

## Chapter 2

# Origins of American Government

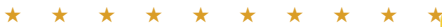
### ★ Why It's Important

**Your Heritage** When you go to sleep tonight, you may take for granted that government officials will not break in to perform an unreasonable search of your house. The security provided by government and the protection from government are a heritage of the period you will study in Chapter 2.



To learn more about the federal government and its origins, view the *Democracy in Action* Chapter 2 video lesson:

#### The Creation of the Federal Government



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**Chapter Overview** Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at [gov.glencoe.com](http://gov.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 2-Overview** to preview chapter information.

# The Colonial Period

## Reader's Guide

### Key Terms

limited government, representative government, separation of powers

### Find Out

- What events of the early American colonial experience led colonists to believe they would have representative government?
- In what ways were the American colonies democratic? In what ways were they not democratic?

### Understanding Concepts

**Growth of Democracy** What elements of the English political heritage helped develop representative governments in the American colonies?

## COVER STORY

### Law and Order

JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, 1611

New governor Sir Thomas Dale, recently arrived from England, has announced a sweeping set of laws for the colony. Called the “Laws Divine, Morall, and Martial,” the new rules are likely to change life here. Each resident will be assigned specific duties. Refusal to cooperate will be dealt with severely. First offenders will be forced to lie down with neck and heels together for one night. Repeat violators will be whipped. A third offense will result in enslavement aboard a convict ship for a period of one year. Authorities expect the new laws to bring order and prosperity to the colony.



Sir Thomas Dale

Every year thousands of foreign and American tourists flock to Virginia to visit the remains of Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in North America. Crumbling foundations and the ruins of the old church tower mark the site of the original Jamestown, founded in 1607. The decaying brick and mortar offer a striking contrast to the enduring principles of self-government inherited from the English colonists. This legacy of self-government enables Americans today to voice their opinions without fear of reprisal, to choose their leaders, and to take an active role in shaping the nation and communities in which they live.

## An English Political Heritage

During the 1600s people from many regions, such as Spain, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Sweden, and West Africa, came to North America. Most colonists, however, came from England. It was the English who established and governed the original thirteen colonies along the Atlantic coast.

The English colonists brought with them ideas about government that had been developing in England for centuries. By the 1600s the English people had won political liberties, such as trial by jury, that were largely unknown elsewhere. At the heart of the English system were two principles of government. These principles—limited government and representative government—greatly influenced the development of the United States.

**Limited Government** By the time the first colonists reached North America, the idea that government was not all-powerful had become an accepted part of the English system. The idea first appeared in the **Magna Carta**,<sup>1</sup> or Great

See the following footnoted materials in the Reference Handbook:  
1. *Magna Carta*, page 802.



Charter, that King John was forced to sign in 1215. The Magna Carta established the principle of **limited government**, in which the power of the monarch, or government, was limited, not absolute. This document provided for protection against unjust punishment and the loss of life, liberty, and property except according to law. Under the Magna Carta, the king agreed that certain taxes could not be levied without popular consent.

The rights in the Magna Carta originally applied only to the nobility. During the next few centuries, however, other groups won political liberties, primarily through agreements between English monarchs and the nobility and merchants.

**Petition of Right** While Parliament maintained some influence, strong monarchs dominated England for centuries. In 1625 Charles I took the throne. He dissolved Parliament, lodged troops in private homes, and placed some areas under martial law. When he called Parliament back into session in 1628, the representatives forced the king to sign the **Petition of Right**, severely limiting the king's power. No longer could the English monarch collect taxes without Parliament's

consent, imprison people without just cause, house troops in private homes without the permission of the owner, or declare martial law unless the country was at war.

**English Bill of Rights** In 1688 Parliament removed James II from the throne and crowned William III and Mary II. This peaceful transfer of power was called the Glorious Revolution. William and Mary swore an oath to govern England according to the "statutes in Parliament agreed upon, and the laws and customs of the same." Parliament also passed the **English Bill of Rights**, a document that would later be very important to the American colonies.

The English Bill of Rights set clear limits on what a ruler could and could not do. It applied to the American colonists—who were English subjects—as well as to the people in England. Incorporating elements from the Magna Carta, the key ideas of the English Bill of Rights included: (1) Monarchs do not have a divine right to rule. They rule with the consent of the people's representatives in Parliament. (2) The monarch must have Parliament's consent to suspend laws, levy taxes, or

## Participating IN GOVERNMENT

### Being Represented



**Participating in their community**

One reason for the War for Independence was that Britain was depriving the colonists, who were British citizens, of representation. By being represented in some of the various organizations in your community, you can provide input to these organizations from a student's perspective. Organizations such as crime patrols, community development groups, youth associations, environmental groups, and volunteer organizations hold regular committee meetings that make decisions that affect you. What can you do to be represented in these organizations?

### Activity

1. Call your chamber of commerce or local government offices and ask for a listing of such organizations mentioned.
2. After you have decided on an issue and a committee that interests you, ask to become a part of the committee. You are more likely to serve as a student adviser than as a voting member. As an adviser, though, you will still have the ability to influence decisions and to provide ideas for the future plans of the committee.
3. Attend meetings and ask questions when there are issues that you do not understand. Provide suggestions for getting things done.


maintain an army. (3) The monarch cannot interfere with parliamentary elections and debates. (4) The people have a right to petition the government and to have a fair and speedy trial by a jury of their peers. (5) The people should not be subject to cruel and unusual punishments or to excessive fines and bail.

The English colonists in North America shared a belief in these rights with the people of England. In fact, a major cause of the American Revolution was that the colonists felt they were being deprived of these basic rights.

## Representative Government

The colonists had a firm belief in **representative government**, a government in which people elect delegates to make laws and conduct government. The English Parliament was a representative assembly with the power to enact laws. It consisted of an upper chamber, or legislative body, and a lower chamber. The upper chamber, called the House of Lords, included members of the aristocracy. The lower chamber, called the House of Commons, included commoners—mostly merchants or property owners elected by other property owners. American legislatures grew out of the English practice of representation.

**The Ideas of John Locke** The ideas and writings of seventeenth-century English philosopher John Locke deeply influenced the American colonists. Locke spelled out his political ideas in *Two Treatises on Government*,<sup>1</sup> first published in 1690. His writings were widely read and discussed in both Europe and America. Colonial leaders such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison regarded these ideas as political truth. Locke's ideas have been called the “textbook of the American Revolution.”

 See the following footnoted materials in the *Reference Handbook*:  
1. *Two Treatises on Government*, page 806.

## Beginnings of Representative Government in America



▲ The House of Burgesses was the first elected lawmaking body in the English colonies. The royal governor of Jamestown, Sir George Yeardley, allowed the men of the colony to elect representatives to the assembly.

This report of the Virginia General Assembly contains a partial list of the 22 men who hoped to be elected to serve as burgesses. The burgesses made local laws for the colony. ▶

**Growth of Democracy** *What aspects of the English government influenced the creation of the House of Burgesses?*



Locke reasoned that all people were born free, equal, and independent. Locke believed that people possessed natural rights to life, liberty, and property at the time they lived in a state of nature, before governments were formed. People contracted among themselves to form governments to protect their natural rights. Locke argued that if a government failed to protect these natural rights, the people could change that government.

Locke's ideas were revolutionary in an age when monarchs still claimed they had God-given absolute powers. Locke denied that people were born with an obligation to obey their rulers. Rather, in his “Second Treatise of Government,” Locke insisted that:

## The Thirteen Colonies

● Mayflower Compact, 1620

● Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1639

● Declaration of Independence, 1776  
U.S. Constitution, 1789

● House of Burgesses, 1619

MASSACHUSETTS

NEW HAMPSHIRE  
Plymouth

NEW YORK

Hartford

RHODE ISLAND

PENNSYLVANIA  
Philadelphia

NEW JERSEY

MARYLAND

DELAWARE

VIRGINIA

Jamestown

NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTH CAROLINA

GEORGIA

Atlantic Ocean

New England Colonies  
Middle Colonies  
Southern Colonies

0 200 miles  
0 200 kilometers

## Critical Thinking

Virginia, settled in 1607, was the first English colony in America. Georgia was the last, in 1733. **How were the governments of these colonies similar?**

“Freedom of [people] under government is to have a standing rule to live by . . . made by the legislative power vested in it; a liberty to follow [one’s] own will in all things, when the rule prescribes not, and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another. . . .”

