Baptists up and down the whole coast of the Atlantic.

Here is the story — the army of Jonathan, the son of King Saul, was absolutely demoralized in their fight against the Philistines. In fact, the army had been stripped of all of its weapons. Every man had gone to his own town, resigned to Philistine rule. Remember, this was before the time of the regency of King David; Saul still ruled. The Philistines came out against the people of Israel to punish them for their rebellion. It says,

¹ *American Political Writing During the Founding Era, 1760-1805*, 2 vols., Charles S. Hyneman, co-editor (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1983)

So it came about on the day of battle that there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people who were with Saul and Jonathan. Nevertheless, Saul and Jonathan did have one spear each.

Now, imagine that — an army with absolutely no weapons. They went to war with shovels and hoes. Only the king and the king's son actually had weapons. No power, no resources, no army, no decent weapons — you would have to say, therefore, absolutely no hope. Now, level heads would say that perhaps the people ought to wait for another day to fight for their independence. They ought to wait and seek out a better advantage. Perhaps they should do nothing now, but wait for a more opportune moment. After all, peace isn't won in a day.

But, no, the people of Israel wouldn't submit to that yoke. God desires for his people to walk by faith not by sight. The account says,

“Perhaps,” thought Jonathan, “it may be that the Lord will work for us, for nothing constrains the Lord from saving by many or by a few.” So, he set out alone, just he and his armor bearer, alone, to attack the Philistine garrison. Then Jonathan said, “Very well, let us cross over to these men, and we will show ourselves to them. If they say thus to us, ‘wait until we come to you,’ then we’ll stand in our place and not go to them, but if they say, ‘come up to us,’ then we’ll go up, for the Lord will deliver them into our hand. This should be the sign to us.”

So, both of them showed themselves to the garrisons of the Philistines and the Philistines said, “Look, the Hebrews are coming out of their holes where they have hidden!” And the men of the garrison called Jonathan and his armor bearer and said, “Come up to us and we’ll show you something.” So, Jonathan said to his armor bearer, “Come with me.”

Yeah, right. No way.

Then he said, “For the Lord has delivered them into the hand of Israel for our cause is just.”

What has he been thinking ... or eating or smoking?

Jonathan climbed up on his hands and knees with his armor bearer after him, they went before. The armor bearer came after him and his armor bearer killed the man at the first assault. Then, a slaughter ensued, which Jonathan and his armor bearer made, about twenty men within about half an acre of land, and there was trembling in the camp and the field and among all the people. The garrison and the raiders also trembled and the earth quaked so that is was a very great trembling.

Obviously the odds were totally against Jonathan and his armor bearer — one man with his armor bearer against the entire Philistine garrison. It was suicidal. Or, at least it looked that way, but then, looks can be deceiving. Appearances are sometimes quite out of focus with facts. So what were the actual facts that were before Jonathan and the armor bearer?

First of all, Jonathan knew that the land belonged to God not to the Philistines. He knew that, “Because the earth is the Lord’s and everything in it, the world and all who live in it, for *he* founded it upon the seas and established it upon the waters.” [Emphasis added.]

He also knew that God had placed the land into the care of his chosen people — the Jews. He knew that from Joshua 1:2.

He knew that they had very sure and secure promises, if they would obey God’s Word and do God’s work, they would be prosperous and successful. He knew that from Joshua 1:8.

He knew that every place that the sole of their foot trod would be granted to them — Joshua 1:3 — and that no man would be able to stand against him all the days of their lives. He knew that if the people would only dwell in the shelter of the Most High, in the shadow of the Almighty, he would deliver them from the snare of the fowler and from the perilous pestilence. He would cover them with his wings and protect them from the terror by night and the arrow that flies by day. And though a thousand might fall at their right hand and ten thousand to the left, nevertheless the reward of the wicked would be the lot of the wicked, and they would be protected from the teeth of the devourer, encompassed with supernatural power.

Those were facts. They weren’t obvious facts, they weren’t evident facts. They weren’t facts that were heralded among the bearers of news and tidings of the day, but those were the facts. Philistine dominion is a fiction. The idea that oppression and injustice can long endure is constantly exposed as fiction. Men live in accordance with these fantasies, but ultimately, those fantasies collapse under the weight of their own absurdity. Jonathan knew that. He acted boldly and decisively; he acted on the base of the truth and reliability of God’s word. As a result, he prevailed.

Now the Americans told themselves that story over and over and over again because the facts of the promises of history didn’t seem to match the facts of their circumstances. So which facts would they trust? That’s a question that we all have to ask ourselves constantly, isn’t it? What are we going to believe — what we know to be true because God has said it, or what we feel, think, or desire? Do feelings have dominion? Do our thoughts rule or is God sovereign? The big question that faced the patriots was, God is God, we are not, so who should we believe, us or Him? Amazingly, astonishingly, all out of character with most of the rest of history, and certainly all out of character with most of the rest of the people at that time, they chose to believe God. It was crazy. It seemed next to impossible. But that was the stand that they took.

Hostilities Break Out

Tensions Mount

After the Massachusetts Government Act in 1774 ended local government, most of the resistance throughout the colonies was centered in the city of Boston. As a result, the Quartering Act and a whole host of other acts — which gave rise to the concerns some fifteen years later that were embodied in the Bill of Rights — most of the abuses started in Boston. So, for instance, the Fourth Article of the Bill of Rights talks about unreasonable search and seizures.

One of the things that happened was that, for the sake of safety, against the possibility of dangers from unseasonable elements at any place and at any time, British soldiers could physically accost law-abiding citizens who were simply trying to go from one place to another. They were groped, they were searched; often, they were forced to strip down, take off their boots, not because they were accused of a crime, but because they were trying to cross the street. They were trying to travel somewhere in their own community. They were forced by a government to endure unreasonable searches just for the sake of supposed safety. That's why we have a Fourth Amendment. The government of the United States does not tell you how much shampoo you need for your vacation or where you can store your nail clippers, and to willingly yield to that is to say goodbye to the Bill of Rights.

❖ *December 1774: General Gage Mobilizes*

So, in September of 1774, things began to escalate to the point that, by December, the commander of the North American forces, General Gage, had to mobilize his forces in the city of Boston and put them on a war footing.

❖ *February: The Rule of Law*

By February, John Adams had written and published his incendiary little booklet entitled, *The Rule of Law and Rule of Men* in which he laid out the basic principles of liberty and justice enshrined in British common law which were being tossed to the four winds by the supposed emergency circumstances in the city of Boston.

❖ *March 22: Burke's On Conciliation with the American Colonies*

By March, Edmund Burke, the great Irish politician and parliamentarian, had written *On Conciliation with the American Colonies*, arguing powerfully on the floor of Parliament that it was Parliament and the king that were in rebellion against the standards of law, not the Americans, not those in the city of Boston.

❖ *March 23: Henry's Liberty or Death*

It was the next day that Patrick Henry gave his famous "Give me liberty or give me death" speech.²

Prelude

❖ *April 5: Fifty-three Articles of War*

By April, the gathered magistrates of the thirteen affiliated colonies had drafted fifty-three Articles of War and sent those to king and Parliament asking for conciliation and pleading with king and Parliament to abide by the law, acknowledging that there were security needs that needed to be addressed. *It is not necessary to abandon security*, they argued, *in order to provide for domestic tranquility*. It's not necessary to abandon security. The way to abide by security is not to abandon liberty. They are not mutually exclusive concerns.

❖ *April 16: Militia Warnings Issued*

By April 16, it was evident that Parliament was not going to hear their concerns, so warnings were sent to all the local militias. The militia was essentially a volunteer fire department in all the little townships all up and down the Atlantic coast — the volunteer fire department to protect the little settlements against Indian raids or to provide the basics of law enforcement and security, but, by 1774, the militias had formed themselves to protect their

² The speech is often referred to as "Speech in the Virginia Convention," Patrick Henry, March 23, 1775.

communities against the government. Another interesting little notion — the Second Amendment, the Second Article of the Bill of Rights, which talks about the right to keep and bear arms and to form militias, was not put into the Bill of Rights so that people would have the right to go and hunt deer in the wintertime. It wasn't put in there to ensure the right of Tennesseans to shoot turkeys before Thanksgiving. It wasn't put in there for sportsmen. The Second Amendment was put in the Constitution to protect the people against their own government. The militias began to send out warnings that perhaps they might have to protect their arsenals, their munitions, and their stockpiles against an increasingly desperate British military, desperate to gain control.

❖ *April 18: The Ride of Dawes and Revere*

By April 18, it was evident that the troops under General Gage would march against the citizens. And so we had the famous ride of Richard Dawes and Paul Revere, warning people from Boston all the way to Lexington and Concorde that the Redcoats were coming.

War

❖ *April 19: Lexington and Concord*

It was the next day that General Gage, in an attempt to capture the arsenal of munitions that was stored in Concord, was met by the Minutemen, members of the Lexington and Concorde militias. They fought with stern resistance, and as Gage's troops tried to make their way back to Boston, the Minutemen harried them all along the way. They were shots heard round the world because now war had actually begun.

❖ *May 10: Ethan Allen at Fort Ticonderoga*

On May 10, just a few weeks later, far away on the New York, New Hampshire, and Vermont frontiers, a group of Green Mountain Boys — members of the Vermont, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and New York militias — gathered together under the leadership of Ethan Allen. They decided to take out the gun placement that looked out over a high valley and out across Lake Champlain. They couldn't quite agree on who would command the outfit because they had militia members from several different divisions and different militias. In the end, most of the Americans decided to depart, and only the Green Mountain Boys from Vermont — which of course had not joined with the other thirteen colonies; it wasn't yet, but it was on its way, to becoming its own independent republic — crossed over the lake and came ashore just below Fort Ticonderoga just before dawn. Ethan Allen took out the one sentry that was guarding the fortress and entered into the fort, went straight to the commander's quarters, pounded on the door, and demanded that he come out. The commander cried out from inside asking, "By what authority do you command me to come out?" To which Ethan Allen replied, "By the authority of the great Jehovah and of the Continental Congress." Without firing another shot, the garrison was secured. Chief among the wonders was that there were heavy cannon that were captured by the militias — the first heavy cannon in the possession of any of the patriots.

❖ *June 17: Battle of Bunker Hill*

Now it was a long way from the Vermont frontier all the way to Boston. But shortly afterwards, at the Battle of Bunker Hill, it became evident that the British would entrench themselves in the city of Boston completely surrounded by the patriots, but the patriots had no way of laying siege on the city. The Battle of Bunker Hill was actually lost by the Americans, but the British suffered such heavy casualties that they fell back into the city of Boston at which point the patriots completely surrounded the city. The only way in and out of the city was by ship. Now war had truly begun.

One Defeat After Another

With messengers like Paul Revere and Richard Dawes carrying news all across the colonies, mobilization of the militias began in earnest. The Continental Congress appointed George Washington to be the Commander-in-Chief of a nonexistent army. He roused some one thousand recruits and began to march toward Boston, for the relief of Boston.

New York

❖ *March 17, 1776: Knox Lays Siege on Howe*

Meanwhile, a newly appointed militia general, General Knox, had the bright idea of going to Fort Ticonderoga, getting those cannons, dragging them all across New England, across hill and dale, bringing them to the Dorchester Heights outside of Boston, and laying siege on Boston, and he did it. He dragged these heavy cannon through muck and mud, over rocks and cliff through rivers and got them to Boston and by March, 1776, began to lay siege on Boston.

Washington was still trying to figure out how to take this motley band of brigands and castoffs and turn them into an army. They had no uniforms. They had no munitions — they didn't even have gunpowder — and so he entered into a secret agreement with a black marketeer who worked for John Hancock to somehow get black market gunpowder from France to Boston to supply them with gunpowder. They were able to do it, and the British departed from Boston, and the first great victory was won. It wasn't a pitched battle; it was simply an untenable situation in which General Gage got himself cornered and the Americans had their first breather.

❖ *August 27: Howe Lands on Long Island*

❖ *September 11: Washington Loses New York City*

Immediately, George Washington took his troops and moved them New York, the third most populous and important town in the colonies, to guard New York from invasion because, sure enough, General Howe, who had relieved General Gage as the Commander of North American troops for the British, had landed his troops on Long Island and began a long march south toward New York City. George Washington's forces were incapable of stopping that onward march, and on September 11, New York City was invaded and captured. Many historians actually believe that this is why Al-Qaeda chose September 11. It's the only other time that New York City has been invaded and captured.

In Retreat

❖ *December 2: Washington Retreats from New Jersey*

George Washington retreated first to the Brooklyn Heights and then in a remarkable midnight escape got his entire army across the East River to safety, but then had to flee even from Manhattan across to Staten Island and then into New Jersey.

Over the course of the next three or four months, George Washington moved his army from one narrow escape to another in constant retreat. It's one of the great anomalies of the American War of Independence that George Washington never won a single pitched battle until the last one. He lost every engagement; he conducted a couple of raids that were successful, but he lost every pitched engagement. But his genius was that he knew

that he didn't need to win, he just needed to survive in order to fight another day. When you hit terrible obstacles, do you have that much pluck, courage, and assurance that what you're doing is the right thing to simply say, *Okay, lost that one. Back up, try again?* That was the genius of Washington. He wasn't a great general; he didn't win great battles. He just had the courage of his convictions. He simply believed that no matter how many times he lost, no matter how many times he had to retreat, no matter how many times his army was reduced, no matter how much chaos might ensue around him, his cause was right. He stuck to it.

❖ *December 26: Crossing the Delaware*

By December 2, Washington, having been chased all the way from northern New Jersey to the Delaware or Pennsylvania border, had to escape New Jersey. He crossed over into Pennsylvania, but then on the day after Christmas, he believed that there might be a strategic advantage. So on December 26, he made his famous crossing over the Delaware and raided the Hussar troops that were encamped in their drunken Christmas festivities. Washington was able to resupply his troops. It was a brilliant maneuver.

❖ *January 3: Battle of Princeton*

It was followed on January 3 by a battle at Princeton where once again he was able to harry the Hussar troops, the German mercenaries.

Terrible Losses

❖ *August 17, 1777: Bennington's Respite³*

❖ *September 11, 1777: Battle of Brandywine*

On August 17⁴ of the next year, at Bennington,⁵ Washington sorta, almost, kinda drove the British back. It was a brief respite before September 11, 1777, when a terrible disaster occurred at Brandywine.

❖ *September 26: Philadelphia Abandoned*

Then, by September 26, the capitol where Congress was meeting had to be abandoned, and it looked like the British would overrun the entire country.

❖ *December 8: Winter at Valley Forge*

That winter was the winter at Valley Forge where some six thousand of the already sparse American troops camped in the bitter cold and nearly starved with no provisions, virtually no support, and absolutely no hope whatsoever. How do you justify a war when all the circumstances point toward absolute madness?

³ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant mis-spoke here. It was the Battle of *Bennington* that provided respite before Brandywine, not the Battle of *Saratoga*, which took place on October 17, 1777. *Ed.*

⁴ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant originally said "October 17" here and then corrected himself. *Ed.*

⁵ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said that it was the Battle of *Saratoga* that took place on August 17 when it was actually the Battle of *Bennington*. The Battle of *Saratoga* took place on October 17, 1777. The similarity in the dates, August 17 and October 17, was the cause of the confusion regarding these two battles. *Ed.*

Justifying the War

Boston

❖ *Samuel Adams and the Sons of Liberty*

Samuel Adams and the Sons of Liberty back in Boston constantly harped on the righteousness of the cause, and they produced pamphlet after pamphlet, communicating with people, reminding them that their cause was just.

❖ *John Hancock and the Committees of Correspondence Network*

John Hancock put together a network of what he called Committees of Correspondence, so that communities could communicate with each other, understand what the needs and concerns were, and build bridges of support and reconciliation throughout all the colonies.

❖ *Joseph Warren and the Town Militias*

Joseph Warren began building foundations and models for local militias that would be able to withstand the assaults, to bend but not break in the face of the British invasion. These efforts in Boston became infectious and spread throughout all the colonies. Good communication, solid cooperation, and local grassroots efforts.

Magistratal Interposition

❖ *Romans 13 and Submission*

❖ *Delegated Powers and Rights*

❖ *Justice and Interpositionalism*

This reinforced, for the colonials and the patriots, the idea of magistratal interposition. It's an idea that is drawn from the biblical directives for magistrates in Romans 13 and the call to submit to authorities, but authorities who themselves are under God and have only delegated powers in the face of rights that are given to the people.

When those delegated powers are abused and those rights are subverted, then it's necessary for justice to be done by lower magistrates interposing themselves between the abusers and the abused. In other words, lower magistrates step in and say, *Not here, not now. We say, "No."*

❖ *Unwilling to Trade Safety for Freedom*

This created an atmosphere among the colonials that said that they were unwilling to trade safety for freedom, freedom for safety.

Faith and State

❖ *Covenantal Separation of Powers*

This created an atmosphere where proper spheres and jurisdictions were held in check. Suddenly it became very clear that there needed to be in societies — for societies to be healthy — covenantal separation of powers. In other words, if God delegates certain powers to parents, the state doesn't have the right to abuse those authorities, those jurisdictions. Likewise, the Church had the responsibility to teach both the magistrates, the families, and local communities, what their responsibilities are in these separation of powers.

❖ *Sphere Checks and Balances*

Separation of powers is then reinforced, they believed, by checks and balances. The spheres could check each other. Local authorities would check colonial authorities, and colonial authorities would check Parliament and king so that the powers would not be abused. All of this was fueled by churches that took seriously the application of the gospel to everything, not just to the condition of our hearts or the beliefs in our heads, but all of the details of life — the application of the gospel to everything including politics, policy, day-to-day behavior, trade and transportation — everything. Obviously, this required great courage by all of those who took part. Whether it was the preaching of the sermons, or the printing of the pamphlets, they required great courage.

That's how Philistines fall. That's how giants are slain — not by overwhelming power, but by the courage to stand by your convictions, to mobilize a strategy that coordinates the efforts of the small against the large.

Fifty years after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Daniel Webster, congressman from New Hampshire, stood on the battlefield and gave one of the greatest orations in American history. Where fathers and grandfathers had bled and died, Webster reminded a new generation of new responsibilities. He said,

Let the sacred obligations ... [of] this generation sink deep into our hearts. ... The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to the great task now present, the task of preserving what our forebears gained at such great cost. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon and Alfred and other founders of states, our fathers have filled them, but there remains to us the great duty of defense and preservation. Our proper business is the advancement of liberty, and so by the blessing of God may our country become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and power and efficiency, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever.⁶

It's just as true today as it was then, perhaps more so.



⁶ This is a paraphrased and abridged version of the last two paragraphs of Webster's oration, "And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation, and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement.

Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, Our Country, Our Whole Country, and Nothing but Our Country. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration for ever."

Father, there are Philistines in the land still. They're everywhere around us. They claim to speak in our best interest. Let us never, Lord, concede our principals for comfort. Let us never trade freedom for the promise of safety. Let us, Lord, stand in this day, stand for those who around the world who are enslaved, stand for the unborn who cannot speak or stand for themselves, stand for the least and the last, the brokenhearted and the despairing, for those in far-off lands, and for those right in our own communities. Cause us to be champions of what is right and good and true. Lord, this is our prayer. Start right here with us, causing these principles to go deep in our hearts for the cleansing of the gospel to fit us for proper work. Lord, we confess, we're sinners and oftentimes we believe our sin faster than we believe your truth. So, send your Spirit, equip and enable us not only to do what is right, but to be what is right, by the power and the blood of Jesus, we pray. Amen.

Lesson 21

The Tide Turns: Victory & Independence

Text Book Reading

Primary: A History of the English Speaking People, The Missouri Compromise; Henry Clay
 Alternate: America, The Last Best Hope, pp. 253–263

Lesson Synopsis

George Washington and his rag-tag band of continental soldiers were able to achieve what all the grand armies, empires, and aspirants to power had never had been able to achieve before.

Opportunity

10

Lesson Topics

The second part of the American War of Independence, from 1777 and the arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette to the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1783

Primary Source Material

The Articles of Confederation

Vocabulary

harrowing, federal, hallmark, arduous

Timeline

- ❖ 1776, July: The Declaration of Independence
- ❖ 1777, June: Nineteen year-old Marquis de Lafayette joined the American cause.
- ❖ 1778: The French joined the conflict on the side of the colonies.
- ❖ 1780, March: The betrayal of Benedict Arnold
- ❖ 1780, October: Battle of King's Mountain
- ❖ 1781, January: Battle of Cowpens
- ❖ 1781, March: Battle of Guilford Courthouse
- ❖ 1781, March: The Articles of Confederation were ratified.
- ❖ 1781, September–October: Washington defeated Cornwallis at Yorktown.
- ❖ 1783, December 23: The signing of the Paris Peace Treaty



The Tide Turns: Victory & Independence

*The of miracle of freedom came suddenly at Yorktown.
~ John Quincy Adams*

As you can see today we're going to deal with what John Quincy Adams called the "Miracle of Independence". Last time we looked at the sort of against-all-odds vision of the patriot founders as they attempted to go up against the greatest military and imperial power of all time. Part of the way that they were able to accomplish what they did was that they simply would not take *no* for an answer. They would not take defeat as a final resolution of their conflict. They stood on principle no matter what. The result was that out of the American Revolution came a host of remarkable slogans that to this very day define the essence of independence and patriotism. We'll look at those, but first it's a great reminder to us when we look at any given day the impress of God's providence on all of time.

2 December

❖ *1697: St. Paul's Cathedral was dedicated in London.*

Today is December 2, and it was on this day in 1697 that the dedication ceremony for the newly rebuilt St. Paul's Cathedral was held in London. A church had stood on Ludgate Hill since the seventh century. And a magnificent medieval cathedral had been built in the eleventh century, twenty years after the Norman Conquest. But this medieval cathedral was destroyed by the Great Fire that swept through London in 1666, so the royal architect, Christopher Wren, was chosen to design the new cathedral. His baroque and classical design was a stunning success with a great main aisle of more than one hundred fifty yards and domes soaring nearly four hundred feet above it. Construction had begun on June 21, 1675. Wren endured many setbacks, great political intrigue, and personal adversity while he was simultaneously rebuilding many of the parish churches all throughout the city of London — some sixty-seven buildings were created by Wren during this same time that he was building St. Paul's. The dedication ceremonies were held twenty years after construction began. The church quickly became a London landmark and many famous Britons are buried there, and there are great monuments throughout the building. During the dedication ceremony, Viscount Stoneleigh asked Wren if he was going to have a monument in that building or if he preferred to have his monument for all his great accomplishments placed in Westminster Abbey instead. Wren told him, "I shall have no other monument than that which God has set my hands to. Behold my monument." Later the simple inscription was to turn that declaration into the slogan that is perhaps the most inspiring part of any visit to St. Paul's Cathedral.

❖ *1804: Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself.*

It was on 1804, on this day that, with Josephine at his side, Napoleon Bonaparte was inaugurated by Pope Pius VII, and then crowned himself Emperor Napoleon I at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. At the time he coined the slogan of Louis XIV who said, "*L'état, c'est moi,*" "The state, it's me." He said, turning to Josephine

after crowning himself, "*Mais, maintenant, tout le monde, c'est moi*" — "Now, everything is me," which summed up the whole of his philosophy. *Mais, maintenant, tout le monde, c'est moi.*¹

❖ *1823: The Monroe Doctrine was delivered to Congress.*

In 1823 on this day, the Monroe Doctrine was drafted by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and delivered to Congress for the first time. Upon handing the document to President James Monroe, John Quincy Adams said, "I trust and pray that this will be my grandest accomplishment." Of course, it wouldn't be his grandest accomplishment. He would later go on to become president of the United States and then serve in Congress. He would be the primary champion of the anti-slavery cause in the U.S. Congress in the years afterwards. He would even be the prosecutor in the great trial of the *Amistad* slave ship debacle. But what's really remarkable is that he wanted this document to be his great, great accomplishment, and he, in a sense, created that slogan. So it's the height of irony that the Monroe Doctrine is called the *Monroe* Doctrine instead of the John Quincy Adams Doctrine even though he wrote every single word of it.

❖ *1859: Militant abolitionist John Brown was executed.*

It was in 1859 that the militant abolitionist John Brown was hanged for his raid on Harper's Ferry the previous October. The trial really turned not so much on the fact that he had fomented revolution, taken the ferry, secured the arsenal that was there, and cost the lives of seven defenders and innocent bystanders. It was the fact that he constantly said throughout the trial that his philosophy from the beginning was, "If the slaves will not be free, then let them die, let them all die," which is a great slogan for most revolutionaries. Essentially, *I'm a champion of the people, and if the people don't believe it, I'll kill them.* The demonstration of that comes in almost every revolution.

❖ *1863: Construction began on the transcontinental Union Pacific Railroad.*

It was just four years later in 1863 that groundbreaking ceremonies in Omaha, Nebraska, marked the beginning of the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, which would bring a transcontinental railroad line to the United States for the first time. It was there that Jonathan Carson, one of the engineers, coined one of the greatest phrases that would come to describe the whole of the United States. He said, "Now transportation will be available from sea to shining sea." And so *from sea to shining sea* became the slogan for Manifest Destiny after that.

❖ *1867: Charles Dickens gave a reading in New York.*

In 1867, Charles Dickens gave his first reading of one of his books in New York City. Before the box office opened people stood in two lines almost a mile long in the snow waiting for tickets. On hearing of this great spectacle in the streets Dickens coined the phrase that would be the slogan for the rest of his American tour, "But all I'm going to do is talk," he said.

❖ *1927: Henry Ford unveiled the Model A.*

In 1927, automobile maker Henry Ford unveiled his Model A Ford. On this day December 2, it was the successor to the Model T. It generated so much interest that an estimated one million people made their way to Ford headquarters in New York City just to look at it. The roadster sold for \$385. It was with the Model A that Henry Ford declared his greatest slogan which was "You can have any color you want as long as it's black."

¹ Literally, "But now, the whole world is me."

❖ *1942: The Manhattan Project achieved a self-sustaining, controlled nuclear chain reaction.*

It was in 1942 on this day that, beneath the stands of the University of Chicago's football stadium, the Manhattan Project scientists led by physicist Enrico Fermi built the first simple nuclear reactor and achieved the first self-sustaining controlled nuclear chain reaction. Upon this accomplishment Fermi declared, "The world is turned upside down, again." Of course, he was referring to the great slogan of Lord Cornwallis just before he surrendered in Yorktown when he turned to his bandmaster in the British army and ordered them to play the old hymn tune *The World Turned Upside Down* to show the irony, the miracle, of the Americans achieving a victory and costing Britain its colonies on that remarkable day on October 19, 1781.

Six Years to Freedom

❖ *In just six years, the Americans turned the world upside down. ~ Paul Johnson*

It was indeed a miracle marked by more than a few great slogans. In fact, much of the patriot cause was driven by brilliant rhetoric, rhetoric that included the remarkable words of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death." Or the somewhat similar declaration of the great New Hampshire patriot, John Stark, who said, "Live free or die. Death is, after all, not the worst of evils," which remains to this day New Hampshire's state motto.

Nathan Hale, the great spy for the American cause was caught and hanged by the British and just before he was executed, he declared, "I only regret I have but one life to lose for my country." Thomas Jefferson, as a twenty-three-year old commissioned to pen some of the great documents of the patriot cause, declared, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," which was eventually emblazoned on many of the battle flags that the Continental Army used as it went into battle.

John Dickinson, who was called the Penman of the American War of Independence, drafted a number of the most important documents, worked on the draft of the Declaration of Independence, and worked on the initial Declaration of Rights beginning in 1765. He wrote *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* that opposed the Townsend Acts. He ultimately was the penman who drafted the first draft of the Articles of Confederation, the first constitution of the United States. It was Dickinson who coined the most widely distributed slogan of the American War of Independence, "No taxation without representation."

Dr. Joseph Warren, after his grand speech stirring the soldiers preparing for the Battle of Bunker Hill — which interestingly was not fought on Bunker Hill, it was fought on Breed's Hill, but history is full of those peculiarities — said, "Don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes."

It was John Paul Jones, the great naval hero, who fought many a battle on the Great Lakes and prevailed against the mighty British Navy — "I have not yet begun to fight," he declared, when the British asked if he wished to surrender.

But maybe my favorite of all the great slogans of the American War of Independence was made by Nathanael Greene when he was asked to summarize why it was that the American army was able to continue with a war that seemed absolutely hopeless. He was asked, "What is the genius of George Washington? How does Francis Marion stay on the battlefield? How are you able to prevail?" He said simply, "We fight, get beat, rise, and fight again," which became the first slogan for the state of South Carolina, the adopted home of Nathanael Greene;

though he was born in Rhode Island, he found the south to be much more to his liking, he said. “For here, folk know how to eat” — a true adopted Southerner.

Continuous, Unremitting War

- ❖ 1566-1604: *Hapsburg-Tudor Wars; War of Dutch Independence*
- ❖ 1618-1648: *The Thirty Years' War; Wars of Hapsburg Hegemony*
- ❖ 1652-1664: *The Anglo-Dutch Wars*
- ❖ 1680-1697: *War of the League of Augsburg; King William's War*
- ❖ 1701-1713: *War of Spanish Succession; Queen Anne's War*
- ❖ 1739-1743: *The War of Jenkins' Ear*
- ❖ 1740-1748: *The War of Austrian Succession; King George's War*
- ❖ 1756-1763: *The Seven Years' War; The French and Indian War*
- ❖ 1774-1781: *American War of Independence*
- ❖ 1789-1815: *The Continental Wars; Napoleonic Wars; War of 1812*

Of course, these slogans marked the ultimate turning point in what was really a two hundred fifty-year long conflict that was waged between forces of reform — representative government, consent of the governed, mixed government — and forces desiring to maintain the old idea of the Divine Right of Kings. We've seen this list before. It's a long list of conflicts that frequently involved the French and the English against each other, but underlying each of these conflicts was this fomenting notion that somehow the doctrines of the Reformation, which now prevailed in much of the world in the West, should make a difference in the way governance is done in the world. So the American War of Independence became, in a sense, the capstone of all this, leading ultimately to the Continental Wars, the Napoleonic Wars, the War of 1812, and the French Revolution, which not only changed the shape of Europe but really changed the complexion of governments throughout the world.

❖ *Victory, Freedom, and Opportunity*

It was, in John Quincy Adams's phrase, “a miracle” that this transformation should occur after some two hundred fifty years of unremitting, unflinching warfare between the great states, yet it took only six years to achieve, as Paul Johnson says. Amazingly, George Washington and his rag-tag band of continental soldiers were able to achieve what all the grand armies, empires, and aspirants to power had never had been able to achieve before.

The victory for the Americans came in an unusual fashion. The Americans lost virtually every major pitched battle in the first three years of the war. It looked to be altogether disastrous, except that George Washington seemed to be able to slip away from the noose every single time the British pressed in. He would lose and yet survive to fight another day. After Boston, he made his way to New York, and, beginning in Long Island, he was chased by the British all the way down through Long Island over to Brooklyn Heights across the East River. He abandoned Manhattan in a miraculous escape and was then chased all the way down through New Jersey across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania and Delaware. The harrowing flight, over the course of two years, saw nothing but disaster for the Americans, ending in that long, dark night of the soul and the cold winter, as the

American troops gathered together and Washington prayed for intervention camped in the winter confines of Pennsylvania.

Turning Tide

❖ *The War Comes to the South*

It was there that Washington and his generals conceived of a new approach to warfare. It was there that they conceived of the idea of harrying the enemy, and, perhaps there in the Pennsylvania winter, it was George Washington's notion that perhaps it might be best if they transferred the brunt of the war to the south where there was more open land and a better opportunity to use mountains to their advantage, and where small bands of raiding forces might be able to do more good than large armies in pitched battles. And so the war came to the south.

It was at the same time that the British turned their attention to the south. Because they now controlled Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, it was time to take Charleston and Savannah, sewing up their control of the great cities and ports up and down the Atlantic. So Lord Cornwallis turned to the south, and George Washington turned toward using a harrying of small forces. He appointed as his commanders in the South remarkable men who had very little military experience but much field experience — men like Francis Marion, who came to be known as the Swamp Fox, and Nathanael Greene, who began the war as a private and rose to the rank of Brigadier General simply by virtue of the strength of his character and his prowess on the battlefield, and perhaps Washington's best field commander, Daniel Morgan, who likewise knew how to fight a harrying sort of conflict and brought the war to a stunning, stunning place.

❖ *King's Mountain, Cowpens, and Guilford Courthouse*

First with the victory at the Battle of King's Mountain in October of 1780, and then even more stunning pitched battles won at Cowpens in January of 1781, and then at the Guilford Courthouse — a great battle in which Lord Cornwallis had to give up his plan of controlling South and North Carolina. That meant that he had to move his armies northward toward Virginia. He looked for a place where he could encamp his entire ten thousand-man Army of the South but also have a way of escape out to the sea, and he chose the Yorktown Peninsula on the Chesapeake Bay as that strategic location. With the British Navy as his back up, he felt that he had a good defensible location on the peninsula and a way out. What he did not know at that time was that two things had transformed the nature of the war.

❖ *Benedict Arnold and West Point*

First was the discovery of a plot by General Benedict Arnold, a great American commander who had contributed to the Battle of Saratoga, as well as the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. He decided, because he had not been promptly promoted through the ranks, because he did not believe that Congress properly appreciated his genius, to surrender a strategic fort on the Hudson River to the British and turn sides. With the promise of a large stipend, six thousand pounds immediate payment, as well as a lifetime annuity of three hundred ninety pounds a year, he decided to go over to the Tory cause.

He had been given command of this fort on the Hudson, strategically overlooking the entire Hudson Bay. It was perhaps the most important troop placement in all the northern theater of the war. It was a fort called West Point.

But a British agent was captured by George Washington's scouts and a dispatch revealed the plot. George Washington went in hot pursuit to capture the traitor, Benedict Arnold.

The news of Arnold's traitorous turn somehow electrified the American troops. They suddenly saw how treacherous and how wretched the life that they had faced under the British and the life that they might face under a conquering British force might be, and they were stirred to action.

❖ *Marquis de Lafayette and the French*

Simultaneous with this, the diplomatic efforts of the Americans to draw the Dutch and the French into the war on the side of the Americans against the British succeeded, and the French dispatched troops, ships, and great commanders, including the great Commander Lafayette, to the American cause. Lafayette became a commander under George Washington. These two things turned the course of the war.

First, the morale boost the betrayal of Benedict Arnold brought and then the reinforcements and the navy that the French brought. The French immediately sent a major fleet from the West Indies to the Chesapeake Bay.

❖ *Invasion of Virginia*

Lord Cornwallis did not know it yet, but his escape route was about to be cut off when the French navy captured all of the British ships in the Chesapeake Bay making Lord Cornwallis a sitting duck on the peninsula. His invasion of Virginia was about to turn disastrous. In addition to that, the French were able to disrupt all the communication lines between the British commands in the major port cities of Boston, New York, Savannah, and Charleston and not only intercept those communications, but to stymie the supplying of those port cities.

❖ *Logistical and Communications Glitches*

The result was that there were huge logistical and communications glitches that the British now faced. They were so far from home, cut off from all supplies, and now they couldn't communicate with each other.

❖ *Cornwallis at Yorktown: September-October 1781*

That led to the showdown at Yorktown. Combining the French forces that had joined him along with the full force of both the Northern and Southern American Continental Armies, George Washington was able to assemble some eighteen thousand men at Yorktown — the most men that he had ever had under arms at any one time. Lord Cornwallis only had about ten thousand men, and his navy had just been captured in the Chesapeake Bay by the French. So after a very short bombardment, Lord Cornwallis realized that there was nothing that he could do but surrender the British Army.

After-Effects

Now he only surrendered ten thousand men, and there were thirty thousand other British troops deployed throughout the American theater, many of them in New York, Philadelphia, just outside of Boston, Charleston, and Savannah. But the loss of Lord Cornwallis turned the heart of Parliament, and the peace party in Parliament, the Whigs, were then able to gain control of Parliament, and cut off the purse strings. Yorktown did not actually end the war, technically. The British did not surrender in New York, Savannah, or Charleston. They still had vast forces outnumbering the Continentals, but the British lost heart.

❖ *Two-Year Retreat*❖ *The American Cincinnatus*

As a result for about two years the British slowly retreated, and by December of 1783, George Washington was able to surrender his sword and go back to his beloved farm and plantation, and like Cincinnatus, the great Roman general of old, he simply retired from public life.

❖ *December 23, 1783*

The peace negotiations dragged on for some time. Some of the results of the peace negotiations would have strong effects on the story of America later. For instance, without consulting their American Indian allies in the West, the British simply surrendered all of the territories and all the lands, including Indian lands, to the Americans, from the Atlantic Ocean all the way to the Mississippi River. It was a part of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1783. That betrayed all of the Indians and opened the way for all the Indian wars. They were a direct result of the Peace Treaty.

Independence!

The bottom line was that following 1783 a new nation was born, and independence was recognized by Britain and by the rest of the world.

❖ *Constitutionalism from Scratch*

Of course, the problem is that, as in most of life, once you've won what you thought was the war, the real trouble starts. In a sense the Americans were kind of like the dog who chases a car and catches it. What do you do with it once you've caught it? Though the Americans now had independence, they had no earthly idea what that meant. They were reinventing governance on the fly. During the course of the war they could postpone major decisions because they had to deal with the war. But once the war was over, they had to settle into the real hard work of forging government, building strong communities, and establishing enduring institutions.

States

❖ *May, 1776*❖ *New Constitutions*

By May, 1776, many of the states actually got a head start on this process as they began to draft new constitutions to transform themselves from royally chartered colonies into self-governing states.

❖ *Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island*

The first of these were the New England states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. These new constitutions that each of the states enacted were widely varied, yet they shared a whole host of common features that would become the innovations necessary to build the federal, or covenantal, structure that would become the hallmark of American freedom.

Federal Innovations

❖ *Consent of the Governed*

These innovations included ensuring through a host of different structures that whatever governments were put into place would come at the consent of the governed. In other words they wanted to make sure that there were democratically elected representatives in that republican form of government that they desired to establish. This meant that they needed to have a way to separate powers so that all of the powers would not reside in single hands, single entities, or single powers. So they separated the powers.

❖ *Bicameral Legislatures*

In all of those early state constitutions the innovation of a bicameral legislature was put into effect. *Bicameral legislature* simply means that there is a House and Senate and that they're responsible for different things. They have different authorities and different jurisdictions.

❖ *Mixed Government*

❖ *Checks and Balances*

This enabled them to forge ahead with the idea of mixed government. Part of the federal vision of the covenantal vision was that each of the spheres that God has established in the world — sphere sovereignty, differentiated jurisdictions — should be represented in the government as well. Each of the different aspects of governance — the judiciary, the legislature, or the executive (or executionary) branch, that which is responsible for carrying out and enforcing the laws — should be separated and create a kind of mixed government so each of the powers can check and balance the others.

Confederation

❖ *John Dickinson: July 1776*

❖ *Articles: November 1777*

This idea, first forged in the state constitutions, combined with declarations of rights and bills of rights and the establishment of state religions — it's interesting that in virtually all of the early state constitutions, there was this idea that there should never be a separation of church and state. Most of the early state constitutions endorsed some brand of Christianity as the official basis for morality and governance in the states. The Penman of the Revolution, John Dickinson, was charged to take the lessons from many of these early state constitutions in 1776 and begin to draft some structure for all the states to work together — in other words, a charter for Congress. And this he did, drafting a series of articles that he would later call the Articles of Confederation, which was then given to Congress in November of 1771.

❖ *Ratification: March 1781*

It would take some four years for the Articles of Confederation to be ratified, but by 1781, the United States of America had its first functioning constitution. That first constitution, the Articles of Confederation, became the basis upon which the whole of American liberty was to be established. And it was the structure of government that the United States operated under, even prior to its ratification, all through the War of Independence. So the constitution that enabled the states to hold together, to fight another day, to endure until George Washington was able to come up with his vision of a harrying war, that constitution was the Articles of Confederation.

The Thirteen Articles of Confederation

Most of the time American history books and American historians pay very little attention to the Articles of Confederation. It's part of the reason that you don't typically know any of the presidents of the United States prior to George Washington. This period is dismissed, but the Articles of Confederation are vital for understanding federalism and the use of those great federal innovations: mixed powers, bicameral legislatures, separation of powers, jurisdictionalism, and sphere sovereignty. All those things became the hallmarks of the later Constitution. Now the Articles of Confederation had thirteen specific articles. In the *Patriot's Handbook*, you've got a full copy of the Articles of Confederation and you should read these articles. They're fairly straightforward.

❖ *Established the name of the confederation*

The First Article establishes the name of the confederation, the United States of America.

❖ *Explained the rights and powers of the states*

The Second Article explains all the rights and powers of the states, which were vast. It was understood that the United States of America would remain a plural entity. In other words the United States of America would be one and many, with the emphasis on the many. Prior to the American War Between the States in the 1860's, whenever you were describing the United States you would say, *The United States are going to do this, that, or the other thing*. Today we say, *The United States is going to do this, that, or the other thing*. The difference between the plural and singular is something that the Articles of Confederation wanted to really reinforce in that Second Article. They wanted to make sure that the states, the local jurisdictions, passed power upward rather than the other way around — some federal government passing power downward.

❖ *Established the United States as a league of states*

The Third Article established the United States as a league of states, reserving for the central government certain powers but delegating to the states all other powers. This, of course, is preserved in our present Constitution and Article X of the Bill of Rights. Alas that article is ignored even more than, say, the Fourth Article, about unreasonable search and seizures. All you have to do is visit an airport, and you can witness the abandonment of the Fourth Amendment. But all you do is read the newspaper to see the abandonment of the Tenth Amendment.

❖ *Established freedom of movement and extradition*

The Fourth Article established freedom of movement. In other words though the states remained largely sovereign, they agreed to allow free movement among them for any citizen of the United States. People were able to travel wherever they wanted among the thirteen states. But it also established extradition standards. In other words, if somebody committed a crime in Connecticut, but they escaped to South Carolina, South Carolina had to turn them back over to the courts of Connecticut to be tried for that crime.

❖ *Allocated terms and votes in Congress for the states*

The Fifth Article allocated the votes for each of the states as well as the terms for representatives to Congress. The states were each allowed anywhere between two and seven delegates to Congress, and they could choose them however they wished, either by the state legislatures or through popular elections, but each of the states was only to have one vote in Congress.

❖ *Limited the powers of the central government*

The Sixth Article limited the powers of both the central government and the states. They wanted to make sure that the states didn't go off and do independent embassies and treaties with foreign powers. In other words, it would not do if Massachusetts did not have a treaty with France but Virginia did. They didn't want Virginia going and establishing its own consulate in Denmark. So there were limits on the powers of the states, but the primary limits were placed on the central government itself. They wanted to make sure that the federal government did not increase in size so that it began to determine all of the details of every aspect of every single life throughout the land. They wanted the federal government, in a sense, to be largely invisible, facilitating the work of the state governments.

❖ *Authorized state control of military ranks*

The Seventh Article authorized state control of military ranks. In other words, the Seventh Article preserved the idea of local militias, and the federal army, which was to be a very small standing army, was to be supplied by those state militias.

❖ *Appropriations authorized by and from the states*

The Eighth Article articulated how it was that appropriations, in other words, spending, would be accomplished by both the states and the larger central government. One of things that's interesting is that the only kind of taxation that was authorized was property tax, land tax.

❖ *Defined the rights of the central government:*

To declare war against foreign powers

To establish standard weights and measures

To mint coins and print currency

To serve as a final court for disputes between states

The Ninth Article defined all the rights of the central government which revolved primarily around military questions — the right to declare war against foreign powers; weights and measures, making sure that there was a standardized approach to weights and measures throughout all of the states; the minting of coins and the printing of currency; and the final step in the judiciary, a final court of appeals for all disputes between states.

❖ *Defined absentia government*

The Tenth Article defined *absentia* government. In other words, where do powers reside when Congress is not presently in session?

❖ *Set admissions standards for new states*

The Eleventh Article set admission standards for new states should new states wish to join the Union. There was still some hope that Vermont, West Florida, Watauga, and perhaps some of the Canadian provinces would eventually join this new confederation.

❖ *Reaffirmed responsibility for the war debt*

The Twelfth Article reaffirmed the responsibility for the war debt to be spread out among all the states and administered by the central government.

❖ *Declared perpetuity of the Articles*

The Thirteenth Article discussed the perpetuity of the Articles declaring that this was to be held over time and not to be abrogated by anything other than a unanimous consent of all the states.

That was the Articles of Confederation.

The Problems with the Articles

Now the Articles of Confederation had all kinds of problems, as any government would. We live in a fallen world, so stuff happens. There are corrupt officials, laws that are not enforced and bad laws, and so there were all kinds of issues with the Articles of Confederation.

Defense

❖ *When Things Go Badly*

First of all, there was the issue of the common defense. When things went badly for the Continental Army, the states tended to blame each other. Politics inevitably entered into the equation, and various of the favored generals from one region would be promoted over those not favored by that region.

❖ *When Things Go Well*

❖ *All Politics Is Local*

Then there is the problem that when things started to go well for the Continental Army, everybody wanted to take credit for it. This is the great political impulse. *I was against it until it succeeded, and now I'm really for it.* It reminded all those in the army that politics is supremely local. And that it's very, very difficult to build national consensus. The Articles puts so much emphasis on the states that it was very difficult for the whole to hold together.

Justice

❖ *Differing Political Ambitions*

❖ *Differing Social Standards*

❖ *Differing Moral Traditions*

Then there was a problem of justice. Most of the lower courts were left in the hands of the states. The difficulty was that the states came from very different traditions. Maryland, for instance, had a strong, strong emphasis in its state courts in the canon laws of the medieval church because Lord Baltimore, the Roman Catholic founder of the Maryland province that became the Maryland colony and then the Maryland state, built it on Roman Catholic legal principles. You have Massachusetts which is almost entirely Puritan, and Virginia which is almost entirely cavalier Anglican. So you have differing political ambitions, differing social standards, and differing moral traditions.

Economy

- ❖ *Differing Social Needs*
- ❖ *Differing Weights and Measures*
- ❖ *Differing Application and Enforcement*

These differences led to differing social needs in the economy, differing weights and measures based upon differing economies. More industrial- or crafts-oriented economy in a place like Boston would be very different from a trade economy in a place like Savannah. That meant differing approaches to enforcement and application. The Articles of Confederation did not clarify how these differences might be overcome.

Federalists and Anti-Federalists

Almost immediately there emerged, therefore, two warring parties. Those who wanted to reinforce the states' rights and keep the grand diversity and the federal messiness of localism were called the Anti-Federalists. They included such stalwarts as Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams. Then there were the Federalists, those who have said, *We've got to clean up this mess. If we are going to survive as a nation, we've got to become a nation. And right now we are thirteen nations with a few hangers-on like Vermont, sort of flirting with us from time to time. Somehow, we've got to unite ourselves around some kind of common cause.*

An Experiment in Liberty

And so the Articles of Confederation immediately demonstrated weakness. What to do? Many of the greatest thinkers on both the Federalist and the Anti-Federalist side said that it was time to use the Articles of Confederation as a base, but it was clear that the Articles needed to be amended to address some of the gaps that had not been foreseen by Dickinson when he drafted it in 1776 and 1777.

Precedents

- ❖ *Greece, Rome, and Ancient Israel*
- ❖ *England and Scotland*
- ❖ *Colonial Charters and Legislatures*

So they began to think widely and broadly about how to bring this experiment in liberty into a more permanent form. They looked back at the great precedents of the past: Greece, Rome, and ancient Israel, particularly the Hebrew republic. They looked back at the great common law traditions of England and Scotland, at the great slogans and principles drawn from things like the Arbroath Declaration, which Robert the Bruce pushed through in Scotland, or the Magna Carta, which the lords at Runnymede had pushed through much to the chagrin of King John. They looked back to their own colonial charters and the work that their own legislatures had done in crafting the state constitutions. Many of the problems with the Articles of Confederation were actually resolved in some of the state legislative decrees and in the state constitutions and the old colonial charters.

The Seven Primary Principles of Liberty

They arrived at seven primary principles of liberty — some of them well embodied in the Articles of Confederation and some of them less forcefully enforced.

❖ *Individuality: Many*

They wanted to ensure the principles of both the one and the many — the one, represented by political union, the many represented by individuality. How could you preserve both one and many in a single charter? This was a question that they wrestled with. They were not willing to abandon either principle.

❖ *Self-Government: Limits*

In addition to that, they wanted to preserve self-government, meaning that there would have to be limits to what the magistrates would be able to codify into law. They wanted limited civil governance, in order to make room for self-governance. They believed that no state could long endure in liberty if self-governance was abandoned, and the only way that self-governance can be nurtured in a land is if federal governance was lifted.

This is a principle that operates at so many different levels. How does a kid learn how to take responsibility? It's a very risky thing, but one of things that parents, schools, and others have to do is that they give you room to make some mistakes and figure it out and determine to take responsibility yourself. We don't have a dress code at Franklin Classical School. It would be so, so easy if I could simply say, *Ok, we are going to solve every one of our problems. We're going to put all of our girls in little sailor suits and all of our guys in khakis and little green polos.* Right? Wouldn't that solve a lot? It would solve so much, it would be easy, but what does that teach you? What does that teach you about making decisions, learning modesty, what's appropriate, and what's not appropriate? What does it teach you? All it teaches you is how to be compliant when you have to, and my guess is all it would mean is that you'd sneak tattoos under your little sailor suits. I think that little sailor suits and khakis are great — they are wonderful, but at some point you've got to learn how to dress yourself, tie your own shoes, brush your teeth. You've got to figure it out, and I can't make you do it. That's the idea of yielding larger governance so that self-governance can take affect.

❖ *Christian Character: Virtue*

❖ *Sacred Conscience: Rights*

❖ *Covenantal Forms: Mixed Government*

❖ *Localism: Checks and Balances*

That means that there has to be the inculcation of Christian character and virtue and the nurturing of a sacred conscience in which we acknowledge the rights of others as well as our own rights, where we're willing to yield immediate gratification for deferred benefits down the road. And this, they believed, necessitated a kind of covenantal or federal structure which involved mixed government and localism, so there could be checks and balances.

As a result by 1787, it was evident to most of the patriots that a convention needed to be called to enshrine these seven primary principles of liberty into a series of amendments to the Articles of Confederation. They never got around to amending the Confederation. Instead they realized that they should build new foundations altogether. Thus, in Philadelphia, they began to craft what has become the most remarkable, enduring constitutional foundation that any nation has ever known.

❖ *Political Union: One*

Moving from slogans, wishes, hopes, dreams, and principles to enduring foundations is a long, convoluted and arduous task. "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," as Thomas Jefferson said. It is vital at various times in

history for us to say, “Give me liberty or give me death,” or “Don’t fire until you see the whites of their eyes.” It’s important for us to lay down bedrock principles — “No taxation without representation,” “Live free or die” — but ultimately before the day is done, we have to be able to say, *We the people*, in order to establish an enduring peace, domestic tranquility, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we the people must covenant together. So they did, and so must we.



Lord, enable us to see what the patriots saw, to be able to try and fail, then try again, just as they fought and lost and rose and fought again. As we make our way toward foundational principles of freedom, enable us to take our bold stand, but enable us to make for enduring foundations as well. I pray for each one of us, these students and the whole community of faith gathered around us, that we would learn self-control, self-governance, that we would inculcate godly principles and genuine virtue and that we would lay the groundwork for enduring freedom in our hearts and lives, through the gospel of the Lord Jesus and then in our communities through the application of that gospel to every detail of life. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 22

A More Perfect Union: The Articles of Confederation

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Advent of Jacksonian Democracy; The War against the Bank
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 263–278

Lesson Synopsis

Victory had been won; the peace parley had gathered in Paris, and discussions had begun about what the future of the newly independent American Republic would look like. Today, we'll take a look at that period that is largely forgotten. The period between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitutional Convention — a forgotten and neglected period in American history.

Opportunity

Mid-term after this lesson

Lesson Topics

The Articles of Confederation

Primary Source Material

The Articles of Confederation, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787

Vocabulary

infamy, formative, stake (v.), quixotic, distill, compact, bicameral, extradition, pivotal, arbiter, deleterious, intractable, disintegrate, unravel, quell, animosity, disarray, concede, petition, enunciate, chattel, ensure, cede, inflation, predatory, consensually,

Timeline

- ❖ 1776: The Declaration of Independence
- ❖ 1781: The Articles of Confederation were ratified.
- ❖ 1786–1787: Shays' Rebellion
- ❖ 1787: The Northwest Ordinance
- ❖ 1787: The Constitutional Convention
- ❖ 1789: The Constitution ratified



A More Perfect Union: The Articles of Confederation

*The times that tried men's souls are over — and the greatest and completest revolution the world ever knew, gloriously and happily accomplished.
~ Thomas Paine*

Last lecture, we came to the end of the War for Independence. Victory had been won; the peace parley had gathered in Paris, and discussions had begun about what the future of the newly independent American Republic would look like. Today, we'll take a look at that period that is largely forgotten. The period between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitutional Convention — a forgotten and neglected period in American history.

7 December

❖ *1941: The Japanese navy launched a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, “a day that will live in infamy”.*

It was on this day in 1941 that the Japanese navy launched a surprise attack on the naval station at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, what President Roosevelt called “a day that will live in infamy”. It cost the United States almost three thousand lives and nearly the entire Pacific Fleet, thrusting the nation into the maelstrom of the Second World War, which had been raging by that time almost four years. During the attack, which lasted for just over one hour, three hundred fifty Japanese aircraft flying in two waves, launched from six aircraft carriers, sunk four American battleships, three cruisers, three destroyers, two anti-aircraft ships, one mine layer, and destroyed one hundred eighty-eight aircraft on the ground. The next day Congress voted to enter the conflict that had already been raging in Europe for three years and in the Pacific, if you count the Manchurian invasion, for some eight years prior.

❖ *43 B.C.: Roman statesman, scholar, and author, Marcus Tullius Cicero was murdered.*

Also on this day in 43 B.C., the Roman statesman, scholar, and author, Marcus Tullius Cicero — contemporary of Julius Caesar and one of the members of the Roman Senate who was thrown into the mix of that great conflict during the civil war that ravaged the old Roman Republic — was murdered on this day. His writings preserve much of the Greek thought that shaped the late stages of the Roman Republic, as well as providing us a glimpse into the political machinations of first-century-B.C. Roman politics. He was an extraordinary orator, linguist, and translator, a prose stylist of the highest order. He was a constitutionalist as well as a philosopher. Like most great linguists and orators, he was a wordsmith of the highest order. He actually created a number of new words — *neologisms*, or *logomorphs*¹ — that not only passed into the Latin language but that became the basis

¹ *Neologism* comes from the Latin *neo*, new, and the Greek *logos*, word. *Logomorph* comes from the Greek *logos*, word, and *morphos*, change.

for a large vocabulary in the Romance languages including English.² Cicero invented the word *humanitas*, for instance, as well as *qualitas* and *quantitas* and *essentia* and a host of other descriptive words that he needed for the development of his aesthetic philosophy. Interestingly, Cicero was one of the most influential Roman philosophers and orators on the American founders. Patrick Henry looked to Cicero's oratory as the model for his own. James Madison believed that Cicero provided all the philosophical structures necessary to develop the federal approach, or rather the covenantal approach, to republican governance. And John Witherspoon, the mentor to many of the founding fathers as well as being one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and one of the great Presbyterian thinkers behind the notion of federalism, said that Cicero's constitutionalism provided a foundation upon which the Christian vision of the founders could be built. It was on this day, December 7, in the year 43 B.C. that Cicero was murdered. Interestingly, almost exactly a year — three quarters of a year after Julius Cesar.

❖ *374: Ambrose, the Roman governor of Æmilia and Liguria, was consecrated as the bishop of Milan.*

Also on this day, in the year 374, the Roman governor of Æmilia and Liguria, that northern section of Lombardy in northern Italy, a governor by the name of Ambrose was taken against his will by the people of the parish of Milan and forcibly consecrated as their new bishop. It was common in the early church for righteous and pious men who demonstrated able leadership to be pressed into service in the church against their wills. In fact, Athanasius once said that if a man is not made a bishop in chains, he is not worthy to be a bishop at all — a remarkable idea. But what's really interesting is that Ambrose, at the point when he was made a bishop and consecrated on this day December 7, in the year 374, had not yet been baptized much less had he been ordained. So after they consecrated him as a bishop, he had to be baptized quickly, and then he had to be ordained before he could be seated in his bishop's chair. It was Ambrose who reintroduced congregational singing to the church in Milan after it had been lost for about fifty or sixty years due to formalism in the church, and it was Ambrose who was responsible for the conversion of the brilliant young rhetorician, Augustine, who would later become the virtual founder of Western Civilization.

❖ *1787: By a unanimous vote, Delaware became the first state to ratify the Constitution.*

It was also on this day in 1787 that the state of Delaware became the first to ratify the United States Constitution. Pennsylvania followed their example five days later, New Jersey six days after that, Georgia thirteen days after that, Connecticut and Massachusetts followed suit a month later. Three months later, Maryland and South Carolina finally ratified it, but it would not be until the summer before contentious debates in New York, Virginia, and New Hampshire concluded in favor of ratification. North Carolina rejected the compact twice before finally ratifying it a year later, while Rhode Island refused to even call for ratifying vote on four different occasions before finally relenting. The process produced some one hundred thirty-seven amendments that were recommended as possible ways to get past the impasse.

The Constitution, when it was sent to the states in 1787, was highly unpopular, believed to be illegal, and possibly an attempted *coup d'état* by a secret gathering that had pulled itself together by its own authority, not by Congress's authority, in 1787. This is a fact that is often overlooked, as is the peculiar machinations that had preceded it.

² While English isn't itself a Romance language, it has been greatly influenced by Latin both directly and through French. *Ed.*

❖ *1784: Thomas Jefferson proposed to Congress that the lands west of the Appalachian divide be ceded to the national government by the claimant states.*

In 1784, Thomas Jefferson, then a congressman from Virginia, proposed a piece of legislation that would cause all the states to cede their western rights to the United States at the Appalachian Divide so that all those territories to the west could then be divided up and turned into new states. Up until then, the map of the states looked like these long stretches of territory that extended all the way to the Mississippi River, so every state looked like an elongated version of Tennessee. Jefferson proposed first that this was an untenable and unmanageable approach to governance; territorially it simply did not make sense. He recommended that new states be created. In fact, he even came up with names for some of the new states that would be in this western territory — Sylvania, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Polypotamia, Pelisipia, Saratoga, Michiganania, and Illinoia. Well, they didn't ignore them entirely; they did use Michigan and Illinois, but the rest of them they thankfully threw out because if you think it's hard to spell Mississippi, think about how to spell some of these.

At any rate, Jefferson proposed that this be put in place. Congress passed this proposal, but it was never put into effect. In fact, a land war broke out between Virginia and Maryland, not only over their western claims but also over territories in a marshy region that lay directly between the two states. That pointed out all the difficulties that had come in the midst of the victory of the war, the complexity of maintaining liberty and reinventing government from scratch.

Our Forgotten Legacy

“The nearly forgotten history of our Founding Fathers must be told and retold for the generations to come lest we fail to appreciate the cost of freedom.” ~John Quincy Adams

This is a period that is terribly forgotten by historians, often neglected. The Bible tells us in the Book of James that there are really only two kinds of people in the world — forgetful hearers and effectual doers. The idea of forgetfulness runs all through the Scriptures. When we forget all the lessons of the past, we don't know where we are, and we cannot project where we are going. That's why the psalmist says, “Righteousness cannot be done in a land of forgetfulness.”³ When we forget the foundations, when we forget the past, when we forget the trajectory of God's providence over time, then we are at a loss in making decisions in the present, solving the problems that are before us. We leave behind all the wisdom, all the lessons of the past, and we try to go it alone.

Forgotten Presidents

Recently I was struck by news coverage of the Wiki-Leaks controversy that has blown up in the Middle East. The *New York Times* and all of the television networks have made much over the fact that the Kuwaitis and Saudis, the Yemenis, the various Emirates, all had strong communications with the state department, asking the state department to clamp down on Iran and its nuclear program. In fact, the Saudi king went so far as to ask the United States to simply attack Iran and destroy its nuclear capabilities. And this somehow was a big controversy. *Oh, there's discord in the Muslim world.* To which anyone who knows anything about Islam at all should say, *Hello?*

³ Psalm 88:12

Have you been paying attention? We're talking about Shi'ites and Persians, Sunnis and Arabs. They have hated each other and been at one another's throats and been fighting for a thousand years, and you're surprised now? No one in the Middle East is surprised. Nobody's surprised that the Sunnis hate the Shi'ites. Nobody's surprised that everyone is afraid, that those who speak Farsi, those who come from Persian backgrounds, pose a threat within Islam, for those who speak Arabic and are from the Arabic lands. It is the great divide. Why are we surprised by this? Because we forget. We don't pay attention to the lessons of the past.

❖ *Peyton Randolph, Virginia (1723–1775)*

❖ *Henry Middleton, South Carolina (1717–1784)*

❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*

We forget things like George Washington was *not* the first president of the United States. He wasn't even close to first. The first president of the United States was Peyton Randolph, by universal acclamation of the Continental Congress when they first met in 1774 and then reelected him in 1775. He was succeeded by Henry Middleton of South Carolina, again by universal acclamation. And he was succeeded by John Hancock who oversaw the deliberations from June 9 to July 8 before the writing and the confirmation and the signing of the Declaration of Independence, which was released and made public on July 8, not July 4 (as any school boy should know!).

❖ *Henry Laurens, South Carolina (1724–1792)*

❖ *John Jay, New York (1745–1829)*

❖ *Samuel Huntington, Connecticut (1732–1796)*

❖ *Thomas McKean, Delaware (1734–1817)*

He was succeeded by Henry Laurens of South Carolina who ultimately became U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands and was captured by a British frigate on his way to take his post in the Netherlands and was held in the Tower of London. He was released in a prisoner exchange for Lord Cornwallis after Yorktown. When he returned to America, he was declared the great hero, and George Washington met him at the docks in New York City to welcome him home and knelt and declared, "The father of our country has returned." He was succeeded by the founder of the American Bible Society, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and one of the foundational legal scholars and constitutionalists of the day, John Jay of New York. He was succeeded by Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, and he was succeeded by Thomas McKean of Delaware.

❖ *John Hanson, Maryland (1715–1783)*

John Hanson was the first president of the United States to serve under the new Articles of Confederation. He was George Washington's neighbor. Just across the Potomac River from Mount Vernon was Mulberry Grove — the ancestral home of the Hansons.

❖ *Elias Boudinot, New Jersey (1741–1802)*

He was succeeded by Elias Boudinot, who also served in the American Bible Society with his friend John Jay, and who was one of the first champions of rights for American Indians. In fact, he adopted a number of young Cherokee into his home, including Elias Boudinot, Jr., chief of the Cherokee tribe during the time of John Ross and the Trail of Tears — the adopted son of a former president of the United States.

❖ *Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania (1744–1800)*

❖ *Richard Henry Lee, Virginia (1732–1794)*⁴

He was succeeded by Thomas Mifflin who was once an *aide-de-camp* of George Washington but was serving as president of the United States and thus George Washington's boss, when Washington surrendered his sword in that remarkable scene that is portrayed even in the nation's capital, even though we still don't know that George Washington wasn't the first president, but there is a painting in the capital of George Washington surrendering his commission as commander-in-chief of the army to the president. Figure this logic.

❖ *John Hancock, Massachusetts (1737–1793)*

He was succeeded by John Hancock serving his second term, and he was in turn succeeded by Nathaniel Gorham, his close friend and confidant, because John Hancock came down that winter with a severe case of gout, which on cold days is made absolutely miserable. Apparently, though I have never lived there, Massachusetts does indeed have cold days in winter. There's an old story, a legend is told, that history was transformed because of John Hancock's gout, or as it's put more colloquially in an old tavern diddy, "John Hancock's toe changed all of history." This was long before there were New England Patriots of the other sort that would have toes that might change history.

❖ *Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts (1738–1796)*

❖ *Arthur St. Clair, New Jersey (1734–1818)*

❖ *Cyrus Griffin, Virginia (1736–1796)*

❖ *George Washington, Virginia (1732–1799)*

Hancock was succeeded by Nathaniel Gorham, his close confidante, and he was succeeded by Arthur St. Clair, the only president of the United States not born on American soil. He was a Scot who was responsible for raising up so many of the American militias throughout the mid-state region because of a commission that his father had given him following the Battle of Culloden in Scotland, when his father said to him, "I want you to fight the English even if it must be in another place and another time for another cause. Fight the English and win for our people liberty." He was succeeded as president of the United States by Cyrus Griffin, who oversaw the final stages of the ratification of a new constitution under which the next president of the United States was George Washington.

An Experiment in Liberty

Now here's the thing: if we forget this stuff, then all the lessons from all the struggles, the overcoming of every obstacle, the foundational arguments that went into the original intent for the Constitution — all of that is lost to us. It's almost as if we begin at ground zero in every single legal, political, and cultural conversation. *We* begin at the ground zero of the Constitution when the Constitution was *not* ground zero.

⁴ Dr. Grant inadvertently skipped over Richard Henry Lee in his quick review of the forgotten presidents. Richard Henry Lee served after Thomas Mifflin and before John Hancock's second term. *Ed.*

The Seven Primary Principles of Liberty

All during the period leading up to the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, those formative years, all of the patriot leaders were wrestling with the seven primary principles of liberty that had been passed down from the old Roman Republic through the Hebrew republic and prior to that from the Ten Commandments. James Madison described the entire formative period by saying, “We have staked the whole future of American civilization not upon the power of government or constitutions, far from it. We have staked the future upon the capacity of each and all of us to govern ourselves, to sustain ourselves according to the Ten Commandments of God.” That’s why in 1912 when Teddy Roosevelt began his quixotic quest for a third term for the presidency, he said that his party would have no other platform than this, “The platform that God gave us on Mount Sinai, which is the foundation for all hope of American freedom.”

- ❖ *National Union: One*
- ❖ *Regional Diversity: Many*
- ❖ *Self-Government: Limits*
- ❖ *Christian Character: Virtue*
- ❖ *Sacred Conscience: Rights*
- ❖ *Covenantal Forms: Mixed Government*
- ❖ *Localism: Checks and Balances*

Those seven primary principles were essentially distilled to a balance between the one and the many, between a national union and regional diversity; as well as the exercise of self-control, self-government, limits on desire, the ability to defer gratification in the present for fruitfulness in the future — which is of course an evidence of genuine Christian virtue — the development of a mature character that emerges from the application of the gospel in life; the development from that Christian character of a vision for sacred conscience, and therefore rights and responsibilities maintained by covenantal forms; a kind of mixed government where various jurisdictions and spheres check and balance each other, which is the essence of localism — grassroots authority, where authority flows up rather than down, from the people.

This was the essence of what James Madison phrased as a federal form of government which comes from the Latin word *foedus*, which it is often translated in the New Testament as *covenant*. It was taken from Madison’s background, being trained by Presbyterian pastors in his youth and sitting under the teaching of Witherspoon at Princeton.

Federalism

- ❖ *Consent of the Governed*
- ❖ *Bicameral Legislatures*
- ❖ *Separation of Powers*

The idea is simply that, because of the fallen nature of man, no perfect institution or compact can be created. Therefore you draw up covenants and you enforce those covenants by a series of interlocking, checking and balancing spheres, based on the consent of the governed, utilizing bicameral legislatures — a Senate and a House — so that there can be an effectual separation of powers. For Madison, one of the chief architects of constitutionalism in the period, first of the Articles of Confederation, and later the Constitution, the idea was to create

limited government with power flowing from the grassroots upwards so that large interests and small interests could both be carefully preserved, that freedom can trickle into the furthest niches and corners of a culture and a society.

The Thirteen Articles of Confederation

This is evidenced in the Articles of Confederation where limited, constitutional government is beautifully portrayed.

❖ *Established the name of the confederation.*

The First Article established the name of the confederation.

❖ *Explained the rights and powers of the states.*

The Second Article explained the rights and powers of the states.

❖ *Established the United States as a league of states.*

The Third Article established the United States as a league of states, so the United States was always cast as a plural entity. It was never, *The United States is going to enter into a compact with France...* It was, *The United States are going to enter into a compact with France.*

❖ *Established freedom of movement and extradition.*

The Fourth Article established freedom of movement and extradition.

❖ *Allocated terms and votes in Congress for the states.*

The Fifth Article allocated terms and votes in Congress for the states, stating how many delegates to Congress each state could have and how the votes were to be accounted.

❖ *Limited the powers of the central government.*

The Sixth Article limited the powers of the central government and this was pivotal. It was vital, for federalism to work, that the federal government not have centralized power. But rather, living up to its name, federal — covenantal — that the power be spread out and limited so that no one agency, no one office, no one power, no one man could exercise totalitarian authority.

❖ *Authorized state control of military ranks.*

Article Seven authorized state control of the military ranks.

❖ *Appropriations authorized by and from the states.*

Article Eight dealt with the question of appropriations authorized by and from the states.

❖ *Defined the rights of the central government:*

To declare war against foreign powers;

To establish standard weights and measures;

*To mint coins and print currency;
To serve as a final court for disputes between states.*

Article Nine, the central portion of the Articles of Confederation, declared what the rights of the central government were. They were limited to things like foreign affairs and military concerns, weights and measures, coinage of common currency, and serving as an arbiter in all disputes between the states. But that was essentially it.

- ❖ *Defined absentia government.*
- ❖ *Set admissions standards for new states.*
- ❖ *Reaffirmed responsibility for the war debt.*
- ❖ *Declared perpetuity of the Articles.*

The final four articles dealt with administrative affairs such as how authority was to be exercised in times of congressional recess, admission standards for new states, dealing with the war debt which was quite substantial, and finally, a declaration that became central to the question of the ratification of the new Constitution which was a provision calling for unanimous consent for changes, amendments, or deletions to the Articles of Confederation. There needed to be unanimous consent before the Articles could be changed.

Maintaining Liberty

Now, the Articles came into effect during a time of grave instability. This is one of the great lessons of life and of history. Anytime you win a great victory it is usually at that moment that you are at your weakest. This weekend I ran in the St. Jude Marathon in Memphis. It's always fascinating to me to watch people in the final mile of a marathon. It's fascinating. The Memphis Marathon ends in Redbird Stadium, a gorgeous, old-school, minor-league baseball stadium. It's absolutely beautiful architecturally, the grass is gorgeous and it sits right in the center of downtown. You approach the stadium from the backside, this long, half-mile descent. You come down about six hundred feet over the course of that half-mile, which is pretty sturdy downhill. When runners catch sight of the stadium, they really pick up their pace. They're kicking it! They've just run twenty-six miles. Their glycogen stores are gone, their livers are laboring, and of course, their quads are nothing but hamburger at that point. There's nothing left at all. But they turn that corner and they see the stadium and they hear the crowd, and it's right there. Everybody picks up their pace, which is why, every year at the St. Jude Marathon I watch people drop like flies in the last quarter mile. They just collapse. Or, if they don't collapse, they make it into the stadium, they run around the track, the crowd is cheering, their pictures are being taken, they see their time coming up, and they cross the finish line and then they completely collapse.

One of the great lessons that I learned long ago back when I was traveling all the time and speaking for a living is I would go to the front desk when I first checked into a hotel, and I would have them disable the pay movies on my television before I even checked in — just disable it. And the reason is that I knew that late at night, when I came back after a big event, soaring to spiritual victory — I was the hero that night; I raised the money or I gave the speech, or whatever it was — at that moment I would be at my weakest spiritually. I didn't need to be watching stuff that I don't need to be watching. And, I wouldn't have the will to make that decision after midnight when I got back to my room. I needed to make that decision beforehand because we're always at our weakest following a great victory.

Remember the great lesson of every civilization is that great battles don't stay won. They don't stay won. The fact is we don't fight ideologies, we don't really fight movements, we don't even really fight enemies when we fight the great battles. We fight the fallen nature of man and the fallen nature of man follows us everywhere we go, in righteous causes and wicked causes alike.

Moral Decay

❖ *Ongoing Effects of the Great Awakening*

So, America, following the war, was in grave distress. There were the waning effects of the Great Awakening. The Great Awakening had stirred the American soul and spawned rich, rich faithfulness to the Scriptures. It was during the Great Awakening that the first powerful anti-slavery movements were born in America, interestingly, largely in the South. It was during the Great Awakening that publishing houses flourished all across America, when sermons were bestsellers.

❖ *War and the Injury of Morals*

This was the foundation that the American patriots took into their War of Independence, but the long and difficult years of war had deleterious effects. War itself can numb us — cause us to see brute force as a solution to all ills. The sheer violence of warfare in that period caused young men to come home with jaded minds and jaded hearts.

❖ *Devalued Currency: Churches and Clergy*

And, on top of that, war creates grave difficulties financially. All the apparatus of the American economy, that prior to the war was turned toward creating prosperity and comfort for the Americans, had for years been focused on winning a war. So, after the war, trade and commerce had virtually collapsed. Old trade agreements had vanished. Old trading partners across the waters were now intractable enemies.

In addition to that, no longer propped up by the Crown currency, the fake currency of the Continental Army and of the Continental Congress simply wasn't worth the paper it was printed on. As a result, indebtedness abounded. Soldiers were not paid. The devalued currency also had a grave effect on churches and clergy. Clergymen simply could not afford to focus their time and energies on ministry because there wasn't any money. They had to go back to farming. It is estimated that, between 1781 and 1789, half the churches in America closed. But they would not stay closed forever. The effects of war were debilitating on the moral standards.

Disunion

❖ *Weakness of the Articles*

❖ *Federalists v. Anti-Federalists*

❖ *Regionalism and Economic Disparity*

This only exacerbated the conflicts that already existed between neighboring states. You'll recall that it was really only the Great Awakening that drew them together. They were a desperate and disparate lot prior to the Great Awakening. They were joined together by this common vision of faith and liberty, but because of the weaknesses of the Articles, the conflict between the Federalist and Anti-Federalists, and the necessary distinctives of regionalism and economic disparity — the southern states, which were largely agricultural, were able to maintain a kind of economic equilibrium because they were living off the land, whereas the northern states, focused on trade and

commerce, saw collapse in their economic fortunes — there was a real force for disunion at this point. This is why the Republic of Vermont and the Republic of Franklin, the former Watugua province, and the Republic of West Florida decided not to join the United States. President Thomas Crittenden of the Republic of Vermont said that it would be madness for Vermont to join itself to a quickly disintegrating union.

Foreign Threats

❖ *Franklin, Adams, and Jay: Paris*

In addition to this, there were foreign threats and conspiracies. While Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay were in Paris negotiating a peace treaty with Britain, Britain was already conniving with its five Canadian provinces as well as its American Indian allies to begin the process of undermining the new American Republic.

❖ *Thomas Jefferson: French Turmoil*

Meanwhile, Thomas Jefferson, now the ambassador to France, was watching as America's greatest, single ally began to unravel itself, and before long, it would be plunged into the maelstrom of the French Revolution.

❖ *John Jay: Spanish Ambitions*

John Jay was charged with somehow quelling the growing ambitions of the Spanish crown. Now hived off from the old Habsburg Empire, the Spanish were eyeing various proposals to take over the whole of the continental United States, not just from the Mississippi River west, but all those Northwest Territories and the region that had long been explored and eyed by the Spanish including the Tennessee Valley.

❖ *Canada, Florida, and the West*

Then, there were the conflicts that arose because of war animosities. The five Canadian provinces had been attacked by Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys on a number of occasions. The Floridas felt abandoned, both West Florida and East Florida — East Florida in succession under the Spanish and the French, West Florida, simply forging its own way in the Florida parishes from Baton Rouge, the capital of West Florida, all the way over to Mobile Bay. They looked at the United States and saw nothing but threats and disarray.

The Northwest Ordinance

1780–1783

❖ *The Claims of the States*

❖ *Intractable Conflicts and Confusion*

❖ *Foreign Plots and Conspiracies*

The states themselves had conflicts over what territories in the west should belong to them. Each of the states extended their boundaries all the way to the Mississippi River. There were intractable conflicts over borders and boundaries as well. New York and New Hampshire argued about where their proper boundaries were, and both New York and New Hampshire attempted to claim all Vermont as their own. Maryland and Virginia had their conflicts over their border. So, difficulties abounded.

1784

- ❖ *Virginia's Conditions and Concessions*
- ❖ *The Northwest Territory*
- ❖ *Land Ordinance of 1784*

So, in 1784, a number of the patriots led by Madison, Jefferson, and George Washington, decided that they had to tackle these difficulties head on. The Virginians led the way by agreeing to concede all of their western lands, which were substantial, if the other states would in turn do the same. They had a number of conditions, including the creation of a new federal structure for the administration of those territories and the proper division of those territories into new states. They proposed, in a sense, a new Northwest Territory. The Northwest Territory would cover all those lands now fully under the control of the United States in the Great Lakes region — the territories that now comprise Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and at least part of Minnesota. It was Thomas Jefferson who really envisioned this Northwest Territory. It was Jefferson who first proposed some sort of a Northwest Ordinance in 1784, on December 7.

1785–1787

- ❖ *Land Ordinance of 1785*
- ❖ *Northwest Ordinance of 1787*
- ❖ *Statehood and Admission Precedent*

But it didn't get much headway, so it was necessary for high-powered negotiations to go into effect — a land ordinance in 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. The Northwest ordinance had essentially six provisions — 1) the abolition of all state claims to the Western lands, 2) a mechanism for the admission of new states; once a population of sixty thousand land-holding men had been achieved within a particular territory, it could petition to become a state, 3) territorial governments overseen by the federal system, 4) the establishment of civil rights; this may have been the most important revision or foreshadowing of what would become the Bill of Rights — the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Almost all of the concepts and guarantees of the Ordinance of 1787 were later incorporated into the Bill of Rights, so there were legal and property rights enshrined; religious tolerance proclaimed; it was enunciated that “Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. You notice, the idea that schools should be established because of Christian principles, not in spite of them or alongside of them or in some fashion separate from them, but because of them.

The fifth provision which would foreshadow the great conflict of the coming generation was a call for the abolition of slavery. The Northwest Ordinance said, “There shall be neither slavery nor any form of any involuntary servitude in the territory.” The language of the Ordinance banned the slave trade and the transport and the ownership of human chattel. And it is noteworthy that all of the Southern states voted for the law. The only states that voted against the Northwest Ordinance were the great *slave-trading* states of Delaware and Rhode Island.

Sixth, the Northwest Ordinance provided for a series of guarantees for Native Americans. It said, “The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed.” Unfortunately, this, like most of the promises made to the Native Americans by the American government over the

years, was never fully honored. Nevertheless, the Northwest Ordinance was put in place and became a pivotal document.

I'm often just absolutely astonished when historians skim over the Northwest Ordinance because it tackled directly most all the intractable difficulties of securing the blessings that the Declaration of Independence promised over the course of the next one hundred years — they're enshrined in the Northwest Ordinance: the vision for federalism, covenantalism, checks and balances, the appropriate place of limited constitutional government, freedom for all people, the establishment of genuine civil rights. It's astonishing that we forget these things.

Moving toward a New Constitution

1785–1786

But it was the Northwest Ordinance that caused those patriot leaders to realize that something more substantial than the Articles of Confederation needed to be put in place, to ensure the Northwest Ordinance's principles would apply to everyone and everything — not just to those Northwest Territories.

- ❖ *Virginia and Maryland's Dispute*
- ❖ *Mount Vernon Conference*
- ❖ *Annapolis Conference*

That's why Virginia and Maryland's land dispute, and the resolution which was the ceding of the entire disputed district back to the federal government, thus creating the District of Columbia, was so important. It was why, when George Washington summoned delegates from Congress to his home at Mount Vernon to talk about the future and the need for the establishment of stronger bonds of covenantal union, so many heeded the call. The Annapolis Conference was somewhat less successful, called by Alexander Hamilton, perhaps because Hamilton himself was held suspect by many of the Anti-Federalists like Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams.

Shays' Rebellion

- ❖ *Consumption, Debt, Hard Currency*

The great rebellion that broke out in Massachusetts in 1786 and 1787, known as Shays' Rebellion, caused the patriot leaders to spring into action. Shays' Rebellion broke out largely among veterans of the Continental Army. They had not been paid. They returned to their homes broken men, many of them wounded, forever impaired. They returned to their homes only to find that massive land taxes had been placed on their farms or their shops. When they returned home, it was necessary for them to rebuild and to restore what had been neglected during the war years, so there was a massive amount of consumption, based on debt. They didn't have hard currency, they hadn't been paid. They attempted to neglect the paying of taxes.

- ❖ *Recession, Unemployment, Inflation*

There was massive unemployment and Congress's solution was simply to print more money. Remember, inflation is not the measure of rising prices, inflation is the increase of the money supply. In other words it's the creation of fake money. Essentially the Continental Congress created monopoly money and handed it out like candy.

The result was the collapse of credit, the closing of bank extensions, recession, and the fomenting of great unrest in the countryside.

❖ *The Rising of Daniel Shays*

Daniel Shays was a veteran. He had fought at Saratoga and Yorktown. He had given his life for the cause of freedom, but he looked around and he saw predatory banks destroying the livelihoods of his neighbors. He even witnessed an old woman lying crippled in her bed while it was confiscated by a bank for the repayment of loan that her husband, who had been dead for four years, had not been able to repay. This was too much for Shays and he rounded up, first, local militia men, and then some six hundred volunteers, and he began to march towards Boston. There was conflict in Springfield. By the time he was outside of Springfield, he had more than one thousand men under arms. This frightened everyone — all the elites, all the Boston Brahmins — to death and very quickly they put down Shays' Rebellion. But the handwriting was now on the wall.

1787

❖ *Federalism Gains an Upper Hand*

❖ *Congress Authorizes Amendments*

❖ *Constitutional Convention*

By 1787, it was clear to all the patriot leaders that something had to be done. The Federalists had gained an upper hand because of the frightening specter of Shays' Rebellion, so Congress authorized the possibility of a small committee gathering to begin to deliberate amendments to the Articles of Confederation. They did not authorize a constitutional convention. They did not authorize secret meetings. They did not authorize most of the delegates who ultimately gathered in Philadelphia. Technically, the Constitutional Convention was illegal. Technically it was a *coup d'état* — the overthrow of a legitimately organized and consensually voted government. But in the end it proved to be enormously providential.

On Thursday, we'll take a look at what occurred in the Constitutional Convention — the major players, some of the great stories, some of the great speeches. But here's a lesson for all this: the problems that we face as a nation today — moral, cultural, and economic problems, the difficulties that we face in understanding how we tackle these in a fashion that is legal, that is in concert with English common law — are not new problems.

Great victories don't stay won. The battle against greed in the human heart, the battle against injustice in society, the battle for the freedom of the least, the despised, the rejected, the marginal, the unloved, and the unlovely, those battles never stay altogether won. They have to be fought in every succeeding generation, and often they have to be fought over and over and over again every single day. Don't think you are exempt from that. You walk down this hall this afternoon and those battles are going to be before you — the battle for the purity of the heart and the mind, the battle for the integrity of your fellow students. These are battles that are not just fought in the Supreme Court and in Congress. These are the battles of life. And when we forget how they have been fought, upon which principles our forefathers have stood, as we forget the way they untied the difficult Gordian knots, when we forget these things, we paralyze ourselves and incapacitate ourselves in dealing with the problems before us. The Psalmist said it well, "Righteousness cannot be done in a land of forgetfulness." This is why over and over and over again Moses says to the people of Israel, "Remember. Remember how the Lord your God delivered you out of slavery, out of the hands of Pharaoh and Egypt and brought you forth into this freedom."

That's why James says there are only two kinds of people: forgetful hearers and effectual doers. May God be gracious to us and enable us to remember that which is obscure but vital.



Father, I thank you that these lessons are before us, that they are not altogether forgotten, that they are part of our legacy and part of our calling. I pray that you would build us up in faith, guide us in the days ahead, enable us to see the applications of these glorious truths in a moment-by-moment living out of our day-to-day experience, right here, right now — not just in the long ago and far away, or in the future and distant, but right here and now. We pray this in the great name of the Lord Jesus, our Master and our King. Amen.

Lesson 23

Domestic Tranquility: Moving Toward a New Constitution

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, America's Agricultural revolution; Revolution in Transportation and Communications

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 278–296

Lesson Synopsis

The new Constitution emerged out of the very strange circumstances of the years immediately following the War of Independence. John Quincy Adams charged all of the succeeding generations with an understanding of what it took to win our freedom and what it will take to preserve it over time.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

The Constitution and Bill of Rights (including the Preamble to the Bill of Rights)

Primary Source Material

The Constitution, the Preamble to the Bill of Rights, the Bill of Rights

Vocabulary

domestic tranquility, corpus, consumption, fiscal, deliberation, clamor, unanimous, memoir, patristic, consent, contentious, tier, , bicameral, preamble, principal, scope, executive, legislative, judicial, ratification, misconstruction, declaratory, restrictive, construe, bulwark, militia, quarter (v.), incrimination, impartial, enumeration, accede, brevity, lodestone, acclamation, posterity

Timeline

- ❖ 1776: The Declaration of Independence
- ❖ 1781: The Articles of Confederation were ratified.
- ❖ 1786–1787: Shays' Rebellion
- ❖ 1787: The Northwest Ordinance
- ❖ 1787: The Constitutional Convention
- ❖ 1789: The Constitution ratified
- ❖ 1791: The Bill of Rights ratified



Domestic Tranquility: Moving Toward a New Constitution

Posterity: you will never know how much it has cost my generation to preserve your freedom. I hope you will make good use of it.
~ John Quincy Adams

Well, today as you can see we will tackle the new Constitution that emerged out of the very strange circumstances of the years immediately following the War of Independence. John Quincy Adams charged all of the succeeding generations with an understanding of what it took to win our freedom and what it will take to preserve it over time. Hopefully we'll get bit of a glimpse of that as we go.

9 December

❖ *1608: Poet and Puritan, John Milton was born.*

Today is December 9, and it was on this day in the year 1608, that the great Puritan and poet John Milton was born in the city of London. He went on to play a pivotal role in establishing principles of freedom during Cromwell's regency and throughout the period of the great English Civil War, but his greatest impact was to create the greatest corpus of literature in the English language, second only to Shakespeare, born on this day in 1608.

❖ *1702: Cotton Mather published his magisterial history of America, Magnalia Christi Americana.*

Just about one hundred years later Cotton Mather, the great Puritan and American writer, published his magisterial history of America entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*, the Great Works of Christ in America, in which he recounted the establishment of the earliest Puritan settlements, the outpouring of God's blessing and his grace, and his stern warnings that if those blessings were not carefully preserved by means of righteousness, they could easily be lost. In fact, his repeated refrain throughout *Magnalia Christi Americana*, is that it is very possible that the very liberty that produced prosperity would ultimately be consumed by that very prosperity.

❖ *1854: Alfred, Lord Tennyson's epic poem, The Charge of the Light Brigade, was first published.*

It was on this day in 1854, that Alfred Lord Tennyson published his epic poem, *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, in which he portrayed the great courage of soldiers rushing towards their death and their astonishing commitment to honor and principle. It would be a refrain that would be repeated again and again, especially during the tumultuous conflicts of the twentieth century as ideologues, tyrants, totalitarian regimes, fascists, communists, and others threatened the resolve of the principles of freedom throughout the West.

- ❖ *1917: The Ottoman Empire surrendered Jerusalem to the British commander, General Edmund Allenby, at the end of the First World War.*

It was on this day in 1917, that the Ottoman Empire surrendered the city of Jerusalem, in a solemn and symbolic ceremony, to the British commander of forces in the Middle East during the First World War, Gen. Edmund Allenby. It was a remarkable scene like unto those that had been replayed passing through the Joppa Gate in the city of Jerusalem many times before. In fact, the Ottomans actually offered Allenby the great White Camel, a symbol of the entering conqueror, that had been used by the Moslems each time they had conquered Jerusalem some five times previously, for him to ride in as the conquering hero, and Allenby absolutely refused. He said that the proper way for him to enter the city of Jerusalem was on foot as a penitent seeking the grace and the mercy of God, where the grace and the mercy of God was first made evident to the world. It was a remarkable scene.

- ❖ *1965: A Charlie Brown Christmas first aired on CBS television featuring the jazz music of the Vince Guaraldi Trio and the singing of all the verses of “Hark, the Herald Angels Sing”.*

Also quite remarkable was the scene that played out on this day on CBS television in 1965, when Charles Schultz unveiled the piano virtuoso Schroeder playing jazz music in a Christmas spectacle, the height of which was the singing of all the verses of “Hark the Herald Angels Sing” on national television. It was a feat that probably could not have been accomplished by anybody except the Peanuts gang.

Moving toward a New Constitution

1785–1786

All of these events occurring on this day point us to reminders of how precarious freedom, liberty, and the proclamation of the truth can be and how courageous we must be in the preservation of it. As we think about the days immediately following the American War of Independence, what we have already seen is that there had to be great vigilance on the part of the victors to preserve that victory. Almost immediately after the victory, there were a host of voices calling for the reinvention of a kind of revolutionary vision for liberty. Thankfully, the patriot leaders refused to enter into revolutionary mode and instead preserved the old traditions of English common law.

- ❖ *Virginia and Maryland's Dispute*
- ❖ *Mount Vernon Conference*
- ❖ *Annapolis Conference*

You'll recall that there were disputes between the states including Virginia and Maryland's land dispute over what became the District of Columbia and all the western territories. George Washington became involved, calling the Mount Vernon Conference. And Alexander Hamilton called the Annapolis Conference.

Shays' Rebellion

- ❖ *Consumption, Debt, Hard Currency*
- ❖ *Recession, Unemployment, Inflation*
- ❖ *The Rising of Daniel Shays*

Shays' Rebellion stirred fear in the hearts of all those who had fought so long and so hard to hold at bay the forces of rebellion and revolution. Shays' Rebellion itself was a reaction to a host of difficulties including a collapsing economy, lack of a strong hard currency, rising indebtedness, the need for new consumption in order to rebuild the infrastructure that had been destroyed by the war, deep recession, widespread unemployment, and poor governmental decisions in increasing the inflation rate beyond what the economy could sustain.

You remember, last time we defined inflation not as rising prices but rather as the increase of the money supply. In other words, it's when the government produces more currency without substantial backing for that currency. That is the course of action that the Obama administration and the Federal Reserve are following right now. They think that by printing money we can spend our way out of a recession. It was an idea that failed badly during the time immediately following the American War of Independence, and it's proven to be a failed strategy every time it's been tried ever since.

The last time the United States government cut budgets, sold off federal property, and closed federal departments of administration and the bureaucracy was during Calvin Coolidge's administration at the beginning of the twentieth century. Immediately after Coolidge's administration, a reform-minded, successful, entrepreneurial-minded, new president named Herbert Hoover came into office, and he decided to vastly expand the reach of the federal government. He initiated an inflationary cycle that ultimately collapsed and created the Great Depression. The Obama administration and the Federal Reserve today are outspending Hoover, percentage-wise. The growth of government, the expansion of debt, and the rate of inflation have outdistanced Herbert Hoover ten to one. A frightening prospect there.

1787

- ❖ *Federalism Gains an Upper Hand*

So by 1787, as we saw last time, there were widespread voices calling for a new vision of covenantal connectedness among the states. They called it federalism based upon the writings of James Madison, who took that New Testament word that is oftentimes translated covenant or covenantal *foedus*, and developed a whole new federal vision for the states.

- ❖ *Congress Authorizes Amendments*
- ❖ *Constitutional Convention*

At the same time Congress, recognizing the widespread difficulties of holding the states together, resolving disputes between the states, and developing a widespread policy for fiscal management, authorized a series of amendments to the Articles of Confederation. The result was that a number of delegates from twelve of the thirteen states came together in the city of Philadelphia for a Constitutional Convention, the purpose of which was to create amendments to the Articles of Confederation.

The Experiment in Philadelphia

Constitutional Convention

- ❖ *May 25, 1787, at Independence Hall*
- ❖ *Fifty-five Delegates from Twelve States*
- ❖ *Chairman: George Washington*

And so they gathered on May 25, at Independence Hall in the city of Philadelphia. There were fifty-five official delegates. There were seven or eight others who sort of wandered in and out of the proceedings at various times. These delegates selected George Washington as their Chair. Washington, after his resignation of his commission as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, had surrendered his sword to President Mifflin, and had gone home to Mount Vernon to retire from public life. He was the great Cincinnatus of the American experiment in liberty. He was willing to come out of retirement simply because he wanted to make sure that this vision of non-revolutionary republican freedom would actually endure.

- ❖ *Meeting in Secret*

Immediately, he asked the delegates to vote to make all of the proceedings secret so that none of their deliberations, none of their debates, could be made public. The reason for this was twofold. One was to protect all speakers so that they would feel free to speak their minds, feel free to take the conversation in whatever direction it needed to go. And secondly, they wanted to preserve the proceedings from outside political pressure. They didn't want lobbyists and interest groups and others to clamor to have their positions heard. He wanted the opportunity for a free and open dialogue with no open microphones, so to speak. They passed his resolution unanimously.

Conflict

- ❖ *Big States, Big Government*

Immediately, big conflicts emerged in forging a true federal union. The big states like Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, and even Massachusetts — we think of Massachusetts as a small state now but in those days it was considered one of the big states because of its population density, Boston being one of the three leading cities of the new nation — wanted to be able to centralize control. They wanted to have a large stake in any new federal union, and they often favored a larger role for central government. Big states, big government.

- ❖ *Small States, Small Government*

The smaller states, on the other hand, fearing that the weight of the large states would ultimately sway things in their favor excluding them from influence and bypassing them in the growth and the prosperity of the new state, called for much more localized control. Small states, small government.

As a result there was an intractable conflict that ran through all the early debates. The debates were passionate and articulate. The debates, as we now know from diaries, first-hand reports, and memoirs of those who attended, raised all of the great philosophical questions. The patriots were often either classically trained or widely read in the classics, and so there were long quotations from everyone from Cicero to Caesar, across the board to examinations of the patristic fathers, reanimated versions of great old sermons from the medieval age, as well as

long lessons from Blackstone's Commentaries on English common law. It was a remarkable series of meetings. In some ways it would be a great, great legacy for us if we had those proceedings preserved. In other ways, we sort of do have the proceedings preserved in a number of the documents that emerged later like the Federalist Papers. Many of the Federalist Papers actually are reworked transcripts of some of those early debates.

❖ *Sherman's Connecticut Compromise*

At any rate after a long season of intractable conflict, Roger Sherman came up with a compromise vision. It was called the Connecticut Compromise or the Great Compromise.

Majority Rights and Wrongs

❖ *The Majority Is Often Wrong*

The principle was rooted in this notion: at the heart of republicanism, there is a great desire to hear the voice of the people, to gain the consent of the governed, to know the will of the populace, all the while recognizing that, because man is fallen, the majority is often wrong.

❖ *Crowds, Mobs, and Majorities*

❖ *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*

❖ *Standing Contra Mundum*

❖ *Self-Determination and Self-Rule*

The founding fathers wanted genuine democratic institutions but guarded against the rule of mobs, crowds, and ill-informed majorities. They wanted to resist the impulse that many revolutionaries had, which was to declare *vox populi, vox Dei* — the voice of the people *is* the voice God. They said, *No it's not!* Only the voice of God is the voice of God, and just because 51% or 58% or 89% or even 100% of the people believe a thing does not make it right. Only what God says is altogether right. So how do you stand against the world, *contra mundum*? If you really do want to say that this is going to be a government of the people, with the consent of the governed, where the voice of the people is taken into account, how do you counter-balance and guard against the fallen nature of man, man's tendency to go along with the crowd, man's tendency to buy into foolish lies? How do you fight against that?

Remember during the election there was a contentious senatorial race in the state of Delaware, and the Tea Party candidate, who surprisingly won her party's nomination, made a statement late in the campaign. When questioned about the Constitution, she said something like, "Where in the Constitution is the separation of church and state?" And every one from Fox News to CNN to, of course, MSNBC just said, *Oh, boy, what a laughingstock! She doesn't even know where the separation of church and state is in the Constitution. Oh, my goodness! What a lamebrain. What a muddleheaded fool, what a dope, what a dolt, what a jerk!* Everyone thought, *This is embarrassing, a candidate for the United States Senate doesn't even know where separation of church and state is in the Constitution.* Of course, the problem is that it's *not* in the Constitution. *Separation of church and state* is not in the Constitution, it's not in the First Amendment, it isn't there.

The notion was mentioned in a letter from Thomas Jefferson to an Association of Baptists in Danbury, Connecticut, in 1803, but even his mention didn't envision what the ACLU did yesterday in sending out to one hundred

eight-five school districts around the country warnings that they can't mention Christmas. Sometimes everybody can be agreed on something and they can all be wrong, so the patriots had to find a way to preserve self-determination, the consent of the governed, and the idea of self rule while at the same time hedging against the errors of fallen men.

Roger Sherman's Solution

- ❖ *All Four Founding Documents*
- ❖ *Mixed Government and Jurisdictions*
- ❖ *Connecticut Compromise*

Roger Sherman's solution was to come up with this brilliant form of mixed government, of separated powers, of checks and balances. Sherman was a remarkable man. We have already run across him several times because he's one of the only founding fathers who had his hand in all the major founding documents. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, he was a signer of the Articles of Confederation, he was one of the signers and one of the chief contributors to the debate over the Northwest Ordinance. He was the one who came up with the visionary plan that would become the Constitution of the United States. His simple notion was that, in order for checks and balances to occur, in order for the people to have full voice and solid consent, there needed to be a way to separate the interests of the people so that the interests of the majority and the minority were equally preserved and protected. This was the essence of the Connecticut Compromise.

An Experiment in Liberty

Federalism

- ❖ *Consent of the Governed*
- ❖ *Bicameral Legislatures*
- ❖ *Separation of Powers*

It involved separating the powers of government into spheres — the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the judicial branch — to break up in a tiered system the powers and jurisdictions within each one of those branches, so that a legislative branch would have a bicameral legislature: a Senate and House, and each state would have its own legislative jurisdictions so that you have multiple spheres of checks and balances. Same thing with the judiciary. There would be a federal judiciary as well as district and state judiciaries that would be stacked upon each other so that there would be an appropriate appeals system.

The Seven Primary Principles of Liberty

- ❖ *National Union: One*
- ❖ *Regional Diversity: Many*
- ❖ *Self-Government: Limits*
- ❖ *Christian Character: Virtue*
- ❖ *Sacred Conscience: Rights*
- ❖ *Covenantal Forms: Mixed Government*
- ❖ *Localism: Checks and Balances*

Essentially Sherman was working from those seven primary principles of liberty that we've looked at and the essential ideas of federalism: that you balance the one and the many with national union and regional diversity; that you impose limits on the reach of government so that you can constantly nurture self-rule in the populace; that you nurture in all of the institutions a clear sense of virtue and Christian character, while preserving rights, sacred conscience through covenantal forms, mixed government and constantly pushing authority from the grassroots upward rather than from the top down; the idea of localism and checks and balances. This would enable the new federal system to maintain consent of the governed through these mixed forms and the separation of power.

Constitutional Provisions

- ❖ *Preamble: "We the People"*
- ❖ *"In Order to Form a More Perfect Union"*
- ❖ *"Justice, Tranquility, Defense, Welfare, Liberty"*
- ❖ *Article I: Legislative Jurisdiction*
- ❖ *Article II: Executive Jurisdiction*
- ❖ *Article III: Judicial Jurisdiction*
- ❖ *Article IV: State Jurisdiction*
- ❖ *Article V: Amendment Process*
- ❖ *Article VI: Debts, Oaths, Tests, and Qualifications*
- ❖ *Article VII: Ratification Procedure*

What they came up with was remarkable. Sherman's proposal was accepted by the Constitutional Convention. Another brilliant and articulate delegate, Gouverneur Morris, was given the task of writing the first draft — his opening salvo, the memorable words of the Preamble of the Constitution, "We the people". It was a bold declaration that this new form of government would in fact be a form that was rooted in the prerogative of the people and the consent of the governed. I want to read this to you, "The idea of the preamble was to set the philosophical context for the whole document. And it was designed in such a way as to provide the overall principal structure for the rest of the document."¹

¹ John Wilson, *The American Manual*, American Textbook Committee, Cincinnati, 1856, p. 161.

This week I met with a group of men, and David Zanotti, one of our dads, made a comment that I think is profoundly true, “In its essence, the Constitution is a pretty boring document. It basically delineates some powers and it’s not really inspiring reading, except for the preamble.” The same can be said for the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights is pretty pedestrian. It doesn’t have the soaring rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence, but the Preamble to both of these documents is indeed rich and full.

❖ *Preamble: “We the People”*

❖ *“In Order to Form a More Perfect Union”*

❖ *“Justice, Tranquility, Defense, Welfare, Liberty”*

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure 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.

There’s an awful lot in that short Preamble. There’s a world of philosophical deliberation that is revealed in that Preamble. But even more, what we see is that they had a very, very limited scope for what this new federal government was supposed to do. They stated it clearly. It’s the people themselves, in order to form a more perfect union, not a perfect one but one that is clearly reformed, in order to do these things: provide for justice, peace, an appropriate defense, prosperity, and the preservation of liberty. That’s what this is supposed to do. That’s it. That’s what this government is supposed to do.

❖ *Article I: Legislative Jurisdiction*

And then there are a whole series of Articles that follow, laying out Sherman’s vision of mixed government, checks and balances, separation of powers. Article One deals with the legislative jurisdiction.

❖ *Article II: Executive Jurisdiction*

Article Two, the executive jurisdiction. So in Article One we have all of the rules and regulations, the guidelines for the House and the Senate. In Article Two, we have the presidency and the whole enforcement branch, the executive branch, that is under his authority.

❖ *Article III: Judicial Jurisdiction*

Article Three covers the courts.

❖ *Article IV: State Jurisdiction*

Article Four deals with the specifics of state jurisdiction.

