Thomas Hutchinson and the Framing of the Albany Plan of Union, 1754

Author(s): Lawrence Henry Gipson

Source: *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Jan., 1950, Vol. 74, No. 1 (Jan., 1950), pp. 5-35

Published by: University of Pennsylvania Press

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20088113

Thomas Hutchinson and the Framing of the Albany Plan of Union, 1754

THE importance accorded by students of American history and government to the abortive Albany Plan of Union, the chief product of the Albany Congress of the year 1754, lies in the recognition that it was by far the most significant among various proposals for an American union that, taken together, form a background for the Articles of Confederation and our present Constitution of the United States. The evolution of the document itself has not, however, been given the attention on the part of scholars that it deserves.[1] Perhaps this arises from the fact that Benjamin Franklin's "Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies" —apparently prepared in New York and there submitted to the criticism of some of his friends—is very properly accepted as the chief source of many of the leading ideas embodied in the Plan.[2] Therefore, there seemed to be no problem to settle. But there are questions that may be raised as to the possible relation of the latter in style, structure, and content to other plans that apparently were presented for the consideration of the Commissioners, and, in particular, one that seems to have been drafted by Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts Bay.

It was on June 24 that the Albany Congress voted that a committee consisting of one representative of each of the colonial delegations be selected "to prepare and receive Plans or Schemes for the Union of the Colonies, and to digest them into one general plan for

[1] In the fifth volume of *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (New York, 1942), Chapter IV, "Join or Die," I have dealt with some of the problems that confront the student in dealing with the origins of the Albany Plan.

[2] A. H. Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1907), III, 197–199; John Bigelow, *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1888), II, 345–347; Jared Sparks, ed., *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston, 1840), III, 26–28.

the inspection of this Board."[3] This vote would seem to indicate that more than one plan of union was ready to be submitted to the Congress and that it was the desire of this body that the Committee should be free to prepare other plans and finally to weld the various proposals into a general plan. Franklin, when later referring to the placing of his "Short Hints" before the Commissioners, confirms this to be so in his statement: "It then appeared that several of the Commissioners had form'd plans of the same kind."[4]

The question may now be raised as to the plans other than the "Short Hints" that were ready to be presented to the Committee for study. Franklin indicates that there were "several." Among these was doubtless that of his colleague, the Rev. Richard Peters, Proprietarial Secretary of Pennsylvania, which carried the title "A Plan for a General Union of the British Colonies of North America."[5] This provided for the organization of a "Union regiment" to be formed by the contribution of a company of one hundred men from each colony, to be supported by colonial excise taxes and commanded by officers appointed by the Crown; according to this project, likewise, there was to be not only a "Union Fund" but also a "Fort Fund"; it also visualized the grouping of the continental colonies into four unions for defensive purposes, based upon geographical propinquity and other considerations. In searching for light on other union proposals available for the Committee one must omit, it would seem, that by Thomas Pownall, who was not a commissioner and who only at the last session of the Congress submitted his "Considerations toward a General Plan of Measures for the Colonies."[6] While there were perhaps other plans ready to be digested by the Committee, knowledge of which is lacking, there remain to be considered two surviving plans of union that are so closely related that they may be

[3] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York Procured in Holland, England and France* (Albany, 1855), VI, 860. This will subsequently be referred to as *N. Y. Col. Doc.* The proceedings of the Congress as here printed were copied from the Board of Trade Papers in the Colonial Office; the reference to this is C. O. 5:6, folios 116–120. The student in America should consult the Library of Congress Transcripts for corrections of the text as printed.

[4] Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, I, 387.

[5] For this see Hampton L. Carson's *The Constitution of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1889), II, 472–474; a manuscript copy of this plan in the handwriting of Peters is in the Pennsylvania Archives at Harrisburg, No. 677.

[6] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 893–896.

considered as essentially one—that is, one is clearly an amended form of the other. The first is entitled "Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New York & New Jersey, for their mutual Defence, & Security, & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of Said Colonies in North-America"; the second, "Plan of a proposed Union of The Several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, & New York, for their Mutual Defence & Security & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of Said Colonys in North America."[7] Outside of incidental differences in capitalization and spelling—with here and there a clause added or omitted as the case may be—one of the chief things that distinguishes the two plans is that in the first, New Jersey is included in the amendment of the text, and in the second, it is excluded. Were these two plans for a union of northern continental colonies in existence at the time that the Committee on a Union was appointed? Were they among the "several" presented to it by the Commissioners? No one can answer with certainty upon the basis of the evidence now available. In fact, the only thing that can be said with absolute certainty is that Franklin's "Short Hints" came before the Committee. By June 28 this group arrived at its first decision: that was to favor the Franklin project of union as a basis for the final scheme. Therefore, in reporting to the Congress, the Committee "presented short hints of a scheme for that purpose of which copies were taken by the Commissioners of the respective Provinces."[8] On June 29, according to the Journal of the proceedings

[7] These two plans have been printed in Volume XVII of the *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society (Conn. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*), and are included in the *Fitch Papers* (Hartford, 1918), I, 20–29. They were taken from copies, doubtless of the original documents, made by Jonathan Trumbull (Trumble). Albert C. Bates, the editor of the *Fitch Papers*, indicates that the first of the plans reproduced in the *Collections* of his society was taken from the same manuscript utilized by the Massachusetts Historical Society in presenting the plan in Volume VII of its *Collections* (Boston, 1801, and reprinted in 1846). The student is recommended to use the Connecticut Historical Society printing of the plan. The manuscript copies of the two plans are among the Trumbull Papers (Trumbull Papers, M.H.S., I, 93–94) now in the Connecticut State Library. In appearance they are faithful transcripts, with deletions from and additions to the text in the handwriting of Trumbull, and made either from the originals or, more likely, from copies of the two plans of union under discussion. This may well indicate that he felt that the efforts at this period of American history to evolve some workable plan of union would be of interest to future generations.

[8] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 863.

of the Congress, "The hints of a scheme for the Union of the Colonies were debated on, but came to no conclusion."[9] In other words, no mention is made in the Journal of the Congress of other plans of union that were considered by the Committee.

It should now be made clear that, unlike the plan that Peters seems to have presented—a plan that was apparently ignored by the Congress and, therefore, not connected with its final proposals on a union—the two plans for a union of northern continental colonies, to which reference has already been made, have a most important relation to the adopted Albany Plan. As will be emphasized, in language and structure they are identical with it, except with respect to those features that show fundamental differences as to the type of union of the colonies envisaged. The student must, therefore, choose between two hypotheses: one is that these two plans were drafted in the course of the proceedings of the work of the Committee on Colonial Union, or after its termination, and were a by-product, as it were, of the logical expansion by Franklin of his "Short Hints" in the direction of the finished Albany Union Plan finally adopted by the Congress; the other is that one at least of the two was in existence at the time that the Committee began its work and was one of the "several" plans that needed to be digested by the group in welding various union proposals into a final harmonious plan. These alternates have the most vital implications with respect to the authorship of the latter, and each must be carefully weighed.

In favor of the first hypothesis the following arguments may be advanced in line with the traditional view that Benjamin Franklin alone was the master architect of the Albany Plan, and that only here and there was he impelled to make modifications in it as the result of the discussions in Committee or in those carried on by the whole body of Commissioners. To begin with, Franklin at no time stated that the Albany Plan was really a composite thing. On the contrary, he seemed to imply that the Plan was entirely his own and only modified here and there against his better judgment by the Congress. Writing to his New York friend Cadwallader Colden on July 14, 1754, at the close of the Congress he says:[10]

> The Commissioners agreed on a Plan of Union of 11 Colonies . . . the same with that of which I sent you the Hints, some few Particulars excepted.

[9] *Ibid.*, VI, 864.

[10] New-York Historical Society *Collections* (N. Y. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*), LIII (1920), 458.

In a letter to Peter Collinson, dated December 29 of the same year, he enclosed a copy of the famous "Motives," which he had drawn up in support of the Albany Plan, and with reference to the latter stated:[11]

For tho' I projected the Plan and drew it, I was oblig'd to alter some Things contrary to my Judgment or should never have been able to carry it through.

Again in that part of his *Autobiography*, written as late as 1788, he refers to the interest of the Albany Congress in a colonial union and to his own contribution to that end in the following words:[12]

A Committee was then appointed, one member, from each colony, to consider the several plans and report. Mine happen'd to be preferr'd, and, with a few Amendments, was accordingly reported.