—John Locke, 1690

Government, then, was legitimate only as long as people continued to consent to it. Both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, written nearly a century after Locke lived, reflected Locke’s revolutionary ideas.

## Government in the Colonies



The English founded thirteen colonies along the eastern coast of North America between 1607 and 1733. From these colonies the present system of American government evolved. Each English colony had its own government consisting of a governor, a legislature, and a court system. Nevertheless, the British believed that all colonists owed allegiance to the monarch. For many years the colonists agreed.

Democracy grew rapidly in all the colonies, but it did not yet exist in its current form. Women and enslaved persons could not vote, and every colony had some type of property qualification for voting. Nine of the thirteen colonies had an official or established church, and many colonists remained intolerant of religious dissent. In Virginia, for example, the penalty for breaking the Sabbath for the third time was death.

Despite such shortcomings, the colonial governments did in fact establish practices that became a key part of the nation’s system of government. Chief among these practices were (1) a written constitution that guaranteed basic liberties and limited the power of government; (2) a legislature of elected representatives; and (3) the separation of powers between the governor (the chief executive) and the legislature. Today the United States government embodies each of these practices.



**Written Constitutions** A key feature of the colonial period was government according to a written plan. The **Mayflower Compact**<sup>1</sup> that the Pilgrims signed in 1620 stands as the first example of many colonial plans for self-government.

Forty-one men, representing all the Pilgrim families, drew up the Mayflower Compact in the tiny cabin of their ship, the *Mayflower*, anchored off the New England coast. The Pilgrim leaders realized they needed rules to govern themselves if they were to survive in the new land. Through the Mayflower Compact, they agreed to:

“Solemnly and mutually in the Presence of God and one of another, covenant [pledge] and combine ourselves together into a Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid. . . .”

—The Mayflower Compact, 1620

The Pilgrims also agreed to choose their own leaders and to make their own laws, which they would design for their own benefit.

Beginning in 1629, new Puritan immigrants settled nearby. Massachusetts Bay added many towns to the original Plymouth settlement. In 1636 the colony realized a need for more comprehensive laws. It adopted the **Great Fundamentals**, the first basic system of laws in the English colonies.

In 1639 Puritans who had left the Massachusetts Bay Colony to colonize Connecticut drew up America’s first formal constitution, or charter, called the **Fundamental Orders of Connecticut**.<sup>2</sup> This document laid out a plan for government that gave the people the right to elect the governor, judges, and representatives to make laws. While it was based on the Massachusetts model, it did not restrict voting rights to church members.

See the following footnoted materials in the Reference Handbook:

1. *Mayflower Compact*, page 804.
2. *Fundamental Orders of Connecticut*, page 805.

Soon after, other English colonies began drawing up their own charters. These documents established a system of limited government and rule by law in each of the colonies. Several of these colonial constitutions were very democratic for their time. The Rhode Island and Connecticut charters were so democratic that they continued to serve as state constitutions even after the adoption of the United States Constitution.

**Colonial Legislatures** Representative assemblies also became firmly established in the colonies. The Virginia House of Burgesses, the first legislature in America, was established in 1619, only 12 years after the settlement of Jamestown. The newly elected lawmakers passed laws aiding farmers and curbing idleness, improper dress, and drunkenness. It was not long before other colonies set up their own legislatures. By the mid-1700s most colonial legislatures had been operating for more than 100

## Forming a Government

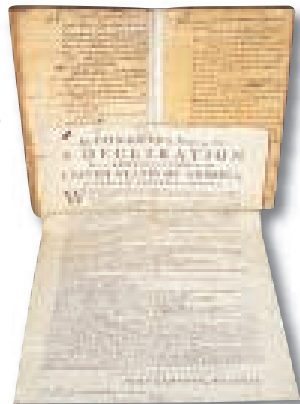


**Political Processes** Tompkins H. Matteson painted *Signing the Compact on Board the Mayflower*. In the compact the Pilgrims pledged to obey the laws passed “for the general good of the colony.”

**Why did the colonists feel they needed to draw up the Mayflower Compact?**

Colonial-era quill pen

**Broadsides** On the night of July 4, 1776, John Dunlap, Congress's official printer, turned out numerous large poster copies (called broadsides) of the Declaration of Independence, which had just been approved. Today, Dunlap's broadsides are valuable. Only 24 are known to exist. Most are held by such institutions as the National Archives and the Library of Congress, with a few owned by private collectors.



years. As a result, representative government was an established tradition in America well before the colonists declared their independence from Great Britain in 1776.

These legislatures dominated colonial government. The rapidly growing colonies constantly needed new laws to cope with new circumstances.

For example, they had to control the distribution of land and construct public buildings and facilities such as roads, ferries, and wharves. The colonies also had to establish new towns, schools, and civil and criminal courts.

Colonial legislatures were examples of the consent of the governed because a large number of qualified men voted. Although there were property qualifications for voting, land was abundant and most colonists could afford property.

**Separation of Powers** Colonial charters divided the power of government. The governor, the king's agent in the colonies, had executive power. Colonial legislatures had the power to pass laws, and colonial courts heard cases. This principle of **separation of powers** was later incorporated into the United States Constitution. Of course, colonial legislatures and courts were not autonomous—both could be reviewed by a special committee of the king's Privy Council. In practice, however, the colonies had considerable self-government.

Colonial legislatures became the political training grounds for the leaders who later would write the Constitution. Many of these leaders were active in politics and had served in colonial legislatures. Thus, the combination of their English heritage and colonial experience in representative self-government made them leaders in what one historian called “the seedtime of the republic.”

## Section 1 Assessment

### Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** In a graphic organizer similar to the one below, list three practices that were established by colonial governments and became a key part of the nation's system of government.
 

Key practices of American government
- 2. Define** limited government, representative government, separation of powers.
- 3. Identify** Magna Carta, Petition of Right, English Bill of Rights, Mayflower Compact, Great Fundamentals.
- 4.** What two English principles of government influenced the development of the United States?

### Critical Thinking

- 5. Identifying Central Issues** The idea of limited government, first established by the Magna Carta, is an important principle of American government. Why must government be limited?

### Concepts IN ACTION

**Growth of Democracy** Review the key ideas of the English Bill of Rights outlined on pages 36 and 37. Write an essay explaining which rights granted in the English Bill of Rights are the most important today. Include reasons for your opinion.



# SHOULD SONG LYRICS BE PROTECTED BY THE FIRST AMENDMENT?

*Some people claim that rock music glamorizes destructive behavior. Critics of rock music say that it encourages violence. Some people want to protect minors from being exposed to the messages these types of songs convey.*

## PROTECTED AND UNPROTECTED SPEECH

The Supreme Court has generally agreed that the right of free speech should be balanced against the needs of society. Therefore, some forms of speech are not given constitutional protection. Defamatory speech, obscene speech, as well as seditious speech, or speech that provokes acts of violence fall outside First Amendment protection.

## SOCIAL CONCERNS VS. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

Parent groups, community leaders, and police organizations are voicing their disapproval of some kinds of music. They argue that lyrics condoning murder and degrading women give listeners the impression that this behavior is acceptable in our society. Critics point to examples of violence and drug use associated with the performers as evidence that this type of music affects behavior.

Some radio stations have voluntarily stopped playing the most controversial music. Congressional hearings have been held to

listen to recommendations that range from putting parent advisory labels on music to establishing a rating system like the one used for movies. Some record companies are now producing two versions of songs with offensive lyrics—a “radio” version and a “street” version.

Many people, however, are reluctant to ask for government involvement for fear of treading on First Amendment rights. Although the music may be unacceptable to them, they do not think it should be subject to censorship.



## Debating the Issue

### DO YOU THINK SONG LYRICS SHOULD BE PROTECTED BY THE FIRST AMENDMENT DESPITE THEIR CONTENT?

Take on the role of a concerned parent of a teenager. You could influence your congressional representative to vote for more controls over musical content, or for more freedom of expression in the music industry.

#### KEY ISSUES

✓ Does society’s need to maintain order outweigh the right for artistic expression, if the art promotes

violence or defames a portion of our population?

✓ Are there dangers in limiting artistic expression?

**Debate** Allow time for students on both sides of the issue to prepare speeches to be presented to the class. Debate the issue in class.

