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The Constitution

by

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Prologue - Immigration

CHARACTERS
Sailor
Boy
Business Man
Farmer
Governor
Loud Speaker
PROLOGUE

(Scene upon the deck of a ship. A young man stands against the cabin wall. His breeches are dirty and frayed, his blouse open at the neck and his sleeves are rolled up. His head is crowned with a mop of black, unruly hair, and his face, as clean shaven as a choir boy, is alive and vibrant. Another sailor, several years his senior, and with a face more grim, is looking through a spy-glass. After a moment he turns to the boy)

Sailor
Why don't I see no bloomin' land?

Boy
'Cause you don't look hard enough.

Sailor
(looking thru spy-glass again)
I tell you I see nothing.

Boy
(patently)
Wait. Tell me? Why did you leave England?

Sailor
I think it is understood that we have all undertaken this journey with one common purpose. To settle in America ... with the freedom to worship God as we see fit.

Boy
If I asked you to look towards heaven with that spy-glass and see if you can see God, what would your answer be?

Sailor
I'd answer I don't need a spy-glass to see the Almighty, and then I'd bash your head in for blasphemy.

Boy
True enough. You don't need a spy-glass to see the Almighty and by the same token I don't need one to see the coastline of America. I've been seeing it from the day we embarked. You know, I had a pretty wench for a sweetheart back home. We could have married and settled down on a half-acre plot of a lord's estate. But we didn't.

Sailor
I'd ask you why didn't, but your personal affair is not supposed to be my business.

Boy
That's why I'll tell you. It was because somebody else offered her a two acre farm, and for that acre and one half more she married him. That's why I'm going to America. There's land there, unexplored and uncultivated, and it can be gotten for the asking. I can almost see it without my spy-glass.

(suddenly pointing off right)
There - there, look there.
Sailor
(looking thru glass)
I see nothing.

Boy
Look with your mind's eye — your mind's eye.

I still see nothing.

Boy
Naturally you see nothing. That's because your eyes are open. Close your eyes tight, and then look hard.

Sailor
(turning)
Close my eyes?
(realising the boy is making sport of him.)
Pulling my leg, eye—why, you —
(makes for boy — who runs into arms of men (3) who enter from cabin door)

Boy
Here — they'll verify me.
(to the first)
Why did you leave England, sir?

(Taken back)

Boy
It?

Yes—you, sir.

Business man
(sarcastically)
Because I love England. Because her jails are so comfortable and cozy. And any man can enter one simply by being in debt for as little as 51s. How unfortunate that there will be no such laws in America. I shall feel quite at 'loss.

Boy
And you, sir, (turning to other) why did you leave your mother country?

Farmer
For a reason that I'm proud of, though the price of this trip is 7 years service to the royal governor. {(_____)}

And the reason?

Farmer
A man's a fool that cultivates land and grows wheat which he can't call his own. In England my land belonged to a lord whom I never even laid eyes on. I worked from sun-up to sun-down, and in the end, the larger share of what I reaped went to him. An unfair system if ever there was one. I'll take American and I'll be content with but a single acre of land, as long as I call it my own.

Boy
You're the man. Look through that spy glass.
(takes spy glass from sailor, gives it to farmer. To sailor)
He'll verify me.
(farmer looks thru glass.)
We seem to reckon without the Indians. I understand the land belongs to them.

But, Governor - the Indians might think differently.... I understand they've got sharp arrows with which to prove their points.

The King will protect us.

God will protect us.

Yes, Him too.

I see nothing.


There! There it is. Why do I see it? The coastline, it's gray, rocky, and sombre. But further inland, look further inland. Everything there is growing and green. Acres and acres of land. Mountains and forests... Valleys and lakes all crying for exploration and cultivation.

I can almost touch it.


"LOUDSPEAKER"

And so they came to America - Farmers, artisans, debtors, indentured servants, speculators, lawyers, adventurers, catholics, quakers, puritans. And along with them came the King's favorites: Landlords and royal governors.
Scene Two
Roger Williams

Characters:
Roger Williams
1st man
2nd man
3rd man
Soldier
Judge Hoaker
Judge Cotton
Judge Welde
Scene: An assorted group of Salem church-goers. Their dress denotes the colonial period. They are assembled in knots and small groups, somewhat analogous to a contemporary scene at Columbus Circle. Several heated discussions and arguments are in progress.

Voice of L.H.

(Heard above the groups.) Salem, Massachusetts, in the year 1635. Morality and religion are the burning topics of the times.

1st man
Mr. Williams, do you believe a sinner ought to be allowed to swear on the bible?

2nd man
Reverend Williams, do you believe smoking is indecent?

Williams
Please, friends. My head is hard pressed with other things. I have but five minutes before I deliver my sermon.

(about to leave)

3rd man
Mr. Williams, a tract with your signature attached, has been distributed proclaiming that "Christenings do not Christians make."

Williams
Is that not so? Some of the so-called Christian gentlemen act like the basest infidels, and yet, some of the pagan Indians deport themselves in fine, Christian manner.

3rd man
Is it true that you're going to preach for the separation of church and state?

Williams
It is the only way I know of attaining true religious freedom.

True; it is so; etc.,

3rd man
Mr. Williams, that is heresy...

I fear not the truth.

3rd man
You are the opposing the King.

Williams
Yes, and I intend to speak out against the so-called "Divine Rights of Kings."
(There is an awed silence from the others.)

3rd Man
I warn you Mr. Williams, that is sedition.

Williams
Let us not fear the truth.......
(A soldier of Governor Winthrop's troops enters.)

Roger Williams!

Soldier

Williams

Yes.

Soldier

You are under arrest...

Williams

Upon what charge?

Soldier

Sedition.

Williams

I have a sermon now. The congregation is waiting....

Soldier

That is not my concern...

Soldier

Williams

Oh, what do you base your charge of sedition?

Soldier

(Holding pamphlet.)
According to this tract, you believe that the king had no right to give away lands that belonged not to him, but to the Indians.

3rd man
There! I warned you against preaching heresy.

(During the above the crowd has parted to form a wedge, when, a light focused upon the rear suddenly brings into view a tribunal of three judges. Wherein Roger Williams turns and faces his accusers.)

Judge Hackett
The Crown colony of Boston. 1638. The people against Roger Williams.

Judge Cotton

(We are informed that Mr. Williams, of Salem, has broken his promise to the authorities in teaching publicly against the king's patent and our great sin in claiming their right thereby to this country, and for usual terming the churches of England anti-Christian.)
Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the leaders of the Church of Salem, hath breached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions, against the authority of magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and that, before any conviction and yet maintained the same without any retraction; it is therefore ordered that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks which, if he neglects to perform it, it shall be lawful for the governor, and, two of his magistrates, to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return anymore without written license from the court.

Voice of Living News

Forced to leave Massachusetts, Roger Williams and his small band of followers find refuge in new territory which they call Rhode Island. Virginia - 1676. While the farmers complain—Governor Berkeley, an elderly, soldierly gentleman, haughty and unsympathetic struggles blindly to train the people under him to a habit of unquestioning obedience and submission to the powers that be.
SCENE THREE

Nathaniel Bacon

Loudspeaker

Characters:
Berkelay
5 Gentlemen
Indian
Bacon
2 Farmers
Servant
(Scene in study of Governor Berkeley and a semi-formal gathering of wealthy and unsympathetic, aristocratic, and unfeeling men who treat the people under them to a habit of unquestioning subservience and submission to the power that be. We find him surrounded by a small coterie of wealthy friends and legislators. They are just done toasting the king.)

Berkeley

Gentlemen, it is said that the farmers bitterly hate me, but what matters that when I'm held in such high esteem by my culture friends.

1st Gentleman

May I propose a toast to our host, his excellency, Governor Berkeley.

Another Gentleman

Without whom we would not enjoy our profitable fur trade with the Indians.

All

"Your Health", "Your Health", etc.

(They drink).

2nd Gentleman

The farmers, ah, I understand they complain of taxes and unjust laws. Ignorant peasants, what do they know of such things. Why, I've even heard that they are desirous of having a school. Ah ah ah, ah......

Berkeley

"I thank God that Virginia has no schools, for learning has brought disobedience into the world."

3rd Gentleman

You have a strong character, your excellency, for which the state of Virginia can be thankful. An idea has occurred to me, simply an idea you know, that perhaps, in some small way we may appease the farmers. Of course, it's only an idea.

Berkeley

That is impossible. It would show weakness on our side. The farmers are always complaining. If it's not taxes, it's Indians.

2nd Gentleman

Yes, I hear that occasionally they are massacred by the Indians. Ah ah ah, how perfectly ridiculous. I've been here a long time and my scalp is still intact. Ah ah ah.

Berkeley

And this mob that they've organized, led by Nathaniel Bacon, a fool and a renegade. The Indians will make short work of them.

4th Gentleman

It is a good thing. It will teach the farmers that their governor is not a man they can easily disobey. I'm sure Bacon's scalp will soon hang from some redman's belt.
3rd Gentleman

But perhaps - some sort of appeasement. Of course, without showing any weakness.

Berkeley

I remain firm in my decision to do nothing. The farmers have decided to fight the Indians by themselves. Let them see how far they can get without my help.

(servant enters).

Servant

A redman to see you, your excellency.

(all look at each other somewhat surprised.)

Berkeley

Send him in.

(Enter Indian)

Indian

Want to speak to you ...alone.

Berkeley

These are my friends. You need not be afraid to speak.

Indian

White man, Bacon, has strong army. Indians need heap more rifles...and ammunition.

Berkeley

Well, now...

(looks to first gentleman.)

1st Gentleman

That can be arranged...on condition, to be sure.

Berkeley

Do you have enough beaver skins to pay for these arms?

Indian

Enough.

2nd Gentleman

He talks our language. Ah ah ah...

Berkeley

Now, I'll see what we can let you have.

(Takes out an entry book.)

(Commotion is heard from without. It draws nearer.)

What's that?

Berkeley

2nd Gentleman

It may be that the headless body of Bacon is come home to rest. Ah ah ah ah...
What means this commotion?

Servant

Your excellency, tis Bacon and his band of farmers, just returned from the battle with the Indians.

2nd Gentleman

Ah ah ah ah. Just how badly were they defeated?

Servant

It seems sir, they were victorious.

2nd Gentleman

Ah......uh? (All receive this surprise with dismay.)

Servant

Ah ah ah ah.

2nd Gentleman

(All receive this surprise with dismay.)

Servant

II.

2nd Gentleman

Impossible!

Servant

(Bacon, attired in typical frontier outfit and carrying a rifle enters. He is followed by two aides.)

Bacon

Good day, your excellency. I wish to report that we have defeated the Indians.

Bacon

That's pleasant news indeed. Now, Mr. Bacon, will you kindly return to your normal occupation, and halt this meddling with affairs of administration.

Bacon

Administration is the concern of all of us. The farmers demand a new election democratically held.

Bacon

Sy. Sir, do you realize whom you are addressing?

Servant

And we want the tax laws changed. They are unjust.

2nd Aide

In the hardest condition, we, having nothing but our labor to maintain ourselves, wives and children, pay as deeply to the public as he that hath 20,000 acres.

Bacon

(To one of his friends.)

Call out the troops. I'll teach you who gives orders here and who takes them.

(Bacon)

Spare yourself the trouble. My men have surrounded the city and entrapped your troops. We mean to lay siege to Richmond until the farmers are permitted to elect their own House of Burgesses.

(The commotion grows louder. Berkeley rings for the servant. Servant enters.)
We intend to do away with graft ..... 

And underhand dealings with the Indians. 

I won't be intimidated. 

Bacon 

For thirteen years you've refused our plea for a new election.... 

I won't be intimidated..... 

(Lights slowly dim out.) 

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VOICE OF THE LIVING NEWSPAPER

As the siege of Richmond tightened, Governor Berkeley relented, and the first democratic election in Virginia was held.
SCENE FOUR

Freedom of the Press.

Characters.

John Peter Zenger
Storekeeper
Friend
Woman
1st Man
2nd Man
3rd Man
4th Man
Jarod
Benjamin
Sheriff
Loudspeaker
Zenger Scene

VOICE OF THE LIVING NEWSPAPER

The city of New York - sixty years later - it's a hot day in August, 1735.
My how time is pushed ahead. Let's listen in on the public pulse.

(spot picks up a storekeeper as he is talking with a friend)

storekeeper
Graft and corruption.

friend
(pointing to newspaper)
It's governor Crosby and his clique.

storekeeper
(holding his nose)
Phew - it stinks -

friend
Something ought to be done - more exposes of this kind -

storekeeper
That newspaper publisher certainly deserves credit. What's his name?

friend
Zenger

(storekeeper)

Zenger.

)spot picks up a group of three woman and two men - talking).

woman
(holding newspaper)
Did you read this? Such corruption and graft, the Governor should be ashamed of himself.

1st man
Now, now, Matilda, women shouldn't meddle in politics.

woman
Well, I certainly believe John Zenger deserves praise for this expose.

2nd man
Undoubtedly.

woman
I shall invite him to speak before our church society.

(spot on a representative group of four others)

1st man
And we thought Governor Crosby was an Angel.

2nd man
Zenger shows him up for what he is, a petty thieving politician.
Governor Crosby - the King appointed - he can do no wrong.

No - not very much.

(Jarod, a newspaper reporter enters. His movements are hurried.)

Ah, Jarod - How do you do?

Good day.

Gentlemen, meet Jarod, a mighty good newspaperman. Though you'd never think it to look at him. Works for John Zenger.

Zenger? Send him my congratulations. Tell him he's doing a fine job in this expose.

Others

Yes; yes.

Zengers got a mighty good newspaper, but I can give him some suggestions that will——

You'll have to excuse me. Something very important has come up.

Such as?

I've just come from City Hall.

More corruption?

Governor Crosby has appointed his friend DeLasoy to the judge's chair - without the consent of the Legislature.

Without the consent of the Legislature? That's not democratic.

That's not the worse. Something is afoot. I fear for the safety of Zenger.

Excuse me.

(exits.)

The governor is out to get Zenger.

BLACKOUT.
(Scene in the work-room of the N.Y. Weekly Journal. John Peter Zenger and a young assistant are preparing the type for the day's news.)

(Jared, the newspaper reporter, is talking.)

Jared

The DeLacy appointment is not the worse of it. It's yourself I'm worried about—

(Zenger looks up from his type—smiles to Jared—and returns to work.)

Don't take your well-being so lightly.

Zenger (without looking up)

This DeLacy affair, it's a denial of our rights as colonists. That's important—not me.

Jared

The governor hates—I warn you—you must hide—

Zenger

What's there to fear—I've a right to print what I please—that right no one can deny me.

Jared

But don't you see? The governor is not a respecter of rights.

Zenger

You mean the DeLacy appointment? Yes. But freedom of the press—that's different—he wouldn't dare...

Jared

You sure you want to remain here?

Zenger

Of course.

Jared

Alright. I'll help with the type-setting (he takes off jacket)

Zenger

Good (Turn in desk) Benjamin!

(to his assistant)

Benjamin

Yes, Mr. Zenger

Zenger

You can distribute what's left of the earlier edition now.

Benj.

Yes, sir.

(he puts on his coat, and exits, with a bundle of papers. Zenger and Jared work in silence.) 'In a moment the boy returns.'

Benj.

Mr. Zenger—the sheriff is come.

(Jared starts. Zenger is calm.)

Zenger

'it's nothing, Benjamin—go right ahead with distributing the papers.
(But Benjamin is glued to the floor—now. After a moment of silence
there is a knock on the door)

Zenger

Come in.

(Sheriff enters)

Sheriff

Mr. Zenger?

Mr. Zenger

Yes.

Sheriff (reading from scroll)

"It is ordered that the sheriff for the City of New York do hereby take and
apprehend John Peter Zenger for printing and publishing several seditious
libels dispersed throughout his journal of newspapers entitled The New York
Weekly Journal containing the freestest advices—foreign and domestic, as
having in them many things tending to raise factions and tumults among the
people of this province, inflaming their minds with contempt of his Majesty's
government, and greatly disturbing the peace thereof, and upon his taking the
said John Peter Zenger to commit him to the prison of common jail of said city
and county. Done before the chief justice of the New York province, by and for
the royal governor."

BLACKOUT
After several months in jail, John Peter Zenger was brought to trial. (Rapping of gavel.)

Judge

John Peter Zenger, the jury has brought in their verdict. You are found not guilty.

BLACKOUT

Voice of the Living Newspaper

Thus ended the first case of suppression of the press in America. But other forms of suppression were beginning to arise.
SCENE FIVE

Growth of Economic Divisions

Characters
1st Man
1st Artisan
1st Farmer
John Adams
6 Wealthy Men
Lady
Loudspeaker
(Spot on side of stage showing a group of farmers and artisans gathering.)

1st man
'Tis hard to understand. We small shopkeepers are the backbone of business, yet do we have a voice in the government? Do we?

1st Mrx Artisan
The people look to me for better shoes, certainly I should have some voice in the legislature.

1st Farmer
We farmers cultivate the earth and sow the seeds, but it looks to me like a small handful are reaping the harvest.

(Dim out—white the following scene is on.)

Sandipsatus

[Handwritten note]

John Adams

[医务 179]
(Spot on John Adams on opposite side of stage)

Adams

"Six or a dozen families at most rule Connecticut in company with the Clergy."

(In succession six men, bewigged and wealthy walk on. They shake hands and greet each other in pantomime as the music plays "It's nice work if you can get it."

(The music stops.)

1st man

How many new towns have sprung up lately?

2nd man

Twenty-five--thirty - everyday there are more.

1st man

If this keeps up the frontiersmen and farmers will be in majority.

3rd man

They are almost in the majority now.

1st man

Then it won't be long before they have a majority in the legislature.

4th man

That won't do. These frontiersmen know nothing about big business.

5th man

We must retain control, or they may ruin us.

6th man

What can we do?

(Young lady enters. Speaks to first man.)

Lady

Oh, there you are. This is our dance you knew.

1st man

Yes, my dear.

(He turns to the others.)

