



REVOLUTION AND THE EARLY REPUBLIC



The Sons of Liberty pull down a statue of George III on the Bowling Green, New York, July 9, 1776.

1765 British Parliament passes the Stamp Act.

1773 Colonists stage the Boston Tea Party.

1774 Parliament passes the Intolerable Acts. First Continental Congress convenes.

1775 Second Continental Congress convenes.

1776 Colonies declare independence.



USA
WORLD

1765

1775

1760 George III becomes king of Great Britain.



1774 Reign of Louis XVI begins in France.

1776 Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* is published.

INTERACT

WITH HISTORY

The year is 1787. You have recently helped your fellow patriots overthrow decades of oppressive British rule. However, it is easier to destroy an old system of government than to create a new one. In a world of kings and tyrants, your new republic struggles to find its place.

How much power should the national government have?

Examine the Issues

- Which should have more power, the states or the national government?
- How can the new nation avoid a return to tyranny?
- How can the rights of all people be protected?



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1781 The British surrender at Yorktown.

1786 Daniel Shays leads a rebellion against higher taxes.

1788 The Constitution is ratified.

1789 George Washington is elected president.

1792 George Washington is reelected.



1785

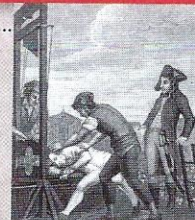
1795

1781 Joseph II allows religious toleration in Austria.

1785 British preacher Edmund Cartwright invents the first power loom.

1787 Sierra Leone in Africa is made a haven for freed American slaves.

1789 The French Revolution starts.



1793 French king Louis XVI is executed.

Colonial Resistance and Rebellion

MAIN IDEA

Conflicts between Great Britain and the American colonies escalated, until the colonists finally declared their independence.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The ideas put forth by the colonists in the Declaration of Independence remain the guiding principles of the United States today.

Terms & Names

- King George III
- Sugar Act
- Stamp Act
- Samuel Adams
- Boston Massacre
- Boston Tea Party
- John Locke
- *Common Sense*
- Thomas Jefferson
- Declaration of Independence

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.1 Describe the Enlightenment and the rise of democratic ideas as the context in which the nation was founded.

11.1.2 Analyze the ideological origins of the American Revolution, the Founding Fathers' philosophy of divinely bestowed unalienable natural rights, the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and the addition of the Bill of Rights.

11.8.4 Analyze new federal government spending on defense, welfare, interest on the national debt, and federal and state spending on education, including the California Master Plan.

CST 1 Students compare the present with the past, evaluating the consequences of past events and decisions and determining the lessons that were learned.

REP 1 Students distinguish valid arguments from fallacious arguments in historical interpretations.

One American's Story

Crispus Attucks was a sailor of African and Native-American ancestry. On the night of March 5, 1770, he was part of a large and angry crowd that had gathered at the Boston Customs House to harass the British soldiers stationed there. More soldiers soon arrived, and the mob began hurling stones and snowballs at them. Attucks then stepped forward.



▲ Crispus Attucks

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN ADAMS

"This Attucks . . . appears to have undertaken to be the hero of the night; and to lead this army with banners . . . up to King street with their clubs . . . This man with his party cried, 'Do not be afraid of them,' . . . He had hardiness enough to fall in upon them, and with one hand took hold of a bayonet, and with the other knocked the man down."

—quoted in *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*

Attucks's action ignited the troops. Ignoring orders not to shoot civilians, one soldier and then others fired on the crowd. Five people were killed; several were wounded. Crispus Attucks was, according to a newspaper account, the first to die.

The Colonies Organize to Resist Britain

Because the Proclamation of 1763 sought to halt expansion by the colonists west of the Appalachian Mountains, it convinced the colonists that the British government did not care about their needs. A second result of the French and Indian War—Britain's financial crisis—brought about new laws that reinforced the colonists' opinion.

THE SUGAR ACT Great Britain had borrowed so much money during the war that it nearly doubled its national debt. **King George III**, who had succeeded his grandfather in 1760, hoped to lower that debt. To do so, in 1763 the king chose a financial expert, George Grenville, to serve as prime minister.

By the time Grenville took over, tensions between Britain and one colony, Massachusetts, were on the rise. During the French and Indian War, the British had cracked down on colonial smuggling to ensure that merchants were not doing business in any French-held territories. In 1761, the royal governor of Massachusetts authorized the use of the writs of assistance, a general search warrant that allowed British customs officials to search any colonial ship or building they believed to be holding smuggled goods. Because many merchants worked out of their residences, the writs enabled British officials to enter and search colonial homes whether there was evidence of smuggling or not. The merchants of Boston were outraged.

Grenville's actions, however, soon angered merchants throughout the colonies. The new prime minister noticed that the American customs service, which collected duties, or taxes on imports, was losing money. Grenville concluded that the colonists were smuggling goods into the country without paying duties. In 1764 he prompted Parliament to enact a law known as the Sugar Act.

The **Sugar Act** did three things. It halved the duty on foreign-made molasses in the hopes that colonists would pay a lower tax rather than risk arrest by smuggling. It placed duties on certain imports that had not been taxed before. Most important, it provided that colonists accused of violating the act would be tried in a vice-admiralty court rather than a colonial court. There, each case would be decided by a single judge rather than by a jury of sympathetic colonists.

Colonial merchants complained that the Sugar Act would reduce their profits. Merchants and traders further claimed that Parliament had no right to tax the colonists because the colonists had not elected representatives to the body. The new regulations, however, had little effect on colonists besides merchants and traders. **A**

THE STAMP ACT In March 1765 Parliament passed the **Stamp Act**. This act imposed a tax on documents and printed items such as wills, newspapers, and playing cards. A stamp would be placed on the items to prove that the tax had been paid. It was the first tax that affected colonists directly because it was levied on goods and services. Previous taxes had been indirect, involving duties on imports.

In May of 1765, the colonists united to defy the law. Boston shopkeepers, artisans, and laborers organized a secret resistance group called the Sons of Liberty to protest the law. Meanwhile, the colonial assemblies declared that Parliament lacked the power to impose taxes on the colonies because the colonists were not represented in Parliament. In October 1765, merchants in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia agreed to a boycott of British goods until the Stamp Act was repealed. The widespread boycott worked, and in March 1766 Parliament repealed the law.

But on the same day that it repealed the Stamp Act, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act, which asserted Parliament's full right "to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever." Then, in 1767, Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, named after Charles Townshend, the leading government minister. The Townshend Acts taxed goods that were imported into the colony from Britain, such as lead, glass, paint, and paper. The Acts also imposed a tax on tea, the most popular drink in the colonies. Led by men such as **Samuel Adams**, one of the founders of the Sons of Liberty, the colonists again boycotted British goods. **B**

NOW & THEN

PROPOSITION 13

A more recent tax revolt occurred in California on June 6, 1978, when residents voted in a tax reform law known as Proposition 13. By the late 1970s, taxes in California were among the highest in the nation. The property tax alone was fifty-two percent above the national norm.

Proposition 13, initiated by ordinary citizens, limited the tax on real property to one percent of its assessed value in 1975–1976. It passed with sixty-five percent of the vote.

Because of the resulting loss of revenue, many state agencies were scaled down or cut. In 1984, California voters approved a state lottery that provides supplemental funds for education. But Proposition 13 still remains a topic of heated debate, as Californians—like other Americans across the country—struggle with conflicting desires: more government services vs. less taxes.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

A How did the Sugar Act cause tension between the colonists and Britain?

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B How did the colonists respond to the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts?

British Actions and Colonial Reactions, 1765–1775

1765 STAMP ACT

British Action

Britain passes the Stamp Act, a tax law requiring colonists to purchase special stamps to prove payment of tax.

Colonial Reaction

Colonists harass stamp distributors, boycott British goods, and prepare a Declaration of Rights and Grievances.

1767 TOWNSHEND ACTS

British Action

Britain taxes certain colonial imports and stations troops at major colonial ports to protect customs officers.

Colonial Reaction

Colonists protest “taxation without representation” and organize a new boycott of imported goods.

1770 BOSTON MASSACRE

British Action

Taunted by an angry mob, British troops fire into the crowd, killing five colonists.

Colonial Reaction

Colonial agitators label the conflict a massacre and publish a dramatic engraving depicting the violence.



▲ This colonial engraving was meant to warn of the effects of the Stamp Act.

Tension Mounts in Massachusetts

As hostilities between the colonists and the British mounted, the atmosphere in Boston grew increasingly tense. The city soon erupted in bloody clashes and later in a daring tax protest, all of which pushed the colonists and Britain closer to war.

VIOLENCE ERUPTS IN BOSTON On March 5, 1770, a mob gathered in front of the Boston Customs House and taunted the British soldiers standing guard there. Shots were fired and five colonists, including Crispus Attucks, were killed or mortally wounded. Colonial leaders quickly labeled the confrontation the **Boston Massacre**.

Despite strong feelings on both sides, the political atmosphere relaxed somewhat during the next three years. Lord Frederick North, who later followed Grenville as the prime minister, realized that the Townshend Acts were costing more to enforce than they would ever bring in: in their first year, for example, the taxes raised only 295 pounds, while the cost of sending British troops to Boston

Background

Pounds are the basic monetary unit of British currency.

History Through Art

THE BOSTON MASSACRE (1770)

Paul Revere was not only a patriot, but a silversmith and an engraver as well. One of the best known of his engravings, depicting the Boston Massacre, is a masterful piece of anti-British propaganda. Widely circulated, Revere's engraving played a key role in rallying revolutionary fervor.

- The sign above the soldiers reads “Butcher's Hall.”
- The British commander, Captain Preston (standing at the far right of the engraving) appears to be inciting the troops to fire. In fact, he tried to calm the situation.
- At the center foreground is a small dog, a detail that gave credence to the rumor that, following the shootings, dogs licked the blood of the victims from the street.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Visual Sources

1. According to the details of the engraving, what advantages do the soldiers have that the colonists do not? What point does the artist make through this contrast?
2. What do you think is the intended message behind the artist's use of smoke spreading out from the soldiers' rifles?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.



1773 TEA ACT

British Action

Britain gives the East India Company special concessions in the colonial tea business and shuts out colonial tea merchants.

Colonial Reaction

Colonists in Boston rebel, dumping 18,000 pounds of East India Company tea into Boston harbor.

1774 INTOLERABLE ACTS

British Action

King George III tightens control over Massachusetts by closing Boston Harbor and quartering troops.

Colonial Reaction

Colonial leaders form the First Continental Congress and draw up a declaration of colonial rights.

1775 LEXINGTON AND CONCORD

British Action

General Gage orders troops to march to Concord, Massachusetts, and seize colonial weapons.

Colonial Reaction

Minutemen intercept the British and engage in battle—first at Lexington, and then at Concord.



▲ This bottle contains tea that colonists threw into Boston harbor during the Boston Tea Party.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

In what ways did colonial reaction to British rule intensify between 1765 and 1775?

was over 170,000 pounds. North persuaded Parliament to repeal the Townshend Acts, except for the tax on tea.

Tensions rose again in 1772 when a group of Rhode Island colonists attacked a British customs schooner that patrolled the coast for smugglers. The colonists boarded the vessel, which had accidentally run aground near Providence, and burned it to the waterline. In response, King George named a special commission to seek out the suspects and bring them to England for trial.

The plan to haul Americans to England for trial ignited widespread alarm. The assemblies of Massachusetts and Virginia set up committees of correspondence to communicate with other colonies about this and other threats to American liberties. By 1774, such committees formed a buzzing communication network linking leaders in nearly all the colonies.

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY In 1773, Lord North devised the Tea Act in order to save the nearly bankrupt British East India Company. The act granted the company the right to sell tea to the colonies free of the taxes that colonial tea sellers had to pay. This action would have cut colonial merchants out of the tea trade by enabling the East India Company to sell its tea directly to consumers for less. North hoped the American colonists would simply buy the cheaper tea; instead, they protested dramatically.

On the moonlit evening of December 16, 1773, a large group of Boston rebels disguised themselves as Native Americans and proceeded to take action against three British tea ships anchored in the harbor. In this incident, later known as the **Boston Tea Party**, the “Indians” dumped 18,000 pounds of the East India Company’s tea into the waters of Boston harbor.

THE INTOLERABLE ACTS An infuriated King George III pressed Parliament to act. In 1774, Parliament responded by passing a series of measures that colonists called the Intolerable Acts. One law shut down Boston harbor. Another, the Quartering Act, authorized British commanders to house soldiers in vacant private homes and other buildings. In addition to these measures, General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of British forces in North America, was appointed the new governor of Massachusetts. To keep the peace, he placed Boston under martial law, or rule imposed by military forces. ●

In response to Britain’s actions, the committees of correspondence assembled the First Continental Congress. In September 1774, 56 delegates met in Philadelphia and drew up a declaration of colonial rights. They defended the colonies’ right to run their own affairs and stated that, if the British used force against the colonies, the colonies should fight back.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

● What do you think King George set out to achieve when he disciplined Massachusetts?



