



# CHAPTER

# 3

# The American Revolution 1754–1789

## Why It Matters

In the early colonial period, colonists grew accustomed to running their own affairs. When Britain tried to reestablish control, tensions mounted over taxes and basic rights. In 1775 these tensions led to battle, and in 1776 the colonists declared their independence. With the help of France and Spain, the colonists defeated the British in 1781; the conflict formally ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783. After the war, the new nation drew up a plan of government that balanced the power of a central government against the powers of the states.

## The Impact Today

The American Revolution and the country's early experiences had lasting results.

- Americans value and protect local liberties and the right to representation in government.
- The Constitution remains a model for representative government.



### The American Republic Since 1877 Video

The Chapter 3 video, "The Power of the Constitution," discusses one of the nation's most important documents.



**1754**

- French and Indian War for control of eastern North America begins

**1765**

- Parliament passes the Stamp Act, triggering protests throughout the colonies

**1770**

- British troops fire on colonists in Boston Massacre



1750

1760

1770



## World

**1748**

- Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* published

**1755**

- Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* published

**1751**

- Chinese invade Tibet and control succession to the throne

**1769**

- Steam engine patented by James Watt

United States  
PRESIDENTS



*Washington Crossing the Delaware* by Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze, 1851

**1775**

- The first shots of the Revolutionary War fired at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts

**1776**

- Declaration of Independence signed

**1781**

- Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown
- Articles of Confederation ratified

**1783**

- Treaty of Paris signed, officially ending war

**1786**

- Shays's Rebellion begins

**1787**

- Constitutional Convention begins in Philadelphia

**1789**

- George Washington becomes first president under the Constitution

**1780**

**1776**

- Adam Smith's treatise on mercantilism, *The Wealth of Nations*, published

**1778**

- James Cook lands on Hawaii

**1787**

- Freed Africans found colony in Sierra Leone

**1790**

**1789**

- French Revolution begins

*Washington*  
1789–1797

**HISTORY**  
*Online*

**Chapter Overview**

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# The Colonies Fight for Their Rights

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

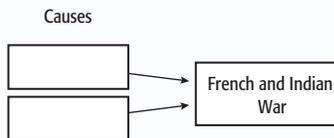
Tensions grew as British leaders sought greater control over the American colonies.

### Key Terms and Names

Albany Plan of Union, French and Indian War, Royal Proclamation of 1763, customs duty, Sons of Liberty, Stamp Act Congress, nonimportation agreement, writs of assistance

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about the growing tensions between Britain and the American colonies, complete a graphic organizer like the one below by listing the causes of the French and Indian War.



### Reading Objectives

- **Summarize** reasons for colonial discontent.
- **Explain** how the Stamp Act affected the relationship between Britain and the colonies.

### Section Theme

**Civic Rights and Responsibilities** The colonists' belief that they had the same rights as English citizens led to a struggle against Parliament and the king.

### Preview of Events



British revenue stamp

## ★ An American Story ★

At first, Pennsylvania colonist John Hughes was delighted when his friend Ben Franklin helped him to get the position of stamp tax collector. By September 1765, however, he feared his job might cost him his life. Anti-tax protests had grown so strong that Hughes barricaded himself inside his house to avoid being attacked. He wrote frantically to Franklin in London:

“You are now from Letter to Letter to suppose each may be the last you will receive from your old Friend, as the Spirit of . . . Rebellion is to a high Pitch. . . . Madness has got hold of the people. . . . I fancy some Lives will be lost before this Fire is put out. . . .”

Just a few years earlier, British soldiers and American colonists had fought side by side in a successful war against France. After the war ended, tensions between Britain and its colonies grew. Britain wanted the colonies to help pay for the war, while the colonists questioned Britain's authority to make them do so. Misunderstanding and distrust slowly turned many colonists against the British, creating situations that would eventually lead to revolution.