Perhaps the answer is in Philadelphia?

(Music, they dance off.)

BLACKOUT
SCENE SIX

Suppression of Suffrage

Characters

1st  Frontiersman

2nd  *

3rd  *

4th  *
(Spot on frontiersmen sitting about a table in a tavern)

1st Frontiersman

(Sarcastically.)

We frontiersmen aren't smart enough to make the laws. Sure, we can settle new lands, build new cities like Lancaster, be in the majority, but how many votes do they allow us in the legislature? Four. But Philadelphia they're different. They're smart,... big business men, big property holders. They're allowed eight votes. They make sure to retain an majority in the legislature. The legislature hasn't created any new counties in twenty years, they're afraid we'll have more votes than them. And we farmers and frontiersmen aren't smart enough to make our own laws.

BLACKOUT
SCENE SEVEN

Characters

1st Man

2nd Man
(Spot on two of the previous wealthy six).

1st Man
How would you like to buy up some nice land?

2nd Man
Where?

1st Man
The Green Mountains

2nd Man
What are you talking about? That's free territory.

1st Man
You can buy some of it.

2nd Man
I'm against dishonesty in business.

1st Man
It's not dishonest.

2nd Man
Then how can you buy what's free territory?

1st Man
The New York legislature is going to pass a law giving all of the Green Mountains to New York State. You can then buy the land from the state.

2nd Man
How do you know this?

1st Man
Mmmmm--

BLACKOUT
SCENE EIGHT

The Green Mountain Boys

Characters.
A Farmer
His Wife
Child
Hired Man
City Man
& Sheriffs
Nathan Allen
Farmers
Loudspeaker.
Mr. Zachary?

Farmer

Yea

City Man

How do, I represent the owner of this land. There's a little matter of rent you owe us.

Farmer

Rent! This is my land.

City Man

Whom did you buy it from?

(The renter farmer is silent.)

Naturally, you didn't buy it. It belonged to the state of New York, like the rest of the Green Mountains, and my client has just purchased this property from the state.

Farmer (Threateningly.)

Get off my land.

City Man

Sheriff.

(Both sheriffs raise their rifles. The farmer stands firm.)

City Man

Allow me to read to you my client's legal right to this property.

(Takes out an extraordinarily long document. He reads, but it's all a mumble-jumble, and the only words that are clearly audible, are, "whereas", "unto", "either" "and/or" "party of the second part," and finally he feels victorious)

See, this land no longer belongs to you.

Farmer's wife

We farmers got a greater claim than that. We settled this land; cleared the forests and planted the wheat. We worked hard here... ever since we came... and we ain't giving it up. Now get goin'.

City Man

(Looks for assurance to both sheriffs.)

I'll have my rent first.

Sheriff

You heard what he said.

(Enter a small group of armed farmers.)

1st Farmer

Hello Zachary. I kinda had a premonition these vultures would be acomin' to you. Meet a friend of mine, Ethan Allen. He's mighty handy with the rifle.

Howdy.

Farmer
Allen

You city fellows think you can take our land away by simply passin' laws. Wal, you'll have to be passin' over our dead bodies first.

(Raises his rifle. Other farmers do likewise.)
I'll give you fifty paces before we fire. Now get goin'

BLACKOUT
SCENE NINE
The Colonists Unite.

Characters
Farmers
Frontiersmen
Artisans
 Merchants
Town Crier
Prime Minister
The King
Samuel Adams
Messenger
Loudspeaker
(Lights up on stage full of people. On one side the frontiersmen, farmers, artisans and small trades people. On opposite side the wealthy merchants, the big landholders and the speculators. Each side is giving vent to its ill feeling against the other side. There is very little order, and what we hear runs something like this:

"Your're trying to steal our land."
"It's the law."
"It's legal robbery."
"We all make the law."
"That's a lie. You control the legislature."
"We merchants keep business alive."
"We farmers feed you."
"We artisans clothe you."

(The voices become lower as the Loudspeaker breaks in.)

**Voice of Living Newspaper**

And so arises the first sign of conflict among the colonists themselves. On the one side the business and propertied class and on the other the farmer, frontiersman and artisan class.

(The arguing colonists become more distinct again.)

"Law, my clothes are imported from Paris."
"With money squeezed from us poor farmers."
"That's a lie. I'll make you swallow that."
"I'll talk as I please. This isn't England. You control the wealth, and now you're trying to control even us."

**Voice of the Living Newspaper.**

Suddenly England enacts two very ominous laws.

(Spot comes up gradually on King of England, seated at a desk high up in rear center. Standing besides him is the Prime Minister. Into the midst of the crowd enters Town Crier)

**Town Crier**

*Har*ye! *Mark ye!* His Majesty the King.

(All slowly look up towards the king. In awed voices some of them call out, "the king" the king").

**Prime Minister**

Your majesty, the colonists are migrating further north and west. By shearing the forests and settling down they are ruining our profitable fur trade with the Indians. I'm convinced that the passage of this act will save our fur merchants, (He hands King a document. King signs it and returns it to him.)

**Prime Minister reads.**

The Proclamation Act, designed to establish a dividing line between the colonists and the Indian territory. There shall be no westward immigration beyond the designated line and all settlers already in the Forbidden Territory must withdraw. Moreover, future land sales by the Indians, except to the crown, is forbidden.

(There is an indignant muttering from among the farmers and artisans.)
Farmer
My farm is in that territory. Where will I withdraw to?

Frontiersman
I was all prepared to immigrate further west.
Artisan
I had been especially thrifty in my wages so that I may buy homestead out west.

Others
Were will we go now?
There's no room in the cities!
What will we do?

(They draw closer together. The king hands his Prime Minister another scroll. The prime minister reads it to the people)

Prime Minister
By act of Parliament, there shall be a tax upon all molasses and sugar imported into the American colonies. Also an act declaring further issue of paper money printed in the colonies not to be legal tender. Also, a stamp act...

(Blackout upon the King and Prime Minister.)

(Resentment on the side of the merchants and moneyed class is now heard.)

Merchants
Why these sudden taxes? Because England is at war with France?
Why should we pay for their private war?
These taxes are unbearable.
This will ruin our business!
We can ill afford to pay such taxes!
And no further currency. Business will stagnate.
A stamp act. That means taxing every legal document we write. Is that just?

(They group closer together.)

Voice of the Living Newspaper

Samuel Adams.
(Adams enters and stands between groups)

Adams
Up to now you've fighting each other. The time has come for you to join together in a common fight against English oppression.
(Both sides listen to him willingly, but are still hesitant about merging. Adams goes from one side to the other, convincing them)
"Are we not being reduced from the character of subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves." Remember the "rights of man." "There must be no taxation without representation". The tax acts are unjust. The stamp act is oppressive. The Proclamation act will prevent us from further immigration.
(By now, both sides have joined together, somewhat slowly, at first, but by a very natural and fast accelerating impetus. A young messenger enters.)

Message for Samuel Adams.

Adams
I'm Adams.
(Takes the message. Reads it for a moment to himself.)
Fellow citizens. A message from Patrick Henry. The Virginia House of Burgesses are resolved to ignore the Stamp Act, and further, to boycott all English goods.

(Ch. Cheering. from the people)

We must follow the example of Virginia. There must be the Sons of Liberty in every city and town to carry on the boycott. Go back to your towns and spread the news.

Crowd

Aye! Aye!

(Determinedly, most of them exit, leaving but a few to remain with Adams. A tradesman excitedly enters.)

Adams! Adams!

What is it?

Adams

Tradesman

What in the world...

Shall I demand the tax? Shall I pay?

Adams

(to the others)

Shall he pay?

Another

Not while I've got strong muscles, and heavy rocks lie conveniently nearby. Let's go.

(As they exit. Blackout)
(Spot up again on the king and his prime minister)

Prime Minister

(To the King)

The stamp distributors are threatened, mobs break windows, and intimidate people from using the stamps even if they are so inclined. In Boston, the home of the Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson has been sacked. All his furniture and priceless documents thrown into the streets and burned. America is in turmoil. In some colonies business has been suspended. Stamp Act Congresses everywhere are calling for a boycott against English goods. American purchase have been reduced by 600,000 pounds, and our own merchants are beginning to complain. It is my opinion that perhaps we should rescind the tax acts.

(The King takes the document that the Prime Minister proffers. He signs it.)

BLACKOUT
SCENE THE

The colonists divide on class lines.

Characters.

Samuel Adams
John Hancock
Voice of the Living Newspaper—"In the home of John Hancock."

(Study in the home of John Hancock. Discovered are John Hancock and Samuel Adams)

Adams

John we've been friends for many years.

Hancock

More than that. I've come to look on you even as my own brother. What troubles you?

Adams

It's hard to express.

Hancock

Ah, perhaps an affair of the heart. Let me hear it.

Adams

'Tis not so trivial.

Hancock

Money matters then. You've always had the reputation of being a poor businessman. I insist upon helping you.

Adams

You can be of great help.

Hancock

I'll gladly let you have all you need. 'Tis reputed, you know, that I'm the wealthiest man in the colony.

Adams

'Tis not a matter of money.

Hancock

Not love; not money? What else can be so urgent?

Adams

Word has come to me that a group of merchants have signed a document reasserting their loyalty to the king, and that you side with them.

Hancock

To be sure I do. It's only just. Has not the king repealed the tax acts?

Adams

Yes, easing the burden of the merchants. But there still remains the Proclamation Act, of which the poor complain so bitterly.

Hancock

The King would only be showing weakness if he repealed all the acts.

Adams

The repeal was but a subterfuge. I'm of the opinion more suppressive measures are in the making.
Hancock
You take too bitter an attitude. What would you have me do?

Adams
Erase your name from those who reassert their loyalty to the king. Speak out for liberty as you have done before.

Hancock
The king has been kind in repealing the tax acts. 'Tis only just that we show our gratitude.

Adams
How? By praising him for his tyranny?

Hancock
Come, now, there is no longer tyranny.

Adams
Perhaps you consider liberty suppressed... only when it begins to strangle the money bags?

Hancock
Samuel!

Adams
I feel too strongly upon the point to treat it lightly. We've been friends so long time. I would like to keep that friendship. But, not if you choose to transfer your affection to the king.

Hancock
There is no longer cause for me to be anything but loyal to the king.

Adams
Good day Mr. Hancock, my affections lie elsewhere.

BLACKOUT
SCENE ELEVEN

INDEPENDENCE

CHARACTERS

1st Libertyite
2nd "
3rd "
Samuel Adams
Town Crier
Prime Minister
King
John Hancock
Continental Congressman
Patrick Henry
Thomas Paine
British General
Thomas Jefferson
Colonists, farmers, newsboys, men, women
Loudspeaker
(Adams and the Sons Of Liberty. A scene showing the organization off to one side as they meet to discuss future plans).

1st Libertyite
These wealthy merchants and landholders? We were fools to even think they would stand by us.

2nd Libertyite
It might be that this new tea act will send them running back into the fold.

1st Libertyite
The tea act. Why, it barely scratches the surface of their skins.

Adams
But surely it enraged them enough to stage the Boston Tea Party.

1st Libertyite
'Twas nothing but a party of pleasure-bent gentlemen. Let his majesty repeal their own pet grievance and they'll reassert their loyalty to him once again.

Adams
The Boston Tea Party has driven the nail a little too deep. The merchants have incurred the hatred of the king. It is the duty of the Sons Of Liberty to unite with them in this crisis.

In unity there is strength.

3rd Libertyite
These merchants know the purpose of the Sons of Liberty. Too often have we appealed to them, now, if they have just cause, they will appeal to us.

(Members shake their heads in agreement. Some others discussing it inaudibly. The Town Crier enters)

Town Crier
Proclamation! Proclamation!

(Others enter from the opposite side of the stage. They represent the merchants, importers and well-to-do farmers. As the Town Crier's voice dies out, a spot lights up on the king and his Prime Minister high up in rear center.)

Prime Minister
(Reading from scroll.)
"March 31st, 1774. Whereas, dangerous commotions and insurrections have been fomented in the town of Boston in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, by divers ill-affected persons to the subversion of His Majesty's government and to the utter destruction of the public peace; in which commotions and insurrections certain valuable cargoes of tea being the property of the East India Company and on board certain vessels lying within the bay or harbor of Boston were seized and destroyed; BE IT ENACTED, that from and after June, 1774, it shall not be lawful for any persons whatsoever to land, put, or cause to procure to be laden or put off or from any quay, wharf, or other place within the said town of Boston or in or upon any part of the shore of the Bay, commonly called the Harbor of Boston. Towards this end six regiments of His Majesties troops shall be posted in the said town of Boston."
(Armed redcoats file across stage and off as an indignant hush rises from the crowd. The Prime Minister now reads from another scroll.)

Massachusetts Government Act, May 20th, 1774. "Be it enacted that from and after August 1st, 1774...that the offices of all counsellors and assistants, elected and appointed...shall from thenceforth cease and determine; And that, from and after the said August 1st, 1774, the council, or court of assistants of the said province for the time being, shall be composed of such of the inhabitants...as shall thereunto be...appointed by His Majesty...That the said assistants or counsellors...shall hold their offices respectively, for and during the pleasure of His Majesty...."

(Indignant murmering from the crowd. The Prime Minister reads another scroll.)

Administration Of Justice Act...." Be it enacted...that if any inquisition or indictment shall be found, or if any appeal shall be sued or preferred against any person, for murder, or other capital offense, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay....it shall and may be lawfully tried in some other of His Majesty's colonies, or in Great Britain."

(Slow blackout on the king and his prime minister as the murmer of the crowd grows to a roar of indigation. Audible are such phrases as "these acts are intolerable" "suppressive" "tyranny". John Hancock comes out from among the merchants and goes to Samuel Adams.)

Hancock

I owe you an apology.

(They shake hands as both sides come together. Lights go up behind scrim showing the Continental Congress in Session.)

Croud

The Continental Congress!

Let's hear what they have to say!

Hear them out!

(There is a pronounced hush as all look towards the congress. A figure behind the scrim rises.)

Figure

"To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty and property of His Majesty's subjects in North America, we are of the opinion that a non-importation, non-consumption and non-exportation agreement faithfully adhered to will prove the most speedy, effectual and peaceful measure; and therefore we do for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of our country as follows; that from and after the first day of December next we will not import into British America any goods, wares or merchandise whatsoever from Great Britain or Ireland."

(A picket line enters. Their signs read:

("Boston. We will not import British tea."
("Virginia. We will not import British wine."
("New York. We will not import British coffee or pimente."
("Pennsylvania. We will not import British garments."

(Someone from the crowd spies Patrick Henry.)

Man

There's Patrick Henry.

Others

Henry! Patrick Henry! Patrick Henry!

(They cheer him.)
Man
What has he to say. Hear him out.
(Silence. The spot is thrown on Henry.)

Henry
"Government is dissolved. Where are your landmarks, your boundaries of colonies? The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian. I am an American. All distinctions are thrown down. All America is thrown into one mass...."
(Newsboys rush in.)

Newsboys
Read the latest pamphlet, Common Sense.
Tom Paine's new pamphlet, Common Sense.
Read Common Sense
(The people eagerly buy up the pamphlets.
Spot on Tom Paine.)

Crowd
It's Paine!
Tom Paine!
(All look towards Paine.)

Paine
"Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her as a stranger, and England hath given warning to depart. Oh, receive the fugitives and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."
(Loud huzzas from the crowd.)
"England to Europe. America to herself. The last chord is broken. The period of debate is closed. Arms must decide the contest."
(The regiment of armed redcoats files in on one side.
The colonists form a ragged army on opposite side.)

British General
Disperse. In the name of his Majesty, the king.
(The colonists, sullen, remain standing. The general turns to his soldiers.)

Prepare. Ready. Fire.
(A volley of shots ring out. Some colonists fall.
Others return the fire. After a while, with half of the farmers fallen and wounded the others disperse, the redcoats follow them out. Spot lights on Thomas Jefferson, left elevated. He is pacing back and forth, deep in thought, as farmers enter to aid the wounded and remove the dead.)

V. of L. N.

Thomas Jefferson. 1776.

Jefferson
(After a moment, he begins talking, as if to himself.)
When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another.... (pause).
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, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any
any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is
the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute new govern-
ment... (Pause.)

......by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly
publish and declare, that these United Colonies are and of right ought
to be, Free and Independent States. That they are absolved from all
allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection
between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally
dissolved......
(Blackout on Jefferson.)

(By now a large crowd of colonists are gathered on the
stage. Into the midst of this crowd enters the town crier
with the Declaration.)

Town Crier
Thirteen colonies declare themselves free and independent.
The Declaration of Independence.

Crowd

Independence?
Freedom!
Liberty!

(Their joy is more of anger against the British than
self-exultation. Quiely a man grabs the Declaration
from the Town Crier and with it climbs upon the elevated
spot where the king formerly sat. Now there is only a
desk and an empty chair, beside which is the king’s crown
and the royal sceptre. He unfolds the Declaration and tacks it on to the back of the chair. With it comes loud
rejoicing from the crowd, music, singing, and the pealing
of church bells.)
(Blackout.)
LOUDBREAKER

October, 1776. Washington's forces defeat those of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. The end of the war! The thirteen colonies along the Atlantic seaboard of North America have established their right to rule themselves as they choose. The end of the war! Peace at last! George Washington retires to his home in Virginia...

(Spot on George Washington, behind scrim. Below him are officers and men of the army)

George Washington

I rejoice most exceedingly that there is an end to our warfare... It is now the bounden duty of everyone to make the blessings of peace as diffuse as possible. Nothing would so effectually bring this to pass as a removal of those local prejudices which intrude on and embarrass that great line of policy which alone can make us a free, happy, and powerful people... With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as happy and prosperous as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.

(Spot switches from Washington to crowd of soldiers and officers below. They throw their caps in air, shake hands, shout "Peace!" "We're going home!" "The War is Over!" "Then "Freedom!" "We've won our freedom!" "We're free! They go off stage, in different directions. Spot picks up groups and individuals as they go.)

1st Soldier

Free!

2nd Soldier

To buy what we please!