▲ The Battle of Lexington, as depicted in a mid-nineteenth-century painting.

The Road to Revolution

After the First Continental Congress met, colonists in many eastern New England towns stepped up military preparations. Minutemen—civilian soldiers who pledged to be ready to fight against the British on a minute’s notice—quietly stockpiled firearms and gunpowder. General Thomas Gage soon learned about these activities. In the spring of 1775, he ordered troops to march from Boston to nearby Concord, Massachusetts, and to seize illegal weapons. **D**

FIGHTING AT LEXINGTON AND CONCORD Colonists in Boston were watching, and on the night of April 18, 1775, Paul Revere, William Dawes, and Samuel Prescott rode out to spread word that 700 British troops were headed for Concord. The darkened countryside rang with church bells and gunshots—prearranged signals, sent from town to town, that the British were coming.

The king’s troops, known as “redcoats” because of their uniforms, reached Lexington, Massachusetts, five miles short of Concord, on the cold, windy dawn of April 19. As they neared the town, they saw 70 minutemen drawn up in lines on the village green. The British commander ordered the minutemen to lay down their arms and leave, and the colonists began to move out without laying down their muskets. Then someone fired, and the British soldiers sent a volley of shots into the departing militia. Eight minutemen were killed and ten more were wounded, but only one British soldier was injured. The Battle of Lexington, the first battle of the Revolutionary War, lasted only 15 minutes.

The British marched on to Concord, where they found an empty arsenal. After a brief skirmish with minutemen, the British soldiers lined up to march back to Boston, but the march quickly became a slaughter. Between 3,000 and 4,000 minutemen had assembled by now, and they fired on the marching troops from behind stone walls and trees. British soldiers fell by the dozen. Bloodied and humiliated, the remaining British soldiers made their way back to Boston that night. Colonists had become enemies of Britain and now held Boston and its encampment of British troops under siege.

MAIN IDEA

Evaluating

D Do you think the British underestimated the colonists in 1770–1775?

Vocabulary

reconciliation: the restoration of a former state of harmony or friendship

MAIN IDEA**Developing Historical Perspective**

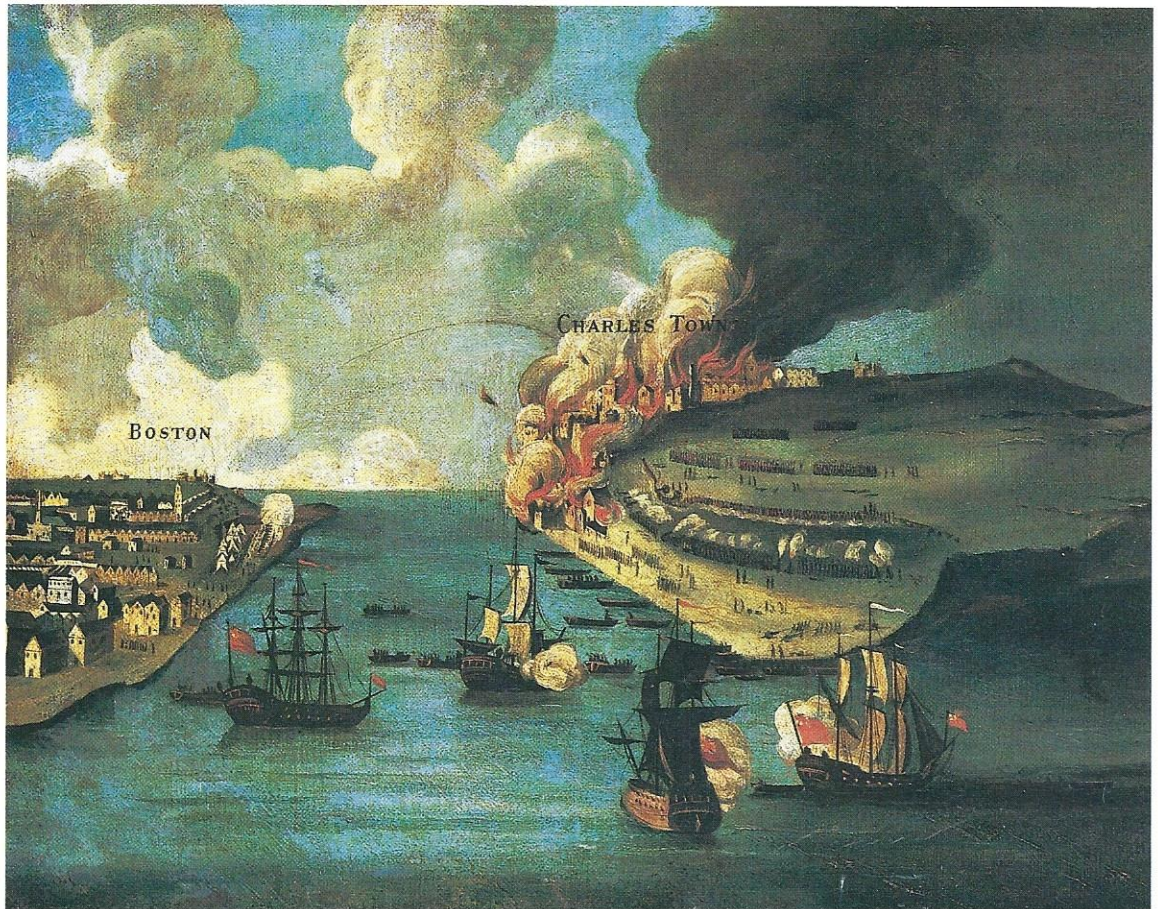
E Do you think that the Olive Branch Petition was too little too late?

THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS In May of 1775, colonial leaders called the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia to debate their next move. The loyalties that divided colonists sparked endless debates at the Second Continental Congress. Some delegates called for independence, while others argued for reconciliation with Great Britain. Despite such differences, the Congress agreed to recognize the colonial militia as the Continental Army and appointed George Washington as its commander.

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL Cooped up in Boston, British general Thomas Gage decided to strike at militiamen on Breed's Hill, north of the city and near Bunker Hill. On June 17, 1775, Gage sent 2,400 British soldiers up the hill. The colonists held their fire until the last minute and then began to mow down the advancing redcoats before finally retreating. By the time the smoke cleared, the colonists had lost 450 men, while the British had suffered over 1,000 casualties. The misnamed Battle of Bunker Hill would prove to be the deadliest battle of the war.

By July, the Second Continental Congress was readying the colonies for war though still hoping for peace. Most of the delegates, like most colonists, felt deep loyalty to George III and blamed the bloodshed on the king's ministers. On July 8, Congress sent the king the so-called Olive Branch Petition, urging a return to "the former harmony" between Britain and the colonies. **E**

King George flatly rejected the petition. Furthermore, he issued a proclamation stating that the colonies were in rebellion and urged Parliament to order a naval blockade to isolate a line of ships meant for the American coast.



▲ This painting shows "Bunker's Hill" before the battle, as shells from Boston set nearby Charles Town ablaze. At the battle, the British employed a formation they used throughout the war. They massed together, were visible for miles, and failed to take advantage of ground cover.

The Patriots Declare Independence

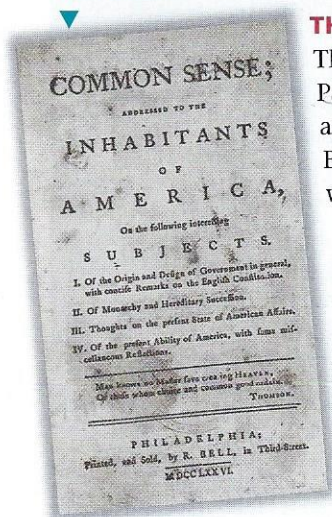
Despite the growing crisis, many colonists were uncertain about the idea of independence. Following the Olive Branch Petition, public opinion began to shift.

THE IDEAS BEHIND THE REVOLUTION This shift in public opinion occurred in large part because of the Enlightenment ideas that had spread throughout the colonies in the 1760s and 1770s. One of the key Enlightenment thinkers was English philosopher **John Locke**. Locke maintained that people have natural rights to life, liberty, and property. Furthermore, he contended, every society is based on a social contract—an agreement in which the people consent to choose and obey a government so long as it safeguards their natural rights. If the government violates that social contract by taking away or interfering with those rights, people have the right to resist and even overthrow the government. **F**

Other influences on colonial leaders who favored independence were religious traditions that supported the cause of liberty. One preacher of the time, Jonathan Mayhew, wrote that he had learned from the holy scriptures that wise, brave, and virtuous men were always friends of liberty. Some ministers even spoke from their pulpits in favor of liberty.

Yet the ideas of limited government and civil rights had been basic to English law since even before A.D. 1215, when the English nobility had forced King John to sign Magna Carta, or the Great Charter. Magna Carta acknowledged certain specific rights of the barons against the king, including some rights to due process, a speedy trial, and trial by a jury of one's peers. Its main significance, though, was to recognize that the sovereign did not have absolute authority, but was subject like all men and women to the rule of law. This principle was reaffirmed by the English Bill of Rights, accepted by King William and Queen Mary in 1689. To the colonists, however, various Acts of Parliament between 1763 and 1775 had clearly violated their rights as Englishmen. In addition to due process, a speedy trial, and trial by a jury of one's peers, those rights included taxation only by consent of property owners, a presumption of innocence, no standing army in peacetime without consent, no quartering of troops in private homes, freedom of travel in peacetime, and the guarantee of regular legislative sessions.

Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* helped to overcome many colonists' doubts about separating from Britain.



THOMAS PAINE'S COMMON SENSE Just as important were the ideas of Thomas Paine. In a widely read 50-page pamphlet titled *Common Sense*, Paine attacked King George and the monarchy. Paine, a recent immigrant, argued that responsibility for British tyranny lay with "the royal brute of Britain." Paine explained that his own revolt against the king had begun with Lexington and Concord.

A PERSONAL VOICE THOMAS PAINE

"No man was a warmer wisher for a reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh of England for ever . . . the wretch, that with the pretended title of Father of his people can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul."

—*Common Sense*

Paine declared that independence would allow America to trade more freely. He also stated that independence would give American colonists the chance to create a better society—one free from tyranny, with equal social and economic opportunities for all. *Common Sense* sold nearly 500,000 copies in 1776 and was widely applauded. In April 1776, George Washington wrote, "I find *Common Sense* is working a powerful change in the minds of many men."

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

F Why might the ideals of the Enlightenment appeal to the colonists?

DECLARING INDEPENDENCE By the early summer of 1776, the wavering Continental Congress finally decided to urge each colony to form its own government. On June 7, Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee moved that “these United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent States.”

While talks on this fateful motion were under way, the Congress appointed a committee to prepare a formal **Declaration of Independence**. Virginia lawyer **Thomas Jefferson** was chosen to prepare the final draft.

Drawing on Locke’s ideas of natural rights, Jefferson’s document declared the rights of “Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness” to be “unalienable” rights—ones that can never be taken away. Jefferson then asserted that a government’s legitimate power can only come from the consent of the governed, and that when a government denies their unalienable rights, the people have the right to “alter or abolish” that government. Jefferson provided a long list of violations committed by the king and Parliament against the colonists’ unalienable rights. On that basis, the American colonies declared their independence from Britain. **G**

The Declaration states flatly that “all men are created equal.” When this phrase was written, it expressed the common belief that free citizens were political equals. It did not claim that all people had the same ability or ought to have equal wealth. It was not meant to embrace women, Native Americans, or African-American slaves—a large number of Americans. However, Jefferson’s words presented ideals that would later help these groups challenge traditional attitudes. In his first draft, Jefferson included an eloquent attack on the cruelty and injustice of the slave trade. However, South Carolina and Georgia, the two colonies most dependent on slavery, objected. In order to gain the votes of those two states, Jefferson dropped the offending passage.

On July 2, 1776, the delegates voted unanimously that the American colonies were free, and on July 4, 1776, they adopted the Declaration of Independence. The colonists had declared their freedom from Britain. They would now have to fight for it.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

G What reasons did Jefferson give to justify revolt by the colonies?

SECTION 1

ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- King George III
- Sugar Act
- Stamp Act

- Samuel Adams
- Boston Massacre
- Boston Tea Party

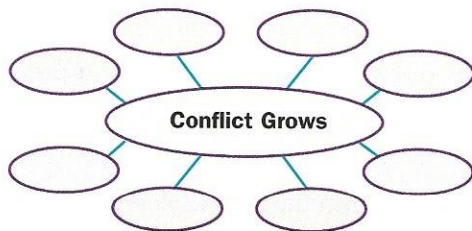
- John Locke
- Common Sense
- Thomas Jefferson

- Declaration of Independence

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.1.2)

Create a cluster diagram like the one shown and fill it with events that demonstrate the conflict between Great Britain and the American colonies.



