

UNIT

1

A Nation is Born

Beginnings–1900

Why It Matters

The history of the United States of America begins with the decision of the thirteen English colonies to rebel against Britain. After emerging victorious from the Revolutionary War, the United States created a new form of government. The new republic struggled to balance federal versus states' rights as the nation grew in size and the North and South divided over the issue of slavery. Unable to reconcile these differences, the country fought the Civil War. After a difficult period of reunification, the United States expanded across the continent and developed its industrial economy. As the twentieth century approached, a modern United States prepared to face a new century. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.

Primary Sources Library

See pages 974–975 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 1.

Use the **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about events in early America.



Declaration of Independence



*Washington's Inauguration
at Independence Hall
by Jean Leon Gérôme Ferris, 1793*



“The country shall be independent, and we will be satisfied with nothing short of it.”

—Samuel Adams, 1774



CHAPTER

1

Beginnings to 1789

Creating a Nation

The Big Ideas

SECTION 1: Converging Cultures

Societies change over time. European settlers established colonies in lands inhabited by Native Americans and developed new forms of government.

SECTION 2: Dissent and Independence

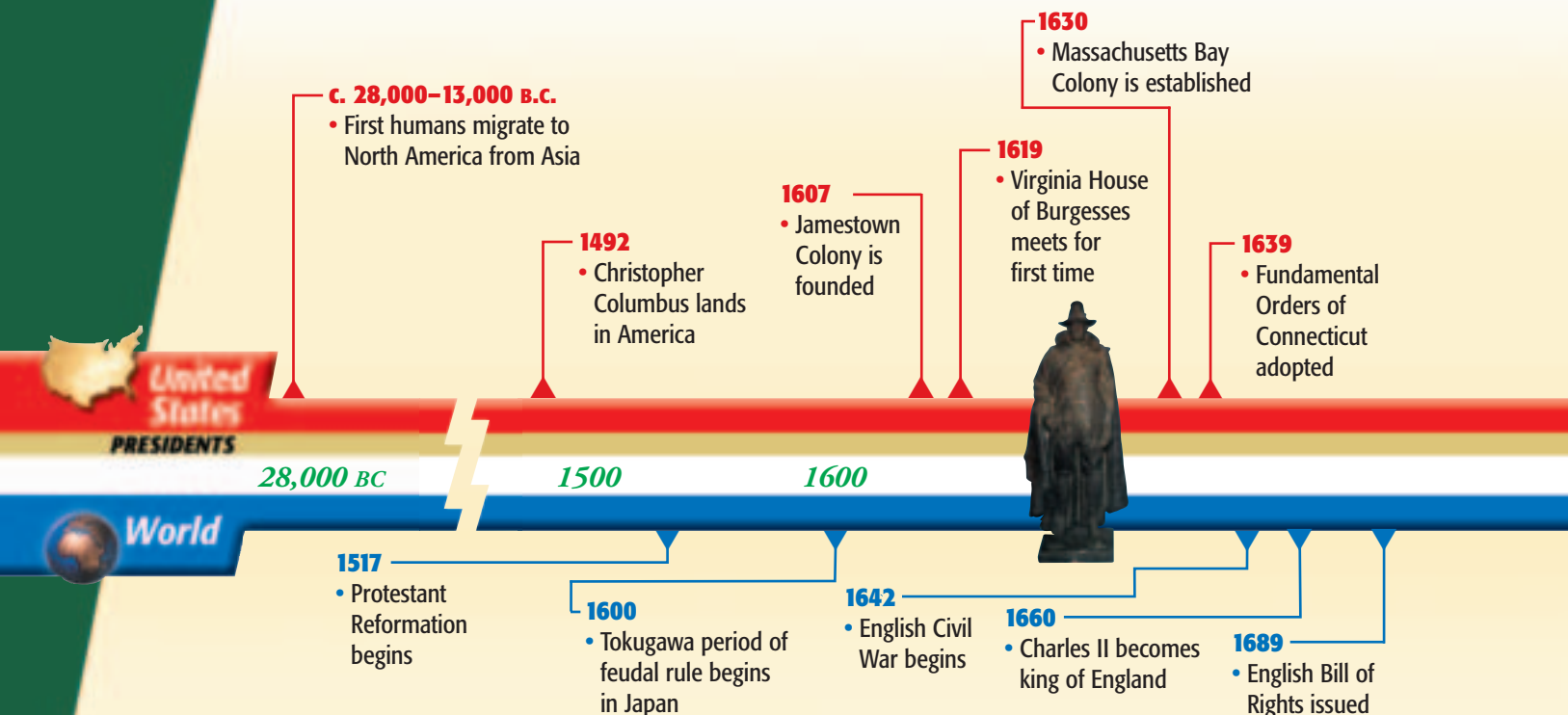
The quest for equality is eternal. American colonists developed an independent spirit, began to resent Britain's mercantilist policies and tightening control, and fought a war for independence.

SECTION 3: The Constitution

A written contract between the people and their government can preserve natural rights and allow for change over time. When the Articles of Confederation proved to be too weak, Americans crafted a new constitution based on compromise and flexibility.

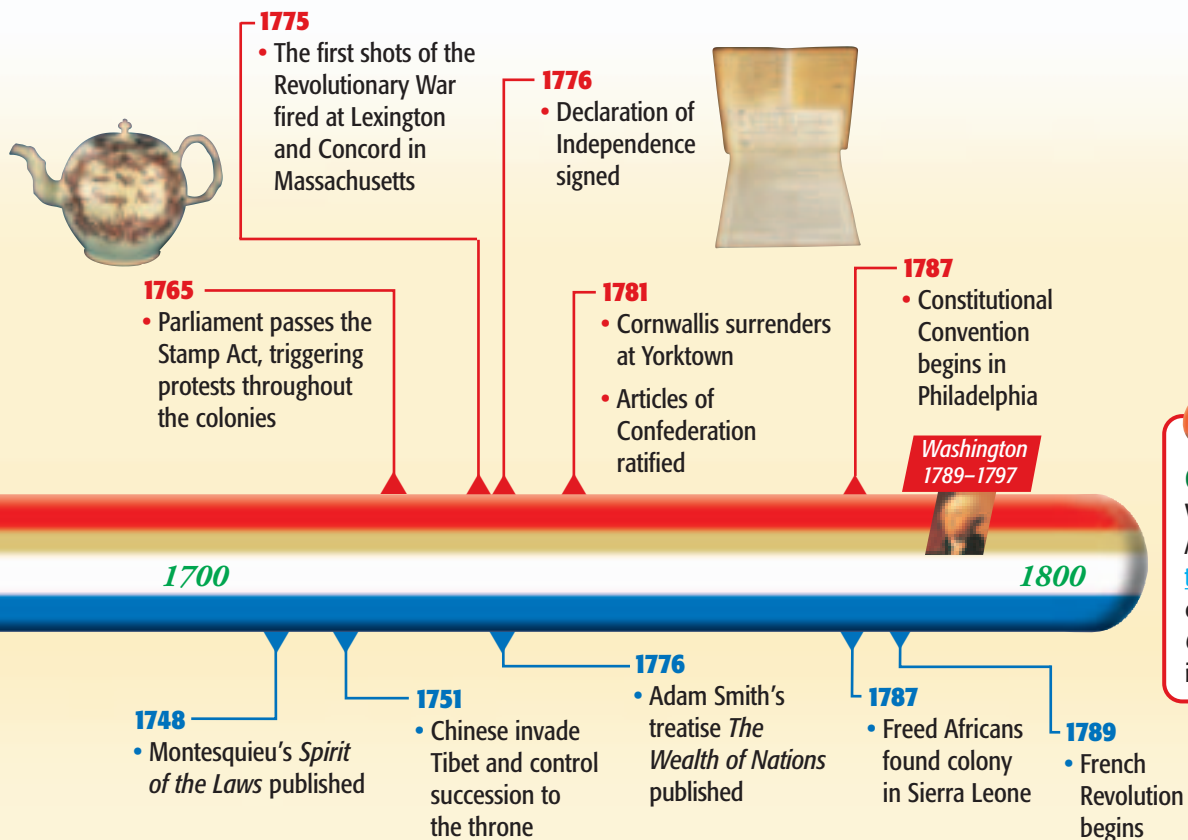


The American Vision: Modern Times Video The Chapter 1 video, "The Power of the Constitution," discusses one of the nation's most important documents.





This painting by Dutch artist Adam Willaerts is believed to depict the Plymouth Colony.



HISTORY Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 1** to preview chapter information.

Preparing to Read Chapter 1

Reading Skill

Predicting

Good readers make predictions before they read and while they read. Predictions are educated guesses, based on what you already know or what the author has already told you. Even though your prediction may not always be correct, predicting is a valuable tool because it gives you a chance to think about what you already know about the topic. In addition, reviewing your predictions will help you remember the information and improve your ability to predict.

One way to make predictions is to read the headings and subheadings in a section or chapter before reading the entire selection. As you read each heading, think about the story you believe the chapter will tell you about this time in history. What do you already know about this time? What do you expect to find out?

Read these headings from Section 1 and the predictions about them.

The Earliest Americans (*I think this heading will tell me about the first inhabitants of the Americas. They came here thousands of years ago.*)

European Explorations (*I expect that I will learn about the first Spanish explorers in the Americas.*)

Early French and English Settlement (*I wonder if I will learn about Jamestown and the Plymouth Colony?*)

The Thirteen Colonies (*What do I know about the original colonies? I know that they later formed the United States of America.*)

A Diverse Society (*Will I learn about enslaved Africans? What else is unique to colonial society?*)

PREDICTING

Use headings and subheadings like signposts to guide your reading. They let you know where you're going!

Apply the Skill

Before you read each section in this chapter, look at the headings and subheadings. Write down your predictions for each. You can think about information you already have on the topic from previous classes or from other sources. Based on the heading or subheading, you can also make a connection to a current event. After you have finished reading, review your predictions and note any differences between your predictions and the text.



Understanding Change

Chronological and Spatial Thinking As you study the history of the United States in the twentieth century, you will 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.

Do you recall a time when a major event changed your community forever? It may have been a national tragedy, like the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. It might have been a positive event, like the opening of a major business in your town that provided new employment opportunities for the many people. In either case, some changes seemed to occur overnight, while other changes evolved more slowly. Historians understand that change is complex and that change occurs at different rates.

When historians study events, they consider the time frame in which these events occur. Sometimes events occur quickly, in a matter of hours, days or weeks. Other times, events can occur over much longer periods, such as years or even decades. Historians also analyze how the events lead to changes, and what changes occur as a result of events. These changes can happen in the environment or in the societies in which the events take place. Some changes are barely noticeable, while others can have a profound effect.

A major event occurred centuries ago when European explorers first landed on the American continent. The impact on Native Americans was immediate, especially the effects of war and disease on their populations. Other changes occurred more slowly as European settlers arrived to colonize the land. In some cases, Native Americans and Europeans engaged in violent conflict.

Apply the Skill

As you read this chapter, consider how change occurred in the societies that developed in America. What changes happened to Native American societies? What new societies grew out of the arrival of European settlers, and how did their lives differ from or remain the same as that in Europe? How did life change for Africans who were enslaved and forcibly brought to the American colonies?



Guide to Reading

Connection

In this section, you will discover how societies in North and Middle America changed over time and how European colonies developed.

Main Idea

- Native Americans adapted to their environments and developed diverse cultures. (p. 99)
- European countries began to explore the world and established colonies in the Americas. (p. 101)
- The French and English settled in North America, and English colonists began their own local governments. (p. 102)
- As English settlements grew, colonists developed different forms of government to regulate life in their communities. (p. 103)

- The different colonies created new social structures that were more open than those of aristocratic Europe. (p. 107)

Content Vocabulary

civilization, joint-stock company, Pilgrim, subsistence farming, proprietary colony, indentured servant, triangular trade, slave code

Academic Vocabulary

culture, immigrate, hierarchy

People and Terms to Identify

Christopher Columbus, William Penn

Places to Locate

Jamestown

Reading Objectives

- **Explain** how the Americas were populated and became home to diverse cultures.

- **Identify** the main areas of Spanish, French, and English settlement and the reasons for English colonization.

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the early settlements of America, use the section headings to create an outline similar to the one below.

Discovery and Settlement
 I. The Earliest Americans
 A. Early Civilizations in America
 B.
 C.
 II. European Exploration
 A.
 B.
 C.
 III.
 IV.
 V.

Preview of Events

30,000

c. 28000 B.C.–13000 B.C.
 First humans migrate to North America

1500

1492
 Columbus claims American lands for Spain

1675

1607
 English found Jamestown

1750

1639
 Fundamental Orders of Connecticut adopted

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.1 Students analyze the significant events surrounding the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence.

11.3 Students analyze the role religion played in the founding of America, its lasting moral, social and political impacts, and issues regarding religious liberty.

11.3.1 Describe the contributions of various religious groups to American civic principles and social reform movements (e.g., civil and human rights, individual responsibility and the work ethic, antimonarchy and self-rule, worker protection, family-centered communities).

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. A shift to agriculture in Middle and North America led to the development of civilizations and Native American cultures. At the same time these cultures were flourishing in the Americas, Europeans began looking for trade routes to Asia to obtain desired goods. Their search brought Europeans into contact with the Americas. Contact between Native Americans and Europeans brought the exchange of foods and ideas but also introduced new diseases. Many Native Americans died, and cultures were destroyed from disease and war between the groups. France and England focused on settling eastern North America, straining relationships with Native Americans. As the colonies continued to develop and expand, so did different forms of government and the dependency on slave labor. Trade, the growth of cities, and the increase in African Americans and immigrants led to additional changes in colonial society.

