

Conflict Resolution and United States History

Could the American Revolution have been Avoided?

Objectives

- Understand Britain's interest in economic and political centralization of its expanded empire after 1763
- Contrast the rise of individualism and the development of representative government in the colonies in the 17th century with the class-based society of Britain
- To appreciate missed opportunities for peaceful resolution to differences between Great Britain and her North American colonies during the period 1763-1776
- To understand the influence of economic, political, ethnic and religious differences on the thinking of leaders in the various North American colonies regarding the relationship of the colonies and Britain

What experiences led to the American Revolution?

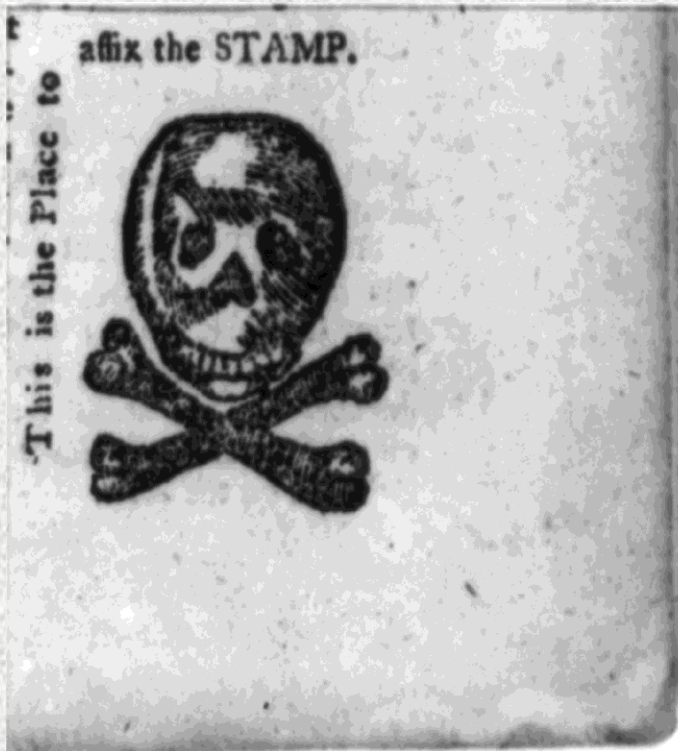
- **Ideas from English constitutional government**
 - ✓ Natural rights
 - ✓ Higher law
 - ✓ Separation of power
 - ✓ Checks and Balances
 - ✓ Representative government and the right to vote
- **British government tightens control over colonies**
 - ✓ Proclamation Line (1763)
 - ✓ Stamp Act (1765)
 - ✓ Quartering Act (1765)
 - ✓ Declaratory Act (1766)
 - ✓ Boston Massacre (1770)
 - ✓ Tea Act (1773)
 - ✓ (Coercive) Intolerable Acts (1774)
- **Colonial resistance**
 - ✓ Non-importation and non-exportation, 1765, Boston Tea Party
 - ✓ First Continental Congress, fall 1774