Choose one event to further explain in a paragraph.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING (11.1.2)

Explain whether you think the British government acted wisely in its dealings with the colonies between 1765 and 1775. Support your explanation with examples from the text. **Think About:**

- the reasons for British action
- the reactions of colonists
- the results of British actions

4. ANALYZING EFFECTS (HI 2)

While Jefferson borrowed John Locke’s ideas, he changed Locke’s definition of the rights of men from “life, liberty, and property” to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” How do you think Jefferson’s rewording of Locke’s words has affected American life?

Think About:

- the experience of immigrants seeking new lives
- the experience of African Americans and Native Americans
- the socioeconomic groups living in America

The Declaration of Independence

Th Jefferson



Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence is one of the most important and influential legal documents of modern times. Although the text frequently refers to eighteenth-century events, its Enlightenment philosophy and politics have continuing relevance today. For more than 200 years the Declaration of Independence has inspired leaders of other independence movements and has remained a crucial document in the struggle for civil rights and human rights.

Jefferson begins the Declaration by attempting to legally and philosophically justify the revolution that was already underway. Here Jefferson is saying that, now that the colonists have begun to separate themselves from British rule, it is time to explain why the colonists have taken this course of action.

These passages reveal the influence of the English philosopher John Locke. In *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), Locke argued that if a government does not allow its citizens to enjoy certain rights and freedoms, the people have a right to replace that government.

Here begins the section in which Jefferson condemns the behavior of King George, listing the king's many tyrannical actions that have forced his American subjects to rebel.

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled.

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

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness; that, to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

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

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury;

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

INDEPENDENCE AND SLAVERY

The Declaration of Independence went through many revisions before the final draft. Jefferson, a slaveholder himself, regretted having to eliminate one passage in particular—a condemnation of slavery and the slave trade. However, in the face of opposition of delegates from Southern states, the anti-slavery passage was deleted.

This is a reference to the 10,000 troops that the British government stationed in North America after the French and Indian War. Although the British government saw the troops as protection for the colonists, the colonists themselves viewed the troops as a standing army that threatened their freedom.

Here Jefferson condemns both the king and Parliament for passing the Intolerable Acts. Most of these laws were intended to punish the people of Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party. For example, the Quartering Act of 1765 forced colonists to provide lodging for British troops. Another act allowed British soldiers accused of murder to be sent back to England for trial. The Boston Port Bill closed the port of Boston, "cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world."

Here Jefferson refers to the Quebec Act, which extended the boundaries of the province. He then refers to another act that changed the charter of Massachusetts and restricted town meetings.

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE



"ALL MEN WOULD BE TYRANTS IF THEY COULD."

Although the Declaration dealt with issues of equality, justice, and independence, it did not address conditions of inequality within the colonies themselves. Husbands dominated their wives, for example, and slaves lived under complete control of their owners. Speaking on behalf of women, Abigail Adams (above) had this to say to her husband John, who served in the Continental Congress:

"Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care . . . is not paid to the Ladies, we are determined to foment a Rebellion."

Here Jefferson turns his attention away from the king and toward the British people. Calling the British the "common kindred" of the colonists, Jefferson reminds them how often the Americans have appealed to their sense of justice. Reluctantly the colonists are now forced to break their political connections with their British kin.

In this passage, the delegates declare independence.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens, taken Captive on the high Seas, to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms; Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

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

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

[Signed by]

John Hancock [President of the Continental Congress]

[Georgia]

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

[Rhode Island]

Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery

[Connecticut]

Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott

[North Carolina]

William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

[South Carolina]

Edward Rutledge
Thomas Heyward, Jr.
Thomas Lynch, Jr.
Arthur Middleton

[Maryland]

Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone
Charles Carroll

[Virginia]

George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

[Pennsylvania]

Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross

[Delaware]

Caesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas McKean

[New York]

William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

[New Jersey]

Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark

[New Hampshire]

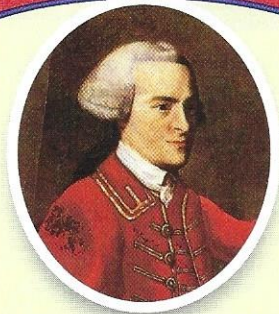
Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple
Matthew Thornton

[Massachusetts]

Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

The Declaration ends with the delegates' pledge, or pact. The delegates at the Second Continental Congress knew that, in declaring their independence from Great Britain, they were committing treason—a crime punishable by death. "We must all hang together," Benjamin Franklin reportedly said, as the delegates prepared to sign the Declaration, "or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

KEY PLAYER



JOHN HANCOCK
1737–1793

Born in Braintree, Massachusetts, and raised by a wealthy uncle, John Hancock became one of the richest men in the colonies. He traveled around Boston in a luxurious carriage and dressed only in the finest clothing. "He looked every inch an aristocrat," noted one acquaintance, "from his dress and powdered wig to his smart pumps of grained leather."

Beneath Hancock's refined appearance, however, burned the heart of a patriot. He was only too glad to lead the Second Continental Congress. When the time came to sign the Declaration of Independence, Hancock scrawled his name in big, bold letters. "There," he reportedly said, "I guess King George will be able to read that."

John Hancock

John Adams

Roger Sherman

Phil. Livingston

Benj. Franklin

The War for Independence

MAIN IDEA

Key American victories reversed British advances during the American Revolutionary War.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The American Revolution is today a national, even international, symbol of the fight for freedom.

Terms & Names

- Loyalists
- Patriots
- Saratoga
- Valley Forge
- inflation
- Marquis de Lafayette
- Charles Cornwallis
- Yorktown
- Treaty of Paris
- egalitarianism

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.2 Analyze the ideological origins of the American Revolution, the Founding Fathers' philosophy of divinely bestowed unalienable natural rights, the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and the addition of the Bill of Rights.

11.5.4 Analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.

11.10.7 Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

11.11.3 Describe the changing roles of women in society as reflected in the entry of more women into the labor force and the changing family structure.

HI 2 Students recognize the complexity of historical causes and effects, including the limitations on determining cause and effect.

One American's Story

Benjamin Franklin, the famous American writer, scientist, statesman, and diplomat, represented the colonies in London throughout the growing feud with Britain. As resistance in the colonies turned to bloodshed, however, Franklin fled London in 1775 and sailed home to Philadelphia.

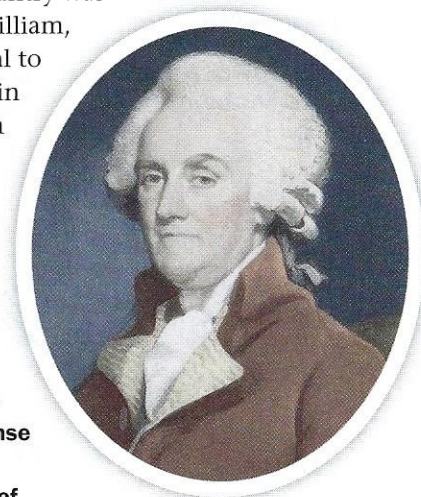
Ironically, the issue of loyalty versus independence that was dividing the American colonies from their mother country was also dividing Franklin's own family. Franklin's son William, the royal governor of New Jersey, was stubbornly loyal to King George and opposed the rebellious atmosphere in the colonies. In one of his many letters to British authorities regarding the conflict in the colonies, William stated his position and that of others who resisted revolutionary views.

A PERSONAL VOICE WILLIAM FRANKLIN

"There is indeed a dread in the minds of many here that some of the leaders of the people are aiming to establish a republic. Rather than submit . . . we have thousands who will risk the loss of their lives in defense of the old Constitution. [They] are ready to declare themselves whenever they see a chance of its being of any avail."

—quoted in *A Little Revenge: Benjamin Franklin and His Son*

Because of William's stand on colonial issues, communication between him and his father virtually ceased. The break between Benjamin Franklin and his son mirrored the chasm that now divided the colonies from Britain. The notion of fighting Britain frightened and horrified some colonists even as it inspired others. Both sides believed that they were fighting for their country and being loyal to what was best for America.



William Franklin

VIDEO

**PATRIOT FATHER,
LOYALIST SON**
**The Divided House
of Benjamin and
William Franklin**

The War Begins

As they took on the mighty British Empire, the colonists suffered initial losses in the Middle States, which served as the Revolutionary War's early battleground. In time, however, the colonists would battle their way back.

LOYALISTS AND PATRIOTS As the war began, Americans found themselves on different sides of the conflict. **Loyalists**—those who opposed independence and remained loyal to the British king—including judges and governors, as well as people of more modest means. Many Loyalists thought that the British were going to win and wanted to avoid punishment as rebels. Still others thought that the Crown would protect their rights more effectively than the new colonial governments would.

Patriots—the supporters of independence—drew their numbers from people who saw political and economic opportunity in an independent America. Many Americans remained neutral. **A**

The conflict presented dilemmas for other groups as well. Many African Americans fought on the side of the Patriots, but others joined the Loyalists because the British promised freedom to slaves who would fight for the Crown. Most Native Americans supported the British because they viewed colonial settlers as a greater threat to their lands.

EARLY VICTORIES AND DEFEATS As part of a plan to stop the rebellion by isolating New England, the British quickly attempted to seize New York City. The British sailed into New York harbor in the summer of 1776 with a force of about 32,000 soldiers. They included thousands of German mercenaries, or hired soldiers, known as Hessians because many of them came from the German region of Hesse.

MAIN IDEA

Forming Generalizations

A How did the thinking of Loyalists differ from that of Patriots?

Revolutionary War, 1775–1778



Military Strengths and Weaknesses

UNITED STATES

Strengths

- familiarity of home ground
- leadership of George Washington and other officers
- inspiring cause— independence

Weaknesses

- most soldiers untrained and undisciplined
- shortage of food and ammunition
- inferior navy
- no central government to enforce wartime policies



GREAT BRITAIN

Strengths

- strong, well-trained army and navy
- strong central government with available funds
- support of colonial Loyalists and Native Americans

Weaknesses

- large distance separating Britain from battlefields
- troops unfamiliar with terrain
- weak military leaders
- sympathy of certain British politicians for the American cause



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- 1. Location** From which city did General Burgoyne march his troops to Saratoga?
- 2. Place** What characteristic did many of the battle sites have in common? Why do you think this was so?



KEY PLAYER



GEORGE WASHINGTON
1732–1799

During the Revolutionary War, Commander in Chief George Washington became a national hero. An imposing man, Washington stood six feet two inches tall. He was broad-shouldered, calm, and dignified, and he was an expert horseman. But it was Washington's character that won hearts and, ultimately, the war.

Washington persistently roused dispirited men into a fighting force. At Princeton, he galloped on his white horse into the line of fire, shouting and encouraging his men. At Valley Forge, he bore the same cold and privation as every suffering soldier. Time and again, Washington's tactics saved his smaller, weaker force to fight another day. By the end of the war, the entire nation idolized General Washington, and adoring soldiers crowded near him just to touch his boots when he rode by.

Although the Continental Army attempted to defend New York in late August, the untrained and poorly equipped colonial troops soon retreated. By late fall, the British had pushed Washington's army across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

Desperate for an early victory, Washington risked everything on one bold stroke set for Christmas night, 1776. In the face of a fierce storm, he led 2,400 men in small rowboats across the ice-choked Delaware River. They then marched to their objective—Trenton, New Jersey—and defeated a garrison of Hessians in a surprise attack. The British soon regrouped, however, and in September of 1777, they captured the American capital at Philadelphia.

SARATOGA AND VALLEY FORGE In the meantime, one British general was marching straight into the jaws of disaster. In a complex scheme, General John Burgoyne planned to lead an army down a route of lakes from Canada to Albany, where he would meet British troops as they arrived from New York City. The two regiments would then join forces to isolate New England from the rest of the colonies.

As Burgoyne traveled through forested wilderness, militiamen and soldiers from the Continental Army gathered from all over New York and New England. While he was fighting off the colonial troops, Burgoyne didn't realize that his fellow British officers were preoccupied with holding Philadelphia and weren't coming to meet him. American troops finally surrounded Burgoyne at **Saratoga**, where he surrendered on October 17, 1777.

The surrender at Saratoga turned out to be one of the most important events of the war. Although the French had secretly aided the Patriots since early 1776, the Saratoga victory bolstered France's belief that the Americans could win the war. As a result, the French signed an alliance with the Americans in February 1778 and openly joined them in their fight. **B**

While this hopeful turn of events took place in Paris, Washington and his Continental Army—desperately low on food and supplies—fought to stay alive at winter camp in **Valley Forge**, Pennsylvania. More than 2,000 soldiers died, yet the survivors didn't desert. Their endurance and suffering filled Washington's letters to the Congress and his friends.