❖ *Article V: Amendment Process*

Article Five lays out how this new Constitution was to be amended.

❖ *Article VI: Debts, Oaths, Tests, and Qualifications*

Article Six deals with debt and oaths, and tests and qualifications for office.

❖ *Article VII: Ratification Procedure*

Article Seven deals with the ratification procedure.

Simple, straightforward, clear cut, and short.

When you take a look at the monolithic chunks of legislation that come out of Washington today, piles of paper this tall, thousands of pages to describe healthcare reform, and then you look at the brevity of this little Constitution that provides the parameters for good governance and has been a model of liberty for more than two hundred years, it really is rather astonishing.

Constitutional Amendments

Immediately, there was great, great contention regarding the Constitution as it was presented. Some of the greatest patriot leaders came out in fierce opposition to the new Constitution. Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, a number of states — North Carolina and Rhode Island — absolutely refused to even consider the possibility, and the reason was they believed that the Constitution gave too much power to the federal government. Patrick Henry famously said, “I smell a rat in Philadelphia.” He believed that the concentration of power in the new government would be so great that one day the government might actually begin to tax the people directly based upon their incomes. Can you believe a tyranny like that? He believed that it could possibly one day begin to determine what products could or could not be produced by craftsmen. Or even who would be allowed to be a craftsman, and he believed that such tyranny could not be countenanced.

The Anti-Federalists mounted a strong campaign to defeat the concentration of so much power in a centralized government, but very wisely the Federalists began to realize that indeed this new Constitution, while brilliant in its vision of separation of powers, and checks and balances, and appropriate jurisdictions, had not made appropriate provision for the limitation of centralized power, and that they had, unlike in the Northwest Ordinance, not provided appropriate guards and checks for the individual rights of the people and of the states. So in every single one of the ratification debates in the state houses, amendments were proposed. As we saw last time one hundred thirty-seven amendments were proposed to this new Constitution coming out of the ratification process.

In the end only twelve were taken up by Congress and only ten were passed. Those ten were called the Bill of Rights. The reason these new amendments were taken up by Congress was that a number of the old Federalists, James Madison among them, prodded by his Anti-Federalist friend, the future president, James Monroe, in a sense took the side of the Anti-Federalists and forced the hand of the Federalists.

❖ *Preamble: “To Prevent Misconstruction”*

❖ *“And to Prevent Abuse of Powers”*

❖ *“Declaratory and Restrictive Clauses Added”*

The new amendments were also preceded by a preamble. This is really interesting. If you look in most textbooks, if you go for instance and get the some of the free printed versions of the Constitution and Bill of Rights including the one produced by the Library of Congress, you’ll notice that the preamble to the Bill of Rights is always left out. Did you know that? Anybody here ever seen the preamble to the Bill of Rights? It’s actually a

part of the Bill of Rights, but it is almost never, ever printed. I've actually written multiple letters to the Library of Congress asking why. And if you go to the Library of Congress and actually see the original documents in their archives the Preamble is right there. But they always leave it out. As far as I can tell it started being left out of printed versions of the Bill of Rights sometime around 1863 or 1864, and then progressively more and more in the years following that. The Preamble says,

The conventions of a number of states having at the time of their adopting the Constitution expressed the desire in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers ...

In other words they wanted to make sure that the original intent of the Constitution was preserved. They didn't want a misconstruction of the powers contained in the Constitution and delegated to various authorities; they didn't want that misconstruction to pass into precedent

...or abuse of its powers that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added.

In other words, they defined the Bill of Rights as restrictive clauses not expansive clauses. In other words, the Bill of Rights are not going to give the government more power, the Bill of Rights are designed to restrict the power, extending the ground of public confidence in the government

... which will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution.

Now this is really important stuff. There is a huge debate among constitutional lawyers today about whether or not the Constitution should be construed in accord with the principles of original intent or as a living document. The founding fathers were so concerned that that debate might emerge someday that they added the Bill of Rights to provide those restrictive and declaratory clauses, to prevent the abuse of powers, and to prevent misconstruction. And then they laid out the areas where they were concerned that the federal government might go beyond the bounds of its authority.

❖ *Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, and Petition*

The First Amendment, the bulwark of the whole of the Bill of Rights, called for Congress to be restricted in the areas of religion, speech, the press, assembly, and petition. This is where moderns think that the separation of religion exists because of those "ten tortured words,"² as Stephen Mansfield calls them, that began that very First Amendment, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Now clearly what that says is *Congress, don't mess with religion. Don't make laws messing with religion, either establishing a national state church or restricting the free exercise of religion.* There is no separation of church and state that is declared there. If there is a separation of church and state, then we also have to say there's, in this First Amendment, a separation of speech and state, separation of press and state, separation of assembly and state, a separation of the right to petition government and the state. I mean if we are going to take this as a separation clause we've got separate all. So, from now on, no politician can speak. Whoo-hoo! And no politician can say anything to

² *Ten Tortured Words*, by Stephen Mansfield, 2007

the press. No politician can ever assemble anybody peaceably or otherwise in a rally. The whole point of the First Amendment is to say to the federal government, *Hands off. Hands off!*

❖ *Well-Regulated Militia and Bearing Arms*

The Second Amendment reads, “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.” It doesn’t say anything about duck hunting. It doesn’t say anything about being able to go to Wal-Mart to get your deer hunting supplies. The reason we have a Second Amendment is not so that we can go hunting and fishing. The reason that we have a Second Amendment is to protect ourselves. Against what? The government. Yep, that’s what it says.

❖ *Quartering and Occupation*

The Third Amendment, Article Three of the Bill of Rights, says, “No soldier shall in a time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.” In other words, there can’t be occupying forces in our homes.

❖ *Searches, Seizures, Warrants, and Probable Cause*

The Fourth Article of the Bill of Rights, the Fourth Amendment, says, “The right of the people to be secure in their persons and houses and papers and effects” — including their toothbrush and nail clippers at airports — “against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or the things to be seized.” Now that’s not wrong at all for the TSA to want to make sure that our airplanes are safe. That is not wrong at all. We want our airplanes to be safe. What would be wrong is if someone gets in line and starts to see that there is a lot of groping going on, and they say you know, I don’t think so, not my wife, not my daughter, and not me, and to be able to turn around walk away without being arrested.

❖ *Indictments, Double Jeopardy, Self-Incrimination*

The next of the amendments was to protect against inappropriate indictments, facing double jeopardy — being tried twice for the same charge — and self-incrimination — having to testify against yourself in a court.

❖ *Speedy Trial, Impartiality, Process, Public Counsel*

The Sixth: the right to a speedy trial and impartiality in an appropriate legal process, to have public counsel.

❖ *Common Lawsuits and Trial by Jury*

The Seventh Amendment: regulations regarding common lawsuits and the right to a trial by jury.

❖ *Excessive Bail, Fines, and Punishments*

The Eighth Amendment: excessive bail, fines, and punishments are all banned.

❖ *Enumeration and Retention*

The Ninth Amendment: enumeration and retention clauses.

❖ *Non-Delegated Powers to States and People*

The Tenth Amendment: all those non-delegated powers should ultimately redound³ to the states and the people.

Another vitally important notion: “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.” In other words, if the Constitution does not specify authority to do something then the federal government can't do it. All those rights, powers, and authorities are reserved for the people and for the states.

Do you understand what this means? Because of the Bill of Rights, most of the Anti-Federalists, though still somewhat skeptical of the possibility of the growth of federal power and concerned that there still was too much power, looked at these amendments and they said *This secures us surely*, and therefore they acceded to the Constitution, and with final ratification the Constitution went into effect on March 4, 1789.

It is a remarkable, remarkable document. It is remarkable for its brevity, for its simplicity. The Ten Amendments that were added immediately made it remarkable for its clear preservation of freedom for the people and for local communities. It's remarkable for its covenantal structure of checks and balances, separation of powers, and mixed government. But what really makes it remarkable is that it had an enduring impact. It became the lodestone of freedom for nations all across the globe, straining and yearning to be free.

No other constitutional document in the history of mankind has been copied more times than the Constitution of the United States, and it's only two hundred plus years old. More provisions, more structures from this document, have been copied by the constitutions of other nations than any other document. One author, Donald Lutz, University of Indiana, and Charles Heinemann, his mentor, claimed that in fact more times than all other documents combined in the history of the world. Pretty remarkable.

But what's really remarkable is how easily misconstrued, how widely disregarded so many of these hedges of freedom have become. The Tenth Amendment never comes up in congressional debates. When massive sweeping changes to the structure of private industry, the takeover of the automobile industry for instance, when these things are discussed nobody ever says, *Whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa, excuse me, what about the Tenth Amendment? I'm not sure that I see anything about governmental takeover of massive industrial corporations anywhere enumerated as a power in the Constitution. Excuse me, Senator, what are you thinking? Hello?! Tenth Amendment! That means ixnay on the takeover.* And we just naturally assume that the ACLU is standing on solid legal ground when they tell public school officials, *Live in a fantasyland and actually act like none of your kids are even thinking about Christmas. Just be as irrelevant to what's going on in their lives as you possibly can be, just like you do all of the rest of the year.*

So the question is, is this a dead letter or is there some possibility of recovering Constitutional sanity? I'll tell you part of the reason why this is not a dead letter. It is universally accepted as the standard by which governance should proceed. Even though we don't know what it says and even though we misapply it constantly, there is this universal acclamation that this document is still in effect, which means that our job is to let people know what it says and to elect people who believe what it says. That's our job, and it starts with us knowing what it says.

³ Dr. Grant is using this word with a somewhat archaic meaning: “to return to or to remain with the original jurisdiction,” from Samuel Johnson's Dictionary. *Ed.*

Now I will have you demonstrate in the mid-term exam not because I think it's really important for you to be able to rattle off a whole bunch of articles and a whole bunch of amendments in order. I want you to know this stuff because our freedom depends upon you knowing this stuff and standing on this stuff, now and for the rest of your lives. Our freedom depends upon it.

We the people, in order to bring about that more perfect union and to affect that domestic tranquility, to preserve the fruits of liberty to ourselves and our posterity must hold to these truths. And if we ever altogether lose them, the world won't be over — that's not over till the trump sounds — but let me tell you what, it will get harder, and harder, and harder for us all. So let's take these worn-out old tools and use them well and rebuild from here.



O, Father, for however imperfect it may be we are grateful for this Constitution, the more perfect union, the justice, the tranquility, the common defense, the general welfare, and the fruits of liberty that it has ensured for all. For this we are grateful, and I pray that you would make us vigilant in declaring before a watching world just how important these constitutional provisions, these sure guards of liberty, are. Enable us, for future generations, to gain new resolve to stand on these principles lest our liberties be lost, and the battle for truth and justice be harder still. And we pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 24

Washington's Leadership: Setting the Record Straight

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Polk and the Mexican War; de Tocqueville and the Emerging Super-nation

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 296–310

Lesson Synopsis

George Washington did not cut down the cherry tree. George Washington never said to his father, “I cannot tell a lie.” George Washington did not throw a silver dollar across the Potomac. George Washington was not the first president of the United States. But George Washington was “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,” precisely because he understood what it meant to be a leader from an entirely Christian perspective. And, thus, the great experiment in liberty was launched on a firm foundation, and George Washington won the day.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

The life of George Washington

Primary Source Material

Any of George Washington's personal or presidential papers and writings

Vocabulary

egregious, charlatan, borne, incarcerate, truncate, passive, disposer, ostentatious, devout, substantiate, surveyor, topography, contingency, intuitive, confidante, unflappable, Cincinnatus, unanimous, hobble, moderate, epitome, quintessential, irascible, oligarch, imbroglio, solicit, privateer, letter of marque, neutrality, directorate, guillotine, sanctuary, urbanism, agrarianism, expansionist, populism, undaunted, stint (v.), visionary, recalcitrant, incarnate, manifesto, optimist, formidable, countenance (v.), insecure

Timeline

- ❖ 1732: George Washington born at his family's Wakefield estate
- ❖ 1749: Washington appointed Surveyor of Culpepper County.
- ❖ 1752: Washington inherited Mount Vernon at his brother Lawrence's death.
- ❖ 1774: Washington chaired the meeting for the Fairfax Resolves.

- ❖ 1775: Washington appointed to command the Continental Army.
- ❖ 1781: Washington successfully concluded the war effort at Yorktown.
- ❖ 1783: Washington retired to private life: America's Cincinnatus.
- ❖ 1786: Washington attended the Annapolis Convention.
- ❖ 1787: Washington elected to chair the Constitutional Convention
- ❖ 1788: Washington secured Virginia's ratification of the Constitution.
- ❖ 1789: Washington unanimously elected president.
- ❖ 1791, December 5: Alexander Hamilton presented *Report on Manufactures* to Congress.
- ❖ 1791, December 15: The Bill of Rights ratified
- ❖ 1793, April: The Citizen Genet Affair
- ❖ 1793: The Neutrality Act
- ❖ 1794: Whiskey Rebellion
- ❖ 1794: Jay's Treaty
- ❖ 1796, September: Washington's Farewell Address
- ❖ 1799: George Washington died



Washington's Leadership: Setting the Record Straight

Most Americans greeted the change from one constitution to another in 1789 with renewed optimism in the great experiment of liberty that they had begun just a few years earlier. Washington, they supposed, would usher in both a new administration and a new era. American freedom was for them, 'the rising sun' at the dawn of a new day.

~ John Quincy Adams

As you can see, we're going to jump right in where we left off before in the period of America's founding. We spent a lot of time avoiding the subject of George Washington and have gone to great pains to disabuse you of some of the myths about George Washington. Almost everything that we know about George Washington is wrong. He didn't chop down the cherry tree, he didn't throw a silver dollar across the Potomac when he was a little boy, first of all because they didn't have silver dollars — they didn't even have dollars when he was a little boy. And besides, the Potomac River — you can't throw anything across it. If you've ever been to Mount Vernon, you know that an Olympic javelin thrower couldn't even get anything across the Potomac at that point. But anyway, he was not the first president of the United States. There is so much about him that is not true. But there is a wealth of truths about him that we'll explore a little bit today.

20 January

- ❖ 1986: *The U.S. observed the first federal Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday.*

Today is, of course, January 20. This is the anniversary of the first Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday, celebrated

as a federal holiday. It created a great deal of controversy at the time but has now become a landmark for our nation acknowledging the long and difficult struggle, the ongoing struggle, for equality and freedom for all of our citizens.

❖ *1981: Iran released fifty-two American hostages after four hundred forty-four days.*

It is also on this day in 1981 that Iran finally released fifty-two Americans that it had held hostage for four hundred forty-four days just minutes after the presidency passed from Jimmy Carter to Ronald Reagan.

❖ *1942: The Nazi Wannsee Conference convened.*

It was also on this day in 1942 that Nazi officials held the notorious Wannsee Conference during which they arrived at what they called, "the final solution," which called for the extermination of the Jews.

❖ *1937: The first January Inauguration Day was held.*

It was on this day in 1937 that Franklin Delano Roosevelt became the first president of the United States sworn into office in January at the beginning of his second term. The original date for the start of a presidential term was March 4, and every president including Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his first term had been sworn in on March 4. It dated back to the time of the Constitution and George Washington.

❖ *1887: The U.S. leased the Pearl Harbor naval base.*

It was also on this day in 1887 that Congress approved an agreement to purchase a base for their Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor. A long-term lease-purchase agreement was made, and the Pacific Fleet was located there for the first time.

❖ *1669: Susanna Wesley was born.*

It was on this date in 1669 that Susanna Wesley was born. She was the twenty-fifth child of a Puritan minister, Samuel Annesley. At nineteen, she married the Anglican minister, Samuel Wesley. Seventeenth-century Puritans delighted in large families as what they called the seed for the fruit of God's kingdom. So, she was delighted in her own eighteen children. She was remarkable in her ability to give all of her eighteen children personal attention and time alone with her. A famous story about her is that when all the kids were bustling about and it didn't seem like in their very small English cottage there was any way to give them personal attention, she would take her great hoop skirt and she would throw it over her head and over the one child that she wanted to spend a long time with, and she would recite poetry and sing and pray inside their little tent.

❖ *1265: The first English Parliament convened.*

It was also on this day in 1265 that Simon de Montfort, the Earl of Leicester, called together the first English Parliament during the reign of Henry III. Although counsels of landholders had been previously held, this meeting in the halls of Westminster included commoners in the form of two knights for each county and two citizens for each borough, thus laying the foundations for the first House of Commons and the first Parliament. It was a remarkable transformation in the governance of England and became the basis for English common law and the application of government that passed all the way to us.

❖ *1789: Robert Morris declined an invitation to join the first Washington administration.*

But for our purposes, the most significant thing that happened on this day, January 20, occurred in 1789 because that's when Robert Morris declined George Washington's offer of the position of Secretary of the Treasury in his administration following the ratification of the new Constitution. This highlights one of the most unknown stories in all of the founding era. Morris was a Philadelphia merchant of great wealth who became the financier of the American War of Independence. He frequently risked his fortune on behalf of the Continental Army, and in the end, he lost everything. With Roger Sherman, Morris shares the distinction of having signed all three of the principal founding documents — the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. He was a close friend of George Washington, and Washington would often come to him, as did Congress, when the fledgling government ran out of money. Innumerable times he would use his own personal credit in order to secure ammunition and supplies for the Continental Army. This occurred again and again and again. At Yorktown, for instance, Morris backed the purchase of ammunition and supplies with his personal pledge, which enabled American independence to be won on that remarkable afternoon when Lord Cornwallis surrendered, and the world was turned upside down. After the war, Morris continued as a principal finance office for Congress, but he was caught constantly between the demands of the Confederation and the states' refusal to support the Confederation. He exhausted his own credit repeatedly and planned to resign but he stayed on. He established the first national bank, but Pennsylvania challenged the charter. By 1784, when he finally resigned, the United States had practically no credit abroad, but it had largely cleared up its most egregious debts due to his tireless efforts. He was an attendee at the Annapolis Convention in support of the idea of a Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. He believed that was the only way that the strained finances of the American Republic could survive. He argued that any government that spent more money than it had — in other words any government that indulged in deficit spending was “morally bankrupt, filled with charlatans, and deserving of the scorn of all of mankind”.

Interesting words to hear following the report just this week that in the last three months of 2010, the national debt of the United States escalated at a rate faster than the entire eight previous years. So we spent more in deficit spending in October, November, and December of this past year than was spent in the entire eight previous years. Astonishing. Morris would have had fits. Morris declined George Washington's offer of the position of the Secretary of the Treasury in the new government and was elected one of Pennsylvania's first senators. But he had to turn attentions to his own now bankrupted fortunes, that he had borne the responsibility and the burden of carrying first the Continental Army, then the Continental Congress, and then the new government under the new Constitution, and his credit was ruined. Eventually, his debts caught up with him, and in 1798, he was thrown into debtors' prison and was incarcerated there until 1801. He came out a broken and forgotten man and died just four and a half years later. It's one of those stories that is almost impossible to believe. The man most responsible for securing the financial future of the nation was broken and tossed aside.

It's stories like this that remind me that often the history-book version of our nation's birth and emergence on the international scene is truncated and erroneous. When you come to George Washington, for instance, the myths abound. For instance, I was reading and historian Gordon Wood said this about George Washington,

It is true that many of the distinguished political leaders of the revolution were not very religious, at the least not emotionally religious. At best, they only passively believed in organized Christianity. At worst, they scorned it and ridiculed it. Most were deists or lukewarm churchgoers and scornful of religion, emotion, and enthusiasm associated with those lesser-educated Bible thumpers. Washington, for example, was a frequent churchgoer but only out of social

necessity. He scarcely ever referred to God in anything of his writing or speaking and called him little more than the great Disposer of events. In all those voluminous papers he never once mentions Jesus Christ.

What's interesting about this noted bestselling historian's remarks, Gordon Wood, is that all of it, everything that he said in this paragraph, is absolutely and totally false. It's just not true at all. In fact, among the Founding Fathers, the fifty-two delegates to the Constitutional Convention for instance, twenty-eight were Episcopalians, eight were Presbyterians, two were Congregationalists, two were Lutherans, two were Dutch Reform, two were Methodists, and two were Roman Catholics, and three were deists.

Throughout George Washington's writings, just scanning through some of his presidential papers and speeches, George Washington used a number of names for God and not just the Great Disposer of Events, including the Almighty, Almighty God, Jehovah, *Jireh*, Father of Mercies, Creator, Gracious God, Jehovah, Lord, Wonder-working Savior, Gracious Savior and, yes, he referred to Christ over and over again as "my personal Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ," and, "my Redeemer, the Lord Jesus." In a speech to the Delaware Assembly in 1779 George Washington said,

You do well to wish to learn the arts and ways of life of Christendom. And above all, that personal affection that comes through the redemption of Jesus Christ our Savior. These will make you a greater and happier people."

As Chief Justice John Marshall, who knew Washington well said,

Without making ostentatious professions of religion, he was a sincere believer in the Christian faith and truly a devout man.

You simply cannot read the speeches or the papers of Washington without running across the reality that this was a man who had an affectionate relation with Christ his Savior and a devoted commitment to the evangelical Christian faith.

So, how do historians get away with saying what they do? How do you sort through what's true and what's false? One of things you always have to do is check and make sure that assertions like this actually have some sort of substantiated evidence that stands behind them. If you start seeing assertions, even labels, but with no reference to primary or even reliable secondary sources that's when the red flags ought to go up. You've heard what politicians say. They can say almost anything far out of relation with the facts. So what you have to do is check, verify, and dig deep. What we want to do today is dig deep into the character and life of this remarkable man, George Washington.

George Washington (1732-1799)

He was an American Joshua. No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a country's life. Never did he shrink from meeting the need of the hour. He was our national guardian. ~John Richard Green

The Father of Our Country

❖ *1732: Born February 22 at his family's Wakefield estate*

He was born in 1732 to a family of what was called the middling gentry in Virginia. His father was a small landholder. He had two older half-brothers from his father's previous marriage. When their mother died, the father, whose name was variously Augustine, or Augustus, depending on which of the documents you read, remarried, and George was the eldest of five more siblings, three younger brothers and one younger sister.

Alas, when he was eleven years old — and by the way, counting George Washington's birthday is as complicated as anybody who was born in the middle or first half of the eighteenth century because he was born on February 11 according to the Julian calendar, but when he was twenty years old, Britain switched from the Julian calendar to the Gregorian calendar. As a result, eleven days were accelerated, and so we celebrate George Washington's birthday as February 22, but he always celebrated on February 11, even after the change. Even there, when you're dealing with dates, you've got to check your sources and find back-up. You've got to take a look at the details. Did the Russian Revolution occur in November or October? It depends upon which calendar you use. For the Russians, who actually undertook the Russian Revolution, and fought the Russian Revolution, it actually happened in October, but we always say that occurred in November. History — it's not a science; it's an art.

When he was eleven years old, he went to live with his half-brother, Augustine, because of his father's death and the burdens placed on his mother caring for four younger siblings.

❖ *1749 Appointed Surveyor of Culpepper County*

When he was fourteen, he attempted to get an appointment to the Royal Navy and go off to sea, but his mother begged him not to go to sea because she was fearful of the hardships that would place on him.

So he began to train as a land surveyor. He was successful at that and became a licensed surveyor at the age of fifteen, and by 1749 he had become the Surveyor of Culpepper County, an appointed position under the Royal charter. What's helpful in us knowing the background of Washington as a surveyor is that, first of all, he was a man who actually ran a business and provided a service. Secondly, it was a business and a service that was connected to public service, meaning that he had a private business and knew how to care for his affairs as a private businessman but was also serving in government — appearing before committees, dealing with bureaucrats, adhering to standards of law. In addition to that, by being a surveyor, George Washington began to lay the foundations for his primary genius, which was the ability to see the field in a way that nobody else on the battlefield ever could. He understood topography, he understood drainage and water outlets, he understood the character and nature of high ground, soft ground, hard ground. He understood those things, and that proved to be one of his greatest advantages.

What we'll discover is that George Washington was not a very good battlefield commander. He never won any real pitched battles in his entire career from the French and Indian War all the way through the American War of Independence. He never won any battles until the last one. He always found a way to escape after he had been beaten in order to fight another day, which was remarkable. It was his ability to survey the field, understand that he had to have contingency plans and escape routes and be able to see that intuitively that enabled him to accomplish that.

❖ *1752: Inherited Mount Vernon at Lawrence's death*

In 1752, he inherited the great estate of his older half-brother, Lawrence, who died of tuberculosis, and, thus, Mount Vernon became the family estate — the basis of George Washington's wealth in years to come.

❖ *1754-1755: Served in the French and Indian War*

He served in the French and Indian War, and it was there that his bravery and farsightedness first came to the attention of Governor Dinwiddie and a host of others in the British command. He was fearless in the midst of fire. In fact, at one point he wrote in a letter that he could hear bullets whistling past his head, and he said, "It is a charming sound, indeed." In one battle, he actually had two horses shot out from under him, four bullets passed through his jacket, and twice his hat was shot off his head, but he never lost his sense of command and never turned around and ran or hit the deck. He just continued to fight. One of the Indian chiefs who was actually in that battle had told a number of his braves to specifically target Washington after it became apparent that he was the field commander. They kept trying to kill him, and about half way through the battle the chief later told Washington that he called off his braves and said, "Somehow, someway, the hands of the white man's God is upon that man. Leave him alone." So for the rest of the battle, they didn't shoot at him.

❖ *1758: Elected to the House of Burgesses*

He was elected to the House of Burgesses in 1758 when he was twenty-six years old.

❖ *1759: Married Martha Dandridge Custis*

By 1759, he married a remarkable woman who had two children from a previous marriage. This widow, Martha Dandridge Custis, proved to be one of his ablest advisors. She was a careful administrator of their daily affairs, she was frugal with their expenses, a fine household manager, but more than that she was a confidante and friend and was able to guide Washington through many dangers in the days that would come.

❖ *1774: Chaired the meeting for the Fairfax Resolves*

In 1774, he became involved in the fight for independence by chairing the meeting for the Fairfax Resolves, a series of proposals that were put together by members of the House of Burgesses, primarily written by the great lawyer, George Mason, rejecting Parliament's claims of exclusive authority over all the colonies, and specifically rejecting the idea of taxation without any form of representation. It was really the beginning of Washington's leadership in a political role.

❖ *1775: Appointed to command the Continental Army*

❖ *1781: Successfully concluded the war effort at Yorktown*

By 1775, he had been appointed to command the Continental Army even though he had never been a commander before. He had fought in the French and Indian War, he had been active in the Virginia militia, but he was not a battlefield commander. He was a leader of men. He was strong, tall, articulate, unflappable, and courageous. So John Adams, the firebrand of the Continental Congress, nominated him to become the commander in chief. There were many others, including men like Horatio Gates and Benedict Arnold, who were much more qualified in the field of battle, but Congress believed that George Washington's character outweighed his inexperience. As it proved, he successfully fought the war effort, escaping time and again in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, suffering through the difficult winters including the horrific winter at Valley Forge, until finally in

1781 he brought the war to a successful conclusion with the capture of the British and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

❖ *1783: Retired to private life: America's Cincinnatus*

Amazingly, less than nineteen months later, he retired to private life as America's Cincinnatus in that unforgettable scene where he surrendered his sword to Congress, believed by many to be the most remarkable surrender of authority that had occurred in the modern world.

Overseeing the New Constitution

1786

❖ *Attended the Annapolis Convention*

That was really just the beginning of his leadership role. By 1786, it was evident that there were troubles with the Articles of Confederation, so, he attended the Annapolis Convention which included twelve delegates from five states — New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia. There, Alexander Hamilton appealed to some of the greatest statesmen from those states to press forward a new compact, a new covenant, that would more securely establish the new nation.

1787

❖ *Elected Chairman: May 25*

❖ *Negotiated Compromises: June-August*

❖ *Final Draft Approved: September 28*

The end result of the Annapolis Convention was the call for a constitutional convention the next year in the city of Philadelphia, and on May 25, George Washington was unanimously elected the chairman. Through the course of the negotiations, it was Washington who negotiated the various compromises and brought about the various drafts that finally resulted in a completed constitution written largely by George Washington's friend, Gouverneur Morris. The final draft was approved on September 28.

1788

❖ *Secured Virginia Ratification: June 25*

By the next year, George Washington had led the effort to secure Virginia's ratification of the new Constitution. That, in and of itself, was a huge feat because Virginia, of all the states, was probably the best equipped in terms of wealth, manpower, and resources to go its own way. If Virginia had wanted to be an independent nation, it could have. It didn't need the other twelve colonies. So, Washington's weight in persuading Virginia's ratification was huge.

1789–1791

- ❖ *Unanimously Elected: January–April, 1789*
- ❖ *North Carolina's Ratification: November 21, 1789*
- ❖ *Inaugurated: April 30, 1789*
- ❖ *Rhode Island's Ratification: May 29, 1790*

Needless to say, when the Electoral College met in each of the states from December to April, 1788–1789, George Washington received unanimous support to become the new president of the United States, the only president of the United States ever to receive every single Electoral College vote.

Interestingly, only ten of the thirteen states participated in this first election. North Carolina and Rhode Island still had not ratified the Constitution, and New York's delegates argued so much among themselves that they wouldn't support anyone. So, New York's votes were never counted.

Washington's Cabinet

The Conflict Among the Lieutenants

He went into this new office somewhat hobbled by the lack of consensus. But if the lack of consensus among the states was difficult, his greatest challenge came as he tried to lead this fractious new nation under this untried and untested new Constitution. His first great challenge was to appoint a cabinet. Lord have Mercy, what a mess that was. The cabinet of George Washington actually only consisted of five men. The five men were: for vice-president, John Adams; Attorney General, Edmund Jennings Randolph; Secretary of War, Henry Knox; Post Master General, Samuel Osgood; Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson; and Secretary of Treasury, the young, brilliant, and mercurial, Alexander Hamilton. These men comprised a very diverse group; in fact, some historians call it “wild diversity” in terms of their views. And, indeed, they were wildly diverse.

- ❖ *Vice President: John Adams, The Old Patriot*

John Adams who was born in 1735 and, thus, three years Washington's junior, was the chief negotiator of the peace treaty with Britain that ended the war. He was the man who nominated George Washington to be the commander in chief during the days of the Continental Congress and was known as the Old Patriot, the Firebrand of the Revolution. It was John Adams who constantly pressed the cause of independence when others desired a more moderate view. He was a man who held to the old principles of liberty, but he was of blue blood stock from the New England elite, so despite his passion for liberty, he was deeply rooted in a very conservative tradition. He was in many ways the epitome of the founding fathers. In the recent biographies — there have been about four or five really fine recent biographies, led by David McCullough's blockbuster bestseller, and then later the miniseries that was based upon it — Adams was the quintessential founding father, but he was also a difficult man to get along with. And often his uncompromising principles led him into conflicts with his fellow patriots.

- ❖ *Attorney General: Edmund Jennings Randolph, The Oligarch*

For instance, Edmund Jennings Randolph, who was born in 1753, and thus twenty-one years Washington's junior, was the nephew and heir of Peyton Randolph, the executor of his estate, and the man who stepped into Pey-

ton Randolph's shoes and responsibilities. He was the author of the Virginia Plan, the first draft of the Constitution. He was later Secretary of State under John Adams. He was natively conservative, coming from a landed-gentry family of rich tradition, but he also had a strong streak, as many Virginians did, of resistance to a centralized government.

❖ *Secretary of War: Henry Knox, The General*

Henry Knox was a Boston bookseller, who during long afternoons would sit in his back room and read military history. His only experience as a military man before he was made the chief artillery officer of the Continental Army came from reading books. He was not exactly the kind of guy that you typically want leading men at arms into a pitched battle, but Knox gained the trust of Washington. Washington said of him, "Because he did not have military experience, he saw things that a typical military man might not see." And because he had this rich breadth and depth of history, he understood things on the battlefield intuitively. As a result, he was at Washington's side throughout the entire War of Independence, gained Washington's trust, and was thus made the Secretary of War in the cabinet.

❖ *Postmaster General: Samuel Osgood, The Broker*

Samuel Osgood was a remarkable man in that he was originally from Massachusetts but wound up in the city of New York where he founded the City Bank of New York, which later became Citicorp and is now Citigroup. He was an able merchant and a fine businessman. He had an eye for detail, and as a result he was made the first postmaster of the United States — the Postmaster General.

❖ *Secretary of State: Thomas Jefferson, The Republican*

Thomas Jefferson was that brilliant and mercurial Virginian who had an interest in almost everything from gardening and horticulture across the board to classical studies and fine music. He was the ultimate gentleman but also the ultimate Democrat, or as they were called in those days, the ultimate Republican. In other words, he had an aversion to the inherited wealth of the world of Christendom. He believed that the common man — the man of the land — was the future of the world, and thus he was suspicious of big governments and of their centralized, controlling mechanisms.

❖ *Secretary of the Treasury: Alexander Hamilton, The Federalist*

Alexander Hamilton was twenty-five years George Washington's junior, but he served as Washington's aide-de-camp throughout the war and had gained Washington's trust. As a graduate of King's College in New York City, later renamed Columbia University, he was trained in the classical tradition. He came from a sketchy background, born out of wedlock, rejected by his Scottish laird father, set adrift, able to achieve what he did sheerly by his own genius. He was an irascible fellow. An ardent enemy of both Jefferson and John Adams, he constantly picked fights with both of them. Interestingly, he was killed in a duel by Thomas Jefferson's vice president, Aaron Burr, years later after yet another conflict with him.

A Conflicting Vision

So, we have this wildly diverse cabinet with an Old Patriot, a great oligarch, a general who is really just a book-smith, a power broker, a Federalist, and Republican. As a result, when conflicts came up, as inevitably they did, the conflicts were great and wrenching.

❖ *The Assumption Plan*

For instance, when Alexander Hamilton came up with the Assumption Plan, a plan to repay the debt of the United States by centralizing all the debt and paying back the debt dollar-for-dollar, John Adams was resistant because he didn't believe that the United States could afford it. Thomas Jefferson was resistant because he believed that that would put too much power, the power of the purse, in the hands of the federal government.

❖ *The Report on Manufactures*

❖ *Public Administration*

Later when Alexander Hamilton presented to the cabinet, and still later to Congress, his magnum opus — a remarkable work on economics and free markets called the *Report on Manufactures*, Adams and Jefferson both went absolutely ballistic. It was the *Report on Manufactures* that caused Jefferson to question the whole of the public administration of the federal government, and he began to organize grassroots societies almost like little Tea Parties that were called Democratic Societies.

❖ *The Revolution in France*

All of these differences in ideological opinion were brought wide out into the open with the French Revolution.

Washington's Captaincy

President

❖ *Cabinet Appointments: March 14, 1789*

❖ *Vermont: February 12, 1791*

❖ *Bill of Rights: December 15, 1791*

The French Revolution created a whole host of difficulties. The French Revolution came along at a time when the United States was just beginning to consolidate its sense of itself. For instance, with the passage of the Bill of Rights and with the admission of Vermont into the United States, the plan to advance across the whole North American continent was finally put into place, and Americans got a sense of what would later be called their Manifest Destiny.

French Imbrolio

❖ *Estates General: May 11, 1789*

But the French began to meddle in the affairs of the United States. This is what is often called in the history books the French *Imbrolio*, literally the French mess. The Estates General in France met in May of 1789, and the revolution began almost immediately to unravel the stability of French society.

❖ *Citizen Genet Affair: April 8, 1793*

The ambassador to the United States at that time was a man by the name of François Genet or Citizen Genet. He came to the United States in 1793 and began to solicit ship owners in places like Savannah and Charleston to become privateers for the French under the protection of the French government. The idea was that these privateers would raid British ships in their trade to the Indies, the Caribbean. The French government would supply

them with arms, protection, and letters of marque. Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton all immediately agreed that this was a threat to the sovereignty of the United States and that it threatened to drag the United States into the war. The last thing they wanted was another war with Britain.

❖ *Neutrality Act: April 22, 1793*

And so, on April 22, they passed the Neutrality Act. An interesting turn of events in all this was that Citizen Genet was secretly working to undermine the neutrality of the United States over the course of a year, but then, when the revolution went bad and Robespierre was overthrown back in Paris, the new directorate in Paris issued an arrest warrant for Citizen Genet, and so the enemy of the United States who was still in the United States soliciting and undermining the sovereignty of the United States, suddenly appealed to the United States for protection because he knew that if he went back to Paris, he'd face the guillotine. Alexander Hamilton, who had been his chief enemy in the administration up to this point, appealed, and George Washington gave Genet protection and sanctuary. Eventually, Genet married Samuel Osgood's daughter, and the Genet family became an established, upstanding member of the new American Republic. The family is a remarkably large and prosperous family in upstate New York to this day.

Internal Conflict

❖ *Democratic Societies: July 1, 1793*

There was, of course, internal conflict among these various lieutenants with the establishment of Jefferson's Democratic Societies in 1793.

❖ *Whiskey Rebellion: July 4, 1794*

There was a rebellion out in the West called the Whiskey Rebellion. When excise taxes were placed on stills to try to raise funds to repay the federal debt, more than five hundred farmers and distillers took to arms and were ready to march against the government. It was the first real Tea Party revolt in American politics. It was a reminder that those who wanted a centralized government and large federal controls had a real problem with the ordinary people of America.

❖ *Jay's Treaty: November 19, 1794*

The same thing happened with Jay's Treaty in 1794. John Jay was sent to try and hammer out a trade agreement some eleven years after the first peace treaty with Great Britain. He was able to do that, but it placed far more control over subsidies and tariffs in the hands of the federal government, removing it from the individual states. Again, this made the Jeffersonians angry.

❖ *Farewell Address: September 17, 1796*

After a second term, George Washington gave his farewell address. It wasn't really an address, it was a letter that he sent out, in which he gave his final instructions to the nation, warning them against political parties, against sectionalism, against entangling alliances with foreign nations, against foreign wars, and interestingly, against secularism, arguing that the American experiment in liberty could only survive so long as people adhered to the morals, standards, and character of the Christian faith.

The Parties of the Lieutenants

Washington left a fractured nation largely because of his chief lieutenants. The guys who gave birth to the nation were already divided into three broad camps.

Federalists

- ❖ *Strong Central Government*
- ❖ *Commerce, Manufacture, and Urbanism*
- ❖ *Sympathies with Britain*

There were the Federalists who wanted a strong central government. They wanted to focus on commerce and manufacturing and were interested in the cities and the growth of the urbanism across the nation. They had strong sympathies with Great Britain and believed that the future of the nation was tied to the old mother country.

Republicans

- ❖ *Decentralized Government*
- ❖ *Land, Agriculture, and Agrarianism*
- ❖ *Sympathies with France*

The Republicans, who were led by Jefferson, opposed the Federalists, led by Hamilton, on almost everything. Where the Federalists and Hamilton wanted a strong central government, the Jeffersonians wanted a decentralized government. Where the Federalists under Hamilton focused on commerce, manufacturing, and urban areas, the Republicans focused on land, agriculture, and agrarianism. Hamilton was an ardent supporter of close ties with Britain. Jefferson, a former ambassador to France, was an ardent supporter of close ties with the French.

Democrats

- ❖ *Expansionist Government*
- ❖ *Opportunity, Individualism, and Populism*
- ❖ *Isolationist Sympathies*

Often, the history books really just talk about the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, or, the Federalists and the Republicans, but there was a third group. We don't see the name emerge until the time of Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams, the son of John Adams. This was the Democrats. They were a faction within the party of the Federalists and were led by John Adams. Like the Federalists, they wanted strong, expansionist government, but their emphasis was not so much on big industry and big banks but rather on small businesses. They focused on opportunity, individualism, and populism. Whereas the Federalists wanted strong ties with Britain, and the Republicans wanted strong ties with France, the Democrats didn't want any ties at all. They were those who said, *Leave us out of your conflicts and your wars and your entangling alliances. No, thank you. We don't want to fight your proxy wars on another continent.*

These three very different political philosophies were all brought together under a single national umbrella. What's really interesting is that these three political philosophies still exist today. Conflicts within the Democratic

Party are typically between the Democrats who are largely Federalists and the Democrats who are largely isolationists. And in the Republican Party, you see the split between those who are Jeffersonian and those who hold to a more John Adams' libertarian political philosophy. So what was established in George Washington's little cabinet, only five members in his Cabinet, is passed down to us today.

The Character of Washington

How was Washington able to lead and how was he able to hold this mess of government and a cabinet together? Almost every historian, regardless of where they stand on the other facts, will come down to this. It was the character of George Washington that enabled him to succeed. It was his character. Almost every political movement turns on this — policies come and go, but character is what matters most.

How does the Bible judge kings, judges, and leaders? On the basis of character, not on the basis of their policies. Sure, policies reflect character. Some policies are out and out theft. Some policies are out and out deceit. Some policies are prejudicial and therefore unjust. But in the end, it's the character of the leader that wins the day. Bad character means a bad destiny for the nation. Strong character means a strong destiny for the nation.

What we see in Washington are at least three major character traits that enabled him to be a leader of men.

Persistent

- ❖ *Fight to Win Another Day*
- ❖ *Unrelenting in His Calling*
- ❖ *Undaunted by the Odds*

First of all, he was persistent, he simply would not take no for an answer. When he knew what was right, when he knew what had to be done, he realized there would be great obstacles, and he simply pushed through those obstacles, unrelenting. He was willing to lose in the short term in order to fight another day. He knew what his calling was, and he never stunted in it. It didn't matter what the odds were. If something were right, he knew that he had to do it, no matter what was stacked up against him. No matter what kind of sacrifice it called from him, he simply pushed forward.

This is an astonishing but simple leadership trait. Leaders are simply stubborn when it comes to their principles. They won't give up. You see this in people like Winston Churchill who was washed up, who actually wrecked his political career innumerable times, but he simply stood. He wouldn't give in. You see the same thing with Teddy Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge and a host of others. They simply said, *I am going to persist in this.*

Honorable

- ❖ *Demanding Virtue from His Command*
- ❖ *Submitted to Authority*
- ❖ *The American Cincinnatus*

Secondly, Washington was honorable. When you read any of the biographies or the contemporary accounts, the funeral sermons that were preached all over the United States following his death, the thing that emerges was

that everybody called him an honorable man. There was nobility and *gravitas* that adhered to him. Virtue was the basis of his leadership and the basis of all his commands. He always knew that he was accountable *to* someone and accountable *for* someone at all times, thus it was easy for him to submit to authority even when the authorities around him seemed to be so wrong-headed. It's also what enabled him, at the end of the day, to simply lay down his sword, lay down his offices, and go home. He had no aspirations to do anything other than to be a man of honor.

Visionary

- ❖ *Able to Lead a Recalcitrant Army*
- ❖ *Leading by Example*
- ❖ *Farsighted Purposefulness*

And of course, he was a visionary. He could see what nobody else could see. He had that surveyor's eye — he could look out across the landscape and see potential that no one else saw. He saw value and was able to lead a ragtag, recalcitrant army. He was able to forge them into a fighting force that became completely loyal to him. As a visionary, he didn't have to constantly restate his vision, he simply lived it. He didn't have to constantly preach his vision, he carried it out. He bore his vision. He incarnated his vision. And he walked constantly with a farsighted purposefulness that others would see in glimpses, but it was usually only after he had done a thing or fought a fight or resolved a conflict and they would look back and say, *Hmm! He knew what he was doing all along. He had this in mind all along. This was where he was going all along, and we didn't really know it, but now we see it.* Washington believed that kind of vision was far more effective than simply issuing manifestos or preaching the points continuously. It wasn't just a matter of rhetoric for him. Vision was a matter of life for him.

Vision

- ❖ *Something Greater*
- ❖ *Finding Common Ground*
- ❖ *Commanding Loyalty*

This translated into his whole leadership strategy. This rooted in establishing that vision, constantly asking all those around him to think beyond themselves and think beyond this moment, to seize something greater. He was the ultimate optimist, believing that the sovereignty of God matched with the obedience of the people would bring about right results.

He also believed that if it was right, there was a way to persuade everyone by finding common ground. He was able to make Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton work with Randolph and Osgood to create a formidable eight-year-long experiment in liberty, the likes of which the world had never seen before. It was like herding cats, and he did it by simply being himself, casting the vision, being unrelenting, not countenancing nonsense or fools easily. And his steadfastness created a kind of loyalty in the hearts of his lieutenants that defied all logic. Once, Alexander Hamilton came out of cabinet meeting and one of his young charges asked him how things went, and he said, "Splendidly. I lost on every point, but how I love Washington."

Delegation

- ❖ *Knowing Strengths and Weaknesses*
- ❖ *Division of Labor*
- ❖ *Purposeful Encouragement*

Washington also knew what was his job and what wasn't his job. He was able to delegate. He knew what his strengths and weaknesses were. He didn't try to pretend where he was weak, to try and cover it up. He was not at all insecure about those things in areas that he knew he wasn't called to. He believed in the division of labor. He was able to make these five guys work together because he gave each of them their jobs and turned them loose and let them do it. He used cabinet meetings primarily as a time to encourage others in front of their foes, so that the foes could begin to see the common ground.

It was Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall who said that the greatest honor that any man would ever receive was encouragement from Washington for a job well done. He did it all the time. He simply was a man who understood the power of gratitude and the power of encouragement, and he practiced it.

Balance

- ❖ *Clear Prioritizing*

All of this meant that Washington had to balance the details of leadership. He understood that meant that he had to pick his battles, he had to prioritize what was important and what wasn't, and what wasn't important he simply would not make a matter to fight over. What was important, he would simply hammer over and over again.

- ❖ *Multiple Perspectives*
- ❖ *Bridge Building*

He warmly embraced multiple perspectives. As a result, he had supporters who loved him but who hated each other. Their only common point was that they loved Washington. They couldn't ever understand why Washington was loved by the other camp. But it was because Washington could understand multiple perspectives, and he embraced the diversity and then worked hard at building bridges between those opposing camps. What's really remarkable is that the fiercest foes in Washington's cabinet went on to fight many bitter political battles in the days to come.

But, for instance Thomas Jefferson, the great Republican, and John Adams, the great Democrat, became best friends in their old age. Indeed, as Jefferson lay dying on July 4, 1826, among his final words were, "At least John Adams lives." What he did not know was that within the same hour, John Adams lay in his bed and he died on the same day. Astonishingly, these two men carried on this warm, rich dynamic friendship after being enemies for years. Washington, though dead, yet spoke into their lives and continued to build bridges and connect them in the great cause of liberty.

So, George Washington did not cut down the cherry tree. George Washington never said to his father, "I cannot tell a lie." George Washington did not throw a silver dollar across the Potomac. George Washington was not the first president of the United States. But George Washington was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," precisely because he understood what it meant to be a leader from an entirely Chris-

tian perspective. And, thus, the great experiment in liberty was launched on a firm foundation, and George Washington won the day.

Part of the reason that George Washington has grown in lore over the years is precisely because he really was so much larger than life, which, in the end, is what great leaders wind up being. They don't intend it. They don't grab the spotlight. In fact, more often than not, they retreat from it, but it inevitably happens — larger than life, and they change the world by stient¹ of their character.



Lord, I thank you that we have this rich legacy. I do pray that the lessons that we can learn from Washington would shape our own thinking about how we undertake our callings. I pray for these students, as our seniors get ready to launch into the frenetic final fourteen weeks before their oral defense, as we all undertake the task of our poetry-out-loud contests and poetry projects this next week. I pray that everything that we undertake would be infused by these kinds of lessons and that you would be pleased to use us in even small ways just as you have used men like Washington in the past. We pray all of this in Jesus' name. Amen.

¹ *Stient* is an old Dutch word. Often said, “de stient,” it was a favorite fallback phrase of Teddy Roosevelt from his old Knickerbocker family. It still crops up from time to time in the old Brooklyn or lower Manhattan Dutch neighborhoods, and I've noticed some of my New York friends slip it in from time to time. I've just read so many T.R. letters and speeches that it has snuck into my vocabulary unconsciously.

It means determination, discipline, will, or force, often related to swordplay, or in this case, strong character.

Interestingly, de stient shares common etymological roots with the phrase by dynte, or more commonly by dint, also derived from a forceful or striking maneuver in swordplay. GG

Lesson 25

Adams, Jefferson, & Hamilton: The Second Generation of the Founders

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Ideology of the North-South Battle; Emerson and the Birth of an American Culture

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 311–323

Lesson Synopsis

With John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton, the great period of the founders ended. And although not one of them achieved the pinnacle of their greatness as presidents — not one of them ended their careers on a high note — they were able to establish the future of the nation which only goes to reinforce their notion of federalism, which is it's not the highest office in the land that matters the most. It's what you do in life, in your calling, in your homes, in your community,

Opportunity

11

Lesson Topics

John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton

Primary Source Material

Ordinance of Religious Freedom, written by Thomas Jefferson;

Vocabulary

perpetuity, recess (v.), entrench, iconic, mainstay, congratulate, compact (n.), ascendancy, majority, minority, oppress, republic, democracy, mobocracy, quintessence, taciturn, verve, succeed, eke, deadlock, ally, horticulture, precedent, apoplectic, apolitical, populist, malcontent, apolitical

Timeline

- ❖ 1735: John Adams born
- ❖ 1743: Thomas Jefferson born

- ❖ 1755: Alexander Hamilton born
- ❖ 1789: George Washington elected president.
- ❖ 1790: The United State Supreme Court opened its first session.
- ❖ 1791: John Adams and Alexander Hamilton held their famous February Parley.
- ❖ 1797: Adams elected president
- ❖ 1798: The XYZ Affair
- ❖ 1798: The Quasi-War
- ❖ 1798: The Alien and Sedition Acts
- ❖ 1801: Jefferson elected president
- ❖ 1801: America's first foreign war, against the Barbary pirates
- ❖ 1804: Alexander Hamilton killed in a duel with Aaron Burr
- ❖ 1826, July 4: Thomas Jefferson died
- ❖ 1826, July 4: John Adams died



Adams, Jefferson, & Hamilton: The Second Generation of the Founders

*The most dominating American political figures of the second generation of patriots were John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton.
~ Paul Johnson*

1 February (Fyrste Sprootkaelen)

It is the first of February. It's kind of mind-boggling to realize that we've already run all the way through the first month of 2011.

February is an interesting word. It's derived from the name *februa* taken from the Roman festival of purification. The Latin root *februo* means to cleanse or to sacrifice. It's part of a seasonal calendar celebrating the Ice Moon Festival according to the Greek, Etruscan, and early Roman pagan beliefs. But for the Anglo-Saxons, the month was called *Sprootkaelen*, so if you've got a February birthday, you were born in *Sprootkaelen*, which literally means the sprouting of the kale. That's when the Angles and the Saxons harvested kale and cabbage. In early English, you can find it in Chaucer or Wycliffe, some of the early Middle English and early English poetry, all the way up through Shakespeare. You'll run across *Sprootkaelen* not so much as the name of the month but as the name of the season. If you were to, like Tolkien, cling to those old Anglo-Saxon traditions, today would be called *Fyrste Sprootkaelen*, the first of February. There is a wonderful Shakespeare piece where he says,

When daffodils begin to peer,
With heigh! the doxy, over the dale,

Why, then comes in the sweet o' the year;
For the red blood reigns in the winter's pale.¹

Sprootkaelen has arrived. Lot's of interesting little word plays in there. I love "the doxy over the dell". *Doxy* is a Middle English word that literally means lover, and so Shakespeare was actually describing a sort of Valentine's Day tradition where the lovers would come and meet out in the dells and dales, and thus Sprootkaelen. Anybody ever eat kale? Yeah, kale is great. It's a great winter veggie. Well, so much for my peculiar etymology for the day.

❖ *1992: The Cold War officially ended.*

Today, February first, is the anniversary of the day in 1992, when President George H.W. Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin officially declared the end of the Cold War after a meeting in Washington, D.C.

❖ *1979: Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned to Tehran from fifteen years of exile in Paris.*

It was also on this day in 1979 that the world was turned upside down by massive protests on the streets of the great Islamic Republic of Iran, reminiscent of the scenes that we're witnessing right now in Egypt. It was sparked largely by a growing series of protests against the Shah of Iran and then the arrival of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini who received a tumultuous welcome in Tehran as he ended nearly fifteen years of exile on the Left Bank of Paris.

❖ *1960: The Woolworth lunch counter protest began.*

It was in 1960, on this day, that, when they were refused service, four African-American college students began a sit-in in the all-white Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. This peaceful protest sparked many other similar protests all across the United States including one in downtown Nashville that really was the Genesis of accelerating the civil rights movement and making civil rights a national rather just a southern phenomenon. It really began with four young men who just simply wouldn't say, *Okay*, to a *no* for lunch. And it's really a wonderful reminder that it's in the smallest things in life — it wasn't some piece of legislation that came before Congress or an appeal to the Supreme Court — it was four guys wanting lunch that opened the way for civil rights to begin to be realized for all Americans all across the country.

❖ *1949: National Freedom Day was established.*

It was also on this day in 1949 that a presidential proclamation was issued to create National Freedom Day to be observed on this day, February 1, in perpetuity. It was to be a national holiday, a day on which all of the banks would be closed. According to the presidential proclamation and then the follow-up Congressional Order, this day was to be on a par with Memorial Day, Veteran's Day, and the Fourth of July. So why are we here at school? It's amazing! Somehow or another, this just dropped off the books. It was never overturned or overruled, but National Freedom Day has not been celebrated since Jimmy Carter ceased observation of it in 1977.

❖ *1861: Texas voted to secede from the Union.*

This also was the day in 1861 when Texas voted to secede from the United States. Interestingly, Texas was only one of two states that legally, constitutionally, had the right to do so. Does anybody know what the other state

¹ *The Winter's Tale*, 4.2.1-4

was? Vermont joined the United States by way of a treaty arrangement, as did Texas. Both of them were independent countries before they joined the United States, and, therefore, they had the constitutional and legal right to secede at any time. Vermont still retains that right. Texas claims that they still have that right, but there is some question about it because of their readmission standard to the Union following the Civil War — a very complex matter. It's interesting that last year, Texas Governor Rick Perry threatened to secede from the Union again. It was sort of laughed at by everybody outside of Texas, but inside Texas, it was taken very, very seriously. Questions were raised, a new study panel was created at the University of Texas at the LBJ Law School and Library, and it's still quite the subject of concern there.

❖ *107: Ignatius of Antioch was martyred in Rome.*

It was also on this day in the year 107 that Ignatius the bishop of Antioch and Syria was martyred by being thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheater in Rome. Ignatius Theophilus, literally the “God bearer,” his Greek name, is best known for his seven letters written to early churches. It's probable that he was a direct disciple of the Apostle John.

❖ *1790: The United State Supreme Court opened its first session.*

It was also on this day in the year 1790 that the United States Supreme Court opened its first session in the Royal Exchange building on Broad Street in New York. Chief Justice John Jay, of New York, presided. The Court was recessed until the following day because only three of the six judges showed up. Oh, if only the Supreme Court would somehow fail to show up for some of their proceedings these days. What a glorious thing that would be!

❖ *1791: John Adams and Alexander Hamilton held their famous February Parley.*

But for our purposes perhaps the most significant thing that happened on this day occurred one year later in 1791 when John Adams and Alexander Hamilton met for their famous parley, when they finally got together and discussed plans to work together for the good of the nation moving forward. They'd long been rivals. They had very, very different views of how the nation should grow and develop. And it was the two of them coming together that ensured that John Adams would succeed George Washington as president of the United States, that Alexander Hamilton's plan for the financing of the national treasury would be supported, and that the idea of federalism as a distinct political philosophy would become entrenched as the first real political party in American life.

John Adams (1735-1826)

I have heard of one Mr. Adams, but who is the other? ~ King George III

Adams was one of the great figures of the Founding Era. He is oftentimes called the Father of the Second Generation of Founders. But in fact, he was, from the beginning, with George Washington and Peyton Randolph and a host of others, one of those iconic figures leading the vision for American independence. George III once quipped, “I've heard of one Mr. Adams, but who is the other?” referring of course, to John Adams's cousin, the great Puritan and revolutionary thinker, Samuel Adams. Eventually John Adams would tower over his better-known, younger cousin and become one of the mainstays of the movement toward independence.

In my many years I have come to a conclusion that one useless man is a shame, two is a law firm, and three or more is a congress. ~ John Adams

It was Adams who said, “In my many years, I’ve come to the conclusion that one useless man is a shame, two is a law firm, and three or more is a congress,” which really summarizes the peculiar view of politics that many of the Founding Fathers had. They were suspicious of people who became experts and professionals in governance. They wanted a culture that had a government not a government that ruled over a culture — a huge difference.

No man who ever held the office of president would congratulate a friend on obtaining it. ~
John Adams

He also said, “No man who ever held the office of president would congratulate a friend on obtaining it.” He was able to pass that philosophy onto his son, John Quincy Adams, who became the sixth president of the United States under the current Constitution because his son made the famous remark that should still be one of the hallmarks of American politics, which is, “Any man who wants to be president is probably not qualified to be president.” This was the heart and soul of John Adams’ view of politics. He believed that politics was important and best kept in its place on the margins of life not at the center of life.

A New Federalism

The Federal Concept

Adams, like so many other of the Founding Fathers, had this peculiar view of governance that was drawn largely from their strong Puritan theology. It’s epitomized in the checks and balances, the separated powers of the Constitution. History has proven the brilliance of the plan. The Constitution’s genius is, as President Calvin Coolidge once asserted, “grounded upon a firm foundation of enduring principles applicable to any society for any time.” The essential philosophical and structural framework within which the Founding Fathers constructed this unusual scheme of national checks and balances, separation of powers, and mixed government was state confederation or federalism.

❖ *Distinctive and Individual Communities*

The principle of federalism allows for distinctive and individual communities to join together for greater good without losing their distinctiveness and individuality. Those states, becoming a larger part of a greater union, instead of being swallowed up into the union, under federalism, they’re allowed to unite in a symbiotic fashion. In other words, there’s a lot of give and take, so that the sum of their parts is greater than that of the whole. A federal relationship is a compact or covenant. It’s rooted in the old ideas of the Protestant Reformation as articulated by men like Philip Melancthon, Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, and John Knox.

❖ *A Government of Law, Not of Men*

Because man is sinful, it is essential that man have accountability, and that those accountable structures balance out powers so no one power gains the ascendancy and so the majority cannot oppress the minority. This is an idea that has been tested time after time after time throughout American history. The greatest test, of course, came during the time of abolition, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Would it be possible to protect minorities from the majority without at the same time hobbling the majority with conflicting principles?

❖ *Democracy and Mobocracy*

The idea of federalism balances vertical and horizontal aspects of the covenant. Vertically, Americans are one people under the rule of the common law. Horizontally, though, Americans are differentiated into a number of distinctive communities and sovereign states protected from the possible intrusions of the national government or from a majority of the other communities. This is done through magistratal interpositionalism, where lower magistrates interpose themselves between the people and higher magistrates. This is the whole idea behind the Continental Congress interposing themselves between the people of the American colonies and the British Parliament. They established that principle as the operating principle of the whole of the government. That meant that the nature of federalism became a balanced structure of the states and the people to the Constitution, but the national government and the state governments are sovereign in their respective spheres. Our national identity as Americans and our federal² identity as state citizens are both represented in Congress and in the statehouse. The federal structure of the American constitutional covenant enables the nation to function as a republic, thus specifically avoiding the dangers of a pure democracy, avoiding what the Founding Fathers often called *mobocracy*. As Thomas Jefferson said, “The principles of the Constitution 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 the blood of our heroes has been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith.”

❖ *The Electoral College*

The Electoral College, which is an unusual feature in the Constitution for the election of the president, was actually the quintessence of this idea of federalism. The notion is that you want to make sure that you balance out the power from rural areas and urban areas, that you don't just have concentrations of numbers, but that you have full representation across the whole electoral map. This is really important because, if today we did not have the Electoral College, presidential elections would be fought and waged solely in the big cities — New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas, Atlanta. You wouldn't ever have to go to someplace like New Hampshire or Iowa if you were a presidential candidate because there is not enough of a concentration of sheer numbers there. So what would happen if we didn't have the Electoral College, this balancing of majority and minority, agrarian and urban, is that power could be concentrated in a few locations, and if you could accumulate enough numbers in the urban areas you could completely ignore the rest of the country — what already the elites in New York and Los Angeles call flyover territory. In other words, all the rest of the United States.

The Adams Vision

This vision of federal concept was a supremely Biblical idea drawn from the idea of the tens and hundreds and thousands of Moses and woven into the structure of deacons and elders in the church and the idea of separate spheres and accountable institutions. This is what federalism was all about.

Adams was one of the originators of this idea precisely because of his peculiar New England upbringing. He was the son of one of the most remarkable Puritan thinkers of New England. He was sent to a Puritan school for his training, the Boston Latin School, and then later went to Harvard College, which at that time was still steeped in Puritan principles. His mother was a descendant of the Boylston clan on Boylston Street in Boston. It's where the Boston Marathon ends every year. She was a Boylston and was herself steeped in this rich Puritan tradition.

² Federal is, here, being used in its covenantal meaning, not in relation to the federal government. *Ed.*

The Puritans held to the idea of covenant, checks and balances, and sphere sovereignty as absolutely essential for everything, not just governance, but family life, culture, and the process of education. So Adams grew up with these ideas, saw them applied in many other areas, and therefore made the quick application to government. It was Adams who was a part of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence based upon these ideas. You read the Declaration of Independence and the covenant lawsuit sequence that follows in the thirty-seven charges against Parliament and what you see is that all of the charges are rooted in certain assumptions about covenant that were violated by Parliament. John Adams was raised in this vision of covenantal structuralism.

❖ *The Taciturn New Englander*

He was born in 1735, and was raised in this rich season of covenantal theology in New England. He was a typical taciturn New Englander. *Taciturn* means he didn't show his emotions. He was often described as granite-faced as the mountains of New Hampshire, the White Mountains. He was fiery in his emotions, but he never showed that on the outside. Instead it came through in his writing. His writing was powerful and influential.

❖ *Federalism in its Twilight*

The idea of covenantalism, of federalism, had a long-standing tradition in the English common law, but because of the rule of the Hanoverians — the Germans who had come to the crown at the beginning of the eighteenth century, George I, George II, and George III — federalism was in its twilight. In other words, it was increasingly excluded from the equation of governance in the English colonies. It was men like John Adams, Puritans, sons of the exiles of old England, who brought the ideas back, and he brought the idea back with a tremendous verve.

❖ *Stalwart Patriot and Diplomat*

❖ *Lacking in Statesmanship*

❖ *Respected but not Popular*

❖ *From Vice President to President*

He was a great patriot and diplomat; however, it was often said, because of his taciturn nature and because of his unbending principles, that he was a lousy diplomat. He was not very statesmanlike because he said exactly what he thought at all times, which is exactly what you need in a time of difficulty. You need somebody who is going to take charge, who's going to lead by way of principle. But when peace comes, those kinds of people become just a little irritating. He was deeply respected but never actually popular. In fact, it's really interesting, he was one of the most neglected of all of the founding fathers throughout all of American history until David McCullough wrote his best-selling biography of John Adams in the last ten years. He was really one of the most forgotten of the founding fathers, but his contributions were enormous. He was an almost unanimous choice to become the vice-president under George Washington. The rising consensus of the elites in the North, particularly, selected him to succeed Washington following Washington's second term. But he had a very rough start as president.

The Adams Legacy

A Rough Start

First of all, a peculiarity of the Constitution, prior to the Twelfth Amendment,³ was that electors would cast two votes for president of the United States. Whoever got the most votes would become president, and whoever got the second most votes would become vice-president.

By the time John Adams was ready to succeed George Washington, there was already a faction, particularly among the Virginia gentry who were chafing under the ideas of New England federalism. They didn't want John Adams, whom they believed was too gruff and too impersonal, to become president, and so they got their weight and all their influence behind Thomas Jefferson, who was a longtime friend of John Adams but a political rival.

❖ *John Adams and Thomas Pinckney*

Two factions emerged. They weren't yet political parties, but they were starting to look a bit like political parties. The Federalists chose John Adams as their presidential candidate and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina as their vice-presidential candidate. The Republicans, as they were called, chose Thomas Jefferson and a host of others, but led by Aaron Burr as the possible vice-presidential candidate. The Federalists realized that the way to get John Adams to become president was to cast most of their votes for Adams and a few of them for Pinckney. But there was a plot among the Republicans combined with a few jealous Federalists to try and knock Adams out. The plot was to cast all of the votes that you were going to post for Pinckney and then throw a few others over to Thomas Jefferson and hopefully that would cause Adams to come in third in the overall balloting.

❖ *Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr*

By the time we get the next election cycle in 1800, they began to realize that the party system made the Electoral College as originally conceived untenable. Thomas Jefferson and his vice presidential candidate in 1800, Aaron Burr, got the same number of votes, and they went through thirty-five ballots with the House of Representatives before finally Alexander Hamilton tipped the balance over to Thomas Jefferson. But at this point in the election of 1796, [FOOTNOTE: Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant mentioned the election of 1896 instead of 1796.] the Twelfth Amendment wasn't even in mind yet, and so there was a deadlock.

Through political machinations, the plot was discovered. Charles Pinckney received very few votes. He came in third, Thomas Jefferson came in second. So there were two rivals from two different political parties: one was president and one was vice-president. Adams eked out a win, but it meant that there was deadlock in the executive branch — two rivals, president and vice president — a peculiar situation.

³ “The Twelfth Amendment (Amendment XII) to the United States Constitution provides the procedure for electing the president and vice president. It replaced Article II, Section 1, Clause 3, which provided the original procedure by which the Electoral College functioned. Problems with this procedure were demonstrated in the elections of 1796 and 1800. The Twelfth Amendment was proposed by Congress on December 9, 1803, and was ratified by the requisite number of state legislatures on June 15, 1804.” *Wikipedia*

❖ *Cabinet Feud: Hamilton and Jefferson*

In addition, the feud that had existed between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson all the way back to the first Washington administration now exploded. They couldn't stand each other. They constantly tried to outdo one another. This was right in the heart of the cabinet, both men absolutely essential for the future of the nation. Many in Britain believed that the government of the United States would collapse because of the internal feuding and that the colonies would return to the mother country within five years.

French War

At the time all this is going on, the French Revolution erupted, and the United States, which had been so greatly aided by the monarchy of France in its bid for independence and was officially aligned with France, was now put into a real bind because the new revolutionary government wanted to hold the United States to the alliance. But the United States was skittish, particularly John Adams and the Federalists, who were much more inclined to align themselves with Britain than they were with these dangerous revolutionaries in France.

❖ *The XYZ Affair in France*

Realizing that the great ally of the United States, particularly in Atlantic shipping, was slipping away from them and realizing the animosity of the president of the United States, John Adams, to the new French government, the French decided to use dirty tricks. They had three of their diplomats, Diplomat X, Diplomat Y, and Diplomat Z,⁴ attempted to undermine the government of the United States, exacting bribes with threats of piracy on the high seas. The XYZ Affair plunged the young United States right to the brink of war.

❖ *An Undeclared Naval War*

❖ *Washington Appointed Commander*

In fact, some would say that they actually went to war. It was an undeclared naval war; some historians call it the Quasi-War. It was severe enough that John Adams actually called up George Washington and made him Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armies. Eventually George Washington turned that authority over to his most trusted aide and lieutenant, Alexander Hamilton, and the United States started mobilizing for war.

All of this overshadowed all of the things that John Adams wanted to accomplish in his presidency — the establishment of federalism as a vital and working system, tying the states together but enabling them to maintain all of their distinctives — because of the XYZ Affair and because of the now unstable situation in continental Europe, particularly in France but now starting to spread. Once France had fallen under the revolutionary spell, France began to send out armies. Napoléon's early career was as an army commander in Italy, and about this time Napoléon was winning these huge victories in the Lombard region of Northern Italy. So the entire Mediterranean is now aswirl with all kinds of conspiracies and revolutions as all of them saw the vast resources and the great potential for an ally in the United States. All kinds of foreign nationals were at work, operating in the United States.

⁴ The three French agents known as X, Y, and Z were Jean Conrad Hottinguer, Pierre Bellamy, and Lucien Hauteval. Ed.

1798: Alien and Sedition Acts

The Federalists were alarmed. They feared it was too easy to become an American citizen. They feared it was too easy for Europeans with bad intentions to make their way to the United States. There was the threat of piracy on the Atlantic with the French. The Barbary pirates, the Islamic pirates of Tunisia, were threatening trade on the Mediterranean. So John Adams and the Federalists decided to tighten the reins. They passed a series of four laws in 1798 called the Alien and Sedition Acts. The four laws attempted to clamp down on these dangerous and illegal activities.

❖ *Naturalization Act: Citizenship Conditions*

The Naturalization Act established citizenship conditions. They were the citizenship conditions that remained in place all the way up until the Fourteenth Amendment was passed in 1868, and then adjusted further in 1898, to ensure that Asian Americans could obtain citizenship. It wasn't until 1920 that citizenship was guaranteed for Native Americans. This Naturalization Act is at the center of the current debate about whether or not people who were born in the United States automatically get citizenship rights. It goes all the way back to that time. The purpose of the Naturalization Act was to ensure that people from Europe couldn't just come here and automatically claim citizenship rights. It's not a matter that was clarified in the Constitution.

❖ *Alien Act: Expelling Malcontents*

The second act was called the Alien Act. The purpose of this act was to expel malcontents whether they claimed to be American citizens or not. The idea here was *we've got to maintain calm and if someone is disrupting the public peace then we need to have a mechanism that can expel them from the United States.*

❖ *Enemies Act: Jailing Insurrectionists*

The third act was called the Enemies Act. This enabled the federal government to put into jail political insurrectionists.

❖ *Sedition Act: Particularization of Speech*

And then there was the Sedition Act, which limited the kind of political speech that political malcontents might have. These laws all passed through Congress. They were driven by John Adams' Federalist agenda, but the Republicans like Thomas Jefferson saw them as terrible threats to freedom, particularly freedom of speech, assembly, and protest. As a result, Adams was stigmatized by the growing press of the Republicans and was made out to be an enemy of freedom.

Now, what's really remarkable is that if we were to look at some of the homeland security measures that have been taken in the last ten years and compare them to the Alien and Sedition Acts, we would say the Alien and Sedition Acts were tame indeed. But in those days, any limitation on freedom was seen to be a threat to American principles and liberty. Adams, therefore, became very unpopular outside of his own region, and, in the election of 1800, he was soundly beaten by now a very clear organized political organization called the Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson and his vice presidential candidate, Aaron Burr.

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

Genius is a attribute too easily ascribed but it is apt in the case of Mr. Jefferson. ~ John Adams

I have no ambition to govern men; it is a painful and thankless office. ~ Thomas Jefferson

I cannot live without books. ~ Thomas Jefferson

Jefferson was one of the most remarkable men that America has ever produced. He was, by almost all accounts, an absolute genius in a host of different areas. John Adams himself said, “Genius is an attribute too easily ascribed, but it is apt in the case of Mr. Jefferson.” Like Adams, Jefferson had a low view of professional politicians. He said, “I have no ambition to govern men. It is a painful and thankless office.” Rather, Jefferson loved his home, Monticello, in Albermarle County in Virginia. He loved tinkering with his inventions, he loved playing his violin. He loved his French wine, and, of course, most of all, he loved his books. Three times in his lifetime he nearly bankrupted himself over the purchase of books — a man after my own heart.

The Jefferson Legacy

The Most Accomplished and Diverse Talent Among the Founding Fathers

❖ *The Bloodless Revolution of 1800*

He was far and away the most accomplished and diverse talent among the founding fathers. In the bloodless revolution of 1800 — the throwing out of the Federalist and the bringing in of the Republicans — he breathed a new, fresh sense of freedom into the American republic. But the amazing thing is that he never accomplished much as president of the United States.

❖ *An able lawyer, House of Burgesses*

All of his greatest accomplishments came before he became president. He was an able young lawyer. He married into the Randolph family. His wife was the niece of Peyton Randolph. As a result, he was a part of that Virginia elite, was given a quick and easy pathway to a fine education, first at William and Mary College, studying under George Mason and Peyton Randolph, and made his way to the House of Burgesses.

In the same way that John Adams was raised in a Puritan home, Thomas Jefferson was raised in a Presbyterian home, a very similar kind of covenant theology, very similar principles of checks and balances, very similar view of the authority of Scripture. As a young boy, he was sent off to study at a classical school for boys run by a Presbyterian minister and then later went and lived for two years in the home of the school master. He proved himself to be quite able.

❖ *Delegate to the Continental Congress*

❖ *Author of Declaration of Independence*

Many predicted a brilliant career for him, and, in the House of Burgesses, he began quickly to realize this. It was one of the reasons why he was quickly selected to be a delegate in the Continental Congress and, as one of the

youngest members of the Continental Congress, was immediately tapped to be the penman for the committee called to draft the Declaration of Independence.

❖ *Minister to the French Court*

The most important ally that the young independent nation had was France, so they sent their most brilliant diplomat to go and serve in the French court. It was there in the French Court that Jefferson was able to realize his dream — great music, great wine, great food, beautiful women, and lots of books. When he came home he had two ships full — one full of wine and the other full of books.

❖ *Ordinance of Religious Freedom*

❖ *Governor of Virginia, University of Virginia*

❖ *Amateur Architect*

As a Virginian, he was probably most proud of the fact that he wrote the Ordinance of Religious Freedom — the declaration of freedom that became the bedrock of the Virginia Commonwealth — and then went on to become the Virginia governor, and the founder and designer of the University of Virginia. He was an amateur architect, but if you ever look at Monticello or the beautiful, beautiful quadrangle at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, you'll realize that if we had more amateur architects working today, we'd have fewer monstrosities that we call churches, homes, and schools. He was remarkable in every way.

❖ *Secretary of State, Vice President, President*

He became George Washington's Secretary of State and therefore forged America's first foreign policy. He became vice president under his rival, John Adams, and finally president of the United States.

❖ *Library of Congress, Inventor, Author*

In the course of his long career, he was the founder of the Library of Congress. In fact, one of the reasons he once almost went bankrupt buying books was that, after the small library that belonged to Congress burned in the War of 1812, he packed up and shipped his entire library, his personal library, to Congress, and that became the foundation of the current Library of Congress, which is why when you go into the grand rotunda of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., today, this magnificent building is called the Thomas Jefferson Rotunda because he gave the books for it.

He was also a remarkable inventor. If you ever visit Monticello, you'll see some of his inventions including signature machines, reading machines, and various kinds of dumbwaiters that run throughout the house to make the house gadget-worthy of any inventor.

He was a fine writer, the author of innumerable books, most of them on gardening, horticulture, and soil testing, and those kinds of things.

❖ *Ally of Burr, Rival of Adams and Hamilton*

He was an ally of Aaron Burr, who was one of the shadiest characters among the Founding Fathers and a rival of Adams and Hamilton. While he served two terms as president, he really didn't accomplish much at all except two great precedents.

One was when the Barbary pirates along the North African littoral began harrying American ships and demanding bribes, he dispatched a battalion of Marines to put an end to the nonsense. He was the president who launched us into our first foreign war, a foreign war against Islamic pirates, terrorists. It's also by the way why he obtained for his library a Qur'an because he wanted to study the religion of Islam to find out why, in his words, "these people were so intent on destroying the world." And so he got a Qur'an so that he might understand Islam. It's very interesting that it was that Qur'an that Jefferson used to find out about Islamic terrorism that a Michigan congressman used to be sworn in as the first Muslim serving in Congress just two years ago. They talked about it being Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an, but they didn't ever tell you why Thomas Jefferson actually had the Qur'an. It wasn't because he was interested in Islam or revered Islam; he was trying to figure out what was wrong with Islam to cause Islamic terrorists to do what they did.

The other thing that's really interesting about the presidency of Thomas Jefferson is that he was a lifelong doubter of the Christian faith. But while he was president, he began to attend church again for the first time since he was a teenager. He became a communing member of the First Presbyterian Church of Washington, D.C. The church did not have its own building at the time during his presidency, and so Thomas Jefferson went and attended the church in their borrowed facilities. Do you know where those borrowed facilities were? They borrowed these facilities. This could never, ever, ever, ever, ever happen today, there would be outrage, people would go screaming, the ACLU would go apoplectic, big veins would pop out, eyes would bug, spittle would gather in the corner on activists' mouths as they would scream on Scream-TV. They met in the Supreme Court chambers. That's where Sunday worship was where the president of the United States attended services.

Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804)

Surely Mr. Hamilton is the figure standing behind the success of independence. ~ Thomas Jefferson

Man is a reasoning rather than a reasonable animal. ~ Alexander Hamilton

Those who stand for nothing fall for anything. ~ Alexander Hamilton

The other of the great three in this second wave of the Founding Fathers was Alexander Hamilton. Thomas Jefferson said of him, "Surely Mr. Hamilton is the figure standing behind the success of independence." If it hadn't been for Hamilton's vision for finance, Hamilton's organizational skills, Hamilton's unbending, principled drive for federalism, it is not likely that the Constitution would have ever been written, it is not likely that the Constitution once written would have ever been passed, it is not likely that the Constitution would have ever survived without Hamilton.

Hamilton himself said, "Man is a reasoning rather than a reasonable animal." That's a remarkable statement showing his understanding of the fallenness of man. That was the bedrock of his whole political philosophy. While he was controversial, he never shied away from controversy, which is why he would say, "Those who stand for nothing fall for anything." You may have thought that was originated in some country music songwriting session that Aaron Tippin invented for Country Music Top Forty. No, it was Alexander Hamilton who said it first.

The Hamilton Legacy

Legacy

❖ *Washington's Most Valued Assistant*

Hamilton was George Washington's most valued assistant, which is a remarkable feat for a man who was born an illegitimate son to a Scottish laird in the Caribbean. Deprived of title, name, and respectability, as a young boy Alexander Hamilton determined to prove himself by his wits. He was granted a classical education and proved himself remarkably able and was able to receive a grant to attend the King's College in New York City as a result.

❖ *A National Constitution*

❖ *A National Financial System*

Hamilton gave the United States its financial system and its Constitution.

Founding Father

❖ *The Humble West Indies Beginnings*

❖ *The Brilliant King's College Career*

Were it not for his humble beginnings and that drive that stirred him from his earliest days at King's College, the American experiment in liberty would likely never have been undertaken, at least not in the form that it presently has taken.

❖ *Pamphleteer for Independence*

❖ *Washington's Aide-de-camp in War*

He was a great pamphleteer for independence and became George Washington's aide-de-camp during the war.

Federalist

❖ *The Father of the Constitution*

During the time of the Articles of Confederation, it was Alexander Hamilton who put into place all the small, thinking groups from the Annapolis Convention to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Hamilton called the delegates together. Hamilton laid out the agenda. Hamilton called for the compromises. Hamilton spurred John Jay and James Madison to band together to write the Federalist Papers, which were absolutely essential for ratification.

❖ *Secretary of the Treasury*

It was Hamilton who figured out how to untangle the very difficult finances of this new federal government, pay off the war debts, and put the United States on stable financial footing.

❖ *Federalism and the Two-Party System*

It was Alexander Hamilton who realized very early that the United States needed to have a two-party system if federalism was to survive. While we may profoundly disagree with the conception of a mere two-party system, it has been a long and enduring part of both Hamilton's legacy and the legacy of federalism in the United States.

Hamilton was astonishing in his productivity. He was a founder of the Bank of New York; he was the founder of the federal mint. He was the founder of a new, first fully organized political party of the United States called the Christian Constitutional Party.

He was late in coming to full faith, but in his final years, he and his close friend, John Jay, were instrumental in establishing the New York Bible Society, which became the American Bible Society. He was the founder of the first series of networked orphanages and Gospel Tabernacles throughout New York, which eventually became the place where the Second Great Awakening swept through. Hamilton was a great rival of all of the other founding fathers though. He was a rival of John Adams. He was a rival of Thomas Jefferson. Aaron Burr killed him in a duel on the banks of the Hudson River in New York after Hamilton had ensured that Aaron Burr lost the governorship. It was Hamilton's vote that denied Aaron Burr the presidency in 1800. But Hamilton's legacy lived on despite all of the controversy because he laid strong and sure foundations.

The Second Generation's Impact

As influential as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were and as important as they were, it was really Alexander Hamilton who laid out the vision of federalism that endured throughout the founding era.

Political Distinctives and Cultural Distinctives

Essentially, it was Hamilton's vision of separate spheres of political distinctives and cultural distinctives that made America's strong start possible.

❖ *Two-Party System, Two-System Culture*

He believed in a two-party system but he believed in a two-system culture, meaning that politics needed to operate in its own sphere and not intrude in or try to govern and shape the culture itself.

❖ *Political Economics, Growth*

He believed in political economics so that in the private sphere there could be individual initiative, freedom, growth, and opportunity.

❖ *Americanism, Apoliticalism*

He had this strong vision of a united Americanism that would be strangely apolitical. It was Alexander Hamilton who said that if we set up this government right, then Americans don't have to always have to be thinking about government, working in government, guided by government. Americans can actually have lives and be in a sense apolitical. In other words, Alexander Hamilton thought that it might be a really good thing if Americans were disinterested in government. You can't be disinterested in government in a time of crisis because everything

is at stake, our freedoms are at stake. But when the system is stable and the freedoms are unshackled, then he believed that Americans could be apolitical.

❖ *Populism, Entrepreneurial Vision*

He believed that the political system needed to be populist in the sense that it really was the voice of the people and that would, in turn, release a kind of entrepreneurial spirit, a spirit of invention and opportunity, throughout the wider culture, unencumbered by the intrusion of a constantly meddling bureaucracy and government.

❖ *Rural and Urban Divide, Bootstrap Ethic*

He believed that America might become divided between the rural and the urban. He wanted to ensure that the majority protected the minority and that the minority respected the majority and that this was best achieved by creating a culture in which hard work and achievement could be rewarded. That was his vision for federalism. Amazingly, despite his rivalries with the others, despite the fact that he never lived to see the fullness of his vision, Alexander Hamilton's legacy was laid, and it became the benchmark for American exceptionalism, for American federalism, all through the founding era. It is really interesting that the old Federalists and the new Republicans splintered into two separate spheres; it was Alexander Hamilton who said, "A pox on both your houses." He didn't want to be a part of either big political party. Instead he wanted to create a kind of local grassroots movement, that's what the Christian Constitutional Party was called. Interestingly, he had a great rally in Copley Square not far from where the Patriot's Trail runs through Boston today, and there in Copley Square he called for a new American Tea Party, envisioning a time when both political parties would be held accountable by the grassroots of the American people. He was far-seeing and far-reaching in his influence.

And so, with Adams, Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton the great period of the founders ended. And although not one of them achieved the pinnacle of their greatness as presidents — not one of them ended their careers on a high note — they were able to establish the future of the nation which only goes to reinforce their notion of federalism, which is it's not the highest office in the land that matters the most. It's what you do in life, in your calling, in your homes, in your community, as you are establishing institutions and building up vision. It would be remarkable if we actually began to believe that the future of America wasn't determined on Pennsylvania Avenue or on Capitol Hill but, as was the case with Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton, back home, where it matters most.



Father, thank you for the legacy of these flawed, fallen, yet remarkable men. They were not without sin. They were not without deep, deep flaws, yet they understood that, walked in the fullness of your provision, and laid strong foundations for us. We pray that we would learn from them, that we would build on those foundations, and that in days to come we would walk in their footsteps to ensure a lasting legacy for our own generation and for the generations that come after us. Lord, I pray for these students for every one of them, for their callings. I ask you to bless them and use them right where they are starting now. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 26

How Napoléon Made America: The Louisiana Purchase

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Longfellow, Poe, and Hawthornian Psychology; The Era of Pierce and Buchanan

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 323–334

Lesson Synopsis

Napoléon was one of the most significant international figures in the development of American culture and the American psyche. We'll talk about the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the rise of this singular figure. How did Napoleon, the most unlikely character imaginable to have influenced America, shape the American experience?

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Robespierre, the French Revolution, the Rise of Napoléon, the Louisiana Purchase

Primary Source Material

The Treaty of San Ildefonso

Vocabulary

cabal, stalemate, remnant, defile, tribunal, capital, anarchy, gridlock, ire, egalitarian, merit, Providence, imposition, rationalism, utopia, rationalism, optimism, deferred gratification, instantaneous, expeditionary, chapbook, *coup d'état*, cede, quash, parlay

Timeline

- ❖ 1762: The Treaty of Fontainebleau ceded Louisiana to Spain.
- ❖ 1769: Napoléon was born.
- ❖ 1789, July 14: The Storming of the Bastille
- ❖ 1793, April to June 1794: The Terror of the French Revolution
- ❖ 1794-1803: San Dominique (Haiti) Slave Revolt
- ❖ 1795: Napoléon made Commander of the Army of the Interior
- ❖ 1798-1799: Napoléon's Egyptian Campaign

- ❖ 1799: *Coup d'état* in Paris; Napoléon made First Consul
- ❖ 1800: Church Concordat, Napoléon's concord with the Roman Catholic Church
- ❖ 1800: The Treaty of San Ildefonso returned Louisiana to French control.
- ❖ 1802: Napoléon made Consul for Life
- ❖ 1803: Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, a French nobleman was authorized to begin mediating a treaty extension with France for access to the New Orleans port.
- ❖ 1804-1806: The Lewis & Clark Expedition
- ❖ 1809: Congress created the federal territory of Illinois
- ❖ 1810: The Republic of West Florida annexed by the U.S.



How Napoléon Made America: The Louisiana Purchase

Napoleon dominates the history of the world during his own age like no other man since Caesar or Nebuchadnezzar dominated their own. He is a solitary figure; one must comprehend his massive impact if there is to be any understanding of history whatsoever.
~ Paul Johnson

Well as you can see, today, we are going to be talking about Napoléon, which may seem to be a very peculiar subject to be talking about as we walk through American history. But, I'm going to argue that Napoléon was one of the most significant international figures in the development of American culture and the American psyche. So we'll talk about that a little bit today. We'll talk about the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the rise of this singular figure, but the focus of it is going to be how did Napoléon, the most unlikely character imaginable to have influenced America, how did Napoléon actually shape the American experience.

3 February (þyrde Sprootkaelen)

Today is the third of *Sprootkaelen*, February 3; that very peculiar looking word there right before the word *Sprootkaelen* is actually the closest I can come to replicating the Anglo-Saxon word for third. There's actually a larger alphabet in Anglo-Saxon than we have in our alphabet, and they had these peculiar letters for diphthongs like *th*. It's something like a *p* except that the vertical bar (**þ**) actually should go up above the top of the *p* and that would indicate the *th* sound so that's actually pronounced "third," — that kind of diphthong is called thyric. Thyric-y-r-d-e is pronounced "third". And, of course, we know what *Sprootkaelen* means, right? "Sprouting of the kale." It's kale season, so if you have a February birthday you need to bring out the cabbage and kale.

- ❖ 1959: *The "American Pie" plane crash occurred.*

So, today is February 3, and it was on this day in 1959 that the famous airplane crash occurred which took the life of a number of pop stars including Buddy Holly. It's known as the American Pie tragedy because of the song

that was written by Don McLean years and years ago called, “Bye-bye, Miss American Pie”¹ which was all about that particular plane crash.

❖ *1943: The U.S. transport ship Dorchester was sunk.*

Also, in 1943² on this day, the U.S. transport ship, the *Dorchester*, was sunk. This is noteworthy because there were a number of chaplains on board who gave up their life jackets to others on the ship. It is one of those remarkable scenes of chivalry and courage that marked the beginning of the American experience in World War II, and it was the legend of the *Dorchester* and the heroic chaplains on board who gave their lives for the other men that sort of launched the spirit of what has been called The Greatest Generation.

❖ *1917: The United States entered World War I.*

Also on this day in 1917 the United States entered World War I. It was on the basis of a whole series of events that Woodrow Wilson convinced the United States Congress to declare war and to enter into that already five-year-long, bitter conflict that really got under way in a pitched way in 1914, but actually preceded that because of the Eastern theater.³

❖ *1894: Norman Rockwell was born in New York City.*

In 1894, on this day, the great American artist Norman Rockwell was born in New York City. He was just twenty-one years old when he created the first of nearly four hundred covers for the *Saturday Evening Post* and captured the essence of American life. For a long time, Norman Rockwell was not highly regarded by the art world, and there are still some holdouts in the art world who resist proclaiming him to be the genius that others claim he is, but increasingly that resistance is breaking down as it is evident that he was able to do what almost no other American artist has done and that is to capture the essence of the culture — born on this day in 1894.

❖ *1876: The Spalding brothers started their sporting goods company.*

It was on this day in 1876 that the Spalding brothers began their little enterprise which was to create authentic and official sporting goods for the emerging professional sporting world in the United States and around the world. It was Spalding that created the very first official Major League® baseball, and it was Spalding that created the very first official National Football League® football, and a host of other innovations along the way.

❖ *1809: Congress created the federal territory of Illinois.*

It was in 1809 on this day, February 3, that the first of the great western territories was carved out, the Illinois territory. After the original Northwest Territories were divided up into states, and after Tennessee and Kentucky, following the compromise with North Carolina and Virginia, Congress for the first time hammered out a vision for how the West would be carved up, on this day, February 3.

¹ “American Pie” from the album *American Pie*, by Don McLean, United Artists, 1971

² Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said the *Dorchester* was sunk in 1942, not 1943. *Ed.*

³ Although Congress didn't declare war until April 6, the president declared war on the 3rd of April. *Ed.*

- ❖ *1803: Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, a French nobleman, was authorized to begin mediating a treaty extension with France for access to the New Orleans port.*

And then, most significantly for us, it was on this day, February 3, 1803, that Thomas Jefferson tapped a friend from his days serving in the city of Paris, a nobleman from France, to begin mediating a treaty arrangement for access to navigation on the Mississippi River and port rights in the city of New Orleans. This nobleman was Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours. He was influential among the nobility of France. Interestingly, he had been a longtime supporter of the new military dictator of France, a fellow by the name of Napoléon Bonaparte, perhaps the greatest Frenchman who has lived since the time of Charlemagne. (Interestingly, Charlemagne was German and Napoléon was Italian, so the two greatest Frenchman that would ever live weren't even French, but that's a whole different story.) Du Pont entered into negotiations with a number of high-level officials in the French government and quickly discovered that it might be possible to win for the United States something more than port rights in New Orleans and navigation rights on the Mississippi River. The United States had set aside ten million dollars to secure New Orleans and the navigation rights. He discovered that for just a little bit more than the ten million dollars he might be able to secure the transfer of the entire territory of New France. And thus was born the idea of the Louisiana Purchase.

The Unfolding French Revolution

In order to set the stage for the Louisiana Purchase and the significant transformation of the character of the American nation that it brought, we need to step back a moment and revisit the story of the French Revolution.

The French Revolution, which had been brewing ever since the time of the American War of Independence in the 1770's, broke out into utter and complete chaos in the 1780's with the establishment of a revolutionary cabal in the Palais Royale in the heart of Paris. The Palais Royale was a royal park that was turned into a kind of carnival of revolutionary ideas and revolutionary behavior, establishing printing presses, salons, and protests. The Palais Royale was a much more stayed and civilized version in some ways of the protests that we're currently witnessing on the streets of Cairo. Eventually the foment created in the Palais Royale brought about real revolution in 1789, which went through a series of progressive phases in France, each more chaotic and destructive. In fact, what went on in the streets of Paris, and then Marseille, and Toulon, and all across France, sent shivers of fear through all the civilized world, for fear that the chaos of Paris might bleed over to the whole of the civilized world.

- ❖ *Unrest: May 1789 to July 1789*
- ❖ *Revolt: July 1789 to October 1789*

The revolution unfolded through a whole series of steps. We often talk about of the revolution beginning in 1789. Actually, it was early in the 1780's in the Palais Royale encampment where you really start to see the revolution, but the break with the monarchy occurred between May and July of 1789 with open revolt beginning on July 14, 1789, with the sack of the Bastille, the famous prison in the heart of Paris, which at that time really did not hold any actual political or criminal prisoners. It had been turned into an asylum for the insane, and there were only fourteen prisoners actually there. There was only one guard, an old retired military man who was given as a part of his pension a room there at the Bastille and the keys to the prisons. So, the liberation of the Bastille was entirely symbolic. All they did was let out fourteen lunatics and chase away one toothless old man. But claiming that as some sort of moral victory against the monarchy, it became a symbol of the revolt.

❖ *Stalemate: October 1789 to June 1791*

The revolt really went on until October of that year at which point there was a profound kind of stalemate between the monarchy and the rising parliamentary figures who sought to gain control of the unrest and the opportunity to create a new government. That stalemate lasted until June of 1791 when a group of radicals known as the Jacobins gained control of parliament and sent the revolution in France spiraling out of control.

❖ *Radicalism: June 1791 to September 1792*

Led by a remarkable but probably unstable figure by the name of Robespierre, the French Revolution sought to reinvent everything in French life and culture. Robespierre wanted to throw off the shackles of old Christian civilization and get rid of every remnant of it. He changed the calendar, changed the names of all the months, changed the number of days in each of the months, renamed all the streets in Paris, renamed all the buildings, got rid of the Roman Catholic Church — so Notre Dame, the great cathedral in the heart of Paris, became a temple to reason, where orgies were held on the high altar and where all the great art from the previous thousand years was defiled. There were parades through the streets of Paris proclaiming the end of the tyranny of Christian civilization. The result was absolute chaos. No one knew what was right or wrong, legal or illegal. The regime was able to maintain control over the people through absolute terror, through the secret police and tribunals, and the use of public executions utilizing the terrifying presence of the guillotine.

It was during that period of radicalism, from June of 1791 to September of 1792, that there was absolutely no certainty of the future of France. When you change everything, nothing works. They didn't create new months and calendars and all that.⁴ They even tried to change the number of hours in a day, renaming all of these things for pagan deities and great philosophers of the past. When you do stuff like that, when you try and just sort of *ex nihilo*, recreate the world out of nothing, inevitably chaos ensues. Costs rise, no one who is in business is willing to invest in the business because they don't know what the future is, so the economy tanks. There is no real security for anything. Real capital flees.

France was plunged into absolute chaos. It was because of this chaos and the radicalism — the unbending ideology of the leaders of the Jacobins — that in America the Federalists were so suspicious of any kind of radical politics. And it was because of that that the rest of Europe steeled itself against French interests. France, prior to the French Revolution, had the most dynamic economy in all of Europe with the largest number of exports and the largest number of artisans, but because of the radicalism, doors were shut to French goods, and many French merchants pulled away from their commitments to ship, or to import and export.

❖ *War: September 1792 to January 1793*

The result was that the radicals had to go to war in order to bring in resources to continue to fuel the revolution. So they began an aggressive period, beginning in 1792, of military conquests of disputed territories throughout Europe. They began with a series of military exploits in northern Italy, which was very unstable and open to French influence. It had long been a part of the French sphere of influence, just right on the other side of the Alps from France. It was in that setting that a young military officer, an artillery officer, by the name of Napoléon Bonaparte, began to rise and make his way through the chaos of French politics.

⁴ Slip of the tongue: The Revolutionaries did try to create new months and calendars. However, they could not change the orbit of the earth around the sun — they sure tried to change everything else. GG

❖ *Anarchy: January 1793 to April 1793*

❖ *Terror: April 1793 to June 1794*

❖ *Gridlock: June 1794 to November 1799*

From 1793 all the way through to the beginning of 1794, France descended into absolute chaos. There were enemies within and enemies without. It looked like France might have completely come apart at the seams. There were old noble families that were trying to reassert landlord rights over certain territories. There was a book published in New York in 1793 that predicted the old kingdoms of Navarre, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Normandy, and Brittany would reemerge and there would be no France any longer. It was a reasonable assumption given the politics of the situation. It was total disaster at every turn.

This is one of the things that happens when you try and usher in a revolution, the whole idea of revolution — the word literally means to throw over or to overthrow. If you throw over or overthrow everything, you create a tremendous amount of disruption. Often revolutionaries know what they're against, but they are not really sure what they're for.

We see that right now in Egypt. If you follow any of the news reports, one of the things that America diplomats are frightened about is that all the rival forces in Egypt currently have their focus on getting Mubarak out of office. But once Mubarak is gone, what will hold them together? The trouble with revolution is that it draws together lots of co-belligerents, but once the object of their ire is out of the way, what holds them together? Usually nothing. And then chaos ensues. We've seen that in Iraq, with the overthrow of Saddam. Now all the rivals that were once united focused on getting Saddam out of the way, are now at one another's throats. For years, various analysts have predicted that Iraq will fly apart into at least three parts — a Sunni sphere, a Shiite sphere, and a Kurdish sphere. That is often the natural result of revolutions, which is why revolutions are so very dangerous. But it's also a reminder to us of the fact that the American experience was not actually revolutionary, at least not in the traditional sense. The French and the American experiences were radically different from the philosophical roots up.

The French and American Experiences

French Humanism versus American Covenantalism

We've seen from the man-centered, humanistic nature of the French Revolution where everything was measured against man's experience, man's desires, or man's aspirations, and the American experience which was all bound up in a matter of principle — what is right, what is good, what is true, what binds us together as a people and into a covenant.

❖ *Secularism versus Divine Sovereignty*

So, for instance in the French Revolution you see the assertion of a kind of humanistic secularism looking to no divine principle, no eternal standards, no unchanging, unbending laws to guide the course of man. Instead, man operates in accordance with his own wits, according to his own reason.

If you read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, for all the flaws of the founders — and there were many; there were holes in their logic and they had blind spots galore, blind spots that we've been wrestling

as a society to rectify ever since, but, for all that, they recognized that they were not the final authority. They recognized that there are principles that remained essential across all time and in the midst of all circumstances. They acknowledged that there was one who was sovereign. And that one was God, and they were not God. That's a radically different set of principles, and it will take you in radically different directions.

❖ *Egalitarianism versus Good Providence*

For the French this meant that all people were not just equal, they were thrust into an egalitarian system, meaning that the playing field had to be leveled for all. The great had to be brought down and those who had been deprived had to be brought up. There could be no system of merit because merit means that some will rise and some will fall. Therefore it was largely a communist kind of sociology that was imposed.

The Americans, on the other hand, recognized that there was a hand of Providence that guided the affairs of men, that there were penalties that life necessarily imposed upon wrongdoing. There were benefits for walking in the way of right and faithfulness.

❖ *Rationalism versus Biblical Ethics*

That inevitably meant that there were opportunities to improve the lot of anyone willing to take the risks, do the work, learn the trades, and practice the truth. For the French, there was this sort of imposition that the whole society had to be leveled, while in America there was this sense that anyone through their wits, hard work, or opportunities could progress in life. The French focused all their changes on what they thought might be good — rationalism, pure rationalism — never assuming that what they thought might not test out well in the laboratory of reality. Whereas, Americans argued that there's a way that seems right to man, but its end often ends in disaster and death, as the book of Proverbs puts it. So, they looked to standards that were outside of themselves beyond their mere rational faculties to guide them — biblical ethics.

❖ *Anti-Traditionalism versus Consequences of the Fall*

The French were naturally anti-traditionalists. In other words, anything that had been passed on to us from the past needed to be dispensed with. *Tear up the old foundations. Start over. New and improved. Break new ground daily. Start over.* That was the philosophy of the French Revolution.

Whereas, the Americans understood that because of the consequences of the Fall, we needed to learn the lessons of the past in order to build for the future. The Americans weren't so much traditionalists, being stuck in the past, as they were careful moral philosophers, building for the future based upon the past, recognizing that the past often provides us insights into the path ahead simply by the projections of the trajectory of the past paths that man has taken.

❖ *Optimism versus Promised Succession*

This led to a kind of unfounded optimism, idealism, almost utopianism among the French. They believed that they could, by their own wits, by the invention of this new society that they were creating, bring about a new world order that would be far better than anything that ever existed in the past. And this new world order would be of their own making. They were like the builders of the Tower of Babel. They were building a stairway to heaven.

The Americans, on the other hand, actually believed that there were consequences to man's actions and that what they needed to do was to hold on to the promise that if they did their jobs well, laid the foundations well, and provided a proper path forward, the succeeding generations would actually be able to progress beyond them. So, there was a sense of hopefulness that was not utopian — a sense of optimism that was not ungrounded but was rooted in deferred gratification, hard work, and vision. The Americans were planning far out into the future. Whereas the French, if they came across a problem, they were more likely to take a sledgehammer to it, to try and simply destroy it through revolutionary means than to try to fix it and enable it to progress. That is the radical difference between revolution and reformation.

❖ *Revolution versus Reformation*

Alexander Hamilton laid out this exact argument in one of the founding papers of his new Christian Constitutional Party. His idea was that we have to be careful to guard ourselves constantly against the temptation of revolution. Revolution is incredibly appealing to us because it promises instantaneous change. You just want to clear the deck, clear the tables, get rid of all the junk from the past, throw out all of the riff-raff. But the danger with Revolution is that when you clear the deck you create a void. It's like the parable that Jesus told about the man who was possessed of spirits. He said if he casts this one out, seven worse than the first will come in, and if the house is not swept clean, he will be in far worse shape than he was before. With Revolution, you never know what ultimately will arise once the chaos has completely wrecked the old apparatus of the society.

The Dominating Man

Provincial, Soldier, Radical, Master, Commander, and Emperor

That's the kind of void Napoléon stepped into. In fact, virtually every ideological revolution that man has ever known was quickly followed by totalitarian dictatorships. When you have a revolution and you destroy the foundations of society in the process, almost the only thing that can follow is some form of strong-armed dictatorship. Somebody's got to step in and take control. The revolutionary impulse is really strong. I don't know how many times I've seen it as I've worked with schools all across the country at various times. Schools inevitably get into kerfuffles and struggles and little battles, and the first thing people think of is that the founder, the leading light, needs to sweep in, get rid of the board, clear away the clutter, take hold, strong-arm this back into some sort of sanity, ride in on the white horse, *Here I come to save the day! It means that Mighty Mouse is on the way!* This is the normal impulse; when it's all messy, bring in the strong man, the *Nam'Lazgul*,⁵ the Nebuchadnezzar, the Pharaoh, the Mubarak, the Saddam, the Pol Pot, the Hitler, the Stalin, and in the name of change, sweep away centuries of well-formed tradition that may have become corrupted and barnacled over time with absolute nonsense, sweep it all aside and start from scratch. That's the impulse. But inevitably the cure is worse than the disease.