Proclamation Line, 1763



The Stamp Act, 1765

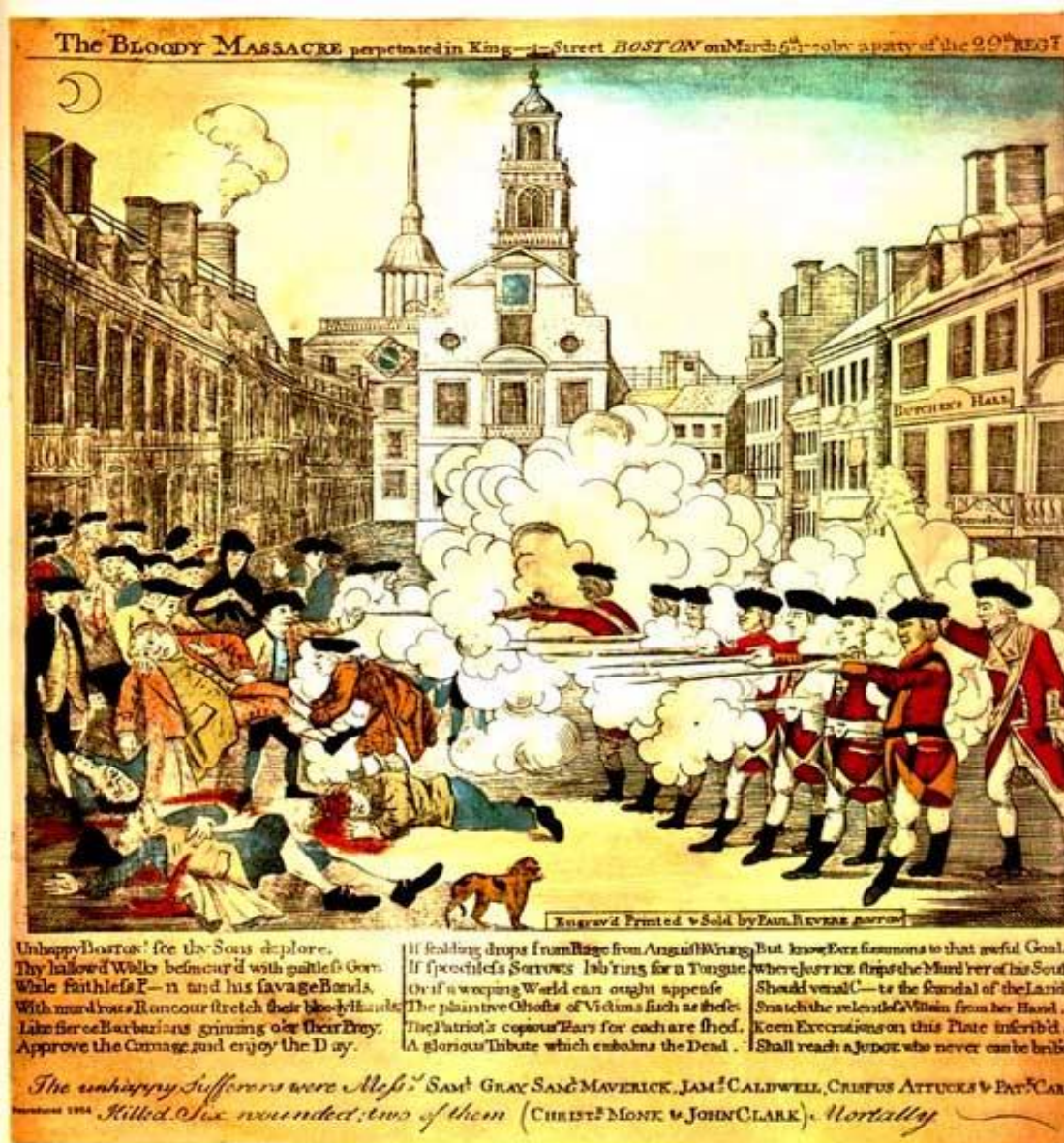
Colonists view



- Colonists response: non-importation agreements to not purchase British goods
- Stamp Act repealed by Parliament in 1766