**Vote** Make your own personal decision. As a class, vote on the issue and record the results.



# Uniting for Independence

## Reader's Guide

### Key Terms

revenue, embargo

### Find Out

- What factors caused the British to allow the colonists to operate with little interference between 1607 and 1763?
- Why were the colonists and the British unable to compromise and settle their differences?

### Understanding Concepts

**Growth of Democracy** How did the colonial experience during the dispute with Britain help shape American ideals of constitutional democracy?

## COVER STORY

### British Battle Militias

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, APRIL 1776

A force ordered to destroy the supplies of self-styled patriot militias and to arrest two of their leaders met armed resistance outside the city early today. About 700 British troops scattered some 70 militia members, called Minute Men, who had gathered in the town of Lexington. The troops then marched on to Concord. Later, fighting broke out with another militia unit at North Concord Bridge. As the troops returned to Boston, they came under attack from more militia groups before reaching the safety of the city. Losses totaled 73 dead and 174 wounded. Rebel casualties were set at 93.



Drum used at Lexington

Until the mid-1700s Great Britain had allowed its colonies across the Atlantic to develop politically on their own. By the 1760s, however, things had begun to change dramatically as the British government felt a need to tighten its control over the colonies.

## The Colonies on Their Own



As British subjects, the colonists in North America owed allegiance to the monarch and the British government. As with other parts of the British empire, the colonies were supposed to serve as a source of raw materials and a market for British goods. Thus, in the eyes of the British crown, the American colonies existed for the economic benefit of Great Britain.

In practice, during the 150 years following the settling of Jamestown in 1607, the colonies in America did pretty much as they pleased. The colonies were more than 3,000 miles (5,556 km) from Great Britain. Orders from the monarch took two months or more to cross the Atlantic. In addition, only the colonial legislatures were actually in a position to deal with the everyday problems facing the colonies. As a result, the colonists grew accustomed to governing themselves through their representatives.

Until the mid-1700s the British government was generally satisfied with this arrangement. The British needed the colonists' loyalty to counter the threat of the French in Canada. The colonists remained loyal in return for a large measure of self-rule and protection from the French.

**Britain Tightens Control** Two events drastically changed the easy relationship between the colonies and Britain. First, the French and Indian War, fought between 1754 and 1763, threatened Britain's hold on the continent. Second, George III, who became king in 1760, had different ideas about how the colonies should be governed.

The French and Indian War started as a struggle between the French and British over lands in western Pennsylvania and Ohio. By 1756 several other European countries became involved as well. Great Britain eventually won the war in 1763 and gained complete control of what later became the eastern United States. The French were driven out.

The defeat of France in America meant the American colonists no longer needed the British to protect them from the French. The war, however, left the British government with a large war debt that the British expected the colonies to help repay.

**Taxing the Colonies** When he took the throne, George III was determined to deal more firmly with the American colonies. To help pay for the war, the king and his ministers levied taxes on tea, sugar, glass, paper, and other products. The **Stamp Act** of 1765 imposed the first direct tax on the colonists. It required them to pay a tax on legal documents, pamphlets, newspapers, and even dice

and playing cards. Parliament also passed laws to control colonial trade in ways that benefited Great Britain but not the colonies.

Britain's **revenue**—the money a government collects from taxes or other sources—from the colonies increased. Colonial resentment, however, grew along with the revenues. Political protests began to spread throughout the colonies. Colonists refused to buy British goods. This move led to the repeal of the Stamp Act, but the British passed other tax laws to replace it. In 1773 a group of colonists, dressed as Mohawk, dumped 342 chests of British tea into Boston Harbor. This protest against further taxes on tea became known as the Boston Tea Party.

In retaliation Parliament passed the Coercive Acts, which the colonists called the **Intolerable Acts**. One of these acts closed Boston Harbor. Another withdrew the right of the Massachusetts colony to govern itself. By the early 1770s, events clearly showed that revolution was not far off.

## *We the People*

### **Making a Difference**

#### **George Mason**



American students have all heard of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison. A key, but less known, figure in the founding of our nation was George Mason. A Virginian, Mason was a neighbor of George Washington. Mason and Washington often visited for friendly discussions about politics.

In 1774, when the British closed the port of Boston, Washington and Mason drew up the Fairfax Resolves. These stated the colonists' objections to the closing and were the first of Mason's writings on constitutional issues.

In 1776 Virginians met at Williamsburg to draw up a constitution and a "Declaration of Rights." Mason headed the drafting committee. His fellow committee member was James Madison,

a 25 year old just beginning his political career. Meanwhile, the Continental Congress was meeting in Philadelphia where Madison's close friend Jefferson was chosen to write a declaration of the colonies' independence.

On June 12, the delegates at Williamsburg adopted Mason's Virginia Declaration of Rights. It began:

"That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights... namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

Madison kept Jefferson apprised of the work in Virginia. As a result, Mason's ideas were embodied in Jefferson's most famous work — the Declaration of Independence.

## Growing Distrust


**Civic Rights** New British laws caused discontent among colonists who believed their civic rights were being denied. *Which civic rights do you think Britain denied the colonists?*



George III's crown—a symbol of authority

Teapot—a symbol of resistance

## Colonial Unity

 Before the mid-1770s most colonists thought of themselves as British subjects. At the same time, each of the colonies developed largely on its own. Thus, most colonists also thought of themselves as Virginians or New Yorkers or Georgians. Indeed, early attempts to bring the colonies together had failed.

Responding to French attacks on the frontier, in 1754 Benjamin Franklin had proposed an innovative plan for uniting the colonies—the **Albany Plan of Union**. The colonies rejected the plan, however, because it gave too much power to an assembly made up of representatives from all thirteen colonies.

By the 1760s the harsh new British policies spurred an American sense of community. A growing number of colonists began to think of themselves as Americans united by their hostility to British authority. At the same time, colonial leaders began to take political action against what they felt was British oppression.

**Taking Action** In 1765 nine colonies sent delegates to a meeting in New York called the Stamp Act Congress. This was the first meeting organized by the colonies to protest King George's actions. Delegates to the Congress sent a petition to the king, arguing that only colonial legislatures could

impose direct taxes such as the Stamp Tax.

By 1773 organizations called **committees of correspondence** were urging resistance to the British. These committees consisted of colonists who wanted to keep in touch with one another as events unfolded. Samuel Adams established the first committee in Boston. The idea spread quickly, and within a few months, Massachusetts alone had more than 80 such committees. Virginia and other colonies soon joined in this communication network.

**The First Continental Congress** The Intolerable Acts prompted Virginia and Massachusetts to call a general meeting of the colonies. Delegates from all the colonies except Georgia met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, for the First Continental Congress. Key colonial leaders such as Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee, and George Washington attended.

The delegates debated what to do about the relationship with Great Britain. They finally imposed an **embargo**, an agreement prohibiting trade, on Britain, and agreed not to use British goods. They also proposed a meeting the following year if Britain did not change its policies.

Events then moved quickly. The British adopted stronger measures. "The New England governments are in a state of rebellion," George III firmly announced. "Blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent."

The first blow fell early on the morning of April 19, 1775. British Redcoats clashed with colonial minutemen at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts. This clash, later called the "shot heard 'round the world," was the first battle of the Revolutionary War.


**The Second Continental Congress** Within three weeks, delegates from all thirteen colonies gathered in Philadelphia for the Second Continental Congress. This Congress assumed the powers of a central government. It chose John Hancock as



president, voted to organize an army and navy and to issue money, and made George Washington commander of a newly organizing Continental Army.

Although it had no constitutional authority, the Second Continental Congress served as the acting government of the colonies throughout the war. It purchased supplies, negotiated treaties, and rallied support for the colonists' cause.

## Independence

 As the Congress set to work, the independence movement was growing rapidly. A brilliant pamphlet titled *Common Sense*, written by

Thomas Paine, influenced many colonists. Paine, a onetime British corset-maker, argued that monarchy was a corrupt form of government and that George III was an enemy to liberty:

“First, the powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legislation on this continent. And as he has shown himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power, is he, or is he not, a proper person to say to these colonies, ‘You shall make no laws but what I please!’”