The Earliest Americans

Main Idea Native Americans adapted to their environments and developed diverse cultures.

Reading Connection Do you remember when you started at a new school and had to get used to new ways of doing things? Read on to learn how the first American settlers adapted to their new environments.

No one knows exactly when the first people arrived in America. Scientists have pieced together many clues by studying the earth's geology and the items left by early humans.

★ An American Story ★

In 1925 an African American cowboy named George McJunkin was riding along a gully near the town of Folsom, New Mexico, when he noticed something gleaming in the dirt. He began digging and found a bone and a flint arrowhead. J.D. Figgins of the Colorado Museum of Natural History knew the bone belonged to a type of bison that had been extinct for 10,000 years. The arrowhead's proximity to the bones implied that human beings had been in America at least 10,000 years, which no one had believed at that time.

The following year, Figgins found another arrowhead embedded in similar bones. In 1927 he led a group of scientists to the find. Anthropologist Frank H.H. Roberts, Jr., wrote, "There was no question but that here was the evidence. . . . The point was still embedded . . . between two of the ribs of the animal skeleton." Further digs turned up more arrowheads, now called Folsom points. Roberts later noted: "The Folsom find was accepted as a reliable indication that man was present in the Southwest at an earlier period than was previously supposed."

—adapted from *The First American: A Story of North American Archaeology*

The Folsom discoveries proved that people were here at least 10,000 years ago. More recent research, however, suggests that our ancestors may have arrived much earlier—between 15,000 and 30,000 years ago.

These newcomers to America were probably nomads, people who continually move from place to place. As time passed, Native Americans learned

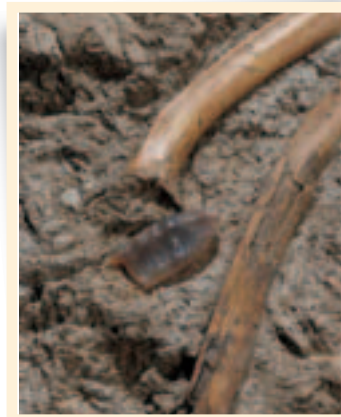
how to plant and raise crops. The shift to agriculture led to the first permanent villages and to new building methods. As early village societies became more complex, civilizations emerged. A **civilization** is a highly organized society marked by advanced knowledge of trade, government, the arts, science, and, often, written language.

Early Civilizations in America Anthropologists think the earliest civilization in the Americas arose between 1500 B.C. and 1200 B.C. among the Olmec people in southern Mexico. The Maya and the Aztec later developed their own civilizations in Central America, building impressive temples and pyramids and establishing trade networks. Many anthropologists believe that the agricultural technology of Mesoamerica eventually spread north into the American Southwest and beyond. Around A.D. 300, the Hohokam began farming in what is today Arizona. They and another nearby people, the Anasazi, were able to grow crops in the dry Southwest by building elaborate irrigation systems.

About the time that the Olmec civilization began in Mesoamerica, the people in North America's eastern woodlands were developing their own **cultures**. The Hopewell built huge geometric earthworks that served as ceremonial centers, observatories, and burial places. Between A.D. 700 and 900, the Mississippian people in the Mississippi River valley created Cahokia, one of the largest cities early Americans ever built.

Native American Cultural Diversity In the Eastern Woodlands, most Native Americans combined hunting and fishing with farming. Many different groups lived in the Eastern Woodlands, but most spoke either Algonquian or Iroquoian languages.

In the Southeast, the Cherokee were the largest group. They, along with the Creek, Choctaw, Natchez, and others, generally built wooden stockades around their villages for protection. Women did most of the farming, while men hunted deer, bear, and alligator.



This Folsom point, lying between animal bones, was one of a number of arrowheads found near the town of Folsom, New Mexico.

In the Southwest, the Hohokam and the Anasazi eventually disappeared, but their descendants, including the Zuni and the Hopi, continued to farm corn, beans, and cotton. Around the 1500s, two other groups—the Apache and the Navajo—came to the Southwest. The Navajo settled in farming villages, but many of the Apache remained nomadic hunters.

Hunting also sustained the Sioux and other peoples who lived on the western Great Plains. They followed buffalo herds and camped in tipis that they could easily set up, dismantle, and carry.

Along the Pacific Coast, the Northwest was home to fishing peoples like the Kwakiutls and the Chinook. They caught the plentiful salmon, built



NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

Native American Cultures, Including Mesoamerica, 500 B.C.–A.D. 1500

- Agriculture
- Fishing
- Hunting
- Hunting-Gathering
- Uninhabited



Geography Skills

1. **Interpreting Maps** What was the main food source for the Northwest?
2. **Applying Geography Skills** Why were Great Plains peoples nomadic?

wooden houses and canoes, and crafted ceremonial totem poles from the trunks of redwood and cedar trees. To the south, in what is today central California, groups such as the Pomo trapped small game and gathered acorns. Farther inland lived other hunter-gatherer groups like the Nez Perce, the Yakima, the Ute, and the Shoshone.

Meanwhile, in the Far North region from Alaska to Greenland, the Inuit and the Aleut hunted seals, walrus, whales, polar bears, and caribou. They adapted to their harsh environment by inventing tools such as the harpoon, kayak, dogsled, and oil lamp.

By the 1500s, Native Americans had established a wide array of cultures and languages. They had also developed economies and lifestyles suited to their particular environments.

Reading Check **Explaining** How did climate and food sources help shape Native American lifestyles?

European Explorations

Main Idea European countries began to explore the world and established colonies in the Americas.

Reading Connection Have you tried new foods from other parts of the country or the world? Read on to learn about the exchange of foods after European explorers came to America.

As the people of Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, they became interested in Asia, the source of spices, perfumes, fine silks, and jewels. The hope to find a sailing route to Asia that would bypass merchants and traders from Italy and the Middle East motivated the rulers of Portugal, Spain, France, and England. Equipped with new navigational tools and newly designed ships, the Portuguese took the lead in exploration in the late 1400s.

Columbus's Voyages The Spanish monarchs, meanwhile, had agreed to fund an expedition by **Christopher Columbus**, an Italian sea captain. Columbus was convinced that he could reach Asia by sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean. In August 1492, Columbus and his crew set off in three ships—the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria*. After a harrowing voyage, they probably landed on present-day San Salvador Island.

Christopher Columbus was not the first European to set foot in the Americas. A group of Vikings from Scandinavia, led by Leif Ericsson, had visited north-eastern Canada around A.D. 1000. It was Columbus,

however, who launched a wave of European exploration and settlement. Columbus made three more voyages, sailing to the Caribbean and along the Central and South American coasts. He claimed the new lands for Spain, believing all the time that he was in Asia.

Continuing Expeditions Europeans soon realized that Columbus had not reached Asia but a part of the globe unknown to Europeans. They named the new continent America in honor of Amerigo Vespucci, who explored the South American coastline for Portugal.

The 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas had confirmed Spain's right to most of the newly discovered lands of America, and now explorers paved the way for the Spanish Empire in the Americas. With their superior weapons, the Spanish began to conquer the local peoples and build settlements. Hernán Cortés defeated the Aztec in Mexico in 1521. Francisco Pizarro conquered the Inca in Peru eleven years later. Other Spaniards led forces into what is now the United States. Juan Ponce de Leon, for example, claimed Florida, and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado explored the Southwest, while Hernando de Soto traveled through the Southeast and became the first European to see the Mississippi River.

The Spanish soon controlled an immense territory that stretched from the Florida peninsula to California and down into South America. Settlers farmed the land, established mines and cattle ranches, and tried to spread the Catholic faith. Adobe missions, where priests lived alongside Native American converts in the 1600s and 1700s, still stand in the American Southwest today.



Spanish armor and helmet

Cultural Changes The arrival of Europeans in the Americas altered life for everyone. Native Americans introduced the Europeans to new farming methods and foods like corn, potatoes, squash, pumpkins, beans, and chocolate, as well as tobacco and chewing gum. Europeans also adopted many Native American inventions, including canoes, snowshoes, and ponchos.

Meanwhile, the Europeans introduced Native Americans to wheat, rice, coffee, bananas, citrus fruits, and domestic livestock such as chickens, cattle, pigs, sheep, and horses. In addition, Native Americans acquired new technologies, including firearms and better metalworking and shipbuilding methods. Along with these beneficial imports, however, came invisible and deadly ones—germs that cause diseases. Native Americans had never before been exposed to influenza, measles, chicken pox, mumps, typhus, or smallpox. With no immunity, millions of Native Americans died in widespread epidemics. Military conquests also devastated Native Americans, costing them their lands and their traditional ways of life.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** Why did millions of Native Americans die as a result of contact with Europeans?

Early French and English Settlement

Main Idea The French and English settled in North America, and English colonists began their own local governments.

Reading Connection Some people today dream about settling new frontiers such as oceans or other planets. Read on to learn what brought the first French and English settlers to North America.

Soon after Columbus made his historic voyage, France and England began exploring the new lands. These countries directed their efforts to the eastern part of North America. England sent John Cabot on expeditions in 1497 and 1498. France funded trips by Giovanni da Verrazano and Jacques Cartier in the early 1500s. Yet it was not until the 1600s that the French and the English succeeded in establishing colonies.

New France In 1608 French geographer Samuel de Champlain founded the outpost of Quebec. Instead of having settlers clear land and build farms, the backers of New France sought profits from fur. Frenchmen began a brisk trade with Native Americans. Quebec eventually became the capital of New France, a sparsely settled colony of fur traders and Jesuit missionaries.

In the late 1600s, France focused on increasing the population and size of the colony. Explorers Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette found the Mississippi River, and René-Robert Cavalier de La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. The French claimed the region and named it Louisiana. Settlers founded the towns of New Orleans, Biloxi, and Mobile, and they began growing sugar, rice, and tobacco. The French also began importing enslaved Africans to do the hard field work that these labor-intensive crops required.

Jamestown A year before the French founded Quebec, the English established their first lasting settlement in Virginia. The colony, **Jamestown**, was funded by a **joint-stock company**, a group of private investors who pooled their money to support big projects. These investors, along with many others in business and government, saw colonies as vital sources of raw materials and as markets for English goods.

Despite early troubles, the settlers persevered with the help of the Powhatan Confederacy, a group of local Native Americans. Within a few years, they began to prosper by growing tobacco. Newcomers



Picturing History

Critical Leadership Captain John Smith helped save early Jamestown by trading with local Native Americans. Sidney King painted its fort as it might have appeared around 1607. **Why do you think the fort was set up with only three sides?**



History Through Art

Solemn Signing Tompkins Matteson painted his vision of the Mayflower Compact signing. By signing this document, the Pilgrims wanted to set up a legal basis for their colony. **How did the artist try to suggest the seriousness of the occasion?** (See page 985 for an excerpt from the *Mayflower Compact*.)



arrived, attracted by the promise of land ownership. In 1619 colonists formed an assembly, the House or Burgesses, to make their own laws.

With encouragement of the Virginia Company, by 1622 more than 4,500 settlers **immigrated** to Virginia. This expansion alarmed Native Americans, who attacked Jamestown in 1622. An English court blamed the Company's policies for the high death rate and revoked its charter. Virginia became a royal colony run by a governor appointed by the king.

The Pilgrims in Plymouth Colony Not all settlers came for economic gain. King James was persecuting a group of Puritans who were called Separatists because they wanted to form their own congregations separate from the Anglican Church, the official church of England. These Separatists hoped to be able to worship freely in America.

In 1620 a small band of Separatists, who came to be known as **Pilgrims**, headed for Virginia on the *Mayflower*. During the voyage, a storm blew the ship off its course. The Pilgrims finally dropped anchor off the coast of Cape Cod. Since they would be landing in territory without an English government, they drew up a plan for self-government called the Mayflower Compact. (See page 985 for an excerpt from the *Mayflower Compact*.)

The settlers quickly built homes and befriended the local Wampanoag people. The following autumn, the Pilgrims joined with the Wampanoag in a harvest celebration—the first Thanksgiving.

Ten years later, as the persecution of Puritans increased, another group of Puritans arrived in Massachusetts Bay with a charter for a new colony. They founded several towns, including Boston. A depression of England's wool industry encouraged more people to leave, and Massachusetts expanded rapidly.

The people of Massachusetts set up a representative government, with an elected assembly to make laws. Government and religion were closely intertwined. The government collected taxes to support the church, and the Puritan leaders of the colony set strict rules for behavior.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why did English colonists come to America?

The Thirteen Colonies


Main Idea As English settlements grew, colonists developed different forms of government to regulate life in their communities.

Reading Connection Have you ever been a part of a new group or organization? What rules did you draw up? Read on to learn about new colonies and their new kinds of government.

The Jamestown, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay colonies were only the beginning of English settlements in the Americas. Although slow at first, over the next century the English began establishing colonies all along the eastern shore of the Atlantic Ocean.

New England Puritan efforts in the Massachusetts Bay Colony to suppress other religious beliefs led to the growth of other New England colonies. One early dissenter was a young minister named Roger Williams. He challenged many Puritan beliefs as well as the authority of the king to claim Native American lands. In 1636, after being banned from Massachusetts, Williams headed south, purchased land from the Narragansett people, and founded the town of Providence. There the government had no authority in religious matters, and different beliefs were tolerated rather than suppressed.