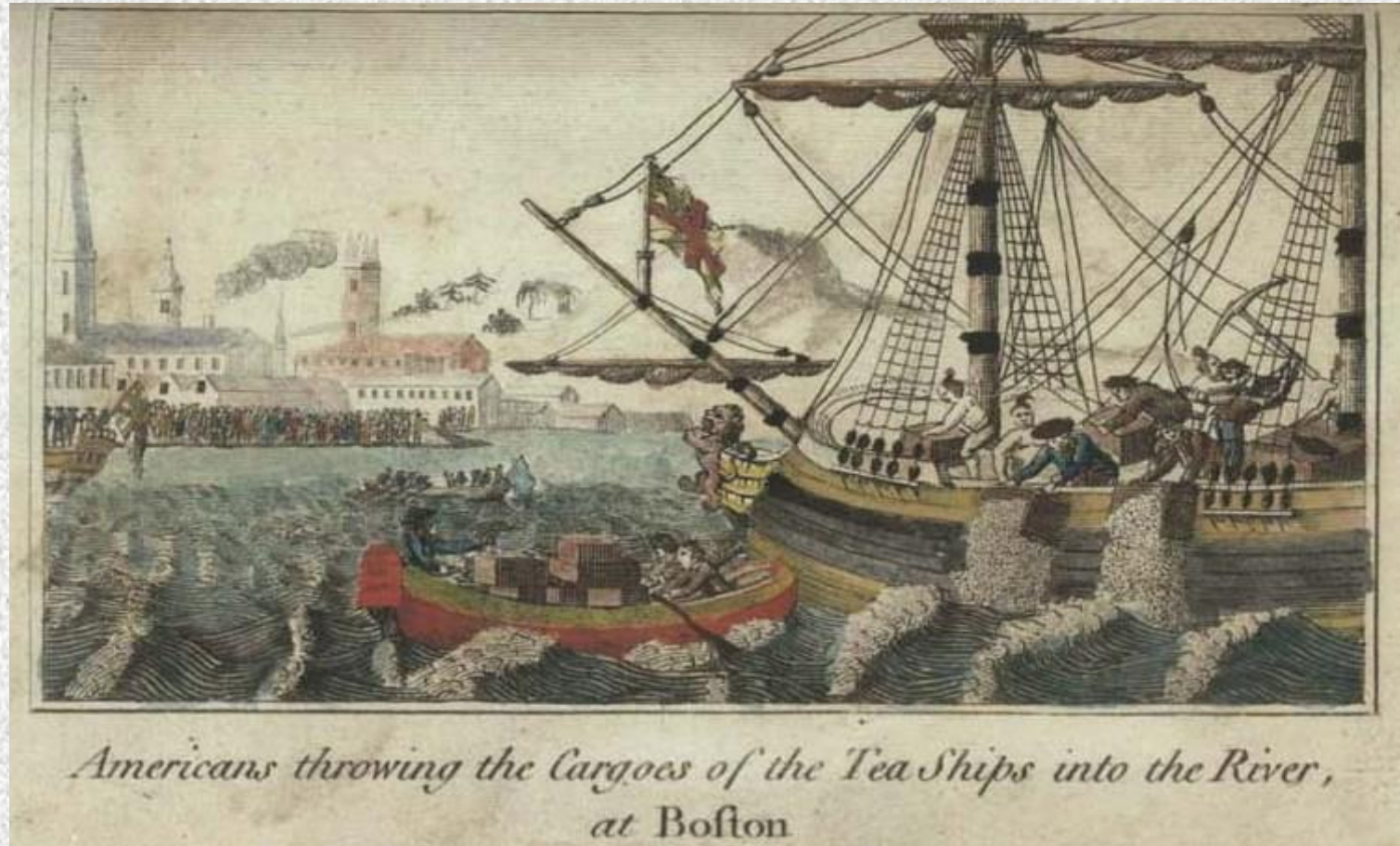
Boston Massacre, 1770

Colonists version



Boston Tea Party, 1773

British version



Boston Tea Party, American Version



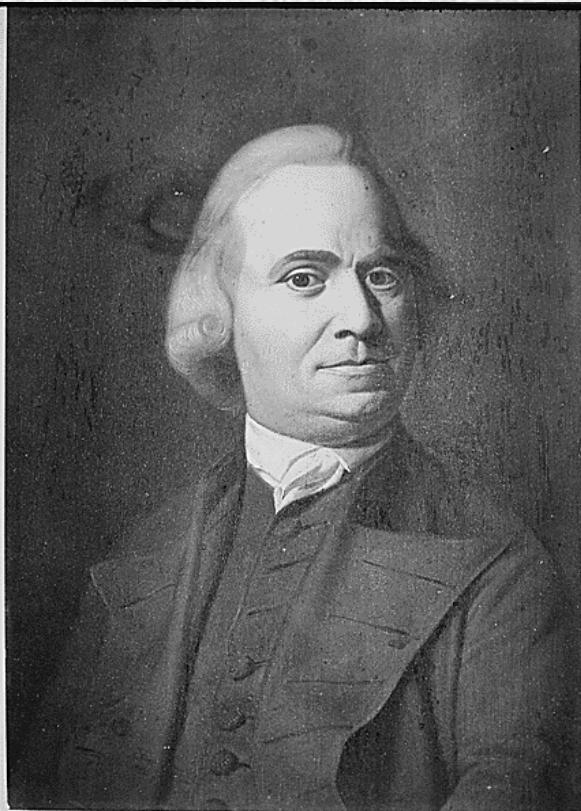
The Coercive Acts, 1774

- Boston Port Act: Boston harbor is closed to commerce until the city pays for the tea destroyed
- Massachusetts Government Act: Annulled Massachusetts Charter and enabled British to appoint colony's upper house
- Administration of Justice Act: Allowed British officers who are accused of committing capital offenses in the course of putting down riots to be tried in Britain
- Quartering Act: Permitted British troops to be quartered within towns