Paul Johnson says of Napoléon,

Few individuals have had more impact on history than Napoléon Bonaparte. He is the grandest possible refutation of those determinists who hold that events are governed by forces, classes, economics, and geography, rather than by the powerful wills of men and women. Though Bonaparte exercised power only for a decade and a half, his impact on the future

⁵ *Nam'Lazgul* is a common term from the ancient Near East meaning strong man or dictator.

lasted until nearly the end of the twentieth century almost two hundred years after his death. And, indeed, his influence may not yet be spent.⁶

There's a little book on Napoléon in which Johnson details all the ways that Napoléon reshaped the world including laying the groundwork for what would become World War I and World War II. What he doesn't argue is that Napoléon was a dominating, shaping figure in *American* history, but I think that's a natural conclusion as well.

❖ *1769: Born in Ajaccio on Corsica*

He was born in 1769, an auspicious year. It was the year that Captain Cook sailed into Botany Bay. It was the year of the births of the Duke of Wellington, Beethoven, Hegel, Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Lord Metternich, Sir Walter Scott, Coleridge, and Wordsworth. It was a remarkable, turning-point year.

He was born on the island of Corsica in a little village. Corsica was the long-held possession of Genoa, which, along with Venice, through the period leading up to and beyond the Renaissance, was one of the leading trading centers and merchant city-states on the Italian Peninsula. Corsica and Sardinia are the two large islands that lie just to the west of the Italian peninsula, and thus just to the south and east of the coast of France. Following the period of the Renaissance, Corsica changed hands between various imperial powers. The English held it twice for short periods but determined that it wasn't worth their effort. France held it a time or two, but it was essentially an Italian island with an Italian culture, and so it was that the young Napoléon grew up in this Italian world, caught between the various imperial powers that existed in those days.

❖ *1779: Brienne; 1784: École Militaire*

Early on, he determined that his best course for advancement was to become a military officer. The military was promising at the end of the eighteenth century and would be the course for advancement for many ambitious young men through the course of the nineteenth century because this was the period of great unrest, growing nationalism, and revolution after revolution. From the time of Napoléon's birth all the way through to the advent of the twentieth century, there were more wars, more revolutions, more tumults, and more new nations born in that century and a quarter than in all of human history combined up until then. It's astonishing.

So he went off to military school first at Brienne, later gaining admittance into the great French school for the military, kind of the French West Point, l'École Militaire, and studied as an artillery officer. He was very good at mathematics. He wasn't a particularly fine physical specimen, so he decided not to become a cavalry officer. He used his mathematical skills to develop all kinds of new ways of determining the trajectory of cannon fire and that created quick advancement for him.

❖ *1788: Allied with the Jacobins*

❖ *1792: Austrian Conflict: Siege of Toulon*

By 1788, he had tied his lot to the rising radicalism of the Jacobins. Napoléon wasn't particularly ideological or political himself. He was an opportunist, so he looked at all the various factions in the emerging chaos of what would become the French Revolution, and he decided that the more radical the better, the faster the course of his advancement. So he tied himself to the Jacobins and the cause of men like Robespierre. He was deployed by

⁶ *Napoleon*, by Paul Johnson, from the Penguin Brief Lives series

the Jacobins as an artillery commander in the siege of Toulon, and there he proved his new techniques for artillery fire and was noticed by the military apparatus as a rising military genius. He was a fine strategist. He had this remarkable ability to see the whole of the battlefield, and he had a strong sense of command, which was quite remarkable because he was a tiny, little man and not exactly your imposing military figure.

❖ *1793: General of the Revolution*

❖ *1795: Army of the Interior*

He did not have a strong voice or a strong presence, but he had soaring ambitions and a brilliant mind, and he began to strategize his own rise. By the next year, through his alliance with the Jacobins, he had been named a general of the revolution and was deployed first as the commander of the armies of Lombardy and then later the commander of the Army of the Interior, charged with protecting the French Revolution from all enemies, from within and from without.

❖ *1796-1798: Foreign Wars on Continent*

By 1796, he was the leader of several expeditionary military incursions mostly in Lombardy, where he had one success after another because of his brilliant field strategy. And while he had very few resources and France itself was descending into absolute chaos, he had total command of his army, and he won the deep affection and loyalty of his soldiers simply because he was able to win everywhere he went.

❖ *1798-1799: Egyptian Campaign*

This paid off in the realm of great influence. He was able to convince the constantly changing leadership in Paris that the key to the strategy of the rise of French influence in the world — if they really wanted to remake the world — the key was to first gain Jerusalem and build a base for world conquest from Jerusalem. In other words, he suggested a new Crusade.

He tapped into all the romanticism, and that chapbook chivalry that every French schoolboy had read since his youth. He had this magnificent ability to stir patriotic fervor, and he used the romanticism and the nostalgia to create in these ideologues what was seemingly a nonsensical notion. If they took their communist ideology seriously, why on earth would they be launching a Crusade to recapture Jerusalem when their real enemy was across the English Channel in England? They wanted Napoléon to invade England, and he said that if they wanted to cripple England, then first they must capture the Middle East. I'd love to spend a long time talking about that, but Napoléon was on to something incredibly brilliant.

Already England was casting the lot of their future upon their imperial acquisitions around the world. If Napoléon could control the hinge of history, then he could check and stop British imperial ambitions around the world. He was so far-sighted, he was brilliant. So he launched a campaign to Egypt because Egypt was the quick and natural way around — control the Nile, control Alexandria, control Cairo, then move up through the Negev, control Joppa, and then move and gain the symbolic throne at Jerusalem — that was his plan.

Along the way, he was very much a modern man and encyclopedist in the true French tradition, so he took with him scientists and archaeologists because what he was going to do was prove the great ascendancy of French culture and French vision over and against the whole of human history. So he took all of the world's great Egyptologists and in a sense invented Egyptology. He dug out the Sphinx, discovered the Rosetta Stone, and dragged

to Paris all of these great artifacts. This is the beginning of Egyptology. Up to this point, the tombs of the Pharaohs, all the pyramids, the Sphinx, all that stuff is just buried in the sand. Napoléon had this idea that he could use this symbolism for the creation of a new and greater Pharaoh — himself.

He had great success initially in Egypt, but the British weren't sitting idly by. They recognized the threat, and in Alexandria they were able to trap and destroy the French navy. Napoléon was forced to make his way in a hasty fashion up towards Joppa. There, a plague struck his army. He realized he was not going to be able to accomplish what he wanted.

❖ *1799: Sieyès Coup and First Consul*

Meanwhile, back in France there was chaos again in Paris. Napoléon saw this as his opportunity. He escaped his army there in Joppa and went back to Paris. In 1799, he participated in a *coup d'état* against the current regime and established a three-man consulship with Napoléon himself named First Consul. In other words, it was a military dictatorship with three men in control but with Napoléon being named first among his equals.

❖ *1799-1800: Military Consolidation*

This led to a comprehensive military consolidation of all French interests. Napoléon was suddenly on the rise.

Posturing for World Dominance

First Consul

❖ *1800: Church Concordat*

❖ *1802: Consul for Life*

He postured himself for global dominance. He made peace with the Roman Catholic Church and the pope. In 1800, the Concordat that he forged with the Vatican freed France from its continental enemy, which were all of the faithful in the Roman Catholic Church. He didn't do this because he was particularly religious. He didn't do this because he wanted to reconcile the French Revolution with the old traditions of Christendom. He did this because he was an opportunist. He was strategizing again. He thought, *What allies do I need, how do I eliminate the enemies within and the enemies without, how do I proceed?* By 1802, Napoléon has been named Consul for life.

❖ *1802-1803: Colonial Reorganization*

❖ *1803: Napoleonic Code and Reform*

He began a colonial reorganization plan at that point. By 1803, he had completely rewritten the legal code for all France and for all its territories. He began to forge a really strategic foreign policy that positioned France for hegemony — control of all Europe.

Louisiana Purchase

❖ *Treaties of Fontainebleau and San Ildefonso*

The Treaties of Fontainebleau and Ildefonso were treaties with the old kingdom of Spain, which was teetering on the point of collapse at this point and which had fallen under the sway of the influence of Napoléon. These treaties had to do with territorial possessions in the New World including most of the North American continent.

The Treaty of San Ildefonso, a secret treaty, essentially transferred back to France all the territories of New France that had been ceded to Spain some forty years earlier. Now France controlled the Mississippi River, the city of New Orleans, and the territory that extended all the way up to the border of Rupert's Land, which was the British territory in the Dominion of Canada.

❖ *Robert Livingston and James Monroe*

The United States had strategic interests in the West, but the Mississippi River was the boundary of the United States. The Mississippi River was the key shipping lane for all the products of the West, from the Indiana Territory and the Illinois Territory, and so in order for the United States to really exploit its interior it needed to have navigational access to the Mississippi River. But Spain had decided that the United States was an emerging power and too much of a threat to all its western holdings. It denied the United States access to the Mississippi River and to the port of New Orleans. When Thomas Jefferson, president of the United States, discovered from his friend, the nobleman, du Pont, that France had secretly gained control of New Orleans and the Mississippi and the whole territory of the West, he dispatched Robert Livingston and James Monroe to Paris to begin to negotiate for port rights to the city of New Orleans and navigational rights on the Mississippi River.

❖ *1794-1803: Haiti Slave Revolt*

At the same time this was going on, France has got its hands full with a slave revolt that seemed to be an intractable problem that they simply could not solve in the colony of San Dominique, what we know of today as Haiti. The slave revolt was simply one disaster after another for the French forces. Napoléon even sent his brother-in-law as commander to try to quash the revolt, but yellow fever practically wiped out the entire French army and navy sent to Haiti. The result was that Napoléon, now contemplating an invasion of Britain and an invasion of Austria in order to consolidate his continental possessions, needed fast cash, and he needed to rid himself of colonial troubles. He determined that he simply did not have a long-term strategic interest in North America and he needed to just go ahead and abandon Haiti to the chaos that would be Haiti for the next two hundred years. So, he got out of Haiti, and he told his negotiators to parlay Monroe's and Livingston's interest in New Orleans and navigation rights into the Mississippi into a possible sale of all the territory.

❖ *\$15 Million for 828,000 Square Miles*

The United States had set aside ten million dollars for long-term treaty rights to access the port of New Orleans and the navigation rights of the whole of the Mississippi. About seven million dollars was actually owed by France to American banks and interests. So, Napoléon's deal was forgive the debt, the seven million, and add in an additional eight million cash, which is less than they were willing to pay in the first place for just port and navigation rights, and we'll give you the whole lot of it. It comes out to, if you combine the seven and eight together, comes out to about three cents an acre for the entire territory. Napoléon was now planning to make himself the emperor and he needed cash — for his armies and for his lavish vision of the French imperium. So he said, *Take these eight-hundred twenty-eight thousand square miles for three cents an acre.* Livingston and Monroe believe this was the greatest deal and that it would transform the United States.

Napoléon was being an opportunist again. In a sense, he created a natural adversary for Great Britain. The former colony America now became a world power. He created a natural adversary for Spain, for all of its Spanish dominions along the West Coast and down into Latin America. He provided himself with ready cash, and he eliminated all the hassle of the bureaucracy of those overseas colonies. It was an astonishing acquisition.

❖ *Internal Conflicts*

There were a couple of problems. Problem number one: Thomas Jefferson did not have the authority constitutionally to buy the territory. It was unconstitutional.

Problem number two: the Federalists, who controlled most of the politics in New England and the North, were opposed to any large acquisition of territory in the West because they believed that it would play into the hands of the agrarian interests, strengthen the South, and make America dependent on agriculture rather than industry. Agriculture always wants open borders, free trade rather than tariffs, and industry always wants tariffs. So it was not in the strategic economic interest of New England and the North to allow this massive expansion of territory.

The Republicans, who controlled most of the South, were opposed to it because it was unconstitutional. There was no provision in the Constitution for this acquisition of territory. What they advocated was free and independent nations out in the West.

❖ *1803-1810: The West Florida Controversy*

In fact, there were already independent nations out in the West. This was before there was a Republic of Texas, but already there was the Republic of West Florida with the capital of Baton Rouge. The Republic of West Florida was a thriving new democracy. In fact, Thomas Jefferson's nephew was the president of West Florida, so their vision was to turn it loose, let the entrepreneurs go out there, carve up their own nations and they'll be allies of the United States, and it'll be a whole new kind of confederated, Democratic North America.

But Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe and the others saw that the political objections weren't nearly as difficult as the problem of how do you absorb all of the presently Spanish and French citizens of that territory, and, in particular, the citizens of New Orleans. How do you absorb them into the United States? Do you just automatically grant all of those people citizenship rights? How do you annex new territories? There's just no political roadmap for any of this.

Jefferson realized that this went against all of his previous political convictions. But he was determined to move ahead with it because he saw it as too great an opportunity, and it would transform the United States. And so he pushed through an unconstitutional treaty arrangement. He arranged for the financing of the purchase, and it was ratified before the end of 1804.

❖ *William Claiborne: Territorial Governor*

He deployed William Claiborne as the territorial governor. A military man, Claiborne had to deal with the West Florida controversy because now there was a sovereign independent nation as an island in the sea of all Jefferson's new acquisition. He simply ordered William Claiborne to go and conquer the independent nation of West Florida.

At bayonet point, the Congress of West Florida was marched out of the Statehouse at Red Stick, Baton Rouge, and they were forced to pledge allegiance to United States. The national flag of the Republic of West Florida, the Bonnie Blue flag, was lowered, and West Florida was annexed. By the way, during the war that would come just fifty years later, a civil war, the people in that territory joined the Confederacy, not because they wanted to be a part of a new southern nation, but because they'd been promised by the Confederacy independence for the Republic of West Florida, and that's why the regiments from that little section of southern Alabama, southern

Mississippi, part of the panhandle of Florida, and the Florida parishes of Louisiana, all fought under the Bonnie Blue flag. They were fighting, like the Chickasaw and the Cherokee, who joined the Confederacy as well, for their independence. It goes all the way back to this conquest.

❖ *1803-1806: Meriwether Lewis and William Clark*

But in the end, it was all pushed through, and, in 1804, the Lewis and Clark expedition had been launched and the Louisiana Purchase became a part of our history. And that is how Napoléon made America. Napoléon took all the money, plowed it into the military, and that's how he funded, without breaking the back of the French economy, his great military conquests that ultimately plunged the whole of Europe into a decade of war before he was finally stopped on the battlefields of Belgium at Waterloo in 1815.

It was all tied to navigating the Mississippi and port rights in New Orleans. It opened the West for America, created the idea of Manifest Destiny, reshaped America's vision of what it was as a nation, how it would function, how it would annex territory, its place in the world, suddenly thrusting the struggling American experiment in liberty in the administration of Thomas Jefferson to the forefront of the world. It's why Britain was so frightened of America that, in the midst of the Napoleonic wars, it launched the War of 1812. It's why America is what it is today. It's how Napoléon made America, through a vast territorial acquisition that changed us and our world forever.



Lord, thank you for reminding us that history often takes strange turns. That out of times of chaos can emerge pivotal events in the oddest places to change the coursings of civilizations and the destinies of men and nations forever. We pray that you would give us eyes to see these patterns and to walk in the fullness of them for your glory and for your purposes. We pray that the risings of our own time would be the risings of principle, freedom, and hope, and not mere opportunism. And we pray this in Jesus' name. Amen

Lesson 27

The Undaunted Courage of Lewis & Clark

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Ultimate and Proximate Causes of the Civil War; The Rise of Lincoln

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 334–349

Lesson Synopsis

Lewis and Clark led an amazing expedition, documenting the discovery of lands that the United States had either acquired during the Louisiana Purchase or wished to claim further on in the Pacific Northwest. It started with thirty-three men setting out along a river, not having any idea whatsoever where they were headed or what they would face, which is the greatest kind of adventure of all.

Opportunity

12

Lesson Topics

The Lewis and Clark Expedition

Primary Source Material

Excerpts from Lewis & Clark's journals

Vocabulary

war-monger, transcontinental, adversarial, hedge (v.), deputize, pirogue, keel boat, sympathetic, conciliatory, liaison, hodgepodge, amalgam, radically

Timeline

- ❖ 1770: William Clark born
- ❖ 1774: Meriwether Lewis born
- ❖ 1786: Clark followed his brother into the Army Corps.
- ❖ 1801: Lewis became secretary to President Jefferson.
- ❖ 1803: The Louisiana Purchase
- ❖ 1804, May: Lewis and Clark set out.
- ❖ 1806, September: The Lewis and Clark Expedition returned to St. Louis.

- ❖ 1807: Lewis appointed governor of the Louisiana Territory
- ❖ 1807: Clark appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs
- ❖ 1809: Meriwether Lewis died under mysterious circumstances.
- ❖ 1813: Clark appointed governor of Missouri Territory
- ❖ 1838: William Clark died in St. Louis.



The Undaunted Courage of Lewis & Clark

Just over two hundred years ago, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark set off up the Missouri River into western Montana and to the Pacific Ocean. It was a journey of undaunted courage that would ultimately reshape the nation.
~ Stephen Ambrose

Today we're going to talk about the opening up of the American West and the extraordinary journey of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and their expedition from St. Louis to what is, today, Portland, Oregon, on the far Pacific Northwest coast. This is an extraordinary story of what Stephen Ambrose called *Undaunted Courage*. He wrote, "Over two hundred years ago Meriwether Lewis and William Clark set off up the Missouri River into western Montana and to the Pacific Ocean. It was a journey of undaunted courage that would ultimately reshape the nation."

8 February

- ❖ *1973: The Watergate investigation began.*

Today is Tuesday, February 8. It was on this day, in 1973, that the Watergate investigation began when the United States Senate named seven members to a select committee to investigate the scandal that would cause the resignation of President Richard Nixon. The chairman was Democrat Sam Ervin of North Carolina, and it made his reputation as well as all the others who served on the committee.

- ❖ *1922: The first radio was installed in the White House.*

It was on this day in 1922 that President Warren G. Harding had the first radio installed in the White House. It's hard to imagine that there was no radio in the White House until 1922. Ronald Reagan was already a young teenager; well no, I guess he would have been eleven at that time. To think about the fact that people that we have known in our lifetimes — grandparents, great-grandparents — lived at a time when the world was so, so radically different than the world that we live in. I was texting this morning a couple of friends after my prayer time, and I texted Mike Card, my dear friend, and almost instantly I got a text right back from him, "Thanks, brother for praying. Things are going well here in Thailand." And I'm thinking, wow, I'm holding in my hand this tiny little electronic instrument, and I'm communicating almost instantly with my friend who is in Thailand right now, half a world away, and just a century ago they didn't even have radios in the White House. Astonishing — this day, February 8, 1922.

❖ *1915: The Birth of a Nation premiered in Los Angeles.*

It was also on this day in 1915 that D.W. Griffith's silent movie epic about the difficult days following the War Between the States, *The Birth of a Nation*, premiered in Los Angeles. It engendered a tremendous amount of controversy for its favorable portrayal of the South, but it was nevertheless heralded as one of the most remarkable artistic advances in the history of the film industry. There were more pioneering special effects, film techniques, choreographed sequences, crowd scenes, and action scenes in this film, and it really set the stage for the entire film industry and the birth of Hollywood from that time all the way up to the time of Orson Welles when he, in a sense, re-invented the film industry a generation later.

❖ *1904: The Russo-Japanese War began*

It was also on this day in 1904 that the Russian-Japanese War began, oftentimes called the Russo-Japanese War. The war waged on destructively, threatening to engulf the entire Pacific Rim until President Theodore Roosevelt brought the two sides together and forged a lasting peace settlement. For his role in the negotiations, Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906. It's interesting that historians often portray Teddy Roosevelt as a war-monger, but in fact, during his presidency there were no U.S. wars, and he won the Nobel Peace Prize during his administration.

❖ *1828: Jules Verne was born in Nantes, France.*

It was also on this day in 1828¹ that Jules Verne, the French author of such tales as *Journey to the Center of the Earth*, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, and *Around the World in Eighty Days*, the pioneer works of what would be called modern science fiction, was born on this day in Nantes, France, the same town that John Calvin was born and raised in. His writings included a foreshadowing of future technological advances such as the submarine, the aqualung, the television, space travel, and wristwatches, none of which had been invented before but which emerged out of his mind and were portrayed in his stories. He wouldn't be the first writer to imagine something that had not yet been invented but would later really typify modern society. William Gibson, for instance, virtually invented the modern idea of the Internet in a novel entitled *Neuromancer*. And Arthur C. Clarke invented the idea of satellite radio relays. Clarke, of course, was the author of *2001: A Space Odyssey*. At any rate, Jules Verne, born on this day in 1828.

❖ *1819: John Ruskin was born in London.*

Also born on this day in 1819 was John Ruskin. Born in London, he championed the Gothic revival movement in architecture and the decorative arts and greatly influenced public taste in the Victorian Era through works such as *Modern Painters* and a great classic of architecture, which I still use whenever I teach architecture classes, a book entitled *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* in which he surveys all of the classical orders and then applies them to modern building and techniques. He was quite a remarkable figure.

❖ *1837: The Senate had to select the vice-president, choosing Richard Mentor Johnson.*

Also on this day, the United States Senate was forced to select the vice-president of the United States under a peculiar part of the election system that seemed to break down, and thus it was necessary to invoke conditions under the Twelfth Amendment. The Senate, in a divided, partisan, and rancorous vote, chose Richard Mentor Johnson as vice-president of the United States. He served over the course of the next four years, but he was an

¹ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said, "1928," instead of 1828. *Ed.*

extremely controversial figure. He was a genuine American hero. He was one of the young men who sided with the war hawks during the War of 1812. He was a Kentucky colleague of Henry Clay. He had a sterling legal and political career. He was a hero in the battles of the War of 1812, so you would think that he would have been the perfect sort of man to serve Martin Van Buren as vice-president, but he was controversial because of his wife. His wife was the daughter of a former master and his slave, thus Johnson was the first person to hold national office who was in what was then-considered a taboo interracial relationship. Johnson, however, was absolutely unbending in his defense of his wife and in the defense of his honor. As a result, he was one of the great pioneers of the early civil rights movement. In fact, early on, the civil rights movement looked back to Richard Mentor Johnson as one of the great heroes who inspired the waves of movements that would lead to genuine civil rights for all Americans in the future. A remarkable American hero, on this day in 1837, selected as vice-president of the United States.

❖ *1805: Sacajawea gave birth while accompanying the Lewis and Clark Expedition.*

For our purposes, the most significant thing that happened on February 8 was in 1805, when Sacajawea gave birth to a son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, the youngest member of the expedition that came to be known as the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Jean Baptiste Charbonneau was nicknamed Pomp by William Clark. Meriwether Lewis aided in the delivery of Sacajawea's baby and used a rattlesnake rattle to calm his crying after his birth. He became one of the most remarkable members of that expedition.

Documenting Discovery

It was an amazing expedition, documenting the discovery of lands that the United States had either acquired during the Louisiana Purchase or wished to claim further on in the Pacific Northwest. The reason it was so remarkable is because the territory had never been mapped or thoroughly explored. The members of the expedition had no earthly idea what they might encounter, how they could make their way all the way to the Pacific. They'd heard all sorts of rumors from old trappers. They had guidance from French explorers. They had the confidence of a number of members of Native American Indian tribes that would counsel them along the way. But they were literally plunging out into an uncharted wilderness for the purpose of bringing back to Washington the details of new lands which the United States would claim as its own.

The Long Journey

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were confidantes of President Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson had been interested since the 1780's in the possibility of the United States laying claim to all of the territory all the way across the entire continent. It was not a dream that was shared by many Americans at all. Most Americans thought that some sort of a transcontinental empire was foolishness embodied. There were no nations in Europe that were anything like as large as a transcontinental empire, and, in fact, the notion seemed utterly absurd. How could you communicate back and forth between new states that might exist far out into the wilderness, and why would anyone want to live all the way out there anyway? The idea of moving beyond the Appalachian Mountains seemed risky and absurd to most Americans. To move beyond the Mississippi River was an utter and complete fantasy.

But Jefferson was farsighted, and he realized that the Pacific Northwest would probably be claimed by great adversarial rivals of the United States, including Russia and Britain. Russia had already laid claims on the great Alaskan wilderness and all its resources, and had fur traders trading all the way down the western coast of what is today the Dominion of Canada. Britain, of course, maintained colonial possessions throughout what is today Canada including Rupert's Land, which extended from the Great Lakes all the way to the Pacific Northwest.

Thomas Jefferson believed that the adversarial relationship the United States had with Britain and the unfamiliar culture and the adversarial posture of Russia toward the rest of the Western world necessitated the United States hedging itself in, claiming as much of the continent as they possibly could.

Lewis and Clark's Expedition

Basic Facts

- ❖ *Meriwether Lewis and William Clark*
- ❖ *May 1804–September 1806*
- ❖ *8,000-Mile Exploration*
- ❖ *Science, Communication, and Borders*

And so when the opportunity came with the Louisiana Purchase to gain vast new territories for about three cents an acre from Napoléon — thus funding the Napoleonic wars but also laying claim to a huge swath of new territories — Jefferson jumped at the chance, and then almost immediately deputized Lewis and Clark to create a corps of discovery. It would lead to an eight thousand-mile journey of exploration during which the opportunity to discover new and heretofore unseen parts of the world, to map them, to document the wildlife, to encounter the peoples — all of this would be undertaken by this small band.

Undaunted Courage

- ❖ *Philadelphia: Scientific Preparation²*
- ❖ *Keel Boats and Pirogues*
- ❖ *The Mississippi and Missouri Rivers*

There were actually only thirty-three members of the expedition. They trained at Camp Dubois in the Illinois Territory. Eventually, in 1804, they met together following their training at a camp at St. Charles, Missouri, just adjacent to Fort St. Louis, an old French trading center that was now a hive of trade on the Mississippi River. There they made up their minds that they would simply follow the Missouri River westward. And so they headed west. They had no idea where the Missouri River would lead them. They had no idea what kinds of terrain or weather they would encounter. They would be gone for more than two years, wintering twice, once in

² Dr. Grant didn't mention this heading in the lecture, but added this later: Much of the preparation for the Corps of Discovery took place initially in Philadelphia. It was there that the U.S. Mint cast the Indian Peace Medals, coins that were distributed by Lewis and Clark all along the way as proof that they were there before explorers from any other country. Also, the scientific equipment and the map-making supplies came from Philadelphia, then the city with the most enduring scientific community and support structure in the nation (thanks largely to Ben Franklin and Benjamin Rush).

North Dakota and once in Oregon, before making their way home. They would pass through places that are now great cities like Kansas City; Omaha, Nebraska; and Sioux City, Iowa, on their way to the Great Plains.

There were some eyewitness accounts from a few fur trappers and French explorers about the peoples they would encounter, and the great mountains, but heretofore no one had ever documented on a map the Rocky Mountains. Nobody had ever crossed the Continental Divide. Nobody had ever seen and documented the vast herds of buffalo and elk. No one had ever run into the Sioux or the Shoshone. They were plunging into a world unknown.

❖ *Snake, Columbia, and Yellowstone Rivers*

❖ *Fort Mandan and Sacajawea*

When they finally got through the Great Plains and got up to the Black Mountains in the far north, following along first the Missouri River and then from the Missouri to the Snake, the Columbia, and the Yellowstone Rivers, they wintered in North Dakota. They established a fort at Fort Mandan, and from the winter of 1804 to 1805, they were there. It was there that they met a French trapper by the name of Toussaint Charbonneau. He had taken a Shoshone wife, Sacajawea, and she was then great with child, as the Bible would say. She was *really* pregnant. Lewis and Clark argued among themselves as to whether or not they should take Toussaint and his wife into their care over the course of the winter. Clark prevailed in the argument saying that she would be a sympathetic figure, that if they had a child with them and they encountered hostile Indian nations, they would be looked upon as less of a threat, that she could help interpret and negotiate, and that Toussaint, who was a great trapper, would be a tremendous advantage as they found their way westward.

And so it was that one of the most remarkable stories in the expedition began to unfold as a relationship between this French trapper and his wife and the members of the expedition were forged into an almost mythic relationship. It was a good thing because the expedition would run into more than two dozen indigenous nations. Jefferson had given them explicit instructions that they were to treat the Indian nations in the most friendly and conciliatory manner and to learn all they could about them and from them.

❖ *The Sioux, Shoshone, Nez Perce, and Blackfeet*

It is amazing that, despite the fact that a number of those Native American tribes were hostile, there were no major conflicts that broke out, at least on the way to the Pacific Northwest. There were a few small incidents on the way back, a few scary moments, and a few confrontations where they had to barter and deal. There was a single incident where two braves and three members of the expedition got into a scuffle and the two braves were killed. Clark and Lewis, realizing the danger they were in, the next day covered one hundred miles in a single day on foot to get out of there. The fact that they did not have greater conflicts is astonishing. They met up with the Sioux, the Shoshone, and the Nez Perce, the Blackfeet, and all the way there and all the way back, there were only those few incidents.

They made their way all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It was an astonishing journey of discovery. If you've ever been to the Rocky Mountains you know how ominous they are, even driving on Interstate 70 across the Continental Divide, if you're driving to Breckenridge or over to Keystone or something like that. You look at this and you think, *How did anyone ever actually walk across these the very first time, how did they find their way?* If you've ever gone hiking in Rocky Mountain National Park or in Estes Park and you've tried to climb Long's Peak or something, you look at this and you think, *How could they, without maps, without directions, without roads, and with hostile Indian tribes*

around them, how could they possibly have done this and done this with scientific equipment and a child in tow? Really is an amazing story.

They made more than one hundred and forty maps, many of them astonishingly accurate.³ Nine members of the expedition were land surveyors, so they were able to survey these vast swathes of the West, paving the way for the pioneer movement to come. Now remember this was 1804 and 1805. Franklin had been in existence for just five years at that point. And here they were all the way across the Great Plains, across the Continental Divide, and all the way to Oregon. It was remarkable.

The Men Who Led the Expedition

Captain Meriwether Lewis

❖ *1774: Albemarle County to Georgia*

The men who led the expedition all that long, long way were themselves quite remarkable. Meriwether Lewis was born in 1774 in Albemarle County. That is the same county that Thomas Jefferson was born and raised in. It's where Charlottesville, Virginia, is and where the University of Virginia is. It's where Monticello is, so you can see the connection that he would've had. He knew Jefferson as a young boy, and Jefferson was, of course, the hero of the county as he was growing up. Lewis relocated for a time to Georgia, but his roots ran deep in the Virginia minor gentry.

❖ *1794: Liberty Hall Graduate; Army Corps*

In 1794, he graduated from Liberty Hall, a preparatory school, and immediately went into the Army Corps. There he served honorably until the election of 1800, when he worked hard for the election of his mentor and hero, Thomas Jefferson.

❖ *1801: Secretary to Thomas Jefferson*

Jefferson, of course, won the election of 1800, and as he was assembling his new administration, he faced a particularly difficult challenge. In the final days of John Adams's administration, Adams made a whole slew of appointments to the federal bench, to the then very small federal bureaucracy, and a whole slew of new appointments in the United States military, advancing a number of Federalists to high posts in the army. Now this was a very delicate situation. The United States was a very young country. In Europe, at that time, there were military regimes overthrowing longstanding monarchies and ushering in an age of nationalism. If there was a divide between the civilian political establishment and the military establishment, if they're at odds, then the nation could easily collapse. We've seen that just the last couple of weeks in Egypt. The big question that the media and all the politicians have been asking is "Is the Egyptian army gonna stand by Mubarak?" If there is a divide between his civilian government and the military, the nation is no longer viable.

So Jefferson saw all these Federalists being appointed to high positions in the army. He needed a trusted confidant to be his liaison to the army. He appointed Meriwether Lewis as his most trusted aide in the White House.

³ Dr. Grant listed in the headings that the journals of the expedition were published in 1814 and 1905, but he didn't mention this in the lecture, so the heading was removed. The journals are in print and would make fascinating reading. They're listed on the Literature List in Appendix A. *Ed.*

He would have been the equivalent of the White House Chief of Staff. The whole reason he was there was to smooth over relations with this now adversarial army. By all accounts, Lewis did a fantastic job as secretary to Thomas Jefferson. So much so that, by 1802, all fears that there might be a rift between the military and the civilian government had completely passed.

Lewis was thinking about returning to civilian life and making his fortune in the West as a surveyor and a land speculator. That was one of the quickest pathways to wealth and prominence in early America along the frontier. But Jefferson had another idea. What if he were to serve as Jefferson's personal emissary in exploring the possibility of the westward expansion of the United States? This is at the same time that James Monroe had been sent to Paris to negotiate port rights and navigation rights to New Orleans and the Mississippi River. The Louisiana Purchase is not even a gleam in anyone's eye at this point except maybe Napoleon's. So Lewis was given the task of beginning to think about what it would be like to try and expand the Northwest frontier beyond the Illinois Territory, beyond the Northwest Territory, beyond even perhaps the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers.

So he was already thinking about this, beginning to do the research, assembling a team of French trappers and explorers who could give him reliable tales about what it was like out in the far frontier. Then the Louisiana Purchase occurred, and Jefferson seized upon the opportunity. He knew that Britain, Russia, and perhaps Spain would try and scramble to consolidate their borders out in the West and on the North. And he also knew, because of the history of exploration, colonization, and of the claiming of territories, that the first to arrive, the discoverers, the explorers, those who planted the flags and made the contacts, had first right to the territories.

So here's the irony of it all: Thomas Jefferson was the great Republican, the adversary of monarchies, the friend of the French Revolution. He hated elitists, he despised colonial empires, he was a strict constitutionalist. He wanted to adhere to the law at all costs, and here he was dreaming about a great transcontinental colonial empire for the nation. Lewis was just the guy to help him realize this dream. The real purpose behind the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition wasn't just to give the nation more breathing room. It really was a kind of strategic and ideological play by Jefferson, seemingly against his best principles. In the long run, though it proved to be incredibly farsighted.

Britain and Russia tried to dispute the claims, but Jefferson had everything covered, based upon the council of Meriwether Lewis. He did several things. First of all, he went to the federal mint and had special medallions minted. These coins were solely for the purpose of distributing to all the peoples, the Native Americans, that they would encounter along the way. This would be documentable, objective, demonstrable proof that the Americans were there first. They negotiated friendship treaties with all the peoples all along the way. They planted their flag. They made their maps, not just because they were great explorers, but because they were claiming the territory. This is like Christopher Columbus as he steps ashore and plants the flag and claims San Salvador for Castile and Aragon. That's what Lewis and Clark were doing. They were claiming the territory. This is America's first great colonial conquest.

❖ *1807: Governor of Louisiana Territory*

Lewis, after the expedition, was named the governor of the whole vast Louisiana Territory, which was now much larger than the actual Louisiana Purchase. The Lewis and Clark Expedition not only explored and claimed for certain all the territory that the United States had just bought from Napoleon, from France, they went well beyond that and claimed all the way from northern California up to the top of the sounds of Washington. Their

purpose was to create a transcontinental hegemony. Now Spain still controlled a great deal of the Southwest, and there would be a whole series of negotiations that would resolve that. As we saw last time from the map, there was still some disputed territory along what would become the Canadian border; those would be negotiated. In fact, it would take some nine different treaties after Lewis and Clark claimed their territory to consolidate all that land, but all the groundwork for it was laid by the expedition.

❖ *1809: Grinder's Stand, Natchez Trace*

Amazingly, in 1809, this brilliant, accomplished, highly-placed, influential man met an untimely demise just about forty miles from here down the Natchez Trace at a place called Grinder's Stand. Historians still argue about whether or not Meriwether Lewis was murdered there or whether or not he committed suicide. If he committed suicide it was messy business, four gun shots to the chest and one to the head. You've got to be really determined, and he didn't even die after that. The shots were heard in the night by the innkeeper just adjacent. Part of his skull was actually blown away, but he lived all the way through the morning when those who were accompanying Lewis found him, brought him back to the inn, and tried to save his life, but he expired later in the day. You can go down the Natchez Trace and find the place. It's marked well. There's a monument there to Lewis that tells the whole story. It's quite a remarkable mystery. He was, for whatever reason, making his way from New Orleans back up to St. Louis, and he took the Natchez Trace, the road that goes from Natchez all the way to Nashville, a sort of turnpike. So, Lewis's great career ended in great mystery which only reinforces several principles that embody this whole story.

First of all, if you are going to do something extraordinary, it's almost always fraught with danger and requires what Ambrose calls "undaunted courage". You've got to go against the grain. You've got to do what almost no one believes can be done, and you have to be ready for the fact that there will be others who will despise what you are doing and will try and stop you at all costs.

Captain William Clark

❖ *1770: Caroline County to Kentucky*

❖ *1786: Followed Brother into Army Corps*

Captain William Clark was born in Caroline County. From there, he made his way to Kentucky. He was four years older than Lewis, and in 1786, when, he was sixteen years old, he followed his brother into the Army Corp and there had a sterling career, demonstrated able administration, was a strong leader, earned the loyalty of his men, and, as a result, rose very quickly in the ranks of the army administrators.

❖ *1807: Commissioner of Indian Affairs*

In 1807, because of his work along the frontier, he was made the Commissioner of Indian Affairs following the Lewis and Clark Expedition. By this time, he had made his home in St. Louis. Interestingly, he had kept in touch with Sacajawea and her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, and decided that he was going to provide the means for young Jean Baptiste to get an education. Clark was his sponsor, and Charbonneau lived with Clark in St. Louis, was schooled and trained, and went on to become a great frontier explorer and kind of a mythic figure himself in the opening of the American West.

❖ *1813: Governor of Missouri Territory*

❖ *1838: Died in St. Louis*

In 1813, Clark was named the governor of the Missouri Territory, and he died in 1838, in St. Louis, a hero to the nation and one of the great gateways to the West. In fact, the original monument, The Gateway to the West, was dedicated to Clark, and, of course, now it's marked by this vast arch right on the Mississippi River as you are coming into St. Louis.

Consequences for the Nation

The Lewis and Clark Expedition had enormous consequences for the nation in almost every single sphere.

Politics

❖ *Population Shift*

❖ *Power Shift*

❖ *Wealth Shift*

❖ *Infrastructure*

❖ *Populist versus Elite*

In the realm of politics, it opened the way for a population shift. Almost immediately following the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the West gained power and authority. Prior to this, virtually every single president of the United States was either from Virginia or was named Adams. Following the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the opening up of the West, there was a population shift and a power shift because the opportunities to make great wealth also shifted, and therefore infrastructures were built in the West. Suddenly Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, and Ohio became the center point of the nation, the launching of the future. The East was sort of considered the elitists, but if you wanted to make your way, if you wanted to pull yourself up by your own bootstraps, if you wanted to live the American dream, then you moved West. And the expedition really opened that up.

❖ *Localism*

Because the West was remote, it meant that the communities in the West had to be self-reliant. It meant that the communities of the West became distinctive. Often, whole immigrant communities would move to one area together, so they would have this very clear, local stamp. You can see this to this day if you go and visit a Norwegian community or a Dutch community in Michigan or in Wisconsin. You immediately see it; they wear cheese on their heads, for heaven's sakes. This marked out those communities and gave them a real distinctiveness that was simply not the case in the urban areas in the East.

❖ *Salutary Neglect*

On top of that, because they were remote and because they really had to rely upon themselves, they had this independent spirit in politics. They didn't like the meddling of federal regulators or government bureaucrats. They had a natural disdain in the center of the country for anything that smacked of meddling politics. They had a great love of salutary neglect. *Leave us alone. Let us plant our crops, tend our gardens, and raise our children without the interference of outsiders.* This still marks the middle of the country as a real distinctive.

Economics

- ❖ *Natural Wealth*
- ❖ *Land Speculation*
- ❖ *Agriculture*
- ❖ *Mercantilism*
- ❖ *Distribution*
- ❖ *Communications*
- ❖ *Transport*

Economically, the United States suddenly became a potential world power. Instead of a few merchants and planters clinging to the Atlantic coast, America became a place where land speculation, natural wealth, and wide variety of agriculture beyond anything that had ever been imagined, the development of new industries and new merchant enterprises, the development of a new distribution networks, the digging of canals, the building of railroads, the opening up of new forms of communication. If there was going to be a way to reach Sioux City, Iowa, then you had to find new ways of communication — at first, things like the Pony Express and then telegraph and telephone. It pushed innovation and technology faster than it could've ever been pushed any other way.

Culture

- ❖ *Adventure*
- ❖ *Pioneers*
- ❖ *Immigration*
- ❖ *Melting Pot*

And of course, culturally, it changed the nature of the American experience. It wasn't just that suddenly America became transfixed with cowboys and Indians. There was a spirit of adventure that ran through the whole American experience. There was this sense that anyone could with, risk and pluck, with courage and conviction, carve out a life for himself and his family. He could charge into the future with great confidence, depending upon no one but himself and his wits. It defined the American experience, provided a way for America to open its arms and welcome to the shores of this new land tens of thousands, millions of immigrants from around the world, which in turn made America the world's great melting pot. Other nations would have similar kinds of experiences, but America paved the way. It paved the way for Canada and Australia. It paved the way for modern-day Brazil. This melting pot experience made Americans far more diverse, richer in culture and in heritage, than almost any other people up to that time.

- ❖ *Opportunity*
- ❖ *Future-Oriented*

It meant that people who would never have an opportunity anywhere else in the world could find opportunity in this land. It also caused Americans to have a peculiar knack for being future-oriented rather than past-oriented. In Europe, everything was conditioned by what had been done before, what was appropriate, what was proper, what was allowed, but in America, you could make your own way. You didn't like the town you were in? Move

seventy-five miles west and start your own town. You don't like the saloon? Go to another town and start your own saloon. Just go!

❖ *Frontier Faith*

And Americans did. This provided a rich opportunity, the likes of which the world had hardly ever seen before. Of course, as they came, they established a kind of frontier faith that was rugged and individualistic but, at the same time, rooted in the peculiar values of the places where they had come. As a result, the American West became not just a hodgepodge but this rich amalgam of faith, division, purpose, and industry, and that became the basis of the American dream. If it had not been for the opening up of the West, if the thirteen original colonies, adding a handful of adjacent states like Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and some of the states of the Northwest Territory, if that had been it, if the West had not been opened, it would have been a radically, radically different nation. We often hark back and herald the foundations of the nation and the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, but it really was the expansion of that vision to be larger than the small domain at the beginning that made America what it is today and that made America great.

It started with thirty-three men setting out along a river, not having any idea whatsoever where they were headed or what they would face, which is the greatest kind of adventure of all. And it is what every great adventure looks like in some way.



Lord, I thank you for the shaping of the American experience by men like Lewis and Clark and those who accompanied them and those who followed after them, those who took advantage of their pioneering work. I'm grateful that, from the beginning, there was an eye toward science, preservation, peace, and harmony. I'm grateful, Lord, that there was an appreciation of the wonders of this vast land and the incredible opportunity that it made for the peoples that would inhabit it. We who are the heirs and recipients of this legacy could easily take all this for granted, but I pray that we wouldn't. I pray that we would be clearheaded and clear-eyed, that we would see the battles of the present as vital for the hopes and aspirations of the future, and that you would raise up these students as the means by which you would accomplish much in the days to come. And I pray, even though there's no new Missouri to explore, even though they will never have to venture down the Snake or the Columbia without a map, I pray that you would make them adventurers nevertheless. Give them undaunted courage. I pray in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 28

The Unnecessary War of 1812

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Centrality of Preserving the Union; The Election of 1860
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 349–368

Lesson Synopsis

Many historians in the first part of the nineteenth century, Teddy Roosevelt included, could only draw the conclusion that something entered into so disastrously, that ended up so marvelously for the American Republic, could only be ascribed to one thing. Either there is, in this world, raw, stupid luck or there is a sovereign God who providentially intended that, despite man's own foolish adventures and misadventures, he would direct the steps of men and nations in such a way as to magnify his own name and advance his own kingdom.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

The War of 1812, its causes and results

Primary Source Material

The Decree of Berlin, the Decree of Milan, the Monroe Doctrine

Vocabulary

embargo, mercantile, impressment, decimate, hubris, privy council, elusive, artifact, repulse, unilateral

Timeline

- ❖ 1803: The British began impressing American sailors.
- ❖ 1806: The British blockaded France.
- ❖ 1807, June: The American ship *Chesapeake* was fired on by the British ship *Leopard* after refusing to be boarded.
- ❖ 1807, December: The Embargo Act
- ❖ 1811: The Battle of Tippecanoe
- ❖ 1812, June: The U.S. declared war on Great Britain.
- ❖ 1813, April: The Battle of York (modern-day Toronto)
- ❖ 1814, August: The British burn Washington, D.C.
- ❖ 1814, September: The Battle of Plattsburgh
- ❖ 1814, December 15: The Hartford Convention
- ❖ 1814, December 24: The Treaty of Ghent

- ❖ 1815, January: The Battle of New Orleans
- ❖ 1823: The Monroe Doctrine



The Unnecessary War of 1812

James Madison's brilliance may have been his greatest liability at a time when young America needed a leader, not a theorist. In the end, he brought the nation to the brink of disaster and extinction.
~ Paul Johnson

1 February

- ❖ *107: Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, Syria, was martyred in the Roman Colosseum.*

Well, today is February 1, and it was on this day, in the year 107, that Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch in Syria, was martyred in the Roman Colosseum. It was on a long journey along the way from Antioch all the way to Rome that he made a series of stops and wrote a series of letters that form some of the earliest documents giving us insight into the life of that first Church, the patriarchal church. His letters, to this day, form the basis of our understanding of that earliest Church. We catch glimpses of things that might surprise us a little bit about that early, so-called primitive church, how well organized their vision for ministry was, how deeply rooted their theology was, and how rich and full their worship was. On this day, 107, in the Roman Colosseum.

- ❖ *1790: The Supreme Court opened its first session.*

Also on this day, in 1790, the Supreme Court opened its very first session and began the process of working out just what the Supreme Court's role as the third branch of the federal government would be in the nation. It would be several years before the concept of judicial review would actually become the means by which the Supreme Court would check and balance the executive and legislative branches.

- ❖ *1861: Texas voted to secede from the United States.*

In 1861, on this day, Texas voted to secede from the United States. It was acknowledged, even by those who were opposed to secession in the North, that Texas was unique among all the states in having the right to secede. That right, by the way, was revoked in the charter of Texas on its return to the Union after the Civil War.

- ❖ *1906: The first federal penitentiary was completed in Leavenworth, Kansas.*

In 1906, on this day, the first federal penitentiary was opened in Leavenworth, Kansas.

- ❖ *1920: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police was established.*

Also on this day, in 1920, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was established.

❖ *1979: Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned to Tehran from exile.*

In 1979, on this day, the thesis that I propounded in my senior paper in college was realized. I had an Iranian professor at the University of Houston, and he was my supervisor for my senior project, which was a long paper that I wrote. My major was in Middle Eastern oil politics, and I proposed a thesis that one of the seven great Iranian families, most likely the Khomeini family, would gain ascendancy, overthrow the Shah in a revolution, and usher in a new age of Iranian politics, which would altogether alter the shape of the American petroleum industry and the supply of oil to the United States. My professor almost did not let me use this as a thesis. He told me over and over again that it was fantasy, that it was ridiculous, that Iran was a modern nation, that it would never return to fundamentalist Islam, that the Ayatollah, then in exile in Paris, would never come back. Well, in 1979, while the news was on, I called my professor and I said, ...¹

❖ *1992: The Cold War officially ended.*

In 1992 on this day, the Cold War officially ended when an agreement between the United States and the new Russian Federation was signed declaring that hostilities in this undeclared war had actually ended.

❖ *1814: Key Federalists met to consider secession.*

For our purposes, the most significant thing that happened on this day happened in 1814. That's when key Federalists in New England states met together to plot and to plan a possible secession from the Union.² They laid the groundwork for what would become known as the Hartford Convention, which would meet later that year. The key Federalists who met together were among the most famous from among the most elite families in New England. In fact, just hearing their last names, even if you don't know their first names, will resound with you as a kind of Who's Who of New England's great families. The delegates included George Cabot, Stephen Longfellow, Theodore Dwight, William Prescott, Zephaniah Swift, Samuel Ward, Daniel Lyman, Chauncy Goodrich, and Mills Alcott, last names all of famous families and either their parents or their descendants were among the greatest New Englanders of all time: Theodore Dwight's father-in-law for instance was Jonathan Edwards, his brother-in-law was Aaron Burr; of course, George Cabot came from the great Cabot family, one of the Mayflower families, one of the families that would give us a long, long line of Massachusetts politicians, including most recently Henry Cabot Lodge and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.; William Prescott was the direct ancestor of the Bush line; the Lymans; the Goodriches, who made their name in great industry; the Alcotts, the great literary family.

These famous, famous people from elite families gathered together and began to plot secession from the Union. This would not be the first time that New Englanders had threatened to secede from the Union. In 1804, they met and stated their right to secede from the Union.

In 1808, when James Madison was elected a second time, they discussed in secret plans the possibility of seceding from the Union. In 1812, at the reelection of Madison, they considered seceding. And now in 1814, on this day, they met to plan the Hartford Convention, which would be presented to the United States, *not* as a secession plan because they tempered their goals — they were going to negotiate with the United States — but they made a

¹ Dr. Grant let this sentence trail off, leaving his words to his professor to the imagination. *Ed.*

² The convention met for deliberations over the holiday season, but, because it was the holiday season, there were many delegates in and out. The compacts for the convention were signed when they reconvened for two days at the beginning of February. Re: Clarence Carson, *The History of American Covenants, Compacts, and Constitutions*. GG

series of demands, demands that the Southerners would use a generation later in their arguments about nullification and balancing national policy against regional rights.

But the pretext, the reason, that the Federalists from New England were so upset and why they wanted to leave the United States, en masse, was that the United States was in the middle of a terrible and probably entirely unnecessary war, the War of 1812. For us, the most significant incident in the War of 1812 was the bombardment of Fort McHenry in 1814, Baltimore Harbor, which gave us the story of the “Star-Spangled Banner,” when Francis Scott Key, looking on from a British warship through the night, saw this city of Baltimore reduced to rubble, but Fort McHenry never capitulated. In the dawn’s early light, he saw that the stars and stripes were still flying and wrote his famous hymn. It was not a patriotic song, it was a hymn of thanks to God. If you read all the stanzas of the “Star-Spangled Banner,” which are in the *Patriot’s Handbook*, you’ll see that it was indeed a great hymn set to a famous hymn tune.

This was part of a long and bitter struggle that involved the destruction of the cities of Detroit, Toronto, Buffalo, Newark, Baltimore, and Washington and saw the raising up of the United States Navy for the first time in battles in the Great Lakes and in the Atlantic. It saw the elevation to the national stage of new American heroes who would play a huge role in the future of the United States: Oliver Perry, Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor, William Henry Harrison, and Andrew Jackson.

It was a struggle for the future of the nation, but the amazing thing is that this war, as the Federalists at the Hartford Convention contended, should probably never have been fought.

The Causes of the War

French Woes

The causes of the war were somewhat convoluted and complicated, which only adds to the mystique of the war itself. The period from 1800 to 1815 is generally, in the history books, known as the Napoleonic Age. This was the time when Napoléon dominated the world stage like virtually no man had since the days of Charlemagne or perhaps even Augustine. This was a time when *Napoléon* was on the lips of every statesman. Napoléon defined every policy, foreign and domestic, for virtually every power in the Western world.

Napoléon had gained ascendancy in Europe because of his brilliant tactics on the battlefield and his masterful strokes of politics and diplomacy with the various continental powers. Through a series of defeats of the Prussians and Hapsburgs, he had isolated Great Britain as the sole remaining resistance to his European hegemony. In other words, Napoléon was winning and winning hands-down across the continent. He had gained virtually the total control of all continental Europe with only Britain standing outside the circle of his authority and power.

❖ *Napoléon’s Berlin and Milan Decrees*

In 1806, in order to squeeze out the English, and then again in 1807, to enforce the isolation of Britain, he issued two decrees: the Decree of Berlin and the Decree of Milan. The purpose of these decrees was to forbid any European power from trading with the English. That meant that all trade between Britain and France, Spain,

Portugal, Holland, all the Germanies, any of the Italian states, Austria, the Hapsburg realms, and then on into Eastern Europe — it was all banned.

A blockade was put up around the coast lines so that pirates and various mercantile runners would not be able to slip British goods into Europe and European goods back to Britain. The whole purpose was to impose a massive embargo on British goods, and it was somewhat successful.

But here's the rub: America had no interest in this fight and was beginning to build a great trading empire that included continental European as well as British ports, importing and exporting goods from all over Europe. Napoléon had somewhat isolated Britain but almost crippled the American interests in merchant trade, thus crippling the American economy.

❖ *Britain's Orders in Council*

In 1806 and then in 1807, Britain responded to the Berlin and Milan Decrees with a series of Orders in Council. Orders in Council are like emergency power laws that were passed by bypassing Parliament and entering into Privy Council, receiving a Royal Warrant, and then being passed into law for a certain amount time under a kind of Emergency Powers Act. These Orders in Council that were issued by the king, by the regent, and by the Privy Council essentially barred any persons or any companies trading with Great Britain from simultaneously trading with any of the powers allied with the French. So the French had imposed an embargo, and now the British imposed an embargo, which meant that Americans could be shot at by both sides.

So here you have Britain and France at war, and it looks like the target of the war is American merchant ships, because if an American ship goes to Europe, and heads toward Britain, it gets in trouble with the French fleet; if it heads toward the continent, it gets in trouble with the British fleet.

❖ *American Mercantile Disaster*

As a result, we have this huge American mercantile disaster, and the New England traders, obviously Federalists, were completely shut out of the economy. They wanted the American government to immediately begin negotiations with the British and with the French to somehow relieve this exacerbating situation.

British Woes

But instead of immediately negotiating, American foreign policy seemed to exacerbate the problem, and here's why: the British started to be aggressive with their former colonies. The Brits had never fully accepted their relinquishing of the American colonies. Despite the Treaty of Paris, they still looked upon the Americans as their colonial possessions, and they often treated the Americans in a kind of patronizing colonial fashion in all of their communications. They expected the Americans to side with them against Napoléon. When the Americans absolutely refused to enter into the conflict, the British began to undertake a series of measures that infuriated the federal government.

❖ *Impressing American Seamen*

First they began something called impressing American seamen. This is just a pleasant way of saying that they acted like pirates. Coming alongside American merchant ships, they would capture the American merchant ship with usually a well-armed frigate, and they would take all the American seaman either off that ship and press

them into service in the British navy — obviously a form of slavery — or they would simply commandeer the ship itself and turn it into a ship of the Royal Navy. It was a kind of piracy and slavery.

❖ *The Leopard v. The Chesapeake*

Over the course of several years, thousands of American seamen were captured in this fashion and pressed into service in the Royal Navy. One of the incidents that brought this to the Americans' attention across the nation was when the *Chesapeake*, one of the gems of the new American navy — which was still small, but this was a magnificent ship, a forty-four-gun frigate, which was about eleven guns more than the largest frigate in the British fleet, although the British also had what they called ships of the line which are much, much larger ships — was commandeered by the HMS *Leopard*, and some of America's finest sailors and several officers in the United States Navy were captured and pressed into service. This was an outrageous breach of protocol and an act of war, according to both the Madison and, prior to Madison, the Jefferson administrations.

❖ *Non-Importation; Embargo: O-Grab-Me*

The British made this all worse by imposing a special non-importation ban on their former American colonies, essentially passing a law through Parliament specifically aimed at the Americans, to keep the Americans from trading with anyone except Britain.

Simultaneously, Napoléon's fleets were shooting at and sinking any ships that went from America to Britain. So America was caught in a double bind. They started calling in the newspapers the embargoes that had been imposed, instead of calling them embargoes, they called them the O-Grab-Me's and these O-Grab-Me laws became fiercely unpopular. It was crippling the U.S. economy, which plunged into a deep, deep recession, if not a depression.³

American Ambitions

❖ *War Hawks and New England Federalists*

Particularly in the mid states, the American South, and all throughout the American West, there was a popular sentiment that it was time to go to war, to fight the French by sea for the rights to trade with whomever they wished, and to fight back with the British forces on North American soil that were conspiring to steal away America's sovereignty.

These war hawks lost no opportunity to talk about how important it was to defend America's shores, how important it was to take the war to the enemy, how important it was not to allow terrorists on the high seas to dictate American policy, how important it was to reclaim the economy from those who wished to decimate America's future — fairly familiar language.

Meanwhile, the Federalists in New England, who had the most to lose because most of the mercantilist trade was there in New England, either because of the ports of call or because that's where the primary capital investment for foreign trade resided, wanted to try to negotiate a way out of this. They wanted to see if there was some

³ The U.S. Embargo Act of 1807 was just one of a long string of interrelated regulations. So here, I'm referring to all the embargoes — in Britain, France, the various colonies, as well as the U.S. — which together made up a kind of toxic cocktail of regulation and suppression that were collectively and popularly known as the O-Grab-Me laws. GG

means other than war to resolve the crisis. So there was this huge divide in American politics between the war hawks and the Federalists. That huge divide obviously came to a head at the Hartford Convention in 1814.

❖ *The Battle of Tippecanoe*

The real causes of the war involved several simultaneous conflicts. In 1811, for instance, out in the frontier, in the Indiana territory, there was a Shawnee chief by the name of Tecumseh. Tecumseh resented the encroachment onto Native American lands of the new settlers that were flooding across the Appalachian Mountains and into the West. The new governor of the Indiana territory, William Henry Harrison, son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and a brilliant military commander, had signed a treaty in 1809 called the Treaty of Fort Wayne. In this treaty, thousands and thousands of acres of Indian lands were ceded to the United States. Some of the lands were sold to the United States, and some of the lands were traded to the United States for lands further west, but Tecumseh believed that this was a great land grab like so many other land grabs in the past, and he rallied a number of smaller Indian tribes to fight against the American encroachments and to raise a rebellion out in the West. Eventually, this small confederation grew to a large confederation, of a number of the northwestern tribes, and Tecumseh began a kind of covert war against the Americans, sending raiding parties to forts and outposts, bringing attacks against the settlers as they moved further and further west, burning down farms, and capturing women and children and dragging them off into captivity.

So William Henry Harrison gathered together the small remnants of the U.S. Army that had been posted in the Indiana territory, as well as the Indiana militia, and began to hunt down Tecumseh and his warriors. It came to a head at the Battle of Tippecanoe in the Indiana territory. William Henry Harrison and his soldiers decimated the Indian forces and drove Tecumseh out of American territory, north into Canada. There Tecumseh allied himself with the British, and the British, who controlled what was then called upper and lower Canada, began to supply monies for a covert war against American imperialism in the West. It was to be a kind of guerrilla warfare, with a series of attacks across the American border.

❖ *American Hubris: Invasion of Canada*

The first cause of war for the Americans obviously was the problem of the mercantile disaster with the British, but the second cause was frontier turmoil and the Indian Confederacy.

The third cause of the war was even more complicated to understand. Given the animosity between the former colonies and the former colonial master, Great Britain, Americans had always harbored a kind of dream that all of Canada would join the United States. Remember, when we talked about the Articles of Confederation, one of the stipulations of the Articles of Confederation was that Canada could join the American states at any time with a simple treaty declaration. They could come in as states in the Union. The Americans always believed, from the time of the forgotten presidents through George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson's administrations, universally the opinion was, among American leaders, that the only reason Canada was not a part of the United States was British oppression. Once the Canadians had the chance to choose, they would immediately want to join with the United States. As Thomas Jefferson said, "The annexation of Canada was simply a matter of marching." In other words, all we had to do is send some troops north, and once we scared off the British troops, the Canadians would welcome us with open arms. They would want to be a part of this wonderful thing that we've created called the United States of America.

As it turns out, that was not true at all. The Americans were quite mistaken, but the Americans saw the frontier war with Tecumseh, the support of Tecumseh and his raids into the United States by the British, as a pretext to launch an invasion of Canada.

❖ *Declaration of War: June 18, 1812*

So American hubris and the designs of an invasion of Canada were another aspect of launching this war. As a result of impressment, the mercantilist disaster, the war on the frontier, and American hubris, the desire to launch an invasion on Canada, the United States declared war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812.

You have to understand that the Americans had made a whole series of assumptions. In some ways, they were good assumptions, sort of like all the prognosticators right now predicting who is going to win the Super Bowl. You can look in the stat sheets, you can examine all the details, but until the game is played on Sunday, we're not going to know. All the assumptions look good on paper.

Progress and Regress in the War

The assumptions that the British and the Americans had all looked good on paper. Britain was, at the time, engaged in the Napoleonic wars. The vast majority of their military force was dedicated to the Peninsular War, a bitter, bitter campaign against the Spanish and the French in the Iberian Peninsula. It was consuming a tremendous amount of time, energy, war matériel, and national resources to stay in the fight against Napoléon. Ninety percent of the British fleet was dedicated to the Peninsular War. Ninety percent of the British military was dedicated to the Peninsular War. Great Britain had enough to worry about with Napoléon. The American war planners thought they were not going to support a war so far away on the North American continent. After all, this far away from their supply lines, this far away from their command structure, we had already beaten them once. We could beat them again.

Mr. Madison's Little War

❖ *Lack of Preparedness*

The result was that America did not prepare for the war, the war that they declared. America did not prepare for the war. They had virtually no standing army. There was a small contingent of about thirteen thousand men arrayed up and down the East Coast, mostly defending ports and harbors, and a few fort placements, but virtually no standing army, no military preparedness, no strategic plan to launch invasions, and no strategic plan to guard the major harbors against a massive invasion of a superior fleet. There was just no preparation. James Madison, who had won election in 1808 quick on the heels of his mentor and friend, Thomas Jefferson's bloodless revolution, was reelected in 1812. Part of his campaign against the Federalists was to resolve this mercantilist crisis and to assert American ascendancy in world affairs.

At a time when Europe was ablaze with warfare and institutions were crumbling throughout the continent, it was assumed that now was the American moment, and Mr. Madison, a wisp of a man, a mere five foot one although he claimed that he was five-foot-three and rail thin, this wisp of a man, roared like a lion across the Atlantic declaring American ascendancy and authority and power.

❖ *Privateers and the American Navy*

His greatest assets were the American privateers. The American navy, at the time, was composed of only twenty-two commissioned vessels. Only twelve of those twenty-two vessels were as large as a frigate. Two of the American frigates had forty-four guns; the other ten had thirty-three guns. They were all small warships.

The British Royal Navy had ninety-seven vessels just in American waters alone. Of those ninety-seven vessels in American waters, four were ships of the line, these massive ships that were the equivalent of destroyers or even aircraft carriers in our day; they were these massive, massive ships. And they had thirty-four frigates. As a result, in American waters, the American navy was vastly overmatched and outnumbered. So this was Mr. Madison's greatest asset, the privateers and the American navy.

❖ *Division and New England Resistance*

He was further handicapped by the fact that New England simply would not participate in the war. Mr. Madison's strategy was based on the concept that the American Revolution was won by our local militias, not just the Continental Army, so the standing army of the United States was obviously not sufficient to fight this war but he would just call up the militias. He'd send out the alarm to all the states and ask the states to send the militias. So the call went out for the militias, and all five New England states said, "No thank you." The trouble is that most of the war is right along the border with the New England states. There was war against Canada, and the New England states were not participating. Out West were territories, and they're unorganized, so they don't have militias.

❖ *British Blockade of the Atlantic Coast*

Then there was the whole coast line of the New England states, with all the prominent harbors, including Boston Harbor, the most strategic harbor for all of American trade, and the New Englanders said, "No, thank you." They simply resisted. They used a legal tactic called nullification, in which they could examine any federal decree, call, request, tax, or regulation and decide in the state legislature whether or not it was constitutional. They said, *This is not constitutional and we're not going*. So they refused. Mr. Madison's little war, with no preparedness, a vastly outmatched American navy, and the small band of privateers, the old mercantilists who were now acting like pirates — this was all he had. Then the British took their ninety-seven ships and created a blockade all along the American coast, barring any imports or exports from the American ports. The result is that the war began in 1812 with a basic shutdown of the United States.

Attempt to Conquer the Canadian Provinces

The United States declared war, a war that they were not prepared for, a war they assumed the British were not prepared for because the British were preoccupied. But the British navy was so massive and British resolve was so certain that immediately Mr. Madison found himself altogether overmatched. So he decided to invade.

❖ *Detroit Invasion: William Hull*

He sent the few militias that he had and the regiments from the regular army, under the command of William Hull from Detroit, across the Great Lakes, and into Canadian territory. Hull was almost immediately repulsed. There are good indications that the troops were betrayed by a series of communications from Federalists, who wanted the Americans to fail. The invasion stalled quickly and failed in a series of disastrous, small battles and skirmishes.

❖ *Niagara Invasion: James Frasier*

They were sent scurrying back to American soil, at which point James Frasier, the commander of British forces in North America, launched a counter-invasion into the Niagara region of New York with disastrous results.

❖ *Champlain Invasion: Jonathan Mills*

❖ *York, Lake Erie, Michigan, and Montreal*

The Americans attempted to launch another invasion from Vermont, this time under the command of Jonathan Mills, across Lake Champlain. This too was quickly repulsed, although not before the city of York, and several surrounding towns including Newark, were burned to the ground. York was later renamed Toronto.

Lake Erie and much of the Michigan territory were, at that point, captured by the British while the Americans launched an ill-fated attempt to invade Montréal, which in turn was repulsed.

❖ *Napoléon and Reinforcements*

Then, just as the war was turning nasty and difficult at the end of the 1813 and the beginning of 1814, a stunning development occurred in Europe. Napoléon was defeated. He was sent into exile on the Mediterranean island of Elba. Suddenly British forces were free to come to America.

Now the Americans were really in trouble because the British lion, having had this thorn in her paw for nigh on two years, was very annoyed with her former colonies. She sent reinforcements, matériel, men, and a resolve to end this bitter, little battle. It looked grim. It was very possible at this point that American independence was truly in jeopardy. We don't have any indications in any of the Privy Council pronouncements at the time that the British really wanted the American colonies back, but they did want to punish the American colonies. If they could strip away their independence, they would do it.

❖ *Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott*

America looked like it was about to be conquered. Then, an amazing thing happened. All of a sudden, these young army commanders began to emerge. They showed a penchant for fighting a new kind of warfare. When they were overmatched, outmanned, and overwhelmed in battle, it seems that men like Winfield Scott and Jacob Brown found a way to snatch victory out of the jaws of defeat. Again and again and again, in a series of skirmishes along the Niagara frontier, we start to see American pluck emerge. The command in Washington had pretty much been decimated. Now the war was not being fought from a central bureaucracy, but by locals and small army commands under the leadership of young commanders like Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor, William Henry Harrison, Andrew Jackson and on the Great Lakes, the incredible brilliance of an elusive naval commander by the name of Oliver Perry. The result was that, just as these massive reinforcements arrived on U.S. soil, the temperature of the war turned. The Americans started winning a series of skirmishes.

Final Volleys in the War

The British Advance

❖ *Across Lake Champlain to New York*

The British launched a massive, massive advance across Lake Champlain to New York, but at the Battle of Plattsburgh, a naval battle on the lake, the British were repulsed and sent back. Later, writing of the event, the great naval historian early in his career, before he became a cattle rancher, before he became a professional boxer, before he became a congressman, before he became governor of the state of New York, and before he became president of United States, Teddy Roosevelt, wrote about this and said that this was the greatest naval battle in American history. Interestingly, Teddy Roosevelt wrote a textbook in his senior year at Harvard entitled *The Naval War of 1812*. It is one the most technical and remarkable achievements of a twenty-one-year-old I think I've ever seen in my life. In fact, it's still used to this day as a textbook at the United States Naval Academy. At any rate, in that book, he said that this battle was perhaps the greatest, single, naval victory in all of American history. It remains that way to this day. Here was this massive British advance, and through remarkable maneuvering, pluck, courage, and a series of new military tactics never before seen even in the Napoleonic wars, the British were driven back.

❖ *Occupation of Washington*

But the British had a lock on the Atlantic coast. The Americans attempted to protect the Chesapeake Bay, which seemed to have been the target of a great deal of British attention. Because the Federalists in the North were against the war, the British did not focus on New England. They had New England in their pocket, so they focused further south on the Chesapeake Bay and then beyond to Charleston and Savannah.

The British, in 1814, decided to put quick end to all this nonsense. They launched an invasion into the Chesapeake Bay, occupying the cities of Washington and laying siege on Baltimore, in August of 1814 through September of 1814. They were easily able to land their troops at the mouth of the Potomac River and marched straight into the District of Columbia. They burned down the U.S. Treasury, the recently-built U.S. capital, and they set the White House ablaze, destroying the new capital city of the United States. President Madison had to scurry out of town. The invasion was a surprise. All his advisers, despite all the obvious signs, argued that the British were going to invade Baltimore first, so the city was left undefended. Madison was not prepared. They had to scurry him out. In fact, they actually dressed him in a lady's dress in order to get him out of Washington as they scurried away. As one eyewitness said, "He makes for a fine lady."

Meanwhile, his brilliant and beautiful wife, Dolly Madison, who had served during the Jefferson administration as the hostess for the White House, loved the White House, had helped largely to decorate it during the previous twelve years, and knew of its important artifacts like the Gilbert portrait of George Washington and a number of important artifacts of American independence. She stayed behind, and while the British were advancing, while her husband was scurrying away in a stagecoach dressed as a woman, Dolly Madison ran through the White House with a long kitchen knife, cutting out portraits, rolling them up, stuffing them into carpet bags, gathering together her servants, mobilizing them to save as much as they could, and then, having gathered it all, she made her way to the edge of town, just in time for the British to sweep in and burn it all down. If it had not been for Dolly Madison, we would have lost it all.

❖ *Siege of Baltimore*❖ *Francis Scott Key: Star-Spangled Banner*

The British destroyed the city, then turned their attention on Baltimore. They launched an invasion of Baltimore. They were repulsed at the outskirts of the city by citizens fighting house-to-house and door-to-door, so they brought in the heavy guns against Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor and began to bombard. Of course, it was that famous night in September of 1814, that Francis Scott Key saw the city of Baltimore steel its resolve. Later, he would say that the city of Baltimore was as courageous as Dolly Madison, in a fit of flight. He wrote his famous hymn of praise to God, who seemed to providentially steel the resolve of Americans, despite their government and their officials, their army and their foolishness for entering this war.

In some ways, there were two wars going on simultaneously. The one war was the war against the British, which lasted from 1812 to 1814. The other war was the war against Tecumseh and the native Indians, who had formed this North American Confederacy of Indians. That lasted from 1808 to 1818. A central figure in those Indian wars on the southern frontier was Andrew Jackson. Andrew Jackson would be the next great figure to emerge on the world stage. The War of 1812 was his great moment. He experienced victory after victory after victory in fighting against the Creek in the South, in what is called the Creek War, sometimes considered part of the War of 1812 and sometimes considered a part of this separate Indian wars conflict from 1808 to 1818.

Peace

❖ *Battle of New Orleans: January 8, 1815*❖ *The Rise of Andrew Jackson*❖ *Treaty of Ghent: August-December 1814*

By the end of 1814, having vanquished the Creek, he was dispatched immediately to the front lines at the city of New Orleans because it seemed that the British were launching a massive invasion of that strategic port city. While, this massive invasion was being launched, there were peace treaty delegates hammering out an agreement between the United States and Great Britain to end the war. In fact, the Treaty of Ghent, negotiations for which went from August to December of 1814, was actually signed before the Battle of New Orleans. Word had not gotten to Jackson or the British that the war was over, so the British launched this massive invasion from the Gulf of Mexico, using hardened Napoleonic War veterans, crack elite troops, against the American placements.

The Americans arrived just before the fleets got there. They had about two days to dig themselves into placements. Jackson was a brutal commander, demanding absolute loyalty from his troops. It paid off in a stunning victory. The British suffered some two thousand casualties, the Americans, less than one hundred. The battle was over within a matter of hours on January 8, 1815, but the war had ended several days before, officially, with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

In this unnecessary war, the greatest battle was the most unnecessary of all, but it launched Andrew Jackson into the ascendancy of American politics and the global stage.

The end result of this whole great conflict was actually pretty good for the Americans. For a war that they shouldn't have declared because they never prepared, in which they lost virtually all the battles during the first two years, and were only able to pull the fat out of the fire in the last second, they came out pretty good. Britain was tired of war. They had finally vanquished Napoléon. They wished for no more of this. They were demoral-

ized by the ascendancy of people like Jacob Brown, Winfield Scott, and the victories of Oliver Perry, Zachary Taylor, and William Henry Harrison, so they determined to make peace with the United States.

Monroe Doctrine

- ❖ *December 2, 1823*
- ❖ *Non-Interference of European Powers*
- ❖ *Limitation of Colonization: Holy Alliance*
- ❖ *John Quincy Adams: Unilateralism*

John Quincy Adams hammered out something called the Monroe Doctrine in the aftermath of this great war. If there's anything we can say that was really good that came out of the War of 1812, it was the Monroe Doctrine, which essentially argued that European powers were not to meddle in the affairs, either mercantile or political, of any of the American states in North or South America. It limited colonization and the stretch of colonization. It created a kind of, as the Americans called it, holy alliance between the American powers in North and in South America. It brought to the fore one of the greatest minds of the first part of the nineteenth century, John Quincy Adams, who developed a plan for unilateral American action against the incursion of European powers. It was the beginning of the true rise of American diplomacy and power in the world.

So, what started off horribly, foolishly, unnecessarily, wound up being a very good thing for the Americans. Many historians in the first part of the nineteenth century, Teddy Roosevelt included, could only draw the conclusion that something entered into so disastrously, that ended up so marvelously for the American Republic, could only be ascribed to one thing. Either there is, in this world, raw, stupid luck or there is a sovereign God who providentially intended that, despite man's own foolish adventures and misadventures, he would direct the steps of men and nations in such a way as to magnify his own name and advance his own kingdom. The great lesson of the War of 1812 is probably just this: either the world is the result of raw, stupid luck, or there is a God, and he has a purpose, and he is sovereign, and no matter how foolishly we act, his plans will not be frustrated. I, for one, prefer the latter to the former, and I think that the facts bear it out.



Father, thank you that we do not live in a world of raw, stupid luck, but that instead you superintend the affairs of men and nations, and you had a reason for the Americans to be rebuked in the war but ultimately still see the vision of a free republic shining a light of freedom to all the nations of the earth. We're grateful that we are the heirs of that good providence, and that that good providence prevails still. We praise you and thank you for that, in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 29

Adams & Jackson: Two Alike Opposites

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Jefferson Davis and Why the South Fought; Why the South Was Virtually Bound to Lose

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 368–382

Lesson Synopsis

John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson couldn't have been more different in the way they arrived on the national scene, yet they couldn't have been more alike in the way they pursued the passion and the vision that was set before them.

Opportunity

13

Lesson Topics

John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, The Corrupt Bargain and the election of 1824

Primary Source Material

The Monroe Doctrine

Vocabulary

attributable, ambivalent, neutral, effete, fray, stave (v), quagmire, refined, urbane, ossify, petrify, ideological,

Timeline

- ❖ 1767, March 15: Andrew Jackson was born.
- ❖ 1767, July 11: John Quincy Adams was born.
- ❖ 1825, February 8: John Quincy Adams was elected president by the House of Representatives after no one won a majority of the vote in the general election of 1824.
- ❖ 1845, June 8: Andrew Jackson died.
- ❖ 1848, February 23: John Quincy Adams died.



Adams & Jackson: Two Alike Opposites

*O, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth!
~ "The Ballad of East and West" by Rudyard Kipling*

8 February

❖ *356: Athanasius of Alexandria (300–373) was sent into exile for the third time.*

Today is February 8. It was on this day in the year 356 that Athanasius, of the city of Alexandria, was sent into exile for the third time. This great stalwart of orthodoxy, who stood against the Arian heresy in 325, was actually at church in the middle of a worship service when troops sent by the Byzantine emperor surrounded the church, stormed into the nave, and made their way down the aisle toward Athanasius. The people of Alexandria were starting to get used to their controversial bishop running afoul of the authorities for preaching against the wickedness of the court, so they jumped into the aisle and blocked the passage of the troops. Apparently some deacons had already hatched a plan if something like this should ever occur. They surrounded Athanasius, who was a little bitty man, by most accounts — he was about five foot three and weighed less than a hundred and ten pounds. They surrounded him and ushered him out the back of the building. The troops fought their way through the throng of worshipers, got up to the pulpit, discovered that Athanasius was gone, and scoured the city. By that time, the people in the church had scurried him out of town, and he went into exile once again, living in the caves with the monastics out in the Egyptian desert. For a little bitty guy, who was basically an academic, Athanasius was one courageous and remarkable man. It's one of the reasons why, often when you read about him in history books, he's always associated with sort of his motto, which was Athanasius, *Contra Mundum*, Athanasius, against the world. It was on this day in the year 356 that he was sent into exile for the third time.

❖ *1693: A charter was granted for the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia.*

In 1693, on this day, a charter was granted for the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg. It was the place where people like Peyton Randolph and Thomas Jefferson were educated, and where James Monroe and others received their grounding in the classics.

❖ *1819: John Ruskin was born in London, England.*

In 1819, on this day, John Ruskin was born in London, England. He was a great writer and thinker. He wrote a number of wonderful novels, but he's probably best known for his critique of emerging Modernism, Modernism in art, Modernism in architecture. His book, *The Stones of Venice*, and his companion work, *The Painters of the Christian World*, set standards for understanding the objective aspects of aesthetics, upon which much of the resistance to Modernity and Postmodernity was built in the years to come.

❖ *1828: Jules Verne was born in Nantes, France.*

It was on this day in 1828, that the great writer Jules Verne was born in the same town that John Calvin was born, just about three hundred years later.

❖ *1910: The Boy Scouts of America was incorporated.*

In 1910, on February 8, the Boy Scouts were incorporated.

❖ *1915: D.W. Griffith's, The Birth of a Nation, premiered in Hollywood.*

In 1915, on this day, the great classic and controversial film, *Birth of a Nation*, premiered in Hollywood. It was a spectacular feat of cinematographic advance, but it was also controversial because it exalted the cause of the resistant South just at a time when the Jim Crow laws and the Ku Klux Klan were making a real revival in the South. The director, D.W. Griffith, was hailed as a brilliant director — he went on to have a stunning career — but he was also isolated as out of step with the emerging consensus in Hollywood and has, ever since, been an enigma. If you love film and the history of film, this is one of those classics that you just have to watch, but it is a little disturbing in some of the very politically incorrect sorts of messages that Griffith attempts to send.

❖ *1973: The Senate began its Watergate investigation.*

Also on this day in 1973 the United States Senate began its Watergate investigation. It was the beginning of the end of the Nixon administration.

❖ *1825: The Corrupt Bargain was struck.*

But for our purposes, perhaps the most significant thing that happened on this day occurred in the year 1825. That's when the so-called Corrupt Bargain was struck in the House of Representatives. In the previous fall, a presidential election had taken place, in which five presidential candidates, all from the same party, and four vice-presidential candidates, also all from the same party, ran in a kind of free-for-all presidential election. As you might expect, no one won a clear majority, and worse than that no one had sufficient numbers of electoral college votes to resolve the issue. So, by the Constitution, the election was thrown to the House of Representatives to decide. Each member of the House was not bound to vote according to the way that their states had voted in the presidential election. In a sense, the campaign began all over again.

Henry Clay was the Speaker of the House. He was also one of the candidates. He came in third in the popular vote, and there was virtually no chance for Clay to win the election, even though he had great sway in the House of Representatives. That would've been way too corrupt. But he could sway the election. So after a whole long series of closed-door meetings and lots of smokey room caucuses, the House of Representatives took a vote, and in their vote, they awarded the election to John Quincy Adams, who had been beaten soundly in the popular vote by the front-runner, Andrew Jackson. So John Quincy Adams became president of the United States. Shortly thereafter, Henry Clay was appointed to be his new Secretary of State.

Many believed that the deal that had been struck on this day, February 8, in 1825, was some sort of Corrupt Bargain in which Henry Clay said to Adams, *I will throw the election to you, if you give me my choice of cabinet posts.*

The Corrupt Bargain was never proven, but a whole series of meetings occurred on this day to determine the presidency, and Henry Clay did indeed receive the office that he sought, Secretary of State, thinking that, at least in the next election, it would be his stepping stone to the presidency.

The end result of all of this was that, for the next four years, two dominating figures in American history and political life were suddenly pitted against each other. John Quincy Adams was the scion of the Adams dynasty of

Massachusetts, one of the greatest intellectual minds ever to ascend to the presidency, one of the most gifted men ever to serve the nation in almost any capacity, and an absolute genius in a host of fields and extraordinarily gifted in many ways. He became president, but was pitted for the next four years against the man who beat him soundly in the popular vote but did not win the election, Andrew Jackson. They would face each other again in 1828, but the day after the Corrupt Bargain was settled, Andrew Jackson began to campaign. For four long difficult years, these two men faced one another. It was almost as if the words that Rudyard Kipling would pen about fifty years later had come to life in American politics:

O, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till two strong men stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat...¹

Two Alike Opposites

These were two of the most amazing men ever to grace the stage of American history, and they were made into fierce enemies by the Corrupt Bargain that occurred on this day, February 8, 1825.

In a lot of ways, these two men were very much alike, and of course in a lot of ways they were obviously opposites. I really like the phrase that Paul Johnson uses in his *History of the American People*. When he talks about these two guys, he says that they were “two alike opposites”. It’s a peculiar paradox, but it’s one that I hope that you’ll be able to see as we introduce these two characters.

Adams

We’ve already seen a little bit about John Quincy Adams because he was the author of the Monroe Doctrine. He was the primary negotiator for the Treaty of Ghent. He had served as the Secretary of State to James Monroe during the Era of Good Feelings. He really was probably solely responsible for the foreign policy successes of the Monroe administration — the acquisition of Florida, the admission of Mississippi and Missouri, as well as four other states to the Union. It was a stunning series of great successes in the Monroe administration, and Monroe himself admitted that most of those successes were attributable to John Quincy Adams.

❖ *Intellectual; Insider; New England Gentleman*

He was a stunning intellectual. He really began his great intellectual career on an afternoon at the top of a tree above a knoll when he was seven years old, looking down at the Charles River and across the Charles River to Bunker and Breed’s Hills. He sat with a notebook and began to record, in his first journal ever, the Battle of Bunker Hill. He kept that journal for the rest of his life; it’s available to this day in the Adams Archives in Quincy. The insights of this seven-year-old sitting in a tree watching a battle for the first time are astonishing. He makes references to the Gallic wars of Cæsar and to the campaigns of Charlemagne. He includes quotations in the Greek from Plutarch. He has Latin inscriptions at the top of every single page, and what’s really stunning is, apparently, while he was sitting in a tree during a battle, overlooking the battle of Bunker Hill, he first began to practice what became his habit throughout the rest of his life and that was writing simultaneously with his right hand and his left hand, on two different pages, on two different subjects, just so that he could move through the

¹ Dr. Grant conflated the first four lines of the poem into these two lines. For the full first stanza, please see the quote at the beginning of the lesson. *Ed.*

pages more quickly. For those of us who have difficulty chewing gum and walking at the same time, this is a stunning feat. He started practicing this — he wasn't very adept at it at the age of seven, but by the time he was eleven years old, his father, soon to be president of the United States, John Adams, was sent to France on a diplomatic mission. John Adams took his young son with him and made his son his personal secretary. He was eleven years old at this time. He was on his first diplomatic mission, and he became the official secretary to his father, who was the equivalent of the ambassador to France, but he wasn't called this yet because this title wasn't used. His eleven-year-old son was his personal secretary. As the personal secretary, young John drafted all his father's correspondence, took his dictation, kept the minutes of various meetings, kept his own personal journal, made copies in a separate journal of every piece of correspondence that went out, and sat in on all high-level meetings. No wonder he was considered the ultimate insider, a member of the great New England dynasty that established him as an intellectual and a gentleman.

❖ *Refined; Classically Educated; Sophisticated*

His refinement was unparalleled. His education was astonishing, and on top of all the rest of it, he learned, at his father's knee, exactly how to undertake delicate diplomacy and negotiate difficult issues with grace, holding to principle, never veering to the right or the left from those essential republican ideals of checks and balances, separation of powers, and liberty and freedom that gave rise to the American experiment in liberty. It is just amazing.

He was refined in all his tastes. There's a letter that he wrote to his mother, Abigail Adams, while he was in France. He had just arrived, and he wrote in his letter to his mother, "Please excuse the coarseness of this quill and the wretchedness of this paper. It seems that the French have yet to understand the importance of archival papers."

He was obviously classically educated. The family library back in Quincy was one of the greatest libraries. It's there to this day. You can visit this magnificent library. It's in a large, two-story room with a balcony and stacks all the way around on all sides with some of the finest bindings available from England, France, and Germany during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This library was his playground in his early years and became the place of his deep study for the rest of his life. He was not just classically trained, he was a man who went back to the sources of his learning and the richness of his pleasure for the rest of his life.

❖ *Diplomat; Champion of the Outcast*

In his older years, he became a champion against slavery and, like Athanasius, pretty much stood in the United States House of Representatives *contra mundum*. Despite the fact that there was a gag rule imposed on discussions about slavery in the House of Representatives, every single day that he was given an opportunity to rise and speak, John Quincy Adams for years, with almost a William Wilberforce-kind of willfulness, stood and asked for permission to speak on the issue. Every time he did, he was eloquent in quoting sources from antiquity and long passages of Scripture from the Old and the New Testaments, from the rich tradition of Christian classical writing, from Augustine forward through to the intricacies of Aquinas. All of this just sort of flowed out of him because it was part and parcel of the way he thought, the way he talked, the way he lived. It was a part of the fiber of his being. He was a man who cut, from an early early age, a strong sense of sophistication. The French, when he was about thirteen years old, often quipped that he surely was but an underdeveloped adult because though he had the body of a thirteen-year-old, he really had the mind, the bearing, the presence, and the conversational abilities of a much much older man.

That's why, by the time he was fourteen years old, he was sent on diplomatic missions by his father alone, to negotiate difficult aspects of various kinds of either treaty arrangements or trade agreements. By this time, they were no longer in France. They were in Britain, and John Quincy Adams was the chief negotiator of several very delicate trade agreements in those years leading up to the impressment of American seamen that would break out in the War of 1812 — the hostilities between Britain and America. He was chief negotiator.

When he was fifteen, he was sent alone as the American diplomat, again, the equivalent of the American ambassador, to Russia. Over the course of two and a half months, he taught himself Russian, boned up on his French because in the Russian court they spoke French as often as they spoke Russian, and at fifteen he went off and was essentially the ambassador to the Russian court for the new American republic. At fifteen! This is mind-boggling! What's really remarkable is that he did a fabulous job. He was able to hammer out a series of agreements with the Russians that would lay the framework for the eventual acquisition of the American Pacific Northwest following the Louisiana Purchase years later.²

Jackson

Now Andrew Jackson seemed like, in almost every conceivable way, the exact opposite of John Quincy Adams. He was by no means refined. He was by no means an intellectual. He was by no means a gentleman. Instead, he was a western adventurer.

❖ *Adventurer; Outsider; Western Scrapper*

He was originally from North Carolina, and when he was a young boy, the American War of Independence had broken out and he quickly became known, after the death of his father and all his brothers going off to war, as a real scrapper and fighter. When the British occupied his little town and took him and many other of the young boys in town captive to do menial service for the British troops that were quartered there, Andrew Jackson, little Andy as he was called in those days, was constantly doing things to undermine their authority and to booby-trap the closets, lockers, and uniforms of those whom he was to do service for.

One time he was forced by a British officer to polish the British officer's boots, and he absolutely refused. He would not kowtow, so he was grabbed by the top of his head and forced to his knees at the feet of the British officer, at which point Andy did what any self-respecting, rebellious patriot would do — he spit on the boots. The British officer was outraged, took his sword, and whacked Andy across the side of the head. It left a giant gash across Jackson's cheek, which he prided himself on for the rest of his life. It was his medal of honor from the War of Independence. He was too young to fight, but he was not too young to be wounded for the cause of American liberty.

As a young man, he decided to go West after the war and was an adventurer and a scrapper. He came with some of the earliest settlers into middle Tennessee and made his home just to the east side of where the Nashville airport is today, on that great spread of beautiful bottomland called the Hermitage.

² John Quincy Adams was appointed to be the secretary and translator to the emissary. The problem was that Francis Dana, the appointed emissary, was forced to remain in London over the winter for health reasons. JQA went on ahead. The fifteen-year-old served as the ambassador during that interim period. GG

Coarse; Barely-Educated; Simple

But he was also closely involved in all the political affairs that were emerging around Fort Nashborough, which became Nashville. He got involved in land speculation. He had himself certified as a lawyer. Though he had never studied law, he bought his way into the legal profession. He was barely literate; he had only bits and pieces of education. He was a very simple man, who lived with simple tastes. The only reason that he built as nice a home as he did at the Hermitage was because his wife complained of the wind whistling through the cracks in their original log cabin, and he wanted to make Rachel, his beloved, feel well cared for; so he built a new house, and then he built a new house after that. If you go to the Hermitage, you can see the series of buildings that he erected there.

❖ Soldier; Champion of the Common Man

He was involved in so many different things, that it was inevitable that he was a bit of a scrapper and a fighter. We know of at least nine duels that he fought at various times, two of them with swords and the other seven with pistols.

It was said of him that he had more scars, more wounds, and more pistol lead in his body than any other man who has ever become president of the United States. Over at Carter House, if you go around to the back of one of the outbuildings, you can see the most battle-scarred buildings still standing in North America. It looks like Swiss cheese on the back side of this outbuilding. It's often said by the historians at the Hermitage that in many ways Andrew Jackson's body was like Mr. Carter's outbuilding, he was riddled with holes and scars. Someone once saw the lower part of his leg in the White House. Being a scrapper like he was, being as shot up and scarred up as he was, he had lots of aches and pains by the time he was president. One day, he was standing in the White House, pulled up his pant leg, and was massaging his calf. The observer saw this leg and said that it was the most disgusting looking thing that he'd ever seen in his life, and he did not understand how a man could walk on such brittle and torn up stalk of a leg. This was Andrew Jackson.

He became an effective field commander and soldier. We've already talked about his exploits in the Battle of New Orleans and in the Creek War. He learned his battlefield techniques in fighting against the Indians, when he was an army leader, and that ensured that vast portions of land in the southeast would be cleared for European settlers. He was greatly beloved by his soldiers because they knew that this was a man who could win in the most difficult of circumstances. But he was also a bit of a tyrant. He wasn't the diplomat that John Quincy Adams was. He didn't generally negotiate.

There is a story of one time when he was in the White House, he had a heated disagreement with a member of his cabinet. In fact, it was his Secretary of War, and the disagreement became so heated that Andrew Jackson got up out of his chair — he was six foot one, gaunt and thin, but he was an imposing figure; his hair was a mane, straw-like, spiky hair. He stood up over the table, loomed large over his Secretary of War, and they started yelling at each other over the table. The Secretary of War was an old diplomat and been accustomed to these kinds of political battles for years, but he had never seen anybody do what Andrew Jackson did next. Andrew Jackson didn't just leave it at words. He crawled over the table, grabbed the guy by his vest, pulled him up out of his chair, threw him down, and said, "Get up man. It's time to fight!" The Secretary of War said, *I thought that we were just doing politics here. I had no idea that my life was in jeopardy.* He promptly resigned and left the cabinet. Nobody survived Andrew Jackson's cabinet for more than three years; even his vice-president quit in the middle of a term because he didn't want to have to deal with this fighter and scrapper.

But Andrew Jackson was also a man of extraordinary principle. Though he was coarse, and though he was barely educated, he understood the need to stand by the basic principles of the American Constitution. He fought for those principles and was therefore able to stir up fierce loyalty among the people, among the nation, and among his closest followers.

Traits in Common

You think about two guys like this. Andrew Jackson, the frontiersman, fighter, scrapper, rapper, brawler — he could cuss the wallpaper off of any parlor in middle Tennessee — and there's John Quincy Adams, prim, proper, a gentleman, refined, upset that the French had not yet understood the advantage of archival papers and fine quills. These two men were thrown together into one of the great, classic battles of wills. Here's why Paul Johnson says that, though they were very much opposites, they were also very much alike: a lot of it has to do with the character that lay beneath these exterior veneers.

❖ *Both Were Decisive Leaders*

Both, for instance, were decisive leaders. They knew what they stood for. They understood the need for laying out strategies, goals, objectives, and they were unafraid of making decisions to pursue those strategies, goals, and objectives. Both men were able to cut deals. Both men were able to see through the clutter of a crisis, maintain their heads, and steer the advantage to the cause of America. Both men understood the value of fighting for what was right, so both were decisive leaders and had strong followings. People were equally impressed by these two men.

❖ *Both Were Principled Doers*

Secondly, both were principled doers. They were willing to stake their lives and their reputations on the causes that they believed were right, good, and true. When principle demanded that they risk everything, they did it, immediately. They showed extraordinary character and courage throughout their entire lives. They were often wrong, but seldom in doubt; they lived their lives that way. Part of the reason why they clashed so fiercely is that their principles would not allow them to relent, so they took action.

❖ *Both Created Rabid Opposition*

Both had tremendous negatives. Both were the kind of guys that you either really, really liked or really, really hated. It was said of Andrew Jackson, "No man was ambivalent in his presence." In other words, nobody was neutral. Nobody thought that Andrew Jackson was just okay. You either hated the guy or you loved the guy. You'd follow him anywhere, you'd do anything to see that he was elected, that his cause was satisfied, that his principles were implemented, that his policies were put in place. You're either all the way in or you can't stand him, like Peyton Manning or Dubya or Hillary. You can see that. Some people have this polarizing effect. They have such a presence and such command of their ideas and their principles, and they stand so strongly that there is no sense that people can ever be neutral about them. Their positives and negatives almost equally balance out.

Both men therefore had huge opposition. Out in the West, John Quincy Adams was basically considered to be effete and out of touch with the real America. He was one of those ivory tower intellectuals. He talked in long and complicated phrases, filled with purple prose and arcane references to books that had never made it past the Appalachian Mountains and had never crossed into the frontier. As a result, they assumed that he was simply a

man unable to lead the new America. He was a blue blood. He was tied to the old line. He was a man of privilege, and out in the West that was despised.

John Quincy Adams was as hated as Andrew Jackson ever was. But he was also fiercely loved. People would disagree with him on the floor of the House of Representatives, but they would go home with a begrudging respect. *This man will not take no for an answer. This man will stand on principle no matter what. This man is unflinching. This man is an intellectual bulwark that cannot be swayed.*

❖ *Both Ran toward the Roar of the Lions*

Third, both men ran toward the roar. If there was a battle, if the combatants were raging, you could always be sure that these two men would be right in the middle of the fray. They never ran from a fight. They always ran to it, not because they simply loved to fight, but because they had this strong sense that, when trouble was about, it was their responsibility to stand in the midst of the fray and either bring about a hopeful resolution that would preserve American principles of liberty or they would die trying. They ran toward the roar.

Comparisons and Contrasts

This is what made them such remarkable leaders. It's why, in latter days, though these men were painted as fierce, fierce political enemies throughout most of their careers, both of them begrudgingly admitted that they loved the pluck in the other.

Adams

❖ *Fourteen Years: Secretary to Minister of Russia; Sixteen Years: Paris*

❖ *Netherlands; Portugal; Prussia; Russia; UK*

When Adams was fourteen, he got his appointment to become a minister to Russia. When he was fifteen, he arrived at St. Petersburg and began his career there. At sixteen, he was sent back to Paris and served the diplomatic mission there. He served in the Netherlands and Portugal. He went to the rising nation of Prussia, which ultimately united all the Germanies, and there in Prussia, he became the leader of a kind of international diplomatic corps that dealt with the difficulties of the expansion of Russia and the United Kingdom's vast colonial acquisitions that would lead the world into a century of bitter warfare, from the Napoleonic wars to the Franco-Prussian Wars which led directly to World War I and then to World War II. There at the center of the diplomatic corps in the Prussian capital of Berlin, John Quincy Adams began to lay out principles for American foreign policy, warning that the world was on the precipice of an age of conflict and war, of revolution, and ideological upheaval that would change the world forever. He was incredibly farsighted, and he understood all that stood before the nation from that point forward.

❖ *Senate; Treaty of Ghent; Secretary of State*

He was elected into the Senate from his native Massachusetts and then was sent back to Europe to negotiate the Treaty of Ghent, which brought to an end the War of 1812. Afterwards, he became James Monroe's Secretary of State, hammering out the agreements that would give rise to America's great ascent and the Era of Good Feelings.

❖ *Spanish Florida; Monroe Doctrine*

It was during that time that he negotiated with the Spanish to acquire all of Florida, meaning both Spanish Florida and the Republic of West Florida. But it was that peculiar, little independent republic that ran from the Mississippi River all the way across to Mobile Bay, that little stretch of land to the south of the Deep South, known as the Florida parishes, parts of modern-day Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with the capital at Red Stick with Fulwar Skipwith, the nephew of Thomas Jefferson, as the president there at Red Stick, or Baton Rouge. He negotiated the acquisition of all that and brought all that into the emerging United States.

❖ *Presidential Quagmire: Opposition; Obstruction*

During the campaign of 1824, he was thrown into something that he was entirely unfamiliar with in what had been a charmed existence in American politics and life. He'd always been the golden boy. He'd always been well liked. He'd always been the child prodigy. He'd always been the brilliant genius who could talk his way out of any trouble. With the campaign of 1824, suddenly he was being vilified across the nation. Supporters of Andrew Jackson painted him as out of touch with America. He was astonished by this. He was the man who had crafted the acquisition of what was then America. He was there at the Battle of Breed's and Bunker Hills.³ He was there during the negotiations that ended the War of Independence. He was there to negotiate the agreements between France and Britain. He was there during the War of 1812, negotiated the end of that, had served the nation in all the great capitals of the world. He'd acquired all the lands peacefully from the Indians that needed to be acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. He had staved off difficulties with the Spanish monarchy, and had acquired all that land thus gaining full access to the Gulf of Mexico. Now here was this man saying he was out of touch with America?

When he won the election, he was thrown into a kind of presidential quagmire. At the advent of the Monroe administration, all the political parties basically fell apart. Everybody was a member of the same party, the Democratic Republican Party. After the election of 1824, the Democratic Republican Party broke apart. The Jackson faction became known as the Democrats. The John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay faction became known as the National Republicans. They would later become known as the Whigs, and then when the Whig party fell apart in the middle of the century, it came back together — at least bits and pieces of it came back together — as the new Republican Party in 1856, but now there was a new fracturing.

John Quincy Adams found himself as the lightning rod. While he had succeeded in everything that he'd ever done in his life, the opposition of the new Democrats and the determination of Andrew Jackson to wage a four-year long presidential campaign — examining every policy, every statement, every appointment that John Quincy Adams made — under the scrutiny of fierce opposition, suddenly nothing was getting done in Washington. Obstructionism was the rule of the day.

From 1824 to 1828, the American system essentially ground to a halt in terms of its governance. The good news about that is that the American system ground to a halt, which meant that there was a kind of new salutary neglect, and because this was the Era of Good Feelings, the expansion of the West, vast new economic resources pouring into the marketplace, America was able to function quite well. Europe was so tired of war. Quick on the heels of the Napoleonic campaigns, the threat of foreign invasion had been negotiated away by John Quincy

³ This almost sounds as if Dr. Grant implied that there were two battles. However, what we know as the Battle of Bunker Hill was actually fought on Breed's Hill. So Dr. Grant is using both names to refer to the single battle. *Ed.*

Adams before he took the role of president. For four years America could coast, and coast quite nicely. The world remained quite happy and prosperous and peaceful.

❖ *Seventeen Years in Congress; Gag Rule Opposition*

With the election of 1828, John Quincy Adams lost the presidency and briefly retired to private life. John Quincy Adams was not a man to sit back and give speeches, build a presidential library, and appear in the news every so often to make a comment or two. Instead, he decided to go back to Congress. For seventeen years, he served in Congress. He opposed the gag rule day after day after day in Congress. A former president of the United States, now bound by a gag rule, not being able to talk about the only thing that he wanted to talk about for the next seventeen years. For seventeen years, day after day after day, he stood up and sought permission to speak on the subject of slavery. For the rest of his life he ran toward the roar.

Jackson

❖ *Frontier Law; Soldier; Indian Fighter*

❖ *Congress; Supreme Court; Ill-Health*

Jackson had gained his law degree by the frontier method. He'd learned a few basic principles from the law books and then paid a judge to swear him in. He was a soldier and an Indian fighter. He made his way to Congress having cornered all the primary offices in middle Tennessee and being appointed to the supreme court of the state of Tennessee. He lived all his life with very very ill health, the results of his multiple duels. This is one president of the United States who could have never made it through a metal detector; he had bullets in him. It was said that there was at least three inches of a knife blade that broke off in him during a knife fight; it was in him for the rest of his days. He suffered for the rest of his life.

❖ *1824 Election Debacle; 1828 Campaign*

In 1824, the election debacle in which he was thrown into this quagmire of a fight, no political parties anymore, no real differences on the basic policies. John Quincy Adams from Massachusetts ran. Henry Clay of Kentucky ran. William Crawford of Georgia ran. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina ran. And, of course, Andrew Jackson. Jackson, hero of the War of 1812, a dashing and debonair figure, and a hero of the West, won the popular vote, but, of course, it was thrown into the House of Representatives. He was the man who came up on the short end of the Corrupt Bargain, so he began the campaign for presidency in 1828. When that election came around, there were only two candidates. John Quincy Adams was not able to split the vote. He only won the New England states, and Andrew Jackson won by a landslide and became president.