Like Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson was also exiled from Massachusetts because of her religious views. Hutchinson and a few followers ended up settling near Providence, as did other free-thinking Puritans over the following years. In 1644 Providence joined with neighboring towns to become the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation. Religious freedom, with a total separation of church and state, was a key feature of the new colony.

Religion also played a part in the founding of Connecticut. In 1636 the Reverend Thomas Hooker moved his entire congregation from Massachusetts to the Connecticut River valley. The group needed more land to raise cattle, and Hooker disagreed with the political system that allowed only church members to vote. The new colony came to be called Connecticut. Three years later, the people adopted America's first written constitution, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut. It allowed all adult men to vote and hold office.  (See page 986 for more on the *Fundamental Orders of Connecticut*.)

Not everyone who left Massachusetts headed for Rhode Island or Connecticut. Some religious dissenters, along with fishers and fur traders, went north instead. In 1679 a large area north of Massachusetts became the royal colony of New Hampshire.

New England Puritans valued religious devotion, hard work, and obedience to strict rules regulating daily life. Puritan society revolved around town life. Towns included a meetinghouse (church), a school, and a marketplace around an open public area called the town common. At town meetings, New Englanders would gather to discuss local problems and issues. These meetings evolved into the local government, with landowners voting on laws and electing officials to oversee town matters. Yet even residents without property could attend a town

meeting and express an opinion. For a peasant back in England, this would have been unthinkable. The colonists in New England—and indeed throughout America—grew used to managing their own affairs, and they came to believe strongly in their right to self-government.

New England's thin and rocky soil was ill suited for cash crops. Instead, on small farms from Connecticut to Maine, colonists practiced **subsistence farming**, raising only enough food to feed their families. The main crop was corn, but farmers also grew other grains, vegetables, apples, and berries, and they raised dairy cattle, sheep, and pigs.

It was maritime activity, however, that brought prosperity to New England. Fishers sold their catch of cod, mackerel, halibut, and herring to other colonists, Southern Europeans, and people in the Caribbean. Whaling also played a major role in New England's economy, providing blubber for making candles and lamp oil.

A thriving lumber industry developed too. Timber was plentiful, and lumber was in high demand for furniture, building materials, and the barrels that were used to store and ship almost everything in the colonial era. Lumbering led to another successful industry: shipbuilding. With forests and sawmills close to the coast, ships could be built quickly and cheaply. By the 1770s, one out of every three British ships had been built in America.

Profiles IN HISTORY

Anne Bradstreet

c. 1612–1672

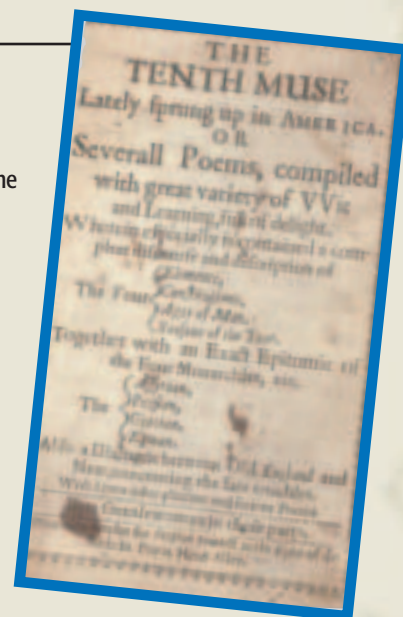
Anne Dudley was born about 1612 in Northampton, England. At the age of 16 she married Simon Bradstreet, and two years later she accompanied her husband to America. The Bradstreets, traveling with John Winthrop's party, were among the first settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

In America Anne Bradstreet faced the difficult task of building a home in the wilderness. Despite the hard work of raising eight children, she found time to write poetry. In 1650 the first edition of her poetry was published in England as *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America*. Bradstreet had not anticipated this recognition. Her brother-in-law had secretly taken a copy of her manuscript to a London publisher.

Anne Bradstreet was a devoted supporter of her husband, who became a leading political figure in Massachusetts, serving two

terms as governor. During the period of the Dominion of New England, he spoke out against the harsh rule of Edmund Andros. In a poem, *To My Dear Loving Husband*, published after her death, Anne described their relationship:

*If ever two were one, then surely we.
If ever man were loved by wife, then thee;
If ever wife was happy in a man,
Compare with me ye women if you can.*



Relations of the English settlers with their Native American neighbors were peaceful most of the time. In 1636 war broke out with the Pequot over the killing of two Massachusetts traders. For almost the next 40 years, good relations continued. By the 1670s, however, new conflict arose when colonial governments demanded that Native Americans follow English laws and customs. Tensions touched off what came to be called King Philip's War. After the colonists won the war in 1678, very few Native Americans were left in New England.

The Middle Colonies While the English focused their early settlements on Virginia and New England, the Dutch had claimed much of the land south of Connecticut. In 1609 Henry Hudson, a navigator hired by Dutch merchants, had discovered what is now the Hudson River valley in New York. The Dutch called the region New Netherland and established their main settlement of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. Dutch policies encouraged immigration, and by 1664 New Netherland had become England's main rival in North America.

Charles II, who had become king of England in 1660 after the English Civil War, decided to act. He seized New Netherland from the Dutch and granted the land to his brother, James, the Duke of York. James held onto the largest portion of the land, which he renamed New York. The rest of the land became New Jersey, a colony which offered generous land grants, religious freedom, and the right to have a legislative assembly.

In 1681 King Charles agreed to let **William Penn** create a new colony south of New York. Penn regarded Pennsylvania as a "holy experiment" where settlers would have religious freedom and a voice in government. He particularly wanted to help his fellow Quakers escape persecution in England. Quakers objected to all political and religious authority, including obligatory taxes and military service. They also opposed war or violence as a means to settle disputes. In Pennsylvania, people of all faiths found a safe haven. A treaty Penn signed in 1682 assured peace with a local group of Native Americans. To give his colony access to the Atlantic Ocean, Penn soon acquired a strip of coastal land to the southeast. This land later became a colony in its own right—Delaware.

The Middle Colonies were blessed with fertile land and a long growing season. Farmers produced bumper crops of rye, oats, barley, and potatoes. Most important, however, was wheat, which rapidly became the region's main cash crop.



Picturing History

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania Laid out along a river with farmsteads on the village outskirts, this town is typical of many in the Middle Colonies. **What was the region's main cash crop?**

In the early and mid-1700s, the demand for wheat soared, thanks to a population explosion in Europe. Between 1720 and 1770, wheat prices more than doubled in the Middle Colonies, bringing a surge of prosperity. Europe's population growth also brought a new wave of immigrants to America, particularly to the Middle Colonies where land was still available.

Some people who grew wealthy from the wheat boom invested in new businesses. They established glass and pottery works and built large gristmills that produced vast quantities of flour for export.

The Southern Colonies Farther south, tobacco helped Virginia to thrive. The colony had been joined by Maryland, a **proprietary colony** which began in the 1630s. A proprietary colony was one owned by an individual who could govern it any way he wanted, appointing government officials, coining money, imposing taxes, and even raising an army. The owner of the colony was George Calvert, also known as Lord Baltimore. He hoped to make the colony a refuge for Catholics, because they, like the Puritans, were persecuted in England. Most settlers, however, were Protestants. Maryland passed the Toleration Act in 1649, granting religious toleration to all Christians in the colony.

In the meantime, Virginia continued to thrive. After the end of the English Civil War, though, new colonies sprang up south of Virginia. In 1663 King Charles II gave eight friends and political allies a vast tract of land that had been named Carolina. From the start, Carolina developed as two separate regions. North Carolina was home to a small and scattered population of farmers who grew tobacco. Because North Carolina's coastline made the colony hard to reach, many more settlers came to South Carolina.



History Through Art

The Ideal Plantation This painting depicts the well-structured plantation as a world unto itself. Centered around the family home, the plantation's fields, support houses, and merchant ships unite to serve the needs of the plantation. [What influence did large landholders have on life in the South?](#)

There they established the community of Charles Town (Charleston), exported deerskins, and grew rice in the tidal swamps.

The last Southern colony, Georgia, arose south of the Carolinas in 1733, based on an idea of James Oglethorpe, a wealthy member of Parliament. Oglethorpe had been horrified to learn that many people in English prisons were jailed simply because they could not pay their debts. Oglethorpe asked King George II for a colony where the poor could start over. The king agreed, realizing that in addition to helping those in need, a new Southern colony would keep Spain from expanding north of Florida. Georgia soon attracted settlers from all over Europe.

As in Jamestown, agriculture was the focus of the Southern economy. In early colonial days, there was plenty of land for farmers, but not enough labor to work it. England had the opposite problem—not enough land and high unemployment. The situation led many poor English people to come to America as **indentured servants**. They signed contracts with American colonists, agreeing to work for four or more years in return for paid passage to America and free food, clothing, and shelter. Southern farmers also relied on the labor of enslaved Africans, a practice that grew dramatically as time passed.

The hard lives of enslaved workers and indentured servants contrasted sharply with the privileged lives of the elite. A small number of wealthy colonists

bought most of the land along the rivers and established large plantations. These large landholders had enormous economic and political influence. They served in the governing councils and assemblies, commanded the local militias (citizen armies), and became county judges. With few towns or roads in the region, their plantations functioned as self-contained communities.

Although they dominated Southern society, large landowners were few in number. Most Southerners were small farmers living inland in the backcountry. They owned modest plots devoted mostly to subsistence farming. Another group of colonists were tenant farmers—landless settlers who worked fields that they rented from the well-to-do.

By the 1660s, Virginia's government was dominated by wealthy planters led by the governor, Sir William Berkeley. Berkeley arranged to restrict voting to property owners, cutting the number of voters in half. Berkeley also exempted himself and his councilors from taxation. These actions angered the backcountry farmers and tenant farmers. Yet it was the governor's policies toward Native American lands that led to a rebellion.

Crisis Over Land Over time, the most important issue for most colonists was acquiring land. Many indentured servants and tenant farmers wanted to own farms eventually. Backcountry farmers wanted to expand their holdings. By the 1670s, most land left was in areas claimed by Native Americans in the Piedmont, the region of rolling hills between the coastal plains and the Appalachians. Most wealthy planters, who lived near the coast, opposed expanding Virginia's territory because they did not want to endanger their plantations by risking war with the Native Americans.

In 1675 war broke out between settlers and a Susquehannock group, but Governor Berkeley refused to support further military action. Nathaniel Bacon, a well-to-do but sympathetic planter, took up the cause of outraged backcountry farmers. After organizing a militia to attack the Native Americans, he ran for office and won a seat in the House of Burgesses. The assembly immediately authorized another attack. It also restored the right to vote to all free men and took away tax exemptions Berkeley had granted to his supporters. Not satisfied with these reforms, Bacon challenged Berkeley, and a civil war erupted. Bacon's Rebellion ended suddenly the next month, when Bacon, hiding in a swamp, became sick and died. Without his leadership, his army rapidly disintegrated, and Berkeley returned to power.

Bacon's Rebellion convinced many wealthy planters that land should be made available to back-country farmers. From the 1680s onward, Virginia's government generally supported expanding the colony westward, regardless of the impact on Native Americans.

Bacon's Rebellion also helped increase Virginia's reliance on enslaved Africans rather than indentured servants to work their plantations. Enslaved workers did not have to be freed and, therefore, would never need their own land. In addition, in 1672 King Charles II granted a charter to the Royal African Company to engage in the slave trade. Planters now found it easier to acquire enslaved people because they no longer had to go through the Dutch or the Portuguese. Earlier purchases had been difficult because English laws limited trade between the English colonies and other countries. Planters also discovered another economic advantage to slavery. Because enslaved Africans, unlike indentured servants, were considered property, planters could use them as collateral to borrow money and expand their plantations.

Reading Check **Analyzing** How did the types of settlements influence the way each was governed?

A Diverse Society

Main Idea The different colonies created new social structures that were more open than those of aristocratic Europe.

Reading Connection Think about the social structure in your school, from the principal down to you, the student. Read on to learn about the social structure that developed in the growing English settlements.

The increasing population of enslaved Africans, along with a rise in trade, changed colonial society. This brought with it a growth of cities, increased immigration, and changes in status for women and Africans.

Trade and the Rise of Cities In the early colonial period, settlers produced few goods that England wanted in exchange for the goods they purchased. Instead, colonial merchants developed systems of **triangular trade** involving exchanges of goods among the colonies, England, Caribbean sugar planters, and Africa.

This trade brought great wealth for merchants, who began to build factories. It also fostered the growth of cities in the North. By 1760 the Middle Colonies

boasted the two largest cities in America: Philadelphia, with 30,000 people, and New York with 25,000.

In these cities, a new society with distinct social classes developed. At the top of the **hierarchy** were a small number of wealthy merchants who controlled trade. Below them, artisans, or skilled workers, made up nearly half of the urban population in colonial times. Innkeepers and retailers with their own businesses held a similar status. The lower class consisted of people without skills or property. Below them in status were indentured servants and enslaved Africans. Although relatively few enslaved people lived in the North, many dwelled in the cities there, making up 10 to 20 percent of the urban population.

Enslaved Africans No group in the American colonies endured lower status or more hardship than enslaved Africans. Africans had arrived in Virginia as early as 1619, when they were regarded as "Christian servants." By about 1775, these unwilling immigrants and their descendants numbered about 540,000 in all colonies, roughly 20 percent of the colonial population. Throughout the colonies, laws called **slave codes** kept African captives from owning property, receiving an education, moving about freely, or meeting in large groups.