3rd Soldier

And sell what we please!

4th Soldier

And to whom we please!

5th Soldier

To migrate to the west when our lands are worn out here!

6th Soldier

To manufacture our own goods!

7th Soldier

And ship them in our own ships!

8th Soldier

To cultivate our land in peace! To plough our soil, and harvest its fruits!

9th Soldier

Peace! Freedom!

Freedom! Freedom!
SCENE THIRTEEN
A Southern Gentleman is Somewhat Dissatisfied

Characters

Southern Gentleman

His wife

Sawyer, a slave

Mr. Thompson, an overseer
Jasper, a runaway slave
Gentleman
Where are you off to, my dear?

Lady
I was going down to the slaves' quarters, to see what has happened to the laundry.

Gentleman
Sit down a while, and enjoy the spring with me.

Lady
It is lovely isn't it?

Gentleman
Can there be anything more beautiful, I wonder, than our Virginia in the spring time?

Lady
Is it more beautiful than the other places you saw, when you were with General Washington?

Gentleman
More beautiful than any of them. How hideous the north is, my dear! The cities are dirty, and crowded. The streets are full of brabby working people, and sailors, and commercial men, forever buying and selling and bargaining.

Lady
But I suppose we must have cities....I hear the life in Philadelphia is very gay.

Gentleman
A gentlewoman of Virginia would not enjoy it...

Lady
I should like to go to the theatre, or to a party, in Philadelphia, just once. Do you think you shall ever have to go there?

Gentleman
Perhaps just once, for your sake, my dear. But I thank God we shall find little necessity for dealing with the Yankees, now that the war is over.

Lady
Of course, I could not go to Philadelphia in this gown.

Gentleman
Never mind. I shall buy you a whole boatload of pretty things from France. Would you like that?
Lady
Oh, indeed I should. But meanwhile I must see about the laundering of
the clothes I have. Since Jasper ran off nothing goes right.

Gentleman
We'll see about Jasper. This business has gone too far. By the way,
where is Samwy with my fresh julep? I hope he hasn't run off, too.

Wife
I see him coming now.

(wife exit)

Samwy (entering with glass)
Here it is, sir. (puts it down carefully, prepares to leave)

Gentleman
Wait a minute, Samwy.

Samwy
Yes, sir.

Gentleman
You haven't heard anything about Jasper, have you?

Samwy
No, sir.

Gentleman
No idea where he might have gone?

Samwy
No, sir.

Gentleman
You know they're looking for him.

Samwy
Yes sir.

Gentleman
A mighty foolish nigger, Samwy. He'll come to no good end. He'll be
cought. And you know what will happen to him... if the guns or dogs
don't get him?

Samwy
Yes sir.

Gentleman
What?

Samwy
He...He'll be whipped, sir.

Gentleman
That's right. To teach him a lesson. And others, too, with foolish
notions in their heads. You don't have any such foolish notions, do you
Samwy?
No sir.

(There is a commotion offstage. Enter Overseer, with runaway slave, ragged and bleeding)

Overseer

Here's the scoundrel, sir. Shall we give him the beating he deserves?

Gentleman

No, leave him here. Sunny, you may go.

(Sunny leaves)

(To Overseer) Just go for a little walk. I'll call you later.

(Overseer leaves)

(To Jasper) Now, Jasper, why did you run away?

(Jasper does not answer)

Gentleman

Haven't I always treated you well, Jasper? (no answer) Haven't you had a roof over your head, and enough to eat? (no answer) (sharply) Answer me Jasper!

Jasper

I wanted to be free.

Gentleman

Free?

Jasper

I wanted to get me a job, and get wages, and do what I want to with my money.

Gentleman

You think the North is a better place to live in than Virginia?

Jasper

I know it is. No man is a slave there. Every man is his own master.

Gentleman

Is that what you've been telling the other boys around here? Is that what you told Billy and Harry to make them run off, too? (no answer) Is it? (no answer). Jasper, I have a nose for always being good to my niggers. I think perhaps there's such a thing as being too good. I have never had to whip you, Jasper, I am going to have you whipped now as an example. I hope it will drive some sense into that thick head of yours. Mr. Thompson!

Overseer (entering)

Yes, sir, shall I whip him?

Gentleman

Yes. Take him away. And when you find the others, do the same thing.

(exeunt)
Wife (entering)
Oh, they've caught Jasper! I'm so glad.

Gentleman
Those damn Yankees!

Wife
What, dear?

Gentleman
They put ideas into niggers' heads, get them up North. Six run off in the past month, and only two found! What right have they not to return our property?

Wife
You mean the Northerners help them to escape?

Gentleman
Help them! They encourage them! Listen, my dear, we shall be going to Philadelphia sooner than I had expected. Get your clothes ready. We'll see what that Congress up there can do..........Those damn Yankees!
SCENE FOURTEEN

A Shipbuilder Questions the Value of Patriotism

CHARACTERS

A Shipbuilder
1st Friend
2nd Friend
3rd Friend
A Messenger
Spot up on board a ship in Boston Harbor. A group of men are gathered around a Shipbuilder.

**Shipbuilder**

A beauty, isn't she?

**1st friend**

That she is.

**Shipbuilder**

I thought for a while she'd never taste the salt water.

**2nd friend**

You have been fortunate at that. I have had ships rotting in the harbor for months now.

**3rd friend**

It's a hard time for us. There's no denying. I would sell my tuba... if I could get any sort of price for them.

**Shipbuilder**

God knows I was surprised to get the commission. Perhaps this indicates a change of heart on the part of our Southern cotton-growers?

**2nd friend**

A remarkable change it would have to be. Out of the 170 ships South Carolina used last year, 160 were British.

**1st friend**

They have forgotten the war mighty quickly. Where is the patriotism their Mr. Henry talked of so eloquently back in '76?

**3rd friend**

Patriotism is a small thing when dollars and cents are concerned.

**Shipbuilder**

Well, she'll sail in a few hours. May many of your ships follow her!

(Enter messenger, breathless with haste)

**Messenger**

Mr. Holmes! Mr. Holmes! I've been looking all over for you! There's a letter come, marked 'Very Urgent'.

**Shipbuilder**

Give it to me. (Takes letter, reads hastily, crumples it in anger).

**1st friend**

No bad news, I hope?

**Shipbuilder**

It is from my cotton-growing friend in Carolina. He cancels the order for my ship. He finds he can get a French boat for less.
SCENE FIFTEEN
"Free and Independent States"

CHARACTERS

Stagehand
Customs Official
A Farmer
Two Enforcers of the Law
(Lights up on bare stage. Stagehand comes on, draws a line with chalk. On one side of the line he prints New York, on the other side New Jersey. From opposite sides of the stage enter the Customs Official, and the New Jersey Farmer. The latter has a wheelbarrow full of wood, and carries a crate of live chickens in his hand. As he is about to cross line, Customs Official, who has been watching him warily, stops him short.)

Customs Official
where do you think you're going?

Farmer
Across to New York.

Customs Official
And what's that you have with you.

Farmer
Chickens and stovewood.

Customs Official
And you think you're taking those into New York?

Farmer
I am. I'm going to sell them there.

Customs Official
Oh, you are!

Farmer
Yes, I am, and I have no time to stand and talk with you.

Customs Official
Ch, you haven't?

Farmer
No. Let me pass.

(Customs Official shrills, and two men with rifles counter out)

Farmer
What's all this about? I've been coming over here to sell chickens and stovewood every month for the past year!

Customs Official
That's what it's all about...

Farmer
I don't understand...

(two men hold guns aimed at farmer, while Customs Official takes crate of chickens)

Farmer
Hey, wait a minute. Those are my chickens.
(Men advance a few paces. Farmer stands back. Customs Official takes scales from pocket. Weighs chickens. Farmer looks on agape).

**Farmer**

What are you doing?

**Customs Official**

It'll all be over in a minute.

(He takes tape measure from pocket and begins measuring stowage).

**Customs Official**

That'll be two shillings.

**Farmer**

That for?

**Customs Official**

Don't you ever read the papers? There's a tariff on goods coming into New York from the country of New Jersey.

**Farmer**

But I thought we got rid of tariffs when we got rid of the English!

**Customs Official**

Two shillings.

**Farmer**

But . . .

**Customs Official**

(nodding to men who come forward menacingly)

Two shillings!
SCENE SIXTEEN
A Manufacturer Looks For a Way Out

CHARACTERS
A Manufacturer
His foreman
1st Worker
2nd Worker
A Group of Workers
(Spot up on workroom of shoemaker's shop. The owner of the shop is standing, deep in thought beside one of the benches. He touches it meditatively from time to time. Suddenly he calls)

Manufacturer

Reuben! Reuben!

Reuben

Yes, Mr. Macaulay.

Manufacturer

Call in the men. I've made up my mind.

Reuben

Isn't there any other way?

Manufacturer (roaring)

If there were, I wouldn't be doing what I am about to do. Call in the men!

Reuben (goes to door)

Men! Men! Drop what you're doing and come in here!

Manufacturer

What do you mean by asking me whether there's another way?

Reuben (my tears timidly)

Well, sir, I was thinking what a pity it is. The men and their families will be destitute.

Manufacturer

And what about me and my family? The men can get jobs elsewhere. What am I to do? And my daughters?

Reuben

There are no jobs to be had, sir. The men...

(The men begin to come in. There are between a dozen and twenty of them)

Manufacturer

Men, what I have to tell you is bad news. Bad for me and bad for you. You know that our business has steadily declined. We have all, you and I, been making less money the past months. You have complained to me that you cannot get along like this. Well, neither can I.

(men look at each other apprehensively, then at manufacturer)

Don't look at me like that! Is it my fault?

(men make no answer)

Do you know whose fault it is? Do you, I say? It is the British again, that's what it is! We drove them from our shores, and they have come back! And what have they brought with them? Boatloads of shoes! We drove them off because we didn't want to have to buy their tea. And now they come back with shoes! You! (turning with apoplectic fury on one of the men) you, Mr. Dana, were wearing a pair of those British shoes a few months ago; until I bade you take them off! Why did you wear British shoes?

Dana

My wife purchased them, sir. They were cheaper.
Manufacturer

Cheaper! Cheaper! Yes, they are cheaper! And do you know why? Because the shoemakers in England are paid less, and because the merchants there are willing to sustain a little loss for a greater gain. When they have starved out our American shoe manufacturers, thank you that the price will remain so low? (Roars) Think you so? (He pauses, but when one of men seems about to speak, he resumes) Ye are mistaken if ye think so! But ye are all stupid cattle, falling into the British trap. Ye wouldn't buy British tead, but ye buy British shoes, even though it means the death of our own manufacturers. (Pauses, looks accusingly at men. They shuffle a bit). Well, since I am not supported by my fellow countrymen, I cannot continue to manufacture shoes.

2nd Man

Cannot something else be done, sir?

Manufacturer

No, my men, since I am not supported by my fellow men (almost in tears) I shall have to close my shop. I cannot afford to make shoes which no one will buy (Look at offender who has bought British shoes) That is all men, if business improves, I shall call you back ....those of you who have been good and loyal workers.

(Wen file out. Foreman turns to Manufacturer)

Reuben

What shall you do now, Mr. Birchall? Return to your home in Fox Chase?

Manufacturer (roars)

Retire! I should say not! I'm going to see what can be done, so that I may reopen my shop and make a decent living, that's what!

Reuben

You're going....

Manufacturer

I'm going to see the Congress! (Exit, indeed)

Revive
SCENE SEVENTEEN
Congress Listens to Complaints

CHARACTERS
The Continental Congress
A Gentleman with Securities
1st Congressman
2nd Congressman
3rd Congressman
The Manufacturer
The Shipper
The Merchant
The Southern Gentleman
Congress (in chorus)

Yes, sir. We agree with you completely, sir.

Well, look at these! (wavesContinentalBlue wildly)

We are looking at them, sir.

Well, what are you going to do about it?

Blankly

I loaned money to you during the war. I got these securities.

Now they're next to worthless. Any decent government pays back debts.

We agree with you completely.

Well?

But we have no money at present.

Well, why don't you raise some?

How?

By taxes, by imposts, by... the way any government raises money!

(The congressmen go into a huddle)
1st Congressman
We shall give the matter our earnest consideration, and see what can be done...

9 with 6
Will you hurry, please?

Cong. (in chorus)
We shall give the matter our earnest consideration and see what can be done.

(Gentleman with Continentals exit. Shipper and Manufacturer approach Congress. are in arm.)

Manufacturer
Well, what are you going to do about us?

(Congressmen, who have relaxed, grousing to themselves)

Cong. (in chorus)
We are at your service, gentlemen.

Manufacturers
The situation could hardly be worse. Our industries are doomed, if this keeps up.

If what keeps up?

1st Congressman (politely)

Manufacturer (losing control)

Shoes, shoes!

2nd Congressman (shocked)

What?

Manufacturer

Shoes, shoes!

3rd Congressman
What do you mean, sir, by shoes, shoes?

Manufacturer
First it was tea, now it is shoes!

Shipper
And ships, don't forget ships!

(Congressmen look at each other, in wised dismay.
Then the third Congressman turns to the M & S)

3rd Congressman
May we ask you to explain further? This shoes and ships, ships and shoes... we don't quite understand.

Shipper
Our ships are lying in the harbors, rotting.

But why?

2nd Congressman
Manufacturer

First tea, now shoes.

1st Congressman

What has tea to do with shoes?

Manufacturer

If British shoes cannot be kept out of our colonies, we shall do the same thing with them as we did with British tea.

Shipper

No, you won’t. The people won’t be behind you.

Manufacturer

So you gentlemen of Congress must do something.

2nd Congressman

You mean the British are ruining your shoes business?

Manufacturer (sighing with relief)

That’s it exactly.

Congressmen go into huddle

Congress (in chorus)

What do you want us to do?

Manufacturer

Put a tax on foreign goods coming into America.

Cong (in chorus)

Oh! (to shipper) And you sir?

Shipper

Regulate commerce somehow. Make it possible for us to ship as cheaply as do the British and French.

Merchants (jumping up suddenly)

Yes, regulate commerce somehow. Abolish these taxes put by states on goods coming in from another states.

Southerner (leaving bench where he has been sitting)

And while you’re about it, make the states recognize each other’s rights. Make them return our runaway slaves.

Manufacturer

Wait a minute. We were talking about taxes on imported goods.

Shipper

We were talking about the shipping industry.

Southerner

I am not interested in this. I want my slaves returned. They are my property and the North has no right to shelter them.

Merchant

I want to be able to sell my goods in neighboring states.

(Congressmen go into huddle)
(in chorus)
One at a time, please. You, sir (to manufacturer), come up here please.

(Manufacturer mounts to platform, stands before cong)

1st Cong.
Go home and don't worry. Well pass a law.

(Manufacturer leaves)

2nd Cong.
(to shipper) Now you, sir.

(Shipper mounts)

And Cong.
Take it easy. We'll take up the question immediately.

(Shipper leaves)

3rd Cong.
(To merchant) Now, sir, will you step this way?

(Merchant steps up)

And Cong.
We were discussing your question only yesterday. We expect to arrive at a
decision very soon. Don't worry.

(Merchant leaves)

4th Cong.
(To southerner) May we assure you, sir, that a law shall be passed immediately
making it incumbent upon citizens to return runaway slaves.

(Southerner leaves)

(Congressmen go into huddle)

5th Cong.
We wish to present to the thirteen states the following acts for ratification.

(Enter thirteen men, labelled with names of 13
states. They stand in a row as cong, reads laws)

6th Cong.
A law to redeem the continental by taxing the citizens of the colonies.

(The states answer in quick succession, "Yes", "Yes", "No", "Yes", etc.
... etc.)

7th Cong.
No go. A law to make it compulsory to return runaway slaves.

(Southern states answer yes, several northern states
answer no.)

8th Cong.
Too bad. A law to permit congress to regulate commerce, impose tariffs, and take
such other measures as our necessary to our national welfare.

(States again split on vote)
Impossible. Unanimous ratification is necessary before a measure becomes a law.
Well, we did our best!

States leave

Song (in chorus) of self-righteous complacency
SCENE EIGHTEEN

"No Money is As Good As Gold"

CHARACTERS

Banker

Manufacturer
(Lights up on Banker's office. Mgr. stands before him).

You know Mr. Banker, that I am a man of my word. Money loaned to me is as good as gold.

Banker
That is just it, Mr. Mgr. No money is as good as gold.

Mgr.
What do you mean?

Banker
I mean what I say. With all the varieties of money about... why, money is being coined so fast that it depreciates hourly!

Mgr.
But if I promised to pay you back in gold?

I shouldn't believe you.

Mgr.
Sir?

Banker
Oh, don't mistake me. I should believe in your good intentions. But you would not be able to pay me back in gold.

Mgr.
You have my factory as security.

Banker
Nothing is good security today. Nothing, that is, except land.

Mgr.
Then you cannot oblige me?

Banker
I am sorry.

Mgr.
I don't know what we manufacturers are going to do.

Banker
I don't know what we bankers are going to do. Everything is at a standstill. How can any business person operate in this chaos?

Mgr.
The shippers and the merchants are in the same boat.

Banker
There is no place for us to invest our money... except...

Mgr.
Except?

Banker
I said it before. Except in land.
SCENE NINETEEN
A FARMER KEEPS HIS OWN

CHARACTERS

A FARMER

His Wife

A Tax Collector
(Lights up on farmer's kitchen in New England. Wife is busy about room. Husband enters, stands gun in corner, sits down wearily.)

**Farmer**
The place is a shambles. There's nothing left.

**Wife**
It was dreadful the night the redcoats burned down the barn. It was pitiful to hear the poor animals.

**Farmer**
The horses gone, the cows gone...

**Wife**
Our army took some for food. I didn't begrudge it to the poor fellows. They were starving.

**Farmer**
We did the same thing in other parts. We had to.

**Wife**
But the burning of the barn—the poor beasts crying... That was a pity to hear.

**Farmer**
Well, we can't cry over spilt milk. Thank God the war is over. We shall have to start all over again. But we have peace...