Mock Congressional Caucus at the First Continental Congress

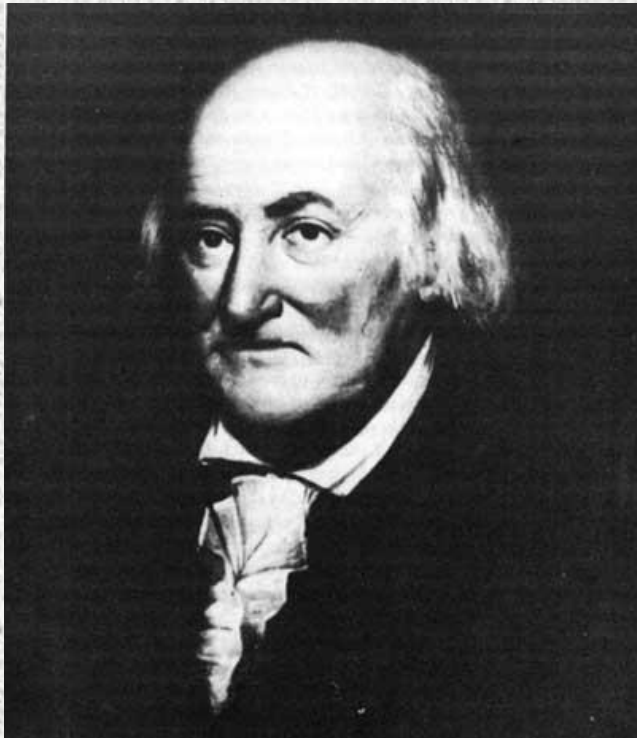
- October 1774 in Philadelphia
- Informal meeting between sessions of the Congress
- Includes selected members at the Congress representing “radical,” “moderate,” and “conservative” views regarding Britain
- Mediated by Peyton Randolph, president of the Congress

Samuel Adams (Massachusetts)



A short, stocky man, unconcerned with wealth, social rank or appearances, Samuel Adams was born in Boston in 1722, the son of a brewer. He graduated Harvard, and tried various business enterprises, which failed, probably because he was more interested in politics than profits. Elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1765, he supported resistance to the Stamp Act and the non-importation movement in opposition to the Townshend Acts. He bitterly opposed the use of standing armies. The Boston Committee of Correspondence was his creation. Although Adams helped organize Boston's resistance to the Tea Act, he was more a champion of resistance through petitions, correspondence networks, and public meetings. In 1774, Adams helped develop the strategy that led to the submission of the "Suffolk Resolves" to the Continental Congress. He favored the immediate institution of a boycott on British imports. Only in mid-1776 did Adams advocate for separation from Britain. He later signed the Declaration of Independence. He continued to serve his state as lieutenant-governor from 1789-93 and governor from 1794-97. Adams died in 1803.

Christopher Gadsden (South Carolina)



Gadsden was born in South Carolina in 1724, was sent to school in England and to a counting-house in Philadelphia. He returned to South Carolina and became a leading merchant. In 1757, he entered the state Assembly, in which he served for nearly 30 years. At the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, Gadsden argued against recognition of the authority of Parliament. His political principles represented the liberal position of the South Carolina aristocracy—insistent on the rights of self-government under elite leadership and he became the leader of “the radicals” in South Carolina. John Rutledge, another delegate from South Carolina, favored conciliation, leaving the South Carolina delegation to the First Continental Congress often split. Although a merchant, Gadsden was opposed “allowing Parliament any Power of regulating Trade.” He left the Second Continental Congress to take command of newly organized South Carolina forces, becoming a brigadier-general in the Continental Army. In 1782, he refused the governorship offered him by the Assembly, but remained part of the Assembly until withdrawing from public life in 1784. As part of the state convention, Gadsden voted for ratification of the Federal Constitution in 178. He worked for the reelection of his old friend John Adams to the presidency in 1800, and grieved over his defeat..

Richard Henry Lee (Virginia)



Born in 1732, Lee was a fourth-generation Virginian and member of one of the Old Dominion's wealthiest land and slaveowning families. Lee was a close ally of John and Samuel Adams. Educated in England, Lee returned to Virginia and became a justice of the peace in 1757, entering the House of Burgesses the following year. Lee was part of the radical wing of the Virginia House of Burgesses, along with Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson. He saw the colonists' cause as that of "Virtue and mankind." Elected to the First Continental Congress, he favored strong measures against England. He attempted unsuccessfully to attach to the petition to the King a statement in favor of arming and equipping the colonial militias. By the spring of 1776, Lee openly advocated independence. He favored a confederation of states, but refused to attend the Federal Convention in 1787 and led in Virginia's opposition to the new Constitution. He served in the U.S. Senate 1789-92, his chief aim being the passage of a Bill of Rights.