Reinforcing Franklin's own testimony is that of Thomas Hutchinson, also one of the Commissioners. He writes many years later in his *Diary* about the work of the Congress:[13]

The same famous Dr. Franklin was one of the Commissioners from Pensilvania. He with Mr. Hutchinson, were the Committee who drew up the plan of Union, and the representation of the state of the Colonies. The former was the projection of Dr. F., and prepared in part before he had any consultation with Mr. H., probably brought with him from Philadelphia; the latter [that is, the "Representation of the Present State of the Colonies"] was the draught of Mr. H.

The first hypothesis would therefore seem to rest upon a firm foundation: to wit, that whatever other plans of union may have survived, they were but a projection either of the final draft of the "Short Hints" or at least of an intermediate draft made by Franklin. Jared Sparks supports this conclusion. In referring to the plan of union designed to comprehend only colonies lying north of Pennsylvania, he writes:[14]

Another plan was proposed in the Convention, which included only New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey. . . .

11 Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, III, 243.

12 *Ibid.*, I, 387. This committee was as follows: Thomas Hutchinson for Massachusetts Bay, Theodore Atkinson for New Hampshire, William Pitkin for Connecticut, Stephen Hopkins for Rhode Island, William Smith for New York, Benjamin Tasker for Maryland, and Benjamin Franklin for Pennsylvania (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 860).

13 P. O. Hutchinson, ed., *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson* (Boston, 1884), I, 55.

14 Sparks, *Works of Franklin*, III, 36. It should be borne in mind by the student that in using the words "Northern Colonies" in his "Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies," Franklin was using a term frequently, if not customarily, employed by British officials to designate the North American continental colonies in contrast to the Caribbean island colonies.

It is a rough draft of the above Plan [the Albany Plan of Union], with some unimportant variations. It would seem, by the *Hints* communicated to Mr. Alexander that Franklin himself did not at first contemplate any thing more than a union of the northern colonies.

Sparks, therefore, leaves one with the impression that this limited plan of union may well have been the work of Franklin himself—in other words, an early redraft of the "Short Hints" before the idea of a general union of all the continental colonies but Nova Scotia and Georgia was finally accepted and was set forth in the Albany Plan of Union.

The alternative hypothesis, in taking into consideration all of the above facts and the Sparks assumption, must accept the burden of showing the inadequacy of these to explain all other known facts respecting the activities of the Albany Commissioners.

To begin with, Franklin himself in referring to his "Short Hints" declared in his *Autobiography*, as has already been indicated, that "several of the commissioners had form'd plans of the same kind. . . . A committee was then appointed . . . to consider the several plans and report."[15] There were, therefore, if this statement is correct, "several" plans of the "same kind" that came before the Committee at the time that the "Short Hints" was submitted. The Journal of the Congress, as also previously indicated, leaves the same impression when it voted for a committee "to prepare and receive Plans or Schemes for the Union of the Colonies, and to digest them into one general plan for the inspection of this Board."[16] There will be little objection, doubtless, among those holding most closely to the traditional interpretation, to including the Peters project among the "several" submitted at the time of the setting up of the Committee, but great objection, because of the wide implications involved, to including either of the two plans for a limited union of northern continental colonies. Yet it is logical enough to suggest, unless valid arguments can be advanced against the inclusion of one or both of these plans, that an assumption can fairly be made that one or both were among the "several" plans submitted before the actual work of evolving a final Plan of Union was begun. The Peters plan, it must be made clear, does not comprehend the idea of "several," nor was this plan "of the same kind," as the "Short Hints."

15 Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, I, 387.

16 *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 860.

The attention of the student is again called to the fact that up until the evening of June 29, the Commissioners as a body, insofar as they concerned themselves with the question of colonial union, were apparently engaged in discussing the merits of the original Franklin plan. The Journal records for the afternoon of that day: "The hints of a scheme for the Union of the Colonies were debated on, but came to no conclusion."[17] It would therefore appear that the copies of "the short hints of a scheme," distributed the afternoon of the preceding day, still had the attention of the Congress. As to the Committee on the Union, from its appointment on June 24 until July 1, it had but a single duty: that of preparing a unified project of union. On the latter date the Congress determined, however, to call upon this body to prepare, in addition, "a representation of the present state of the Colonies." The Journal for July 1 also records, perhaps not without some significance, "The Plan of Union of the Colonies was debated but the Board came to no resolves upon it."[18] In other words, from July 1 onward no further reference is made in the Journal to "Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies," but, instead, to "the Plan of Union." Is one to assume, therefore, that between June 29 and July 1, a period of some forty-eight hours, Franklin transformed the rather crudely drafted "Short Hints" into something approximating the final highly finished draft of the "Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America"—to give the exact title of the Albany Plan of Union? One may be reasonably sure that if the two plans providing simply for a union of the more northern colonies stemmed, in language and form, from the Franklin drafting process, they must have come into existence sometime after July 1 and also after the debates that had already taken place in the Congress on June 29 and on July 1. But this possible easy solution of the problem faces difficulties. To begin with, Franklin, who either at Albany or soon after leaving that city, drew up the "Reasons and Motives on Which the

[17] *Ibid.*, VI, 864.
[18] *Ibid.*, VI, 868.

Plan of Union was Formed,"[19] in the section entitled "Reasons against Partial Unions," states:[20]

It was proposed by some of the Commissioners to form the colonies into two or three distinct unions; but for these reasons [that is, those thereupon given which are six in number] that proposal was dropped even by those who made it. . . .

The proposals by certain of the Commissioners in favor of partial unions, to which reference is made, could have been made late in the proceedings of the Congress, it is true, and then dropped as the result of arguments advanced against these sectional unions. But it seems to be clear that one delegation, at least, came to Albany very definitely committed to the idea of two unions rather than one union. That from Massachusetts Bay, in reporting to the Governor's Council on October 25, 1754, after their return to the Province, stated:[21]

Your Commissioners were in doubt, whether it might not be convenient that the colonies should be divided into at least two Districts, as the great distance of the two Extream [*sic*] parts of his Majesty's Governments from each other, must render it always very burthensome to some or other of the members to give their attendance, be the place of meeting where it will and in a Government of so large an extent there will be danger of some parts being neglected or unequally considered; but as the designs of the French may probably require the united strength & Councils of the whole British Continent and as it seems to be of the last importance that all affairs Which relate to the Indians should be under but one direction, and considered without any special regard to any particular Government we were induced to prefer the present plan [that is, the Albany Plan of Union].

The project of union designed to include only New Jersey, New York, and New England carried, it is of interest to note, a proposal for another union to include all the more southern colonies with the exception of Georgia.[22] It also carried another proposal, which reads as follows:[23]

That in the said General Union, The Ordering & Direction of the Affairs Y^{r} of [thereof] be administred by one President General, who shall be The Governour of The Province of the Massachusetts-Bay for The Time being, and a Grand Council to be chosen by the Representatives of the People of the Said Colonies met in their respective Assemblies.

19 Franklin to Peter Collinson, Dec. 29, 1754, in Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, III, 243.
20 *Ibid.*, III, 205–207.
21 Massachusetts Archives, 4:463 (State Archives, State House).
22 Conn. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, XVII, 24.
23 *Ibid.*, XVII, 20.

Now it would appear that the Commissioners from Massachusetts Bay were particularly interested in establishing a connection between the chief executive of the partial union and that of the Province. At least we have the testimony of one of the members of the Governor's Council of New York, Attorney General William Smith, who attended the Albany Congress, that Governor DeLancey hinted "that Massachusetts acted with an aim to procure the President's chair for their Governor, and predicted, as he well might, that it would not be much encouraged by New-York."[24]

In other words, the impression that one gets is that the Massachusetts Bay delegation came to Albany with a pretty definite program, including a project of a union of the northern colonies designed to add to the prestige of the Province, but was thwarted by the opposition to it. This would seem to identify the commissioners of the colony with the "Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New York & New Jersey, for their mutual Defence, & Security, & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of said Colonies in North-America," which set forth the very ideas that the Massachusetts Bay delegation stood for. Moreover, this plan of union has been traditionally connected with the name of Thomas Hutchinson, one of the commissioners.[25] All of this

[24] N. Y. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, V (1830), 185.