A PERSONAL VOICE GEORGE WASHINGTON

"It may be said that no history . . . can furnish an instance of an Army's suffering uncommon hardships as ours have done. . . . To see the men without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie upon, without shoes, . . . and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which in my opinion can scarcely be paralleled."

—quoted in *Ordeal at Valley Forge*

Life During the Revolution

One huge problem that the Continental Congress faced was paying the troops. When the Congress ran out of hard currency—silver and gold—it printed paper money called Continentals (like the Revolutionary soldiers). As Congress printed more and more money, its value plunged, causing rising prices, or **inflation**. The Congress also struggled against great odds to equip the beleaguered army.

MAIN IDEA

Developing Historical Perspective

B Why were these early victories so important to the Continental Army?

Background

See *inflation* on page R42 in the Economics Handbook.



◀ Molly Pitcher was the heroine of the Battle of Monmouth in New Jersey, which was fought in 1778. Afterward, General Washington appointed her as a noncommissioned officer to honor her brave deeds.

In 1781, the Congress appointed a rich Philadelphia merchant named Robert Morris as superintendent of finance. His associate was Haym Salomon, a Jewish political refugee from Poland. Morris and Salomon begged and borrowed on their personal credit to raise money to provide salaries for the Continental Army. They raised funds from Philadelphia's Quakers and Jews. On September 8, 1781, a Continental major wrote in his diary, "This day will be famous in the Annals of History for being the first on which the Troops of the United States received one Month's Pay in Specie [coin]."

The demands of war also affected civilians. When men marched off to fight, many wives stepped into their husbands' shoes, managing farms and businesses as well as households and families. Hundreds of women also followed their husbands to the battlefield, where they washed and cooked for the troops—while some, including Molly Pitcher, even risked their lives in combat. ©

The war opened some doors for African Americans. Thousands of slaves escaped to freedom in the chaos of war. About 5,000 African Americans served in the Continental Army, where their courage, loyalty, and talent impressed white Americans. Native Americans, however, remained on the fringes of the Revolution, preferring to remain independent and true to their own cultures.

Winning the War

In February 1778, in the midst of the frozen winter at Valley Forge, American troops began an amazing transformation. Friedrich von Steuben, a Prussian captain and talented drillmaster, helped to train the Continental Army. Other foreign military leaders, such as the **Marquis de Lafayette** (mär-kē də lăf'ē-ēt'), also arrived to offer their help. Lafayette lobbied France for French reinforcements in 1779, and led a command in Virginia in the last years of the war. With the help of such European military leaders, the raw Continental Army became an effective fighting force.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

© What important contributions did women make in the Revolutionary War?

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

JOHN PAUL JONES

As the Revolutionary War raged on land, Britain and the colonies also engaged each other at sea. The newly formed Continental navy was no match for the mighty British fleet. It was only after France and Spain joined the colonists' cause that Britain lost its maritime supremacy.

Nonetheless, the colonists scored several morale-boosting victories over the British navy, due in large part to the heroics of American naval commander John Paul Jones. The Scottish-born Jones captured a number of British vessels, including the *Serapis* in 1779. It was during his epic battle against this ship that Jones rejected the British demand that he surrender by uttering the famous line, "I have not yet begun to fight."

Revolutionary War, 1778–1781



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- Place** Where were most of the later Revolutionary War battles fought?
- Movement** Why might General Cornwallis's choice of Yorktown as a base have left him at a military disadvantage?

THE BRITISH MOVE SOUTH After their devastating defeat at Saratoga, the British began to shift their operations to the South. At the end of 1778, a British expedition easily took Savannah, Georgia. In their greatest victory of the war, the British under Generals Henry Clinton and **Charles Cornwallis** captured Charles Town, South Carolina, in May 1780. Clinton then left for New York, while Cornwallis continued to conquer land throughout the South.

In early 1781, despite several defeats, the colonists continued to battle Cornwallis—hindering his efforts to take the Carolinas. The British general then chose to move the fight to Virginia. He led his army of 7,500 onto the peninsula between the James and York rivers and camped at **Yorktown**. Cornwallis planned to fortify Yorktown, take Virginia, and then move north to join Clinton's forces.

THE BRITISH SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN Shortly after learning of Cornwallis's actions, the armies of Lafayette and Washington moved south toward Yorktown. Meanwhile, a French naval force defeated a British fleet and then blocked the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay, thereby obstructing British sea routes to the bay. By late September, about 17,000 French and American troops surrounded the British on the Yorktown peninsula and began bombarding them day and night. Less than a month later, on October 19, 1781, Cornwallis finally surrendered. The Americans had shocked the world and defeated the British.

Peace talks began in Paris in 1782. The American negotiating team included John Adams, John Jay of New York, and Benjamin Franklin. In September 1783, the delegates signed the **Treaty of Paris**, which confirmed U.S. independence and set the boundaries of the new nation. The United States now stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River and from Canada to the Florida border. **D**

Vocabulary

peninsula: a piece of land that projects into a body of water

MAIN IDEA

Evaluating

D What was the most important challenge that faced the new United States?

The War Becomes a Symbol of Liberty

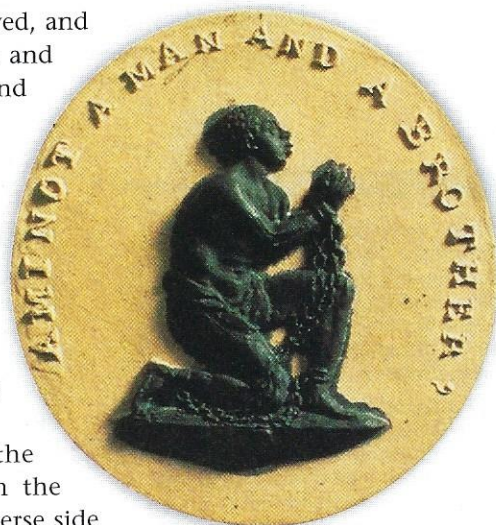
Revolutionary ideals set a new course for American society. During the war, social distinctions had begun to blur as the wealthy wore homespun clothing and as military leaders showed respect for all of their soldiers. Changes like these stimulated the rise of **egalitarianism** (ĭ-găl'ĭ-târ'ē-ə-nĭz'əm)—a belief in the equality of all people. This belief fostered a new attitude: the idea that ability, effort, and virtue, not wealth or family background, defined one's worth.

The egalitarianism of the 1780s, however, applied only to white males. It did not bring any new political rights to women. A few states made it possible for women to divorce, but common law still dictated that a married woman's property belonged to her husband.

Moreover, most African Americans were still enslaved, and even those who were free usually faced discrimination and poverty. However by 1804, many New England and Middle states had taken steps to outlaw slavery.

For Native Americans, the Revolution brought uncertainty. During both the French and Indian War and the Revolution, many Native American communities had been either destroyed or displaced, and the Native American population living east of the Mississippi had declined by about 50 percent. Postwar developments further threatened Native American interests, as settlers began taking tribal lands left unprotected by the Treaty of Paris. **E**

In the closing days of the Revolution, the Continental Congress had chosen a quotation from the works of the Roman poet Virgil as a motto for the reverse side of the Great Seal of the United States. The motto, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, means "a new order of the ages." Establishing a government and resolving internal problems in that new order would be a tremendous challenge for citizens of the newborn United States.



English potter Josiah Wedgwood designed this anti-slavery cameo and sent copies of it to Benjamin Franklin.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

E How had the American Revolution affected the lives of Native Americans?

2

ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Loyalists
- Patriots
- Saratoga

- Valley Forge
- inflation
- Marquis de Lafayette

- Charles Cornwallis
- Yorktown

- Treaty of Paris
- egalitarianism

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.1.2)

On a chart like the one below, list five significant events of the Revolutionary War in the column on the left. Note the significance of each event towards the American cause in the column on the right.

Event	Significance

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING (HI 2)

Do you think the colonists could have won their independence without aid from foreigners? Explain.

Think About:

- the military needs of the Americans and the strengths of the French
- the colonists' military efforts in the South
- the Americans' belief in their fight for independence

4. ANALYZING EFFECTS (HI 2)

What were the effects of the Revolutionary War on the American colonists? **Think About:**

- political effects
- economic effects
- social effects

Women and Political Power

In their families and in the workplace, in speeches and in print, countless American women have worked for justice for all citizens. Throughout the history of the United States, women have played whatever roles they felt were necessary to better this country. They also fought to expand their own political power, a power that throughout much of American history has been denied them.

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

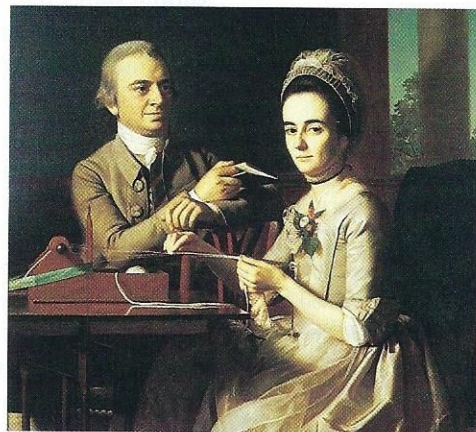
11.10.7 Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

CST 2 Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.

1770s

PROTEST AGAINST BRITAIN ►

In the tense years leading up to the Revolution, American women found ways to participate in the protests against the British. Homemakers boycotted tea and British-made clothing. In the painting at right, Sarah Morris Mifflin, shown with her husband Thomas, spins her own thread rather than use British thread. Some business women, such as printer Mary Goddard, who issued the first printed copy of the Declaration of Independence to include the signers' names, took more active roles.



1848

SENECA FALLS ►

As America grew, women became acutely aware of their unequal status in society, particularly their lack of suffrage, or the right to vote.

In 1848, two women—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, shown above, and Lucretia Mott—launched the first woman suffrage movement in the United States at the Seneca Falls Convention in Seneca Falls, N.Y. During the convention, Stanton introduced her Declaration of Sentiments, in which she demanded greater rights for women, including the right to vote.

A WOMAN'S DECLARATION



Elizabeth Cady Stanton

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, shown above, was the office of her father, a child, to find a way to the abolitionist movement. She was the foundation for the first woman's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.

1920

THE RIGHT TO VOTE ►

More than a half-century after organizing for the right to vote, women finally won their struggle. In 1920, the United States adopted the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the right to vote.

Pictured to the right is one of the many suffrage demonstrations of the early 1900s that helped garner public support for the amendment.



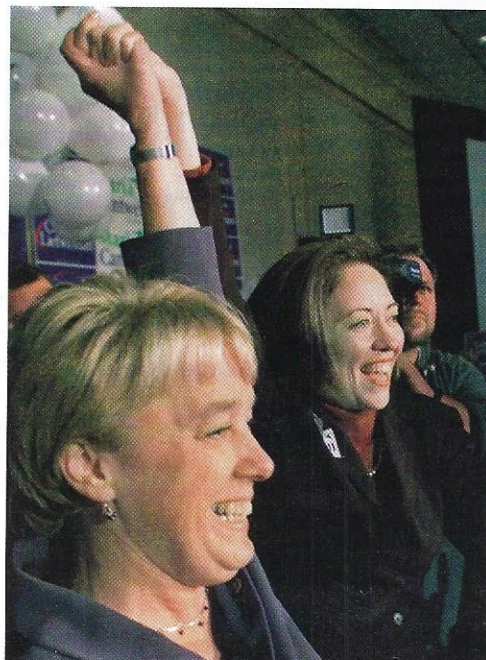
1972–1982

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT MOVEMENT ▶

During the mid-1900s, as more women entered the workforce, many women recognized their continuing unequal status, including the lack of equal pay for equal work. By passing an Equal Rights Amendment, some women hoped to obtain the same social and economic rights as men.

Although millions supported the amendment, many men and women feared the measure would prompt unwanted change. The ERA ultimately failed to be ratified for the Constitution.

ERA YES



2001

WOMEN IN CONGRESS ▲

In spite of the failure of the ERA, many women have achieved strong positions for themselves—politically as well as socially and economically.

In the 107th Congress, 60 women served in the House and 13 served in the Senate. Shown above are Washington's senators Patty Murray (left) and Maria Cantwell in 2000.



THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

- Synthesizing** How did women's political status change from 1770 to 2001?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R19.

CONNECT TO TODAY

- Researching and Reporting** Think of a woman who has played an important role in your community. What kinds of things did this woman do? What support did she receive in the community? What problems did she run into? Report your findings to the class.



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM

Confederation and the Constitution

MAIN IDEA

American leaders created the Constitution as a blueprint of government for the United States.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

More than 200 years after its creation, the Constitution remains the nation's guiding document for a working government.

Terms & Names

- republic
- Articles of Confederation
- Northwest Ordinance of 1787
- Shays's Rebellion
- James Madison
- federalism
- checks and balances
- ratification
- Federalists
- Antifederalists
- Bill of Rights

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.2 Analyze the ideological origins of the American Revolution, the Founding Fathers' philosophy of divinely bestowed unalienable natural rights, the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and the addition of the Bill of Rights.