The inauguration of Andrew Jackson provided one of the greatest spectacles that Washington had ever seen. People from the frontier came riding into town on their horses and in their big flatbed wagons. With their muddy boots, they stormed their way into the White House, and they had a *Beverly Hillbillies* scene like nobody's business. With the muddy boots on the velvet couches of the White House, they did in those days what was about \$120,000 worth of damage in one night to the White House — just in a big party. In those day \$120,000 would have been somewhere in the neighborhood of about \$5.5 million today. But boy did the nation ever have a party.

❖ *Nullification; National Bank; Personal Scandal*

❖ *Wild, Wild West; Urbane Western Gentleman*

He fought a series of battles — the nullification crisis and the national bank crisis. There were personal scandals. There was a kind of Wild, Wild West atmosphere that surrounded him. Interestingly he became, during the presidency, a man who really was refined and urbane. He proved that, despite the fact that he was not well-educated, he was an intellectual. He demonstrated that, though he had not traveled abroad like John Quincy Adams, he was a man of the world, and he understood the world. He became a remarkable leader who defined the age, the same way that this period in Europe is known as the Age of Napoléon. In America this became known as the Age of Jackson.

Elections of 1824 & 1828

The elections of 1824 and 1828 are to this day studied by political scientists because they demonstrate something remarkable, something that is very important for us to keep in mind today: when ideologies are no longer at issue, when policies, substantive policy differences, are no longer on the table as a matter of political conflict and discourse, inevitably people divide by culture and region. Europe, at this time, was beginning to divide on the basis of ideology. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will become the age of ideology with the rise of socialism and national socialism, of communism, of right wing fascist dictatorships, and left wing fascist dictatorships. Various ideologies will divide Europe and lay the groundwork for the conflict of the Modern age. None of that was present in 1824, following the Era of Good Feelings. Instead of dividing on the basis of ideologies and political and policy disagreements, the nation divided on the basis of culture and region. For the next fifty years, American life was defined by regional differences. Those regional differences ossified and petrified into ideological disagreements. During the next fifty years of American history, those regional differences will become ideological differences, and that defined American life. We'll see how that played out later, but already you're starting to see a kind of red state, blue state divide emerge.

This is important for us to understand today because, during the Cold War, the world was divided by ideology; once the Cold War ended and there was general consensus about the idea of some sort of social democracy as the primary political mechanism for the guidance of the world, what we've seen in the years since is a divide on the basis of culture and region. That is at the heart of the conflict between the West and Islam, for instance, between the first and second worlds and the Third World. It will naturally become an important part of the profile of the future.

Principled Leadership

When we look at John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, there are things that emerge that we need to keep in mind.

- ❖ *Leaders are always controversial*
- ❖ *To affirm one thing is to deny another.*

One is that leaders who lead by principle, leaders who lead with courage, are almost always going to be controversial. That's because to affirm one thing is always to deny something else. You can't affirm something, stand for a principle, without standing against something else.

- ❖ *Accept the nature of the struggle.*
- ❖ *If we have to fight, fight fairly.*
- ❖ *Admit the mystery and complexity of the world.*
- ❖ *Run toward the roar.*

True leaders will inevitably accept the nature of the struggle, but when they fight, they will fight fairly. Invariably, men like Adams and Jackson, though they fight in a kind of black-and-white fashion, will always admit that there is mystery and complexity in the world. But that does not deter them. When the battle rages, they will run toward the roar.

- ❖ *Leadership is an inherently dangerous affair.*

Both of these men demonstrated the fact that leadership is always dangerous. You're always sticking yourself out there. If you don't want to be attacked, just don't do anything. If you don't want to draw opposition, resistance, and naysayers, then back out of the front lines because leaders invariably, inherently, draw fire. It doesn't seem right or fair.

Poor Rex Grossman, the quarterback for the Chicago Bears. He led his team to the best record in the NFL, had an astonishingly wonderful first part of the season. People were singing his praises, beginning to think that maybe Chicago's invincible. Then he hit a bad patch, had a few bad games, but pulled it out in the end, led his team to the Super Bowl. He's the quarterback. He's going to take fire. If Peyton Manning had not won that game, we wouldn't be talking about Rex Grossman at all. We'd be talking about how Peyton can't win the big one and always chokes. *Do you know that at the last minute, Sure, okay, the defense let down and let the Bears do this, that, and the other thing. Oh, yeah, the Bears put eight men in the box, and they were able to put pressure on Peyton, who can never do his check downs. He never got past his first option of the receivers.* We could say all that, but the storyline would be, *He blew it. He couldn't make it.*⁴

When American foreign policy goes bad, we don't sit down and say, *That congressman from Iowa who voted really blew it.* No, it's Dubya. It's President Bush. He's on the hot seat, and he's the one that everybody's going to attack, rightly or wrongly, for stuff that's his fault and stuff that's not his fault. That is the nature of leadership. What's really remarkable about great leaders, whether they succeed or fail, leaders like Jackson and Adams, is that they understand that and still don't flinch. That's what it takes to be a leader. It's not just knowing all the right stuff, not just being able to write with your right hand and write with your left hand on different pages on two different subjects simultaneously. It's not being able to quote Greek and Latin phrases in the middle of speeches just because it spills out of your head. These two men literally came from the ends of the earth, but they were just alike

⁴ I asked Dr. Grant about this story and thought I'd include his reply for those of you who don't follow football. "The point is that sometimes the story revolves around the person who loses, not the person who wins — despite the fact that they had to win lots of games just to get to that final playoff loss." *Ed.*

in this. They understood what leadership took. They grounded their leadership in principle and character. They fought for what was right.

It's really encouraging to look at these two lives side-by-side because sometimes when we look at great leaders, we think a leader has to have a certain set of skills or principles or he has to have a certain background and certain advantages. These two guys couldn't have been more different in the way they arrived on the national scene, yet they couldn't have been more alike in the way they pursued the passion and the vision that was set before them. That's what leadership looks like, always. That's why we can look at men like this and say they're just alike, even though they are opposites.



Father, we've got a lot of opposites in this room, a lot of different gifts and a lot of different callings. We have artists, and we have athletes. We have intellectuals and serious readers, and we have others who are much more visual and auditory learners. We have a whole host of different giftings, callings, destinies, and purposes in this room, but the one thing we have in common is that you've called us, in the gospel, to lead in our areas in our callings. In accordance with this great covenant of grace, you've called us to lead, to have principle, to build character, and to run toward the roar. Lord, I pray for every one of these students, that you would make of them alike opposites, that you would raise up the next generation of leaders right out of this room. Lord, we pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 30

The Trail of Tears: Amazing Grace in the Midst of Sorrow

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Churches and the War; The War among the Generals
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 382–391

Lesson Synopsis

Because assimilation and evangelization was not first and foremost, it was inevitable that conflict would ensue.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Views of various settlers towards the Native Americans, including Columbus, the Puritans, Jonathan Edwards and David Brainerd, Indian Wars, the Cherokee Republic, the Trail of Tears

Primary Source Material

It is More Blessed to Give than to Receive, by Jonathan Edwards; 1830 Removal Bill; memoirs or letters from the Trail of Tears

Vocabulary

more (n., “mor’-ay”), primogeniture, cede, quell, protégé, harry (v.), triage, genocide, assimilate

Timeline

- ❖ 1492: Columbus landed in the New World.
- ❖ 1607: The first English settlers arrived in Jamestown.
- ❖ 1620: The first English settlers arrived in Plymouth.
- ❖ 1637: Pequot War
- ❖ 1675: King Philip’s War
- ❖ 1702: Cotton Mather published *Magnalia Christi Americana*.
- ❖ 1750: Jonathan Edwards became pastor of the church in Stockbridge and a missionary to the Housatonic Indians.
- ❖ 1763: Pontiac’s War
- ❖ 1774: Lord Dunmore’s War

- ❖ 1778-1794: Chickamauga War
- ❖ 1787: Northwest Indian Wars
- ❖ 1809: Tecumseh's Confederacy
- ❖ 1811: The Battle of Tippecanoe
- ❖ 1813-1842: The Creek and Seminole Wars
- ❖ 1827: The Cherokee Republic established
- ❖ 1830: Andrew Jackson's Removal Bill
- ❖ 1838: The Trail of Tears: the Cherokee were removed from their ancestral lands and force marched to Oklahoma.



The Trail of Tears: Amazing Grace in the Midst of Sorrow

Surprisingly, the most shameful episode in American history was not slavery. Rather, it was the calamitous War on Native Indians and the dispossession of the Trail of Tears.

~ Henry Adams

Today, as you can see, we are going to deal with one of the most shameful periods in American history. Henry Adams wrote,

Surprisingly, the most shameful episode in American history was not slavery. Rather, it was the calamitous War on Native Indians and the dispossession of the Trail of Tears.

I remember the first time I read that line in Henry Adams's *History of the War of 1812 and Beyond*, I thought to myself, "You know that's really over the top, that's hyperbole. That is really stretching it. How can you actually say that there was an episode in American history more shameful than chattel slavery?" It sounds like the sort of rhetoric designed simply to gain attention or somehow highlight some ideological point, but as we will see, this was indeed an extraordinarily shameful period in American history.

13 February

- ❖ *1542: Catherine Howard, the fifth wife of Henry VIII, was executed for presumed adultery.*

Today is Tuesday, the day before Valentine's Day, February 13, and just as a sweet little Valentine's present to his dear wife, in 1542, Henry VIII had her executed. Apparently, Catherine Howard very much loved Valentine's Day, and so Henry had a special gift saved up just for her.

❖ *1689: William III of Orange and his wife, Mary Stuart, ascended to the throne of England.*

It was on this day in 1689 that William III of Orange, a Dutch nobleman, and his wife Mary Stuart, the daughter of the then-king of England, James II, deposed their father and father-in-law and ascended to the throne of England in what is called the Bloodless Revolution or more ordinarily the Glorious Revolution.

❖ *1835: John Schermerhorn was appointed Indian Treaty Commissioner for the Jackson administration.*

In 1835, on this day, John Schermerhorn was appointed Indian Treaty Commissioner for the Jackson administration. That's really where our story takes off today, with John Schermerhorn. We'll backtrack a bit but it is interesting that ...

❖ *1920: A National Negro Baseball League was created.*

...on the same day in 1920 a National Negro Baseball League was created because, despite the abolition of slavery more than a generation before, segregation was so fierce that blacks and whites still could not even play a game together.

❖ *1945: Allied planes began bombing Dresden.*

In 1945, on this day — in what many historians believe was one of the most shameful episodes in the war between the Allied and the Axis powers known as World War II, but which Paul Johnson points out should more properly be called World War VI or VII depending on how you count them — planes began bombing the beautiful city of Dresden in eastern Germany.

❖ *1974: Nobel laureate Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the Soviet Union.*

In 1974, one of the most shameful episodes in all history began to be revealed when Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel laureate, was expelled from the Soviet Union, and he could begin to tell the tale of the gulags in the Soviet concentration camps and the story of Stalin's slaughter of more than triple the number of people killed in Hitler's Holocaust.

The Struggle for Supremacy

But for us, the focus will not be on the gulags, nor on the bombing of Dresden, nor on the segregation of Americans one from another based upon color of skin — we'll get to each of those later. We want to focus on the remarkably difficult and terribly disastrous policy of the new American nation in dealing with the original residents of the land, the Native American peoples, who had a remarkable and highly developed culture, very much like the Meso-American culture that Columbus and the conquistadors had discovered in Central and South America, a culture that was wildly varied. There were more than one hundred twenty distinctive tribes and more than two hundred fifty distinctive language groups, just in the continental United States alone, creating multiple kinds of cultures, with multiple kinds of economies and cultural manifestations. They produced various kinds of art, music, and literature, remarkably diverse forms of manufacturing, as well as the hunter-gatherer kinds of cultures that we're more familiar with.

Faltering Steps

❖ *Injustice and Treaty Confusion*

The story of the American interaction with the natives of the North American continent began with a whole series of soul-searching documents — various diaries and manifestoes written by explorers, predicting that unless a uniform policy was created for either the assimilation or the dispossession of the native peoples, there would be a long and tortured history of injustice and treaty confusion.

❖ *Mayflower Compact and Columbus*

We start to see, as early as the exploration of Columbus and even in the documents surrounding the initial Puritan settlement of New England, concern that a Christian stance be taken before the native peoples of these newly discovered worlds. Columbus, for instance, in his *Book of Prophecies*, as well as in his journals, constantly made reference to the fact that in God's good providence, the Europeans, who possessed strong knowledge of the gospel, were being sent as emissaries of Christ to this new land to bring the native peoples to a full knowledge of Christ's grace and truth. Again and again and again, he exhorted his sovereigns, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, to establish principles for missionary activity before they established principles of economic exploitation and colonial occupation.

This was a great concern of the Puritans who originally settled in New England as well. From the Mayflower Compact on, there were constant concerns that those who held the truth of the gospel would indeed bring that gospel gracefully to the peoples of the New World.

Initially, there were some real inroads made. Many of the native American tribes, particularly in New England, and many of those in the Caribbean received the gospel quickly, readily, and joyously because many of the native American cultures were fierce tyrannies, and they saw in the gospel freedom, liberty, and opportunity. So very quickly, early on in both New England and in the Caribbean, later, although not at all in some of the cultures of South America, you see this quick response to the gospel.

❖ *Jonathan Edwards and David Brainerd*

Many of the great stalwarts of the Puritan movement in America all the way up to the time of the American War of Independence, men like Jonathan Edwards, made concerted efforts to think through a missionary strategy that would have theological integrity — reaching the peoples of the native tribes in a way that would not compromise the integrity of the Word or the character and nature of the Church — and that, at the same time, would be sensitive to their cultures, that would not simply be an assimilative process, but a truly evangelistic process. One of Jonathan Edwards' young disciples was a remarkable visionary, evangelist, and a brilliant writer named David Brainerd. David Brainerd saw as his primary calling to bring the gospel to the frontier and to establish gospel inroads in the native peoples' cultures and languages. He was one of the first to advocate the translation of the Scriptures into native American tongues. He was one of the first to call for assimilative dress for the missionaries who went to the Indians in an attempt not to destroy those aspects of native American culture, dress, and mores that could legitimately be brought under the umbrella of the gospel. It was a beautiful picture.

Jonathan Edwards himself, when things became difficult and he was asked to leave the pulpit that he had so gracefully occupied for more than twenty years in Northampton, Massachusetts, determined not to go to Scotland to take one of the prominent pulpits that he was offered there, and not to go eastward to Boston to receive

great compensation for teaching at Harvard, or even to go to the new College of New Jersey, which would later become Princeton. Instead he went to the frontier because he believed that perhaps America's greatest destiny would be found as we, the peoples of Europe who had migrated in now large numbers to New England and up and down the Atlantic coast, gained a heart for the lost, the despised, the rejected, those who lived in darkness, not necessarily culturally but theologically — they did not know Christ — as we gained a heart for them, Jonathan Edwards believed that the future of America would be bright and glorious. He wrote a little booklet entitled, *It is More Blessed to Give than to Receive*, arguing, quick on the heels of Cotton Mather's argument in *Magnalia Christi Americana*, that our prosperity would be our undoing if we did not have a heart for the native American peoples.

This was the theological legacy that was passed to Americans by the Puritans who settled in America. However, not all the people who came to America to settle were Puritans and not all the people who came to America to settle were even theologically inclined.

❖ *Jamestown Settlement Leads to War*

The Jamestown settlement, for instance, first established in 1607, was settled by a group of Cavaliers, who were not at all theologically inclined, who were there for economic gain first and foremost, who were mostly second and third sons of landed gentry in England, and who were looking for their opportunities to establish their own primogeniture. And so they were there for economic gain. It's not surprising then that the first warfare that broke out, broke out not in New England, but around the Jamestown settlement.

Repeated Warfare

A whole series of border skirmishes and slaughters occurred along the Virginia Tidewater. Conflict was introduced almost immediately right alongside this sort of evangelistic emphasis.

So, the thinking of the early Puritans and the thinking of Columbus came to be realized with great horror by the time of the American established colonies that became the United States. Because assimilation and evangelization was not first and foremost, it was inevitable that conflict would ensue, and conflict did. There was a whole series of wars.

❖ *1637: Pequot War*

❖ *1675: King Philip's War*

❖ *1763: Pontiac's War*

❖ *1774: Lord Dunmore's War*

Beginning in 1637, the Pequot War; 1675 to 1676, King Philip's War; 1763, Pontiac's War, all leading up to, in 1774, Lord Dunmore's War. All these involved colonial disputes, border disputes, hunting disputes, attacks on frontier villages, and retaliatory attacks on Indian villages. It's why, during the Seven Years' War, the American theater of which we call the French and Indian War, to a large degree virtually all of the native American peoples sided with the French against the British and English settlers in New England and up and down the Atlantic coast.

They did this because they believed that the French approach to colonial possession — essentially to send over single men who would be hunters and trappers, to ship back the raw materials of the New World to the Old

World and not really establish permanent residency — was, in the long run, much better for them. They gained trading partners, not masters. They saw that the British were coming to establish homes, farms, and villages. They were building colleges. They intended to stay. So for the most part during the French and Indian War, the Indians sided with the French.

That paved the way for tensions all the way up to the time of the War for Independence. During the War for Independence, virtually all the Indians again sided against the settled peoples in favor of distant Europeans. This time they switched to side with the British. On the frontier and up in the north, along the Canadian border, virtually all the tribes sided with the British and fought side-by-side with the Redcoats in a number of the most prominent skirmishes on the frontier.

When the British signed a peace treaty in Paris with the American commissioners in 1783, the Indian tribes were astonished. They felt betrayed and abandoned. Not only were they betrayed and abandoned by their allies, the British, not only were they shocked that the British had capitulated so easily, but they came to find out that the British actually ceded to the Americans vast tracts of previously sovereign Indian lands.

❖ *1778-1794: Chickamauga War*

So the new American government gained all this new real estate, which was really not the British government's to give away, but the British government gave it away anyway. The Americans gladly received it. That precipitated the long and tortured Chickamauga War, the first war that America fought following the War of Independence. It lasted from 1778 to 1794. The Chickamauga were a group of Cherokee who broke away from the primary Cherokee tribe because most of the Cherokee wisely decided after the war had begun that the Americans had the best chance to win, so they decided that peaceful coexistence with the United States was the best path for their future. The Chickamauga were the anti-U.S. faction of the Cherokee and came to be known and differentiated by their territorial name. They were primarily in the South, in the Smokey Mountains, from the border of North Carolina and Tennessee southward, all the way to the central part of what is today Georgia. They were a settled tribe with many villages and farms. They were not a hunter-gatherer kind of tribe.

The result was that they had a good supply chain. They had settled commands. They had developed careful strategies of warfare because they'd served with the British in the British military. The result was that this was a very difficult challenge, first for the Confederation Congress and the presidents under the Confederation Congress and then later, of course, George Washington, once the new Constitution was signed, and he became the sixteenth of a long succession of presidents of the United States.

The war ended in a kind of stalemate when the Chickamauga decided to retreat into the remote mountains of the Smokies and give up their fight for the lowland farms. For a time there was peace with the Cherokee. Most of the troubles with the Native Americans turned westward at that point.

❖ *1787: Northwest Indian Wars*

In 1787, when the Northwest Ordinance went into effect, trouble broke out with the Northwest Indian Wars, primarily the Shawnee, Ottawa, and Miami tribes, that resisted Arthur St. Clair and his new territorial government at Fort Cincinnati, which was established by St. Clair as a beachhead in the heart of the Northwest Territory to begin the United States' new administration there. St. Clair was defeated ingloriously in a series of bat-

ties, primarily led by Shawnee warriors, and the United States had to send out its entire army to quell the rebellion and to negotiate a peace settlement with the Shawnee.

❖ *1809: Tecumseh's Confederacy*

Unfortunately, that peace settlement didn't last long. In 1809, a great Shawnee warrior by the name of Tecumseh arose and called on the tribes of the Northwest and around the Great Lakes to resist the imperial possession of Native American lands by the new American government. He created something called the Indian Confederacy. Under Tecumseh's leadership, the Indian Confederacy adopted a brilliant plan for scaring away settlers from moving further west. The plan was simply guerrilla warfare, frontier attacks and terror strikes, and to be as unpredictable and as frightening as possible. The warfare was brutal. It was lightning fast, and it was incredibly efficient.

❖ *1811: The Battle of Tippecanoe*

In the Indian territories, now renamed by the government of the United States, Indianana, later Indiana, the territorial governor, who was the son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, William Henry Harrison, was given instructions by Washington to somehow quell these terrorist attacks on the frontier. In the great Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, Harrison and his troops, along with his young protégé, Winfield Scott, and a number of others who would later become prominent in American military history, launched a massive strike against Tecumseh and his warriors and won a decisive victory, driving the Indian Confederacy northward into the Canadian provinces. Tecumseh himself would be killed during the course of the War of 1812, but he would harry American troops all along the way until his final death in battle just north of the Great Lakes in the Canadian territories.

❖ *1813-1842: The Creek and Seminole Wars*

That was probably the last of the great pitched battles until we move out to the West and start to see the Apache, the Sioux, and others, but that's a story for another day. The only other major Indian engagement came under the leadership of Andrew Jackson. He was the primary instrument of wrath, as he called it, the United States' arm of justice against the Creek nation, which was really a whole series of nations including the Seminoles, but they were all related together by language, and so historically we call these the Creek Wars, but they really should be called the Creek and Seminole Wars — which lasted for an entire generation, technically, but was in practical terms really over in a year, between 1813 and 1814. This was where Andrew Jackson gained most of his military experience, and once again, this was a brutal no holds barred, take-no-prisoners kind of warfare. It really involved one slaughter after another.

The Cherokee Failure

What I want you to take away from this is the stark contrast, the antithesis between the original intent of the settlers, those Puritans and Pilgrims and even as early as Columbus, to reach the native peoples with grace and truth and what became an unrelenting warfare. Hungry for land and looking for opportunities to expand, the American settlers pushed the native peoples further and further west, taking ancestral lands with them, pushing the native peoples as far and as fiercely as they could, meeting with resistance from time to time, resulting in these wars.

Government

❖ *Washington: Civilizing the Indians*

Now that's not to say that the antithesis was always absolutely stark, that it was always black and white and that it was always clear. George Washington, for instance, talked often in his State Reports — what would later become known as the State of the Union addresses before Congress, but in the Washington administration called State Reports — he talked often about the need for a civilizing influence on the Indians. His policy was never very clear about what this meant, whether it meant giving chiefs top hats instead of feathers or if it meant somehow pacifying them or if it meant assimilating them into American life. He was never clear, but it is clear that he recognized the dilemma that warfare was not going to be the solution to the Native American problem and that somehow a civilizing influence needed to be brought. One of the problems with Washington is that you can never quite tell with him whether or not he is speaking out of Christian conviction or political efficiency when he talked about these kinds of things because you can almost read either one into his remarks. There are times when he sounds incredibly compassionate, concerned, desirous of bringing the native peoples into the richness and fullness of Christian civilization, and then there are other times when you think he's just trying to get rid of a bad problem.

❖ *Jefferson: Among the Heathen*

We see the same sort of thing when we move to Jefferson's administration. He believed that America had a responsibility to bring civilizing influences, as he said it, among the heathen. Again it's not clear exactly what he meant by this. We know that Jefferson's own spiritual experience was a long long journey from a kind of unsettled agnosticism into a sort of principled Deism, and then late in his life some sort of a liberal acceptance of the Christian gospel. He was never particularly inclined to sympathize with evangelism or bringing the hope of the gospel to native cultures in a way that would allow those native cultures to flourish and flower, but it was clear that he did see that warfare was not the solution, that simply absconding with Indian lands would not be most beneficial for the American peoples. When he sent Lewis and Clark on their great journey of exploration across the continent, he gave them both explicit instructions about finding and befriending the native leaders and seeking for ways to ensure good relations in the future. It does appear that Jefferson kind of had this nebulous notion in his mind that somehow or another the native peoples and the white settlers would always be somewhat separate, but the idea of reservations or native lands or those kinds of things had not really emerged. Although as he hypothesized the future of slavery, Jefferson did conceive of the idea of something like resettlement camps in Africa, so we see this kind of tension and struggle.

❖ *Adams: Duty to the Savages*

John Quincy Adams came along and wrestled with this problem profoundly, informed by a much more orthodox vision of Christianity. Nurtured by the principles of old New England Puritanism, he talked about the duty of Americans to, what he called, the savages of the Native American peoples. He tried to find a way to take the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, which he had written, and apply them to America's treatment of the native peoples. It would have created a much more stable legal framework for any treaties that the United States had intended to pursue.

But, of course, John Quincy Adams was quickly replaced by the great Indian fighter, Andrew Jackson, and all those notions of the rule of law and stable legal parameters for treaty agreements vanished overnight.

Missions

Missions to the native peoples were almost as ambivalent moving into the new century, from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, as the politicians were. Nobody quite knew what to do. Here's all this open land. The Indians didn't use a fourth of it, not an eighth of it, and what little land they did use, from the European mindset, they used so inefficiently. The Europeans are thinking, *Their lives would be so much better if they'd just adopt our ways.* Yet there was that tension with this sort of Christian memory that you don't just go in and force people to submit to your ways of doing things. You've got to woo them somehow, hopefully with the gospel.

❖ *Americanize v. Christianize*

❖ *An Alien Culture to Be Discarded*

❖ *Successful Evangelization*

So there's this long kind of period of tension, where even missionary organizations were torn by conflicting sorts of priorities. Was it the object, for instance, of the missions to Americanize or to Christianize these native peoples? That may sound like a silly question, but it has profound implications for the way you do missions. If your purpose is assimilation — *We want to Americanize these people and bring them into American culture* — than when you go to do evangelism, you're not going to do evangelism in the native languages. Instead, you're going to make it a priority to teach the natives English and then teach them the gospel in English and teach them to sing American and British, English, hymns and songs. You're going to bring the gospel to them in English. You're going to set up outposts of Western civilization on the frontier. You'll set up a medical clinic with Western-style medicine. You'll teach Western-style farming methods. You'll encourage people to settle on farms and create little villages. The approach to mission itself takes on a very different character.

David Brainerd, Jonathan Edwards, and their school were more oriented to real evangelism in the languages of the native peoples, preserving as much of the native culture as possible, and simply bringing the gospel to that culture. It meant that translation work had to be done. New hymns and catechisms had to be written. There had to be assimilation by the missionary into the native culture. They would wear native garb, adopt a native schedule, approach things according to the native calendar and their seasons and their migratory patterns, and all the rest. It's a very different kind of mission strategy.

Quite frankly, this is still a great struggle among missions organizations around the world. What do you do? Do you go in and bring Western ways of doing things alongside the gospel? Or do you seek to assimilate yourself as best you can to the culture that you're going to and bring the good news of the gospel in that context? It's a huge tension.

What most of the missions organizations came to was that the Native American cultures were so flawed, so brutal, so oppressive, they had so many institutional frameworks that were contrary to the character and nature of the gospel and everything from family life to the distribution of goods and services, to the stratification within tribes of authoritarian kinds of rule. Most missions organizations decided that Indian cultures were alien cultures that were best discarded. Amazingly even with this strategy, evangelization was extremely successful, particularly among the very large and settled tribes of the South like the Cherokee.

Cherokee

The Cherokee saw many of the great advantages of Western civilization and they wanted them. Before long will we start to see among the Cherokee a desire for all the fruits of Christianity, still holding onto their independence, still recognizing the sovereignty of the Cherokee nation, but adopting the standards of Christian civilization, the virtues of Christian warfare, the character and nature of Christian nuclear family, the desire to raise up children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. We start to see this kind of flourishing revival, particularly in the heart of the Cherokee nation in the South, right around where Chattanooga is today and southward into northern Georgia, almost where Atlanta is today.

❖ *1824: Capitol at New Echota*

❖ *1827: The Cherokee Republic*

The Cherokee were able to so process this notion of Christian civilization that by 1824 they had established a capital that was a genuine Christian capital city, New Echota, near what is today Calhoun, Georgia, not very far from where the little strip mall is there in Calhoun selling Nikes and last season's Bugle Boy jeans. There the Cherokee began to draft things like a Christian constitution, a Christian framework for government and, in 1827, they established the Cherokee Republic. They began to publish a newspaper for the Cherokee. The Bible was translated — first the New Testament and later the entire Scriptures were translated into the Cherokee language. Cherokee towns and cities began to spring up. Cherokee industries were built, particularly along the bluffs in what is today Chattanooga. And a rising civilization began to emerge.

❖ *Elias Boudinot, John Ridge, and John Ross*

Then somebody discovered gold, and America's first gold rush began. There were three primary Cherokee chiefs: Elias Boudinot, the adopted son of the founder of the American Bible Society who had served as president under the Articles of Confederation; John Ridge; and John Ross. The chief of the chiefs was John Ross, and during the time in which gold was discovered, they tried to preserve the integrity of the sovereign nation of the Cherokee.

The Trail of Tears

Betrayal

❖ *Georgia's 1802 and 1828 Decrees*

Unfortunately, it was not to be. Georgia, in 1802, had negotiated a treaty with the federal government of the United States, ceding all their western lands, what would later become the states of Alabama and Mississippi, or at least large portions of Alabama and Mississippi. They ceded that back to the federal government, just as Virginia and the other states had ceded their western lands. In exchange, the federal government agreed to enter into removal treaties with the native peoples in North Georgia so that the state of Georgia could have a free and clear authority throughout all of its borders. But the United States never entered into those removal treaties.

When gold was discovered in 1828, the Georgia Legislature passed a series of bills calling for the federal government to remove the Cherokee from state lands so that white settlers could move into North Georgia, without impediment, and so that the gold rush could go forward full tilt.

❖ *Jackson's 1830 Removal Bill*

In 1830, Andrew Jackson tried to push through Congress a series of measures that were assimilated into a single bill called the Removal Bill of 1830 that would authorize the federal government to take action and bring federal troops to bear if the Cherokee resisted any kind of removal following treaty agreements.

❖ *1831–1832: Supreme Court Decisions*

In 1831 and again in 1832, the Supreme Court of the United States said that, first of all, the Cherokee nation was not an independent sovereign nation but that the state of Georgia had no authority over the lands occupied by the Cherokee; therefore only the federal government could enter into treaty agreements with the Cherokee and only the federal government could force their removal. Andrew Jackson was furious because he was counting on the state of Georgia to take the heat for the removal of the Cherokee, and now the monkey was back on his back. He would have to take full authority for it.

Dispossessed

❖ *1832: The Treaty Party or the Ridge Party*

As a result of the Supreme Court decisions, a small group of the Cherokee called the Treaty Party or the Ridge Party, following John Ridge's portion of the Cherokee tribe, representing about 10% of the total Cherokee nation, decided to negotiate with the United States, to see what kind of deal they could get for their eastern lands and in exchange receive some sort of allotment of lands out in the West, in what were then called the Indian territories, much of that in what is today Oklahoma. They began negotiating.

❖ *1835: Distribution of Lands by Lottery*

In 1835, John Schermerhorn was appointed a negotiator by the Jackson administration to affect some sort of a treaty that would uproot the Cherokee Republic.

All this time, the Cherokee nation was flourishing as an independent nation with an independent government. They had their own constitution, their own newspapers, their own towns and villages, their own lands, their own farms. They were functioning as a full-fledged, independent nation in southern Tennessee, North Georgia, a bit of North Carolina. They had a flourishing land and didn't want to negotiate the sale of their land. It was only this very small Treaty Party, or Ridge Party, that wanted to negotiate to go West.

The United States didn't recognize the sovereign nation of the Cherokee and didn't recognize the differences between the chiefs, so they entered into negotiations with the Treaty Party and agreed to the distribution of lands by lottery, beginning with the Ridge Party or the Treaty Party. In other words, the Treaty Party was going to make out like bandits in this deal. This was a very expensive kind of stock option that they took on lands out in the West. They were going to receive cash and land by selling out 90% of the rest of the Cherokee tribe.

❖ *1836: Senate Ratification*

In 1836, the Senate ratified what was, by all accounts, an illegal treaty. The Cherokee were given two years either to leave their lands voluntarily — the homes they'd built, the villages they'd established, and the sovereign nation that they'd created — to abandon their constitutional constructs, and every hope of negotiating further with the United States. They were given two years to leave.

The Treaty Party, of course, went. There were about twenty-five in the leadership of the Treaty Party. A little over three hundred Cherokee left behind about twenty-five thousand others. Three hundred made their way, got their cash, and established their lands. Thousands upon thousands of others were left behind.

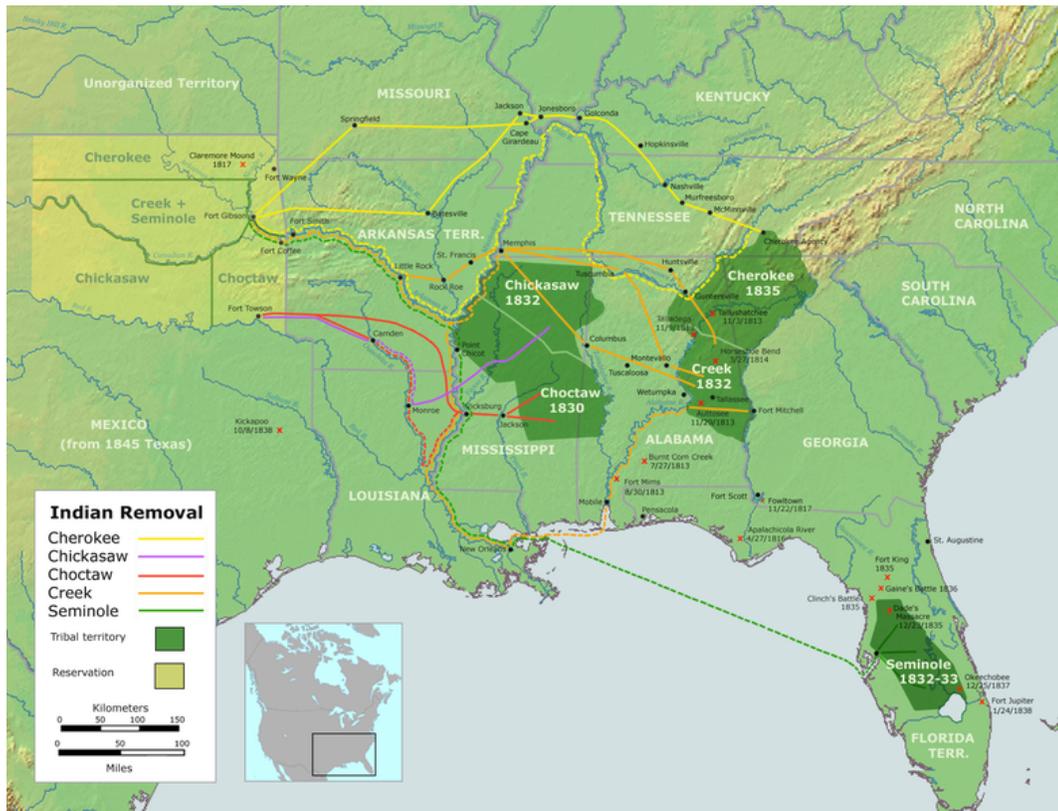
Triage

❖ *1838: Scott and America's Greatest Shame¹*

In 1838, the new president, Martin Van Buren, appointed Winfield Scott the head of a military detachment that was charged with the task of uprooting all these peoples and sending them off into exile. They were rounded up into something like concentration camps — seventeen thousand of them. They abandoned their villages and their homes. About two thousand of the seventeen thousand died in the internment camps, the conditions were so deplorable.

Then they were forced to march across the nation. Some went by river. Most were forced to walk from just outside Chattanooga all the way up to Hopkinsville, Kentucky, and across to Cape Girardeau through Springfield, across the northwest corner of Arkansas, and finally into Oklahoma.

Along the way, approximately another six thousand died. When they finally arrived, their numbers had been depleted by some eight thousand. Of the seventeen thousand that initially set out, less than nine thousand remained. It was deplorable.



¹ This map is in the public domain.

❖ *Amazing Grace in the Midst of Sorrow*

What's amazing is that, as they suffered and as they marched, these now Christian Cherokee sang "Amazing Grace" as their national anthem all along the way. God brought an extraordinary revival in the midst of their extraordinary suffering. The Cherokee were planted again in Oklahoma. They began to rebuild their lives and recovered their numbers and, to this day, are the largest of all of the Native American tribes.

❖ *Covenantal Repentance*

It was not until 1987 that the route of the Trail of Tears was recognized by the federal government and established as the Trail of Tears Historical Trail. In 2004, Sen. Sam Brownback, Republican of Kansas, proposed that the nation enter into a season of covenantal repentance for the horrors of the Trail of Tears and the triage, the genocide, unleashed on the Cherokee peoples. Sen. Brownback was able to get the resolution, Senate Resolution 37, out of committee and to the floor of the Senate, where it has never been voted on. It remains at the bottom of the docket to this day.

This was a defining moment and laid the groundwork for the Western wars against the native peoples from that day forward. Here's the thing about the Indian wars — if you enter into a conflict, and you're not certain what your principles are, no matter how well-intentioned you are, you will make a mess of it. There were lots of people with lots of good intentions, but they never resolved what their principles were, so there was never a stable framework for negotiation. Nobody could ever count on anything. Every Native American treaty in the course of American history, every single one, has been violated — *every single one* — because, if you don't know what your principles are, and you don't settle them ahead of time, when you enter into conflict, you will make a mess of it.

You can see this over and over and over again, in politics, in families, and in churches. How many times have you seen that people all agree that there is a problem, but nobody can agree on the solution. Even though they're all like-minded in recognizing the problem, they're all like-minded in realizing they've got to do something about it, they're all like-minded about the urgency of it, if there's no principle guiding the solutions, the solutions will always be worse than the problems were in the first place.

Usually expediency and greed will win out. This is one of the reasons why Christian leaders have to have well-articulated principles long before they enter into a conflict. You've got to know ahead of time what's right and what's wrong. You've got to know ahead of time how people ought to be treated. You've got to know ahead of time how to fight fair. You've got to know ahead of time what you'll stand for and what you will give in on. You've got to know ahead of time or you will make a mess of it, every single time. This is one of the key things about true leadership. True leadership is always bound up in character, not skill, precisely because of this. Very, very skilled people entered into this mess and made it messier because skill was not enough. For the lack of character, the lack of principle, for a lack of consensus about a simple matter of what is right and what is wrong, what Henry Adams called the most shameful episode in American history was perpetrated in the name of right and good.

We've been there before. We can go there again at any time if we don't know what our principles are.



Father, I pray for us. At a time when there is a great deal of unsettling in the world that we live in, lots of crises, lots of problems, problems that the students sitting here taking notes in a classroom are going to inherit from my generation. I pray Lord Jesus, that you would settle in their hearts and minds today the foundations for unshakable principles, so that when the crisis comes, they not only will not make it worse, they will be used by your grace and by your good Providence to be a part of the resolution. Lord Jesus, give us grace upon grace to settle now what is right. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 31

Clay, Calhoun, & Webster: The Great Triumvirate

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Gettysburg: “Too Bad! *Too Bad!* Oh! TOO BAD!”; The Triumph and Tragedy of Lincoln

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 392–408

Lesson Synopsis

Clay, Calhoun, and Webster probably changed American history more than any others outside of the founding generation. Each one of these men became great rivals to one another and to the dominating figures of the age, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

Opportunity

14

Lesson Topics

Clay, Calhoun, and Webster; the Missouri Compromise, the Compromise of 1850, the Tariff of Abominations

Primary Source Material

The Missouri Compromise; the Compromise of 1850; the Bunker Hill Oration, by Daniel Webster; the Adams Jefferson Oration, by Daniel Webster

Vocabulary

nullify, magistrate, interposition, void, tariff, import, export, infrastructure, accommodate, winsome, dominate, legitimate

Timeline

- ❖ 1777: Henry Clay was born.
- ❖ 1782: John C. Calhoun was born.
- ❖ 1782: Daniel Webster was born.
- ❖ 1810: Calhoun elected to Congress
- ❖ 1812: The United States declared war on Great Britain.
- ❖ 1812: Clay elected to Congress.
- ❖ 1820: The Missouri Compromise

❖ *1781: The Continental Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation.*

In 1781 on this day the Continental Congress adopted, for the first time, the Articles of Confederation. The bill authorizing the new constitutional framework had been signed by then-president Thomas McKean but did not take effect until the next administration under President John Hanson.

❖ *1845: Congress passed the Resolution to Annex the Republic of Texas.*

It was on this day in 1845 that then-Secretary of State Daniel Webster and President John Tyler finally worked out a compromise deal in Congress to pass the Resolution to Annex the Republic of Texas. It was only the second time in U.S. history that a sovereign independent nation had joined the federal union. The first was, of course, Vermont in 1791.

❖ *1854: J. Hudson Taylor arrived at the Port of Shanghai.*

On this day in 1854, J. Hudson Taylor arrived at the Port of Shanghai. He didn't speak the language. He didn't know where to go. He didn't know a soul. He had no money. He had no place to stay. Evening was just descending when he disembarked from his ship and began walking through the bewildering alien streets. Nevertheless, he wrote in his diary as he sat on the dirt floor of an opium den that he was exultant.

My feelings on stepping ashore I cannot even begin to describe. My heart felt as though it had no room and must burst its bonds while tears of gratitude and thankfulness fell from my eyes.

Though he was able to find his way to a friendly mission compound in the teeming city that night, just about nothing else seemed to go his way. The weeks and months and years afterwards were dreary and lonely. A civil war actually erupted in China just days after his arrival. People were slaughtered before his eyes. He struggled with the language and the seemingly impenetrable cultural barriers between himself and the Chinese people that he had come to serve. Amazingly though, not despising the days of impossible, small beginnings, Taylor was able to overcome every one of those difficulties and many more. He learned the language and acclimated himself to the culture. He made up his mind to adopt native dress. He went to work planting an indigenous church and an English board, which became the China Inland Mission, to expand the work throughout the entire, vast land of China. He never told anyone about his financial needs. He never sent out an appeal letter. He never went to a meeting in order to elicit support from a donor, trusting that the Lord would provide whatever was needed. At his death, the China Inland Mission had two hundred and five missionaries throughout the land. They had already translated the Bible into three distinctive Chinese dialects. Though the Chinese Church grew very slowly at first and always throughout its history to the present day has suffered grave persecution, the fruit of Taylor's labors is evident today. The Chinese Church is thought by some analysts to be the fastest growing church in the world today. Who would have ever imagined that kind of an outcome so long ago on this day, in 1854, when J. Hudson Taylor stepped onto the docks of Shanghai and into the midst of an impossible situation? That is what happened on this day, March 1, so very, very long ago.

So I went two weeks ago to Indonesia. It's seventeen thousand islands united together as a single nation, the world's largest Muslim nation, the fourth most populous nation in the world. I went specifically to the city of Jakarta, which is the world's second largest metropolitan area, behind only Tokyo, with some thirty-two million people in a single city. It's a remarkable land of astonishing contrasts, where there is an ancient tradition of Hinduism and Buddhism. It's a tropical paradise that's beyond anything that you can possibly imagine, just to the south of the equator. Temperatures range, from winter to summer, about five degrees total. Yet despite its seem-

ing remoteness, it is a place of astonishing clash between modernity and antiquity. As I was just saying before class started, you can go to a six-story mall where every posh brand is available with every product, including a really great Apple Store where I should have bought an adaptor apparently. You can buy Gucci and Versace. You can go and stand at the entranceway and see limos pull up and Maseratis and Ferraris, and they'll pull up and, in order to get to the mall, they have to walk past street beggars, including leprous children and street vendors selling fried rat, as they make their way to the Gucci store or to the Apple Store. It's an astonishing, astonishing world of contrasts. It's a place where we have prayed that God would give some of these peoples the Bible in their own language for the very first time. We have been working for the last nine years to establish schools in Indonesia, and we now have twenty-seven schools and nine thriving churches. Only five of the schools are anything more than village schools, essentially one-room schoolhouse kind of schools, but five of the schools are these thriving schools that I got a chance to visit. This is one of the slum schools. I had a chance to speak to the children and spend time with them. I was there because of a crisis in the leadership, and it was a very complicated mess.

When I think about what J. Hudson Taylor did and the pioneering work that God is doing around the world, it is extremely humbling that God has called us, *us*, to be a part of that great work around the world. They've had two graduates from FCS come and teach, and it's marked their lives forever. Sometimes we get in our little bubble, and we think that our problems are so big and our world is so small and our stuff is so insignificant, but every once in a while, just every once in a



while, God gives us a glimpse of something bigger. It may just be a conversation with one of the Bantu kids,¹ on an afternoon where all you really did was show up, but somehow just showing up makes a huge difference in their lives. Or maybe it's just some chance conversation that you have with a fifth-grader down the hall, but every so often God gives us a glimpse of how powerfully ordinary things can shape the world and even change the world.

The Greatest Almosts

In some ways, that's really the story of the three men that we want to talk about today from American history. They've often been called the Great Triumvirate, but they are probably better known as the Almost Greats.

Henry Adams, a great historian of the next generation, would say that these three men probably changed American history more than any others outside of the founding generation. They really were the next generation. They were young pups when the founding fathers were laying their ground work. They were contemporar-

¹ FCS students mentor, do after-school tutoring, and in the summer, run a one-week day camp for Bantu refugees. The Bantu are a tribal people from Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa — their pasture lands stretch from Somalia to the Ivory Coast. We have a large resettlement population here in Nashville. GG

ies with John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. In fact, they were the great rivals of Adams and Jackson. Adams being the quintessential son of the Founders and perhaps one of the most brilliant men that America's ever produced, save perhaps Jonathan Edwards. And Andrew Jackson was perhaps the greatest and most dominating personality of the entire Founding Era and the age afterwards. He dominated his time so much that you really can't call from the time from the War of 1812 all the way up until the Civil War anything else but the Age of Jackson. But some would argue as Henry Adams did and recently Paul Johnson, the great British historian, that these three men actually shaped the culture, the nature, of the American experiment in liberty more than even Adams or Jackson.

Calhoun

- ❖ *South Carolina, Classically Trained Lawyer*
- ❖ *House, Senate, Vice President, Secretary of War and State*
- ❖ *Ran for President Twice*

Calhoun was from South Carolina. He was the quintessential southerner. He was classically trained though he had to pull himself up by his own bootstraps and came from an impoverished background. When he was eighteen years old, he was an impoverished, South Carolina, dirt farmer. Five years later he'd earned a Master's Degree from Yale, passed the bar, gotten himself elected to Congress, and began to shape the vision of the fledging nation leaving a mark that would endure for the rest of the century and, some would say, to the present. He eventually served in the House, the Senate, and became vice-president. He was Secretary of War and Secretary of State. He ran for president two times, both times unsuccessfully.

Webster

- ❖ *New Hampshire, Classically Trained Lawyer*
- ❖ *House, Senate, President Pro Tempore, Secretary of State*
- ❖ *Ran for President Twice*

Now if John C. Calhoun was the quintessential southerner, then Daniel Webster was the quintessential northerner, or New Englander, as he would prefer it. He was born in New Hampshire. He was a classically trained lawyer in the old Puritan tradition though he had to pull himself up by his own bootstraps. His Yankee father, a stern Puritan, was impoverished, and it seemed that every turn of the economy and every conflict in politics impoverished him more than before. Webster served in the House and in the Senate. He became Senate *pro tem*, and he served as Secretary of State twice. He ran for president twice and was defeated both times.

Clay

- ❖ *Kentucky, Classically Trained Lawyer*
- ❖ *House, Senate, Speaker, Secretary of State*
- ❖ *Ran for President Five Times*

Now if Calhoun was the quintessential southerner and Webster the quintessential northerner, Henry Clay was the quintessential westerner. Though he was born in Virginia and his family went all the way back to the first decade of Jamestown's settlement, he was no Virginia blue blood. His impoverished Baptist preacher daddy died when Clay was just two years old. Clay scrapped out a life for himself on the Kentucky frontier and became, through his own bootstrap efforts, a classically trained lawyer. (Do you see where this is going?) He served in the

House and the Senate. He became Speaker of the House and, in the famous Corrupt Bargain of 1824, became Secretary of State in John Quincy Adams's administration. He ran for president five times and was defeated each time. He once said famously after the last of those elections, "I'd rather be right than president."

Each one of these men became great rivals to one another. They became great rivals to the dominating figures of the age, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. In fact, on his death bed, at the Hermitage right here in Middle Tennessee, Andrew Jackson said famously, "My greatest regret in life is that I did not shoot Calhoun and hang Clay." One of the men standing at his bed said, "But what of Webster?" and he said, "What of Webster? He's just a Yankee."

These Great Almosts were so much alike. Their political opinions were alike, their vision was alike, and yet, because their personalities were so wildly varying and because of their attachment to their sections, indelibly marking them as men of the South, the North, or the West, it was remarkable that they shaped the whole future of the nation even as they fought one another, scrapping through the whole of their lives.

Key Terms

Now there are several key concepts that we need to understand, certain terms which become sort of the currency of American politics from the time of the ascent of the Great Triumvirate, really all the way up to the present but most particularly leading up to the Civil War.

❖ *Nullification*

The first was the idea of nullification. Nullification has gained new currency in the United States because of the health care reform package of the current Obama administration. The idea of nullification is that individual states have not only the right but they have the duty to examine every federal law. If those federal laws violate the Constitution or abrogate the rights of the people in the individual states, then those states must nullify the federal law. Make it null and void in the state.

❖ *Magistratal Interpositionalism*

Which then calls into effect magistratal interpositionalism. Magistratal interpositionalism, or in other words the magistrates interposing themselves, is the concept of state legislators or lower magistrates standing between the people and the higher magistrates. What's happening right now with the coalition government in Benghazi is magistratal interpositionalism, where a group of leaders is trying to stand between the protesting Libyan people and the established authorities of the Libyan government. So they literally have created this coalition government to stand between Muammar Gaddafi and the people on the streets. That's magistratal interpositionalism.

Well, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster wrestled with the idea, what if the federal government does something that is outrageous and egregious against a particular region? Maybe it's a minority region or a particular state. Maybe it's a rogue state or perhaps a victimized state. What are the responsibilities of the officials in that state to stand up to the magistrates in the federal government? What can they legitimately do? How should they go about the task of protecting the people from perceived tyranny, totalitarianism, or abuse?

❖ *Compact Theory*

That really assumes something called compact theory. Compact theory is something that was actually developed by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison during the controversy over the Alien and Sedition Acts. Do you remember that? In John Adams's administration, a series of laws were put into effect to try and deal with insurrection. Jefferson and Madison said that these were unconstitutional. The laws had not gone before the Supreme Court, they hadn't been tested in the federal courts, but Jefferson and Madison said that the states had entered into a compact together and that's what the federal union was. The federal union did not stand on its own but only at the initiative of the states. Therefore, if the states saw that the compact has been violated, the states had a responsibility to step in, to interpose themselves and/or nullify the laws.

❖ *Tariff*

Now as is often the case, what really sparked this serious and profound wrestling with these constitutional ideas was money. It had to do with what made it into the pockets of ordinary Americans. And the issue that provoked all this was a federal tax called a tariff. A tariff is a tax on either imports or exports, usually on imports, designed to protect American or native industries and trades. It was an attempt to make imported goods so expensive that it was easier and better for consumers to buy American goods. Imports were the lifeblood of shipping and trade states like New England, so they always supported tariffs because it caused the costs of shipping to be more easily reimbursed and enabled them to build native industries. In the years between the War of 1812 and the Civil War, the North developed native industry. They were the shippers and the traders, but they were also the ones who developed the first true American craft trades.

❖ *The American System*

The South, on the other hand, and most of the West was agricultural. The greatest benefit to southern economies was the export of agricultural goods including cotton to Britain. So if there were high tariffs on imports or exports, it meant that the cost of doing business, profit margins, and the possibility that Britain would go elsewhere to find their raw materials were raised and therefore the South always opposed tariffs. The American System was a complicated concept that was developed largely by Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, designed to balance sectional concerns and a whole series of complicated tariffs to build the American economy.

At the core of the American System were three ideas. One, we protect our own native industry and our own employment base, first and foremost. If there were foreign inducements to export jobs or to export the natural resource base for industry, then that must be penalized with a tax base.

The second platform of the American System was to create a strong national bank to regulate the currency, both its value and international trade and interest rates that were charged.

The third primary platform of the American System was to create infrastructure inducements to build the American economy. The federal government, according to the American System, was to build the roads, maintain the railways, regulate the utilities, and create the infrastructure. This is a mercantilist system, developed initially from the ideas of Alexander Hamilton, but pushed forward largely by Calhoun, Clay, and Webster. It later became the basis of the modern economy. The modern economy is essentially the American System, a moderated version of mercantilism which came from Britain, or more commonly called fascism in places like Germany and Italy. It's where big government and big business partner together to regulate the economy to the benefit of the national entity.

❖ *Regionalist*

Now obviously this created tensions with the regions. Regionalists were primarily concerned with protecting the interests of his region.

❖ *Nationalist*

Nationalists argued that the regions really didn't matter near as much as the overarching union, the nation itself.

❖ *Ideologue*

Ideologues had hardened, principled opinions to support their particular political philosophy or policies. They were typically unbudging and uncompromising.

❖ *War Hawk*

War Hawks were ideologues, whether nationalists or regionalists, intent on enforcing the American System, if tariffs somehow failed, in order to establish national purpose. These are the ones who, every time some conflict comes up, the first thing they say is that we've got to keep the military option on the table. You heard that on CNN the last couple of weeks? *You got to keep the military option on the table.* That's the principle of the War Hawk.

❖ *Concurrent Majority*

Concurrent majority is the idea that if you have a large majority of the nation taking one view, but in a smaller section of the nation, you have another dominating majority even though nationally it's a minority. If it's a regional majority, Congress ought to take into account both opinions and allow both to be pillars or foundations for national policy. In other words, the idea of concurrent majorities was that you've got to take into account minorities as well as majorities in the development of national policy because if you have a strong and large minority, which happens to be a majority in a region, and the federal union runs roughshod over that minority, then the minority has the right to protect itself even to the point of seceding from the Union.

❖ *Common Law Tradition*

All of this was rooted in certain principles drawn from the common law tradition. If a politician couldn't make his argument directly from the Constitution or the Declaration of Independence, he would often appeal to the common law tradition. In fact, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster were masters at dealing with issues from the common law tradition.

John C. Calhoun (1782-1850)

Nationalist

Calhoun, in his old age, was a bit of a scarecrow of a man, stern, six foot two, with penetrating eyes, an incisive orator and rhetorician; he was an intimidating figure. When he was young though, he was the nation's heart-throb. Ladies in Washington would swoon in his presence. He had the gentlemanly bearing of a man from the South, carrying the education of Yale. He was a self-made man. He was determined, and he was principled. It's no wonder that he was able to make such a remarkable mark on the nation.

❖ *1810: Elected to Congress as a War Hawk*

❖ *1817: Monroe's Secretary of War*

He was born in 1782. By 1810, he had become a part of the War Hawk Party, calling for war against Britain in order to protect American interests, American borders, and American trade. In 1817, he had become James Monroe's Secretary of War, despite the fact that the War of 1812 had been a disaster and Calhoun had actually been the one who had called for declaration of war in 1812, had pushed for it from the time he was elected in 1810 to 1812. Somehow his reputation wasn't dented by the disaster of that war. But he made the most of his opportunity in the Era of Good Feelings and made his way quickly into the consciousness of the nation.

❖ *1824: Bureau of Indian Affairs; Vice President*

In 1824, at a time when there was a tremendous amount of controversy about Native American Indians' rights, he became first the Coordinator and then the Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and then later that year was elected as vice-president of the United States.

In 1828, Calhoun was re-elected vice president of the United States. You'll recall that this was the period when John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were fighting between themselves. Andrew Jackson won the popular vote in 1824, but because of the Corrupt Bargain with Henry Clay throwing his electoral votes to John Quincy Adams in exchange for the position in the cabinet of Secretary of State, then the most powerful of all federal appointed positions, he was not elected president.

In the next election, Andrew Jackson overcame all the machinations of the Federalists in the North and was elected. John C. Calhoun was vice-president to both men, meaning that the vice-presidency was quite independent and actually straddled two fiercely competing parties. This says more about Calhoun's political acumen, his ambition, and his vision than almost anything else we could say about him.

Regionalist

❖ *1828: Tariff of Abominations*

But in 1828, now under Andrew Jackson, a tariff was passed at the behest of the northern industrial powers and shippers. Calhoun called it the Tariff of Abominations, and it was then that he began to make his shift from being one of the great nationalists to a regionalist. He suddenly realized that his nationalist ambitions might destroy the economy of his home state of South Carolina. He saw the unfairness of the tariff as being a kind of tyranny from the money masters in New York and Boston. He began to develop a whole new vision of how a nation could hold together under a constitutional compact while the interests of regions could be protected.

❖ *1831: Theory of Concurrent Majority*

❖ *1833: The Nullification Crisis*

It was in 1831 that he developed the theory of the Concurrent Majority and in 1833 that he as vice-president provoked a nullification crisis calling for South Carolina to nullify federal law, to stand against what he believed was tyranny. This obviously caused a great falling out with his president and in the administration. John C. Calhoun, after a heated cabinet meeting, slammed down his portfolio and papers and said, "Fine then, I shall resign you to your cesspool of wickedness and stand for my principles and my state." Thus he resigned from the vice-presidency, the only vice-president to do so except for Spiro T. Agnew during the Nixon administration.

Ideologue

❖ *1833: Return to the Senate*

❖ *1837: Slavery: "A Positive Good"*

He returned to the Senate and there took up his great fight for regional protection, which often went to great extremes. He was a fantastic orator, but his commitment to his ideology drove him to the point of almost madness on certain policies. For instance, he called slavery not just a necessary evil but a positive good.

❖ *1844: Secretary of State*

❖ *1850: Slavery's Expansion and Compromise*

This ideologue found himself once again at the forefront of the nation in 1844 in Tyler's administration as Secretary of State and saw to the great expansion of the vision of regionalism through the annexation of Texas. He fought every compromise from the Missouri Compromise to the Compromise of 1850, as possibly inhibiting the vision of his state.

Daniel Webster (1782-1852)

Daniel Webster was the greatest orator of the age. In fact two of his speeches, his speech at the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill and the speech eulogizing John Adams and Thomas Jefferson upon their deaths at the same time on the same day in the same year, are among the greatest oratories in all American of history.

Regionalist

❖ *1807: Opposing the Embargo Act*

❖ *1812: Invoked the Threat of Secession*

❖ *1816: Opposing the War Tariff*

He was born in 1782. He made his earliest political commitment as a regionalist, opposing the Embargo Act in 1807, joining with many New Englanders at the beginning of the War of 1812 calling for the possibility of the secession of the North from the Union, and opposing the war tariff in 1816.

Nationalist

❖ *1825: Bunker Hill Oration*

❖ *1826: Adams and Jefferson Oration*

❖ *1830: Webster-Hayne Nullification Debate*

Shortly after that, during the Era of Good Feelings, he shifted from being a regionalist to a nationalist. He was exactly the opposite of Calhoun. Calhoun started as a nationalist and became regionalist. Webster started as regionalist and became a nationalist. It was during the time that the Bunker Hill Oration and the Adams and Jefferson Eulogy took place, as well as a famous debate with a senator from South Carolina over nullification.

Ideologue

- ❖ *1833: Ardent Supporter of the Force Bill*
- ❖ *1834: Critical of the Clay Compromises*
- ❖ *1836: Helped to Establish the Whig Party*
- ❖ *1850: The American Compromise Speech*

Like Calhoun, he became an ideologue — an ardent supporter of the Force Bill and critical of Henry Clay's compromise measures, first with the Missouri Compromise in 1820, then the Great Compromise of 1850. He helped to establish the Whig Party, which all three men were associated with at one time or another. But they hated each other and hated one another's ideas despite the fact that they were so much alike.

Henry Clay (1777-1852)

And then there was Henry Clay. Clay was maybe the most accomplished politician in all of American history who never became president, though he ran five times.

Nationalist

- ❖ *1812: Elected to House as a War Hawk*
- ❖ *1815: Launched the American System*
- ❖ *1816: Established Nation Bank Charter*

He was born in 1777. Like Calhoun, Clay was elected as a War Hawk. He began his career as a nationalist and ended his career as a nationalist. He was the primary architect of the American mercantilist system, pulling himself up by his own bootstraps, constantly reminding the American people of his impoverished background, saying that his only inheritance from his father was faith in God, a great deal of ignorance, and even more poverty. He helped to establish the national bank charter.

Ideologue

- ❖ *1817: Congressional Spoils System*
- ❖ *1818: American Colonization Society*
- ❖ *1819: Society for Latin Independency*

But by 1817, he had become entrenched and was one of the great manipulators of the federal bureaucracy. In fact, many have said there was never another man who so mastered the details of governance until Lyndon Baines Johnson came along in the 1940's. He had that kind of LBJ verve when it came to negotiating. He could, it seemed, work a deal with anyone about anything if he put his mind to it. He was the ultimate negotiator, the consummate lobbyist. He established the American Colonization Society as a way to try to solve the problem of slavery, returning slaves back to Africa, thus establishing the nation of Liberia. In 1819, he became the President of the Society for Latin.

Compromiser and Pacifier

- ❖ *1820: Authored the Missouri Compromise*
- ❖ *1824: The Corrupt Bargain*
- ❖ *1833: Authored the Tariff Compromise*
- ❖ *1850: Authored the Great Compromise*

In 1820, he authored the Missouri Compromise. In 1850 he authored the Great Compromise. Both were attempts to save the nation. Paul Johnson writes that it was probably just Henry Clay and Henry Clay standing *contra mundum* that saved the United States from splintering in 1820. According to Johnson, civil war was inevitable. But this one solitary force seemed to be able to stave it off for forty years through a series of compromises and had he lived, he might have been able to negotiate away the hostilities even in 1860.

Comparisons and Contrasts

These men were so much alike and yet so radically different.

Calhoun

- ❖ *War Hawk and States Rights: American System*
- ❖ *Tariffs and Nullification to Protect Minorities*
- ❖ *Original Intention of the Constitution*

Webster

- ❖ *War Hawk and States Rights: American System*
- ❖ *Tariffs and Interposition to Protect Business*
- ❖ *National Integrity and Constitutional Property*

Clay

- ❖ *War Hawk and States Rights: American System*
- ❖ *Compromise to Protect and Preserve the Union*
- ❖ *Constitutional Cooperation and Purpose*

Calhoun was a War Hawk. Webster was a War Hawk. Clay was a War Hawk. Calhoun fought for states' rights. Webster fought for states' rights. Clay fought for states' rights. Calhoun fought for the American System. Webster and Clay did as well. They built their careers around issues that were very similar. How do you accommodate industrialism in the North and the impulse to tariffs? How do you accommodate the cotton economy in the South and its peculiar institution, slavery? Two of the men were fiercely opposed to slavery. One of the men was a fierce defender of it. But they all wrestled with the constitutional issues and arrived at very similar conclusions.

What do we make of all of this? How do we measure the impact of lives like this? The first thing you need to know is that the questions that they raised are the questions that continue to be raised in American politics today.

If you see some sort of a disconnect when you turn on CNN versus when you turn on Fox, you're witnessing the debate of Calhoun, Webster, and Clay. If you go to a Tea Party or a Michael Moore rally you will hear the rhetoric and the questions of Calhoun, Webster, and Clay. If you look at the great constitutional scholars of today, they're still wrestling with the questions that these three men raised, and we've barely made any advances over them. The questions still remain controversial. The questions remain entirely unresolved. It is the heart of the great American conflict even today.

Here is what I think is the biggest take-away. It has nothing to do with ideology or policy. Tip O'Neil, a famous machine politician from Massachusetts, a good ole Boston Irishman, famously said, "All politics is local." What the lives of these three men show us is that we need to take that one step further and that is that all politics, all cultural impact, is personal. It's rooted in personal relationships, personalities, and character, which is why character is more important than policy.

Have you noticed when you read the Bible that there is not a specific charter about how government ought to be set up? Instead there are ethical standards that rulers and peoples are to follow. These guys agreed and wrestled with the same things. Why was it that they were so fiercely opposed to one another all through their lives? Well they came from different places and they were marked by their regions, and that was a part of it. But at the heart of it was that they just didn't like each other.

The nation wound up being marked by the personalities, the characters, and the conflict among these persons. We got to make sure that we always remember this. Leadership is always personal. Ministry is always personal. Politics is always personal. It's part of the reason that American voters can violate their principles over and over and over again and vote for somebody because they have good teeth and great hair — because it's personal. And you know what? God made us for the personal. We don't live by principles, we live by relationships; that's why in the Bible, we're constantly told that truth must be married to virtue and that truth and virtue must produce in us joy, delight, and winsomeness. An ugly truth doesn't win the world. A mean-spirited, well-argued principle gains few followers. What these three guys remind us is that these dominating personalities were just that — they were dominating personalities. Yes, the issues that they argued were important; they're still important. But the biggest thing that we learn from these men is that they were men, with relationships and character flaws, and that made all the difference. It'll make all the difference with you as well.

If you look at all of the presidential candidates lining up right now to possibly oppose President Obama in 2012, one of the things that you're struck by is that they all pretty much agree on the big issues. What divides them is character and personality. The reality is that the difference between Republicans and Democrats is merely the speed of the train that is hurtling over the cliff. Democrats want to take it at one hundred miles per hour, and the Republicans want to ratchet it back to sixty. The train is still going over the cliff. The difference in the policies is miniscule. What we're reminded of with Calhoun, Webster, and Clay is that it's not the economy, stupid.

This week I ran across an amazing quote from Charles Murray, the great economist. He said, "The real problem with American social policy today is not how much these things cost, but what they do and who they are for." When we fight over the dollars and we forget the people and the character that lies behind the issues, then no matter how great we are, no matter how much impact we have, we'll always just be almosts.



Father, thank you for picturing for us these truths that we can clarify them in our own minds and articulate them better in our own hearts, to regulate our own walks according to your purposes. I thank you for the web of relationships, the personalities that we have in this room. Remind us always, Lord, that people actually matter and enable us to live like it in the small details of life and on the big stage of the world when the spotlights are on. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 32

The Nullification Crisis

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Andrew Johnson and the Two Reconstructions; Modern America and Its Aging Process

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 408–420

Lesson Synopsis

No legal mechanism was actually put into the Constitution or outlined by the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions to do the work of nullification. The idea of nullification is not in the Constitution. It's like a warning. There was an assumption that the declaratory and restrictive clauses would put the fear of God in legislators. What it boiled down to is that everybody was agreed — states have a right to nullify. Everybody was agreed — if the federal powers get outside the bounds, if the Bill of Rights is violated, somebody somewhere has got to stand up and stop them. But there was no legal mechanism for anybody to stop them. There wasn't a procedure for nullification and the idea is not actually in the Constitution.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

The nullification crisis of 1830, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, the Alien & Sedition Acts, the Tariff of Abominations,

Primary Source Material

The Nullification Ordinance of 1832, the Virginia Resolution of 1798, the Kentucky Resolution of 1798, Calhoun's Exposition and Protest of 1829

Vocabulary

alacrity, Christological, subsume, appropriate, unassailable, sovereign, capacity, addendum

Timeline

- ❖ 1791: The Bill of Rights was ratified.
- ❖ 1798: The Alien and Sedition Acts
- ❖ 1798: The Kentucky Resolutions
- ❖ 1798: The Virginia Resolutions
- ❖ 1814: The Hartford Convention
- ❖ 1828: The Tariff of Abominations enacted
- ❖ 1829: Calhoun's Exposition and Protest
- ❖ 1832: The Nullification Ordinance was approved by South Carolina's legislature.

- ❖ 1833: The Force Bill
- ❖ 1833: The Compromise Tariff



The Nullification Crisis

“The advocates and foes of nullification alike have done their work. They have prepared the minds of men for a separation of the states; and when the question is moved again it will be distinctly union or disunion at the risk of force.”
~James Pettigru

Obviously, today we are going to carry on with some of what we talked about on Tuesday. The ideas that we introduced about the American System — about nullification, magistratal interpositionalism, the question of taxation on top of normal taxation, the concept of tariffs — become some of the central issues of the post-Founding Era and really the lead-up to the Civil War. One of the things we’ll discover today is that long before the issue of slavery became contentious, regionalism was already dividing the nation. As early as the War of 1812, there was talk of secession, from states like Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. And the idea of armed conflict between the federal government and individual states, as with Massachusetts or South Carolina, was already on the table by the 1820’s. So the long-brewing conflict was very much at the forefront, and, as James Pettigru’s quote points out, the crisis that came almost immediately after the Founding Era was one which nearly brought the great experiment of liberty to an end before it hardly had even started.

3 March

- ❖ *1284: The Principality of Wales was annexed to the Kingdom of England.*

Today is March 3, and it was on this day in the year 1284 that the principality of Wales was annexed to the kingdom of England. To this day, they remain separate nations but a part of the same kingdom. It’s one of the peculiarities. Whenever you go to England, there are these peculiar coins. On one side, they show the monarch of the United Kingdom, Queen Elizabeth, but on the other side are the national emblems of all of the kingdoms that are united in the United Kingdom, and one of those is Wales — one of the peculiarities of our heritage. The reason it’s important is the whole idea of unity and diversity, of sovereignty and multiplicity, of covenantal connectionalism and compacts, goes all the way back in our common law tradition to prior to the Medieval Age, is woven into the fabric of English common law tradition. And that’s what the Founding Fathers were drawing on when they forged their vision for a new federalism or, literally, a new kind of covenantalism.

- ❖ *1847: The inventor of the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland.*

It was also on this day in 1847 that the inventor of the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell, was born into Edinburgh, Scotland. The reason I threw this odd birthday in is that the day after the iPad 2 was introduced, I was thinking how far our technology has gone, in just one hundred fifty years. It’s really astonishing to think about. I watched Steve Jobs’s presentation yesterday via podcast, and I was sitting there watching a live event being podcast to my phone while I was driving between appointments, and I was thinking to myself, *Wow! What would Alexander Graham Bell have thought about this?*

❖ *1855: The U.S. military began field-testing camels.*

In 1855, on this day, the U.S. military began field-testing camels that they had brought in from North Africa. They were searching for some new technology that might be suitable for maintaining control of the American West. While it seems altogether wacky and weird that they might import camels and start field-testing camels in the American West, it really points to that adaptive nature that is woven into the American spirit of trying to figure out new ways to do old things. That inventive, entrepreneurial, technologically experimental spirit remains with us and is at the heart of the American genius, and really we see that across the board.

The founding documents of the Founding Fathers laid down principles. But new circumstances always test those principles. If you have a business that's established on core principles, and the business grows and suddenly there are new products, new projects, and new markets, you have to test those principles, and sometimes adapt them, flex them, or grow them. The core of the mission doesn't change, but the new circumstances demand structures grown out of those principles that do look a little different. This is a concept that runs across the board. When a family adopts two new babies, when a school expands from junior high and high school to add an elementary school, we're constantly having to adapt ourselves. One of the things that you can do is change your principles, at which point you become a whole new thing. Or, you can look at those core principles, adapt them, shape them, grow them, and apply them to new circumstances, and in those cases, what you come up with is growth and maturity.

❖ *1885: The American Telephone and Telegraph Company was first incorporated.*

That's part of the secret of the American dream. Speaking of iPads and Apple and all the rest, it was in 1885, on this day, March 3, that AT&T was first incorporated.

❖ *1924: The fourteen hundred-year-old Islamic caliphate ended.*

In 1924, on this day, the fourteen hundred-year-old Islamic caliphate came to an end when it was abolished in a revolution in Turkey.

❖ *1931: The United States formally adopted the Star-Spangled Banner as its national anthem.*

In 1931, on this day, the United States formally adopted the *Star-Spangled Banner* as its national anthem.

❖ *1938: Oil was first discovered in Saudi Arabia.*

In 1938, on this day, oil was first discovered in Saudi Arabia.

I included these odd bits just as a reminder to us of how fast history can change. Things that we think of as established facts of the world can change with astonishing speed and alacrity, and those changes ultimately change everything. In some ways, that was the circumstance that faced the post-Founding Era, the second and third generation of American patriots as they wrestled with complexities.

We see this in church history. In the years immediately after the apostles, the period after the Book of Acts, there were all kinds of questions about the character and nature of Christ and his sacrifice. And for about four hundred years after that first generation, there were all these Christological controversies over Nestorianism, Monophysitism, and a host of other heresies. Arianism almost brought the church to its knees. This is normal. In a second generation, there is the testing of the principles, the raising of questions, the working out of unforeseen

details. This is something that the Founding Fathers actually anticipated. When you listen to some of the arguments that were thrown about in the early Continental Congress and then later during the Constitutional Convention, and the arguments in Congress over the Articles of Confederation, you quickly discover that they anticipated that the second and third generation of American patriots would have to wrestle with profound details about federalism, connectionalism, jurisdictionalism, and overlapping sovereignties. They tried to give those future generations the tools to deal with those conflicts.

Federalism's Check on the Government

It's one of the reasons why, before it was fully ratified, the Constitution had to be amended ten times with something called the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights was the anticipation of the working out of complex problems that somehow were not addressed in the overall compact as it was originally written.

Some seventy amendments were proposed between 1787 and 1791 when the Bill of Rights was finally ratified. There were a lot of questions, a lot of details — questions about citizenship, states' rights, jurisdictionalism, magistratal interpositionalism, all of the questions that were raised by the American System. One of the things the first generation of founders realized was that, because of the nature of human ambition and the nature of sinful social structures, it was necessary to build in safeguards.

❖ *The Preamble to the Bill of Rights*

The conventions of a number of states having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: and as extending the ground of public confidence in the government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution.

For instance, there are some amazing safeguards in the Bill of Rights. We start seeing it right in the Preamble to the Bill of Rights, which as we've noted before is often left out of printed versions of the Bill of Rights as if it's superfluous, but sometimes it's left out when the Constitution is discussed or argued, whether at the collegiate level or in the realm of politics. The Preamble to the Bill of Rights lays out some essential principles that the early Founders understood that the next generations would have to have, and that they would wrestle with.

So, for instance, notice that the Preamble states that the purpose of the Bill of Rights, the whole reason these amendments were added in the first place, was to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers. That's why they said, "further declaratory, and restrictive clauses" needed to be "added," so that there could be "public confidence in the government," and, to ensure the beneficent ends of its institution or its establishment. This was huge. What this is saying is that the Constitution, as it is laid out, affords a glimpse of powers that, if not restricted, clearly delineated, and declared, could lead to potential future tyranny. So, these further declaratory and restrictive clauses are imposed so that there is no mistaking the purpose of the Constitution. This, the Founders hoped, would be a tool, a hedge, against abuses in the years to come and would establish real confidence for the public that their liberties were indeed secured.

❖ *The Tenth Amendment*

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

This is further developed in the last article of those ten amendments — the Tenth Amendment — which says, “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the States, are reserved for the States respectively, or to the people.” In other words, if the Constitution does not say that the federal government can do this, then all those powers are reserved either to the states or to the people. The Tenth Amendment essentially says that delegated powers is the defining principle of the federal government. Did you get that? It's very clear.

Now, obviously, all governments grow, just like taxation. Tasks are taken on because needs arise, circumstances change. In the War of 1812, there was suddenly the threat that the nation would be subsumed once again by the colonial power, Great Britain. So the federal government had to mobilize the states, assume new authorities and powers, in order to protect itself. There were times when that authority grew beyond the bounds of what many thought was appropriate. So the opponents of the growth of federal power would take recourse in these statements in the Constitution. Of course the problem is that sometimes political leaders will say either, *Well, forget that*, or, *I don't care*, or they will make an appeal to the emerging crises of the moment and say, *But we have to do this*. In other words, it's very possible for politicians simply to ignore all this.

The Nullification Compact

That's the circumstance that we faced with the nullification crisis that emerged in the United States from 1824 to 1833.

❖ *The Nullification Ordinance*

The respective States have a duty to preserve the integrity of the Constitution and the rights of the people by denying Congress any authority not specifically delegated to it.

And we, the people of South Carolina, are determined to maintain this, our ordinance and declaration, at every hazard, do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force on the part of the federal government, such actions being inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union.

To set the stage for the nullification crisis, I want to start at the end and then go back to the beginning because there's a really interesting compact that was drawn up by South Carolina legislators, led largely by the vice president of the United States at the time, John C. Calhoun, who was vice president under both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

He drew up this compact to try to articulate and draw out a little bit more of the ideas of the Preamble of the Bill of Rights and the Tenth Amendment. Essentially the Nullification Ordinance, this compact drawn up for South Carolina's legislators, said that the states have a duty to preserve the integrity of the Constitution and the rights of the people by denying Congress any authority not specifically delegated to it. In other words, they were

saying, *We really want to do what the Bill of Rights says what we ought to do. We want to hold to the principle of the Tenth Amendment.*

But how are they supposed to go about doing that. If a state stands alone against all the other states and they just get outvoted, but it really is a principal drawn from the Constitution, what are they supposed to do? Well, according to the Nullification Ordinance, they went on to say, “We, the people of South Carolina, are determined to maintain this, our ordinance and declaration, at every hazard.” This is like the people being bombarded in Benghazi today, simply saying, *Gaddafi, bring it on because we will, at every hazard, take our stand.* That’s risky business.

The Principle of Nullification

They went on to say that they would not submit to the application of force on the part of the federal government because such actions were inconsistent with the continuation of South Carolina in the Union. In other words, they were saying, *Look, if you try to force us to submit to your tariff, to submit to your universal healthcare plan, we’ll simply leave the Union because this is a constitutional principle.* That’s what they argued.

Constitution

- ❖ *The Necessity of the Bill of Rights*
- ❖ *The Preamble*
- ❖ *The Tenth Amendment*
- ❖ *The Court Precedents*

Now, having stated the principle of nullification, let’s go back and look at the crisis and the controversy. The Constitution obviously lays out in the Bill of Rights, in the Preamble to the Bill of Rights, in particular — the Tenth Amendment ran through a whole series of court precedents — the idea that checks and balances need to be diverse in their application. In other words, magistratal diversity, multiple jurisdictions checking and balancing with each other, from the lower jurisdictions to the higher jurisdictions, from the higher jurisdictions to the lateral jurisdictions, from branches of government to spheres of sovereignty beyond the government. There needed to be multiple checks and balances.

History

- ❖ *Of the Compact and the Confederation*

This was rooted in the whole history of the Founding Era. We see this in the original compact that bound the thirteen colonies into a covenantal agreement before the Declaration of Independence, before the Articles of Confederation. We also see this in the days of the Confederation and in the controversies that emerged right at the very beginning of the Founding Era. For instance, with the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798, the states reacted quickly. The Alien and Sedition Acts were essentially homeland security measures imposed for the safety of the nation. Men like Thomas Jefferson and James Madison argued that, while it seemed prudent for the safety of the people to impose such restrictions, they were such an impediment to liberty as to destroy the nature of constitutionalism and therefore were too dangerous to maintain.

❖ *Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions: 1798*

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions exemplify this. The Kentucky Resolutions, written by Thomas Jefferson say this,

[I]n cases of an abuse of the delegated powers, the members of the general government, being chosen by the people, a change by the people would be the constitutional remedy...

In other words, if your government starts to abuse its power, Jefferson says, *Vote them out. Vote them out!* But then he goes on and says,

...but, where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy: that every State has a natural right in cases not within the compact, (*casus non fœderis*) to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits: that without this right, they would be under the dominion, absolute and unlimited, of whosoever might exercise this right of judgment for them.”

One of the things that Jefferson realized was that it's possible to have a tyranny that is the tyranny of the fifty-one percent.¹ It's actually very possible for a mere majority to impose a kind of tyranny and elect an elitist governmental structure that's unassailable and can do whatever it wants — decides which laws they will enforce, and which laws they won't enforce. So Jefferson in the Kentucky Resolutions says it is absolutely vital that there be some means of nullification.

In the Virginia Resolutions written by James Madison there's a similar argument. This is what Madison wrote, the resolutions, having taken this view of the federal compact proceed to infer

that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them.

The Constitution of the United States was formed by the sanction of the states given by each in a sovereign capacity. It adds to the stability and dignity as well as to the authority of the Constitution when it rests on this solid foundation. Do you see what they are saying? The Constitution can't be like Gumby and Pokey—stretched in whatever direction you want it to stretch. You just can't make it whatever you want to make it. Even if fifty-one percent, a majority of the voters, say, *It's okay, go ahead*. And those who recognize the dangers are duty-bound, even if they stand alone, to stand against the imposed tyranny.

Here's the problem with all of this. No legal mechanism was actually put into the Constitution or outlined by things like the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions to actually do the work of nullification. In other words, the idea of nullification is not in the Constitution. It's like a warning, *You better not abuse your power*. There was an assumption that all these declaratory and restrictive clauses would actually put the fear of God in legislators, but if

¹ Slip of the tongue: not the fifty-one percent, but the fifty percent plus one. For example: 10,000 people — 51% is 5,100 people; however, fifty percent, 5,000 people, plus 1 more person equals 5,001 people and is more than half, and therefore a majority. *Ed*.

the day should come when there is no fear of God, what do you do? What it really boiled down to is that everybody was agreed — states have a right to nullify. Everybody was agreed — if the federal powers get outside the bounds, if the Bill of Rights is violated, somebody somewhere has got to stand up and stop them. But there was no legal mechanism for anybody to stop them. There wasn't a procedure for nullification, and the idea is not actually in the Constitution. This is a big gap, this is a hole. They're assuming a safeguard that they never established. Now here's the thing. That's normal. You can't always anticipate everything, even if you are as thoughtful and as careful as the Founders were. And the reason is that all of us have unspoken assumptions. Among the unspoken assumptions that the Founding Fathers had was a basic idea about the fallenness of man, the sovereignty of God, the authority of his Word, and the necessity of accountability. What happens if you have people who just don't assume that stuff, throw it out, don't consider it, it doesn't enter into the equation? All of a sudden all your calculations are thrown off.

So there's an assumption that the need for nullification is not going to arise. One of things that Jefferson and Madison clearly had in mind was that by sending out their resolutions, the logic would prevail and the Adams administration would stand down from the Alien and Sedition Acts. In fact, that's what happened. But what happens when logic doesn't prevail and we have no mechanism for the enforcement of a principle that once everyone assumed? That's what led to the nullification crisis.

❖ *The Hartford Convention: 1814*

We start to see it emerge almost immediately with the Hartford Convention in 1814. This was a group of legislators drawn from New England states, who gathered together to decide whether or not New England should secede from the Union over issues that arose during the War of 1812. They gathered together, they evaluated the questions and threatened secession but did not follow through, partly because the War of 1812 ended just before Christmas in 1814.

Federalism

❖ *The Anti-Federalists*

❖ *The Federalists and Whigs*

These issues are at the heart of the questions that brought about the first two political parties in American life — the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. The Anti-Federalists wanted to enforce these ideas of nullification. They wanted to come up with appropriate constitutional mechanisms to bring about nullification. The Federalists and the advocates of the American System, the heirs of the Federalists, the party known as the Whigs, believed that nullification, because it wasn't a constitutional mechanism and no structures had been afforded for nullification, was dangerous to the heart of the Union. Abraham Lincoln was a member of the Whig party. The National Republican Party that emerged beginning in 1856 was really a northern continuation of that Whig policy that essentially said, *The Union at all costs*.

❖ *War Hawks and Tariff Expansionists*

When the war hawks and the tariff expansionists in the Whig party — members of that American System which included Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, and initially John C. Calhoun — started pushing forward their agenda, there were those of the old Thomas Jefferson and James Madison school who said, *We're setting dangerous precedents here*. The federal government is growing beyond any bounds. At one point James Madison made the observation that the federal government seemed to have more employees than the entire Commonwealth of Vir-

ginia totaling more than three hundred employees. Three hundred employees in the federal government! *That's oppressive*, he said. *That's overwhelming*, he said. That's "a concentration of imperial power," he said. Three hundred employees! "Why, before long, the federal government," he said, "may begin to consume as much as one or two percent of the total national economic output which would be absolutely intolerable." I hope the irony of that is not lost on you.

Jackson's Nullification Crisis

So this leads us to the actual crisis itself. In 1824, John Quincy Adams was able to secure the presidency despite the fact that he got fewer electoral votes initially and fewer popular votes than his primary opponent, Andrew Jackson. But because one of the other candidates in the race, Henry Clay, entered into what was later called the Corrupt Bargain, swapping his electoral votes for the promise of a position in the Cabinet, Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams became president.

The Adams administration began to dramatically pursue the American System. Remember the American System is that philosophy of protecting American industries, creating new infrastructure projects within the nation to facilitate the economy, and establishing a national bank which would control monetary policy. The American System became ingrained as part of the Adams administration.

Tariff of 1828

- ❖ *The Tariff of Abominations*
- ❖ *Imported Manufactured Goods*
- ❖ *Rice and Cotton Exports*

In addition, there were foreign-policy implications. The Monroe Doctrine said that all European powers were to essentially have a hands-off policy in the Americas, North and South. The Monroe Doctrine was written by John Quincy Adams. And it essentially created the Americanist posture. Well, that gets put into place, and at the end of the Adams administration, the administration is finally able to impose steep tariffs against the importation of cheap British and French goods into the nation, which were then proving to be challenges to domestic industry. The whole point of the tariff was to raise the prices of British goods so high that domestic goods could compete with them. This tariff was called the Tariff of Abominations. It was intended to restrict imported manufactured goods. Unfortunately the side effect of this was that, with restricted income from their exports to America, the British and the French no longer had the surplus capital to import American agricultural products, chiefly the South's cotton and rice, which meant that the South suffered terribly economically, from the Tariff of Abominations. In fact, the South went into a full-fledged depression. It wasn't a recession, the economy of the South completely collapsed because of the Tariff of Abominations.

Now all of this took place against the backdrop of a presidential election. The campaign for the presidency and the election of 1828 had actually begun the day after the inauguration of John Quincy Adams when Andrew Jackson said that he would fight every moment of the next four years to topple that corrupt regime. It was kind of like GOP candidates lining up the day after President Obama was inaugurated and we have all the speculation about who's the candidate, who's going to establish his presidential campaign first. It was the first of the perpetual campaign seasons. Jackson actually began campaigning in earnest in 1825. It was a three-year-long presi-

dential election campaign, the most expensive in history up to that point. Now people running for City Council spend more money than Jackson did at that time. But the promise of Andrew Jackson was that the sanity of the states, of ordinary people, of people from the West, of people who were not a part of the big political elite and the big political machines, they were going to come in and clean up Washington, clean up the mess. Jackson was the reformer. Jackson was the man of the people, the rough and tumble Old Hickory. He was going to champion the cause of his region. He was born in North Carolina, moved to Tennessee; he was going to be a someone to protect the region. John C. Calhoun, of course, was vice president under John Quincy Adams, but he was fiercely opposed to the Tariff of Abominations, so he embraced the promise of Jacksonianism early on in 1828. When Jackson was overwhelmingly elected, the assumption was that the tyranny of the tariff and the American System would be rolled back.

John C. Calhoun

❖ *South Carolina Exposition and Protest*

❖ *Nullification Ordinance and Resignation*

It was during this whole season that Calhoun began to write a number of important papers, essays, and his famous Exposition and Protest in 1829 that would lay the foundation for the nullification movement. Remember, he was vice president under John Quincy Adams, and vice president under the new administration of Andrew Jackson. And he was the leader of a sort of populist regional movement. Everybody believed that Andrew Jackson was going to have the federal government stand down. But he didn't.

He got into office, and while he did make some changes, his Cabinet was largely composed of the same moneyed, well-positioned elite that had always been in government. The policies of the Jackson administration were even more hardened when it came to the American System than under John Quincy Adams.

Needless to say, that made things rather tense between the president and the vice president. The president swept in on a reformist platform, wildly heralded as a great emancipator of the ordinary American; the scene at the inauguration was a wild scene of soldiers and frontiersmen tramping about Washington, D.C., in their muddy boots in the White House, standing on the White House furniture, whooping and hollering and drinking whiskey from a bottle. It was supposed to be a whole new day, and it turned out to be pretty much the same old, same old.

John C. Calhoun, principled ideologue, wound up going to war with his president. He was vice president! It's like, God forbid, Joe Biden actually standing up and opposing President Obama in public with a big movement behind him.

Eventually, Calhoun realized that his position in the Cabinet is so compromised that he could no longer stand. He resigned, and that's when he wrote the Nullification Ordinance, which attempted to provide that structure, that mechanism, for the nullification of federal laws. But again, this was not constitutional construct; it was an elaboration of constitutional principles at best. It was an addendum at worse.

❖ *The Force Bill of 1833*

Jackson immediately responded to the challenge of South Carolina and his former vice-president. He pushed through Congress something called the Force Bill. The Force Bill gave the federal government the authority to

bring military force against its own citizens to force them to comply with the regulations of federal policy whatever they might be, to collect the tariff taxes and to impose order from the federal level down to the state level.

Jacksonianism

John C. Calhoun was not a man to take idle threats. Neither were most of the legislators in South Carolina. South Carolina's governor, immediately upon the passage of the Force Bill, assembled a twenty-five thousand man militia and began drilling them to prepare for the invasion of federal troops.

❖ *“On the brink of insurrection and treason”*

❖ *Seven Schooners and a Man-O-War*

When Andrew Jackson heard about this, he was enraged. He declared that the nation was brought to the brink of arms and that South Carolina was on the brink of insurrection and treason. He immediately mobilized a fleet response, the idea being that they would cordon off the entire coast of South Carolina, impose a blockade, and then invade with federal troops from the North. He famously declared, “There are now seven schooners and a man-o-war that are ready to force compliance on these bitter rebels.”

Now keep in mind this all took place in the 1830's, long long before slavery became an inflamed issue, long before the outbreak of the Civil War. This is long before Lincoln.

At the heart of all of this, obviously, were questions of constitutionality — structure. So here's the thing, anytime there is a great movement, there are all these kinds of informal structures, assumptions, and unspoken expectations. If those things aren't formalized in the second and third generation, the movement will always collapse. The danger of imposing structures on a movement is that you can smother the movement, so it's a balancing act. That's what brought about the great crisis.

❖ *Clay's Compromise Tariff of 1833*

Now into the fray stepped the Great Compromiser. He had already done it with the Missouri Compromise in 1820; he would do it again with the Great Compromise of 1850. Into this intractable mess came Henry Clay, the master legislator. Even as the Force Bill was being pushed through Congress, he came up with a compromise tariff that would appease the South, appease the North, stave off war, and cool down tempers so they could begin to work on Constitutional issues. It was passed; South Carolina rescinded their Nullification Ordinance. Andrew Jackson thought that he had won. John C. Calhoun thought that he had won. And somehow Henry Clay had brought the crisis to an end.

The Greatest Almosts

Remember, the three dominating men of this age are Calhoun, Webster, and Clay. The Great Almosts. In this crisis, those were the three men who, more than any others, brought the nation to a place where it would not resort to arms.

Lessons for Today

There are a lot of lessons that we can draw from this episode.

❖ *Conflicts over intrusive federal power, an imperial presidency, and an irate citizenry are nothing new.*

The first lesson is that conflicts over intrusive federal power, an imperial presidency and an irate citizenry are nothing new. If you read the headlines and look at Tea Party protests, the occupation of Wisconsin's State House, teachers unions marching, and all the rest, and you think, *This is craziness. This nation is coming apart the seams. This is unprecedented.* You need to remember, we've been doing this kind of crazy stuff for a long time.

❖ *Because politics is just a predictable manifestation of human ambition and aspiration in a fallen world, political conflicts are just predictable manifestations of the sin patterns of fallen men.*

Because politics is just a predictable manifestation of human ambition and aspiration in a fallen world, political conflicts are predictable manifestations of the sin patterns of fallen men. In other words, the reason history repeats itself is that we're fallen creatures. The reason the same conflicts keep coming up over and over again is that those conflicts are rooted in who we are not just what we do. This is so important for us to realize. There are actually people out there who believe that they can educate AIDS away, or educate bad driving away, sit down with a little film about scary driving moments and that's supposed to scare teenagers and cause them to drive carefully. Yes, it'll scare you the first time you watch it, but then what happens is that you have this default mode called *being a teenager*. Watching a film about something is not going to change what you are. There has to be something far more substantial to change what you are. You can't just legislate something away or educate something away. Part of the problem of modern politics is that we've forgotten the most basic principle of all — the principle of the Fall. People aren't just stupid, they're sinful. People aren't just misinformed, they're sinful. Do you think somebody walking up to Charlie Sheen and telling him the way he ought to act is going to fix Charlie Sheen?

❖ *Ignoring or subverting constitutional limitations is not an innovation of modern politics.*

This brings us to another principle: ignoring or subverting constitutional limitation is not an innovation of modern politics.

There's a direct corollary to that, which is when we run across these same old problems in our contemporary context, perhaps the best insights that we can gain are not the innovations of our creative minds but sometimes maybe we ought to go back and look at the way these conflicts have been dealt with before so that we can learn lessons from the past. One of things that drives me absolutely crazy when I look at the State Department's policy program for dealing with conflict in the Middle East is that they ignore fifteen hundred years of history when they are doing it. They are assuming that they can deal with Gaddafi or with Mubarak as if they came from California or Iowa. Let me tell you something, Gaddafi did not grow up in Iowa. You can't use the same logic, the same approaches, the same inducements, and incentives. You can't assume that fifteen hundred years of history didn't happen.

❖ *Great men are generally exaggerated men — in both their strengths and their faults.*

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we always have to remember that great men are generally exaggerated men. They have exaggerated gifts; that's what makes them great, if they are great. They're kind of stretched out

of normal proportions. But, if their strengths are exaggerated, their faults are probably exaggerated too. We often forget that. In historiography we really forget that. We've got to read history in such a way that the good guys are altogether good and the bad guys are altogether bad. In fact, it's incredibly dangerous to take a balanced view of the politically established and politically correct villains of history. If you say good things about certain bad guys, if you acknowledge, for instance, that Adolf Hitler was a magisterial orator, you can get in real trouble. You just can't say anything nice — not that that's particularly nice, "a master of oratory," but we have to be really careful. We have to tiptoe around the Hitlers of the world. You have to tiptoe a little less around Stalin because he's a little bit more favored. But still, you have to be really careful. The reality is that all leaders are just leaders. When you look at somebody like Andrew Jackson, he was a great, great leader. Therefore he had great, great faults. John C. Calhoun was an incisive, brilliant leader, therefore it's very likely that we're going to find in him huge blind spots. The nullification crisis was brought up out of the personalities of great men. It's no wonder then that the whole nullification movement had deep and profound flaws. Bright lights attract big bugs. That's the principle. The brighter the light, the more and the bigger the bugs.



Lord, I thank you for reminding us of these principles which are so incredibly applicable to our own day. I pray that you would raise up a whole new generation of leaders right out of this room, young men and women who understand that they are fallen, that the world that they work with is fallen, and therefore what they are is just as important as what they do. I pray that all the work that they do would be in light of the transforming work of the Holy Spirit which is the only thing that can change who we are, to enable us to do what we're supposed to do. I pray all this in the great name of the Redeemer, the Savior, the Transformer of everything, the Lord Jesus. Amen.

Lesson 33

Essential Habits of Emerging Leaders: The Lectio Divina

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Mass-Immigration and “Thinking Big”; Indians and Settlers, Cowboys and Desperados

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 420–433

Lesson Synopsis

The *lectio divina* is an old medieval discipline. *Lectio divina* literally means reading in a holy fashion or reading the Divine. The idea of *lectio divina* is the development of a series of habits of the heart that start with our devotion to God but bleed over into whole of life.

Opportunity

15

Lesson Topics

The *Lectio Divina*: reading, thinking, praying, living

Primary Source Material

None for this lesson.

Vocabulary

malfesance, epistemology, ontology, subjugation, contradistinction, recur, *extempore*, extemporaneous, antithesis, naught, digital, analogical, florid, rut, tenacity, tensile

Timeline

None for this lesson.



Essential Habits of Emerging Leaders:

The Lectio Divina

The essential disciplines of emerging leaders provide them with an ability to see beyond the constraints of present circumstances to the possibilities of the future. They stir up in them a hunger to see what is in terms of what ought to be. They provoke in them a passion to live life beyond the limits imposed by the tyranny of the urgent.
~ Tristan Gylberd

We are going to talk about essential habits for emerging leaders. We're gonna just talk a little bit about the kinds of disciplines that are necessary for true and substantive leadership, which you'll see as we get into the lecture ties directly into everything that we've been talking about over the last several months. In fact, I'm going to remind you a little bit of the lecture that we did on the Founding Fathers and classical education as a sort of a segue into this topic.

8 March

❖ *1984: Students at the Staszic Agricultural College began to protest.*

Today is March 8, and it was on this day in 1984, following the visit of Pope John Paul II to his homeland, that the Communist regime in Poland decided to crack down on all expressions of faith. The government ordered all crosses to be removed from public buildings including schools. Only one school in the entire nation voluntarily complied. As a result the state police began to enforce the decree in a series of raids. It was on this day in 1984 that riot police were actually sent to the Staszic Agricultural College when two-thirds of the students staged a sit-in to protest the removal of the seven crosses that were scattered throughout the campus. Within hours, tens of thousands of Polish students from around the country joined them because word got out via a new technology that the Communist regime had not figured out how to control. It wasn't the Internet; it was fax machines. Fax machines fueled the revolution. Using the telephone lines and those horrible crumpled, shiny papers that they had back in those days, they got word out, and tens of thousands of students began to protest. At the time Francis Schaeffer, one of my mentors, had been heavily involved in the Solidarity movement in Poland. He was at that time in the final stages of his battle against cancer and would not live long, but he remarked on his deathbed that perhaps this symbolic movement would stir in the students a new faith that was at that time only a revolt against authority. In fact, one of the most remarkable revivals of faith in the modern world was the revival of faith in Poland in the last part of the 80's and into the 90's, a revival that toppled the Communist regime and brought about a remarkable transformation of Eastern Europe over the course of the next five years. It all started when they tried to take crosses out of public buildings. It is really remarkable. What is really remarkable about it is that the Communists had to send in riot police to accomplish what we've accomplished in America simply by bureaucratic malfeasance.

❖ *1965: The first three thousand five hundred American Marines were deployed to South Vietnam.*

It was in 1965, on this day, that the first Marines in the American Armed Forces were sent to South Vietnam. It was the first significant American military mobilization in the war, which had been raging since the end of the Second World War in the former French colonies of Indochina. It's remarkable to consider what has transpired in Southeast Asia in the years since 1965. My son, Jesse, is going to Vietnam for spring break this year. They're

going simply because several people at the school where he teaches in Indonesia desperately want Vietnamese noodles for spring break. So they are going to Vietnam. Anyway that has nothing to do with this other than it is Vietnam.

❖ *1917: The Russian Revolution began.*

In 1917, on this day, the Russian Revolution began with rioting and strikes in Saint Petersburg. It is often called the February Revolution because of the old-style calendars still used by the Russians at that time. It was still February according to the old calendar.

❖ *1851: Tribal decrees in Old Calabar banned its ancient brutal customs.*

It was also on this day in 1851 when the fruit of Hugh Goldie's long campaign for freedom in Old Calabar, on the west coast of Africa, in the nineteenth century, was brought to fruition. He went there as a missionary and was horrified by many of the things he found there. The living conditions and the people were deplorable, the nutrition was abominable, hygiene was disgraceful, their social and commercial arrangements were in utter disarray, but it was their cavalier attitude toward the sanctity of human life that most disturbed him. Although they had recently abandoned the centuries-old practice of human sacrifice, they still freely practiced abortion, abandonment, and infanticide. Goldie was met with stiff opposition by the tribal chiefs and even by many of his fellow missionaries who felt that Hugh Goldie's campaign for life was totally out of sync with their ambition to evangelize the tribes. They thought that he was being too political. His view was that if we allow these children to be killed, who is it that we're thinking that we're evangelizing? So he combined the message of freedom in Christ with a message of freedom for the children. And it was that message that won over the tribes. Shortly after his death, all the tribal leaders came together and passed a series of tribal decrees called The Goldie Laws, named for their beloved missionary, which banned and outlawed the taking of innocent human life, and that became the basis of tribal law from that day all the way to the present.

❖ *1714: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was born.*

It was in 1714, on this day, that composer Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was born, a son of Johann Sebastian Bach. He was born in Weimar, in modern-day Germany. His innovations, technique, and compositions for the keyboard paved the way for the compositions of Haydn, Beethoven, and Schubert. Many would argue that while his father, Johann Sebastian Bach, was the father of modern-day Classical Music, it was the son, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, who was the father of the modern Romantic movement. And we'll talk about the Romantic movement a good bit on Thursday as a segue into how the ideas of philosophers filter their way down into pop culture, but this is Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's birthday.

❖ *1702: The last Stuart monarch, Queen Anne, ascended to the British throne.*

And finally it was on this day in 1702 that the last of the Stuarts sat on the British throne. Queen Anne ascended to the famed throne, sat upon the Throne of Scone, and took her place in the long line of the British monarchy. Though she would bear eighteen children, none of them would survive her,¹ and thus at her death the nearest relative to the Stuarts in the realm of royalty turned out to be a German family from Hanover, and thus was

¹ Queen Anne was pregnant eighteen times. Four of those pregnancies ended in miscarriage and eight in still-births. Of the six children born alive, five died before turning two. Her only child to survive infancy, William, Duke of Gloucester, died at the age of eleven. *Ed.*

brought to the throne the famous Hanoverian line with George I, George II, and then George III bringing us right up to the time that we've been studying.

All these events mark pivotal shifts in culture. Some revolutionary, some reformational, but all of them showing the way to dramatic cultural change.

If you haven't picked up on this yet, shame on you. The whole purpose behind my teaching, the reason that I am still teaching at FCS after twenty years of doing this, the reason why I have so much hope in you and a desire to invest in you is because I desire to see dramatic cultural change. I want to see you bring about the kind of revolutionary, reformational shifts in culture that each of these events portray.