(There is a knock on the door)

**Come in.**

**Man (entering)**

**Farmer**
Yes.

**Man**
I'm the tax collector.

**Farmer**
Tax collector?

**Man**
Yes, appointed by the state legislature... I've come to see about the taxes due on your farm.

**Farmer**
I have just returned from fighting the British for six years.

**Man**
That's right... six years' taxes due...

**Farmer**
You can see for yourself the state the farm is in. It is over-run with weeds. The army took the cows, and the British burned the barn with the other animals. How can I pay taxes?

**Man**
The government needs money...
Farmer

And so do I.

Man

The government must be kept going, you know.

Farmer

My children must be kept alive.

Man

We have to pay legislators, and keep an army, and...

Farmer

Food is even more necessary to a man than government.

Man

You could do what many other farmers are doing.

Farmer

What is that?

Man

Borrow the money to pay taxes, and maybe some to put the farm in order... buy some live stock, and a plough...

Farmer

That, sir, is my own business.

Man

I was only advising you.

Farmer

When I need advice, I'll ask for it.

Man

But the state needs the money...

Farmer

You see that rifle there?

Man

Yes...

Farmer

I used it against a government that oppressed me and mine... It is not worn out yet.

Man

You don't understand.

Farmer

I understand that I have just finished fighting for freedom and land on which to make a living. I understand that after six years of war, peace is sweet. I understand that until I can make a living for my family, and enjoy the fruits of my freedom, I want this peace. Be off with you... (Takes gun from corner. Man exit.)
SCENE TWENTY
The Farmer Moves Westward

CHARACTERS
The Farmer
His Wife
A Pennsylvania Tax Collector
A Connecticut Tax Collector
Rev. Mannaiah Cutler
An Indian
Farmer
This looks like a fair place.

Wife
It's lovely. So peaceful...

Farmer
There may be Indians about, of course....

Wife
I prefer Indians to salt-sold clerks and lawyers any day.

Farmer
Come on, let's get settled.

(They are arranging their things when a man enters)

Man
How do you do? I'm delighted beyond words to see you here in Pennsylvania.

Farmer
I believe this is the Wyoming Valley land.

Man
Oh yes. But Wyoming Valley belongs to Pennsylvania. It comes under the Pennsylvania Legislature... and pays taxes to Pennsylvania.

Wife
Taxes?

2nd man (enters briskly)
Just what I came to see you about! Welcome to Connecticut!

Farmer
Connecticut?

Wife
We thought it was the Wyoming Valley, he says it's Pennsylvania, now you say it's Connecticut.

2nd man
Now pay no attention to him, lady. If Pennsylvania thinks she's going to make some fancy land grab she's mistaken. This is Connecticut; those who love here are part of Connecticut and pay taxes to Connecticut.

1st man
Is that so, now? I say it's Pennsylvania, see? (to farmer) Pay your taxes to me.

2nd man
I'll take your taxes.

Wife (calmly)
You're wasting your breath. We've come here but recently, and we have no money for taxes.
We can take it in goods.

(He seizes table and exit left. 2nd man follows, grabs other end of table. They struggle with it until table splits in two.
(Meanwhile Farmer and Wife superstitiously take other belongings and move to right. Spot switches to husband and wife. They sit down.
(Enter Land Speculator)

Speculator

I beg your pardon, sir—and yours, ma'am—- but did you want to buy this land?

Buy it? Is it yours?

Speculator

It is, ma'am. And beautiful land it is, isn't it? Green and fertile...

Who are you?

Speculator

My name is Manasseh Cutler, the Reverend Manasseh Cutler. I am a citizen of Massachusetts and head of the Ohio Company. My company has just bought this land, paid Congress a million dollars for it.

For how much of it?

Speculator

For a million and a half acres, ma'am.

Farmer

And how much are you selling it for?

Five dollars an acre.

Farmer

Quite a profit.

I take a tremendous risk, my son.

Farmer

Well, we don't want your land. We'll go somewhere else.

Cutler (still gentle)

You'll have to go far. All the land around here belongs to the Ohio Company.

Wife

Then we'll go back home, till the land is cheaper.

Cutler

It won't get cheaper, ma'am, it will get dearer.

Wife (tearful)

We've come so far...
Farmer (looks about)
Perhaps.... are there any Indian troubles about here?

Cutler
Oh, no, none at all...
(At this point an Indian, fiercely painted enters, stands looking, hand to brow, for a moment, then leaves).

Farmer
Oh, no, you don't Mr. Cutler. You've taken this land from the Indians and you can't tell me they're not making a fuss about it. Come on, Delia.
(Seizes wife's hand)

Cutler
Wait a minute. You may have it for four dollars an acre.

Farmer
You'll do nothing of the sort. I don't want to come home some day and find my wife and children scalped.

Cutler
Three dollars and a half...

Wife
Come on, John, I'm scared...

Three dollars...

Cutler

Farmer
All right, Delia, Ready?

Cutler
Two dollars and a half. Two dollars!

Farmer
Nothing doing!

Cutler
A dollar and a half.... a dollar! (as they leave) My God, I was going to sell it at a loss! 
CHARACTERS

The Continental Congress
The Merchant
The Shipper
The Southerner
The Manufacturer
The Banker
The Security Holder
Rev. Nanaeh Cutler
1st Congressman
2nd Congressman
3rd Congressman
4th Congressman
5th Congressman
6th Congressman
7th Congressman
8th Congressman
(Lights up on Congress, behind scrim. It is smaller than it was the other time, and it is noticeably more lax. It listens perfunctorily to the plaintiffs. These, as the lights go up, consist of the southerner, the Manufacturer, the Shipper, and the Merchant. They shout at each other and at the Congressmen)

Merchant
I tell you, gentlemen, you will have cause to regret this!

Manufacturer
You'll go down in history as the enemies of the people of these colonies!

Shipper
I hold you responsible for the fact that my ships are rotting in Boston Harbor!

Southerner
Is our property our property or anyone's property.

Merchant
If you gentlemen will do nothing....

Shipper
If...! It is obvious they intend to do nothing...

Manufacturer
They never have done anything!

Southerner
Will you gentlemen hold your peace? (To Congress) What are you going to do about returning my property?

1st Congressman
You mean your slaves?

Manufacturer
This a moral question, whether a man's slaves are property. As citizens who pay our workers, and make no claims on their bodies after their working hours or on their souls at all, we have come to ask you to do something about business conditions!

Southerner
Have I the floor, Your Honors, or have I to cede it to this rabble?

Shipper
Rabble, eh?

Merchant
Rabble, eh! You.. you Britisher!

Southerner
Your Honors, if I cannot speak and lay my case before you, say so. There are many in Virginia who would like to be freed of connection with this... this Yank-edon and its Congress. We shall settle affairs in our own way if you cannot help us!

Shipper
Go, be a silkworm to toil for Europe, Go!
Go buy your shoes from Britain and your clothing from France!

Merchant (to Congress)
Will you listen, please? Connecticut has just passed a resolution boycotting all goods coming from New York.

Southerner
Are you going to have my slaves returned or not? I want an answer.

Manufacturer
Are you going to put a tariff on foreign goods to protect home manufacturers?

Shipper
Are you going to regulate commerce?

Merchant
Are you going to stop these states putting tariffs on each other's goods, and boycotting each other's goods, for all the world as though they were countries at war with each other?

Security Holder (entering)
Are you going to redeem these continentals?

Shipper
Are our ships to continue rotting? Are we to continue to build ships so that they may rot?

(Enter Banker and Manasseh Cutler)

Banker
Can business flourish when there is no uniformity of money?

Cutler
And you must do something about the Indians.

Southerner
Take up the Indians after you have disposed of the question of the blacks!

Banker
Not only thirteen state legislatures, but that many hundreds of private individuals are coining money. What incentive has a banker to put money into enterprise...... to put out good gold, which returns as paper, if at all?

Cutler
You must protect our western population from the ravages of the Indians. Land is depreciating. We can't sell it!

(Congress all this while has put up a pretense of listening. Now and again members have consulted each other, but no answers have been forthcoming).

Banker
Are you going to do anything?

Merchant
Are you going to do anything?

Southerner
Are you going to do anything?
Are you going to do anything?

Shipper

Are you going to do anything?

Cutler

Are you going to do anything?

Congress in Chorus

We shall take up all your complaints.

 Plaintiffs in chorus

In good time.

Congress in chorus

There's no time like the present.

Banker (quietly)

1st Congressman

Will you state your cases one at a time?

Banker

Let money be coined by one agency for all the colonies.

2nd Congressman

The states say that would be interfering with states' rights.

Shipper

Will you regulate commerce so that there will be some agreement between all the colonies about navigation of our rivers?

3rd Congressman

Virginia and Maryland both claim the Potomac.

Manufacturer

Will you place a tariff on foreign goods?

4th Congressman

The South is against it.

Merchant

Will you stop the colonies from laying exorbitant taxes on each others' goods?

5th Congressman (after consultation)

That would be interfering with states' rights.

Southerner

Will you make it compulsory to return runaway slaves?

6th Congressman

The Quakers say it is against their conscience.

Cutler

Will you raise an army to safeguard our frontiersmen against the Indians?
7th Congress
Not one-tenth of our citizens are even remotely interested.

Security holder
Will you redeem these securities?

8th Congress
Non-security holders are not in favor.

Chorus of plaintiffs
Then you admit you can do nothing?
What good are you, then?
Why are we paying you salaries?
Why should there be such a body?

Congress in chorus
We shall do what we can.

1st Congress
We shall give all your complaints our most serious attentions.

Immediately.

2nd Congress.

Plaintiffs
But you can do nothing!

3rd Congress.
We'll do everything we can. Do not be impatient.

Banker
We've been too patient too long!

Plaintiffs
Right!
That we have!
We shall do something ourselves!

Cong. (in chorus of anxious disapproval)

Merchant
We shall see. Meanwhile, don't say we did not warn you; your inactivity in this crisis will bring upon our heads terrible consequences.
SCENE TWENTY-TWO

A Man Gets a Shave

CHARACTERS

A Barber
A Man with a Newspaper
A Visitor from England
A Boy
A Girl
A Dog
Barber

So you have a friend who has a friend who knows Mr. Hamilton! Now my wife's uncle had a brother-in-law who served under General Washington himself!

Man with Paper

Is that where you got your wall-paper?

Barber

No....I myself was with General Osgood, and this paper is my last month's pay.

Man with Paper

Indeed. And you use it to paper your shop?

Barber

Well, with wallpaper costing as it does...and it is rather original, don't you think?

Man with Paper

Money cheaper than wallpaper?

Barber

Money, forsooth! We don't consider this money any more. I cannot understand your point of view.

Man with Paper

Well, my friend...

Barber (indulgently)

I know. Your friend who has a friend who is a friend to Colonel Hamilton says....Forget it, my friend.

(The door opens, and there enters a man rather elegantly dressed, carrying a bushel basket full of Continentals)

Man

I say, could I get a shave here? I mean, is this a barber shop?

Barber

What does it resemble, if not a barber shop?

Man

Do pardon me. I see it is a barber shop. I am a stranger in these parts, you see.

Barber

From where do you come?

Man

I have just arrived on these shores from England. I am a writer, and I have come to gather material for a book on the American colonies.
Barber

Man

Perhaps you have heard of me? My name is Percival Trevelyan, and I have written books on Spain and France.

Barber

Oh, then we did you welcome, sir. Were you long in Spain?

Man

Oh, a month. You should read my book, "Spain, Land of Lechery".

Barber

And how long were you in France?

Man

Also a month. My book on France is called "France, a Menace to Morality".

Barber

And how long shall you stay in America?

Man

Also a month. My book on America is almost written. It will be called "America, Red Republic."

Red?

Man

A Republic founded on blood, you know. And the red Indians, of course.

Barber

Indeed. Well, a shave will cost you sixpence, sir.

Man

Well, I am not familiar with your monetary system, sir. How many of these would that be? (Holds out bushel basket)

Barber (shakes his head)

No sir, These are not acceptable.

Man

But I was given them as change when I bought tobacco down the street.

Barber

I fear you were being made sport of, sir.

Man

You mean these are worth nothing?

Barber

Not to me.

(entering two children, leading a black dog)

Boy

May we have the little papers, papa?

Barber

They are not mine. Ask the gentleman.
Girl
Oh, sir, may we have the little papers?

Man
What do you want them for?

Boy
To put on Tower

Man
Tower?

Girl
We're having a tar-and-feathering. Tower is the British man.

Boy
Mother won't give us any feathers. Look! (He takes handful of Continentals from basket and sticks them to dog.)

Man
Barbarous! Even the children are bloodthirsty!

Girl
May we have the little papers, Master?

(The man has sunk down on a chair, hand to head. Children are about to take more Continentals when man with paper intervenes)

Man with Paper
I'll give you two shillings for basketful, neighbor.

Man (haughtily)
I am not your neighbor, sir.

Man with paper
Oh, I beg your pardon. Girl! May I offer you two shillings for the lot? That will get you a shave and a cup of tea besides.

Man
Very well.

(Children, disappointed, grab handful of papers from shop wall and leave)

Barber
I see you are not familiar with our customs, sir. You had best be careful. Do you intend to stay in Philadelphia?

Man
I had thought of journeying along the coast a bit. Perhaps you could help me. What will I need?

Barber
Well, money.

Man
Of course. English pounds and shillings?
Barber

Well, in some colonies it would be well to have different varieties of currency for the different colonies. Do you have any moidereau?

Man

No.

Barber

Doubleon!

Man

Why, not.

Barber

Pistoles?

Man

No.

Barber

A gold Johannes or two, perhaps?

Man

No.

Barber

Spanish dollars?

Man

No. Do I need all those?

Barber

Well, no matter, you can get your English money changed.

Man

Uh, well, I don't know the rate of exchange. How much, say, is a dollar worth?

Barber

Well, it depends, now. About six shillings in most parts of New England... but you can never tell about Rhode Island. I sight in New York right now; six or seven in Pennsylvania; five in Georgia; two or three in South Carolina.

Man

Indeed.

Man with Paper

I shouldn't go if I were you, you know. You're liable to be taken for a spy.

Man

A spy? What kind of a spy?

Man with papers

Oh, a Massachusetts spy in New York, a New York spy in New Jersey, a New Jersey spy in Virginia. Or a British spy almost anywhere.

Man (jumps)

Really?

Man with paper

Why not stay in Philadelphia and finish your work here?
Man (slyly)
Perhaps that would be best.

Man with Paper (maliciously)
But be careful of the Indians. They may break into your room and scalp you at night.

Man
Not really?

Man with Paper (leaving)
Oh my, yes!

Barber
Pay no attention to him. He is making sport of you.

Man
Why did he buy the paper money?

Barber
He thinks they'll be worth something some day. He's a little ... (Taps his head significantly)

Man (Mystified)
Oh! What a clever genius!
SCENE TWENTY-THREE

An American General Makes a Bargain

CHARACTERS

General James Wilkinson

An Emissary of the Spanish King
Wilkinson
I hope it won't come to a war.

Spaniard
Surely you are not afraid of a war, General Wilkinson? I believe that you distinguished yourself in Washington's army.

Wilkinson
Yes, but a war between the colonies and Spain would mean that I would fight against my own people.

Spaniard (shrugging)
My dear sir, for a man of the world....

Wilkinson (haughtily)
A man of the world may still have honor....

Spaniard (laughs)
Ah, the English morality! The English honor!

Wilkinson
What do you mean, sir?

Spaniard
It is not dishonorable to swindle your countrymen, but to meet them in battle.... (laughs)

Wilkinson (angrily)
Swindle?

Spaniard
Come now General. Would you call the means you used to get those Kentucky lands strictly... according to the Puritan ideas of morality?

Wilkinson
Sir, I will not stand for insults.

Spaniard (soothingly)
My dear Wilkinson, I apologize. But it will hardly come to war. In the state your precious colonies are in now, Spain will be able to take the entire Mississippi Valley without shedding a drop of blood. You realize that.

Wilkinson
I hope and believe that will be the case....

Spaniard (taps paper)
And you, in return for your allegiance, which no one need ever know about, my dear Colonel, will be rewarded according to your just deserts.

Wilkinson
I firmly believe the colonies are doomed. The lands of America will fall into some country's hand... Very well, I'll sign.

(Signs paper)
SCENE TWENTY-FOUR

An American Ambassador is received in Britain

CHARACTERS

Servant

Britain's Chief Secretary

To Assistants

Mr. John Adams
(Lights up on British Foreign Office. Chief) (Secretary sits at desk. Two assistants stand on either side of him. Enter servant.)

Servant

Mr. John Adams, Ambassador from the United States, wishes to present his credentials, sir.

Secretary (with significant look at his two assistants) Ask him to come in, Jacob. (Servant exit) An Ambassador from the colonies! That's rich! (Laughs, slapping knees)

(Adams enters) Mr. Adams! At your service, sir. But are you alone? (in feigned surprise)

Adams

Alone? Why, yes. Whom else did you expect?

Secretary

Well, from what we have heard, sir, we expected thirteen ambassadors!

(He and his two assistants laugh uproariously. Adams stands stiffly by)
SCENE TWENTY-FIVE
Farmers Present Their Case

CHARACTERS

Lo speaker

A Legislator

A Spokesman for the Crowd

A Man's Voice from the Crowd

A Woman's Voice from the Crowd

Another voice from the Crowd

And Another

The Crowd

The Militia
Landspeaker

VOICES OF LINCOLN

1786 Historic year! Exeter, New Hampshire

(*Spot on excited group of people outside a *--- *
A gentleman comes out of the stairs, finally
gets some semblance of quiet, speaks to his fellow
(citizens).)

Gentleman (repervingly)
Now, my friends, what is this disorder?

Spokesman from crowd
You know bloody well what it is!

Gentleman
No good has ever been achieved by such demonstrations.

Spokesman
Some good was done by 'such demonstrations' back in 76!

Gentleman
Those were demonstrations against an oppressor nation, for the revoking of
just grievances...

Man from crowd
What do you think this is?