William Livingston (New Jersey)



Born in Albany, New York in 1723, to a wealthy, patrician family, Livingston graduated from Yale, was admitted to the bar and became involved in New York politics as leader of a moderate liberal faction that opposed Parliamentary interference with colonial affairs. He tried to reconcile the Sons of Liberty and other radicals to his more moderate leadership. In 1769, Livingston was driven from power in New York when the conservatives secured a majority in the Assembly. He retired to his country estate near Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and became a leader of the local Committee of Correspondence. Livingston was a delegate from New Jersey to the First Continental Congress. He also served as a deputy at the Second Continental Congress until he assumed command of the New Jersey militia. Livingston was elected governor of New Jersey under the newly-created state constitution, serving for fourteen tumultuous years. He attended the Federal Constitutional Convention in 1787 and worked for a compromise between the larger and smaller states. Largely through his influence, New Jersey quickly and unanimously ratified the federal Constitution.

George Read (Delaware)



Born in Maryland in 1733, Read shortly thereafter moved with his family to New Castle, Delaware. He studied law, was admitted to the bar and developed a thriving practice in Delaware and Maryland. As attorney general for the lower counties in Delaware, he protested the Stamp Act. As a delegate to the First and Second Continental Congresses, he was a moderate, ready to uphold colonial rights but trying to avoid extreme measures. However, he often found himself carried away with the radical tide. Read played a prominent role at the Delaware constitutional convention in 1776 and led Delaware in defending itself against British attacks in 1777-78. At the Federal Convention in 1787, Read was concerned that the larger states would take advantage of the smaller ones and accepted the compromises that led to the Federal Constitution. Largely through his efforts, Delaware was the first state to ratify the Constitution. Read served as a U.S. Senator from Delaware and as chief justice of Delaware.

Silas Deane (Connecticut)



Deane was born in Connecticut in 1737, son of a blacksmith. He graduated from Yale, taught school, studied law, and became a prosperous lawyer and merchant. In 1769, he was elected chairman of a local committee to enforce non-consumption in response to the Townshend Acts. Elected to the Connecticut General Assembly in 1772, he soon became one of its leaders. Although he supported colonial opposition to British policies, in 1774 he opposed hastily inaugurating a boycott of British goods. He was a delegate to the First and Second Continental Congresses. In 1776, Deane was selected as commissioner of a diplomatic mission to France to secure military supplies and arrange for European military leaders to assist the American cause. However, Arthur Lee, one of his fellow commissioners, accused Deane of attempting to personally profit from his diplomatic activities. Deane was never able to completely clear his name. He lost faith in the American cause. He lived in exile in London after the war; financially bankrupt and physically unwell.

James Duane (New York)

Born in New York City in 1733, Duane was the son of a prosperous merchant. Without formal university training, he studied law, was admitted to the bar and developed a thriving law practice. He attempted to quell a Stamp Act mob in 1765. Despite radical opposition, he was nominated as a delegate to the First Continental Congress, where he favored conciliation. He was a member of the committee that drew up the statement of rights for the colonists and worked to keep the tone moderate. Duane spoke for most American merchants who believed that, although the British trade regulations were burdensome in some respects, they were necessary for their “wealth, strength and safety.” However, he wanted to exclude “every idea of taxation internal and external for raising a revenue on the subjects of America without their consent.” Duane supported Galloway’s Plan of Union. He signed the October 1774 non-importation agreement against Britain, although he considered it too extreme. Duane sat in the Continental Congress almost continuously until 1783, and assisted in writing the final draft of the Articles of Confederation. He later served as mayor of New York, state senator, and federal district judge. He favored ratification of the Federal Constitution.