[25] Mr. Albert C. Bates, former Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society and the very competent editor of its publications, in a footnote in Volume XVII of its *Collections* (*The Fitch Papers*, I, 20), in connection with the reproduction of the plan, indicated that it was "sometimes called Hutchinson's Plan." Also in his Introduction to these same *Papers* he writes (p. xxviii): "Regarding the Plans of Union presented at Albany, and fathered by Franklin and Hutchinson, their stated objectives are itemwise perfectly lucid on the surface, as the unstated ones are equally so below the surface. . . ." In other words, to Mr. Bates the evidence of Hutchinson's authorship of the above plan is such that it hardly needs laboring.

As to the composition of the delegation from Massachusetts Bay, it was as follows: Colonel John Chandler, Judge of the Worcester County Court, Oliver Partridge, a leader of the western Massachusetts Bay men, the Hon. Samuel Welles, John Worthington, Esq., and the Hon. Thomas Hutchinson. It has not been possible for the writer to find evidence up to the present that any of the above, outside of Hutchinson, ever showed any active interest in the formulation of a plan of union. Their names are not included among those subsequently appointed by the two houses of the Massachusetts Bay Assembly to the joint-committee on a colonial union; further, two of them, Welles and Chandler, in voting on the question of a general or partial union that took place in the Assembly on December 14, cast their votes against a partial union (*Journal of the House of Representatives* [Boston, 1754], 152–153). As to Partridge and Worthington, they are not recorded as participants in any of the activities

is evidence to support the second hypothesis that at least one of the two partial union plans had been formulated before the Committee on a Colonial Union was appointed on June 24, and was one of the "several" plans turned over to it. Further, it should be pointed out that the only colony that was definitely committed to the formation of a colonial union was Massachusetts Bay.[26] The Assembly of the Province, in fact, specifically called upon its Commissioners to work for "a general, firm & perpetual union & confederacy, for mutual assistance by men or money or both, in peace & in War."[27]

Are we to assume that the delegates of the dynamic Bay colony waited about idly for weeks after receiving their instruction on April 19, until the Albany Congress would convene and some Carlylian "Great Man" appear who could guide their faltering hands in sketching out some project of union that would fulfill the expectations of their Assembly? The whole idea seems utterly preposterous to one who has followed closely the activities of the men of Massachusetts Bay of the eighteenth century and has noted the quality of leadership that they consistently brought to bear upon American affairs. In fact, it is hard to imagine that they did not bring to Albany not only a project, but a most carefully worked out project, for colonial union that would give the Province what it had asked the Commissioners to secure. That this project was not the above stated Plan of Union with minor modifications, or at least a carefully worked out draft of this plan, can hardly, it would seem upon the basis of what information is at hand, be seriously asserted.

---

relative to the establishment of a union; in the case of the former, his western Massachusetts Bay background and outlook would, if for no other reason, be at least *prima facie* evidence against his authorship of the Plan. In contrast, Hutchinson, who, for reasons best known to himself never acknowledged in any of his writings an interest in colonial union, was deeply involved in the work of the Assembly in the direction of creating a colonial union after his return from Albany. It is not without significance that he favored a partial union and voted accordingly and then framed a general plan of union to be submitted to the Assembly. (See *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 154–157). His inclusion on the Albany Committee on a Colonial Union by his colleagues would also seem to argue that, if anyone among the Massachusetts Bay delegates had drafted a project of union, he had done so.

26 For powers vested in the various delegations by the respective Assemblies, see *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 114–117.

27 See the instructions drawn up for the guidance of the Massachusetts Bay delegation, Massachusetts Archives, 4:471.

Indeed, on the last page of the manuscript copy of this plan among the Trumbull Papers in the Connecticut State Library is penned on the margin the notation in a hasty scrawl: "plan of Union opposed N 1." This would seem to mean that not only in the mind of the unknown person who inscribed it was the plan not a mere exercise and that it was up for consideration before some group and was opposed even in the amended form given in the transcription of it by Trumbull, but that it enjoyed as "N 1" plan a certain precedence over a second plan that follows it in the Trumbull Papers. Moreover, contrasting it with the roughly drafted Franklin "Short Hints," there is a logical precision, a clearness, a grasp of complicated details, an all-in-all maturity of treatment that sets it quite apart from the latter and argues strongly against the assumption that it could possibly have been thrown together on the spur of the moment by any individual. In this respect it may be compared with the "Plan of a proposed Union of The Several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, & New York, for their Mutual Defence & Security & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of Said Colonys in North America." The latter would seem to represent a revision of the former unamended "Plan" by some delegate or delegates from one of the colonies other than Massachusetts Bay after the Commissioners of the latter had arrived in Albany and had perhaps distributed their proposal.[28]

As to the second more limited plan of union, embracing but New England and New York, it shows hostility to the idea of combining automatically the office of Governor of Massachusetts Bay with that of President General of the Union and provides instead: "That The Said General Government be administred by one President General to be Chosen & Appointed by a Grand Council to be Chosen by the Representatives of The people of The Said Several Colonies met in their Respective Assemblies. . . ."[29] It then goes on to indicate that when the Grand Council shall first meet, at such a time as shall be indicated by "The Governor of Boston," the latter would preside and

[28] Conn. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, XVII, 25–29. That the second New England plan was based upon the first is rather clearly indicated by the hurried and only partial copying of the paragraph relating to the establishment of a general treasurer and a particular treasurer in each colony. It reads: "That the President & Grand Council may Appoint a General Treasurer & a particular Treasurer in Each Governmen^{t} When Necessary, etc. etc." *Ibid.*, XVII, 23–24, 28.

[29] *Ibid.*, XVII, 26.

"Lead The Members of The Grand Council To the Choice of a President General."[30]

The organic connection between the two plans is, in spite of these differences, nevertheless obvious; equally obvious is the organic connection of the two with the final Albany Plan. The second hypothesis might, therefore, appear to be on even firmer ground than the first, set forth earlier in this paper. But just as there are manifest difficulties in establishing firmly the first, in view of existing facts, so there are manifest difficulties in establishing firmly the second, in view of other existing facts. Among these that do not yield easily are certain similarities, even identities between the "Short Hints" and the so-called Hutchinson Plan of union and the other more limited plan. The similarities include such features as proportional representation on the Council, the payment of its members, its powers to make western settlements, as well as those that it would possess for raising and paying soldiers;[31] more embarrassing than these similarities, however, is the identity of the name of the Council—the "Grand Council"—employed in all three of the plans. Unless the student resigns himself to the fact that he is face to face with a remarkable coincidence that two of the three plans drafted quite independently of one another contained these things in common, he will be compelled to admit that, with every assumption in favor of the fact that the Massachusetts Bay delegation came with a carefully formulated plan, any plan that it brought was doubtless modified, at least in details, after the author of it had had access to the Franklin "Short Hints," particularly with respect to the name of the Council; or, if not, that Franklin had had access to the former plan before he completed his "Short Hints."

Indeed, one may well advance the hypothesis that the surviving copy of what was the original northern plan of union that has come to light in the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull (Trumble), as already indicated, is a copy of a copy of it secured by one of the Connecticut

30 *Ibid.* This second New England plan does not include, it may be noted in passing, any reference to a second and southern colonial union.

31 *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 889–891; Conn. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, XVII, 20–29. The question may be raised, to which at present there is no answer: Could Franklin before the completion of his draft of a plan of union—perhaps upon arriving in New York—have received information as to the details of a plan that had already been prepared by a member of the Massachusetts Bay delegation to the Albany Congress?

Commissioners only after the original plan had been submitted to some revision; further, it is likely that this commissioner, perhaps in consultation with his colleagues from the colony, also made those additional alterations in it to form the second New England plan—including the elimination of the organic connection between the chief executive of the union and the governorship of Massachusetts Bay—to conform more closely to a project of union that Connecticut might be counted on to support; and, finally, with this accomplished, he may well have presented this revision of the revised New England plan for the consideration of the Committee of the Congress. The above broad hypothesis at least avoids many difficulties in reconciling facts otherwise difficult to reconcile. One test of its validity should be that it must not do violence to all pertinent facts that are beyond controversy; on the contrary, it must be in harmony with some valid interpretation of them.

As was previously indicated in quoting from Hutchinson's *Diary*, Franklin was given the chief responsibility on the Committee on the Union for the drafting of the final plan that would emerge out of the "several" presented to it. The work of the Committee, also, as previously indicated, came before the whole conference for discussion on June 29 and on July 1. On July 2 it was again considered and, after some debate, "the question was then put, whether the Board should proceed to form a plan of union of the Colonies to be established by Act of Parliam[t] which passed in the affirmative."[32] Again on July 4 the "Plan for a Union" was the subject of further deliberations, "but no resolves were made thereupon," and the day following, it was still further discussed without arriving at any decision. Other matters called now for the attention of the Congress and it was not until the 8th that the project for a union was again subject to consideration. However, on the 9th the outlines of the Plan were "agreed upon, and Mr. Franklin was desired to make a draught of it as now concluded upon."[33] The next day it was presented as drafted for final action and adopted.

