CREATING THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

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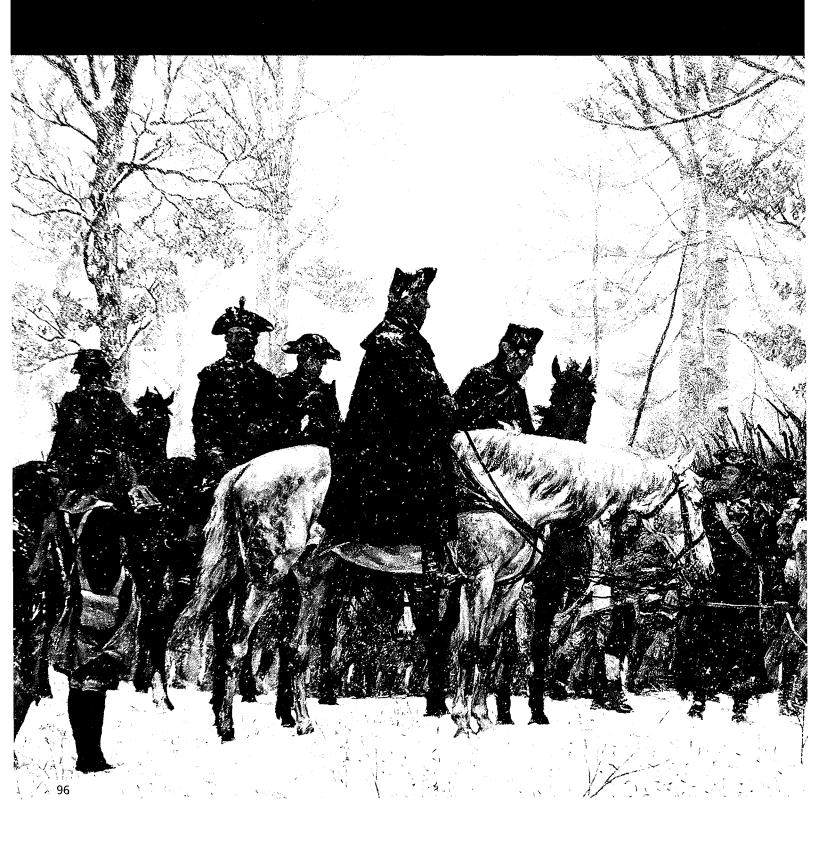
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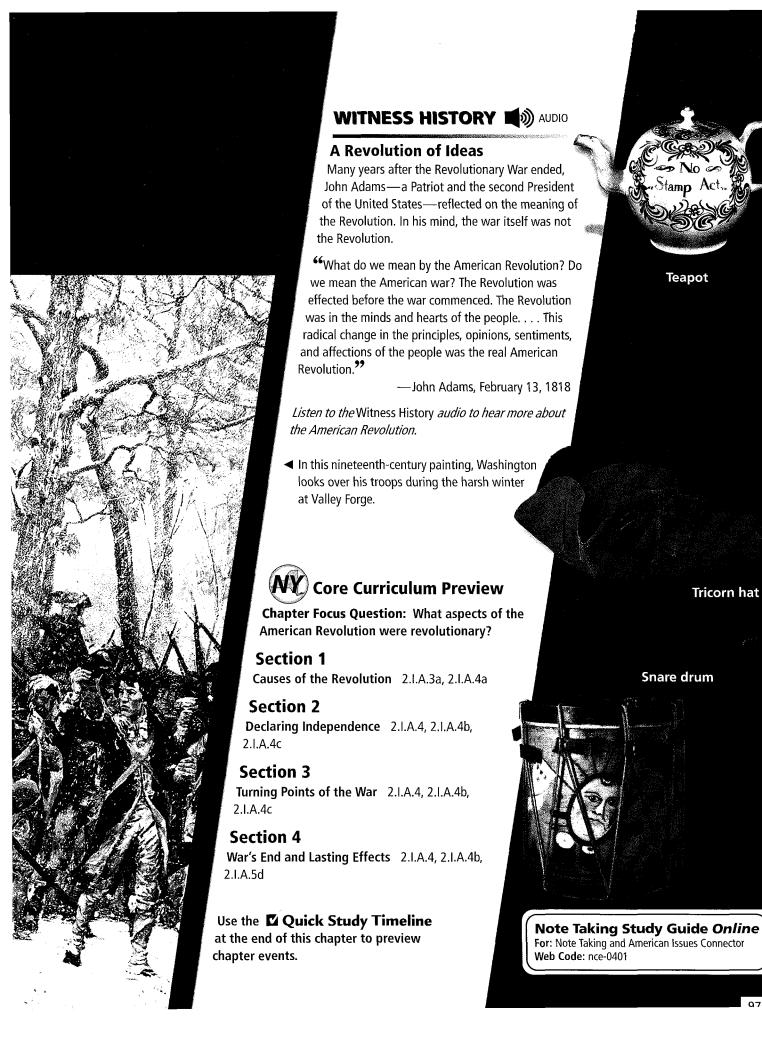
The Spirit of '76, by
Archibald M. Willard,
honors the heroes of the
American Revolution. ▶

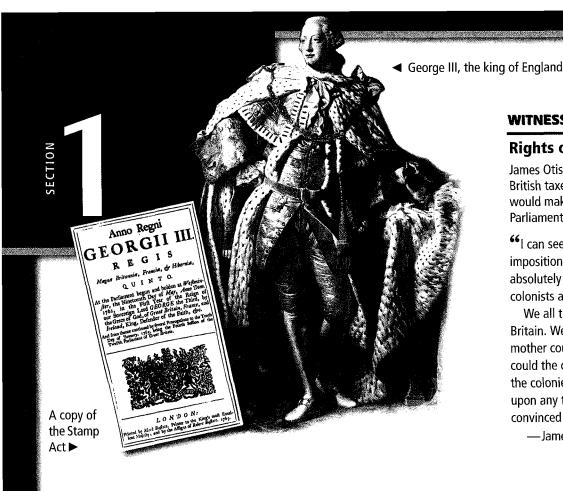
CHAPTER

The American Revolution

1765–1783







WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO



Rights of the Colonists

James Otis, a leading patriot, argued that British taxes threatened colonists' rights and would make them slaves to the king and Parliament.

⁶⁶I can see no reason to doubt but the imposition of taxes . . . in the colonies is absolutely irreconcilable with the rights of the colonists as British subjects and as men. . . .

We all think ourselves happy under Great Britain. We love, esteem, and reverence our mother country, and adore our King. And could the choice of independency be offered the colonies or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter. 22

—James Otis, from The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved, 1763

Causes of the Revolution



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **2.I.A.3a** Colonial charters and self-government: Mayflower Compact, town meetings, House of Burgesses, local government, property rights, enforceable contracts, Albany Plan of Union
- 2.I.A.4a Causes of the Revolution

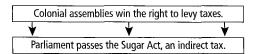
Terms and People

Stamp Act John Adams Patrick Henry Sons of Liberty nonimportation agreement Boston Massacre committee of correspondence **Boston Tea Party** Intolerable Acts First Continental Congress

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence

Record the events that increased tension between Britain and its colonies.



Why It Matters The American colonists enjoyed the protection of Britain during the Indian wars while paying very little of the cost. Meanwhile, they profited from trade within the British Empire. Most importantly, they cherished the political rights they enjoyed as British subjects. When Parliament began to tax the colonists to raise revenue, they protested. Eventually, the protests turned to rebellion and rebellion turned to war. Section Focus Question: What caused the colonists to rebel against the British?

The Colonists' Political Heritage

The colonists believed that Great Britain enjoyed the best government on Earth. British liberty included the due process of the common law, trial by jury, and freedom of the press from prior censorship. Above all, the colonists cherished the right to pay no tax unless it was levied by their representatives. Colonial governments followed the British model, but the colonists' protests of the 1760s revealed that there were some important differences.

British Government Is a Model The British government had three branches. Executive power belonged to the monarch. Legislative power was divided between two houses of Parliament: the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Aristocrats inherited seats in the House of Lords. Only the House of Commons depended on elections by a small percentage of the people.

Similarly, each colony except Pennsylvania had a two-house legislature: an elected assembly and a council of prominent colonists appointed to life terms by the governor. The governor was appointed by, represented, and served the king. Only Connecticut and Rhode Island elected their own governor, while Pennsylvania's entire assembly was elected. The colonists did not elect any members of British Parliament.

By modern standards, the British system was far from democratic. But democracy seemed foolish and dangerous in a society where people inherited wildly unequal property and status. In 1770, the British prime minister, Lord North, insisted, "I can never acquiesce in the absurd opinion that all men are equal." Most Britons and colonists agreed, and wealthy men controlled government in the colonies as in Great Britain.

Differences in Colonial Governments Despite the similarities, colonial politics differed from the British model in several ways. The British constitution was not a formal document but a collection of laws and traditions accumulated over centuries. In contrast, the colonists' rights had traditionally been spelled out in formal legal documents such as the royal charters of Maryland or South Carolina, as well as informal written agreements like the Mayflower Compact.

In addition, two thirds of free colonial men owned enough property to qualify to vote, compared to less than a fourth of British men. By 1760, political upheaval in Great Britain and European wars had allowed the elected colonial assemblies to increase their powers at the expense of the royal governors. Since the colonies lacked aristocrats with inherited titles, the leaders in both assembly and council were wealthy planters and merchants related by blood or marriage. The assemblies often withheld salaries from unpopular governors.

British officials hoped to change the situation by taxing the colonists to provide salaries to royal governors and judges. Crown salaries would make them less responsive to the assemblies and councils. But that prospect alarmed the colonists, who began to cherish their deviations from Britain as important advantages. Members of Parliament believed that they "virtually represented" every British subject, including the colonists. While Parliament expected the colonists to obey, the colonists saw themselves as equal members of the British political body. These differences quickly became a problem when Parliament tried to levy taxes on the colonies. The colonists believed that only their own elected officials had that right.

Vocabulary Builder

virtual-(VER choo uhl) adv. being such in practice or effect, though not in actual fact; implied

Checkpoint How did colonial governments differ from the British government?

Comparing British and Colonial Governments	🖸 Quick Study
Great Britain	American Colonies
King	Governor
Inherited executive power	 Appointed by and served the king but paid by the colonial legislature
Parliament	Colonial Legislatures
House of Lords • Aristocrats with inherited titles also inherited legislative power	Upper House or Council • Appointed by governor • Prominent colonists but without inherited titles
 House of Commons Elected by men who held significant amounts of property Less than 1/4 of British men qualified to vote 	Lower House or Assembly • Elected by men who held property • About 2/3 of colonial men qualified to vote

Symbols of New Taxes Printed materials were supposed to be marked with stamps like these to show that the tax had been paid. Why do you think there were stamps of different values?

New Taxes Upset Colonists

The Seven Years' War—called the French and Indian War in the colonies nearly doubled Britain's national debt and greatly expanded its colonial territories. Parliament needed to raise money, both to pay the debt and to protect the colonies. People in Britain paid far more taxes than the colonists did. This imbalance seemed unfair, for the war had been fought largely to protect the colonists. Parliament decided that the colonists could and should pay more to help the Empire.

The Sugar, Quartering, and Stamp Acts Colonial merchants had grown rich from trade, often smuggling or bribing officials to avoid duties, or taxes, on imports. In 1764, the new prime minister, George Grenville, proposed raising money by collecting duties already in effect. The law, known as the Sugar Act when put into effect, actually lowered the duty on foreign molasses. However, it also assigned customs officers and created courts to collect the duties and prosecute smugglers. Grenville hoped that these measures would encourage colonists to pay the tax.

In early 1765, Parliament passed another unpopular law, the Quartering Act. This act required the colonies to provide housing and supplies for the British troops stationed there after the French and Indian War. Colonists complained but most went along with the changes because they accepted Parliament's right to regulate trade and provide for defense.

In March 1765, Parliament passed a bill intended to raise money from the colonies. The Stamp Act required colonists to pay a tax on almost all printed materials, including newspapers, books, court documents, contracts, and land deeds. This was the first time that Parliament had imposed a direct tax within the colonies.

Taxation Without Representation The colonists angrily protested the Stamp Act, which was to take effect in November. They claimed that it threatened their prosperity and liberty. Colonial leaders questioned Parliament's right to tax the colonies directly. They argued that the colonies had no representation in Parliament, so Parliament had no right to tax them. Some colonists believed that if they accepted this tax, Parliament would add ever more taxes, stripping away their property and political rights. Many colonists thought that the stamp tax revealed a conspiracy by British officials to destroy American liberties.

The colonists' arguments puzzled the members of Parliament. After all, most Britons paid taxes although they could not vote. Many large British cities did not elect representatives to Parliament, which claimed to represent everyone in the Empire. Parliament dismissed the colonial opposition as selfish and narrowminded. The Empire needed money, and Parliament had the right to levy taxes anywhere in the Empire. Of course, Parliament's argument did not sway the colonists, who were appalled to discover that the British were denying their right to tax themselves.

Checkpoint Why did the British impose new taxes on the colonies?

Colonial Protests Intensify

Tax resistance among the colonists took three forms: intellectual protest, economic boycotts, and violent intimidation. All three forms combined to force the British to back down. Colonial leaders wrote pamphlets, drafted resolutions, gave speeches, and delivered sermons to persuade colonists to defy the new taxes. The surge in political activity astonished John Adams, a prominent Massachusetts lawyer who observed "our presses have groaned, our pulpits have thundered, our legislatures have resolved, our towns have voted."

Enlightenment Ideas Colonial protests drew upon the liberalism of the Enlightenment. Europe's leading liberal writers included Baron de Montesquieu of France and John Locke of England. They argued that people had divinely granted natural rights, including life, liberty, and property. A good government protected these individual rights. Locke insisted that government existed for the good of the people. Therefore, people had the right to protest any government that violated this "social contract" by failing to protect their rights.

Patrick Henry, a young Virginia representative, used these ideas to draft a radical document known as the Virginia Resolves. He argued that only the colonial assemblies had the right to tax the colonists:

66Resolved therefore, That the General Assembly of this Primary Source colony, together with his majesty or his substitutes have, in their representatives capacity the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatever than the General Assembly aforesaid is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American liberty."

-Patrick Henry, May 29, 1765

On May 30, 1765, the Virginia House of Burgesses accepted most of Henry's resolves, but rejected two—including the one above—because they were deemed too radical. Colonial newspapers, however, printed all six, believing that they had been accepted. Eight other colonies then adopted resolves similar to Henry's original proposal.

Patriot Leaders Emerge Colonists violently opposed the Stamp Act, which affected every colonist. In the months following the passage of the act, colonists

began to work together to fight it, which created a new, but still fragile, sense of American unity. Those who opposed the British taxes called themselves "Patriots." In the seaport streets, people showed a powerful new interest in politics. To lead the popular protests, some men formed associations known as the Sons of Liberty. Their most famous leader was Boston's Samuel Adams, a cousin of John Adams.

As the protests continued, angry crowds assaulted colonists who supported or helped to collect the taxes. The crowds were especially violent in Boston. In August 1765, a mob led by the Sons of Liberty tore down the office and damaged the house of the stamp tax collector. The Massachusetts lieutenant governor, Thomas Hutchinson, denounced this riot. He insisted that the colonists had a legal duty to pay Parliament's taxes. Another mob destroyed Hutchinson's house. Thereafter, no one in Boston dared to voice support for the stamp tax. By the end of the year, every stamp collector in the colonies had resigned, leaving no one to collect the taxes.

Leaders Organize a Boycott Some colonial leaders opposed the tax but feared the violence of the crowds. To control and coordinate their protest activities, nine colonies sent delegates to a Stamp Act Congress held in New York City in October 1765. Members of this congress encouraged a consumer boycott of goods imported from Britain. Local committees enforced these nonimportation agreements, which threatened British merchants and manufacturers with economic ruin.

Tarring and Feathering

In this painting, Bostonians pour hot tea down the throat of a tax collector who has been tarred and feathered. How do you think this type of artwork affected colonists still loyal to the British Crown?



Women played an important economic role in the boycotts. When colonists stopped buying British goods, they needed "homespun" cloth to substitute for British-manufactured cloth. Gatherings of women to spin thread and weave cloth drew applause from spectators and from the Patriot newspapers. Women also gave up certain comforts when they pledged not to buy any manufactured British goods. Known as "Daughters of Liberty," these women won respect for their efforts in the political struggle.

The combination of tactics worked. Under pressure from British merchants and manufacturers, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in 1766. But the struggle was not over, for Parliament also passed an act declaring its right to levy taxes on the colonists.

Checkpoint What three tactics did colonists use to protest British taxes?

New Taxes Lead to New Protests

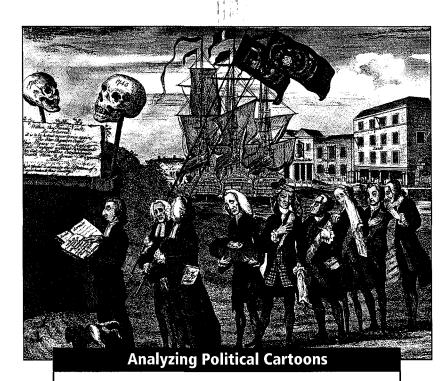
The Stamp Act crisis showed that the colonists would not accept a direct tax. But the British government still needed to raise money to pay its debt and support troops in the colonies. Charles Townshend, the Crown's chief financial officer, thought that colonists would accept indirect taxes on commerce. After all, they had long accepted customs duties in principle, though evading them in practice. In 1767, Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, which levied new import duties on everyday items such as glass, lead, paint, paper, and tea.

To Townshend's surprise, the colonists insisted that they would pay no new taxes of any sort to Parliament. They also resented Townshend's plans to

> use the money to pay the salaries of colonial governors and judges, making them more independent of the colonial assemblies. That prospect alarmed the colonists, who valued their financial control of the governors.

> **Violence Erupts in Boston** In response to the Townshend Acts, the colonists revived their protests, boycotts, and street violence. Once again, the largest riots occurred in Boston, where many of the British customs officials abused their power. The Massachusetts legislature issued a circular letter denouncing the Townshend duties. Few other colonial legislatures paid attention to it until the governor dissolved the Massachusetts legislature in retaliation for their protest.

> In an already tense situation, customs officers seized the merchant ship Liberty in June 1768 for smuggling. The ship belonged to John Hancock, a wealthy merchant and a prominent colonial politician. The seizure set off riots against the customs officers. To suppress the riots, the Crown sent 4,000 troops to occupy Boston, a city of only 16,000 people. For over a year, the presence of British troops inflamed popular anger, especially because the poorly paid soldiers competed with unskilled workers for jobs.



Death of the Stamp Act This cartoon shows British government ministers mourning the end of the Stamp Act. George Grenville carries a coffin to a tomb containing the remains of other unpopular acts. In the background, warehouses are empty because the contents have quickly been shipped to America.

- 1. Why is Grenville portrayed as the father of a dead child?
- 2. What is the significance of the ships and warehouses?



The Boston Massacre

Paul Revere helped demonize the British by engraving this picture of the Boston Massacre. How can you tell that Revere intended this engraving to be used as propaganda?

One night in March 1770, a group of colonists hurled snowballs and rocks at British soldiers guarding the Customs House. The nervous soldiers fired into the crowd, killing five colonists. The dead included Crispus Attucks, a sailor who may have been an escaped slave of mixed Indian and African ancestry. Under the leadership of Samuel Adams, Patriots called the killings the Boston Massacre. Adams later organized a network of local committees of correspondence throughout Massachusetts. The committees provided leadership and promoted cooperation. By 1773, several other colonies had created committees, which helped build colonial unity.

Once again, Parliament backed down. The British withdrew troops from Boston and dropped most of the Townshend duties. But to preserve the principle of Parliamentary supremacy, Parliament kept the tax on tea. Therefore, colonists continued to boycott British tea and to drink smuggled Dutch tea.

The Boston Tea Party The tea boycott worsened financial problems for the already struggling British East India Company. To help the company and encourage the colonists to pay the tax, Parliament passed a law allowing the company to sell directly to the colonists. This made their tea cheaper than the smuggled tea, even with the tax.

Instead of buying the cheaper tea, the colonists protested that the British were trying to trick them into paying the tax. If the East India Company sold tea directly, it would also hurt the wealthy colonists who smuggled tea. On the night of December 16, 1773, Boston Patriots took matters into their own hands. Dressed as Indians, they boarded three British ships laden with tea and dumped the tea into the harbor. The event became known as the **Boston Tea Party.**

Checkpoint How did tensions between the colonists and Britain escalate after 1767?

A British soldier's cap badge





Soldiers Arrive in Boston

British troops row to shore from their ships in Boston Harbor (below). They were known as Redcoats because of their red jackets (above). How does the artist use the size and placement of ships to convey the force used by the British in Boston?

Colonists Unite Against Harsh Measures

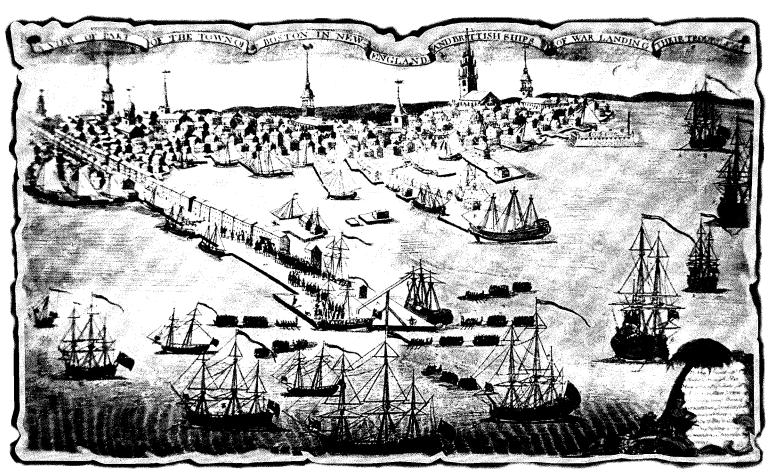
The Bostonians' actions outraged Parliament and the Crown. To punish Boston, Parliament passed the Coercive Acts. They closed the port to trade until the inhabitants paid for the destroyed tea, including the tax. They also increased the power of the governor at the expense of the elected assembly and town meetings. To enforce these measures, the British sent warships and troops to Boston.

The Intolerable Acts The colonists were outraged. In addition to closing the port, the acts forced colonists to house British troops and allowed British officials to be tried in Britain for crimes committed in the colonies. In addition, the Quebec Act extended Canada's southern border, cutting off lands claimed by several colonies. The horrified colonists called the legislation the Intolerable Acts. They rejected the idea that the British could shut down trade and change colonial governments at will.

In rural Massachusetts, people reacted to the British actions with violence. Armed with clubs and guns, they forced the courts of law to shut down. They also assaulted anyone who accepted an office under the governor or spoke in favor of obeying Parliament. They coated some victims in hot tar and feathers a punishment both humiliating and painful.

The Colonies Take Action Fortunately for Massachusetts, the other colonies also opposed the Coercive Acts and viewed them as a threat to their freedom.

In the fall of 1774, delegates from every colony except Georgia met in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the First Continental Congress. Virginia's delegates included the fiery Patrick Henry, who became famous for declaring,



"Give me liberty, or give me death." He delighted the New England delegates by declaring, "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American."

To pressure Parliament to withdraw the Coercive Acts, the delegates announced a boycott of all British imports. Throughout the colonies, the Patriots established local committees and provincial congresses to enforce the boycotts. In effect, the Patriots established new governments that bypassed Parliament and the Crown. By including common shopkeepers, artisans, and farmers, the committees expanded the ranks of the politically active. In the spring of 1775, a newly arrived immigrant marveled, "They are all liberty mad."

By 1774, Patriot John Adams had decided that he already lived in a new country named America. He also believed that Americans could unite to defeat the British. But Adams was ahead of most colonists, who still hoped to remain within the British Empire, provided that Parliament would revoke the Coercive Acts and stop trying to tax them. Far from blaming the king, most colonists still expected that he would side with them against Parliament. Within two years, however, events would prove Adams right.

✓ Checkpoint How did the Coercive Acts lead to colonial unity?



▲ Patrick Henry, a radical Patriot, encouraged the Continental Congress to embrace independence as their goal.

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0402

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People Explain how each term or person below increased tensions in the colonies or helped colonial leaders organize for action.
 - Stamp Act
 - John Adams
 - Patrick Henry
 - Sons of Liberty
 - nonimportation agreement
 - Boston Massacre
 - committee of correspondence
 - Boston Tea Party
 - Intolerable Acts
 - First Continental Congress

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What caused the colonists to

Writing About History

rebel against the British?

3. Quick Write: Contrast List each of the taxes levied by Parliament on the American colonists. Then, make a chart showing how the British justified the taxes and why the colonists protested it.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Compare Points of View Explain why Parliament did not understand the colonists' argument "no taxation without representation."
- 5. Recognize Ideologies Why did the colonists first accept and then later reject indirect taxes such as duties on trade?
- 6. Determine Relevance How did the Intolerable Acts aid Patriot leaders?

On August 26, 1765, Boston colonists attacked

the home of the Lieutenant Governor during

riots opposing the Stamp Act. ▼

EXPERIENCE THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

lackighting between Patriots and the British did not begin until 10 years after the Stamp Act caused an uproar in the colonies. In 1765, not many colonists wanted independence from Britain. Over the next decade, a few organizers rallied colonists to join the Patriots. These printers, merchants, and lawyers used the language of the Enlightenment to attract converts to the cause of independence.

In response to British taxes, early Patriots began organizing the resistance. Samuel Adams created committees of correspondence in Massachusetts to inform the colony about events in Boston. Other colonies quickly followed. Later, Sons and Daughters of Liberty employed the masses of people in their anti-British actions.

> Prominent Patriots joined the Sons and Daughters of Liberty and committees of correspondence.

▲ Joseph Reed joined the Philadelphia committee of correspondence.

April 5, 1764

The Sugar Act lowers the tax on molasses, but increases penalties for smuggling, denying a jury trial to accused smugglers.

March 22, 1765

Passage of the Stamp Act results in riots and the formation of the Sons of Liberty.

June 29, 1767

Passage of the Townshend Acts leads to colonial nonimportation agreements.

WILLIAM JACKSON an IMPORTER; at the BRAZEN HEAD, North Side of the TOWN-HOUSE, Corn-bill, BOSTON

It is defired that the Sons and DAUGHTERS of LIBERTY, would not buy any one thing of him, for in fo doing they will bring Difgrace upon themselves, and their Posterity, for ever and ever, AMEN.

BOSTON, September, 27, 1774-

GENTLEMEN,

THE committees of correspondence of this and feveral of the neighbouring towns, having taken into confideration the value importance of withholding from the ratops now here, and importance of withholding from the ratops now here, article excepting provisions necessary for their substitutions and in those excepting provisions necessary for their substitutions and the substitution of the results of the substitution of the substituti

Your Friends and Fellow Country

Signed by Order of the joint Comm

▲ James Otis was a leader of the Massachusetts committee of correspondence.





▲ Printing presses were powerful tools for Patriots. The press for this paper had to be slipped out of Boston to prevent the British from destroying it. Pictures of these coffins, with the initials of colonists who died in the Boston Massacre, were printed in newspapers throughout the colonies.

▼ In response to the Tea Act, Boston Patriots dressed as Indians and dumped British tea into the harbor.



Thinking Critically

- 1. Recognize Propaganda How did newspapers win support for the Patriots?
- 2. Identify Point of View How would Parliament have interpreted the colonists' reactions?

Connect to Today Research a group that is working to gain support for a specific cause today. Write a report evaluating the tactics they use to spread their message.

History Interactive *

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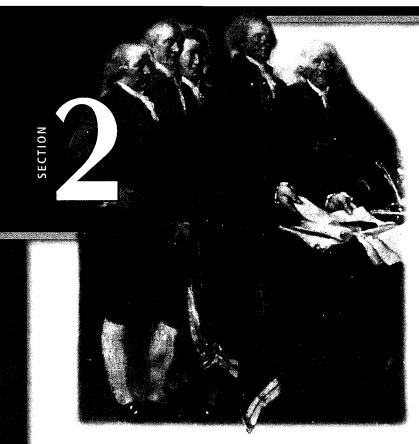
March 5, 1770

The Boston Massacre results in greater support for the Patriots, who use newspapers to advance their cause.

April 27, 1773

Parliament passes the Tea Act, leading to the Boston Tea Party in December. April 1, 1774

Parliament closes the port of Boston; Virginia calls for every colony to create committees of correspondence.



WITNESS HISTORY 📢 🤊 AUDIO

The Spirit of Independence

In 1776, the Continental Congress decided to declare independence. But some colonists were hesitant.

> —letter from a member of the Virginia Convention, February 10, 1776

 Signing the Declaration of Independence

Declaring Independence



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **2.I.A.4** The Revolutionary War and the Declaration of Independence
- **2.1.A.4b** Revolutionary ideology (republican principles, natural rights)
- 2.I.A.4c Revolutionary leaders: Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry

Terms and People

militia Loyalist Second Continental Congress Continental Army George Washington Thomas Paine Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson natural rights

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Use a timeline to keep track of events in this section.

April 18, 1775
Battles of Lexington
and Concord
July 4, 1776

Why It Matters In 1776, the colonists of British America made three important decisions. First, they declared independence from Britain. Second, they chose a republican model for their new government. Third, they confederated the 13 states as the United States of America. These decisions were unprecedented and risky. The colonists gambled their lives and property but found a strength that surprised and changed the world. Section Focus Question: What events led the colonists to declare their independence from Britain?

War Begins

In early 1775, the dispute between the British government and the colonists took a drastic turn. Following the passage of the Coercive Acts, in addition to being the military commander, General Thomas Gage had been named governor of Massachusetts. John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and other colonial leaders then convened a Provincial Congress to govern Massachusetts without Gage. They also began to stockpile arms and ammunition.

The Battles of Lexington and Concord On April 19, 1775, war erupted at Lexington and Concord, two country towns west of Boston. Gage provoked the battles by sending troops to arrest Hancock and Adams in Lexington and to seize Patriot weapons stockpiled in Concord. Tipped off by men, including Paul Revere, who had ridden into the countryside to warn of the approaching British troops, the local Patriots rallied to drive the troops back to Boston. The Patriot fighters were militia, full-time farmers and part-time soldiers.

By morning, about 70 Patriots had gathered on the Lexington Green. As the British soldiers, called Redcoats, marched into town at dawn, the British commander ordered the militia to disperse. As they did, someone fired a shot. When the shooting stopped, eight Patriots were dead. The Redcoats marched on to Concord. What happened next stunned the British. The British troops began their march back to Boston following a skirmish with Patriots in Concord. However, hundreds of minutemen, Patriot militia who earned their name by their ability to respond quickly to calls for soldiers, lined the roads, firing at the British from behind trees and stone walls. The Patriots killed or wounded more than 200 British soldiers.

Stunned and exhausted, the British reached the safety of Boston in the late afternoon. From throughout New England, thousands of Patriot militiamen rushed to confine the British troops in the city. Provincial assemblies of Patriots seized control of the New England colonies. **Loyalists**, or colonists who remained loyal to Britain, fled to take refuge in Boston. But would the rest of the colonies help New England fight the British?

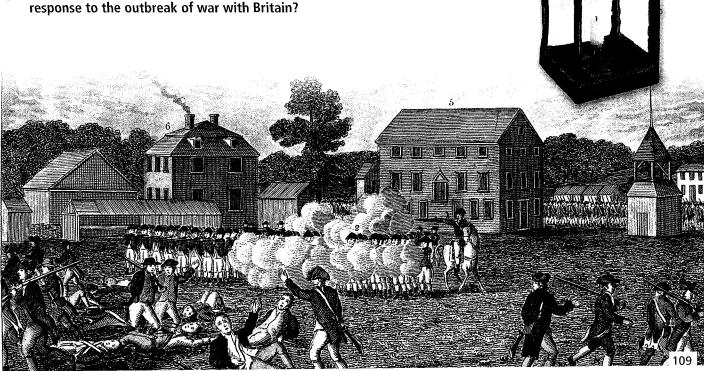
The Second Continental Congress The answer came in May 1775 when delegates from all the colonies assembled in Philadelphia for the Second Continental Congress. To the relief of New Englanders, Congress assumed responsibility for the war. Armed volunteers from the Middle and Southern colonies marched north to join the Patriot siege of Boston. Congress gave the command of the new Continental Army to George Washington. Washington had served as a colonial officer in the French and Indian War and he came from Virginia, the largest and most powerful colony. New England needed Virginia's help to win the war.

Some radical members of the Continental Congress wanted to declare American independence from Britain, but they recognized that most of their constituents were not yet ready to do so. Most colonists still hoped to remain within the British Empire but without paying taxes to Parliament. In July 1775, after three months of bloodshed, Congress sent an "Olive Branch Petition" to King George III. The petition reaffirmed the colonists' allegiance to the king but not to Parliament. The king rejected the petition and sent more troops to Boston.