Women's Voice
Is not *---* starvation a just grievance?

Another voice
Having our farms taken from us! Being condemned to roam the world like
Cain of old!

Gentleman (obviously trying to quiet them)
What is it you want? We shall see what can be done!

You know what we want!

Voice
We want money!

Gentleman
But there is no money... What can we do?

Voice
Issue some! You have printing presses, don't you?

Spokesman
We want land, our own land, which we defended and kept from the hands of King
George and his pirates. We have fought for that land, bled for it, in some
cases died for it. By every law of God and man it is ours, and we intend to
get it.

Gentleman
How do you mean to accomplish this?

Spokesman
By peaceful means if you will let us. If not... (shrugs)
Woman's Voice
The way we got it from England!

Gentleman
Surely you must realize that we in the Legislature have no power....

Voice
Then who has power?

Spokesman (silencing crowd with wave of arm)
We intend to stay here, and to see that you stay in there, until our demands are met.

Gentleman (Looks into distance, drops his friendly disarming manner)
We shall see how long that will be, my leveling friends....

(There is a scream from the offstage edge of crowd
(which sweeps up. The spokesman turns, looks
motionless at something in distance. Armed men
(sweep up to the courthouse. Their backs to it,
(they push the confused, excited crowd away).

Spokesman (as he leaves)
You haven't seen the end of us yet)

— Continues —
SCENE TWENTY-SIX
— And Prevent A Court From Sitting

CHARACTERS

Loudspeaker
Judge
Citizen
Many Citizens
Northampton, Massachusetts

(Spot on interior of a courthouse. It is packed with people. The judge, on his platform, beats (upon his desk with his gavel.)

Order in the court

(The crowd shouts him down. Cries of "There'll be no order in this court!" "Down with the courts!" "Throw out lawyers!" , etc.)

Judge

Order in the court! What is the meaning of this unreason

Citizen

What is the first case, Judge?

Judge

The case of Henderson versus Griffiths!

(The crowd lets loose in noisy demonstration)

Citizen

You may as well go home, Judge, the court will not sit.

What do you mean?

Judge

The court will not sit.

Citizen

The court will sit. It is here to see that justice is done to the citizens of this state, and it...

Citizen

We are here to see that justice is done to the poor farmers of this state. You shall not throw Arthur Griffiths off his farm for a debt he owes to a man who doesn't need the money.

(Cries of "No!" You shall not! Griffiths keep his farm!")

Judge

The court will come to order...

(Wide noise. The last citizen silences the crowd (with a gesture.)

Citizen

Your honor, the court will not sit.

(The crowd has suddenly become grim and silent. The men simply sit and look at the Judge. He returns the stare)
SCENE TWENTY-SEVEN

And Release Prisoners From Jail

CHINA PENS

Loudspeaker

Orden

Spokesman For the Crowd

The Crowd
Spot on crowd outside a jail. Cries of "We want (the warden)!" Warden comes out, stands on steps (of jail).

What do you want?

Warden

Spokesman

We want Fred Miller, and August Mart, and Michael O'Donnell!

Crowd

Release Miller! Release Mart! Release O'Donnell!

Warden

These men are criminals, regularly tried and sentenced to this jail.

Crowd (in ravenous uproar)

Criminals!
For owing five dollars!
Or twenty dollars!
What is this, England?
Their wives and children are starving!
Let them out!

Warden

They have been placed under my care and there I intend them to stay until a magistrate orders differently.

Spokesman

One last chance, Warden! Free these men!

Warden

I shall do nothing of the sort.

Spokesman

All right, men.

(at his signal they rush jail, a few moments, and they emerge triumphantly with three men on their shoulders. Warden gives signal for silence. (Cheering crowd listens)

Warden

You realize this is a criminal offense... You will all be tried in court and sentenced to this same jail...

Spokesman

The joke is on you, Arden. No courts are sitting.

Warden

No courts?....

Spokesman

No courts are sitting until our grievances are redressed.

SHUT OFF.
SCENE TWENTY-EIGHT

And seek to arm themselves

CHARACTERS

Loudspeaker
Daniel Shays
His Men
These events were duplicated all over New England. The peak of this revolt of the embattled farmers was achieved under the leadership of one Daniel Shays. Worcester, Mass.

(Spot on a group of men meeting. Shays, their leader, is acting as chairman)

Daniel Shays

...And although at Springfield the militia protected the court, and we were not able to prevent its sitting, still 1,000 of our men paraded, and we have reason to believe that those worthy gentlemen, those successors to our royal governors under King George, were shaken a little at this demonstration of our might. And when we stormed the court at Worcester here, many of our fellow citizens who had not joined us before felt their hearts beating and the blood rising in their veins, and they will join us. I firmly believe, in our further activities. They will join with us in our desire to save ourselves and the other poor people from oppression worse than that of Britain. Our next battle will see not one thousand on our side, but 15,000 or more.

(Cheering from the men)

And now, men, what will be our next battle? We have prevented courts from sitting and taking away their means of livelihood—their farms, nay, even their personal liberty—from the farmers of New England. But we cannot go on just doing this. Nor an armed militia is being called out against us. Governor Bowdoin

(The crowd hisses and boos)

is raising an army to meet us, as George III sent an army to meet us ten years ago. And many of you (looking around) were there with me in '76, and know how we answered that army of that oppressor. Shall we be less bold now, with the same things at stake...our right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

(Cries of "No!")

How shall we meet this army that Governor Bowdoin is raising, by telling people it is for the purpose of fighting the Indians? How shall we meet this army financed by the big wigs of Boston, those men who have taken the place of the King's men of ten years ago? Shall we meet it by returning cowed, to our homes, there to starve and die remembering past glories?

(Cries of "No!")

Is it not better, if we meet, to die as free men and not as miserable slaves?

(Cries of "Yes!")

Then, if you are all agreed, it is my idea that we should go on to Springfield. There there is an arsenal, and we shall need arms....
SCENE TWENTY-NINE

—and thereby frighten the men of property

CHARACTERS

Loudspeaker

Governor Dowdon

General Lincoln.
Bowdoin

And with these 4000 men, Governor Lincoln, raised with the aid of our order-loving citizens of Boston, you will have no trouble in putting down these Shaysites once and for all. There are a bare thousand of them... and they have almost no arms. The thing to do is to prevent their getting arms, for with one such success they would be likely to get the major portion of our population to join them... and this must not happen. You understand?

Lincoln

I do, Governor.

Bowdoin

And afterwards... You will be remembered, General, as one who has been of inestimable service to your country...

(General bows. Bowdoin extends his hand)
SCENE THIRTY

— And are Defeated

CHARACTERS

A Soldier
Other Soldiers
Daniel Shays
Thirteen of His Men
Others of His Men
(Lights up on stage full of men. They are fleeing, scattered in all directions. The sound of guns from wings. Some fall, dead and wounded. When the living have all dispersed, soldiers lead on Shays and 13 others. The soldiers prod the fourteen roughly. Some are wounded all are tired and barely drag themselves along).

**Soldier**

And so, Mr. Shays, ends your glorious adventure.

(Shays does not answer)

**You were going to level, were you? Level everybody down to your own level, wasn't it?**

(he prods Shays, who keeps silent)

**You know what your level is going to be soon, of course?... Shall I tell you? The level of a hangman's trap! Then you will have your will at last, Mr. Shays! Not only will you have everybody at your level, but below it! The crowd standing about to see your end will be glad to be below your level then!**

(he pushes Shays roughly. One of the other men angered, rushes at the soldier. He is held back and beaten).

**Shays (speaking for the first time)**

Don't mind, Luke. They haven't hanged us yet. And even if they do, they can't hang the spirit of a people determined to be free...

(soldier jerks him away angrily)

**It is that for which we fought and it is for that we shall hang, if we have to...**

**BLACKOUT**
SCENE THIRTY ONE

Washingtononders; Knox Explains

CHARACTERS

Loudspeaker

George Washington

General Knox
George Washington....

(Spot on Washington, behind scrim)

Washington

What is this, anarchy? Or do these men have just grievances?

VOICE OF THE LIVING NATIONS

General Knox

(Spot on Knox, opposite Washington)

Knox

They feel at once their own poverty, compared with the opulent and their own force, and they are determined to make use of the latter to remedy the former. Their cry is that the property of the states has been protected from Britain by the joint efforts of all, and therefore ought to be the common property of all. This dreadful situation has alarmed every man of principle and property in New England. Our government must be traced, changed, or altered to secure our lives and property.
CONGRESS, THIRTY-THIRD

Congress Does Something

CHARACTERS

The Continental Congress
The Banker
The Speculator
The Chipher
The Southerner
Other Plaintiffs
The Messenger
A Congressman
(Lights up on Congress. It consists now of only a few men. They sit about, feet on table. Some scribble idly, one is asleep and snores loudly).

Voices

What did we tell you?

(Lights reveal excited group before Congress. Present are those who have complained before. Congress comes to attention.)

Banker

How long are you going to wait?

Shipper

Until we are all at the mercy of the Shaysites?

Speculator

What do you gentlemen think would become of you under the anarchic rule of the Levellers?

Southernmer

The next thing you know our blacks will be imitating the Shaysites!

All

What are you going to do?

Messenger (entering)

Gentlemen of the Congress, the Convention of 5 states which has just finished its meeting at Annapolis demands that a Convention be called to establish a uniform system of government for the colonies.

(Congress goes into a huddle. They break and assume attitude of dignity. They act as though independently (as though the Messenger and the Plaintiffs were not present.)

A Congressman

The Congress calls for a convention of delegates from all of the thirteen states, to meet in Philadelphia the second Monday in May 1787, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.
"Secrecy of Convention"

CHARACTERS

Mr. Hatchell, a reporter
4 other reporters
Mr. Franklin
Bill, janitor
Several Delegates to Federal Convention

SCENE THIRTY-THREE - A -

QUOTATION BY JEFFERSON ON Secrecy of Convention

SCENE THIRTY-THREE - B -

Mr. Hatchell
4 other reporters
Johns, the waiter
Group, at bar

SCENE THIRTY-THREE - C -

5 Delegates to the Federal Convention

Mr. Hatchell
4 other reporters
Delegate to the Convention
On May 14th, the date set for the Federal Convention, delegates from several of the thirteen states appeared. But it was not until May 25th, however, that a sufficient number of delegates appeared to constitute a majority of the states. It was then that the business began. One of the first orders of business to be passed was on May 29th. On this day the Federal Convention ruled that 'nothing spoken in the house be printed or otherwise published without leave of the house.' The Federal Convention's proceedings were to be kept a secret — were to be kept from the public, from the people.

(Scene picks up: Outside the Convention room.

(Bill — the janitor is seated on stool. On his lap are 3 or 4 packages of tobacco. Standing beside him are 5 news reporters)

Bill

No — I don't remember what time they adjourned.

Watchell, 1st Reporter

Ay, come on now, Bill — think hard.

Bill

(scratching his head)

Well, now let me see, I was here about 4 o'clock. Standing right there.

(points to spot on stage)

But I wasn't standing there very long — 'cause I soon went down to the tavern for a drink. And a mighty good drink it was too.

Watchell

Well— well—

Bill

—Then I came back. Then — then —

2nd Reporter

Come on — go on.

Bill

No — I just don't know what time—

(While all reporters take this down)

Watchell

6:32. You're sure, Bill.

Bill

That's what I heard one of the delegates say, Mr. Watchell.

Watchell

Who said it, Bill? Who said it?

Bill

Well, I don't—

(While all reporters take this down)
Bill (Continued)

Franklin, Mr. Benjamin Franklin - that's who it was.

2nd Reporter

Did he say anything else?

3rd Reporter

Did he, Bill?

Bill

Well, now let me see. I was standing right there and he was standing right there——.

(another reporter places package of tobacco in his lap)

Yep. He said - "what a day - what a day."

4th Reporter

Is that all?

(Bill nods his head)

Did any of the other delegates say anything?

Bill

No. I didn't hear a thing more.

5th Reporter

You should listen more closely, Bill.

Bill

That's what I do, Mr. Philip - but they don't say anything when strangers are around. You know that.

4th Reporter

(sarcastically)

Well - at least we know what time they adjourned.

3rd

What a story - what a story.

Bill

(while others are grouped away from him)

Then I went inside - like I always do and started to sweep the place. I swept and——

3rd

Yeh, we know, Bill.--- Swept and swept and then went home to sleep.

Bill

Well, I--

3rd

---Yeh, we know, you sleep on your right side.

Bill

That's right. But what I wanted to say was that I found some papers on the floor.

Watchell

(jumping at him)

Papers?

(Bill nods)
Watchell (Continued)

Was anything written on them?
(Bill nods - Watchell excitedly)
Have you got them?
(Bill doesn't answer)

4th
Good God - you didn't throw them out.

No, I got them.

With you?
(Bill nods)
Quick - let's see them.

Others
Yeh, Bill. Let's see. Let's see.

Bill
Well - I don't know if I should. After all - it's not my property. It------
I guess it's all right.
(takes out crumpled paper and gives it to them. They eagerly unfold to read. Bill takes his tobacco and starts off)

Funny pictures.

2nd
That's a giraffe.

3rd
Foxes - little ones and big ones. Bill----
(speaks at exit)
Bill - why you no------
(Bill runs off with tobacco)

4th
(n-arest to door)

Listen!
(noise is heard inside) (Peeps thru keyhole)
I think they're standing.

Is the session over?

2nd

4th
(at keyhole)
I think I see somebody waving his hand.

Watchell

Which hand?

4th
They're coming this way.
(reporters eagerly get their pads ready)
(Door opens and delegates come out. Reporters get in their way and ply them with questions. The following can be heard. Delegates however very haughtily push their way thru without saying a word)

2nd
Are those English made shoes?
3rd
What points in the Articles of Confederation are being amended?
4th
Is provision being made for the redemption of continentals?
5th
Is that lace you're wearing imported from France?

Watchell
Is it true that Mrs. Washington called Thomas Jefferson a filthy democrat?
(the delegates push their way thru. Reporters follow somewhat. Another delegate (old) comes out alone. Watchell spots him and confronts him)

Mr. Franklin
Still seeking news of the Federal Convention, Mr. Watchell?

Watchell
Mr. Franklin - my readers insist on knowing what is going on. Won't you give them a story? (Franklin nods)

You will?

Franklin
Yes - tell them not to be impatient.

Watchell
(eagerly as he starts to write. Other reporters return)

Yes - yes.

Franklin
Tell them that we have been in session now for many weeks. (all the reporters are taking this down)
And tell them that some of the delegates to the Federal Convention - who have been sent here to revise and amend the articles of Confederation - have been considering the possibilities of - well - you might say - of------
(but at this point the other delegates return - form a circle around Franklin and start to lead him off with one saying)

Delegate
Mr. Franklin - there's something of great importance that we must get your advice on immediately.

Watchell
(follows delegates)

The possibilities of what - Mr. Franklin? Of what?

Same Delegate
(blocking Watchell way - while others lead Franklin off)
You are an impudent young man, sir.
Same Delegate (Continued)
(turns very haughtily and goes off)

Watchell
(throwing his pad on the floor)
Darn it - they're not being democratic!

2nd Reporter

I'll say.

Watchell
Just what right have they got keeping the proceedings from the people. The people have a right to know what is going on.

3rd
I wonder what they're afraid of.

4th
I wonder

5th
You'd think they were planning to set up a monarchy - by the way they've sworn their delegates to secrecy.

2nd
Don't be silly.

Watchell
(half to himself)

2nd
What are you jabbering about?

Watchell
A monarchy. (turns to 5th) He said it. That's what they're doing.

3rd
Don't be a fool, Watchell.

Watchell
But why else would they pursue such tactics.

4th
Oh, nonsense, Watchell, they wouldn't dare.

Watchell
Maybe not - but-----
(snapping his fingers)
Fellow reporters - come here - I've got an idea.
(they come round him in football huddle as lights fade)
THREE thousand miles away— the first Ambassador to France received news of the Federal Convention. Thomas Jefferson and the Ambassador to France, (Spot on Jefferson).

Jefferson
I am sorry to hear that they began their deliberations by so abominable a precedent as that of typing up the rogues of their members. Nothing can justify the example but the innocence of their intentions and ignorance of the value of public discussions.

(Fade into scene in tavern)
(Light up on tavern)
(People are at bar—drinking. 2 tables are empty. 4th and 5th reporters enter and go to bar. 3rd reporter enters and goes to left table. Seconds later Watchell and 2nd reporter enter and go to right table.

John, the Waiter
(come over to Watchell’s table)

Good evening, Mr. Watchell.

Watchell

Hello, John. Make it ale.

2nd Reporter

Same!

3rd Reporter
(as waiter comes to his table)

Ale!

(waiter goes)

Watchell
(leaning over to call sotto voce to reporter at other table)

Don’t forget to be good and loud.

(reporter nods)

(waiter returns with pitcher of ale. Fills 3rd reporter’s glass—then goes to Watchell’s table.)

How’s business?

Watchell

Same as usual.

John

Watchell
(after slight pause)

John? What do you think of the Federal Convention?

John

Huh? What did you say, Mr. Watchell?

Watchell

I asked you what you thought of the Federal Convention.

Watchell
You know — the one that's meeting to revise the Articles of Confederation.

John
Is there such a meeting?

Watchell
John? You're spoofing me? You didn't know?

John
You're the first one to tell me that there is such a meeting.

I can't believe it.

John
Where are they meeting?

Here!

Watchell
In here?

John
Not in the tavern. Down at the State House.

Oh!

Watchell
John— don't politics interest you?

John
(half apologetically)
I'm not allowed to vote, sir.

Watchell
But someday you'll own a piece of property and you will be allowed to vote.

John
Huh — oh, then I'll be interested.

(he starts to go)

John?

Watchell
Yes, Mr. Watchell.

John
What would you think of this country if we had a King ruling it.

John
Oh. That, I think would be very bad, sir.
Watchell
So would I, John. Put that's what I hear the convention is planning to set up.

John
Now I think you're spoofing me, sir.

2nd
But he's not, John. That's what we heard.