—Thomas Paine



### COMPARING Governments

## Independence Days Around the World



Region	Country	Independence Date
NORTH AMERICA	Canada	July 1, 1867
	United States	July 4, 1776
	Mexico	September 16, 1810
	Nicaragua	September 15, 1821
	Cuba	December 10, 1898
CENTRAL AMERICA	Dominican Republic	February 27, 1844
	Peru	July 28, 1821
	Chile	September 18, 1810
SOUTH AMERICA	Brazil	September 7, 1822
	Libya	December 24, 1951
EUROPE	Ireland	December 6, 1921
	Austria	November 12, 1918
	Ukraine	December 1, 1991
AFRICA	South Africa	May 31, 1910
	Nigeria	October 1, 1960
MIDDLE EAST	Iran	April 1, 1979
	Israel	May 14, 1948
ASIA	India	August 15, 1947
	Vietnam	September 2, 1945
	Indonesia	August 17, 1945
OSCEANIA	Australia	January 1, 1901

Source: CIA, *The World Factbook* 1996 (Washington, D.C.: 1996).

**Critical Thinking** Many countries around the world began their struggle for independence after the success of the American colonists. Which nations have gained their independence since 1950?



**Growth of Democracy** In *Pulling Down the Statue of George III*, William Walcutt depicted Americans celebrating their independence by tearing down the statue of King George III in New York on July 9, 1776. The statue was later melted down into bullets to be used against the king's troops. **Why was the Declaration of Independence revolutionary?**

**Lap desk Jefferson used to draft the Declaration of Independence**



Many colonists agreed with the patriot Samuel Adams. Adams asked, "Is not America already independent? Why not then declare it?"

In June 1776, more than a year after fighting had begun in the colonies, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia did just that. Lee introduced a resolution in the Continental Congress "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

**The Declaration of Independence** Congress promptly named a committee to prepare a written declaration of independence. The committee asked Thomas Jefferson, a Virginia planter known for his writing skills, to write the draft. For the next two weeks, Jefferson worked alone on the document. On June 28 Jefferson asked John Adams and Benjamin Franklin to look over his draft. The two men made only minor changes.

On July 2, 1776, the Congress approved Lee's resolution. The colonies had officially broken with Great Britain. The Congress then turned its attention to Jefferson's draft. After considerable debate a few passages were removed and some editorial changes made. On July 4 Congress approved the final draft of the Declaration of Independence. John Hancock, the president of the Congress, was

the first to sign the document which eventually held the signatures of all 56 delegates. A statement of the reasons for independence, the document's actual title was *The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America*.

**Key Parts of the Declaration** The American Declaration of Independence<sup>1</sup> is one of the most famous documents in history. In writing the document Jefferson drew together the ideas of thinkers such as Locke and others to set out the colonies' reasons for proclaiming their freedom. The purpose of the Declaration was to justify the Revolution and put forth the founding principles of the new nation. Jefferson later wrote:

**"I did not consider it any part of my charge to invent new ideas, but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent. . . . It was intended to be an expression of the American mind."**

—Thomas Jefferson

See the following footnoted materials in the **Reference Handbook**:  
1. *The Declaration of Independence*, pages 774–799.

The revolutionary document stirred the hearts of the American people. No government at the time had been founded on the principles of human liberty and consent of the governed. The Declaration won praise the world over and influenced the French Revolution of 1789. Over the years many nations, particularly in Latin America, have used it as a model in their own efforts to gain freedom.

The Declaration has three parts. It begins with a statement of purpose and basic human rights:

**“** *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . .* **”**

The middle section of the Declaration lists specific complaints against George III. Each item describes a violation of the colonists’ political, civil, and economic liberties. These paragraphs were designed to justify the break with Great Britain.

The conclusion states the colonists’ determination to separate from Great Britain. Their efforts to reach a peaceful solution to their problems had failed, leaving them no choice but to declare their freedom.

**The First State Constitutions** The Declaration of Independence recognized the changes taking place in the colonies. One of the most important of these was the transformation of the colonies into states subject to no higher authority. Thus, the states saw themselves as “states” in the sense in which this term is used in Chapter 1.

Almost two months before the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress had instructed each of the colonies to form “such governments as shall . . . best conduce [lead] to the happiness and safety of their constituents.” By 1776 eight states had adopted written constitutions. Within a few years every former colony had a new constitution or had converted the old colonial charters into state constitutions.

Seven of the new constitutions contained a bill of rights defining the personal liberties of citizens. All recognized the people as the sole source of authority in a limited government with only those powers given by the people.

**CLICK HERE**

**GOVERNMENT**  
*Online*



**Student Web Activity** Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at [gov.glencoe.com](http://gov.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 2–Student Web Activities** for an activity about uniting for independence.

## Section 2 Assessment

### Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** In a graphic organizer similar to the one below, identify the series of events that led the colonies to declare their independence.



- 2. Define** revenue, embargo.
- 3. Identify** Stamp Act, Intolerable Acts, Albany Plan of Union.
- 4.** What actions did George III take to make the Americans pay for the French and Indian War?

### Critical Thinking

- 5. Understanding Cause and Effect** At what point was it too late for Great Britain and the colonies to work out a peaceful settlement? Explain.

## Concepts IN ACTION

**Growth of Democracy** The right of people to complain to the government is one of the fundamental American rights. Identify a recent government action or policy with which you disagree. Decide on a protest method that would be an effective way for you to express your feelings about the issue. Support your method in the form of a letter to the editor.



# The Articles of Confederation

## Reader's Guide

### Key Terms

ratify, unicameral, cede, ordinance

### Find Out

- What weakness of the Articles of Confederation made enforcing the laws of Congress impossible?
- What evidence shows that financial problems were the main cause of the call to amend the Articles of Confederation?

### Understanding Concepts

**Federalism** What deficiencies in the Articles of Confederation made them too weak to ensure the peace and tranquility of the United States?

## COVER STORY

### Congress Flees Capital

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 1783


Nearly 300 unpaid and unhappy soldiers from the recently disbanded Continental Army demonstrated outside the statehouse this week. The protesters shouted curses and threats at the Confederation Congress, which was meeting inside. Some poked their bayonets through the windows of the meeting chambers. The legislators are said to be extremely frightened. Congress has asked the state for protection, but Pennsylvania officials have provided no assistance. At last report the congressmen have left the city and will reconvene the government at Princeton, New Jersey.



Continental soldier


When Richard Henry Lee proposed his resolution for independence in June 1776, he also proposed that a “plan for confederation” be prepared for the colonies. In 1777 a committee appointed by Congress presented a plan called the Articles of Confederation.<sup>1</sup> The Articles basically continued the structure and operation of government as established under the Second Continental Congress. The states wanted a confederation, or “league of friendship,” among the 13 independent states rather than a strong national government. By March 1781, all 13 states had **ratified**, or approved, the Articles of Confederation.

## Government Under the Articles

 Under the Articles, the plan for the central government was simple. It included a **unicameral**, or single-chamber, Congress. It did not include an executive branch or president. A Committee of the States made up of one delegate from each state managed the government when Congress was not assembled. There was no federal court system. Congress settled disputes among states.

Each state had one vote in Congress, no matter what its size or population. Every state legislature selected its own representatives to Congress, paid them, and could recall them at any time.

Congress had only those powers expressed in the Articles—mainly lawmaking. All other powers remained with the independent states. Congressional powers included the powers to: (1) make war and peace; (2) send and receive ambassadors; (3) enter into treaties; (4) raise and equip a navy; (5) maintain an army by requesting troops from the states; (6) appoint senior military officers; (7) fix standards of weights and measures; (8) regulate Indian affairs; (9) establish post offices; and (10) decide certain disputes among the states.

 See the following footnoted materials in the *Reference Handbook*:  
1. *Articles of Confederation*, pages 808–811.

## Weaknesses of the Articles



Although the Articles of Confederation gave Congress power, they created a weak national government. Because each state had no intention of giving up its sovereignty to a central government, the Articles had weaknesses.

First, Congress did not have the power to levy or collect taxes. It could raise money only by borrowing or requesting money from the states. Each state had to collect taxes from its citizens and turn the money over to the national treasury. Congress could do little, however, if a state refused to provide the money.

Second, Congress did not have the power to regulate trade. Economic disputes among the various states and difficulty in making business arrangements with other countries resulted.

Third, Congress could not force anyone to obey the laws it passed or to abide by the Articles of Confederation. Congress could only advise and request the states to comply.