Joseph Galloway (Pennsylvania)

Joseph Galloway was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland in 1731, to a prominent trading family. As a young man, he moved to Philadelphia, where he studied law, and became a popular attorney. He served in the Pennsylvania Assembly 1756-776 (except for 1764-65) and as Speaker of the Assembly from 1766-1775. Galloway sympathized with the British desire to raise revenue in America but disagreed with Parliament's taxing the colonies and its restrictions on American commerce. He accepted the principle of Parliamentary supremacy, but argued that the colonists had a right to representation. He proposed a "Plan of Union" and argued that the Congress should draft a temperate petition that conceded Parliament's right to regulate trade and adopting an economic boycott only if the petition failed to win redress. After the Congress dissolved, Galloway openly criticized its proceedings, questioned its commitment to reconciliation, and explained his own position in a pamphlet, *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain, and the Colonies* (New York, February 1775). He refused to be a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. Although he had hoped to remain neutral in the impending conflict, Galloway eventually aided the British and fled to Britain in 1778 after the British forces left Philadelphia. Until the very close of the revolution, he attempted to bring about an accommodation between the mother country and the colonies. Galloway died in England.

The Mediator: Peyton Randolph

(Virginia)



Born in Virginia in 1721, the son of wealthy Sir John Randolph, Randolph graduated the College of William and Mary, attended the Middle Temple law school in London and began practicing law in 1744. In 1748, he was appointed King's attorney for the province of Virginia. He saw himself as a spokesman for the rights of the Colony as well as those of the Crown, and was sometimes in sharp conflict with the royal governor. Randolph also became a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses beginning in 1748, and from 1759 to 1767 served on the Virginia committee of correspondence. In 1766, he resigned as King's attorney and was elected speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses. Conservative in temperament, Randolph was representative of the point of view of the colonial aristocracy. Although he initially deplored the radicalism in Virginia and opposed Patrick Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, Randolph moved steadily with the current of revolutionary sentiment in Virginia. He was moderating in his influence and cautious in his leadership. Randolph was admired by his contemporaries for his judgment and wisdom. He was elected president of the Continental Congress in 1774 and again in 1775.

The Observer/Recorder/Reporter

Charles Thomson



CHARLES THOMPSON ESQ.^R

Secretary to Congress.

Pub. 4th May 1783, by R. Wilkinson, N^o. 56, Cornhill, London.

Born in Ireland in 1729, Thomson came to Delaware, with his father and three brothers in 1740. He was sent to a seminary in Pennsylvania, where he became a Latin teacher. He met Benjamin Franklin and other influential Pennsylvanians, and became a Philadelphia merchant and politician, respected for his veracity by Native Americans, Quakers and others. Although Pennsylvania conservatives kept him from being elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, Thomson was unanimously chosen as its secretary in 1774, continuing in that position until the federal government came to power in 1789. Known for his fairness and integrity, the “perpetual secretary” provided the continuity and institutional memory to a Congress whose members were ever-changing. Thomson designed the Great Seal of the United States in 1782, and wrote on numerous subjects.

Positions and Interests

- While most of the delegates to the First Continental Congress had never met before, the reputations of many preceded them from years of public debate that had been reported and reprinted in letters and newspaper articles.
- Everyone wanted to preserve their colonial institutions of local government.
- Most of the delegates were determined to present a united front to the world, no matter how sharply divided they might be in their closed-door sessions.
- Although there were ideological differences of opinion, and underlying regional and economic differences, the colonies shared a common heritage of language, ideas and political institutions and, most importantly, a determination to establish colonial rights firmly while remaining subjects of the British Crown.
- Although the positions held by many of the delegates to the First Continental Congress were often subject to change, there were basically three viewpoints: Radical, Moderate and Conservative.

The Radicals

The “**Radicals**,” such as Samuel Adams from Massachusetts, Christopher Gadsden from South Carolina, and Richard Henry Lee from Virginia, argued for outright resistance to Britain. They supported the Suffolk Resolves.

They agreed with James Wilson and Thomas Jefferson (who were not delegates to the Congress) that Parliament had no right whatsoever to tax or pass laws over the American colonists. The colonists, Jefferson argued, had consented only to be subject to the King, who served as a link holding together the various parts of his kingdom, each of which had its own elected legislature. Friends of Jefferson had his ideas published in 1774 in “A Summary View of the Rights of British America.”

The radicals were focused primarily on ideology—they wanted more than anything else to preserve their fundamental rights to govern themselves. They saw the actions of the British King and Parliament as a demonstration of British determination to eliminate these rights. They noted that their petitions to the King and Parliament to redress complaints had been persistently ignored, and argued that resistance was necessary because acquiescence would establish a dangerous precedent for further violations of rights. They urged the delegates to support Massachusetts in its resistance to the Intolerable Acts because, if Massachusetts fell, the British would extend those policies to its neighbors. They feared that after destroying the assemblies’ role in defending the colonies’ use the colonies only to enrich the Mother Country. The radicals had a greater distrust of British intentions and were more willing than the conservatives or moderates to accept the break in the social fabric that any significant change in the status quo would inevitably create.