11.3.5 Describe the principles of religious liberty found in the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment, including the debate on the issue of separation of church and state.

REP 4 Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

HI 3 Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.

HI 4 Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

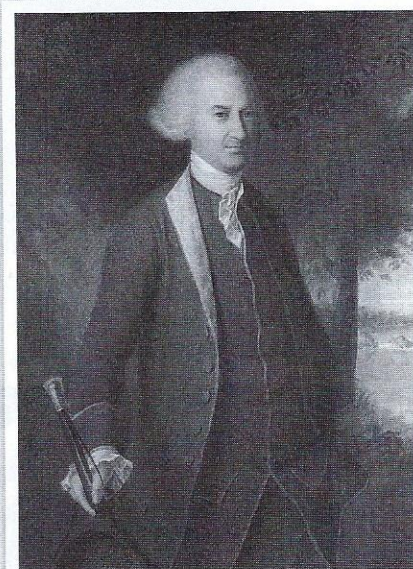
One American's Story

John Dickinson understood, perhaps better than other delegates to the Continental Congress, the value of compromise. In 1776 Dickinson hoped for reconciliation with Britain and refused to sign the Declaration of Independence. Yet, eight days after the Declaration was adopted, Dickinson presented Congress with the first draft of a plan for setting up a workable government for the new states.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN DICKINSON

"Two rules I have laid down for myself throughout this contest . . . first, on all occasions where I am called upon, as a trustee for my countrymen, to deliberate on questions important to their happiness, disdaining all personal advantages to be derived from a suppression of my real sentiments . . . openly to avow [declare] them; and, secondly, . . . whenever the public resolutions are taken, to regard them though opposite to my opinion, as sacred . . . and to join in supporting them as earnestly as if my voice had been given for them."

—quoted in *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732–1808*



▲ John Dickinson

Dickinson's two rules became guiding principles for the leaders who faced the formidable task of forming a new nation.

Experimenting with Confederation

As citizens of a new and independent nation, Americans had to create their own political system. Fighting the Revolutionary War gave the states a common goal, but they remained reluctant to unite under a strong central government.

After the Revolution, many Americans favored a **republic**—a government in which citizens rule through their elected representatives. However, many also feared that a democracy—government directly by the people—placed power in the hands of the uneducated masses. These fears and concerns deeply affected the planning of the new government.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION The Second Continental Congress set up a new plan of government in a set of laws called the **Articles of Confederation**. The plan established a form of government called a confederation, or alliance, among the thirteen states.

The Articles set up a Congress in which each state would have one vote regardless of population. Powers were divided between the states and the national government. The national government had the power to declare war, make peace, and sign treaties. It could borrow money, set standards for coins and for weights and measures, and establish a postal service. After approval by all thirteen states, the Articles of Confederation went into effect in March 1781.

One of the first issues the Confederation faced had to do with the the Northwest Territory, lands west of the Appalachians, where many people settled after the Revolutionary War. To help govern these lands, Congress passed the Land Ordinance of 1785, which established a plan for surveying the land. (See Geography Spotlight on page 72.) In the **Northwest Ordinance of 1787**, Congress provided a procedure for dividing the land into no fewer than three and no more than five states. The ordinance also set requirements for the admission of new states, which, however, overlooked Native American land claims. **A**

The Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 became the Confederation's most significant achievements. Overshadowing such successes, however, were the Confederation's many problems. The most serious problem was that each state functioned independently by pursuing its own interests rather than considering those of the nation as a whole. The government had no means of raising money or enforcing its laws. Moreover, there was no national court system to settle legal disputes. The Articles of Confederation created a weak central government and little unity among the states.

SHAYS'S REBELLION The need for a stronger central government became obvious in 1786 when many farmers in western Massachusetts rose up in protest over increased state taxes. The farmers' discontent boiled over into mob action in January of 1787 when Daniel Shays, a fellow farmer, led an army of 1,200 farmers toward the arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts. State officials hurriedly called out the militia to head off the army of farmers, killing four of the rebels and scattering the rest.

Shays's Rebellion, as the farmers' protest came to be called, caused panic and dismay throughout the nation. It was clearly time to talk about a stronger national government. Because the states had placed such severe limits on the government to prevent abuse of power, the government was unable to solve many of the nation's problems. News of the rebellion spread throughout the states. The revolt persuaded twelve states to send delegates to a convention called by Congress in Philadelphia in May of 1787. **B**

Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

- Congress could not enact and collect taxes.
- Each state had only one vote in Congress, regardless of population.
- Nine out of thirteen states needed to agree to pass important laws.
- Articles could be amended only if all states approved.
- There was no executive branch to enforce laws of Congress.
- There was no national court system to settle legal disputes.
- There were thirteen separate states that lacked national unity.

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

A What was the difference between the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787?

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

B Why do you think news of Shays's Rebellion made states eager to participate in the Philadelphia convention?

Creating a New Government

Most of the delegates at the Constitutional Convention recognized the need to strengthen the central government. Within the first five days of the meeting, they gave up the idea of fixing the Articles of Confederation and decided to form an entirely new government that would replace the one created by the Articles.

CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE One major issue that the delegates faced was giving fair representation to both large and small states. **James Madison** proposed the Virginia Plan, which called for a bicameral, or two-house, legislature, with membership based on each state's population. Delegates from the small states vigorously objected to the Virginia Plan because it gave more power to states with large populations. Small states supported William Paterson's New Jersey Plan, which proposed a single-house congress in which each state had an equal vote.

The debate became deadlocked and dragged on through the hot and humid summer days. Eventually, Roger Sherman suggested the Great Compromise, which offered a two-house Congress to satisfy both small and big states. Each state would have equal representation in the Senate, or upper house. The size of

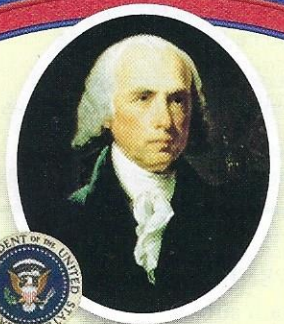
the population of each state would determine its representation in the House of Representatives, or lower house. Voters of each state would choose members of the House. The state legislatures would choose members of the Senate.

The Great Compromise settled one major issue but led to conflict over another. Southern delegates, whose states had large numbers of slaves, wanted slaves included in the population count that determined the number of representatives in the House. Northern delegates, whose states had few slaves, disagreed. Not counting the slaves would give the Northern states more representatives than the Southern states in the House of Representatives. The delegates eventually agreed to the Three-Fifths Compromise, which called for three-fifths of a state's slaves to be counted as part of the population. ©

DIVISION OF POWERS After the delegates reached agreement on the difficult questions of slavery and representation, they dealt with other issues somewhat more easily. They divided power between the states and the national government, and they separated the national government's power into three branches. Thus, they created an entirely new government.

The new system of government that the delegates were building was a form of **federalism**, in which power is divided between a national government and several state governments. The powers granted to the national government by the Constitution are known as delegated powers, or enumerated powers. These include such powers as the control of foreign affairs and regulation of trade between the states. Powers not specifically granted to the national government but kept by the states are called reserved powers. These include powers such as providing for and supervising education. Some powers, such as the right to tax and establish courts, were shared by both the national and the state governments.

KEY PLAYER



JAMES MADISON
1751–1836

The oldest of 12 children, James Madison grew up in Virginia. He was a sickly child who suffered all his life from physical ailments. Because of a weak speaking voice, he decided not to become a minister and thus entered politics.

Madison's Virginia Plan resulted from extensive research that he had done on political systems before the convention. He asked Edmund Randolph, a fellow delegate from Virginia, to present the plan because his own voice was too weak to be heard throughout the assembly.

Besides providing brilliant political leadership, Madison kept a record of the debates that took place at the convention. Because of his plan and his leadership, Madison is known as the Father of the Constitution.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

© In what ways did the Great Compromise resolve certain problems even as it created new ones?

Key Conflicts in the Constitutional Convention

STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT vs. STRONG STATES

- Authority derives from the people.
- In a new plan of government, the central government should be stronger than the states.
- Authority derives from the states.
- Under a modified Articles of Confederation, the states should remain stronger than the central government.

LARGE STATES vs. SMALL STATES

- Congress should be composed of two houses.
- The number of delegates to both houses of Congress should be assigned according to population.
- A Congress of one house should be preserved.
- Each state should have one vote.

NORTH vs. SOUTH

- Slaves should not be counted when deciding the number of congressional delegates.
- Slaves should be counted when levying taxes.
- Slaves should be counted when determining congressional representation.
- Slaves should not be counted when levying taxes.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

1. Why do you think the Southern states wanted slaves counted for determining the number of representatives in the House of Representatives?
2. Why did the small states object to delegates being assigned according to population?

SEPARATION OF POWERS The delegates also limited the authority of the national government. First, they created three branches of government:

- a legislative branch to make laws
- an executive branch to carry out laws
- a judicial branch to interpret the laws and settle disputes

Then the delegates established a system of **checks and balances** to prevent any one branch from dominating the other two. The procedure the delegates established for electing the president reflected their fear of placing too much power in the hands of the people. Instead of choosing the president directly, each state would choose a number of electors equal to the number of senators and representatives that the state had in Congress. This group of electors chosen by the states, known as the electoral college, would then cast ballots for the presidential candidates. **D**

CHANGING THE CONSTITUTION The delegates also provided a means of changing the Constitution through the amendment process. After four months of debate and compromise, the delegates succeeded in creating a Constitution that was an enduring document. In other words, by making the Constitution flexible, the delegates enabled it to pass the test of time.

Ratifying the Constitution

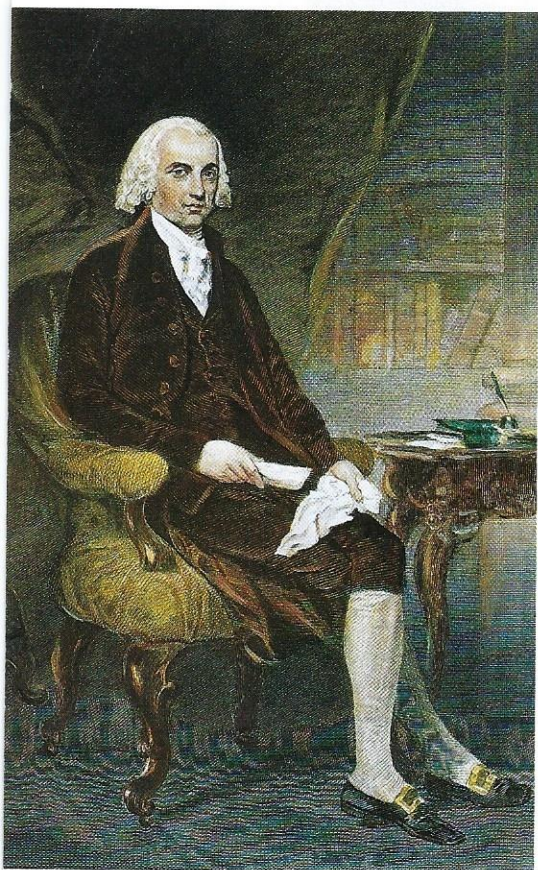
George Washington adjourned the Constitutional Convention on September 17, 1787. The Convention's work was over, but the new government could not become a reality until at least nine states ratified, or approved, the Constitution. Thus, the battle over **ratification** began.

FEDERALISTS AND ANTIFEDERALISTS Supporters of the Constitution called themselves **Federalists**, because they favored the new Constitution's balance of power between the states and the national government. Their opponents became known as **Antifederalists** because they opposed having such a strong central government and thus were against the Constitution.

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

D Why did the delegates fear that one branch of the government would gain too much power?



James Madison

Both sides waged a war of words in the public debate over ratification. *The Federalist*, a series of 85 essays defending the Constitution, appeared in New York newspapers. These were essays written by three influential supporters of ratification: Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay.

All three writers felt that there were defects in the new Constitution, but they also felt that its stronger central government was superior to the weak Congress provided by the Articles of Confederation. Using the pen name “Publius,” the authors addressed those who argued that ratification should be delayed until a more perfect document could be written. In the following excerpt from one of the essays (now known to be written by Madison), the author asks his readers to compare the admittedly flawed Constitution with its predecessor, the Articles.

A PERSONAL VOICE JAMES MADISON

“It is a matter both of wonder and regret, that those who raise so many objections against the new Constitution should never call to mind the defects of that which is to be exchanged for it [The Articles]. It is not necessary that the former should be perfect; it is sufficient that the latter is more imperfect.”