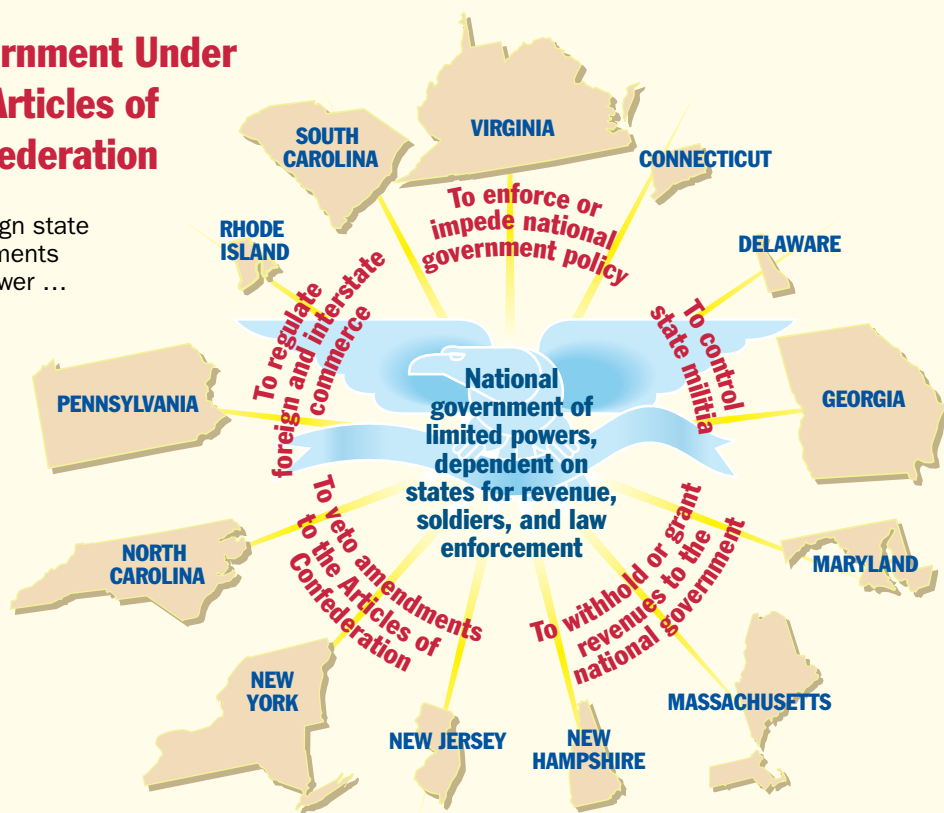
Fourth, laws needed the approval of 9 of the 13 states. Usually, delegates from only 9 or 10 states were in Congress at any time, making it difficult to pass laws. Also, each state had only a single vote. The votes of any 5 of the smaller states could block a measure that 8 of the larger states wanted.



### Congressional Quarterly's *Government at a Glance*

#### Government Under the Articles of Confederation

Sovereign state  
governments  
with power ...



#### Critical Thinking

Source: Bibby, *Governing by Consent*, 2d ed.  
(Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995).

The Articles of Confederation established a league of cooperation among the 13 states, but not a strong government. **Why was the Confederation often short of money to run the government?**

Fifth, amending, or changing, the Articles required the consent of all states. In practice it was impossible to get *all* the states to agree on amendments. As a result the Articles were never amended.

Sixth, the central government did not have an executive branch. The Confederation government carried on much of its business, such as selling western lands and establishing a postal system, through congressional committees. Without an executive, however, there was no unity in policy making and no way to coordinate the work of the different committees.

Finally, the government had no national court system. Instead, state courts enforced and interpreted national laws. The lack of a court system made it difficult for the central government to settle disputes among the states. A legislator from North Carolina addressed the powerlessness of the Confederation in a speech to his state legislature in 1787:

“The general government ought . . . to possess the means of preserving the peace and tranquility of the union. . . . The encroachments of some states, on the rights of others, and of all on those of the confederacy, are incontestible [cannot be denied] proofs of the weakness and imperfection of that system.”

—William Davie, 1787

## Achievements

Despite its weaknesses, the Confederation accomplished much. The greatest achievement was the establishment of a fair policy for the development of the lands west of the Appalachians. The individual states **ceded**, or yielded, their claims to these territories to the central government, providing a priceless national asset that became a strong force for national unity. In addition Congress enacted two land **ordinances**, or laws, that provided for the organization of these territories. The **Northwest Ordinance** of 1787, for example, established the principle that the territories owned by the government were to be developed for statehood on an equal basis with the older states.

Another important accomplishment was a peace treaty with Great Britain. Under the terms of the treaty, signed in 1783, Britain recognized American independence. Land acquired from Britain also greatly enlarged the nation's boundaries, including all land from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River and from the Great Lakes and Canada to the present-day boundary of Florida.

Congress also set up the departments of Foreign Affairs, War, Marine, and the Treasury, each under a single permanent secretary. This development set a precedent for the creation of cabinet departments under the Constitution of 1787.

## GOVERNMENT and You

### Applying for a Passport

Planning a trip overseas? If so, you may need a passport—an official document that grants a citizen the right to travel to another country. United States passports are issued by the Department of State in Washington, D.C.

A passport application can be obtained from your post office or from any federal or state court. There is a required fee, and two current, identical photos of your full face are needed to help prove who you are. You will also need a document, such as a birth certificate, to prove that you are a U.S. citizen. Instructions on the application detail the types of proof of citizenship that are acceptable.

It is often the case that several weeks may pass before you receive your passport in the mail, so apply well in advance of the trip. Your passport will be valid for 5 or 10 years, depending on your age.



A United States passport

## Participating IN GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

**Investigate Further** Search the Internet using the word *passport* to determine which foreign countries have additional requirements for visitors.



## Growing Unrest

**Past** Government authorities often jailed debtor farmers or seized their property. Shays led a mob to attack and close the courts, stopping land confiscations.

**Present** This marker commemorates Shays's revolt. A private army attacked Shays's mob in this field and killed more than 30 men.

### Reaction to Rebellion

*How do you think Americans viewed the government after Shays's Rebellion?*

To encourage cooperation among the states, the Articles provided that each state give "full faith and credit" to the legal acts of the other states and treat one another's citizens without discrimination. This provision, often ignored, was carried over to the Constitution, under which it could be enforced.



The states also faced growing financial troubles. By 1786 an economic depression had left many farmers and small merchants angry and in debt.

## Need for Stronger Government



Despite its achievements, the Confederation faced difficulties in dealing with problems facing the nation. The structure of the central government could not coordinate the actions of the states effectively.

**Growing Problems** Soon after the war, the states began to quarrel, mainly over boundary lines and tariffs. New Jersey farmers, for example, had to pay fees to sell their vegetables in New York. Some states even began to deal directly with foreign nations. Congress could do little about these matters.

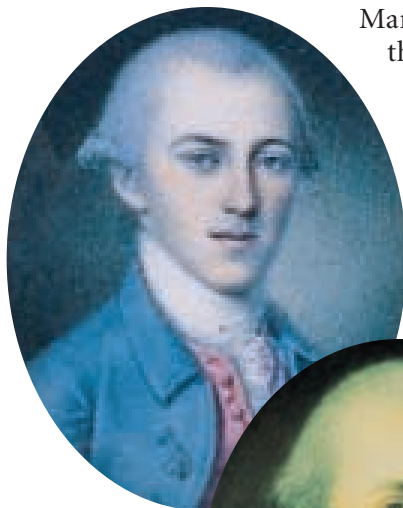
Even worse, the new nation faced serious money problems. By 1787 the government owed \$40 million to foreign governments and to American soldiers still unpaid after the Revolutionary War. Without money, the government could not maintain an army for defense of the states.

**Shays's Rebellion** In 1787 these economic troubles led to armed rebellion. In western Massachusetts several hundred angry farmers armed with pitchforks marched on the Springfield arsenal to get weapons. Daniel Shays, a former captain in the Revolutionary Army, led the farmers. Unable to pay their mortgages some farmers in western Massachusetts were jailed or had their property taken from them. The farmers wanted to prevent the courts from foreclosing on mortgages and taking away their farms. To force the state to pass laws to help them, the farmers threatened to lay siege to Boston.