Checkpoint What actions did the Second Continental Congress take in

The First Battle

The engraving below shows the battle on Lexington Green. Patriots hung the lantern below from the steeple in a Boston church to signal that British troops were on the move. Based on this picture, does it seem likely that the Patriots would defeat the British?





Patriots Abuse Lovalists

Loyalists were subjected to harsh treatment by their Patriot neighbors. In this picture, a Loyalist is paraded through town, followed by drummers. Why did Patriots publicly humiliate Loyalists?

Patriots and Loyalists Disagree

Most colonists supported the Continental Congress and the boycott of British imports, but a large minority preferred British rule. These colonists were later called Lovalists. Champions of law and order, many Lovalists dreaded the Patriot crowds and committees, viewing them as illegal and brutal. One Loyalist declared, "If I must be enslaved, let it be by a King at least, and not by a parcel of upstart, lawless committeemen. If I must be devoured, let me be devoured by the jaws of a lion, and not gnawed to death by rats and vermin."

Loyalists Fear Disorder Although many Loyalists opposed Britain's taxes, they felt that Parliament and the Crown must be obeyed as the legitimate government of the Empire. The Loyalists feared that the resistance would lead to a deadly and destructive war that Britain seemed certain to win. They doubted that the colonists could defeat an empire that had recently crushed the combined powers of France and Spain.

During the summer of 1774, two old friends and lawyers walked together to discuss the crisis: John Adams, a Patriot, and Jonathan Sewell, a Loyalist. During the conversation, Sewell warned Adams, "Great Britain is determined on her system. Her power is irresistible, and it will certainly be destructive to you, and all those who . . . persevere in opposition to her designs."

Adams boldly replied, "I know that Great Britain is determined in her system, and that . . . [has] determined me on mine. . . . Swim or sink, live or die, survive or perish with my country—that is my unalterable determination."

Loyalists Oppose the Patriots' Demands About a fifth of the colonists remained loyal, and many more wished to remain neutral. According to stereotype, Loyalists were wealthy elitists who sold out their fellow colonists to reap profitable offices in the British government. A few Loyalists did fit that description, but many more were ordinary farmers and artisans. Others belonged to cultural minorities who feared oppression by the Patriot majority.

Vocabulary Builder

stereotype-(STER ee uh $t\bar{l}p$) n. an oversimplified image of a group of people

Loyalists disliked the taxes, oaths of allegiance, and militia drafts demanded by the new Patriot authorities to support the Patriots' war. They also resented the Patriots for shutting down Loyalist newspapers and for punishing people who criticized the Patriots' actions. Loyalists concluded that the Patriots demanded more in taxes and allowed less free speech than did the British.

Loyalism also appealed to Native Americans and to enslaved people. The Indians wanted British help to keep out the settlers pressing westward. Because slaveholders led the revolution in the Southern Colonies, their slaves saw the British as the true champions of liberty. Thousands of enslaved people sought their freedom by running away to join the British forces.

✓ Checkpoint Why did Loyalists oppose the Patriots' cause?

Opinion Swings Toward Independence

In January 1776, a short but powerful book swung popular opinion in the colonies in favor of independence. Entitled *Common Sense*, the book was by **Thomas Paine**, a recent immigrant from England who had been both an artisan and a tax collector. In *Common Sense*, many Americans read what they longed to believe but had not known how to express. Similar ideas would soon appear in a declaration of the colonists' independence.

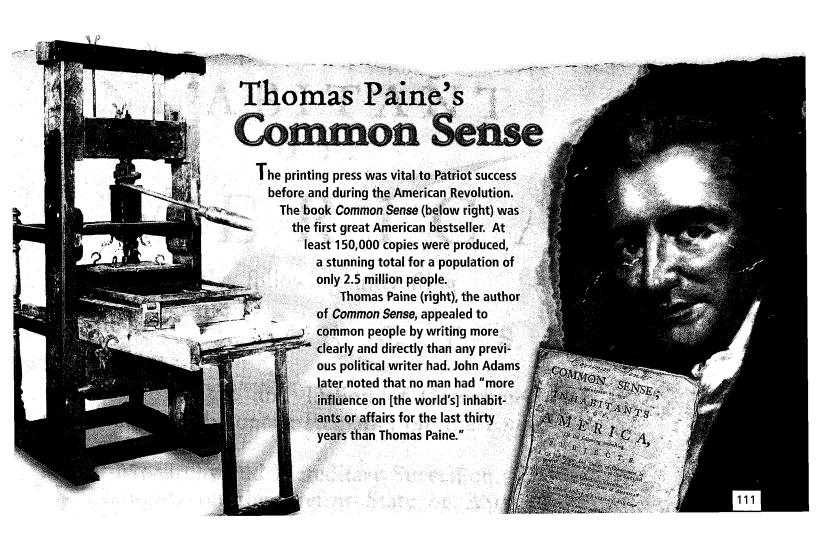
Thomas Paine's Radical Proposal In simple but forceful and direct language, Paine proposed a radical course of action for the colonies: independence from Britain, republican state governments, and a union of the new states.

Paine denounced the king and aristocrats of Britain as frauds and parasites. He wanted the common people to elect all of their government, not just a third

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch *The Enlightenment and the American Revolution* on the United States Witness History DVD to explore how European philosophers influenced the Patriots.





One of Jefferson's drafts of the Declaration of Independence ▼ of it. Paine depicted the king, rather than Parliament, as the greatest enemy of American liberty. He hated the rigid class structure of Britain for smothering the hopes of common people without a noble title or money. A republic, he argued, would provide opportunities to reward merit rather than inherited privilege. Freed from the empire, Americans could trade with the entire world.

By uniting to create a republic, Americans could create a model that would inspire common people everywhere to reject kings and aristocrats. Paine con-She WADED STATES cluded, "The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind."

This view was new and powerful in 1776, when the revolution was a desperate gamble.

The Colonists Declare Independence By the spring of 1776, Paine's ideas had built momentum for American independence. Noting the shift in public opinion, Congress selected a committee to draft a document declaring American independence and explaining the reasons for it. On July 2, Congress voted that America was free. Two days later, they approved the **Declaration of Independence**.

Drafted by Thomas Jefferson, the Declaration drew upon Paine's ideas to denounce the king as a tyrant who made American independence necessary. Although primarily a long list of colonial grievances, the Declaration also advanced the bold idea that "all men are created equal." Congress embraced the Enlightenment ideas that all men are born with natural rights that cannot be taken away by a government. Jefferson called them "unalienable rights."

This sweeping statement was far ahead of the social and economic reality in the new United States. For example, many of the signers of the Declaration owned slaves. But the idea of equality would inspire future generations of Americans, including enslaved people, to make a better, more equal society.

Declaring independence on paper was one thing. Achieving it was another. The colonists faced many challenges before they could become an independent nation. No colony in the Americas had yet won independence from a European empire. Fighting the British for independence would pit the poorly organized colonists against the greatest military power on Earth.

✓ Checkpoint What ideas were expressed in the Declaration of Independence?

SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0404

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the Revolutionary War.
 - militia
 - Loyalist
 - Second Continental Congress
 - Continental Army
 - George Washington
 - Thomas Paine
 - Declaration of Independence
 - Thomas Jefferson
 - natural rights

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Use your completed timeline to answer the Section Focus Question: What events led the colonists to declare their

independence from Britain?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Compare Write a paragraph comparing the Patriot and Loyalist viewpoints. Explain their shared concerns and why they thought that the British or the Patriots were the best hope for America.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Inferences Why did the Second Continental Congress send the Olive Branch Petition to the king?
- 5. Recognize Ideologies Why did Loyalists oppose independence from Britain?
- 6. Recognize Bias Why did Thomas Paine argue so forcefully for independence?
- 7. Explain Effects How did the Enlightenment affect the American Revolution?

In Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,— That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

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

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

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

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

Commentary

- ▼ Preamble
 The document first lists the reasons for writing the Declaration.
- ▼ Protection of Natural Rights
 People set up governments to
 protect their basic rights. These
 rights are unalienable; they cannot
 be taken away. The purpose of
 government is to protect these
 natural rights. When a government
 does not protect the rights of the
 people, the people must change
 the government or create a new
 one. The colonists feel that the
 king's repeated usurpations, or
 unjust uses of power, are a form of
 despotism, or tyranny, that has
 denied them their basic rights.

■ Grievances Against the King
The list of grievances details the
colonists' complaints against the
British government and King
George III. The colonists have no
say in determining the laws that
govern them, and they feel King
George's actions show little or no
concern for the well-being of the
people.

The colonists refuse to relinquish, or give up, the right to representation, which they feel is inestimable, or priceless.



Commentary

The king has refused to allow new legislators to be elected. As a result, the colonies have not been able to protect themselves against foreign enemies and convulsions, or riots, within the colonies.

The king has tried to stop foreigners from coming to the colonies by refusing to pass naturalization laws. Such laws set up the process for foreigners to become legal citizens.

The king alone has decided a judge's tenure, or term. This grievance later would result in Article 3, Section 1, of the Constitution, which states that federal judges hold office for life.

Forced by the king, the colonists have been quartering, or lodging, troops in their homes. This grievance found its way into the Constitution in the Third Amendment.

The king has taken away the rights of the people in a nearby province (Canada). The colonists feared he could do the same to the colonies if he so wished.

✓ Checkpoint

Why does the Declaration list the colonists' many grievances?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

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

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

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

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

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

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a 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, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

 $x_{ab}(x_{a}) = x_{ab}(x_{a}) + x_{ab}(x_{a}$

Declaration of Independence

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 and 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 endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

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

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

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

Commentary

The king has hired foreign mercenaries, or soldiers, to bring death and destruction to the colonists. The head of a civilized country should never act with the cruelty and perfidy, or dishonesty, that the king has.

The colonists have repeatedly asked the king to correct these wrongs. Each time, he has failed to do so. Because of the way he treats his subjects, the king is not fit to rule.

The colonists have appealed to the British people. They have asked their fellow British subjects to support them. However, like the king, the British people have ignored the colonists' requests.

■ Declaring Independence The resolution of independence boldly asserts that the colonies are now "free and independent states." The Declaration concludes by stating that these new states have the power to wage war, establish alliances, and trade with other countries.

✓ Checkpoint

What powers does the new nation have, now that it is independent?

Signatories of the Declaration of Independence

JOHN HANCOCK

PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS 1775–1777

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Josiah Bartlett

William Whipple

Matthew Thornton

MASSACHUSETTS BAY
Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

RHODE ISLAND Stephen Hopkins William Ellery

CONNECTICUT
Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott

NEW YORK
William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

NEW JERSEY
Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark

DELAWARE
Caesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas McKean
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

NORTH CAROLINA William Hooper Joseph Hewes John Penn

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

GEORGIA

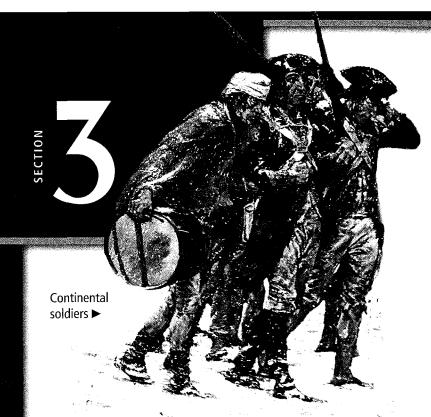
Button Gwinnett

Lyman Hall

George Walton



New Yorkers tear down a statue of King George III after a reading of the Declaration of Independence on Bowling Green. The statue was later melted down to make ammunition for the American Army.



Washington's canteen ▶

WITNESS HISTORY (***) AUDIO

Could England Win the War?

During the war, Thomas Paine wrote several pamphlets supporting the Patriot cause. Paine directed this passage to Britain's commander, Lord Howe:

66 By what means, may I ask, do you expect to conquer America? If you could not effect it in the summer, when our army was less than yours, nor in the winter, when we had none, how are you to do it? . . . [Y]ou have been outwitted . . . your advantages turn out to your loss and show us that it is in our power to ruin you. . . . You cannot be so insensible as not to see that we have two to one the advantage of you, because we conquer by a drawn game, and you lose by it. ""

—Thomas Paine, The American Crisis II, 1777

Turning Points of the War



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.1.A.4 The Revolutionary War and the Declaration of Independence
- **2.I.A.4b** Revolutionary ideology (republican principles, natural rights)
- 2.I.A.4c Revolutionary leaders: Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry

Terms and People

William Howe mercenary Battle of Trenton Charles Cornwallis **Battle of Princeton** Saratoga Marquis de Lafayette Benjamin Franklin Valley Forge Monmouth

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize Record the British and Patriot strengths and weaknesses on a chart like the one below.

British		
Strengths	Weaknesses	
•	•	
•	•	

Why It Matters To make their independence a reality, the Patriots had to win a hard and bloody war against the world's most powerful empire. Britain's population was nearly four times larger than the 2.5 million people in the colonies. And at least a fifth of the colonists were Loyalists. Another fifth were slaves, who were likely to join the British to escape enslavement. Many others remained neutral for as long as possible. Section Focus Question: What factors helped the Patriots win the war?

The Opposing Sides

At the beginning of the war, Britain seemed to have great advantages. A leader in manufacturing, Britain produced more ships and weapons than the colonists did. The British also had an established government, while the Americans were starting from scratch. Meanwhile, the Continental Congress struggled to pay for the war. Lacking the authority to collect taxes, Congress and the states printed paper money to pay their debts, producing inflation that damaged the economy. The Continental soldiers suffered from hunger and cold, while the British troops were well trained and had plenty of supplies. The odds seemed slight that the Patriots could win.

The British Make Mistakes In 1775, the British did not take the Patriots seriously as an enemy. Two months after the defeat at Concord, they repeated their mistake at the Battle of Bunker Hill. By fortifying hills overlooking Boston, the Patriots hoped to drive the British from that seaport. To retake the hills, the new British commander, Lord **William Howe**, ordered a frontal assault by soldiers in the middle of the day. Carrying heavy packs and wearing red uniforms, his men marched uphill straight into a murderous fire from entrenched Patriots. Why did Howe put his soldiers in such a dangerous position?

Howe wanted to win the battle despite giving the Patriots every advantage. That would prove, in another general's words, "that trained troops are invincible against any numbers or any position of untrained rabble." Instead of proving Howe's point, the British suffered a bloodbath as two charges failed. A third charge captured the hills only because the Patriots ran out of ammunition. Technically, the British had won the battle, but they suffered more than twice the Patriot casualties. The Patriots had won a psychological victory.

In January 1776, six months after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Colonel Henry Knox arrived with cannons to reinforce the Patriots outside Boston. His men had hauled the cannons hundreds of miles from upstate New York, where Ethan Allen's men had captured them from Fort Ticonderoga. With Patriot cannons shelling both Boston and the British ships in the harbor, the British abandoned the city in March.

The British Misunderstand the Conflict Lord Howe continued to pursue a misguided strategy. The British thought that they were fighting a traditional European war. They believed that the Patriots would surrender if Howe could defeat the Continental Army and capture the major seaports, including Philadelphia, the Patriot capital. In fact, the British accomplished these goals but still lost the war.

The British never fully understood that they were fighting a different type of war, a revolutionary war. The Patriots understood that it was a struggle to win the hearts and minds of the civilian population. Instead of surrendering after setbacks, the Patriots kept on fighting. Thomas Paine wrote an inspiring series of essays, *The American Crisis*, which George Washington read to encourage his troops. Meanwhile, the British further angered colonists when they hired German **mercenaries**, or soldiers who fought for hire. These "Hessians," as they were called, had a particularly brutal reputation.

HISTORY MAKERS

George Washington (1732–1799)

The son of a wealthy Virginia planter, George Washington became a surveyor at age 16 and inherited his brother's estate, Mount Vernon, a few years later. Washington led a militia in the French and Indian War, becoming the head of all Virginia troops in 1755.

career in the Virginia House of Burgesses.

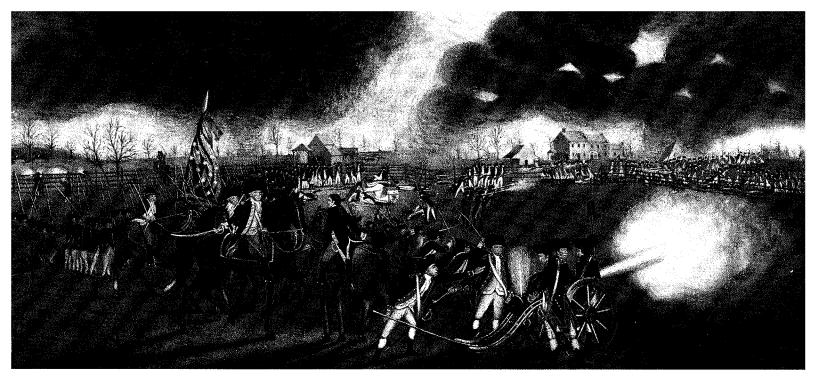
Around the same time, he married Martha
Custis, a wealthy widow. Between
meetings of the Burgesses, Washington
was a farmer, though a particularly
wealthy one. When the dispute
between the colonies and Great
Britain began, he sided with the

In 1758, Washington began his political

colonies. He would lead the Continental Army to victory before his election as the first President of the United States. The Patriots' Strengths Patriot persistence owed much to Washington's leadership. He realized that to preserve his Continental Army from destruction, he could not risk all on a major battle under unfavorable conditions. Outnumbered and often outmaneuvered, Washington lost most of the battles, but his skillful retreats saved his army to fight another day. By preserving and inspiring his soldiers, Washington sustained them through incredible hardships. His small but committed army hung together despite the casualties and the soldiers' hunger and ragged clothing.

By preoccupying the British army, Washington's Continental Army freed the local militias to suppress the Loyalists in the countryside.

Colonists Endure Hard Times To succeed, the Continental Army needed aid and support from the civilian population. Throughout the war, women's work was crucial. Women freed their husbands and sons for military service by running farms and shops. They also made clothing, blankets, and shoes for the soldiers. Without these contributions, the Patriots could not have sustained their army.



However, the British navy also blockaded the ports, making many items scarce and expensive. A few colonists took advantage of the shortages by profiteering, or selling rare items at a very high price. Furthermore, the Patriots caused inflation by issuing paper money, which means that the value of money decreased. If farmers sold their crops to the Patriots, they would be paid in "Continentals," paper money issued by the Continental Congress. It would be worth nothing if the Patriots lost. The British army, however, paid for their food in gold.

During the war, some women followed their husbands into the army. They received rations for maintaining the camps and washing clothing. A few women even helped fire cannons or served as soldiers by masquerading as men. For her service, Deborah Sampson later won a military pension from Congress. Another story says that Mary Hays became known as Molly Pitcher for delivering water to troops during the battle at Monmouth. Legend says that she stepped in and took her husband's place at the cannon.

Checkpoint What were the Patriots' strengths?

The War Shifts to the Middle States

After the British left Boston in early 1776, they decided to attack New York City and cut off New England from the rest of the colonies. After winning a series of battles, Howe captured the city on September 15. About 30,000 British and German troops nearly crushed the poorly trained Continentals. Forced to retreat across New Jersey, Washington barely saved his little army and the Revolution by counterattacking on December 26. Crossing the Delaware River in the middle of Christmas night, he surprised a garrison of more than 1,000 German mercenaries at the **Battle of Trenton**. This modest victory raised the spirits of the troops and Patriot supporters at a critical moment.

Military Turning Points Washington began 1777 with another victory. Again moving his troops in the night, Washington inflicted heavy casualties on General Charles Cornwallis's troops at the Battle of Princeton. During the remainder of 1777, however, Washington suffered more defeats. In the fall, he lost Philadelphia to Howe's army.

The Battle of Princeton

On January 3, 1777, Washington attacked Cornwallis in Princeton, New Jersev. How did the Patriots' tactics in this battle differ from the way they attacked the troops retreating from Concord in 1775?

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize

Sequence Use a timeline to record the sequence of important events and battles during the war.

September 15, 1776 British capture **New York City**

Led by General John Burgoyne, another British army marched from Canada to invade New York's Hudson Valley. Falling into a Patriot trap at Saratoga, Burgoyne surrendered in October. The greatest Patriot victory yet, Saratoga suggested that the United States might just win the war.

European Allies Enter the War The victory at Saratoga took on greater importance because it encouraged France to recognize American independence and to enter the war. France welcomed the opportunity to weaken an old enemy, Britain. During the early years of the war, however, the French had doubted that the Patriots could win. Unwilling to risk an open alliance, they had limited their assistance to secret shipments of arms and ammunition. But that covert aid kept the Patriot army alive and fighting. Some French volunteers, including the aristocrat and Patriot general Marquis de Lafayette, also provided military expertise.

After Saratoga, the French risked an open alliance with the United States. Negotiated in February 1778, the alliance reflected the diplomatic genius of Benjamin Franklin, the leading American negotiator in Paris. A cunning gentleman, Franklin became popular in France by presenting himself in public as a simple American who loved the French. As the French army and navy began attacking the British, the war became more equal. Although the first joint operations failed miserably, the alliance would produce the biggest victory of the war in 1781.

The British suffered another blow in 1779 when Spain entered the war as a French ally. The Spanish also wanted to weaken the British, but they feared that American independence would inspire their own colonists to rebel against Spanish rule. Spain was not an official American ally, but the Spanish governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Gálvez, provided money and supplies to the Patriots and prevented British ships from entering the Mississippi River at New Orleans.

The Continental Army Faces Challenges Back in Pennsylvania, Washington's army spent the harsh and hungry winter of 1777 to 1778 at Valley Forge, outside of Philadelphia. The soldiers suffered from a lack of supplies and food. Washington reported to Congress that nearly a third of his 10,000 soldiers had no coats or shoes.

Unless some great . . . change suddenly takes place . . . Primary Source this Army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things. Starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence in the best manner they can. 37

—George Washington, Valley Forge, December 23, 1777

Despite their hardships, the soldiers improved from careful drilling supervised by a German volunteer, Baron Von Steuben, who had come to help the Patriots. In June 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia, retreating across New Jersey to New York City. On the way, they fought off Washington's pursuit at Monmouth, New Jersey. The Continental soldiers demonstrated their improved discipline under fire.

Despite having won most of the battles, the British had little to show for it beyond their headquarters in New York City. Despairing of winning in the North, the British turned their attention to the South.

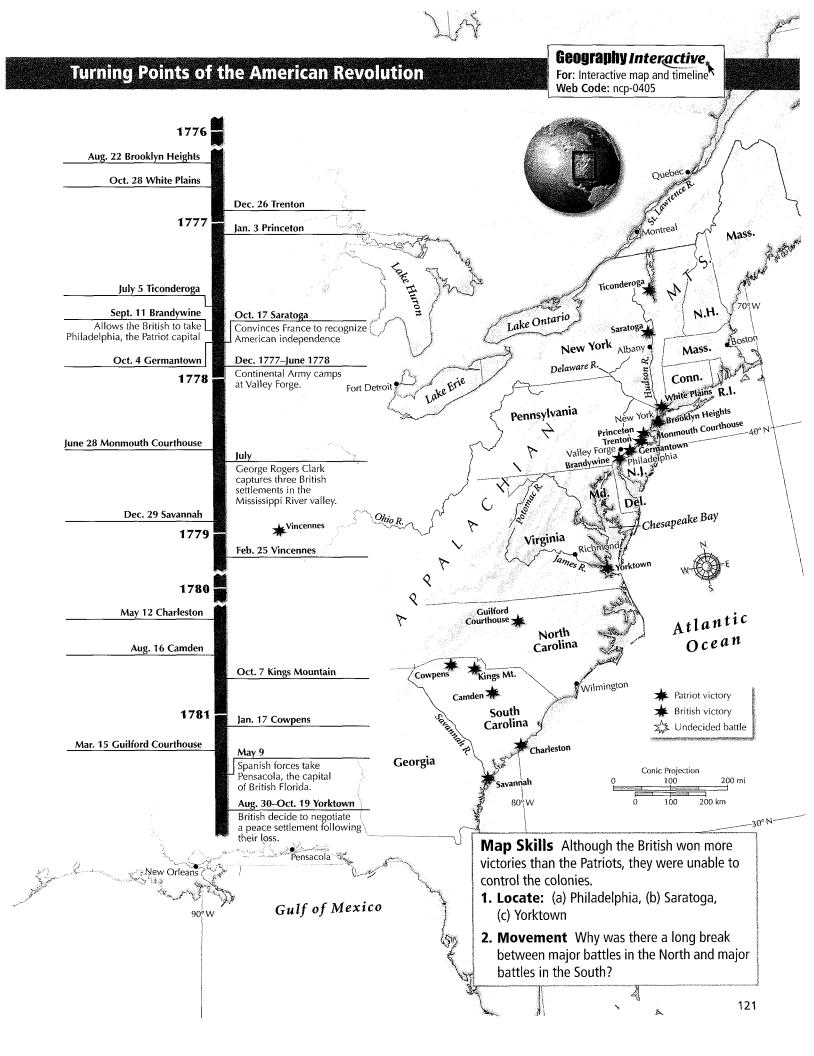
Checkpoint Describe the course of the war in 1777 and 1778.

Vocabulary Builder

ally- (AL \bar{i}) n. person, group, or country joined with another or with others to achieve a common purpose

Baron Von Steuben drills soldiers at Valley Forge.





The Frontier War

Defying the Proclamation of 1763, colonists had begun to settle west of the Appalachian Mountains in the early 1770s. The outbreak of war between the colonists and the British escalated the frequent skirmishes between settlers and Indians, leading the settlers to claim more Native American lands.

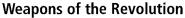
Native Americans Support the British The frontier war was especially destructive. Most Indians sided with the British, who had promised to keep the colonists in the East. With British urging, Native Americans increased attacks on colonial settlements in 1777. Meanwhile, white settlers increasingly attacked and killed neutral Native Americans or disregarded truces, beginning a cycle of revenge that continued for years.

The War Moves West In the Northwest, Colonel George Rogers Clark led the Patriot militia in the fight against the British. They took the settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia in the spring of 1778. By late summer, Clark's 175 soldiers and their French settler allies had captured all the British posts in the areas that would become Indiana and Illinois.

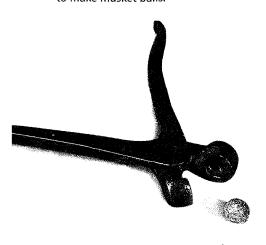
The British and their Native American allies responded a few months later, recapturing a fort at Vincennes, Indiana. Clark's men—all unpaid volunteersquickly rallied, marching from their winter quarters on the shores of the Mississippi River. In late February 1779, they reached Vincennes and convinced many Native Americans to abandon their British allies, allowing the Patriots to recover the fort. At war's end, the Patriot outposts allowed Americans to lay claim to the Ohio River valley.

Meanwhile, in upstate New York, Native American and British forces attacked several frontier outposts in 1779. In return, Patriot troops burned 40 Iroquois towns, destroying the power of the Iroquois Federation. But the Indians continued to attack settlers with deadly effect, forcing many of them to return east.

✓ Checkpoint Describe the role of Native Americans in the war.



Patriots used weapons like the musket below. The mold was used to make musket balls.



SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0406

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People Explain the significance of each of the terms or people listed below.
 - William Howe
 - mercenary
 - Battle of Trenton
 - Battle of Princeton
 - Saratoga
 - Marguis de Lafavette
 - Benjamin Franklin
 - Valley Forge
 - Monmouth

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

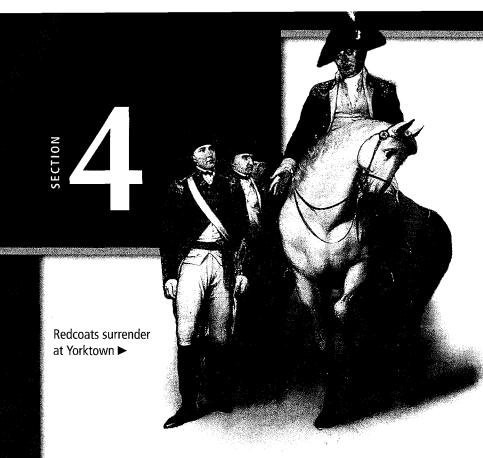
Summarize Use your completed chart to help you answer the Section Focus Question: What factors helped the Patriots win the war?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Compare Make an outline comparing the war in the North with the war on the frontier.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Express Problems Clearly In what ways did the British misunderstand the conflict with the colonies?
- **5. Analyze Information** How were the Patriots able to continue fighting, despite losing most of the battles?
- 6. Predict Consequences How important was French assistance to the Patriots' struggle? Explain your answer.



WITNESS HISTORY (3) AUDIO

Cornwallis Surrenders

More than 15 years after colonists began protesting new taxes, the Patriots defeated the British army.

66 I have the Honor to inform Congress, that a Reduction of the British Army under the Command of Lord Cornwallis, is most happily effected. The unremitting Ardor which actuated every Officer and Soldier in the combined Army on this Occasion, has principally led to this Important Event, at an earlier period than my most sanguine Hopes had induced me to expect. 99

-George Washington, October 19, 1781

War's End and Lasting Effects



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.I.A.4 The Revolutionary War and the Declaration of Independence
- 2.1.A.4b Revolutionary ideology (republican principles, natural rights)
- 2.I.A.5d The abolition of slavery in the North

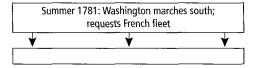
Terms and People

Kings Mountain Yorktown

Treaty of Paris manumission

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Use a flowchart to record the events leading up to the Treaty of Paris.



Why It Matters By eighteenth-century standards, the American Revolution was very radical. For the first time, overseas colonies rejected their empire to create a republican union—something long dismissed as a dangerous fantasy. By defying the conventional wisdom of their time, the Patriots began an enormous experiment aimed at creating a more open and equal society. Section Focus Question: What did the Revolution accomplish, and what ideas did it set in motion?

The British Invade the South

As the war continued, the British expected Loyalist support in the South, especially among the farmers of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. But the British wasted this support by continuing their misguided strategy. Instead of supporting Loyalist militias, the British continued to wage a conventional war.

The British Win Early Victories In the South, as in the North, the British won most of the battles and captured the leading seaports. In late 1778, they seized Savannah, Georgia. During the spring of 1780, they captured Charleston, South Carolina—along with 5,000 Patriot soldiers. That summer, the British crushed another Patriot army at Camden, South Carolina.

Just as the British began their offensive in the South, Spanish forces under Bernardo de Gálvez made key attacks on British forts in the Gulf Coast region. In 1780, they captured the British fort at Mobile, Alabama. The next year, they took Pensacola, the capital of British

HISTORY MAKERS

Benjamin Franklin (1709–1795)

A printer, author, scientist, and diplomat, Franklin was perhaps the best-known American of his time. He proposed the

> 1754 Albany Plan of Union and helped to draft the Declaration of Independence. He secured French assistance during the Revolutionary War and negotiated favorable terms for the United States upon war's end. In addition, he was instrumental in creating the new nation's Constitution.

As a scientist, Franklin is famous for his experiments with electricity. But he also invented bifocal glasses, a wood stove that was safer than an open fire, and other items still used today.

Vocabulary Builder frustrated-(FRUHS trayt ehd) adj. unable to achieve an objective West Florida. These moves were intended to solidify Spanish power in North America, but they also diverted British troops from the offensive against the Patriots.

Patriots Drive the British Back Despite winning major battles, the British failed to control the southern countryside, where the Revolution became a brutal civil war between Patriot and Loyalist militias. Both sides plundered and killed civilians. A German officer in the British service observed, "This country is the scene of the most cruel events. Neighbors are on opposite sides, children are against their fathers."

In October 1780, at Kings Mountain in South Carolina, the Patriots crushed a Loyalist militia and executed many of the prisoners. As the Loyalists lost men and territory, neutral civilians swung over to the Patriot side. They increasingly blamed the British troops for bringing chaos into their lives. A disgusted Loyalist explained to a British officer, "The lower sort of People, who were . . . originally attached to the British

Government, have suffered so severely, [and] been so frequently deceived, that Great Britain has now a hundred enemies, where it had one before." Instead of destroying the Patriots, the British army helped create more of them.

As the countryside became sympathetic to the Patriots, General Cornwallis became frustrated. The Continental Army in the South was small, but it was led by two superb new commanders, Nathanael Greene and Daniel Morgan. In early 1781, the Continental Army inflicted heavy losses on the British at the battles of Cowpens in South Carolina and Guilford Courthouse in North Carolina. Despairing of winning in the Carolinas, Cornwallis marched north into Virginia. But he was leading his troops directly into a trap.

Checkpoint Describe the war in the South.