—adapted from *What They Didn't Teach You About the American Revolution*

## The French and Indian War

The French and English had been vying for dominance in Europe since the late 1600s, fighting three major wars between 1689 and 1748. Most of the action took place in Europe, but when France and England were at war, their colonies were at war as well. In 1754 a new struggle began.



**The First Skirmish** In the 1740s, the British and French both became interested in the Ohio River valley. By crossing from Lake Ontario to the Ohio River and following the river south to the Mississippi, the French could travel from New France to Louisiana easily. Meanwhile, British fur traders were entering the Ohio region, and British land speculators began eyeing the land to sell to settlers.

To block British claims in the region, the French built a chain of forts from Lake Ontario to the Ohio River. The British decided to counter with a fort of their own in western Pennsylvania. Before they could complete it, however, the French seized it and built **Fort Duquesne** on the site.

In an attempt to expel the French, a young Virginian, **George Washington**, led troops toward the Ohio River in the spring of 1754. After a brief battle with a small French force, Washington retreated to a hastily built stockade, **Fort Necessity**. A little over a month later, a large French force arrived and forced Washington to surrender. Ownership of the Ohio River valley was far from settled, however. Within a few years, the conflict would grow into a worldwide war involving several European powers.

**The Albany Conference** Even before the fighting started, the British government anticipated hostilities. It urged the colonies to work together to prepare for war and to negotiate an alliance with the Iroquois. The Iroquois controlled western New York, territory the French had to pass through to reach the Ohio River. Accordingly, in June 1754, delegates from seven colonies met with 150 Iroquois leaders at Albany, New York.

This meeting, known as the Albany Conference, achieved several things. Although the Iroquois refused an alliance with the British, they did agree to remain neutral. The colonies also agreed that Britain should appoint one supreme commander of all troops in the colonies. Finally, Benjamin Franklin and others at the conference developed the **Albany Plan of Union**, which proposed that the colonies unite to form a federal government.

Although the colonies rejected the plan, it showed that many colonial leaders had begun to think about joining together for defense.

**The British Triumph** In 1755 the new British commander in chief, General **Edward Braddock**, arrived in Virginia with 1,400 troops. He linked up with 450 local militia troops and appointed Lieutenant Colonel George Washington to serve as his aide. Braddock then headed west, intending to attack Fort Duquesne. The general disregarded warnings about the Native American allies of the French. “These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia,” he told Benjamin Franklin. “Upon the King’s regular and disciplined troops, it is impossible they should make any impression.”

Braddock’s comments later came back to haunt him. Seven miles from Fort Duquesne, French and Native American forces ambushed the British. Braddock was shot and later died. His inexperienced soldiers panicked, and only Washington’s leadership saved them from disaster. As enemy shots whizzed past him—leaving four holes in his hat and clothes—Washington rallied the troops and organized a retreat.

The ambush emboldened the Delaware people of western Pennsylvania to begin attacking British settlers on their land. For the next two years, the **French and Indian War**, as it was called, raged along the



**History Through Art**

**Fatal Meeting** The Battle of Quebec in 1759 was one of Britain’s most dramatic victories over the French during the French and Indian War. Both commanding generals, the French Montcalm and the British Wolfe, were killed on the Plains of Abraham, the bluffs above the St. Lawrence River. [From studying the painting, why do you think it was difficult for the British to invade Quebec?](#)



frontier. In 1756 the fighting between Britain and France spread to Europe, where it became known as The Seven Years' War. Other countries entered the fray, and battles were waged around the globe.

In North America, the British fleet quickly cut off the flow of supplies and reinforcements from France. The Iroquois, realizing the tide had turned in favor of the British, pressured the Delaware to end their attacks. With their Native American allies giving up, the French found themselves badly outnumbered.

In 1759 a British fleet commanded by General James Wolfe sailed to Quebec City in New France. There the British defeated the French troops of General Louis Joseph Montcalm. The battle cost both Wolfe and Montcalm their lives, but Britain's victory was the war's turning point in North America.