—*The Federalist*, Number 38, 1788

The Antifederalists’ main opposition to the new Constitution was that it contained no guarantee that the government would protect the rights of the people or of the states. Antifederalists included such notable figures as Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Richard Henry Lee. *Letters from the Federal Farmer*, most likely written by Lee, was the most widely read Antifederalist publication. Lee listed the rights that Antifederalists believed should be protected, such as freedom of the press and of religion, guarantees against unreasonable searches of people and their homes, and the right to a trial by jury.

The Antifederalists’ demand for a bill of rights—a formal summary of citizens’ rights and freedoms—stemmed from their fear of a strong central government. All state constitutions guaranteed individual rights, and seven of them included a bill of rights. The states believed they would serve as protectors of the people. Yet in the end, the Federalists yielded to people’s overwhelming desire and promised to add a bill of rights if the states would ratify the Constitution. In June 1788, New Hampshire became the ninth state to approve the Constitution, making it the law of the land. **E**

ADOPTION OF A BILL OF RIGHTS By December 1791, the states also had ratified ten amendments to the Constitution, which became known as the **Bill of Rights**. The first eight amendments spell out the personal liberties the states had requested. The First Amendment guarantees citizens’ rights to freedom of religion, speech, the press, and political activity. According to the Second and Third Amendments, the government cannot deny citizens the right to bear arms as members of a militia of citizen-soldiers, nor can the government house troops in private homes in peacetime. The Fourth Amendment prevents the search of citizens’ homes without proper warrants. The Fifth through Eighth Amendments guarantee fair treatment for individuals accused of crimes. The Ninth and Tenth Amendments impose general limits on the powers of the federal government.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

E Why did the Antifederalists insist that the Constitution must have a bill of rights?

The protection of rights and freedoms did not apply to all Americans at the time the Bill of Rights was adopted. Native Americans and slaves were excluded. Women were not mentioned in the Constitution. The growing number of free blacks did not receive adequate protection from the Constitution. Although many states permitted free blacks to vote, the Bill of Rights offered them no protection against whites' discrimination and hostility.

Continuing Relevance of the Constitution

The United States Constitution is the oldest written national constitution still in use. It is a "living" document, capable of meeting the changing needs of Americans. One reason for this capability lies in Article I, Section 8, which gives Congress the power "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the powers that the Constitution enumerates. This clause is referred to as the "elastic clause" because it stretches the power of the government. The framers of the Constitution included these implied powers in order to allow the authority of the government to expand to meet unforeseen circumstances.

The Constitution also can be formally changed when necessary through amendments. The Constitution provides ways for amendments to be proposed and to be ratified. However, the writers made the amendment process difficult in order to avoid arbitrary changes. Through the ratification process, the writers of the Constitution have also ensured that any amendment has the overwhelming support of the people.

In more than 200 years, only 27 amendments have been added to the Constitution. These amendments have helped the government meet the challenges of a changing world, while still preserving the rights of the American people. **F**

MAIN IDEA

Drawing Conclusions

F How did the adoption of the Bill of Rights show the flexibility of the Constitution?

SECTION 3

ASSESSMENT

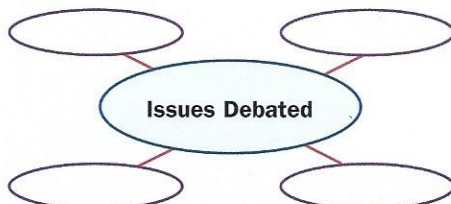
1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| • republic | • James Madison | • Federalists |
| • Articles of Confederation | • federalism | • Antifederalists |
| • Northwest Ordinance of 1787 | • checks and balances | • Bill of Rights |
| • Shays's Rebellion | • ratification | |

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.1.2)

Re-create the web below on your paper, and fill it in with specific issues that were debated at the Constitutional Convention.



Choose one issue and explain how the delegates resolved that issue.

CRITICAL THINKING

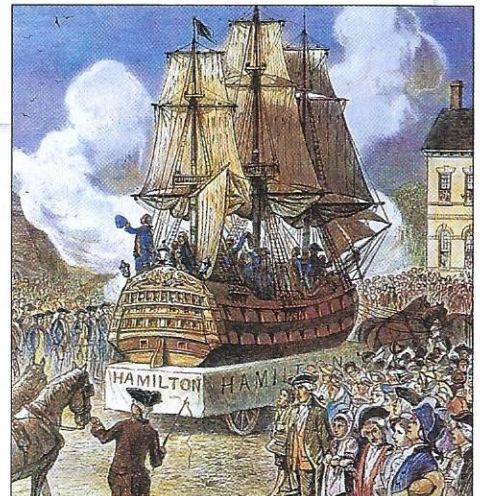
3. EVALUATING (11.1.2)

Do you think the Federalists or the Antifederalists had the more valid arguments? Support your opinion with examples from the text. **Think About:**

- Americans' experience with the Articles of Confederation
- Americans' experience with Great Britain

4. ANALYZING ISSUES (11.3.5)

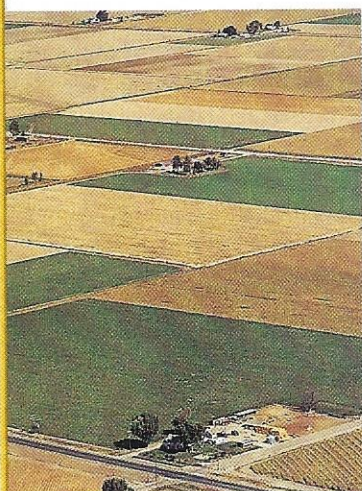
Several states ratified the Constitution only after being assured that a bill of rights would be added to it. In your opinion, what is the most important value of the Bill of Rights? Why?



5. ANALYZING VISUAL SOURCES (HI 3)

The cartoon above shows a parade held in New York to celebrate the new constitution. Why is Hamilton's name displayed under the "Ship of State" float?

The Land Ordinance of 1785



▲ Aerial photograph showing how the Land Ordinance transformed the landscape into a patchwork of farms.

When states ceded, or gave up, their western lands to the United States, the new nation became “land rich” even though it was “money poor.” Government leaders searched for a way to use the land to fund such services as public education.

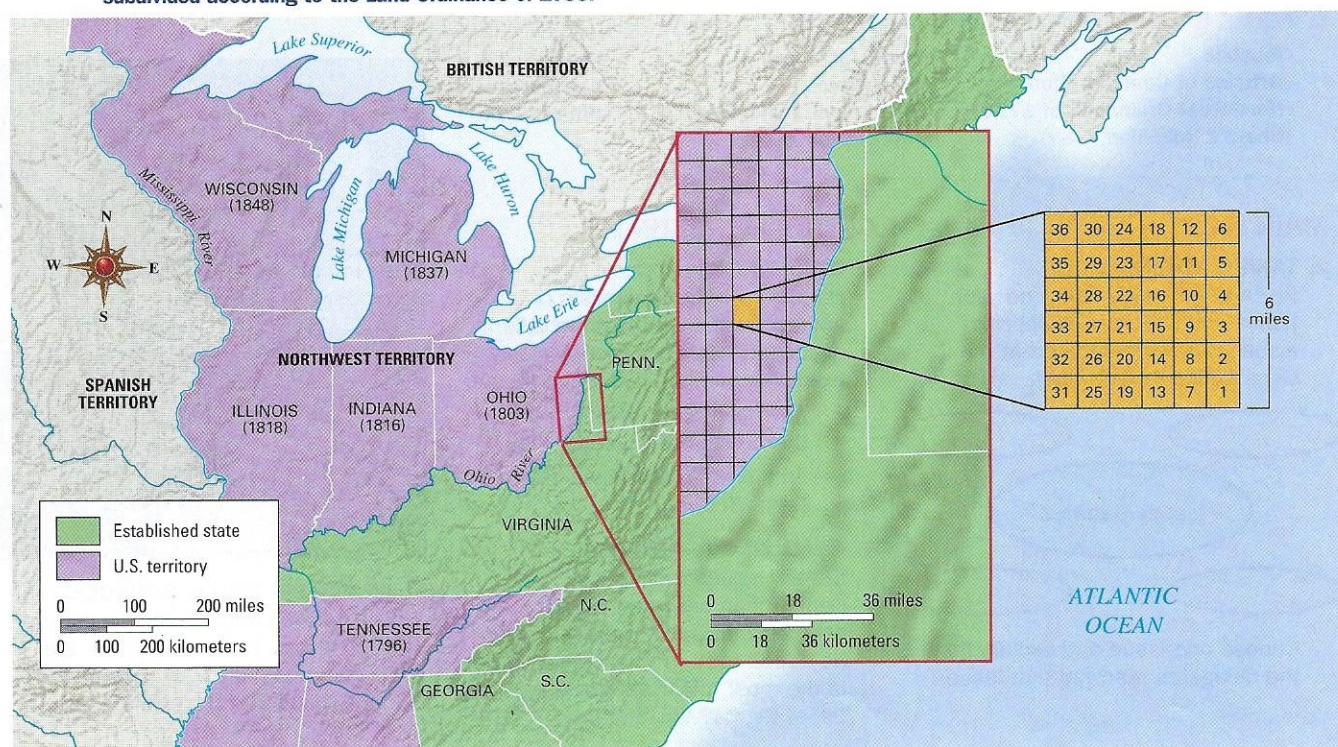
The fastest and easiest way to raise money would have been to sell the land in huge parcels. However, only the rich would have been able to purchase land. The Land Ordinance of 1785 made the parcels small and affordable.

The Land Ordinance established a plan for dividing the land. The government would first survey the land, dividing it into townships of 36 square miles, as shown on the map below. Then each township would be divided into 36 sections of 1 square mile, or about 640 acres, each. An individual or a family could purchase a section and divide it into farms or smaller units. A typical farm of the period was equal to one-quarter section, or 160 acres. The minimum price per acre was one dollar.

Government leaders hoped the buyers would develop farms and establish communities. In this way settlements would spread across the western territories in an orderly way. Government surveyors repeated the process thousands of times, imposing frontier geometry on the land.

In 1787, the Congress further provided for the orderly development of the Northwest Territory by passing the Northwest Ordinance, which established how states would be created out of the territory.

▼ The map below shows how an eastern section of Ohio has been subdivided according to the Land Ordinance of 1785.



This map shows how a township, now in Meigs County, Ohio, was divided in 1787 into parcels of full square-mile sections and smaller, more affordable plots. The names of the original buyers are written on the full sections.

A RELIGION To encourage the growth of religion within the township, the surveyors set aside a full section of land. Most of the land within the section was sold to provide funds for a church and a minister's salary. This practice was dropped after a few years because of concern about the separation of church and state.

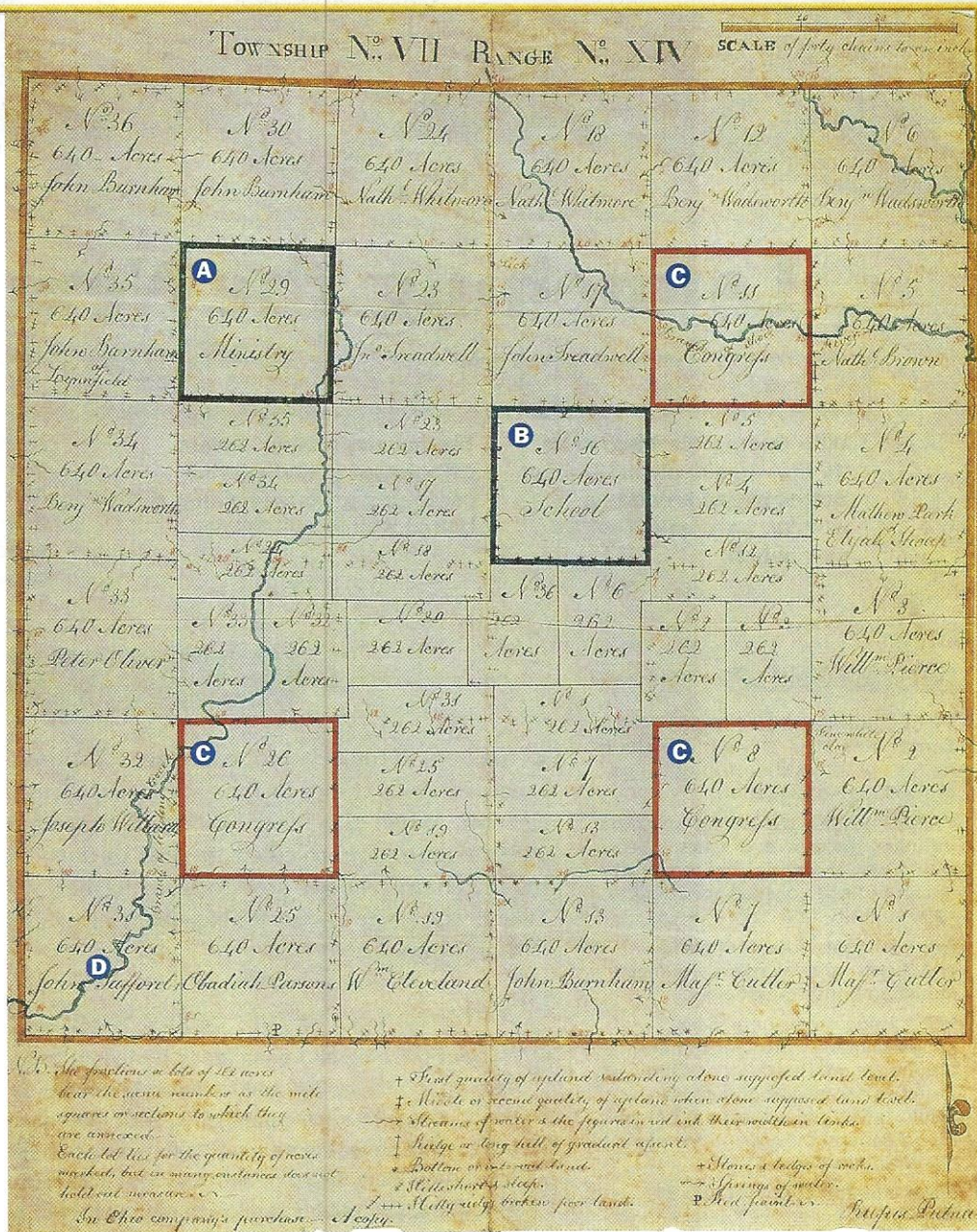
B EDUCATION The ordinance encouraged public education by setting aside section 16 of every township for school buildings. Local people used the money raised by the sale of land within this section to build a school and hire a teacher. This section was centrally located so that students could reach it without traveling too far.