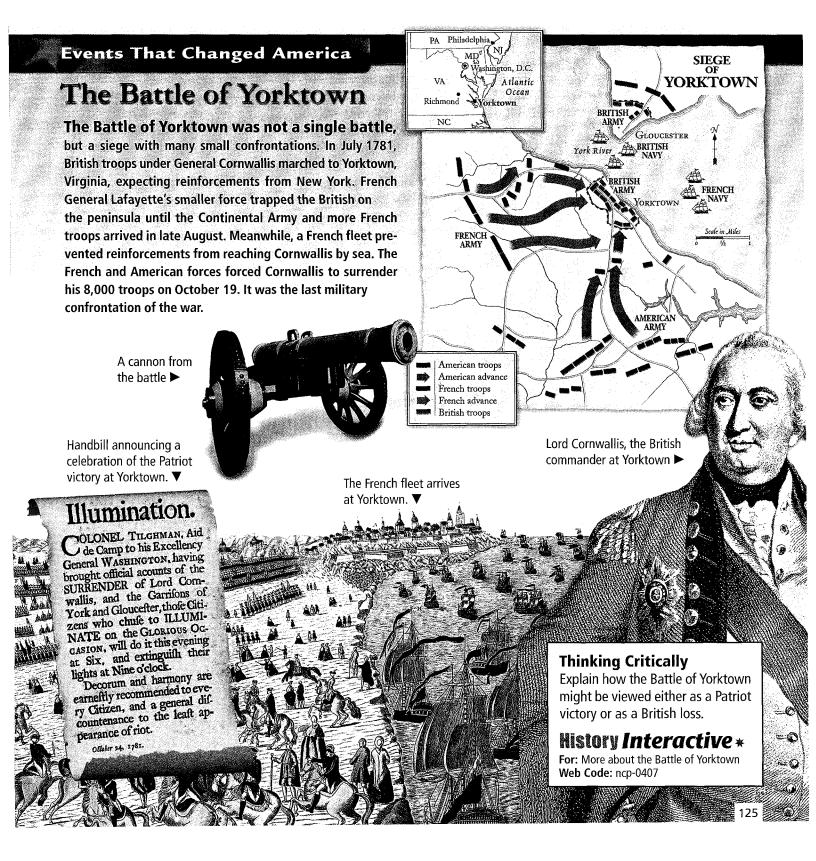
The War Ends

Although earlier it seemed unlikely, the Patriots won the war. Four main factors contributed to their success. First, the British made tactical mistakes because they initially underestimated the Patriots. Second, the British misunderstood the political nature of the conflict. Third, the Patriots were highly motivated and benefited from George Washington's shrewd leadership. Fourth, the Patriots received critical assistance from France.

Cornwallis Surrenders During the late summer of 1781, Washington boldly and rapidly marched most of his troops south. He planned to trap Cornwallis's army at Yorktown, Virginia. For the plan to work, however, Washington needed a French fleet to arrive at the right moment to prevent the British navy from evacuating their army by sea. Although Washington thought that a French fleet was on its way, he could not be certain when it would arrive.

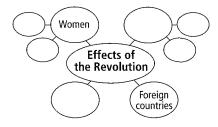
The French fleet appeared at just the right moment to block the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, trapping the British navy. Given the lack of efficient longdistance communication, this coordination was an incredible stroke of luck for the Patriots. Trapped by land and by sea, Cornwallis surrendered his army of 8,000 at Yorktown on October 19. The French had made the critical difference. At Yorktown, their soldiers and sailors outnumbered Washington's Americans.

The Treaty of Paris The loss of 8,000 soldiers was a crushing blow to the British war effort. After seven years of fighting, the British public was fed up with the casualties and with heavy taxes to pay for the war. In early 1782, a new administration came to power, determined to make peace. An American delegation, including Benjamin Franklin, negotiated a treaty with appealing terms. In 1783, the Treaty of Paris recognized American independence and granted generous boundaries to the United States. At the negotiating table, Franklin secured far more territory than the Patriots had won in the war. By making a



NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize Use a concept web to summarize how the Revolution affected different groups.



separate peace with the British, the Americans strained their alliance with the French, who had expected to control the negotiations.

✓ Checkpoint Explain how the Revolutionary War ended.

The Revolution Impacts Society

The Patriots promised liberty and opportunity, but some Americans won more than others. The greatest winners were Patriot men of at least modest prosperity. They secured political rights and the economic benefits of western expansion. The losers were Loyalists and Native Americans who had sided with the British.

The British Abandon Their Allies The British tried to protect their Loyalist allies by setting conditions in the treaty, but state laws and mob violence prevented most Loyalists from returning to their homes after the war. About 90,000—including 20,000 former slaves—became refugees. About half of them resettled in Britain's northern colonies. Many slaves were re-enslaved in the British West Indies. In effect, the American Revolution spawned two new nations: the American Republic and the future Dominion of Canada.

Native Americans were also stunned when the British abandoned them in 1783. The Treaty of Paris ignored the Indians, leaving them vulnerable to the American hunger for revenge and land. In treaties at Fort Stanwix in 1784 and Hopewell in

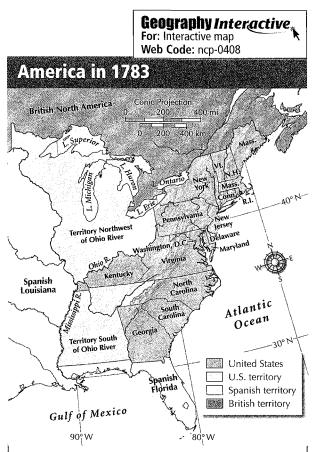
1785, the Patriots forced the Indians to give up massive tracts of land as the price of peace. Settlers surged westward. More than 100,000 Americans lived in Tennessee and Kentucky by 1790. The Revolution was a disaster for the Indians.

The Revolution Impacts Women Women gained few political or legal rights as a result of the war, but they won respect based on the new conception of women as "republican mothers." Abigail Adams and Judith Sargent Murray noted that the Republic needed virtuous citizens, who learned their virtue from their mothers. This invited women to speak out on issues that affected their ability to raise virtuous children.

The Revolution inspired some women to seek a larger voice in public affairs. In a famous letter of 1776, Abigail Adams asked her husband, John, to "remember the Ladies" in drafting the new nation's laws. In particular, she sought legal protection for wives beaten by their husbands. Although John Adams respected his wife, he dismissed her request.

The law reserved legal and political rights to husbands. Widows could vote in New Jersey but nowhere else. As was the norm in most of Europe at the time, wives could not own property or make contracts.

Changes for African Americans Slavery seemed inconsistent with the ideals of the Revolution, but in 1776, one of every five Americans was of African ancestry, and a majority of African Americans were enslaved. Most Americans—including some Patriot leaders—accepted slavery as natural. British and Loyalist critics mocked the Patriots as hypocrites who spoke of liberty while holding slaves. In 1778, the Patriot governor of New Jersey confessed that slavery was "utterly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and humanity; and in Americans, who have idolized liberty, peculiarly odious and disgraceful."



Map Skills This map shows the United States after the Treaty of Paris.

- **1.** Why might the Spanish have been upset about the new borders?
- 2. What territory might the French have wanted?

The Revolution inspired many slaves to demand freedom. In the northern states, some slaves petitioned legislatures for emancipation and sued their owners in the courts. About 5,000 African Americans joined Patriot militias, the Continental Army, or the small Continental Navy in return for a promise of freedom. However, the southern states feared armed blacks as a threat to the slave system, so at least 50,000 southern slaves escaped to join the British.

The Revolution led to emancipation in the North, where slavery was not critical to the economy and slaves numbered only 5 percent of the population. Although laws eventually banned slavery in the northern states, many northern masters sold their slaves to the South before they could become free.

Emancipation failed in the South, where slaves amounted to about one third of the population and were essential to the plantation economy. In Maryland and Virginia, some planters voluntarily freed their slaves, a practice known as manumission. After 1800, however, southern states passed laws to discourage further manumissions. Southern whites feared that freed blacks would seek revenge for past treatment as slaves. However, by 1810, about 20,000 southern slaves had been freed, including 300 liberated by George Washington.

Checkpoint How did the Revolutionary War affect Loyalists, Native Americans, women, and slaves?



This 1779 woodcut shows a female Continental soldier.

Revolutionary Ideas Spread

Perhaps the greatest effect of the Revolution was to spread the idea of liberty, both at home and abroad. The statement that "all men are created equal" was radical when Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence. Although Jefferson probably intended his statement to apply to white men, African Americans and women repeated those words to claim their rights.

Over the next three centuries, the Patriots' principles inspired revolutions around the world. Beginning with the French Revolution in 1789, European republicans cited the American precedent to overthrow kings and aristocrats. In the nineteenth century, independent republics emerged throughout Latin America. During the twentieth century, Africans and Asians began national liberation movements. As Thomas Paine had predicted, the American Revolution changed the world.

Checkpoint How has the Revolution inspired other groups?

SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0409

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People Explain the significance of each of the terms below.
 - Kings Mountain
 - Yorktown
 - · Treaty of Paris
 - manumission

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Summarize Use your completed flowchart and concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: What did the Revolution accomplish, and what ideas did it set in motion?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Compare and Contrast Write a short essay comparing and contrasting the results of the Revolution for two of these groups: white Patriot men, women, African Americans, or Loyalists.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Identify Central Issues Why did the British lose the war?
- **5. Summarize** Summarize the terms of the Treaty of Paris.
- 6. Draw Inferences Explain the effects of the Revolution on minority groups and women.

Quick Study Guide



Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0410

■ Key British Legislation, 1764–1774

Date	Act	Outcome
1764	Sugar Act	Although it reduced the tax on molasses, the Sugar Act was strictly enforced, so colonists ended up paying more taxes.
1765	Stamp Act	This tax on printed items was the first direct tax on the colonists. It added a fee to printed materials such as legal documents and newspapers.
1765	Quartering Act	Following the French and Indian War, Britain maintained a standing army in the colonies. This act required colonial assemblies to house and provision the soldiers.
1766	Declaratory Act	This act repealed the Stamp Act but asserted Parliament's right to rule the colonies as it saw fit.
1767	Townshend Acts	Import taxes on a variety of goods were collected to support royal officials in the colonies, removing the responsibility from the colonial assemblies. They were so unpopular that all the taxes were repealed, except the one on tea.
1773	Tea Act	This act was created to save the East India Tea Company. Although it lowered the price of tea, it gave the company a monopoly and threatened the business of colonial importers.
1774	Intolerable Acts	Officially called the Coercive Acts, these laws were meant to force Massachusetts to pay for the tea destroyed in the Boston Tea Party. The laws closed Boston Harbor and forced colonists to house British soldiers in their homes.

■ Major Events of the American Revolution

Nevolution		
Date	Major Turning Point	
1774	September 5, First Continental Congress meets	
1775	April 19, Battles of Lexington and Concord May 10, Second Continental Congress meets June 17, Battle of Bunker Hill	
1776	January 9, Paine publishes <i>Common Sense</i> July 4, Declaration of Independence	
1777	October 17, Patriots win at Saratoga	
Winter 1777–1778	Baron Von Steuben trains the Continental Army at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania	
1778	February 6, France signs an alliance with the United States	
1780	May, General Clinton captures 3,000 Patriot soldiers as he takes Charleston, South Carolina	
1781	October 19, Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown	
1783	September 3, Treaty of Paris signed	

☑ Quick Study Timeline

In America



1763 **Proclamation of** 1763 prohibits white settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains

1765

1768 **British troops**

land in Boston

Around the World

1763

Seven Years' War ends, giving Britain control of Canada

1768 War breaks out between Russia and the Ottomans

1769 **James Watt** patents a steam engine

American Issues •••• Connector



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code** nch-0411).

Issues You Learned About

- America Goes to War The American Revolution pitted the world's most powerful empire against a small group of dedicated colonists.
- **1.** Write one or two paragraphs explaining how the Patriots were able to defeat Britain. Consider:
 - the Patriots' strengths
 - Britain's tactical strategy
 - · Britain's understanding of the conflict
 - military turning points
 - the involvement of foreign nations
- **Women in American Society** The roles and responsibilities of women in America have changed over time.
- **2.** Why was the support of women crucial to the effort of the Patriots, both before and during the war?
- **3.** How did the idea of "republican motherhood" enhance women's status in society?
- **Global Interdependence** Foreign nations provided valuable assistance to the Patriots fighting the American Revolution.

- **4.** Why did France enter the American Revolution on the side of the Patriots? What aid did France provide?
- **5.** Although Spain entered the war as a French ally, the nation remained fearful of helping the Patriots. Why?
- **6.** What events did the American Revolution inspire in other countries?

Connect to Your World

New York

America Goes to War Isaac Sears, a merchant sea captain, was an influential New York patriot during the Revolutionary War. He led the resistance against the Stamp Act in New York City as a member of the Sons of Liberty. When "King Sears," as he was called, was arrested in April 1775 for anti-British activities, his followers rescued him from the authorities. In November 1775, Sears led a raid on Loyalists' businesses and supplies in New York City. The raids made him popular among the New York citizenry even though various patriot organizations disapproved of his actions. After the war, he was elected to the New York state legislature in 1784 and 1786. Read more about Sears' fellow members of the Sons of Liberty. Write a short profile on one of them.

1770 The Boston Massacre 1775
George Washington
becomes commander
in chief of the
Continental Army

1776
Congress signs the
Declaration of
Independence

1781 Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown

1776

1775

1780

1770
Explorer James Cook
claims Australia for Britain

1776 Adam Smith publishes The Wealth of Nations

History Interactive,
For: Interactive timeline

Web Code: ncp-0411

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

- 1. What were the Intolerable Acts? How did colonists in Massachusetts and throughout the colonies respond to them?
- 2. What was the **Declaration of Independence**? What basic propositions did it make?
- 3. Define natural rights. How did Jefferson use this concept to justify the Declaration of Independence?
- 4. Who were William Howe and Charles Cornwallis? Who were their counterparts from the Continental Army?
- **5.** What was the **Treaty of Paris**? What effect did it have on the territory of North America?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is What aspects of the American Revolution were revolutionary? Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 4 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. What caused the colonists to rebel against the British?

Section 2

7. What events led the colonists to declare their independence

Section 3

8. What factors helped the Patriots win the war?

9. What did the Revolution accomplish, and what ideas did it set in motion?

Critical Thinking

- **10. Make Comparisons** In what ways were the colonial governments different from the British government?
- 11. Recognize Propaganda Study the illustration of the Boston Massacre earlier in the chapter. Then, answer the questions that follow: Why did Paul Revere create and circulate this engraving? Is it an accurate representation of what took place? Explain.
- **12. Synthesize Information** How were the goals of the First and Second Continental Congresses related?
- **13. Identify Central Issues** Briefly explain the proposals Thomas Paine put forth in Common Sense.
- **14. Analyze Information** Why was the Battle of Bunker Hill a technical victory for the British but a real victory for the Patriots?
- **15. Analyze Evidence** Think about the progress of the Revolutionary War in the South. How do the events that took place there support the idea held by many colonists that the 13 colonies would fail to unite into one republic?
- **16. Determine Relevance** What was the significance of the Battle of Yorktown?
- **17. Draw Conclusions** Think about the ideas expressed in the Declaration of Independence. Did the American Revolution succeed at living up to the ideals expressed in this document? Support your answer with information from the text.

Writing About History

Comparing and Contrasting The American Revolution was a complicated event having many players with differing viewpoints and desired outcomes. Native Americans also became involved in the conflict. Write an essay comparing and contrasting the viewpoints of pro-British Indians (such as the Shawnee, Mohawk, Seneca, Delaware, and Ottawa) and pro-Patriot Indians (such as the Oneida and Tuscarora).

Prewriting

- Write down some questions you have about the Indian involvement in the Revolutionary War.
- Use your questions to direct your research about several different Indian nations.
- Narrow your research by choosing two Indian nations on which to focus.

Drafting

- Make an outline that shows the specific points you are going to compare and contrast.
- Develop a working thesis based on the information in your outline.
- Write an introduction that explains what the actions of these Indian nations tell historians about the Revolutionary War. Then, write a body and conclusion.

Revising

 Use the guidelines on page SH22 of the Writing Handbook to revise your essay.



Regents DBQ Practice



Slavery and the American Revolution

The American Revolution was fought for the ideals of freedom and liberty. However, thousands of African Americans were enslaved. How did the colonists and enslaved people react to this incongruity, or inconsistency? Use your knowledge of the American Revolution and Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4 to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document 1

I wish most sincerely there was not a slave in the province—it allways appeard a most iniquitous [vicious] scheme to me. fight ourselfs for what we are daily . . . plundering from those who have as good a right freedom as we have—you know my mind upon this subject.

—Abigail Adams, September 22, 1774

Document 2

[I]n every human Breast, God has implanted a Principle, which we call Love of Freedom; it is impatient of Oppression. . . . I will assert, that the same Principle lives in us. God grant Deliverance [rescue] . . . and get him honour upon all those whose Avarice [greediness] impels them to countenance [allow] . . . Calamities [affliction] of their fellow Creatures. This I desire not for their Hurt, but to convince them of the strange Absurdity of their Conduct whose Words and Actions are so . . . opposite.

—Phillis Wheatley, a black poet, March 11, 1774

Document 3

[King George] has waged cruel war on human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.

—from a draft of the Declaration of Independence

Document 4

The petition of A Great Number of Blackes detained in a State of slavery in the bowels of a free & Christian County Humbly sheweth that your Petitioners apprehend that they have in Common with all other men a Natural and Unalienable Right to . . . freedom . . . which they have Never forfeited by any Compact or agreement whatever. . . .

[T]hey therfor[e] humble Beseech your honours to . . . cause an act of the legislature to be pas[sed] Wherby they may be Restored to the Enjoyments of that which is the Natural right of all men—and their Children who wher Born in this Land of Liberty may not be held as Slaves after they arrive at the age of twenty one years so may the Inhabitance of this States No longer chargeable with the inconstancy of acting themselves that part which they condemn and oppose in others Be prospered in their present Glorious struggle for Liberty

—letter to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, January 13, 1777

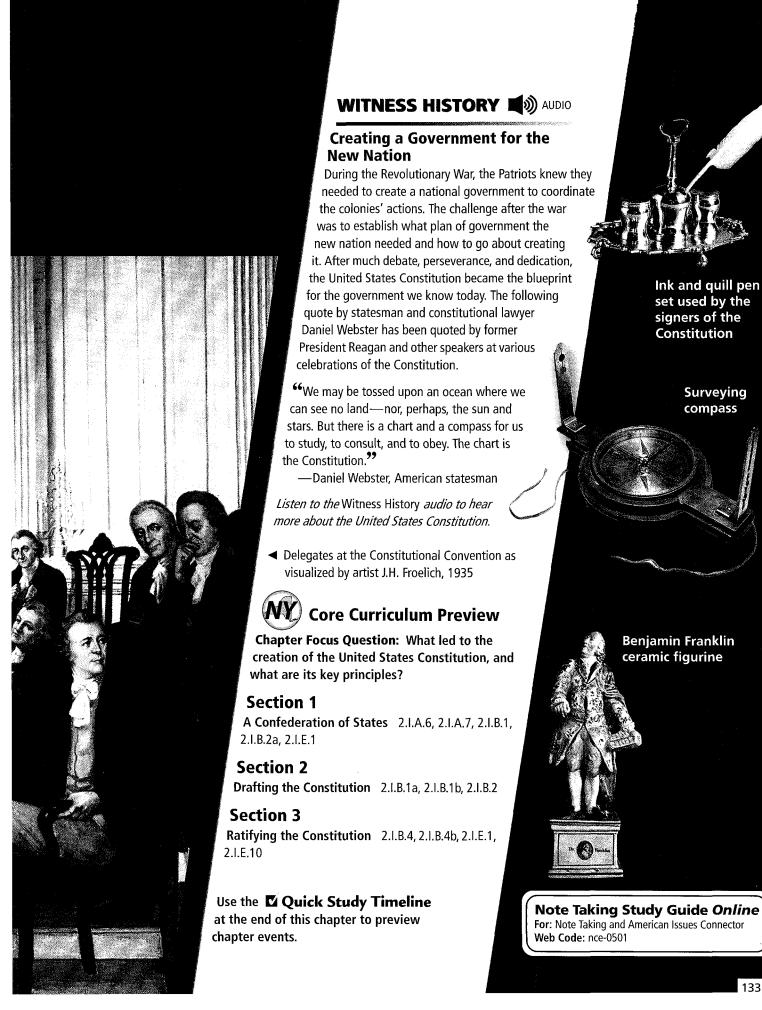
- **1.** Who is the writer of Document 4?
 - (1) a group of white Patriot men
 - (2) a group of black slaves
 - (3) a group of British soldiers
 - (4) a group of enslaved and free women
- 2. What assumption is included in Document 3?
 - (1) Slavery is the colonists' fault.
 - (2) Slavery is acceptable, but the slave trade is evil.
 - (3) The slave trade is acceptable, but slavery is evil.
 - (4) Slavery is fundamentally wrong.

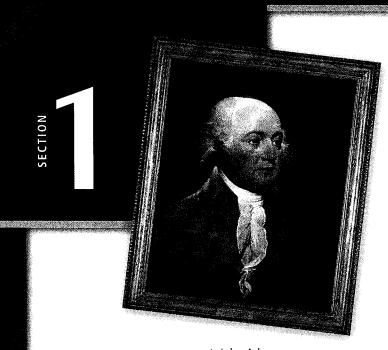
- 3. The writer of Document 2 believes slavery is
 - (1) natural.
 - (2) ordained by God.
 - (3) absurd.
 - (4) honorable.
- **4. Writing Task** In what ways do each of these writers agree? Which argument is most convincing? Consider the background of each writer and use your knowledge of the chapter content and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.

Creating the Constitution

1781-1789







▲ John Adams

WITNESS HISTORY (a) AUDIO

Creating a Republic

During the American Revolution, each state created its own constitution, or plan of government. But the states also needed some form of government to hold them together, however loosely. In 1777, John Adams wrote to Richard Henry Lee:

66 You and I, dear friend, have been sent into life at a time when the greatest lawgivers of antiquity would have wished to live. How few of the human race have ever enjoyed an opportunity of making election of government . . . for themselves or their children.

-John Adams

A Confederation of States



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.I.A.6 Articles of Confederation
- 2.1.A.7 Northwest Ordinance
- 2.I.B.1 Constitutional Convention: Representation and process
- 2.I.B.2a Protecting liberty against abuses or power
- **2.I.E.1** Basic constitutional principles: National power—limits and potentials

Terms and People

republic unicameral legislature bicameral legislature Articles of Confederation John Dickinson federal

Northwest Territory Land Ordinance of 1785 Northwest Ordinance of 1787 Shays' Rebellion

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Use a table to list characteristics of early state governments and characteristics of the national government under the Articles of Confederation.

Early State Governments	Early National Government
All states established republics, in which voters chose representatives.	Each state had one vote, regardless of size.

Why It Matters After the Revolutionary War, the Patriots feared creating another tyrannical or abusive parliament, so therefore they refused to entrust the new Union with much power. As a result, most authority remained with the states. Within a short time, the powerful states and weak national government faced severe problems. Section Focus Question: What form of national government did the Patriots create initially, and what events revealed that a new government was necessary?

Early State Governments

Upon declaring independence in 1776, the Congress invited each new state to create a constitution to establish a government. Although these documents varied, they all called for republics, or governments in which the people elect their representatives. But the Patriots disagreed over the proper design for those republics. Some Patriots, such as Thomas Paine, sought changes that would promote democracy by putting more power in the hands of the people. But more conservative Patriots distrusted the ability of the common people. They hoped instead to preserve many colonial institutions.

Some States Reject Executive Power The more democratic Patriots wanted to create state governments with strong legislatures and weak governors (or with no governor at all). Seeking greater rights for the people, these leaders preferred a unicameral legislature, or one with a single house, whose members were elected by the people. Pennsylvania and Georgia adopted these more democratic constitutions.

Most States Preserve Colonial Traditions Most states, however, including Massachusetts and New York, chose to create more conservative state constitutions. These state governments had a bicameral legislature and a strong governor. A **bicameral legislature** is a lawmaking body with two houses—a Senate and a House of Representatives. These constitutions counterbalanced the power of the common voters in the House with the power of wealthy, well-educated gentlemen in the Senate.

Democratic Gains Even the conservative constitutions, however, dramatically expanded the power of the common people. In contrast to the colonial era, voters chose the members of both houses of the new legislatures, rather than just the members of the lower house. Almost all of the states also enlarged their legislatures. Creating smaller districts and a greater number of representatives made representatives more accountable to their constituents, or voters. In almost all of the states, the voters also elected their governor—something only two colonies had previously done.

Still, democratic and conservative Patriots disagreed about who would vote. The democratic Patriots wanted equal political rights for almost all free men, even those who had little or no property. Pennsylvania's state constitution opened voting to all men over the age of 21 who paid any taxes.

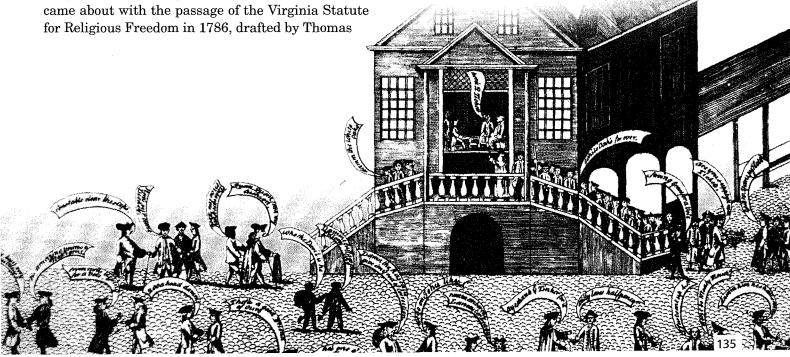
In most of the states, however, the conservatives preserved the colonial property requirements to vote. Adams warned that allowing poor men to vote would "confound and destroy all distinctions, and prostrate all ranks to the common level." Valuing distinctions, he opposed political equality as foolish and unworkable. But even in the conservative states, most free men qualified to vote because owning farms was so widespread. Both theory and practice excluded slaves and women from voting.

Over time, in most states, the most democratic institution—the House of Representatives—gained power at the expense of the Senate and the governor. By the mid-1780s, this concentration of legislative power troubled conservative Patriots who feared the "tyranny of the majority."

Freedom of Religion Because the American Revolution promoted greater religious liberty, most states also guaranteed freedom of religion in their constitutions. Before this time, states collected taxes to support religious establishments. The freedom to choose among several faiths had been controversial. After the Revolution, however, religious liberty and pluralism became the norm. This

Election Day in Philadelphia, 1764

Pennsylvania was the first state to open voting to all men over the age of 21 who paid taxes, as seen in the engraving here where men in Philadelphia are voting. Why did most states not want to grant poor men the right to vote?





Religious Freedom

The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, still part of Virginia's constitution today, embraced the idea of religious liberty without state interference. Children often made needlework samplers (above) that included aspects of religion such as biblical stories or verses. What was the significance of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom?

Vocabulary Builder implement-(IHM pluh mehnt) v. to carry into effect

Jefferson. Massachusetts and Connecticut were exceptions. They kept their Congregational established churches, which continued to draw fire from Baptists and Methodists.

✓ Checkpoint Why did most states choose a bicameral legislature?

Congress Creates the Articles of Confederation

In 1777, the Continental Congress drafted the original constitution for the union of the states, known as the Articles of Confederation. A confederation is a league or alliance of states that agree to work together. Under the leadership of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, the Congress designed a loose confederation of 13 states, rather than a strong and centralized nation. The Articles reflected the principles of the Declaration of Independence and rejected the centralized power of the British Empire as a threat to liberty. As Article II reads, "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled."

The Structure of the New National Government The new federal, or national, government consisted of a congress of delegates, chosen by state legislatures rather than by voters. Although states could choose to send as many as seven delegates, each state—no matter how large or small—had a single vote. Enormous Virginia had no more power than tiny Rhode Island. The powers to make, implement, and enforce the laws were all placed with the Congress. The national government included no President or executive branch. Instead, executive power was spread among several committees of congressmen.

Powers of the National Congress The Articles granted certain limited powers to Congress. These powers were mostly external: to declare and conduct war and to negotiate peace, to regulate foreign affairs and to administer relations with Indian nations. The Congress had no power to raise money through taxes. Therefore, it relied on contributions from the states, which were unreliable.

On some minor issues, a majority of seven states could pass a law. But on the major issues, including declaring war and making treaties, two thirds of the states (nine) had to approve. Amending the Articles was almost impossible because all 13 states had to approve any change. In 1781, all states finally ratified the Articles.

Checkpoint What was the structure of the new government under the Articles of Confederation?

Congress Creates a Plan for Western Lands

One of the most important accomplishments of the national Congress under the Articles of Confederation was the creation of plans for both settling and governing a vast territory that they had authority over. This territory, called the **Northwest Territory,** lay north of the Ohio River and west of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River. By selling this land to speculators and farmers, the Congress hoped to raise revenue and extend America's republican society westward.

Distributing Western Lands Western settlement, however, threatened to escape the government's control. By 1784, hundreds of settlers had already crossed the Ohio River to make their own farms. This provoked war with the Native Americans, who defended their land. Already strapped for cash, the federal leaders could not afford to fight wars provoked by unregulated settlement. Congressmen also feared that the settlers would secede from the Union, form their own states, and turn to the British or the Spanish empire for protection. If deprived of the western lands, the federal government would be hard-pressed to pay its debts and would probably collapse. To save the Union, the federal leaders needed to regulate frontier settlement.

In ordinances, or laws, adopted in 1785 and 1787, the Congress defined a program for managing the Northwest Territory. In the Land Ordinance of 1785, the Congress designed a system for dispensing, or distributing, the public lands. By running a grid of lines north to south and east to west, federal surveyors divided the land into hundreds of townships, each six square miles. They then subdivided each township into 36 "sections" of one square mile (640 acres), to be sold for at least one dollar per acre.

Because ordinary farmers could not afford to pay \$640, the price and size of the sections favored wealthy land speculators who had cash. To obtain land, ordinary settlers had to buy it from the speculators. The Congress sometimes broke its own rules to further benefit speculators. For example, in 1787, the Congress sold 1.5 million acres for a mere 10 cents per acre to the Ohio Company, a politically powerful group of land speculators and army officers from New England.

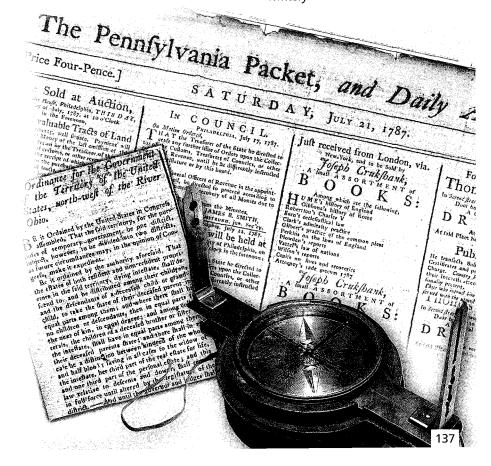
Governing Western Lands The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided a government for the western territory based on Thomas Jefferson's ideas. At first, the Congress would appoint a territorial government led by a governor,

secretary, and three judges. The citizens would enjoy freedom of religion, trial by jury, and the rights of common law, including habeas corpus. Once a territory had 5,000 men, they could establish an elected assembly—but the governor retained an absolute veto over its laws. When the population of a territory reached 60,000, the people could request admission to the Union as a state on equal terms with the original 13 states, provided the new state adopted a republican constitution. The Northwest Territory later formed the midwestern states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 also barred slavery from this territory, which meant that the five new states would enter the Union as free states rather than slave states. This federal restriction set a precedent that would

Settling the Northwest Territory

This newspaper clipping spread the word to potential settlers with an early printed version of the Northwest Ordinance. Surveyors used instruments such as the compass shown here to divide land into areas of uniform size. How do you think these ordinances in 1785 and 1787 affected the settlement and development of the territory?



Focus On Geography Settling the Northwest Territory **CANADA** With the adoption of the Land Ordinance of 1785, Congréss had an official plan for settling the Northwest Territory, a territory that belonged to the United States after the American Revolution. CONIC PROJECTION (Previously, individual states claimed the territory.) The plan under the ordinance was to divide public lands into uniform sizes that could be sold at standardized prices. The old system used natural features to mark off parcels of land in varying ORTHWEST TERRITORY sizes and shapes. Under the 1785 ordinance, surveyors first laid out a grid of lines spaced six miles apart, which resulted in a grid of squares. These squares Missouri represented individual townships. Then, each Kentucki township was divided into 36 sections, and these 1-mile-square sections could be divided into Township and Range Lines smaller units for sale to farmers. The land and 1803 Date of statehood income from the sixteenth section of each Present-day borders are shown. township provided funding for public education. Township ▼ The rectangular grid established in 1785 remains visible in landscapes across the Midwest today. Section AREA OF FIRST SURVE

1 mile

Quarter-Quarter Section

later alarm people in southern states who wanted to expand slavery throughout the territories.

6 miles

Geography and History How do the

modern landscapes of states in the Midwest,

such as Indiana and Ohio, reflect the system established by the Land Ordinance of 1785?