3rd
(getting up from his table and very loudly)
And where did you gentlemen hear that the Federal Convention is planning to set up a monarchy.
(all at the bar turn at this outburst)

Watchell
From some men on the street.

3rd
(just as loudly)
They lie!

I hope so.

Watchell
And I pray so.

2nd
(the scene between Watchell and 4 reporters should be overacted)

4th
(from bar - coming forward)
Did I hear someone say Monarchy?

3rd
You did, sir. These 2 gentlemen say that the Federal Convention is planning to give us a King.

This we did not say, sir.

Watchell
But I heard you.

3rd
All we said was that we heard some gentlemen on the street exclaim that that is what the Federal Convention is planning to do.

4th
What men?

2nd
Cads, I'm sure, sir.

4th
Bah - just a rumor.

3rd
Despicable rumor!

5th
(to 4th)
But nevertheless - one important enough to be checked on. Don't you think so, Harold?
5th (Continued)

(placing an affectionate hand on 4th's shoulders)

Oh, don't be a fool!

4th

It's only a suggestion and it comes from the heart. You ought to know that, Harold.

(to crowd)

You see, gentlemen, my father was killed in the war against the King. And I hate the King and all that he stands for.

Watchell

Well put, sir. I'm sure we all hate the King. And to think that we might be cursed with one here in America. I must shudder.

Man from Group

It must have been the devil himself who started this rumor.

Watchell

(innocently)

Or some delegate confided to a friend.

Tall Man from Group

Don't you trust your representatives?

Watchell

Oh, I do, sir — much more so than they trust me — their constituent. For if they did trust me — and you, sir, and you and all of you — then why should they desire to keep the business of their meeting a secret? Why? Can you tell me, sir? Can you, sir? Or can you? (pause as none answer) Well, neither can I. And so when I hear a rumor that the Federal Convention is planning to set up a Monarchy — what am I to think — just what am I to think? A King — oh, how horrible.

Another Man from Group

Oh — the whole idea is preposterous.

I pray you are right, sir.

Watchell

(half shouting)

I know what I'm going to do.

What?

2nd

What?

3rd

What?

Watchell

I'm going to write a letter to the convention asking confirmation or denial of this rumor and I am going to beg that they give the newspapers their answer.

I pray so — 'tis an excellent idea.

But will they do this?
You know so far they've refused to give out any information at all.

4th

But if the delegates receive thousands of letters from their constituents - they'll answer. They'll have to answer.

atchedell

Sir - I believe you have the solution. (calling) Waiter! - bring pen and paper. Quick.

Tall Man from Group

I wish I knew who these folks are who started this rumor. I'd wring their necks.

(syncell winces as John brings pen and paper. Lights out)

(Spot picks up desk. On it are thousands of envelopes. Messenger during ensuing scene makes 2 or 3 trips to desk - bringing with him each time armful of envelopes (letters).

Delegate

(as spot is thrown on him)

Democracy in my opinion is synonymous with confusion and licentiousness. (spot remains - he stands motionless)

Speaker

That, ladies and gentlemen, is James McHenry, representing Maryland at the Federal Convention.

2nd Delegate

(as spot is thrown on him)

A representative of the people is appointed to think for and not with his constituents. (spot remains - he too stands motionless)

Speaker

George Clymer, representing Pennsylvania at the Federal Convention.

3rd Delegate

(as spot is thrown on him)

The people should have as little to do as may be about the government. (spot remains - he stands motionless)

Speaker


4th Delegate

The evils we experience flow from the excess of democracy. (he too stands motionless)

Speaker

And that - that is Elbridge Gerry, representing Massachusetts at the F. C.

5th Delegate

All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and chafing; they seldom judge or determine right. Their turbulent and uncontro
checks. Give therefore to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the
government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot
receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good govern-
ment. Can a democratic assembly who annually revolve in the mass of the people,
be supposed steady to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can
check the imprudence of democracy. It is admitted that you cannot have a good
executive upon a democratic plan. (Pause) Gentlemen: The House of Lords is a noble
institution. Having nothing to hope for by a change and a sufficient interest by
means of their property, in being faithful to the National Interest, they form
a permanent barrier against every pernicious innovation whether attempted on the
part of the Crown or of the Commons. I believe the British Government form the
best model the world ever produced and such has been its progress in the minds of
the many, that this truth gradually gains ground. This government has for its
object public strength and individual security. It is said with us to be un-
attainable. If it was once formed it would maintain itself.

Loudspeaker
That, ladies and gentlemen is Alexander Hamilton, representing the state of N.Y.
at the Federal Convention.

Another Delegate
(as spot picks him up)
And a limited monarchy I consider as one of the best governments in the world.
(They all are facing desk where thousands of letters are piled. These
letters are separated from behind, thrown to the floor, face appears over desk.)

Delegate Behind Desk
(somewhat sadly)
Yes, yes - but there are not one thousand part of our fellow citizens who are
not against every approach towards a monarchy.

(Scene Blanks)

(Outside the Federal Convention again. The 5 reporters are pacing
up and down.)

3rd Reporter
Say Watchell? You don't think they changed their mind about that interview, do you?

Watchell
No. No. Anyway I hope not.

2nd
It would be a dirty trick if they did.

4th
Well- we'd deserve it. Starting a rumor like that. Makes me feel like a skunk.

Watchell
Oh, go bury your head in quicksand.

4th
I'd hate to tell you-----

(Door opens and delegate comes out)
Are you the gentlemen from the press?

Yes, Yes. Sure. Yes, sir.

Here's something for your newspapers. Take it down, please. I'm in a hurry.

(they go for the pads & quick time)

Ready, gentlemen--

"In reply to the many letters that have been written to the members of the Federal Convention from different quarters, respecting the reports idly circulating, that it is intended to establish a monarchical government--we uniformly answer. They cannot affirmatively tell you what we are doing, we can negatively tell you what we are not doing - we never once thought of a King!"

(turn to go)

Good day, gentlemen:

Is that all, sir?

Good day, gentlemen:

(goes in - the reporters look at each other - fade)
SCENE THIRTY-FOUR -A-

"Unanimity on Fundamental Program at Federal Convention"

CHARACTERS

VOICES (Discretion of director)

SCENE THIRTY-FOUR -B-

"Dissention on instrumentalities of government at Federal Convention"

CHARACTERS

Voices (Discretion of director)
Loudspeaker
Along with the general opinion of the delegates at the convention that democracy was a dangerous thing and should be restrained was the almost unanimous opinion that a uniform government be set up and that a fundamental program be adopted.

(The following scene employs the use of flashlights in the hands of the actors - which they focus upwards in the direction of their faces whenever they speak. The voices start with a canter and end with a gallop.)

1st Voice
I move that we create a National Government.

In favor?

Aye!

Opposed? (Pause)

Passed!

1st Voice
With the power to defend the country on land and sea.

In favor?

Aye!

Opposed? (Pause)

Passed!

1st Voice
With the power to pay the National debt.

In favor?

Aye!

Opposed?

Opposed!
One opposed. Passed.

Booming Voice

1st Voice

With the power to protect private property against agrarian legislatures.

Roaring Voice

In favor?

Many Voices

Ayel

Rooming Voice

Opposed? (pause)

Passed!

1st Voice

With the power to uphold the public order against insurrection.

Roaming Voice

In favor? Passed!

1st Voice

To lay and collect taxes.

Roaming Voice

Passed!

1st Voice

To prevent the states from impairing the obligation of contracts.

Roaming Voice

Passed!

1st Voice

With the power to coin money!

Roaming Voice

Passed!

Loudspeaker

But with references to the form of government capable of and attaining their grand objects - the most acute diversity of opinion developed. The delegates warmly debated many matters pertaining to means and instrumentalities. Long and tempestuous arguments arose over the respective weight to be assigned to the leading interests of the country in this new balanced machine. Many times the convention was on the verge of breaking up.

1st

And ah move that the convention consider blacks as equal to whites in the apportionment of representatives.

2nd

And ah second that motion.
I'm opposed. The people of Pennsylvania would revolt at the idea of being put on an equal footing with blacks.

And why should the blacks who are the property in the South be in the rule of representation more than cattle and horses of the North.

Very well, then, mah state cannot federate.

And neither can mine.

Nor mine.

And Delaware insists on an equality of votes among the states.

Delaware is only a small state — and an equitable ration of representation ought to be established.

Put an equality of voices is conformable to the Federal Principle and is necessary to secure the small states against the large.

New Jersey seconds the motion made by Delaware.

But it's impossible.

Then the small states cannot accept the new plan.

And remember — the negroes are to be counted in the apportionment of representatives or else.

But if negroes are not represented in the states in which they belong — then why should they be represented in the General government?

Representation or we don't federate.

Equality for the small states or we don't federate.

I'd suggest then that the blacks be counted for direct taxation.
I second that.

Ah'm opposed.

So ah'm I.

Negroes should be counted only for representation - not for taxation.

Slavery is a nefarious institution.

And I propose that we stop the importation of slaves.

I second that.

The importation of slaves is not to be forbidden.

Slavery is the curse of heaven on the states where it prevails.

Religion and humanity have nothing to do with it all.

And if the Northern states consult their interests they will not oppose the increase of slaves which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers.

But even so - I could never agree to let them be imported without limitation and then be represented in the National Legislature.

South Carolina will never receive the new plan if the slave trade is prohibited.

And the small states will not receive the plan unless we get equal say in the new government.

And neither will the south receive the plan if you don't count blacks.

Then count horses and cattle.

Then we don't federate.

Ah'm going home.

And I'm going home.
(from here on the voices go quickly and are somewhat inarticulate)

37
Equal taxation then if blacks are counted.

38
Just representation - not taxation.

39
And remember your ships will become the carriers.

40
Slavery is a nefarious institution.

41
My god. The convention is being held together by the strength of a hair.

42
South Carolina will not federate.

43
Pennsylvania would revolt.

44
I neve that the convention is opened daily with prayer.

45
Nonsense. We are not in need of foreign aid.

46
Your ships.

47
Equality.

48
Representation.

49
Taxation.

50
The North.

51
The South.

52
Pennsylvania. Delaware

53
Ships - North - South - Blacks - Penn. - Small States etc.

(it becomes a tumult and ends abruptly)

END OF SCENE - 35 -
SCENE THIRTY FIVE

"The Numerous Compromises made by the Federal Convention"

CHARACTERS

Man Behind Desk
Tall Man
Small Man
Southerner
Northerner
(Man behind desk) Hello. Now, where the representative from the small states?

(small man comes up from audience) Ah-There you are. I could hardly see you. And, now where is the representative from the large state?

(tall man comes up other side audience) I'm - quite tall.

(turns to small man) You want equal representation - don't you?

(small man) That's right.

(Man behind desk) And you think an equitable ration of representation ought to be established - am I right?

(tall man nods) And you won't give in to one another unless you get what you want. Isn't that so?

(they nod) Yet you both want to have a national government.

Tall man That's right.

(Man behind desk) (muses for a while) I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll divide the legislative body in 2. Create an upper house and a lower house. In the upper house, the senate - I'll give you both equal representation. Is that satisfactory so far?

(Small man) It is.

(Tall man) But I--

(Man behind desk) --Tut-tut. In the lower house I'll give the states representation according to population. Is that satisfactory?

(Tall man) It'll do.

(Small man) But I--

(Man behind desk) Tut-tut! There'll always be the Senate to check the lower house just in case - you know.

(Small man) Oh, I see!

(Man behind desk) You do, huh? I thought you would. Well - good day, gentlemen
Man Behind Desk (Cont'd)

Now where is the representative from the South?

(Southerner enters)

And the representative from the North?

(Northerner enters)

(He looks down on desk - reading something - mumbles to himself)

(to Southerner)

You want quite a lot, don't you?

Northerner

And how he does.

Southerner

And we get it otherwise we don't federate.

Northerner

Federated Federated! I'm sick and tired------

Man behind the desk

Tut-tut! No more fighting. Remember - you must federate - there there must be one union - always.

Northerner

All right - no more fighting.

Man behind desk

That's the spirit - shake hands.

(they do so after hesitation - giving each other dirty looks)

Now-first of all, I've provided that all runaways slaves must be returned. That's satisfactory - isn't it?

Southerner

It is.

Man behind desk

Also you will be allowed to legally import slaves for the next 20 years. Is that satisfactory.

Southerner

It is - for the next 20 years.

Man Behind Desk

After that - of course, you will abide by any laws passed by Congress regarding slavery.

Southerner

Yes, yes, go on.

Man behind desk

H'm. Now, then - 3/5 of your slaves will be counted in apportioning representation to the lower house. You will, of course, have equal representation in the Senate.

Southerner

It's a compromise - but we'll take it.

Northerner

And you're getting plenty.

Southerner

So are you now that the government will have the power to regulate commerce in
and issue tariffs.

Southerner (Continued)

Northerner

Huh - it doesn't mean a thing.

Southerner

No. How do we know that protective tariffs will not be placed on cheap foreign goods so that we'll have to buy expensive northern made goods.

Man behind desk

Please - please - remember your premise.

Northerner

You have enough representation to offset any such laws and you know it.

Southerners

Pah - you Northerners make me sick.

Man behind desk

Gentlemen - remember - there must be no fighting. And there must be one union.

Northerner

All right. What have you got for me.

Man behind desk

Oh, for you. Ah, yes. The same 3/5 of the slaves that will be counted for apportioning representation will also be counted for direct taxation.

Anything else?

Man behind Desk

That's all. Now, both of you go back to the Federal Convention and finish your business. It's taking entirely too long.

(they start to go)

And remember - no fighting.

(Southerner exits - Northerner near exit. Man behind desk with a 'P's--st' calls attention to Northerner who turns)

Remember what he said about the North being favored with protective tariffs and the regulation of commerce?

Well?

Man behind desk

You probably will be.

Northerner

Probably? You're darn right we will. What do you think I gave him all those concessions for.

BLACKOUT

END OF SCENE 26

(New Page)
SCENE THIRTY-SIX

"FRANKLIN'S opinion of new constitution and his attempt to influence unanimous endorsement" - "The signing of Constitution"

CHARACTERS

FRANKLIN

SPEAKER (George Washington)

Delegates (discretion of direction)
On the 17th day of September 1787, 4 months after they officially met— the delegates to the Federal Convention were finishing their business. The new document had been read to all 42 delegates present, and was ready for signatures. But there were— however—a handful of delegates who were hesitant off affixing their signatures to this document. In the hope of winning over these recalcitrants, those who favored the new document delegated the venerable Benjamin Franklin.

(light up on the Federal Convention. Stage should be impressively set. To left, Speaker's stand—sitting behind it, George Washington. To right seated on chairs— as near a fascicle of the Federal Convention as possible to stage.)

(one delegate, old man, raises his hand)

Speaker
Mr. Franklin, the floor is yours.

(Benjamin Franklin (coughs once or twice) he has constitution in his hand which he waves occasionally)

"I confess, gentlemen, that there are several parts of this constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but I found to be otherwise. Most men indeed as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truths and that wherever others differ from them it is so far error. Steele, a Protestant in a dedication tells the Pope, that the only difference between our Churches in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrines is, the Church of Rome is infallible and the Church of England is never in the wrong. But though many persons think as highly of their own infallibility as that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who in a dispute with her sister, said "I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that's always in the right". In these sentiments, gentlemen, I agree to this constitution with all its faults, if they are such, because I think a general government necessary for us. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. On the whole, gentlemen — I cannot help expressing a wish that every member of the Convention who may still have objections to it, would with me, on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility — and for our own sakes as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity — make manifest our unanimity and put our names on this instrument.

(he goes to table in front of speakers stand — places document there — people come on to sign it while they are singing it)

(Franklin points to a painting above the speakers chair)

I have often and often in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.

End of Scene 38
SCENE THIRTY-SEVEN

"Continental Congress receiving the new constitution"

CHARACTERS

Delegate

Continental Congress

Ship per

Land Speculator

Merchant

Business Man

Southerner, etc.
That day they convention came to a close. But Franklin's wish that the delegates unanimously endorse the new instrument was not realized. Of the 43 delegates present - 39 signed the document 3 refused. The constitution was then turned over to the Continental congress. For approval.

(Lights pick up continental congress - the same group that had earlier issued the call to the Federal Convention. They are still on upper level. The congress is asleep. The man who had come to them requesting that something be done concerning their plight are also there - also asleep)

(A man is seen carrying constitution under his arm, ascends stairs leading to level occupied by Continental congress. He goes amongst them. Notices that they are sleeping. Then loudly picks up gavel and raps on desk. They awaken with a start.)

Man
The Federal convention has completed its job. Here is the result of our labors.
(hands it to the spokesman who with other Congressmen read it)

Western land speculator
(to man who had brought document)
Does it provide for the protection of western lands against Indian raids?

Man
An army is to be created.

Good.

Ship builder
Will my ships be used instead of English and French ships?

Man
Congress will have the power to regulate commerce.

Manufacturer
Will my goods be protected against the cheap price of English made goods?

Man
Congress will have the power to issue protective tariffs.

Security Holder
Will the securities I hold against the Government be honored?

Man
A provision has been made for the National debt to be paid.

Banker
Will I be able to loan money to people and be sure it doesn't depreciate in value because of the state's issuing paper money?

Man
Only Congress will have the power to coin money.
What about runaway slaves, Southerner?

Man

The new document provides for the return of all runaway slaves.

Spokesman

But this is a new document — a new constitution.

Man

Well?

Spokesman

You had no right to draw up a new constitution.

Man

In this emergency we did what we deemed essential, to our country's happiness.

Spokesman

(coldly)
The call to the Federal Convention specifically stated that a convention was to be held for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. (r umages thru papers)

Man

Here — I'll show you.

Yes, yes — it did say that. But it also said to provide for the exigencies of government and the preservation of union.

Spokesman

But——

Man

——And to have relied on and not proposed any plan adequate to these exigencies merely because it was not clearly within our powers would have been to sacrifice the means to the end.

Speculator

He's entirely right.

Merchant

Of course he is....

Spokesman

Right — Was it right or have scrapped the articles of Confederation?