Elsewhere in the world, the fighting continued. Spain joined forces with France in 1761, but the British ultimately triumphed. Under the terms of the

**Treaty of Paris** in 1763, France lost all claims to mainland North America. Ownership of New France and most of Louisiana east of the Mississippi went to Britain. Spain lost Florida but retained Cuba and the Philippines. As compensation for the loss of Florida, the Spanish gained New Orleans and western Louisiana.

**Reading Check** **Examining** Why were the French and the British interested in the Ohio River valley?

## The Colonies Grow Discontented

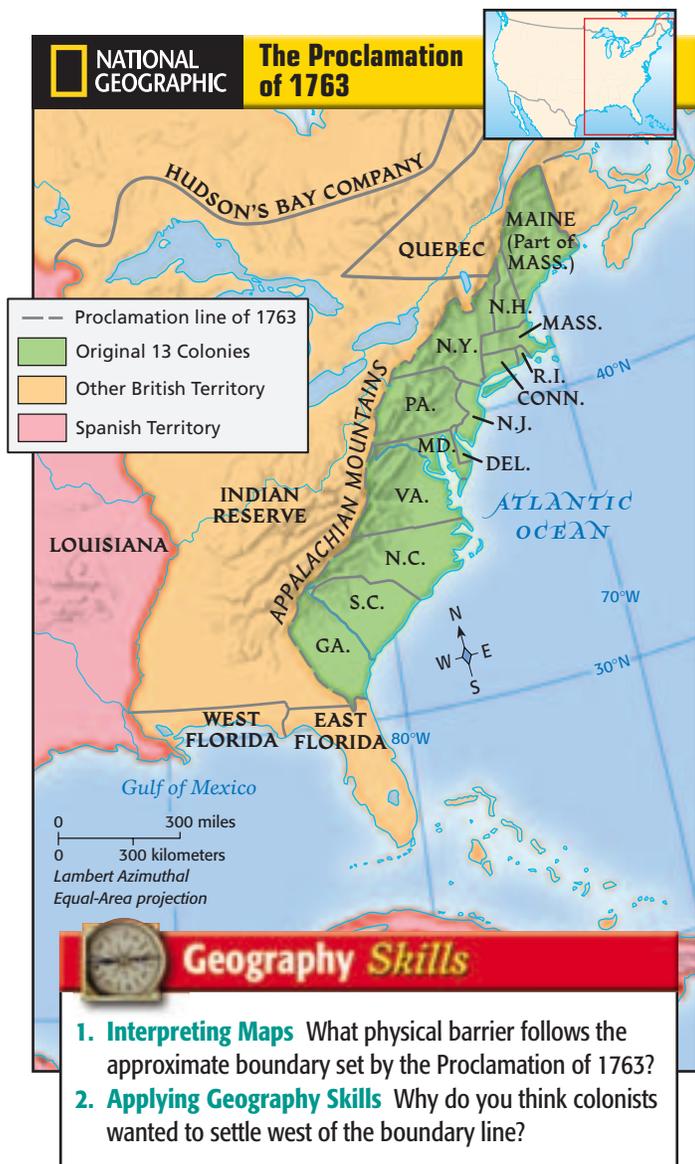
Great Britain's victory in 1763 left the country deeply in debt. It had to pay not only the cost of the war, but also the cost of governing and defending its new territories. Many British leaders thought that the colonies should share in the costs, especially the cost of stationing troops in the colonies. As the British government adopted new policies to solve its financial problems, colonial resentment grew.

**The Proclamation Act of 1763** In the spring of 1763, **Pontiac**, the chief of the Ottawa people, decided to go to war against the British. After uniting several Native American groups, including the Ottawa, Delaware, Shawnee, and Seneca peoples, Pontiac's forces attacked several forts and towns along the frontier before British troops were able to stop them. Pontiac's war did not surprise British officials. They had been expecting trouble since 1758, when reports first indicated that settlers were moving into western Pennsylvania in defiance of the colony's treaty with the region's Native Americans.