By adopting the Northwest ordinances, the Congress discarded the British model of keeping colonies in permanent subordination. The Congress designed the territories to attract American settlers and to assure their acceptance of federal rule. In the wake of the Revolution, few Americans would settle where they could not enjoy basic freedoms, including the right to elect those who would set their taxes.

But freedom and opportunity for Americans came at the expense of the region's 100,000 Indians, who were expected to give up their lands and relocate elsewhere. During the mid-1780s, however, the Indians resisted, and the federal government lacked the means to defeat them. For want of money, the Confederation reduced its army to only 350 men who could barely defend themselves much less conquer the territory.

Checkpoint What were the plans for settling and governing the Northwest **Territory under the Articles of Confederation?**

Conflicts With Spain and Britain

During the mid-1780s, the Spanish and British did not take the new United States seriously. To them, the republican Confederation seemed weak to the point of anarchy, or lawlessness.

The Spanish Forbid American Trade The Spanish had never liked American independence, and they distrusted American expansion westward because they feared it threatened their colonies of Louisiana and Mexico. To discourage settlements west of the Appalachian Mountains, the Spanish forbade American trade with New Orleans. American settlers expected to ship their produce down the Mississippi River to market in Spanish-held New Orleans. The Congress lost support from western settlers when it almost accepted the closure of New Orleans in return for commercial agreements to benefit northeastern merchants. George Washington observed, "The Western settlers... stand, as it were, upon a pivot; the touch of a feather would turn them any way."

Relations With Britain Deteriorate Relations with the British Empire were also strained. In the peace treaty that ended the American Revolution in 1783, the British had tried to cultivate American goodwill. A year later, the British abandoned that policy in favor of making the Americans pay for their independence. Rejecting the new doctrine of free trade championed by Adam Smith, the British renewed their traditional mercantilism as defined by the Navigation Acts.

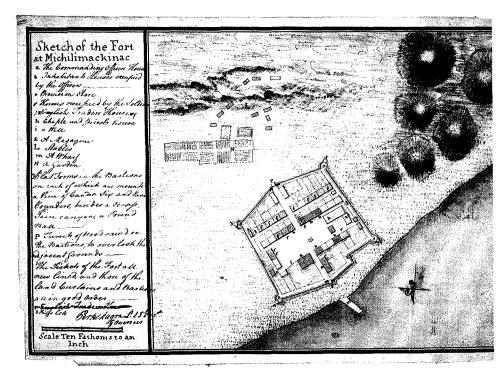
This meant that Americans could only trade with the British Empire under rules that favored British interests. They could certainly import all the British

manufactures that they wanted, but they could no longer freely send their ships to trade with the British West Indies—the most important market for American fish, lumber, and grains. During the 1780s, the British reserved this valuable trade for their ships to benefit their merchants. They alone could carry the American produce needed by West Indian consumers.

This restriction especially hurt Massachusetts, which had more ships than any other state and a greater need for the West Indian market for its fish and lumber. In retaliation, Massachusetts prohibited British ships from transporting its exports. But this retaliation did not work because the other states did not support Massachusetts. In addition, the Congress was too weak to coordinate a common front against

Tensions With Britain

The British retained their hold on forts such as Fort Michilimackinac (the sketch shown below) even after the forts rightfully belonged to the Americans. What did this reveal about the organization of the United States government?



Britain's mercantile policy. American merchants began to call for a stronger national government.

The British Empire also embarrassed the Confederation by keeping frontier forts on the American side of the boundary set by the peace treaty. To please the Indians, the British kept their forts at Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac. For justification, the British cited American violations of the peace treaty. Contrary to the spirit of the treaty, some states had blocked attempts by British merchants to collect debts and attempts by Loyalists to reclaim their confiscated properties. The Congress could not make the states honor the treaty.

The British hold on the forts angered Americans, but they could do nothing because they could not afford an army. Like the merchants, many settlers wanted a national government strong enough to compel British respect on the frontier.

Checkpoint What Spanish and British actions showed that they did not take the new American nation seriously?

Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

The fledgling government under the Articles of Confederation found itself facing a host of difficulties. It soon became clear to many that the Articles themselves were part of the problem.

Economic Weaknesses Under the Articles, the federal Congress could not establish a common currency, nor could it regulate interstate commerce or levy taxes. For financial support, the Congress relied solely on contributions from the states, which were unreliable. And the Congress could do nothing to compel states to pay their share. Without money, the federal government could not fund its immense war debts. Between 1781 and 1786, the Congress received only one sixth of what it requested from the states. By 1786, it/needed \$2.5 million to pay the interest on its debts but had only \$400,000 on hand. The states had bankrupted the nation.

To survive, the Congress sought a constitutional amendment to permit a federal 5 percent duty on imported goods. Twice, that amendment failed when a single state balked: Rhode Island in 1782 and New York in 1786. If amending the Articles was so difficult, perhaps only a new constitution could save the Union.

Farmers Revolt in Massachusetts Meanwhile, a slowdown in the trading of goods increased unemployment in the seaports and reduced the prices paid to farmers for their produce. Without the West Indian market for their shipping,

> Americans could not pay for their imported manufactured goods. Their debts to British suppliers mounted. In 1785, those suppliers curtailed their credit and demanded payments from the American import merchants. These demands sent a shock wave through the weak American economy as the importers sought to collect from their own debtors in the countryside. Most Americans were farmers, and most farmers were in debt. They lacked the cash to pay their debts on short notice, especially when prices fell for their crops. Losing lawsuits for debt, they faced the loss of their crops, livestock, and even their farms to foreclosure.

> In western Massachusetts in 1786, farmers took up arms to shut down the courts to block any foreclosure hearings. Farmers did not want to lose their property or go to prison, but they could not pay the higher taxes imposed by the Massachusetts government. One of their leaders was Daniel Shays, a veteran of the Revolutionary War. In 1787, he led about 1,000 farmers to seize

Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

L Quick Study

- · Congress could not levy or collect taxes.
- Congress was powerless to regulate interstate commerce and foreign trade.
- Each state had only one vote in Congress, regardless of its size,
- A two-thirds majority (9 out of 13 states) was required to pass laws.
- Articles could only be amended with the consent of all states.
- No separate executive branch to enforce acts of Congress
- No system of federal courts

weapons from the Springfield Armory and again attempted to shut down the courts. But the elected leaders of Massachusetts insisted that the new Republic could not survive if people violently interfered with the courts. In eastern Massachusetts, the state raised an army, which marched west to suppress what became known as Shays' Rebellion.

Most other states avoided rebellion by satisfying their debtors with relief measures. Some states suspended lawsuits for debt until the depression lifted. More common were state laws to flood the money supply with paper money. Paper money made it easier for debtors to pay, while reducing the value that creditors could collect. Naturally, what relieved the debtors infuriated their creditors. who felt cheated.

Creditors blamed the relief measures on excessive democracy. They saw the state governments as too responsive to the opinion of the public, which had wanted debtor relief. James Madison agreed: "Liberty may be endangered by the abuses of liberty as well as [by] the abuses of power." Some thought of abandoning republicanism in favor of an American monarchy. But most hoped to save the Republic by establishing a stronger national government. This stronger government would therefore be capable of controlling the states whenever they threatened commercial property.

✓ Checkpoint What events suggested that a stronger national government was necessary?



Shays' Rebellion

A woodcut made during Shays' march to Springfield, Massachusetts, depicts Shays and another leader of the rebellion, Job Shattuck. What was the significance of Shays' Rebellion?

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0502

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item listed below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the formation of a new national government.
 - John Dickinson
 - Northwest Territory
 - Land Ordinance of 1785
 - Northwest Ordinance of 1787
 - · Shays' Rebellion

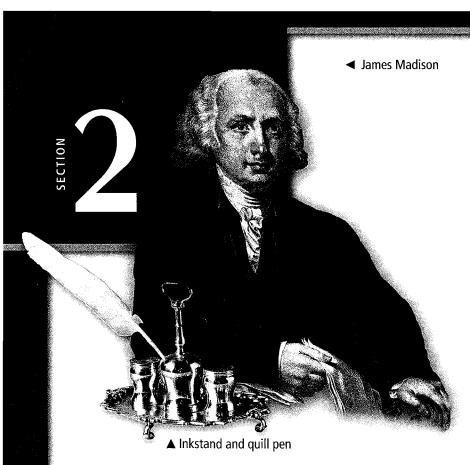
2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Use your completed table to answer the Section Focus Question: What form of national government did the Patriots create initially, and what events revealed that a new government was necessary?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Combine Visuals to **Synthesize** Based on the images in this section and the chart listing the weaknesses of the Articles, write a brief newspaper article summarizing the events that led many people to believe the nation needed a stronger national government.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Make Comparisons What were the similarities and differences among early state governments?
- 5. Synthesize Information In what ways was the early government under the Articles of Confederation tested?
- 6. Identify Central Issues What would you consider the greatest weakness of the Articles of Confederation? Explain.



WITNESS HISTORY



The Father of the Constitution

James Madison, often referred to as the Father of the Constitution, took detailed notes at the Constitutional Convention. After his death, his notes were published as The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787. In the Preface, Madison describes the pressure on the delegates:

⁶⁶At the date of the Convention, the aspect & retrospect of the pol[itical] condition of the U.S. could not but fill the pub[lic] mind with a gloom which was relieved only by a hope that so select a Body would devise an adequate remedy for the existing and prospective evils so impressively demanding it."

---James Madison, Preface to The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787

Drafting the Constitution



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.I.B.1a Framers of the Constitution (James Madison)
- **2.I.B.1b** Plans of government (Virginia Plan, New Jersey Plan, Connecticut Plan)
- 2.I.B.2 Conflict and compromise: seeking effective institutions

Terms and People

Alexander Hamilton James Madison Virginia Plan New Jersey Plan

Great Compromise federalism Three-Fifths Compromise

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details In a concept web like the one below, write details about each plan or compromise that led to the creation of the United States Constitution.



Why It Matters After Shays' Rebellion, many Americans agreed that they needed a stronger federal government to preserve the Union. The Congress called for a convention to meet in Philadelphia in 1787 "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." Instead of revising the Articles of Confederation, however, the delegates created an entirely new constitution that replaced the confederation of the national Union. Section Focus Question: What new system of national government did the delegates agree upon at the Constitutional Convention of 1787?

The Constitutional Convention

By 1787, most Americans agreed that the Articles of Confederation were flawed and needed at least two major changes. First, almost everyone wanted Congress to have the power to regulate interstate and international commerce. Second, most Americans also supported granting Congress the power to tax the people. To draft proposed amendments to the Articles, 12 of the 13 states sent delegates to a special convention in Philadelphia in May 1787. (Rhode Island declined to participate.) Once done, the delegates were supposed to submit the proposed amendments to ratification by the 13 state legislatures.

The convention, then known as the Federal Convention, was slated to begin on May 14. However, only the delegates from Pennsylvania and Virginia made it there on time. More than a week would pass before there were enough delegates to begin the convention.

The Convention Begins The Federal Convention opened in the Pennsylvania State House, now known as Independence Hall, on May 25, when 29 delegates had finally arrived. Other delegates continued to arrive during the subsequent weeks and months. The proceedings of the convention were shrouded in secrecy so the delegates could speak freely. Because of this, the windows of the hall were often closed for privacy. It was an especially hot summer in 1787 so the delegates were frequently uncomfortable in their closed-off space.

Although Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were away in Europe serving as diplomats, the convention included most of the other leading statesmen of the day. Several leaders emerged, including Alexander Hamilton of New York and James Madison of Virginia. The eldest delegate was Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, who added great prestige to the proceedings. Other leaders in attendance were Roger Sherman, Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, Elbridge Gerry, William Paterson, John Dickinson, Charles Pinckney, Edmund Randolph, and George Mason. These delegates were not typical Americans. They were all white males, many were wealthy, and more than half of them were lawyers. Many of the delegates had helped to write their state constitutions, and seven

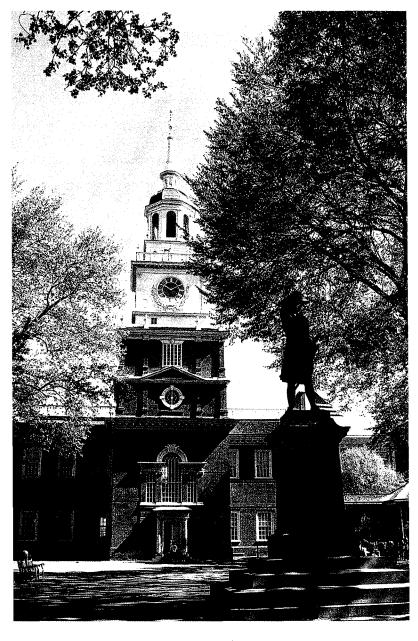
had been state governors. Twenty-one had fought in the American Revolution, and eight had signed the Declaration of Independence. After reading the names of those in attendance, Jefferson remarked that it was "an assembly of demi-gods." The delegates unanimously elected George Washington as the president of the convention.

Hamilton and Madison The convention's leading thinkers were Alexander Hamilton and James Madison. Bold in action, Alexander Hamilton was very conservative in principles. Disliking democracy, he praised the British constitution, including its king and House of Lords, as "the best model the world has ever produced." He insisted that a balanced government should have elements of aristocracy and monarchy as well as of republicanism. Hamilton believed that such a government would have real power to command its citizens and impress foreign empires. Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania also advocated a strong central government at the Convention. Morris thought the President should hold office for life.

James Madison showed his eagerness to participate in the convention by arriving in Philadelphia 11 days early. He had also sent a letter to George Washington in April outlining his thoughts about what should be debated at the convention. Madison had concluded that only a strong nation could rescue the states from their own democratic excesses. Although a critic of democracy, Madison favored republicanism rather than a constitution modeled after the British system. His challenge was to design a government that was both strong and republican. Rejecting the old notion that a republic needed to be small and homogeneous, he insisted that a large republic with diverse interests would best preserve the common good. He reasoned that the numerous

Vocabulary Builder subsequent-(SUHB sih kwehnt) adj. following; coming after

The Pennsylvania State House Today, visitors can tour Independence Hall in Philadelphia, where the delegates met in 1787.



interests would "check" one another. Madison hoped that the nation's most learned men, rather than the many local political leaders he saw in the state legislatures, would govern the new national Republic. In addition to providing the basic blueprint for the Constitution, Madison kept the notes that are the best record of the convention.

Checkpoint What were some of the characteristics of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention?

Rival Plans of Government

Before a constitution could be written and approved, the delegates needed to come to an agreement about what it should contain. To achieve this goal, they advanced and debated a number of proposals for several months.

The Virginia Plan Most of the delegates preferred an ambitious scheme proposed by Madison called the **Virginia Plan**. In addition to securing the power to

convention, Franklin was in poor health

but nonetheless contributed his prestige,

When the convention ended after four

months of secrecy, a woman asked him

what the délegates had produced. His reply 2 "A republic, if you can keep it "-

common sense, and wit to the proceedings.



He and Washington developed a lifelong alliance. Hamilton was

confident and was considered

more ambitious than all the other

delegates at the convention. He

argued strongly for a powerful

central government.

tax and to regulate commerce, Madison proposed creating a government that divided power among three branches—the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The plan proposed a bicameral legislature with a House of Representatives and a Senate. In both houses, the states with larger populations would have more members. Madison's plan also included a daring feature—the national Congress would have the power to veto any state law, just as Parliament had done with colonial laws.

The Virginia Plan also called for a strong President. The President would enjoy a relatively long term in office of seven years but could not be elected a second time. The President would command the armed forces and manage foreign relations. He would appoint all executive and judicial officers, subject only to approval by the Senate. A critic of the plan, Patrick Henry, worried that such a powerful President could "easily become a king."

The New Jersey Plan Some delegates advocated only modest changes to the Articles of Confederation. Favored by the small states, their proposal, introduced by William Paterson of New Jersey, became known as the **New Jersey Plan**. This



plan gave Congress the powers to regulate commerce and to tax, but it kept the three chief principles of the Articles of Confederation. First, it retained a unicameral legislature representing the states as equals, no matter how large or small. Second, it preserved an executive committee rather than adopting a singular President. Third, the states remained sovereign except for those few powers specifically granted to the national government. Under the New Jersey Plan, the United States would remain a loose confederation.

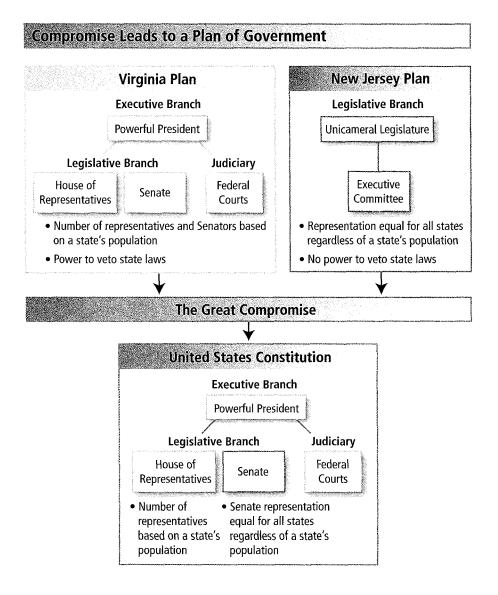
Checkpoint What were the differences between the Virginia and New Jersey plans?

Settling Differences Through Compromise

Something had to be done in order to prevent the convention from ending in a stalemate. The delegates were far from a unanimous decision concerning the structure of the new government, and without the compromises laid out below, they may never have reached an agreement.

The Great Compromise Led by Roger Sherman of Connecticut, the delegates reached a compromise between the Virginia and the New Jersey plans, known as the Connecticut Compromise, or the Great Compromise. John Dickinson

Diagram Skill The Great Compromise, calling for representation based on a state's population in the House and equal representation in the Senate, was critical to resolving the debate between the small states and the large states. As the diagram shows, the Constitution reflects characteristics of each plan because of the Great Compromise. What was the main concern of the small states before a compromise was reached?



of Delaware played a key role in creating this compromise, which made a concession to the small states: The Senate would equally represent every state, regardless of size, by allowing two senators per state. In keeping with the Virginia Plan, the House of Representatives would represent population, granting more power to the larger states.

Federal Power and States' Rights In another concession, Madison abandoned his cherished national veto over state laws. Instead, the compromise simply forbade the states from enacting the sorts of laws that offended many during the 1780s. For instance, the states could no longer issue their own money or provide debtor relief at creditors' expense. By compromising between Madison's plan and the New Jersey Plan, the delegates supported a system known as federalism that divided government power between the federal government and state governments.

Slavery and the Three-Fifths Compromise During the debates over the Constitution, the delegates discovered that their greatest division pitted the southern against the northern delegates. The southerners feared future domination by the northern states, which had more free people. They worried that northern domination would threaten the slave system, which they viewed as essential to the southern economy and society. The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia threatened to walk out unless provided constitutional protection for slavery.

The subject tore at Madison. On the one hand, he wanted a powerful nation, and he despised slavery as "the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man." On the other hand, he owned slaves, and he knew that southern

Decision O Point

Should Delegates to the Constitutional Convention Ratify the Constitution?

Delegates at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 debated the pros and cons of the new Constitution. In the end, at least 9 of the 13 states had to ratify the document. Read the options below. Then, you decide.

Patrick Henry Opposes Ratifying the Constitution

Primary Source

66 review . . . the subject . . . and . . . the dangers . . . in this new plan of government, and compare . . . my poor abilities to secure our rights, it will take much more time to traverse the objectionable parts of it. . . . [T]he change is dangerous . . . and the experiment ought not be made. . . . **

-Patrick Henry, June 9, 1788

You Decide

- 1. Why did Henry oppose ratifying the Constitution?
- 2. Why did Hamilton favor ratifying the Constitution?
- **3.** What decision would you have made? Why?

Alexander Hamilton Favors Ratifying the Constitution

Primary Source

The establishment of a Constitution, by the voluntary consent of a whole people, is a prodigy, to the completion of which I look forward. . . . I dread . . . the consequences of new attempts,

> because I know that powerful individuals, in this and other states, are enemies to a general national government in every possible shape. 22

> > -Alexander Hamilton, The Federalist Papers

voters would reject a constitution that threatened slavery. So he assured his constituents in Virginia that the Constitution offered slavery "better security than any that now exists."

That security took three forms. First, the Constitution forbade Congress from blocking the importation of slaves for twenty years. Georgia and South Carolina would import another 100,000 slaves by 1808. Second, a compromise known as the Three-Fifths Compromise counted each slave as three fifths of a person to be added to a state's free population in allocating representatives to the House of Representatives and electoral college votes. The three-fifths clause gave the southern states more seats in Congress and more power in presidential elections than they would have enjoyed had only free people been counted—as the northern delegates preferred. Third, the Constitution committed all states to return fugitive slaves to their owners. In other words, running away to a free state did not free a slave. Northerners were required to help enforce the slave system as the price of union.

Most state constitutions had adopted bills of rights to protect civil liberties from the power of government. But the federal delegates declined to include a bill of rights in their constitution. A South Carolina delegate, Charles C. Pinckney, explained, "such bills generally begin with declaring that all men are by nature born free." Such a declaration would come "with a very bad grace when a large part of our property consists in men who are actually born slaves." Unlike the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution did not proclaim that all men were born free and equal in their rights.

On September 17, the Constitutional Convention concluded with 42 delegates still present. Many, including Madison, disliked the compromises, but Franklin appealed to all to unite in support of the "federal experiment." Hamilton reluctantly accepted the Constitution as the only alternative to "anarchy and Convulsion." In the end, 39 delegates signed the document, while three refused to sign out of protest. George Mason and Edmund Randolph of Virginia and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts considered the document to be flawed. Next came the greater challenge of winning approval from the states.

Checkpoint What was the significance of the Three-Fifths Compromise?

SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nca-0504

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item listed below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the new Constitution.
 - Alexander Hamilton
 - James Madison
 - Virginia Plan
 - New Jersey Plan
 - Great Compromise
 - Three-Fifths Compromise

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: **Identify Supporting Details** Use your completed concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: What new system of national government did the delegates agree upon at the Constitutional Convention of 1787?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Combine Quotes and Visuals Based on the quote by Madison and the images of the delegates in this section, what can you conclude about the characters of the delegates? Write one or two paragraphs with your conclusion.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Determine Relevance Why did leaders call for the Constitutional Convention?
- 5. Identify Alternatives In addition to the two proposed frameworks for a new constitution, what other plan might the delegates have considered?
- 6. Compare Points of View How did the Great Compromise satisfy both the small and the large states?

Primary Source



John Locke: Two Treatises of Government

The Framers of the Constitution relied upon the writings of Enlightenment philosophers Baron de Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and John Locke. English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) published Two Treatises of Government in 1690. Locke believed that all people had the same natural rights of life, liberty, and property. In this essay, he states that the primary purpose of government is to protect these natural rights. He also states that governments hold their power only with the consent of the people.

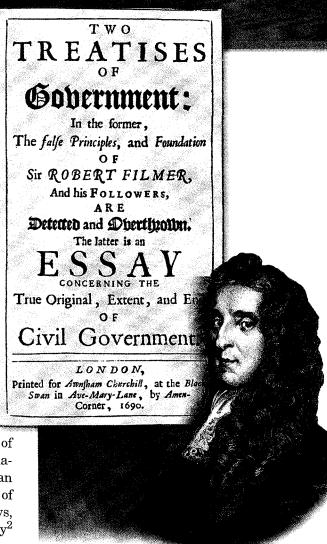
ut though men, when they enter into society, give up the Dequality, liberty, and executive power they had in the state of nature, into the hands of society. . . the power of the society, or legislative constituted by them, can never be supposed to extend farther than the common good. . . . Whoever has the legislative or supreme power of any commonwealth, is bound to govern by established standing laws, promulgated¹ and known to the people, and not by extemporary² decrees, by indifferent and upright judges, who are to decide controversies by those laws; and to employ the force of the community at home

only in the execution of such laws, or abroad to prevent or redress foreign injuries, and secure the community from inroads³ and invasion. And all this to be directed to no other end but the peace, safety, and public good of the people. . . .

The reason why men enter into society, is the preservation of their property; and the end while they chuse [choose] and authorize a legislative, is, that there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the members of the society. . . .

Whensoever therefore the legislative [power] shall transgress⁴ this fundamental rule of society; and either by ambition, fear, folly or corruption, endeavour to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people; by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves⁵ to the people; who have a right to resume their original liberty, and, by the establishment of a new legislative, (such as they shall think fit) provide for their own safety and security. . . .

- **1. promulgated** (PRAHM uhl gayt ihd) ν . published or made known.
- 2. extemporary (ehk STEHM puh rer ee) adi. without any preparation.
- **3. inroads** (IHN rohdz) *n.* advances at the expense of someone.
- 4. transgress (trans GREHS) v. to go beyond; break.
- 5. devolves (dih VAHLVZ) v. passes.



▲ John Locke and the title page of Two Treatises of Government

Thinking Critically

- 1 Draw Inferences According to Locke, how should a society be governed? Why do you think he felt this way?
- 2. Identify Central Issues What does Locke say can happen if a government fails to protect the rights of its people?



■ Benjamin Franklin and the U.S. Constitution

A Hopeful Future

After the hard work was completed at the Constitutional Convention, the delegates set out to win approval of the document they had created from the states. With amendments, that document—the United States Constitution—has now endured for more than 200 years. At the time, however, the system of government established by the document was in no way secure. Benjamin Franklin wryly observed:

⁶⁶Our Constitution is in actual operation; everything appears to promise that it will last; but in this world nothing is certain but death and taxes.⁹⁹

-Benjamin Franklin, 1789

Ratifying the Constitution

MY

Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.I.B.4 Ratification of the Constitution
- **2.1.B.4b** Ratification: Federalist and Antifederalist arguments
- 2.I.E.1 National power—limits and potentials
- 2.I.E.10 Separation of powers

Terms and People

ratification Federalist Antifederalist *The Federalist* John Jay Bill of Rights

popular sovereignty limited government separation of powers checks and balances electoral college

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Use a table to record the arguments for and against ratification of the Constitution.

Ratification of the Constitution			
Arguments For	Arguments Against		
A strong central government would be able to handle the problems that faced the nation.	• A strong central government would undermine basic liberties.		

Why It Matters The delegates to the Constitutional Convention had designed a strong federal government. As you learned, all but three delegates endorsed the new Constitution, despite the fact that many felt it was imperfect. After most of the delegates signed it, the proposed Constitution was printed, circulated, and hotly debated. The question remained whether the states would accept the proposed plan. If they did not, what would become of the new nation? Section Focus Question: How did Americans ratify the Constitution, and what are its basic principles?

The Struggle Over Ratification

By drafting a new Constitution, the delegates had exceeded their mandate. They were only supposed to propose amendments to the Articles of Confederation. Official approval, or **ratification**, of an entirely new constitution was doomed if all 13 states had to approve it as the Articles required. To improve the odds of ratification, the delegates arbitrarily decided to change the rules. They determined that approval by nine states would suffice. They also took the ratification decision away from the state legislatures, for they would most certainly oppose a new constitution that would deprive them of some power. Instead, the delegates ruled that specially elected conventions would determine a state's choice for or against the Constitution. Two groups soon emerged in the debate: the Federalists, who favored ratification, and the Antifederalists, who opposed it.

Federalists Favor Strong Government Those who favored ratification of the Constitution were known as Federalists. The group included George Washington, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. The Federalists stressed the weaknesses of the Articles. They argued that only a new government based on the proposed Constitution could overcome the difficulties facing the new nation.

Antifederalists Fear a Strong Government Critics of the Constitution, known as **Antifederalists**, denounced it as a retreat from the liberty won by the Revolution. The Antifederalists especially disliked the lack of a bill of rights that would provide basic liberties, protecting the people from the powers of the government. They noted that the Constitution greatly increased the powers of the central government and provided a more elitist government by concentrating power in relatively few hands at a great distance from most voters. The Antifederalists believed that liberty could not survive unless the federal government remained weak, which meant that most power would belong to the democratic state governments. One Antifederalist asked:

Primary Source 66What have you been contending for these ten years past? Liberty! What is Liberty? The power of governing yourselves. If you adopt this Constitution, have you this power? No: you give it into the hands of a set of men who live one thousand miles distant from you."

—James Lincoln, South Carolina delegate

The Antifederalists included such leading Patriots as Samuel Adams and John Hancock of Massachusetts, George Clinton of New York, and Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry of Virginia. Successful state politicians, they distrusted the Federalist effort to subordinate the states to a stronger national Union.

The Federalists Gain Support Most farmers recognized that the Constitution threatened the state debtor-relief laws that had rescued their farms from foreclosure. Common farmers also distrusted the lawyers, merchants, and other wealthy men who promoted the Constitution, viewing them as aristocrats hostile to the Republic. In South Carolina, farmers protested by staging a mock funeral around a coffin with the word *Liberty* painted on the side. Because most citizens were farmers, the proposed Constitution lacked majority support in 1787.

However, the Constitution had the support of two of the most popular and trusted men in America—George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. Their support allayed the fears of many rural Americans. Some frontier farmers also endorsed the Constitution because they hoped that a stronger nation would defeat the Native Americans and take control of the British forts along the Great Lakes.

The Federalists also enjoyed popular support in key places—the seaports which hosted most of the ratifying conventions. Unlike the common farmers, most urban artisans supported the Constitution. Hurt by the depression of the 1780s, the artisans hoped that a strong national government could expand American commerce. The seaports also had most of the nation's newspapers, the printers of which strongly endorsed the Constitution.

The Federalists were also better organized than the Antifederalists. Acting quickly after the Constitutional Convention, the Federalists built a nationwide network of support. Their national experience and connections gave them a great advantage in coordinating the first national political campaign. By contrast, the Antifederalists were state politicians who struggled to build alliances across state lines.

The Federalist Papers Outline Key Ideas The Federalists' case for ratification of the Constitution appeared in *The Federalist*, a series of 85 essays that came to be called the Federalist Papers. Three leading Federalists—Madison, Hamilton, and John Jay—wrote the essays, which were published in New York newspapers in 1787 and 1788, a time of heated debate in New York's ratifying convention. The essays argued that the separation of powers in three branches of government would prevent the concentration of power dreaded by the Antifederalists.

The authors were also eager for the United States to have a strong central government, as supported by Madison in The Federalist, No. 10. Federalist leaders feared that the United States would dissolve without a strong government. (See Primary Source at the end of the section.) They argued in The Federalist, No. 51, that the checks and balances in the Constitution prevented any of the three branches from gaining too much power. The authors insisted that the real threat to liberty came from the state legislatures, which lacked sufficient checks and balances. Hamilton wrote of the importance of a judicial branch in The Federalist, No. 78. Today, these essays help scholars, judges, and lawyers understand the meaning of the Constitution.

Checkpoint Why did the Federalists have more support than the Antifederalists?

Ratifying Conventions

Exploiting their advantages, the Federalists pushed for quick ratifying conventions in five states. By mid-January 1788, the Federalists had won ratification in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut. These early victories created momentum. To complete ratification, the Federalists needed only four of the remaining eight states. But the Antifederalists mounted a stronger fight in those states.

The Federalists Triumph In Massachusetts, the Federalists faced defeat until they made two key concessions to sway the moderate Antifederalists, led

HISTORY MAKERS

James Madison (1751–1836)

Madison wrote 29 of the Federalist Papers, including three he wrote with Hamilton. He wrote the essays while he was living in New York and serving as a member of the Confederation Congress. After he returned home to Virginia in the spring of 1788, he was elected

to the Virginia convention to ratify the Constitution that he played a large role in creating. Madison also helped frame the Bill of Rights.

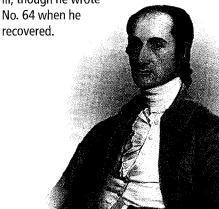
Alexander Hamilton (1755–1804)

It was Hamilton's idea to write the essays that became known as the Federalist Papers. He came up with the idea in order to help win the ratification vote in New York. Hamilton wrote 51 of the 85 essays. In Federalist Paper No. 1, Hamilton laid out the

plan for all the essays. In later essays, he tackled such topics as the office of the President and the authority of the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of a law.

John Jay (1745–1829)

A successful New York attorney, John Jay wrote four of the first five Federalist Papers—Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5. In them, he argued for a strong federal government to protect the Union from foreign force and influence. His contributions to the essays were cut short when he fell ill, though he wrote



by Governor John Hancock. First, the Federalists appealed to Hancock's vanity. They hinted that he could become the nation's first Vice President by switching sides. Second, to make that switch easier, they promised to support key amendments to the Constitution. They would add a bill of rights but only after ratification not as a condition for it. In early February, following Hancock's lead, the Massachusetts convention ratified the Constitution.

The promise of a bill of rights helped the Federalists win most of the remaining states. Maryland ratified in April; South Carolina, in May; and New Hampshire, in early June. They provided the winning nine, but the new nation would not last without the support of Virginia and New York. In late June, Virginia narrowly ratified, despite the forceful opposition of Patrick Henry, the greatest political orator of his generation. In July, New York also narrowly approved after Hamilton threatened New York City's secession from the state to join the Union if the state rejected the Constitution.