Runker

But what else could they have done? Retained the inadequate articles and so retain all the keys that it brought.

Man

Please — let us not argue. We are only wasting time. This constitution has yet to be ratified.

(to spokesman)

And therefore, sir, the Federal Convention makes the following recommendations.

(cont'd)
First that the present Congress approve the new constitution. Second that you quickly pass it on to the states, where conventions are to be called to consider ratification.

Spokesman

The articles of confederation - under which this country is at present governed provides that this document must be submitted to the state legislatures and not to state conventions.

Man

Thirdly - you will inform the states that when 9 of them have ratified the new instrument - it in will go into effect between the states so ratifying same.

Spokesman

The Articles of Confederation provide ----

Man

Sir - there is no Articles of Confederation. We scrapped it.

(turns and descends steps)

Congressman

(to spokesman)

What are you going to do?

Spokesman

I'm not going to accept it

You must accept it.

I cannot.

You must.

Merchant

Do you want knaves and anarchy to reign?

Spokesman

Well, I ----

Spokesman

You'll do as he asks.

All representatives

BLACKOUT

End of Scene 3

Scene 1
Characters
Mrs. Bingham
A. Belle
Another Belle
A Servant
Alexander Hamilton
George Clymer
The Manufacturer
The Shipper
The Security Holder
The Banker
Guests of Mrs. Bingham
(Lights up on a section of Mrs. Bingham's salon in Philadelphia. Groups of people are standing about, chattering and flirting. These people are wigged and powdered and ruffled. They represent the wealth and gentility of Philadelphia. It is this little circle which forms the nucleus for the "court" of Washington's Administration. We can see certain familiar figures: the merchant, the skipper, the manufacturer, the security holder, the land speculator, the Southerner and his pretty wife. A servant enters and goes to Mrs. Bingham).

Servant
Colonel Hamilton, Madam.

Mrs. Bingham
Show him in at once, Horace.

(The guests exclaim, whisper, primp in expectation. Hamilton — slim, elegant, courtly — enters amid a little flutter of excitement.)

Sir, you have been too long absent from our midst. For these past months our body has been forced to put up a pitiful semblance of existing without its beating heart.

Hamilton
You are most gracious, Madam. Too long has this heart been beating in a strange and unaccustomed body. It is most pleasant to be back in its own natural place of habitation once more.

Mrs. Bingham
You found the Convention so unpleasant, Colonel Hamilton?

Hamilton
To one accustomed to your circle and its charming personages, Madam, it was insufferable.

A Belle
Such mystifying stories we have heard! Is it true, Colonel Hamilton, that the new Constitution makes everyone equal?

Hamilton
Dear lady, could any law make anyone equal to you? No, equality of man cannot, I fear, be established by the passing of a law. It is true, I believe, that some are born to serve and some to rule.

Belle
How true! And you, Colonel, are one of those born to rule.

Hamilton
To rule some, perhaps; to serve you, Madam/ (bows)

Another Belle
I hear we are not to have a King after all, Mr. Hamilton. Should you not have preferred a King?

Mrs. Bingham
Where with the more people opposed?

Hamilton
Where with the, Madam?
Manufacturer
Which of the states do you think will ratify?

Hamilton
My information assures me that Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia will ratify quickly and without much opposition. New Jersey and Delaware are small states, and need the protection of the union. Georgia also needs protection, mostly from the Creek Indians.

Hamilton (shrugging)
It is a shilly-shally thing. Perhaps the best that can be said for it is that it can mean what its interpreters and its Administrators want it to mean.

Shipper
And the other states?

Hamilton
That depends, gentlemen, upon the energies we exert.

Servant
Mr. George Clymer would like to speak with you, sir.

Hamilton
Bring him in immediately, Horace. (To others) Clymer is the key man in the state of Pennsylvania, he will no doubt have news from the Legislature.

Clymer (entering)
Well, Mr. Hamilton! (He shakes hands with the others, greeting them)

Hamilton
You have news for us, Mr. Clymer?

Indeed, yes.

Clymer
Well?

Clymer
I have introduced a motion for election of delegates to a state convention to consider ratification.
I should have, my dear Madam, but that was not possible. The only form of government we could have established is a republic. It is the alternative to chaos and disunion.

Belle
You believe we should be in favor of the new document, then?

Hamilton
Madam, we must work for it, I am convinced, as though our very lives depended on it......as indeed they do. Unless this Constitution is ratified, the next may be "drawn in blood", as General Washington has said, or one that will make us "all equal", as Mistress Bosuerard has so prettily put it.

Mrs. Bingham
There will be some people opposed?

Hamilton
There will be, madam.

Mrs. Bingham
Because it is too democratic?

Hamilton
It is not democratic enough for some people, madam.

Mrs. Bingham
Not democratic enough! God gracious, Mr. Hamilton, what do they want?

Hamilton
There is no limit to their desires, Madam. But were they to be gratified, anarchy would be the result.

Mrs. Bingham
Dear me! And what can we poor females do to help you, Mr. Hamilton?

Hamilton
Talk to your friends. Write letters. We all know that whatever good is done by men's hands is accomplished first in the hearts of women.

(During this conversation there have gradually drifted to the fore, to surround Hamilton, the merchant, shipper, Mr's', et al. The ladies and other men flutter in the background)

Shipper
It seems to me a most worthy document, Colonel.

Merchant
Certainly an advance over the Articles of Confederation.

Security Holder
What about the securities? (Hamilton leans over, whispers in his ear. Security holder brightens)

Security holder
It seems to me a most excellent Constitution.
There are nineteen opposed. They are staying away and preventing a quorum.

How dare they?

They dare.

How may additional legislators are needed for the quorum?

But two are needed.

A damned shame, that's what it is!

A pity something cannot be done to make them see the error of their ways.

I believe something can be done.

Sir, you and I have similar ideas on this point.

I should like to see something done. What have you in mind?

We can't talk here. Is there perhaps a smaller room where we might retire.

I believe there is a little room too the left. Ask Horace to show you the room I usually use.

Dear lady, you are just in time. May these gentlemen confer for a moment in the little room I used to use?

It has been unoccupied since you last used it, Colonel Hamilton. Any friend of yours is most welcome to its use.

Good. You will not need me, gentlemen?

Go on with your dancing, Mr. Hamilton. You have had enough worry on your shoulders. We citizens can handle this. And you may rest assure. (Whispers)

It is the second room on the left, gentlemen. Horace will show you. And do hurry back for the dancing!

We shall, Madam.
Hamilton (kissing hand of Mrs. Bingham)

May I have the honor, Madam?

(She takes his arm. Music starts. Company dances)
SCENE THIRTY-NINE

"Method employed by Federalists to hasten ratification of Constitution in Penn".

CHARACTERS
McCalmont
Miley
Jack
Jones, land speculator
Vigilantes
M'Calmont

And maybe we can get Mr. Worthington to help us.

Miley

Worthington? Do you think he will?

M'Calmont

I don't see why not - he's heart and soul for democracy.

Miley

Swell - we could use some newspaper support!

M'Calmont

It's too bad the money is all on the Federalist side. If only——

(knock on door and 2 men enter. One we recognize as land speculator (Jones) other is state legislator (Jack)

Jack

Hello, M'Calmont.

(puts out hand which M'Calmont reluctantly takes)
(turns to friend)

Mr. Jones - this is Mr. M'Calmont. The one and only James M'Calmont.

Jones

How do you do, sir. I've heard a good deal about you.
(they shake)

Jack

(seeing Miley for first time)

Oh, hello, Miley

(Miley grimaces)

Mr. Jones. Mr. Miley.

(Jones goes to shake)

Mr. Miley is also one of our brilliant state legislators.

Jones

Indeed - how nice.
(Jones and Miley shake)

Jack

And how fortunate.
(walks around room)

Say, M'Calmont - this is not a bad looking place you have here. Not bad. Pay much rent?

M'Calmont (snapping)

What's on your mind, Jack?

Jack

Oh, nothing much. I just come over to see why you're absent from the state legislature - that's all.

M'Calmont

Th'se darn nice of you.

Jack

Oh, not at all, not at all. Why are you absent?
I'm ill

Jack

Ill? That's too bad. Jack, are you ill too, M'Calmont?

M'Calmont

That, Federalist, is none of your business.

Jack (to Jones)

You won't mind M'Calmont, Mr. Jones — he's got a bad temper.

Jones

Oh, I don't mind at all. As a matter of fact I have a bad temper myself.

Jack (snapping — first walking around)

Who's idea was it, M'Calmont? Yours or Miley's?

M'Calmont

What idea?

Jack

For the 19 of you to deliberately absent yourself from the legislature.

M'Calmont

I don't know what you're talking about.

Jack

Oh, come now, M'Calmont — I'm no fool.

M'Calmont

Most Federalists are — you know.

Jack

M'Calmont — we need 2 legislators to complete a quorum.

M'Calmont

Only 2 — how very unfortunate.

Jack

If you and Miley come Clymer's motion could be voted on.

M'Calmont

You're suggesting that I go to the legislature when I have a bad cold.

Jack

You haven't a cold, M'Calmont?

M'Calmont

Haven't I?

Jack

No — and neither have the other 18 — you included, Miley. Well, are you going to attend?

Jones

I'd suggest that you 3 gentlemen do as he asks.

Is that a threat, sir? M'Calmont
Jones

I'm suggesting this, sir - for your own welfare.

Jack (at window)

McCalmont. Look. See those people downstairs. They're here to ask you to take your seat in the legislature. They're your constituents, McCalmont, citizens of Pennsylvania.

McCalmont

Will you take a message to them, Jack? Tell them that McCalmont and Miley have no intention of taking their seats in the assembly until the people - all the people of Pennsylvania have thoroughly discussed and familiarised themselves with the contents of this new constitution.

Jack

You won't reconsider?

Miley

You hear him, Federalist. Now, get out of here.

Jack (at window)

(opens it and calls)

All right, men

(a noise is heard outside)

You can still change your mind, McCalmont and come along peaceably.

(the noise comes closer)

McCalmont

Why, you. Quick Miley, out the back way.

(they go towards the back door but Jones is blocking their way

A struggle ensues and a crowd of husky men come in from door)

Jack

There they are - McCalmont and Miley. Take them.

(the men hold both of them despite their struggles)

McCalmont

I warn you - call of your thugs.

Jack

Take them to the state legislature and see that they sit there till Clymer's motion is voted on.

(and despite both 'M's struggles - they are bodily lifted off ground and raised high as carried from room)

Jones

Very simple - now we have our quorum.

"Loudspeaker"

They were dragged thru the streets and into the legislature - where - livid with rage, bloody and clothes torn, they were ordered to take their seats. The question was then called - and above their protests - a date was set for the first Tuesday of the following month for the election of delegates to a ratifying convention. This left little time for the Anti-Federalists to organise their forces in order to thoroughly familiarise the people with the necessity of appending a Bill of Rights to the new constitution.
CHARACTERS

Worthington
Writer
Husband
Banker
Shipper

SCENE......40

Intimidating the Press
Worthington
Get up several articles showing that the constitution is worthless if it fails to provide for a bill of rights. We'll run an article a day - if they're good. Also, I want an editorial, a seething denunciation of the manner in which the Federalists are conducting their campaign, especially in Pennsylvania, dragging men out of their own homes, it's brutal.

(Ruhen, an office boy, enters.)

Ruhen
Some gentlemen, to see you Mr. Worthington.

Worthington
Send them in.  (Boy exits.)

Try to get up some of your own id as, and let me know as soon as you do.

Writer
I'll do my best, sir.

Worthington
All right.  (Writer exits. Two gentlemen enter, the banker and the shipper)

Worthington
Good, day, gentlemen, this is a pleasant surprise.

Banker
Good day, Mr. Worthington...

Shipper
Good day, sir.

Worthington
Here, sit down, gentlemen.

Ba ker
Don't mind if I stand.

Worthington
I just finished a new lay-out for your advertisements.

Shipper
I thought the old one was very good.

Worthington
This one is even better.  (Takes it out of the drawer) Here, what do you think?

Shipper (looking it over.)
really. Excellent.

(Watches it to banker.)

What do you think?

Banker
Very good.
Worthington
If you like, I can start running it in tomorrow's edition.

Shipper
No, you better forget about it. Mr. Worthington, I'm withdrawing my advertising from your paper.

Worthington
Withdrawing? Why? What is it?

Banker
Your attacks on the Constitution and the Federalists. We don't believe the people are with you.

Worthington
But I receive hundreds of letters every day. Most of the farmers side completely with me.

Shipper
I don't think so.

Worthington
I assure you....

Shipper
Of course, you've got a right to your opinions.

Worthington
That's everyman's right.

Shipper
And I'd be the last person to deprive you of that.

Worthington
Yes, of course.

Shipper
However, if I feel like withdrawing my advertising, that's my right.

Worthington
But, sir....

Banker
Of course, Mr. Worthington, you'll be prompt as usual and meet your note at the bank this month.

Worthington
With this advertising gone, I couldn't possibly...

Banker
Then I'm of the opinion it would be better to foreclose anyone.

This is unethical.

Worthington

Banker
But every man has a right to his opinion....and to act upon it.

This is unethical. Worthington
Shipper
Of course, if you should feel that you'd like to change your political opinions, well, I probably would change my mind about the advertising.

Bunker
Think it over.
(they both exit. After a moment the writer enters.)

Writer
I've hit on a great idea Mr. Worthington. I'd like to talk it over with you.
(Worthington is oblivious to him.)
Mr. Worthington...

Worthington
(Turning slowly around to him.)
Maybe you better change that series of articles to something like "the importance of manure in cultivating the earth."

BLACKOUT
SCENE 41

THE FARMERS IN THE DELL

CHARACTERS
1st FARMER
2nd FARMER
3rd FARMER
4th FARMER
5th FARMER
6th FARMER
7th FARMER
8th FARMER
9th FARMER
10th FARMER
11th FARMER
12th FARMER
(Lights up on a group of farmers in an ale-house. It is the Christmas season and I hope there will be some way of showing snow. Several of the farmers are talking seriously. Others are a little merry. They are just finishing a song.)

Farmers (singing)
'Tis the season to be merry
Tra-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-
Don we now our gay apparel
Tra-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-
Troll the ancient Yule-tide carol
Tra-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-

1st Farmer
Ridiculous, man! I tell you it will never pass!

2nd Farmer
You underestimate the power of the city folk, Harry.

3rd Farmer
I think it will pass, but with the amendments.

1st Farmer
I should not care for it with all the amendments in the world.

4th Farmer
Have you ever seen the new Constitution, Harry?

1st Farmer
Certainly not. Who has?

3rd Farmer
Then how do you know you wouldn't like it?

1st Farmer
I have ears, and sense to put two and two together. I know who framed the Constitution. That is enough for me.

3rd Farmer
Mr. S-----, our delegate, said that he would never vote for it unless the fifteen amendments were added.

1st Farmer
He had better not vote for it, no matter what amendments are added. But it won't pass! The people will not be such dupes!

7th Farmer (of the drinking crowd)
Let us drink to Christmas.

8th Farmer
Chrismash, thash right! They shay-----shoyish sheashon. Fesh on earth, good will to...to...to men!

9th Farmer (sings, joined by others)
God rest you merry, gentlemen,
Let nothing you dismay.

10th Farmer (entering, covered with snow, interrupts grimly.
For three states have gone Federalist on this Christmas day!)

130
Farmers (stop, look at him)

Three...
But how....
Which ones?....

10th Farmer
Delaware, New Jersey, and...Pennsylvania!

6th Farmer
Pennsylvania! But....but, in such hast...we haven't even had a chance to see the Constitution, let alone discuss it!

10th Farmer
That is why the haste, my friend! But now that it is safely passed, your legislators have decided that you may see it. Here it is, in the new Federalist Almanac!

(Farmers eagerly grasp and read)

And the amendments
3rd Farmer
Voted down.

10th Farmer
But we were assured it couldn't pass without the fifteen amendments!

6th Farmer
Those who so assured you are in for a sad disappointment.

1st Farmer
But how could it pass? Most of the people are against it!

10th Farmer
My Clymer and his friends are mostly for it! And it is they who count.

7th Farmer (who has been reading)
But there is nothing here about us small folk!

9th Farmer
There is nothing to assure us of even our common liberties! Nothing to prevent our being jailed without a trial for debts, or for disagreeing with the way things are, or for believing in a religion other than the prevailing one...

8th Farmer
There is not a word about people like us in the whole document! It all provides for the well-to-do...the commercial men, and men of property and lawyers, and slave owners...

11th Farmer
That is what you might expect....there are the men who drew up the Constitution. Do you think they could be bothered thinking about us?!

2nd Farmer
We might as well be back under a king!

3rd Farmer
Now we know why they held the Convention in secret.
12th Farmer
Aye, it's the pretty language they've used to coat the pill, though. But they'll find we won't swallow it so easily at that!

10th Farmer
Three states have already ratified it.

11th Farmer (cool)
And unconditionally.

9th Farmer
But we have not ratified it....

1st Farmer
Nor will we!

12th Farmer
Faith, it looks as though George Washington has turned George III on us.

11th Farmer (cool-satiric)
You aren't speaking of George Washington, President of the Constitutional Convention?

3rd Farmer
Aye, we fought under him for freedom! Remember?

Rich Man's Constitution!

8th Farmer (throwing Almanac on floor angrily)

1st Farmer
Tear it up!

2nd Farmer
Burn it!

(There is a scuffle for the Almanac. At its end, the 10th Farmer is in possession)

10th Farmer
My property, neighbors. And as you who read the new Constitution saw, personal property is protected.

1st Farmer (angrily)
Are you in favor of this—this betrayal?

8th Farmer
Be careful, or we'll burn you, too, if you are.

12th Farmer
You wouldn't go against your own people!

11th Farmer
Why not ask the man what his intentions are?

9th Farmer
What are you going to do with this?

10th Farmer
Show it to other farmers, in other alehouses.