The Massachusetts militia put down the rebellion, but the unrest frightened American leaders. Henry Knox, later the nation's first secretary of war, echoed the growing number of Americans ready to agree to a strong national government. In a letter to George Washington, Knox wrote:

**“***This dreadful situation has alarmed every man of principle and property in New England. [People wake] as from a dream and ask what has been the cause of our delusion. What [will] give us security against the violence of lawless men? Our government must be [strengthened], changed, or altered to secure our lives and property.***”**

—Henry Knox



**Delegates Alexander Hamilton (above) and James Madison (right)**



Maryland, to discuss commerce. Although all states were invited, only five sent delegates. Among the delegates were Alexander Hamilton of New York and James Madison of Virginia, two leaders who favored a stronger national government. With Shays and his followers threatening the government of Massachusetts, Hamilton persuaded the other delegates to call for another convention in Philadelphia in May 1787. The purpose of this meeting would be to regulate commerce among the states and to propose changes that would make the national government more effective.

After some hesitation, the Confederation Congress gave its consent to hold the Philadelphia convention “for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.” The stage was now set for what has been called the “miracle at Philadelphia.”

## The Annapolis Convention

The Constitutional Convention was the result of two previous meetings. George Washington, retired and living at his Mount Vernon estate, was concerned about problems that had arisen between Maryland and his home state of Virginia. In 1785 he invited representatives from both states to Mount Vernon to discuss differences over their currencies, import duties, and navigation on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay. The meeting was very successful, inspiring Virginia’s representatives in 1786 to call all states to another meeting—a convention at Annapolis,

## Section 3 Assessment

### Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** In a graphic organizer similar to the one below, list the major weaknesses of government under the Articles of Confederation and its achievements.
- 2. Define** ratify, unicameral, cede, ordinance.
- 3. Identify** Northwest Ordinance.
- 4.** How was the original government under the Articles of Confederation organized?
- 5.** Describe two financial problems that could not be resolved under the Articles of Confederation.

Articles of Confederation	
Weaknesses	Achievements

### Critical Thinking

- 6. Identifying Central Issues** What problems did Shays’s Rebellion reveal?

### Concepts IN ACTION

**Federalism** The plan for confederation that was ratified in 1781 called for a “league of friendship” among 13 independent states. What are some examples of interstate cooperation today? Find a recent example of states cooperating with one another in issues such as curbing air pollution or cleaning up waterways.

# The Constitutional Convention

## Reader's Guide

### Key Terms

interstate commerce, extralegal, anarchy

### Find Out

- How did the Connecticut Compromise settle the most divisive issue among members of the Constitutional Convention?
- What were the key arguments presented by the Federalists and Anti-Federalists?

### Understanding Concepts

**Civil Liberties** Why do you think many people insisted on a Bill of Rights in the Constitution?

## COVER STORY

### Massachusetts Approves!

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 1788

By a narrow margin, Massachusetts yesterday became the sixth state to approve the proposed new national constitution. The vote by the special ratifying convention ended nearly a month of heated debate on the issue. Last-minute support by Governor John Hancock and well-known radical leader Sam Adams may have been the key to the Federalist victory. The Federalists seem to have won Adams's endorsement by promising changes to the proposed constitution. Hancock's support is believed to come from the suggestion that he would become the first president if Virginia failed to approve the document, making George Washington ineligible for that office.



John Hancock

The Constitutional Convention began its work on May 25, 1787. All the states except Rhode Island sent delegates. The state legislatures appointed 74 delegates to the Convention, but only 55 attended. Of these, 39 took a leading role.

## The Convention Begins

The delegates had great practical experience in politics. Seven had served as governors of their states. Thirty-nine had served in the Confederation Congress. Many had helped write their state constitutions. Eight had signed the Declaration of Independence, and five delegates had signed the Articles of Confederation.

Several men stood out as leaders. The presence of George Washington ensured that many people would trust the Convention's work. Benjamin Franklin, world famous as a scientist and diplomat, now 81 years old, played an active role in the debates.

Two other Pennsylvanians also played key roles. James Wilson often read Franklin's speeches and did important work on the details of the Constitution. Gouverneur Morris, an eloquent speaker and writer, wrote the final draft of the Constitution.

From Virginia came James Madison, a brilliant advocate of a strong national government. His careful notes are the major source of information about the Convention's work. Madison is often called the **Father of the Constitution** because he was the author of the basic plan of government that the Convention eventually adopted.

**Organization** The Convention began by unanimously choosing George Washington to preside over the meetings. It also decided that each state would have one vote on all questions. A simple majority vote of those states present would make decisions. No meetings could be




held unless delegates from at least seven of the 13 states were present.

The delegates decided to keep the public and press from attending the sessions. This was a key decision because it made it possible for the delegates to talk freely.

**Key Agreements** While the delegates originally came together to revise the Articles, they eventually agreed to abandon the former government and begin again. The delegates reached a consensus on many basic issues. All favored the idea of limited and representative government. They agreed that the powers of the national government should be divided among legislative, executive, and judicial branches. They all believed it was necessary to limit the power of the states to coin money or to interfere with creditors' rights. And all of them agreed that they should strengthen the national government.

The great debates and compromises of the Convention were not over these fundamental questions. Rather, they dealt with how to put these ideas into practice.

## Decisions and Compromises

 After the rules were adopted, the Convention opened with a surprise. It came from the Virginia delegation who presented a plan for a strong national government.

**The Virginia Plan** On May 29 Edmund Randolph of Virginia introduced 15 resolutions that James Madison had drafted. They came to be called the Virginia Plan. The plan proposed a government based on three principles: (1) a strong national legislature with two chambers, the lower one to be chosen by the people and the upper chamber to be chosen by the lower. The legislature would have the power to bar any state laws it found unconstitutional; (2) a strong national executive to be chosen by the national legislature; and (3) a national judiciary to be appointed by the legislature.

The introduction of the Virginia Plan was a brilliant political move on the part of the nationalists. By offering a complete plan at the very start, the nationalists set the direction and agenda for the rest of the Convention. Eventually, and after much discussion by delegates who required a

number of modifications, the Virginia Plan became the basis of the new Constitution.

The delegates debated the Virginia Plan for the next two weeks. Delegates from the smaller states soon realized that the larger, more populous states would be in control of a strong national government under the Virginia Plan. The smaller states wanted a less powerful government with more independence for the states.

**The New Jersey Plan** On June 15 the delegates from the small states, led by William Paterson of New Jersey, made a counterproposal. The New Jersey Plan called for government based on keeping the major feature of the Articles of Confederation—a unicameral legislature, with one vote for each state. Congress, however, would be strengthened by giving it the power to impose taxes and regulate trade. A weak executive consisting of more than one person would be elected by Congress. A national judiciary with limited power would be appointed by the executive.

Paterson argued that the Convention should not deprive the smaller states of the equality they had under the Articles. Thus, his plan was designed simply to amend the Articles. The central government was to continue as a confederation of sovereign states. After some discussion the New Jersey Plan was rejected. The delegates returned to considering the Virginia Plan.

As the summer grew hotter, so did the delegates' tempers. Soon the Convention was deadlocked over the question of the representation of states in Congress. Should the states be represented on the basis of population (favored by the large-state delegations) or should they be represented equally, regardless of population (favored by the small-state delegations)? The debate was bitter, and the Convention was in danger of dissolving.

**The Connecticut Compromise** Finally, a special committee designed a compromise. Called the Connecticut Compromise because Roger Sherman and the delegation from that state played a key role on the committee, this plan was adopted after long debate. The compromise suggested that the legislative branch have two parts: (1) a House of Representatives, with state representation based on population. All revenue laws—concerning spending and taxes—would begin in this house;

and (2) a Senate, with two members from each state. State legislatures would elect senators.

The larger states would have an advantage in the House of Representatives, where representation was to be based on population. The smaller states would be protected in the Senate, where each state had equal representation.

### The Three-Fifths Compromise

A second compromise settled a disagreement over how to determine how many representatives each state would have in the House. Almost one-third of the people in the Southern states were enslaved African Americans. These states wanted the slaves counted the same as free people to give the South more representation.

At the same time, the Southern states did not want enslaved persons counted at all for levying taxes. Because they did not have many slaves, the Northern states took the opposite position. They wanted the enslaved persons counted for tax purposes but not for representation.

The Three-Fifths Compromise settled this deadlock. Three-fifths of the enslaved people were to be counted for both tax purposes and for representation.

### Compromise on Commerce and the Slave Trade

A third compromise resolved a dispute over commerce and the slave trade itself. The Northern states wanted the government to have complete power over trade with other nations. The Southern states depended heavily on agricultural exports. They feared that business interests in the North might have enough votes in Congress to set up trade agreements that would hurt them. They also feared the North might interfere with the slave trade.