With the ratification of 11 states, the Congress of the Confederation made plans for the establishment of the new government and chose New York City as the temporary capital. The new Congress convened there on March 4, 1789, in Federal Hall. Plans for electing the nation's first President and Vice President were made. Within a short time, Rhode Island and North Carolina, which had previously rejected the Constitution, reconsidered and joined the Union.

Adding the Bill of Rights If the Federalists deserve credit for the Constitution, the Antifederalists deserve credit for the federal Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Only the forceful resistance of the Antifederalists obliged the Federalists to add a bill of rights.

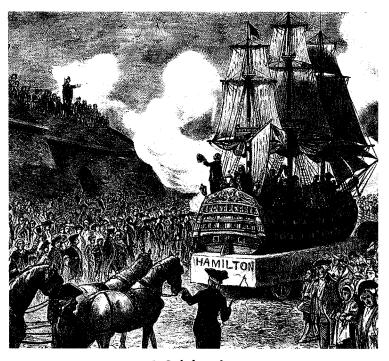
In the newly elected Congress, Madison drafted the Bill of Rights. Many of these amendments relied on an earlier Virginia bill of rights. Madison limited the amendments to guarantees of individual rights, leaving the federal framework the same. He also avoided any sweeping preamble that declared all men equal in their creation and rights. That omission enabled slave owners to persist in denying rights to their slaves. The protected rights included freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition; protection from unreasonable searches and seizures; and the right to a speedy and public trial.

Madison feared that any finite list of rights would later be abused to deny any left unmentioned. So the Ninth Amendment provided: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." That left open the subsequent development of additional rights. Congress passed the Bill of Rights in 1789.

Checkpoint What was the importance of the inclusion of a bill of rights in the Constitution?

Principles of the New Constitution

The Republic established by the Constitution of the United States became a symbol of freedom not only to Americans but to countries in Europe and republics in Latin America as well. The authors of the Constitution established a representative government based on these basic principles: popular sovereignty,



A Celebration

This engraving shows the celebration of New York's ratification of the Constitution. Who is identified with the success of ratification here?

Vocabulary Builder convene-(kuhn VEEN) v. to meet or assemble

American Issues • • • • Connector

Expanding and Protecting Civil Rights

TRACK THE ISSUE

What should the federal government do to expand and protect civil rights?

The U.S. Constitution guarantees equal rights for all Americans. In 1789, though, African Americans, women, and Native Americans did not have the same rights given white males. Over the years, however, rights have been extended to these groups. A major question remains, though: How far should the government go to expand rights? Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1791 Bill of Rights

The first 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution guarantee certain basic rights and freedoms.

1868 Fourteenth Amendment Guarantees citizenship to everyone born or naturalized in the United States.

1920 Nineteenth Amendment Women gain the right to vote.

1964 Civil Rights Act

Bans race or gender discrimination in public accommodations and jobs.

1990 Americans With Disabilities Act

Bans discrimination against people with disabilities.



The Bill of Rights



College graduates celebrate their achievements.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

Affirmative Action Some urge companies, colleges, and the government to use affirmative action programs to expand opportunities for women and minorities. Others argue that such steps are unfair.

You do not take a man who for years has been hobbled by chains, liberate him, bring him to the starting line of a race, saying 'you are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe you have been completely fair. . . . We seek not just freedom but opportunity . . . not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result.

— President Lyndon Johnson, speech, June 4, 1965 66 The civil rights laws themselves forbade employers to discriminate on the basis of race, sex, national origin, color, or religion. They didn't say anything about guaranteeing a certain number of slots to minorities or women. . . . The supporters of affirmative action everywhere seemed to believe that the only way to eliminate racial discrimination against blacks, Latinos, and women was to discriminate against white men.²⁹

—Linda Chavez, essay, October 2002

Connect to Your World

- **1. Compare** Choose a statement about affirmative action you disagree with. Explain why you disagree.
- **2. Analyze** Do you think either Johnson or Chavez believed that affirmative action is a basic right? Why or why not?
- 3. Discuss Learn more about affirmative action. Web Code: neh-0107

limited government, separation of powers, federalism, checks and balances, and representative government.

Popular Sovereignty The Constitution abides by the principle of **popular** sovereignty, in which all government power comes from the people. In other words, the government derives its political authority from the people.

Limited Government Popular sovereignty ensures that a government's power is restricted, or limited. In a limited government, the Constitution specifically states what powers the government has. The principle of limited government also refers to the rule of law. Government leaders are not supposed to be above the law.

Separation of Powers The Constitution mandated the separation of powers within the federal government. The Constitution, therefore, defined distinct legislative, executive, and judicial branches with different responsibilities to prevent misuse of power by any of the three branches.

The Constitution assigns certain specific powers to each of the three branches of the federal government. The legislative branch, or Congress, enacts laws. The executive branch, headed by the President, carries out the laws, negotiates treaties, and commands the armed forces. The judicial branch interprets the Consti-

tution and enforces the law. The Constitution established a Supreme Court and authorized Congress to establish other courts as needed.

Federalism Just as the Constitution divides power among the three branches of the federal government, it also divides power between the states and the nation, a division known as federalism. At the time, this meant that the states could no longer issue their own paper money or provide debtor relief at creditors' expense. These delegated powers belonged exclusively to the federal government. Federalism also reserves some powers to the state governments. For example, states regulate all elections. The federal and state governments also hold some overlapping concurrent powers, among parallel court systems.

Principles of the	Constitution 💆 Quick Study
Popular sovereignty	The people are the only source of the government's power.
Limited government	The government has only the powers that the Constitution gives it.
Separation of powers	The government's power is divided among three branches: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches.
Federalism	The federal government and the state governments share power.
Checks and balances	Each branch of government has the power to limit the actions of the other two.
Representative government	Citizens elect representatives to government to make laws.

Checks and Balances The Constitution also limits the power of government by creating a system of checks and balances designed to prevent the emergence of a single domineering center of power. For example, while only Congress has the power to enact laws, the President may veto them. However, a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress can override the President's veto. The President nominates judges, but the Senate must approve them.

Representative Government The writers of the new Constitution had misgivings about the democratic rule of the majority. Many saw democracy as something that would lead to mob rule. Instead of creating a direct democracy in which all citizens vote on every matter, the writers created an indirect democracy in which voters elect representatives to govern.

For example, the Constitution stipulated that the citizens would directly elect only the representatives to the House of Representatives. The state legislatures, rather than the voters, would choose the members of the Senate (who would serve for six years, rather than the two years representatives served). Similarly, an **electoral college**, or group of persons chosen from each state,

would indirectly elect the President. Each state legislature would determine whether to choose those electors or let the citizens elect them.

In addition, the indirectly elected President and senators would choose the least democratic branch of all: the judiciary. By giving the federal judges (including the Supreme Court Justices) life terms, the delegates meant to insulate them from democratic politics.

Checkpoint What are the major principles of the Constitution?

The Constitution Endures

The Constitution became the supreme law of the land in 1789, and with amendments, it has endured for more than 200 years. At about 7,000 words, the Constitution is relatively brief and often ambiguous. Therefore, it invites debate. Some politicians, including Thomas Jefferson, argued that the Constitution should be interpreted narrowly and literally to restrict federal power. But most Federalists, including George Washington, insisted that the Constitution be read broadly to allow for the expansion of federal power when necessary.

How is it that a Constitution written when the nation was little more than a small colonial outpost continues to guide the actions of the government today? The Framers knew they could not anticipate future social, economic, or political events. They, therefore, worded parts of the Constitution to permit flexibility. The Constitution has survived and thrived in part because it provides a process for its own amendment, that is, for changes in its content. The Constitution makes amendment possible but difficult. Two thirds of both houses of Congress must approve an amendment, which becomes law only when ratified by three fourths of the states. Since the Bill of Rights, only 17 amendments have been added to the Constitution.

Checkpoint What has enabled the Constitution to endure for more than **200 years?**

SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0505

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each term listed below, write a sentence explaining why it is an important principle in the Constitution.
 - popular sovereignty
 - limited government
 - separation of powers
 - checks and balances

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Use your completed table to answer the Section Focus Question: How did Americans ratify the Constitution, and what are its basic principles?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Compare Evidence Describe the relationship between the plans of government that were proposed at the Constitutional Convention and the plan that was chosen. Look at the diagram in the previous section on the plans of government as well as the chart of the principles of the Constitution in this section. Write your description in one or two paragraphs.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Compare Points of View What was the main argument of the Antifederalists?
- 5. Summarize Why did Madison feel it was necessary to add the Ninth Amendment?
- 6. Draw Conclusions Why do you think the delegates made amending the Constitution difficult?

Primary Source



James Madison: The Federalist, No. 10

One of the most notable essays in the Federalist Papers is *The Federalist*, No. 10. In it, Madison argues that a national government on a continental scale would strengthen rather than weaken liberty. He believed that in a large and diverse republic, no single faction, or interest group, could control the government because the numerous factions would check one another.

The latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of **I** man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity. . . . A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, . . . have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to cooperate for their common good. . . .

From this . . . it may be concluded that a pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens. who assemble and administer the government in person, can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction. . . . Hence it is that such democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal

security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths. . . .

A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking. Let us examine the points in which it varies from pure democracy, and we shall comprehend both the nature of the cure and the efficacy which it must derive from the Union. . . .

The two great points of difference between a democracy and a republic are: first, the delegation of the government, in the latter, to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; secondly, the greater number of citizens, and greater sphere of country, over which the latter may be extended. . . .

The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States, but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States. A religious sect may degenerate into a political faction in a part of the Confederacy; but the variety of sects dispersed over the entire face of it must secure the national councils against any danger from that source. A rage for paper money, for an abolition of debts, for an equal division of property, or for any other improper or wicked project, will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the Union than a particular member of it; in the same proportion as such a malady is more likely to taint a particular county or district, than an entire State. . . .

FEDERALIST

A COLLECTION

Y S.

WRITTEN IN FAVOUR OF THE

CONSTITUTION.

AS AGREED UPON BY THE FEDERAL CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. AND A. MILEAN, No. 41, HANOVER-SQUARE. M, DCC, LXXXVIII.

> ▲ Title page from *The Federalist* signed by George Washington

Thinking Critically

- **1** According to Madison, what are the differences between a democracy and a republic? Which does he support and why?
- 2. Does Madison consider factions to be good or bad for the nation? Explain.

Quick Study Guide



Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0506

■ Comparing Plans for Representation in the New Federal Government

10 miles	Virginia Plan	New Jersey Plan	U.S. Constitution Provisions
Number of houses in legislature	2 (Bicameral)	1 (Unicameral)	2 (Bicameral)
How representation is determined	Varies based on each state's population or by the financial support each state gives to the central government	Equal representation for each state	Equal representation for each state in the Senate; representation in the House of Representatives varies based on each state's population
How representatives are chosen	Members of House of Representatives elected by popular vote; members of Senate nominated by state legislatures and then chosen by House	Elected by state legislatures	Members of House of Representatives elected by popular vote in each state; members of Senate chosen by state legislatures*

^{*}Seventeenth Amendment later provided for popular election of senators

■ Key Framers of the Constitution

Name	State	Background
George Washington	Virginia	Planter; commander of the Continental Army in the American Revolution
James Madison	Virginia	Legislator; major proponent of replacing Articles
Benjamin Franklin	Pennsylvania	Writer; printer; inventor; legislator; diplomat
Gouverneur Morris	Pennsylvania	Lawyer; merchant; legislator
Alexander Hamilton	New York	Lawyer; legislator; champion of strong central government
Roger Sherman	Connecticut	Merchant; mayor of New Haven; legislator; judge
John Dickinson	Delaware	Lawyer; historian; major advocate of independence

■ The Bill of Rights

1st:	Guarantees freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition
2nd:	Guarantees right to bear arms
3rd:	Prohibits quartering of troops in private homes
4th:	Protects people from unreasonable searches and seizures
5th:	Guarantees due process for accused persons
6th:	Guarantees the right to a speedy and public trial in the state where the offense was committed
7th:	Guarantees the right to jury trial for civil cases tried in federal courts
8th:	Prohibits excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishments
9th:	Provides that people have rights beyond those stated in the Constitution
10th:	Provides that powers not granted to the national government belong to the states and to the people

Quick Study Timeline

Continental Congress adopts the Articles of Confederation, which established a limited national government in 1781



1786 Shays' Rebellion breaks out

Presidential Terms

In America

1775

1782 **James Watt** builds first rotary steam engine

1785

1784 Pitt's India Act establishes dual control of India

American Issues • • • • Connector



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code**: nch-0507).

Issues You Learned About

- Expanding and Protecting Civil Rights Most democracies include safeguards to protect the individual rights and freedoms of their citizens.
- **1.** How did the Federalists' promise to support a bill of rights influence the ratification battle?
- **2.** What are some of the rights guaranteed to American citizens by the Bill of Rights?
- **3.** What is the significance of the Ninth Amendment?
- **Checks and Balances** The federal Constitution provided a system of checks and balances to prevent any of the three branches from dominating the others.
- **4.** Support or disprove this statement: The Articles of Confederation provided a strong system of checks and balances for the federal government.
- **5.** What are the three branches of the federal government and their powers? Give an example of how one branch might check the power of another branch.
- **6.** What prior experiences may have led the delegates at the Constitutional Convention to create a national government with a separation of powers and a system of checks and balances?

- Federal Power and States' Rights Questions about the power of the federal government versus the power of state governments date to the earliest days of the nation.
- **7.** Under the Articles of Confederation, did the state governments or the federal government have more power? Explain.
- **8.** Explain whether James Madison supported federal power or state power. Use evidence from the text to support your answer.
- **9.** Why did the Antifederalists support a weak national government?

Connect to Your World

New York

Federal Power and States' Rights The New York State Constitution, drafted by the Federalist John Jay, was adopted in 1777. Like the United States Constitution, it created three branches of government: a bicameral legislature, a judiciary, and an executive branch. Other similarities included voting rights only for male landowners, and legalized slavery. These aspects of the state's constitution were gradually removed through constitutional amendments. Find copies of New York State's first and latest constitutions. List three similarities and three differences between the documents.

1787
Constitutional
Convention drafts
a new plan of
government; Northwest
Ordinance passed

1791 Bill of Rights added to the Constitution | 1792 | George | Washington | unanimously | wins reelection



History Interactive,

For: Interactive timeline Web Code: ncp-0508

George Washington 1789-1797

<u>1790</u> <u>1795 1800</u>

1789
Parisians storm the
Bastille, starting the
French Revolution

1793 France declares war on Britain and Spain 1795 Russia, Prussia, and Austria divide Poland 1799 Napoleon seizes control of France

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

- 1. Define unicameral legislature and bicameral legislature. Which type of legislature did most states have?
- **2.** What was the **Land Ordinance of 1785**? What groups of Americans benefited from this land ordinance, and why?
- 3. What was the Great Compromise? What were its specific details?
- **4.** Define **federalism**. How did the introduction of federalism affect the rights of the state governments?
- **5.** What is the **Bill of Rights**? Who insisted on the creation of the Bill of Rights?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **What led to the creation of the United States Constitution**, **and what are its key principles?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 3 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. What form of national government did the Patriots create initially, and what events revealed that a new government was necessary?

Section 2

7. What new system of national government did the delegates agree upon at the Constitutional Convention of 1787?

Section 3

8. How did Americans ratify the Constitution, and what are its basic principles?

Critical Thinking

9. Compare Points of View How did the views of democratic Patriots and conservative Patriots diverge regarding Americans and voting rights? How were they similar?

- 10. Express Problems Clearly Think about the challenges the United States faced with Britain in its early years of nationhood. Then, identify one challenge and explain why Congress failed to solve it.
- **11. Recognize Causes** Why did the national government under the Articles of Confederation face bankruptcy?
- **12. Draw Conclusions** Did the Virginia Plan or the New Jersey Plan represent a more radical departure from the Articles of Confederation? Explain.
- **13. Identify Central Issues** How did the northern delegates at the Constitutional Convention convince the southern delegates to support the new Constitution?
- **14. Analyze Political Cartoons** Study the political cartoon below, which shows the gradual ratification of the Constitution by the states. Then, answer the questions that follow.



To what does the cartoonist compare the ratification of the Constitution? What opinion do you think the artist had about the new Constitution?

- **15. Categorize** Identify which branch of the federal government each official belongs to: the President, a senator, a Supreme Court Justice, and a member of the House of Representatives.
- **16. Make Comparisons** How did the national government under the Constitution differ from the government under the Articles of Confederation?

Writing About History

Synthesis Writing Coming up with a plan for a new national government was a daunting task for the delegates at the Constitutional Convention. Consider the characters and events of the convention, and then write an essay that answers the following question: How did the Constitution reach its final form?

Prewriting

- Refresh your memory by flipping through the chapter or find other sources relating to the essay question. Compare visuals, quotes, and features.
- Using what you learn from the various sources, compile a list of significant people and events that shaped the plan that came to be the Constitution.
- Record similarities or differences among the various sources to help identify the main idea you will develop.

Drafting

• Develop a thesis statement that identifies the focus of your essay.

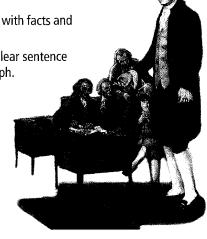
 Make an outline for your essay with facts and examples.

 Begin each paragraph with a clear sentence about the topic of the paragraph.

 Organize your essay so that your reader sees where information from sources overlap.

Revisina

 Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your essay.



Regents DBQ Practice



Religious Freedom in Early America

America was settled by colonists who had been subjected to religious discrimination in their native countries. How did the religious diversity of the nation influence the formation of state and federal governments? Use your knowledge of colonial society and Documents 1, 2, and 3 to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document 1

"Whereas Almighty God has created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments . . . are a departure from the plan of the Holy author of our religion, . . . that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; . . . that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry. . . .

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities. . . . [Y]et we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall hereafter be passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right."

—Thomas Jefferson, Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, 1786

Document 2

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peacefully to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

—First Amendment to the United States Constitution, 1791

Document 3

Religion in the Colonies, 1776

Denomination	Number of Congregations
Congregational	668
Presbyterian	588
Baptist	497
Episcopal	495
Quaker	310
German Reformed	159
Lutheran	120
Methodist	65
Catholic	56
Moravian	31
Separatist and Independent	27
Dunker	24
Mennonite	16
Huguenot	7
Sandemanian	6
Jewish	5
Total	3,074

SOURCE: The Churching of America, 1776–2005, Roger Finke and Rodney Stark

- 1. What civil right does Document 1 protect?
 - (1) freedom of speech
 - (2) freedom of the press
 - (3) freedom of education
 - (4) freedom of religion
- **2.** What can you conclude about the growth of religion in the colonies based on Document 3?
 - (1) By 1776, there were fewer than 2,000 congregations in America.
 - (2) There were a variety of religious denominations in colonial America.
 - (3) Most colonists did not practice their religion on a regular basis.
 - (4) Most colonists belonged to two establishment churches.

- 3. How are Documents 1 and 2 related?
 - (1) Both established the right of assembly.
 - (2) Both prohibited the government from imposing religious taxes
 - (3) Both guaranteed the separation of church and state.
 - (4) Both guaranteed freedom of the press.
- **4. Writing Task** What effect did religious liberty have on the development of the new nation? Use your knowledge of the new government and specific evidence from the primary and secondary sources above to support your answer.

United States Constitution



THE SIX BASIC PRINCIPLES

The classic textbook *Magruder's American Government* outlines the six basic principles of the Constitution. Below is a description of these principles:

Popular Sovereignty

The Preamble to the Constitution begins with the bold phrase, "We the people . . ."
These words announce that in the United States, the people are sovereign. The government receives its power from the people and can govern only with their consent.

Limited Government

Because the people are the ultimate source of all government power, the government has only as much authority as the people give it. Government's power is thus limited. Much of the Constitution, in fact, consists of specific limitations on government power.

Separation of Powers

Government power is not only limited, but also divided. The Constitution assigns certain powers to each of the three branches: the legislative (Congress), executive (President), and judicial (federal courts). This separation of government's powers was intended to prevent the misuse of power.

Checks and Balances

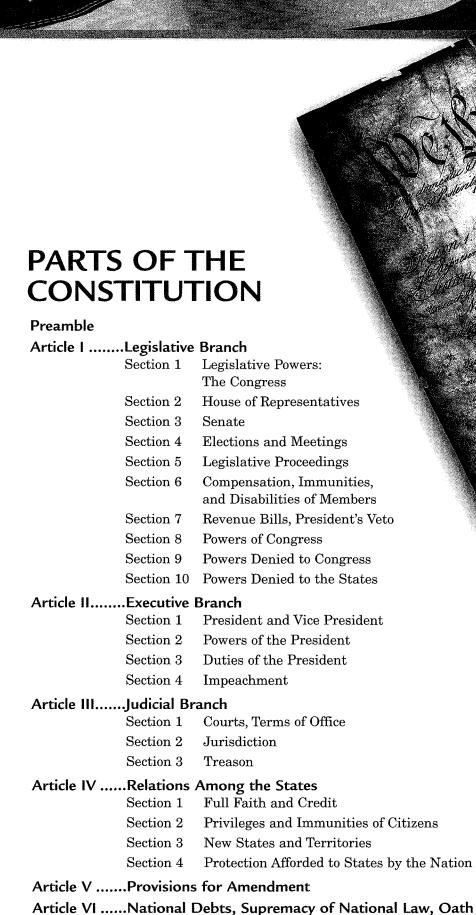
The system of checks and balances gives each of the three branches of government the ability to restrain the other two. Such a system makes government less efficient but also less likely to trample on the rights of citizens.

Judicial Review

Who decides whether an act of government violates the Constitution? Federal courts have the power to review acts of the federal government and to cancel any acts that are unconstitutional, or violate a provision in the Constitution.

Federalism

A federal system of government is one in which power is divided between a central government and smaller governments. This sharing of powers is intended to ensure that the central government is powerful enough to be effective, yet not so powerful as to threaten states or individuals.



Article VIIRatification of Constitution

Amendments

A Note on the Text of the Constitution

The complete text of the Constitution, including amendments, appears on the pages that follow. Portions of the Constitution altered by later amendments or that no longer apply have been crossed out. Commentary appears in the outside column of each page.

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Commentary

The Preamble ▶

The Preamble describes the purpose of the government as set up by the Constitution. Americans expect their government to defend justice and liberty and provide peace and safety from foreign enemies.



Clause 4 ▶

Executive authority means the governor of a state. If a member of the House leaves office before his or her term ends, the governor must call a special election to fill the seat.

Preamble

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I. Legislative Branch

Section 1. Legislative Powers; The Congress

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. House of Representatives

- 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.
- 2. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.
- Representatives and direct Taxes* shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and, until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.
- 4. When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

*Portions of the Constitution altered by later amendments or that no longer apply are crossed out.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. Senate

- The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State chosen by the Legislature thereof for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.
- Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequences of the first Election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year; of the second Class, at the Expiration of the fourth Year; and of the third Class, at the Expiration of the sixth Year; so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.
- 3. No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

Commentary

- ◆ Clause 5 The House elects a Speaker. Also, only the House has the power to impeach, or accuse a federal official of wrongdoing.
- ◆ Clause 1 Each State has two senators.
- ◆ Clause 2 Every two years, one third of the senators run for reelection. The Seventeenth Amendment changed the way of filling vacancies, or empty seats. Today, the governor of a state must choose a senator to fill a vacancy that occurs between elections.

Checkpoint

What is the main job of Congress?

Separation of Powers



Legislative Branch (Congress) Passes laws

- Can override presidential veto
- Approves treaties
- · Can impeach and remove President and other high officials from office
- · Prints and coins money
- · Raises and supports armed forces
- Can declare war
- Regulates foreign and interstate trade



Executive Branch (President) **Carries out laws**

- Proposes laws
- Can veto legislation
- of armed forces
- Negotiates foreign treaties
- Appoints federal judges, Serves as commander in chief ambassadors, and other high officials
 - Can grant pardons to federal offenders



Judicial Branch

(Supreme Court and Other Lower Federal Courts)

Interprets Laws

- Can declare laws unconstitutional
- Can declare executive actions unconstitutional



Commentary

Clause 5 ▶

The House elects a Speaker. Also, only the House has the power to impeach, or accuse a federal official of wrongdoing.

Clause 6 ▶

The Senate acts as a jury if the House impeaches a federal official. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court presides if the President is on trial. Two thirds of all senators present must vote for conviction, or finding the accused guilty. No President has ever been convicted.

✓ Checkpoint

Which branches are involved in presidential impeachment?

Clause 1 ▶

Each state legislature can decide when and how congressional elections take place, but Congress can overrule these decisions. In 1842, Congress required each state to set up congressional districts with one representative elected from each district. In 1872, Congress decided that congressional elections must be held in every state on the same date in even-numbered years.

- 4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.
- 5. The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.
- 6. The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.
- 7. Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust, or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. Elections and Meetings

- The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of choosing Senators.
- 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5. Legislative Proceedings

- 1. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties, as each House may provide.
- 2. Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.



- 3. Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.
- 4. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. Compensation, Immunities, and Disabilities of Members

- The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.
- 2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. Revenue Bills, President's Veto

- 1. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other Bills.
- 2. Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States: If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of the House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days

Commentary

◆ Clause 4 Neither house can <u>adjourn</u>, or stop meeting, for more than three days unless the other house approves. Both houses must meet in the same city.

- Clause 1 Tax bills must be introduced in the House, but the Senate can make changes in those bills.
- ◆ Clause 2 A bill, or proposed law, that is passed by a majority of the House and Senate is sent to the President. If the President signs the bill, it becomes law. The President can veto, or reject, a bill by sending it back to the house where it was introduced. Congress can override the President's veto if each house of Congress passes the bill again by a two-thirds vote.



Checkpoint

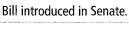
What is the role of Congress and the President in making laws?

(Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment, prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

3. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Start: Senate

Introduction





Committee Action

Bill referred to standing committee. Moves to subcommittee for study, hearings, revisions, approval. Moves back to full committee for more hearings and revisions.



Floor Action

Bill is debated, then passed or defeated. If passed, the bill goes to the House of Representatives. If the bill has already passed in House, the bill goes to Conference Committee.





Conference Committee

Conference Committee resolves differences between House and Senate versions of the bill.

Congressional Approval

House and Senate vote on final passage. Approved bill is sent to the President.



Presidential Action

President signs, vetoes, or allows the bill to become a law without signing. Vetoed bill returns to Congress. Veto may be overridden by two-thirds majority vote of each house.



Floor Action

Bill is debated, then passed or defeated. If passed, the bill goes to Senate. If the bill has already passed through Senate, the bill goes to Conference Committee.



Committee Action

Bill referred to standing committee. Moves to subcommittee for study, hearings, revisions, approval. Moves back to full committee for more hearings and revisions. Moves to Rules Committee to set conditions for debate and amendments.



Introduction

Bill introduced in House

Start: House

Section 8. Powers of Congress The Congress shall have Power

- 1. To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States;
- 2. To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;
- 3. To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;
- 4. To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;
- 5. To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;
- 6. To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;
- 7. To establish Post Offices and post Roads;
- 8. To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;
- 9. To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;
- 10. To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

Commentary

- Section 8 The Constitution is our social contract in which the people consent to the form and powers of government. An important part of the contract is the enumeration of legislative powers which sets the scope and limits of government authority over the people. Article I, Section 8, lists most of the expressed powers of Congress. Numbered from 1 to 18, these powers are also known as enumerated powers.
- Clause 1 <u>Duties</u> are tariffs, or taxes on imports. Imposts are taxes in general. <u>Excises</u> are taxes on the production or sale of certain goods.
- ◆ Clause 4 Naturalization is the process whereby a foreigner becomes a citizen. Bankruptcy is the condition in which a person or business cannot pay its debts. Congress has the power to pass laws on these two issues.
- Clause 6 <u>Counterfeiting</u> is the making of imitation money. <u>Securities</u> are bonds. Congress can make laws to punish counterfeiters.





Clause 11 ▶

Only Congress can declare war.

Declarations of war are granted at the request of the President. Letters of marque and reprisal were documents issued by a government allowing merchant ships to arm themselves and attack ships of an enemy nation. They are no longer issued.

✓ Checkpoint

Which powers of Congress relate to taking in and spending money?

Clause 18 ▶

Congress has the power to make laws as needed to carry out the previous 17 clauses. It is sometimes known as the "Necessary and Proper Clause."

Clause 1 ▶

<u>Such persons</u> means slaves. In 1808, as soon as Congress was permitted to abolish the slave trade, it did so.

Clause 2 ▶

A <u>writ of habeas corpus</u> is a court order requiring government officials to bring a prisoner to court and explain why he or she is being held. A writ of habeas corpus protects people from unlawful imprisonment. The government cannot suspend this right except in times of rebellion or invasion.

- 11. To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;
- 12. To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;
- 13. To provide and maintain a Navy;
- 14. To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;
- 15. To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;
- 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;
- 17. To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of Particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dockyards and other needful Buildings;—And
- 18. To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. Powers Denied to Congress

- 1. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.
- 2. The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

- 3. No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.
- 4. No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census of Enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.
- 5. No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.
- 6. No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear or pay Duties in another.
- 7. No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.
- 8. No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. Powers Denied to the States

 No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

Commentary

◆ Clause 3 A bill of attainder is a law declaring that a person is guilty of a particular crime without a trial. An ex post facto law punishes an act which was not illegal when it was committed.

◆ Clause 1 The writers of the
Constitution did not want the
states to act like separate nations,
so they prohibited states from
making treaties or coining money.
Some powers denied to the federal government are also denied to
the states.

The Federal System

Powers of the National Government

- Regulate interstate and foreign trade
- Declare war
- Create and maintain armed forces
- · Establish foreign policy
- · Create federal courts
- Make copyright and patent laws
- · Establish postal offices
- Coin money
- · Set standard weights and measures
- Admit new states



Concurrent Powers

- Provide for public welfare
- · Administer criminal justice
- Charter banks and borrow money
- · Levy and collect taxes
- Borrow money

Powers Reserved to the States

- · Regulate trade within state
- · Maintain schools
- · Establish local governments
- Make laws about marriage and divorce
- Conduct elections
- Provide for public safety
- Create corporation law





Clauses 2, 3 ▶

Powers listed here are forbidden to the states, but Congress can pass laws that give these powers to the states. Clause 2 forbids states from taxing imports and exports without the consent of Congress.

Clause 3 ▶

This clause forbids states from keeping an army or navy without the consent of Congress. States cannot make treaties or declare war unless an enemy invades or is about to invade.

Clauses 2, 3 ▶

Some writers of the Constitution were afraid to allow the people to elect the President directly. Therefore, the Constitutional Convention set up the electoral college. Clause 2 directs each state to choose electors, or delegates to the electoral college, to vote for President. A state's electoral vote is equal to the combined number of senators and representatives. Each state may decide how to choose its electors. Members of Congress and federal officeholders may not serve as electors. This part of the original electoral college system is still in effect.

Clause 3 ▶

This clause called upon each elector to vote for two candidates. The candidate who received a majority of the electoral votes would become President. The runner-up would become Vice President. If no candidate won a majority, the House

- 2. No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws; and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.
- 3. No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II Executive Branch

Section 1. President and Vice President

- 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected as follows:
- 2. Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit, under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.
- The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then, the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representatives from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of

all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice President.

- 4. The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.
- 5. No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.
- In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.
- The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.
- 8. Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:
 - "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. Powers of the President

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Commentary

would choose the President. The Senate would choose the Vice President. The election of 1800, however, ended in a tie in the electoral college between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The Twelfth Amendment changed the electoral college system so that this could not happen again.

Checkpoint

Who may become President?

- President pass to the Vice President if the President leaves office or cannot discharge his or her duties. The Twenty-fifth Amendment clarifies this clause.
- ◆ Clause 7 The President is paid a salary. It cannot be raised or lowered during his term in office. The President is not allowed to hold any other state or federal position while in office.

◆ Clause 1 The President is the head of the armed forces and the state militias when they are called into national service. The military is under civilian, or nonmilitary, control. The President has the power to grant a reprieve, or pardon. A reprieve suspends punishment. A pardon prevents prosecution for a crime or overrides the judgment of a court.



Clause 2 ▶

The President has the power to make treaties with other nations. Under the system of checks and balances, all treaties must be approved by two thirds of the Senate. The President has the power to appoint ambassadors to foreign countries and to appoint other high officials. The Senate must confirm, or approve, these appointments.

Section 4 ▶

<u>Civil officers</u> include federal judges and members of the Cabinet. <u>High crimes</u> are major crimes. <u>Misdemeanors</u> are lesser crimes. The President, Vice President, and others can be forced out of office if impeached and found guilty of certain crimes.