To what extent the project was modified at any stage after Franklin had carried through his redrafting feat, in the process of which both the title and form of the "Short Hints towards a Scheme for

[32] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 868.

[33] *Ibid.*, VI, 875, 877, and 885.

Uniting the Northern Colonies" disappeared in favor of the "Plan of Union," cannot be indicated by any information now available. We are in the dark even as to when the formal title—"Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America"—was adopted, and equally so as to the extent to which the Committee, in the process of evolving the final plan, carried out its mandate to consider, according to Franklin, the "several Plans or Schemes" laid before it "and to digest them into one general plan for the inspection of this Board."

That the final Albany Plan of Union may, nevertheless, be accurately described as a composite plan, there can be little doubt; and yet there is even less doubt that it contained in a new and dignified dress the essentials of the "Short Hints." In the latter Franklin favored a single union for all the colonies on the continent not in receipt of special protection from the King; this union, he also felt, should rest on nothing less than an act of Parliament so that the colonies might not join or leave it simply at will. A loyal Englishman at this period, he moreover saw such a union strengthened in the appointment by the Crown of its executive head and in the giving of this executive the right of veto; he further contemplated the setting up not only of a powerful union legislative council, that would possess the authority to tax, but a union treasury. Finally, he thought that the union should promote western settlement. All these features, fundamental in nature, reappeared in the final project of union. He could therefore feel, and with good reason, that his major original proposals had survived all debate and had become the foundation of the Albany Plan of Union.

On the other hand, the extent to which the final Albany Plan represented a welding together, as the Congress contemplated, of the "several" proposals laid before it would seem to be indicated by the following features not embodied in the "Short Hints," but set forth in the New England plans—assuming that these were among the "several" projects that came to the Committee:

1. The length of service of the members of the Council and the specific payments guaranteed for these services by the *Union government* and not by the respective colonies.

2. The rights of the Council with respect to the dissolution, prorogation, and the length of sessions of that body.
3. The provision for annual meetings of the Council.
4. The method of summoning the members to special meetings of the Council.
5. The introduction of the idea of a quorum for the transaction of business of the Council.
6. The principle that in establishing western settlements, the quitrents levied upon the lands of these settlements should go into the general treasury of the Union.
7. The appointment of a union treasurer for each colony in addition to a general union treasurer—therefore providing for a complete fiscal union system.
8. The provision for an annual settlement of the accounts of the Union government with the reference of these accounts to the colonial assemblies.
9. Finally, the title that the Albany Plan carried.

Beyond all the above features, some of which are exceedingly important and none of which are trivial, in view especially of their implications with respect to the broad outlines of the new central government to be created, there is also to be considered the formal structure of the final plan.

If one is to assume that at least one of the two plans for a limited government of the northern continental colonies was among the "several" submitted to the Congress and rejected by the Committee on the Union; if one is also to assume, in this connection, that the Massachusetts Bay Commissioners took seriously their assignment by the Assembly to strive to set up "a general, firm & perpetual union & confederacy," the proposals that they brought must have been, as was earlier suggested in this article, worked out with great care as to details as well as to fundamentals. One may, therefore, hazard the opinion that this is reflected in the structure and language of the Albany Plan of Union. Indeed, it is remarkable that at no point in the latter is the phrasing of the "Short Hints" used as a model. In contrast to this, either the verbatim or carefully paraphrased language of one or the other of the two surviving plans for a limited union is employed—except in those portions out of keeping with the Franklin conception of a general union of the colonies, to the government of which he would give great powers, including the right to levy directly upon the property of citizens of the colonies, and to possess its own armed forces, forts, and a navy. Those who would brush away lightly the above assumptions are, it may be pointed out, caught on the horns of a dilemma. For they are in-

evitably compelled to make an assumption even less tenable: to wit, that the Massachusetts Bay delegation, in spite of its instructions, came to the Congress with empty hands and that no plan of theirs was among the "several" presented to that body.

At first thought the possibility, if not the probability, that the Albany Plan of Union drafted by Franklin was finally arrayed in borrowed clothes would seem to bring some discredit upon America's most distinguished citizen of the eighteenth century. On the contrary, if the essentials, the flesh and bones, of Franklin's project as set forth in the "Short Hints" survived in it, the adoption of the dress of another competing plan that was repudiated was not an unfair concession, if such were the case, and fully carried out the spirit of the injunction of the Congress "to digest" the various projects for a union in formulating a final proposal. Seen in this light, such a concession in no way reflects upon the work of the distinguished chairman of the Committee. This is in harmony with the views later expressed by Hutchinson in his *History of Massachusetts*, in which, in summarizing "the capital parts of the plan," he states:[34]

> The plan for a general union was projected by Benjamin Franklin, Esq., one of the Commissioners from the province of Pensilvania, the heads where of he brought with him.

The foregoing analysis of the origin of the Albany Plan of Union may now be summarized. A choice must be made between two hypotheses. One, the traditional hypothesis, assumes that this famous document, submitted by the Committee on Colonial Union to the Albany Congress and amended in some particulars by the latter,

[34] Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*, ed. by Lawrence S. Mayo (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), II, 16.

The problem of the authorship of the Albany Plan of Union is not the only one connected with the work of Franklin. Students of his life are well aware of the controversy respecting the authorship of *The Interest of Great Britain Considered, With Regard to her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadeloupe* that appeared anonymously in 1760. What portions of it, if any, were supplied by Richard Jackson of Inner Temple? Is it true, as asserted in 1780 by Baron Francis Maseres, also of Inner Temple, in a letter to Franklin's publisher, Vaughan, that certain specific portions of the pamphlet there indicated were actually contributed by Jackson? What is to be made of Vaughan's reply: "The affair of the *Canada Pamphlet* has now become too delicate for the editor again to intermeddle in it. He observes that Mr. Jackson's present claim goes to about ⅔ of the pamphlet" (Carl Van Doren, *Letters and Papers of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson, 1753–1785* [Philadelphia, 1947], 10–13)? Dr. Van Doren's conclusion is: "The voice speaking through these passages may be Jackson's but the hand that wrote them is Franklin's." *Ibid.*, 16.

is quite independent in origin from any other project of union than that of the "Short Hints" and possibly certain drafts that were made by Franklin, chairman of the Committee, in the process of its evolution. The other hypothesis assumes that the Plan is a composite one, in the sense that it preserved the leading ideas of the "Short Hints," but utilized the structure and language of another project of union—or other projects—that came into existence quite independent of either the latter or of the Albany Plan of Union, and was submitted to the committee for consideration at the same time that this body secured the "Short Hints." The first hypothesis rests upon reading into the language employed by both Franklin and Hutchinson to describe the part that the former played in working up of the final project, a meaning that would credit him with furnishing not only its ideas, but its structure and language. The second hypothesis rests upon reading into these same remarks no more than that all of the larger principles embodied in the "Short Hints" were re-embodied in the Albany Plan of Union. Each hypothesis would, therefore, accept the fact that the plan finally approved was the Franklin plan—but with a difference in meaning.

The second hypothesis, since it breaks with the traditional interpretation, must be prepared, if it is to be accepted, to carry, as was stated, the burden of proof. The latter takes the form, as it were, of a chain of evidence, some of it positive and some of it circumstantial in nature, but all of it so mutually consistent as to combine to argue strongly for the validity of the hypothesis. This chain is composed of the following links:

1. The Province of Massachusetts Bay was the only colony in the spring of 1754 definitely committed by its Assembly to the idea of a colonial union, and the only colony that instructed the delegates to work for a permanent union or confederation.

2. To argue that it was unlikely that the Commissioners of this colony brought any plan with them in harmony with their instructions to press upon the Congress would seem to shift the burden of proof upon those who would not hesitate at the same time to admit that, although not instructed to do so by their Assembly, two Pennsylvania delegates drew up plans independent of other plans for the Congress.