British officials did not want to bear the cost of another war. Many officials also owned shares in fur trading companies operating in the region, and they knew that a war would disrupt trade. They decided that the best solution was to limit western settlement until new treaties could be negotiated.

When news of Pontiac's raids reached Britain in the summer of 1763, officials hurried to complete their plans. In early October, King George III issued the **Royal Proclamation of 1763**. The Proclamation drew a line from north to south along the Appalachian Mountains and declared that colonists could not settle any land west of the line without the British government's permission. This enraged many farmers and land speculators.

**Customs Reform and New Taxes** At the same time the Proclamation Act was angering western farmers, eastern merchants were objecting to new tax policies. In 1763 **George Grenville** became the prime





minister and first lord of the Treasury. Grenville had to find a way to reduce Britain's debt and pay for the 10,000 British troops now stationed in North America.

Grenville discovered that merchants were smuggling goods into and out of the colonies without paying **customs duties**—taxes on imports and exports. Grenville pushed for a law allowing smugglers to be tried in a new vice-admiralty court in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Unlike colonial courts, where juries often sympathized with smugglers, vice-admiralty courts were run by naval officers and had no juries, a violation of the traditional English right to a jury of one's peers. Sending colonists to distant Nova Scotia also violated their right to a speedy public trial.

Among those tried under the new system was **John Hancock** of Massachusetts. Hancock had made a fortune in the sugar trade, smuggling molasses from French colonies in the Caribbean. Defending Hancock was a young lawyer named **John Adams**. Adams argued that the use of vice-admiralty courts denied colonists their rights as British citizens.

In addition to tightening customs control, Grenville introduced the American Revenue Act of 1764, better known as the **Sugar Act**. The act changed the tax rates on imports of raw sugar and molasses. It also placed new taxes on silk, wine, coffee, and indigo.

Merchants throughout the colonies complained to Parliament that the Sugar Act hurt trade. Many were also furious that the act violated several traditional English rights. Merchants accused of smuggling were presumed guilty unless proven innocent. The act also let officials seize goods without **due process**, or proper court procedures, in some circumstances, and prevented lawsuits by merchants whose goods had been improperly seized.

In many colonial cities, pamphlets circulated condemning the Sugar Act. In one pamphlet, James Otis argued that taxes could be levied to regulate trade, but those designed to raise money were unjust because the colonists had no representatives in Parliament. Otis wrote, "No parts of His Majesty's dominions can be taxed without their consent. . . ." His words gave rise to the popular expression, "No taxation without representation."

Parliament soon passed another unpopular measure, the **Currency Act of 1764**. This act banned the use of paper money in the colonies because it tended to lose its value very quickly. Colonial farmers and artisans liked paper money for precisely that reason. They could take out loans and easily repay them later with paper money that was worth less than when they originally borrowed.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** How did Britain hope to solve its financial problems after the French and Indian War?



*George Grenville*

## The Stamp Act Crisis

Although the Sugar Act had begun to generate money for Britain, Grenville did not believe it would cover all of the government's expenses in America. To raise more money, he persuaded Parliament to pass the **Stamp Act** in March 1765.

The Stamp Act required stamps to be bought and placed on most printed materials, including newspapers, pamphlets, posters, wills, mortgages, deeds, licenses, bonds, and even diplomas, dice, and playing cards. Unlike previous taxes, which had always been imposed on trade,

the stamp tax was a direct tax—the first Britain had ever placed on the colonists. Parliament then passed one more law. The **Quartering Act** was intended to make the colonies pay more for their own defense. The act required colonists to provide barracks for British troops or pay to house them in taverns, inns, vacant buildings, and barns.

It was the Stamp Act, however, that triggered a reaction. Editorials, pamphlets, and speeches poured out against the impending tax. The Virginia House of Burgesses, roused by Patrick Henry's speeches, passed resolutions declaring that Virginians were entitled to the rights of British people and could be taxed only by their own representatives. Newspapers in other colonies reprinted the resolutions, and other assemblies passed similar statements. By the summer of 1765, groups calling themselves the **Sons of Liberty** were organizing meetings and protests and trying to intimidate stamp distributors.  (See page 930 for more on one of Patrick Henry's speeches.)