Where Are the Statesmen Heroes?

The idea that lies behind what we do in education is to raise up a new generation of leaders who have vision, and are rooted in principles, and who understand the stories of the past and have seen what can be done, not just here; we want to see this done all over the world. It's one of the reasons why part of the philosophy of FCS is to constantly give away the store. Whatever we've got, we want to give it away. We're not trying to build a monument to ourselves. We are not trying to keep our ideas and our principles to ourselves. We want to spread it as far and as wide as we possibly can. That's a part of the principle of kingdom expansion. Whatever God gives us, we're simply to be open channels to give back to the rest of the world.

So in the midst of this vision and mission, one of the questions that comes up for students who start to get it is what can I do right now to make a difference? And who do we follow? Where are the great leaders of today? Why don't we have any Patrick Henrys? Why aren't there any George Whitefields? Where in Heaven's name are the Peyton Randolphs? Why don't we have John Quincy Adamses, Henry Clays, and John C. Calhouns? Why aren't they in our midst?

Heroes

❖ *Christendom's Leadership Legacy*

You'll remember at the beginning of the year I raised this question. We come from an inheritance of extraordinary heroes. They abound! We could tell stories of great heroes all day long. We have a rich legacy of leadership within Christendom, leadership that endures, preserves, makes a difference, and brings about change.

❖ *American Prodigies*

❖ *The Modern Dilemma*

Chief among those in that long tradition are the great American prodigies that we've already begun to study. These remarkable men and women brought about tangible, substantive change in their world and in their circumstances. When we look around in the modern world and we say, *So where are they all?*, we get right to the heart of the modern dilemma and right to the heart of why it is that what you do, moment by moment and day by day as you take your notes and write your thesis papers and prepare for your oral defenses, why that's so important.

Culture

- ❖ *Lowest Common Denominator*
- ❖ *Substance v. Distraction*
- ❖ *Revolutionary Counter-Culturalism*

We talked about how in modern culture it seems that the lowest common denominator is what grabs all of the attention. I mean, seriously, two million Twitter followers for Charlie Sheen to talk about Tiger's blood and winning? "The truth train is coming at you like a tornado!" Oh, now that's profound! That'll make a difference in the world! We look around and we see that distractions are far more prevalent than substance. It's substance that's often dismissed. We have a kind of revolutionary counter-culturalism undermining anything that is substantive, right, good, and true, and often the opposition to the right, good, and true comes from the finest quarters, from the most unexpected of sources.

Worldview

We've seen how worldview is dismissed. There was a recent *New York Times* article that essentially argued that the disarray in the Muslim world has nothing to do with the fact that the Muslim world is Muslim. It's just a series of peculiar economic and social difficulties arising from a combination of Western colonialism and the distribution of resources around the world.

- ❖ *Erosion of Epistemology*
- ❖ *Corruption of Ontology*
- ❖ *Subjugation of Theology*

We're constantly hearing arguments that erode our epistemology, steal away our ability to learn, and corrupt our ontology, that essentially attack a sense of who we are and why we are what we are, and the subjugation of the things that matter most — the examination of essential things, first principles — to anything and everything else. It's like these things don't matter at all.

The Character of the Founders

When we look at the Founding Fathers one of the things that we've seen in virtually every one of the stories is that these were men who lived their lives in almost complete contradistinction to this sort of modern phenomenon and modern dilemma.

Intellect

- ❖ *Substantive Classical Education*
- ❖ *Lifetime Reading and Learning*
- ❖ *Libraries as Arsenals of Truth*

We've seen that they deliberately nurtured their intellects. Start reading some of the journals or articles or even diary notations of the Founding Fathers. Read their speeches and their pamphlets, and you can't but help but be overwhelmed by the breadth of their reading, the wide range of their quotations, the kinds of things that naturally recur in their conversations. It's overwhelming. They deliberately nurtured their intellect through substan-

tive classical education and a lifetime of reading, and not just reading light and peripheral kinds of things, but reading substantive things, purposefully setting their course on a lifetime of learning. It's amazing. These pioneers, living a half a world away from any book publishers, started building in the earliest days of the American experiment substantial libraries because they believed that libraries could be arsenals for truth.

I'm always astonished when I start reading the original rules of Harvard College. This is at a time before they had anything but dirt streets and cobbled-together log buildings in the heart of downtown Boston. The entrance requirements of Harvard College — listen to this — “When any scholar is able to understand Tully or such like Latin author *extempore* and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*,² and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, then let him at that point, and not before, be capable of interviewing for possible admission into the college.” Okay, so, let me get this straight, you gotta know all the classical authors and be able to speak of them *extempore* and be able to compose in Latin both prose and verse and be able to parse in Greek and in Hebrew the New and the Old Testament and be able to do this verbally and on the spot extemporaneously before you can even be *considered* for admission. What are they going to learn in college if they've learned all of this before they get to college? This is in the 1640's! They don't have running water, yet. They don't have indoor toilets, yet. That's some kind of substance.

Piety

- ❖ *Faith: Yielding to the Gospel*
- ❖ *Family: Putting First Things First*
- ❖ *Work: Committing to the Long Term*

No wonder they were able to produce the kinds of minds, the kinds of philosophical principles, the kind of courage and determination necessary to launch the great experiment in liberty. It's astonishing to read through all the rules of Harvard College and to listen to the schedule they kept. This was remarkable substance that led to lives of genuine faith and piety. They were men who purposefully yielded themselves to the gospel. They put their families and first principles first, and they committed themselves to long-term tasks of calling, believing that they would not make their mark in a day or a week or a month or a year, but that it was a long obedience in the same direction that would bring about the desired fruits of freedom.

Risk

- ❖ *Lives: Boldness in Defense of Truth*
- ❖ *Fortunes: The Cost of Freedom*
- ❖ *Sacred Honor: Controversy*

As a result they were able and willing to risk their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor by standing for what was true, by counting the cost of freedom, and by picking their battles well. That's the kind of substantive, visionary faith that becomes a model for us. How do we grow up substantive leaders?

² *Suo ut aiunt Marte* translates as “by his own effort, as they say” or “by his own, as they say, battle [or effort in battle]”.

Classical Education

True Education

- ❖ *Not an Ending Place*
- ❖ *A Deposit and an Endowment*
- ❖ *Lessons that Never End*

We walk in the footsteps of those who went before us. That's where the benefits of classical education really come home to us. Classical education, true education, is not simply arriving at the end, finally making it to that graduation day. It's the recognition that whatever we're able to accumulate is a deposit, an endowment, and an investment in the future. It has its great benefits in the present but the lessons that we learn best are the lessons that never end. Now I don't expect you to be able to rattle off a list of the presidents prior to George Washington when you're forty years old. That's not really the point. The point is that you begin to think, you can ask the right kinds of questions, you can hear the pronouncements of the modern elite and say to yourself, *Oh really? Are you sure? Is that right? Do those arguments hold up? Does that match what is true?*

Antitheses

- ❖ *Opposing Principles*
- ❖ *What Is Wrong with the World*
- ❖ *Problems and Solutions*

Classical education enables you to see the antitheses in the world. You're able to pick out the great opposing principles. It's how you're able to figure out, *Oh, you know what, the ACLU is using an old argument against itself in an attempt to make an argument for itself. In other words, it's nonsense, it's ridiculous.* It enables us to know what's wrong with the world. It enables us not to simply look at the symptoms of the problems, but we're able to go to the root and address the root problems. Most politics as you probably know is simply addressing symptoms rather than actually dealing with causes.

Repentance

- ❖ *Knowing What We Don't Know*
- ❖ *Reformed and Ever Reforming*
- ❖ *The Tipping Point*

The greatest benefit of classical education is bringing us to a place of genuine humility, being able to acknowledge what it is that we actually don't know, provoking us to live a life of continual reforming, knowing that we will never completely arrive. We never get it completely right. We drag around our sin proclivities with us for the rest of our lives. But knowing that enables us to guard against that. It enables us to grow in grace. That's why repentance is always the tipping point.

Lech Walesa, the leader of the Solidarity movement which toppled Communism in Poland and eventually throughout all Eastern Europe, was an electrician in the Gdansk shipyard. Before he launched the Solidarity movement, he looked around for someone who was qualified to lead the movement. He knew he wasn't qualified. He was an electrician. He didn't know anything about leading a movement. But his knowing that he

wasn't qualified was his chief qualification. He never believed that he was capable of doing all the things that he could do. Years later when he became prime minister and then still later president of Poland, his first word in his national addresses each time was the Polish word for "I repent." Pretty remarkable.

The Lectio Divina for Leaders

Education begins in delight and ends in a clarification of life. ~ Robert Frost

So if we really are about reinventing the wheel, if FCS is about raising up a new generation of substantive leaders to step into the void, if you really want to know, *Okay, now what do I need to do with what I've got*, I'd like to remind you of the old medieval discipline called the *lectio divina*. *Lectio divina* literally means reading in a holy fashion or reading the Divine. The idea of *lectio divina* is the development of a series of habits of the heart that start with our devotion to God but bleed over into the whole of life.

- ❖ *Lectio: Reading, Hearing, and Seeing*
- ❖ *Meditatio: Thinking, Meditating, and Connecting*
- ❖ *Oratio: Praying and Inscripturating*
- ❖ *Contemplatio: Living, Applying, and Obeying*

The *lectio divina* is divided up into four parts: *lectio*: reading, hearing, and seeing; *mediatio*: thinking, meditating, and connecting; *oratio*: praying, inscripturating, and developing true piety; and finally, *contemplatio*: living, applying, and obeying. Let's just walk through these one at a time.

Lectio: Read

Read

Lectio. It's astonishing that God chooses to reveal himself and truth in words, not in astonishing visions. Although God does sometimes give visions, they are the exception not the rule. The rule is God reveals himself as the *Logos*, the Word. It is by God's Word that that which is naught is brought into that which is. *Ex nihilo* is the calling forth of something out of nothing. It's by God's Word that we know what is right, good, and true, what is moral and what is immoral. And it is by God's Word that redemption from our fallen states is made plain. Substantive leaders have always understood the importance of the Word in the shaping of our minds and in the shaping of our lives.

- ❖ *Read Widely*

Not all of us are as inclined to reading as the rest. George Washington always struggled with reading. He was probably, from what we now know, slightly dyslexic. Reading didn't come easily for him. On the other hand, John Quincy Adams was a voracious reader from the age of three. But both men understood the necessity to read. They read widely, meaning they didn't read just the stuff that they were interested in, but they read across the board, across disciplines, across genres, and across ages. They read great classical works. They read fiction, poetry, history. They read practical things. You read Thomas Jefferson's list of essential books for young men, and there is everything in there from how to select the best wines to which lettuce to plant at what time. Books

about how to properly attire yourself for various occasions to substantive histories of the ancient civilizations. They read everything.

❖ *Read Deeply*

They didn't just read widely, they read deeply. They mastered the material that they were reading. They didn't just have a checklist to get through a certain number of books in a lifetime. They mastered the works, they savored the words, they committed to memory favorite lines. They worked out problems in their reading in their journals.

❖ *Read Outside Your Time*

They read widely but they read deeply, and perhaps most importantly, they read outside of their time. As C.S. Lewis points out in his wonderful introduction to Athanasius' *On the Incarnation*, reading books out of our time gives us a perspective that we could never have if we only read contemporary books. He points out that even ideological enemies who share the same time period will share certain assumptions with one another. In fact mortal enemies in the same time period share more in common than friends from other ages. And so he says it's important to read books out of your time. Books from the past, books from the great distant past, and if you can get them, books from the future too, but since they are so hard to get we just stick with books from the past. Although I did go and buy the new Umberto Eco book, which is not going to be in English for at least another year or two; I bought it in Dutch. So I did buy a future book. Unfortunately, Dutch is almost inscrutable to me and I gave up after thirty pages, realizing I wasn't getting anything out of it. I'd learned a few words, but I had no idea what was going on in the book.

Collect

❖ *Gather Tools*

The great leaders not only read and read deeply and widely and outside of their time, they also gathered those tools together and collected them. They saw libraries as an arsenal, and so they created their own arsenals. They built personal libraries, libraries that brought them immediate aesthetic pleasure. I love what Winston Churchill says about his library that sometimes in the busiest time of life you really just don't have time to read, and so in those moments, he'd just go into his library and fondle his books.³ Churchill also talked about the essential discipline of browsing, flipping through a book to reacquaint yourself and alighting on perhaps a favorite passage and reading that. If you don't have time to read the whole then, at least, read that opening sequence in *Moby-Dick*, or find the section where the preacher climbs up through the jaw of the shark into the pulpit. Read that and remind yourself of the genius of the work, then set it aside for a time when you have longer moments.

❖ *Follow the Footnote Trail*

❖ *Build a Legacy*

You collect these things so that you can begin to make connections. Follow the footnote trail, as I often call it. You've probably seen that already, as you've done research for your thesis paper. You are working on a point, and

³ The full quotation reads: "If you cannot read all your books...fondle them — peer into them, let them fall open where they will, read from the first sentence that arrests the eye, set them back on the shelves with your own hands, arrange them on your own plan so that you at least know where they are. Let them be your friends; let them, at any rate, be your acquaintances."

you run across a reference, and it just sort of takes you down this road, and all of a sudden you realize *I've just wasted fifteen minutes following Wikipedia article trails and I can't even find my way back again, but all this was fun and I've learned so many interesting things, none of it useful for this thesis paper, but . . .* That enables you to do several things. Build a legacy in your own heart, build a legacy for those who will follow after you, and build a legacy of genuine leadership across time.

At a conference I used to teach up in New York for business executives, business owners, and CEO's, I used to tell the story of a friend of mine who decided to do some genealogical research and ran across the personal journals and letters of his great-great-grandfather in a library and how he sat and just read what his great-great-grandfather was reading and thinking of his travails, and it did something to this friend of mine. First of all he started writing down all of the books that his great-great-grandfather had read; he went to go and read those books himself, and suddenly books he had never heard of before became precious to him because they were a part of his story, his legacy, what shaped his family. He began to think about issues that he had never thought about before. In a sense his great-great-grandfather who, before he did this research he didn't even know his name or anything about him — suddenly this man was disciplining him across time. I would say to these CEO's and corporate leaders, "What would you give if you could actually know the books that your grandfather read, that shaped his life and his mind? What would you give if you could inherit a whole library from your great-great-grandfather? What would that mean to you?" There's a great line in the new book by Colin Thubrin, *To a Mountain in Tibet*, where he talks about the death of his mother and how he had to go in and clean out her apartment. He suddenly realized that the stuff that most people think is valuable was entirely irrelevant to him — all of the expensive things that she had, her expensive jewelry, he didn't care about that. He cared about that one teacup with the chip in it because he remembers as a little boy how it got the chip. It was worthless to everybody else, but for him that was a rich legacy, it was filled with story and meaning, and the books that she read, he pored over this old tattered copy of Untermeyer's poems. He hated Untermeyer, but suddenly he found himself poring over her notes in the margins, and he found himself falling in love with Louis Untermeyer's poetry because of those associations.

Focus

❖ *Reform the Palate*

❖ *Have a Plan*

❖ *Adjust the Plan*

A substantive leader understands that those are the little things that shape the character, mold the mind, stretch the vision, and bring about a reforming of the palate, a changing of our taste. All of a sudden we start liking that which we didn't expect to like. We lose our taste for the stuff that we'd been feeding ourselves for so very long. Often the great leaders of the past have had a plan for their reading. They didn't always follow the plan but they had the plan, they worked through the plan, but as life changed and as they made new discoveries and as they followed the footnote trail, they constantly adjusted and reformed the plan even as the plan reformed them. If you want to lead – read, *lectio*.

Meditatio: Think

It is not enough just to read. We all know lots of people who have mastered a tremendous amount of material and they are utterly worthless, can't find their way out of a wet paper bag. *PhD* is an anchor on their ankle. They can't seem to make their way anywhere in life. That's why we have to pair *lectio* with *meditatio*.

Journal

❖ *Write It Down*

❖ *Observation Before Interpretation*

❖ *Interpretation Before Application*

We've got to allow what we read to soak in. We've got to think through all the things that we are wrestling with. That's one of the great benefits of journaling. Talk about journaling and most students just groan. It's such a pain. Those journaling prompts are not the point. When we process words with words, when we write down what we are thinking and the questions that we have, the associations that are made, the quotes that stimulate our thinking, the lines of reasoning that branch off, we begin to disentangle our thoughts. I love the great quote from Dawson Trotman, founder of the Navigators, "Thoughts tend to disentangle themselves as they flow over the tip of a pencil." It's amazing how more effectively you can think when you write.

What is interesting is that when you write digitally the process is different than when you write analogically. It's a different thing. Both have their benefits. Digital writing tends to be crisp, clean, and clear, as long as you observe grammatical rules. Whereas analogical writing tends to be more florid, purple, and free. Both have great benefits.

❖ *Observation Before Interpretation*

But the greatest benefit is that, if you journal as you read, you are actually observing before you leap to interpretation. And that then enables you to properly hedge your interpretation with all the facts. One of the things that happens if we're not used to the process of thinking on paper is that when we do spout off, we often spout off into a void of ignorance with our ignorance.

❖ *Interpretation Before Application*

Once we've observed what is there, we can move to interpretation, and that then enables us to quickly move to application. In order to do this you've got to actually plan your life around thinking. Most people today can't stand the quiet, can't stand to be alone, and as a result nobody's thinking. If every time you get in the car, the radio or the iPod goes on, if you never have space where you're alone with yourself and with your thoughts, you're never gonna think. You're only going to react. You are only going to move from one assignment to the next, and you're never really going to be able to process. In order to get quiet and get alone, you've got to have a plan. You've got to make it purposeful. Great leaders know the importance of long walks in the woods. Great leaders know what it means to get up before dawn and spend time alone with the Lord, thinking, processing, wrestling, making note of lessons, planning.

Community

❖ *Nurture Conversation*

None of us can stand alone, and this process of *meditatio* needs to be done in the midst of a genuine community where there are other people who are actually trying to think. There is nothing that stirs thinkers quite like being around other thinkers. This is why book clubs and long conversations at Starbucks where the world seems to fade away and the only thing that is happening is this stimulating conversation. Have you ever been in one of those conversations where all of a sudden the language gets faster and the conversation gets louder and the whole world just fades away? You need that as a thinker.

❖ *Engage Accountability*

You have to learn how to practice the art of conversation, to know how to ask questions, to know how to engage accountability, real accountability — you know the kind of accountability where somebody can look into your eyes and they know if you're telling the truth or if you're lying, if you're paying attention or if you're off somewhere far, far away. This accountability is risky in the modern world because it is the kind of thing where people actually know our strengths and our weaknesses, our public persona, and the ugliness that we want to hide away. In order to substantively think, you can't think alone; you can't be alone all the time.

❖ *Embrace Differences*

If you're going to have genuine accountability, that means that you're going to have to embrace differences, meaning that you can agree to disagree, you can appreciate someone else's different perspective even if that perspective is utterly baffling to you. To embrace it and to accept it is a part of the genuineness of friendship. You need this. Did you know that the average American male after high school has fewer than three intimate friends, and after college usually has none? Did you know that? Most men have buddies; they have people that they may go fishing with or whatever, but they don't have friends, people who actually know them and walk with them through thick and, most especially, thin.

Oratio: Pray

Ruts

❖ *Spiritual Do-Overs*

In order for *lectio* and *meditatio* to take root in our lives we need to have *oratio*, the ability to move beyond the present into the transcendent. God wants us to have ruts in our lives, holy ruts. We need ruts because, as sinners, we're in constant need of spiritual do-overs. We're sinners. We get outside of the way. In the Book of Proverbs, we have these constant exhortations to walk in the way or raise up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it. The Hebrew word that's used throughout for path or way is the word *rut*. How do you get ruts? How do you get a rut? Do you have a dog in the backyard that runs the same path every single morning and after a while the grass gets worn down, and you're thinking to yourself, "There's a whole backyard out here, why does this dog follow this exact same path, right over to the edge of the fence, stick his nose under the fence every single morning?" There is a whole backyard here, he could go three feet over here or four feet over here, but no, the dog follows the same path; he digs a rut. Through repetition you dig ruts. God wants us to have ruts, the holy ones, not the unholy ones. When we sin we dig ruts in our lives and we find that it gets harder and harder. The more we practice our foolishness, the harder it is to get out of that foolishness. What God de-

sires for us to do is to practice over and over and over again the pathway of righteousness so that it becomes habitual and ultimately replaces our habitual sin.

❖ *Tangibilitate*⁴

That's what makes tangible victory in the Christian life. Victory in the Christian life does not happen like fireworks on the Fourth of July, just some big booms and all of a sudden it's there. Victory in the Christian life is a long obedience in the same direction. How do we begin to develop the ruts of righteousness in our lives?

❖ *Habits of the Heart*

We do it by developing habits of the heart. Habits of the heart occur long before habits of the life occur.

Disciplines

❖ *Semper Gaudete*

❖ *Sola Scriptura*

❖ *Vox Magister*

That's why we need to develop the disciplines of praising God first and foremost and always — *semper gaudete*⁵ — why we need to be rooted in the Scriptures — *sola scriptura* — and why we need to hear the voice of the Master.

Unceasing

❖ *In the Closet*

❖ *In the Midst*

❖ *In the Covenant*

Great leaders understand that they are not a wellspring of wisdom themselves. They are little more than a cistern, and if the cistern is not regularly filled, it will crack and it will fail. Thus our pursuit of God needs to be unceasing in the midst of all of our difficulties and rooted in the wider life of the covenant. There is no other way. It is simply not possible. *Oratio*.

Contemplatio: Live

Recreate

Finally, *contemplatio*. Great leaders are never one-dimensional men. They seem to nurture wide diversity in their lives and in their habits. One of the things that I love doing with the seniors every year when we go to England is to go down south to Kent in the countryside, beautiful, beautiful rolling hills — they look a lot like middle Tennessee — and there in the heart of Kent we visit Winston Churchill's home, Chartwell. When you get there you go into the house and you're struck by the libraries. There are books everywhere in almost every room and even in the hallways. He knocked out part of the walls and made shelves, where there was no room for shelves, by inserting them into the walls. So you're struck by the libraries, you're struck by the art, and you think, *Ah this is a*

⁴ *Tangibilitate* is a neologism, a *logomorph*, a made-up word (like *logomorph*). It simply means to make tangible. GG

⁵ *Sempter gaudete* is Latin for always rejoice.

cultured sort of place. There are maps on the walls. It looks like a statesman's home, but that is not where Chartwell gets you. It's wonderful and it's fun, but where Chartwell gets you is when you step outside and you start to look around and see the gardens, the ponds, the pools, and the koi ponds. You see the thought that has been put in to this place over the years — the brick walls that Churchill laid himself — and then you make your way over this knoll and past the kitchen garden to Churchill's studio, where he painted. You look at the things that he painted, nothing about politics. You catch this glimpse of a life that is broad, deep, rich, and full.

❖ *Unstring the Bow*

Contemplatio is learning how to unstring the bow. A great warrior will always have a war bow at the ready, but if a war bow is always strung, do you know what happens to the war bow? If it is always strung — in other words if you are always ready for war — if you never unstring the bow and hang it on the wall, do you know what happens to the bow? It becomes brittle and it breaks. It loses its tenacity, its flexibility, its tensile strength. The same thing is true of lives. You've got to know how to unstring the bow.

❖ *There's a Physical Side to Spirituality*

Great leaders aren't intensely reading all the time, taking notes, writing profound manuscripts. They understand that there is a physical side to spirituality. This is modeled not only in the worship that is portrayed in the Bible but also in the lifestyles that are portrayed in the Bible.

❖ *The GIGO Principle*

This means that we pay attention to the GIGO principal, not Geico, this is not gecko territory here — GIGO. Do you know what GIGO is? It is one of the most important principles in life — garbage in, garbage out. If you are feeding your heart, your life, your mind, and your body with junk, the only thing that will be produced in your life is junk. Garbage in, garbage out.

Wherefores

❖ *In but Not Of*

❖ *Well-Examined*

❖ *Intentionality*

That means that while we live in the world, we are not to be of it. We've got to have a well-examined life. We've got to be able to actually do self examination, and say, *Ok, what am I doing well, what am I not doing well?* And of course, you have to have intentionality in this because we all need help with that. We need others to come along beside us and guide us in that process. I hate it when Mrs. Grant comes to me and says, "Take that post off of your blog, now." I always say, "Why, what is wrong with it? It's all true." She'll say, "Yes, it's true, but it's got the wrong tone. It's the wrong time. It's the wrong place. Get it off, now." Typically, I argue. I like being right, and I can usually win most arguments with my words with anybody except her. I should know by now that no matter how many arguments, how many footnotes, how many rationales that I bring to an argument, she'll cut me off at the knees, and she's usually right. We've got to have that kind of well-examined life, and we need checks and balances in the same way that the Constitution had to have separated powers and checks and balances, you need separated powers and checks and balances in your life. You can't decide yourself what's best, what's right, what's good. You've to be able to hear from others; that's a part of *contemplatio* and that enables you to decide what is important, when, where, and how and why to deploy the resources at your disposal.

Integrate

- ❖ *Pick Your Battles*
- ❖ *Focus on Solutions not Problems*
- ❖ *Balance Urgency with Patience*

You can't fight every single battle and so you have to pick your battles. Life is full of problems. You will never be rid of problems. You'll never be rid of problem people. You will never be rid of problem ideas. You will never be rid of problem circumstances that are ready to trip you up and cause you to quit, never, ever, ever. So if you are going to make progress, you've got to focus on some solutions, deal with what you can deal with, and keep moving. That means that you've got to manage yourself. Nobody can manage their time. Time just keeps right on going, no matter what you do. You can't manage time, but you can manage you, by deciding what things are urgent and what things simply require time and patience. *Contemplatio*.

Lectio, meditatio, oratio, and contemplatio, this is the *lectio divina*. Devised by the medievals as a way to read the Scriptures but woven into the fabric of life, it becomes a pattern for essential disciplines for emerging leaders.

Historically, when we first set up the public school systems across the country, we were leaps and bounds ahead of the vast majority of countries around the world. That just is not true anymore. ~ President Barak Obama, September 27, 2010

This generation is miserable — foolish, stupid, and forgetful. What is worse, it is so blind to this that it does not recognize its own miseries. ~ Jan Amos Comenius, 1634

Remember this? I showed you this at the very beginning of the year. President Obama said, “Historically, when we first set up the public school systems across the country, we were leaps and bounds ahead of the vast majority of countries around the world. That just is not true anymore.” Ok, can we connect the dots here? Is there a reason for this? Is the solution to this problem to pump more money into the teachers’ unions? I think Jan Amos Comenius, the father of modern forms of classical education, really nailed it when he said, “The real heart of the difficulty in the modern world is simply this, this generation is miserable, foolish, stupid, and forgetful. What is worse, it is so blind to this that it does not even recognize its own miseries.” Let that not be said of you. Let that not be said of us. Let’s raise up a whole new generation of substantive leaders who, like Lech Walesa, may not think that they have the tools and the resources to have an overcoming-all-obstacles kind of life. Let’s just do the next thing, build in ourselves the habits of the heart that will enable us to accomplish what we could not accomplish left to our native resources. In other words, let’s go change the world, okay? It will take some hard work, we’ll have to roll up our sleeves and get our hands dirty, but it has been done before by people with fewer resources than ours, so let’s do it, okay? Let’s go change the world.



Father, I thank you that it's simultaneously so simple and so hard. We pray that you would give us wisdom, discretion, and courage to be what you've called us to be, so that we can do what you've called us to do. I pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 34

How Cultures Change: From Philosophy to Film

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, The Significance of the Frontier; Centrality of Railroads
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 434–446

Lesson Synopsis

Frances Schaeffer, in *The God Who is There*, describes a series of steps that almost any culture goes through in the process of change. Moving a culture from one set of presuppositions, from one set of ideas to a whole new set of presuppositions and ideas is not accomplished in a day. It is not accomplished in a campaign. It is not accomplished in a moment. Instead it requires a long series of steps and processes that might involve a whole host of people not directly connected by anything other than the flow of these ideas.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Philosophical Romanticism and its effect on American culture at the turn of the nineteenth century, and from that, what we can learn about the mechanisms of cultural change; the Romantic poets, the Hudson River School

Primary Source Material

works by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and Byron; the paintings of Thomas Cole, Albert Bierstadt, and Frederic Edwin Church; the works of Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Stephen Foster, and Scott Joplin

Vocabulary

portent, esoteric, Cubism, sociological, Romanticism, ecological, affectation, opulence, largess, fugue, Baroque, rogue, mythos, artiste, parlance, rustication, maw, wistfulness, nostalgia, reductionistic, rationalism, vagabond, deploy, proceed

Timeline

- ❖ 1786: Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish dialect, by Burns
- ❖ 1794: Schiller's On the Aesthetic Education of Man in a series of Letters
- ❖ 1798: *Lyrical Ballads*, by Wordsworth and Coleridge
- ❖ 1804: The Louisiana Purchase
- ❖ 1808: Goethe's *Faust* was published.

the poor, in which Luther essentially argued that the poor were a blight on society, and as a result, it was necessary, not out of mercy or justice, but rather for the preservation and the cohesion of the culture, to deal with the poor in accordance with state decrees. This was the first time we had governmental intervention in the issue of poverty proposed in a series of policy pronouncements. It was actually the beginning of the idea of state welfare. The fact that it came from Martin Luther was, in many ways, debilitating to the cause of Christian charity and the cause of church-led justice movements. It's one of many seeds that the work of Martin Luther sowed that brought fruit in Modernity that we would probably think was more than a little poisonous. But that's the thing that we've discovered, isn't it? Great men often have great flaws. We need to remember that as we study history. The greater the personality, often the greater and more exaggerated the faults of that personality. If someone is a dynamic leader and able to lead a culture in dramatic change, it is very likely that that person will also have deep and profound flaws. To cover that up means that we miss some of the greatest lessons in history, and we do disservice in our own time and to our own leaders.

❖ *1804: The Louisiana Purchase was formally transferred in ceremonies at St. Louis.*

Also on this day in 1804, in formal ceremonies in St. Louis, Missouri, the Louisiana Purchase was transferred from the Empire of Napoleon I of France to the United States. Though the purchase had been made and the monies had been transferred a year earlier, it was not until this date, March 10, 1804, that the formal transfer occurred.

❖ *1849: Abraham Lincoln applied for a patent.*

Also, on this day in 1849, a failed politician from the state of Illinois, having served one term in Congress, but having gotten in trouble because of his embrace of radical ideas including the ideas of Marx and Engels and the Revolutions of 1848, needed to establish a new career, so he came up with an idea for an inflatable lift for barges that ran aground on the Mississippi River. Thus, Abraham Lincoln became the only man who would live in the White House who filed and obtained an invention patent. It was a portent of the brilliance that would come years and years later.

❖ *1864: Ulysses S. Grant became commander of the Union armies in the Civil War.*

Also on this day in 1864, Ulysses S. Grant became the commander of the Union armies during the Civil War. It was genuinely a turning point in the war. Up to that point, despite few resources, a far sparser population, no industrial base, poor communications, and limited transport, the South had virtually dominated the military side of the war, largely due to the genius of men like Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. There had been a succession of Union generals who had failed in their task of bringing to bay the ragtag Confederate armies. But with Grant, a former drunkard and a former scrapper and fighter, someone who'd been discredited any number of times prior, the Union finally found a commander who could match wits with Lee. It was the turning point of the war, on this day, March 10, in 1864. Within seven or eight months, the war would be essentially over due to Grant's strategy.

❖ *1876: Alexander Graham Bell sent the first telephone message.*

It was also on this day in 1876 that Alexander Graham Bell sent the first telephone message, which was, "Mr. Watson — come here — I want to see you." He sent it to his assistant located on another floor of Bell's home at 5 Exeter Place in Boston, Massachusetts.

❖ *1944: The Greek Communist insurgency was defeated by nationalist forces.*

Finally, on this day in the year 1944, during the Greek Civil War — a war that pitted Greek patriots against a Communist insurgency — Greece finally won its complete independence, and a new Greek nation-state was established. It was the first time that a Communist insurgency had actually been beaten. During the course of World War II, Stalin's forces and those of Stalin's satellites had begun a progressive sweep around the world, and it was feared in places like the United States State Department that Communism was unstoppable, that it was a force that could not be arrested. So, in 1944, on this day, the dramatic stop of the Communist insurgency in Greece was a real turning point in world history.

If you look at all these peculiar anniversaries on this day, one of things that you'll notice is that each one is a portent of dramatic cultural change. Each one is a portent of some reformation or revolution or transfer of power, or a portent of things to come.

The Lectio Divina for Leaders

Education begins in delight and ends in a clarification of life. ~ Robert Frost

- ❖ *Lectio: Reading, Hearing, and Seeing*
- ❖ *Meditatio: Thinking, Meditating, and Connecting*
- ❖ *Oratio: Praying and Inscripturating*
- ❖ *Contemplatio: Living, Applying, and Obeying*

We've been talking since the beginning of this year, as we have discussed American culture, about the remarkable transformation that American culture brought to the world — the introduction of new cultural forces. And then we talked about how it is that great character is built through a whole series of disciplines. We tried to apply the *lectio divina*, that old medieval discipline of divine reading, to the task of leadership development. Remember the *lectio divina* is divided up into four essential component parts. There's *lectio*, which is reading, hearing and seeing; *meditatio*, which is thinking, meditating, connecting; *oratio*, which is praying, inscripturating, and applying; and then *contemplatio*, which is the living out of all these things, the task of obedience.

We saw that great leaders aren't just born with native gifts. Leadership is not something that someone has just by virtue of his personality or by virtue of his providential place in life. Leadership is nurtured over time. Real leaders have to have a life of the mind, they must be constant learners.

Throughout history and particularly in American history, great leaders were those who spent time poring over the greatest ideas that the world has ever conceived. They spent plenty of time in libraries. But they also found ways to process this, so the *lectio* has to be matched with *meditatio*. And then *meditatio* has to be similarly matched with *oratio*, the giving over of all these things in the presence of the Lord. And then finally, there has to be genuine application. There has to be life, where these principles all come together.

Schaeffer's Cultural Progression

While leaders are changed through something like the *lectio divina*, through a series of disciplines, while people can become leaders in a library, the world's not changed in a library. World changers are changed in libraries, but the world is not changed in a library. So, how do changed peoples change the world?

Frances Schaeffer, in a remarkable book written in 1968 called, *The God Who is There*, describes a series of steps that almost any culture goes through in the process of change. Moving a culture from one set of presuppositions, from one set of ideas to a whole new set of presuppositions and ideas is not accomplished in a day. It is not accomplished in a campaign. It is not accomplished in a moment. Instead it requires a long series of steps and processes that might involve a whole host of people not directly connected by anything other than the flow of these ideas.

❖ *Philosophy*

This cultural progression of Schaeffer's starts in the realm of the idea. It starts in the library, as philosophers work out their notions and devise their ideas. But philosophy standing on its own has very little influence. How many of us actually know, much less read, contemporary philosophers, the people who are formulating the essential pioneering ideas of our day? Hardly any of us.

❖ *Literature*

But writers read philosophers. Writers absorb the philosophies of their time, and they begin to work out those philosophies in literature, in their stories. One of the questions we have to ask ourselves every time we see a sudden transformation in literary genres, is not just, "Is this good? Do we like it? Is this fun? Is it moral?" We have to ask ourselves, "Where do these ideas come from? What sparks this?" Why all of a sudden do we have books, movies, comics, and iPhone games about vampires? Where did all this vampire stuff come from? Where did it come from and why did it just suddenly appear on the scene? Was it just because the *Twilight* novels somehow struck a nerve, or is this an offshoot of *Harry Potter*? Where did this come from? Literature almost always proceeds from a set of ideas. Often, esoteric ideas of philosophers that almost no one is reading, except those who create the literature.

❖ *Music*

When a body of literature begins to emerge in a culture, inevitably the next step, Schaeffer says, is the way the music of the culture is affected. We often observe how music can lead a culture. When a culture's music begins to change, a culture's philosophy begins to change. What Schaeffer says is that preceding the change in the music is a change in the literature. And preceding a change in the literature is a change in the philosophy.

❖ *Art*

From the music will come changes in the view of art. In fact, music will often set presuppositions for art. Many have argued that if it had not been for the emergence of jazz, it would not have been possible to popularize the artistic movements of Picasso and Georges Braque and others with Cubism because jazz is a kind of auditory Cubism that separates various sounds and parts and rearranges them in interesting, syncopated patterns. Music will often directly influence art.

❖ *Theology*

Then art, having a strong foundation in literature, music, will provoke popular theology. You may be thinking to yourself, “Boy, that’s exactly reversed. Why isn’t theology leading the way?” One of the sociological phenomenon that we observe in cultures and that Schaeffer points out is that theologians often tag along way behind the rest of the culture. Theological movements then tag along far beyond that. It’s one of the reasons why Christian music is often ten years behind secular music — in its sounds, its trends, its technologies, and its approaches.

❖ *Popular Culture*

Schaeffer says that there’s a natural progression — starting with the philosophers, moving to the literature; from the literature we move to the music and then to art and then to theology, and then, it’s like a virus. It’s everywhere in popular culture. Suddenly we have unexamined ideas that become cultural assumptions. People start believing things and they don’t even know how they came to believe them. It’s like it’s in the air; it’s everywhere. These ideas are simply universally assumed because you’ve had this long, profound progression seeding the ideas into the culture, starting with philosophy, moving to literature, and then filtering into music, art, and theology until it becomes the popular cultural assumption.

That’s the principle. Let’s see if we can flesh it out, and I can show you some examples of this.

The Progress of Romanticism

Philosophy

❖ *Reaction against Enlightenment Norms*

Following the founding period, American culture became subject to this cultural progression with a new set of ideas that, in time, was identified as philosophical Romanticism. Philosophical Romanticism emerged at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century as a kind of reaction against Enlightenment norms, political norms, and stratified social norms. It was a reaction to the hardened strata of old Christendom that had been shaped by the secularizing ideas of the Enlightenment. The new thinkers looked at this old, encrusted system of nobility, what Alexis de Tocqueville called the ancient regime, *l’Ancien Régime*, and said this allows for little social mobility, it’s often rooted in a tenured place in society, not upon merit. Economies are throttled. So, philosophers began to rail in reaction against the Enlightenment norms.

❖ *Resistance to Scientific Rationalism*

❖ *Recovery of Folk Wisdom and Tradition*

They also began to resist what they felt was the cold, machine-like philosophies of scientific rationalism. Romantic philosophers began to look at where Darwinism and pre-Darwinism would ultimately take the world. They started to look at the deterministic ideas of people like David Hume, and they resisted those ideas, thinking that they were terribly inhuman and gave very little room for the human spirit. In the process, there was sort of a nostalgic attachment to old folk wisdom and a real love for the sort of rustic old tradition of the homeland, of the motherland.

Emphasis

❖ *Faith, Family, and Tradition*

❖ *Nostalgia toward Christendom's Ruins*

This eventually gave rise to a whole new emphasis on faith, family, and tradition. There was a love of the old ruins of Christendom. Suddenly you have people making trips to go and observe the ruins of old abbeys and castles. They were romantically attached to the ruins themselves. Suddenly a philosophy emerged that says we ought to protect the ruins — not rebuild the old castles, but protect the ruins themselves. This gives rise to a whole new emphasis on archaeology, historic preservation, etc.

❖ *Emotional Connection to Nature*

There was an emotional connection to nature. One of the things that Romanticism does is that it romanticizes nature itself. This is the beginning of environmentalism and the ecological movements, but it's also the beginning of the travelers, the wanderers, the hikers, the kayakers, the mountain climbers — people who didn't climb mountains to get to the other side, but who climbed mountains to, well, climb the mountain. It's the beginning of outdoor sports. It's the beginning of an affection attached to nature itself.

❖ *Rustic Affections and Affectations*

❖ *Folk Art, Music, Stories, and Legends*

There were very rustic affections and affectations that were attached to Romanticism. Suddenly the old peasant breads and the old peasant recipes came back into vogue and the old rustic folk songs found their way into the compositions of classical composers. Folk art, folk music, folk stories, and folk legends suddenly came in vogue. Fashionable men and women began to dress up like they were peasants. They wore the garb of rustic and deliberate sloppiness. Or, perhaps they recovered old, rough fabrics.

❖ *Emphasis on the Common Man*

There was an affection for the natural and a strong emphasis on the common man, the wisdom of the common man as opposed to the elite, the intellectuals, the effete, the ivory tower philosophers. Suddenly there was a distrust of everything that had been established before, and a love, a romantic attachment, to the strong emotion of what was real, transparent, substantive, honest, and natural. That's Romanticism.

The Progress of Romanticism

Philosophy

❖ Sturm und Drang

❖ *Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788)*

❖ *Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832)*

❖ *Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1804)*

Romanticism came to define American culture because these philosophical ideas that were worked out, largely by the arcane philosophers reacting to Enlightenment norms, began to be seeded into the rest of the culture. The philosophers were part, initially, of a German movement, a philosophical movement called, *Sturm und Drang*, the

storm and the crisis, or the emotion. Philosophers like Johann Georg Hamann,² who lived from 1739 to 1788, hammered out the ideas, railing against nobility, railing against Christendom's stratified society, the four estates, all the things that were wrong with, say, French society of the time, epitomized by Versailles and the opulence and the effete nature of high society. But what Hamann argued was that it is far better to sit in a pub in a tiny German hamlet with peasants who tell real stories, who have real jobs, who work with real gusto in their real trades — far better to have a mug of local beer and peasant bread in a place like that than to go and slip about on your silk footies in Versailles with a finger in the air while you sipped silly, little, made-up drinks with people whose heads were as vapid as their lives. That was the philosophy.

❖ *Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832)*

It was picked up by Johann Wolfgang Goethe who wove it into his storytelling, his poetry, and his plays. Of course, he was a strong advocate of cultural change.

❖ *Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1804)*

It was picked up by the national poet of the German language, Friedrich von Schiller. These ideas begin to gain currency among philosophers. Immediately, thinking writers began to pick up on the ideas as well.

Literature

❖ *The Romantic Poets*

❖ *Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Keats*

❖ *Robert Burns and Walter Scott*

❖ *Washington Irving (1783–1859)*

❖ *James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1859)*

❖ *Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville*

The Romantic poets, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, Keats, and Shelley, began to work with these ideas. Though they themselves were often quite elite — Lord Byron was a man who never had to work at all in his life; he lived off a nobleman's largess — nevertheless, he loved the cause of the common man. He actually died in a previous Greek civil war.

❖ *Robert Burns and Walter Scott*

And then there is Robert Burns who also picked up these ideas and wrote of the rustic life of the ordinary people of Scotland. These poems become wildly popular. Sir Walter Scott took the ideas of Romanticism and wove them into narrative storytelling and the recovery of the history of the ordinary Scottish people. Suddenly, Scottish clans, Scottish songs, Scottish food, including haggis, the kilts, and the bagpipes suddenly came in vogue, even though these things are all rough and peasant-like. Suddenly, nobles were going about and carrying on as if they were just like the common people.

² Johann Georg Hamann lived and worked in Prussia, in the context of the late German Enlightenment.

❖ *Washington Irving (1783-1859)*

In America, Washington Irving picked up these same things and started telling stories about ordinary village life and ordinary people — Sleepy Hollow and strange men who discover that the progress of the world is perhaps not all it's cracked up to be. Rip Van Winkle goes to sleep in a sleepy little village and wakes up years later to discover that the world has gone mad; it's in a hurry for progress, when, in fact, progress may not be terribly desirable.

❖ *James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1859)*

❖ *Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville*

With the *Leatherstocking Tales* — tales of half-breed men living on the frontier, fighting the Indians, the lore of the West, the rugged pioneer spirit — these ideas emerged in the stories of James Fenimore Cooper. They then filtered into the ideas of people like Emerson and Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Melville. Suddenly you've got this idea that America is a different place altogether. It's the place where Romanticism, where the roughhewn man who pulls himself up by his own bootstraps, the pioneer who constantly longs for the wandering life, who crosses the next divide and finds a new way and a new life. That became the definition of American. From the philosophers, to the writers, from the writers to the musicians.

Music

❖ *Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn*

Why is Mozart different from Bach? Bach with his carefully regulated fugues, his structured interplay of call and response, that Baroque majesty. Mozart sings circles around the fugues, often seeming undisciplined, borrowing old folk tunes from places like the peasant's world of Hungarian workers in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. He weaves them into this sort of romantic spell that tells the story of the ordinary man. He even weaves for himself a storyline for his own life. Even though he's been brought up as a pampered child living off the largess of nobility, he portrays himself as a kind of rogue, a barbarian in a gentleman's game. And the mythos of the real artiste begins to emerge. The emotion of Beethoven, the pouring out of passion — the unrestrained, “Da da da DUM!”³ This is the boldness of Romanticism.

Hayden took these ideas and began to explore previously untouched realms, a Romantic's view of romance, the tenderness of a lover's touch, the sweetness of the morning air. Suddenly these become the themes of the musical parlance of the day.

❖ *Stephen Foster (1826-1864)*

In America, we have people like Stephen Foster, who was a classically trained musician who turned his attention to instruments like banjos, guitars, and dulcimers because these were the instruments of the people. He began to write simple folk songs about “Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair” and “Oh, Susannah!” and “Camptown Races”. They tried to capture the essence of that roughhewn populist, pioneer spirit — the American. The rugged Marlboro man and the sweet southern belle meeting on a porch, falling into one another's embrace like a romantic novel.

³ Dr. Grant hummed the first two bars of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*.

❖ *Scott Joplin (1867-1917)*

Scott Joplin came along, and he took the old spirituals of former slaves and wove in the syncopation of Delta blues and created the category not just of Ragtime but he laid the foundations for what will become country music, Blues, and rock 'n roll, all of which are sort of muscular and hewn out of that idea that America is the place for the pioneer, for the ordinary man and his ordinary music. That stirs passion in the soul and causes a person to want to shout, scream, and jump.

Art

❖ *William Blake, John Ruskin, William Morris*

This kind of music will naturally affect the graphic arts. We start to see the rustication of the home arts and architecture, through the writings and the practice of people like William Blake, John Ruskin, and William Morris. Homes began to reflect more of this pioneer spirit. Architecture was driven back to its more primal roots.

❖ *J.M.W. Turner and John Constable*

❖ *Hudson River School*

❖ *Thomas Cole (1801–1848)*

❖ *Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902)*

❖ *Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900)*

Then there are the paintings of J.M.W. Turner and John Constable and, in America, the emergence of the Hudson River School. Great artists like Thomas Cole and Albert Bierstadt, and Frederick Edwin Church. They were fascinated by the ideas of old Christendom — the romance, the chivalry, the pageantry, and the glory — back before it became encrusted by the cold machinelike maws of the Industrial Revolution and Enlightenment norms. But even better for them than the marvel of ancient chivalry was the current estate of those chivalric norms, was the romance in the ruin that's not even evident immediately in its original glory. Here there's a kind of melancholy haunting. All of the sheen is off and now there's a ruggedness, a power, a wistfulness, a nostalgia for what is lost but a kind of glory in what remains. So, the ruin has more attraction than the original.

Likewise, there's this kind of backward glance to the glory of ancient civilizations, the marvel of what the Greeks, the Romans, the Babylonians, and the Egyptians accomplished. Perhaps even more powerful are the ruins of those old civilizations. Here's where Romanticism really makes its mark. Romanticism almost always expresses itself in sad songs of longing and loss. It's why country music is the perfect reflection of Romanticism. It's the mud, the blood, and the beer in the face of the loss of what once was, but the opportunity for what soon can be out on the rugged frontier, the world of real possibility.



L: The Past (1838); R: The Present (1838); both by Thomas Cole



L: The Course of Empire: Consummation (1835–1836); R: The Course of Empire: Desolation (1836), both by Thomas Cole



L: Looking Down Yosemite Valley (1865); R: Storm in the Rocky Mountains (1886), both by Albert Bierstadt

See what the artists have done? They've take the philosophical ideas that were somewhat highfalutin', dealing with questions of the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, reductionistic rationalism — categories that ordinary people don't think about. The writers have woven tales of breaking free from that stifling life. It's the city slicker from New York City, or Boston, who goes off to the outfitter and finds himself a pair of stiff chaps and heads out to the frontier. Through a series of mishaps and difficulties, that greenhorn suddenly finds himself. At the end of the story, he wins the heart of the girl, proving that he is a hero after all. The last scene is him sitting

back contentedly with his boot heels up on the table, his girl at his side, and a strong shot of whiskey down his throat. He says, *Ahh, this is the life. I ain't never goin' back.* Maybelle says, "You ain't never said 'ain't' in your whole life." "Why, I'm saying it, now!" It's the glory of the Romantic ideal, set free from the affectations of artificial society, where a man can be a man and a woman can have her homestead, and they can build a dream, unencumbered, free.

The Progress of Romanticism

These ideas start with philosophy. They filter into the literature and then the music, and then the art, and then right into theology.

Theology

❖ *Oxford Movement*

❖ *Distributivism and Agrarianism*

The Oxford movement, a movement in Oxford, England, of Church of England practitioners longing for the richness of tradition, longing for smells and bells, a liberating escape from fierce Modernity, longing for something deeper or something profounder, something far more rugged, something far more ancient, gave rise to distributivism and agrarianism, a new vision of men and women in free communities, covenantally associating with one another, so unlike the corporatized world of modern industrialism, and advocating the warrior poet's reemergence. It's why affections for knights in shining armor, chivalry, the old Celtic ideals, Celtic jewelry, affection for the land reemerged and became part of the whole vision of American culture.

❖ *Social Gospel Movement*

This in turn led theology to become attached to causes of liberation and social reform. The Social Gospel movement emerged from that. It's not feasible to think that a liberation theology or process theology could've ever emerged in Belgium or France or Germany. These are distinctively American ideals, flowing through this long series of progressions — Romanticism made evident.

Popular Culture

❖ *American Bootstrap Ethic*

This is what made American culture what it is. Americans aren't natively hard workers; we're the heirs of a progressive cultural shift that gave rise to this bootstrap ethic.

❖ *Vox Populi*

❖ *The "Common Man"*

We love the voice of the people, the common man. The idea of public opinion polls is not an idea that would arise in a place like Moscow. Where do you think the idea of going around to ordinary people and asking, "So, what do you think about the 2012 GOP line-up?" comes from? That's not something the French people ask themselves. This is distinctively American, from that milieu of loving the common man and the voice of the people. It's tied to the ideals of freedom and our peculiar notions of liberty, but the liberty that we speak of is far different from, say, the liberty of Venezuela. Why? Because of this unique cultural transition.

❖ *Traditional Folk Art Forms*

We're constantly inventing new traditional folk art forms. And by saying we *invent* tradition, I mean that very deliberately. We've got all these fake traditions.

❖ *Blues, Country, Folk, Americana*

❖ *The Pioneer Spirit*

Country music is really an invention that emerged in the first three decades of the twentieth century around a single place, Ryman Auditorium and the Grand Ole Opry. It's an invented thing; it hasn't always been around. But it's got its rootedness in the rough-hewn character of the ordinary person and of the travails of the working man. It's part and parcel of philosophical Romanticism. Thus, Blues, country, folk, Americana, and even hip-hop are all derivatives of this Romanticized philosophical view of society.

Why would we ever glorify gangstas? Because we've always sort of gloried in the gangsta from Bonnie and Clyde all the way back to James Fenimore Cooper's rogues and vagabonds in the *Leatherstocking Tales*. We sort of love the bad, good guy. Lil Wayne didn't invent this! He just figured out how to make millions of dollars on it while giving himself bad face tattoos. This whole pioneer spirit that we have affected in American culture is the result of this cultural flow. And so we have this natural progression through the whole of culture.

Now the reason it's important for us to see this and understand this — and we can take a thousand other examples, it's not just Romanticism that shapes American culture. That's just one of many cultural threats, but I've chosen this one just because it so typifies the period between 1815 and 1848 when Romanticism really was the dominant cultural norm. The reason this is important for us to see is that if we ever desire to see cultural change, a restoration of moral values, transformation of cultural institutions to better reflect that which is right, good and true and just, if we desire recovery of the American ideals of the founders, if we desire to see America grow and not simply dissipate in a state of the revelry and foolishness and rebellion, if we desire to see that kind of cultural change, we can't simply object to what we see. You can't fight something with nothing. Cultures aren't changed by people protesting and saying, *This is bad. This is bad. This is bad.* Conservative Christians have been saying, "This is bad. This is bad. This is bad," for two generations and look where it's gotten us.

Instead, we have to understand that, in order to bring a shift to the culture, we've got to begin with substantive thinking. We've got to wrestle with big ideas; we've got to have a body of philosophical work that actually means something. And that, in turn, has to be translated into a lucid, vivid, heart-pumping, dynamic, beautiful literature, which then gives rise to whole new musical genres and bursts forth with a profusion of artistic excellence that can then shape the theology of the day and the practice of the Church, in order to change the world.

Jesus called his disciples to change the world. That's the Great Commission. "Go make disciples of all nations, baptizing, discipling, teaching them whatsoever things I have commanded you."⁴ It's a command to go change the world. So, how do we change the world? I would argue that we've been going about it in all the wrong ways. We've been standing athwart the changes in our society sometimes with a grandiose, *No!*, sometimes with a whimpering, *No*, sometimes with a meek, acquiescence, *Oh well, okay, just this once*, sometimes with total surrender, *Oh well, what can we do? Whatever.* So how do cultures change?

⁴ Matthew 29:19

❖ *Changed people change culture.*

We start with *lectio, contemplatio, meditatio, oratio*, but we move on from there. We begin to apply our callings, our essential giftings, in the arenas that will ultimately make all the difference. Some of you need to hammer out the ideas. Some of you need to write the books. Some of you need to make the music. And some of you need to craft the images. Some of you need to lead the churches. All of you need to change the world.



Let's pray. Father, I thank you for these students and for everything that they are learning, the skills that they're gaining, but also the insights and wisdom that you're building in their hearts. I pray that you would indeed change them. Enable them to read and think and pray and live in such a way that truly honors you and fulfills their calling. But then, Lord, I pray that you would deploy them in this world, that you would make them a part of a glorious legion that will shape the future, that will define the culture, for however long you may tarry. I pray this because I know the gospel is true, and because you are at work. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen

Lesson 35

Chattel Slavery: Complications & Complexities

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Did the Robber Barons Really Exist?; Carnegie, Steel, and American Philanthropy

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 447–458

Lesson Synopsis

Everything to do with the issue of chattel slavery was complicated, which was aggravated by the fact that no one would allow that the issue of slavery was at all complicated. In fact, that really cuts to the heart of the issue.

Both North and South argued that the slavery issue was not complicated, when in fact it was enormously, enormously complicated. The inhumanity of man to man has been a part of the story of fallen man since Adam and Eve fled the garden.

Opportunity

16

Lesson Topics

The development of the slave trade; a comparison between England and the United States of the abolition of the slave trade

Primary Source Material

Confesionario, by Bartolomé de las Casas; *A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Addressed to the Freeholders of Yorkshire*, by William Wilberforce; *On the Slavery Question*, by John C. Calhoun

Vocabulary

spoils system, ignoble, regal, parley, sublimity, chattel, abolition, proffer, coffer, unhygienic, ultimatum, cajole, commingle

Timeline

- ❖ 1325: Islamic Chattel Trade in Mali
- ❖ 1444: Islamic Trade with Portuguese
- ❖ 1482: Portuguese Chattel Trade in Benin
- ❖ 1515: Slaves Brought to the New World
- ❖ 1523: *Confesionario*, by Bartolomé de las Casas

- ❖ 1562: English Slave Trading in the Indies
- ❖ 1619: First Slaves in the English Colonies
- ❖ 1648: *Extracts on Freedom*, by Andrew Nilesmythe
- ❖ 1663: The African Company Chartered
- ❖ 1671: First Abolitionist Society: Virginia
- ❖ 1735: First Abolitionist Law: Georgia
- ❖ 1775: *Manifesto of Freedom*, by Peyton Randolph
- ❖ 1777: Vermont abolished slavery
- ❖ 1780: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1783: New Hampshire, Connecticut abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1787: Constitutional Compromise, the Three-Fifths Compromise
- ❖ 1787: *Manstealing*, by Robert Glanville
- ❖ 1788: A privy council appointed by the king to inquire into slavery.
- ❖ 1789: First Debate on Abolition of Trade in Parliament
- ❖ 1791: Wilberforce's First Bill Defeated in Parliament
- ❖ 1793: Eli Whitney's cotton gin
- ❖ 1799: New York abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1800: The Napoleonic wars started.
- ❖ 1803: Ohio abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1804: Wilberforce's bill passed the House of Commons but was delayed by the House of Lords.
- ❖ 1804: New Jersey abolished slavery
- ❖ 1805: The Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz
- ❖ 1806: Prime Minister William Pitt died.
- ❖ 1806: Passage of the bill to end the slave trade passed Parliament.
- ❖ 1807: Wilberforce's A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Addressed to the Freeholders of Yorkshire
- ❖ 1807: Liberation Society founded by James Stewart
- ❖ 1808: Restrictions on the U.S. Slave Trade
- ❖ 1816: American Colonization Society founded by Colin Daniels
- ❖ 1816: Indiana abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1818: Illinois abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1820: The Missouri Compromise abolished slavery in Maine.
- ❖ 1831: *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison
- ❖ 1833: Final Passage of Total Abolition in Great Britain
- ❖ 1837: Michigan abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1845: *A Narrative of a Life*, by Frederick Douglass
- ❖ 1846: Iowa abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1848: Wisconsin abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1850: On the Slavery Question, by John C. Calhoun
- ❖ 1850: California abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1852: Kansas abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1852: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe
- ❖ 1859: Minnesota, Oregon abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1860: The Civil War began.
- ❖ 1860: There were four million slaves in fifteen states.

- ❖ 1862: Nevada, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Washington, and Arizona abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1864: Washington, D.C. abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1865: The Civil War ended.
- ❖ 1865: Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1866: Maryland, Rhode Island abolished slavery.
- ❖ 1867: Delaware abolished slavery



Chattel Slavery: Complications & Complexities

Everything to do with the issue of chattel slavery was complicated— which was all the more aggravated by the fact that no one would allow that the issue of slavery was at all complicated.

~ Paul Johnson

Today, we're moving into that cataclysmic conflict of brother against brother that is known as the Civil War. We begin with perhaps the most complicated and the most controversial aspect of that cataclysmic conflict — a look at the issue of chattel slavery.

29 March

- ❖ *1998: The Lady Vols of Tennessee won a third straight NCAA basketball championship.*

Today is March 29, and it was on this day in 1998 that the Lady Vols won a third straight NCAA basketball championship defeating Louisiana Tech, 93–75. That's not a feat that they will repeat this year, alas.

- ❖ *1973: United States troops left South Vietnam, ending direct military involvement in the Vietnam War.*

It was also on this day, March 29, in 1973,¹ that U.S. combat troops left South Vietnam, ending the military involvement in the Vietnam War. We would continue to have consulting troops in South Vietnam for another three years after that, but combat operations ended on this day in 1973.

- ❖ *1867: The British Parliament passed the North America Act to create the Dominion of Canada.*

In 1867, on this day, the British Parliament passed the North American Act to create the Dominion of Canada. So today is one of three markers for the Canadian nation and a great day of celebration.

- ❖ *1847: U.S. forces led by occupied Veracruz.*

It was on this day in 1847 that victorious forces led by General Winfield Scott occupied the city of Veracruz after Mexican defenders capitulated during the Mexican War. This was perhaps the operation, the battle, and the war that prepared virtually all of the commanders that would later fight in the Civil War for genuine pitched battle. It was the beginning of the training of men like Winfield Scott and Robert E. Lee and a host of others for what

¹ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said that troops left Vietnam in 1972, not 1973. *Ed.*

would become one of the great legacies of military leadership in the nation, both North and South fighting obviously in the Mexican War on the same side.

❖ *1846: The Niagara River stopped flowing, and the falls were silenced for thirty hours.*

It was also on this day that an incredibly unusual event occurred in 1846. Niagara Falls stopped. It was due to a whole series of unique natural events; the Niagara River stopped flowing, and the falls were silenced completely for more than thirty hours. A fierce wind had blown in from Lake Erie and caused an ice jam to block the river near Buffalo. For several miles the river was dried up and Niagara Falls was silenced. It's the only time that we know of in human history that the falls fell silent.

❖ *1790: John Tyler, the tenth president under the present Constitution, was born.*

But for our purposes perhaps the most significant thing that occurred on this day occurred in the year 1790, when the tenth president of the United States under the current Constitution, John Tyler, was born in Charles City, Virginia. He was a tall, Virginia gentleman. Tyler was the first vice-president to complete the unexpired term of a president. But it is almost certain that if the Whigs had known that he was going to fill in for his president virtually the entire term, they never would have chosen him as a vice-presidential candidate. He served all but one month of William Harrison's term.

By 1840, Honest John had clearly demonstrated that he was not a party man. During his years in Washington as a nominally Democratic Congressman and then later Senator, he had followed an independent course, fighting against the Missouri Compromise, fighting against high tariffs, fighting against Andrew Jackson, that it finally led him, by 1833, out of the Democratic Party altogether. His views on states' rights and strict construction of the Constitution would never permit him to be at home with the Whigs. But, because of his name and the draw that he had to the grassroots of the American electorate — he was known as an honest politician, two words that normally didn't go together in the minds of the electorate back in those days or in these for that matter — he was greatly popular with the grassroots, so the Whigs thought it would be a wise thing to put him on that irrelevant spot on the ticket, the vice-president, but of course the Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too campaign, though victorious, ended on a sour note when Harrison spoke for three hours in a driving rain for his inaugural address, and caught a cold that turned to pneumonia and killed him one month after he took office, thrusting Tyler into the highest office in the land.

His years in the White House were tempestuous ones. His stand on states' rights led him to veto a bill for the Bank of the United States. Every single member of Harrison's original Cabinet except Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, promptly resigned. Tyler further alienated the Whigs by repudiating the spoils system and determining to clean up the civil service. He refused to replace some Democratic ministers and ambassadors abroad because they were doing a good job; why should he replace them? Throughout his term, he was unable to work in harmony with the Whig majority in Congress, which was led by Henry Clay, the real leader of that political party. He was able to push through the annexation of Texas, which was accomplished in the final days of his term. But by 1844, he was completely out of favor with all the Whig politicians and wasn't particularly endeared to the Democratic ones, so he left office as a president without a party.

At a time when political parties completely controlled the political process, this was an ignoble ending for a regal statesman, who had fought for principle and his ideas all of his career, regardless of what direction parties went.

After the presidency, he served for a short time in Congress and then later in the Confederate Congress. But while he was a strong advocate of Southern nullification and secession, he also, as a former president, led the only serious peace parley between North and South during the Civil War, and true to his independent reformist mind, he stridently supported the abolition of chattel slavery. He was a man who lived and died by principle.

Interestingly, President Tyler's grandson, not his great-grandson, not his great-great-grandson, not his great-great-great grandson, as you might expect, but his *grandson* is a friend of Franklin Classical School and lives here in Franklin, Tennessee. President Tyler, when he was in his late seventies, had a second marriage and had a child, and that child, when he was in his late seventies, had a second marriage and had a child, and that child is Mr. Lyon Tyler, who is a great friend and a remarkable man who bears an incredible, incredible history and lineage. Interestingly, our Mr. Tyler, like his grandfather, was an independent thinker and an independent force in our culture fighting during the Civil Rights Movement as an heir of that Virginia, planterly sort of world, fighting for the rights of every American and standing in full stead with his grandfather's remarkable legacy.

It's a reminder to us that often the story of the Civil War and the story of chattel slavery is an incredibly complicated story. Paul Johnson, in his magisterial work *The History of the American People*, recently anthologized in a little paperback called *Civil War America*, begins with these words,

The Civil War ... constitutes the central event in American history. It is also America's most characteristic event which brings out all that the United States is, and is not. It made America a nation, which it was not before. ... It was, rather, an artificial state or series of states bound together by negotiated agreements and contracts, charters and covenants. ... The early Americans, insofar as they had a nationality, were English ... with an English national identity and culture. Their contract to become Americans — the Declaration of Independence — did not in itself make them a nation. On the contrary; the very word "nation" was cut from it — Southerners did not like the word. Significantly it was John Marshall, the supreme federalist, the legal ideologist of federalism, who first asserted in 1821 that America was a nation. ... Washington [in his Farewell Address] referred to "the Community of Interest in one Nation," which seems to beg the question whether America was a nation or not. And even Marshall's definition in 1821 was qualified: "America has chosen to be," he laid down, "in many respects and for many purposes, a nation.

While there were very many issues that divided North and South, chattel slavery being one of them, Johnson asserts that none of them individually or even all together was the cause of the war. In fact, he says that whether there were tariffs or not, slavery or not, tax issues or not, regional issues, transportation issues, manufacturing issues, communications issues — whether or not these things existed, a war probably would have been fought in the end because America needed to decide whether or not it was a nation or just a confederation of many states. As Johnson states,

In the architecture of nationhood, the United State has achieved something quite remarkable. Americans erected their constitutional roof before they put up their national walls or even laid their national foundations.

So Johnson says it is more than possible that an attempt at secession and the conflict of war would have been made even if slavery had not been resolved as an issue. The North favored high tariffs, the South low ones. The

North in consequence backed indirect taxation, the South direct taxation, and a host of other issues divided them. Slavery did not cause the war. It merely provided a pretext for it.

Johnson therefore argues that everything to do with the issue of chattel slavery was complicated, which was aggravated by the fact that no one would allow that the issue of slavery was at all complicated. In fact, that really cuts to the heart of the issue. Both North and South argued that the slavery issue was not complicated, when in fact it was enormously, enormously complicated. The inhumanity of man to man has been a part of the story of fallen man since Adam and Eve fled the garden.

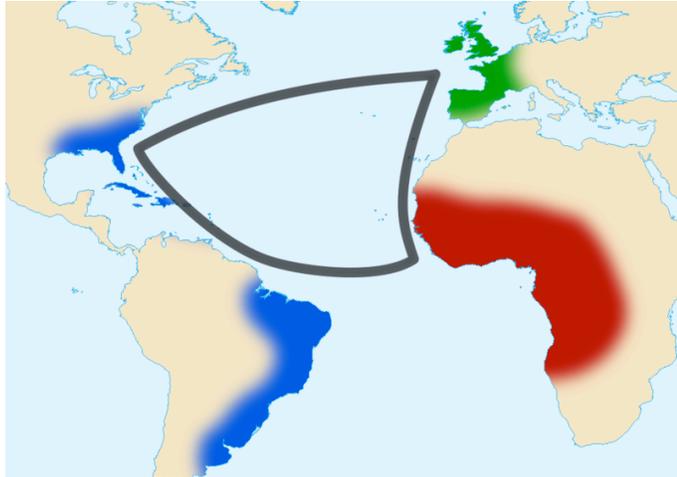
As far back as we can reach in human history, we see strong evidence of the horrific, imposed servitude of man upon man — man-stealing, as a tactic of war, terror, subversion, or submission. It's one of the saddest parts of the story of human history. No one can examine the story of liberty in America without acknowledging that the great anomaly in the glorious march to liberty has always been marked by the deep scar of chattel slavery on the nation's soul.

A part of our story is the imposition of the horror of fallenness that goes right alongside our greatest achievements and the most glorious demonstrations of the American spirit. But even this is not an anomaly in history. I've often told the story of the wonderful opportunity that seniors have every year of going to the British Museum and going past the great lions and the grand staircase, off Great Russell Street and into a marvelous gathering place in the center, with the old British Library's reading room before us. Off to the left are the great marvels of Babylon and Assyria, of Greece and Rome. All the way to the back of that long corridor are the Elgin Marbles, which contain fragments from the portico of the Parthenon. What's remarkable is that you go in and you look at these artifacts of ancient civilization, and you see splendor and glory. You marvel at the majesty and the sublimity of the art, and it's quite awe-inspiring until you begin to realize what all of the art is about. It's kind of like what G.K. Chesterton said when he first saw Times Square in New York. He looked at all the lights of the nighttime, and he said, "It would be altogether marvelous if only one could not read." When you start to realize what all the art in that hallway in the British Museum is about, you're struck with horror at the realization that all of it is about slavery, conquest, raping, pillaging, destroying, the imposition of man's inhumanity against man. It's a part of the story of man from the beginning of time, and it's somehow bizarrely mixed, this, the worst that man can be, with all the achievements of the best that man can be. That's why Johnson says that the slave trade, chattel slavery, this episode in American history, is so complicated.

Sources of the Slave Trade

❖ *African Tribal Warfare*

The sources of the slave trade and the trade of what is called the Middle Passage,² that passage from the coast of Africa to the Caribbean and to the United States, was rooted in a whole host of different sources. As far back as we can trace anthropologically, archaeologically, and historically, African tribal warfare has been a primary source for the slave trade in ancient history, in American history, and all the way up to the present day because, while we would like to fool ourselves and believe that human trafficking is no longer a major problem in the world, slavery is legal in forty nations on the planet today, and illegal human



trafficking is one of the most lucrative businesses in the whole world today. Many now argue that human trafficking brings in more profits to its purveyors than weapons sales and is now even approaching the profitability of pornography — the three most profitable businesses in the world today. African tribal warfare produced captive peoples that were sold to other tribes and to other peoples. That has been a primary source for the slave trade through the ages.

❖ *Spreading Islamic Influence*

In addition, Islamic slave traders have always been at the heart of the slave trading business because slavery — virtually all of the forty nations that have legal slavery to this day are Islamic nations or heavily Islamic nations and because of the nature of the trading economy of the Islamic world — has always been an essential part of an Islamic economy.

❖ *Hispanic Colonization*

❖ *Caribbean Plantations*

❖ *New England Shipping*

❖ *Southern Cotton Production*

Hispanic colonization first of the Gold Coast of Africa and then later in the Americas provided the conduit for the slave trade including the Caribbean plantations. Then New England shipping, which provided transport for the new English colonies in North America and Southern cotton production, provided an impetus for the slave trade in America. But again, the trade in human flesh is as old as fallen human flesh itself. It stretches all the way back as far as the story of the Bible reaches, as far as the history of the world reaches. Man has brutally imposed himself upon man from the beginning.

² This map is used under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Triangular_trade.png

The Peculiar Institution

The Beginnings of the Modern Slave Trade

❖ *1325: Islamic Chattel Trade in Mali*

Now the modern slave trade, the beginnings of what we call chattel slavery, really has later roots, beginning essentially in 1325 with the first modern slave markets, which were established by the Islamic caliph in Mali.

❖ *1444: Islamic Trade with Portuguese*

By 1444, the Islamic slave traders were beginning to interact with Portuguese explorers, providing cheap labor for the Portuguese as they carved out new colonies and territories along the African coast.

❖ *1482: Portuguese Chattel Trade in Benin*

❖ *1515: Slaves Brought to the New World*

By 1482, the Portuguese had taken up their own chattel trade in Benin. By 1515, the Portuguese and the Spanish Castilians and Catalonians were bringing slaves to the new world.

❖ *1562: English Slave Trading in the Indies*

The English were late in coming to the game, but, by 1562, English slave traders began to do brisk business in the Caribbean Indies.

Chattel Slavery in America

❖ *1619: First Slaves in the English Colonies*

In America the first slaves were brought to the English colonies in Jamestown, in 1619, when a ship brought twenty captured Africans to the colony. They were not chattel slaves initially. In fact, chattel slavery was not established as a legal category in the Americas until 1735, though the institution existed long before that.

An interesting case, in 1735, was brought in the Virginia courts when an African American who owned an African American slave who had fulfilled his indenture, his seven years of servitude, argued in court that his manservant was in fact a chattel, property, belonged to him for life. The courts ruled in favor.

❖ *1663: The African Company Chartered*

In 1663 the Stuart family, the royal family of England and Scotland, now restored following the failure of the Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, with Charles II on the throne and his younger brother, the Duke of York, James, established a trading company specifically to trade in human flesh. It was called the Africa Company, and it was chartered in 1663.

❖ *1671: First Abolitionist Society: Virginia*

It was not long after that the first abolitionist society in America was established in Virginia.

❖ *1735: First Abolitionist Law: Georgia*

It was in 1735 that the first abolition of slavery altogether took place in the colony of Georgia. One of the remarkable facts that we often forget is that abolition was the fruit of Southern culture initially. It was the Southerners who fought against the slave trade initially. You'll remember that it was Southerners like Thomas Jefferson and James Madison who made strong arguments during the time of the constitutional debates to make the slave trade illegal. What turned the tables was the invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin and the creation of a new cotton economy in the South that demanded ready, massive, and cheap labor.

❖ *1787: Constitutional Compromise*

By 1787, the cotton industry had grown to such a degree that the slave traders of the North, in places like Delaware and Rhode Island where slave trading was deeply entrenched, and the slave buyers of the South forced a compromise so that the pioneering thinkers like Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were overruled, and the Constitution, in a sense, tacitly recognized the domestic institution often called the peculiar institution of chattel slavery, essentially arguing that it was not a federal issue, but making it a federal issue by apportioning a three-fifths count for possessed domestics for the apportionment of congressional districts throughout the slave-holding states.

❖ *1808: Restrictions on the Slave Trade*

However, they were able to accomplish their aim of making the trade in slaves, meaning the importation of slaves from Africa, illegal after 1808. Bottom line from this timeline that you should take away is simply this: as the Americans were wrestling with the foundations of freedom for their new land, they were already wrestling with the incongruities of chattel slavery. There was not a single one of the Founding Fathers who did not see the irony and did not wrestle with it, but alas, they did not resolve it.

The Slavery Controversy

❖ *1523: Confesionario: Bartolomé de las Casas*

Now, the slave controversy in the West began almost as soon as the slave trade became a major part of the economy beginning with the Castilians, the Aragonese, and the Catalonians — the Spanish conquistadors. One of the Franciscan priests who came with the conquistadors, Bartholomé de las Casas, wrote a book entitled, *Confesionario*,³ in which he condemned the slave trade in no uncertain terms as an inhuman imposition of a complex series of sins of man against man, beginning with man-stealing and proceeding to a host of other sins.

❖ *1648: Extracts on Freedom: Andrew Nilesmythe*

Likewise, in 1648, Andrew Nilesmythe wrote *Extracts on Freedom*, in which he argues that genuine freedom for societies cannot be achieved if we're selective about which peoples and to whom which freedoms would apply.

❖ *1775: Manifesto of Freedom: Peyton Randolph*

This was picked up in a short essay that was published as a pamphlet by Peyton Randolph, the first president of the Continental Congress, entitled *Manifesto of Freedom*. While the pamphlet focused largely on theoretical issues

³ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said, "Confesio" instead of *Confesionario*.

of freedom, Randolph, like so many other Southerners of that time, was ardently opposed to the idea that slavery could be imposed for life.

❖ *1787: Manstealing: Robert Glanville*

Robert Glanville, in 1787, wrote a masterful book entitled *Manstealing*, in which, for the first time since de las Casas, he portrayed the horrific nature of the slave trade itself: the manstealing, the contributions to tribal warfare in Africa, proffering the coffers of the Islamic slave traders, the horrific, unhygienic, and terribly brutal transport of the slaves over the Atlantic, and then the dehumanizing character of the slave trading markets. It was a powerful, powerful indictment.

❖ *1791: Wilberforce's First Bill Defeated in Parliament*

At that same time, a group of English MP's led by William Wilberforce began to wrestle with the question of slavery, and by 1791, Wilberforce had begun to introduce a series of bills calling for the abolition first of the slave trade and then of slavery altogether. It would be a cause that would dominate the rest of his remarkable life.

❖ *1807: Liberation Society: James Stewart*

❖ *1816: American Colonization Society: Colin Daniels*

It was in 1807 that James Stewart established the first abolitionist society, called the Liberation Society, followed quickly by the American Colonization Society established by Colin Daniels in 1816, the idea of which was to repatriate those who had been taken from their homes in Africa back to Africa.

❖ *1831: The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison*

❖ *1845: Narrative of a Life: Frederick Douglass*

It was in 1831 that William Lloyd Garrison, a journalist from Massachusetts, began publishing a small broadsheet which gained great influence throughout the North, entitled *The Liberator*. One of the early subscribers to *The Liberator* was a former slave from Maryland who documented his own experience in slavery, both the good parts and the bad. It's a remarkable read because Frederick Douglass portrays the complexity of human relations that existed in chattel slavery in his autobiography *A Narrative of a Life* published in 1845.

❖ *1850: On the Slavery Question: John C. Calhoun*

This was quickly answered by the Southern ideologue, John C. Calhoun, in his pamphlet *On the Slavery Question*, in which he essentially argued that the federal government had no jurisdiction in dealing with what ought to be dealt with at the state level.

❖ *1852: Uncle Tom's Cabin: Harriet Beecher Stowe*

Then in 1852, a little book published by a Unitarian minister's wife called *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became what later Abraham Lincoln would call "the shot that started the war". *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was written largely from second- and third-hand accounts. It was often sweeping in its portrayals and, to this day, is widely misunderstood. To call someone an Uncle Tom is actually a slur when in fact Uncle Tom was the hero of the book. He was a Christ figure. He laid down his life; he was a redeemer figure. Most people didn't actually read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* back in those days or today, which is why it is so easy to misconstrue the whole concept of the book and so slander the hero of the book by making him an epithet for a sellout. Nevertheless, the book became a powerful catalyst, rais-

ing awareness in people's minds that this inhumanity of man to man existed in a land that proclaimed liberty to the nations.

Slavery: Basic Facts and Statistics

It's important for us to put some facts on the table so we can begin to see some of the great complexity of this issue.

❖ *From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, nine to twelve million Africans were shipped as slaves to the Americas.*

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries anywhere from nine to twelve million Africans were shipped as slaves to the Americas. We don't know exactly because much of the slave trade was illicit and undocumented. Original estimates shortly after abolition and the rhetoric used by the abolitionists proclaimed anywhere from fifteen to twenty million Africans, but historians have been able to examine documents and look at population figures and evaluate census figures and so forth, and the number is probably closer to nine to twelve.

❖ *Nearly six hundred fifty thousand came to what is now the United States.*

Of those, about six hundred fifty thousand came to what is now the United States.

❖ *Approximately two million died during transport.*

Approximately two million died during transport. In other words, over the course of the three most active centuries of the modern chattel slave trade about as many people died from the slave trade as die today in one year from abortion.

❖ *By 1860, there were four million slaves in fifteen states.*

By 1860, through both importation and population growth, there were some four million slaves in fifteen states. There were about one million free African Americans, about a quarter of a million in the South, in those fifteen slave states and the other three quarters of a million mostly in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania.

❖ *About 7% of all Southerners owned slaves; less than 5% of all slaves served on plantations.*

About seven percent of all Southerners actually owned slaves. And about ninety-five percent of those Southerners owned less than three — one or two slaves. In other words, they were household domestics. Less than five percent of all slaves served on plantations where there were large numbers of slaves. Often, when we think about chattel slavery, we think first about the plantation system, slaves working out in the fields and slave masters with whips. This really was a small part of slavery, which makes it more complex because most slavery consisted of domestic relations. The masters and their slaves lived in the same house, ate the same food at the same table, most of the time at the same time, interweaving both affections and longings for freedom in a complex of emotions, all at once — very, very complicated.

❖ *Eleven slave states seceded, while five remained in the Union (along with three slave territories).*

Eleven slave states seceded from the Union, but five slave states stayed in the Union and fought against the South in the Civil War. Those five slave states that stayed in the Union still had slavery even while they were fighting in the Civil War. There were, in addition, three slave territories that were also in the Union.

❖ *Throughout the Civil War, a slave market operated within blocks of the White House in Washington.*

Throughout the Civil War all the way up until 1864, the world's largest slave market was blocks away from the White House in Washington, D.C. Abraham Lincoln had to walk past it when he went to the Veteran's Hospital for visits. It was a very, very complicated issue.

❖ *Confederate generals Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Joseph Johnston, A.P. Hill, Fitzhugh Lee, and J.E.B. Stuart held life-long anti-slavery convictions.*

❖ *Union Generals Ulysses S. Grant, Winfield Scott, and Robert Anderson were all slave-owners.*

Confederate generals Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Joseph Johnson, A.P. Hill, Fitchhugh Lee, and Jeb Stuart all held lifelong anti-slavery convictions and owned no slaves, ever. Union generals Ulysses S. Grant, Winfield Scott, and Robert Anderson were all slave owners even during the war.

❖ *Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his wife had an adopted African American son.*

❖ *Over one hundred thousand African Americans served the Confederacy, nearly four thousand in Free Black regiments.*

Confederate president, Jefferson Davis, and his wife, Varina, had an adopted African American son. Over one hundred thousand African Americans served in the Confederacy, nearly four thousand of them in free black regiments. In other words, these were not slaves. Some of them were not even former slaves, and they fought for the Confederacy.

❖ *Union President Abraham Lincoln often pledged his commitment to preserve the institution of slavery.*

And of course, the Union President Abraham Lincoln repeatedly pledged his commitment to preserve the institution of slavery, even in his first inaugural address.

❖ *The Emancipation Proclamation freed no slaves.*

But perhaps the most astonishing fact complicating the whole mess was that the Emancipation Proclamation actually freed no one, not one single person. The Emancipation Proclamation was issued by the Union, and it specifically exempted all slaves within the Union from the emancipation decree. It purported to free only those slaves in the territories which it did not control, and because it did not control them, it couldn't free them. You see how complicated this is?

Servitude and the Bible

It is made even more complicated by the fact that there were people on both sides of the slavery issue who were ready to quote the Bible to support their cause. Paul Johnson says that the most significant thing about the Civil War is that it was, in a sense, not just a war about nationhood, it was a war about hermeneutics and religion.

How should one read the Bible? What is justice? What is freedom? Well, the word *slave* or *servant* as it is translated in our English Bibles refers to at least seven different institutions described in the Bible, and these long-held institutions are portrayed in various ways throughout the Bible and are constrained by various decrees and edicts, boundaries and restrictions.

American slavery, for the most part, by the time of the Civil War, was all of the last kind, chattel slavery. But America was settled in the context of most of these other forms of servitude, still in operation.

Patrick Henry's parents, for instance, came to America as indentured servants. In other words, they were free back in their homeland, but they sold themselves into seven years of servitude to a master, in order to pay for their transit from England to America. When their seven years were done, they were then free to go. They had paid their debt.

❖ *Servants: Hireling: Lev. 19*

The seven different kinds of servants or slaves that we find in the Bible begin with simple hirelings. A hireling is simply an employee, where they are bound by a covenant or a contract, for either a certain amount of time or to accomplish a certain task. In other words, if I were to hire Jonathan Swift to come to my house to mow my lawn, he becomes my hireling until the lawn is mowed, at which time I release him from his bonds. That is what a hireling is. This is described in Leviticus Chapter 19. There were certain things you can and cannot do with hirelings. The Bible makes it plain that ethical treatment of hirelings requires the honoring of contracts and appropriate treatment, etc.

❖ *Indentures: Contractors: Deut. 15*

Indentures are, in a sense, contractors, who are bound specifically for a period of time. This can involve some kind of debt or some kind of task, but an indentured servant is someone who commits himself for a particular length of time, for a particular task. These days those kinds of arrangements are taken care of in contracts, but the Bible describes entering into these relations for some sort of mutual exchange, very similar are what are called serviles.

❖ *Serviles: Debtors: Prov. 22*

Serviles are debtors who cannot repay their debt. In order to repay the investment of the one who has loaned the debtor the money, the farm, the crop, or whatever it might be, the debtor has to enter into the service of the master until the debt is repaid. It is a form of restitution.

❖ *Bondsmen: Restititors: Ex. 22*

Then there was true criminal restitution. A bondsman is someone who is called the restitor, someone who has committed a crime perhaps or violated property and is bound to repay the one that he has injured. It is another form of servant.

❖ *Vassals: Peasant Yeomen: Deut. 20*

Vassals were peasant yeoman. They were those who indentured themselves for the privilege of working a piece of land, and their debt back to the master was a part or a parcel of the harvest or of the products that they produced.

❖ *Doulos: Covenantally Bound: Ex. 21*

A *doulos* is a servant who is covenantally bound to a master. A *doulos* can only be covenantally bound to a master voluntarily. The Bible describes this as a servant who loves a master and desires to serve the master for the rest of his life. There is an intricate ceremony where the *doulos* puts his ear against a doorpost and a golden ring is affixed after a nail is driven through the ear — not exactly mall piercing — and then that *doulos* will voluntarily serve the master for the rest of his life. He is not property. He is bound by certain ethical standards of treatment but he is bound for life. His children are not bound, he is.

❖ *Chattel: Property: Lev. 25*

The Bible of course hedges all these different forms of servitude with a series of laws about justice and the jubilee and the year of release, etc., the forgiveness of debts. But there is a form of slavery described in the Bible, often taking the form of prisoners of war dragged off into captivity from their homelands and made property. This form of slavery in the Bible is uniformly condemned, along with the sins that precipitate it, including man-stealing.

The problem is that in America several of these forms of servitude were commingled together. Sometimes there was drift between categories as people exploited people or as circumstances demanded.

Wilberforce's Abolitionist Reform

That's why it is so important for us, when we talk about the issue of slavery, to remember the model of that remarkable reformer from England, William Wilberforce, who gave his life to the abolition of the slave trade and of chattel slavery altogether.

Dogged Persistence

❖ *1788: King Appoints Privy Council Inquiry*

He was a young, rising, brilliant Member of Parliament, an M.P., when after a sudden and dramatic evangelical conversion, he became convicted about the blight of the slave trade through the influence of others and through firsthand witnessing of the slave trade in the harbors of England. It was through his insistence, along with several others, that the king appointed a privy council inquiry into the slave trade. This was the first time that a government undertook to seriously investigate the issue of slavery.

❖ *1789: First Debate on Abolition of Trade*

❖ *1791: Wilberforce's First Bill Defeated*

By the next year, Wilberforce was leading the first debate on the abolition of the slave trade and, the very next year, he introduced a bill which was defeated. But he would not take *no* for an answer.

❖ *1792, '93, '94, '95, '96, '97, '98, '99: Bills*

In 1792, and again in 1793, and again in 1794 and '95 and '96 and '97 and '98 and '99, he presented bills to Parliament, fought through the debates, each time gaining more adherents, but each time failing to see the bills passed.

❖ *1800-1804: The First Napoleonic Wars*

❖ *1804: Bill Passes but Delayed by the Lords*

The first Napoleonic wars interrupted his great quest for abolition, but by 1804, he was back at it. Finally in the House of Commons his bill for the abolition of the slave trade passed with a slim, slim margin, but it was delayed by the House of Lords and was never signed into law.

Victory

❖ *1805: Trafalgar and Austerlitz*

❖ *1806: Death of William Pitt and Passage of the Bill*

The second round of the Napoleonic wars began with Trafalgar and Austerlitz in 1805. By 1806, despite the death of his great ally and former prime minister, he was able to achieve the passage of the bill, and the next year his bill passed the House of Lords, abolishing the slave trade, but he was not done.

❖ *February 4, 1807: Bill Passes the Lords*

❖ *1833: Final Passage of Total Abolition*

He would then press on to eliminate the institution of domestic slavery altogether within all the British dominions, exhausting himself, his health, his wealth, his prestige, risking everything for the cause. He achieved final passage of total abolition in 1833, and received word on his deathbed. He gave himself completely to the cause.

Gradual Union Emancipation

The story in America was very different. Abolition was gradual and required the change of the Constitution and the wrenching effects of a horrific civil war.

❖ *1777: Vermont (National)*

Vermont was the first territory to outlaw chattel slavery, but of course Vermont, at the time, was an independent nation. It wasn't really even a part of the United States.

❖ *1780: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania (State)*

❖ *1783: New Hampshire, Connecticut (State)*

In 1780, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and, in 1783, New Hampshire and Connecticut each passed abolition bills. These five, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut and eventually Vermont when it joined the Union in 1791, were the first five territories in the U.S. to abolish the slave trade, all prior to the passage of the Constitution.

❖ *1799: New York (State)*

❖ *1803: Ohio (State)*

❖ *1804: New Jersey (State)*

❖ *1816: Indiana (State)*

❖ *1818: Illinois (State)*

After the Constitution took effect ten years later, New York followed suit, and then Ohio, New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois.

❖ *1820: Maine (Federal)*

With the Missouri Compromise, Massachusetts was actually divided, and a new state was created — the northern parts of Massachusetts became a new state called Maine. It was admitted to the Union to match the admission of Missouri, which came in as a slave state. That was the essence of the Missouri Compromise.

❖ *1837: Michigan (State)*

❖ *1846: Iowa (State)*

❖ *1848: Wisconsin (State)*

❖ *1850: California (Federal)*

❖ *1852: Kansas (Federal)*

And then we have a cascade. Because of the Compromise of 1850, California and then Minnesota and Oregon, and — after a wrenching internal civil war in Bleeding Kansas — in 1852, Kansas, too, passed abolition measures.

But then, in a sense, it took the Civil War to bring about abolition everywhere else. In fact, even the Civil War didn't finish slavery in the United States.

❖ *1859: Minnesota, Oregon (Federal)*

❖ *1862: Nevada, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Washington, Arizona*

❖ *1864: D.C., Occupied Districts*

❖ *1865: Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia*

❖ *1866: Maryland, Rhode Island*

❖ *1867: Delaware*

After the Civil War, Maryland, Rhode Island, and Delaware all remained slave states. It took the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments and finally, with Delaware, the sending of federal troops to Wilmington, before the last of the slave states, Delaware, allowed abolition within its ranks.

Revolution and Reformation

The contrast between the American experience and the English experience is telling. It really is a portrayal of the difference between Revolution and Reformation.

- ❖ *Quick Results versus Long Obedience*
- ❖ *Loud Publicity versus Quiet Reputation*
- ❖ *Unrelenting Science versus Gentle Persuasions*

Revolution is always interested in quick results, whereas Reformation is interested in that enduring, long obedience in the same direction. Revolution is all about loud publicity and Reformation is quiet reputation. Unrelenting science is the clarion call of Revolution, whereas gentle persuasions are the hallmarks of Reformation.

You see where this is going? Wilberforce was able to accomplish, sooner, more powerfully, and more sweepingly, through lifelong Reformation what the whole American experience with its firebrand sentinels and its wrenching civil conflict was unable to accomplish.

There is absolutely no question that America could not be the nation that it is today had not the conflict of the war forged union through division.

Lots of horrible things happened through the course of the war. Through revolutionary means chattel slavery was ended in America, and it was the right thing, as horrific as the conflict was. But don't ever think that it wasn't complicated, that there weren't a thousand other issues at play, that it was easy to resolve, that the economics of it and the humanity of it were as clear cut as we'd like to make them.

Johnson was right. It's incredibly complicated, and it was made more complicated by the fact that no one wanted it to be complicated. But that's the way virtually all of the difficult dilemmas of our day are. It's why reformers have to be very careful about how they press forward. It's easy to lay down ultimatums. It's easy to rattle the saber. It's easy to threaten and cajole. It's very hard to change. That requires patience, persuasion, and winning the hearts and the minds of others. That is so rarely done by force.

There is this old song from the 60's.⁴ It came out of the peace protest movement, the Vietnam era. There is this wonderful line in it that talks about hating others for peace. It's a great reminder that we can try to do the right things. People on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line tried to do right things, but more often than not, during this era, they tried to do the right things in the wrong way. And the result was disastrous.

It is so easy for us to slip into that, to launch into our *jihads* and issue our moralisms, whatever our stance is, without winning over those who stand against us, fighting for justice through every available means that God affords us. That is the great task of the reformer, and that is really the great task that each of us has today. There are injustices that abound. I hope that with every fiber of your being that you will be stirred up against the mansteal-

⁴ While Dr. Grant doesn't remember the title of the song, he does remember that it's from Joni Mitchell's *For the Roses* album, released in 1972 (Electra/WEA). *Ed.*

ing of our time, against the brutal inhumanity of man against man in our day. Stand for what is right, but when you do fight, fight right and make peace.



Lord, teach us that these are complex issues meaning that there aren't simple, pat answers to be had. I pray for every one of these students as they wrestle with the complex issues of their own pop culture, their own affections and tastes, the issues that stir them up and the issues that don't. I pray that you would give them the rarest of all commodities, discernment. And make them champions of what is right, good, and true. Oh, God, raise up in our midst a new age of Wilberforces. Do this for your glory and for the liberty of our captive brothers and sisters, friends and neighbors, and enemies around the world. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 36

Fire-breathers: Ideologues and Provocateurs

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Pierpoint Morgan and Wall Street; Trusts and Anti-Trusts
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 459–472

Lesson Synopsis

Difficult people can make a difficult circumstances a lot more difficult. Complex problems require strategic, determined, enduring, principled, and virtuous leaders to resolve them. When you don't have them, a complex problem becomes far more difficult than it would necessarily have been otherwise. That's something that we'll notice is we look at the fire-breathers.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

John Brown, the Secret Six, Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, William Henry Seward, Horace Greeley, Jefferson Davis, Andrew Pickens Butler, Preston Smith Brooks, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Stephen Douglas, James Henry Hammond, David Rice Atchison, Roger Brooke Taney, Lysander Spooner; the Missouri Compromise; the Nullification Crisis; the Great Compromise of 1850

Primary Source Material

The Communist Manifesto

Vocabulary

foment, calamitous, euthanasia, umbrage, petulant, impudent, convalesce, impetuous, smug, profane, abolitionism, quintessential, impeccable, bastion, sarcasm, saccharine, rhetorician, consummate, ideologues, provocateurs, ideologue, proletarian, cabal, incendiary, froth, parley, fractiousness, nullify, repair (as in "to repair" to something), hierarchy, immutable, litigious, reactionary, subsume (subsumation, Subsumist)

Timeline

- ❖ 1803: Northern Confederacy
- ❖ 1812: Massachusetts Secedes
- ❖ 1814: Hartford Convention
- ❖ 1815: Treaty at Ghent

- ❖ 1820: Missouri Compromise
- ❖ 1832: Nullification Crisis
- ❖ 1844: Dissolution Bill
- ❖ 1848: Revolutionary Debates
- ❖ 1850: Great Compromise
- ❖ 1852: Kansas Nullification
- ❖ 1856: Pottawatomie Massacre
- ❖ 1856: Preston Brooks caned Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate.
- ❖ 1857: Worcester Disunion
- ❖ 1859: John Brown's Raid on Harpers Ferry
- ❖ 1860: Vermont Treaty Call
- ❖ 1861: Tyler Peace Parley



Fire-breathers: Ideologues and Provocateurs

Difficult situations are invariably complicated by difficult people. The American Civil War might well have been averted if cooler heads had prevailed. Instead, the fire-breathers on each side so aggravated tensions that calamitous war became the only possibility.
~ Martin St. James

Today, we are going to continue our exploration of the early days leading up to the Civil War, and we're going to look today at those who really fomented the war. A couple of things to look for as we wrestle with this topic — I want you to notice how many of the major players leading up to the war came from two states, Massachusetts and South Carolina. Almost nobody in the United States wanted the Civil War except almost everybody in leadership in those two states.

The second thing I want you to notice is how difficult people can make difficult circumstances a lot more difficult, when you have complicated problems, and as we saw last time, the issue of chattel slavery was a complex issue. It wasn't what caused the Civil War, but it's what made the Civil War far more intractable than it would've been otherwise. But when you have a complex problem like that, it requires strategic, determined, enduring, principled, and virtuous leaders to resolve them. When you don't have that, a complex problem becomes far more difficult than it would necessarily need to be otherwise. That's something that we'll notice as we look at the fire-breathers.

Historian Martin St. James has said, "Difficult situations are invariably complicated by difficult people. The American Civil War might well have been averted if cooler heads had prevailed. Instead, the fire-breathers on each side so aggravated tensions that calamitous war became the only possibility."

31 March

❖ *Opening day for Major League Baseball®.*

Today is March 31, and it is opening day for Major League Baseball®. This is really important — really, really important. In fact, I think someday people are going to know more about the 2011 baseball season than they will about the NATO-led, pseudo-, quasi-war against Libya. But that's just me.

❖ *1976: The courts ruled that Karen Anne Quinlan could be removed from life support.*

Also on this day, March 31, 1976, the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that a patient in a care facility, then in a coma, Karen Ann Quinlan could be disconnected from her respirator. This created a nationwide debate about medical care, euthanasia, mercy killing, etc. The assumption was that Karen Ann Quinlan was artificially supported. Her life would certainly end immediately, and that it would be mercy to disconnect her from all artificial support. When she was disconnected from her respirator, she did not die. She lived another nine years, thus demonstrating that the best that medical science can do often underestimates the character and nature of life and puncturing holes in the whole euthanasia movement for years and years to come.

❖ *1925: Gutzon Borglum was authorized to sculpt a monument on the face of Mount Rushmore.*

Also on this day in 1925, an act of Congress authorized sculptor Gutzon Borglum to begin carving the likenesses of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt on the granite face of Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills of South Dakota. It was a project of monumental proportions and undertaken like no other sculpture had ever been undertaken before. And, of course, it's now a great national monument.

❖ *1889: The Eiffel Tower was officially opened in Paris.*

In 1889, on this day, despite protests by more than one hundred leading writers, composers, and artists, and despite opposition from leading politicians, the Eiffel Tower was officially opened in Paris. The famed engineer, Alexandre Gustave Eiffel, unfurled the French tricolor from atop the distinctive tower, officially marking its completion. The protestors were concerned that the architecture of the tower was not in keeping with the beauty of the city of Paris. It was called an eyesore. It was called an abomination, marring the skyline of the beautiful city. It's just a reminder that often the best experts and the loudest voices have very little insight into what the legacy of an idea, a monument, or a piece of architecture might be in the long run.

❖ *1630: John Donne died in London.*

It was in 1630, on this day, that John Donne, the English metaphysical poet and dean of St. Paul's, died in London. He had written,

[A]ny mans death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde; And therefore never
send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee....”

He's one of the best known poets of the English language, well known as both a poet of Christian inspirational and theological verse as well as for love poetry. His work is striking for its use of images.

❖ *1596: French philosopher René Descartes was born.*

In 1596, on this day, philosopher René Descartes was born in La Haye near Tours. He is known as the father of modern philosophy. He based his theory of knowledge, or epistemology, on a single maxim, the certainty of awareness of self, as expressed in his famous phrase, "*cogito ergo sum*," I think therefore I am.

❖ *1492: King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella expelled all Jews from their various dominions.*

It was on this day in 1492 that King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile issued a joint edict expelling Jews from Spanish soil, except those willing to convert immediately to Christianity. It created a wide dispersion, and it was really the beginning of the modern movement of Zionism, the return to the ancient land of Israel.

❖ *1146: Bernard of Clairvaux launched his crusade.*

And speaking of the ancient land of Israel, it was on this day in 1146 that the great poet, mystic, theologian, hymn writer, and social reformer, Bernard of Clairvaux, took up the cross and declared a war of liberation to set the captive Christians in the Christian Middle East free from the marauding armies that had swept up from the Arabian desert. Alas, the second Crusade would fail in its efforts, though it would pave the way for the reputations and the greatness of men like Richard the Lionheart. Nevertheless, the rhetoric that Bernard of Clairvaux used in raising the Crusade would resound throughout Christendom. It was during that Crusade that Clairvaux laid out his essential principles for knightly virtue, what he called the chivalric code. He said that every true Christian knight going forth to battle must not be simply bound by Augustine's standards of just war, he must simultaneously bring with him into battle the sanctification that only the gospel of Jesus Christ can bring. Thus, a virtuous knight must be trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, and kind. A true Christian knight must not only be trustworthy, helpful, friendly, courteous, and kind, he must carry with him genuine reverence for Almighty God, and it must be evidenced in all he does.

In fact, there were twelve chivalric virtues and those became the foundation of the chivalric culture and became the seedbed for chivalric literature and chivalric romances and the themes for all the troubadours. In fact, what Bernard of Clairvaux did when he launched his crusade was that he simultaneously launched a new kind of virtuous ideology. It's an interesting place for those kinds of virtues to emerge, on this day in the year 1146.

Unbending Principle

One of things that each one of these dates shares in common, except for opening day of Major League Baseball® of course, is that they represent some kind of ideological foment. They all represent, in some way, the expression of unbending principles. Unbending principles can be an incredible virtue. In order to have true and effectual courage, you have to have unbending principles, but unbending principles can also be a terrible vice, especially if those unbending principles prevent the opportunity for bridge building, peacemaking, and reconciliation. One of the things that we see in the War Between the States, the Civil War, the great conflict that wracked American liberty in the middle of the nineteenth century, was a great impasse brought by opposing ideological principles.

Let me give you two quick examples in historical vignettes. One is portrayed here.¹ This incident occurred on May 22, 1856. This is an image of two United States senators. Standing above, Preston Brooks is caning, almost to the point of death, Senator Charles Sumner. Sumner and Brooks were on opposite sides of an ideological divide. Brooks, of South Carolina, had been offended three days earlier by a speech in which Sumner, who was one of the most articulate orators in all of the United



States Senate, the esteemed senior senator from Massachusetts, excoriated Brooks' cousin, the senior senator from the state of South Carolina, Andrew Pickens Butler. Butler was one of the strongest advocates for nullification and the possibility of secession. Sumner was one of the strongest abolitionists and had taken up the issue of slavery in order to drive his agenda for high tariffs and manufacturing protectionism for Northern industry. They were intractable foes, and they had sparred any number of times on the floor of the Senate. Sumner decided to make one of his great orations. In it, he decimated the character of Butler, and he used the imagery, not very carefully veiled, of Butler being a profane adulterer, having taken as his mistress the slavery system. It was a lurid, although brilliant, oration. It went far beyond the bounds of propriety for speeches in the Senate, as was acknowledged even by many of the Massachusetts senator's own friends and allies. It was crude, but effective.