Most enslaved Africans lived on Southern plantations, where they worked long days and were subjected to beatings and brandings by planters. Planters also controlled enslaved Africans by threatening to sell them away from their families. Family and religion

Port of Boston As one of the main cities in the colonies, Boston was a center of activity in colonial America. It was a central point for the anger over the creation of the Dominion of New England.



helped enslaved Africans maintain their dignity. Some resisted by escaping to the North, where slavery was not as widespread as in the South; others refused to work hard or lost their tools.

Immigrants While enslaved Africans were brought to America against their will, Europeans came eagerly. Between 1700 and 1775, hundreds of thousands of free white immigrants streamed in. Most settled in the Middle Colonies, especially Pennsylvania. Among them were Germans fleeing religious wars back home and Scotch-Irish escaping high taxes, poor harvests, and religious discrimination in Ireland. Jews migrated to America for religious reasons too. By 1776 approximately 1,500 Jews lived in the colonies, mainly in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah, and Newport. They were allowed to worship freely, but they could not vote or hold public office.

Women Like Jews, women did not receive equal rights in colonial America. At first, married women could not legally own property or make contracts or wills. Husbands were the sole guardians of the children and were allowed to physically discipline both their children and their wives. Single women and widows had more rights. They could own and manage property, file lawsuits, and run businesses. In the 1700s, the status of married women improved. Despite legal limitations, many women worked outside their homes.

Reading Check Identifying What groups faced discrimination in colonial times?



Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** How many colonies were in New England in 1750?
- Applying Geography Skills** Which town or city is located the farthest west? Which town or city is located the farthest east?

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: civilization, culture, joint-stock company, immigrate, Pilgrim, proprietary colony, indentured servant, subsistence farming, triangular trade, hierarchy, slave code.
- People and Terms** Identify: Christopher Columbus, William Penn.
- Places** Locate: Jamestown.
- Summarize** why settlers came to Jamestown and Plymouth colony.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Describing** What are the different ways in which early settlers in the English colonies developed new and unique forms of government?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** What role did religion play in the founding of English colonies?
- Historical Analysis Evaluating** How did geography influence the way the English colonies developed?
CA CS3; CS4
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to briefly explain how the English colonies came into being.

Colony	Description of Founding

Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Art** Study the painting of the signing of the Mayflower Compact on page 103. Do you think the artist's depiction of the people and the ship is accurate, considering that they have just completed a long journey? Why or why not?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of a settler in Jamestown. Write a letter to someone back in England describing the hardships you faced after arriving at the colony.
CA 11WS1.1; 11WA2.1; 11WA2.4

Dissent and Independence

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the colonial development of North America. In this section, you will discover why American colonists became dissatisfied with Britain's rule and fought to gain independence.

Main Idea

- The colonists learned about the ideas of natural rights and justified revolutions, while British mercantilist policies limited their freedom. (p. 110)
- The ideas of the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening made the colonists question their role as subjects of the English monarch. (p. 111)
- Unpopular British laws and taxes led to colonial protests and violence. (p. 113)

- When Britain introduced new laws to assert its authority, the colonists decided to declare their independence. (p. 114)
- With the help of their allies, the Americans defeated the British in the Revolutionary War. (p. 117)

Content Vocabulary

mercantilism, Enlightenment, Great Awakening, customs duty, committee of correspondence, minuteman

Academic Vocabulary

logic, exports, communicate

People and Terms to Identify

John Locke, Stamp Act, Townshend Acts, Intolerable Acts, George Washington, Declaration of Independence

Places to Locate

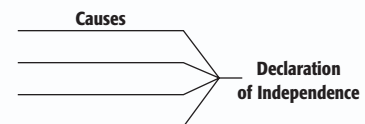
Lexington, Concord, Yorktown

Reading Objectives

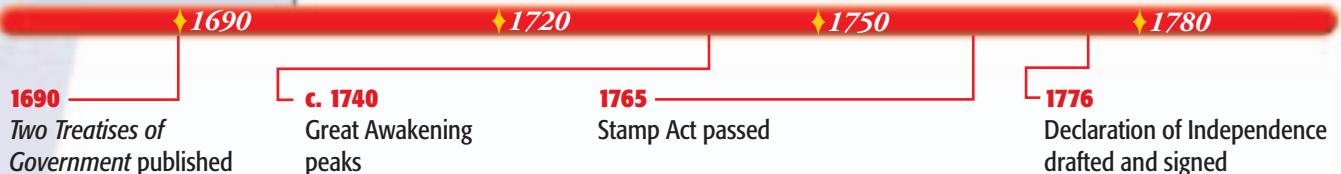
- **Explain** how the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening influenced American thinking.
- **Discuss** how the growing tensions between England and the colonies led to a revolution and independence.

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to describe the causes that led the colonies to declare their independence.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

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.

11.3.2 Analyze the great religious revivals and the leaders involved in them, including the First Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening, the Civil War revivals, the Social Gospel Movement, the rise of Christian liberal theology in the nineteenth century, the impact

of the Second Vatican Council, and the rise of Christian fundamentalism in current times.

The Big Idea

The quest for equality is eternal. Frustrated by British policies and limited rights, American colonists began demanding greater freedom. Fueled by the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening, many colonists protested the English monarch's policies. Angered by the protests, Britain increased its control over the colonies. Many colonists responded by declaring independence, while others remained loyal to Britain. The Americans won the Revolutionary War, and Britain recognized the United States of America as an independent nation.

Mercantilism and the Glorious Revolution

Main Idea The colonists learned about the ideas of natural rights and justified revolutions, while British mercantilist policies limited their freedom.

Reading Connection What rights do you have under the Bill of Rights? Read on to learn about the English Bill of Rights.

The triangular trade had allowed colonists to expand their trade and their colonies. Soon, however, the English Parliament enacted laws that limited the colonies while furthering England's economic interests.

★ An American Story ★

In the second half of the 1600s and the early 1700s, the British Parliament passed a series of laws that restricted and controlled colonial manufacturing. One of these laws affected the hat industry and another affected the iron industry. These laws annoyed many colonists, including Benjamin Franklin, who argued:

“The hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an act in their own favor restraining that manufacture in America. . . . In the same manner have a few nail makers and a still smaller body of steelmakers (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in England) prevailed totally to forbid by an act of Parliament the erecting of slitting mills or steel furnaces in America; that Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their buildings and steel for their tools from these artificers [craft workers].”

—quoted in *The Rise of American Civilization*



◀ Benjamin Franklin

England's policies were based on the idea that the purpose of colonies was to help the country increase its wealth. The colonists soon grew frustrated with such limits, but at the same time were encouraged by events in England that granted the colonies more freedoms.


Mercantilism Mercantilism is a set of ideas about the world economy, which were popular in the 1600s and 1700s. Mercantilists believed that to become wealthy and powerful, a country had to accumulate gold and silver by selling more goods to other countries than it bought from them. Mercantilists also argued that a country should be self-sufficient in raw materials. It would buy raw materials from its colonies and sell them manufactured goods in return.

Mercantilism gave colonies a reliable market for some of their raw materials and was an eager supplier of manufactured goods. At the same time, it prevented colonies from selling goods to other nations, even if they could get a better price. Furthermore, if a colony produced nothing the home country needed, it could not acquire gold or silver to buy manufactured goods.


When Charles II assumed the throne in 1660, he and his advisers were determined to use the colonies to generate wealth for England. Charles asked Parliament to pass the Navigation Acts of 1660, requiring that all goods shipped to and from the colonies be carried on English ships. Specific products, including the major products that earned money for the colonies, could be sold only to England or other English colonies. Three years later, in 1663, Parliament passed another navigation act, the Staple Act. It required all colonial imports to come through England. Merchants bringing foreign goods to the colonies had to stop in England, pay taxes, and then ship the goods out again on English ships. This increased the price of the goods in the colonies.


Frustration with the Navigation Acts encouraged colonial merchants to break the laws. New England merchants routinely smuggled goods to Europe, the Caribbean, and Africa. To control the colonies, in 1684 Charles II deprived Massachusetts of its charter and declared it a royal colony. James II, who succeeded his brother Charles on the English throne in 1685, went even further by creating a new royal province called the Dominion of New England. At first it included Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, but later Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York were added. Sir Edmund Andros, the Dominion's first governor-general, quickly made himself unpopular by levying new taxes, rigorously enforcing the Navigation Acts, and attempting to undermine the authority of the Puritan Church.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 While Andros was angering New England colonists, King James II was offending many in England by disregarding Parliament, revoking the charters of many English towns, and converting to Catholicism. The birth of James's son in 1688 triggered protests against a Catholic heir. To prevent a Catholic dynasty, Parliament invited James's Protestant daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, William of Orange, to claim the throne. James fled, and William and Mary became the new rulers. This bloodless change of power is known as the Glorious Revolution.

Before assuming the throne, William and Mary had to swear their acceptance of the English Bill of Rights. This document, written in 1689, said monarchs could not suspend Parliament's laws or create their own courts, nor could they impose taxes or raise an army without Parliament's consent. The Bill of Rights also guaranteed freedom of speech within Parliament, banned excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishments, and guaranteed every English subject the right to an impartial jury in legal cases.  (See page 987 for an excerpt from the English Bill of Rights.)

The English Bill of Rights later influenced American government. Almost immediately Boston colonists ousted Governor-General Andros. William and Mary then permitted Rhode Island and Connecticut to resume their previous forms of government, and they issued a new charter for Massachusetts in 1691. The new charter combined Massachusetts Bay Colony, Plymouth Colony, and Maine into the royal colony of Massachusetts. The king retained the power to appoint a governor, but he restored the colonists' right to elect an assembly. Voters no longer had to belong to a Puritan congregation, and Anglicans there were granted freedom of worship.

John Locke's Political Theories The Glorious Revolution had another important legacy. It suggested there were times when revolution was justified. In 1690 **John Locke's** *Two Treatises of Government* was published on this subject.  (See page 988 for an excerpt from the *Two Treatises*.) Locke argued that a monarch's right to rule came from the people. All people, he said, were born with certain natural rights, including the right to life, liberty, and property. Because their rights were not safe in the state of nature in which people originally lived, people had come together to create a government. In effect, they had made a contract—they agreed to obey the government's laws, and the government agreed to uphold their rights. If a ruler violated those rights, the people were justified in rebelling. Locke's ideas struck

a chord with American colonists. When Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence in 1776, he relied upon the words and ideas of John Locke. The colonists understood Locke's "natural rights" to be the specific rights English people had developed over the centuries and that were referred to in documents such as the Magna Carta and the English Bill of Rights.  (See page 984 for an excerpt from the Magna Carta.)

 **Reading Check** **Examining** In what ways did the Navigation Acts affect trade in the colonies?

The Enlightenment and the Great Awakening

Main Idea The ideas of the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening made the colonists question their role as subjects of the English monarch.

Reading Connection Have you ever read a book that changed the way you think about a subject? Read on to learn how two cultural movements influenced the colonists.

The English Bill of Rights was not the only set of ideas that influenced the colonists. During the 1700s, America saw the emergence of two great cultural movements. One championed human reason and science as a means of learning truth, while the other stressed an intense, personal relationship with God. Both challenged traditional authorities.

 *John Locke*



History Through Art

The Great Awakening George Whitefield, pictured here standing, was one of the most famous ministers of the colonial religious revival. [What effect did the Great Awakening have on Americans?](#)

branches would provide checks and balances against each other and would prevent the government from abusing its authority. Montesquieu's ideas influenced many of the leaders who wrote the American Constitution.

The Great Awakening While some Americans turned away from a religious worldview in the 1700s, others renewed their Christian faith. Throughout the colonies, ministers held revivals—large public meetings for preaching and prayer—where they stressed piety and being “born again,” or emotionally uniting with God. This widespread resurgence of religious fervor is known as the **Great Awakening**.

The Great Awakening reached its height around 1740 with the fiery preaching of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. Churches soon split into factions over a movement called pietism, which stressed an individual's devoutness. Those who embraced the new ideas—including Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists—won many converts, while older, more traditional churches lost members.

In the South, the Baptists gained a strong following among poor farmers. Baptists also welcomed enslaved Africans at their revivals and condemned the brutality of slavery. Hundreds of Africans joined Baptist congregations and listened to sermons that taught that all people were equal before God. Despite violent attempts by planters to break up Baptist meetings, about 20 percent of Virginia's whites and thousands of enslaved Africans had become Baptists by 1775.

A Powerful Legacy The Enlightenment and the Great Awakening had different origins and directions. Both movements, though, emphasized an individualism that inclined American colonists toward political independence. The Enlightenment provided the supporting arguments against British rule. The Great Awakening undermined allegiance to traditional authority.

Reading Check **Determining Cause and Effect**

How did the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening affect the established order?



The Enlightenment During the late 1600s and 1700s in Europe, a period known as the age of **Enlightenment**, philosophers put forth the theory that both the physical world and human nature operated in an orderly way according to natural laws. Furthermore, they believed anyone could figure out these laws by using reason and **logic**.

One of the leading Enlightenment writers was John Locke. His contract theory of government is an example of Enlightenment thinking. Locke's views of human nature also appealed to many Americans. In his *Essay on Human Understanding*, Locke argued that contrary to what the Church taught, people were not born sinful. Instead their minds were blank slates that society and education could shape for the better. These ideas that all people have rights and that society can be improved became core beliefs in American society.