C REVENUE Congress reserved two or three sections of each township for sale at a later date. Congress planned to sell the sections then at a tidy profit. The government soon abandoned this practice because of criticism that it should not be involved in land speculation.

D WATER Rivers and streams were very important to early settlers, who used them for transportation. Of most interest, however, was a meandering stream, which indicated flat bottomland that was highly prized for its fertility.

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

CST 3 Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.



THINKING CRITICALLY

- Analyzing Distributions** How did the Land Ordinance of 1785 provide for the orderly development of the Northwest Territory? How did it make land affordable?
- Creating a Chart** Create a table that organizes and summarizes the information in the map above. To help you organize your thoughts, pose questions that the map suggests and that a table could help answer.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R30.



RESEARCH LINKS CLASSZONE.COM

Launching the New Nation

MAIN IDEA

With George Washington as its first president, the United States began creating a working government for its new nation.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The country's early leaders established precedents for organizing government that the United States still follows.

Terms & Names

- Judiciary Act of 1789
- Alexander Hamilton
- cabinet
- two-party system
- Democratic-Republican
- protective tariff
- XYZ Affair
- Alien and Sedition Acts
- nullification

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

11.2.2 Describe the changing landscape, including the growth of cities linked by industry and trade, and the development of cities divided according to race, ethnicity, and class.

REP 1 Students distinguish valid arguments from fallacious arguments in historical interpretations.

REP 3 Students evaluate major debates among historians concerning alternative interpretations of the past, including an analysis of authors' use of evidence and the distinctions between sound generalizations and misleading oversimplifications.

REP 4 Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

HI 1 Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

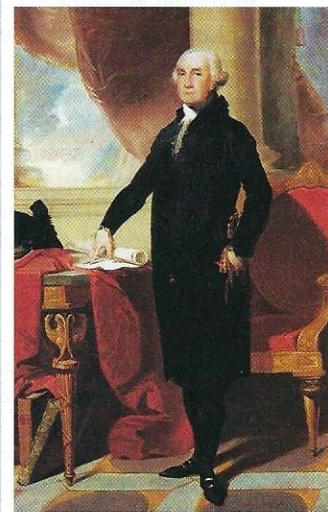
One American's Story

As the hero of the Revolution, George Washington was the unanimous choice in the nation's first presidential election. When the news reached him on April 14, 1789, Washington accepted the call to duty—despite his uncertainty about how to lead the new country. Two days later he set out for New York City to take the oath of office.

A PERSONAL VOICE GEORGE WASHINGTON

"About ten o'clock I bade adieu [farewell] to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity [happiness]; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York . . . with the best dispositions [intentions] to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

—The Diaries of George Washington



George Washington

As the first president of the United States under the Constitution, Washington and Congress faced the daunting task of creating an entirely new government. The momentous decisions that they made have resounded through American history.

Washington Heads the New Government

Although the Constitution provided a strong foundation, it was not a detailed blueprint for governing. To create a working government, Washington and Congress had to make many practical decisions. Perhaps James Madison put it best: "We are in a wilderness without a single footstep to guide us."

JUDICIARY ACT OF 1789 One of the first tasks Washington and Congress faced was the creation of a judicial system. The **Judiciary Act of 1789** provided for a Supreme Court and federal circuit and district courts. The Judiciary Act allowed state court decisions to be appealed to a federal court when constitutional issues

were raised. It also guaranteed that federal laws would remain “the supreme law of the land.”

WASHINGTON SHAPES THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH The nation’s leaders also faced the task of building an executive branch. To help the president govern, Congress created three executive departments: the Department of State, to deal with foreign affairs; the Department of War, to handle military matters; and the Department of the Treasury, to manage finances.

To head these departments, Washington chose capable leaders—Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, **Alexander Hamilton** as secretary of the treasury, Henry Knox as secretary of war. These department heads soon became the president’s chief advisers, or **cabinet**.

HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON: TWO CONFLICTING VISIONS Hamilton and Jefferson held very different political ideas. Hamilton believed in a strong central government led by a prosperous, educated elite of upper-class citizens. Jefferson distrusted a strong central government and the rich. He favored strong state and local governments rooted in popular participation. Hamilton believed that commerce and industry were the keys to a strong nation; Jefferson favored a society of farmer-citizens. **A**

HAMILTON’S ECONOMIC PLAN

As secretary of the treasury, Hamilton’s job was to put the nation’s economy on a firm footing. To do this, he called on the nation to pay off its debts, a large amount of which was incurred during the Revolution. He also proposed the establishment of a national bank that would be funded by both the federal government and wealthy private investors. This bank would issue paper money and handle taxes and other government funds.

Opponents of a national bank, such as James Madison, argued that since the Constitution made no provision for such an institution, Congress had no right to authorize it. This argument began the debate between those, like Hamilton, who favored a loose interpretation of the Constitution and those, like Madison, who favored a strict interpretation—a vital debate that has continued throughout U.S. history.

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

A How did Jefferson’s and Hamilton’s views of government differ?

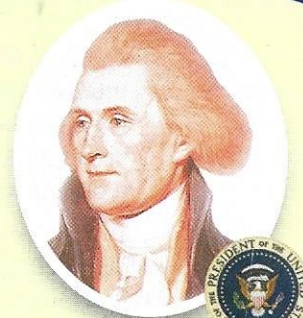
KEY PLAYERS



ALEXANDER HAMILTON
1755–1804

Born into poverty in the British West Indies, Alexander Hamilton was orphaned at age 13 and went to work as a shipping clerk. He later made his way to New York, where he attended King’s College (now Columbia University). He joined the army during the Revolution and became an aide to General Washington.

Intensely ambitious, Hamilton quickly moved up in society. Although in his humble origins Hamilton was the opposite of Jefferson, he had little faith in the common citizen and sided with the interests of upper-class Americans. Hamilton said of Jefferson’s beloved common people: “Your people, sir, your people is a great beast!”



THOMAS JEFFERSON
1743–1826

The writer of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson began his political career at age 26, when he was elected to Virginia’s colonial legislature. In 1779 he was elected governor of Virginia, and in 1785 he was appointed minister to France. He served as secretary of state from 1790 to 1793.

A Southern planter, Jefferson was also an accomplished scholar, the architect of Monticello (his Virginia house), an inventor (of, among other things, a machine that made copies of letters), and the founder of the University of Virginia in 1819. Despite his elite background and his ownership of slaves, he was a strong ally of the small farmer and average citizen.

Contrasting Views of the Federal Government

HAMILTON

- Concentrating power in federal government
- Fear of mob rule
- Republic led by a well-educated elite
- Loose interpretation of the Constitution
- National bank constitutional (loose interpretation)
- Economy based on shipping and manufacturing
- Payment of national and state debts (favoring creditors)
- Supporters: merchants, manufacturers, landowners, investors, lawyers, clergy

JEFFERSON

- Sharing power with state and local governments; limited national government
- Fear of absolute power or ruler
- Democracy of virtuous farmers and tradespeople
- Strict interpretation of the Constitution
- National bank unconstitutional (strict interpretation)
- Economy based on farming
- Payment of only the national debt (favoring debtors)
- Supporters: the "plain people" (farmers, tradespeople)

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

1. Whose view of the federal government was a wealthy person more likely to favor? Why?
2. How do you think Jefferson differed from Hamilton in his view of people and human nature?

THE FIRST POLITICAL PARTIES The differences within Washington's cabinet intensified and soon helped to give rise to a **two-party system**. Those who shared Hamilton's vision of a strong central government (mostly Northerners) called themselves Federalists. Those who supported Jefferson's vision of strong state governments (mostly Southerners) called themselves **Democratic-Republicans**.

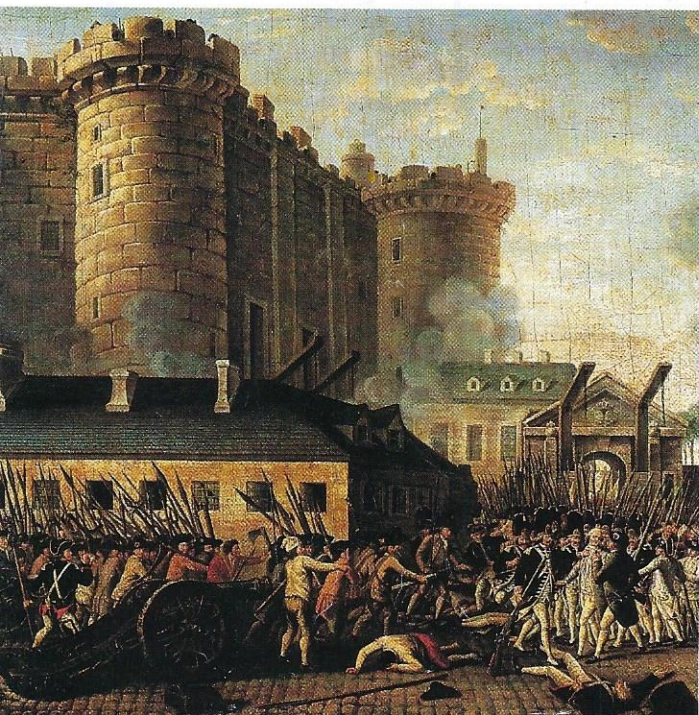
THE WHISKEY REBELLION During Washington's second term, an incident occurred that reflected the tension between federal and regional interests. Previously, Congress had passed a **protective tariff**, an import tax on goods produced abroad meant to encourage American production. To generate even more revenue, Secretary Hamilton pushed through an excise tax—a tax on a product's manufacture, sale, or distribution—to be levied on the manufacture of whiskey.

In 1794, furious whiskey producers in western Pennsylvania refused to pay the tax and attacked the tax collectors. The federal government responded by sending some 13,000 militiamen to end the conflict. The Whiskey Rebellion, as it came to be known, marked the first use of armed force to assert federal authority.

Background

In addition to promoting American goods, the Tariff of 1789, as well as tariffs that followed, provided the majority of the federal government's revenue until the 20th century.

French revolutionaries storm the Bastille, an infamous prison in Paris, France, on July 14, 1789.



Challenges at Home and Abroad

At the same time, the new government faced critical problems and challenges overseas as well as at home along the western frontier.

ADDRESSING FOREIGN AFFAIRS In 1789 a stunning revolution in France ended the French monarchy and brought hope for a government based on the will of the people. By 1793, France was engaged in war with Great Britain as well as with other European countries.

In the United States, reaction to the conflict tended to split along party lines. Democratic-Republicans supported France.

MAIN IDEA

Developing Historical Perspective

B Why did the United States want access to the Mississippi River?

Federalists wanted to back the British. President Washington took a middle position. He issued a declaration of neutrality, a statement that the United States would support neither side in the conflict. Washington remained wary of foreign involvement throughout his tenure in office. In his farewell address in 1796, he warned the nation to “steer clear of permanent Alliances with any portion of the foreign World.”

In another significant foreign matter, Thomas Pinckney negotiated a treaty with Spain in 1795. According to Pinckney’s Treaty, Spain agreed to give up all claims to land east of the Mississippi (except Florida) and recognized the 31st parallel as the northern boundary of Florida. Spain also agreed to open the Mississippi River to American traffic and allow traders to use the port of New Orleans. The treaty was important because it helped pave the way for U.S. expansion west of the Appalachians. **B**

CHALLENGES IN THE NORTHWEST Meanwhile, Americans faced trouble along their western border, where the British still maintained forts and Native Americans continued to resist white settlers. In 1794, after numerous skirmishes, the U.S. military led by General Anthony Wayne defeated a confederacy of Native Americans at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, near present-day Toledo, Ohio. The victory helped to establish the settlers’ supremacy in the region.