In October 1765, representatives from nine of the colonies met for what became known as the **Stamp Act Congress**. Together, they issued the Declaration

of Rights and Grievances. Drafted by a wealthy Pennsylvania farmer and lawyer named John Dickinson, the declaration argued that only the colonists' political representatives, and not Parliament, had the right to tax them. The congress then petitioned King George for relief and asked Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act.

When the Stamp Act took effect on November 1, the colonists ignored it. They began to boycott all goods made in Britain. In New York, 200 merchants signed a **nonimportation agreement**, pledging not to buy any British goods until Parliament repealed the Stamp Act.

The boycott had a powerful effect on England. Thousands of workers lost their jobs as orders from the colonies were cancelled. British merchants could not collect money the colonies owed them.

With protests mounting in both England and America, British lawmakers repealed the Stamp Act in 1766. To demonstrate its authority over the colonies, however, Parliament also passed the **Declaratory Act**. This asserted that the colonies were

subordinate to the British Parliament, and that Parliament had the power to make laws for the colonies.

**Reading Check Summarizing** What actions did colonists take in response to the Stamp Act?

## The Townshend Acts

During the Stamp Act crisis, Britain's financial problems had worsened. Protests in England had forced Parliament to lower property taxes there, yet somehow the government had to pay for its troops in America. In 1767 Charles Townshend, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced new measures to raise money from the colonies. These came to be called the **Townshend Acts**.

One measure, the Revenue Act of 1767, put new customs duties on glass, lead, paper, paint, and tea imported into the colonies. Violators of the Revenue Act could be tried in vice-admiralty courts, where they were presumed guilty and had to prove their innocence. The Townshend Acts, like the Sugar Act, also allowed officials to seize private property under certain circumstances without following due process.

To help customs officers arrest smugglers, the Revenue Act legalized the use of **writs of assistance**. These were general search warrants that enabled customs officers to enter any location during the day to look for evidence of smuggling. Writs had been used before, but in 1760 James Otis had challenged them in court. The issue remained unresolved until the Revenue Act of 1767 declared writs of assistance to be legal.

**Action and Reaction** The Townshend Acts infuriated many colonists. During the winter of 1767 to 1768, John Dickinson published his *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* in colonial newspapers. In these essays, Dickinson reasserted that only assemblies elected by the colonists had the right to tax them. In addition, he called on the colonies to become "firmly bound together" to "form one body politic" to resist the Townshend Acts.

Less than a month after Dickinson's first letter appeared, the Massachusetts assembly began organizing against Britain. Among the leaders of this resistance was **Sam Adams** of Massachusetts, cousin of John Adams. In February 1768, Sam Adams, with the help of James Otis, drafted a "circular letter" for the Massachusetts assembly to pass and circulate to other colonies. The letter expressed opposition to the Townshend Acts, and British officials ordered the Massachusetts assembly to withdraw it. When the assembly refused, the British government

### Causes and Effects of Tensions With Britain

#### Causes

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

#### Effects

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



#### Graphic Organizer Skills

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

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



ordered the body dissolved. In August 1768, the merchants of Boston and New York responded by signing nonimportation agreements. Philadelphia’s merchants joined the boycott in March 1769.

In May 1769, Virginia’s House of Burgesses passed the **Virginia Resolves**, which stated that only the House could tax Virginians. When Britain ordered the House dissolved, its leaders—including George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson—immediately called the members to a convention. This convention then passed a nonimportation law that blocked the sale of British goods in Virginia.

As the boycott spread, the colonists again stopped drinking British tea and buying British cloth. Women’s groups known as the **Daughters of Liberty** began spinning their own rough cloth, called “homespun.” Wearing homespun rather than British cloth became a sign of patriotism. Throughout the colonies, the Sons of Liberty encouraged people to support the boycotts. In 1769 colonial imports from Britain declined sharply from what they had been in 1768.