French thinker Jean Jacques Rousseau carried these ideas further. In *The Social Contract*, he argued that a government should be formed by the consent of the people, who would then make their own laws. Another influential Enlightenment writer was Baron Montesquieu. In his work *Spirit of the Laws*, published in 1748, Montesquieu suggested that there were three types of political power—executive, legislative, and judicial. These powers should be separated into different branches of the government to protect the liberty of the people. The different

Growing Rebelliousness

Main Idea Unpopular British laws and taxes led to colonial protests and violence.

Reading Connection Have you ever read letters to the editor of your local newspaper protesting some local policies? Read on to learn how the colonists began to protest against unpopular taxes.

Britain and France struggled for dominance on the North American continent. Whenever the two countries were at war, their colonies went to war as well. In 1754 such a conflict began in America.

The French and Indian War In the 1740s, Great Britain became interested in the Ohio River valley. So did their long-standing rivals, the French. Before long, fighting broke out, and the French, with help from their Native American allies, took temporary control of the region.

From 1754 to 1759, the so-called French and Indian War raged along the North American frontier. The fighting between Great Britain and France also spread to Europe, where it was known as the Seven Years' War. In the end, the British triumphed. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 made Great Britain the dominant power in North America. Its empire now included New France and all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans. Britain also gained Florida from Spain, which had allied itself with France. However, to make up for Spain's loss, France gave the Spanish western Louisiana and New Orleans.

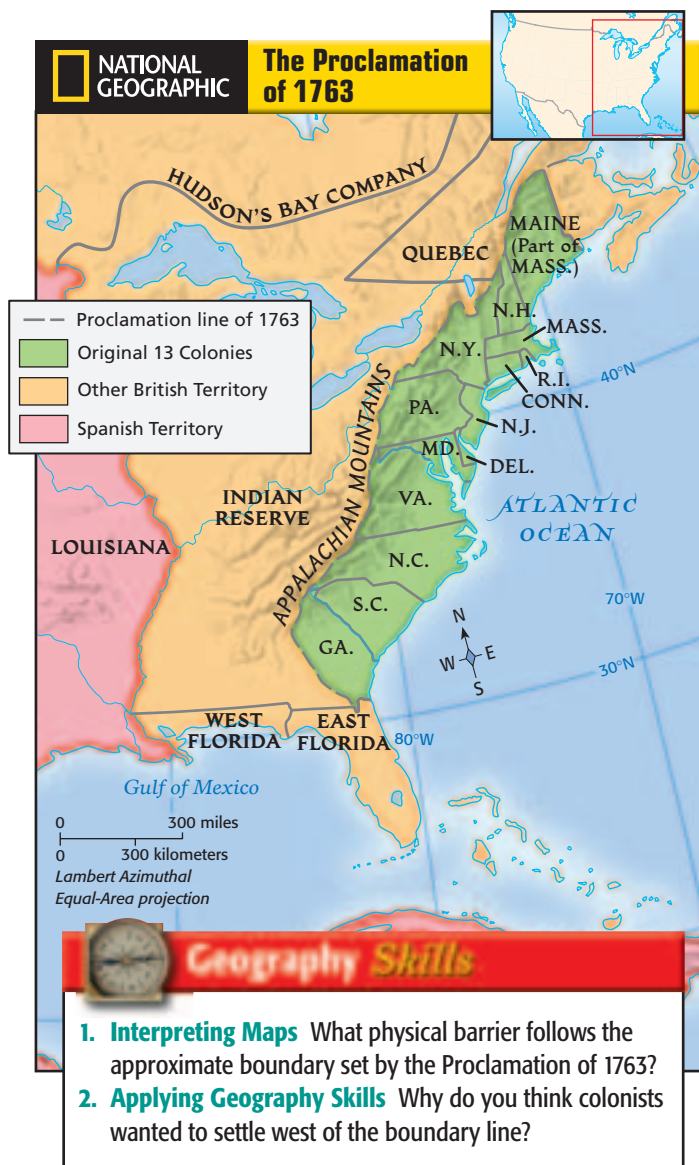
Unpopular Regulations Great Britain's victory left it with steep debts to repay and new territories to govern and defend. Many British leaders thought that the colonies should share in these costs. The American colonists did not like the policies Britain adopted to solve its financial problems.

The first troubles came with passage of the Proclamation Act of 1763. This act tried to halt colonial expansion into Native American lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. King George III wanted to avoid another costly war with the Native Americans, but the colonists who had fought the French and Indian War to secure access to the Ohio River valley were enraged.

While western farmers denounced the Proclamation Act, eastern merchants objected to new tax policies. The British government had discovered that

the colonists were smuggling goods without paying **customs duties**—taxes on imports and exports. Britain tightened customs control and began introducing other unpopular measures. To bring in new revenue, the Sugar Act of 1764 raised taxes on imports of raw sugar and molasses. It also placed new taxes on silk, wine, coffee, and indigo. To make the colonists contribute to their own defense, the Quartering Act of 1765 obligated them to provide shelter for British troops.

Nothing, however, outraged the colonists more than the **Stamp Act** of 1765. The act required stamps to be bought and placed on most printed materials, from newspapers and legal documents to diplomas and playing cards. Unlike taxes on trade, this was a direct tax—the first Britain had ever placed on the colonists. Opposition was swift. Editorials, pamphlets, and speeches poured out against the tax. Groups calling



themselves the Sons of Liberty organized outdoor meetings and protests and tried to intimidate stamp distributors. In October 1765, representatives from nine colonies met for what became known as the Stamp Act Congress. Together, they issued the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, arguing that only the colonists' political representatives, and not Parliament, had the right to tax them. "No taxation without representation" became a popular catch-phrase.

On November 1, when the Stamp Act took effect, the colonists ignored it. They began to boycott all goods made in Britain, refusing to drink British tea or buy British cloth. Their strategy paid off. Merchants in England saw sales plunge, and thousands of workers lost their jobs. Under pressure, British lawmakers repealed the Stamp Act in 1766.

The Townshend Acts During the Stamp Act crisis, Britain's financial problems worsened. To raise more money from the colonies, Parliament passed new measures in 1767. These came to be called the **Townshend Acts**, after Charles Townshend, the head

of Britain's treasury. The Townshend Acts put new customs duties on glass, lead, paper, paint, and tea imported into the colonies. They also gave customs officers new powers to help them arrest smugglers.

The Townshend Acts stirred a heated outcry. In Massachusetts, Sam Adams and James Otis led the resistance; in Virginia, the leading protestors included George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson. When the assemblies of both colonies passed statements challenging Britain's right to tax them, Parliament dissolved their assemblies. The colonists remained undeterred. Merchants in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia united in a boycott against British goods. In 1769 colonial imports from Britain declined sharply from what they had been in 1768.

On March 5, 1770, anger turned to violence in Boston. A crowd of colonists began taunting and throwing snowballs at a British soldier guarding a customs house. He called for help, and as jostling and shoving ensued, the British fired shots and five colonists lay dead. The Boston Massacre, as the incident became known, might well have initiated more violence. Within weeks, though, tensions were calmed by news that the British had repealed almost all of the Townshend Acts. Parliament kept one tax—on tea—to uphold its right to tax the colonies. At the same time, it allowed the colonial assemblies to resume meeting. Peace and stability returned to the colonies, at least temporarily.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What disagreements arose between Britain and the colonies in the 1700s?

Causes and Effects of Tensions With Britain

Causes

- 1764, Sugar Act
- 1765, Stamp Act
- 1767, Townshend Acts
- 1773, Tea Act
- 1774, Coercive Acts

Effects

- Colonists protest that their rights have been violated.
- Nine colonies hold Stamp Act Congress.
- Colonists boycott British goods.
- Sons and Daughters of Liberty formed.
- Tea dumped into Boston Harbor during the "Boston Tea Party."
- Twelve colonies attend the Continental Congress.



Graphic Organizer → **Skills**

Parliament's efforts to tax the colonists led to growing protests in the colonies.

Analyzing Information If you had been a colonist, how would you have reacted to these taxes? Why?

The Road to War

Main Idea When Britain introduced new laws to assert its authority, the colonists decided to declare their independence. TURNING POINT

Reading Connection Have you ever wondered how the colonists must have felt as they decided to defy Parliament? Read on to learn about the growing discontent of the colonists.

The repeal of the Townshend Acts in 1770 brought calm to the colonies for a time. Soon, however, new British policies again enraged American colonists and led them to declare their independence.

The Colonists Defy Britain After trade with England had resumed, so had smuggling. When some 150 colonists seized and burned the stranded

customs ship *Gaspee*, the British gave investigators the authority to bring suspects back to England for trial. Colonists thought this denied them the right to a trial by a jury of their peers. Following a suggestion by Thomas Jefferson, they created **committees of correspondence** to **communicate** with the other colonies about British activities. The committees of correspondence helped unify the colonies and shape public opinion. They also helped colonial leaders coordinate strategies for resisting the British.

In May 1773, Parliament passed the Tea Act, further igniting the flames of rebellion. The Tea Act created favorable business terms for the struggling British East India Company. American merchants, who feared they would be squeezed out of business, were outraged. That fall, when new shipments of British tea arrived in American harbors, colonists in New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston blocked its delivery. Bostonians went one step further. On the night before the tea was to be unloaded, approximately 150 men boarded the ships. They dumped 342 chests of tea overboard as several thousand people on shore cheered. The raid came to be called the Boston Tea Party.

The Boston Tea Party outraged the British. In the spring of 1774, Parliament passed new laws that came to be known as the Coercive Acts to punish Massachusetts and dissuade other colonies from challenging British authority. One law shut down Boston's port until the city paid for the destroyed tea. Other laws banned most town meetings and expanded the powers of the royally appointed governor, General Thomas Gage. To enforce the acts, the king stationed 2,000 troops in New England.

A few months later the British introduced the Quebec Act, which extended Quebec's boundaries to include much of what is today Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin. If colonists moved west into that territory, they would have no elected assembly. The Quebec Act, coming so soon after the Coercive Acts, seemed to signal Britain's desire to seize control of colonial governments.

Colonists wasted no time in protesting the **Intolerable Acts**, as they came to be known. In June 1774, after the Virginia governor had suspended the House of Burgesses, the Massachusetts assembly suggested that representatives from all the colonies gather to discuss how to proceed. The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on September 5. The 55 delegates, who came from each of the 12 colonies except Georgia, debated a variety of ideas. Finally they approved a plan to boycott British goods. They also agreed to hold a second Continental Congress in May 1775 if the crisis remained unresolved.



Picturing History

Tea Tantrum In December 1773, colonists in Boston took matters into their own hands and dumped hated British tea into Boston Harbor. [Why did Boston tea merchants object so strongly to the Tea Act?](#)

The Revolution Begins Meanwhile, Great Britain had suspended the Massachusetts assembly. Massachusetts lawmakers responded by regrouping and naming John Hancock as their leader. He became, in effect, a rival governor to General Gage. A full-scale rebellion was now under way. The Massachusetts militia began to drill and practice shooting. The town of Concord created a special unit of **minutemen** who were trained and ready to “stand at a minute’s warning in case of alarm.” Through the summer and fall of 1774, colonists prepared for a fight.

Not everyone favored resistance. Although many colonists disagreed with Parliament’s policies, they still felt a strong sense of loyalty to the king and believed British law should be upheld. Americans who backed Britain came to be known as Loyalists, or Tories. On the other side were the Patriots, or Whigs, who believed the British had become tyrants. The Patriots dominated in New England and Virginia, while the Loyalists had a strong following in Georgia, the Carolinas, and New York.

In April 1775, General Gage decided to seize Patriot arms and ammunition being stored in

What If...

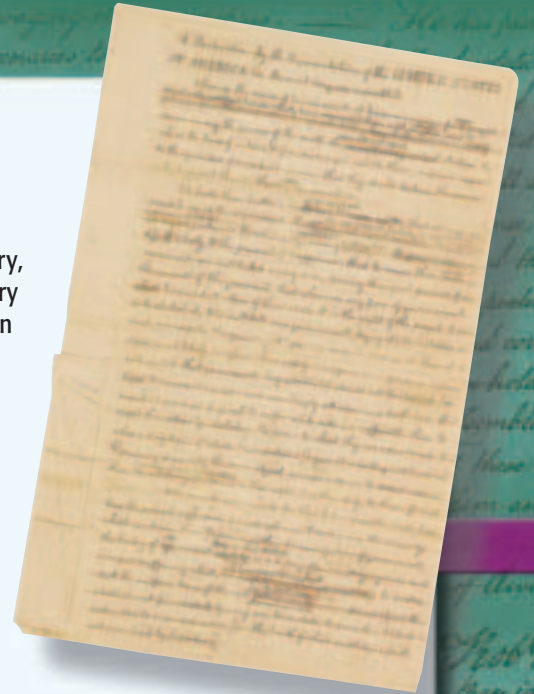
The Declaration of Independence Had Condemned Slavery?

In 1776 the Continental Congress chose a committee to draft the Declaration of Independence. The committee included Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, and Robert Livingston. Jefferson later recalled the following in his memoirs: “[The committee members] unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draught. I consented; I drew it; but before I reported it to the committee I communicated it separately to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams requesting their corrections. . . .”