The Moderates

The “Moderates,” such as William Livingston from New Jersey and George Read from Delaware, opposed Parliamentary interference with colonial affairs but urged restraint and further attempts at reconciliation.

Their idea of liberty was closely tied to material prosperity, especially by the merchant class. They had supported the agreements for the non-importation and non-consumption of British goods during the Stamp Act crisis. The moderates were primarily focused on economic concerns. They did not want to push Britain to war.

They urged the delegates to petition for a redress of grievances or, at most, to adopt a uniform plan for the non-importation of British goods, which they saw as a peaceable and effective method for recovering the colonists’ liberty. More concerned about commerce and prosperity than ideology, the moderates were also more interested in stability and colonial unity than the radicals.

The Suffolk Resolves were more inflammatory than they would have liked; however, rejecting them would have implied approval of objectionable British policies, so they supported them.

The Conservatives

The “**Conservatives**,” such as Joseph Galloway from Pennsylvania, and James Duane from New York, did not want to exacerbate the situation with Britain.

They argued that colonial trade and the colonies in general needed the protection of the royal navy; therefore, the colonies were obligated to accept Parliamentary regulation of trade. The conservatives wanted to continue as part of the British empire because they saw Britain as the freest country in the world. They suggested, however, that the political relationship between the American colonies and Britain needed to be restructured.

The conservatives feared anarchy and social disorder more than they feared the intentions of the British government. They believed that the radicals were encouraging class divisions, lawlessness, disorder, and mob action. They also feared the capacity of Britain to destroy the colonies’ economies by restricting their trade, and were thus concerned about implementing non-importation agreements.

They stressed the cultural bonds with Britain and the belief in the protection of liberty, and especially property, by the Magna Carta and British common law. However, even the conservatives were afraid to vote against the Suffolk Resolves because they did not want to appear to support coercive British policies, and because it seemed important to express support for beleaguered Massachusetts.

Directions

The delegates to the First Continental Congress have been meeting for more than a month. They meet information, with the help of the Congress President, Peyton Randolph, to try to agree on a response to the British Coercive Acts.

Divide into groups of ten:

1. Samuel Adams (MA-Radical)
2. Christopher Gadsden (SC-Radical)
3. Richard Henry Lee (VA-Radical)
4. William Livingston (NJ-Moderate)
5. George Read (DE-Moderate)
6. Silas Deane (CT-conservative)
7. James Duane (NY-conservative)
8. Joseph Galloway (PA-conservative)
9. Peyton Randolph—the mediators
10. Charles Thomson—the observer/recorder/reporter

Debriefing for the mock Congressional Caucus

1. Once the negotiations are complete, conduct a classroom discussion about the mock Congressional caucus.
2. Have the observer/recorder/reporters describe from each group describe the process and the results of their Mock caucus”
 - To what extent did the parties use active listening skills?
 - To what extent did the parties brainstorm and evaluate possible alternatives
 - To what extent were the parties able to articulate their real interests?
 - To what extent did rhetoric get in the way of pursuing the parties real interests?
3. Compare the results each group obtained.
4. Read “The Facts Continued” and compare the results and the process of the mock caucuses with what actually happened in history.

What Really Happened at the First Continental Congress?

Sept.-Oct 1774 delegates from all of the colonies, except Georgia met in Philadelphia as the First Continental Congress. Each colony had one vote. They:

- Endorsed and sent the Suffolk Resolves, which declared the Coercive Acts unlawful and not to be obeyed, to Britain
- Agreed to stop importing all goods from Britain and her colonies
- Sent a Petition to the King and an address to the people of Great Britain, to the Native Americans and to Quebec
- Sent a Declaration of Rights and Resolves to Parliament

Was War Unavoidable?

It is January 1775. Parliament is debating how to respond to the Suffolk Resolves as well as the Declaration of Rights and Resolves.

Ben Franklin is in London as an agent of the Continental Congress. He meets with Lord North to try to find a solution to the growing hostilities between Britain and her North American colonies.