Again, a compromise settled the issue. The delegates determined that Congress could not ban the slave trade until 1808. At the same time, they gave Congress the power to regulate both **interstate commerce**, or trade among the states, and foreign commerce. To protect the South's exports, however,

## The Three-Fifths Compromise



### Constitutional Ideals

By accepting the Three-Fifths Compromise, the Framers, in essence, condoned slavery. Leaders, like Thomas Jefferson, (left) accepted slavery as a social norm. Isaac Jefferson, (below) was an enslaved worker at Jefferson's home, Monticello. **How does slavery clash with the ideals of the Revolution?**



Congress was forbidden to impose export taxes. As a result, the

United States is one of the few nations in the world today that does not tax its exports.

**The Slavery Question** The word *slave* does not appear in the Constitution. Beyond the compromises just discussed, the Constitution dealt with slavery only by noting that those escaping to free states could be returned to the slaveholders (Article IV, Section 2).<sup>1</sup> At the time, many of the Northern states were outlawing slavery. Massachusetts had voted to end the slave trade. Delaware had forbidden importing enslaved persons. Connecticut and Rhode Island had decided that all enslaved persons brought into their states would be free. Pennsylvania had taxed slavery out of existence.

Whatever their personal beliefs about slavery, the delegates knew that the Southern states would never accept the Constitution if it interfered with slavery. Thus, in order to create the badly needed new government, the Founders compromised on

See the following footnoted materials in the *Reference Handbook*:  
1. The Constitution, pages 774–799.


the slavery question. Their refusal to deal with slavery left it to later generations of Americans to resolve this great and terrible issue.

**Other Compromises** The delegates compromised on several other issues to complete the Constitution. The debate over how to elect the president included the election of the president directly by the people, by Congress, and by state legislatures. The present Electoral College system, in which each state selects electors to choose the president, was finally agreed to as a compromise. Similarly, the president's four-year term was a compromise between those wanting a longer term and those who feared a long term would give the president too much power.

On September 8, 1787, a Committee of Style and Arrangements began polishing the final draft. By September 17 the document was ready. Thirty-nine delegates stepped forward to sign the Constitution. The aging Ben Franklin had to be helped to the table to sign. As others went up to sign, he

remarked that during the long debates he had often looked at the sun painted on the back of General Washington's chair and wondered whether it was rising or setting. "[B]ut now at length I have the happiness to know," he said, "it is a rising and not a setting Sun."

## Ratifying the Constitution

 For the new Constitution to become law, 9 of the 13 states had to ratify it. The political debate over ratification lasted until May 29, 1790, when Rhode Island finally voted for approval. The Constitution, however, actually went into effect on June 21, 1788, when New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify it.

## The Federalists and Anti-Federalists

The great debate over ratification quickly divided the people in the states. Fervent debates broke out in the newspapers. One group, known as the Federalists, favored the Constitution and was led by many of the Founders. Their support came mainly from merchants and others in the cities and coastal regions. The other group, called the Anti-Federalists, opposed the new Constitution. They drew support largely from the inland farmers and laborers, who feared a strong national government. The lines of support, however, were not clearly drawn, and many city and business people agreed with the opponents of the Constitution.

The Anti-Federalists criticized the Constitution for having been drafted in secrecy. They claimed the document was **extralegal**, not sanctioned by law, since the Convention had been authorized only to revise the old Articles. They further argued that the Constitution took important powers from the states.

The Anti-Federalists' strongest argument, however, was that the Constitution lacked a Bill of Rights. The Convention had considered including such a bill. However, the delegates decided that the inclusion was not needed because the Constitution did not give the government power to violate the people's rights. Anti-Federalists warned that without a Bill of Rights, a strong national government might take away the human rights won in the Revolution. They demanded that the new Constitution clearly guarantee the people's freedoms. **Patrick Henry** was a strong opponent of the Constitution. He stated:

**Rising sun chair,  
Constitutional  
Convention**





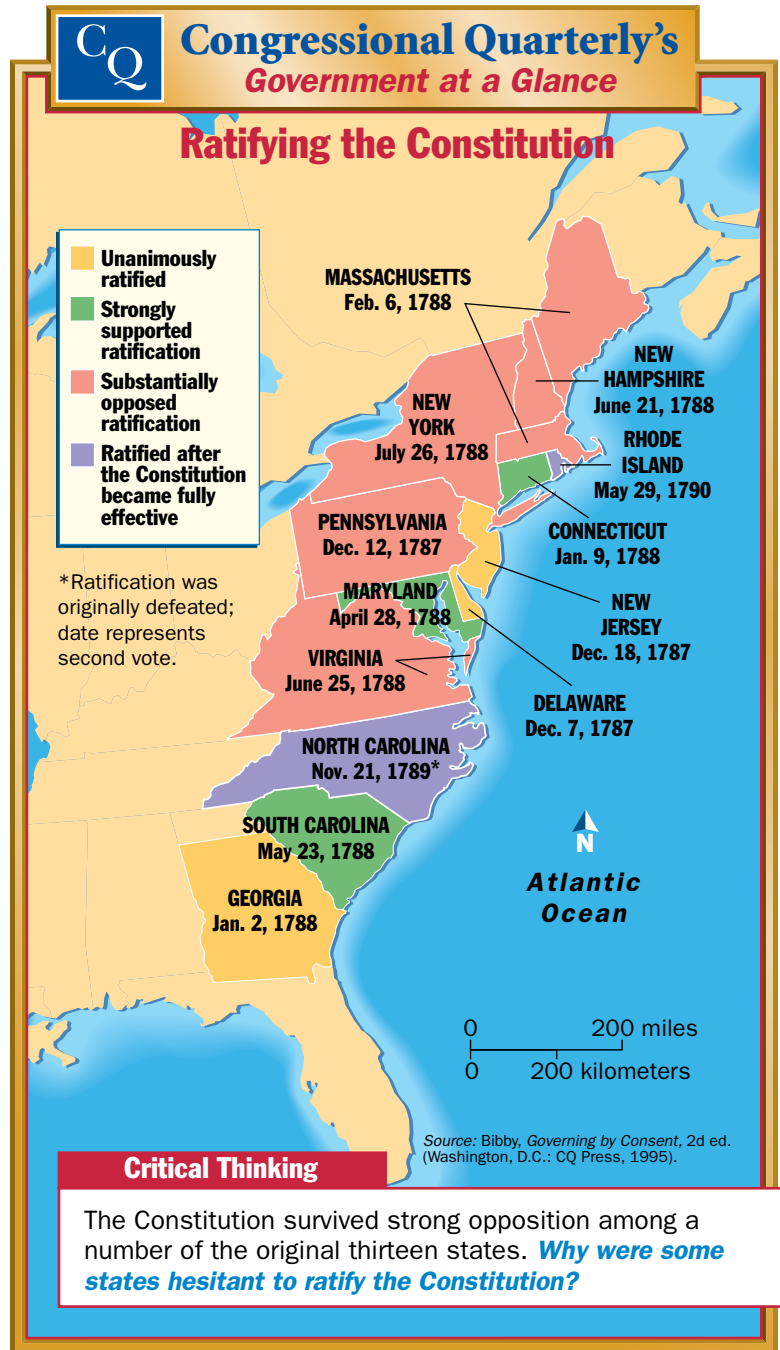
“The necessity of a Bill of Rights appears to me to be greater in this government than ever it was in any government before. . . . All rights not expressly and unequivocally reserved to the people are impliedly and incidentally relinquished to rulers. . . . If you intend to reserve your unalienable rights, you must have the most express stipulation; for . . . if the people do not think it necessary to reserve them, they will supposed to be given up.”

—Patrick Henry, 1788

The Federalists, on the other hand, argued that without a strong national government, **anarchy**, or political disorder, would triumph. They claimed that only a strong national government could protect the new nation from enemies abroad and solve the country’s internal problems. They also claimed that a Bill of Rights was not needed since eight states already had such bills in their state constitutions. To gain the necessary support, however, the Federalists promised to add a Bill of Rights as the first order of business under a new government.

## Progress Toward Ratification

With the promise of a Bill of Rights, the tide turned in favor of the Constitution. Many small states ratified it quickly because they were pleased with equal representation in the new Senate. Although the Constitution went into effect when New Hampshire ratified it, Virginia and New York had not voted for approval. In Virginia, George Washington, James Madison, and Edmund Randolph helped swing a close vote on June 25, 1788. In New York, Alexander Hamilton argued the case for six weeks. Finally, on July 26, the Federalists in New York won by only three votes.