Franklin and Adams urged Jefferson to delete his condemnation of King George’s support of slavery. The two realized that the revolution needed support from all the colonies to succeed, and condemning slavery would alienate pro-slavery colonists and force them to support the king. Jefferson modified the draft accordingly. If the Declaration of Independence had included

Jefferson’s condemnation of slavery, which is excerpted below, the history of the United States might have been very different.

“He [King George] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. . . . He has [stopped] every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce determining to keep open a market where [people] should be bought and sold. . . .”



Concord. On the night of April 18, about 700 British troops secretly set out from nearby Boston. Patriot leaders heard about the plan and sent messengers, including Paul Revere, to spread the alarm. When the British reached **Lexington**, a town on the way to Concord, they found 70 minutemen lined up waiting for them. No one knows who fired the first shot, but when the smoke cleared, 8 minutemen lay dead and 10 more were wounded.

The British then headed to **Concord**, only to find most of the military supplies already removed. When they were forced to retreat by 400 colonial militiamen, militia members and farmers in the area fired at them from behind trees, stone walls, barns, and houses on their way back to Boston. As news spread of the fighting at Lexington and Concord, militia raced from all over New England to help. By May 1775, militia troops had surrounded Boston, trapping the British inside.

Three weeks after the battles, the Second Continental Congress met again and voted to “adopt” the militia surrounding Boston. **George Washington** became general and commander in chief of this

Continental Army. Before Washington could reach his troops, though, the militia was tested again. In the Battle of Bunker Hill it turned back two British advances before running out of ammunition. The situation returned to a stalemate, with Boston still under siege. Yet the battle helped to build American confidence. It showed that the largely untrained colonial militia could stand up to one of the world’s most feared armies.

The Decision for Independence Despite the onset of fighting, many colonists were still not prepared to break away from Great Britain. In July 1775, the Continental Congress sent King George III a document known as the Olive Branch Petition. The petition asserted the colonists’ loyalty to the king and urged him to resolve their grievances peacefully. King George not only rejected the petition, but he declared the colonies to be “open and avowed enemies.”

With no compromise likely, the fighting spread. The Continental Congress established a navy and began seizing British merchant ships. Patriots invaded Canada and faced off against British and



What might have happened?

1. Why do you think Thomas Jefferson, who was a slaveholder, wanted to include this paragraph?
2. **Historical Analysis** Would the course of American history have changed significantly if the Declaration of Independence had included Jefferson's statement? If so, how? If not, why not? **CA HI2, HI3, HI4**

Loyalist troops in Virginia and the Carolinas. As the conflict dragged on, more and more colonists began to favor a break with Britain.

Thomas Paine helped sway public opinion with his pamphlet called *Common Sense*, published in January 1776. Paine persuasively argued that King George III, and not Parliament, was responsible for British actions against the colonies. In his view, monarchies had been established by seizing power from the people. George III was a tyrant, he proclaimed, and it was time to declare independence:

“Everything that is right or reasonable pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'Tis Time To Part. . . . Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe . . . [and] England hath given her warning to depart.”

—from *Common Sense*

In early July, a committee of the Continental Congress approved a document that Thomas Jefferson

had drafted in which the colonies dissolved ties with Britain. On July 4, 1776, the full Congress issued this **Declaration of Independence**. The colonies now proclaimed themselves the United States of America, and the American Revolution formally began.

Reading Check Explaining Why did the colonies declare their independence?

Fighting for Independence

Main Idea With the help of their allies, the Americans defeated the British in the Revolutionary War.

Reading Connection Do you remember trying something new without having time for practice? Read on to learn how the Americans fought a war without proper training or equipment.

The Continental Army could not match the British Army in size, funding, discipline, or experience. American soldiers often were poorly equipped and went without food, pay, or adequate clothing. The Americans did have several advantages. The Continental Army was fighting on home ground. In every state it also had help from local militias that used unconventional tactics. Moreover, British support for the war was only half-hearted. Britain already faced threats to other parts of its empire from the French, Spanish, and Dutch, and it could not afford a long and costly struggle in America.

The Northern Campaign The British under the command of General William Howe were quickly able to seize New York City. Then, in October, Howe led his troops south toward Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was meeting. George Washington raced to meet him, but both armies were surprised by the early onset of winter weather and set up camp. Nevertheless, Washington decided to try a surprise attack. On the night of December 25, 1776, he led some 2,400 men across the icy Delaware River from Pennsylvania to New Jersey. There they achieved two small victories before they camped for the winter.

By the spring of 1777, both sides were on the move again. General Howe revived his plan to capture Philadelphia and the Continental Congress. On September 11, 1777, he defeated Washington at the Battle of Brandywine Creek. Howe captured Philadelphia but the Continental Congress escaped before the city fell.



← British forces
← American and allied forces
★ British victory
★ American victory
★ Indecisive battle



Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** Name two sites of colonial victories in New Jersey.
- Applying Geography Skills** Approximately how far apart were the northernmost and southernmost battles shown on the map?

While General Howe remained in Philadelphia, another British force, led by General John Burgoyne, was marching south from Quebec. Burgoyne expected to link up with Howe in New York but failed to coordinate with him. When he and his 5,000 men reached Saratoga in upstate New York, they were surrounded by a far bigger American army. On October 17, 1777, they surrendered—a stunning victory for the Americans. Not only did it improve morale dramatically, but it also convinced the French to commit troops to the American cause.

While both Spain and France had been secretly aiding the Americans, the French now agreed to fight openly. On February 6, 1778, France signed an

alliance, becoming the first country to recognize the United States as an independent nation. In 1779 Spain entered the war as an ally of France.

Fighting on Other Fronts After losing the Battle of Saratoga, the British changed their strategy. Instead of campaigning in the North, they decided to attack in the South, where they expected to find more Loyalist support. They certainly weren't doing well on the western frontier. In 1779 George Rogers Clark secured American control of the Ohio River valley.



History Through Art

A Savage Winter William B.T. Trego's painting, *The March to Valley Forge*, depicts the difficult conditions that led to almost 2,500 deaths during the winter encampment of 1777 to 1778. **Where did the Americans and the British fight the last battle of the war?**

American troops also took control of western Pennsylvania, western New York, and Cherokee lands in western Virginia and North Carolina.

In the South, though, the British at first held the upper hand. In December 1778, they captured Savannah, Georgia, and seized control of Georgia's backcountry. Then a massive British force led by General Charles Cornwallis moved on to Charles Town, South Carolina. On May 8, 1780, they forced the surrender of nearly 5,500 American troops, the greatest American defeat in the war. The tide finally turned on October 7, 1780, at the Battle of Kings Mountain. Patriot forces crushed Loyalists there and then drove the British out of most of the South.

The Americans also fought the British at sea. Since they did not have the resources to assemble a large navy, Congress issued letters of marque, or licenses, to about 2,000 privately owned ships. In addition to winning some naval battles, the Americans were able to seriously harm British trade by attacking merchant ships.

The American Victory The last major battle of the Revolutionary War was fought in **Yorktown**, Virginia, in the fall of 1781. General Cornwallis became

trapped there, with George Washington closing in on land and the French navy blocking the possibility for escape by sea. On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis and approximately 8,000 British troops surrendered.

After learning of the American victory at Yorktown, Parliament voted to end the war. Peace talks began in early April 1782, and the final settlement, the Treaty of Paris, was signed on September 3, 1783. In this treaty, Britain recognized the United States of America as an independent nation with the Mississippi River as its western border. The British kept Canada, but they gave Florida back to Spain and made other concessions to France. On November 24, 1783, the last British troops left New York City. The Revolutionary War was over, and a new nation began to take shape.

Reading Check Analyzing Which major battle during the war was a turning point for the Americans?

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: mercantilism, Enlightenment, logic, Great Awakening, customs duty, exports, committee of correspondence, communicate, minuteman.
- People and Terms** Identify: John Locke, Stamp Act, Townshend Acts, Intolerable Acts, George Washington, Declaration of Independence.
- Places** Locate: Lexington, Concord, Yorktown.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Analyzing** Which ways did the Great Awakening contribute to the independent spirit of American colonists?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** What effect did the Glorious Revolution have on the American colonies?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to indicate ways in which colonists defied Britain's attempts at regulation and taxation.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Charts** Study the chart on page 114 of causes and effects of tensions with Britain. Then make your own similar chart.

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are a colonist in 1767, unhappy about Britain's policies toward the colonies. Write a pamphlet explaining your position and urging other colonists to support resistance efforts.

CA 11WS1.1; 11WA2.1; 11WA2.4

The Declaration of Independence

In Congress, July 4, 1776. The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

What It Means

The Preamble The Declaration of Independence has four parts. The Preamble explains why the Continental Congress drew up the Declaration.

impel *force*

What It Means

Natural Rights The second part, the Declaration of Natural Rights, states that people have certain basic rights and that government should protect those rights. John Locke's ideas strongly influenced this part. In 1690 Locke wrote that government was based on the consent of the people and that people had the right to rebel if the government did not uphold their right to life, liberty, and property. The Declaration calls these rights *unalienable rights*. Unalienable means nontransferable. An unalienable right cannot be surrendered.

endowed *provided*
despotism *unlimited power*

What It Means

List of Grievances The third part of the Declaration lists the colonists' complaints against the British government. Notice that King George III is singled out for blame.

usurpations *unjust uses of power*

[Preamble]

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.

[Declaration of Natural Rights]

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 shown, 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.

[List of Grievances]

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 invasion 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 migrations 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.

relinquish *give up*
inestimable *priceless*

annihilation *destruction*

convulsions *violent disturbances*

Naturalization of Foreigners *process by which foreign-born persons become citizens*

tenure *term*



quartering *lodging*

render *make*

abdicated *given up*

perfidy *violation of trust*

insurrections *rebellions*

petitioned for redress *asked formally for a correction of wrongs*

unwarrantable jurisdiction *unjustified authority*

consanguinity *originating from the same ancestor*

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

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 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 offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring 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 Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

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 attention 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.

[Resolution of Independence by the United States]

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 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 to 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.

John Hancock
President from
Massachusetts

Georgia
Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

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
of Carrollton

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

Rhode Island
Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery

Connecticut
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott
Roger Sherman

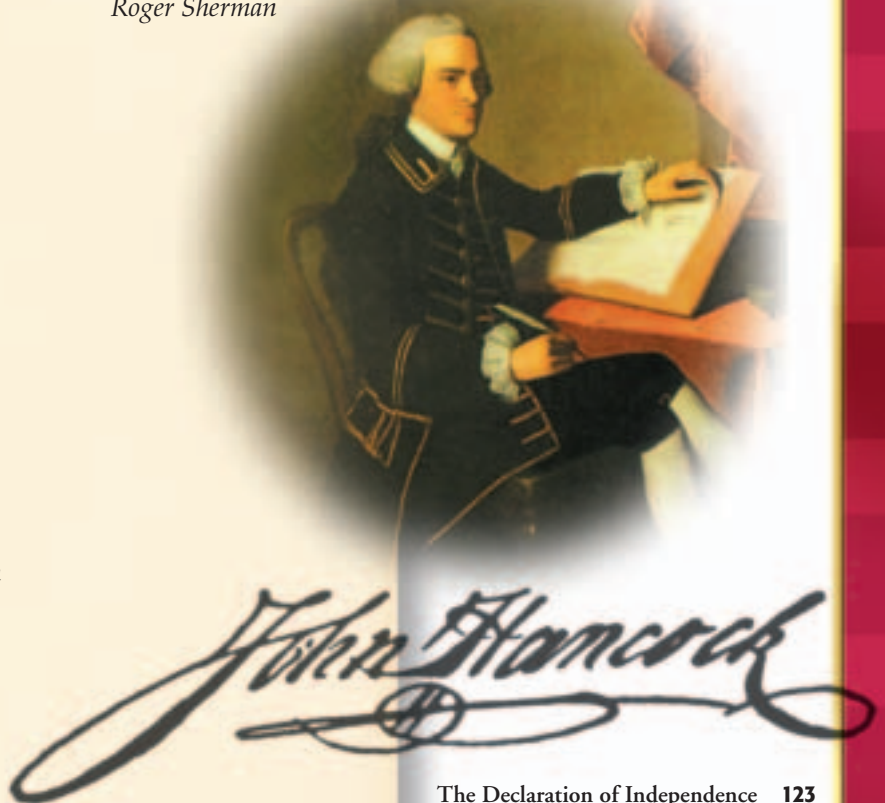
What It Means

Resolution of Independence
The Final section declares that the colonies are "Free and Independent States" with the full power to make war, to form alliances, and to trade with other countries.

rectitude *rightness*

What It Means

Signers of the Declaration
The signers, as representatives of the American people, declared the colonies independent from Great Britain. Most members signed the document on August 2, 1776.



Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how the American colonists defeated the British in the Revolutionary War. In this section, you will discover how America's founders authored the United States Constitution.

Main Idea

- The states created constitutions that gave people more rights, but the national framework could not address all the problems of the new nation. (p. 125)
- American leaders created a new constitution based on compromise. (p. 126)
- The promise of a Bill of Rights guaranteed the ratification of the Constitution. (p. 129)

Content Vocabulary

republic, recession, popular sovereignty, federalism, separation of powers, checks and balances, veto, amendment, ratification

Academic Vocabulary

framework, interpret, revise

People and Terms to Identify

Articles of Confederation, Northwest Ordinance, Shays's Rebellion, Constitutional Convention, Great Compromise, Three-Fifths Compromise, Federalists, Antifederalists

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** features of the governments set up under the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.
- **Identify** key steps and events leading up to ratification of the Constitution.