3. There exists a plan that conforms to the ideas that the Massachusetts Bay Commissioners stood for at the Congress before they were persuaded to change their views. According to De Lancey these delegates had sought to combine the office of President General of the Union with that of the Governor of Massachusetts Bay; according to the Massachusetts Bay Commissioners themselves, they had sought at the Congress at first to create two unions rather than one union. There is evidence supported by both Franklin's testimony and the Journal of the Congress that "several" plans other than the "Short Hints" were presented to the Congress and referred to the Committee on Colonial Union to be studied and utilized by the latter in the framing of a comprehensive plan to be submitted to the Congress. It would be logical to suppose that under the circumstances this New England project was one of the plans submitted.

4. The surviving copy of the New England plan in the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull (Trumble) appears to show the influence of Franklin's "Short Hints," as does the second New England plan, also in his handwriting, which seems based upon the first. This might imply that any such plan for a northern union that was worked out independently before the Congress convened was modified, probably after it was brought to Albany and before the second New England plan took shape. However, the surviving amended copy of what was the original shows that in the drafting of the latter much care was expended on the details of the proposals it contained, which would fit in with the theory that the person responsible for the original draft and presumably a member of the Massachusetts Bay delegation took his assignment from the Assembly seriously after being commissioned in April.

5. Evidence of an indirect nature points to Hutchinson—a member of the Council, and in 1761 to become Chief Justice of the Province—as the author of the New England plan: there is positive proof that in December, 1754, he favored a partial rather than a general union; it is reasonable to believe that he would have favored the identification of the head of this union of the more northern continental colonies with the office of Governor of Massachusetts Bay; his designation to the Congress Committee

on Colonial Union by his colleagues from the Province would lend weight to the theory that whatever plan was evolved for carrying out the mandate received by the delegation from the Assembly was worked out by him; further, he was the only one among those delegates who later manifested an active interest in any project for colonial union.[35] Therefore, any failure on his part in his *Diary* or his *History of Massachusetts Bay* to disclose an active interest in promoting a colonial union does not invalidate the established fact of that intense interest in 1754, but might well argue that at the time the *Diary*, as well as the *History*, was being prepared for publication his cautious mind reacted against making any disclosures that conceivably, by misinterpretation, might react unfavorably against him—first as a high official of the British government and then later as an exile living on the bounty of the British treasury.

6. The chronology of events at the Albany Congress provides a strong presumption against the theory that the New England plan was an offshoot of the final Albany Plan or some plan intermediate between the "Short Hints" and the latter that Franklin drafted. On June 28, four days after its appointment, the Committee on the Union decided to submit to the Congress the "Short Hints" as the basis for the union to be evolved; this would indicate that a decision in the Committee was taken in favor of a general union, such as Franklin had in mind. The decision of the Congress itself that same day to have copies of the "Short Hints" made for the members would likewise seem to indicate that this body accepted the recommendations of its committee; for had there been serious indecision on this point, one might reasonably conjecture that the Congress would have requested copies of other plans submitted to the Committee. In other words, there is an indication that debate, at least over rival plans, had by this time ceased within the Committee and in the Congress. Both the Massachusetts Bay delega-

35 For Hutchinson's later interest in 1754 in plans of union, see *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 152–157. As C. F. Mullett has pointed out in his article, "Tory Imperialism on the Eve of the Declaration of Independence," *Canadian Historical Review*, XII (1931), 267 (note), Hutchinson, before the open break between the colonies and the mother country, "did advocate the founding of several unions of the colonies with separate governments for each group. He favoured small unions rather than one large one, as making for less independence."

tion on its return from Albany and Franklin in his "Reasons and Motives" indicate that the demand for two unions rather than one was dropped, after debate, by those who made it. Further, a notation on the margin of the manuscript of the so-called Hutchinson Plan also indicates that it was opposed by some group.

7. If the point just made be accepted as sound, in what respects would it have been rational for any delegate to have given his efforts to setting forth a plan in the last days of Congress that was completely out of touch with the decision of that body? Again, Hutchinson during these last days of the Congress—that is, from July 1 onward—was deeply involved in the preparation of the elaborate "Representation on the Present State of the Colonies," and would hardly have had time to waste on a laborious exercise in planning a union project that did not interest the Congress after the decision of June 28. Nor is this in keeping with his approach to public affairs or the position that he was led to take in the "Representation"—after the decision of the Congress in favor of a single union—in which it was recommended:[36]

> that there be a Union of His Majtys several Governts on the Continent, that so their Councils, Treasury and strength may be employed in due proportion agst their common enemy.

That he later reverted to his preference for a partial union can be accounted for by the fact that he was doubtless led to realize that the Albany Plan was being buried in the colonies under an avalanche of criticism.

8. If the above chain of evidence is valid in establishing the probable date of origin of the New England plan of union to be prior to the gathering of the Congress, it would follow that the Albany Plan of Union must be a composite document blending the ideas of the "Short Hints" with the general form and elaboration of the so-called Hutchinson Plan, except at those points where divergencies in fundamentals would require departure from it.

It is now desirable, before bringing this paper to a close, to place in contrast and comparison what may be called the primary New England plan as it has survived and the Albany Plan, to test the

[36] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 885–889.

validity of the proposals of each in light of their applicability to the American scene in the year 1754, and the sensitiveness of each to what may be called the American "climate of opinion." Both the "Short Hints" and the Albany Plan with respect to the latter possessed a fatal weakness: neither took sufficiently into consideration the extreme particularism of the colonies to be comprehended within the projected union—especially their jealousy of sharing with another and superimposed government the precious rights of raising and disbursing taxes. The framer of the New England plan must have realized this danger—in skillfully adhering to political procedures that had already found expression, if not full acceptance, in the colonies.

New England, as is well known, maintained for a period of forty years in the preceding century its "Confederation."[37] This had functioned fairly effectively under the acknowledged primacy of the government of Massachusetts Bay, in the requisitioning of men and money upon the member colonies when action was required. In reviving the confederation in the project under consideration, so as to comprehend not only all of the New England colonies but the two rather weak colonies of New York and New Jersey—thus reestablishing the geographical limits of the old Dominion of New England—it might well have been thought that the advantages to be gained by all the colonies included and in particular by New York (by this means enabled to depend upon the ample resources of men and money of the populous and highly prosperous colonies to the east in defending its exposed frontiers) would go far to overcome any natural reluctance of any one of them toward union. Moreover, the Plan adhered scrupulously to the requisition principle—a principle that Franklin himself later acknowledged that the colonies were devoted to when he appeared before the British Minister, George Grenville, in 1764, to urge the continuance of requisitions as a substitute for the proposed stamp tax—and in its scope scarcely went beyond the New England concert of King George's War, which under the primacy of Massachusetts Bay had to its credit the capture of the great fortress of Louisbourg.

37 This was limited between 1643 and 1662 to Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, and between 1662 and 1684 to the first three with New Haven now a part of Connecticut.

In thinking in terms of the bitter hostility expressed by both the New Jersey Assembly and that of Connecticut toward the Albany Plan, as well as its ultimate unanimous rejection by the assemblies of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts Bay—not to refer to the contemptuous indifference of other colonial governments toward it[38]—it is hard to avoid the conviction that the influence of Franklin's infectious enthusiasm upon the Congress in favor of the immediate establishment of a powerful union government was unfortunate from the viewpoint of the immediate outcome of its labors. He sought to take a leap, not, apparently, realizing that one halting, reluctant step at a time is, after all, the characteristic tempo of the English-speaking world in moving ahead with political change, no matter how desirable. It may indeed be stated that every major modification that he made and secured of the Congress in departing from the basic features of the New England plan—outside of freeing the President General from identification with the office of Governor of Massachusetts Bay and the extension of the scope of the plan to include most of the more southern colonies—to that degree lessened its chance of popular approval and acceptance in America. It is clear that for the moment he lost touch with the one group that he was supposed to understand so well—the common people of the colonies,[39] something that the architect of the New England plan did not. If one were to accept Thomas Hutchinson as the architect, which a good deal of indirect evidence would seem to indicate was the case, how far is it possible, therefore, to accept the thesis of Frothingham when, in referring to the work of the Albany Congress Committee on a Colonial Union, he wrote that

> two political schools were about equally represented in the committee. . . . In Hutchinson it was the vision of a clear intellect distrusting the capacity and intelli-

[38] For an extended discussion of this see Chapter V, "The Fate of the Plan of Union" in the fifth volume of *The British Empire before the American Revolution.*

[39] On only one other occasion does it seem that Franklin temporarily lost touch with the common people of America. In writing from England in 1765 to his friend John Hughes of Philadelphia, for whom he had secured the stampmastership for Pennsylvania, regarding possible tumults in America as the result of the Stamp Act, he says: "In the meantime, a firm Loyalty to the Crown & Faithful Adherence to the Government of this Nation, which is the Safety as well as Honour of the Colonies to be connected with, will always be the wisest Course for you and I to take, whatever may be the Madness of the Populace or their blind Leaders, who can only bring themselves and Country into Trouble and draw on greater Burthens by Acts of rebellious tendency." Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, IV, 392.

gence of the people. In Franklin it was the insight of a philosopher . . . determined to labor for the liberties of his Country?[40]

Surely, unless one accepts the unhistorical method of reading into a period the attitudes and positions of people that are characteristic only of a subsequent period of history, there is something incongruous, to say the least, in this generalization of the ground occupied respectively by these two distinguished American colonials at Albany in 1754.