To help win the battle in New York, Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay published more than 80 essays defending the new Constitution. Later they were collected in a book called *The Federalist*.<sup>1</sup>

See the following footnoted materials in the *Reference Handbook*:  
**1.** *The Federalist*, No. 10, pages 812–814 and  
*The Federalist*, No. 51, pages 815–816.

## The Constitutional Debate



**Choosing Sides** The woodcut shows the “Ship of State” being paraded by Federalists in support of the Constitution. The portrait is of Patrick Henry, an outspoken Anti-Federalist.

**What was the Anti-Federalists’ strongest argument against the Constitution?**



**Patrick Henry**

**Launching a New State** With ratification by Virginia and New York, the new government began, with New York City as the nation’s temporary capital. George Washington was elected president and John Adams vice president. Voters elected 22 senators and 59 representatives, and on March 4, 1789, Congress met for the first time in Federal Hall in New York. On April 30 Washington took

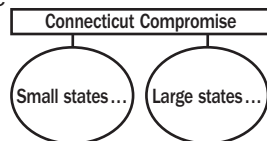
the oath of office to become the first president of the United States.

To fulfill the promises made during the fight for ratification, James Madison introduced a set of amendments during the first session of Congress. Congress approved 12 amendments and the states ratified 10 of them in 1791. These first 10 amendments became known as the Bill of Rights.

### Section 4 Assessment

#### Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** In a graphic organizer similar to the one at the right, describe how the Connecticut Compromise provided fair treatment for both large and small states.
- 2. Define** interstate commerce, extralegal, anarchy.
- 3. Identify** Father of the Constitution, Patrick Henry.
- Identify the key issues on which the delegates to the Constitutional Convention agreed.
- Who were the authors of *The Federalist* and what was the purpose for writing it?



#### Critical Thinking

- 6. Identifying Alternatives** What do you think the outcome of the Constitutional Convention might have been if the public and press had been allowed to attend the sessions?

#### Concepts IN ACTION

**Civil Liberties** The Bill of Rights, important in the ratification of the Constitution, continues to be a strong foundation of the American political system. Find examples of civil liberties issues in the news. Write a short news article about why the Bill of Rights is important today.

# Skills Technology

## Using a Computerized Card Catalog

If you want to write a paper on a topic related to the colonial period, you will need to use a variety of reference materials for research. A computerized card catalog can help you narrow your search.

### Learning the Skill

Go to the computerized card catalog in your school or local library. Type in the name of an author; the title of a book, videotape, audiocassette, or CD; or a subject heading. The computer will list on-screen the author, titles, or subjects you requested.

The “card” that appears on-screen also lists other important information, such as the year the work was published, who published it, what media type it is, and the language it is written or recorded in. Use this information to determine if the material meets your needs. Then check to see if the material is available. Find the classification and call number under which it is shelved.

### Practicing the Skill

Follow the steps below to collect materials on the subject of the Articles of Confederation.

1. Go to the computerized card catalog in your school or local library and conduct a subject search on the Articles of Confederation. Did you have to broaden or narrow your search?
2. A list of subjects should appear on the computer screen. Follow the instructions on-screen to display all the titles under your subject. List four titles that contain information on the Articles of Confederation.



3. Select one title from your list that you want to learn more about. How do you find out more details on this?
4. How many copies of this work are available in the library? Where can you find this work in the library?

### Application Activity

Use a library computerized card catalog to research and produce a brochure giving step-by-step directions on how to find background material and commentary on the Declaration of Independence.



## Chapter 2

# Assessment and Activities

CLICK HERE

### GOVERNMENT

Online



**Self-Check Quiz** Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at [gov.glencoe.com](http://gov.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 2–Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the chapter test.

## Reviewing Key Terms

Write a paragraph that summarizes the key points of this chapter. Use all of the following terms.

1. limited government
2. cede
3. representative government
4. revenue
5. ratify
6. anarchy
7. ordinance
8. interstate commerce

### Current Events JOURNAL

**Trade Restrictions** The colonists used trade restrictions to protest the Stamp Act and the Intolerable Acts. Since that time, nations, groups, and individuals have continued to use trade restrictions as a means to protest unpopular or unfair policies. Use the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* to find magazine articles detailing present-day examples of groups using these methods of protest.

## Recalling Facts

1. Identify three key ideas found in the English Bill of Rights.
2. According to John Locke, what fundamental element made government legitimate?
3. Describe the practices established by colonial governments that became a basic part of our system of government.
4. What tasks did the Second Continental Congress accomplish?
5. Why was the Declaration of Independence a revolutionary document?
6. What achievements were made under the Articles of Confederation?
7. State the position of small states in the debate over representation in Congress.
8. What issue did the Convention delegates refuse to settle in 1787?

## Understanding Concepts

1. **Growth of Democracy** Explain what the impact of the English political heritage was to the United States and its importance to the development of American government.
2. **Federalism** In your opinion, why was the Articles of Confederation an unworkable or unrealistic plan of government?
3. **Civil Liberties** Why did the Anti-Federalists insist on a Bill of Rights?

## Critical Thinking

1. **Understanding Cause and Effect** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to show the cause for each effect listed.

Cause	Effect
	a strong central government
	compromises in the Constitution

2. **Synthesizing Information** How do you account for the contradiction between the constitutional acceptance of slavery and the ideals set forth in both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?

CONTENTS

## Chapter 2

### Cooperative Learning Activity

**Organizing a Government** Organize into groups. Imagine that your group is aboard a space vehicle headed toward a planet that is capable of supporting human life. Once you land on the new planet, the first task is to decide what type of government your community will have. Decide on a model form of government under which you would like to live. Present your model to the class.

### Skill Practice Activity

#### Using a Computerized Card

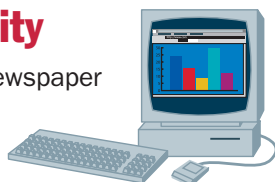
**Catalog** Use a computerized card catalog to find out more about the British colonial legislation that led to the American Revolution.

1. Type "s/American Revolution."
2. From the list of subjects that appears on-screen, determine which might contain information on acts of Parliament passed immediately before the American Revolution.
3. Follow the instructions on the computer screen to display all the titles under each subject you selected.
4. Which of the books on the screen would you examine to discover more about your subject?

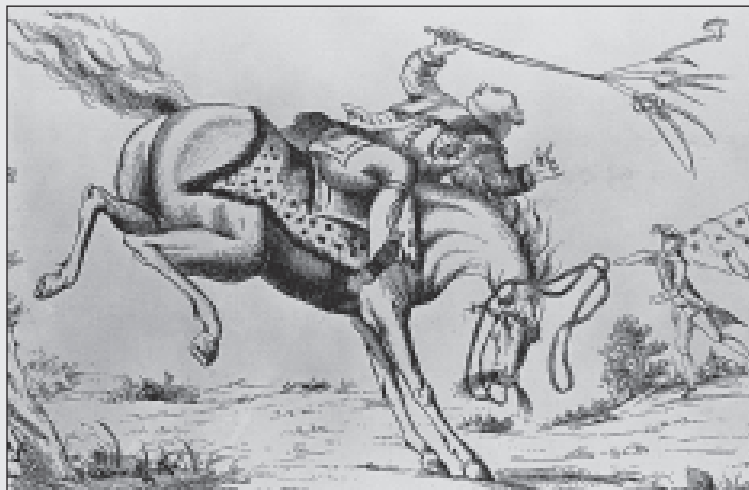
### Technology Activity

**Using Software Programs** Newspaper cartoons were important tools to stir public opinion against Great Britain at the time of the Revolution.

Use software clip art to create a political cartoon that might have appeared in a colonial newspaper. The cartoon should illustrate the colonists' feelings toward Britain.



### Interpreting Political Cartoons Activity



1. What symbol represents the colonies in this 1779 political cartoon?
2. Who do you think the rider on the horse is?
3. What is the message of this cartoon?

### Participating in Local Government

Every community has its unique history. In the course of development, the types of local government often changed. For example, as a village grew to become a city, the government evolved to meet new conditions. How did the structure of your local government change?

Investigate the history of your local government. Visit local government offices to find out when and how your community started, what type of government the community originally adopted, and who the early leaders were. Describe how the government grew and changed over the years. Prepare a brochure about the early governments of your community with the class.