Butler was not present; however Brooks was. He took umbrage at the way his cousin, his senior senator, friend, and mentor had been taken to task by the petulant, impudent Sumner. So, three days later, with a friend of his standing guard with a pistol to hold off any would-be rescuers, he attacked Sumner at his desk in the Senate chambers, literally caning him to the ground, to within an inch of his life. Sumner would not return to the Senate for two years, convalescing at home and trying to overcome his fears of ever stepping outside again, he was so traumatized. The nation was outraged. Well, most of the nation was outraged. Massachusetts was inflamed, and South Carolina was proud.

It was a perfect example of the two ideological camps. Paul Johnson says in his history, *Civil War America*, that this incident perfectly portrays all the weaknesses of the North and the South — the South ready to spring into action and impetuously strike out, and the North smugly and profanely slandering the institutions of the South without principle and without care.

A second incident — this occurred just a year later. It was in the midst of the conflict over the new territory that has been carved out for a new state called Kansas. Because of, first, the Missouri Compromise, and later, the Compromise of 1850, the territories of Kansas and Nebraska could vote to determine whether or not they would be free states or slave states. The issue was to be open to a free vote of the settlers in the states. Upon the an-

¹ *Southern Chivalry – Argument versus Club* (1856), lithograph by John L. Magee (image is in the public domain).

nouncement of territorial distribution, partisans from both the North, mostly from Massachusetts, and the South, mostly from South Carolina, flooded into the territory through Missouri to stake out claims and to make a political point. Invariably, the free settlements and the slave settlements in the new territory came to a clash of arms, became violent almost overnight. In fact, so violent that, in the rest of United States, the territory was known as Bleeding Kansas.

There was a farmer, born in Connecticut and lived for a time in Ohio, for a little while in New York, a man with twenty sons, by the name of John Brown. He decided to take up the cause of the free settlements. Some twenty years earlier, with his father, he had heard some inflammatory abolitionist rhetoric at the Oberlin Institute,² which was a liberal New York state college designed to foment radical reform. It was at the leading edge of the temperance movement, the women's rights movement, and the abolitionist movement. It was Unitarian, even though Charles Finney had a great deal to do with the establishment of Oberlin. It was the center for radical, liberal thought. Brown and his father had heard a flaming, fire-breathing, abolitionist talk and immediately took up the cause of radical abolitionism. What I mean by *radical abolitionism* can be summarized in the statement that Brown made that day in 1837 after hearing the speech. He said, "I will forever commit my life to the violent overthrow of any institution that perpetuates slavery in any form. I will commit myself to raise an army, to become a martyr, if need be, for this cause." That's a long, long way from the attitude that William Wilberforce had when he made his resolution to commit his life to end the blight of slavery in the world. So, Brown went off to Bleeding Kansas with several of his sons.

Ideologues and Provocateurs

In 1856, just a few months after the caning in the Senate chambers, Brown participated in a pitched battle between Free Soilers and slave settlement supporters. It was a battle in which fourteen people lost their lives. He began to round up a small army of dedicated revolutionaries, and on August 30, 1856, following the pitched battle, swept into the little slave settlement of Pottawatomie, Kansas, and massacred a number of men, women, and children in that settlement. He was heralded in Massachusetts as a great hero — courageous, a military strategist, someone who could be relied on for the coming revolution. By this time, the ideas of radical socialism, which had been brought over from the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe — Poland, and the various German states, and France — had begun to filter into the United States.

² Oberlin Collegiate Institute is currently known as Oberlin College. *Ed.*

The Abolitionist Secret Six

- ❖ *Thomas Higginson (1823–1911)*
- ❖ *Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–1876)*
- ❖ *Theodore Parker (1810–1860)*
- ❖ *Franklin Sanborn (1831–1917)*
- ❖ *Gerrit Smith (1797–1874)*
- ❖ *George Luther Stearns (1809–1867)*

A number of radical abolitionists had taken up the manifesto of Marx and Engels, published in 1848, as their own operating agenda, and John Brown seemed to be the perfect general to support their cause. So, a group of northern financiers, most of them from Massachusetts, secretly funded the new army of John Brown, developed a strategy at a convention to raid a federal arsenal and then to distribute weapons to foment a slave revolt in the South and either destroy the South or liberate the South militarily, one way or another.

In July 3, 1859, John Brown began the process of implementing the plan. The plan called for a liberation army of four thousand five hundred men. The financiers from the North, known as the Secret Six because they did not want their names to be revealed because everything that they were doing was illegal of course, had funded plans for an army of four thousand five hundred.

But by July 3, 1859, when Brown decided to implement the plan, he didn't quite have all four thousand five hundred men under his command. In fact, he only had twenty-one men. But he decided to execute the plan anyway. Taking eighteen of the men, he launched a raid on Harpers Ferry, in Virginia, to attack the federal arsenal and seize its store of weapons. There was only one watchman guarding the arsenal, so the eighteen men were able to take the arsenal quickly and easily. Shortly thereafter, they took over the whole town of Harpers Ferry, including the railroad station and the ferry depot. They even took a number of captives, including the grandson of George Washington, and held them in the arsenal. The plan was take the weapons in the arsenal and distribute them to local slaves. So they sent out word to all the neighboring farms that all the slaves were now free, and they should come and retrieve their weapons.

As far as we can tell, none of them did. Meanwhile, local militia, comprised of nearby farmers, seized the bridge, the only land escape from Harpers Ferry and sent word, first to Baltimore and then to Washington, for help. Robert E. Lee, then a colonel in the U.S. Army, was dispatched with a small troop in order to recover the federal arsenal, which he was able to do in short order. Eleven of John Brown's men were killed, including one of his sons. But John Brown was captured and sat in jail there at Harpers Ferry's armory for a month before he was executed for treason. He was hailed as a martyr for the cause.

The Great Impasse

Now these two incidents reveal the level of ideological fervor that gripped the land prior to the War Between the States. If those were the only two incidents, even then war might have been averted.

The nation's leadership was essentially divided into three broad camps: the Union Subsumists, the Nullifiers, and the Political Opportunists. In many ways, these three camps can still be seen in American politics today.

Union Subsumists

❖ *Thaddeus Stevens (1792–1868)*

The Union Subsumists were what we might today call the liberals. They had a socialist economic agenda. In textbooks, they're sometimes called the abolitionists, although slavery was not their primary issue. Sometimes, they're called unionists, sometimes nationalists. In a few textbooks, they're even called socialists, national socialists, or mercantilists. They were led by men like Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who was one of the leaders of what later became the radical Republicans, a leading voice in the House of Representatives for the crushing of Southern dominance in the courts, in Washington, and in American culture.

❖ *Charles Sumner (1811–1874)*

There was Charles Sumner who, before he was caned on the House floor and then afterwards during the Civil War itself and then on into Reconstruction, led the United States Senate in imposing the agenda of the radical Republicans.

❖ *William Henry Seward (1801–1872)*

There was William Henry Seward of New York, who was at one time governor of New York. He sat in the Senate for a number of years and was Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of State. Because of differences with Lincoln, he ran against Lincoln in the presidential campaign of 1864. But Seward, who is best known today for his purchase of Alaska, Seward's Folly, through a treaty arrangement with imperial Russia, was likewise one of the radical Republicans. If Abraham Lincoln's genius can be seen in anything, it was in his ability to corral the competing agendas and the radical diversity of his Cabinet, his Senate, and his House into anything like a coherent government. That is particularly seen by the fact that his Secretary of State, William Henry Seward, was his most intractable ideological enemy.

❖ *Horace Greeley (1811–1872)*

Another of the Subsumists was Horace Greeley, perhaps the most gifted editor and journalist working in America in the middle of the nineteenth century. He was the editor of the *New York Tribune*, and he turned the *Tribune* into the mouthpiece for all of the radical reform movements. He promoted the great Revolutions of 1848 that would attempt, but fail, to overthrow all the monarchies of Europe and usher in a Marxist or socialist plan for nationalization. He was a great promoter of William Lloyd Garrison and the abolitionist movement. It was Horace Greeley who first brought Frederick Douglass to national attention. It was Horace Greeley who fomented the Union Subsumists with news story after news story and editorial after editorial, inflaming the fire-breathers and polarizing the nation. He was brilliant, articulate, and meticulous in his strategy. He was, as Abraham Lincoln once said, "the puppet master of the revolutionaries".³

³ From the Lincoln biography in the *American Statesman Series*, by John T. Morse. The series was published right before the end of the nineteenth century and remains one of the finest collections of biographies ever produced. GG

Nullifiers

Matching the Union Subsumists were those the Union Subsumists called the rebels. They were what we might call today the radical conservatives. Abraham Lincoln called them the “Again’ers.” They’re again’ everything — against anything and everything. No matter what the proposal was, they were against it. Lincoln once asked several of the nullificationists, the nullifiers, “So what is it that you are *for*?” Quite brilliantly Jefferson Davis answered, “We’re for nothin’. We’re against everything.”

❖ *Jefferson Davis (1808-1889)*

Jefferson Davis, of course, was a senator from the state of Mississippi. He was the quintessential southern gentleman — tall, erect, and handsome with impeccable manners. Davis was not a brilliant intellect, but he was carefully taught, carefully bred, widely read, and therefore a real bastion of those conservative values. He believed that the headlong rush of the North towards Modernity was a disastrous attempt to wrench the great experiment in liberty of the United States into a disastrous collision with the undermining principles of Marxism and socialism from Europe. He was a former Secretary of War. He was a former army officer, so he had a widespread understanding of military strategy. He plotted his political course like he was a general.

❖ *Andrew Pickens Butler (1796-1857)*

There was Andrew Pickens Butler, the senior senator from South Carolina, who, like Charles Sumner, was a great orator, and he had a biting sense of humor. He used sarcasm and dripping, almost saccharined illusions to medieval and classical literature to skewer his northern opponents. He, too, was the classic southern gentleman, but he had much more of a barb, much more of a sting.

❖ *Preston Smith Brooks (1819-1857)*

And then, of course, Preston Smith Brooks, who is best known today for the fact that he carried a cane into the Senate chamber and beat within an inch of his life one of his fellow senators, but who was likewise a careful scholar, a brilliant rhetorician, and a hardened conservative, committed to standing against anything the modernists from the North might try and impose.

Political Opportunists

The thing is that almost every conflict in every era in American history and beyond, throughout all of history, has its hard-core liberals and its hard-core conservatives — the ideologues. They are not the ones who determine the course of events.

Teddy Roosevelt once said, “If I take my cues from the established interests on either side of the aisle, I will be the consummate coward.” The real difficulty in American life was that there were no substantial leaders who tried to bring the two warring sides together in any substantial parley, to wrestle through the difficult issues and persist in finding ways to bridge the gaps. There was no Wilberforce. Instead, we had successive presidents like Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan. These men rarely figure into discussions about the causes of the Civil War, but the reality is that brother was pitched in battle against brother largely because these men were known as doughfaces by their political opponents, what we might today call political opportunists. They failed to stand for principle, failed to wrestle through the problems, failed to do anything but skate through their careers accumulating to themselves whatever it was that they desired.

❖ *Millard Fillmore (1800-1874)*

Millard Fillmore became president, in 1850, upon the death of Zachary Taylor. He was Taylor's vice president. He served for three years. His greatest monument in Washington is the Millard Fillmore Memorial Bathtub Stopper. He introduced bathtub stoppers to the White House.

❖ *Franklin Pierce (1804-1869)*

Franklin Pierce, who, like Fillmore who was from New York, was a Northerner from New Hampshire and was welcomed by the South despite the fact that he was from New Hampshire, because they knew that he was a doughface. Literally, he had baker's dough over his face and could be shaped into anything that the wily and the cunning desired to make him. He wore a mask of self-importance and self-gratification. It's probably not altogether fair, but Franklin Pierce was an appeaser rather than a problem solver.

❖ *James Buchanan (1791-1868)*

James Buchanan from Pennsylvania, likewise, did very little during his time in the White House to solve what was quickly becoming a national crisis. With Bleeding Kansas literally erupting into flames, the White House said and did almost nothing.

❖ *Stephen Douglas (1813-1861)*

Stephen Douglas, a great opponent of Abraham Lincoln in the senatorial debates of 1858, was, likewise, someone who desired to somehow appease all parties. In 1860, he was a presidential candidate standing against Lincoln. Lincoln properly observed that Douglas' platform was, "whatever anyone wants".

The political opportunists, in a sense, were as Civil War historian Clarence Carson called them, "the Neros who fiddled while Americans burned".

Ideologues and Provocateurs

These politicians were prominent on the national stage, but standing behind the scenes of these men were the ideologues and the provocateurs who inflamed all the more the passions of the nation, deliberately stirring things up.

The Abolitionist Secret Six

There were the Secret Six, radical abolitionists, most of them from Massachusetts, who were universally committed to the ideas and ideals of the transcendentalists. In their youth, they had drunk deeply from the Romantic poets and had come to believe that the crusades of Byron, Shelley, and Keats ought to become the crusades of the United States. They were part of a tight circle of friends that included Emerson, Thoreau, the Alcotts, Julia Ward Howe, William Lloyd Garrison, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriett Beecher Stowe, Lyman Beecher, Emily Dickinson, and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

❖ *Thomas Higginson (1823-1911)*

Thomas Higginson, for instance, was a Unitarian minister educated at Harvard, born and bred as a Boston Brahmin in Massachusetts. When the idea of funding a secret revolutionary army under the leadership of Pot-

tawatomie Brown, John Brown, came up, he gathered together all his friends and with all of the fervor of an Old Testament prophet declared that, in the name of the Jesus (that he didn't believe in), it was necessary for them to take up the cause and lead the revolt and usher in a proletarian revolution to overthrow the bastions of capitalistic tyranny.

❖ *Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–1876)*

Samuel Gridley Howe was a physician, also from Massachusetts, educated at Brown. As a young man and a young physician, he had gone off, following in the footsteps of his hero, Lord Byron, to take part in first the Greek Revolution and later the Polish Revolution. He came back and began practicing medicine in Boston, caring largely for the blind and those with congenital sight problems. He was an easy mark for Higginson, likewise a Unitarian, transcendentalist believer in the cause of nationalistic revolution, and he pledged his money and his life to raise the army.

❖ *Theodore Parker (1810–1860)*

Theodore Parker was another leading transcendentalist and Unitarian minister from Massachusetts. He is widely credited as one of the great orators of abolitionism and a great influence on Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King, Jr., in terms of their oratorical style. It is said that Abraham Lincoln studied the style of Parker, and many generations later, Martin Luther King, Jr., likewise, studied that style for the effectual delivery of ideological ideas.

❖ *Franklin Sanborn (1831–1917)*

Franklin Sanborn was a transcendentalist and a social reformer. He was the guy who first came up with the idea of transforming college liberal arts departments into social sciences departments. He believed in rationalism above all else and that science would be the leading mark of the future. He was also from Massachusetts.

❖ *Gerrit Smith (1797–1874)*

Fledgling politician Gerrit Smith was an oddball in that he wasn't from Massachusetts; he was from New York. He launched five different political parties at various times during his career. He was a strong advocate of what were called the Liberal Republicans. He was one of the founders of the Free Soil Party. He was at one time affiliated with the Know-Nothing Party, but he had inherited a great deal of wealth and was concerned to foment the revolution.

❖ *George Luther Stearns (1809–1867)*

George Luther Stearns, of Massachusetts, was probably the only one of the Secret Six who made the money he had. He was an industrialist. He began with the shipping industry and went into the lead pipe manufacturing industry, thus poisoning the drinking water of half of nineteenth-century America. He made a fortune doing that and plowed much of that fortune into raising John Brown's four thousand five hundred-man army that was only twenty-one men and failed in his raid on Harpers Ferry.

Interestingly, three of these men fled into Canada following the raid. Another fled to Europe. Another, Gerrit Smith, checked himself into an insane asylum in order to escape prosecution for the conspiracy to raise John Brown's army.

The Proslavery Cabal

- ❖ *James Henry Hammond (1807–1864)*
- ❖ *David Rice Atchison (1807–1886)*
- ❖ *Roger Brooke Taney (1777–1864)*

But as radical as the Secret Six were, the pro-slavery cabal were just as radical. It included James Henry Hammond, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, David Rice Atchison, a senator from the new state of Missouri, and Roger Brooke Taney, who was from Maryland, had served in Andrew Jackson's administration as attorney general and was appointed to the Supreme Court, rising to the place of the fifth Supreme Court Chief Justice, where he wrote the finding in the Dred Scott Decision of 1857, which essentially declared that, because the Constitution dehumanizes African slaves, they were not to be counted as anything but property.

The proslavery cabal used incendiary rhetoric and spoke of conspiracy — well, there were conspiracies, as the Secret Six demonstrate, but their idea of conspiracies was wilder and farther flung than the actual conspiracies. This is the thing about conspiracy theorists — there are real conspiracies, but conspiracy theorists rarely put their finger on the actual conspiracies. They have all kinds of correct footnotes, they just don't arrange the footnotes in a coherent fashion, and it becomes madness. The proslavery cabal descended into a kind of conspiratorial madness and frothed. It was like watching Fox News every night.

The Terrorists

- ❖ *John Brown (1800–1859)*
- ❖ *Lysander Spooner (1808–1887)*

Then, of course, there were the actual terrorists: John Brown and Lysander Spooner, who was one of the earliest of American anarchists and, though he didn't enter into terror activities himself, constantly encouraged them and drove them forward.

The Threat of Secession

Not surprisingly, in the midst of all of this controversy, there were constant threats of secession.

- ❖ *1803: Northern Confederacy*

Early on, most of the threats of secession came from the North, from Massachusetts. In 1803, Massachusetts tried to cobble together a Northern Confederacy to secede from the Union because of Thomas Jefferson's acquisition of the Louisiana Territory.

- ❖ *1812: Massachusetts Secedes*

In 1812, the Massachusetts State House actually passed a decree of secession in opposition to the War of 1812.

❖ *1814: Hartford Convention*

In 1814, while the War of 1812 was still raging, a number of New England states gathered together under the leadership of Massachusetts to call for a separate Northern Confederacy, a new nation.

❖ *1815: Treaty at Ghent*

But that Christmas, the Treaty of Ghent was signed. The war ended and the need for separation was gone.

❖ *1820: Missouri Compromise*

In 1820, with the Missouri Compromise, there were numerous propositions and even pieces of legislation calling for secession — all from either South Carolina or Massachusetts.

❖ *1832: Nullification Crisis*

In 1832 the nullification crisis with Andrew Jackson brought calls for secession from South Carolina.

❖ *1844: Dissolution Bill*

In 1844, the Dissolution Bill passed South Carolina, dissolving the relationship between South Carolina and the rest of the United States.

❖ *1848: Revolutionary Debates*

In the United States House in 1848 and 1849, there were debates about whether or not the United States should enter in and supply rebels during the Revolutions of 1848. One of the most articulate of all the advocates of support for the Marxist revolutionaries in Europe was a young congressman from Illinois by the name of Abraham Lincoln.

❖ *1850: Great Compromise*

❖ *1852: Kansas Nullification*

In 1850, the Great Compromise almost brought about the secession of Massachusetts and South Carolina again. And then came the Kansas Nullification Act, after Kansas had voted to become a slave state. The governor imposed a nullification decree making Kansas a free state, at which point the Southerners were ready to go to war.

❖ *1856: Pottawatomie Massacre*

In 1856, the massacre that John Brown had participated in.

❖ *1857: Worcester Disunion*

In 1857, the Worcester⁴ Convention called for the dissolution of the Union led by the abolitionists in the North.

⁴ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant pronounced this “wor-ches-ter,” but any native of Massachusetts will tell you that it’s properly pronounced, “whis-ter”. The Massachusetts accent is nonrhotic, meaning that r’s are dropped at the end of syllables before other consonants and the ce acts simply as another /s/ before the st. Ed. (born and partially raised in Massachusetts)

❖ *1860: Vermont Treaty Call*

In 1860, Vermont passed through their unicameral legislature a treaty recall which the governor never signed, but which would've abolished the relationship between the free Republic of Vermont and the rest of the United States, threatening secession.

❖ *1861: Tyler Peace Parley*

And then, of course, in 1861 when former President Tyler gathered together a peace parley, all sides were calling for the dissolution of the Union. Secession wasn't just an idea that cropped up because of the election of Abraham Lincoln. It was a part of the political vocabulary and the fractiousness between North and South from the beginning.

Change: From Pillar to Post

This idea illustrates perfectly what happens when the extremes control the debate in any issue.

Revolutionary Heresy of the One	Reformational Cultural Balance	Reactionary Heresy of the Many
Progressive Authority	Objective Authority	Traditional Authority
Informal Hierarchy	Personal Hierarchy	Formal Hierarchy
Pragmatic Ethics	Immutable Ethics	Inherited Ethics
Litigious Justice	Mediatory Justice	Conservative Justice
Ideological Continuity	Covenantal Continuity	Generational Continuity

Revolutionaries are invariably committed to the heresy of the one. Reactionaries are invariably committed to the heresy of the many. Christianity proposes, in its Trinitarian theology, this remarkable idea of the one *and* the many. It's not just individuals or a single, unified state. In other words, it's not necessary for union subsumation in order to achieve change — heresy of the one — or the heresy of the many — radical diversity to the point of total fractiousness. The heresy of the many emphasizes on the whole wide range of diversity, over and against any concern about unity — nullificationists, nullifiers.

Christianity proposes a merging of the one and the many. Reformation is rooted in neither reaction nor revolution. In a reformational model, you've got objective authority. It's not progressive authority, change for change's sake, or traditional authority — *we've always done it this way* — there is a standard for authority to which every principle can repair.

There is, in reformational theology, a kind of cultural balance where there is personal hierarchy based upon relationship, based on covenant, not an informal hierarchy of the elites or a formal, inherited hierarchy of the great families. It's not just the white coat elites, as you have in the Left, or the esteemed families as you have on the

Right. You have covenantal hierarchy based upon merit and achievement and right. In the reformational model for change, there are immutable ethics. Standards of what's right and wrong do not change depending on the hour or the year or the century.

For the Revolutionary, ethics is a moving target — whatever works. For the Reactionary, ethics is rooted in what Mama said, Daddy said, Granddaddy said. Reformational justice is *mediatori*, it mediates between factions. Justice, for the Revolutionary, is always litigious. It's always prosecuting a manipulated test case. Whereas, reactionary justice is always rooted in the precedence of the past.

Reformational change is rooted in covenantal continuity, passed on by discipleship and mentoring. It's relational, whereas for the Revolutionary, continuity is always ideological, rooted in certain perceived, systemic, mechanical means. For the Reactionary, it's just passed on through the family, generational.

When a great crisis arises in a culture and the only options presented are the options of the Left and of the Right, disaster is inevitable, conflict is unavoidable, and bloodshed becomes the inheritance of us all. Real, substantive change can only take place in that improbable, unpopular, and difficult long obedience in the same direction called reformational change — the Trinitarian balance between the one and the many.

If we'd had a Wilberforce, if we'd had a Shaftesbury,⁵ there may never have been a Civil War. The great lesson for us is that intractable conflicts are the currency of cultures. Successful cultures are those that find a way forward. Unsuccessful cultures are those that divide in an effort to conquer.

We'd better learn this lesson. We'd *better* learn this lesson.



Father, we're grateful for the fact that we still have the opportunity in this day to bring real and substantive change to our land, to our culture, for the people that we care for and love. Oh, God, give us the courage to bring real reformation, substantive change, Trinitarian change in the fallen world. For we pray it in Jesus' name. Amen.

⁵ Anthony Ashley Cooper, Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (1801–1885) was a British MP involved in factory and mine reform. He was also chairman of the Ragged Schools Union. There is more about him in King's Meadow's *Moderernity*. Ed.

Lesson 37

A House Divided: Secession

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, *Monster Cities: Chicago and New York; The urban Rich and Poor*
 Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 472–485

Lesson Synopsis

The war was not fought primarily over the issue of slavery. Many of the generals and political leaders in the North and several of the Union states that fought in the war were slave states and slave owners, whereas most of the leadership of the South was anti-slavery and did not have ties to the institution. It was a much more complex issue than is generally portrayed. Last time, we looked at the complexities of the political debate and those characters in American politics that actually exacerbated the conflict. Today we're going to look at the quick build up towards secession, but particularly we're going to look at the philosophical and religious roots of the conflict.

Opportunity

17

Lesson Topics

The secession of the Southern states.

Primary Source Material

1858 Senate speeches of Jefferson Davis, the Davis Resolutions of 1859

Vocabulary

detestation, reapportionment, dapper, hardscrabble, animus, overweening, ostensible, acquisition, convene, provocation, decimation, rescind, purblind, hermeneutics

Timeline

- ❖ 1860, November: Abraham Lincoln was elected with a plurality of votes, not a majority.
- ❖ 1860: South Carolina seceded.
- ❖ 1861, January 11: Ft. Sumter fired upon
- ❖ 1861, January-February: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas seceded.
- ❖ 1861, March: Missouri voted to secede, but was stopped by federal troops.
- ❖ 1861, April: Virginia seceded.
- ❖ 1861, May: Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina seceded.
- ❖ 1861, May: Maryland voted to secede, but was stopped by federal troops.
- ❖ 1861, June: Fifty counties seceded from Virginia and petitioned to be joined to the Union as West Virginia.

- ❖ 1861, June: Lincoln suspended habeas corpus.

A House Divided: Secession

The Civil War was not only the most characteristic event in American history, it was the most characteristic religious event because both sides were filled with moral righteousness for their own cause and moral detestation for the attitudes of their opponents.

~ Paul Johnson

Our lecture today is really about the beginning of the great trouble, the War Between the States, the Civil War, the time of secession. Over the last week we've sort of been building up to the conflict itself. I will tell you that a week from today, on Tuesday, we will not have a regular lecture. Instead we have a Civil War re-enactor who will be coming in uniform, and he will be explaining to you in character the ordinary life of a Civil War soldier. He is coming to us from Ohio, but he is originally from Georgia, so it's okay, he's bipartisan. He is from both sides of the line. He'll be here on Tuesday. We'll talk a little bit about what it was really like in this great war of brother against brother.¹

Today, we are going to continue toward our understanding of why this conflict happened. We've talked about chattel slavery and the great divide that it created along with the political complexity of that issue. In fact, the war was not fought primarily on the basis of slavery. Many of the generals and political leaders in the North and several of the Union states that fought in the war were actually slave states and slave owners, whereas most of the leadership of the South was anti-slavery and did not have ties to the institution. As we saw last Tuesday, it was a much more complex issue than is generally portrayed. Last time, we looked at the complexities of the political debate and those characters in American politics that actually exacerbated the conflict.

Today, we are going to look at the quick build up towards secession, but particularly we're going to look at the philosophical and religious roots of the conflict.

As Paul Johnson has said, "The Civil War was not only the most characteristic event in American history, it was the most characteristic religious event because both sides were filled with moral righteousness for their own cause and moral detestation for the attitudes of their opponents."

5 April

- ❖ 1614: Matoaka, an Algonquin Princess, married an English colonist in Jamestown, Avis McJohn Rolfe.

Today is April the fifth, and it was on this day in 1614 that the young woman who was an Algonquin princess, Matoaka, married the English colonist Avis McJohn Rolfe. If you read the history books, you will rarely come across her actual name. In English textbooks, she is typically known as Rebecca Rolfe, her married name and her baptismal name, but American textbooks almost exclusively call her Pocahontas, and the reason is that the

¹ The video of the guest speaker, Jeff Sanders, has been included as a bonus lecture. *Ed.*

Algonquin word for *princess* was *Pocahontas*, but that wasn't her name, that was her title. The brides' two brothers and an uncle stood for her. The marriage was initiated by a long season of friendly relations between the Indians and the new English colonists in Jamestown. The story behind the marriage is rather complicated by legend and lore, but this much we know. Matoaka came to faith in Christ within weeks after the establishment of the Jamestown settlement, and she and her family formed fast friendships with the settlers and were quickly woven into the community. John Rolfe, as he is most often named, fell in love with the princess, and the rest is a fairy tale. It actually ends in England as the Algonquin princess was received at court in England as genuine royalty.

❖ *1621: The Mayflower returned to England from Plymouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.*

It was on this day in 1621 that the Mayflower sailed back to England from Plymouth, Massachusetts. It was the return trip following the bitter winter of 1620 and 1621.

❖ *1649: Elihu Yale, the English philanthropist for whom Yale University would be named, was born.*

It was on this day in 1649 that Elihu Yale, the English philanthropist for whom Yale University is named, was born.

❖ *1792: George Washington cast the first presidential veto, thereby nullifying a congressional reapportionment scheme.*

It was on this day in 1792 that George Washington cast the first presidential veto rejecting a congressional plan for reapportionment of the various congressional districts and representation among the states.

❖ *1856: Booker T. Washington was born into slavery.*

But for our purposes perhaps the most significant thing that happened on this day occurred in the year 1856.

That's when Booker T. Washington was born into slavery. Perhaps the most remarkable sight when you go to the campus of Tuskegee University in southern Alabama is the Booker T. Washington monument. It sits right in the center of the campus. Upon a grand classical pedestal stands this really marvelous bronze statue sculpted by Charles Keck in 1922. Washington himself is portrayed stately, dignified, venerable, standing with his eyes set on the horizon. One hand is extended toward the future. With the other hand, he is resolutely pulling back a veil, presumably the smothering cloak of Strabo,² from the brow of a young man seated at his side. The young man is obviously poor. He is only half clothed, in stark contrast to the dapper presence of Washington, and he is sitting on the symbols of labor: an anvil and a plow. But he, too, is gazing off into the distance of the future while he grasps a massive academic textbook upon his knee. The inscription beneath this arresting image asserts, "He lifted the veil of ignorance from his people and pointed the way to progress through education and industry."

And it's superscribed Micah 6:8. "He has shown you, O man, what is good and what the Lord requires of you, but to do justice, and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God."

² Strabo was a geographer, mathematician, and philosopher from the time of Cæsar and Augustus. Based upon his wide travels and adventures as well as his encyclopedic reading, he compiled a remarkable text of world geography that remains one of the most influential works from Antiquity. One of the peculiarities of the book is that he compares the habitable earth to a military cloak. Throughout the age of Christendom then, the phrase *the cloak of Strabo* came to mean either the full reach of man's knowledge or the shroud of his ultimate limits. It is a phrase often invoked — by Peter Lombard, Jan Hus, Jan Comenius, William Occam, and John Milton just to name a few. So, it eventually made its way into the poetic and artistic canon of iconic leitmotifs. GG

It's a perfect monument and tribute to the man. While his life, the long and difficult journey up from the obscurity of slavery to the heights of national influence and renown, is a remarkable testimony of individual achievement and personal sacrifice, the greatest legacy of Booker T. Washington was not what he accomplished himself, as great as it was. It's what he helped hundreds of others accomplish; both African Americans and the Anglo-Saxon neighbors of Tuskegee could testify of his remarkable impact.

He was born in 1856 into slavery. His eight years of slavery were nothing more than a hardscrabble existence, but the next eight years were just as hardscrabble, as former slaves tried to figure out how to make their way in the world without the patronage of masters. It was not an easy thing. Nevertheless, this young man proved himself to be remarkably diligent, and at the age of sixteen, he gained admittance to the Hampton Institute, one of the first schools established for former slaves. Though he worked full time as a janitor in order to pay for his tuition, he graduated with honors in three years with a triple major. Upon graduation, he returned to his family and taught in the local grammar school, but before eighteen months had expired, his mentor back at Hampton beckoned him to return to the institution where he became an instructor and an assistant to the president. Shortly afterwards the state of Alabama contacted the school about the possibility of establishing a similar college there in Alabama. Washington was recommended for the job. Thus on July 4, 1881, at the age of twenty-five, Booker T. Washington founded the Tuskegee Institute. The obstacles facing him were enormous. There was no money, no faculty, no campus, no land, and no student body. The only books that he had were the books that he had been able to collect himself over the previous ten years. There was actually nothing but the resolution of the state to launch a school and the determination of Booker T. Washington to raise up a whole new generation of leaders. Nevertheless by the time of his death in 1915, Tuskegee had grown to encompass a two thousand-acre campus with one hundred and seven buildings, all of them built by the students themselves from materials that the students actually created themselves, cutting down the trees and forging the hinges and making the bricks as part of their responsibility as students. There were more than fifteen hundred students and nearly two hundred faculty members. As a result of his efforts, Washington became a celebrity and the first great leader for civil rights for all Americans. It's fascinating that during his chapel services every Sunday night for the students, he reminded them again and again that the great animosity that had divided black from white and North from South was altogether obliterated in the gospel and in the gospel only, and that the gospel was the great hope for the future, not politics, not activism — as important as both politics and activism were, he was engaged in both — but he believed that it was the gospel that could bring genuine healing and the reality is that when we look at our tasks, the tasks before us resolve themselves entirely in gospel faithfulness.

The Drumbeat of War

1859

- ❖ *The Secret Six Finance John Brown*
- ❖ *Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry*
- ❖ *The Canonization of a Martyr*

During the War Between the States, the Civil War, we saw a breakdown in that process. As we saw with the fire-breathers, there was a lot of personal animus, a lot of irrational arguments that fomented tremendous amounts of anger, hostility, and a great deal of dread and overweening fear that resulted in the divide of the country. We see it right at the beginning in 1859 with John Brown and his raid on Harpers Ferry. As we saw last time, this was funded by a cabal of financiers mostly from Boston and New York. Their purpose was not so much to capture

an arsenal and distribute weapons, though that was the ostensible aim of the raid. The Secret Six were using John Brown. They thought that he was as nutty as he actually was. All they wanted was to stir up trouble.

We see this all the time, don't we? How many of us actually knew that Terry Jones burned a Koran in Gainesville the week that he did it? Almost nobody. The media pretty much ignored it. But the Al Qaeda monitors were watching carefully, and as a result it was Al Qaeda that broadcast the news, turned it into an incendiary news story in the Middle East, seeded it among often poor, excitable, and ignorant people, and as a result, lives have been lost and property destroyed weeks after the event. Now it's a news story, three weeks later. That is the way the fire-breathing process actually works. Often, it's not the issue itself, it's making an issue out of an issue that wasn't an issue, that creates disturbance. It was the canonization of John Brown as some kind of a martyr that stirred the animus of the sections against one another.

1860

❖ *Davis Resolutions Introduced*

That just played into all the fears that led up to the election of 1860. It was a polarizing time, when the fire-breathers were dividing the nation at every turn. Interestingly, the most unlikely of characters were fighting the entire time to try and hold the Union together. Jefferson Davis, as we saw, was a senator from Mississippi, who was appointed in 1853 by Franklin Pierce in the new Pierce administration to become the Secretary of War. At the end of Franklin Pierce's administration, Davis returned to the Senate and in 1858 made a series of speeches, admonishing the fire-breathers to tone down the rhetoric and to preserve the Union. He was an ardent supporter of the right of secession, but he believed that secession was foolish in this circumstance, that it could only bring devastation and destruction to both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line.

It's really interesting that in 1858, while recovering from an illness, Jefferson Davis, the senator from Mississippi made his home in Portland, Maine, where he was a part of Portland's social life. He made close and dear friends and determined that he would own a home there for the rest of his life. He loved Portland, Maine. It was there in Maine and in traveling just a little to the south to Boston, where he made some of his most anti-secessionist speeches. In fact, the next year he introduced into the Senate a whole series of resolutions called the Davis Resolutions, designed to hold off the partisan spirit that was dividing the nation. Each of the Davis Resolutions was defeated, largely by the fire-breathers in the North. They wanted none of this kind of speech.

❖ *The Polarization of the Political Parties*

That created real polarization in the political parties so that, as the campaign season began to ramp up at the end of 1859 and the beginning of 1860, all the parties found themselves fractured. The old Whig party had fallen apart four years earlier. Now the remnants of the Whig party in the North had reconstructed themselves as a new party called the National Republicans.

❖ *A Divided Electorate*

The Democratic Party, which had controlled the White House and had a majority in both the House and Senate for the previous almost twenty years, was divided over a whole series of issues, primarily financial ones — over the tariff — but there were also undercurrents of suspicion revolving around sectional and slavery issues. As a result, the Democratic National Convention divided with most of the border states and the southern states walking out. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, as well as some of the new western states, California and Oregon, walked out and decided to form their own party, the Southern Democratic Party. Unfortunately, they

divided as well from those who had once been associated with the Know-Nothings, and the Constitutionals formed a new party called the Constitutional Party.

The Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas of Illinois. The Constitutional Party nominated John Bell of Tennessee, just barely winning out over Sam Houston of Texas. The Southern Democrats nominated John Breckenridge of Kentucky, just barely beating out Daniel Dixon of New York. The National Republicans selected Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. The election was hard fought and was remarkably sectionally divided.

❖ *The Unlikely Election of Abraham Lincoln*

For instance, Abraham Lincoln won every single county in New England, whereas Abraham Lincoln did not receive one single vote, not one stinkin' person, in the entire state of South Carolina, not one. But because the anti-Lincoln vote was divided, Lincoln was able to eek out an unlikely victory. He won only thirty-nine percent of the vote. Stephen Douglas got thirty percent. John Bell got eighteen percent. John Breckenridge got twelve percent. This was the slimmest margin of victory in American history to this day. Abraham Lincoln got even less than Bill Clinton in Bill Clinton's first run, which was a marginal victory. Thus in 1860, Abraham Lincoln became president of the United States.

Reaction

❖ *Reason and Unreason*

Almost immediately the reaction was fierce throughout the whole country. There were whole sections of New York State that rioted upon the news of Lincoln's victory. Later, in 1861, when Lincoln instituted a military draft, thirty-seven blocks of New York City were burned to the ground in anti-Lincoln riots. It was not a happy time in the United States.

❖ *Secession Begins with South Carolina*

❖ *Ft. Sumter Refortified*

By December 20, the states in the South were already beginning to line up secessionist referenda in their state legislatures. South Carolina was first, voting almost unanimously to secede from the Union. In response, President Buchanan ordered that Fort Sumter, an island just outside of Charleston, South Carolina, should be re-garrisoned and re-supplied for the Feds. That greatly increased the tensions.

The Outbreak of Hostilities

1861

❖ *Reaction: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas*

By the first of January, a host of southern and border states had begun to consider the possibility of secession. Mississippi followed South Carolina on January 9. Then came Florida on January 10, Alabama on January 11, Georgia on January 19, Louisiana on January 26, and Texas on February 1. Interestingly Texas, besides Vermont, was the only state in the Union that had the unqualified right to secede from the Union because both Vermont and Texas had entered the Union as independent nations, as sovereign states. They were attached to the United States by treaty not by acquisition.

❖ *Calls for a Confederate Convention*

❖ *The Confederate Constitution*

Shortly afterwards, there was a call for a convention of these confederated states. The convention convened in Montgomery, Alabama. Jefferson Davis was elected president, and the states began the process of drafting a constitution. The constitution was almost identical to the original American Constitution. In fact, the seal of the Confederacy harkened back to those early days of the founding fathers, memorializing those great Virginia patriots and emblazoning George Washington's regal figure at the center of the seal. They believed that it was the North that was in rebellion, that the Union was the revolutionary force, and that they were simply trying to preserve the legacy of the founding fathers.

❖ *Tensions and Loyalties*

Immediately, the divisions became evident. Men were torn. Families were torn. For instance, there was a senator from Kentucky who had four sons. Two of his sons became generals for the Confederacy, and two of the sons became generals for the Union. The best diplomat that the South had had been a former American diplomat to England from Massachusetts. The best diplomat that the North had had been a former congressman from Georgia.

The nation was truly divided, and the tensions and the loyalties made the issues so incredibly complex. Most of the border states believed that the South was fully within their rights and sympathized with the South, but desired to remain with the Union. It was incredibly difficult.

The Fort Sumter Stalemate

❖ *President Buchanan's Orders*

Meanwhile back at Fort Sumter, the lame-duck president, President Buchanan, ordered that the garrison remain in place, but that it not be re-supplied, and nothing was to be done to provoke hostility with the new sovereign state of South Carolina. Essentially, Buchanan did what he almost always did: he saddled the fence and said, *For now let's just do nothing, okay? Let's just pretend that everything is okay.*

❖ *President Lincoln's Reversal*

When President Lincoln assembled his Cabinet, the first order of business was what to do with Fort Sumter. Lincoln wanted to re-supply the fort, bring it provisions, food, and replacement for spent ammunition. Every single member of Lincoln's Cabinet voted against that resolution. They believed that if they re-supplied the fort it would be a provocation to war. Several members of the Cabinet believed that it would be a just provocation to war.

For several weeks, President Lincoln wrestled with the issue but finally, the first week of April, he determined that he would push ahead. He sent orders to his military command, entirely against the counsel of his Cabinet. Immediately, the military command sent wires back to Washington essentially saying, *What?! Are you sure?* President Lincoln sent the order again. An appeal was sent from the dispatch colonel saying, *Surely, in Washington, you must understand that this will mean war.* A third time, President Lincoln sent the order.

❖ *April Peace Commission and Provisions*

❖ *Lincoln's Desperate Gamble*

Meanwhile former President Tyler had convened a series of peace talks, a parley, among a number of sympathetic congressman and senators from the North and the South, desiring to avert the possibility of genuine conflict, believing that a negotiated peace could be achieved and eventually, re-union. But before the peace parley could find substantial room for agreement, on April 12, ships entered Charleston Harbor and re-supplied Fort Sumter. Major Robert Anderson, commander of the Fort Sumter garrison, realized when he saw the ships that he needed to prepare for battle.

❖ *Beauregard's Bombardment*

❖ *Anderson's Capitulation*

General P.T. Beauregard, who was responsible for the defensive forces of the South Carolina militia, when he saw the ship enter the harbor, turned to his aide and lieutenant, John Wilson, and said, "Oh, God! Help us all. Has it truly come to this?" Beauregard and Anderson were friends. Some say that they were closest friends, best friends. Now they would be forced into battle against one another. Politics does this sometimes. It's a wretched thing. As a result, Beauregard ordered the bombardment of the fort, and the fort was forced to capitulate. Immediately, Beauregard sent supply garrisons to make sure that the men that he had just been bombarding were fed, cared for, and received whatever medical treatment they might need.

Cascading Results

North, South, and Secession

❖ *Northern States Fiercely Divided*

Almost immediately, we see great division in the border states, but the Northern states were fiercely divided as well. New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio all had strong contingents of Southern sympathizers. Delaware, Maryland, and Rhode Island, all at the heart of the former slave trading cabal, were also deeply sympathetic to the Southern cause. But with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, it seemed that President Lincoln had thrown down the gauntlet.

❖ *April: Virginia Secedes from the Union*

❖ *Decimation of the Army Officer Corps*

And so in April, Virginia seceded from the Union, and almost immediately the Union army faced a rash of resignations, including some of the most gifted and experienced military commanders under arms, including the man that President Lincoln desired to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Union Army, Robert E. Lee, of Virginia.

❖ *May: Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina Sever Federal Ties*

❖ *June: Fifty Virginia Counties Secede*

By May, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina had severed federal ties and sued to enter into the Confederacy. Meanwhile fifty Virginia counties voted to secede from Virginia, and the Union, in violation of the clear and

forthright statements in the Constitution, admitted those counties as a potential state and in time annexed that state to the Union as West Virginia. Many constitutional scholars believed this meant that Congress acknowledged the legitimacy of the secession in the first place, otherwise it wouldn't have been constitutionally permissible to have this new state created out of the seceding counties.

Border States

❖ *March: Missouri Votes to Secede*

In March, Missouri voted to secede from the Union, but President Lincoln was ready, and he sent federal troops to force them to rescind their secession order.

❖ *April: Delaware Declares Loyalty to the Union*

Taking a cue from the situation in Missouri, Delaware had a resolution to secede from the Union and join the South but was persuaded that they were too tiny and they were too surrounded to survive on their own, so they voted to stay loyal to the Union. This state would maintain the institution of slavery well beyond the Civil War. In fact there were still slaves being bought and sold in Delaware, two years after the Emancipation Proclamation.

❖ *May: Maryland Votes to Secede*

In May, Maryland voted to secede and likewise President Lincoln sent federal troops and surrounded the state house and forced a capitulation of those Southern sympathizers.

❖ *June: Lincoln Suspends Habeas Corpus*

In June, President Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus rights of all Americans, and thus was able to arrest and imprison Southern sympathizers, particularly journalists, ministers, and leading politicians through the course of the war.

❖ *September: Kentucky Divides*

In September, Kentucky divided between those sections that wished to remain loyal to the Union and those, the majority of which, determined to join the Confederacy. A similar divide would occur in the state of Tennessee.

Change: From Pillar to Post

Revolutionary Heresy of the One	Reformational Cultural Balance	Reactionary Heresy of the Many
Progressive Authority	Objective Authority	Traditional Authority
Informal Hierarchy	Personal Hierarchy	Formal Hierarchy
Pragmatic Ethics	Immutable Ethics	Inherited Ethics
Litigious Justice	Mediatory Justice	Conservative Justice

Ideological Continuity	Covenantal Continuity	Generational Continuity
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We looked at this sort of breakdown, change from pillar to post, and we'll return to this idea again and again, but you'll remember that we essentially said that the nation was divided between two heresies. A heresy of the one, amalgamating everything together under one head, and the heresy of the many, a reactionary, traditionalist approach of fierce individualism.

Roundheads and Cavaliers

Northern Culture

- ❖ *From the Puritans, Pilgrims, and Roundheads*
- ❖ *Influenced by England, Germany, and Italy*

We see that in North and South, this worldview perspective was seeded into the culture from the earliest days. Northern culture emerged from the Puritans, Pilgrims, and Roundheads. It was mostly profoundly influenced by the cultures of England but also from the cultures of Germany and Italy.

- ❖ *Alexandrian Hermeneutic*

They had an Alexandrian hermeneutic. In other words, they believed that the way to interpret events was largely allegorical. In other words, they did not have to take things literally but rather had a much more poetic approach to the interpretation of facts, events, or even constitutional decrees.

- ❖ *Federalist, Whig, and Republican Politics*
- ❖ *Industry, Finance, Science, and Trade*
- ❖ *Unitarian and Baptist*

This is where the Federalist, Whig, and Republican parties came from. Their interests were primarily industry, finance, science, and trade, rooted in the theological principles of Unitarianism and largely Teutonic Baptist influences.

Southern Culture

- ❖ *From the Scots, Celts, and Cavaliers*
- ❖ *Influenced by Scotland, France, and Spain*

The South, on the other hand, was settled largely by Scots and Celts, meaning the Scots Irish and the Irish, as well as the English Cavaliers, very distinct from the English Roundheads. Thus they were influenced most by Scotland, but also had grand affections for France and Spain. You see this sort of northern European versus southern European and Celtic difference.

- ❖ *Antiochian Hermeneutic*
- ❖ *Anti-Federalist, Tory, and Democratic Politics*
- ❖ *Agriculture, Land, History, and Legacy*
- ❖ *Methodist and Presbyterian*

Southern cultures had an Antiochian hermeneutic, meaning that they were much more literal, which is why they tended toward the politics of the Anti-Federalists, the Tories, and the Democratic Parties. They were much more interested in agriculture, land, history, and legacy, as manifested in the theologies of Methodism and Presbyterianism.

If you look at the cultural manifestation of North and South, it's easy to understand how the worldview mindset settled in, and why the divide was so stark. We'll explore this a little bit further, but here's what I want you to do. I want you to be thinking about the differences. For instance, when we talk about battles, ask yourself how the Germans would have approached a battle as opposed to Celts, Irish, and Scots. Would there be a difference? As the North and the South began to write the histories of the war, what would be the difference between say a Celtic understanding of history versus a Germanic or English Roundhead view of history?

When you start to think about how to bring the nation back together after the war is over, what would be the difference between a Scots Irish, French, or Spanish approach to re-union and an Italian, German, or English monarchist view of re-union? It makes all the difference in the world. If we view the war through worldview eyes it starts to make sense.

In fact, that's really the value of worldview. John Calvin said, "All of us are born with purblind eyes." None of us can see the way we ought to see. Everything is blurry. Calvin says that the Scriptures give us a lens to enable us to see more clearly, to see the details, to bring life into focus. If a worldview is Biblical, then essentially, as we look across the span of history with purblind eyes, we are able to see the big splotches, to make out certain features, and to be able to tell who this is, I can call him by name, but I'm not going to really be able to see him rightly until I have the lenses. That's what worldview does for us. Understanding the difference between a revolutionary and a reactionary approach to world events as opposed to a Biblical worldview of events makes all the difference in the world.



Lord, thank you for these students and for Your extraordinary grace to enable them not only to see, but to see clearly. Bless them, use them, and Lord, as we wrestle with this awful war would you cause us to see the application to our daily lives, to our daily walk. We pray all of this with thanksgiving and praise, in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 38

Brother Against Brother

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, American Science and Culture: Edison and Tiffany; Church, Bierstadt, and the Limitless Landscape

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 485–497

Lesson Synopsis

Families were torn asunder forever just like their nation. It wasn't just those who lived in the border states. The War Between the States was really a lost cause from the beginning. The population of the North outstripped the population of South four to one. During the war itself more than a million immigrants came into the North.

And some four hundred thousand of them served in the Union army.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Fort Sumter, the First Battle of Bull Run, the Battle of Shiloh, the Peninsular Campaign, the Valley Campaign, the Second Battle of Bull Run, the Battle of Antietam, the Battle of Fredericksburg, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Winfield Scott, George McClellan, the Battle of Chancellorsville, the Battle of Gettysburg, the Battle of Vicksburg, the Battle of Chickamauga, the Battle of Chattanooga, the Battle of Franklin

Primary Source Material

Maps of the battles discussed; Lincoln's first inaugural address

Vocabulary

Teutonic, porous, mettle, morale, strategist, prodigy, sterling, tumult, ostensibly

Timeline

- ❖ 1861, April: Fort Sumter was fired upon.
- ❖ 1861, July: The First Battle of Bull Run/Manassas
- ❖ 1862, March: The Peninsular Campaign started.
- ❖ 1862, March: The Valley Campaign started.
- ❖ 1862, April: The Battle of Shiloh
- ❖ 1862, August: The Second Battle of Bull Run/Manassas
- ❖ 1862, September: The Battle of Antietam
- ❖ 1862, December: The Battle of Fredericksburg
- ❖ 1863, January: The Emancipation Proclamation
- ❖ 1863, May: The Battle of Chancellorsville

- ❖ 1863, May: Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson died.
- ❖ 1863, May-July: The Battle of Vicksburg
- ❖ 1863, June-July: The Battle of Gettysburg
- ❖ 1863, September: The Battle of Chickamauga
- ❖ 1863, November: The Battle of Chattanooga

Brother Against Brother

*The bitter divide of the Civil War even split families, pitting brother against brother.
~ Paul Johnson*

We are right in the thick of the Civil War. Today, we're going to try and give a little chronology and context through the first part of the war.

14 April

- ❖ *1759: The great classical composer, George Frideric Handel, died in London.*

Today is, of course, April, 14, tax day eve, and it was on this day in 1759 that George Frideric Handel died in London, one of the most acclaimed composers of all time who about twenty-five years earlier had come to the brink of total career disaster. It looked as if his career was over. He was bankrupt, threatened with debtors' prison, but he decided to switch from writing operas, which had made his name earlier, and he began to write oratorios. The result was some of the greatest music ever composed including, of course, the great *Messiah*.

- ❖ *1828: The first edition of Noah Webster's American Dictionary was published.*

It was also on this day in the 1828 that the first edition of Noah Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language* was published in the United States. It was the first real distinction between American English and British English, and introduced all kinds of new words and idioms that became part of the American lexicon.

- ❖ *1912: The R.M.S. Titanic struck an iceberg, and before sunrise the next morning, it sank beneath the waves of the North Atlantic.*

Today is also the day that, in 1912, the RMS *Titanic* struck an iceberg. It sank the following morning before dawn. The unsinkable ship went down with the ship's band playing, "Nearer my God to Thee," and over fifteen hundred passengers and crew perishing in the icy waters of the North Atlantic.

One of the great untold stories of the *Titanic*, badly bungled and mangled in the film version of it, is the remarkable chivalry that was shown by the men on board the ship. In Washington, D.C., there's a magnificent monument that was erected originally on the Mall in Washington during the administration of President Taft. It was a memorial that was created by Mrs. Taft. She sent out a message to all the women of America asking each woman in America to donate one dollar to the monument's cause. The monument was commissioned, carved, and installed on donations of one dollar from women all across America. It was a monument to chivalry and

particularly the chivalry of the men aboard the *Titanic*. Interestingly, during the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment during the Carter administration, the monument was moved to an isolated, peculiar spot on the edge of the Potomac in a commercial area near a strip of restaurants and warehouses, where it stands to this day. You have to walk about a quarter of a mile along the edge of the Potomac just to find the thing. But it's one of the most remarkable monuments there in Washington, D.C.

❖ *1902: J.C. Penney opened his first general store.*

In 1902, on this day, J.C. Penney opened his first store in Kemmerer, Wyoming. His life credo was, "You can't out-give God." He proved it by building a multimillion dollar commercial empire while always giving away ninety percent of his personal income to Christian charitable and evangelistic work.

❖ *1865: President Abraham Lincoln was shot by actor John Wilkes Booth at Ford's Theatre.*

It was on this day in 1865 that the last real blast of the horrifically uncivil War Between the States came to a shuddering halt when President Abraham Lincoln was shot by actor John Wilkes Booth during the performance of *Our American Cousin* at Ford's theater in Washington, D.C. He died the following morning. At the same time, an accomplice of Booth's stabbed Secretary of State William Seward in his home but was fought off by Seward's son. An additional conspirator succumbed to fear and failed to strike down Vice President Andrew Johnson. It was a horrific ending to what was a horrific, calamitous war that pitted brother against brother in the United States, the War Between the States, the Civil War.

To give you an example of this calamitous pitting of brother against brother, I want to tell you the story of the McGill family. The McGills were a clan of Scots Irish immigrants who made their way into America and made good. They settled in Scottsville, Kentucky. Harlan and Thelma McGill had six children: Angus, Ian, Stuart, James, Louisa, and baby Margaret. Each of these children worked hard alongside Harlan and Thelma in building up the family estate there in Scottsville, Kentucky, just over the border from Tennessee. They worked hard and developed a prosperous little truck farm and dairy operation.

Being fiercely patriotic and loyal to their adopted homeland, they raised their children to be real patriots. Angus, Ian, and Stuart, all went off to study at West Point and entered the United States military. Angus and Ian fought together in the Mexican War and rose to, in Angus' case, a lieutenant colonel, and in Ian's case, a major in the United States Army Corps. Stuart was too young to fight in the Mexican War, but, by the time the War Between the States broke out in 1861, he was already in his third year at West Point. James was back home working at the farm; he was only fourteen in 1861, when the war broke out. Louisa had married at the age of eighteen. She married the best friend of Angus and his roommate from West Point, Walter Evans, who was from Tennessee.

So here's this family, a great patriotic family, a great success story. They came as immigrants with absolutely nothing, established themselves, worked hard, raised their family, sent them off, and saw great success. They were so proud of their accomplishments and of their family. When the war broke out, Angus and Ian were both in command of separate corps in the U.S. Army. They were deeply torn. Kentucky, which had tried to secede from the Union and join the South, ultimately was constrained from doing so by a detachment of the Army of the Potomac, which was sent to surround the state capital to prevent Kentucky from seceding from the Union. Martial law was imposed, and that created a great deal of conflict within the state itself, even rioting a time or two in towns like Louisville. There was a sense in which most people in Kentucky thought the squabble between

the North and the South would resolve itself quickly because, as the McGills often said, “We have so much. Why would we risk it all on a fight that matters so little?”

Harlan became active in local politics and was a leader in his community in trying to bring together partisans of North and South for healthy dialogue, to wrestle with the big issues, and, hopefully through communication, to hold their community together.

Meanwhile Angus and Ian had difficult decisions to make. Both were offered promotions in the Union Army and both were summoned by their friends in the Confederacy to assume positions in the hastily constructed Confederate armies of each of the Southern states. Angus and Ian got together just outside Washington, D.C., and Fredericksburg, Virginia. They sat down and talked together, they prayed together, and they wrestled over the course of some eighteen hours spanning two days, where they just fought within their souls to make a decision about what they should do.

Could they actually enter either army and fight against what they knew would be their friends. Almost every West Point class over the course of the last fifteen years was almost evenly divided, some siding with their sovereign states in the South and some siding with the sovereign states in the North, some having to flip flops sides and wrestling all the while. In the end, when they had to go back and report to their corps back in Washington, D.C., neither Angus nor Ian had firmly resolved in their minds what they would do. Before the end of 1861, Angus decided to ally himself with the South, and Ian decided to remain in the Union army. Stuart, who was still at West Point, was likewise torn. He didn't have the benefit of spending those eighteen hours of prayer, conversation, and, as Ian would later say, “obscene amounts of good coffee”. Instead, he had to resolve himself on his own. His best friend, and his roommate, had determined that, though he was from Mississippi, he could not take up arms against the Stars and the Stripes; he determined that he would stay in the Union Army. His mentor, and now his brother-in-law, Walter Evans, had likewise determined to stay with the Union. Though he was from Tennessee and married to Louisa, he simply could not imagine fighting against his beloved nation, the United States of America. But Stuart, wrestling with constitutional issues and wrestling with his own sense of Southernness, finally resolved that he would join Angus and fight for the South.

That Christmas the whole family got together on the little farm in Scottsville. With Mom and Dad and all six kids and their families — by this time, there were nine grandchildren — they prayed together and wept together. They had always been anti-slavery. They had always been American patriots. Now they found themselves pitted on opposite sides. On Christmas morning, they gathered around the tree to sing hymns, Angus in his Confederate gray and Ian in his Union blue. Stuart did not yet have a uniform, but he wore the Stars and Bars on his shoulder. As they held one another, gathered around the tree, they wept. Before the year was out, they would find themselves on opposite sides of some of the fiercest battles of the war.

In fact, already Angus and Ian had been on opposite sides at the Battle of Bull Run. It was the first great battle of the war after Fort Sumter. It was just outside Washington, D.C. The Union army, which outnumbered the Southern forces some eight to one at the beginning of the war but was poorly organized, determined in haste to end the war quickly by marching on the newly-minted capitol of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia. It was simply a matter of crossing over the river from Washington, D.C., into Virginia, marching southward, and surrounding the city. It was a fine plan except that the corps had not developed good communication techniques and the commanders were not entirely in sync, and there were still rivalries among various commanders as they

jockeyed for proper positioning within the army. There was an interesting note exchanged between Angus and Ian. Angus writing to his brother, "If this be war, it is utter foolishness, indeed."

The Union army was met almost immediately just outside the little village of Manassas. Southern resistance was immediate and fierce, catching the Union soldiers by surprise. The Union was so confident, both in their numbers and their prowess, that many of the wives and daughters, friends and socialites from Washington, D.C., had made their way out from Washington in their carriages and lined the roadway to cheer on the Union army as they passed. They planned to have a picnic above the battlefield to watch the slaughter and the destruction of the Confederate forces. Instead, Stonewall Jackson, at the time a little known colonel, earned his name. He was a stone wall. With a tiny corps of men, he was able to repulse the thrust of the Union attack, throwing the Union forces into utter disarray. As they began an orderly retreat, the corps behind them began to panic, and they started scrambling back toward Washington, D.C. Before long, it was full flight and utter chaos. As they ran past, in absolute fear, all the socialites, wives, and daughters gathered for their picnic, suddenly all the wives and daughters began to gather up their belongings and tried to crowd their carriages onto the narrow roadways back to Washington, D.C., clogging the roads, creating a terrible traffic jam — which Washington, D.C. has had ever since. A devastating defeat, both moral and military, against the vastly superior Union army went into the books, and suddenly, fear ran through the whole land. Ian and Angus were both there. They witnessed from the rear of the battlefield and later exchanged letters. "It was almost comical," Ian said, "but only almost, for I fear we are in for a long terrible tragedy." Meanwhile, young Stuart had joined the corps, and he was part of the Texas Sixth. Fourteen-year-old James snuck off from the farm one night late in the winter of 1861 just after that Christmas gathering. Before the end of January, he had linked up with the army of Tennessee, and all four brothers found themselves on the battlefield of Shiloh that summer in West Tennessee in 1862. Fortunately, three of the brothers, before the calamitous days of the final battle, had been dispatched elsewhere, but in the bloodiest days of the war up to that time, they began to realize that their family was torn asunder forever just like their nation.

In the end, Angus, Ian, Stuart, James, Walter, Louise's husband, as well as Margaret's husband, Patrick McKilligan, were all killed in the war, every one of them. Harlan and Thelma survived the death of all of their sons and both of their sons-in-law. They wrote a small account¹ of the war afterwards and described the tragedy and the horror of the destruction of their family, their hopes, and their dreams, and, they believed, the possibility of the nation to endure long in freedom and liberty.

One of the interesting side lights in all that is that Angus and Ian actually met one time on the battlefield. It was during the valley campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. Angus was under the command of General Stonewall Jackson. He was a part of that evasive strategy of Stonewall's that enabled the Southern forces to march six hundred fifty miles in forty days, zigzagging through the Shenandoah Valley, evading the North. There were only sixteen thousand men in Stonewall's corp. There were some sixty-five thousand men in the Union army. They were outnumbered more than three to one, almost four to one. Nevertheless, were able to score victory after victory after victory.

One night in a raiding party, Angus was out with five scouts and came across a small encampment of Union soldiers who were likewise scouting the lines trying to find Stonewall in the midst of this crazy zigzag through the Shenandoah Valley. Angus mobilized his five men in a triangulating formation to sweep in on the small corps of

¹ *Remembrances of the Late War*, ed. Thomas Gleason, (Charleston, SC: MacLauren Publishers, 1874).

Union soldiers. They made it in without loss of life on their side; they wound up killing two of the Union soldiers. Angus burst into one of the tents to find the commander sitting on a campaign stool with maps in front of him, and it was his brother, Ian. He had his pistol drawn and was ready to fire when he saw that it was his brother, and with trembling hand he dropped his weapon. Ian picked up his side arm, aimed it straight at his brother, and he said, "You're under arrest." His brother said, "You're surrounded." Ian laid down his weapon and said, "Story of the war." They walked away, killed on separate battlefields later the next year. Their story was told by their men ever after as one of the great tragedies of the war. Brother against brother.

The story was repeated in dozens of families. It wasn't just the McGills. It wasn't just those who lived in the border states. The War Between the States was really a lost cause from the beginning. The population of the North outstripped the population of South four to one. During the war itself more than a million immigrants came into the North. And some four hundred thousand of them served in the Union army.

The North outstripped the South in factory production ten to one. Iron, fifteen to one. Coal, thirty-eight to one. Firearms production, thirty-two to one. Wheat production, four hundred twelve to one. Corn production, two to one. Textiles, four to one. Merchant ship tonnage, twenty-five to one. Wealth, three to one. Railroad mileage, twenty-four to one. Farm acreage, three to one. Draft animals, eight to one. Livestock, five to one. The only commodity in which the South was ahead of the North was cotton. But this advantage was thrown away by overproduction in the South, stockpiling outside of the South, and the opening up of the South Indian Mills for British textile producers.

Just before the war, Senator James Henry Hammond of South Carolina boasted, "Cotton, rice, tobacco, and naval stores command the world and we have the sense to know it and are sufficiently Teutonic to carry it out successfully. The North, without us, would be a motherless calf, bleating about, and die of mange and starvation." The assumption of the leaders of the South was that the North could not manage without them. They couldn't have been more wrong.

The commanders in the South had more sense than their politicians, thankfully. Often, that's the case. As a result, the commanders of the South knew that, if they were to maintain their freedom and somehow win the war, they would have to win it quickly. Their strategy was to mobilize defenses as fast as they possibly could, utilizing speed, tactics, and surprise as often and as best as they could. They were outmanned, outgunned, and outnumbered. They would have to rely on cunning, and for the first three years of the war it appeared that the South's strategy would indeed succeed.

Southern Dominance

South Carolina seceded from the Union, just after the election on Christmas Eve, 1860. By February 7, 1861, some seven southern states had seceded and gathered together in Montgomery, Alabama, and formed the Confederacy. They would be joined by four more states, three territories, and the attempted secession of three additional states: Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, though those states were hampered from joining the Confederacy by the Union military dominance.

❖ *Fort Sumter (4/13/61) Demonstration of Resolve*

One hundred fifty years ago this past Tuesday, the conflict finally came to arms. When Fort Sumter, an arsenal and garrison in the middle of Charleston Harbor, continued to refuse to surrender to the sovereign state of South Carolina, despite constant pleas. The garrison had been supplied with fresh water and food from the Confederate forces on shore, but they refused to allow the federal navy to re-stockpile and re-arm the arsenal.

Quite frankly, President Buchanan who preceded President Lincoln in the White House was loathe to provoke the forces, and all the way through March 4, when President Lincoln was finally inaugurated, President Buchanan allowed the stalemate. He did not order Major Johnson to evacuate the island, but neither did he allow the feds to re-stockpile it. But President Lincoln remanded that order and then sent ships to re-stockpile Fort Sumter. Twice the ships were rebuffed and sent back northward. Finally, on April 12, the ships made their way through the porous Southern defenses. Fort Sumter was resupplied, and General P.T. Beauregard was given the orders to fire on the fort. The battle was brief. There was really no hope whatsoever for those on the island to withstand the barrage. They surrendered almost immediately, and the first battle in the war was over.

❖ *Bull Run (7/21/61) Panicked Union Retreat to Washington*

Virginia, seeing this as a provocation from the North, promptly seceded from the Union and joined the South, and the difficulties had really begun because Virginia, along with Massachusetts, had been the heart and soul of the founding of the nation. Virginia produced more presidents, more of the nation's great leaders. Most of the founding documents had originated in Virginia. Now Virginia had left the Union. The Battle of Bull Run, just outside Washington, D.C., produced disaster for the Union Army.

❖ *Shiloh (4/6-7/62) Costly and Embarrassing Draw*

Shiloh really lasted from April through July. The pitched battle itself, the first great pitched battle of Ulysses S. Grant, ended in a stalemate, but it was a stalemate that was costly for the South.

❖ *Peninsular Campaign (3-5/62) Eight Union Frustrations*

The South strategically won the first day of pitched battle, but Grant was able to slip past. His aim was to try to get to the Mississippi River because Winfield Scott, then the commander in chief of the Union army, had a plan. To avoid as much bloodshed as possible, his plan, which he called the Anaconda Plan, was to squeeze the South and cut them off. He would put into place a blockade across the Atlantic and much of the Gulf Coast. And then he would attempt to control the Mississippi River.

Grant was on his way to the Mississippi River, which is why he was in southwest Tennessee. If the North could control the Mississippi River in the West and cut off supplies along the Atlantic Coast and perhaps even in the Gulf Coast, they had a good chance of avoiding a pitched civil war and ending it as quickly as possible.

Winfield Scott did not want to fight the South. He knew, having commanded many of the now-commanders of the state militias and of the Confederate armies and having fought alongside them in the Mexican War, that most of the best strategists were in the South. He didn't want to fight Robert E. Lee. He didn't want to fight Johnston or Hood. He didn't want to fight Beauregard. He didn't even know about Stonewall Jackson, Nathan Bedford Forrest, and the other native military geniuses that would emerge, but he was smart enough to know that he did not want to go toe-to-toe and head-to-head with the Southern forces.

This was only reinforced during the peninsular campaign which was fought from March to May of 1862. It was the pitting of General McClellan against General Lee and revolved around some of the most historic places in the story of America — Yorktown, Williamsburg, Hampton Roads. The peninsular campaign saw the emergence of Robert E. Lee as a field commander. Lee, by the way, was never in command as commander in chief of the Southern armies until just before Appomattox. He was never *the* commander. He was simply *a* general in the Army of Virginia. But he proved his mettle. Facing odds that were staggering, three to one in manpower, he was able to exact eight frustrating victories over the Union soldiers. I say frustrating because, while he did not cripple the Union army, they simply could not accomplish any of their aims. It seemed like every time they came up with a new strategy, Lee figured it out before they could get their position on the battlefield, and Lee flanked them. Lee confronted them, cut them off.

❖ *Valley Campaign (3-6/62) Four Union Routs*

This was even more frustrating during the Valley campaign when Stonewall Jackson with his seventeen thousand men and the Union forces with sixty thousand men fought in a series of skirmishes over a course of some six hundred fifty miles over forty days, Jackson evading the Union, popping up in the oddest places, zigzagging all through the Shenandoah Valley. It exacted huge frustrations and four massive routs of the Union army.

❖ *Second Bull Run (8/29-30/62) Devastating Union Defeat*

❖ *Antietam (9/17/62) Costly and Technical*

Another battle was fought at Bull Run just outside of Manassas, Second Bull Run, resulting in a devastating Union defeat and then the awful, awful battle in Antietam that resulted in a technical draw, but it was so devastating to the Union morale, it began to dawn on many Northern politicians that there simply was not going to be an easy end to this war.

There was political unrest in the North, people were questioning whether or not this was a war worth fighting. In the midterm elections of 1862, a massive anti-war vote changed the complexion of Congress. Suddenly it looked as if the North might have met its match, despite its material and technical prowess.

❖ *Fredericksburg (12/13/62) Stunning Union Defeat*

This was only accentuated, just after the election and just before Christmas, by the stunning defeat of the Union army at Fredericksburg. This Southern dominance was largely a matter of strategy and will.

Leadership

❖ *Jefferson Davis (1808–1889)*

President Jefferson Davis, from Mississippi, had been a military commander himself. He had fought in the Mexican War. He was probably destined for a career in the military but decided to leave the military after a devastating wound to his foot that plagued him for the rest of his life. He decided that a life in politics would be easier for him than a life at war. So he was a commander in chief with real knowledge of battlefield strategy.

❖ *Robert E. Lee (1807–1870)*

Robert E. Lee was one of the most brilliant battlefield strategists; he could get more out of nothing than almost any other commander that America has ever had in the field of battle, besides perhaps General George Patton.

❖ *Thomas Jackson (1824–1863)*

Stonewall Jackson was one of those great prodigies. He was a peculiar character. He was a dynamic Christian and, like Lee, a strong anti-slavery man, who actually started, at first, an illegal Sunday school for slaves and was the founder of a number of African American churches throughout western Virginia and all the way down south to Roanoke. In fact, this great little Missionary Baptist Church in Roanoke has this beautiful stained glass window that shows Stonewall Jackson with his friends teaching them the Bible. He was a remarkable man of faith, but what was most remarkable about him was that he was a battlefield innovator. He wasn't technically precise, but he had a gut instinct for where to be and how to get there. He was so unpredictable that he just bumfuzzled Union commanders. He was one of the most feared men in all the Civil War.

Defensive War

The dominance wasn't just dependent, though, on these remarkable personalities. There was a strategic advantage that the South had as well.

❖ *Protect Hearth and Home*

First of all, it was a defensive war for them. Really the whole war, until the Battle of Fredericksburg, was fought in the South. The only great battle that was ever fought in Northern territory was the Battle of Gettysburg. The whole rest of the war was fought in the South, so Southerners were defending their hearth and home; this was their homeland. There was a much higher level of incentive for the Southerners than there was for the Northerners.

❖ *Diplomatic High Ground*

They also held a diplomatic high ground with France, Britain, Spain, and others. Foreign nations were much more sympathetic to the Southern cause than they were to the Northern cause. Part of that was because of the calamitous Revolutions of 1848 that had shaken Europe. Remember that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels issued their great manifesto, *The Communist Manifesto*, in 1848, and a whole series of revolutions wracked the nations of Europe, threatening to topple all the great monarchies.

Back in the United States, a young congressman from Illinois, during the congressional debates on the Revolutions of 1848, steadfastly defended Marx, Engels, their manifesto and the aims of the revolutionaries. His name was Abraham Lincoln. So, in Europe, Abraham Lincoln was not exactly a favored fellow. He was considered a revolutionary.

Between 1848 and 1860, when Abraham Lincoln ran for president, he moderated his views on the socialist revolution greatly. By the time he became president, he was not the revolutionary he had been when he was a young man, nevertheless the strategic advantage, diplomatically, went to the South.

❖ *Reliance on Sovereign States*

In the South there was great diversity. Authority was spread out among the sovereign states, whereas in the North everything depended upon a kind of stove pipe federal command. It was so unified that a breakdown in the Union command would create confusion and stalemate. And, that's exactly what happened.

Union Response

❖ *Union Command's Revolving Door*

The Union response to this strategic advantage of the South was less than sterling. First of all, President Lincoln couldn't find a field commander who seemed to have the will to win the war. Each of his field commanders seemed to have a kind of passive-aggressive approach to the war. Winfield Scott simply wanted to barricade the South and wait them out. He was replaced before the end of 1861.

George McClellan, an effective field commander, was put in charge of the Union armies. But McClellan often seemed to have a failure of nerve. If he was met with fierce resistance, as he was a number of times in the field by the corps of Stonewall Jackson or by the evasive tactics of Robert E. Lee, he would retreat too quickly for the taste of President Lincoln. In 1862 he was replaced by Henry Wager Halleck.² Halleck oversaw a whole series of Union disasters, supply chain and communication line failures.

❖ *Political Tumult*

There were divisions within the command structure, there was political tumult. George McClellan left the army and decided to run against President Lincoln in the next election, so you have all these divisions taking place.

Finally, President Lincoln in desperation, in 1864, reached out to a man who had once been considered a scoundrel and a wash-up. He was widely rumored to be a drunkard, a womanizer, and profane. On top of it all, he was a slave owner. But Lincoln turned to Ulysses S. Grant as someone who seemed to have the killer instinct on the battlefield.

After the great Battle of Vicksburg, there was no doubt that Ulysses S. Grant had that killer instinct. And, he had the ability to instill respect within the command structure. His men were loyal to him to the death. Finally, President Lincoln had a commander who could actually win. But that didn't come until 1864.

There was political tumult in the electorate in the North. There were riots in the streets of New York City. The Confederate flag flew over large portions of New York and Chicago in protest against the war, including over the home of young Teddy Roosevelt. He grew up on 20th Street in New York City.³ When Teddy's father went to work in the morning, Teddy's mother, who had grown up just outside Atlanta would lower the Stars and Stripes and raise the Stars and Bars over their town house in New York City. Just before he came home at night, she lowered the Stars and Bars and put the Stars and Stripes back up. During their homeschooling lessons, Teddy, his cousins, and his brother would often pack supply packages for Confederate spies that were there in New York. It's a common occurrence—great political tumult.

❖ *Emancipation Proclamation*

The Emancipation Proclamation, issued ostensibly to free the slaves, but which President Lincoln had drawn up but had withheld, waiting for the strategic moment to release it, was so compromised that it didn't release any

² Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said that McClellan was replaced by *George* Halleck instead of *Henry Wager* Halleck. *Ed.*

³ Slip of the tongue! Dr. Grant said that Roosevelt grew up on 20th Street in *Washington, D.C.*, instead of *New York City*, where the Roosevelt house is located. *Ed.*

slaves. None of the slaves in the Northern states — all the slaves in Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware, in all the slave territories all the way out to the Oregon territory were specifically exempted from freedom in the Emancipation Proclamation. None of them were emancipated.

Supposedly the only slaves that were emancipated were the slaves that were not in Union controlled territories. But because they weren't in Union controlled territories, there was no authority to release them, so the Emancipation Proclamation actually brought freedom to no one.

It was widely skewered in the North. The abolitionists didn't like it because it didn't initiate abolition. William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass spoke widely and broadly against it as a terrible compromise. It's kind of like Congress fighting over the federal budget for eight days threatening to shut down the whole system. And in the end, they reduced the amount of the federal debt by one quarter of one percent with all kinds of howls and screams from all sides during the eight days of the stalemate. The supposed \$36.4 billion that they cut from the budget was outstripped by deficit spending during that same eight days by \$56 billion. They spent more while they were quarreling than they saved during their cutting! What kind of nonsense is this?

❖ *Recruiting Former Revolutionaries*

So President Lincoln relied on an age-old strategy. He began to recruit heavily outside the United States. There were a host of tried-and-true military veterans from the Revolutions of 1848, and they enlisted in the Union army.

1848 Veterans

- ❖ *Poland: 3,200*
- ❖ *Germanies: 11,500*
- ❖ *France: 3,700*
- ❖ *Slavics: 1,000*
- ❖ *Russia: 4,100*
- ❖ *Lowlands: 1,500*
- ❖ *Italy: 5,600*
- ❖ *Iberians: 1,000*

There were some three thousand two hundred veterans of the revolutions from Poland; some eleven thousand five hundred from the Germanies; three thousand seven hundred from France; from the Slavic countries about a thousand; from Russia just over four thousand; from the Netherlands, the lowlands of Belgium and Holland, about one thousand five hundred; from Italy, five thousand six thousand; from the Iberian Peninsula, Portugal, and the various Spanish Republics, another thousand. This was what helped turn the tide for the North.

The Lost Cause of the South: 1863

❖ *Chancellorsville, May 2–4: A Costly Victory*

❖ *Stonewall, May: Lee's Right Arm*

The South won the Battle of Chancellorsville but at great cost. During the battle, Stonewall Jackson was struck by friendly fire. Robert E. Lee said at his death, "I've lost my right arm."

❖ *Gettysburg, June 27–July 4: First Great Loss*

In desperation, Lee developed a strategy. He would take the war to the North, utilize the strategic prowess of the South and encircle Washington, D.C., destroy the Union army and bring capitulation to the District of Columbia in hopes of a negotiated peace. But the Battle of Gettysburg was enormously costly in lives. It wasn't an overwhelming victory for the North. It was kind of like the Battle of Franklin, later in 1864. The South technically won the Battle of Franklin, but the loss of life was so overwhelming and the strategic numbers of the North were so great, that in both cases the North was able to go on and fight again, while the South was sorely depleted. In addition, there were a number of things that happened during Gettysburg: breakdown in communication, the enormous courage of Chamberlain's corps on Little Round Top, Pickett's Charge in the withering fire that rained down on the Southern troops that in some ways broke the morale of the South.

❖ *Vicksburg, May 22–July 4: Siege Begins*

And, then the grueling, bitter siege of Vicksburg to control the Mississippi River that resulted in Grant's greatest victory and a crushing blow to the South, sent the South reeling.

❖ *Revivals, Spiritual Renewal, and Reflection*

Amazingly, right at that moment a tremendous revival began to spread through the Southern armies. Flannery O'Connor argued that the reason that the South has such a distinctive literature is that the South fell. You can only repent from complete brokenness and defeat. Therefore the South is haunted in its literature and its songs.

Like so much of the Celtic world, with its sense of fallenness, brokenness, there is at the heart of the story of the South a sense of the lost cause. So, revival began to spread throughout the Southern camps. The story is often told of the amazing moments, in the bedraggled state, half starved, half frozen, and yet exuberant in their confidence in the finished work of Christ.

❖ *Reinforcements: European Immigrants and Mercenaries*

The reinforcements of the mercenaries and the veterans of the wars of 1848 only strengthened the Northern army as the war went along, while the depleted resources of the South were simply diminished more and more and more.

❖ *Chickamauga, Sept. 19–20: Losing Ground*

❖ *Chattanooga, Nov. 23–25: Bisection of the South*

By the time of the Battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, the South was cut in half. Its communication lines were severed, and it was clearly caught off and isolated.

It was at the Battle of Franklin, that the last of the McGills met his fate. Young James was just fourteen when the war began. Now, almost eighteen years old and a hardened veteran, he stood with his commander atop Winstead Hill when the order was given to charge the battlements down at Carter House. He was in the same brigade with E.M. Bounds, his friend and his chaplain, who had become a pastor of the Methodist Church here in Franklin and who was responsible for securing the land and identifying the bodies that would be buried at Carnation. He was just behind Patrick Cleburne when that firebrand Irish general was struck down right about where the old Pizza Hut used to be on Columbia Avenue. James fought all the way to the trenches that had been dug in across the property of the Carters, from the house all the way over to their cotton gin across the street from the house on Columbia Pike. He was actually climbing over the battlements when a Minié ball struck him — one of those Minié balls that you can see the effects of on the backside of the most battle-scarred building still standing in the United States, one of the outbuildings there at Carter House here in Franklin. Young James was struck in the chest by a Minié ball. It didn't kill him immediately. It nearly tore off his left arm, shattered his chest, and left a gaping hole in his windpipe. As he gurgled his last words on the battlefield, he said, "Why? Why did we do this to each other?"



Father, our world is filled with woe, brokenness, and senseless calamity. It's the way of man. When we are in our strength, we're rarely very reflective. In our brokenness, we are often so focused on our wounds, our hurts, that we fail to look beyond ourselves. This great wound in our nation's history is one from which we can learn so much. We do pray that you would remind us that people matter. Those who were enslaved, those who were shattered on the battlefields, each had stories and families and brothers and sisters and loved ones and homes, and so much was stripped away from them. They fought for what they believed in. May we have the courage of conviction to stand and fight for what we believe in, but, oh, God, we do pray that you would spare us terrible suffering, that you would give us wisdom, discretion, and discernment, so that we do not, once again, fall into the horrific, calamitous, and destructive divisiveness that pits brother against brother. Oh, God, spare us we pray. We ask this in Jesus' name. Amen

Lesson 39

The War Shudders to an End

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Bringing Luxury to the Masses; The Rise of Labor and Muckraking

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 497–510

Lesson Synopsis

The War Between the States, which began with such high ideals, the war that led brother to be pitted against brother, a terribly uncivil civil war, began to shudder to an end in the final two years of the conflict.

Opportunity

18

Lesson Topics

The end of the Civil War, from May 1863 to April 1865; Lincoln's assassination; the friendships of Abraham Lincoln with Alexander Stephens and Robert E. Lee with Winfield Scott

Primary Source Material

Lincoln's second inaugural address

Vocabulary

valiant, futile, triage, tenacity, facility, nostalgia, riven, impeccable, soirées, unassuming, unpretentious, opportunist, pragmatist, pathos, caricature, animosity, carnage

Timeline

- ◆ 1863, May: The Battle of Chancellorsville
- ◆ 1863, May: Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson died.
- ◆ 1863, May-July: The Battle of Vicksburg
- ◆ 1863, June-July: The Battle of Gettysburg
- ◆ 1863, September: The Battle of Chickamauga
- ◆ 1863, November: The Battle of Chattanooga
- ◆ 1864, November, December: Sherman's March to the Sea
- ◆ 1864, May: The Battle of Wilderness
- ◆ 1864, May: The Battle of Spotsylvania Courthouse
- ◆ 1864, May-June: The Battle of Cold Harbor
- ◆ 1864, November: The Battle of Franklin
- ◆ 1864, December: The Battle of Nashville

- ❖ 1865, April 9: The Battle of Appomattox Courthouse and the Surrender of Lee to Grant.
- ❖ 1865, April 14: The Assassination of President Lincoln



The War Shudders to an End

*Do not go gentle into that good night.
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.
~ Dylan Thomas*

As you can see, we will wrap up the actual combatant part of the Civil War today. On Thursday we'll deal with Reconstruction, which really throws us into the modern era, and we'll wrap up the year with those last few decades of the nineteenth century rushing right into the beginning of the twentieth century. We end the year at the very beginning of the twentieth century. So if you've been wondering about scope for projects it's not likely that you are going to be able to do a project on laptop technologies or software innovations. We don't get that far.

As we wrap up the war, we're going to do something a little unusual because we've already sort of had a run up. Dr. Sanders kind of gave us a good glimpse of Gettysburg, so we're not going to spend a lot of time on Gettysburg.¹ We've talked a little bit around and about the Battle of Franklin, so we won't detail that. Instead, we are going to look at some key personalities and some key dynamics that were involved in the shuddering end of the war.

19 April

- ❖ *1526: The citizens of twelve cities protested the Papal Decrees of the German Assembly.*

Today is April 19, and it was on this day in 1526 that the citizens of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, and nine other cities, with the support of a few electors and princes, protested a decree of the Diet and petitioned the emperor to revoke what the Assembly of the German States had decreed regarding the unassailability of papal authority and the hegemony of the Roman Church. These reformers were thus given the name of Protestors or Protestants for the very first time on this day in 1526.

- ❖ *1775: Shots were fired at Lexington and Concord.*

It was also on this day in 1775 that American colonists and British troops had their first exchange of fire in the towns of Lexington and Concord in the shots heard the round the world. The British general, Thomas Gage, sent a force to capture an arsenal of the militia at Concord and was met by the Minutemen, who then staged a kind of guerrilla warfare as Gage and his troops tried to retreat back to Boston. It was really the beginning of the War of American Independence.

¹ As footnoted in the last lecture, Dr. Grant invited a re-enactor to give a lecture about the war, using his visual aids. The lecture is included with your curriculum as a bonus video. *Ed.*

❖ *1824: Lord Byron died during the Greek Civil War.*

It was in 1824, on this day, the English Romantic poet, Lord George Gordon Byron, died of malaria in Greece. He was there to assist the Greeks in their fight for independence against the Turks.

❖ *1897: The first Boston Marathon was run.*

It was on this day, April 19, in 1897² that the first Boston Marathon was run from Ashland, Massachusetts, to Boston. At the time, the marathon length was not uniform. It wouldn't be uniform until the 1920's, really only after the '24 Olympics. Nevertheless, a marathon was run. It was a significantly shorter distance than modern-day marathons. The winner, John J. McDermott, ran the course in two hours, fifty-five minutes, and ten seconds. It was about five and a half miles shorter than the modern-day Boston Marathon. Yesterday, the Boston Marathon was run once again, and five people broke the world record at the Boston Marathon. They ran 26.2 miles in less than two hours and four minutes. They averaged less than five minutes per mile for all twenty-six miles. It is astonishing. They broke the world record for the half-marathon. American Ryan Hall came in at one hour and two minutes at the halfway point. It's mind-boggling, absolutely mind-boggling anyway. That's fast, y'all, that's real fast for a real long time.

❖ *1933: The U.S. moved its currency exchange from the gold standard to a fiat standard.*

It was on this day in 1933 that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt took the United States off the gold standard and issued a call for gold and silver certificates to be handed out by the government as Federal Reserve notes thus creating for the first time in U.S. history, fiat money, money based upon the word of the government rather than based on anything tangible or objective. The economy of the United States has really rested on a trust of government ever since. In other words, what you have in your pocket that you think is money is not money. It's not even really a Federal Reserve note anymore because it is no longer tied to silver or gold. All the silver and gold certificates were gathered up during the Nixon administration in the late 60's and early 70's. What you have is essentially an "I trust the government of the United States" note. And it's absolutely worthless if ever we get to the place where someone says, *I don't*. That's all it takes is for several people to say, *Pffffft, I don't*. Apparently Standard & Poor's, the Wall Street rating firm yesterday decided they're not sure they do. And if they downgrade the U.S. debt rating, which they are threatening to do — there is a one-in-three chance they will — it is very possible that a whole lot of people will say, *I don't*. So save your gold, boys!

❖ *1943: The Warsaw Ghetto uprising began.*

In 1943, on this day, Jews numbering in the tens of thousands began a valiant but ultimately futile battle against Nazi forces in the occupied Warsaw Ghetto in Poland. It was one of the most remarkable demonstrations of courage, pluck, tenacity, and strategic innovation in the whole of World War II.

❖ *1993: Federal agents stormed the Branch Davidian religious community with tanks and tear gas.*

In 1993 on this day, horrified Americans watched live television footage as federal agents stormed the Branch Davidian religious community with tanks and tear gas. The fifty-one day siege near Waco, Texas, ended as fire engulfed the structures of the little compound. Dozens of men, women, and children perished in the blaze.

² Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said that the first Boston Marathon was run in 1896, instead of 1897. *Ed.*

❖ *1995: The nation was shaken by the Oklahoma City terrorist bombing.*

Many believe that it was in retaliation for that federal assault on the Branch Davidian compound that resulted two years later in a truck bomb that devastated the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing one hundred sixty-eight people. Conspirators Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols were later convicted of charges related to the bombing. Their self-confessed desire to avenge what they believed were intrusions of the federal government on the freedoms of ordinary people led them to that act of terrorism. It's a heady and sobering reminder of how awful conflicts between people can become over issues of freedom and national sovereignty.

The Pity of War

The War Between the States, which began with such high ideals, the war that led brother to be pitted against brother, a terribly uncivil, civil war, began to shudder to an end in the final two years of the conflict.

The Lost Cause of the South: 1863

Chancellorsville

❖ *May 2–4: A Costly Victory*

The cause of the South quickly became a lost cause, despite the fact that strategically the South had a much better command of the battlefield and won virtually all the major battles of the early war, and despite being vastly outnumbered. They outmaneuvered the Union armies at almost every turn. Beginning with Chancellorsville, even their victories became very, very costly. At some point it was inevitable that, if the South could not bring the war quickly to an end and negotiate a peace, the wearing effects on men and materials would be too much and would overwhelm the cause of the South.

Gettysburg

And so Robert E. Lee and the Confederate command devised a bold maneuver, an excursion into Northern territory which resulted in the great Battle of Gettysburg. And of course Lee would have to go into that battle without his most trusted commander, Stonewall Jackson, who, because of friendly fire, had his life snuffed out following the Battle of Chancellorsville.

❖ *June 27–July 4: The Turning Point*

❖ *July 1: Confederate Strength*

❖ *July 2: Capturing the Heights*

❖ *July 3: Miscues and Pickett's Charge*

From June 27 to July 4 of 1863, the bloody and terrible conflict that was Gettysburg became the turning point of the war. Lee had a great strategy going in. It appeared on the first day of the battle, that he would succeed, and he would have brought the Union army to the brink of collapse, but through a whole series of miscues, miscommunications, either lack of nerve or confusion in the ranks, combined with the astonishing courage of men like Joshua Chamberlain, places like Little Round Top and the heights around Gettysburg were captured and the

bloody assault of Pickett's Charge caused the South to limp away from Gettysburg probably mortally wounded at that point.

Vicksburg

❖ *May 22–July 4: Siege Begins*

At the same time, the last strong military outpost on the Mississippi at Vicksburg came under assault. In a long and brutal battle of utter and complete triage, Ulysses S. Grant won his greatest field victory, and Vicksburg and the Mississippi were lost to the Confederacy.

Chickamauga

❖ *Sept. 19–20: Losing Ground*

Chattanooga

❖ *Nov. 23–25: Bisection of the South*

This was followed up by ongoing losses. Even when there were momentary battlefield victories, the battlefield victories were so costly to the South, at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, that the South really began to unravel. After Chattanooga, it appeared that the South would be cut directly in half.

Northern Dominance

Resources

- ❖ *Constituent Population: 5 to 1*
- ❖ *Transportation: 10 to 1*
- ❖ *Manufacturing Capacity: 100 to 1*
- ❖ *Imports and Exports: 500 to 1*

This was largely due to a whole series of factors that over time could not help but have a stifling effect. Advantages and population, transportation, manufacturing capacity, imports and exports, dollars on hand, resources for foreign transactions, leverage with international banks — all this weighed in the North's favor.

Lincoln's Resolve

In addition to those advantages, the North had an advantage that no one ever thought at the beginning of the war would ever be an advantage. Abraham Lincoln came into the White House extremely suspect. He wasn't the first choice of his own party, the Republicans. The Republicans were a brand new party, already splintered into innumerable factions including the radical Republicans, the Midwestern moderates, and a number of key politicians who were simply called the Again'ers — they were just against everything else, and they found themselves in the Republican Party sort of by default.

As a result, Lincoln came in, and he was widely underestimated. He was an underwhelming personality, rather gawky in appearance and often inarticulate in personal conversation. He was best at telling jokes and stories, not plotting strategies. He had a suspect past. He had been a very, very skeptical rationalist, early in life. He'd written a scandalous little booklet against Christianity and had thrown in his lot with the 1848 revolutionaries during

his first term in Congress. He was a failed politician and a failed store owner. He was not exactly the paragon of success and virtue necessary to lead a nation in a time of crisis, but something happened while Lincoln was in the White House. He showed a kind of genius that was entirely unexpected.

❖ *Tenacity: Unbending Purpose*

❖ *Facility: Balancing the Factions*

❖ *Total War: Modern Revolutionary*

First of all, he had an unbending tenacity. He knew why he was there, and he could not be moved from his task. There was no mission drift with Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln had this commitment to principle. Often, he was considered a compromising pragmatist. He would give away the shop in order to get the one thing that he was after. But that was precisely the genius of Lincoln because what it was that he wanted was central to the future of the nation — union. He flip-flopped, it seemed, on issues like the tariff, on taxes, on international trade, on partnerships with France and Britain. He had this squishy position on slavery. No one knew really where he stood in terms of his personal philosophies. He apparently had no close confidantes. He had an unhappy home life. This was not exactly a prescription for leadership. But he had this steely commitment to the core principle of somehow preserving the great American experiment in liberty. He fought for it with everything he had. The amazing thing was that he was put together with a team, his own party, the radical Republicans, the moderate Midwestern Republicans, and the Again'ers who were so fractious that you could hardly call them anything but a team of rivals, to borrow the title from Doris Kearns Goodwin's bestselling profile of Lincoln's leadership style,³ soon to be a Steven Spielberg film.⁴ It was a team of rivals. A better term for it might have been a brood of vipers. His Cabinet was filled with strong-willed men who all believed that they should have been elected to the presidency and not Lincoln. They all despised him. They were all suspicious of him. They were rivals to one another, and somehow Lincoln was able to work with that mess, pull them together, and draw out of them their greatest strengths without them killing each other or him in the process. That he held together his Cabinet and his Congress at the most fractious time in American history was one of the most remarkable political feats in all of American history. He balanced all the competing concerns and somehow or another made them think that they were getting what they wanted when all the while the master marionette was getting what he wanted.

He had to resolve to follow the inclinations of some of his most forward thinking generals, including Sherman and Grant, who said to him in counsel that the cautious path of Winfield Scott and of George McClellan had to be dispatched, that the only way to win a war like this was to bring total war to the South. In other words, abandon in theory all pretense, which had been abandoned in practice long before, of attempting to follow Augustine's just war theory. Abandon all pretense of not taking the battle to the citizenry because as the argument went, the problem with the South is the culture of the South. It was the people back home. It wasn't just the army. Sherman and Grant argued that, in order to beat the South, they had to crush the *South*, not just the South's army. It wasn't enough to just beat Lee in the field, they had to burn Atlanta to the ground.

³ *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*, Simon & Schuster (September 26, 2006)

⁴ *Lincoln*, expected to be released in 2012.

Demoralization

- ❖ *Ideology v. Sociology*
- ❖ *Hardship, Sacrifice, and Privation*
- ❖ *Southern Revivals*

In the North, this meant that ideology, a mechanical, structural commitment to certain structural ideas of politics, had to take precedence over sociology, the way cultures hold together. They had to be unrelenting in their pursuit of the winning of this war — at all costs, no matter the hardship, no matter the sacrifice, no matter the privation visited upon the people.

Christ in the Camps

1862

All this was taking place in the North, and at the same time there was this astonishing turn of events in the South, all over the South. It's been described as Christ in the camps.⁵ There were several factors involved.

- ❖ *Lee, Jackson, Dabney, Polk*

First, so many of the leaders of the South were dynamic Christians. They led their men in a godly fashion. Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Robert Louis Dabney, Leonidas Polk — these were godly men, and they desired to lead their troops in a godly fashion and their influence was strong.

- ❖ *The Problem of "Nostalgia"*

Secondly, there was diagnosed in the Southern field manuals for the very first time a disease that Southern soldiers often got. Medics and chaplains were guided in the field manuals about how to deal with this disease. The disease was called nostalgia, defined as a paralyzing longing for home. In the South, the Southerners were fighting for their homes. They weren't fighting for a cause. They weren't fighting for a political ideology. They were extraordinarily diverse. Ninety-two percent, it is estimated, of Southern fighters in the field had no investment whatsoever in the trade and tariff issues. They didn't even know what trade and tariff issues were. They probably couldn't even have defined a tariff. And, of course, they owned no slaves and had no commitment to the slavery issue. They thought they were fighting for home. They had this deep and abiding longing for home. With every battle and with every loss, they longed for home all the more. It was what they set their affections on. It was what they staked their lives on. As the war dragged on and on, their longing for home became greater and made them a less able fighting force. They just wanted to go home.

- ❖ *Hood, Bragg, and Davis*

Some of the biggest problems that men like Generals Hood and Bragg and President Davis dealt with was how to balance this concern to fight for home and family, while denying their men access to home and family? It was very complex.

⁵ *Christ in the Camp: Or, Religion in the Confederate Army*, by John William Jones Martin & Hoyt Co (1904)

1863

❖ *McClellan, Chamberlain, and Rosencrans*

There were some fine Christians in the North as well, great Christian leaders as we've seen like Joshua Chamberlain, but also George McClellan, who was a self-confessed, ardent evangelical, and General Rosencrans.

❖ *The Horror of Gettysburg*

In 1863, the horror of Gettysburg, which was akin to the horror of Shiloh, and so many other of the battles, became so wearing and so weighty that even *Harper's Weekly* noted that there was a palpable dissipation of energy for the war. It was so horrible, that at the end of it, nobody wanted to fight anymore.

❖ *The Conversion of Lincoln*

Many theorists believe the horror of Gettysburg finally snapped something in Lincoln. Lincoln had always used high, soaring rhetoric and borrowed freely from the Scriptures, particularly the Old Testament, in all of his speeches from the time that he was a young congressman in Illinois all the way through his first years in the presidency, but something happened to his rhetoric after Gettysburg. In the last couple of months of 1863, suddenly Lincoln was quoting intimate passages from the New Testament. He stopped talking about God in the abstract, and he started using the name *Jesus*. There was an acquaintance with grief that is palpable in his language.

It comes very much to the forefront in his Gettysburg address, which is one of the most remarkable feats of rhetorical pathos that has ever been given in American political discourse. It's pure poetry, but it is more than just pure poetry. It wasn't carefully worked out. It was scribbled on the back of an envelope on a train voyage. Lincoln wasn't even the main speaker at the dedication of the battlefield that day. The primary speaker⁶ had this grand speech. He was one of the greatest orators of the day. He had a two-hour long speech. Lincoln's was less than seven minutes, but this quick sketch on the back of an envelope has become emblematic of a sudden change in his heart and in his mind.

By the time he gave his second inaugural address, the transformation seems to be complete. Many historians believe that some time in 1863 or perhaps early in 1864, Abraham Lincoln not only changed his mind about the war, not only was he tempered by the horrors as he walked back and forth to the federal hospital in Washington, D.C., but that, for the very first time, he came to grips with the claims of Christ upon his heart. And it seems by all outward appearances that he was converted. In fact, many historians believe that there is substantial evidence that Lincoln was supposed to be baptized on Easter Sunday morning, the day after he was assassinated. It was his plan to go to the Capitol Hill Baptist Church and commit his life, for however long he might have, to Christ. It is a remarkable thing.

⁶ Edward Everett

1864

- ❖ *The Revival Spreads*
- ❖ *Franklin and E.M. Bounds*
- ❖ *Total War and the Atlanta Campaign*

By 1864, the stirrings in America were profound on all sides, and real revival began to spread through the camps. By the time we get to the Battle of Franklin in November of 1864, the revival was in full-fledged, powerful flowering. There were men like E.M. Bounds, a chaplain for the Southern armies, even though he had affections for the North and was brother to four Union soldiers and always had supported the Union cause. Because of a very strange quirk in the laws of Missouri, just outside St. Louis, where he pastored a church, because he wouldn't surrender the church's property to Union soldiers who were doing pledges of allegiance throughout the region, he was arrested and, in a prisoner exchange, wound up in the ranks of the Confederates and thought that this was God's purpose for him, although he wouldn't have ever chosen it. He served as a chaplain in the Confederate army. He found himself in the Battle of Franklin. It was Bounds who, after that terrible battle—which the South interestingly technically won but because of the devastating losses could never really mount a fighting force again—Bounds went through the whole battlefield and identified bodies, secured a little plot of land over at Carnton Plantation, and ensured that there would be a memorial to all those who lost their lives. He would later pastor the little Methodist Church off the square in downtown Franklin. As an old man, he penned classic books on prayer, some of the greatest books on prayer that have ever been written in the English language. Now all this was springing up at just the time that you would think that society would be falling apart, riven by animosity, even in the midst of Sherman's March and the application of the total warfare strategy where General Sherman burned his way all the way to the sea, through Atlanta, devastating the South. At that same moment, God was stirring the hearts of people on both sides who suddenly realized that the best that man could do was insufficient to overcome the worst that man could do. And so they ran to the mercy of Christ and Christ alone. And so the war wound down.

The End of the End: 1864-1865

- ❖ *Wilderness, May 5–6: Still Out-Maneuvering*
- ❖ *Spotsylvania, May 8–12: Trench Warfare*
- ❖ *Cold Harbor, June 1–3: Human Waves*

In 1864 and 1865, it was really more a mopping up operation than anything else. In the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania, the South was reduced to trench warfare. By Cold Harbor they were simply running in human waves at the vastly overpowering and over-armed Union forces.

- ❖ *Early's Raids, July 2–13: Final Offensive*
- ❖ *Sherman's March, May 7–Dec. 22: Pillaging Onward*
- ❖ *Franklin, Nov. 30: Blunder and Devastation*
- ❖ *Nashville, Dec. 15–16: Last Gasp Effort*
- ❖ *Appomattox, April 9: Surrender and Capitulation*
- ❖ *Lincoln, April 14: Assassination*

There were a few bright moments when strategic raids by Jubal Early or Nathan Bedford Forrest would have good offensive effect, but Sherman's March, and the crushing of the Southern armies at the Battle of Franklin and Nashville, made surrender on April 9, 1865, at Appomattox inevitable. Abraham Lincoln was not able to long appreciate the ending of the hostilities because on April 14, he was assassinated as he watched a play at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C.

A Tale of Two Friendships

The Civil War not only pitted brother against brother, it pitted friend against friend. Perhaps that is why the war proceeded in such an unpredictable pattern during the first three years of the conflict — it was conducted in the context of conflicted motive. ~ James Robertson

Now what's really interesting as a backdrop to all this is that there were unusual friendships that framed the whole structure of the war and that informed the great conflict.