But there are other considerations to be kept in mind in bringing into contrast and comparison the two plans of union. Granting that the New England plan would have stood a much better chance of adoption had the Albany Congress accepted it and modified it in certain particulars, than would the Franklin plan; granted that it was more in tune with the thinking of most colonials of this period and that Hutchinson, if he were the author of it, was at this juncture more closely in touch than was Franklin with what one may call the realities of the colonial political situation, one may at the same time affirm that while the America of 1754 was in the keeping of those who thought with Hutchinson, in spite of the apparent repudiation of the New England project by the Committee of the Congress, the future was to be in the keeping of those who thought with Franklin, in spite of the hostility evoked against his ideas in all the colonies that

[40] R. Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic of the United States* (Boston, 1872), 140–141. Equally superficial is the characterization of Hutchinson by V. L. Parrington in his *The Colonial Mind, 1620–1800* (New York, 1927), 194–206. This distinguished writer would hardly have written in the vein that he did had he studied with care the activities of Hutchinson during the 1750's and particularly his championship of the cause of those distressed Acadians, who in 1755 and 1756 were dumped on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. His humaneness, his really tender solicitude for the orphan children of the stricken widow Benoit (who passed away in his home), his willingness to carry to the Crown itself a demand for the compensation of the Acadians for the loss of their possessions (provided only that these exiles would sign a memorial asking for reimbursement as those who had pledged fidelity to the King of England) and his unsuccessful contest with the Assembly over his right to continue to offer asylum to some of these distressed people in his Boston home, is about the only really bright page in an otherwise very sombre chapter in the history of Massachusetts. His cold, calculating aloofness from people other than fellow aristocrats, as pictured by Parrington, does not harmonize with the rôle he played at this period. For not only was he the friend of the Acadians, but the champion of those distressed, impoverished frontiersmen living on the upper Connecticut at "No. 6," who came under New Hampshire jurisdiction much against their will. It was to Hutchinson that they appealed for aid, it was he who went to England to plead their cause, and in 1757, in the midst of the war between the French and the English, it was to him that they successfully appealed again to persuade General Loudoun to provide them with a military guard.

gave any serious consideration to his Albany Plan of Union. Indeed, one may further affirm that it was better, when thinking in terms of the future of America, for Franklin to have pressed ideas that were much too advanced to find favor in the rather frigid atmosphere of colonial isolationism and to have failed, than for the more practicable New England plan to have prevailed for the useful purpose of meeting the grave crisis in international affairs in North America. For while the project of the former looked to a developing political unity among all the people within the older colonies on this continent, that of the latter with its proposals for two unions might have confirmed and hardened a sectionalism that existed even in 1754 and that continued to be an ominous force in the history of the American people for the next century; it might have fastened upon this country what the South sought to bring to realization in 1861—two nations, rather than one "indivisible" American union.

Lehigh University LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

PLANS OF UNION, 1754

A NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers* Vol. 1], XVII, 20–22. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.93,ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. I]
Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New York & New Jersey, for their mutual Defence, & Security, & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of said Colonies in North-America.

[Par. II]
That humble application be made for an Act of the Parliament of Great-Brittain, by Virtue of which one General Union may be formed, including all the said Colonies, within and Notwithstanding which Union, Each of said Colonies shall & may hold and maintain its present Constitution, except the particulars wherein a Change or alteration may be directed by said Act, as hereafter Follows, viz^{t}.

[Par. III]
That in the said General Union, The Ordering & Direction of the Affairs y^{r} of be administred by one President General, who shall be The Governour of The Province of the Massachusetts-Bay for The Time being; and a Grand Council to be chosen by the Representatives of the People of the Said Colonies met in their respective Assemblies.

[Par. IV]
That within———months after the passing such Act, The House of Representatives in the Several Assemblies that happen to be Setting at that time, or that shall be specially convened for that purpose may & shall Choose Members for the Grand-Council in the following proportions. That is to say

A SECOND NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers*, Vol. 1], XVII, 25–29. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.94,ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. I]
Plan of a proposed Union of The Several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticutt, Rhode Island, & New York, for Their Mutual Defence & Security & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of Said Colonys in North America.

[Par. II]
That humble Application may be made for an Act of The Parliament of Great-Britain, by Virtue of Which one Government may be Formed In America, including all The Said Colonies, within & under which Government Each of Said Colonies may retain its present Constitution, except The particulars wherein a Change may be directed by said Act, as hereafter follows viz.

[Par. III]
That The Said General Government be administred by one President General to be Chosen & Appointed by a Grand Council to be Chosen by the Representatives of The people of The Said Several Colonies met in their Respective Assemblies, and The Support of Such President General to be made by The Said United Colonies.

[Par. IV]
That within———months after the passing Such Act, The House of Representatives in the Several Assemblies that happen to be Setting at That Time, or That Shall be Specially for That purpose Convened may & Shall Choose Members for The Grand Council in The following proportions. That is to say

THE ORIGINAL FRANKLIN PLAN OF UNION

(Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, III, 197–199.)

SHORT HINTS TOWARDS A SCHEME FOR UNITING THE NORTHERN COLONIES.

A GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

To be appointed by the king. To be a military man. To have a salary from the crown. To have a negation on all acts of the Grand Council, and carry into execution whatever is agreed on by him and that Council.

GRAND COUNCIL.

One member to be chosen by the Assembly of each of the smaller colonies, and two or more by each of the larger, in proportion to the sums they pay yearly into the general treasury.

MEMBERS' PAY.

———shillings sterling per diem, during their sitting, and milage for travelling expenses.

PLACE AND TIME OF MEETING.

To meet———times in every year, at the capital of each colony, in course, unless particular circumstances and emergencies require more frequent meetings, and alteration in the course of places. The governor-general to judge of those circumstances, &c., and call by his writs.

GENERAL TREASURY.

Its fund, an excise on strong liquors, pretty equally drunk in the colonies, or duty on liquor imported, or———shillings on each license of a public house, or excise on superfluities, as tea, &c. &c. All which would pay in some proportion to the present wealth of each colony, and increase as that wealth increases, and prevent disputes about the inequality of quotas. To be collected in each colony and lodged in their treasury, to be ready for the payment of orders issuing from the governor-general and grand council jointly.

THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION

(*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VI, 889–891, with corrections from the manuscript in the Public Record Office transcribed for the Library of Congress.)

[Par. I]
PLAN of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America.

[Par.II]
That humble application be made for an Act of the Parliament of Great Brittain, by virtue of which, one General Govern^{t} may be formed in America, including all the said Colonies, within, and under which Govern^{t} each Colony may retain each [its[1]] present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a charge [change[2]] may be directed by the said Act, as hereafter follows.

[1] Public Record Office manuscript reading.
[2] *Ibid.*

[Par. III]
That the said General Govern^{t} be administered by a president General, to be appointed & supported by the Crown, and a grand Council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several Colonies, meet [met[3]] in their respective assemblies.

[3] *Ibid.*

[Par. IV]
That within———Months after the passing of such Act, The house of representatives in the several Assemblies, that Happen to be sitting within that time or that shall be specially for that purpose convened, may and shall chose [choose[4]], Members for the Grand Council in the following proportions, that is to say:

PLANS OF UNION, 1754 (*Continued*)

A NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers* Vol. 1], XVII, 20–22. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.93,ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. IV]—*Continued*

Massachusetts-Bay	7
Connecticut	4[1]
New York	4
New-Hampshire	3[2]
Rhode Island	2
New Jersey	3
in all	23

who shall meet for the first time at the Town of Boston in New England, at such time as shall be Appionted by the President General [Which shall be the Govr of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay for Time being][3] and whereof The Members of the Grand Council shall be duly notified, as soon as conveniently may be after an Act of Parliament for this purpose is passed and The Several Colonies duly acquainted thereof.