3rd Farmer
You'll get the same reception there that you got here!
Indeed!
10th Farmer

That you will.
12th Farmer

Let's burn it!
1st Farmer

With no one to see but yourselves? So few to watch the flames? Without the other farmers in the neighborhood even knowing about it?
10th Farmer

What do you mean?
8th Farmer

Listen! I am going to show this to other farmers. I propose that they have a hand in the burning, too.
10th Farmer

Hurrah!
1st Farmer

The man's all right, after all!
12th Farmer

Listen: the Federalists are having a celebration at Carlisle on Christmas day. Let us all, hundreds of us, not just a handful, meet them there on the common. Let us have our own celebration.
10th Farmer

And we'll show them and the whole damned countryside what we farmers—unconsulted and unprovided for—think of their new Constitution.
11th Farmer (bursting out suddenly)

Hurrah!
Farmers

A cup of grog on that, neighbor!
We'll be there!
On the green at Carlisle!
Damnation to the 46! Long live the 23!
Burn the Constitution!

VOICE OF THE LIVING MEN:

While Hamilton and his men of quality toiled unceasingly—Organised, influential articulate;—While the "men of no consequence,"—desperate, unlettered, poverty stricken, on the farms and in ale-houses. Burned the Constitution and rioted.

Georgia ratified the Constitution.
Connecticut ratified the Constitution.
That made five states which had ratified in one month... Five of the thirteen states had ratified the new Constitution, without affixing the Bill of Rights.

The farmers of Massachusetts determined to struggle...
SCENE 42

Mr. Hancock makes a Decision

CHARACTERS

Samuel Adams
John Hancock, Gov. ofMass.
Manufacturer
Banker
Skipper
Servant
(Lights up on scene in home of John Hancock.
He sits with his feet immersed in a tub of
steaming water. Every once in a while he
groans to demonstrate his suffering. Samuel
Adams, who has been paying a visit is pre-
paring to leave.)

Adams
Then, after the farmers left, in came Paul Revere and a delegation of ship-
wrights just as heartily for the Constitution as the farmers are against it.
I cannot make up my mind.

Hancock
Umm. Sentiment seems about evenly divided, as far as you can tell?

Adams
If anything, the anti-Federalists have the majority in the Convention.

Hancock
Do you believe so, Sam?

Adams
Many of the men who fought with Shays will be coming as delegates from the
west.

Hancock
They expect me to side with them, I suppose...

Adams
Naturally. They elected you because of your promise to pardon Shays.

Hancock
And on the other hand...(groans and puts hand to leg.)

Adams
On the other hand, as General Knox says, "the property, the ability, and the
virtue of the state are almost solely in favor of the Constitution.........
they would have liked it better had it been a little more high-toned,
but they are charmed with it as it is."

Hancock (sighs)
It is a most trying situation. And I not able to partake of the deliberations.

Adams
You are not going to the Convention, then?

Hancock
I fear this cursed gout will keep me away...

Surely

Adams (pathetically)
You cannot imagine how I suffer, Samuel. This is one of my better days. Really.

Adams (smiling a little)
Well, I shall be going. I hope you improve, John.

Hancock
You have not yet made up your mind at all?
Not yet.

Adams

(At the door, he almost collides with a group of three men being ushered in by a servant. These three men are the shipper, the manufacturer, and the banker).

Banker

I beg your pardon, Mr. Adams. I understood that His Excellency was alone.

Adams

I am on my way out, gentlemen. Good-day. (Exit)

Hancock

I am at your service, gentlemen. You will forgive me for not rising. This attack...

Banker

Do not trouble yourself, Mr. Hancock, pray. Paralysis is understandable in these times.

Hancock

Eh?

Shipper

The weather has been most changeable, hasn't it? Being a shipper, I would notice. One hardly knows which way the wind will blow from one moment till the next.

Manufacturer

Though those from the South have been most agreeable lately.

Shipper

And those from the North have not been without their beneficial quality.

Banker(as though abruptly changing subject)

Ah well. Where you surprised, Mr. Hancock at the news that the Connecticut had ratified the Constitution?

Hancock(grams)

Eh? I was somewhat surprised at the ease with which the Federalists won.

Shipper

We believe that this is significant, Mr. Hancock.

Indeed?

Manufacturer

Most significant. There is no doubt that we will all be living under the new Constitution soon.

Hancock

And if Massachusetts does not ratify?

Banker

We believe, as of course you must, Mr. Hancock, that Massachusetts must ratify.

Must?
Banker
For her own good, and for the good of the country as a whole.

Hancock
May I ask that you be more specific?

Shipper
Mr. Hancock: We have passed through stormy times. During these times, men of honor and intelligence have not failed in the responsibilities circumstances have thrust upon them. You, sir, did not hesitate in '76, when you were called upon by Providence to undertake certain duties——, duties, may I say, to history.

Hancock
I have tried never to fail in such exigencies.

Shipper
Nor will you fail, we know, now. Mr. Hancock, what we fought for is menaced now. General Washington realises it; Mr. Hamilton realises it; Mr. Franklin realises it.

Hancock
I am told that Mr. Franklin is now in his estate.

Manufacturer (ardently)
Oh no, Mr. Hancock! That is a livellous story! What, you should have heard him speaking in Philadelphia for the Constitution? And I am told that the assembly dissolved in tears at his parting words to the Convention. About the sun rising you know. Very moving, very moving.

Hancock
I dare say.

Banker (glance at W'f'r)
Mr. Hancock there are too few men like you in these colonies. Sad indeed it would be if such as there are failed us in our hour of need.

Hancock (greenly)
I fail to understand. What need? We have won our own government.

Shipper
Ah yes, Mr. Hancock. You and men like you have to be thanked for that won.

Hancock
Oh, I should hesitate to take credit...

Banker
Oh, but the credit is due you nevertheless, Mr. Hancock. Modesty may be an ornament to genius, but let us for the moment be practical. Have you ever stopped to consider what would have happened to our cause had it been in the hands of less capable people...had it been, say, in the hands of some of those radical elements whom you have recently and so graciously spared from the gallows, instead of in the hands of men like you and Washington?

Hancock
Naturally Washington & I did our best when we were called upon.

Shipper
And you are called upon no less, in these troublesome times.

Hancock
How do you mean?
Banker

Well, we have heard that you do not intend to run again for governor, Mr. Hancock.

Hancock

Why, I....

Shipper

What did I tell you? There have been doubts in his mind.

Banker (earnestly)

Mr. Hancock, my colleagues and I would deem it the greatest catastrophe if you were not re-elected governor.

Hancock

Why, sirs, I am overworn...

Shipper

We urge you to run, Mr. Hancock. Providing you can be so persuaded, we intend to use what influence we have and what wealth Providence has entrusted to us....on your behalf, to guarantee that the welfare of the most important state in the United States is in the most capable hands in the country.

Hancock

I appreciate that, gentlemen. Of course, if I am called upon...

Manufacturers (excitedly)

Has it ever occurred to you, Mr. Hancock, that you might be called to even higher positions?

Hancock (depressingly)

I am not ambitious, gentlemen.

 Manufacturers

Suppose you were called upon to be Vice-President of all thirteen states, Mr. Hancock? Or even President?

Banker (look to W'Z'y)

My friend here is impulsive, Mr. Hancock. But perhaps in his impetuosity he does but voice the feelings some of us more reticent men cherish in our hearts.

You are most kind.

Hancock

Not at all.

Manufacturer (irrepressible)

But suppose Massachusetts does not enter the new government?

Banker

Certainly you see the situation, Mr. Hancock. Massachusetts outside the union; a tiny territory menaced by hostile neighbors, eventually to be swallowed up. Massachusetts in the union; the keystone, the chief jewel in the crown, its Queen of Commerce, the mother of its statesmen!
Hancock (groans)

Banker
Or look at it this way. The union with Massachusetts is, its natural leader before and still. The union without Massachusetts, at the mercy of the machinations of Virginia.

Hancock

Banker
But of course these implications are all perfectly clear in your own mind, Mr. Hancock.

Hancock
It is not a matter of my own mind.

Manufacturer (ardently)
Oh, but sir, we know that the Convention's mind will be your mind.

Hancock
Really, you exaggerate my influence.

Shipper.
Again that modesty!

Hancock
Besides, even with my voice raised in favor of the Constitution, I doubt whether it will be accepted. The farmers are much against it because it has no Bill of Rights.

Shipper
Mr. Hancock, it is necessary, we must give them their Bill of Rights rather than have them reject the Constitution.

Banker
Only if it is necessary, however. I believe that with your power, Mr. Hancock, the Constitution will be ratified without them.

Hancock
I am not so sure.

Shipper
Well, Mr. Hancock, it has been an honor to see you. Don't think we doubted you for a moment. We know what course a mind like yours takes. We merely wanted to tell you that men of intelligence and honor and tradition and property are behind you.

Hancock (like turkey cock)
I thank you gentlemen again, for your confidence.

Manufacturer
We have been most anxious, Mr. Hancock, about a rumor that you will not attend the convention because of your gout.

Shipper
Do not take offense, pray Mr. Hancock. Our friend is over-anxious about your health, that is all. We feel sure that you would never let it interfere with your duties as governor or statesman.
Hancock
I have never shirked.

Manufacturer
Then you will go to the Convention?

Hancock
Gentlemen, suffering has never kept me from my duty.

Shipper (solicitously)
But we must insist that you take care of your health, Mr. Hancock. We would urge you in saying good-bye to take a long rest (slight pause) after the convention. Our next governor must not be allowed to neglect himself.

Hancock
I shall rest, gentlemen, be assured—(in answer to their look)—after the convention.
SCENE FORTY-THREE
Compromise Found...Ratification with Amendments

Characters
Loudspeaker
Washington
Jefferson
Patrick Henry
To the hesitant, to
the recalcitrant, the voice of
Thomas Jefferson, from faraway France...

(Spot on Jefferson, behind scrim)

Jefferson
I wish with all my soul that the nine first conventions may accept
the new Constitution to secure to us the good it contains; but I
equally wish that the four latest, whichever they may be, may refuse
to accede to it till a Declaration of Rights be annexed; but no
objection to the new form must produce a schism in our union.

(Loudspeaker)

And the voice of George Washington decided many a delegate....

(Spot on Washington, behind scrim)

Washington
If another Federal Convention is attempted, its members will be more
discordant and will agree on no general plan. The Constitution is
the best that can be offered at this time. The Constitution or disunion
are before us. If the Constitution is our choice, a Constitutional
door is open for amendments, and may be adopted in a peaceable manner,
without tumult or disorder.

(Loudspeaker)

February 6, 1788! Massachusetts ratifies the Constitution by a vote
of 187 to 168...providing certain amendments in the form of a Bill of
Rights are appended. This state showed the way to others.

April 28! Maryland ratifies, 63 to 11, with recommendations for a
Bill of Rights.

May 23! South Carolina ratifies, 140 to 73, recommending a Bill of
Rights.

New Hampshire, the 9th state, ratifies, 57 to 47, with the provision
that a Bill of Rights will be added.
Virginia, after a bitter battle, ratifies, 89 to 79, recommending
a Bill of Rights. Patrick Henry, leader of the opposition, speaks:

(Lightsup on Henry)

Henry
Now that the majority has willed it I, and I hope all good citizens,
will abide by it.

(Loudspeaker—The New York Convention meets...
Ratification in New York

CHARACTERS

Hamilton
Manufacturer
Banker
Southerner
Clinton
Smith
Anti-Federalist
Clark
Delegates, townspeople, etc.
Loudspeaker.
June 17th. The fate of the Union hags on whether New York will ratify the Constitution.

(Scene. A corridor outside the convention hall. Discovered are Alexander Hamilton and 3 colleagues) The Banker, The Manufacturer and the Southerner)

Hamilton
We'll wait here. When Smith passes by I'll engage him in conversation. Nobody will suspect...

Manufacturer
Mr. Hamilton, you're attempting the impossible.

Hamilton
It's our only chance. Smith must be won over to the side of the Constitution.

Manufacturer
But Smith is the loudest in opposition. He's the very backbone of the anti-federalists.

Hamilton
He's honest. We'll listen.

Banker
It's impossible to even get his ear. The opposition never leaves him out of their sight.

Southerner
Why not forget New York? Nine other states have ratified. We'll have a union without New York.

Hamilton
New York must ratify.

Southerner
Impossible, the opposition is in the majority. Be reasonable. Forget New York...

Hamilton
New York is the pivot state of all the colonies. For military and commercial purposes she must be part of the union.

Banker
Shh. Someone approaches.

Hamilton
Mind who it is.

Manufacturer
Governor Clinton, and... and... it's Smith.

Hamilton
(clutches his wrist)
Come. They must not see us... yet. (all stop far to rear, being but dimly visible in the darkness.)
(Governor Clinton and Melashton Smith enter. They talk jauntily, confident of victory.)

Clinton

Well, Melashton, is the little woman preparing for a great feast?

Smith

Feast? What's the occasion?

Clinton

(Laughs loudly.)

What else but our coming victory over Hamilton?

Smith

Does that call for feasting?

Say, you're not.....?

Clinton

I'm still opposed to the Constitution.

Of course.

Smith

But I've been reading Hamilton in the Federalist.....

Clinton

That journal. Nothing but a pack of lies. I wouldn't touch it, lest it contaminate me.

Smith

The articles are intelligently written, and not lacking in logic.

Clinton

I suspect he has influenced you.

Smith

Yes, but not enough to change my opinion.

Clinton (relieved)

I didn't doubt that for a moment. Only the weather and women change their minds.

Come, join me. I want to give final instructions to some of the delegates.

Smith

You go ahead. I wish to be alone for awhile.

Clinton

Come with me.

Smith

I'll wait here....and perhaps, clear my mind of the smoke and speeches one swallows in the hall.

Clinton

I'll soon be back. (He exits.)
Hamilton and colleagues come forward.

Hamilton

Good afternoon, Mr. Smith.

Smith

Good afternoon.

Hamilton

Allow me to congratulate you. 'Twas an excellent speech you made this morning.

Smith

Thank you.

Hamilton

'Tis a shame that you're on the side of the opposition.

Smith

I'm on the side of my convictions.

Hamilton

Would you want to see the union disrupted?

Smith

No.

Banker

But it will be, if New York fails to ratify.

Hamilton

The blame will be on New York.

Smith

I cannot vote for a constitution that guarantees property rights, but fails to guarantee the freedom of religion, speech and press.

Hamilton

The constitution allows for such amendments.

Manufacturer

Congress can vote that in later.

Smith

Why not now?

Hamilton

Our immediate problem is unity and stability.

Banker

Keep the colonies united.

Hamilton

A vote against ratification means splitting up the union. That is not your conviction.

Southern

Yet you are working towards that end.

Hamilton

Without the constitution the states will be continually at war with each other.
Banker
With the constitution there will be free commerce... more prosperity.

Smith
True. True. But where is the guarantee of liberty?

Southerner
The constitution does not deny liberty.

Hamilton
Perhaps, if we go into a tavern, we can clear our minds over some chips and ale?

Smith
Yes... there are some questions I would like to have answered. I have read your article in the Federalist.

(They exist)

(Clinto returns enters. Looks around)

Clinton

Melachthon.

(Louder)

Melanchthon. (An anti-federalist enters.)

Anti-Fed.

What's the matter, Governor?

Clinton

Melachthon Smith. Is he inside?

No.

Anti-Fed

Clinton

Have you seen him anywhere?

No. Why?

Anti-Fed.

Clinton.

I fear the Federalists have gotten to work on him.

(Clerk of Convention Hall enters.)

Clerk

Final discussion on ratification. All delegates inside. Final discussion on ratification.

(several delegates enter and concur to the convention hall.)

Clinton

Has anyone seen Smith?

Several

No. No. (They exist)
Clerk

All delegates inside.
(Others enter and cross into hall. Clerk exits. Clinton and the anti-federalist are about to exit into hall, when from the opposite side, Smith, Hamilton and his colleagues enter)

Clinton

Melanthon. Here you are. I've been looking all over for you. Final discussion is on.

Hamilton

Good afternoon, Governor.

Clinton

What makes you so cheerful? Say, you haven't... .
(Turns to Smith)

He hasn't turned your mind, has he?

Smith

I'm still thinking.

Clinton

You can't desert us, Melanthon. If you do it's a victory for them.
(The clerk enters)

Clerk

All delegates in. Final debate going on.

Smith

They say they are willing to recommend a bill of rights.

Clinton

They liar, I can't believe them.
(all exit into hall.)

BLACKOUT
(Lights up outside convention hall. Several townspeople eagerly await the result of the voting)

1st Towns.
They say Smith has bolted to the Federalists.

2nd Towns.
Indeed!
(to the others)
Smith has gone over to the Federalists.

Others
It can't be true.
Smith has bolted.

(Delegate rushes out. They stop him.)

1st Towns.

Has the vote been taken?

It has.

Delegate

1st Towns.
The result

Delegate

Ratification. By a vote of 50 to 27.

Others
Close vote.
It was due to Smith.
Almost a tie.

(The delegate, before he is off, is asked one more question)

Townsman

Was it unconditional ratification?

Delegate

No, praise be. A bill of rights and 39 amendments have

been recommended.

BLACKOUT
"The Bill of Rights is finally amended to the Constitution."

CHARACTERS
Speaker
Most all characters that appeared thru play (discretion of director)
New York, September 25th, 1789. The first session of Congress.

(spot on speaker)

Speaker

In response to recommendations from various states and many of our citizens—we the Congress of these United States—are pleased to refer back to the states for adoption the following amendments to the constitution. One, Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press—

(while the above is being listed—the curtain has parted and spots pick up the various symbols of democracy characterized thru play. This continues until the entire crew—Allen, Williams, Zenger, McCalment & Wiley, farmers, etc.—are on view. The last and most prominent tableau is that of the young visionary on the boat in first scene standing shoulders above the others—still peeping thru the spy-glass.)

—or the right of the people to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. Two. 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. Three. No Soldier shall in 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. Four. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants.

(As this time the full view is seen—the speaker's voice has dimmed with each successive amendment and the curtain, after the visionary boy is seen, begins to slowly fall.)

END