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about the efforts to ratify the Constitution, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the supporters and goals of the Federalists and Antifederalists.

	Federalists	Antifederalists
Source of Support		
Goals		

Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.1 Students analyze the significant events surrounding the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence.

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.

The Big Idea

A written contract between the people and their government can preserve natural rights and allow for change over time. States adopted individual constitutions that called for a government with powers divided among three different branches. Lawmakers stressed individual liberty and separation of church and state, but women and African Americans continued to be denied political rights. The states finally ratified the national Constitution after many compromises and the proposal of a Bill of Rights.

The Young Nation

Main Idea The states created constitutions that gave people more rights, but the national framework could not address all the problems of the new nation.

Reading Connection If you had lived in the colonies under British rule, what kind of government would you have created? Read on to learn how the American leaders at first created a weak central government.

The democratic spirit burned stronger than ever after the Revolution. Notions of equality and freedom, which had inspired the fight for independence, now took firmer root.

★ An American Story ★

In 1781 an enslaved Massachusetts man named Quock Walker took an extraordinary step: He took legal action against his slaveholder who had assaulted him. Given the times, this was a bold step, but Walker believed he had the law on his side. Massachusetts's new constitution referred to the "inherent liberty" of all men. The judge, William Cushing, agreed:

“Our Constitution [of Massachusetts] sets out with declaring that all men are born free and equal—and that every subject is entitled to liberty, and to have guarded by the laws, as well as life and property—and in short is totally repugnant to the idea of being born slaves. This being the case, I think the idea of slavery is inconsistent with our own conduct and Constitution.”

While the Quock Walker case did not abolish slavery, it demonstrated that the Massachusetts courts would not support the institution. As a result of this ruling and various antislavery efforts, slavery ceased to exist in Massachusetts.

—adapted from *Founding the Republic*



Wooden statue of an African American breaking his chain

The Walker case showed that republican ideas began to change American society.

New State Constitutions When American leaders created the United States of America, they made a deliberate choice to replace royal rule with a republic. In a **republic**, power resides with citizens who are entitled to vote, and elected leaders must govern according to laws or a constitution.

Before the war ended, each state had drawn up its own written constitution. Virginia's, written in 1776, and Massachusetts's, drafted in 1780, became models for other states to follow. Their constitutions called for a government with a separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. They set up bicameral, or two-house, legislatures, with a senate to represent people of property and an assembly to protect the rights of the common people. They also included a list of rights guaranteeing essential freedoms.

Other states varied in their constitutions. Perhaps most democratic was that of Pennsylvania. Rather than simply limiting the power of the governor, the Pennsylvania constitution eliminated the position entirely, along with the upper house. Instead, the state would be governed by a one-house legislature in which representatives would be elected annually.

The Revolution Changes Society

The concern for individual liberty led, among other things, to greater separation of church and state. For example, the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, passed in 1786, declared that Virginia no longer had an official church and that the state could not collect taxes to support churches.

Voting rights also expanded in the post-war years. Many states allowed any white male taxpayer to vote, whether or not he owned property. Property restrictions on running for office were also relaxed, and more people of modest means became eligible to serve in government.

Women and African Americans, however, continued to be denied political rights. At the same time, they made some advances. Women gained greater access to education and could more easily obtain

divorces. African Americans still faced discrimination, but opposition to slavery began to mount. Thousands of enslaved Africans achieved freedom during the Revolution in return for their military service. Several Northern states, such as Massachusetts, even took steps to end slavery entirely, albeit gradually. In the South enslaved labor remained the backbone of the economy, and little changed for African Americans.

A Weak National Government While the states wrote their individual constitutions, American leaders worked to plan a central government that could hold the new nation together. On March 2, 1781, the **framework** they created took effect. The **Articles of Confederation** loosely unified the states under a single governing body, the Confederation Congress. There were no separate branches of government, and Congress had only limited powers. After fighting to free themselves from Britain’s domineering rule, the states did not want to create a new government that might become tyrannical.

Some Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

Provision	Problem Created
Congress has no power to tax	Weak currency and growing debt Inability to pay army leads to threats of mutiny
Congress has no power to enforce treaties	Foreign countries angry when treaties are not honored; for example, Britain keeps troops on American soil
Every state, despite size, has one vote	Populous states not equally represented
Congress has no power to regulate commerce	Trade hindered by states imposing high tariffs on each other
Amendment requires unanimous vote of states	Difficult to adapt articles to changing needs

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** What was the problem with requiring a unanimous vote of the states to create changes in the Articles of Confederation?
- Analyzing** Why did the states approve a government with so many weaknesses?

Under the Articles, each state had one vote in Congress. Congress could act only in certain arenas, however. It could negotiate with other nations, raise armies, and declare war, but it had no authority to regulate trade or impose taxes.

One of Congress’s achievements was the **Northwest Ordinance** of 1787, a plan for selling and then governing the new lands west of the Appalachian Mountains and north of the Ohio River. The ordinance spelled out how states would be created from the Northwest Territory. It also guaranteed residents certain rights, including freedom of religion and freedom from slavery.

Congress lacked the power to effectively handle other challenges. Trade problems arose because states did not have uniform trade policies and Congress had no authority to intervene. Foreign relations suffered because Congress could not compel the states to honor its agreements with other countries. The country sank into a severe **recession**, or economic slowdown, because without the power to tax, Congress could not raise enough money to pay its war debts or its expenses. It could not even stop the states from issuing their own currency, which sent the economy spinning further out of control.

Among those hardest hit by the recession were poor farmers. Their discontent turned violent in January 1787, when a bankrupt Massachusetts farmer named Daniel Shays led some 1,200 followers in a protest of new taxes. **Shays’s Rebellion** was put down by the state militia, but the incident raised fears about the direction in which the country was heading. As the weaknesses of the Confederation Congress became clear, people began to call for a stronger central government.

Reading Check Explaining In what ways was the Confederation Congress ineffective?

A New Constitution

Main Idea American leaders created a new constitution based on compromise.

Reading Connection Have you ever come up with new rules to a game because the old ones did not work? Read on to learn how the Constitution replaced the Articles of Confederation.

In May 1787, every state except Rhode Island sent delegates to Philadelphia “for the sole purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.” Instead of

changing the Articles, though, the delegates quickly decided to abandon the Articles and write a brand-new framework of government. The meeting, attended by 55 of America's most distinguished leaders, is therefore known as the **Constitutional Convention**. The delegates chose George Washington as their presiding officer. Other notable delegates included Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison.

Debate and Compromise All the delegates supported a stronger national government with the power to levy taxes and make laws that would be binding upon the states. The delegates also accepted the idea of dividing the government into executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

On other points, the delegates found themselves split. One contentious question was whether each state should have an equal vote in Congress. Small states favored such a plan, but the larger states insisted that representation in Congress should be based on population. The convention appointed a special committee to find a compromise. Ben Franklin, one of the committee members, warned the delegates what would happen if they failed to agree:

“[You will] become a reproach and by-word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.”

—quoted in *American History*

The committee's solution was based on a suggestion by Roger Sherman from Connecticut. Congress would be divided into two houses. In one, the House of Representatives, the number of a state's representatives would depend on its population. In the other house, the Senate, each state would have equal representation. The eligible voters in each state would elect members to the House of Representatives, but the state legislatures would choose senators. This proposal came to be known as the **Great Compromise** or the Connecticut Compromise.

The Connecticut Compromise sparked a fresh controversy: whether to count enslaved people when determining how many representatives a state could elect to the House. The matter was settled by the **Three-Fifths Compromise**. Every five enslaved people in a state would count as three free persons for determining both representation and taxation.

“... to form a more perfect union . . .”

—Preamble to the Constitution



History Through Art

We the People The delegates at Philadelphia devised a new government that tried to balance national and state power. **What compromises were necessary to complete the Constitution?**



Picturing History

Historic Landmark The Philadelphia Statehouse, the site of the Constitutional Convention, was later renamed Independence Hall. **How did the Framers preserve the rights of the states?**



In another compromise, the delegates dealt with the power of Congress to regulate trade. Delegates agreed that the new Congress could not tax exports. They also agreed that it could not ban the slave trade until 1808 or impose high taxes on the import of enslaved persons.

A Framework for Limited Government With the major disputes behind them, the delegates now focused on the details of how the new government would operate. The new Constitution they crafted was based on the principle of **popular sovereignty** (SAH-vuhrn-tee), or rule by the people. Rather than a direct democracy, it created a representative system of government in which elected officials speak for the people.

To strengthen the central government but still preserve the rights of the states, the Constitution created a system known as **federalism**. Under federalism, power is divided between the federal, or national, government and the state governments.

The Constitution also provided for a **separation of powers** among the three branches of the federal government. The two houses of Congress made up the legislative branch of the government. They would make the laws. The executive branch, headed by a president, would implement and enforce the laws Congress passed. The president would perform other duties as well, such as serving as commander in chief of the armed forces. The judicial branch—a system of federal courts—would **interpret** federal laws and render judgment in cases

involving those laws. To keep the branches separate, no one serving in one branch could serve in either of the other branches at the same time.

Checks and Balances In addition to giving each of the three branches of government separate powers, the framers of the Constitution created a system of **checks and balances**—a means for each branch to monitor and limit the power of the other two.

For example, the president could check Congress by deciding to **veto**, or reject, a proposed law. The legislature would need a two-thirds vote in both houses to override a veto. The Senate also had the power to approve or reject presidential appointees to the executive branch and treaties the president negotiated. Congress also could impeach the president and other high-ranking officials in the executive or judicial branch; that is, the House could formally accuse such officials of misconduct. If the officials were convicted during trial in the Senate, they would be removed from office.

Members of the judicial branch of government could hear all cases arising under federal laws and the Constitution. The powers of the judiciary were counterbalanced by the other two branches. The president would nominate judges, including a chief justice of the Supreme Court, but the Senate had to confirm or reject such nominations. Once appointed, federal judges, including the chief justice, would serve for life to ensure their independence from both the executive and the legislative branches.

Amending the Constitution The delegates in Philadelphia recognized that the Constitution they wrote in the summer of 1787 might need to be **revised** over time. To allow this to happen, they created a clear system for making **amendments**, or

HISTORY
Online



Student Web Activity

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 1** for an activity on the Constitution.

changes, to the Constitution. To prevent frivolous changes, however, they made the process difficult.

Amending the Constitution would require two steps: proposal and ratification. An amendment could be proposed by a vote of two-thirds of the members of both houses of Congress. Alternatively, two-thirds of the states could call a constitutional convention to propose new amendments. To become effective, the proposed amendment would then have to be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures or by conventions in three-fourths of the states.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What compromises did the delegates agree on during the convention?

The Fight for Ratification

Main Idea The promise of a Bill of Rights guaranteed the ratification of the Constitution.

Reading Connection Have you ever had to convince a friend to agree to something? Read on to learn how the states agreed to ratify the Constitution.

On September 28, the Confederation Congress voted to submit the Constitution to the states. Each state would hold a convention to vote on it. To go into effect, the Constitution required the **ratification**, or approval, of 9 of the 13 states.

Delaware became the first state to ratify the Constitution, on December 7, 1787. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut quickly followed suit. The most important battles still lay ahead. Arguments broke out among Americans debating whether the Constitution should be ratified.

Debating the Constitution In fact, debate over ratification began at once—in state legislatures, mass meetings, newspapers, and everyday conversations. Supporters of the Constitution called themselves **Federalists**. They chose the name to emphasize that the Constitution would create a federal system—one with power divided between a central government and state governments.

Many Federalists were large landowners who wanted the property protection that a strong central government could provide. Supporters also included merchants and artisans in large coastal cities and farmers who depended on trade. They all believed that an effective federal government that could impose taxes on foreign goods or regulate interstate trade consistently would help their businesses.

Opponents of the Constitution were called **Antifederalists**, although they were not truly against federalism. They accepted the need for a national government, but they were concerned about whether the federal or state governments would be supreme. Some Antifederalists also believed that the new Constitution needed a bill of rights.

Profiles IN HISTORY

James Madison 1751–1836

Although many individuals contributed to the framing of the United States Constitution, the master builder was James Madison. An avid reader, the 36-year-old Virginia planter spent the better part of the year preceding the Philadelphia Convention with his nose in books. Madison read volume after volume on governments throughout history. He scoured the records of ancient Greece and Rome and delved into the administrations of Italian city-states such as Florence and Venice. He even looked at the systems used by federal alliances like Switzerland and the Netherlands. "From a spirit of industry and application," said one colleague, Madison was "the best-informed man on any point in debate."

Bringing together his research and his experience in helping to draft Virginia's constitution, Madison created the Virginia Plan. His proposal strongly influenced the final document.

Perhaps Madison's greatest achievement was in defining the true source of political power. He argued that all power, at all levels of government, flowed ultimately from the people.

At the Constitutional Convention, Madison served his nation well. The ordeal, he later said, "almost killed" him. As one of the authors of *the Federalist*, he helped get the Constitution ratified. In the years to come, the nation would call on him again. In 1801 he became President Thomas Jefferson's secretary of state. In 1808 he was elected the fourth president of the United States.



As the states prepared to vote on ratification, both sides knew the decision could go either way. Those in favor of the Constitution summarized their arguments in *The Federalist*—a collection of 85 essays written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. The essays were extremely influential. Even today, judges, lawyers, legislators, and historians rely upon *The Federalist* papers to help interpret the intention of the framers of the Constitution. 📖 (See page 990 for an excerpt from *Federalist Paper No. 10*.)