- 2. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.
- 3. The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. Duties of the President

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. Impeachment

The President, Vice President and all Civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III Judicial Branch

Section 1. Courts, Terms of Office

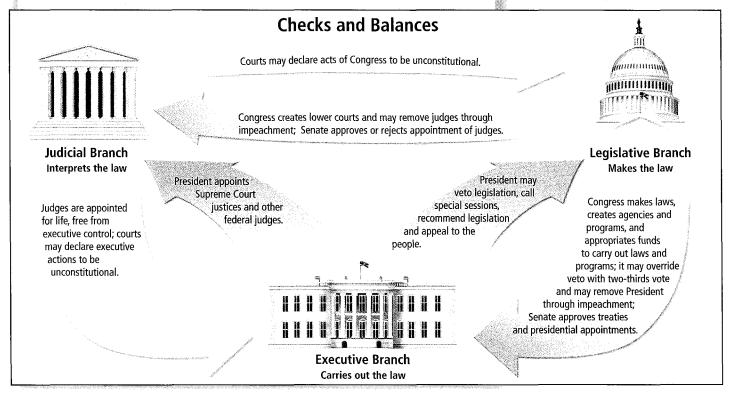
The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. Jurisdiction

- 1. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;— to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers, and Consuls;— to all Cases of Admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;— to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;— to Controversies between two or more States;— between a State and Citizens of another State;— between Citizens of different States;— between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens, or Subjects.
- 2. In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be a Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.
- 3. The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Commentary

- ◄ Clause 1 Jurisdiction refers to the right of a court to hear a case. Federal courts have jurisdiction over cases that involve the Constitution, federal laws, treaties, foreign ambassadors and diplomats, naval and maritime laws, disagreements between states or between citizens from different states, and disputes between a state or citizen and a foreign state or citizen.
- ◆ Clause 2 Original jurisdiction
 means the power of a court to hear
 a case when it first arises. The
 Supreme Court has original jurisdiction over only a few cases, such as
 those involving foreign diplomats.
 More often, the Supreme Court acts
 as an appellate court. An appellate
 court considers whether the trial
 judge made errors during the trial or
 incorrectly interpreted or applied the
 law in reaching a decision.





Checkpoint

How does the Constitution define treason?

Clause 2 ▶

The act of returning a suspected criminal or escaped prisoner to a state where he or she is wanted is called extradition. State governors must return a suspect to another state. However, the Supreme Court has ruled that a governor cannot be forced to do so if he or she feels that justice will not be done.

Clause 3 ▶

Persons held to service or labor refers to slaves or indentured servants. The Thirteenth Amendment replaces this clause.

Clause 1 ▶

Congress has the power to admit new states to the Union. Existing states cannot be split up or joined together to form new states unless both Congress and the state legislatures approve. New states are equal to all other states.

Section 3. Treason

- Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.
- The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article IV Relations Among the States

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. Privileges and Immunities of Citizens

- The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.
- 2. A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.
- 3. No Person held to Service or Labor in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from Service or Labor, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labor may be due.

Section 3. New States and Territories

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. Protection Afforded to the States by the Nation

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article V Provision for Amendments

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI National Debts, Supremacy of National Law, Oath

Section 1.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Section 2.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Commentary

■ Article V The Constitution can be amended, or changed, if necessary. An amendment can be proposed by (1) a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress or (2) a national convention called by Congress at the request of two thirds of the state legislatures. (This second method has never been used.) An amendment must be ratified, or approved, by (1) three fourths of the state legislatures or (2) special conventions in three fourths of the states. Congress decides which method will be used.

■ Section 2 The "supremacy clause" in this section establishes the Constitution, federal laws, and treaties that the Senate has ratified as the supreme, or highest, law of the land. Thus, they outweigh state laws. A state judge must overturn a state law that conflicts with the Constitution or with a federal law.



Article VII ▶

During 1787 and 1788, states held special conventions. By October 1788, the required nine states had ratified the United States Constitution.

✓ Checkpoint

What had to happen before the Constitution would go into effect?

Section 3.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Article VII Ratification of Constitution

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

Attest: William Jackson, SECRETARY
George Washington, PRESIDENT and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire

John Langdon Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham

Rufus King

Connecticut

William Samuel Johnson

Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

William Livingston

David Brearley William Paterson

Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania

Benjamin Franklin

Thomas Mifflin

Robert Morris

George Clymer

Thomas Fitzsimons

Jared Ingersoll

James Wilson

Gouverneur Morris

Delaware

George Read

Gunning Bedford, Jr.

John Dickinson

Richard Bassett

Jacob Broom

Maryland

James McHenry

Dan of St. Thomas Jenifer

Daniel Carroll

Virginia

John Blair

James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina

William Blount

Richard Dobbs Spaight

Hugh Williamson

South Carolina

John Rutledge

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney

Charles Pinckney

Pierce Butler

Georgia

.

William Few

Abraham Baldwin



AMENDMENTS

First Amendment Freedom of Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, and Petition

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Second Amendment Bearing Arms

A well-regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Third Amendment Quartering of Troops

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor, in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

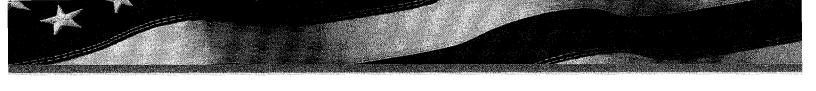
Commentary

The Amendments The Amendments are changes made to the Constitution, which has been amended 27 times since it was originally ratified in 1788. The first 10 amendments are referred to as the Bill of Rights.

◄ First Amendment The First
Amendment protects five basic
rights: freedom of religion, speech,
the press, assembly, and petition.
Congress cannot set up an established, or official, church or religion for the nation, nor can it forbid the practice of religion.

Congress may not <u>abridge</u>, or limit, the freedom to speak or write freely. The government may not censor, or review, books and newspapers before they are printed. This amendment also protects the right to assemble, or hold public meetings. <u>Petition</u> means ask. <u>Redress</u> means to correct. <u>Grievances</u> are wrongs. The people have the right to ask the government for wrongs to be corrected.

- ◆ Second Amendment Americans debate the exact meaning of the Second Amendment. Some believe that it guarantees the right of individuals to own firearms. Others argue that it guarantees the right of each state to maintain a militia.
- ◆ Third Amendment In colonial times, the British could quarter, or house, soldiers in private homes without permission of the owners. The Third Amendment prevents such abuses.



Fourth Amendment ▶

This amendment protects Americans from unreasonable searches and seizures. Search and seizure are permitted only if a judge issues a warrant, or written court order. A warrant is issued only if there is probable cause. This means an officer must show that it is probable, or likely, that the search will produce evidence of a crime.

Fifth Amendment ▶

This amendment protects the rights of the accused. <u>Capital crimes</u> are those that can be punished with death. <u>Infamous crimes</u> are those that can be punished with prison or loss of rights. The federal government must obtain an <u>indictment</u>, or formal accusation, from a <u>grand jury</u> to prosecute anyone for such crimes. A grand jury is a panel of between 12 and 23 citizens who decide if the government has enough evidence to justify a trial.

Double jeopardy is forbidden by this amendment. This means that a person cannot be tried twice for the same crime. However, if a court sets aside a conviction because of a legal error, the accused can be tried again. A person on trial cannot be forced to testify, or give evidence, against himself or herself. A person accused of a crime is entitled to due process of law, or a fair hearing or trial.

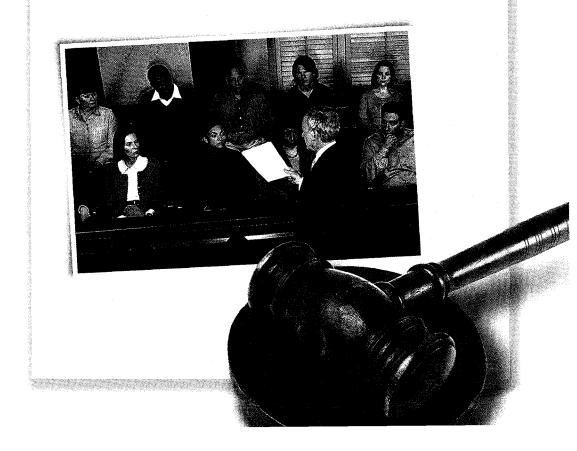
The government cannot seize private property for public use without paying the owner a fair price for it.

Fourth Amendment Searches and Seizures

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Fifth Amendment Criminal Proceedings; Due Process; Eminent Domain

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.



Sixth Amendment Criminal Proceedings

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Seventh Amendment Civil Trials

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Eighth Amendment Punishment for Crimes

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

Ninth Amendment Unenumerated Rights

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Tenth Amendment Powers Reserved to the States

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Commentary

- Sixth Amendment In criminal cases, the jury must be impartial, or not favor either side. The accused is guaranteed the right to a trial by jury. The trial must be speedy. The accused must be told the charges and be allowed to question all witnesses. The accused must be allowed a lawyer.
- Seventh Amendment Common law refers to rules of law established by judges in past cases. An appeals court can set aside a verdict only if legal errors make the trial unfair.
- ◆ Eighth Amendment Bail is money that the accused leaves with the court as a pledge to appear for trial. If the accused does not appear, the court keeps the money. This amendment prevents the court from imposing bail or fines that are excessive, or too high. The amendment also forbids cruel and unusual punishments, such as physical torture.
- ◆ Ninth Amendment The rights of the people are not limited to those listed in the Bill of Rights. In the Ninth Amendment, the government is prevented from claiming these are the only rights people have.
- ▼ Tenth Amendment Powers not given to the federal government belong to the states. Powers reserved to the states are not listed in the Constitution.



Eleventh Amendment ▶

A private citizen from one state cannot sue the government of another state in federal court. However, a citizen can sue a state government in a state court.

Tweifth Amendment ▶

This amendment changed the way the electoral college voted as outlined in Article II, Section 1, Clause 3. This amendment provides that each elector choose one candidate for President and one candidate for Vice President. If no candidate for President receives a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives chooses the President. If no candidate for Vice President receives a majority, the Senate elects the Vice President. The Vice President must be a person who is eligible to be President.

It is possible for a candidate to win the popular vote and lose the electoral college. This happened in 1888 and 2000.

Eleventh Amendment Suits Against States

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Twelfth Amendment Election of President and Vice President

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;— the person having the greatest Number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them. before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in case of death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.



Thirteenth Amendment Slavery and Involuntary Servitude

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Fourteenth Amendment Rights of Citizens

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Commentary

◄ Thirteenth Amendment

The Emancipation Proclamation (1863) freed slaves only in areas controlled by the Confederacy. This amendment freed all slaves. It also forbids involuntary servitude, or labor done against one's will. However, it does not prevent prison wardens from making prisoners work. Congress can pass laws to carry out this amendment.

■ Fourteenth Amendment,

Section 1 This amendment defines citizenship for the first time in the Constitution. It was intended to protect the rights of the freed slaves by guaranteeing all citizens "equal protection under the law."

■ Fourteenth Amendment,

Section 2 This section replaced the three-fifths clause. It provides that representation in the House of Representatives is decided on the basis of the number of people in the states. It also provides that states that deny the vote to male citizens aged 21 or over will be punished by losing part of their representation. This provision has never been enforced.

✓ Checkpoint

What is one key provision of the Fourteenth Amendment?



Fifteenth Amendment, ►
Section 1 This amendment gave
African Americans the right to vote.
In the late 1800s, however, southern
states used grandfather clauses, literacy tests, and poll taxes to keep
African Americans from voting.

Fifteenth Amendment, ►
Section 2 Congress can pass laws to carry out this amendment. The Twenty-fourth Amendment barred the use of poll taxes in national elections. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 gave federal officials the power to register voters where there was voting discrimination.

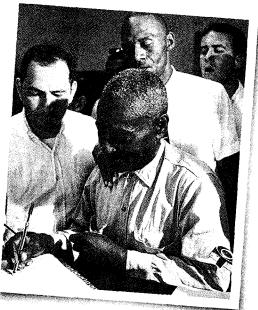
Sixteenth Amendment >

Congress has the power to collect taxes on people's income. An income tax can be collected without regard to a state's population. This amendment changed Article I, Section 9, Clause 4. Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Fifteenth Amendment Right to Vote—Race, Color, Servitude Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.



Sixteenth Amendment Income Tax

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.



Seventeenth Amendment Popular Election of Senators

Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Eighteenth Amendment Prohibition of Alcoholic Beverages
Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the
manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within,
the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the
United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof
for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years of the date of the submission hereof to the States by Congress.

Nineteenth Amendment Women's Suffrage

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Commentary

■ Seventeenth Amendment

This amendment replaced Article I,

Section 3, Clause 2. Before it was
adopted, state legislatures chose
senators. This amendment provides
that senators are elected directly
by the people of each state.

■ Eighteenth Amendment
This amendment, known as
Prohibition, banned the making,
selling, or transporting of alcoholic
beverages in the United States.
Later, the Twenty-first Amendment
repealed, or canceled, this amendment.

■ Nineteenth Amendment
Neither the federal government
nor state governments can deny
the right to vote on account of sex.



Twentieth Amendment, ►
Section 1 The date for the inauguration of the President was changed to January 20, and the date for Congress to begin its term changed to January 3. Prior to this amendment, the beginning-of-term date was set in March. The outgoing officials with little or no influence on matters were not effective in office. Being so inactive, they were called "lame ducks."

Twentieth Amendment, ►
Section 3 If the President-elect dies before taking office, the Vice
President-elect becomes President. If no President has been chosen by January 20 or if the elected candidate fails to qualify for office, the Vice President-elect acts as
President, but only until a qualified President is chosen. Finally, Congress has the power to choose a person to act as President if neither the President-elect nor the Vice
President-elect is qualified to take office.

Twenty-first Amendment, ► Section 1 The Eighteenth Amendment is repealed, making it legal to make and sell alcoholic beverages. Prohibition ended on December 5, 1933.

Twentieth Amendment Presidential Terms; Sessions of Congress

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Twenty-first Amendment Repeal of Prohibition

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.



Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Twenty-second Amendment Presidential Tenure

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President, when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Twenty-third Amendment Presidential Electors for The District of Columbia

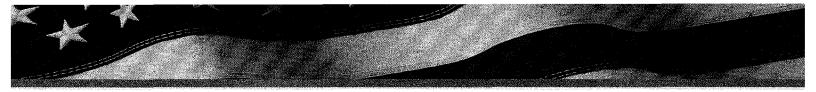
Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Commentary

- Twenty-second Amendment,
 Section 1 This amendment provides that no President may serve more than two terms. A President who has already served more than half of someone else's term can serve only one more full term.
 Before Franklin Roosevelt became President, no President served more than two terms in office.
 Roosevelt broke with this custom and was elected to four terms.
- ▼ Twenty-third Amendment, Section 1 This amendment gives the residents of Washington, D.C., the right to vote in presidential elections. Until this amendment was adopted, people living in Washington, D.C., could not vote for President because the Constitution had made no provision for choosing electors from the nation's capital. Washington, D.C., has three electoral votes.



Twenty-fourth Amendment, ► Section 1 A poll tax is a tax on voters. This amendment bans poll taxes in national elections. Some states used poll taxes to keep African Americans from voting. In 1966, the Supreme Court struck down poll taxes in state elections, also.

Twenty-fifth Amendment, ► Section 1 If the President dies or resigns, the Vice President becomes President. This section clarifies Article II, Section 1, Clause 6.

Twenty-fifth Amendment, ► Section 3 If the President declares in writing that he or she is unable to perform the duties of office, the Vice President serves as acting President until the President recovers.

Twenty-fifth Amendment, ► Section 4 Two Presidents, Woodrow Wilson and Dwight Eisenhower, fell gravely ill while in office. The Constitution contained no provision for this kind of emergency.

Twenty-fourth Amendment Right to Vote in Federal Elections

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Twenty-fifth Amendment Presidential Succession; Vice Presidential Vacancy; Presidential Inability

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.



Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Twenty-sixth Amendment Right to Vote—Age

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Twenty-seventh Amendment Congressional Pay

No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

Commentary

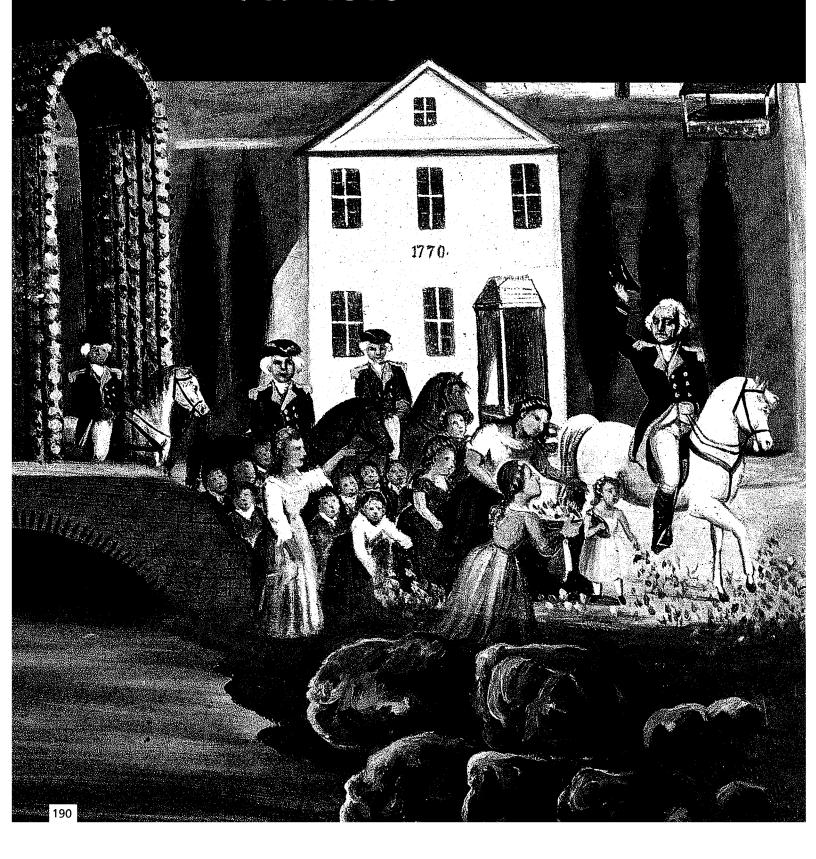
✓ Checkpoint

Why is the Twenty-fifth Amendment important?

- Twenty-sixth Amendment, Section 1 In 1970, Congress passed a law allowing 18-yearolds to vote. However, the Supreme Court decided that Congress could not set a minimum age for state elections.
- ▼ Twenty-seventh Amendment If members of Congress vote themselves a pay increase, it cannot go into effect until after the next congressional election. This amendment was proposed in 1789. In 1992, Michigan became the thirty-eighth state to ratify it.

CHAPTER

The New Republic 1789–1816







The First American President

On April 14, 1789, a horse and rider arrived at George Washington's home in Virginia, bearing a letter telling Washington that he had been unanimously elected President of the new United States. Washington spent eight days traveling to the capital at New York. So many people crowded the roads to see and applaud him that he said he could barely see through the dust they kicked up. Abigail Adams—the wife of John Adams, who would become Vice President—spoke for the nation when she described Washington as "polite with dignity . . . modest, wise, and good."

 Girls bearing flowers in Trenton, New Jersey, sing the song "Strew Your Hero's Way With Flowers" as Washington rides past on the way to his inauguration.



1789 button from Washington's inauguration



NY) Core Curriculum Preview

Chapter Focus Question: How did the United States build a government, expand its territory, and conduct foreign policy in its early years?

Section 1

Government and Party Politics 2.I.F.1, 2.I.F.3b

Section 2

The Struggle Over Foreign Policy 2.1.A.2a, 2.1.F.3b

Section 3

The Age of Jefferson 2.1.F.4b, 2.1.F.4c, 2.11.A.3, 2.II.C.1

Section 4

The War of 1812 2.I.F.4c, 2.I.F.4d

Use the **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



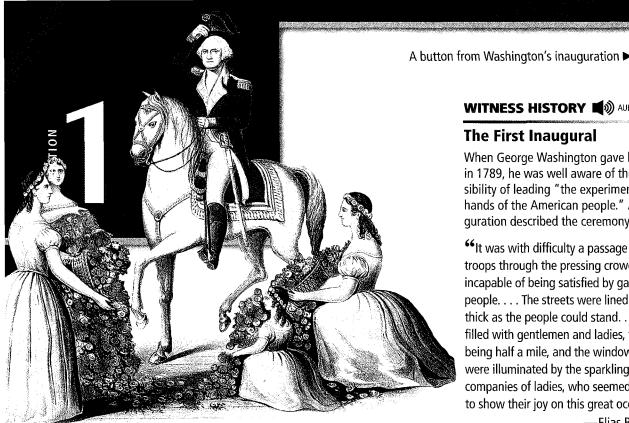
The 1795 Treaty of Greenville signed between **Native Americans and the United States**



Thomas Jefferson's writing desk

Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector Web Code: nce-0601



▲ Women pay respect to the new President.

WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO

The First Inaugural

When George Washington gave his Inaugural Address in 1789, he was well aware of the extraordinary responsibility of leading "the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people." An official at the inauguration described the ceremony in a letter to his wife:

66 It was with difficulty a passage could be made by the troops through the pressing crowds, who seemed to be incapable of being satisfied by gazing at this man of the people. . . . The streets were lined with the inhabitants as thick as the people could stand. . . . The houses were filled with gentlemen and ladies, the whole distance being half a mile, and the windows to the highest stories were illuminated by the sparkling eyes of innumberable companies of ladies, who seemed to vie with each other to show their joy on this great occasion."

-Elias Boudinot, April 30, 1789

Government and Party Politics



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **2.I.F.1** Implementing the new constitutional principles: Creating domestic stability through sound financial policies: Hamilton's financial plans
- **2.I.F.3b** Suppressing dissent (the Whiskey Rebellion)

Terms and People

administration precedent Cabinet tariff loose construction

strict construction Whiskey Rebellion political party Democratic Republican

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize Summarize information about the early American government in an outline like the one below.

- I. Building the Federal Government A. Electing Washington as President **B. Forming the Cabinet**
- C. Setting up the Judiciary

Why It Matters In 1789, the leaders of the new federal government of the United States gathered in New York City. Besides ideals, they had very little to guide them. The newly ratified Constitution was clear on some points but vague on others. It was also entirely untested. Those who had written the Constitution, along with the new President, George Washington, knew full well that a good start would secure the daring experiment in republican union. But early mistakes could doom it. Section Focus Question: How did debate over the role of government lead to the formation of political parties?

Building the Federal Government

The new government started out with huge problems. It had inherited a national debt of \$52 million from the Confederation—a huge burden for a nation with a farm economy and only about 3 million people. With no navy and an army of only around 400 men, the United States was not respected by other countries. At New Orleans, the Spanish closed the Mississippi River to American trade. Along the Great Lakes, the British kept forts within American territory.

Electing a President Fortunately, the new government enjoyed extraordinary leaders. In 1789, the new electoral college unanimously elected George Washington as President of the United States. As a revolutionary leader, Washington enjoyed widespread respect and popularity. Yet he took the difficult job reluctantly.

Primary Source ⁶⁶About ten o'clock I bade farewell to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York."

—George Washington, April 16, 1789

Massachusetts patriot John Adams was elected Vice President. Washington's administration, or the officials in the executive branch of government, began with just himself, Adams, and about a dozen clerks. Besides the newly elected Congress, there were few other federal officers. There were also few set rules to guide the administration. Quickly after taking office, Washington began setting important **precedents**, or acts or statements that become traditions to be followed.

Setting Up the Judiciary The Constitution called for one Supreme Court and several smaller ones, but intentionally left to Congress the details of organizing a federal court system. Madison, who had been elected to the House of Representatives in the first Congress, helped to pass the Judiciary Act of 1789. This act established a judiciary, or a system of courts. The U.S. judiciary was made up of thirteen federal district courts, one for each state. Three circuit courts would hear appeals from the state courts and a six-member Supreme Court would decide contested cases. The Supreme Court also served as a trial court in certain cases involving states or foreign affairs. The act also established the office of Attorney General to prosecute and defend cases on behalf of the federal government. Washington appointed John Jay as the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Setting Up the Cabinet One of Washington's most important precedents was the formation of a Cabinet, or the group of federal leaders who headed the major departments of the executive branch and advised the President. The first four executive departments were the departments of State, Treasury, and War, and the Attorney General. The State Department, led by Thomas Jefferson, conducted foreign policy. The War Department supervised national defense. The Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, managed the nation's finances. Nominated by the President, the Cabinet members were approved by the Senate. In 1907, the Cabinet was officially recognized by law.

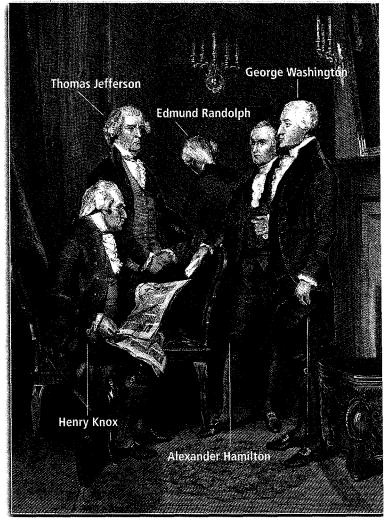
Checkpoint Why was setting up the Cabinet an important precedent?

Hamilton's Plans Stir Debate

Hamilton was tasked with paying off the young nation's immense debts and setting it on a course of economic security. An ardent Federalist, he believed that a strong, centralized government was necessary to preserve the Union. As he developed his plans, Hamilton faced fierce and vocal opposition from Antifederalists, who feared that a strong national government would threaten states' rights and people's freedoms. Their struggles and debates made clear that two very different views of government were solidifying in the new nation.

The First Cabinet

An engraving from the 1800s shows the first Cabinet. Henry Knox was the Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph was the Attorney General.





Stabilizing the Economy

Though Jefferson and Madison fiercely opposed Hamilton's plans. Congress eventually adopted them. The first bank of the United States, founded in 1791, stands in Philadelphia. The check above was drawn from the bank in 1794. What did Hamilton plan to do about states' debts?

Handling the National Debt Hamilton despised the nation's agricultural economy as backward. He wanted to quickly develop a commercial and industrial economy that could support a large federal government along with a strong army and navy. He saw the national debt of \$52 million and the additional \$25 million in debts owed by the individual states as assets. Rather than pay down those debts using cash reserves, he meant to fund them by selling govern-

ment bonds, which would pay annual interest to the holders. Such bonds delighted investors, who welcomed an opportunity to reap annual profits.

To pay the annual interest on the bonds, Hamilton proposed new excise taxes and high tariffs, or taxes on imported goods, to raise revenue for the federal government and protect struggling American manufacturers from foreign competition. He also asked Congress to charter a Bank of the United States that could regulate state banks, strengthen the national government, and ensure that business interests were closely aligned with those of the government.

Hamilton's Strategy Hamilton saw three great benefits from his system. First, it would establish the nation's financial credibility, making it easier to borrow money in the future. Second, it would buy political support from the wealthiest Americans, which Hamilton believed was essential for the government's stability. Third, it would enrich investors, who could then build new ships, wharves, storehouses, and factories. In other words, his plan would promote the accumulation of capital needed for commercial and industrial growth.

Hamilton's program was intended to redistribute wealth in two ways: from farmers to merchants and from the South to the North. About eighty percent of the nation's debt was owed to merchants in the seaport cities of the Northeast. During the 1780s, they had bought up notes issued by the Congress or by the states. Those notes had lost most of their value but the merchants had bought them anyway as an investment. Because they paid only a fraction of the original value of the notes, and because Hamilton proposed paying them at full value, the merchants would profit under Hamilton's plan. But to pay those debts, the federal government would tax the American people, who were mainly farmers.

✓ Checkpoint Why did Hamilton want to add to the national debt?

Opposing Hamilton

The southern states, which were overwhelmingly agricultural, had done a better job of paying their own debts. Why, southerners wondered, should they pay federal taxes to bail out the northern states? And why should their tax dollars flow into the pockets of creditors in the Northeast? Opposition to Hamilton's plans grew steadily in the South.

Interpreting the Constitution To justify his ambitious program, Hamilton interpreted the Constitution broadly, relying on its "implied powers" and its clause empowering Congress to enact laws for the "general welfare." His broad interpretation, or loose construction, appalled his critics, including Jefferson and Madison. They favored a strict construction, or limiting the federal government to powers explicitly granted by the Constitution. They opposed Hamilton's plans for assuming state debts. Fearing that a national bank would benefit the North at the expense of the South, they also argued that the Constitution did not authorize Congress to charter one.

Compromise Over a National Capital As Americans aligned themselves either with Hamilton or with Madison and Jefferson, debate heated up. Jefferson declared that Hamilton's system "flowed from principles adverse to liberty and . . . calculated to undermine and demolish the republic." Jefferson and Madison insisted that Hamilton was betraying the American Revolution to establish a "kingly government." They pointed to Great Britain, where factories made owners wealthy but kept most of the workers in poverty. Fearing that industrial development led to greater inequality, they concluded that America needed to keep a farm economy in order to sustain the Republic.

In 1791, by a narrow vote, Congress approved full funding of the federal debt, the implementation of new excise taxes, and the creation of a national bank. But in order to get southerners to agree to the assumption of state debts, Hamilton promised that in ten years the national capital would move southward to the banks of the Potomac River, between Maryland and Virginia. To honor the first President, who was reelected in 1792, the new capital became known as Washington, District of Columbia.

The Whiskey Rebellion In western Pennsylvania, mountains made it difficult to transport bulky bushels of grain to eastern markets. So people distilled their grain into whiskey, which was more compact and of higher value. Rural farmers hated the excise tax on whiskey, which reminded them of the British taxes that had led to the Revolution. In 1794, farmers resisted the tax by intimidating and attacking tax collectors.

Hamilton welcomed the opportunity to demonstrate the new power of the nation by suppressing the Whiskey Rebellion. Washington agreed, observing, "We had given no testimony to the world of being able or willing to support our government and laws." Under Hamilton's command, 12,000 militiamen marched west into the troubled region. The rebellion quickly dissolved. Rather than resist

such overwhelming force, most rebels stayed home or ran away. Hamilton arrested twenty suspects, but only two were convicted. Jefferson mocked that "an insurrection was announced and proclaimed and armed against, but could never be found."

✓ **Checkpoint** On what grounds did some people oppose Hamilton's plans?



Analyzing Political Cartoons

The Whiskey Rebellion A cartoon published in 1794 added to the intense debate over the Whiskey Rebellion.

- 1. Which figures in the cartoon are rebels? Which represent the government?
- 2. Does the cartoonist side with the government or the rebels? How can you tell?

A Two-Party System Emerges

The Whiskey Rebellion highlighted the growing division in American politics. The federal government, headed by Washington and Hamilton, sought to secure its power and authority. Meanwhile the opposition, led by Madison and Jefferson, grew stronger.

Debating the Whiskey Rebellion The Whiskey Rebellion, and its outcome, fueled disagreement. The Federalists blamed the rebellion in part on a set of political clubs known as the Democratic Societies. The clubs had formed to oppose the Federalists. Although these clubs were small and scattered, Washington



f With the ink barely dry on the Constitution, distinct political parties were already forming in the United States. The intense debate over ideas that had surrounded the writing of the Constitution shaped the rise of the Federalist and Democratic Republican parties in the new nation.

Democratic Republicans

- Wanted to base economy
- Supported a strict construction of the Constitution
- differences between the Federalists and
- 2. Draw Inferences Though George Washington supported most Federalist beliefs, he refused to declare himself a Federalist. Why do you think this was so?

denounced them as "the most diabolical attempt to destroy the best fabric of human government and happiness." Jefferson and Madison defended the societies, fearing that aristocracy would triumph if leaders were immune from constant public scrutiny and criticism. They were alarmed that the Federalists had sent so many troops to suppress popular dissent in western Pennsylvania. As debate over the rebellion continued, the two sides gradually emerged as distinct political groups.

Political Parties Compete for Power The authors of the Constitution wanted to avoid organized political parties, or groups of people who seek to win elections and hold public office in order to shape government policy. They deemed these groups to be "factions" that threatened the unity of a republic. Despite these intentions, politicians decided to form two parties: the Federalists, led by Hamilton and John Adams, and the Democratic Republicans, led by Jefferson and Madison.

Northerners, especially merchants, tended to favor the Federalists. In contrast, southerners, especially farmers, voted mainly for the Democratic Republicans. Still, Federalists and Democratic Republicans could be found in every social class, in every type of community, in every region, and in every state. Political elections were closely contested most of the time.

The first two Presidents and most of the governors, state legislators, and congressmen were Federalists. Their electoral success indicates that many common voters shared Federalist values. Voters credited the Federalists with the new Constitution and with the nation's increased prosperity and stability during the 1790s.

But many common people continued to support the Democratic Republicans. They worried that the Federalists would concentrate wealth and power in the hands of the elite. Many voters also believed that the Democratic Republican Party offered more social mobility.