[1] First written 5. [2] First written 2.
[3] Appended to the plan to be inserted at the appropriate place.

[Par. V]
That the Members of the Grand-Council shall be Newly Elected and chosen by the Representatives in the Several Assemblies every three Years; and on the death or resignation of any Member his place shall be supplied by a New Choice at the next Setting of the Assembly of the Colony he represented.

[Par. VI]
That the Grand Council shall meet once in every Year, and oftener (if occasion require) at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, at their last preceeding meeting; or as they shall be called to meet at, by the President-General on any Emergency, he having first obtained in Writting the consent of five of the Members to such call, or on application made to the president-General by ten of the Grand-Council in Writting under their hands to have a Meeting called, he shall send due and Timely Notice To The whole.

A SECOND NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers*, Vol. 1], XVII, 25–29. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.94,ConnecticutStateLibrary).

[Par. IV]—*Continued*

Massachusetts-Bay	7
Connecticutt	5
New York	4
New Hampshire	2
Rhode Island	2
in all	20

Who shall meet for the first Time at The Town of Boston in New England, at Such Time as Shall be Appointed by His Excellency The Governour of Boston, as soon as conveniently may be after An Act of Parliament for This purpose is passed, at which Meeting The Sd Governour shall be directed To preside & Lead The Members of The Grand Council To The Choice of a President General. That The President General Shall be Newly Chosen Every Three Years; and On his Death or Removal his place shall be Supplyed by a New Choice at The Next Session of The Grand Council, which they shall be impowered To Do.

[Par. V]
That There shall be a New Election of Members for The Grand-Council Every Three Years; & on The Death or Resignation of any Member his place shall be Supplied by a New Choise at The next setting of The Assembly of The Colony he represented.

[Par. VI]
That The Grand Council shall meet Once in Every year, & oftner (if Occasion require) at Such Time & place as They shall Adjourn to, at Their last preceeding Meeting; or as They shall be called to meet at, by the President General on Any Emergency, he having first Obtained in Writting The Consent of five of The Members to Such Call, & Sent due and Timely Notice to The whole. And On Application made to The President General, by Ten of The Grand Council in Writting Under Their Hands, He shall Appoint & Call a Meeting of the Grand Council At convenient Time & place, and Send due & Timely Notice To The whole.

THE ORIGINAL FRANKLIN PLAN OF UNION

(Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, III, 197–199.)

SHORT HINTS TOWARDS A SCHEME FOR UNITING THE NORTHERN COLONIES.

DUTY AND POWER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND GRAND COUNCIL.

To order all Indian treaties. Make all Indian purchases not within proprietary grants. Make and support new settlements, by building forts, raising and paying soldiers to garrison the forts, defend the frontiers, and annoy the enemy. Equip guard-vessels to scour the coasts from privateers in time of war, and protect the trade, and every thing that shall be found necessary for the defence and support of the colonies in general, and increasing and extending their settlements, &c.
For the expense, they may draw on the fund in the treasury of any colony.

MANNER OF FORMING THIS UNION.

The scheme, being first well considered, corrected, and improved by the commissioners at Albany, to be sent home, and an act of Parliament obtained for establishing it.

THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION

(*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VI, 889–891, with corrections from the manuscript in the Public Record Office transcribed for the Library of Congress.)

[Par. IV]—*Continued*

Massachusetts Bay	7
New Hampshire	2
Connecticut	5
Rhode Island	2
New York	4
New Jerseys	3
Pennsylvania	6
Maryland	4
Virginia	7
North Carolina	4
South Carolina	4
	48

Who shall meet for the present [first[5]] time at the City of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, being called by the President General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

[Par. V]
That there shall be a New Election of Members for the Grand Council every three years, and on the death or resignation of any Member, his place shall be supplyed by a new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the Colony he represented.

[Par. VI]
That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each Colony to the General Treasury can be known, the number of Members to be chosen, for each Colony shall from time to time in all ensuing Elections be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the Number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven nor less than two).

[Par. VII]
That the Grand Council shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued setting longer than four weeks at one time without their own consent, or the Special Comand of The Crown.

[Par. VIII]
That, The president-General shall have a casting Voice whenever an Equi-vote shall happen in the Grand-Council.

[Par. IX]
That a Quorum of the Grand-Council to Act with the President General do consist of twelve Members, Among whom There shall be one or more from a Majority of the Colonies.

[Par. X]
That The Grand Council Shall Annually Grant a Salary to be allowed and paid To The President General for his Service, not Exceeding the Sum of £———stl

[Par. XI]
That The Members of The Grand Council shall be Allowed for Their Service 10^{s} stl per diem during their sessions and Journey to & from the place of Meeting, Twenty Miles to be reckoned a days Journey.

[Par. VII]
That The Grand Council shall neither be dissolved, Prorogued nor Continued setting longer than four Weeks at One Time without Their own Consent, or The Special Comand of The Crown.

[Par. VIII]
That The Grand Council shall Annually Settle a Salary to be allowed & paid To The President General for his Service not exceeding the Sum of———Sterling.

[Par. IX]
That The Members of The Grand Council shall be Allowed for Their service 10^{s} Ster^{g} per Diem during their sessions & Journey to & from The place of Meeting 20 miles to be reckoned a Days Journey.

[Par. X]
That The President General with The Advice & Consent of the Grand Council hold & Direct all Indian Treaties in Which The General Interest or Welfare of These Colonies may be Concernd; & make peace or declare War with Indian Nations; That They make Such Laws as They Judge Necessary for Regulating all Indian Trade, That They Consider The ways & Means to Support the union & Safety of These Colonies, against all Their Comon Enemies. That They make all purchases from Indians for The Crown of Lands not now within the Bounds of particular Colonies, or That shall not be within Their Bounds when The Extention of Some of Them are rendred more Certain.

[Par. XI]
That They make new Settlements on Such purchases by Granting Lands in the King's Name, reserving a Quit rent to The Crown for The use of The General Treasury.

[Par. VII]
That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceeding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President General, on any emergency, he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the Members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

[Par. VIII]
That the Grand Council have power to chuse [choose[6]] their speaker, and shall neither be dissolved [,[7]] prorogued, nor continue sitting longer than six weeks at one time without their own consent, or the special command of the Crown.

[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

[Par. IX]
That the Members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their services ten shillings sterling per diem, during their Sessions or Journey to and from the place of Meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a days Journey.

[Par. X]
That the Assent of the President General be requisite to all Acts of the Grand Council, and that it be his Office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

[Par. XI]
That the President General with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all Indian Treaties in which the general interest or welfare of the Colonys may be concerned; and make peace or declare War with the Indian Nations. That they make such Laws as they judge necessary for the regulating all Indian Trade. That they make all purchases from Indians for the Crown, of lands [now[8]] not within the bounds of particular Colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to

PLANS OF UNION, 1754 (*Continued*)

A NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers* Vol. 1], XVII, 20–22. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.93,ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. XII]
That in Case of The Death of the President-General, The L[t] Gov[r] of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay shall Preside, & be Vested with The Same Powers and Authorities 'till The Arrival of a New Gov[r] for said Colony.

[Par. XIII]
That The President General with The Grand Council Sumoned and Assembled for That Purpose, or a Quorum of Them as aforesaid shall hold and direct all Indian Treaties in Which the General Interest or Welfare of these Colonies may be Concerned; and Make Peace or Declare Warr with Indian Nations, that they may make such Rules & orders with pains & punishments annexed thereto as they Judge Necessary for Regulating all Indian Trade; That they direct & order the Ways & means necessary & Beneficial to Support & maintain the Safety & Interests of These Colonies, against all their Comon Enemies*[4]; That they make all purchases from Indians for The Crown of Lands not now within the Bounds of particular Colonies, or That shall not be within their bounds when the Extention of Some of them are rendered more Certain

[4] A star(*) is inserted at this point in the paragraph.

A SECOND NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers*, Vol. 1], XVII, 25–29. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.94,ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. XII]
That They make Laws for regulating & Governing, Such New Settlements 'till The Crown shall Think for to form them into particular Governments.