JAY’S TREATY At the time of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, John Jay, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, was in London to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain. One of the disputed issues was which nation would control territories west of the Appalachian Mountains. When news of Wayne’s victory at Fallen Timbers arrived, the British agreed to evacuate their posts in the Northwest Territory because they did not wish to fight both the United States and the French, with whom they were in conflict, at the same time.

Although Jay’s Treaty, signed on November 19, 1794, was a diplomatic victory, the treaty provoked outrage at home. For one thing, it allowed the British to continue their fur trade on the American side of the U.S.-Canadian border. This angered western settlers. Also, the treaty did not resolve a dispute over neutral American trade in the Caribbean. Americans believed that their ships had the right to free passage there. The British, however, had seized a number of these ships, confiscating their crews and cargo. Despite serious opposition, the treaty managed to pass the Senate.

The bitter political fight over Jay’s Treaty, along with the growing division between the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans, convinced Washington not to seek a third term.

Adams Provokes Criticism

In the election of 1796, the United States faced a new situation: a contest between opposing parties. The Federalists nominated Vice President John Adams for president, while the Democratic-Republicans chose Thomas Jefferson.

In the election, Adams received 71 electoral votes, while Jefferson received 68. Because the Constitution stated that the runner-up should become vice-president, the country found itself with a Federalist president and a Democratic-Republican vice-president.

The election also underscored the growing danger of sectionalism—placing the interests of one region over those of the nation as a whole. Almost all the electors from the Southern states voted for Jefferson, while all the electors from the Northern states voted for Adams.



▲
Portrait of a
young John
Adams by
Joseph Badger

ADAMS TRIES TO AVOID WAR Soon after taking office, President Adams faced his first crisis: a looming war with France. The French government regarded the U.S.-British agreement over the Northwest Territory a violation of the French-American alliance. In retaliation they began to seize American ships bound for Britain. Adams sent a three-man team to Paris to negotiate a solution. **C**

This team, which included future Chief Justice John Marshall, planned to meet with the French foreign minister, Talleyrand. Instead, the French sent three low-level officials, whom Adams in his report to Congress called “X, Y, and Z.” The French officials demanded a \$250,000 bribe as payment for seeing Talleyrand. News of this insult, which became known as the **XYZ Affair**, provoked a wave of anti-French feeling at home. “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute” became the slogan of the day. In 1798, Congress created a navy department and authorized American ships to seize French vessels. For the next two years, an undeclared naval war raged between France and the United States.

The Federalists called for a full-scale war against France, but Adams refused to take that step. Through diplomacy, the two countries eventually smoothed over their differences. Adams damaged his standing among the Federalists, but he kept the United States out of war.

THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS Although Democratic-Republicans cheered Adams for avoiding war with France, they criticized him mercilessly on many other issues. Tensions between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans rose to a fever pitch. Adams regarded Democratic-Republican ideas as dangerous to the welfare of the nation. He and other Federalists accused the Democratic-Republicans of favoring foreign powers.

Many immigrants were active in the Democratic-Republican party. Some of the most vocal critics of the Adams administration were foreign-born. They included French and British radicals as well as recent Irish immigrants who lashed out at anyone who was even faintly pro-British, including the Federalist Adams.

To counter what they saw as a growing threat against the government, the Federalists pushed through Congress in 1798 four measures that became known as the **Alien and Sedition Acts**. Three of these measures, the Alien Acts, raised the residence requirement for American citizenship from 5 years to 14 years and allowed the president to deport or jail any alien considered undesirable.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

C Why did the French begin to seize U.S. ships?

Vocabulary

alien: belonging to or coming from another country; foreign
sedition: rebellion against one's country; treason

Analyzing Political Cartoons

“THE PARIS MONSTER”

“*Cinque-tetes*, or the Paris Monster” is the title of this political cartoon satirizing the XYZ Affair. On the right, the five members of the French Directory, or ruling executive body, are depicted as a five-headed monster demanding money. The three American representatives, Elbridge Gerry, Charles Pinckney, and John Marshall, are on the left, exclaiming “Cease bawling, monster! We will not give you six-pence!”

SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. How would you contrast the cartoon's depiction of the U.S. representatives with its depiction of the French Directory?
2. What other details in the cartoon show the cartoonist's attitude toward the French?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



The fourth measure, the Sedition Act, set fines and jail terms for anyone trying to hinder the operation of the government or expressing “false, scandalous, and malicious statements” against the government. Under the terms of this act, the federal government prosecuted and jailed a number of Democratic-Republican editors, publishers, and politicians. Outraged Democratic-Republicans called the laws a violation of freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment.

VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS The two main Democratic-Republican leaders, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, saw the Alien and Sedition Acts as a serious misuse of power on the part of the federal government. They decided to organize opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts by appealing to the states. Madison drew up a set of resolutions that were adopted by the Virginia Legislature, while Jefferson wrote resolutions that were approved in Kentucky. The resolutions warned of the dangers that the Alien and Sedition Acts posed to a government of checks and balances guaranteed by the Constitution.

A PERSONAL VOICE

“Let the honest advocate of confidence [in government] read the alien and sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits.”

—8th Resolution, The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

D How did the Kentucky Resolutions challenge the authority of the federal government?

The Kentucky Resolutions in particular asserted the principle of **nullification**: the states had the right to nullify, or consider void, any act of Congress that they deemed unconstitutional. Virginia and Kentucky viewed the Alien and Sedition Acts as unconstitutional violations of the First Amendment that deprived citizens of their rights. **D**

The resolutions also called for other states to adopt similar declarations. No other state did so, however, and the issue died out by the next presidential election. Nevertheless, the resolutions showed that the balance of power between the states and the federal government remained a controversial issue. In fact, the election of 1800 between Federalist John Adams and Democratic-Republican Thomas Jefferson would center on this critical debate.

SECTION 4

ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Judiciary Act of 1789
- two-party system
- protective tariff
- Alien and Sedition Acts
- Alexander Hamilton
- Democratic-Republican
- XYZ Affair
- nullification
- cabinet

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.1.3)

In a chart, list the leaders, beliefs, and goals of the country's first political parties.

Federalists	Democratic-Republicans

If you had lived in that time, which party would you have favored? Why?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING LEADERSHIP (REP 4)

How would you judge the leadership qualities of President Washington in his decision to put two such opposed thinkers as Hamilton and Jefferson in his cabinet? Who do you think was the more significant member of the cabinet?

4. ANALYZING EVENTS (REP 4)

Do you agree with the Democratic-Republicans that the Alien and Sedition Acts were a violation of the First Amendment? Were they necessary? Support your opinion with evidence from the text.

Think About:

- the intent of the First Amendment
- what was happening in Europe
- what was happening in the United States

VISUAL SUMMARY

**REVOLUTION AND THE
EARLY REPUBLIC**

COLONIAL INTERESTS

- To maintain and increase prosperity through trade with Britain and the rest of the world.
- To continue settling new regions by migrating westward over the Appalachian mountains.



BRITISH INTERESTS

- To stop further migration over the Appalachian mountains.
- To tax the colonists in order to raise money to pay for their defense.
- To control colonial trade.



**REVOLUTIONARY
WAR**

1775-1783

The colonies rebel and achieve independence.

U.S.A.

The newly formed United States of America creates a new system of government, with a constitution and a bill of rights.

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

1. Stamp Act
2. Thomas Jefferson
3. Declaration of Independence
4. Valley Forge
5. Treaty of Paris
6. Articles of Confederation
7. checks and balances
8. Antifederalists
9. cabinet
10. Democratic-Republican

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Colonial Resistance and Rebellion (pages 46-53)

1. How did the first Continental Congress prepare the way for an armed uprising against Britain? (11.1.2)
2. Why did Jefferson eliminate criticism of the slave trade from the Declaration of Independence? (11.1.2)

The War for Independence (pages 58-63)

3. Why did so many colonists remain loyal to Britain during the Revolutionary War? (11.1.2)
4. How did the American victory at Saratoga affect the course of the war? (HI 2)

Confederation and the Constitution (pages 66-71)

5. What were some of the problems with the kind of government set up by the Articles of Confederation? (11.1.2)
6. What was the Great Compromise? (11.1.2)

Launching the New Nation (pages 74-79)

7. What events after 1789 helped to unify the nation? (11.1.3)
8. What issues led to the development of a two-party system? (11.1.3)

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** In a chart like the one below, show the ideological differences between the two political groups. (11.1.3)

Federalists	Antifederalists

2. **DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** In what ways did regional interests assert themselves after the creation of the United States? (11.1.3)

3. **EVALUATING** In your view, which compromise during the Constitutional Convention was more important, the Great Compromise or the Three-Fifths Compromise? Explain your choice. (11.1.2)

Standardized Test Practice

Use the cartoon and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.



1. This British cartoon was published during the winter of 1775–1776. In it, King George III and his ministers are shown killing the goose that laid the golden egg. The cartoon is criticizing — (11.1.2)
 - A. the killing of British soldiers at Concord and Bunker Hill.
 - B. British response to the Olive Branch Petition.
 - C. John Locke's theory of natural rights.
 - D. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*.

2. Both Shays's Rebellion and the Boston Tea Party were the result of anger over — (11.1.2)

- A. religious intolerance.
- B. the Boston Massacre.
- C. taxes.
- D. slavery.

Use the information in the box and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 3.

- Declaration of Independence
- Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Second Continental Congress

3. Which of the following lists the events in chronological order from first to last? (11.1.2)
 - A. Declaration of Independence, Battles of Lexington and Concord, Second Continental Congress
 - B. Battles of Lexington and Concord, Second Continental Congress, Declaration of Independence
 - C. Second Continental Congress, Battles of Lexington and Concord, Declaration of Independence
 - D. Second Continental Congress, Declaration of Independence, Battles of Lexington and Concord

ADDITIONAL TEST PRACTICE, pages S1–S33.



TEST PRACTICE CLASSZONE.COM

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT (HI 3, REP 4)

1. **INTERACT WITH HISTORY** Recall your discussion of the question on page 45:

How much power should the national government have?

Imagine that it is 1787. You have been present at a gathering of your friends who have discussed at length their ideas, concerns, and hopes for the new constitution being written in Philadelphia. Write a journal entry in which you try to record what you heard. Mention some of the conflicts being discussed at the Continental Congress, noting the criticisms as well as the support for the federal government proposed by the Constitution.

2. **VIDEO LEARNING FROM MEDIA** View the *American Stories* video, "Patriot Father, Loyalist Son." Discuss the following questions in a small group; then do the activity.

- What political views and concerns did Benjamin Franklin originally share with his son William?
- How did certain events in the American colonies' struggle for independence contribute to the conflict between Benjamin and William Franklin?

Cooperative Learning Activity Both Benjamin and William Franklin had strong opinions about loyalty and patriotism. In your opinion, what makes someone a patriot? Using books, magazines, and newspapers, make a list of people you consider to be patriots. List their names as well as the reasons why you chose them on a chart in your classroom.

The Living Constitution

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CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.2 Analyze the ideological origins of the American Revolution, the Founding Fathers' philosophy of divinely bestowed unalienable natural rights, the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and the addition of the Bill of Rights.

11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

"The Constitution was not made to fit us like a straightjacket. In its elasticity lies its chief greatness."

President Woodrow Wilson

PURPOSES OF THE CONSTITUTION

The official charge to the delegates who met in Philadelphia in 1787 was to amend the Articles of Confederation. They soon made a fateful decision, however, to ignore the Articles and to write an entirely new constitution. These delegates—the "framers"—set themselves five purposes to fulfill in their effort to create an effective constitution.

1. ESTABLISH LEGITIMACY

First, the framers of the Constitution had to establish the new government's legitimacy—its right to rule. The patriots' theory of government was set out in the Declaration of Independence, which explained why British rule over the colonies was illegitimate. Now the framers had to demonstrate that their new government met the standards of legitimacy referred to in the Declaration.

For the framers of the Constitution, legitimacy had to be based on a compact or contract among those who are to be ruled. This is why the Constitution starts with the words "We the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution."

2. CREATE APPROPRIATE STRUCTURES

The framers' second purpose was to create appropriate structures for the new government. The framers were committed to the principles of representative democracy. They also believed that any new government must include an important role for state governments and ensure that the states retained some legitimacy to rule within their borders.

To achieve their goals, the framers created the Congress, the presidency, and the judiciary to share the powers of the national government. They also created a system of division of powers between the national government and the state governments.

The original manuscript of the Constitution is now kept in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. ►