✓ Checkpoint Who were the leaders of the two emerging political parties?

Vocabulary Builder

suppress-(suh PREHS) v. to put an end to with force

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0611

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each term below, explain its impact on early American government.
 - administration
 - precedent
 - Cabinet
 - tariff
 - loose construction
 - strict construction
 - Whiskey Rebellion
 - political party
 - Democratic Republican

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

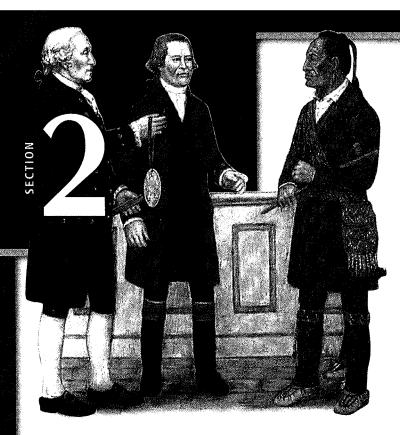
Summarize Use your completed outline to answer the Section Focus Ouestion: How did debate over the role of government lead to the formation of political parties?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Frame Research **Ouestions** Choose an event from this section. Write two or three questions to generate ideas for a research paper. For example, if you choose the Whiskey Rebellion, you could ask, "Why was it in some people's interest to call this event a rebellion?"

Critical Thinking

- 4. Predict Consequences Would the federal government have survived if the first President had not had widespread respect? Explain.
- 5. Analyze Information Why did Hamilton believe that wealthy Americans were necessary to secure the nation's economic future?
- 6. Recognize Ideologies How did Americans structure their debates about the economy in terms of interpreting the Constitution?
- 7. Draw Conclusions Is it possible to govern a democracy without political parties? Explain.



WITNESS HISTORY (a) AUDIO



A Great Orator Speaks

In 1792, government officials met with Native Americans in Philadelphia to discuss treaty issues and continuing skirmishes between settlers and Indians in the Northwest. In response to a plea from President Washington for peace, a famous Seneca orator replied,

When you Americans and the king made peace [in 1783], he did not mention us, and showed us no compassion, notwithstanding all he said to us, and all we had suffered . . . he never asked us for a delegation to attend our interests. Had he done this, a settlement of peace among all the western nations might have been effected. **

-Red Jacket, 1792

▲ Washington presents Red Jacket with a peace medal (above right) at the 1792 meeting.

The Struggle Over Foreign Policy



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.1.A.2a Native American Indians (relations between colonists and Native American Indians, trade, alliances, forced labor, warfare)
- 2.1.F.3b Suppressing dissent (the Alien and Sedition Acts)

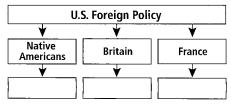
Terms and People

Little Turtle Battle of Fallen Timbers French Revolution John Jay XYZ Affair

Alien and Sedition Acts Virginia and Kentucky resolutions Aaron Burr

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Supporting **Details** Record details about early U.S. foreign policies in a chart like this one.



Why It Matters In addition to building a government, making peace with Native Americans, and maintaining control over expanded borders, the young United States had to establish itself in the international community during a volatile time. By 1793, Britain and France had resumed war, and both threatened efforts by the United States to stay neutral. Debate over America's response to a war and to a revolution in France affected the nation's foreign policy as well as its domestic structure. Section Focus Question: How did foreign policy challenges affect political debate and shape American government?

Conflict in the Ohio Valley

Although the United States had gained a vast new territory west of the Appalachians from the Treaty of Paris, the British kept their forts on the American side of the Great Lakes. Hoping to limit American settlement in the Northwest Territory, the British provided arms and ammunition to the Miami Indians and their allies, who were actively resisting American expansion into their lands. In 1790, Native Americans led by the war chief Little Turtle defeated a small force sent by President Washington to stop attacks against settlers. In 1791 in the Ohio Valley, British guns helped a confederacy of many Indian nations, again led by Little Turtle, to crush a larger American force commanded by General Arthur St. Clair.

But the tide turned in August 1794 when federal troops led by General Anthony Wayne defeated the Native American confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, named for the fallen trees that covered the battle site. Wayne's decisive victory forced the Native Americans to accept his peace terms. In the Treaty of Greenville, Native American leaders ceded most of the present state of Ohio to the U.S. government. This also opened the Northwest Territory to settlement.

Checkpoint Why was the Battle of Fallen Timbers significant?

American Relations With Europe

While the British were helping Native Americans take a stand against the United States, the young nation struggled to chart a sure course in the area of foreign policy.

Responding to the French Revolution In 1789, Americans welcomed news of the French Revolution, a republican uprising in France. Grateful for French help during the American Revolution, Americans now saw the French as fellow republicans in a hostile world of aristocrats and kings. In 1793, however, leaders of the French Revolution began executing thousands of opponents, including the French king and his family. They also declared war on the monarchies of Europe, including Great Britain.

In response, Americans divided along party lines. The Democratic Republicans regretted the executions but still preferred the French Republic to its monarchical foes. Jefferson regarded the French Revolution as "the most sacred cause that ever man was engaged in." But the Federalists decided that the French revolutionaries were bloody anarchists out to destroy religion and social order. They suspected that the Democratic Republicans meant to do the same.

Proclaiming Neutrality By 1793, Britain and France were at war. Both American political parties agreed that the United States was too weak to get tangled in the war and too dependent on trade with Britain, which provided nearly 90 percent of American imports. That trade generated most of the federal revenue, which came primarily from tariffs and only secondarily from excise taxes.

Battle of Fallen Timbers

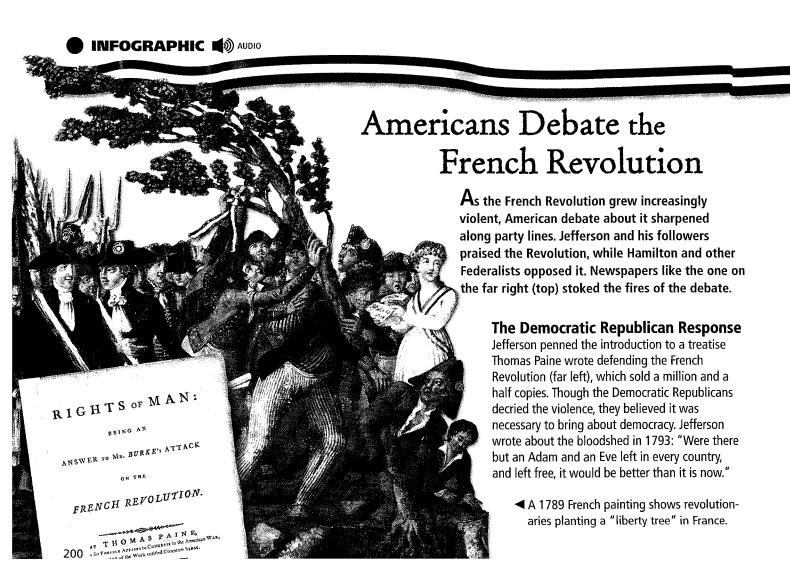
An engraving from the mid-1800s shows the 1794 battle that weakened Native American resistance. General Anthony Wayne, commander in chief of the United States Army, is shown below and on horse.



If the United States entered the conflict, it could bankrupt the federal government. In 1793, President Washington, therefore, issued a proclamation of American neutrality, which became a foundation of American policy toward Europe until the twentieth century. The powerful British navy tested that neutrality by seizing American ships trading with the French colonies in the West Indies. Those seizures added to American outrage at the British policy along the new nation's western frontier.

Signing Treaties With Britain and Spain To avoid war with Britain, Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to London to negotiate a compromise with the British. In the Jay Treaty of 1794, the British gave up their forts on American soil, but they kept most of their restrictions on American ships. The treaty also required Americans to repay prewar debts to the British. Washington and the Federalists favored this compromise, but the Democratic Republicans denounced the Jay Treaty as a sellout. After a heated debate, the Senate narrowly ratified the treaty, keeping the peace.

In 1795, the United States also signed a treaty with Spain. American settlers needed to move their goods down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, where they could be shipped to markets in the East. But, Spain controlled the Mississippi River and New Orleans. To ensure a free flow of trade, an American diplomat, Thomas Pinckney, negotiated a favorable treaty with the Spanish, who feared that an Anglo-American alliance might threaten their American possessions. Pinckney's Treaty guaranteed Americans free shipping rights on



the Mississippi River and access to New Orleans. The treaty also established the northern boundary of Spanish Florida.

The removal of British forts, victories over Native Americans, and secure access to New Orleans encouraged thousands of Americans to move westward. By 1800, nearly 400,000 Americans lived beyond the Appalachian Mountains. By selling land to these settlers, the federal government gained revenue that helped to pay off the national debt.

Washington's Farewell In 1792, Washington had won reelection without opposition, but he declined to run again in 1796. In ailing health, he longed to escape the political turmoil by returning to his beloved plantation, Mount Vernon. He also recognized that the young nation needed him to set an example by walking away from power, proving that he was no king. His voluntary retirement after two terms set a precedent honored by all Presidents until the 1940s.

Washington retired with a record of astounding achievements. On the frontier, the Indians had been defeated, the western lands opened to settlement, and the Whiskey rebels suppressed. He had kept the nation out of the war in Europe. A booming foreign trade boosted tariffs, which funded the government and the national debt. Many historians have concluded that without Washington's skillful leadership, the nation may not have survived the harsh tests of the early 1790s. In a farewell address, Washington offered sound political advice for his successors, calling on them to temper their political strife in favor of national unity and to avoid "entangling alliances" that might lead to overseas wars.

Checkpoint What treaties were signed during Washington's presidency?

The Federalist Response While the Federalists sympathized with the French drive for democracy, they distrusted the common people who were bringing it about. Adams wrote THE PROVIDENT that public affairs should be left to "the rich, the VAL DETECTIO well-born and the able." In cartoons like the one above on the right, Federalists attacked Jefferson for worshipping the French and destroying the American Constitution. Thinking Critically 1. Identify Point of View What do each of the paintings suggest about their authors' viewpoints toward the French Revolution? 2. Recognize Ideologies What did the parties' response to the Revolution reveal about their basic ideas regarding political power and government?

Revolution in France.

FRANCE, June 21.

of her RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, every

thing is again thrown into confusion. On Friday the National Assembly (that

led

T the moment when France thought herfelf happy in her establishment

nart of the States, late cal-

voted the pro

The Parties Debate Foreign Policy

The Federalist candidate, John Adams, narrowly defeated Thomas Jefferson in the 1796 presidential election. The nation voted along regional lines, with Jefferson winning most of the southern electoral votes and Adams carrying almost all of the northern states. Due to an awkward feature of the Constitution, Jefferson, as the second place finisher, became Adams's Vice President.

Adams Confronts Crisis With France Although honest and dedicated, Adams could also be stubborn and pompous. Lacking tact, he made few friends and many enemies. Those foes included Hamilton, who had retired from public office but who tried to control the Federalist Party and the national government from behind the scenes. His meddling weakened the Adams administration.

A French crisis briefly <u>unified</u> the nation. The Jay Treaty of 1794 had offended the French as a betrayal of their 1778 treaty of alliance with the United States. To show their irritation, in 1796 the French began seizing American merchant ships. Adams sent envoys to Paris to negotiate peace. But three French officials—known in code as X, Y, and Z—demanded humiliating terms, including \$250,000 in bribes. Adams broke off negotiations. Called the **XYZ Affair**, the insult roused public sentiment against France. In 1798, the Federalist majority in Congress expanded the army and authorized a small navy, which won some surprising victories over French warships. To pay for the expanded military, Congress imposed unpopular taxes on stamps and land.

The Alien and Sedition Acts The Federalists exploited the war fever by passing the controversial **Alien and Sedition Acts** in 1798. The Alien Act authorized the President to arrest and deport immigrants who criticized the federal

government. Because most immigrants supported the Democratic Republicans, the Federalists made it difficult for them to become citizens. The Sedition Act made it a crime for citizens to publicly discredit the federal government. Arguing that criticism undermined trust in the government, the Federalists used this act to silence Democratic Republican opposition.

The Sedition Act did allow juries to accust defendants who could prove the literature.

The Sedition Act did allow juries to acquit defendants who could prove the literal truth of their statements. But that still put the burden of proof on the defendants, reversing the tradition of presuming someone innocent until proven guilty. In the end, the federal government convicted ten men of sedition, including those in Massachusetts who erected a liberty pole comparing the Federalists to the Loyalists who had supported the British king.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions In two Democratic Republican states, the state legislatures passed controversial resolves in response to the acts. Written by Jefferson and Madison in 1798 and 1799, the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions

Vocabulary Builder unify-(YOO nuh fi) v. to bring together; to make into one unit



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Fighting Over the Sedition Act A 1798 cartoon shows a fight that broke out in Congress between Federalist Roger Griswold (with cane) and Democratic Republican Matthew Lyon (with tongs). Lyon, the first person tried and jailed under the Sedition Act, was considered a Democratic Republican hero and won reelection while in his jail cell. What is the cartoonist's view of Congress during the Adams administration? How can you tell?

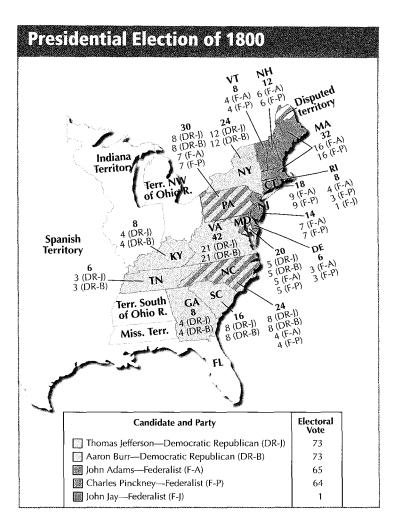
declared the Sedition Act unconstitutional. The resolves even hinted that states had the power to nullify federal laws that were unconstitutional. Though this doctrine of nullification threatened to dissolve the union, no other state legislatures adopted it. Instead, the presidential election of 1800 would decide the balance of federal power and states' rights.

Checkpoint What was the XYZ Affair?

The Election of 1800

By 1800, the Sedition Act and the new federal taxes had become very unpopular. Sensing that trend, in 1799 Adams had suspended expansion of the army and sent new diplomats to France to seek peace. Those moves angered many Federalists, including Hamilton, who worked to undermine Adams's reelection. Adams lost the heated election to Jefferson.

Jefferson and his running mate, Aaron Burr, tied. The voters had meant for Jefferson to become President and Burr to become Vice President. But because the Constitution did not then allow a distinction between electoral votes, the House of Representatives had to decide between the two. Hamilton preferred Jefferson, so in early 1801 the Federalist congressmen allowed Jefferson to become President. This peaceful transfer of power from one party to another set a valuable precedent. To avoid



another electoral crisis, in 1804 the Constitution was amended to require electors to vote separately for President and Vice President. Offended by Hamilton's criticism, Burr killed him in a duel in 1804.

Checkpoint Compare the election of 1796 to the election of 1800.

SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1621

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People What is the relationship between each of the following terms or people and American foreign policy during the 1790s?
 - Little Turtle
 - Battle of Fallen Timbers
 - French Revolution
 - John Jay
 - XYZ Affair
 - Alien and Sedition Acts

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: **Identify Supporting Details** Use your completed chart to answer the Section Focus Question: How did foreign policy challenges affect political debate and shape American government?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Narrow Your Topic Choose a topic from this section to research. Then, narrow it down by creating a concept web. Choose one of the outer circles as a manageable topic for a research paper.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Identify Central Issues Why did the British support Native American resistance to westward expansion in the United States?
- 5. Recognize Ideologies How did American debates about foreign policy in the 1790s reflect the beliefs of the political parties?
- 6. Draw Inferences Does having a President and Vice President from different parties help or hinder government? Explain.

Primary Source

Washington asked Hamilton to revise his farewell address; Hamilton's version appears to the right. ▶

George Washington: Farewell Address

In 1796, Washington decided not to run for reelection. On September 19, his Farewell Address ran in a Philadelphia newspaper. In the address Washington thanked the nation and gave his reasons for leaving office after two terms. He also offered advice to those who would come after him, based on his experience and observations. He discussed regional differences, foreign policy, and political parties with amazing foresight.

L et me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful¹ effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy. . . .

It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments³ occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another. . . .

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions. . . .

The jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial.⁴ . . .

- 1. baneful (BAYN fuhl) adj. harmful; destructive.
- 2. rankness (RANGK nehs) n. state of being excessive and unpleasant.
- 3. foments (foh MEHNTS) v. stirs up.
- 4. impartial (ihm PAHR shuhl) adj. fair; not favoring one side.

To all those disproplions which prom George Washington, as painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1796

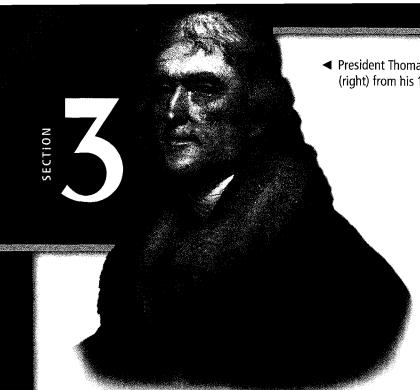
Thinking Critically

- 1. Synthesize Information What does Washington say are the many "baneful effects" of political parties?
- **2. Draw Inferences** What event was Washington thinking of when he warned about "foreign influence"?

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8

11



■ President Thomas Jefferson, with a banner (right) from his 1800 presidential campaign



WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO



Jefferson Calls for Free Speech

In 1801, Thomas Jefferson became the nation's third President. He emphasized that the federal government should respect public opinion and should allow public criticism—implying that the previous Federalist administration had fallen short on those scores. In an eloquent Inaugural Address, Jefferson insisted that the Republic needed free speech and constant debate.

⁶⁶If there be any among us who wish to dissolve the union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

—Thomas Jefferson, Inaugural Address, 1801

The Age of Jefferson

Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.I.F.4b A new nation in a world at war
- 2.1.F.4c Economic pressures as a tool of diplomacy
- 2.II.A.3 The Marshall Court
- 2.II.C.1 The Louisiana Purchase

Terms and People

bureaucracy John Marshall judicial review Marbury v. Madison Louisiana Purchase

Lewis and Clark Expedition Barbary War impressment embargo

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Record main ideas about Jefferson's presidency in a concept web like the one below.



Why It Matters In addition to capturing the presidency in 1800, the Democratic Republicans won control of Congress and most of the state governments. The Federalists would never reclaim national power. Besides taking government in a new direction, the Jefferson administration left a profound legacy with its acquisition of new territory. Section Focus Question: What were the successes and failures of the Jefferson administrations?

Pursuing Republican Principles

When the Democratic Republicans took power, they spoke of the election as a "revolution." Jefferson insisted that "the Revolution of 1800 was as real a Revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form." In that view, those in the Jefferson administration set out to do things quite differently from their predecessors, who had copied the style of the British monarchy.

New Government Policies Jefferson encouraged Congress to abandon the Alien and Sedition Acts, as well as the hated taxes on stamps, land, and alcoholic spirits. Unlike Hamilton, Jefferson wanted to retire the national debt by paying it down. Despite reducing taxes, he cut the national debt from \$80 million when he took office to \$57 million in 1809. To do this he made major cuts to the army and navy and streamlined the government's bureaucracy, or the departments and workers that make up the government. He also benefited when customs revenue from imports increased with a dramatic growth in foreign trade. In addition, the westward movement of American farm families increased the sale of federal lands. These two revenues drove down the federal debt.

A Change in Style The Federalists believed that expensive displays taught the public to respect their leaders. Without that respect, they did not think that the government could survive. But, the Democratic Republicans hated the Federalist displays of wealth as an aristocratic threat to the republic. Although Jefferson was a very wealthy, refined, and educated gentleman, he recognized the popularity of a common style. A friend described Jefferson in this way:

Primary Source ⁶⁶If his dress was plain, unstudied, and sometimes oldfashioned in its form, it was always of the finest materials . . . and if in his manners he was simple, affable, and unceremonious, it was not because he was ignorant of but because he despised the conventional and artificial usages of courts and fashionable life."

—Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, c. 1801

Checkpoint Why was Jefferson's election considered a "republican revolution"?

John Marshall's Supreme Court

When Thomas Jefferson became President in 1801, John Marshall became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Although the two men were cousins, they were political enemies. Marshall was a Federalist, a last-minute appointee by the outgoing President, John Adams. Marshall's appointment had a major impact on the Supreme Court and on its relationship with the rest of the federal government. Over 35 years, he participated in more than 1,000 court decisions, writing over half of them—more than any other Supreme Court Justice in U.S. history.

Marshall's Four-Part Legacy Marshall applied four of Hamilton's principles to interpret the Constitution. First, his Supreme Court claimed the power to review the acts of Congress and of the President to determine if they were constitutional. This power is known as judicial review. Second, he insisted that federal laws were superior to state laws. Third, like Hamilton, Marshall broadly interpreted the Constitution to find implied powers for the national government. Fourth, he insisted upon the "sanctity of contracts." This limited the power of state governments to interfere with business.

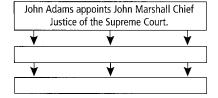
Marbury v. Madison In 1803, Marshall first asserted the power of judicial review in the case of Marbury v. Madison. In early 1801, outgoing President John Adams had appointed William Marbury, a Federalist, a justice for the District of Columbia. The incoming Secretary of State, James Madison, refused to deliver the official papers of appointment. When Marbury complained to the Supreme Court, Marshall ruled in favor of Madison by declaring unconstitutional part of the Judiciary Act of 1789.

This ruling was a stroke of genius. Marshall gave the Democratic Republicans what they wanted by denying Marbury his appointment. But in doing so, Marshall claimed a sweeping power for the Supreme Court that the Democratic Republicans did not want that Court to have. After all, the Constitution was silent on what institution should judge the constitutionality of congressional actions. In the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, Jefferson and Madison had claimed that power for the state legislatures. Because of Marshall, today we accept that the Supreme Court will review the constitutionality of federal laws.

Establishing Important Precedents After establishing the precedent of judicial review, Marshall never again ruled a federal law unconstitutional. Instead, most of his decisions overruled state laws, usually to defend businesses and interstate commerce from state interference, or strengthened judicial review.

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize **Sequence** As you read, trace events that led to the recognition that the Supreme Court would have the power to review federal laws.



Landmark Decisions of the Supreme Court

How Can the Supreme Court Declare Laws to Be Unconstitutional?

2.II.A.3

The Constitution grants each branch of government certain powers. To prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful, a system of checks and balances is part of this framework. While the Constitution specifies balancing powers for the executive and legislative branches, it says little about the judicial branch. One challenge facing the young government was to decide how the judiciary could balance the powers of the President and the legislature.

The Issue

▼ Chief Justice John Marshall, painted in 1840

Marbury v. Madison (1803)

William Marbury asked the Supreme Court to grant him a job as a federal judge, which had been promised to him by the Adams administration but denied by the incoming Jefferson administration. He also sued Secretary of State James Madison.

Marbury argued that the Judiciary Act of 1789, gave the Supreme Court the power to make a government official perform a certain duty.

The Decision The Court ruled that in passing the 1789 law, Congress had exceeded the powers granted by the Constitution. Since the law was unconstitutional, the Supreme Court could not order Madison to grant Marbury his commission.

Why It Matters

The Facts

Marbury v. Madison established the power of judicial review, ensuring that the Supreme Court had the final authority to interpret the meaning of the Constitution. In his majority opinion, Marshall wrote:

"It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each."

Marbury v. *Madison* established the judiciary branch as an equal partner in government. Since 1803, the Supreme Court and other courts have used judicial review in thousands of cases.



Connect to Your World

Supreme Court Justices serve lifetime terms and are responsible for interpreting the Constitution. When one of the nine seats of the Supreme Court must be filled, the President nominates a replacement. Then, Congress must approve the President's nomination with a vote. In this way, both the executive and legislative branches can check and balance the power of the judiciary.

Who are the judges that can declare laws to be unconstitutional in today's Supreme Court? Research the Court's current makeup. Create a Supreme Court profile, indicating which Justices were appointed by Democratic Presidents, which by Republican Presidents, and whether they can be described as strict or loose constructionists.

For: Supreme Court cases Web Code: nce-0631

■ Current Chief Justice John Roberts

These decisions set precedents critical to the development of the new nation's legal and economic systems. Like Hamilton, Marshall interpreted the Constitution broadly to find the implied powers needed for a strong national government.

✓ Checkpoint Why was Marbury v. Madison so important?

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

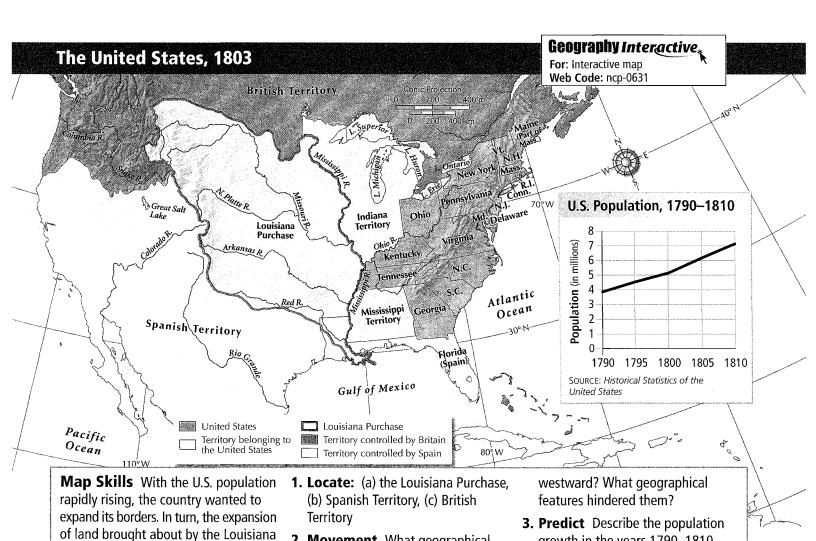
Watch The Lewis and Clark **Expedition** on the United States Witness History DVD to explore how this historic trip affected Jefferson and the country.



The Nation Expands

Jefferson insisted that farm ownership—which freed citizens from dependence on a landlord or on an employer—was essential to the freedom of white Americans. Yet without expansion there would not be enough farms for the rapidly growing population. With the population doubling every 25 years, the nation needed twice as much land every generation to maintain farm ownership.

Eyeing the Louisiana Territory To get more land, Jefferson wanted the United States to expand to the Pacific—despite the fact that much of the continent was already inhabited by Native Americans and European colonists. At first, Jefferson believed that Spain's vast Louisiana Territory west of the Mississippi River would be easy to conquer. He noted that the Spanish colonists were few, their empire was weak, and they were distracted by the war in Europe. Jefferson's plans went awry, however, when the United States got a new and far



2. Movement What geographical

features helped settlers move

growth in the years 1790-1810.

foreign relations?

How would this growth affect U.S.

Purchase encouraged population growth.

more dangerous neighbor to the west. In 1801, France's military dictator, Napoleon Bonaparte, had forced Spain to give him the Louisiana Territory, including the strategic city of New Orleans. The French threatened to block American access to the market in New Orleans. An alarmed Jefferson considered joining the British in an alliance to fight France.

The Louisiana Purchase Jefferson reasoned that he could avoid war by offering to buy New Orleans from the French. When James Monroe and Robert Livingston, the American minister in France, approached Napoleon, they found him surprisingly receptive. Napoleon's imperial plans had been foiled by slave rebels in the Caribbean colony of Saint Domingue, which is now Haiti. Led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, the rebels defeated a French army sent to suppress them. Without that army to occupy Louisiana, and needing money to fight the British, Napoleon decided to sell all of the Louisiana Territory.

In the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, Jefferson obtained a vast territory extending from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. At

about 828,000 square miles, the Louisiana Territory nearly doubled the size of the United States. For all of this, the United States paid only \$15 million. Although a great bargain, the Louisiana Purchase was also something of an embarrassment, as it contradicted Jefferson's constitutional principles. He had long argued for a minimal federal government, and the Constitution did not authorize the federal government to buy territory from a foreign country. Jefferson confessed that he had "done an act beyond the Constitution."

In 1804, Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the new territory, in what became known as the Lewis and Clark Expedition (see American Experience feature in this chapter). The men were guided much of the way by a Shoshone woman, named Sacajawea, and her husband.

✓ Checkpoint How did the United States gain the Louisiana Territory?

Jefferson's Foreign Troubles

While Jefferson succeeded in his plans to expand to the west, he faced a number of significant challenges to solidifying the stability and economy of the United States.

Fighting the Barbary War The Barbary States of North Africa—Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli—were profiting by seizing American ships and sailors in the Mediterranean Sea. To buy immunity from that piracy, the Washington and Adams administrations had paid protection money to the Barbary States. Jefferson was willing to do the same until the ruler of Tripoli increased his price. In 1801, Jefferson sent the small American navy to blockade the port of Tripoli, winning a favorable peace in 1805, concluding the Barbary War.

Entering the Reexport Trade As the population grew and spread westward, the United States needed to expand overseas markets for the <u>surplus</u>

HISTORY MAKERS

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826)

"is to add an useful

plant to its culture."

Along with being a statesman, Thomas Jefferson was an amateur scientist. His deep interest in plants and animals contributed to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. His plantation, Monticello, served as a laboratory for experimenting with plants. Jefferson grew hundreds of varieties of fruits and vegetables, recording their growth in detailed journals. He imported many plants from around the world, including Italian broccoli and Mexican peppers. Some plant samples Lewis and Clark brought back from the West ended up in his garden, where they still thrive today. Jefferson was an enthusiastic experimenter, trying new varieties of those plants that did not flourish. "The greatest service which can be rendered any country," he said,

▲ Portable writing desk designed by Jefferson

Vocabulary Builder <u>surplus</u>—(SUHR pluhs) *adj.* more than is needed

produce raised on its new farms. From 1793 to 1807, war in Europe aided this goal. The dominant British navy quickly captured most of France's merchant ships. To supply food to the French colonies in the West Indies, and to export their sugar, the French turned to American ships. Because the British had banned direct American voyages between the French West Indies and France, American merchants picked up cargoes in the French colonies and took them to ports in the United States, where they unloaded them. Then the merchants reshipped the cargoes to France as if they were American products.

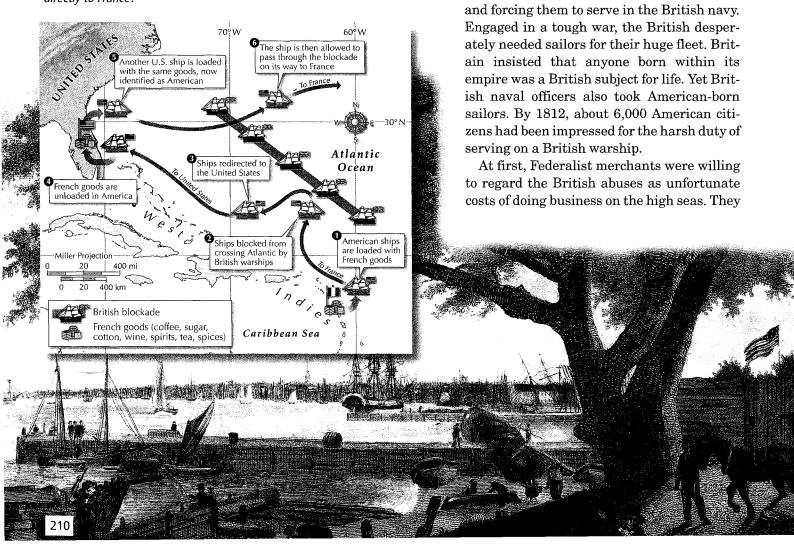
The value of this "reexport" trade soared from about \$300,000 in 1790 to nearly \$59 million in 1807, creating a boom for the American economy. To meet the new demand, American shipyards produced hundreds of new ships, tripling the size of the nation's merchant marine by 1807. Prosperous American merchants built new wharves, warehouses, and mansions, boosting the construction trades in seaport cities. Farmers also benefited by selling their produce to feed French soldiers in Europe and enslaved Africans and plantation owners in the West Indies.

The British hated the reexport trade for two reasons. First, it helped the French economy, which sustained Napoleon's army. Second, the new trade helped the United States become Britain's greatest commercial competitor. In 1805, as British merchants lost markets and profits to American shippers, British warships began to stop and confiscate growing numbers of American merchant ships for trading with the French.

Facing British Impressment The British navy also angered the United States by relying on impressment, or taking American sailors from their ships

The Reexport Trade in Action

American ports like Philadelphia, shown here, thrived during the reexport trade. Why couldn't American ships carry French goods directly to France?



pointed out that the old trade with Great Britain remained even more valuable than the new reexport trade with France. But Democratic Republicans insisted that the British actions insulted the United States and threatened the country's economic growth. In 1807, when the British attacked an American warship, the Chesapeake, in order to take some of its sailors, many Americans—including many Federalists were outraged.