Positions and Interests

American Colonies

Position: “No taxation without representation”

Interests:

- Preserving right to self-governance--feared that British were trying to eliminate right to self government
- Feared the Quebec Act would extend Catholicism and limit colonial expansion
- Distrusted British economic intentions (to enrich itself at expense of colonies)
- Concerned about economic prosperity and stability

British government

Position: American colonies must share the burdens (taxation) as well as the benefits

Interests:

- American colonies should help pay for costs of protection
- Britain had the right to tax its colonies
- Saw colonist claim that Coercive Acts were unconstitutional as absurd
- Saw call for an economic boycott against Britain as treasonous
- Viewed Declaration of the Rights and Resolves as rhetoric only

The Negotiators

Benjamin Franklin

Printer, postmaster, scientist, and diplomat. By 1770, Franklin rejected the supreme authority of Parliament and despaired of reconciliation with Britain. Sent by the First Continental Congress in 1775 to meet with representatives of the British Crown and Parliament to find a solution to the growing conflict.



The Negotiators

Lord North

Member of British Parliament since 1754, Leader of the House of Commons in 1768, became Prime Minister in 1770. His ministry repealed Townshend duties except for a tax on tea. Passed Coercive Acts in 1774 to show the other colonies that Britain would deal harshly with protestors (Massachusetts). January 1775, proposed a peace commission, offering to eliminate tea tax as long as colonies promised to pay salaries of civil authorities.



Directions for Negotiations

- Count 1s, 2s, and 3s and divide into groups of three
- In each group of three:
 - ✓ Ones = Benjamin Franklin
 - ✓ Twos = Lord North
 - ✓ Threes = Observers
- The negotiators try to stay within limits of historical reality but use conflict resolution skills (actively listen, brainstorm and evaluate options).
- The observers do not participate in the negotiations. They take notes on the process and what the negotiators agreed upon, using the “Negotiation Evaluation Form.”

Debriefing

The Process

- To what extent did the parties use active listening skills?
- To what extent did the parties brainstorm and evaluate possible alternatives
- To what extent were the parties able to articulate their real interests?
- To what extent did rhetoric get in the way of pursuing the parties real interests?

The Results

- Were the parties able to reach mutually acceptable solutions?
- Why or why not?
- To what extent were the role played with historical accuracy?

What Really Happened?

War!!!

- Feb. 1775: Parliament declared Massachusetts in rebellion and passed the Prohibitory Act denying New Englanders access to North Atlantic fisheries.
- April 1775: British sent troops to destroy arms stored in Concord, MA, blocked by American militiamen, leaving 273 British and 95 American dead or wounded.
- June 1775: Second Continental Congress assumed responsibility for the fighting. Lord North's Conciliatory proposal seen by colonies as effort to divide them. Colonies "Olive Branch petition" rejected by British government.
- Jan. 1776: *Common Sense* widely distributed in colonies.
- July 1776: Colonies declare independence.
- 1778: France forms an alliance with the colonies
- 1781: War ends with American victory at Yorktown
- 1783: Treaty of Paris signed ending the war

The Treaty of Paris, 1783



Costs of the American Revolutionary War

Costs to Britain

- Signed away an enormous amount of land
- Lost a huge source of raw materials
- Lord North's government fell
- Britain was left without any ally or friend on the European continent
- Of the approx. 50,000 British soldiers and 30,000 Hessians (German mercenaries) who fought in the war, the total number of combatants who died or were wounded is unknown.

Costs to the United States

- Out of the approximately 250-290,000 soldiers in the war (never more than 17,000 at any one time), 4,435-6,824 died in battle, 18,500 died from disease and 6,188-8,445 were wounded.
- The was costliest conflict in American history in terms of the proportion of the population killed in service.
- 60-80,000 loyalists fled the US
- There were shortages of food and goods, inflation and fears about hoarding.

Questions for Discussion

1. What could the Continental Congress have done to maintain a relationship with Britain?
2. Could a respected, influential voice of moderation, such as John Dickinson, have found a way to modify the Congress' support for the Suffolk resolves?
3. What role did timing play in limiting the effectiveness of concessions by the American colonists? By the British King and Parliament?
4. What could Parliament or King George have done to resolve the conflict with the colonies?
5. Do you think that the dispute between Britain and her American colonies was primarily economic or political? Support your opinion.
6. Identify the BATNAs for the British and the Americans. Who had more to lose if they lost the war?
7. Compare the maps of the Proclamation Line of 1763 and the Treaty of Paris in 1783.