[Par. XIII]
That They agree & Conclude what Number of Men & Sum of Money is Needed to be Raised & paid for Soldiers to protect & Defend these Colonies & Repelling their Enemies & To pay Them & for The building & Garrisons[s] [&] Forts for the Defence of any of The Colonies, & for Building Equiping Vessels of force to Guard the Coasts & protect The Trade of These Colonies, [& When such Numbers of Men & Sums of Money as is concluded & Agreed by the President General & Grand Council to be needfull, is made known to Each of The Assemblies of Said Colonies, Each Colony shall raise Their Quota of Men & Levy, Collect & pay their proportion of Money according to The proportion herein before Settled for The Choice of Members for the Grand Council from Each Colony, To be raised, collected & paid in Such Manner & form as To Them Appears Equal & right[l]] and Thereupon Give Notice to Each of the Assemblies of The United Colonies who shall raise Their Quota of Said Mens And Money in the proportion above Mentioned for Their Respective Numbers of Comission to be raised, Levied & Collected by Each of said Colonies In Such manner & form as To Them Appears Equal & Right.

[1] Alternative reading inserted at the end of the document.

THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION

(*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VI, 889–891, with corrections from the manuscript in the Public Record Office transcribed for the Library of Congress.)

[Par. XI]—*Continued*
more convenient dimensions. That they make new settlements on such purchases by granting Lands, [in the King's name[9]] reserving a Quit rent to the Crown, for the use of the General Treasury.

[8] *Ibid.* [9] *Ibid.*

[Par. XII]
That they make Laws for regulating & governing such new settlements, till the Crown shall think fit to form them into particular Govern[ts].

[Par. XIII]
That they raise and pay Soldiers, and build Forts for the defence of any of the Colonies, and equip vessels of Force to guard the Coasts and protect the Trade on the Ocean, Lakes, or great Rivers; but they shall not impress men in any Colonies without the consent of its Legislature. That for these purposes they have power to make Laws and lay and Levy such general duties, imposts or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, considering the ability and other circumstances of the Inhabitants in the several Colonies, and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people, rather discouraging luxury, than loading Industry with unnecessary burthens.———That they might appoint a General Treasurer and a particular Treasurer in each Govern[t] when necessary, and from time to time may order the sums in the Treasuries of each Govern[t], into the General Treasury, or draw on them for special payments as they find most convenient; yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President General and Grand Council, except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President General is previously impowered by an Act to draw for such sums.

[Par. XIV]
That They make New Settlements on such purchases, by Granting Lands in the King's Name, reserving a Quit rent to the Crown for The Use of The General Treasury

[Par. XIV]
That The President General Shall be General or Chief Comander of all The Forces raised in & by this United Governm^{t}, & That it be his Office & Duty to Cause the Acts of The Grand Council to be Carried into Execution, & shall Comission all The General Officers That May be needed & Nominated to him by The Grand Council, & also Shall Comission all other Comission Officers that may be Needed, The Nomination & Appointment of whom Shall be Left with The Assemblys of The Several Colonies, for The officers that shall Comand The Soldiers raised in Each of Said Colonies.

[Par. XIV]
That the General accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies.

[Par. XV]
That they make necessary rules and orders for the well regulating & managing Such New Settlements 'till the Crown Shall think fit to form them into particular Government or Governments. That They agree & conclude the Number of Men, & Sums of Money That shall from Time to Time be needed to be raised & paid, for [the purposes Afore Mentioned*] protecting & Defending These Colonies & repelling their Enemies, for building & Garrisoning Forts for the defence of any of the Colonies, & for building & Equipping & Manning Armed Vessels to Guard The Coasts, and protect the Trade of these Colonies. And When The President General, & Grand Council Shall Conclude and Agree on Any Number of Men & Sum of Money Needed On Any Occasion, They shall Notify the Same to Each of the Assemblies of S^{d} Colonies, by Sending an Account Thereof to the Respective Gov^{rs} of Each of S^{d} Colonies to be Comunicated to their Assemblies [recomending it to Each Colony to*][5] Who shall raise their Quota of Men, & Levey, collect & pay their proportion of Money, according to The proportion herein before Settled for Members to be Chosen for the Grand Council from Each Colony; Which may be done In Each Colony in such Manner & form As to Them Appears equal & right.

[5] Alternative reading.

[Par. XV]
That The President General & Grand Council may Appoint a General Treasurer, & a particular Treasurer in Each Governm^{t} When Necessary, &c &c.

[Par. XV]
That a Quorum of the Grand Council impowered to act with the President General, do consists [consist[10]] of twenty five Members, among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the Colonies. That the Laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid, shall not be repugnant, but as near as may be agreable to the Laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the King in Council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing, and if not disapproved within three years after presentation to remain in Force.

[10] *Ibid.*

[Par. XVI]
That The President General be the General or Chief Comander of all The Forces raised by Virtue of This Union, and that it be his office & duty to cause the Acts, rules, and Orders made & concluded by Virtue hereof to be Carried into Execution: And He shall Comission all The General Officers y^{t} are

[Par. XVI]
That a Quorum of The Grand Council to Act wth The President General do Consist of ———Members, Among Whom There shall be One or More from a Majority of The Colonies.

[Par. XVI]
That in case of the death of the President General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authority, to continue until the King's pleasure be known.

PLANS OF UNION, 1754 (*Continued*)

A NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers* Vol. 1], XVII, 20–22. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.93,ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. XVI]—*Continued*
needed; Who shall be nominated to him by The Grand Council; and he shall Comission the other Comission Officer or Officers y^t^ shall be needed; Who shall be nominated to him by The Assembley of That Colony whose Soldiers are to be Comanded by such Officer or Officers.

[Par. XVII]
That The President General & Grand Council of These United Colonies may Appoint a General Treasurer & a particular Treasurer in Each Government When Necessary; and From time to time may order the Sums in the Particular Treasuries by them Appointed In Each Government into the General Treasury, or Draw on Them for Special payments as they find most Convenient; Yet no money to Issue but by Joint orders of The President General & Grand Council except Where Sums have been Appropriated to particular purposes, & The President General previously Impowered by an order to draw for such Sums.

[Par. XVIII]
That the General Accounts shall be Yearly Settled And Reported to the Several Assemblies.

A SECOND NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers*, Vol. 1], XVII, 25–29. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.94,ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. XVII]
The President General Shall have a Casting Voice whensoever an Equi-Vote Shall happen in The Grand Council

[Par. XVIII]
That in Case of The Death of The President General, The D Gov^r^ of y^e^ Province of The Massachusetts Bay shall Succeed & be Vested with The Same Powers & Authorities.

THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION

(*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VI, 889–891, with corrections from the manuscript in the Public Record Office transcribed for the Library of Congress.)

[Par. XVII]
That all Military Commission Officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this General constitution, shall be nominated by the President General, but the aprobation of the Grand Council is to be obtained before they receive their Commissions; and all Civil Officers are to be nominated by the grand Council, and to receive the President General's approbation before they officiate; but in case of vacancy by death or removal of any Officer Civil or Military under this constitution, The Gov^r^ of the Province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint till the pleasure of the President General and grand Council can be known.———That the particular Military as well as Civil establishments in each Colony remain in their present State this General constitution notwithstanding. And that on sudden emergencies any Colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expence thence arisen, before the President General and Grand Council, who may allow and order payment of the same as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

[Par. XIX]
That The Particular Military, as well as Civil Establishments & Constitutions of Each Colony remain [firm & Entire*[6]] in The present State & Condition, without any other Change or Alteration Than is herein before mentioned, This General Union Notwithstanding.

[6] Alternative reading.

[Par. XX]
And Further 'tis proposed That There be a Union Made by an Act of The Parliament of Great Brittain, by Virtue whereof One General Union may be formed, Including the Several Colonies of[7] Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & South Carolina, The Affairs Whereof in relation to Matters & Things of the like Nature to what is herein before Comprised, to be Ordered Directed & Administred In the Like Manner & form as is herein before Mentioned.

[7] "New Jersey" is crossed out.

[Par. XXI]
And Further, 'tis proposed That On any Special Emergency & Extraordinary Occasion wherein it may be Tho't needfull There may be Just rules & Directions made & given Wherein All The Said Colonies herein before proposed to be United, In The More Northern part of America, and Those proposed to be United in The more Southern part of North America, May Act In Concert Against The Comon Enemy In The best and Most Advantageous Manner

[Par. XXII]
By Driving off all our Enemies, from his Majesty's Territories in North America & Destroying any Forts Made thereon by them; and Carrying The Forces of These Governments into The Enemies Country, when an Open war is or shall be Declared Against Those w° are his Majesty's Enemies.