Ratification in Massachusetts In Massachusetts opponents of the proposed Constitution held a clear majority. They included Samuel Adams, who had

signed the Declaration of Independence but now strongly believed the Constitution endangered the independence of the states and failed to safeguard Americans' rights.

Federalists quickly promised to attach a bill of rights to the Constitution once it was ratified. They also agreed to support an amendment that would reserve for the states or the people all powers not specifically granted to the federal government. These Federalist promises and the support of artisans guaranteed Massachusetts's approval. In 1791 the promises led to the adoption of the first ten amendments to the Constitution, which came to be known as the Bill of Rights. The amendments guaranteed the

Different Viewpoints

Should the Majority Rule?

James Madison argued persuasively for the Constitution's ratification. In *The Federalist* #10, Madison explained that the Constitution would prevent the effects of *faction*—the self-seeking party spirit of a democracy. In contrast, Thomas Jefferson argued that the will of the majority would thwart the tyranny of oppressive government.

James Madison opposes majority rule:

"When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government . . . enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens.

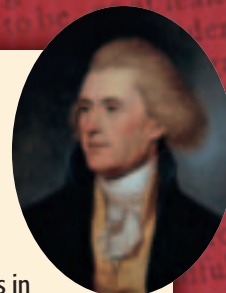


. . . [A] pure democracy . . . can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction [and has always] been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property. . . .

A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place . . . promises the cure for which we are seeking. . . .

The effect of [a republic] is, on the one hand, to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations."

Thomas Jefferson defends majority rule:



"I own I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive. The late rebellion in Massachusetts has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in 13 states in the course of 11 years, is but one for each state in a century & a half. No country should be long without one.

. . . After all, it is my principle that the will of the Majority should always prevail. If they approve the proposed [Constitution] in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they shall find it works wrong. . . . Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty."

Learning From History

1. What were the "mischiefs" that Madison believed republican government could prevent?
2. **Historical Analysis** Was Jefferson correct in believing the voice of the common people would preserve liberty? Explain. **CA HRI**

freedoms of speech, press, and religion; protection from unreasonable searches and seizures; and the right to a trial by jury.

Maryland easily ratified the Constitution in April 1788, followed by South Carolina in May. On June 21, New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution. The Federalists had now reached the minimum number of states required to put the new Constitution into effect. Virginia and New York, however, still had not ratified. Together, Virginia and New York represented almost 30 percent of the nation's population. Without the support of these states, many feared the new government would not succeed.

Virginia and New York At the Virginia convention in June, George Washington and James Madison presented strong arguments for ratification. Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and other Antifederalists argued against it. Madison's promise to add a bill of rights won the day for the Federalists—but barely. The Virginia convention voted 89 in favor of the Constitution and 79 against.

In New York, two-thirds of the members elected to the state convention were Antifederalists. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, managed to delay the final vote until news arrived that New Hampshire and Virginia had both voted to ratify the Constitution and that the new federal government was now in effect. If New York refused to ratify, it would have to operate independently of all of the surrounding states that had accepted

the Constitution. This argument convinced enough Antifederalists to change sides. The vote was very close, 30 to 27, but the Federalists won.

By July 1788, all the states except Rhode Island and North Carolina had ratified the Constitution. Because ratification by nine states was all that the Constitution required, the members of the Confederation Congress prepared to proceed without them. In mid-September 1788, they established a timetable for electing the new government. The new Congress would hold its first meeting on March 4, 1789.

The two states that had held out finally ratified the Constitution after the new government was in place. North Carolina waited until November 1789 after a bill of rights had actually been proposed. Rhode Island, still nervous about losing its independence, did not ratify the Constitution until May 1790.

The United States now had a new government, but no one knew if the Constitution would work any better than the Articles of Confederation. Many expressed great confidence, however, because George Washington had been chosen as the first president under the new Constitution.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** Why was it important for Virginia and New York to ratify the Constitution, even after the required nine states had done so?

HISTORY  **Study Central**
Online

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Vocabulary** Define: republic, framework, recession, popular sovereignty, federalism, separation of powers, interpret, checks and balances, veto, revise, amendment, ratification
- 2. People and Terms** Identify: Articles of Confederation, Northwest Ordinance, Shays's Rebellion, Constitutional Convention, Great Compromise, Three-Fifths Compromise, Federalists, Antifederalists.
- 3. Explain** why the Antifederalists opposed the Constitution.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- 4. Describing** How was the Constitution written as a flexible framework of government?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Evaluating** Did the Articles of Confederation or the Constitution provide a better way to solve the problems facing the nation? Explain.
- 6. Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the compromises the Founders reached at the Constitutional Convention.



Analyzing Visuals

- 7. Analyzing Paintings** Examine the painting of the Constitutional Convention on page 127. How does the tone of the painting compare with the text's description of differences and difficulties at the convention? What purpose do you think the artist had that might account for any difference?

Writing About History

- 8. Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of a Federalist or an Antifederalist at a state ratifying convention. Write a speech in which you try to convince your audience to either accept or reject the new Constitution. **CA 11WS1.3**

Primary Sources

Eyewitness to History

The leaders of the new United States wanted to limit the power of the federal government. Their plan for government, the Articles of Confederation, had many weaknesses, and the need for a strong central government soon became evident. In May 1787, a small group of men met in Philadelphia to write the Constitution. The adoption of the Constitution became a topic of heated debate.

SOURCE 1:

Benjamin Franklin was the oldest delegate at the Constitutional Convention. He proved one of the most influential delegates because of his ability to end arguments and encourage compromise. In a speech on the last day of the convention, Franklin urged his colleagues to unanimously support the new plan.

Mr. President, I confess that there are several parts of this constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being **obliged**¹ by better information, or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. . . .

. . . I doubt . . . whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded like those of the Builders of Babel; and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. Thus I consent, Sir, to this



▲ George Mason

Constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure, that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors, I sacrifice to the public good. . . . If every one of us in returning to our Constituents were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavor to gain partizans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the **salutary**² effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign Nations as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any Government in procuring and secur-

ing happiness to the people, depends, on opinion, on the general opinion of the goodness of the Government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its Governors. I hope therefore that for our own sakes as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this constitution (if approved by Congress and confirmed by the Conventions) wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administred.

SOURCE 2:

George Mason, a planter and a delegate from Virginia, opposed the Constitution. While he supported a stronger national government, he wanted the states to be more powerful than the national government. Mason's speech to the convention summarized the arguments of many opponents.

¹**oblige:** commit

²**salutary:** producing a beneficial effect



▲ James Wilson

The Judiciary of the United States is so constructed and extended, as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several States; . . .

The President of the United States has no Constitutional Council, a thing unknown in any safe and regular government. He will therefore be unsupported by proper information and advice; and will generally be directed by **minions**³ and favorites; or he will become a tool to the Senate. . . . From this fatal defect has arisen the improper power of the Senate in the appointment of public officers, and the alarming dependence and connection between that branch of the legislature and the supreme Executive. . . .

By declaring all treaties supreme laws of the land, the Executive and the Senate have in many cases, an exclusive power of legislation; . . .

By requiring only a majority to make all commercial and navigation laws, the five Southern States, whose produce and circumstances are totally different from that of the eight Northern and eastern states, may be ruined; . . . Whereas requiring two-thirds of the members present in both Houses would have produced mutual moderation, promoted the general interest, and removed an **insuperable**⁴ objection to the adoption of this Government.

There is no declaration of any kind, for preserving the liberty of the press, or the trial by jury in civil causes; nor against the danger of standing armies in time of peace.

³**minion**: subordinate

⁴**insuperable**: incapable of being overcome

This government will set out a moderate aristocracy; it is at present impossible to foresee whether it will, in its operation, produce a monarchy, or a corrupt, tyrannical aristocracy. . . .

SOURCE 3:

James Wilson, a lawyer and Pennsylvania delegate, is best known for the legal advice he gave to the Constitutional Convention. When Pennsylvania began to debate the Constitution, Wilson replied to critics.

After all, my fellow-citizens, it is neither extraordinary or unexpected that the constitution offered to your consideration should meet with opposition. It is the nature of man to pursue his own interest in preference to the public good . . . I will confess, indeed, that I am not a blind admirer of this plan of government, and that there are some parts of it which, if my wish had **prevailed**,⁵ would certainly have been altered. But when I reflect how widely men differ in their opinions, and that every man (and the observation applies likewise to every State) has an equal pretension to assert his own, I am satisfied that anything nearer to perfection could not have been accomplished. If there are errors, it should be remembered that the seeds of reformation are sown in the work itself, and the concurrence of two-thirds of Congress may at any time introduce alterations and amendments. Regarding it, then, in every point of view, with a candid and disinterested mind, I am bold to assert that it is the best form of government which has ever been offered to the world.

▶ ⁵**prevail**: persist

DBQ Document-Based Questions

Historical Analysis

CA HR4; HI2; HI3

Source 1: Why does Franklin believe that the delegates should approve the Constitution?

Source 2: What are Mason's main concerns about the Constitution?

Source 3: Why does Wilson think that the Constitution will work?

Comparing and Contrasting Sources

How do Franklin, Mason, and Wilson differ in their views about concerns over apparent shortfalls of the Constitution?

Standards 11.1, 11.1.1, 11.1.2, 11.3, 11.3.1, 11.3.2

Reviewing Content Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. civilization | 9. mercantilism |
| 2. joint-stock company | 10. Enlightenment |
| 3. Puritan | 11. Great Awakening |
| 4. proprietary colony | 12. customs duty |
| 5. indentured servant | 13. committee of correspondence |
| 6. subsistence farming | 14. minuteman |
| 7. triangular trade | 15. republic |
| 8. slave code | |

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 16. recession | 20. checks and balances |
| 17. popular sovereignty | 21. veto |
| 18. federalism | 22. amendment |
| 19. separation of powers | 23. ratify |

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term's meaning in the chapter.

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 24. culture | 27. logic | 30. framework |
| 25. immigrate | 28. export | 31. interpret |
| 26. hierarchy | 29. communicate | 32. revise |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1

- Why did the Pilgrims leave England?
- Why did William Penn regard his colony as a "holy experiment"?

Section 2

- How did the Great Awakening influence the American colonies?
- What made the Stamp Act different from other legislation that Parliament enacted?

Section 3

- How did the Founders provide for a separation of powers in the federal government?
- What convinced Massachusetts to ratify the Constitution?

Critical Thinking

- Reading Skill** **Predicting** Select one of the sections in this chapter and rewrite the headings. How could you phrase the headings so other students could make better predictions?
- Civics** What rights did the colonists want from Britain?
- Evaluating** What do you think would have happened if New York and Virginia had not ratified the Constitution?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the events that led to the American Revolution.

Events that led to the American Revolution

Chapter Summary

Discovery and Early Settlements

- Spain, France, and England settled a new continent inhabited by many different peoples
- English colonies arose in three distinct areas of North America, with the beginnings of self government in each
- Diverse societies developed within the thirteen colonies

The Road to Independence

- Enlightenment ideas and the Great Awakening stirred colonists' first thoughts of dissent to British rule
- Unpopular laws by Parliament after the French and Indian War led to protests by colonists; colonists began to organize
- Colonists declared their independence
- In the Treaty of Paris, the defeated British recognize the United States of America

The Constitution

- States drafted individual written constitutions and set up a weak national government governed by the Articles of Confederation
- Leaders of the Constitutional Convention drafted a new constitution based on flexibility and compromise, which strengthened the central government
- States ratified the Constitution after promises of a bill of rights and shared power between the federal government and the states

Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 1** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

Writing About History

- 43. **Historical Analysis** **Understanding Change** Select one aspect of the changes brought by European colonization and describe the change in a paragraph. Make sure you include a topic sentence and three or four descriptive sentences. **CA CS2**
- 44. **Big Idea** Write an editorial for a local newspaper discussing the laws the British Parliament enacted after the French and Indian War. Express your opinion about the laws and the colonists' reactions. In your editorial, include information you have gathered while studying this chapter. **CA 11WS1.1**
- 45. **Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of an American at the time the Constitution was ratified. Write a letter to a friend in Britain describing the kind of government provided for by the Constitution. In your letter, explain why you support or oppose ratification and what you think life will be like under the new government. **CA 11WS1.1, 11WA2.4**

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 46. **Interpreting Primary Sources** In his 1789 textbook *American Geography*, Reverend Jedidiah Morse discusses the defects of the Articles of Confederation. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

“[The Articles of Confederation] were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common safety supplied the place of a coercive power in government. . . .

When resolutions were passed in Congress, there was no power to compel obedience. . . . Had one state been invaded by its neighbor, the union was not constitutionally bound to assist in repelling the invasion. . . .”

—quoted in *Readings in American History*

- a. What defects in the Articles of Confederation does Morse see?
- b. Why does Morse think the Articles were effective during the American Revolution but not afterward?



Geography and History

- 47. The map above shows the land claims in North America as a result of the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Study the map and answer the questions below.
 - a. **Interpreting Maps** What were the borders for the United States after the war for independence?
 - b. **Applying Geography Skills** Which countries shared a border with the United States?

Standards Practice



Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

- 48. Which of the following quotations best expresses the complaint of colonists who had to pay British taxes but could not vote for members of the British Parliament?
 - A “Give me liberty or give me death.”
 - B “Taxation without representation is tyranny.”
 - C “These are the times that try men’s souls.”
 - D “Don’t fire until you see the whites of their eyes.”

Standard 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.