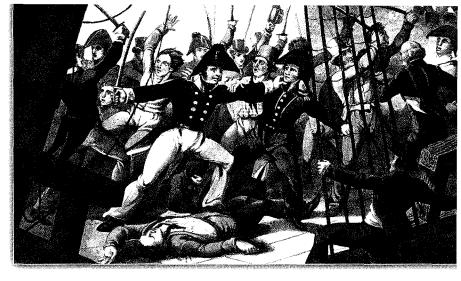
Jefferson Asks for an Embargo The United States lacked a navy large enough to challenge the British fleet. Jefferson

balked at the high cost of building a bigger navy, which would undermine his policies of reducing the national debt and keeping taxes low. He also worried that a large military would become a threat to the Republic.

As an alternative to war, in 1807 Jefferson persuaded Congress to declare an embargo, suspending trade by ordering American ships to stay in port. He expected the embargo to starve the British and close their factories, creating riots in the streets. Instead, the British found other markets in South America. Meanwhile, the embargo bankrupted American merchants, threw American sailors out of work, and hurt farmers, who could no longer export their crops. Exploiting voter anger, the Federalists gained support in the northern states, especially in New England.

Even Jefferson had to admit failure, lifting the embargo just before he retired from the presidency in 1809. Despite having been easily reelected in 1804, the embargo had caused his popularity to lag. Still, he was succeeded by his friend James Madison, who defeated a Federalist rival in the election of 1808.

Checkpoint Why did Jefferson call for an embargo?



Attacking the *Chesapeake*

This engraving from 1816 shows British sailors taking over the Chesapeake and impressing the American sailors on board.

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0631

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People Explain the impact of the following people or terms on the development of the United States in the early 1800s.
 - bureaucracy
 - John Marshall
 - judicial review
 - Marbury v. Madison
 - Louisiana Purchase
 - Lewis and Clark Expedition
 - Barbary War
 - impressment
 - embargo

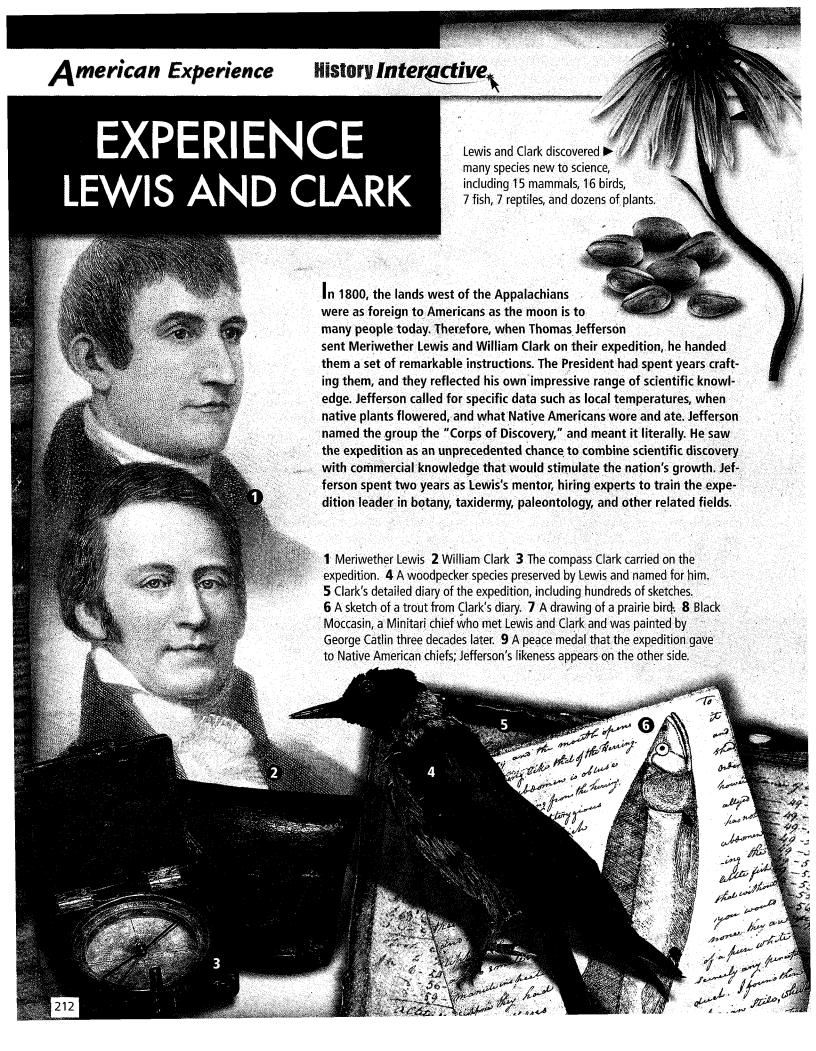
2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Main Details Use your completed chart to answer the Section Focus Ouestion: What were the successes and failures of the Jefferson administrations?

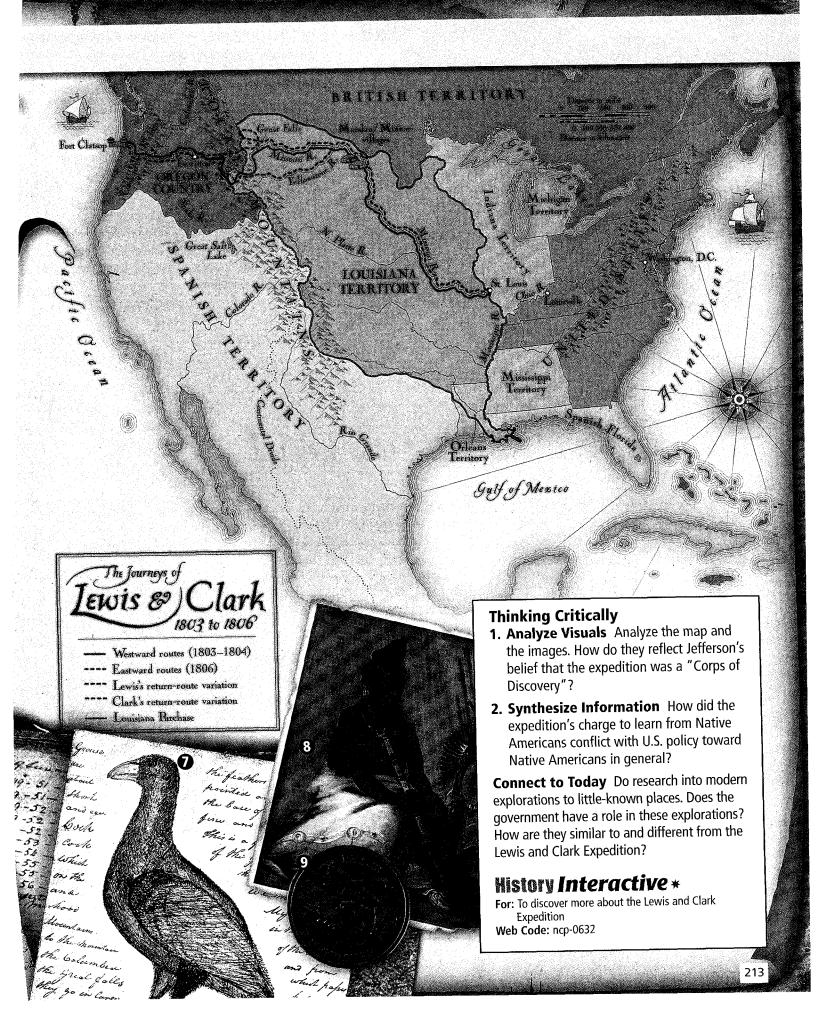
Writing About History

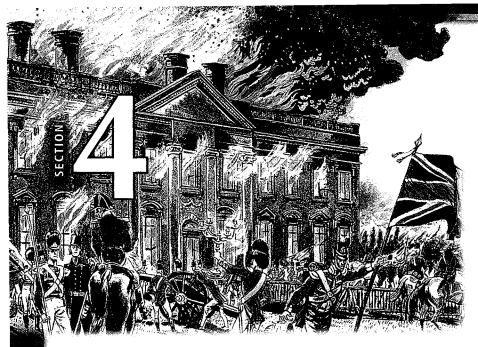
3. Quick Write: Develop a Thesis **Statement** Introduce your topic by summarizing it in a single, clear statement. For example, if your topic for this section is John Marshall's Supreme Court, your thesis statement might be "John Marshall had a profound and lasting impact on the Supreme Court and its role in the federal government."

Critical Thinking

- 4. Apply Information How did Jefferson view the Supreme Court precedent of judicial review?
- 5. Identify Central Issues What was Jefferson's main reason for purchasing the Louisiana Territory from France?
- 6. Recognize Cause and Effect What was the impact of the embargo on the American economy?







A modern-day artist re-creates the burning of the White House by the British.

WITNESS HISTORY (3) AUDIO



Burning the Capitol

In 1814, the British entered Washington, D.C., during the War of 1812. They drove President Madison and his Cabinet into the woods before burning the city. Madison's wife, Dolley, heroically saved a painting of George Washington before joining the others. Years later, a British officer described the scene:

66 Of the Senate house, the President's palace, the barracks, the dockyard, etc., nothing could be seen except heaps of smoking ruins, and even the bridge, a noble structure upwards of a mile in length, was almost wholly demolished. 22

-George Robert Gleig, 1826

The War of 1812



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.1.F.4c Economic pressures as a tool of diplomacy
- 2.I.F.4d The failure of Republican diplomacy: War of 1812

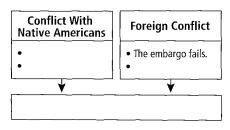
Terms and People

Tecumseh Battle of Tippecanoe War Hawks War of 1812 Andrew Jackson Francis Scott Key

"The Star-Spangled Banner" **Battle of New Orleans** Treaty of Ghent Hartford Convention

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Record the causes of the War of 1812 in a chart like this one.



Why It Matters Just a few decades after its founding, the United States found itself involved in a major war. The war tested not only the young nation's resources and strength but the solidarity of its people as well. Despite their political divisions, Americans managed both to fight a war and to get the country back on track in the war's aftermath. Section Focus Question: Why did the United States go to war with Britain, and what was the outcome of that war?

Gearing Up for War

Democratic Republicans felt humiliated by the failure of the 1807 embargo against Britain. With persistent British abuses on the oceans, and Native American resistance in the West, Americans increasingly blamed the British.

Replacing the Embargo In 1809, Congress replaced the embargo with the Nonintercourse Act. Aimed at Britain and France, the act stated that the United States would resume trade with whichever of those countries lifted their restrictions on American shipping. The following year, Congress passed legislation that went a step further. Macon's Bill No. 2 restored trade with both Britain and France but also promised that if either country actively recognized American neutrality, then the United States would resume trading sanctions against the other country. When France agreed to withdraw decrees against American shipping, President Madison ordered sanctions against the British. In the meantime, however, France continued to seize American ships.

Battling Native Americans On the western frontier, two Shawnee Indian brothers, the prophet Tenskwatawa and the warrior Tecumseh, wanted to preserve Native American culture and unite the Indian nations in armed resistance against American expansion. They were angered by the government's repeated use of dishonest treaties to take their lands. In late 1811, while Tecumseh was seeking allies in the South, Governor William Henry Harrison of the Indiana Territory led troops into the brothers' village of Prophetstown, along the Tippecanoe River. After the Battle of Tippecanoe, the Americans burned Prophetstown. The Native American movement lost some momentum, though most Native Americans escaped to fight again.

The War Hawks Demand War In 1811 some aggressive young politicians, known as the War Hawks, took the lead in Congress. Representing farmers and settlers from the southern and western states, the War Hawks included John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Kentucky. Strongly nationalist, they denounced the impressments of American sailors and British support for Native Americans. The War Hawks pushed for a war against Britain to restore national honor. They insisted that invading British-held Canada would deprive the Indians of their main source of arms and drive the British out of North America. The War Hawks also believed that the British would make maritime concessions to get Canada back from the Americans. They underestimated the value that the British put on their domination of world trade.

✓ Checkpoint Why did many Americans blame Britain for their problems?

Vocabulary Builder <u>momentum</u>—(moh MEHN tuhm) *n.* force or speed of motion

Decision Point

Should the United States Declare War on Britain?

No American disputed the fact that Britain was interfering with American shipping. Yet while the War Hawks called for war, some people questioned their motives. Read the opinions below, and then decide whether war against Britain was justified.

Randolph Opposes War Grundy Urges War Primary Source Primary Source ⁶⁶Sir, if you go to war it will not be for the What, Mr. Speaker, are we now called on to protection of, or defense of your maritime decide? It is, whether we will resist by force rights. Gentlemen from the North have the attempt, made by [Britain], to subject been taken up to some high mountain and our maritime rights to the arbitrary and shown all the kingdoms of the earth; and capricious rule of her will. . . . Sir, I Canada seems tempting to their sight. . . . prefer war to submission. [This] unjust Agrarian [greed], not maritime right, urges and lawless invasion of personal liberty, the war. [We hear] but one wordcalls loudly for the interposition of Canada! Canada! Canada! 99 this Government. ** —Senator John Randolph (VA) --- Senator Felix Grundy (KY) December 16, 1811 December 9, 1811

You Decide

- 1. What is Grundy's reason for war?
- 2. Does Randolph believe Grundy? Explain.
- **3.** What decision would you have made? Why?

HISTORY MAKERS

Tecumseh (1768–1813)

Tecumseh, a Shawnee warrior from the Ohio Valley, spearheaded a spiritual and military resistance movement among Native Americans. He called for them to return to traditional values as a way of preserving their culture. At the same time, he actively resisted the United States, fighting in battles, rejecting treaties, and traveling widely to convince Indian groups that they were all one people and that no one group had the right to make a treaty. He also mocked the very idea of owning land. Meeting with William Henry Harrison in 1810, he scoffed, "Sell a country! Why not sell the air, the clouds and the great sea, as well as the earth?"

War Breaks Out

Humiliated by British interference with American trade, impressments, and support for Indian attacks on settlers, President Madison urged Congress to declare war on Britain in June of 1812. Although the War of 1812 deeply divided the nation, Madison narrowly won reelection later that year. Disunited, unprepared, and with only a small army and navy, the United States went to war once again with the world's greatest power.

The Invasion of Canada Fails Thomas Jefferson acted as adviser to Madison. He argued that with a population of 8 million, the United States could easily conquer Canada, which had only 250,000 people. Indeed, the prospects for a victory looked favorable. An overland invasion would save the cost of building a bigger navy to fight the British. In addition, Jefferson argued that the United States did not even need a profes-

sional army. The citizen militia of the states could do the job quickly and with little expense. He called the conquest of Canada "a mere matter of marching."

Jefferson's assumptions proved to be wrong. In fact, the small British and Indian forces in Canada

repeatedly defeated the American invasion attempts in 1812 and 1813. Reliance on the state militias proved a disaster. Having had no professional training, many militiamen broke rank and ran when attacked. The American regular army performed almost as poorly. One blundering general, William Hull, surrendered Detroit to a much smaller British force commanded by Isaac Brock and assisted by Indians led by Tecumseh. Instead of bolstering American pride, the attempted invasion of Canada only further embarrassed the nation.

Defeating the Native Americans To the surprise of many Americans and to the shock of the British—the little American navy performed well, capturing four British ships during 1812. On Lake Erie, American ships led by Oliver Hazard Perry defeated a British flotilla in 1813, enabling an American army, commanded by Harrison, to retake Detroit.

The Americans made little progress in conquering Canada, but they did defeat Britain's Indian allies within the United States. In October 1813, Harrison's army killed Tecumseh and scattered his supporters. In 1814, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee crushed the Creek Indians of Alabama, who had allied with the British. To make peace, the survivors surrendered most of their lands. Jackson then invaded the Spanish colony of Florida, defeating the Seminole Indians and seizing the Spanish fort at Pensacola.

The British Invade During 1812 and 1813, most of the British forces were in Europe fighting Napoleon. In early 1814, however, the French dictator's defeat freed thousands of British troops to fight in North America. During the summer and fall, the British took the offensive. While the British navy blockaded the coast, British forces invaded the United States. One army occupied eastern Maine, easily brushing aside the weak defense by local militia. From Montreal, a second army invaded northern New York, while a third British force landed in Maryland and marched on Washington, D.C. In late 1814, a British fleet carried a fourth army into the Gulf of Mexico to attack New Orleans.

On the defensive, the Americans fought better than they had when invading Canada. Except for the occupation of Maine, the British attacks ended in defeat. The British did capture the national capital, easily accessible by ship via the Chesapeake Bay, and burned the White House and Capitol in revenge for some American arson in Canada. But the British suffered defeat when they moved on to attack Baltimore. Lawyer Francis Scott Key, who observed the British attack on Fort McHenry, celebrated the American victory by writing a poem that later became the national anthem known as "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Primary Source

66 O say, can you see, by the dawn's early light, What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming, Whose broad stripes and bright stars, thro' the perilous fight, O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming?
—Francis Scott Key, 1814

Meanwhile, on Lake Champlain near Plattsburgh, New York, American ships defeated a British fleet, forcing British troops to retreat to Canada.

Checkpoint What were some American successes and failures during the war?

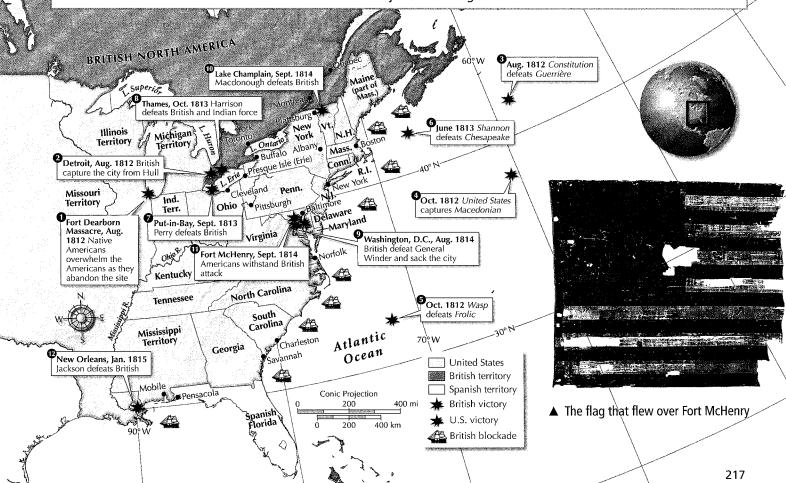
Major Battles of the War of 1812

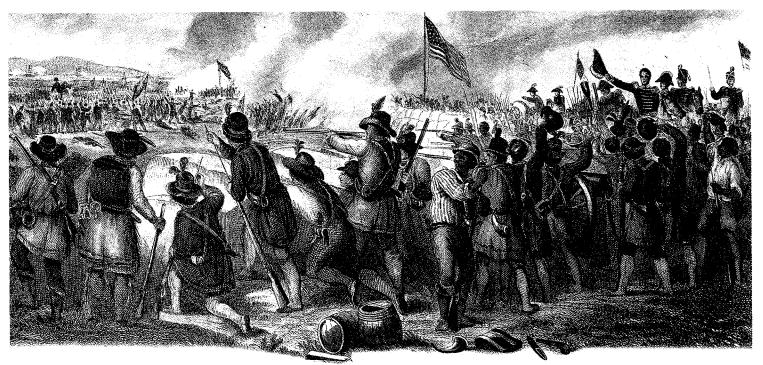
Map Skills Though Americans claimed victory, neither side actually gained or lost any territory during the War of 1812.

- **1. Locate:** (a) Fort McHenry, (b) New Orleans, (c) Lake Champlain
- **2. Place** In what kinds of places were most of the major battles fought?

Geography Interactive
For: Interactive map
Web Code: ncp-0641

3. Determine Relevance How did the British naval blockade affect the outcome of the war?





Battle of New Orleans

This engraving from the 1800s depicts Andrew Jackson inspiring his soldiers to fight the British. How does the engraving show that the United States lacked a regular standing army?

War's Aftermath and Effects

The Americans won their greatest victory at the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815. From a strong and entrenched position, General Andrew Jackson routed the British attack. In this lopsided battle, the Americans suffered only 71 casualties, compared to 2,036 British casualties. The bloodshed at New Orleans was especially tragic because it came two weeks after the Americans and the British had signed a peace treaty at Ghent in Belgium. Unfortunately, notifying the soldiers in North America took over a month because of the slow pace of sailing ships.

The Treaty of Ghent The Americans had failed to conquer Canada, while the British had failed in their American invasions. Weary of war, both sides agreed to a peace treaty that restored prewar boundaries. They agreed to set up a commission to discuss any boundary disputes at a future time. The treaty did not address the issues of neutrality or impressments. But after Napoleon's defeat, the British no longer needed to impress American sailors or to stop American trade with the French. The Americans interpreted the Treaty of Ghent as a triumph because they learned of it shortly after hearing of Jackson's great victory. That sequence of events created the illusion that Jackson had forced the British to make peace. Americans preferred to think of the conflict as a noble defense of the United States against British aggression.

The Hartford Convention After the War of 1812 and Jackson's victory in New Orleans, Americans experienced a surge of nationalism and a new confidence in the strength of their republic. By weathering a difficult war, the nation seemed certain to endure, and most Americans were giddy with relief. The outcome discredited the Federalists, who looked weak for opposing a war that became popular once it was over. Strongest in New England, the Federalists had undermined the war effort there. In December 1814, Federalist delegates from the New England states met at Hartford, Connecticut, to consider secession and making a separate peace with Britain. Drawing back from the brink, the delegates instead demanded constitutional amendments designed to strengthen New England's political power.

Unfortunately for the delegates of the Hartford Convention, their demands reached Washington, D.C., at the same time as news of the peace treaty and Jackson's victory. That combination embarrassed the Federalists, who were mocked as defeatists and traitors. Madison ignored their demands, and the voters punished the Federalists in the elections that followed. By 1820 the Federalist Party was dead—a sad fate for the party that had created the federal government only to lose faith in it during the War of 1812.

The Nation Continues to Grow Events during the War of 1812 ended most Indian resistance east of the Mississippi River for the time being. As a result of various defeats of Native Americans in the South, millions of acres of southern land also opened up for settlement. Settlement in the South and West led to the establishment of the new states of Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), and Alabama (1819). The union became bigger and stronger.

Meanwhile, American settlers had been pouring into Spanish Florida, resulting in cross-border conflict among the region's Seminole Indians, Americans, and the Spanish. Fugitive slaves from the United States, seeking sanctuary in Florida, added to the tensions. Over the next decade, the conflict would contribute to Spain's decision to cede Florida to the United States. In return the United States renounced its claims to Texas, as part of the Adams-Onís Treaty signed in 1819.

Checkpoint What was the Hartford Convention?

Cause and Effect

Causes

- British interfere with American shipping
- British interfere with American expansion into the western frontier
- Southerners want Florida, which is owned by Britain's ally Spain
- War Hawks want to expel Britain completely from North America

The War of 1812

Effects

- Revealed need for a strong standing army
- Encouraged American nationalism
- Brought end to the Federalist Party
- Shattered the strength of Native American resistance
- Paved the way for American acquisition of Florida

Analyze Cause and Effect Despite ending in stalemate, the War of 1812 had a major impact on the United States. How did it affect American settlers?

SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring **Online**

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-0641

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People Write a sentence for each item below, explaining its relation to the War of 1812.
 - Tecumseh
 - Battle of Tippecanoe
 - War Hawks
 - Andrew Jackson
 - Francis Scott Key
 - "The Star-Spangled Banner"
 - · Battle of New Orleans
 - Treaty of Ghent

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Use your completed chart to answer the Section Focus Question: Why did the United States go to war with Britain, and what was the outcome of that war?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Give Details Choose a topic for a research paper. Then, note the kinds of details that you should include to support a thesis. For example, if your thesis is that the American military was weaker than the British military during the War of 1812, you could include facts, statistics, quotations, and paraphrased information.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Synthesize Information Why were farmers and settlers especially likely to support the War of 1812?
- **5. Make Comparisons** Compare American military strengths and weaknesses during the War of 1812 to those during the Revolutionary War.
- 6. Identify Alternatives What alternatives did Native Americans have during the war? Would the outcome have been different for them if they had chosen a different course of action?

Quick Study Guide



Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1651

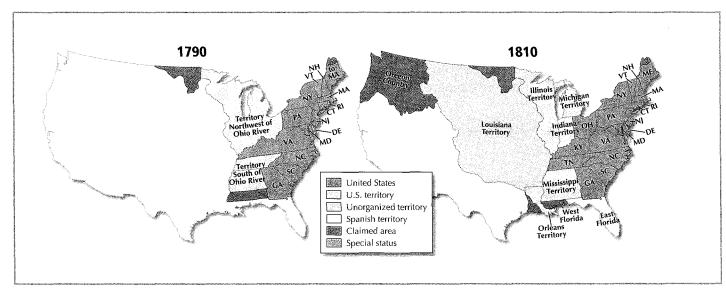
■ Establishing Important Precedents

Date	Precedent	
1789	Cabinet Washington sets up the group of federal leaders who head major departments and advise the President.	
1789	Judiciary Judiciary Act establishes a Supreme Court, the federal court system, and the office of Attorney General.	
Around 1792	Political parties A two-party system, made up of Federalists and Democratic Republicans, emerges.	
1797	Two terms for Presidents Washington retires after two terms in office.	
1801	Peaceful transfer of power With Jefferson's election, power transfers peacefully from one party to the other.	
1803	Judicial review The Supreme Court case <i>Marbury v. Madison</i> establishes judicial review.	

■ Major U.S. Conflicts, 1794–1812

Date	Event	Cause/Significance
1794	Whiskey Rebellion	People on frontier protest whiskey taxes; First challenge facing the new government
1794	Battle of Fallen Timbers	Native Americans resist American expansion, aided by the British; American victory opened Northwest Territory
1801	Barbary War	Barbary States seize American ships and sailors; First American victory overseas
1811	Battle of Tippecanoe	Native Americans led by Tecumseh resist American expansion; American victory weakens Native American movement
1812	War of 1812	Americans blame Britain for various problems; War strengthens national unity; defeat of Native Americans opens up vast lands for settlement

■ U.S. Territorial Expansion



Quick Study Timeline

1789 Washington elected President



1795 Treaty of Greenville signed



In America

Presidential Terms George Washington 1789–1797

1790

John Adams 1797-1801

Around the World

1789 Revolution breaks out in France 1793 China rejects British diplomatic mission

1795

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland established

1800

American Issues Output Outpu



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code:** nch-0651).

Issues You Learned About

- **U.S. Foreign Policy** As a new nation, the United States had to establish a foreign policy. Deciding on foreign policies that are in the best interest of the nation has been an enduring issue.
- 1. In his Farewell Address, George Washington stated, "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible." Write an evaluation of whether or not future Presidents followed Washington's advice and kept out of foreign alliances. Consider the following:
 - the funding of the military
 - laws and actions regarding trade with foreign nations
 - wars the United States has become involved in
 - international organizations the United States has become part of
- Federal Power and States' Rights The struggle for power between state governments and the federal government was sparked in the early years of the Republic.
- **2.** According to Jefferson and Madison, what institution had the power to judge whether or not a federal law was constitutional?
- **3.** Did Chief Justice John Marshall believe that federal laws were superior or inferior to state laws? Explain.

- **4.** Would a strict constructionist be more likely to support a strong federal government or a weak federal government? Explain your answer.
- **Territorial Expansion of the United States** From its original 13 states along the eastern seaboard, the United States has expanded across the continent.
- 5. What were the results of the Treaty of Greenville?
- **6.** What was the importance of the Louisiana Purchase?
- **7.** How did the United States gain new land for settlement in Florida?

Connect to Your World

New York

Education in American Society In addition to shaping the United States government in its early years, New Yorker Alexander Hamilton helped found one of New York's oldest colleges, Hamilton College. Hamilton was a trustee when the institution was founded in 1793 under the name The Hamilton-Oneida Academy as a school for both Native American and settler children. In 1812, it became the third college to be established in the state, and is still thriving today. Find the ten oldest colleges or universities in the state, and write a brief history of one of them.

1803 Jefferson makes Louisiana Purchase 1807 Embargo Act passed



1814 Treaty of Ghent ends the War of 1812 History Interactive,

For: Interactive timeline Web Code: ncp-0651

Thomas Jefferson 1801-1809

James Madison 1809-1817

1805

1804 Haiti declares independence from France 1810

1810 Colombia gains independence from Spain 1815

French leader Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

- 1. Define tariff. Why did Hamilton favor tariffs?
- 2. What do loose construction and strict construction mean? Explain which view Thomas Jefferson held, and why.
- 3. What was the Battle of Fallen Timbers? What was the result of this battle?
- **4.** Define **judicial review**. Explain how the power of judicial review developed.
- **5.** What was the **War of 1812**? Explain its major causes.

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the United** States build a government, expand its territory, and conduct foreign policy in its early years? Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 4 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. How did debate over the role of government lead to the formation of political parties?

Section 2

7. How did foreign policy challenges affect political debate and shape American government?

Section 3

8. What were the successes and failures of the Jefferson administrations?

Section 4

9. Why did the United States go to war with Britain, and what was the outcome of that war?

Critical Thinking

- 10. Decision Making What was one of Washington's most important decisions in setting up the new federal government? Explain.
- 11. Draw Conclusions Would an American who supported a strong national government be more likely to vote for a Federalist or a Democratic Republican? Who would this American have likely voted for in the presidential election of 1800? Explain your answer.
- **12. Draw Inferences** Why do you think Tecumseh had difficulty uniting Native Americans to resist the expansion of American settlers onto their lands?
- **13. Make Inferences** Why did the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions threaten national unity?
- 14. Analyze Information How did John Marshall help establish the authority of the Supreme Court?
- **15. Analyze Graphs** Describe the graph below. What event explains the data on the graph? What would cause exports to rise again in 1809?



16. Explain Effects What effect did the War of 1812 have on political parties in the United States?

Writing About History

Writing a Research Paper The first few years of the United States were influential ones in the nation's history. Write a research paper that describes the importance of a person or an event in shaping the new republic. Choose your own topic or one of the following: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812.

Prewriting

- Choose the topic that most interests you, and create a set of questions about it.
- Narrow your topic to make it more manageable.
- Gather details and make a research plan.

Drafting

Develop a thesis statement.

 Create an outline or graphic organizer to organize your information.

 Provide appropriate details from various sources.

Revising

• Use the guidelines on page SH14 of the Writing Handbook to revise your report.



Regents DBQ Practice



Settling the Northwest Territory

From 1787 on, huge numbers of American settlers poured into the Northwest Territory, frequently coming into conflict with the people who already lived there. How did the newcomers and the Native Americans interact? Use your knowledge of American western expansion and Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4 to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document 1

"The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

—Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Section 14, Article 3

Document 2

"At present, we do not think of ourselves perfectly secure from [the Indians] on account of a few lawless bandits made up of Mingos, Shawnees, and Cherokees, who reside at present on the waters of the Scioto [River]. These are a set of thievish, murdering rascals. . . . [L]et the treaty end how it may. . . . [The] little skulking parties of Indians, if they are never won over to be our friends, can never do us any considerable injury. On the other hand, should there be a general Indian war, this will be a place of general rendezvous for an army. So that, in all human probability, the settlement can never fail of the protection of government."

—Rufus Putnam, Superintendent, Ohio Land Company, 1788

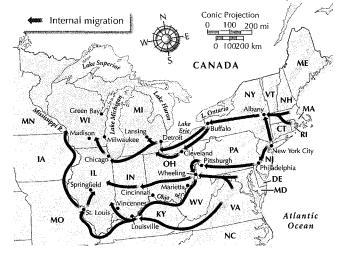
Document 3

"A white man gathers from a field, a few times bigger than his room, bread enough for a whole year. If he adds to this a small field of grass, he maintains beasts... while we must have a great deal of ground to live upon. A deer will serve us a couple of days, and a single deer must have a great deal of ground to put him in good condition. If we kill two or three hundred a year, 'tis the same as to eat all the wood and grass of the land they live on and that is a great deal. No wonder the whites drive us every year further before them from the sea to the Mississippi. They spread like oil on a blanket; we melt like snow before the sun."

—Little Turtle, Miami Chief, 1792

Document 4

Movement into the Northwest Territory



- 1. Document 1 could best be described as a
 - (1) treaty.
 - (2) charter.
 - (3) constitution.
 - (4) law.
- 2. What can you conclude from Document 2?
 - (1) Native Americans had varied reactions to settlers.
 - (2) Rufus Putnam advocated "a general Indian war."
 - (3) Soldiers were marching to Ohio.
 - (4) Settlers lived along the Scioto River.

- **3.** According to Document 3, Little Turtle thought American expansion
 - (1) was due to missionary activity.
 - (2) was fueled by racism.
 - (3) could likely be halted.
 - (4) was inevitable because of differences in land use.
- **4. Writing Task** Did Americans in the Northwest Territory adhere to the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 regarding native peoples? Use your knowledge of American history and evidence from the sources above to explain your answer.