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) and Alexander Stephens (1812-1885)

One of the most unusual friendships was Abraham Lincoln and Alexander Stephen, Lincoln's best friend for years in Washington, D.C.

- ❖ *Southern State Sovereignty v. Northern Federal Hegemony*
- ❖ *Conservative Democrat v. Liberal: Nationalist*
- ❖ *Urbane Scholar v. Backwoods Lawyer*
- ❖ *Devout Presbyterian v. Skeptical Convert*
- ❖ *Successful in Life v. Disappointing Life*
- ❖ *Diminutive and Frail v. Lanky and Rugged*

Stephens became the vice president of the Confederacy. Lincoln, of course, was president of the Union. They couldn't have been more opposite. Stephens barely weighed one hundred and ten pounds and was, he claimed, just over five-foot-two, but in fact, he was probably wasn't quite five-foot-one. Abraham Lincoln, on the other hand, was tall and lanky at six-foot-three. Stephens was a man who believed ardently in Southern state sovereignty while Lincoln believed in Northern federal hegemony. Stephens was a conservative Democrat while Lincoln was a liberal and a nationalist. Stephens was a classical scholar, bookish and urbane, whereas Lincoln was largely self-taught; he was a backwoods lawyer. His greatest fame came in his early days in rail-splitting contests.

He was widely regarded as an inventor of various mechanisms for river rafts. Stephens probably never set foot on a river raft, maybe never even saw one. Stephens was a devout Presbyterian all his life. Lincoln was a skeptic most of his life until his rather dramatic conversion in the last two years of his life. Stephens was successful in everything that he ever tried — investments, land acquisition, and politics — whereas Lincoln seemed to have failed at everything, whether it was in his personal life, in his business life, or in his political life. Stephens was diminutive and frail. Lincoln was an outdoorsman, lanky and rugged. Nevertheless, there was something that drew these two opposites together when they were in Washington, D.C. *Harper's Weekly* has an interesting little sketch of the two men from 1849, walking along the Potomac together. It looks like a daddy and his child almost. They made quite a sight. Stephens was always freezing cold, so he would always have big woolen jackets, and then he would always drape around himself a great cloak. Lincoln was always hot, mopping his brow that was inevitably sweating with dripping torrents, sleeves always rolled up.

❖ *Stephens: 1843–1860 v. Lincoln: 1847–1849*

❖ *Christian Defensive War v. Total War*

❖ *Conditional Peace v. Unconditional of Victory*

Stephens was impeccably attired, and Lincoln could care less about his appearance. Often before they would enter the Capitol building, Stephens would sit Lincoln down on a bench so that he could mop down the dust off his friend's jacket. Stephens served in Congress from 1843 until he resigned at the secession. Lincoln only had two years in Congress. Stephens believed that the war could only be conducted as a Christian defensive war. Lincoln came to believe in total war. Stephens was a long advocate of what he called conditional peace. In other words, let's negotiate; let's find a way to moderate the claims of both North and South. Lincoln wanted unconditional standards for victory. They couldn't have been more opposite, yet, even during the course of the war, they carried on an affectionate correspondence. They cared for one another. It's a great reminder that even in the midst of fierce conflicts we can treat each other like human beings, maintain appropriate cordiality, and that this might even be our strength. It is said that Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction was largely shaped by his friendship with Alexander Stephens. The great tragedy following the war is that Lincoln was never able to implement his plan. Instead his plan was hijacked by the Radical Republicans, and the fury of the North was unleashed on the South. Lincoln would never have allowed that. He had already asked his friend, Alexander Stephens, to help him to gently rehabilitate the South.

Robert E. Lee (1807-1870) and Winfield Scott (1786-1866)

❖ *State Sovereignty Virginian v. Unionist Virginian*

❖ *Conservative Democrat v. Liberal Nationalist*

❖ *Apolitical Military Careerist v. Political Careerist*

❖ *Devout Episcopalian v. Skeptical Convert*

❖ *Scion of Virginia Gentry v. Self-Made Man*

❖ *Quiet Engineer v. Brash Cavalry Officer*

Another very unlikely friendship was the friendship between Robert E. Lee and Winfield Scott. Again, they could hardly have been more different. Lee was a state sovereignty Virginian. Scott was a unionist Virginian. Lee was a conservative Democrat, whereas Scott was a liberal nationalist. Lee couldn't care less about politics —

he was a military man through and through — whereas Scott, though he was in the military, was in the military because of his political aspirations. Lee was a devout Episcopalian all of his life. Scott was a skeptic all the way up until his failure in command of the Union forces, at which point, the horrors of war and his own failure brought him to Christ. Lee was the scion of Virginian gentry. Scott was a self-made man. Lee was a quiet, unassuming engineer, whereas Scott was a brash, cavalry officer brandishing his sword at Washington soirées, always wearing silk about his neck and an impeccable uniform. It was as if he was always in costume and in character, wherever he was. Lee was quiet, unassuming, and unpretentious.

❖ *Determined to Focus on Family v. Determined Politician*

❖ *Brilliant Strategist v. Astute Opportunist*

❖ *Principled Decisions v. Pragmatic Decisions*

Lee was determined all throughout the whole conflict to focus on his family. Scott abandoned his family for the purpose of his political aspirations. Lee was a brilliant strategist. Scott was an astute opportunist. Lee based all his decisions on carefully worked-out principles, whereas Scott was a pragmatist, and his decisions were based on what would work and what would work fastest and best for himself. Amazingly, the two men were friends from the time of the Mexican War all the way up through the conflict of the War Between the States. The two men had great affection for one another. In fact, it is said that Scott came to Christ largely because of the influence of Lee and Lee's family.

I highlight these two unlikely friendships for a couple reasons. One, it's helpful to remember that in a war that was so brutal and so awful, there really was a human dimension to the story that went beyond the sorrow of loss. These were real people who had real stories and real connections with one another over the course of time. They were not one dimensional. They were complex human beings, and their story is incredibly complex. It's part of the reason that there is so much pathos in this war, because the people who were involved were so extraordinary and so complex. This is not something that can simply be caricatured.

The second reason that I highlight these friendships is that often when the war is discussed by historians, they only talk about the deep animosities that existed. There were a lot of personal enemies. Anytime you have a war, anytime you have a conflict, broken personal relationships figure in. More often than not, great conflicts are more about the personal conflicts between individuals than the actual issues. This has recurred again and again in the course of the history of nations. It occurs in families. It's a regular occurrence across the whole of history.

This last weekend I was in Beaufort, South Carolina. I spoke at a little church there that wants to establish a classical school. They want to establish a classical school on their three hundredth anniversary in order to prepare for the next three hundred years. The church was established in 1712. At one time, they had a classical school. It functioned, operated, and contributed greatly to the history of South Carolina, from about 1740 all the way up through about 1780. The school closed because of conflicts in the town between Federalists and Anti-Federalists who argued over the new innovation called the Constitution. They were fighting over the Constitution. There were two great families in town, and the two families didn't care for one another. The oldest son of one of the families and the middle daughter of the other family fell in love, it's like Romeo and Juliet. Because they were on the opposite sides of the political divide, they tore up their town because of their personal differences. Well, it's about to be 2012, those two families are still there. And now, after all this time, they are ready to lay the groundwork for a fresh new start. History is always personal.

Sometimes it bears beautiful fruit like Alexander Stephens' influence on Lincoln or Robert E. Lee and Winfield Scott's friendship. Sometimes it brings about great horrors in history. We tend to look at history as incredibly impersonal, carnage, lumps on the grounds without names or stories or mamas or brothers or sisters. But with the friendship between Lincoln and Stephens, of Lee and Scott, the relationships among all the others, the revivals that came up out of the worst time of the war — this all reminds us that, in this poor, fallen world, where the pity of war continues to intrude, it intrudes on actual people, which is why this week of all weeks we get to celebrate the most glorious truth of all. Because of the pity of war, because of the horror of what men will do, because the best that men can do will never overcome the worse that men can do, the finished work of Christ on the cross and the glory of the resurrection on the third day becomes the one thing that holds us all together and enables us to move forward, so we can have the resolve on three hundredth anniversaries to look forward to three hundred more, by laying new foundations and establishing new hope because the gospel is true.

That's what remembering actual people and real relationships and palpable friendships through the midst of great horror reminds us of. It drives us back to the fact that it is a personal world, filled with woe, for which God's great love gives the greatest sacrifice of all. Blessed, blessed Easter.



Lord, thank you for reminding us of these important truths through such an unusual fashion. Lord, I thank you that these are not just dates and dead people, movements and armies, ideologies and changing borders, treaties and conflicts, but people, stories, and redemption. We praise you and thank you, in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 40

Reconstruction: Ashes and Antagonism

Text Book Reading

Primary: *A History of the English Speaking People*, Standard Oil and Henry Ford; Populism, Imperialism, and the Spanish-American War

Alternate: *America, The Last Best Hope*, pp. 510–523

Lesson Synopsis

Many Southern historians argue that, as horrible as the war was, the effects of the measures after the war were worse. The war only brought the culture of the South to its knees, but all the measures after the war killed the culture of the South.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Reconstruction; the Radical Republicans; carpetbaggers and scalawags; the Ku Klux Klan; the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution; the Jim Crow laws

Primary Source Material

A New View of Society, by Robert Owen; the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution; examples of Jim Crow laws

Vocabulary

Luddite, nadir, progressive income tax, confiscate, corporatization, comprehensive, equitability, egalitarianism, stratify, imposition, mossback, forensics, suffrage, franchise (in regard to voting), fiat, consonant (adj.), carpetbaggers, scalawags (variant spelling: scallywag), exploit, scoundrels, corruption, manipulation, monolith, urbane, retrenchment, disestablish, vigilante, paradox, irony

Timeline

- ❖ 1807: Simón Bolívar returned to Venezuela.
- ❖ 1811: Luddite Rebellions in England
- ❖ 1813: Robert Owen's *A New View of Society*
- ❖ 1814: The Congress of Vienna
- ❖ 1825: The Inter-City Rail Line Opened

- ❖ 1840: Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's *What Is Property?*
- ❖ 1844: Samuel Morse's American Telegraph Company
- ❖ 1848: Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*
- ❖ 1854: Horace Mann's *Plan for Reform*
- ❖ 1859: Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*
- ❖ 1859: The Second Italian War of Independence started.
- ❖ 1865, April 9: The Battle of Appomattox Courthouse and the Surrender of Lee to Grant.
- ❖ 1865, April 14: The Assassination of President Lincoln
- ❖ 1865, December: The Thirteenth Amendment ratified.
- ❖ 1866–1873: Radical Reconstruction
- ❖ 1866: The Austro-Prussian War
- ❖ 1868, July: The Fourteenth Amendment ratified.
- ❖ 1870, February: The Fifteenth Amendment ratified.



Reconstruction: Ashes and Antagonism

Never underestimate the power of freedom. A fruit of the Gospel, it can make all things new — even of war's rubble.
~ Booker T. Washington

As you can see, we're finally past the war, but we're still in the midst of the hubbub. So, we'll talk about Reconstruction and the recovery of the nation in the days and weeks and months and years and decades following the very un-civil War Between the States.

21 April

- ❖ *1649: The Maryland Toleration Act was passed.*

Today is April 21, and it was on this day in 1649 that the Maryland Toleration Act, which provided for freedom of worship for all Christians, was passed by the Maryland Assembly. It became a model for the idea of real freedom of religion in first, the colonies, and then later the United States.

- ❖ *1789: John Adams became the first vice president.*

It was also on this day in 1789 that John Adams was sworn in as the first vice president of the United States. While George Washington was not the first president of the United States, John Adams *was* the first vice president of the United States. So, he holds that unique distinction.

- ❖ *1836: Texas gained its independence from Mexico at the Battle of San Jacinto.*

In 1836, on this day, with the cry, "Remember the Alamo," Sam Houston achieved the independence of Texas by defeating the Mexicans at the Battle of San Jacinto. The entire battle took about eighteen minutes with six hundred Mexicans losing their lives and only nine Texans. At the end of the battle, the great general Santa Anna, who was also the dictator of Mexico at the time, was spared by Sam Houston. They were fellow Masons,

and just as he thought he was about to be overwhelmed by Texas partisans, Santa Anna sent signals to Houston that he was a fellow brother of the lodge, and Sam spared his life.

❖ *1929: The Soviet Union banned all charitable activities by churches.*

It was on this day in 1929 that the Soviet Union placed a comprehensive ban on all charitable activities by churches, regulating the church, essentially saying that the church had the right only to worship on Sunday mornings within the bounds of consecrated church buildings. The assumption was that there was to be no challenge to the state's claims on the heartstrings of the Soviet peoples through any service to them, aside from meta-physical service.

❖ *1955: Inherit the Wind premiered in New York.*

On this day, April 21 in 1955, the Jerome Lawrence Robert Lee play, *Inherit the Wind*, very, very loosely based on the Scopes Trial of 1925, opened in the National Theatre in New York.

❖ *1975: Nguyen Van Thieu resigned as president of South Vietnam.*

On this day in 1975, South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van Thieu resigned after ten years in office. Later that next month, he fled to the United States when the Communists took Saigon. In Southern California, he opened a chain of convenience stores and became an executive for 7-Eleven®.

❖ *1989: The Tiananmen Square protest began in China's capital, Beijing.*

And it was on this day in 1989 that tens of thousands of students, merchants, intellectuals, and scientists crowded into Beijing's Tiananmen Square cheering students who waved banners demanding greater political freedoms. It was a revolution that was ultimately crushed by the Communist Chinese as they brought in troops from outlying provinces.

Now, what every single one of these events has to do with one another is that each represents a kind of revolutionary change. A real cultural shift in one way, shape, form, or another, some of them for good, some of them for ill. But each one shows that individual events can bring about huge shifts in the way that we think about the world.

The Old World Transformed

Obviously, the War Between the States was that kind of revolutionary shift. For the first time, we begin to see the emergence of a vision to apply the principles of liberty to every single person in American society and life. It was transformative. It's really the beginning, many scholars believe, not only for liberty for *every* person living in the United States regardless of race or color or creed, but also it was the beginning of liberation movements for sectors of the society that had long been oppressed. The women's movement really begins its greatest impetus in the years immediately following the War Between the States.

The shift that occurs in America is really part of a much larger shift that had been taking place throughout Western civilization for quite some time. The old world, the *Ancien Régime* of Christendom, was radically and dramatically transformed, throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries.

1811: Luddite Rebellions in England

It was in 1811, just after the first decade of the nineteenth century, that the first Luddite rebellions and protests occurred. The Luddites were those who saw that new industrial mechanizations in the factories of Western Europe meant that technology could conceivably replace human beings, that jobs were at risk because machines were far more efficient. There was the real beginning of the clash between Old World peasantry and New World technology.

❖ 1813: Robert Owen's *A New View of Society*

By 1813, Robert Owen was beginning to rethink the whole structure of society and imagined a kind of socialist utopia in his book *A New View of Society*.

❖ 1814: *The Congress of Vienna*

In 1814, the nations of the West gathered together at the Congress of Vienna to redraw the map of the world. Simply on the basis of political negotiation and the exercise of diplomacy, they were determined to make a more rational world. A great experiment in rewriting the boundaries of nations, the creation of whole new nations, *ex nihilo*, essentially the same way that they created new currencies, *ex nihilo*, began at the Congress of Vienna, and it would reach its nadir in the Versailles negotiations following World War I. Whole sections of the world were suddenly carved up, and new alliances created new nations. The idea was to usher in a new world order — more rational, more scientific, rooted in the best principles of intellectual and ideological processes.

Of course, what occurred, instead, was that these seemingly scientific and rational processes unleashed horrors the likes of which the world had never known before. There were more wars from the middle of the nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth century, than in the whole history of the world up to that point combined. More people died in wars between the middle of the nineteenth and the middle of the twentieth century than in all the rest of human history combined. More people died at the hands of their own governments between the middle of the nineteenth and the middle of the twentieth centuries than in all of human history combined. Take all the Caesars and all the Attilas, take all the barbarian invasions, take the Hundred Years War, and the Thirty Years War, take the great civil tumults of all the wars of religion throughout all time, the marching of Nebuchadnezzar, the marching of Alexander, the slaughter of the innocents in hordes — combine them all, throughout all of time, and it doesn't even begin to put a dent in the casualty tolls wrought by science, ideology, nationalism, rationalism, the Congresses of the Nations, and the Leagues of the Nations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The best that man can do is often the worst that man can do.

❖ 1825: *The Inter-City Rail Line Opened*

By 1825, transportation was being radically transformed when, between Liverpool and Manchester, the first inter-city railroad line was opened.

❖ 1840: Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's *What Is Property?*

In 1840, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the French philosopher, began to explore the idea of the dissolution of property distinction in his great theoretical work, *What Is Property?* The opening line was, "Property is theft," unless carefully governed by duly-instituted governments of experts.

❖ *1844: Samuel Morse's American Telegraph Company*

In 1844, Samuel Morse began the transformation of communication in the same way the railroads transformed transportation. Now, communication was being transformed. From the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the time of Napoleon, armies marched in the same ways that they always marched. From the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the time of Napoleon, armies and nations communicated in the same ways they had always communicated. But shortly after the lifetime of Napoleon, everything was changed. Instantaneous communication and fast access to transportation changed the world in ways that we can hardly imagine.

❖ *1848: Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto*

By 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had written their grand manifesto that ignited the fires of revolution throughout Europe. *The Communist Manifesto* made ten specific demands. Read today, the demands of the Communist Manifesto sound hardly radical at all. In fact, the list of demands sounds like the Republican Party platform. Marx and Engels wanted to adjust property rights so that government had a hand in what private property owners could or could not do — regulation of those properties. They wanted a graduated or progressive income tax. They wanted adjustments to inheritance rights. They wanted to be able to confiscate the rights of rebels or aliens. They wanted state control and regulation of banking and trade. They wanted state control and regulation of transport and communication. They wanted state control of economic exchanges so that government's primary job was to stir up, to move along, and to regulate the economy. They wanted state-controlled labor and industry so that labor stoppages and strikes could be regulated and controlled by the government. They wanted regulation and corporatization of agriculture, and of course, comprehensive regulation and control of education — the ten points of the Communist Manifesto. All of which have been fulfilled, satisfied in spades, in virtually every society in Western civilization.

❖ *1854: Horace Mann's Plan for Reform*

It was just a few years later, in 1854, that Horace Mann drew up his *Plan for Reform*. Horace Mann was primarily an educator and educational philosopher, but his vision was the transformation of all society, with public education as the primary tool to bring about this radical transformation of the whole culture and society. His primary outline followed closely that of Marx and Engels but with slight adjustments. He argued that there needed to be equitability in time, gifts, and possessions, and that, therefore education's primary purpose was to level the playing field for everybody, treat everybody exactly the same. He wanted progressive civic responsibility. He wanted generational egalitarianism, with a *dimutation*¹ of the importance of the elderly. In other words, it's a Pepsi generation mentality — let's remove the elders and bring about a generational change. He wanted universal protection in times of emergency — the ability of the government, for instance, to restrict travel or to restrict privacy rights in the name of safety, when you fly or when you take a train or whatever. He wanted equitability in organized commerce, equitable access to expression and travel, and a centrally organized economic exchanges, organized justice, labor, and industry, equitable distribution of resources and universal access to education. In other words, it was *The Communist Manifesto* fleshed out into a curriculum form, a scope and sequence that could be taught to children at the earliest ages, so they could be brought along and thus become helpful, useful members of the larger, stratified, societal structure. It was a brilliant plan.

¹ An archaic form of *diminution*. Dr. Grant: According to my 1828 Samuel Johnson dictionary *dimutation* is the original from Anglo-Saxon of the more modern *diminution* — the original was used by Milton, Pope, and of course, Johnson.

❖ *1859: Charles Darwin's Origin of Species*

It was just five years later that Charles Darwin dropped the bomb in the playground of the theologians called, *The Origin of Species*, his speculation of from where species derive.

If you've ever read any of these books, *The Communist Manifesto*, *The Plan for Reform*, *The Origin of Species*, Robert Owen's *View of Human Society*, or Proudhon's *What is Property?*, there are three things that are immediately evident. One, they share a common worldview: essentially, if there is a God, he doesn't matter anymore. Secondly, they share a common hope for the transformation of society, that is, the imposition of force by centralized governments. And, third, they share a common literary trait. They are almost impossible to read. I'd far rather read one of our seniors' senior theses than any one of these awful, pigeoned tomes, but that's just a sidelight. So, the *Ancien Régime* was being dramatically changed.

The Advance of Modernist Influences

Technology

- ❖ *Rocketry, Armor, and Ballistics*
- ❖ *Sudden Expansion of Railroads*
- ❖ *Telegraphy and Photography*

In the midst of all this, you have these dramatic trends: technology — the emergence of rocketry and armor and ballistics, like the world has never known before, sudden expansion of the railroads and the telegraph, photography. Ideology now becomes dominant. Philosophy, age-old worldviews, were suddenly diminished by the mechanistic, structural impositions of ideologies.

Ideology

- ❖ *Imported Nationalism*
- ❖ *Imported Marxist Socialism*

These ideologies mean that there was a kind of transported or imported nationalism. Nationalism spread like a virus to all the nations of the West. You have the imposition of virtually all the ideological systems, some form of the ideas of reform that were put forth by Marx, Engels, Mann, Proudon, and others. And, you have a kind of retrenched, mossback resistance that is not strategic. It's a sort of resistance that comes from people who simply want the world to stay the same. So they pull their heads into their shells, and they try to weather the storm. Thus, the resistance is almost always at a grave disadvantage.

- ❖ *Imported Ludditism*

One of the great principles that comes out of this season for conservatives who desired principled adherence to the worldview of Christendom was simply that you can't fight something with nothing. Unfortunately, most conservatives have tried to fight something with nothing through all the years since. It's the Luddite response. Here you have the onward march with clear programs, ten points, a systematic vision for the capturing of the robes — the black robes of the judiciary, the black robes of the pulpits, and the black robes of academia. If we can capture the robes, they believed, we can capture the culture. Well, there's this comprehensive, multi-generational,

strategic plan for the change of society. You can't resist that by simply saying, "No, that's not right, please? Mama always used to say..." Luddite resistance is always overwhelmed.

Theological Skepticism

❖ *Deism and Unitarianism*

❖ *Biblical Criticism*

All of this is essentially part of a vast cloud of theological skepticism, where hollow and shallow theologies like Unitarianism and Deism crop up, where half-cocked Biblical criticism without substance tries to erode the authority of the Scriptures.

❖ *Darwinist Determinism*

❖ *Universalist Perfectionism*

It's a season marked by Darwinist determinism and Universalist perfectionism. It's no wonder that this cloud spread further and more deleteriously than tar balls in the Gulf.²

Ideological Nationalism's Uncivil Wars

They led to a whole host of wars. We tend to think that the American Civil War was a stand-alone event, unique to America, that it was a peculiar after-effect of a uniquely American experience. I suppose all peoples love to flatter themselves with their own uniqueness and the peculiarity of their experience. But the fact is that ideological nationalism wrought civil war of a peculiar sort all throughout Christendom, all at the same time. In fact, there was a great deal of overlap between these various wars.

Did you know that Garibaldi, the hero of Italian Republicanism, was offered the full command of the Union armies by Abraham Lincoln in 1862? The only reason Garibaldi didn't take it is that he wanted the title commander in chief, and Lincoln told him, constitutionally, he was incapable of bestowing that honor. Garibaldi replied, *Change the Constitution*. Lincoln replied, *We're trying to*. Ultimately he did, but not in order to affect that.

❖ *Latin America: Bolívar: 1807–1852*

In Latin America, nationalistic, ideological, revolutions and civil wars were exported to a whole host of Spanish colonies led by Simón Bolívar, beginning in 1807 and extending all the way to 1852, all across the Latin American continent. Most of the nations that exist today from Ecuador and Bolivia to Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela, were first liberated in a series of civil wars.

❖ *Germany: Bismarck: 1859–1866*

Germany, as you know, was not a single nation throughout the whole of its history. Rather, in 1848, what we today call Germany was still some nineteen separate kingdoms and principalities and electorates. It was during the nineteenth century under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck and the Prussian royal house of the Hohenzollern that a civil war was fought, a civil war that also brought other nations into the fray. The Prussian-Franco

² Never having heard of *tar balls*, I asked Dr. Grant for a description. "Oil spills in the Gulf result in small bits, patches, and balls of oil-tar on the beach. Very messy." *Ed.*

War, the war between Prussia and France, was a direct result of this long engagement of civil war that forced a union of the once seceding states.

❖ *Italy: Garibaldi: 1833–1866*

Garibaldi wrenched the five different kingdoms of Italy through a long and difficult series of civil wars and revolutions and forged them into a single nation-state.

Ideological nationalists believed in centralization. They believed in union. They believed that it was necessary to have, if possible, transcontinental national empires, ignoring age-old differences between cultures, peoples, and languages, to force together a political union because they believed that artificial political union was more stable and more progressive than the old idea of peoples, commonwealths, and culture determining boundaries.

❖ *North America: Lincoln: 1860–1865*

The American Civil War was just one more in this long list of nationalistic, ideological civil conflicts. It was unique in many ways, as were each of the others. It had its own distinctive flavor, and, quite frankly, the American Civil War was among the bloodiest of all of them if you exclude the Russian Civil War. But it was just one in a long line.

❖ *Boer: Kitchener: 1895–1902*

❖ *Russia: Lenin: 1896–1922*

There was the Boer War in South Africa from 1895 to 1902, and then the horrific Russian Civil War, which really began with armed conflict in 1896. It was not concluded until finally the White Russian army was annihilated by Trotsky's Red army in 1922. It was the bloodiest civil war in human history up to that point, outstripping the American Civil War three-to-one in casualties.

❖ *Spain: Franco: 1936–1939*

The Spanish Civil War under Generalissimo Franco, just prior to World War II, was yet another of these.

We could add to this long list, a host of other wars across the North African littoral and throughout the Middle East. In fact, Victor Davis Hanson, a brilliant scholar of antiquity particularly focusing on the influence of Greek civilization but now a consultant to the State Department, has argued that the current unrest in the Middle East is just the backlash, the final whimpers, of ideological nationalism. You can explain the conflicts of the Ba'athist Party in Syria and Iraq and the amalgamation of the Arabian peninsula under the Saud family and the subsuming of the Hejaz in the Tri'lhas³ mountains altogether into a single nation-state. All of that is really a part of this whole movement of nationalism.

Nationalism

❖ *Transcontinental Union*

Nationalism aims for a kind of transcontinental, transcultural union for the sake of political efficiency. It's sort of a unified empire. According to Niall Ferguson, a brilliant professor at the London School of Economics and at

³ Along the coast of the Red Sea there is a coastal plain known as the Tihamah. Then toward the interior desert plateau there is a sharp escarpment called Tri'lhas, which including the range of Mt. Hira.

Harvard University, it would be best to understand Napoléon's wars as an attempt to forge an ideological nationalism in Europe, a kind of early European Economic Union rather than empire building. He wasn't trying to do what the British were doing. He wasn't trying to collect colonies all across the globe, he was trying to bring Europe together and create a nationalistic union across cultural, linguistic, and historic boundaries. He was a classic nationalist.

❖ *Cultural Consensus*

❖ *Political Centralization*

Once political union has been achieved, the second aim of nationalism is to erase the distinctives of culture, the regional differences. You work hard to have a unified language. For instance, General Tito imposed a standardized version of Yugoslav over the seven or eight, depending on how you count them, different nations that were amalgamated together to form old Yugoslavia. All of the regional differences between the Serbs and the Croats were to be erased. The old Serbian songs weren't to be sung. The old Croatian dishes weren't to be cooked. Instead, there was to be this amalgamation of culture in the way that he had amalgamated politics.

This is why the Turks suppress the Kurds. This is why the Russians suppressed all the languages of the Chechens, the Georgians, the Azerbaijanis, and the Turkmen. It's the idea of nationalism. Make everybody talk the same, think the same, be the same. Put only the favored accents on national television, so we all talk like Peter Jennings, Tom Brokaw, and Katie Couric (oh, Lord, help us) instead of talking the way we really want to talk.⁴ *Like this. Because, if we talk like this, people will think, you know, he's just stupid. He's just stupid. Because of the way he talks, he's stupid. If we talk like this, people will think, he's just stupid.* It's not what he says that's stupid, it's just the way he talks that's stupid. So we've got to have uniformity, so that we all talk exactly the same way because language is an expression of culture. If you're forging a new culture, then you've got to have a new consensus of how language works. Ideological nationalism presses for this kind of uniformity.

In order to hold it altogether, there has to be a centralized authority that controls the medium of exchange, a centralized authority that authorizes all regulation and commerce and communication, and of course, education. That was the aim of ideological nationalism.

Some Issues After the War

Following the Civil War, the victors, who were ideological nationalists, had a whole series of questions that they had to answer. There were issues that were really pressing. Once you win, what do you do with Louisiana? Abraham Lincoln had a plan for Reconstruction. Three days before he was assassinated, he outlined his plan. It was really remarkable. He said,

If we reject and spurn [our Southern brothers], we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in fact, say to the white man: You are worthless or worse; we will neither help you nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, held to your lips, we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled

⁴ Dr. Grant launched into a bit of southern accent, playing with the kids at this point. I'm not going to try to reproduce this on paper! Use your imagination. *Ed.*

and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and how. ... We [need to] encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of twelve thousand to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success.⁵

He wanted to bring what remnants of the South he could back into the Union as quickly as possible. He argued that the forensics of how and when and why the states left the Union in the first place were unhelpful in the political discourse in bringing them back; all that should be set aside, like the war should be set aside.

❖ *Loyalty Pledges to the Union*

❖ *Suffrage and the Franchise to Vote*

❖ *The Right to Stand as Officeholders*

To be sure, there were questions. For a person to be able to vote in the future, does he have to take loyalty pledges to the Union? Is that even constitutional? How do you expand suffrage and the franchise to vote? Do those who have never had any freedoms before, do they need to be *taught* how to have freedom or do you just *give* them freedom? Who has the right to stand as an officeholder? Does a former member of the Confederate Army have the right to stand as an officeholder? Do former members of Congress in the United States, who then seceded and remained loyal to their state, have the right to be officeholders? Do we convict them of crimes?

❖ *The Passage of Constitutional Amendments*

❖ *Resolution of Bonds, Debts, and Titles*

❖ *Reversion of Property Rights and Claims*

Almost immediately there was concern that the Emancipation Proclamation, though having the form of an executive order, did not have the force of law, therefore constitutional changes would have to be undertaken. How do you resolve the war bonds, debts, and titles? Who owns what property? Do property rights revert to their pre-war status? Properties that were seized during the war, do they now belong to the victors? How do you settle those issues?

❖ *The Integrity of State Borders*

There was the question of the integrity of state borders. Some states had divided. Contrary to the Constitution, one state was even split and recognized by the federal government with West Virginia receiving its own sovereignty. What about East Tennessee, should they have that same right? Should borders revert to their old boundaries, or should new states be created by fiat, like the nations of Europe? Should new lines be drawn? Texas was too large, many said. Florida did not make sense in its present boundaries. South Florida had very little in common with the panhandle of Florida. "Chop it up. Give those pieces to other states." "Georgia is too vast," they said.

❖ *The Constitutionality of Structural Change*

There was the whole question of whether or not the federal government even had the constitutional right to bring about these structural changes. Read the Constitution and the federal government doesn't have a right to

⁵ From Lincoln's last public address, April 11, 1865.

do any of this. Lincoln said in his Reconstruction address that we had no authority and no precedent to do any of the things that are now forced upon us to do.

❖ *Citizenship Restoration and Full Civil Rights*

❖ *Military Districts and Re-admission to the Union*

How do you restore citizenship and to whom do you restore citizenship? Is there a tiered process? Who gets full civil rights? How do military districts gain re-admittance to the Union? These are complicated questions.

Louisiana, by the end of the war, had been divided up into four districts. Were those four districts now normative, or would Louisiana become Louisiana again? There were parts of Louisiana that, during the war, had seceded from Louisiana, the Florida parishes, for instance. They wanted to be their own independent nation flying the Bonnie Blue flag, as they had once been an independent nation, the Republic of West Florida back before Thomas Jefferson had them conquered and brought into the Union against their will following the Louisiana Purchase in 1810. What do you do with all this mess?

The Three Phases of Reconstruction

Presidential Reconstruction (1863–1866)

❖ *Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan*

Lincoln had a plan. He desired to put into place this plan. It was a gentle plan; it was a rehabilitative plan, it was a plan that was consonant and consistent with Lincoln's leadership in the last two years of the war. Essentially as soon as ten percent of any old state had made pledges to the Union and had certified themselves as willing to work hard to restore their state, that state could be restored to the Union.

❖ *Johnson's Black Laws*

❖ *The Move for Impeachment*

Of course, Abraham Lincoln only lived four days following his announcement of his plan. He was succeeded by his vice president, Andrew Johnson, who tried to carry out Lincoln's plan. But with a great deal of force and without the deft political maneuvering, Johnson alienated virtually everyone. His so-called black laws, laws that were intended to bring about the franchise, to offer suffrage, and to bring about the re-admittance of Southern states, were widely derided. And shortly, he faced impeachment proceedings in Congress.

Radical Reconstruction (1866–1873)

By the end of 1866, the Radical Republicans had seized control of the functioning of Congress and of Reconstruction itself. Their plan was to brutally punish and exploit the resources and the people of the South.

❖ *Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens*

Led by Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, who were fire-breathers before the war, and became even more ardent at the end of the war, they imposed a smothering uniformity that destroyed what was left of the economies of the South.

❖ *Carpetbaggers and Scalawags*

And, of course, there were carpetbaggers and scalawags, people from the North who came to the South to exploit new opportunities, so-called because they carried their belongings in what was then a very popular style of luggage made out of what appeared to be carpets. Scalawags were Southerners who likewise seized the opportunity to exploit these new circumstances, and they were considered scoundrels by their fellows. It was a season of extraordinary corruption, manipulation, and exploitation.

❖ *Constitutional Change*

With all that came dramatic constitutional change, which really changed the structure of the way the federal government functioned and ceded to the federal government extraordinary new powers.

Redemptionist Reconstruction (1873–1878)

❖ *Retrenchment and Recovery*

By 1873, the South's old political networks had begun to come back together, and they began a Luddite assault on all the changes. The South became a retrenched, resistant, cultural monolith. Before the war, the South was perhaps the most educated and most urbane part of the United States. It also had among the richest concentrations of landholders anywhere in the world — a rich culture, rich educational tradition, very, very urbane. In the years and the decades following the Civil War, this dramatically reversed itself. The South became known for poverty, ignorance, coarseness, and resistance to the rest of the United States, in reaction to these oppressive measures from the outside. So even as the South recovered, there was this kind of retrenchment.

❖ *Disestablishment and Segregation*

❖ *Jim Crow Laws*

Southern power elites worked hard to disestablish all the Reconstruction programs. Segregation was re-instituted. And a series of discriminatory laws were put into place that, slowly at first, and then rapidly, stripped away the civil rights of African Americans, which led to a massive exodus of African Americans from the South to the North.

Reconstruction and Deconstruction

❖ *Vengeance: Thaddeus Stevens*

The process of Reconstruction involved a whole series of steps led by various persons. Thaddeus Stevens wanted vengeance.

❖ *Carpetbaggers: E.M. Bounds*

E.M. Bounds, a border state man, was brought to the South, fell in love with the South, and though he was a carpetbagger, he found that the South was a new home for him.

❖ *Scalawags: Andrew Johnson*

There were, however, scalawags. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was widely heralded as a scalawag — someone who exploited the disarray in the South for his own aims.

❖ *Ku Klux Klan: Nathan Bedford Forrest*

There were protective vigilante groups that sprang up in the South to guard against the scalawags and the carpetbaggers. Former Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest was part of the formation of a group intended to protect Confederate widows and landholders from the exploitation of carpetbaggers and scalawags. After a couple of years, Forrest resigned because he began to see a nasty trend in the members of the Ku Klux Klan, to become more than a protective militia but rather vigilantes expressing their hatred, their views of discrimination becoming a force of oppression against African Americans.

❖ *Thirteenth Amendment: Abolition of Slavery*

❖ *Fourteenth Amendment: Citizenship and Due Process*

❖ *Fifteenth Amendment: Discrimination*

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments brought sweeping change to the structure of the federal government — the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, the Fourteenth Amendment establishing the due process clause and defining the nature of citizenship; and the Fifteenth Amendment putting hedges against discriminatory legal actions.

❖ *New South: Benjamin Hill*

A new South began to emerge under leaders like Georgia's Benjamin Hill, who argued for that old culture, but often, with Hill, it was a Luddite response.

❖ *Re-admittance: Rutherford B. Hayes*

❖ *Reversion: Jim Crow*

When the South was finally fully re-admitted, and Reconstruction ended in the administration of Rutherford B. Hayes, there was a kind of cultural reversion in the Jim Crow laws.

The Dawning of American Modernity

The Civil War marked the sudden advent of ideological Modernity in American society and life. ~ Paul Johnson

Many Southern historians, including Andrew Nelson Lytle, argued that, as horrible as the war was, the effects of the measures after the war were worse. The war only brought the culture of the South to its knees, but all the measures after the war killed the culture of the South.

Paul Johnson says, “The Civil War marked the sudden advent of ideological modernity in American⁶ society and life.” In a sense, what happened in the American Civil War is that America followed in the footsteps of Germany, Italy, France, and Russia in embracing ideological Modernity. And thus, the modern world began.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, it would be said that America was leading the way in Modernity, which is why Lord Rees-Mogg, the former editor of the *Times of London*, said, “If there is any great future tyranny to fear, it is from those powers great enough to assure the world of its own benevolence.” It seems like a reverse notion, a paradox, an irony, but it’s just a reminder of what so many wise politicians have told us in the past. Remember Ronald Reagan — “The most feared words in the English language are *I’m from the government and I’m here to help.*” If there was ever a lesson to be learned from the war and its aftermath, it is this: institutions, structures, and ideologies don’t save us. They don’t solve our problems. It’s people, it’s communities. It’s the web of relationships that we have that get us through difficult times and enable us to find a way to solve our deepest problems. Alas, that’s a lesson that we have yet to fully learn.



Lord, as we live on the threshold of a whole new century and a whole new millennium, we pray that you would show us the great lessons of the past, that we can learn from them so that we can do the things that you’ve called us to do, be the people you’ve called us to be, and exercise your wisdom in the midst of a world that seems to be bereft of it. We pray this in Jesus name. Amen.

⁶ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant said, “ideological society and life,” instead of American society and life. *Ed.*

Lesson 41

The Wild, Wild West: From Sea to Shining Sea

Text Book Reading

Primary: A History of the English Speaking People, Theodore Roosevelt and His Golden Age
 Alternate: America, The Last Best Hope, pp. 523–525

Lesson Synopsis

After the Civil War, America was finally breathing a bit again and began to look West for a whole host of reasons. The stakes were high and the land was grand — the vast vistas, the open plains, the soaring mountains, the rich resources. The American continent was, it seemed, one gold mine after another, enticing the whole of the world to come and to lay hold of its riches.

Opportunity

19

Lesson Topics

Manifest Destiny, transcendentalism and utopianism, Westward expansion, wars with Native Americans, the transcontinental railroad, the gold rush, the Pony Express, the Mexican-American War, the Gadsden Purchase, the conquest of West Florida, the Trail of Tears

Primary Source Material

Search online for maps, memoirs, diaries, and letters of the settlers, miners, and pioneers.

Vocabulary

post bellum, prescient, deleterious, notion, steely, transcendentalism, dispatch, esoteric, pristine, utopia, cult, bucolic, temperance, romantic, ribald, skepticism, hone, sociologist, subversive, littoral, disenfranchised, coercion, Conestogas, bode

Timeline

- ❖ 1803: The Louisiana Purchase
- ❖ 1804-06: The Lewis & Clark Expedition
- ❖ 1810: Conquest of West Florida
- ❖ 1812: Canadian Invasion
- ❖ 1813–1842: The Creek and Seminole Wars
- ❖ 1826: James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*

- ❖ 1827: The Cherokee Republic
- ❖ 1838: The Trail of Tears
- ❖ 1841-42: The Dorr Rebellion
- ❖ 1845: The Annexation of Texas
- ❖ 1846-48: The Mexican-American War
- ❖ 1848: The Annexation of the Oregon Territory
- ❖ 1849: Gold discovered in California
- ❖ 1851: Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*
- ❖ 1854: The Gadsden Purchase
- ❖ 1860-61: The Pony Express
- ❖ 1866-1904: Western Indian Wars
- ❖ 1867: The Alaska Purchase, Seward's Folly
- ❖ 1869: The Transcontinental Railroad was completed.
- ❖ 1876: The Battle of Little Big Horn, Custer's Last Stand
- ❖ 1884: Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*



The Wild, Wild West: From Sea to Shining Sea

*Go west, young man. There you will find the future.
~ Horace Greeley*

Well, today is the day in which we finally get to the *post bellum* world. After the Civil War, America was finally breathing a bit again and began to look West for a whole host of reasons. We'll look at those reasons, and we'll look at some of the complications of the westward glance of the American civilization.

26 April

- ❖ *1986: The Chernobyl nuclear accident occurred.*

Today is April 26, and it is the anniversary of the great nuclear disaster at Chernobyl, the world's worst nuclear disaster. An explosion and fire at the nuclear plant immediately killed thirty-one people and sent radioactivity into the atmosphere creating a massive cloud that covered most of Europe and then created a vast dead zone in an almost one hundred-mile diameter right in the heart of Ukraine, about a hundred miles north of the capital city of Kiev.

- ❖ *1961: Roger Maris hit the first of his record sixty-one home runs.*

It was also on this day in 1961 that Roger Maris hit the first of sixty-one home runs in a single season. For those of you who are keeping track the homer was off Detroit's pitcher Paul Foytack at Tiger Stadium.

❖ *1918: The Western Allies sought the first war reparations from Germany following the First World War.*

It was also on this day in 1918 that, following World War I, the allied nations sought the first of many draconian payments from Germany as reparations for the cost of the war. These excessive payments, only three of which were actually transferred, along with a whole series of oppressive post-war measures helped to ensure the onset of first nationalism and then national-socialism in Germany, which almost guaranteed the outbreak of the Second World War. In fact, it was almost right on the heels of the Versailles Treaty that Winston Churchill stated that peace had not been achieved after World War I, merely a ceasefire. He was extremely prescient and prophetic in that regard.

❖ *1866: The first Decoration Day was observed in Columbus, Mississippi.*

It was on this day in 1866 that a group of women from Columbus, Mississippi, placed flowers on the graves of both Confederate and Union soldiers at the Friendship Cemetery there in Columbus. The practice led to the first official Decoration Day, which was a federally recognized holiday, beginning in 1868, a day Congress said was “for the purpose of strewing with flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their countries during the late rebellion with the hope that it will be kept up from year to year, and the honor bestowed upon heroes for the fight for homeland and freedom.”

❖ *1865: John Wilkes Booth was tracked down and killed.*

It was on this day in 1865 that John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln, was finally tracked down, surrounded by federal troops near Bowling Green, Virginia, and killed.

❖ *1783: John James Audubon was born.*

It was on this day in 1783 that the great American ornithologist and painter, John James Audubon, was born in Les Cayes in Santo Domingo, which is today part of Haiti. He illustrated every known species of bird in North America in his ten-volume series *The Birds of America*. It was his great vision that really began to open up the wonders of the American West, the vast, vast frontier that lay mythically at the edge of the American civilization, but which proved to be its future and the source of its great wealth.

❖ *1607: An expedition of English colonists went ashore at Cape Henry, Virginia, to establish the first permanent English settlement in America.*

And it was on this day, April 26, 1607, that an expedition of English colonists, including Captain John Smith, went ashore for the first time at Cape Henry, Virginia, to establish the first permanent English settlement in America. They called their settlement Jamestown. Almost immediately, they encountered Native Americans, those whose land they were now coming to colonize. If ever there was a time when the conflict between western settlers and Native Americans was brought to the fore, it was in those earliest days of settlement along the coast of the Atlantic and then progressively all the way through to the opening up of the West. It would be the great titanic struggle of the nation. Some would argue that it was a greater struggle even and with even more deleterious effects — that’s a wonderful word, by the way, it just means bad — with deleterious effects on the whole fabric of the civilization, the conflict between the Native Americans and the settlers, worse perhaps even than the War Between the States.

America's Westward Gaze

The stakes were high and the land was grand — the vast vistas, the open plains, the soaring mountains, the rich resources. The American continent was, it seemed, one gold mine after another, enticing the whole of the world to come and to lay hold of its riches. But, of course, there were others who had long dwelt there, whose lands and sacred homes were suddenly being invaded. It would create a conflict of cultures and a conflict of conscience that would be right at the heart of the whole of western civilization.

Philosophy

Now, of course, all movements initially start with ideas. Ideas come first. Consequences of those ideas are the actions and the movements in history. This is the course of all things at the foundation of all movements. Ideas have consequences, consequences don't produce ideas.

We have to remember that long before the pioneers began to push beyond the mountains of the East into the middle of America and then beyond that across the transcontinental divide into the far West, already men were beginning to think about what to do with the continent, what to do with all of that vast open land.

❖ *Manifest Destiny*

It was very early on in America's experience that a number of thinkers and philosophers began to describe a notion called Manifest Destiny. The idea was that somehow or another it was woven into the fabric of the nature of things, if not the will of Almighty God, that the whole American continent be united in one culture, for one purpose, for the spreading of freedom around the world, the establishment of certain peculiar ideas. The philosophy of Manifest Destiny became the dominating theme of early American civilization. It was woven into the stories and became the theme of its songs and poetry. It was reflected in its architecture and art. At every turn, there was a reinforcement that America was *supposed* to spread across the entire continent.

The idea itself was almost absurd when considered in tactical or strategic terms. The continent was vast. It was as large as almost all of Europe, and to think that one country with one government, one central vision, one culture, and one language could spread across that much territory just seemed absurd. It was the sort of thing that only the Attilas, the Czars, and the Cæsars of the world could have ever imagined. It would require steely will and united purpose and the marshaling of huge strategic resources to achieve.

❖ *Transcendentalism*

It's interesting that at the same time this notion of Manifest Destiny began to spread among America's thinkers, plotters, planners, and philosophers, there were a whole series of other philosophical ideas that were filtered in and woven into the fabric of the idea of Manifest Destiny, including transcendentalism, a sort of hybrid of old Greek Platonic philosophy with a few Christian ideas and virtues tossed in, but dispatching the idea of a sovereign God, the Trinity, and redemption and sin. It was a sort of popularized civil religion with a hefty dose of romanticism thrown in for good measure.

Out of transcendentalism came a stripping of the substance of American churches. Soon churches were beginning to talk more about things like self-esteem and care for the world than about the perilous state of souls.

There was much more attention given to practical concerns like how to be happy, than eternal concerns like how to be redeemed.

Transcendentalism also brought a remarkable effect to the art, the music, and the culture of the day. There was a romantic attachment to all sorts of esoteric things. The fruit of this was immediately evident in a kind of a romantic view of creation, as the earliest environmentalism. It was a kind of purified notion of creation. It was pristine and wonderful. It's the view of creation you take from a long lens with wide vistas. You see glorious, glorious sights but there are no bugs, no danger, no floods, no forest fires, no grizzly bears — just this majestic, romantic view of the world. It's so clean, so wonderfully nice.

❖ *Utopianism*

Transcendentalism had this sort of romantic pitch to it, which led to a unique, new, American utopianism. There was this idea that sprang up, a hybridized version of what the Puritans and Pilgrims had as they crossed the ocean looking to find a new land where they could carve out a home for themselves, where there would be freedom — freedom for their faith, freedom for their children, and freedom for their futures. Now with the influence of Manifest Destiny and transcendentalism, this romantic view became the idea that people could go out, and they could create a perfect community where everyone could live in harmony. If everyone ate right, had the right jobs, and pitched in together, then the horrible effects of sin could be blunted and even kept at bay.

Similarly, there were these messianic cults that sprang up with charismatic leaders, and they would go off and they would form communes. They would eat special foods that were designed to make them much more spiritually attuned to the romance of the world around them. That's where Kellogg's™ and Post actually started — as religious cults, utopian societies.

A whole host of early nineteenth-century leaders began their careers in activism as parts of these utopian cult communities. All up and down the Hudson River these communes gathered. They built these big homes overlooking the Hudson River in this bucolic setting, and there they would talk about things like temperance and suffrage and abolition. This is where a whole host of the great reformers of the middle of the nineteenth century began their careers, in these transcendentalist, romantic, utopian, cultic communities. Sojourner Truth was a member of one of these cults along the Hudson River. Frederick Douglass was a member of one of these cults. William Lloyd Garrison was a member of one of these cults. Horace Greeley was a member of one of these cults. It was what propelled them into activism and reforming works.

Many of them ultimately saw the futility of the cults and abandoned them but maintained the philosophy. That sort of utopianism marked the westward glance. It laid the foundations for the health food movement, the environmentalist movement, the craft-works movement. They created an approach to architecture and, of course, literature.

Literature

❖ *James Fenimore Cooper*

Rich with the romanticism and utopianism of transcendentalist philosophy were the early romantic works of James Fenimore Cooper.¹ The *Leatherstocking Tales*, things like *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Deerslayer* were built around a whole series of uniquely American virtues. They were romantic because they looked back to the romantic tales of men like Sir Walter Scott in Scotland and tried to put a uniquely American stamp on those ideals, while at the same time drinking deeply from the wells of this new transcendentalist utopianism.

❖ *Herman Melville*

This is precisely what helped shape the tales of Herman Melville as well. Although with Melville, there was a catch. He had been raised as a faithful son of the Puritans, so he had a rich foundation of Biblical theology, a Calvinist worldview, and he could never quite get away from it. In fact, part of the great tension in *Moby-Dick* is the tension in Ishmael — who really wasn't Ishmael. He simply said, "Call me Ishmael," because he knew that he wasn't Ishmael but that he really was Isaac; he could never get away from being Isaac even though he pretended to be Ishmael. There was this great tension in Melville, which is why Calvinist themes keep coming up over and over again all through the book. With Melville, you have a richer literary fabric because he is wrestling with all these new ideas that he is attracted to, but he can't get away from all the old ideas in which he is rooted.

❖ *Mark Twain*

Then, of course, Mark Twain takes all of it, and with his ribald sense of humor, his edgy skepticism, and his enormous work ethic, he honed a body of work that was uniquely American, romanticizing, yet at the same time bringing into practical reality, the world of the West.

Suddenly the United States, whose population was located more than ninety percent within a hundred and fifty miles of the Atlantic, started looking further and further west and imagining the building of a new life out on the frontier.

Art and Music

❖ *Revival and Camp Music*

❖ *Traditional Folk and Western Music*

This western ethic began to shape American music. Up until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the music that was most popular in America was still essentially the kind of chamber music that the elites listened to back in Europe. But now, by the middle of the nineteenth century and all the way up through the beginning of the twentieth century, the most popular music was a hybrid of the kind of music that you might actually hear around the work camp or around the camp fire. It was the beginning of country, it was the beginning of the blues, it was the beginning of rock 'n' roll. It was a fusion of the work music of field hands and former slaves. It involved spirituals and, of course, the revival music of the big camp meetings. So you have gospel music. You have the old spirituals, work music, and marching music, and it all melds together into a new kind of camp music, which in various places gave rise to things like western swing and traditional folk music — the melding of old Celtic

¹ For Mark Twain's views on Cooper's prose and Natty Bumppo, see his satiric essay, "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences". *Ed.*

melodies brought over by the Scots-Irish settlers of the south melded with a bit of Delta Blues and gospel, and what you've got is this extraordinary mishmash of new American music.

❖ *Hudson River School*

That, too, is reflected in the graphic arts. With the Hudson River School, you've got a kind of artistic expression the likes of which the world had hardly ever seen before. It portrays a romanticized nature, man coming into the midst of majestic glories the likes of which man had hardly ever seen before. The mountains are taller, the cliffs are steeper, the sunshine is brighter, the water is cooler, and everything is pure.

Many of the members of the Hudson River School were decidedly anti-Romantic. Many of them were committed Christians, attempting to resist the tug of Romanticism, but even as they painted the scenes of the West, they fed the popular hunger for a Romantic vision.

Cultural Progress

❖ *Philosophy*

❖ *Literature*

❖ *Music*

❖ *Graphic Arts*

❖ *Sculpture*

❖ *Technology*

❖ *Architecture*

❖ *Economics*

❖ *Politics*

❖ *Popular Acceptance*

This, by the way, reminds us of the way cultures change. You remember that beginning with John Calvin, who was a remarkable sociologist as well as a theologian. His vision for the transformation of culture involved not merely laying out a new theology but showing how that new theology would transform everything in a culture from the literature right on through to the kinds of buildings that would be built. One of the greatest effects in France of Calvinism in the late sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, where Calvinism was actually outlawed and persecuted by the French monarchy, was a kind of secret code in architecture so that some of the finest buildings in Paris built by Roman Catholic royal patrons are filled with Calvinistic symbolism. Paris is actually designed on a whole Calvinistic philosophy. It's one of the great ironies of all time. There are a whole series of Ph.D. studies that have been done on this unique, subversive invasion of Paris. But it's simply the working out of a worldview.

Inevitably philosophies don't become popular and widely accepted in the ordinary populace until they are filtered through a whole series of cultural influencers. The idea of Manifest Destiny and transcendentalism and utopianism, the cowboy ethic of America, didn't come to America naturally, it had to be nurtured and imbibed, in a sense, with all the tenacity of a modern-day Madison Avenue branding marketer. This idea had to be fil-

tered through the whole of the culture from philosophers to those who wrote the stories, to those who created the music, to those who painted the paintings and carved the sculptures and forged the technologies and built the buildings and crafted the economic relationships and ultimately wrote the bills in Congress, and only then did the whole culture get it.

Now this is hugely important for those of us who say things like, “Oh let’s go change the world, glory to God.” You can’t just talk that into being. You have to work really hard over a long period of time, calling out of young people, generation after generation, their peculiar callings in every single area of life, seeding into every discipline the unique distinctives of the vision that you wish to implement. Part of the reason that Evangelicalism has been so culturally impotent in America over the last fifty years is that we’ve been content with just doing church. Doing church is the greatest and highest calling of man. It’s a glorious thing to be called together. I don’t know about you, but I was just soaring on Sunday for Easter. It’s glorious — great music, churches are packed, a sense of real connectedness, churches praying for other churches all over the world. This is really incredible, but if we’ve got two hours a week of incredible and we’re doing nothing for the rest of the time, then I promise that moveon.org wins.

Westward Ho!

Thomas Jefferson

- ❖ *Louisiana Purchase*
- ❖ *Lewis and Clark Expedition*
- ❖ *Barbary Tripolitan War*

So, we see this westward glance filtering through the whole of the cultural apparatus. It really started with Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1804, and the first foreign war fought by the United States, the war against the Muslim pirates, the Barbary Pirates, along the coast of the North Africa littoral. In fact, it was at Tripoli that Marines first charged onto the shore and gained one of the most famous lines in their fight song: “from the Halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli”.

John Tyler

- ❖ *Rhode Island’s Dorr Rebellion*

It was during the presidential administration of John Tyler that Rhode Island had a massive armed rebellion known as Dorr Rebellion. It seems that the franchise, the right to vote, had been written up under the old colonial charters and had not changed all the way up to the middle of the nineteenth century, which meant that in the early days, when everyone owned a plot of land, the franchise was pretty much universal, but through increasing industrialization all the way up to the beginning of the Civil War, in places like Rhode Island, fewer and fewer citizens actually owned land. There was a flood of new immigrants, particularly in Rhode Island, from Ireland, and virtually all of those people were disenfranchised. As a result, there was a popular rebellion under the leadership of Robert Dorr, who essentially said that there ought to be universal franchise. Everybody ought to be able to vote whether he owned land or not. Ultimately, it led to bloodshed, grave conflict, and a constitutional crisis not just in Rhode Island, where there were three separate rival constitutions with armed bands defending each of them in 1842, but waves of concern spread throughout all of the states. Many of those disen-

franchised realized their only hope for the future was to leave behind those eastern industrial cities and to move West.

❖ *Annexation of Texas*

This was a large part, in 1845, of the move under Tyler to open up vast new territories. Texas was annexed.

❖ *Annexation of Florida*

Then the vast Florida territories were annexed having been acquired from Spain. The United States initiated conversations and negotiations to acquire a whole host of new territories from Spain as well.

James Polk

❖ *Prosecution of the Mexican War*

That, of course, led to conflict with a former Spanish territory just to the south, the Mexican War, because the U.S. had designs on the whole southwest, what today we think of as a part of the American continent, but which in those days was considered by everyone the natural territory of the Mexican continent. The prosecution of the Mexican War prepared many of the generals who would fight in the Civil War, but it also caused the U.S. to start looking for other territories to open up.

❖ *Oregon Territory*

❖ *California Gold Rush*

The Oregon territory was acquired two years after the Mexican War, in 1848, and then, of course, the California Gold Rush occurred in 1849. Now the whole West seemed to be open territory, and still the American government was not satisfied.

Franklin Pierce

❖ *Ostend Manifesto: Cuba*

❖ *Gadsden Southwestern Purchase*

In 1854, the United States sought to purchase the great island of Cuba, through negotiations at Ostend in Belgium. The idea was to admit Cuba as a southern slave state to balance out the conflicts that now were beginning to manifest in Kansas. At the same time, the U.S. began negotiations to purchase from the cash-strapped Mexican government in 1854 a large swath of the southwest extending from New Mexico and Arizona all the way into southern California. This was the Gadsden Purchase.

James Buchanan

❖ *Kansas-Nebraska Act*

❖ *Lecompton Constitution*

❖ *Bleeding Kansas*

James Buchanan, as president, tried to end the conflict that came immediately after the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, but, as in Rhode Island, there were a whole series of conflicting constitutions. The worst of these, in 1858,

was the Lecompton Constitution, which led to armed conflict, a civil war within Kansas itself, leading Kansas to be dubbed “Bleeding Kansas”.

❖ *Non-Coercion Policy*

Buchanan attempted to calm the crisis by putting into law a non-coercion policy, but it hardly stopped the coercion.

Abraham Lincoln

❖ *War Between the States*

❖ *Centralized Administration*

Thus under Abraham Lincoln, there was the great conflict of the War Between the States. Now conflict was a large part of the backdrop, as we have seen, of the War Between the States. There were many issues and lots of conflicts between North and South. Some theorists have talked about the tariffs. It's popularly assumed that slavery was at the heart of the issue, but the backdrop to it all was the idea of Manifest Destiny and the extension of nationalism uniformly across the whole continent and the exercise of a kind of centralized administration. This was the larger vision and the larger backdrop.

❖ *Transcontinental Railroad*

It was greatly enhanced by the vast expansion of the railroads throughout the North and the Transcontinental Railroad, which connected East and West.

❖ *Seward's Folly: Alaskan Purchase*

Shortly after Lincoln's assassination, his Secretary of State was able to secure from Russia the vast territory of Alaska. It was called Seward's Folly.

❖ *McKinley's War: Caribbean and Pacific Dominions*

By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States had gone to war with Spain and acquired vast new territories throughout the Caribbean and in the Pacific, extending all the way to the Philippines. The Philippines became a colony of the United States and remained a colony of the United States until World War II.

From Sea to Shining Sea

Transportation

❖ *Conestogas, Flatboats, and Stages*

❖ *Transcontinental Railroad*

❖ *Steamboats and Clipper Ships*

To open up this vast new territory, it was necessary to have covered wagons, Conestogas; the use of the super highways of the day, the rivers, with huge flatboats to navigate them; and stagecoaches. With the transcontinental railroad, there was the ability to connect from point to point, but it would really require things like the cutting

of vast new trails and passes through the mountains, steamboats, and clipper ships to keep the flow of goods and peoples going.

Communication

❖ *The Pony Express*

The Pony Express was an extraordinary experiment. It only lasted eighteen months, but it left a kind of indelible mark on the American West.

❖ *Stringing Telegraph Lines*

And then there was the stringing of telegraph lines — the reason the Pony Express failed was the invention of the telegraph and the immediate extension of that technology to the whole of the West.

❖ *Tabloids, Newspapers, and Magazines*

With the vast expansion of that technology utilizing new automation and the ability to receive news instantaneously by telegraph, suddenly tabloids, newspapers, and magazines sprung up everywhere. It was an explosion of technology and information the likes of which the world had never seen before. It was astonishing. Something could happen in Boston on a Tuesday, and by Wednesday morning people in San Francisco could know about it. The world had never seen such a thing.

Migration

❖ *Oregon and Santa Fe Trails*

❖ *The 49'ers and the Gold Rush*

❖ *The Great Land Rushes*

This paved the way for mass migrations along the Oregon Trail and along the Santa Fe Trail. Tens of thousands of people rushed to California to cash in and find their gold in the California Gold Rush of '49. Then the federal government opened up vast swaths of land to settlers and homesteaders in the great land rushes. It was an incredible time.

The Cost of Destiny

Ideology

❖ *From Cultures to Governments*

❖ *From Covenants to Contracts*

❖ *Transcontinental Empire*

Thus a new ideological foundation was laid for America. Initially, the old world vision of Christendom had prevailed, which was that cultures predominated and governments were subservient to cultures. Now, covering this vast territory and the necessity of holding it all together, it became important to transfer authority from the culture to the government. Likewise, the old world, which was held together by covenants, now demanded the complexities of new agreements to be sealed with contracts. Thus was forged a transcontinental empire.

Resultant Conflicts

❖ *1810: Conquest of West Florida*

❖ *1812: Canadian Invasion*

Of course when you shift like this, it doesn't come without cost. For instance, following the Louisiana Purchase, there was a little swath of land, an independent nation called the Republic of West Florida. It stuck out like a sore thumb in the middle of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison's glorious new transcontinental enterprise, so it had to be conquered, and it was. Shortly thereafter, the American appetite for transcontinental empire led to excursions into Canada, which provoked the War of 1812.

❖ *1818–1838: Cherokee Dispossession*

Between 1818 and 1838, the Cherokee peoples, settled from the Cumberland Plateau southward all the way through to central Georgia, were dispossessed from their land and were forced out West.

❖ *1847: Mexican War*

❖ *1854: Border War (Bleeding Kansas)*

❖ *1861: War Between the States*

❖ *1866–1904: Western Indian Wars*

In 1847 was the Mexican War, and in 1854 the Border War that led to Bleeding Kansas. By 1861, the War Between the States. Beginning within months after Atlanta was burned, there were the western Indian wars.

The Native Americans

Surprisingly, the most shameful episode in American history was not slavery. Rather, it was the calamitous War on Native Indians and the dispossession of the Trail of Tears.

~ Henry Adams

The cost of Manifest Destiny was steep for some. The opportunities were great. Paul Johnson points out that there were many at the time who understood that this vision of Manifest Destiny was particularly costly to the Native Americans. Henry Adams, grandson and great grandson of presidents, a historian at Harvard, a friend and mentor to Teddy Roosevelt, said, "Surprisingly the most shameful episode in American history was not slavery, rather, it was the calamitous war on Native American Indians, the dispossession of the Trail of Tears."

The Struggle for Supremacy

Faltering Steps

- ❖ *Injustice and Treaty Confusion*
- ❖ *Mayflower Compact and Columbus*
- ❖ *Jonathan Edwards and David Brainerd*
- ❖ *Jamestown Settlement Leads to War*

From the very beginning of colonization in the Americas, there was confusion and a whole series of conflicting ambitions when it came to dealing with those who lived here first. Columbus and the earliest Pilgrims desired to bring the blessings of Christianity to the Native Americans. Columbus had a particularly benevolent view and believed that God had paved the way across the ocean so that the blessings of Christianity might spread to the ends of the earth. It was a similar vision shared by theologians like Jonathan Edwards who devoted much of his life, including his final years, to bringing the gospel to the frontier Indians and his daughter's fiancé, David Brainerd, who was one of the greatest visionaries of spreading the gospel among the Native Americans. The Jamestown settlement immediately led to war with the Native Americans, and there was repeated warfare constantly after that.

Repeated Warfare

Alas there was always conflict.

- ❖ *1637: Pequot; 1675: Philip; 1763: Pontiac*
- ❖ *1778–1794: Chickamauga War*
- ❖ *1787: Northwest Indian Wars*
- ❖ *1809: Tecumseh's Confederacy*
- ❖ *1811: The Battle of Tippecanoe*
- ❖ *1813–1842: The Creek and Seminole Wars*

There was constant conflict. And as more and more settlers pushed further and further into Indian lands, the conflicts became fiercer and more desperate.

The Cherokee Failure

This is exemplified most particularly with the failure of the United States and the Cherokee Republic to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

Government

- ❖ *Washington: Civilizing the Indians*
- ❖ *Jefferson: Among the Heathen*
- ❖ *Adams: Duty to the Savages*

George Washington had a policy of civilizing the Indians. Thomas Jefferson believed that it was possible to dwell harmoniously among the heathen. John Adams believed we had a duty to reach the savages.

Missions

- ❖ *Americanize v. Christianize*
- ❖ *An Alien Culture to Be Discarded*

Often, missionaries were as muddled in their thinking as were politicians. There was a struggle. What's more important? Do we Americanize the Native Americans first and then evangelize them? Or do we evangelize them and allow them to adapt the faith to their culture? There was this notion that everything in the Native American culture needed to be discarded, that in order to be Christianized the Native Americans needed to wear Western clothes, speak English, and discard all of their stories, songs, myths, and their way of life from the past and become just like the westerners.

Cherokee

- ❖ *Successful Evangelization*

Amazingly, among the Cherokee, there was ready reception of the gospel. In fact, there were old stories, sort of bridges to Christianity, that made supreme sense to Cherokee leaders when they heard the gospel. It was as if God had prepared their culture ahead of time. So the Cherokee people became a Christian tribe. They began to reform their tribe in accordance with the principles that they saw in the gospel.

- ❖ *1824: Capitol at New Echota*

By 1824, they had established a sort of federal government for the Cherokee Republic and had established a capital at New Echota.

- ❖ *1827: The Cherokee Republic*
- ❖ *Elias Boudinot, John Ridge, and John Ross*

By 1827, they had sought recognition with foreign governments as the Cherokee Republic. A host of tribal leaders and great Cherokee chiefs, including the adopted Elias Boudinot, John Ridge, and John Ross, led the Cherokee people and sought to negotiate peaceful settlements with the government of the United States.

The Trail of Tears

Betrayal

- ❖ *Georgia's 1802 and 1828 Decrees*
- ❖ *Jackson's 1830 Removal Bill*
- ❖ *1831-1832: Supreme Court Decisions*

Unfortunately, the Cherokee people were dispossessed through a series of betrayals and treaty arrangements that were reneged upon.

The state of Georgia, in 1802 and 1828, decreed that the Cherokees had no natural rights to any of their territories. They must submit to state laws and be subsumed under the state government. Andrew Jackson, in 1830, passed a Removal Bill, arguing that the Cherokee would have to leave their native lands and be forcibly moved by the federal government. The Supreme Court ruled against the Cherokee appeals.

Dispossessed

- ❖ *1832: The Treaty Party or the Ridge Party*
- ❖ *1835: Distribution of Lands by Lottery*
- ❖ *1836: Senate Ratification*

The Cherokee, constantly trying to come up with some sort of negotiation, under the leadership of the Ridge Party, sometimes called the Treaty Party, broke away from the rest of the Cherokees and negotiated, in 1832, a treaty that would remove them to the Oklahoma Territory; it was a small splinter group that did not represent all the Cherokees. The treaty was immediately denounced by the main tribal leaders, but the United States chose to recognize the splinter group rather than the official Cherokee leadership. Thus, began the distribution of the Cherokee lands to new western settlers in Georgia. This was upheld by the Supreme Court and ratified in 1836 by the United States Senate.

Triage

- ❖ *1838: Scott and America's Greatest Shame*

By 1838, it was widely recognized that one of the great horrors of American life had been foisted upon the Cherokee. They were forced to march, on foot, with inadequate resources and inadequate food or shelter, from the mountains just to the south of Chattanooga all the way across Tennessee, along the Trail of Tears, and then onward and westward to Oklahoma. Two-thirds of the people who set out, *two-thirds of the people who set out*, died along the way in this forced march.

- ❖ *Amazing Grace in the Midst of Sorrow*

Yet, in the midst of this astonishing horror, God was faithful to pour out a rich, rich revival. Stories are told of these straggling bands, almost held hostage by Union troops spurring them along just outside of Nashville, as they approached. What people heard as they passed through middle Tennessee were these Cherokee, many of them on their last legs, literally dying, singing of the amazing grace of the gospel.

❖ *Covenantal Repentance*

Throughout the Cherokee, widespread covenantal repentance became the foundation of their new settlements in the Oklahoma territory.

Conclusion

Ideas have consequences. Philosophies may take a long time to filter through to the practical application of day-to-day culture, but, in the end, all ideas do, which is why it is so vital that we examine our presuppositions, that we understand what we believe, that we have firm foundations, because our thoughts will go all the way home and have stunning effect in our families, in our cultures, in our calling, and in our world. It's those unintended consequences that are the most painful and the most shocking to us, which is why we have to *think*, before we *do*.

A long Trail of Tears became a great shame for the American Republic, but it also became an opportunity for us to see how the worst that man can do can be redeemed in the hearts of those who are willing to repent. For those of us who are willing to learn from history, to learn what it means to come alongside a dispossessed people, the lessons are ongoing and incredibly powerful. The West boded great promise, but let's never be entirely romantic about what those opportunities really brought and at what cost.



Father, we thank you for the American experience, for all the mistakes that we've made as well as all the triumphs. We thank you for the opening up of the West. It breaks our heart to see at what cost. Show us, as we move ahead in the future, as American culture spreads around the world, as American influence is felt in every corner of the world, remind us of the lessons, the victories, and the triumphs right alongside the failures and the shames, so that we may exercise wise stewardship over the great trust that you have given us in this day and in this time. We pray this in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 42

*Give Me Your Huddled Masses***Text Book Reading**

Primary: none
 Alternate: none

Lesson Synopsis

The great melting pot of America was really forged in those *post bellum* years with huge waves of immigration that not only filled up the frontier and carried civilization throughout the Great Plains, the north, and all the way to the northwest, but also created great impetus for the urbanization of modern America.

Opportunity

none

Lesson Topics

Nineteenth century immigration, Ellis Island, the Statue of Liberty, urban growth

Primary Source Material

Search online for diaries, letters, and memoirs of immigrants who came through Ellis Island during this time.

Vocabulary

ignominious, heritage, land enclosures, eviction, fjord, clime, cohesion, epitomize, exceptionalism, refuse (n.), tenement, slumlords, confluence, urbanscapes, meld,

Timeline

- ❖ 1840-80: The First Wave of Immigration
- ❖ 1860-1900: The Second Wave of Immigration
- ❖ 1886: The Statue of Liberty
- ❖ 1890: Ellis Island transformed into an immigration station

*Give Me Your Huddled Masses*

*We are a nation of immigrants. All of us are technically hyphenated Americans — therefore, none of us are anymore.
 Now, we are all just Americans.
 ~ Teddy Roosevelt*

Today, as you can see, we'll be looking at the story of immigration. What we're going to discover today is that the great melting pot of America was really forged in those *post bellum* years with huge waves of immigration that not only filled up the frontier and carried civilization throughout the Great Plains, the north, and all the way to the northwest, but also created great impetus for the urbanization of modern America.

28 April

❖ *1969: Charles de Gaulle resigned.*

Today is April 28. It was on this day, April 28, 1969, that the French hero of the Second World War, President Charles de Gaulle, resigned his office marking the end of an era. The French newspapers were all aghast that they would have to face the future without de Gaulle at the helm. In fact, again and again, it was said that he was indispensable. So, it was on this day that he uttered my favorite de Gaulle quote when he said, "The graveyards of Paris are filled with indispensable men."

❖ *1947: The Kon-Tiki set of on its journey to Polynesia from Peru.*

It was also on this day in 1947 that a six-man Scandinavian expedition sailed from Peru aboard a balsa-wood raft named, the *Kon-Tiki*, on a one hundred one-day journey to Polynesia. It was an effort to demonstrate that the migration of peoples from the Far East to Latin America was not only possible but probable. This journey, which was heralded at the time and profiled in *National Geographic* and *Life Magazine*, was the sensation of the day because it demonstrated that migrational patterns that had only been theorized before were actually quite possible, if not probable.

❖ *1945: Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and his mistress, Clara Petacci, were kidnapped and executed.*

It was also on this day in 1945 that Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and his mistress, Clara Petacci,¹ were captured and executed by Italian partisans as they attempted to flee the country. Mussolini had ruled the nation with an iron fist and his vision of the fascist renewal of the old Roman Republic, for more than two decades. It was an ignominious exit for the old dictator.

❖ *1942: Coffee rationing began in the United States.*

It was in 1942 that, because of short supplies during World War II, the rationing of coffee was begun in the United States. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt declared that it was the greatest crisis faced by the nation yet. It was intended to be a joke, but as is often proved in political discourse in the United States, such jokes are lost on the majority of people, and he was skewered. It was predicted that he would be run out of office on a rail for having so diminished the loss of Pearl Harbor. He was just talking about coffee, y'all. It was a joke.

❖ *1789: A mutiny occurred on the HMS Bounty.*

It was on this day in 1789, April 28, that there was a mutiny on the HMS *Bounty*, as the crew of the British ship set Captain William Bligh and eighteen sailors adrift in a launch in the South Pacific.

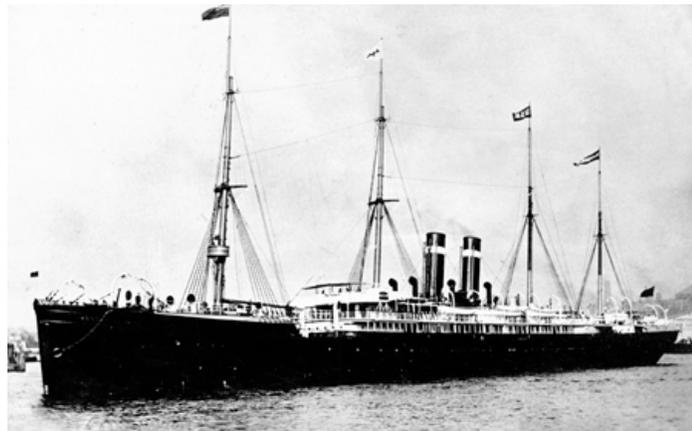
¹ Slip of the tongue: Dr. Grant called Mussolini's mistress Clara Pelacci, instead of Clara Petacci. *Ed.*

❖ *1787: The city of New York began negotiations to sell Oyster Island and Fort Gibson to the state of New York.*

For our purposes, perhaps the most significant thing that happened on this day happened just two years earlier, on April 28. That was when the city of New York began negotiations to sell Oyster Island and Fort Gibson to the state of New York. Eventually, the state renamed the military garrison Ellis Island, and then, in turn, sold the property to the federal government. In 1808, the War Department established a twenty-gun battery magazine and barracks there. Although it did not see action in the War of 1812, it was used as a garrison and as a P.O.W. camp. In 1861, Fort Gibson was dismantled, and a naval magazine was set up in its place. It was used as an ammunition depot throughout the Civil War. In 1890, the island, now vastly expanded with landfill and reclamation projects from the bay, was transformed into an immigration station. It served as the gateway for millions of immigrants into the United States from that time, all the way up until just before World War II. It was the first glimpse of America that most of our ancestors had.

Now, my family is probably a lot like yours. I, like most Americans, am what we might technically call a mutt — a very mixed heritage. In fact, according to the Census Bureau, ninety-eight point three percent of all Americans have mixed ancestry, meaning that we can't say, *Oh, I am Scottish*, or, *I'm Irish*, or, *I'm Nigerian*. We've all got a comingling of so much in us that it is difficult for us to trace all the sources of our inheritance. My family, for instance, came to America through two very different routes. One side of my family, the Scottish side, happened to pick the wrong side of the Rising of 1745. My Grant ancestors fought with Bonnie Prince Charlie and lost at the Battle of Culloden. Afterwards, they were rounded up, put into prison, and eventually sent off as forced labor servants to sugarcane plantations in Jamaica. Some people do their ancestry stuff and they're related to princes and kings. It's kind of like people who explore reincarnation, who were always some kind of a princess, or lord or chivalrous knight, something like that. Nobody ever says, *Yup, I'm a descendant of cobblers who were in debtors' prison for four generations straight*. Well, unfortunately, I'm descended from slaves. They were forced into the sugarcane plantations of Jamaica. A couple of them escaped and made their way to Canada, of all places. Now, if I was living in Jamaica, I'd find my way to St. Croix or St. Thomas. I'm not sure I'd go to Canada, but *they* went to Canada. There they sold themselves into indentured servitude, eventually worked their way out of indentured servitude, and made their way southward, illegally, into the United States. That's the bad side of my family, and that happens to be the side that I carry the name of.

The other side of my family has a little bit more of a romantic story to it. The Monnigs came from Alsace-Lorraine, which is a territory that the French and the Germans fought over ever since there was an Alsace-Lorraine. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, a group of family members decided to make their way to the promised land of the United States. Some of them were able to buy their passage. Several others sold themselves into indentured servitude for the cost of the passage, and they made their way over on an immigrant ship very much like this one here.² I actually have the family Bible that tells the whole story. There



² The *Westernland* (1888), built in 1883. Image is in the public domain.

are nineteen pages that describe the journey from Alsace-Lorraine to Ellis Island and to New York City. One of my ancestors, a great, great aunt, gave birth while on the ship to a little boy that she named America Hope Monnig.

A Flood of Twenty Million Immigrants

It's a story that is shared by so many Americans. We have a mixed inheritance, but we're probably not from here. Even Native American populations today have less than forty percent definitive lineage from native stocks. Everybody's from somewhere. We're a nation of immigrants. Some of us, like the Grants, got here unwillingly. Some of us like the Monnigs got here through great aspirations for a future hope. But in just a span of about sixty-five years, more than twenty million souls found their way to the United States.

1840–1880

❖ *One and a Half Million Irish: Poverty, Famine*

The first great wave spanned the time of the Civil War and Reconstruction, from 1840 to 1880. During that time, some one and a half million Irish immigrants fled poverty and famine back home, searching for a life of hope and a future for their children.

❖ *Four Million Germans: Poverty, Revolution*

❖ *One and a Half Million Scandinavians: Poverty, Land*

About four million Germans, likewise, fled the turmoil of all the revolutions that wracked the German principalities of the day, from 1848 all the way through to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. About one and a half million Scandinavians fled poverty and land enclosures and evictions from the old cottages that they had leased along the fjords and up in the forests of Scandinavia due to dramatic changes in Scandinavian governance. There were also a series of revolts in which the Scandinavian lands passed successively between Danish imperialists, Swedish imperialists, and then Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Danish nationalists. It was a tumultuous time.

Many of these immigrants from cold and forbidding climes fled their ancestral homes, braved the difficult voyage across the sea, often selling themselves into indentured servitude to work hard and long, once they arrived at their new homelands. They crossed the seas, and then, arriving in New York, they made their way through an unfamiliar land with unfamiliar language, and somehow found their way out into the West. They traveled until they could find a homeland that was as cold and as forbidding as the one they'd left behind. When they arrived in Wisconsin, they finally said, *Ah, this is home. This winter will be bad enough that we can stay right here. Let's brew some beer and make some cheese.* It's an extraordinary story. It's a story that so many would tell.

1860–1900

- ❖ *Four Million Poles and Slavs: Poverty, Repression*
- ❖ *Two Million Jews: Poverty, Persecution*
- ❖ *Three Million Italians: Poverty, Revolution*
- ❖ *One Million Chinese: Poverty, Warlords*

The second wave of immigrants came between 1860 and 1900. During this time, because of poverty and repression, or poverty and persecution, or poverty and revolution, or poverty and conflict between the various competing warlords, some four million Poles and Slavs from Eastern Europe, some two million Jews scattered throughout the European continent, some three million Italians, and some one million Chinese made their way to the shores of the United States.

1900–1919

- ❖ *One Million Armenians: Poverty, Genocide*
- ❖ *One Million Jews: Poverty, Persecution*
- ❖ *One Million Irish: Poverty, War*

Then, in a third wave between 1900 and the end of World War I in 1919, some one million Armenians fleeing one of the world's most dramatic seasons of genocide at the hands of the Ottomans, one million Jews, and another million Irish made their way to the Americas. And, most of us, most of us, have some link, some way of connecting with this world.

Give Me Your Huddled Masses

Admittance

- ❖ *Castle Garden: 1855–1892*
- ❖ *Ellis Island: 1892–1954*
- ❖ *The Statue of Liberty: 1886*

There would be additional waves in the twentieth century, and they would change in character. There would be waves of Puerto Ricans and later the Hondurans, Guatemalans, Mexicans, and Peruvians. There would be large waves from the Hmong people of Southeast Asia, in more recent times, floods of people fleeing persecution, poverty, and war in the Middle East. There have been waves of new immigrants among the Bantu peoples of central Africa and hosts of Ethiopians and Somalis. We have become a nation of immigrants. This is the great mark of the American people. In *The Patriot's Handbook*, I described this a little bit starting with a G.K. Chesterton quote, of course. Chesterton once quipped that, "America is the only nation in the world that is founded on a creed." Other nations find their identity and cohesion in ethnicity, or geography, or partisan ideology, or cultural tradition. But America was founded on certain ideas — ideas about freedom, human dignity, social responsibility.

It was this profound peculiarity that most struck Alexis de Tocqueville during his famous visit to the land at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He called it American exceptionalism. Where else in the world has there

been such cohesion among so many wildly diverse peoples? For the most part, the peoples who came during these floods of immigration loved the old country, loved the old traditions, brought their old recipes, songs, dances, and their traditions, but as they did, they became, as Teddy Roosevelt said, “not as hyphenated Americans,” they came to be Americans — one way, shape, form, or another.

They came desiring to find their way in this new land and to connect with this new world. As they came, initially, the immigration service had a large intake facility at Castle Garden in New York. From 1855 to 1892, this facility received tens of thousands, perhaps even millions of new Americans, though the record-keeping at Castle Garden, at various times, suffered losses, most particularly in the New York riots just at the beginning of the Civil War.

The real story of the explosion of immigration begins at Ellis Island. Ellis Island was one of three islands at the mouth of the Hudson, right on the southern tip of Manhattan. Ellis Island, as I mentioned earlier, was vastly expanded. In fact, if you look at a map of Ellis Island, it really doesn't look like an island, it looks like the footprint of the building; it's square with a huge boat launch and docks right in the center of it — unlike the other islands that surrounded it, Governor's Island, for instance, a large island administered by the Park Service, and Bedloe's Island where the Statue of Liberty is. It's different even than the larger islands, the huge Long Island that Brooklyn and Queens are a part of or Staten Island which is just on the other side of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge from Brooklyn. Ellis Island was designed specifically, first to be a military garrison, and then later to be the gateway for millions and millions of new Americans. The story of Ellis Island as it overlooks the Statue of Liberty is really a pretty remarkable story.

In fact, the story of the Statue of Liberty itself is a pretty remarkable story. There was a French economist who, at the end of the Civil War, believed that if there was a hope for the future of the world, it would be America. France at the time was under the iron grip of Napoleon III. It would undergo multiple tumults and oppressive economic conditions all the way up to the Franco-Prussian War in 1872. So, this economist really believed that America would be the great hope. At a dinner party, he simply suggested that perhaps it would be a good idea for the French and the Americans together to create some sort of enduring demonstration of the hope that American civilization represented for the rest of the world. It just so happened at the dinner party there was a young sculptor by the name of Frédéric Bartholdi. He conceived of the idea of a massive monument that would be a visual demonstration to all the world of the open arms and the promise of American liberty. He set to work immediately designing a kind of iconic figure, drawn from the images of the French Revolution initially, but transformed via a series of particularly important symbolic additions. This wasn't simply Lady Liberty. This would be *La Liberté, Éclairant le Monde*,³ the declaration of liberty to the world. A proposal was put forward for the French Parliament to pay for the erection of the statue, while Congress took up a bill to pay for the platform, the pediment upon which the statue would stand. The project began in 1876, the centennial of America's independence. But fundraising was difficult. The Reconstruction years had devastated the economy of the United States, and it was still in the rebuilding stages. France was just recovering from the oppressive hand of Napoleon III, and its economy too, was in the throes of deep difficulty.

It really took the championing of a newspaper man to raise the funds. His name was Joseph Pulitzer. He used his influences as perhaps the single most important newspaper editor in the world to raise awareness and raise the funds to complete the Statue of Liberty. It was erected with its torch of freedom held high over the New York

³ This translates literally as “Liberty, Enlightening the World”. *Ed.*

Harbor and the *tabla ansata*,⁴ the table of the Mosaic Law set firmly in her grasp at her side. This was to be the great declaration. The statue was barely finished when the poet Emma Lazarus composed a short piece of verse that would be inscribed at the base of the statue and which emblemized the hope that the statue held forth to the world.

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
 With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
 Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
 A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
 Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
 Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
 Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
 The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.

“Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!” cries she
 With silent lips. “Give me your tired, your poor,
 Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
 The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
 Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
 I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”⁵

Teddy Roosevelt would later say of this verse, written in 1883, that besides the language of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Articles of Confederation, and the Northwest Ordinance, these words best epitomize American exceptionalism, forged in America a new vision for a nation distinct from every other nation that had ever emerged on the face of the earth, a place where the refuse of the rest of the world, the unwanted, the unloved, the undesired, and the unfit, would find their opportunity to make of themselves and for themselves what they would.

So, with this dedication in 1896, the Statue of Liberty became the image of freedom and hope for tens of thousands, for millions, of new Americans and became the image of the welcome embrace for all those Americans already here.

Urban Growth

- ❖ *Waves of Irish and Italian Families*
- ❖ *Jews, Slavs, and Eastern Europeans*
- ❖ *Tenements, Slums, and Factories*

Almost immediately, the cities along the East Coast and around the Great Lakes and, eventually, all the way out to the far West, began to burst. Urban growth became the great mark of the day. Waves of Irish and Italian families filled up the cities and formed the workforce. Jews, Slavs, and Eastern Europeans transformed whole

⁴ Latin for the tablet of the law or the tablet evoking the law or the tablet invoking the law. GG

⁵ “The New Colossus,” Emma Lazarus, 1883

neighborhoods, particularly in places like New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. It also began the great housing crunch which was exploited by tenement lords and slumlords. Soon, cities were choked with factories.

Rural Settlement

- ❖ *Northern Europeans*
- ❖ *German and Dutch Communities*
- ❖ *Midwestern Farm States*
- ❖ *Productivity and Surplus*

But urban growth was not the only place that the immigrants went. Most of the northern Europeans, the Scandinavians, the German and Dutch communities, went out to the Midwest and began to carve out productive farms, and that became the great engine of productivity that made the factories and cities possible. America became the breadbasket of the world. What was remarkable is that, in America, we had the best of everything. We had pizza with Canadian bacon, eaten with German beer. It was like the best of everything was brought to one place. America's pastime was marked by German brats transformed into little hot dogs, and Scandinavian pretzels and new concoctions brought to our shores by Dutch chemists, things like Dr. Pepper® and Coca-Cola. It was astonishing. This productivity created an enormous surplus, and America became the world's greatest exporting nation — an engine of productivity, a beacon light of opportunity for the whole world.

From Sea to Shining Sea

Transportation

- ❖ *Conestogas, Flatboats, and Stages*
- ❖ *Transcontinental Railroad*
- ❖ *Steamboats and Clipper Ships*

Communication

- ❖ *The Pony Express*
- ❖ *Stringing Telegraph Lines*
- ❖ *Tabloids, Newspapers, and Magazines*

Migration

- ❖ *Oregon and Santa Fe Trails*
- ❖ *The 49'ers and the Gold Rush*
- ❖ *The Great Land Rushes*

Both the need and the technological opportunity had a perfect confluence and created the transformation of transportation and communication and facilitated migration. Consider this: just in the nineteenth century alone we saw the transformation of civilization by the creation of steamboats, railroads, streetcars, bicycles, roller skates, air brakes, torpedoes, telephones, telegraphs, transatlantic cables, harvesting machines, threshers, cotton gins, cooking ranges, sewing machines, phonographs, typewriters, electric lights, illuminating gas, photographs, x-rays, motion pictures, and cotton seed oil.

Meanwhile, down in southern Alabama, George Washington Carver was inventing one hundred sixty-three uses for peanuts — everything from the creation of artificial ice cream to fake marble for your bathroom. The transformation of America was astonishing. Not only were there all these new people everywhere from all these different worlds, but the technological and even the urbanscapes of architecture were transformed almost overnight. The changes were head-spinning.

My wife, Karen, had the unique experience of knowing, well into adulthood, her grandmother who had set up housekeeping in a covered wagon. Her grandmother began her married life in a covered wagon with two cast-iron skillets and three stools. That was it, her total possessions. By the end of her life, we were zipping emails around. I still remember the first time that Mamaw, that's what we called her, saw a fax machine. I think fax machines were one of the stupidest inventions ever, that nasty paper, that hiccupping machine spitting out paper, but I watched her with utter amazement look at this machine and think to herself, "I'm still trying to figure out the light in the refrigerator" — all this in a single lifetime. She remembers Teddy Roosevelt as president as she is holding her great grandbabies on her knee.

America's Sudden Modernization

Urban Growth

- ❖ *1850: 90% of America Was Rural*
- ❖ *1900: 50% of America Was Rural*
- ❖ *1950: 25% of America Was Rural*
- ❖ *2000: 10% of America Was Rural*

Transformation was so fast and so furious that it changed everything about the nation and everything about our world. It created an astonishing amount of urban growth. Did you know that, in 1850, ninety percent of America lived out on the farms? Ninety percent of America! By the year 2000, ninety percent of America lived in cities or suburbs. That's a pretty dramatic flip-flop. In 1900, fifty percent of America was rural, which meant that this massive change had occurred in just fifty years' time.

With the world wars, the process was accelerated. Do you realize that in America today ninety percent of buildings are less than thirty years old? *Ninety* percent of all the buildings that you see anywhere are less than thirty years old. Part of that is, you know, if a building gets to be about twenty-five or thirty years old, we just tear it down; we build something new. When I was a little boy, I remember sitting on my grandfather's lap in Houston, Texas, at a Colt 45's baseball game when Judge Roy Hofheinz, the owner of the team and one of the most prominent citizens of Houston, announced that he was going to build the eighth wonder of the world. They rolled out these giant, butcher-paper renderings of something that was going to be called the Astrodome. The experts thought he was crazy. *No one can build a dome!* Engineers said that the stress on the dome would be impossibly great, the dome would be dangerous, and it would surely collapse. But there was Judge Roy Hofheinz, standing behind home plate saying, "Just one hundred fifty yards from home plate in Colt 45 Stadium, we're going to build a brand-new stadium that will be an enduring mark and put Houston on the map of the world forever." By the time I was a young adult, the Astrodome was a dump. And the only thing that it was worth using for was a rodeo. Today, it is still standing, amazingly, but only used for things like truck pulls and country western concerts. Right next to it is this massive Reliant Stadium. You could actually put two Astrodomes on the inside

of Reliant Stadium. That's taken place in just forty years' time. There have been nineteen Major League® or NFL® stadiums that have been built and torn down in that time. Do you know how much a stadium costs? The Giants/Jets Stadium, \$1.2 billion. And Jerry Jones' Palace in Dallas...

We're a brand-spankin' new country and our cities are brand-spankin' new. We go through urban renewal. Cities like Detroit bemoan the fact that half of downtown has fallen apart and is abandoned. Did you know that a quarter of the buildings that are abandoned in downtown Detroit have been built since 1970?

That means that America is unique among all the nations of the earth, and not just because of the people that were brought here and melded together, and not just because of the technological changes that facilitated it, but because our very environment itself has been this melting pot, this constantly transforming sort of image.

Factory Growth

- ❖ *1850: 10% of Jobs Were Industrial*
- ❖ *1950: 45% of Jobs Were Industrial*
- ❖ *2000: 15% of Jobs Were Industrial*

Factory growth — not only do we have sudden urbanization, but we have sudden industrialization. Prior to the Civil War, the United States' factory presence was largely confined to a narrow strip from Boston to Philadelphia, with a smattering of new outposts of industrial aspiration on the Great Lakes. Ten percent of all the jobs in America at the outbreak of the Civil War were industrial jobs — most of those were in the textile business. By 1950, forty-five percent of all jobs were industrial jobs. Most of those jobs have now been exported, and today only about twelve percent of all American jobs are what we would consider industrial, factory jobs.

Private Property

- ❖ *1850: 70% of Citizens Owned Homes*
- ❖ *1900: 55% of Citizens Owned Homes*
- ❖ *2000: 25% of Citizens Owned Homes*

In 1900, fifty-five percent of all Americans owned their own homes. That was a dramatic change from 1850 when seventy percent of all Americans actually owned their own homes. Today, less than a quarter of all Americans own their own homes. That figure is rather deceptive because most of us who say that we own our own homes really don't—the banks own them. America was suddenly transformed. Paul Johnson said “In less than fifty years, America was transformed into an engine of productivity and industry.”

Conclusion

In all this swirling change, we see that America has had some incredible advantages over all the rest of the world — the advantage of drawing on the wisdom of the whole world, the inheritance of all the world, as we have progressively, over time, enfranchised more and more of our people, enabled more and more of our people, it has made of us an incredibly vibrant and productive people.

The disadvantage is that we have come to believe that change and growth is just normal. A lot of companies, if not most companies on the stock exchange today, base their business plans on growth. In other words, they've constantly got to add more customers. How much more, honestly, can Google grow? Who else is gonna start Googling who is not already Googling? How can they keep growing this business? I'm sorry, everyone in the world except a few curmudgeonly, Luddite holdouts have iPhones now. No, not everyone; but it seems like it right? So, how do they continue to grow this thing? Oh, I know — release a white one! Woven into our DNA is the idea that we constantly break new ground, we constantly grow, we constantly change, which means that we put at great liability those great old virtues of stability, drawing on the richness of our legacy, etc. There is a positive and a negative to that.

The same is true with being a nation of immigrants. All of us came from somewhere else — some willingly, some unwillingly. The stories of our past are remarkably similar. Yet it's amazing, once we all get here, we suddenly become quite terrified of anyone else who may be coming here. My son-in-law, the daddy of my grandson, is an immigrant. He did it right. He has lots of friends who are illegal immigrants, and they all think he's crazy because it's a lot harder to do it right, to do it legally, to file all the paperwork, to jump through all the hoops, to answer all the questions, to undergo all the scrutiny. It's a lot harder to do it right than it is to do it wrong. This is a peculiar legacy for an immigrant nation — to make things so complicated that it's easier to be an illegal immigrant today than it is to be a legal one.

All this is a great reminder to us of one of the central truths that we see in Scripture. The Apostle Paul and the Apostle Peter reinforce this over and over and over again in so many different ways. It's simply this: whatever your greatest strength is, that is simultaneously your greatest weakness.

We can see this on a personal level very easily. What is my greatest strength? Well, my mouth. I can talk. I can talk about anything for at least five minutes and sound almost half informed. I can talk. I can weave paragraphs. I can spit them out. So, that's my great strength. When I get in trouble, how do I get in trouble? With my mouth! It's the same for every one of us — where God has given us the greatest gifts, that's where our greatest liabilities will lie.

That's the same with cultures. God pours out his grace on a nation like America and affords us the opportunity for freedom, growth, and prosperity. Those are the very things that are most likely to trip us up. Those are the things that become most dangerous for us. Cotton Mather saw that, as long ago as the end of the seventeenth century. In writing *Magnalia Christi Americana*, he clearly saw that God's grace and the faithfulness of the pilgrim and settling communities had brought forth prosperity. But now prosperity was at risk of consuming her mother. All this change, all these people, all these opportunities are America's greatest strength and asset. They are simultaneously the means by which we may stumble and fall. Our greatest strength is our greatest weakness.

When we learn that, when we are aware of that, when we steel our hearts with the grace of God and are fortified by his Spirit in that knowledge, we can grow and move forward. But if we shrug it off and ignore it, we will stumble and fall again and again. We will be like the Israelites, brought back to Kadesh-Barnea⁶ again and again, taking another lap around Mount Sinai until we figure it out. May God give us grace to figure it out.

⁶ Kadesh is between Sinai and Gaza. See: Genesis 14:7; 16:14; and 20:1. A concordance will give you a full listing of references if you'd like to look it up. *Ed.*



Lord, I thank you for the waves of immigrants, our forefathers and mothers, those who sacrificed so much, who endured so much, who faced oppression and tyranny, enslavement, who lived through human trafficking, forced labor, poverty, famine, revolution, and oppression, to come to these shores, to lay before us these opportunities, this legacy that we so deeply enjoy. I pray for these students that you would enable them to see that, to catch a glimpse of that rich legacy and that profound sacrifice, that they'd see all his strengths and all the weaknesses that come with that, that they'd be able to apply that to their own hearts and lives, that together they would build a better, surer future rooted in your grace, and your mercy, learning all the while to use their gifts while being wary of the flip side – their weaknesses. I pray all of this with thanksgiving in Jesus' name. Amen.

Lesson 43

Fundamentalism, Modernism, and Economics: The Rise of the Social Gospel

Text Book Reading

Primary: none
Alternate: none

Lesson Synopsis

Transcendentalism and idealistic doubt began to filter into the theological seminaries and the graduate schools all across the U.S. at the same time that America was going through an urban revolution, which launched a whole new movement, a progressive movement of social reformers hoping to usher in a grand new utopia.

Opportunity

20

Lesson Topics

The Social Gospel, different economic systems, the Second Great Awakening and revivalism, Charles Finney, William Jennings Bryan, transcendentalism, Sojourner Truth, Jacob Riis, Jane Addams, Walter Rauschenbusch, Washington Gladden, Charles Briggs, Henry Van Dyke, Thomas Chalmers, B.B. Warfield, J. Gresham Machen, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, J.P. Morgan

Primary Source Material

The Cross of Gold, by William Jennings Bryan

Vocabulary

quip, malaise, corporatism, economics, utopia, pious, probity, Enlightenment, skepticism, cohering, neo-orthodox, plenary, idealistic, epistemological, tenet, dissipation

Timeline

- ❖ 1799: The Red River Revival started.
- ❖ 1801: The Cane Ridge Revival started.
- ❖ 1889: *How the Other Half Lives*, by Jacob Riis



Fundamentalism, Modernism, and Economics:

The Rise of the Social Gospel

To discern betwixt true revival and mere revivalism may well be the cornerstone of wisdom in these difficult days.
~ Francis Asbury

Obviously the first thing we typically do every lecture is talk about this day in history. However, I want to back up a couple days because this has not been widely reported. In fact, I've not yet seen this reported in the media at all. I just happened to pick this up, and then I saw a couple of bloggers touch on it. On May 1, this past Sunday evening, an astonishing event unfolded before us, and at 22:30, military time, President Obama announced to the nation that one of the primary targets of the global war on terror had indeed been taken down by Navy SEALs. Now what's fascinating is that exactly sixty-six years prior to that, at 22:30, on May 1, it was announced that Adolph Hitler had gone down fighting in his bunker. It is really just one of those remarkable occurrences that make things like today in history really fun. It's also an incredible reminder for us that history is not filled with coincidences. History really is His Story. It really is the unfolding of God's providential purposes in space and in time. So when we find these connections, it's not just happenstance and oddity, it really is the unfolding of God's providential purpose. This is why when we study the story of cultures, we don't study dates and dead people, movements, and the march of ideologies across time. What we're really looking at is God's redemptive purposes being unfolded systematically before our eyes.

3 May

❖ *Scottish Dismal Day: The celebration of the expulsion of Lucifer and his minions from Paradise.*

Today is May 3. Today is Scottish Dismal Day on which it is commemorated for all Scots, the expulsion of Lucifer from Heaven, along with the minions of his demonic followers. It's obviously an artificial holiday. It was selected to coincide with a whole series of agricultural cycles early in medieval Scotland, but it is an enduring tradition that, on this day, Scots remember that we live in a fallen world in which the world, the flesh, and the devil will foil anything that is good, by any trivial or substantial means possible. It is on Scottish Dismal Day that most Scots Presbyterians are reminded that the greatest danger to the life of the church is not necessarily heresy but such things as methodological differences. Personality differences and gossip could be quicker to destroy us than even heresy. Scottish Dismal Day, May 3.

❖ *326: Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, identified what she believed was Golgotha.*

It was also on this day in the year 326 that Helena, the mother of the Roman emperor, Constantine the Great, found during a pilgrimage to Palestine what she believed was Golgotha, including a piece of the cross of Christ. Many generations later, Martin Luther would quip, "So much of the cross of Christ has been found and placed in reliquaries in altars all across Europe and the Middle East, that there is enough wood to build Noah's Ark from it." Nevertheless, Helena found what she thought was the actual site. Along with the help from some imperial archaeologists and architects, she found what she believed was the true Golgotha. It was on that site that she

built a church, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was partially destroyed during the Muslim conquest but was reconstructed by the Crusaders and stands at the center of the Christian quarter in the city of Jerusalem to this day.

❖ *1494: Christopher Columbus sighted the island of Jamaica during his second journey.*

It was on this day in 1494 that Christopher Columbus sighted the island of Jamaica during his second journey. He said, upon sighting it, in his pilot's log, "Behold, an Eden-like land."

❖ *1721: Hans Egede sailed to Greenland where he established a mission station and founded Godthåb.*

It was also on this day in 1721 that Hans Egede sailed to Greenland from his native Denmark where he established a mission station, and there began an outreach to the Eskimos. It was one of the first of the modern missionary efforts launched by the Moravian Brethren, who had been sent into exile first from their homeland in Moravia, around the great city of Prague, then later from the mountains of Poland, and still later from the Netherlands. This mission station ultimately became the capital of Greenland. It is still the capital of Greenland, though it has now changed names. He called it Godthåb, which means "the Lord's place".¹ To this day, he is recognized as the Founding Father of Greenland, which as of this past year became a self-governing province, no longer a colony of Denmark.

❖ *1802: Washington, D.C. became an official city.*

In 1802, on this day, May 3, Washington, D.C., the District of Columbia, comprised of territory cobbled from two donating states, Maryland and Virginia, became an official city, with the intention of establishing the federal city, the capital of the United States. It was then swampy and muddy. Today it's quite beautiful but the swamps and the mud remain, if only theoretically in the politics of the town.

❖ *1979: Margaret Thatcher became Britain's first female prime minister.*

It was on this day in 1979 that Margaret Thatcher, who had risen like a shooting star through the ranks of the Conservative Party, won an election, and was asked by the queen to form a government, thus becoming the first woman to be prime minister of Great Britain. She was known as Iron Maggie, or the Iron Lady, for her steely determination to wrench Great Britain out of the malaise that socialism and nationalistic corporatism had thrust Britain into ever since the end of the era of Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden in 1955. It was a difficult task but Thatcher was up to it. Many historians now believe that the second half of the twentieth century was saved from utter and complete disaster by the strength and determination of three people: Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul II, and Margaret Thatcher. It was a surprising ascent of the daughter of a Methodist minister, yet her determination to bring some sort of sanity to the economic and political picture to Britain was remarkable. She once said, "The trouble with socialism is that eventually you run out of other people's money" — a great quote that I was reminded of this past Sunday by our own David Zanotti in his Sunday school class at Parish Pres. It is a great quote. Another quote that I think is right up there with that is, "Modern government bureaucrats have played and fast and free with other peoples' money as if they were wizards in Oz." In fact *The Wizard of Oz* metaphor is apt. L. Frank Baum wrote the story as a critique of modern-day liberal welfare policies. It was a direct allusion to the politics of William Jennings Bryan, the mentor of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and the father of modern progressive politics. He was the Wizard of Oz. He was the cowardly lion. He was the tin man. He was the scarecrow. Because it was a parody, it became supremely popular as a political tract long before July Gar-

¹ Literally: "Good Hope".

land donned the ruby slippers and made her way from Kansas to Oz and back again. It's a remarkable story, and a quick reminder to us of the fact that, though modern secularists attempt to deny it constantly, the connection between faith — the faith of a Methodist minister's daughter and her steely resolve in the face of maddening modern economics — and economics is irrevocable, undeniable.

Economics Explained

Just consider the whole host of political economic theories that dominate our world today. For instance, there is a strong streak of communalism at the heart of politics today.

- ❖ *Communalism: You have two cows. You keep one and give one to your neighbor.*
- ❖ *Communism: You have two cows. The government takes them both and then asks you to stand in line for hours in order to receive your "free" subsidy of watered-down, spoiled milk.*
- ❖ *Fascism: You have two cows. The government takes them and sells you the milk at a premium.*
- ❖ *Bureaucratic Liberalism: You have two cows. The government takes them both, shoots one, milks the other, pays you for the milk, and then pours it down the drain.*
- ❖ *Democratic Socialism: You have two cows. The government taxes you to the point that you must sell them both in order to support a man in a foreign country who has only one cow which was a gift from your government.*
- ❖ *Free-Market Capitalism: You have two cows. You sell one and buy a bull.*
- ❖ *Centralized, Multi-National-Corporation-Based Capitalism: You have two cows. You sell one, force the other to produce the milk of four cows, and when it dies you write off the depreciation, hire a lobbyist and garner a government subsidy or tax breaks in order to purchase two new cows. The cycle continues.*

America's Religious Heritage

These definitions highlight for us in very practical terms some philosophies of economics, but at the root of all of them are certain assumptions about faith, about truth, about the Fall, and about the character of man.

America was established as a nation brimming over with ideas. America was not established as a nation based upon ethnicity or geography. It wasn't built upon a long and enduring history. It wasn't built upon linguistic standards. America, as a civilization, came together around certain ideas — ideas about freedom, ideas about opportunity, ideas about legacy and enduring principles. These ideas were drawn exclusively, *exclusively*, from the Scriptures, from the gospel. The principles of freedom, the ideas in the Declaration, the Constitution, the Articles of Confederation, the Northwest Ordinance, these ideas could not have been possible, would not have been possible. History demonstrates that they are oddities in the whole, long saga of human experience, apart from the faith of Christianity.

City on a Hill

❖ *Puritan and Pilgrim Fathers*

The nation was built on the foundations of the Puritan and Pilgrim fathers who were in search of a place to allow these principles to go to work, to flourish and flower, and to bring forth the kind of art, music, literature, technology, science, education, ideas, and multigenerational purposefulness that they knew only the gospel could bring forth.

❖ *Sinners Awakened Anew*

They understood that they lived in a fallen world, that they themselves were fallen. Instead of proposing some new utopia which had been proposed and attempted so many times before in the past, they saw themselves simply as sinners awakened anew, and they founded their nation upon the principles of the redeeming work of Christ and Christ alone.

❖ *Founding Principles*

Even those Founding Fathers who were not themselves personally pious, who did not hold to particularly orthodox doctrines, and who were not themselves devout, had as a whole backdrop this ethical foundation. As a result, Benjamin Franklin spoke more like a Puritan as a Deist, than most pastors can today.

Circuit Riders

❖ *Francis Asbury (1745–1816)*

❖ *Samuel Doak (1749–1830)*

❖ *Gideon Blackburn (1772–1838)*

This vision was spread far and wide all across the frontier even when the established churches of New England were left far behind. Circuit-riding preachers like Francis Asbury, Samuel Doak, and Gideon Blackburn — heroes of the frontier, all of whom, by the way, passed through Franklin and left their marks here — brought the gospel to the edges of the frontier, this vision of freedom. Astonishingly where there was no infrastructure, where there was no law and order, for the most part law and order, moral, principled living, prevailed. It's astonishing to think that, with no infrastructure and no enforcement, those communities grew up with such a degree of order, purposefulness, and moral probity that they became the marvel of the world by the first three decades of the nineteenth century when Alexis de Tocqueville traveled not only up and down the East Coast, but made his way into the heart of the frontier and all the way down south to New Orleans following the Mississippi River. He was astonished by what he called American exceptionalism, which he attributed directly to, not just the work ethic of America, not just the resource-rich land of America, but the faithfulness of America.

Given the richness of its lands, why didn't Brazil lead the world in the last three centuries? Why is it that anywhere you go in the world where these principles of freedom that the Founding Fathers were rooted in, why is it that anywhere in the world that you go where those principles have prevailed for any length of time, you can drink the water, but go anywhere else in the world and you can't. It seems like a simple little detail, but what's the difference?

Ideas have consequences, and they have consequences all the way down to the minutest details of life. The more America prospered, the more the prophecy of Cotton Mather from *Magnalia Christi Americana* became true. The gospel produced prosperity, and prosperity has consumed her mother.

Wintry Season

- ❖ *Renewed Calls for Revival*
- ❖ *Liberal Enlightenment Skepticism*
- ❖ *Cults and the Religion of Democracy*

There was a long wintry season, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, where America began to drift from those founding principles. There were renewed calls for revival and renewal, more and more frantic attempts to proclaim the gospel. Liberal Enlightenment and skepticism sent America on a grand pursuit of cohering principles. Cults, as we saw last time, abounded. The religion of democracy began to replace the faith of our fathers as the civil religion of the nation.

A New Wave of Revivalism

James McCready

- ❖ *Logan County Churches*
- ❖ *The Covenant of Prayer*

There were of course great revivals that did spring up, particularly along the frontier. One remarkably gifted and effective revivalist was James McCready. In Logan County, Kentucky, he helped to spawn a network of praying churches that covenanted together to bring about a renewal of the nation.

- ❖ *The Red River Revival*

Around 1800, there was an explosive revival that was like a prairie fire. It began on the Red River and went from camp meeting to camp meeting. Soon there were new populist religious movements springing up all over the frontier. The predecessors of things like the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Churches of Christ.

Cane Ridge

- ❖ *New Revivalist Methodologies*

The Cane Ridge revival produced a whole new series of revivalist methodologies: sawdust aisles, beckoning people to flood into the aisles and come forward to receive Christ as Savior, and the use of music and entertainment as enticements for the revivalist emotion.

- ❖ *New Reformist Denominations*
- ❖ *New Progressive Theologies*
- ❖ *New Utopian Cults and Sects*

At the same time new movements became new denominations, spawning whole new theologies, some of them spinning from the experience of revival to a kind of existential, neo-orthodox theology. Thus, out of a kind of

fundamentalism, came a new kind of liberalism, not tied to the plenary, written Word of God, but really more tied to the experience and feelings of revival. New utopian cults sprang up out of this and various sects.

Charles Grandison Finney

- ❖ *The Second Great Awakening*
- ❖ *Anxious Benches and New Methods*
- ❖ *Burned-Over Districts*

Charles Grandison Finney, in the burned-over district, a depressed section of upstate New York, began to apply these methodologies, including the anxious benches and what he called the new methods, the provocation to get people to make decisions no matter what. The emphasis on the decision rather than on the discipleship afterwards brought a whole new kind of religious fervor, but very little impact or change in the culture, largely because, unlike the Founding Fathers whose faith led them to principally work out a careful worldview of all things, the new revivalism was focused largely on *me, my* experience. It was an entirely self-reverential spirituality.

Suddenly the language of evangelical Christians could not be understood apart from the constant insertion of the first-person singular: *me, myself, I*. Have you ever met someone like this? Every story, every reference, every comment, every discussion is filled with first-person singular: *me, myself, and I*. It's not like you think that they think that they are the center of the world, but to take it from their language alone you would think, *Wow, the whole earth really does have its axis right here*. In a sense revivalism taught Christians to think like that rather than covenantally, rather than multi-generationally. What mattered most was my experience with Jesus — me and my God, me and my story, me and my narrative, me and my background, me and my dad, me and my mom, me and my crazy family, me and my kids, me and wife, me, me, me!

Utopian Revolutions

Theological

Now at the same time that this was happening in evangelicalism, there was a tremendous shift in the world of academia, particularly theological academia. The new higher critical methods of examining the Scriptures imported from German institutions started to have their effect among American intellectuals.

- ❖ *Transcendentalism and Idealistic Doubt*
- ❖ *Works and Works Righteousness*
- ❖ *The Birth of the Social Gospel*

Transcendentalism and idealistic doubt began to filter into the theological seminaries and the graduate schools all across the U.S., stripped of its ontological weight, stripped of its supernatural work of the substitutionary atonement of Christ and the particular redemption that Christ came to accomplish and that he finished on the cross, now with an emphasis leaning solely on the epistemological character of Christianity. This means that what we are is not nearly as important as what we do, so while evangelicalism went toward me, me, me, liberal Christianity went to work, work, work. Do good, works righteousness, and thus was born the social gospel.

Cultural

❖ How the Other Half Lives

This occurred at the same time that America was going through an urban revolution because of the work of photojournalists like Jacob Riis, whose book *How the Other Half Lives* stunned the nation and awakened them to the difficulty of slums and tenements and entrenched multigenerational poverty.

❖ *The Settlement House Movement*

❖ *Idealism, Utopianism, and Liberalism*

Social/Political

❖ *Sacrifice and Service*

❖ *Protests, Riots, and Rebellions*

❖ *Grassroots Radicalism*

It launched a whole new movement, a progressive movement of social reformers like Jane Addams who developed the Settlement House Movement and a host of other reformers who, based on idealism, utopianism, and liberalism, after the Civil War but before the First World War, believed that human societies, like human spirits, might very well be perfectible if guided by the social teachings of Jesus, and later Gandhi, and that peacefully, through sacrifice and service, through the means of protests and rebellions, even sometimes forcing the situation with actual riots, that this grassroots radicalism could ultimately usher in a grand new Utopia. Man can find the cure to cancer and to crankiness. That was the dream.

Modernist v. Fundamentalist Crisis

Now what this set up, with evangelicals on one side and now liberals on the other, was a great, great crisis that has been dubbed by historians the modernist, fundamentalist crisis.

Social Progressives

❖ *Sojourner Truth (1797–1883)*

❖ *Jacob Riis (1848–1914)*

❖ *Jane Addams (1860–1935)*

The modernists, social progressives who abandoned the basic tenets of basic, orthodox, Biblical Christianity, were people like Sojourner Truth who had made her mark as an abolitionist, who lived from 1797 to 1883, and was a stunningly brilliant and effective organizer; Jacob Riis, the friend of Teddy Roosevelt and a photographer and journalist in New York City, who exposed the tenement houses and the crisis of poverty; and Jane Addams, who, based on Christian principles, sought to care for the poor, to begin organizing labor movements and neighborhoods to overcome the blight of human suffering.

Theological Progressives

❖ *Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918)*

The theological progressives who came alongside of these activists and gave them the social gospel theology to operate from were people like Walter Rauschenbusch, a Baptist, the son of a Baptist, trained at the Rochester Theological Seminary, whose faith in the Scriptures was challenged by the higher critical methods of Germany, who largely adhered to a pious life, but radicalized his vision of what Christianity ought to be doing in the world, often heralded as the father of the Social Gospel movement.

❖ *Washington Gladden (1836–1918)*

Washington Gladden, from Ohio, was a great champion of the poor, as well. He was also, like Walter Rauschenbusch, an early supporter of Republican politics. He was one of the first preachers to make his way into elective office. He was a union organizer. He was an early advocate of first, abolition and then, opportunities for African Americans. He was a prolific author. He wrote about forty books and about seventy different hymns, had a tremendous emphasis on works righteousness that affected the social conscience of the church from that day until this.

❖ *Charles Briggs (1841–1913)*

Charles Briggs was a Presbyterian who pioneered the higher critical method from a uniquely American perspective, writing important books of Biblical commentary that undermined the authority of Scripture, but gave support to the social views of the various reformers.

❖ *Henry Van Dyke (1852–1933)*

Henry van Dyke is best known today for his poems and stories including his delightful story, *The Fourth Wiseman*.² But he was a radical adherent to neo-orthodox views, embracing the radical views that would be pioneered by men like Paul Tillich, which abandoned Biblical orthodoxy altogether, but van Dyke used his art to push forward the agenda of the social gospel.

Reformers

❖ *Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847)*

On the opposite side of the divide there were a number of profound intellectuals. Thomas Chalmers had laid foundations for these intellectuals. According to many, including J. Gresham Machen, he was the most important figure doing theology and social work between the time of the Apostle Paul and the present — the present for Machen being the beginning of the twentieth century.

Chalmers strongly held to Biblical authority but also believed that the provocation to social reform was exactly right and that Christians ought to be engaged in social justice: freeing the captives; running to the aid of those who were being dragged off to death; the friend of the abandoned, the poor, the despised, the rejected; and institutionally committed to making society a place in which the gospel might be seen in every institution and discipline.

² The full title of the book Dr. Grant referred to is *The Story of the Other Wise Man*.

❖ *B.B. Warfield (1851–1921)*

One of Chalmers' theological disciples, B.B. Warfield, a stalwart at Princeton Theological Seminary, was profound in his theological declarations about the finished work of Christ accomplished and applied, but the necessity of Christians living this out in such a way that it showed in the modern world.

❖ *J. Gresham Machen (1881–1937)*

Machen was a friend and colleague of Warfield's and later attempted to carry on his legacy. He was ultimately kicked out of the Presbyterian Church because he was too evangelical. He wound up leading a group of faithful scholars to establish the Westminster Theological Seminary and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, offered a series of pamphlets, and then gathered a number of his friends around him to write even more pamphlets and essays. They were later collected as a series of books called *The Fundamentals*, outlining the fundamentals of the faith from which H.L. Mencken, derived the term. He was a marvel at creating new words, words that ought to still be in our vocabulary like the *Booboisie*, his name for those foolish Americans that either don't vote or don't know what they are voting for. He invented the term *fundamentalist*.

An interesting thing happened at Machen's death in 1937. The intellectual leadership of the fundamentalists wound up being passed to the revivalists who retreated from society lest they be confused with the liberal social gospellers who were out there working, leaving a void. Evangelicals abandoned the sphere of the social for more than a generation and ceded the whole work to the liberals.

The New Capitalism

Robber Barons

❖ *John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937)*❖ *Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919)*❖ *J.P. Morgan (1837–1913)*

As a result, there was a whole world that was changing dramatically, into which evangelicals spoke not at all. The great capitalists, people like John D. Rockefeller, who built Standard Oil Company, first of Ohio and then of New Jersey; Andrew Carnegie who built the Carnegie Steel Corporation later becoming U.S. Steel; J.P. Morgan, who was a New York banker that built what today is Morgan Chase and Morgan Stanley, began to accumulate vast, vast wealth and build a whole new approach to business — corporations not personal, family businesses. These vast amalgamations began to be mirrored in government itself.

Benefits

❖ *Distribution of Consumer Goods*❖ *Widespread Employment*❖ *Stabilization of Markets*

Now this new capitalism had a whole host of great benefits. Suddenly there was much wider distribution of consumer goods. There was widespread employment. Markets were stabilized. No longer were there wild swings, or rather when the wild swings came, they were isolated and now named, Great Depression.

Problems

- ❖ *Pollution, Congestion, and Disruption*
- ❖ *Family Disintegration*
- ❖ *Servile State: Wage Dependents*

But, of course, there were problems, choking pollution, dense congestion, family and social disruption, family disintegration. Americans, who had once led the world in self-employment, self-reliance, and self-determination, became wage dependents and, more often than not, deeply in debt.

Principles of the Social Gospel

This led to a whole series of searing social problems that weighed on the conscience of the land and called for dramatic political, economic, and social reforms. But because the evangelicals had stepped out of the realm of ideas and social reform, and because the only Christian voice was the voice of the social gospel progressives, this is the message that was brought.

- ❖ *Jesus was epistemologically not ontologically unique.*
- ❖ *His value lies in His social and ethical teachings.*

Basic principles of the social gospel are simple. Jesus was epistemologically unique. His teachings were marvelous. Jesus was a good man and a good teacher with enduring principles. The Sermon on the Mount was a manifesto for good human relationships. As far as his being, his nature, his work, the cross, all of that, we're not so sure he was ontologically unique — unique in his being, unique in his essence. But, oh his teachings, no one can deny the marvel of his teaching. So Christ's value really lies in his social and ethical teachings. Somehow we've got to parse his teaching so that we can separate those social and moral aspects from the spiritual and redemptive aspects, but higher criticism can help us with that.

- ❖ *Sin is primarily selfishness, to be overcome ethically.*
- ❖ *Man is basically good and perfectible.*
- ❖ *Men of goodwill can establish the Kingdom of God.*
- ❖ *Reason and science are reliable sources of truth.*
- ❖ *Darwinism has an inevitable social dimension.*
- ❖ *The Bible is a human product.*
- ❖ *All the great religions are morally equivalent.*

Sin is primarily selfishness, and it's to be overcome ethically. We'll make sure that we restrain sin by a series of decrees: you can't smoke, don't eat at Burger King, put on your seatbelt, wear a helmet when you ride a bike, you've got to have your baby in a certain kind of arc in the back seat facing a certain way with a seal of approval. We're going to protect you from yourself, and thus improve your life because you see man is basically good at heart, I mean most of us, maybe not OBL. (Don't you love it? *Fox News*. I can watch *Fox News* for about fourteen and a half seconds before I have to go "Ahhhhh, stop it! Stop it! Don't! Stop!" They're calling Osama bin

Laden, OBL. Come on, please stop it. Of course, I can only watch CNN for about nineteen seconds when I fall off the cliff' on the opposite side.)

❖ *Men of goodwill can establish the Kingdom of God.*

Men of goodwill can establish the kingdom of God — kingdom of God meaning some sort of man-engineered, man-conceived, happy utopia.

❖ *Reason and science are reliable sources of truth.*

Reason and science are reliable and independent sources of truth. Want to know the truth? Ask a guy in a white coat not in a black robe.

❖ *Darwinism has an inevitable social dimension.*

Darwinism has an inevitable social dimension. If there is biological evolution, then surely if we find the right mechanism, we can shape progressive, social evolution. And if our scientists tinker enough, we can perhaps even inject ourselves in biological evolution and thus create a race of thoroughbreds — thus the eugenicists and the abortionists.

❖ *The Bible is a human product.*

The Bible, of course, is a human product; as a recent book declared, *The Bible is Dead*. Long live the Bible.

❖ *All the great religions are morally equivalent.*

And, of course, all the great religions are morally equivalent. They all teach basically the same thing. Of course, don't go reading the Bhagavad Gita, the Qu'ran, or the Bible side by side because then you will think, *Um, uh, excuse me, they don't, they aren't, they won't, they haven't, they can't!* But, but you can't squeeze all that onto a bumper sticker. Coexist. Tell that to the people who actually believe this stuff.

Principles of the Biblical Gospel

❖ *2 Timothy 2:2; 3:16-17*

❖ *“All Scripture” is inspired, or “God-breathed”.*

❖ *It is useful or “profitable” for teaching*

❖ *It is useful or “profitable” for rebuking or reproofing.*

❖ *It is useful or “profitable” for correcting*

❖ *It is useful or “profitable” for training in righteousness.*

❖ *Thus, believers may be “thoroughly equipped”.*

❖ *And thus, it is sufficient to facilitate “all good works”.*

❖ *This is to be taught and entrusted to all faithful believers.*

Contrast this with the principles of the Scriptures that hold that we believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, his only begotten

Son. Contrast the vision of the social gospel with the gospel, which is rooted in the notion that God has spoken, he is not silent. Indeed all Scripture is God-breathed, and it's useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting, and training in righteousness so that men of God may be thoroughly equipped for every good work, for training in righteousness. Thus it is sufficient to facilitate all our callings, all our works, all our good deeds in the world. This is to be taught systematically. It is to be entrusted generationally to all faithful believers.

William Jennings Bryan (1860-1925)

Thus we get to the story of perhaps the man who bridged the gap in this modernist fundamentalist crisis the most remarkably. He was an evangelical Christian, believed the Bible, but he also believed the progressive agenda was the right agenda and he tried somehow to fit the two together, though he always kept certain aspects his faith and his practice very, very separate, hermetically sealed off. He was one of the great pioneers of the American vision from the heartland, from Nebraska.

Early Life

- ❖ *Family, Land, and Church*
- ❖ *Classically Educated*
- ❖ *Illinois College and Union Law School*

He was raised to love family, land, and church. He was classically educated and went on to be a star pupil, first at the Illinois College and then at Union Law School, and back home in Nebraska as a Congregationalist Sunday school teacher and lay preacher. He began to make his rise as an excellent orator and a stirring populist.

Rise

- ❖ *1890: Young Congressional Idealist*
- ❖ *1894: Rising Democratic Star*
- ❖ *1896: A Populist Coalition*

By 1894, he was a rising star in the Democratic Party, and in 1896, giving the speech of his life at the Democratic National Convention, he rode a wave of popularity at the age of thirty-six to the presidential nomination for his party. The speech was "The Cross of Gold," in which he declared that the pathway that the elites had laid, streets paved with gold, would lead America to disaster; that the wicked witches of the East, the New York Bankers, and the monopolists would destroy the Munchkins, all us little folks, hold us captive. But the whole thing was an illusion that could be destroyed so that we could all just go back to Kansas and to our happy families and homes because there's no place like home, there's no place like home.

Statesman

- ❖ *1900: The Anti-Imperialist Campaign*

He built a populist coalition that very nearly overwhelmed the political establishment, then led by William McKinley. In 1900, he ran for president again, this time as an anti-imperialist. It seems that America had gone colonizing like all the rest of the great Western powers and had accumulated during the Spanish-American War

colonies for itself all across the globe, throughout the Pacific, including the Philippines, and throughout the Caribbean, including Cuba.

❖ *1908: The Final Great Campaign*

In 1908 he ran for president again, his final great campaign.

All three times he lost, but he built a groundswell of populist, progressive appeal, wedding a kind of privatized Christianity with this aggressive, government-led, transformational theology.

❖ *1912: Secretary of State*

❖ *1916–1925: Ambassador for Christ*

Under Woodrow Wilson, he became Secretary of State, and from 1916 until his death in 1925, he was an ambassador for Christ. He was a remarkable man, leaving an enduring impact. Many would argue that he was the father of modern progressive politics and the inspiration behind the New Deal of his disciple, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Bryan and Populism

Fiscal Crisis

❖ *Tariffs and Monetary Policy*

❖ *Industrialization and Farm Prices*

❖ *The Populist Revolt*

His whole vision was rooted in dealing with a fiscal crisis, again, the wedding of theology and economics. He wanted to transform tariffs and monetary policy, reinvigorate industrialization and farm prices, as a kind of populist revolt. He was a sort of modern-day economic prophet calling for the transformation of monetarism away from gold which would only lead to disaster to silver, fiat money or both.

The Land of Oz

❖ *A Political Fairy Tale*

It was a vision that L. Frank Baum would parody in his first of many books set in the Land of Oz, which brings us all the way back to Margaret Thatcher and her reminder that, while all of these social problems and difficulties must indeed be met, you can't do it on the backs of other people. That is just a new form of slavery.

Lessons from Oz

During this long trek through the modernist fundamentalist crisis and revivalism, there are several lessons that emerge for us and that we need to be very, very clear about.

- ❖ *Christian ideas are not always altogether Christian which is why Sola Scriptura remains an essential truth for the Church to teach and practice.*

First of all Christian ideas are not always altogether Christian which is why *Sola Scriptura* remains an essential truth for the church to teach and practice. The Apostle Paul wrote to the Corinthians something absolutely vital for all our thinking and for all our doing. It's very, very simple. He said, "Do not go beyond what is written."³ But we always want to because of our experience or because of the crisis we see before our eyes.

- ❖ *Just because a position is advocated for Christian reasons, by Christians, for Christians, in a great Christian cause, does not necessarily make it a Christian position.*

Secondly, just because a position is advocated for Christian reasons, by Christians, for Christians, in a great Christian cause, does not necessarily make it a Christian position. I always go back to the wonderful illustration that Corrie ten Boom always used to use in her talks all across Europe following the horror of the Second World War and her experience in the Nazi concentration camp. When asked, "Why did the church not respond?" and "How could these people who name the name of Christ not step into the midst of the fray and act like Christians?" Corrie always used to quote her papa when Papa ten Boom used to say, "Corrie, just because a mouse is in the cookie jar does not mean that he is a cookie."

- ❖ *The right things done in the wrong ways almost always end in disaster.*

This reminds us that sometimes the right things done in the wrong ways will result in disaster.

- ❖ *Being against something is not the same as being for something else.*

And it also reminds us that, in the modern world, as we look at the difficulties, even the designer disasters that surround us, being against something is not the same as being for something else. Or put another way, you can't fight something with nothing.

For decades, Christians have attempted to fight something, moral decay, moral disruption, family disruption, communication disruption between parents and children, the dissipation of multi-generational impact. We've been trying to fight pornography and drugs and homosexuality and abortion and a host of named evils. We're quick to name them. We shout them out. We hold the signs. We shake the fists. But you can't fight something with wishes, hopes, and shouts. If there is an enduring question we're starting the twentieth century with it's simply this, "Where was the believing church?" I pray that in the twenty-first century, because of your leadership, that will never be a question again.



Oh Lord, God, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or the minutest edges of life, O, sovereign God, have your way with us. Raise up in this day a fountain in the center of the garden to water the wasteland and bring it to flower again. Lord, this is our prayer. This is our heart desire. O, God this is our deepest yearning. Fit us. Fit these students for your service, your work in this day, we pray. Glorify the name of Jesus. Guard us and guide us by your Word at all times and in all ways. Make us champions of the unloved and the unlovely. And change the world, Lord, God, by your redemptive purposes, and your good provinces, through the application of your good decrees.

Oh, God, give us a glimpse of this great redemption in this day. We pray in Jesus' name. Amen.

³ I Corinthians 4:6

Lesson 44

Theodore Roosevelt: Morning in America

Text Book Reading

Primary: none
Alternate: none

Lesson Synopsis

Theodore Roosevelt talked about his life in terms of the crowded hours of his life. He was a man who didn't want to waste a second on inactivity. He didn't want to waste a second on theoretical foolishness. Teddy Roosevelt was able to accomplish so much because he had his priorities straight. Of all the heroes and all the villains that we've studied in American Culture so far this year, may God remind us continually that it's not the native gifts that make men or women great. It's what we do with what we've got.

Opportunity

Final exam after this lesson

Lesson Topics

Theodore Roosevelt

Primary Source Material

None for this lesson

Vocabulary

portent, monetize, silverite (look on thefreedictionary.com), taxidermy, botany, ornithology, precocious, nadir, scion, pluck, historiographer, cortège, irrelevant, quintessential, delirious, teetotaler, bucket list

Timeline

- ❖ 1858: Theodore Roosevelt born
- ❖ 1876: T.R. attended Harvard.
- ❖ 1882: T.R. elected to the New York State Assembly
- ❖ 1884: T.R.'s mother and wife both died the same day.
- ❖ 1889: T. R. was married a second time, to Edith Carow.
- ❖ 1895: T.R. made New York City Police Commissioner
- ❖ 1897: T.R. appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy

- ❖ 1898: T.R. led the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill.
- ❖ 1899: T.R. elected governor of New York.
- ❖ 1901: T.R. became president upon McKinley's assassination.
- ❖ 1919: Theodore Roosevelt died



Theodore Roosevelt: Morning in America

The most dangerous form of sentimental debauch is to give expression to good wishes on behalf of virtue while you do nothing about it. Justice is not merely words. It is to be translated into acts.
~ Theodore Roosevelt

Alright! You ready to do this? Last lecture, T.R., Morning in America. Don't you love this quote? This really is a quote that epitomizes Teddy Roosevelt's whole approach to life. He talked about his life in terms of the crowded hours of his life. He was a man who didn't want to waste a second on inactivity. He didn't want to waste a second on theoretical foolishness. He said, "The most dangerous form of sentimental debauch is to give expression to good wishes on behalf of virtue, while you do nothing about it. Justice is not merely words. It is to be translated into acts."

5 May

❖ *National Day of Prayer*

Speaking of that, today, May 5, is the National Day of Prayer. All over the United States, Christians are consecrating good chunks of their day to interceding on behalf of the nation in obedience to the commands of Scripture. Paul writes to Timothy that we are, as a first priority, to pray for those who are in authority over us that we may dwell in the gospel in peace. The purpose of praying for our nation is not so that we can be richer or better or more powerful. The purpose of praying for our nation is that our leaders might righteously guard our freedoms so that the gospel can go forth. It is akin to what we read in the Scriptures about wealth. God doesn't give us wealth so that we can have nifty iEverythings. God doesn't give us wealth so that we can look good, smell good, and feel good. The Bible says that God gives us wealth so that we may build the work of the Kingdom. In the same way, God gives us great freedoms in America, not to spend on ourselves, but so that we may be ardent, faithful, zealous proclaimers of the good news of Christ, so that when we're called together to pray, we're called together to pray that God would set loose the church in the world, and that God would preserve our freedoms so that that might be facilitated more and more.

So, today, on this National Day of Prayer, I trust that you will set aside good blocks of time to cry out to the Lord for our nation to be a bastion of justice, for our nation to be a refuge for the poor and the despised, for our nation to be a place where the banner of integrity is flown high, for our nation to be a place where leadership arises and strength flows forth, not for our own benefit but for the benefit of the whole world, that the Abrahamic covenant might be fulfilled, that all the nations of the earth might be blessed through us.

So, let's start by crying out to the Lord himself for our land.

Lord, on this National Day of Prayer, we're reminded to do what we're supposed to do all the time, that is to cry out to you, to rely upon you, to give thanks to you for your grace, your mercy, and your truth. O, God, pour out genuine blessing upon this land, the kind of blessing that cleanses, the kind of blessing that restores, the kind of blessing that reconciles, the kind of blessing that heals. O, God, do this in the United States of America. Go forth in and through the opportunity of freedom from here to the uttermost parts of the earth, we pray, Lord God Almighty. We ask this solely because and on the basis of the finished work of Jesus Christ our Savior.
Amen.

❖ *1813: The founder of existentialist philosophy, Søren Kierkegaard, was born in Copenhagen, Denmark.*

❖ *1818: The author of Communist social and economic theories, Karl Marx, was born in Trier, Prussia.*

Today is the birthday of Karl Marx, born in Trier, Prussia. It's also the birthday of Søren Kierkegaard. It's really interesting — Marx was a student of, and built his philosophies of dialectical materialism on the vision of Georg Hegel. Søren Kierkegaard built his vision for existential philosophy as a direct contradiction of Hegel. So, two of the most profound philosophers of the nineteenth and earliest twentieth centuries, perhaps the most influential philosophers of the entire Modern Age, were both working in reaction to Hegel.

❖ *1821: Napoléon Bonaparte died in exile at St. Helena.*

Also on this day in the year 1821, Napoléon Bonaparte died in exile on the rat-infested, isolated island of St. Helena. It's an island in the middle of the South Atlantic, widely believed, although probably not entirely accurately, to be the most isolated place on the face of the earth. In other words, it's further to another place from St. Helena than almost any other place in the world. There are a couple of small islands actually in the Pacific that are a little bit further from anyplace else, but they couldn't have found anyplace closer to the dark side of the moon than St. Helena to put Napoléon on after Waterloo.

❖ *1891: Peter Tchaikovsky opened Carnegie Hall.*

Also on this day in 1891, in a command performance for the opening of the brand new Music Hall of New York, which was later named for its financier and patron, Andrew Carnegie, what we today call Carnegie Hall, Peter Tchaikovsky did a command performance of his *1812 Overture* and thus ushered in the era of glorious performances and cultural events in that remarkable venue. If you've ever been to Carnegie Hall, you know what a remarkable theatre it is — the acoustics, the sight lines, all of it is quite amazing. Anyway it was on this day that Tchaikovsky opened Carnegie Hall. Interestingly, in attendance at the time was the Civil Service Commissioner who was, even then, in a sense a rising star in the constellation of Washington, D.C., hometown boy — Carnegie Hall is just a few blocks from the house where he grew up — Teddy Roosevelt. When the cannons fired there at the end of the *1812 Overture*, Henry Cabot Lodge, the best friend of young Teddy Roosevelt, said that Teddy got so excited that he jumped up and stood on his seat and yelled, "Huzzah, huzzah!" and the entire audience turned around and looked at him, which was not the last time that Teddy Roosevelt would cause a stir in a room.

❖ *1893: Panic hit the New York Stock Exchange. By the end of the year, the entire country was in the throes of a severe depression.*

Two years later, on the same day, in 1893, panic hit Wall Street, and the New York Stock Exchange crashed. By the next year, the United States was in a full-fledged depression — a depression that historians would call the Great Depression until, of course, 1929, when there was another stock market crash which was then named the

Great Depression, and the Great Depression of 1893 was forgotten about altogether. But here's the thing about great depressions — they become portents of sea changes in political and cultural leadership. When there is a crisis, when there is a national panic, and when economic fortunes fall, people start looking for change. In fact, they are prone to fall for any declaration that change is on the way, change is imminent. That certainly was the case in the few years following 1893's stock market crash. American leaders began to look for the possibility of a foreign war to distract the public's attention from the plummeting economy, and began to experiment with new theories of monetizing the economy. There was, in the years following the stock market crash, a great cry for silverite monetization that began under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan. And, it was during this period that a whole new generation of leadership arose.

The Conservative-Progressive Reformer

The man who led the way during this remarkable period of time was Theodore Roosevelt. At the same time that Teddy Roosevelt was on the rise, there were a number of legal theorists and activists who were plotting a whole new course for America. They were a strange accumulation of anarchists, Communists, labor agitators, and war protesters.

One of them, a fellow by the name of Roger Baldwin, determined that the course of the nation would not be altered, as it had been in Europe, through revolution. Instead, slow, incremental revolution had to be undertaken through the use of the courts. He had a very close friend at the time who also was an ardent revolutionary. She believed that the courts might be a useful tool, but the real way to change America and usher in the revolution of the proletariat, to overthrow capitalism, to rid the nation of every last remnant of the Founding Fathers was to change the approach of Americans to morality, sexuality, and marriage.

Roger Baldwin and Margaret Sanger had many difficult conversations and ultimately went their separate ways. Roger Baldwin established a new organization called the American Civil Liberty Union, the ACLU Margaret Sanger went on to establish an organization called the American Birth Control League, later renaming it Planned Parenthood.

Interestingly, very early on, their chief opponent in everything they tried to undertake was Teddy Roosevelt. Both Roger Baldwin and Margaret Sanger claimed that Teddy Roosevelt was the most dangerous man in America because he could not be pinned down in terms of his single agenda or his native ideology.

As many of you know, if not all of you, I wrote a little book about Teddy Roosevelt, and I started in the introduction with this description.

By any measure, Theodore Roosevelt was a remarkable man. Before his fiftieth birthday ...

When I wrote those words, I was on one side of that age. As I read it now, I'm on the other side of that age.

... he had served as New York state legislator, the undersecretary of the Navy, Police Commissioner for the City of New York, U.S. Civil Service Commissioner, the governor of the state of New York, vice president under William McKinley, a colonel in the U.S. Army, and two terms as president of the United States. In addition, he had run a cattle ranch in the Dakota terri-

tory and served as a reporter and editor for several journals, newspapers, and magazines. He'd conducted scientific expeditions on four continents, he read at least five books every week of his life, and wrote nearly fifty on an astonishing array of subjects from history and biography to natural science and social criticism. He enjoyed hunting, boxing, and wrestling. He was an amateur taxidermist, botanist, ornithologist, and astronomer. He was a devoted family man who lovingly raised six children and he enjoyed a lifelong romance with his wife.

What a resume! I continued,

During his long and varied career, he was hailed by supporters and rivals alike as the greatest man of the age, perhaps the greatest of all ages. According to Thomas Reed, the speaker of the House of Representatives, he was a New World Bismarck and Cromwell combined. President Grover Cleveland described him as one of the ablest men yet produced in human history. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge asserted that, since Cæsar, perhaps no one has attained, among the crowded duties and great responsibilities, such high proficiency in so many separate fields of activity. After an evening in his company, the epic poet Rudyard Kipling wrote, "I curled up on the seat opposite and listened and wondered until the universe seemed to be spinning 'round and Roosevelt was the spinner." Great Britain's Lord Charnwood¹ exclaimed, "No statesman for centuries has had his width of intellectual range. To be sure, no intellectual has so touched the world with action." Even his lifelong political opponent, William Jennings Bryan, was dazzled by his prowess. "Search the annals of history if you will," he said, "never will you find a man more remarkable in every way than he."

The stories of his astonishing, precocious intellect abound. His son, Kermit, used to say that they would have these remarkable gatherings in the White House, of all the greatest writers, thinkers, and intellectuals of the day, and he said, "I never saw a time when my father did not know more than the experts in their own field of endeavor."

He apparently had a photographic memory. And though he read five books every single week of his life, he had almost perfect recall. He had what is called architectural memory, which means even if he could not recall the exact quote that he was thinking of, he could find it because he remembered where it was on the page and could tell by the shape of the page where it was.

One of my favorite stories of him comes from Jacob Riis, the photographer and journalist who wrote *How the Other Half Lives*. He was a friend of Teddy Roosevelt's and came to visit him once for a breakfast meeting at the governor's mansion in Albany, when T.R. was serving. Just after T.R. had made himself a national hero by fighting his way up San Juan Hill with the Rough Riders, he was swept into office as governor of New York. Riis got there a little early and was told that the governor was downstairs in the basement for his morning ritual. Riis was invited to come down and visit him. So, he made his way down the marble stairs there in Albany's governor's mansion and came into this large room, and he was absolutely astonished by what he saw. All of us would have been totally wiggled out by seeing what he saw that day because there was Teddy, sitting in a barber's chair getting a shave and a haircut. While he was getting a shave and a haircut, he was simultaneously writing official guber-

¹ Godfrey Rathbone Benson, 1st Baron Charnwood (1864–1945) was a British author, philanthropist, Liberal politician, and academic. *Ed.*

natorial correspondence on a lap desk. Not only was he getting a shave and haircut and writing official gubernatorial correspondence on a lap desk, he was conducting this correspondence with both hands — two different letters to two different people on two different subjects, writing with his right hand and with his left hand simultaneously, while getting a shave and haircut. But that's not the astonishing part. The astonishing part is that while he was writing with his right hand and his left hand, he was also, in alternating paragraphs, dictating to five secretaries. To the first he was dictating his book, a biography of Oliver Cromwell. To the second, he was dictating his plans for the upcoming legislative session. To the third, he was dictating a speech he would make later that afternoon to a Rotary Club. To the fourth, he was dictating plans for a staff picnic later that afternoon. And, to the fifth, he was dictating his morning diary — in alternating paragraphs, while writing correspondence to two different people in two entirely different subject areas, one with his right hand, one with his left hand while getting a shave and a haircut. Jacob Riis later said that, "I wasn't sure if I was watching genius or a circus trick." This was a remarkable man.

An Extraordinary Life

There are lots of remarkable people in this world. What really set Teddy Roosevelt apart is not his precocious intellect, it's not the fact that when scientists at the Smithsonian were unable to identify certain specimens that had been brought to them from out West, they sent them up to the White House because they knew that Teddy Roosevelt would look at the bones and be able to tell them what they were. It's not just the precocious intellect. It's that, first of all, he didn't really take himself very seriously. He believed that he was required by God to work hard. Secondly, it's that he gave himself and all of those gifts to the service of others. And, thirdly, it's that he was able to keep all in perspective by an unflinching faith and a devotion to his family. It's a really remarkable story.

Youth

❖ *North and South: 1858*

He was born during the time when the conflict between North and South was at its nadir. Remarkably, his father, Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., was an ardent Republican, abolitionist, champion of union, a supporter of Abraham Lincoln, a friend of Lincoln, and the man who brought reform to Veterans Affairs in Lincoln's army. His wife, however, Teddy's mother, was a daughter of the South. She was born in "Mayretta," Georgia — what we Yankee-ized folk call Marietta. But back in that day it was, "Mayretta". She was raised in the famous Bullock mansion, which you can visit there in Marietta to this day, and was a scion of the great Bullock family. She had two brothers who fought as officers in the Confederate Navy. During the war, she would sneak packages out to Confederate spies even as her husband was going off to work for the Union army. In fact, when he would leave their house there on 20th Street just off 3rd Avenue, she would lower the Stars and Stripes and raise the Stars and Bars during the day. Just before he would come home, she would lower the Stars and Bars and re-raise the Stars and Stripes. The point is that he grew up with a deep appreciation for both traditions. Following the War Between the States, he was the first president who could claim a deep love for both the North and the South, born, bred, raised in New York City but with deep, deep roots in the Deep South. He understood the stories and the traditions of both.

❖ Sickness and Health: 1865

He was, unfortunately, a sickly child. In fact, most did not believe he would survive his childhood. He had terrible asthma. There would be frightful nights when he simply could not get a breath at all. His father would take him down to the stable in the carriage house. They'd climb aboard a big flatbed carriage that his father used for the family glass business, and he would race through the streets of lower Manhattan as fast as he could with a team of four in front and Teddy sitting on the buckboard beside him, to try to force air into his lungs.

Eventually when he was about eight years old, his father realized that unless they did something drastic, Teddy would spend all of his life as an invalid. So, he outfitted a little balcony off Teddy and his brother's bedroom there in the townhouse in New York. You can see it today because the house is a national monument. He outfitted it as a little gym. His father told Teddy, "You must make yourself, if you are ever to be anything in this world." So, little Teddy started to work out, and he became an avid sportsman after this. His family would take trips to Long Island, out to Oyster Bay, and he would take long swims. He learned to love hiking in the woods. He eventually became one of the most remarkable outdoorsmen, but he began as a sickly child forced to build himself.

During the campaign of 1912, Teddy was actually shot in an assassination attempt, at point blank range with a pistol. He was hit directly in the chest. He was about to make a big speech in the city of Milwaukee, and after he was shot, all his aides, attendants, and body guard gathered around him and said, "We've got to get you to the hospital immediately." Teddy Roosevelt pushed them off saying, "I must fulfill my obligation." So, he proceeded to make his way into the auditorium and he was determined to make this speech. His voice was raspy and weak. He began by apologizing to the crowd saying that he had just been shot. They all laughed. They thought it was a joke, "Yeah, he's just been shot!" and he pulled his hand away from his chest, and it was bloody and everybody just kind of fell silent. They were going, "What are you doing here? Get thee to a nunnery or something!"

He was determined to go forward with the speech. He gained strength as he spoke. He spoke for an hour and a half. When he was done with his speech he consented to let his aides take him to the hospital where doctors had to perform surgery to remove the bullet from his chest. By this time, Teddy Roosevelt was older than I am now, and the doctors said that never had they seen such a physical specimen. His chest was massive. A lot of times when you look at pictures of Teddy Roosevelt, he kind of looks like he's sort of fat. Not much fat — he was hefty, but it was almost all muscle. So, as a young boy, he had to make his body, and by will and determination and pluck, boy, did he ever.

❖ Scion of Success: 1868

His family was well to do, and he was a scion of great success. When he was ten years old, his family went on the first of two grand tours. He got to go to Europe but not just to Europe. They sailed down the Nile. It was during this trip that he gained his great love of ornithology. He started shooting and then practicing amateur taxidermy on all sorts of animals and birds, mostly birds at first, and became an expert in ornithology. It's one of the reasons why the Smithsonian relied on the president of the United States rather than their own staff scientists because it was said that he was the single greatest expert, after the death of Audubon, on the birds of North America.

Fast Start

❖ *Harvard Challenge: 1876*

He went off to Harvard College. His class was only eighty students at the time. We often forget how small colleges and universities used to be. Until just the generation before Teddy Roosevelt, the largest class at Harvard was forty-two students. So, he went off to Harvard, which was still sort of a small, cliquish sort of environment. Teddy was, at this point, still rather small in stature and small in frame, so everybody was rather surprised when he went out for the boxing team. In his freshman year, it was said that he never survived more than two punches in the ring. He was a little guy, and he got knocked down and knocked out, over and over and over again. By his senior year, he was the Ivy League champion and won the Golden Gloves. Just pluck and determination — he was going to go forward and he was going to succeed.

One of his professors was Henry Adams, the grandson of John Quincy Adams, and the great grandson of John Adams, and one of the great historiographers of the age, one of the men who really transformed political biography and political history. It was through Henry Adams and John T. Morse there at Harvard that the two classmates, Henry Cabot Lodge and Teddy Roosevelt, first really fell in love with the great hero tales of American history and decided that they would make a career telling the story of American liberty.

He began to write articles and serve as a journalist, but the political bug had bitten him. He joined the Republican Club, following the footsteps of his father, whom he believed was the greatest man he had ever laid eyes on. His father died while he was still at Harvard, and when Teddy Roosevelt finally became president of the United States, on his first day in the presidential office, there was no Oval Office at the time because Teddy Roosevelt built that, but in the presidential office, the first thing that Teddy did was to set up a picture of his father, and he said, “Lord, why I am here and not this great man, I’ll never know, but help me walk in his footsteps.” One of the things you always have to look for in great leaders is not just humility but the ability to see others as heroes and aspire to walk in their footsteps. Teddy really had that.

❖ *On to Albany: 1882*

At any rate, he was quickly elected to the state legislature and went on to Albany, which was a town that was filled with corruption. Teddy came in on a reformist platform. He was going to clean up Albany and clean up New York. The big bosses there in Albany kind of chuckled in the same way that boxers had chuckled when young Teddy showed up as a freshman at Harvard. After his maiden speech and several reformist pieces of legislation were introduced by this firebrand, twenty-something, young buck from New York City, the bosses decided to teach little Teddy a lesson.

They sent one of their enforcers — a great big bruiser of a man, the sort of guy that used his knuckles to make his point. They sent him to the little legislative lounge where legislators would gather in Albany at the end of the day to have a little drop of sherry or a glass of wine — Teddy was a teetotaler and so he would always have tea or milk. He was there having his milk while all the other older, wiser legislators were snickering into their sherry, and this bruiser came in and the whole room parted. He marched up to Teddy and was going to teach him a lesson: *you do what we say. Learn the steps and maybe someday, we’ll let you be in the club and then you can introduce legislation and make speeches or whatever.* Well, he became threatening and Teddy, who was about a foot and a half shorter and about one hundred twenty pounds lighter wheeled around and popped him in the jaw with his best roundhouse, knocked the guy flat, turned back around, took another slug of his milk, slammed it on the counter and said, “There’s a new sheriff in town.”

❖ *Sudden Grief: 1884*

He began to gain a national reputation as a reformer who could truly make his mark, but tragedy struck just two years later. His sweetheart from Harvard, whom he had married, Alice Lee, began to have deep struggles as she went into labor with their first child. Teddy was in Albany; he received an urgent telegram, "Make your way back home." He hurried as fast as he could back to New York City. By the time he had arrived, his wife, Alice, had died delivering his firstborn, a little girl, who survived. Meanwhile on the floor above, his mother was dying as well. On the same night, he lost his wife and his mother. He was thrown into deep grief from which no one could console him.

Second Wind

❖ *The Ranching Life: 1884*

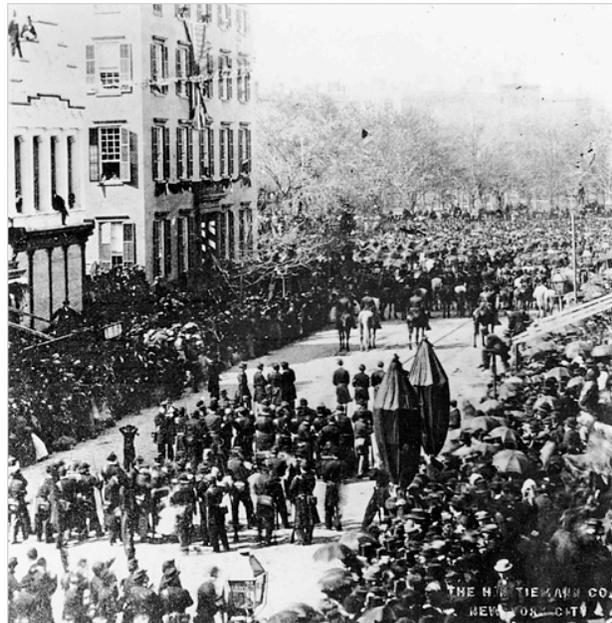
He decided that his life was essentially over, so he started to work on his bucket list. He loved the West, so he went to Abercrombie and Fitch, which was a sporting goods company, a Western outfitter in New York City, and he bought himself some leather duds, what he thought a cowboy ought to look like, a big hat that many said was bigger than he was, and he took a train and went West. He bought a ranch and some cattle and decided to become a Dakota cattle rancher. There are a host of wonderful stories of him tracking down outlaws and earning the respect of the ranchers, who took one look at this greenhorn from New York City and started laughing. He made his way, made his mark, and earned their respect. Through one of the bitterest winters in memory out on the frontier, he almost lost everything, but the wind was back in his sails, and he was reinvigorated, and after two years, he returned to New York.

❖ *Back to New York: 1886*

What was waiting for him in New York was really fascinating. He had been, from childhood, best friends with a girl named Edith Carow. In fact, everybody in their childhood believed that Teddy and Edith would get married. There is a famous picture of Teddy and his brother and Edith, when they were children, leaning out their townhouse window looking as the funeral cortège of Abraham Lincoln passed by. It's a great photograph of them leaning out the window. Anyway, Edith was his childhood friend. Apparently, just before he went off to college they had a pretty serious breakup.

❖ *Marriage, Family, Politics: 1889*

When Teddy got back to New York, Edith was thrown back into his life and he was torn. He didn't know what to do. He started to have feelings for her. He wrestled with this for a while, but finally the lure of this woman, the inevitability of their romance, was too much, and they married. It was one of the most remarkable marriages in American history, next to perhaps John and Abigail Adams. She was tough. The fact is that strong men need strong women as wives. A man like Teddy Roosevelt would



have just rolled over a weak woman. But a strong, decisive, opinionated, brilliant, articulate woman — it's just what Teddy needed to take him to the next level in his life.

The Crowded Hours

Publishing

❖ *Morris; Benton; Cromwell; Heroes*

It was during this period that he began seriously writing. He wrote a biography of Gouverneur Morris, a biography of Thomas Hart Benton, and a biography of Oliver Cromwell. He wrote biographies of his heroes. Together with Henry Cabot Lodge, he wrote his *American Hero Tales*.

❖ The West; The War of 1812

He began a long, five-volume history of the making of the West, which remains a great classic and very much worth reading. When he was at Harvard, he had begun *A History of the Naval War of 1812*. Amazingly, that history is still used as a textbook at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis. It's brilliant. He was a fine, careful, scholarly historian.

❖ The Strenuous Life

He also began to write a series of essays and became a journalist writing for magazines and newspapers. He wrote wonderful books — *The Strenuous Life*, about what it means to be engaged, to be busy, to make the most of and to exercise stewardship over every detail of life. He was an intellectual, a serious intellectual, who loved to swim. He used to take reporters on what he called jaunts. He would drag them through Rock Creek Park. Teddy never liked to take detours, so if there was a rock, he'd just climb right over it. If there was something in the way, he just went in a straight line. It was astonishing to the reporters, who were dragging along with their papers and their notebooks, huffing and puffing, while the president just charged ahead. But if they wanted the quote, they had to stick with Teddy. This was the strenuous life.

❖ Foes of our own Household

He had no patience for the foes of our own household. In other words, he believed the greatest danger for America, was not from the outside. It was people on the inside who failed to grasp the vision and who undermined freedom in the name of friendship.

Now really, that's the story of all of life. Isn't it? The great threat to the Church is not those who are arguing atheist doctrines, the greatest threat to the Church is us. It's the old Pogo² truism: "We have met the enemy and he is us." T.R. understood that.

² *Pogo* is the title and central character of a long-running daily American comic strip, created by cartoonist Walt Kelly (1913–1973) and distributed by the Post-Hall Syndicate. Set in the Okefenokee Swamp of the southeastern United States, the strip often engages in social and political satire through the adventures of its anthropomorphic funny animal characters. *Wikipedia*

Politics

❖ *Police Commissioner: 1895*

In all his various careers, first as Police Commissioner of the city of New York — so many great stories of how he whipped a corrupt police force in to shape. It was Teddy Roosevelt who first started using fingerprinting and forensics. He was the father of CSI-type investigations. But it was also Teddy who was willing to get on the streets himself. He didn't sit in an office and take bribes and kickbacks and have high-level meetings. He got out on the streets, and he knocked heads. I love the story of the theft of Wild Bill Hickok's famous saddle during a show at Madison Square Garden. Somebody made off in a wagon with this famous, valuable saddle, and Teddy Roosevelt was there in attendance. He ran all the way up to the top of the steps of the old Madison Square Garden, to the big bank of windows that was outside, and when the wagon came around, he jumped three stories down, out the window, landed in the cart, and arrested the man. I mean it's like Indiana Jones.

❖ *Assistant Secretary of the Navy: 1897*

❖ *Rough Riders: 1898*

He, of course, led the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill in the Spanish American War. He was the Assistant Secretary of Navy when the war broke out. He was the one who had prepared Admiral Perry and the others for the great victories in the Pacific, but when the war actually came, he absolutely refused to be sitting in Washington at a desk. He resigned his position and signed up, raised his own troop, trained them in San Antonio, Texas, and then was deployed right to the front lines of battle.

❖ *Governor of New York: 1899*

❖ *Vice President: 1900*

❖ *President: 1901*

He rode that fame to the governorship. Despite the fact that all the elites in the Republican Party felt that the man was dangerous and unstable, they realized that he was a rising star, so they decided to put him in the most irrelevant office in all of American politics. To get the guy out of the way, they allowed him to be nominated as vice president. That'll get him done for good! The problem was that at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, just shortly after the election, President McKinley was assassinated. Teddy was out on a hunting expedition in the Adirondacks, and it took two days, the Secret Service having to hunt him down in the wilderness, to find him to tell him that he was now president.

❖ *Reelected in a Landslide: 1904*

He served from 1901 until the 1904 election in his first term. The Republican Party still despised him, felt like he was a loose cannon, but by this time his courage, his vision, his leadership in the world, and his determination to speak softly and carry a big stick had thrust America to the forefront of world prominence. And, so he won, in 1904, in the greatest landslide in electoral history. He had become the quintessential American.

The first president of the United States to break the racial barrier in the White House, he invited his dear friend Booker T. Washington to lunch at the White House and then to a state dinner and heralded him as a true American hero. The newspapers in various places around the country, including two newspapers in Chicago and one in Memphis, called for the assassination of T.R. because he dared to do this. Teddy simply quoted Henry Clay,

or rather adjusted the quote of Henry Clay. Remember, Henry Clay said, "I'd rather be right than president." Teddy said, "I'd rather be right than alive."

On Not Retiring

Outdoorsman

❖ *African Safari*

After he left office, he wasn't about to sit around and write his memoirs, build a presidential library, and go around and give cushy speeches at sushi dinners in Japan. Instead, he immediately went on a one-year African safari.

❖ *South American Explorer*

Later, he went on a magnificent South American expedition of exploration in which he discovered several new tributaries in the Amazon River and came, literally, within an inch of his delirious life of death. In fact, the malaria that he contracted on that trip would be what would ultimately kill him.

❖ *Western Conservation*

He was the father of Western conservationism. He helped establish what became a wide network of national parks and forests.

Patriot

❖ *Seeing the Foes Within*

He was insightful in recognizing the threats to American existence being primarily our own character, our own inability to stand for principles, and our own lack of understanding of our freedom. He was constantly running against the system, beating expectations. It was said of him, "No politician in American history has ever destroyed his career more often than Teddy Roosevelt."

❖ *Seeing the Foes Without*

❖ *Running Against the System*

He was willing to take risks, unpopular stands, to do what was right.

Legacy

❖ *Twentieth-Century Politics*

❖ *Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.*

❖ *Liberals and Conservatives*

In many ways, the twentieth century was defined by the issues he raised. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, his young nephew, became, in a very real sense, the father of modern liberalism by advocating all the social issues that T.R. had advocated but without the biblical moorings or the commitment to constitutionalism. T.R., Jr., the oldest of Teddy's sons, and the second of his six children, became very much the father of modern conservatism and an adversary of his cousin. By the way, T.R., Jr., was a chip off the old block; on D-Day, even though he had been

wounded in World War I, had a shattered knee and a shattered hip and had a heart attack during the D-Day invasion, General Roosevelt went ashore with a cane with his troops on D-Day. It's crazy. The modern-day tradition of liberals and conservatives and the great divide really was spawned out of the concerns and the issues of this remarkable man.

Father, Husband, and Friend

But for all the politics, for all the history, for all the accomplishments, for the sixty books and all the rest, you know what the most enduring image of Teddy Roosevelt is? It's pony rides down the halls of the living quarters of the White House. It's bringing camels and ostriches to his daughter's birthday. It's giving piggyback rides and sliding on the Persian carpets while the Japanese ambassador was waiting in the next room. It's a lifelong love affair with his wife. Teddy Roosevelt knew what was important, and he gave himself to it. But his first priority was teaching his children the Catechism, raising them up in faith, seeing their father, as busy as he was, teaching Sunday school for twenty years out of his long, crowded life and career. It was being a father and a husband first. Teddy Roosevelt was able to accomplish so much because he had his priorities straight.

Of all the heroes and all the villains that we've studied in American Culture so far this year, may God remind us continually that it's not the native gifts that make men or women great. It's what we do with what we've got, in what context. May that always be the picture of American greatness.



Father, thank you. Thank you for the great stories, the wonderful inspiration that comes from the life of a man who knew what stewardship was, who understood that you are God, he is not, and who lived his life in accordance with those principles. We give you praise and thanksgiving in Jesus' name. Amen.



One final story. People used to tell Teddy Roosevelt all the time that he was great. You can imagine — a man with those kinds of gifts and those kinds of skills, people are very quick to just be gaga, not Lady Gaga, but really gaga, over a personality that large. He used to have a friend who was the world's most prominent astronomer. He would invite him to the White House every night after all the meetings were done, as often as was practical. Over the course of seven years in the White House, there were several hundred times when this astronomer and Teddy would step out onto the White House porch and look up at the stars. Teddy would point one out and ask the astronomer what the name of the star was — even if Teddy actually knew what the name of the star was — and how far away it was, and how many millions of years it took for the light from that star to reach the earth. Every night Teddy Roosevelt would have the same response. After gazing up amazingly at the glory of God's creation and the majesty of the heavens, he would say, "Okay I feel small enough now. We can go back inside." That is a leader.

We're done. (And Dr. Grant removed his bow tie as the students broke out in applause.)

Appendix A

Literature Planning Guide

Instead of assigning specific literature to specific lessons, a large list of titles has been included for you to choose from—too many to read in one year.¹ Each work is a product of the time period studied.

There are several reasons for doing it this way:

- 1) Dr. Grant doesn't lecture on a regular schedule at FCS. However, most of the families, co-ops, and schools that use the curriculum spread the lessons out consistently and fairly evenly through the year. This means that the specific literature assignments at FCS won't necessarily work in other settings.
- 2) You know your students best—how quickly they read, how heavy the rest of their course load is, and how many other family and outside activities your students are involved with. You know how much time they have to read and what they can read in the time they have.
- 3) It is most helpful if those leading literature discussions choose literature that they love. If you choose literature that you enjoy, or, if you haven't read it yet, something that seems interesting to you, you're more likely to instill your students with an appreciation for, if not a love of, that work. If you try to lead your students through a work that you really don't like, your students will pick that up and may end up catching your attitude toward the book. Better to leave works you aren't fond of or that don't interest you to the future, either for your students to read on their own, or for them to read under the tutelage of someone who sees the beauty in the work that you don't see. But don't let this scare you away from new works by new authors. What better way to light a fire of lifetime learning in your students than by modeling it for them!
- 4) Some families want to cover a lot of literature while some prefer to slow down and read less, but more deeply. This list gives you the liberty to schedule your year no matter which approach you prefer, or if you prefer a combination, reading some books quickly, while reading others more slowly.
- 5) You have the liberty and flexibility to assign your older or more advanced readers more works than your younger or less advanced readers.
- 6) You can choose from the list with confidence, knowing that all the titles are solid literature and contain much scope for discussion.

¹ Please don't feel discouraged that you can't read all the titles in one year. Instead, view this list as the start of a lifetime of reading for both you and your students. *Ed.*

7) All the works on the list are available either in physical copies or online and may be available in epub or mobi editions for Kindles, Nooks, or other electronic readers. Many of the electronic editions are available for free or for very little as they are all in the public domain.

The Book List

In chronological order by publication date:

Title	Author	Pub. date	type of lit
<i>The True History of the Conquest of New Spain</i>	Bernal Diaz del Castillo	1568	history
<i>A Description of New England</i>	John Smith	1616	history
<i>Of Plymouth Plantation</i>	William Brewster	1620-1647	history
<i>The Bay Psalm Book</i>		1640	psalter
<i>To My Husband and Other Poems</i>	Anne Bradstreet	1678	poetry
<i>The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial</i>	Judge Samuel Sewall	1700	an anti-slavery tract
<i>Magnalia Christi Americana</i>	Cotton Mather	1702	history
<i>Poor Richard's Almanac</i>	Benjamin Franklin	1732-1758	almanac
<i>Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania</i>	John Dickinson	1767	political philosophy
<i>The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin</i>	Benjamin Franklin	1771-1790	autobiography
<i>Poems on Various Subjects</i>	Phillis Wheatley	1773	poetry
<i>The Group</i>	Mercy Otis Warren	1775	play
<i>Common Sense</i>	Thomas Paine	1776	political philosophy
<i>Letters From An American Farmer</i>	J. Hector St. John De Crevecoeur	1782	
<i>The Federalist Papers</i>	Madison, Hamilton,	1787-1788	political philosophy
<i>The Anti-Federalist Papers</i>	Brutus, et al.	1787-1788	political philosophy, the collection by Morton Borden corresponds to the Federalist Papers; available online
<i>The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano</i>	Olaudah Equiano	1789	autobiography
<i>A Vindication of the Rights of Women</i>	Mary Wollenstonecraft	1792	political philosophy, British but influential in the U.S.
<i>Lewis & Clark's Journals</i>	Lewis & Clark	1814	travel journals
<i>Thanatopsis, To a Waterfowl, and others</i>	William Cullen Bryant	1817	poetry
<i>The Sketch Book</i>	Washington Irving	1819	short stories
<i>The Spy</i>	James Fenimore Cooper	1821	novel
<i>The Pioneers</i>	James Fenimore Cooper	1823	novel
<i>Last of the Mohicans</i>	James Fenimore Cooper	1826	novel
<i>Tamerlane and Other Poems</i>	Edgar Allan Poe	1827	poetry
<i>The Birds of America</i>	John James Audobon	1827	ornithology
<i>Democracy in America</i>	Alexis de Tocqueville	1830-1832	political philosophy
<i>Godey's Lady's Book</i>	various	1830-1898	magazine
<i>Nature</i>	Ralph Waldo Emerson	1836	philosophy

<i>The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket</i>	Edgar Allan Poe	1837	novel
<i>The Obligations of the World to the Bible</i>	Gardner Spring	1839	theology
<i>Two Years Before the Mast</i>	Richard Henry Dana	1840	novel/memoir
<i>Narrative of a Life</i>	Frederick Douglass	1845	autobiography
<i>Civil Disobedience</i>	Henry David Thoreau	1849	political philosophy
<i>The Scarlet Letter</i>	Nathaniel Hawthorne	1850	novel
<i>The House of the Seven Gables</i>	Nathaniel Hawthorne	1851	novel
<i>Moby-Dick</i>	Herman Melville	1851	novel
<i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i>	Harriet Beecher Stowe	1852	novel
<i>Walden</i>	Henry David Thoreau	1854	philosophy
<i>Leaves of Grass</i>	Walt Whitman	1855	poetry
<i>Our American Cousin</i>	Tom Taylor	1858	play/farce
<i>Paul Revere's Ride, and other poems</i>	Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	1861	poetry
<i>Tales of a Wayside Inn</i>	Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	1863	poetry
<i>The Man Without a Country</i>	Edward Everett Hale	1863	novel
<i>Ragged Dick</i>	Horatio Alger	1867	novel
<i>Little Women</i>	Louisa May Alcott	1868	novel
<i>The Luck of Roaring Camp and Other Sketches</i>	Bret Harte	1870	short stories
<i>The Story of a Bad Boy</i>	Thomas Bailey Aldrich	1870	novel
<i>Tom Sawyer</i>	Mark Twain	1876	novel
<i>The American</i>	Henry James	1877	novel
<i>Democracy: An American Novel</i>	Henry Adams	1880	novel
<i>Uncle Remus</i>	Joel Chandler Harris	1881	children's stories
<i>Alexander Hamilton</i>	Henry Cabot Lodge	1882	biography
"The Lady or the Tiger?"	Frank Stockton	1882	short story
<i>The Bostonians</i>	Henry James	1886	novel
<i>Adventuring in the West</i>	Theodore Roosevelt	1887	memoir
<i>Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail</i>	Theodore Roosevelt	1888	memoir
<i>History of the War of 1812 and Beyond</i>	Henry Adams	1889	history
<i>Tales of New England</i>	Sarah Orne Jewett	1890	short stories
<i>How the Other Half Lives</i>	Jacob Riis	1890	cultural critique
<i>Emily Dickinson's poetry</i>	Emily Dickinson	1891	poetry
<i>Bayou Folk</i>	Kate Chopin	1894	novel
<i>Hero Tales from American History</i>	Cabot Lodge & Roosevelt	1895	biography
<i>The Red Badge of Courage</i>	Stephen Crane	1895	novel
<i>Power Through Prayer</i>	E.M. Bounds	1895	theology
<i>short stories</i>	O. Henry	1898-1910	short stories
<i>The Strenuous Life</i>	Theodore Roosevelt	1900	memoir
<i>Plunkitt of Tammany Hall</i>	George Washington Plunkitt	1900	Machiavellian exposé
<i>The House Behind the Cedars</i>	Charles W. Chesnutt	1900	novel

<i>The Wizard of Oz</i>	L. Frank Baum	1900	novel
<i>Up from Slavery</i>	Booker T. Washington	1901	autobiography
<i>The Jungle</i>	Upton Sinclair	1902	novel
<i>The Virginian</i>	Owen Wister	1902	western novel
<i>The Souls of Black Folk</i>	W. E. B. DuBois	1903	essays
<i>The Call of the Wild</i>	Jack London	1903	novel
<i>The House of Mirth</i>	Edith Wharton	1905	novel
<i>The Education of Henry Adams</i>	Henry Adams	1907	memoir
<i>Twenty Years at Hull House</i>	Jane Addams	1910	memoir
<i>Ethan Frome</i>	Edith Wharton	1911	novel
<i>Buttered Side Down (or another early Edna Ferber novel)</i>	Edna Ferber	1912	novel
<i>Penrod (or another of Booth Tarkington's early novels)</i>	Booth Tarkington	1914	novel
<i>"The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock"</i>	T.S. Eliot	1915	poetry
<i>The Bent Twig</i>	Dorothy Canfield Fisher	1915	novel
<i>The Foes of Our Own Household</i>	Theodore Roosevelt	1917	political philosophy
<i>Winesburg, Ohio</i>	Sherwood Anderson	1919	novel

When planning your literature for the year, you may decide to use the Literature Planners included as a separate file with the digital files that came with your American Culture course.

There are three versions of the Planner included: one listing primary textbook reading assignments, one listing alternate textbook reading assignments, and one blank, if you decide to use a different textbook. You'll be able to gauge the textbook reading and will be able to adjust the literature assignments accordingly.



Literature Planning: Primary Reading Assignments

<i>Date</i>	<i>Lesson</i>	<i>Primary Text</i>	<i>Opp.</i>	<i>Literature</i>	<i>Projects</i>
	1	<i>A History of the American People, Europe and the Transatlantic Adventure; Raleigh, the Proto-American</i>			
	2	<i>A History of the American People, Roanoke Disaster; Jamestown: The First Permanent Settlement</i>			
	3	<i>A History of the American People, Mayflower and the Formative Event; John Winthrop and His 'Little Speech' on Liberty</i>	1		
	4	<i>A History of the American People, Roger Williams: The First Dissident; The Catholics in Maryland</i>			

Appendix B

*American Culture Timeline***Before A.D. 1000**

- c. 650 B.C.: Chavan culture emerged
- c. A.D. 100: Zapotec culture emerged
- c. 300: Mayan culture emerged
- c. 600: Aztec military conquests began
- 667: Norse explorers landed in Sussex and Essex.
- c. 700: Norse explorers discovered the Hebrides and the Shetland Islands
- 770: Norse explorers discovered Iceland, the Isle of Man, and the Orkneys
- c. 800: Tenochtitlan built
- 982: Eric the Red discovered Greenland.

1001–1400

- 1001: Leif Ericson discovered Vineland.
- 1120: The Ultima Thule Diocese was founded.
- c. 1200 B.C.: Olmec (a.k.a. Toltec) culture emerged
- 1320: The Arbroath Declaration
- 1325: Islamic Chattel Trade in Mali

1401–1500

- 1428: Caravel Developed
- 1434: Cape Bojador Passed
- c. 1438: Incan conquerors began expanding their imperial holdings
- 1444: Islamic Trade with Portuguese
- 1445: Cape Verde Discovered
- 1451: Christopher Columbus born
- 1453: The Fall of Constantinople
- 1458: Sierra Leone Discovered
- 1460: Henry Died
- 1461: Columbus began sailing the Ligurian at the age of ten.
- 1476: Columbus shipwrecked off Portugal
- 1481: Bartolomeu Dias made African Coastal Commander
- 1482: Portuguese Chattel Trade in Benin
- 1484: King Joao I rejected Columbus's plan for a Grand Enterprise.
- 1486–91: Columbus rejected by Queen Isabella.
- 1486–88: Bartolomeu Dias rounded Cape of Good Hope.
- 1487: King John II Orders Expedition
- 1488: Bartolomeu Dias Discovers Cape of Good Hope

- 1492, January 2: The Reconquista succeeded.
- 1492, January 20: Queen Isabella reconsidered Columbus's proposal.
- 1492, October 12: Columbus landed on San Salvador.
- 1493: Columbus's Second Journey to the New World
- 1494: Alexander VI signed the Treaty of Tordesillas.
- 1496: Henry VII commissioned John Cabot to search for the Northwest Passage.
- 1497–1499: Vasco da Gama sailed around Africa to India.
- 1497: John Cabot discovered Cape Breton Island.
- 1497: John Cabot lays claims to North American lands for England.
- 1497: Vasco da Gama assumes command
- 1498: Columbus's Third Journey to the New World
- 1498: Southern route discovered around Africa
- 1499–1500: Amerigo Vespucci explored coastal Brazil.

1501–1550

- 1502: Columbus's Fourth Journey to the New World
- 1502: da Gama's Voyage to India
- 1506, May 20: Columbus died
- 1506: Ferdinand Magellan sailed to the Portuguese Indies.
- 1508–1509: Vicente Pinzón explored the Yucatán.
- 1508: Sebastian de Ocampo circumnavigated Cuba.
- 1509: Henry VIII married Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, and succeeded his father to the throne.
- 1513: Ponce de León discovered and explored Florida.
- 1513: Vasco Nunez de Balboa discovered the Pacific.
- 1515: Slaves Brought to the New World
- 1521, April 27: Ferdinand Magellan killed in a tribal battle in the Philippines.
- 1521: Henry VIII awarded papal Defensor Fedei.
- 1521: Hernando Cortéz and a coalition army conquered Tenochtitlan
- 1522, September 6: Eighteen men of Magellan's crew arrived home.
- 1523: Confesionario, by Bartolomé de las Casas
- 1528–1533: Francisco Pizarro and a coalition army conquered Cuzco.
- 1533: Henry VIII divorced Catherine of Aragon and married Anne Boleyn, against the wishes of the pope.
- 1534: Jacques Cartier claimed New France.
- 1547: The ascension of nine year-old Edward VI to the throne of England.
- 1548: Prayer Book reforms instituted by Edward VI
- 1550: Exclusion Statutes ban Roman Catholics from high office or the monarchy.

1551–1600

- 1553: Mary I deposed Lady Jane Grey and succeeded to the throne of England.
- 1554: Marriage alliance between Philip Hapsburg and Mary I
- 1556: Mary I unleashed fierce persecution of Protestants in England.
- 1558: The ascension of Elizabeth I to the throne of England.
- 1559: Settlement Policy's Via Media
- 1562: English Slave Trading in the Indies

- 1562: Jean Ribaut established a Huguenot colony called Charlesfort, in Florida.
- 1564: Fort Caroline established.
- 1565: All the French Huguenots at Ft. Caroline were slaughtered by the Spanish Hapsburgs.
- 1566-1604: Hapsburg-Tudor Wars, a.k.a. the War of Dutch Independence
- 1572: The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the dispersion of the French Huguenots
- 1585: The Roanoke Island settlement failed.
- 1587: The second Roanoke Island colony disappeared.
- c. 1600: Native North American tribes entered their final stages of development

1601-1650

- 1603: Henri IV commissioned Samuel de Champlain to search for the Northwest Passage. He discovered the St. Lawrence River.
- 1603: The ascension of James I to the throne of England.
- 1607: Henry Hudson hired by the Muscovy Company to search for the Northwest Passage.
- 1607: Jamestown was founded.
- 1607: The first English settlers arrived in Jamestown.
- 1608: A group of Puritans, known to us as Pilgrims, fled Scrooby in Nottinghamshire to Leyden in the Netherlands.
- 1608: Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec.
- 1609: Samuel de Champlain discovered Lake Champlain.
- 1609: Henry Hudson sailed for the Dutch East India Company, which bought out the Muscovy Company.
- 1610: Champlain discovered Vermont.
- 1610: Hudson founds the Northwest Trading Company.
- 1610: Jamestown's Starving Time
- 1611: Hudson abandoned in Hudson Bay by his crew.
- 1617: The Book of Sports first published
- 1618-1648: The Thirty Years' War, a.k.a. the Wars of Hapsburg Hegemony
- 1619: First Slaves in the English Colonies
- 1619: The Virginia House of Burgesses was established.
- 1620: The Pilgrims founded Plymouth Plantation in Massachusetts.
- 1621: Peter Minuit became the director of the Dutch West India Company.
- 1624: Fort Orange (modern-day Albany) established by Peter Minuit
- 1625: The ascension of Charles I to the English throne
- 1626: Manhattan Purchased for \$24
- 1627: Star Chamber Re-instituted
- 1627: The Cambridge Resolves
- 1628-1642: Parliamentary Conflict
- 1628: John Endicott led the founding of Salem.
- 1628: Salem Settlement Company founded
- 1628: The Book of Sports re-published
- 1629: Massachusetts Bay Company founded
- 1629: Parliament dismissed
- 1629: William Lee led the founding of Charlestown.
- 1630: John Winthrop led the founding of Trimountain (later renamed Boston).
- 1630: Massachusetts General Court

1630: The Great Puritan Migration began
 1633: Bishop Laud appointed to re-write the liturgies of the Churches of England and Scotland.
 1634: The Presbyterian Remonstrance
 1635: Boston Latin School founded
 1636: Connecticut founded
 1636: Harvard College founded
 1636: Rhode Island founded
 1637: Pequot War
 1638: Delaware's Fort Christina Built
 1638: National Covenant in Scotland
 1641: Massachusetts Body of Liberties
 1642–1648: The English Civil War
 1642: Harvard College held its first commencement exercise.
 1643: Directory of Public Worship
 1643: Solemn League and Covenant in Scotland
 1646: Peter Stuyvesant became governor of New Netherlands.
 1648: Extracts on Freedom, by Andrew Nilesmythe

1651–1770

1652-1664: The Anglo-Dutch Wars
 1653–1660: The English Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell
 1660–1688: Stuart Restoration
 1663: The African Company Chartered
 1664: New Amsterdam (current-day New York) founded.
 1669: New York founded
 1671: First Abolitionist Society: Virginia
 1673: William Tennent born
 1675: King Philip's War
 1679: New Hampshire founded
 1680-1697: War of the League of Augsburg, a.k.a. King William's War
 1681: Pennsylvania founded
 1688: The Glorious Revolution; William and Mary ascended the throne.
 1689: Declaration of Rights
 1691: Theodore Frelinghuysen born
 1694–1714: English Succession Crises

1701–1750

1701-1713: War of Spanish Succession, a.k.a. Queen Anne's War
 1702: Magnalia Christi Americana, by Cotton Mather
 1702: New Jersey founded
 1703: Gilbert Tennent born
 1703: Jonathan Edwards born
 1706: Benjamin Franklin born
 1714–1746: Jacobite Rebellions
 1714: George Whitefield born

- 1714: Hanoverian Accession of George I
- 1715: The First Jacobite Rising
- 1718: Franklin was apprenticed to his brother's print shop.
- 1721: The Second Jacobite Rising
- 1723: Franklin ran away to Philadelphia.
- 1723: Samuel Davies born
- 1723: Watauga founded
- 1727: Accession of George II
- 1727: Benjamin Franklin established the Junto Council.
- 1728: Benjamin Franklin established the Pennsylvania Gazette.
- 1732: George Washington born at his family's Wakefield estate
- 1733: Poor Richard's Almanac published.
- 1735: First Abolitionist Law: Georgia
- 1735: John Adams born
- 1735: Whitefield converted
- 1736: Whitefield ordained into the Anglican Ministry.
- 1738: Whitefield established an orphanage in Georgia. The beginning of his first American preaching tour.
- 1739-1743: The War of Jenkins' Ear
- 1740-1748: The War of Austrian Succession, a.k.a. King George's War
- 1742: The Cambuslang Revival in Scotland
- 1743: Thomas Jefferson born
- 1744: Franklin published Whitefield's journals.
- 1745: The Jacobite Rising led by Bonnie Prince Charlie
- 1746: The Battle of Culloden
- 1746: William Tennent died
- 1748: Theodore Frelinghuysen died
- 1749: Washington appointed Surveyor of Culpepper County.
- 1750: Jonathan Edwards became pastor of the church in Stockbridge and a missionary to the Housatonic Indians.

1751–1800

- 1752: Washington inherited Mount Vernon at his brother Lawrence's death.
- 1755: Alexander Hamilton born
- 1755: West Florida founded
- 1756-1763: The Seven Years' War, a.k.a. the French and Indian War
- 1758: Jonathan Edwards died.
- 1760: Accession of George III
- 1761: Samuel Davies died.
- 1762: The Treaty of Fontainebleau ceded Louisiana to Spain.
- 1763: George Grenville became Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury
- 1763: Pontiac's War
- 1763: The Parsons' Cause argued by Patrick Henry
- 1763: The Peace of Paris ended the Seven Years' War
- 1764: Colonial Spoils System introduced
- 1764: Currency Act and Sugar Act

- 1764: Gilbert Tennent died
- 1765: Arthur St. Clair immigrated to America.
- 1765: The Stamp Act
- 1765: Samuel Adams helped found the Sons of Liberty.
- 1765: The Stamp Act Congress
- 1765: The Stamp Act Resolutions Pass
- 1765: The Quartering Act
- 1766: The Declaratory Act
- 1767, March 15: Andrew Jackson was born.
- 1767, July 11: John Quincy Adams was born.
- 1767: British Troops Quartered in Boston
- 1767: The Townshend Acts
- 1768: Non-Importation Agreement; the colonies refused to trade with England, setting the backdrop for the Boston Tea Party.
- 1768: Reimposition of the Tea Tax by Lord North
- 1769: Napoléon was born.
- 1770: The Boston Massacre
- 1770: George Whitefield died
- 1770: Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, by John Dickinson
- 1770: William Clark born
- 1772: Declaration of Colonial Rights
- 1773: Boston Tea Party
- 1773: Committees of Correspondence formed.
- 1774-1781: American War of Independence
- 1774, September: The First Continental Congress; Peyton Randolph elected president.
- 1774, October: Henry Middleton succeeded Peyton Randolph as president.
- 1774, December: General Gage mobilized his troops.
- 1774: Lord Dunmore's War
- 1774: Meriwether Lewis born
- 1774: The Massachusetts Government Act ended local government.
- 1774: Washington chaired the meeting for the Fairfax Resolves.
- 1775: Manifesto of Freedom, by Peyton Randolph
- 1775, February: The Rule of Law, by John Adams
- 1775, March 22: Edmund Burke's On Conciliation with the American Colonies
- 1775, March 23: Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death Speech"
- 1775, April: Second Continental Congress
- 1775, April 5: Articles of War
- 1775, April 16: Militia warnings issued by the Continental Congress
- 1775, April 18: The Ride of Dawes and Revere
- 1775, April 19: Lexington and Concord
- 1775, May: Second Continental Congress convened
- 1775, May: Peyton Randolph re-elected president.
- 1775, May 10: Ethan Allen at Fort Ticonderoga
- 1775, May: John Hancock elected president.
- 1775, June: Sixty-nine Articles of War

1775, June: The Olive Branch Petition
1775, June 17: Battle of Bunker Hill
1775: Washington appointed to command the Continental Army.
1776, March 17: Knox laid siege on Howe.
1776, May: British Treaty with German States
1776, May: Richard Henry Lee proposed a covenant lawsuit be drafted against King and Parliament.
1776, July: The Declaration of Independence
1776, August 27: General Howe landed on Long Island.
1776, September 11: Washington lost New York City.
1776, December 2: Washington retreated from New Jersey.
1776, December 26: Washington crossed the Delaware.
1776: First Bill of Rights
1777, January 3: Battle of Princeton
1777, June: Nineteen year-old Marquis de Lafayette joined the American cause.
1777, August 17: Battle of Bennington
1777, September 11: Battle of Brandywine
1777, September 26: Philadelphia Abandoned
1777, October 17: Battle of Saratoga
1777: Henry Clay was born.
1777: Henry Laurens succeeded Hancock as president.
1777: Vermont abolished slavery
1777-1778: Winter at Valley Forge
1778-1794: Chickamauga War
1778: John Jay succeeded Laurens as president.
1778: The French joined the conflict on the side of the colonies.
1779: Samuel Huntington succeeded Jay as president.
1780, March: The betrayal of Benedict Arnold
1780, October: Battle of King's Mountain
1780: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania abolished slavery.
1781, January: Battle of Cowpens
1781, March: Battle of Guilford Courthouse
1781, March: The Articles of Confederation were ratified.
1781, September–October: Washington defeated Cornwallis at Yorktown.
1781: Articles of Confederation ratified
1781: John Hanson succeeded McKean as president.
1781: Thomas McKean succeeded Huntington as president.
1781: Lord Cornwallis surrendered to General Washington at Yorktown.
1782: Daniel Webster was born.
1782: Elias Boudinot succeeded John Hanson as president.
1782: John C. Calhoun was born.
1783: Mifflin accepted Washington's resignation.
1783: New Hampshire, Connecticut abolished slavery.
1783: Thomas Mifflin succeeded Boudinot as president.
1783: Washington retired to private life: America's Cincinnatus.
1783, December 23: The signing of the Paris Peace Treaty

- 1784: Richard Henry Lee succeeded Mifflin as president.
- 1786–1787: Shays' Rebellion
- 1786: William Clark followed his brother into the Army Corps.
- 1786: Nathaniel Gorham succeeded Lee as president.
- 1786: Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect, by Burns
- 1786: The Annapolis Convention.
- 1787: Arthur St. Clair succeeded Gorham as president.
- 1787: Manstealing, by Robert Glanville
- 1787: Northwest Indian Wars
- 1787: The Constitutional Convention
- 1787: Washington elected to chair the Constitutional Convention
- 1787: Constitutional Compromise, the Three-Fifths Compromise
- 1787: The Northwest Ordinance
- 1788: A privy council appointed by the king to inquire into slavery.
- 1788: Cyrus Griffin elected as the last president under the Articles of Confederation.
- 1788: Washington secured Virginia's ratification of the Constitution.
- 1789, July 14: The Storming of the Bastille
- 1789: First Debate on Abolition of the slave trade in Parliament
- 1789: The Constitution ratified
- 1789: Washington unanimously elected president.
- 1790: Benjamin Franklin died
- 1790: The United State Supreme Court opened its first session.
- 1791: John Adams and Alexander Hamilton held their famous February Parley.
- 1791, December 5: Alexander Hamilton presented Report on Manufactures to Congress.
- 1791, December 15: The Bill of Rights ratified
- 1791: The Bill of Rights ratified
- 1791: Wilberforce's first bill defeated in Parliament
- 1793, April to June 1794: The Terror of the French Revolution
- 1793, April: The Citizen Genet Affair
- 1793: Eli Whitney's cotton gin
- 1793: The Neutrality Act
- 1794-1803: San Dominique (Haiti) Slave Revolt
- 1794: Jay's Treaty
- 1794: von Schiller's On the Aesthetic Education of Man in a series of Letters
- 1794: The Whiskey Rebellion
- 1795: Napoléon made Commander of the Army of the Interior
- 1796, September: Washington's Farewell Address
- 1797: Adams elected president
- 1798-1799: Napoléon's Egyptian Campaign
- 1798: Lyrical Ballads, by Wordsworth and Coleridge
- 1798: The Alien and Sedition Acts
- 1798: The Virginia Resolutions
- 1798: The Kentucky Resolutions
- 1798: The Quasi-War
- 1798: The XYZ Affair

- 1799: Coup d'état in Paris; Napoléon made First Consul
- 1799: George Washington died
- 1799: New York abolished slavery.
- 1799: The Red River Revival started.
- 1800: Church Concordat, Napoléon's concord with the Roman Catholic Church
- 1800: The Napoleonic wars started.
- 1800: The Treaty of San Ildefonso returned Louisiana to French control.

1801–1850

- 1801: Jefferson elected president
- 1801: America's first foreign war, against the Barbary pirates
- 1801: Meriwether Lewis became secretary to President Jefferson.
- 1801: The Cane Ridge Revival started.
- 1802: Napoléon made Consul for Life
- 1803: The Northern Confederacy
- 1803: Ohio abolished slavery.
- 1803: Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, a French nobleman was authorized to begin mediating a treaty extension with France for access to the New Orleans port.
- 1803: The British began impressing American sailors.
- 1803: The Louisiana Purchase
- 1804, May: Lewis and Clark set out.
- 1804: Alexander Hamilton killed in a duel with Aaron Burr
- 1804: New Jersey abolished slavery
- 1804: Wilberforce's bill passed the House of Commons but was delayed in the House of Lords.
- 1805: The Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz
- 1806, September: The Lewis and Clark Expedition returned to St. Louis.
- 1806: Passage of the bill to end the slave trade passed Parliament.
- 1806: Prime Minister William Pitt died.
- 1806: The British blockaded France.
- 1807, June: The American ship Chesapeake was fired on by the British ship Leopard after refusing to be boarded.
- 1807, December: The Embargo Act
- 1807: Clark appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs
- 1807: Lewis appointed governor of the Louisiana Territory
- 1807: Liberation Society founded by James Stewart
- 1807: Simón Bolívar returned to Venezuela.
- 1807: Wilberforce's A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Addressed to the Freeholders of Yorkshire
- 1808: Beethoven's Fifth Symphony
- 1808: Goethe's Faust was published.
- 1808: Restrictions on the U.S. Slave Trade
- 1809: Congress created the federal territory of Illinois
- 1809: Meriwether Lewis died under mysterious circumstances.
- 1809: Tecumseh's Confederacy
- 1810: John C. Calhoun elected to Congress
- 1810: The Republic of West Florida annexed by the U.S.

- 1811: Luddite Rebellions in England
- 1811: The Battle of Tippecanoe
- 1812, June: The U.S. declared war on Great Britain.
- 1812: Canadian Invasion
- 1812: Henry Clay elected to Congress.
- 1812: Massachusetts Seceded
- 1813–42: The Creek and Seminole Wars
- 1813, April: The Battle of York (modern-day Toronto)
- 1813: William Clark appointed governor of Missouri Territory
- 1813: Robert Owen's *A New View of Society*
- 1814: The Congress of Vienna
- 1814, August: The British burned Washington, D.C.
- 1814, September: The Battle of Plattsburgh
- 1814, December 15: The Hartford Convention
- 1814, December 24: The Treaty of Ghent
- 1814: *Waverly*, by Sir Walter Scott
- 1815, January: The Battle of New Orleans
- 1815: Treaty of Ghent
- 1816: American Colonization Society founded by Colin Daniels
- 1816: Indiana abolished slavery.
- 1818: Illinois abolished slavery.
- 1819: "Ode on a Grecian Urn" by Keats
- 1819: *Don Juan*, by Lord Byron
- 1819: *The Sketchbook* by Washington Irving
- 1820: The Missouri Compromise abolished slavery in Maine.
- 1822: Daniel Webster elected to Congress.
- 1823: The Monroe Doctrine
- 1825, February 8: John Quincy Adams was elected president by the House of Representatives after no one won a majority of the vote in the general election of 1824.
- 1825: John C. Calhoun became vice-president under JQA.
- 1825: The Inter-City Rail Line Opened
- 1825: Daniel Webster's Bunker Hill Oration
- 1826, July 4: John Adams died
- 1826, July 4: Thomas Jefferson died
- 1826: *Last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper
- 1826: Webster's Adams Jefferson Oration
- 1827: The Cherokee Republic established
- 1828: John C. Calhoun became vice-president under Andrew Jackson.
- 1828: The Tariff of Abominations enacted
- 1829: Calhoun's Exposition and Protest
- 1830: The Removal Bill
- 1831: *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison
- 1832: The Nullification Ordinance was approved by South Carolina's legislature.
- 1833: Final Passage of Total Abolition in Great Britain
- 1833: The Compromise Tariff

1833: The Force Bill
 1836: Nature by Ralph Waldo Emerson
 1836: The Oxbow by Thomas Cole
 1837: Michigan abolished slavery.
 1838: The Trail of Tears
 1838: William Clark died in St. Louis.
 1840-80: The First Wave of Immigration
 1840: Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's What Is Property?
 1841-42: The Dorr Rebellion
 1844: The Dissolution Bill
 1844: Samuel Morse's American Telegraph Company
 1845, June 8: Andrew Jackson died.
 1845: A Narrative of a Life, by Frederick Douglass
 1845: The Annexation of Texas
 1846-48: The Mexican-American War
 1846: Iowa abolished slavery.
 1848, February 23: John Quincy Adams died.
 1848: Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto
 1848: The Annexation of the Oregon Territory
 1848: Wisconsin abolished slavery.
 1849: Civil Disobedience by Henry David Thoreau
 1849: Gold discovered in California
 1850: California abolished slavery.
 1850: On the Slavery Question, by John C. Calhoun
 1850: The Great Compromise
 1850: John C. Calhoun died.
 1850: The Great Compromise
 1850: The Scarlet Letter by Nathaniel Hawthorne

1851–1900

1851: Moby-Dick by Herman Melville
 1852: Daniel Webster died.
 1852: Henry Clay died.
 1852: Kansas abolished slavery.
 1852: Kansas Nullification
 1852: Uncle Tom's Cabin, by Harriet Beecher Stowe
 1854: Horace Mann's Plan for Reform
 1854: The Gadsden Purchase
 1856: Pottawatomie Massacre
 1856: Preston Brooks caned Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate.
 1857: Niagara Falls by Frederic Edwin Church
 1857: Worcester Disunion
 1858: Theodore Roosevelt born
 1859: Charles Darwin's Origin of Species
 1859: John Brown's Raid on Harpers Ferry

1859: Minnesota, Oregon abolished slavery.
1859: The Second Italian War of Independence started.
1860-1900: The Second Wave of Immigration
1860-61: The Pony Express
1860, November: Abraham Lincoln was elected with a plurality of votes, not a majority.
1860: South Carolina seceded.
1860: The Civil War began.
1860: There were four million slaves in fifteen states.
1860: Vermont Treaty Call
1861, January 11: Ft. Sumter fired upon
1861, January-February: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas seceded.
1861, March: Missouri voted to secede, but was stopped by federal troops.
1861, April: Fort Sumter was fired upon.
1861, April: Virginia seceded.
1861, May: Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina seceded.
1861, May: Maryland voted to secede, but was stopped by federal troops.
1861, June: Fifty counties seceded from Virginia and petitioned to be joined to the Union as West Virginia.
1861, June: Lincoln suspended habeas corpus.
1861, July: The First Battle of Bull Run
1861: Tyler Peace Parley
1862, March: The Peninsular Campaign started.
1862, March: The Valley Campaign started.
1862, April: The Battle of Shiloh
1862, August: The Second Battle of Bull Run
1862, September: The Battle of Antietam
1862, December: The Battle of Fredericksburg
1862: Nevada, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Washington, and Arizona abolished slavery.
1863, January: The Emancipation Proclamation
1863, May: The Battle of Chancellorsville
1863, May: Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson died.
1863, May-July: The Battle of Vicksburg
1863, June-July: The Battle of Gettysburg
1863, September: The Battle of Chickamauga
1863, November: The Battle of Chattanooga
1864, December: The Battle of Nashville
1864, May: The Battle of Spotsylvania Courthouse
1864, May: The Battle of Wilderness
1864, May-June: The Battle of Cold Harbor
1864, November: The Battle of Franklin
1864, November, December: Sherman's March to the Sea
1864: Washington, D.C. abolished slavery.
1865, April 9: The Battle of Appomattox Courthouse and the Surrender of Lee to Grant.
1865, April 14: The Assassination of President Lincoln
1865: Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia abolished slavery.
1865, December: The Thirteenth Amendment ratified.

1866–1873: Radical Reconstruction
1866–1904: Western Indian Wars
1866: Maryland, Rhode Island abolished slavery.
1866: The Austro-Prussian War
1867: Delaware abolished slavery
1867: The Alaska Purchase, Seward's Folly
1868, July: The Fourteenth Amendment ratified.
1869: The Transcontinental Railroad completed
1870, February: The Fifteenth Amendment ratified.
1876: Theodore Roosevelt attended Harvard.
1876: The Battle of Little Big Horn, Custer's Last Stand
1882: Theodore Roosevelt elected to the New York State Assembly
1884: Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*
1884: Theodore Roosevelt's mother and wife both died the same day.
1886: The Statue of Liberty
1889: *How the Other Half Lives*, by Jacob Riis
1889: Theodore Roosevelt was married a second time, to Edith Carow.
1890: Ellis Island transformed into an immigration station
1895: Theodore Roosevelt made New York City Police Commissioner
1897: Theodore Roosevelt appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy
1898: Theodore Roosevelt led the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill.
1899: Theodore Roosevelt elected governor of New York.

1901–1919

1901: Theodore Roosevelt became president upon McKinley's assassination.
1919: Theodore Roosevelt died

Appendix C:

Primary Source Documents

1: Meso-America: Antiquity's Redoux

none for this lesson

2: Early Contacts: Myths & Uncertainties

none for this lesson

3: Prince Henry & Exploration

Henry the Navigator's Search for New Lands, by Gomes de Azurara

4: Christopher Columbus: The Man & the Myths

The Book of Prophecies, by Christopher Columbus (very rare and hard to find)

5: Hapsburg Conquistadors: Hegemony & Hamas

The Treaty of Tordesillas

6: Scramble for Colonies: Adventurers & Settlers

none for this lesson

7: International Conflicts: Two Hundred Fifty Years of War

none for this lesson

8: Puritans & Pilgrims: New Life in a New World

The Mayflower Compact

"Five Kernels of Corn", by Hezekiah Butterworth

The Presbyterian Remonstrance

9: Heros, Troublers, & Salutary Neglect

The Arbroath Declaration

The Cambridge Resolves

The Declaration of Rights

"A Model of Charity" by John Winthrop

The Massachusetts Body of Liberties

10: The Great Awakening: Decline & Revival

The Magna Carta

The Arboath Declaration

The Massachusetts Body of Liberties

The Connecticut Compact

“Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God”, by Jonathan Edwards

The Connecticut Constitution

The Cambridge Resolves

11: The Founders & the Classics: A Lifetime of Learning

none for this lesson

12: Mercantilism & the Stirrings of Revolt

none for this lesson

13: Reluctant Revolutionaries: The Surprising Stirrings of an American Reformation

Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer, by John Dickinson

“Speech in the Virginia Convention” March 23, 1775, by Patrick Henry (“Give Me Liberty”)

First Bill of Rights (1776)

14: Covenant Lawsuit: We Hold These Truths

The Olive Branch Petition

The Declaration of Independence

Common Sense, by Thomas Paine

15: The Forgotten Presidents

The Articles of Confederation

16: Unlikely Friends: Franklin & Whitefield

The Silence Dogood letters

Sermons of George Whitefield

17: The Mid-term Election of 2010: Principles & Propositions

Psalm 97

18: Post-Election: Where do we go from here?

none for this lesson

19: The Forgotten Founding: Extraordinary Individuals, Remarkable Transformations

none for this lesson

20: Against All Odds: From the Outbreak of Hostilities to Valley Forge

Rule of Law, by John Adams

“On Conciliation with the American Colonies,” by Edmund Burke

Speech in the Virginia Convention,” Patrick Henry, March 23, 1775 (“Give me liberty or give me death.”)

Bunker Hill Oration, by Daniel Webster

21: The Tide Turns: Victory & Independence

The Articles of Confederation

22: A More Perfect Union: The Articles of Confederation

The Articles of Confederation

23: Domestic Tranquility: A New Constitution

The Constitution and Bill of Rights (including the Preamble to the Bill of Rights)

24: Washington’s Leadership: Setting the Record Straight

Any of George Washington’s personal or presidential papers and writings

25: Adams, Jefferson, & Hamilton: The Second Generation of Founders

Ordinance of Religious Freedom, written by Thomas Jefferson;

26: How Napoléon Made America: The Louisiana Purchase

The Treaty of San Ildefonso

27: The Undaunted Courage of Lewis & Clark

Excerpts from Lewis & Clark’s journals

28: The Unnecessary War of 1812

The Decree of Berlin, the Decree of Milan, the Monroe Doctrine

29: Adams & Jackson: Two Alike Opposites

The Monroe Doctrine

30: The Trail of Tears: Amazing Grace in the Midst of Sorrow

It is More Blessed to Give than to Receive, by Jonathan Edwards

1830 Removal Bill

memoirs or letters from the Trail of Tears

31: Clay, Calhoun, & Webster: The Great Triumvirate

The Missouri Compromise

The Compromise of 1850

The Bunker Hill Oration, by Daniel Webster

The Adams-Jefferson Oration, by Daniel Webster

32: The Nullification Crisis

The Nullification Ordinance of 1832

The Virginia Resolution of 1798

The Kentucky Resolution of 1798

Calhoun's Exposition and Protest of 1829

33: Essential Habits of Emerging Leaders: The Lectio Divina

none for this lesson

34: How Cultures Change: From Philosophy to Film

Works by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and Byron

Paintings by Thomas Cole, Albert Bierstadt, and Frederic Edwin Church

Works by Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Stephen Foster, and Scott Joplin

35: Chattel Slavery: Complications & Complexities

Confesionario, by Bartolomé de las Casas

A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Addressed to the Freeholders of Yorkshire, by William Wilberforce

On the Slavery Question, by John C. Calhoun

36: Fire-Breathers: Ideologues and Provocateurs

The Communist Manifesto

37: Secession: A House Divided

1858 Senate speeches of Jefferson Davis

The Davis Resolutions of 1859

38: Brother Against Brother

Maps of the battles discussed
Lincoln's first inaugural address

39: The War Shudders to an End

Lincoln's second inaugural address

40: Reconstruction: Ashes and Antagonism

A New View of Society, by Robert Owen
The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution
Examples of Jim Crow laws

41: The Wild, Wild West: From Sea to Shining Sea

Search online for maps, memoirs, diaries, and letters of the settlers, miners, and pioneers.

42: Give Me Your Huddled Masses

Search online for diaries, letters, and memoirs of immigrants who came through Ellis Island during this time.

43: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and Economics: The Rise of the Social Gospel

The Cross of Gold, by William Jennings Bryan

44: Theodore Roosevelt: Morning in America

none for this lesson