**The Boston Massacre** In the fall of 1768, as violence against customs officers in Boston increased, Britain dispatched roughly 1,000 soldiers to the city to maintain order. Bostonians heckled and harassed these troops, referring to them as “lobster backs” because of the red coats they wore. On March 5, 1770, a crowd of colonists began taunting and throwing snowballs at a British soldier guarding a customs house. His call for help brought Captain Thomas Preston and a squad of soldiers. Preston described what happened next:

“The mob still increased and were more outrageous, striking their clubs and bludgeons one against another, and calling out, ‘Come on you rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire if you dare . . . we know you dare not.’ . . . They advanced to the points of the bayonets, struck some of them and even the muzzles of the pieces, and seemed to be endeavoring to [fight] with the soldiers.”

—quoted in *American Voices, American Lives*

In the midst of the tumult, one soldier was knocked down. He rose angrily and fired his weapon into the crowd. This triggered a volley of shots from the rest of the troops, who thought they were under attack. When the smoke cleared, three colonists lay dead, two more would die later, and six more were wounded. According to accounts, the first person to die was a part African, part Native American man known as both Michael Johnson and Crispus Attucks.

The incident became known as the **Boston Massacre**. Colonial newspapers portrayed the British as tyrants who were willing to kill people who stood up for their rights. Further violence might have ensued, had not news arrived a few weeks later that the British had repealed almost all of the Townshend Acts. Parliament kept one tax—on tea—to uphold its right to tax the colonies. At the same time, it allowed the colonial assemblies to resume meeting. Peace and stability returned to the colonies, but only temporarily.

**Reading Check** **Identifying** Who led resistance to British taxation in Massachusetts? In Virginia?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *customs duty, nonimportation agreement, writs of assistance.*
- Identify:** Albany Plan of Union, French and Indian War, Royal Proclamation of 1763, Sons of Liberty, Stamp Act Congress.
- Summarize** the causes of the French and Indian War.

### Reviewing Themes

- Civic Rights and Responsibilities**  
What argument did the colonists use to protest the Stamp Act?

### Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** Was it reasonable for Great Britain to expect the colonists to help pay for the French and Indian War and for their own defense? Why or why not?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer to describe the acts Parliament passed after the French and Indian War.

Act	Year	Key Features

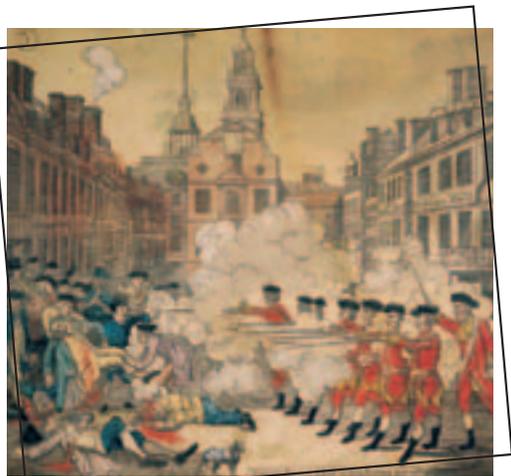
### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Charts** Study the chart on page 78 of causes and effects of tensions with Britain. Then make your own similar chart. Use the causes listed in the chart you studied as the effects in your own chart. The causes in your chart should reflect the reasons Britain passed these acts.

### Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are a member of the Sons or Daughters of Liberty. Write a pamphlet explaining what your group does and urging fellow colonists to join.

# You're *the* Historian



The Bloody Massacre,  
engraving by Paul Revere, 1770

## Comparing Accounts of the Boston Massacre

**O**n the night of March 5, 1770, Captain Thomas Preston sent British troops to protect the Customs House in Boston from a group of colonists who had gathered nearby. Twenty minutes later, the troops had killed or wounded 11 people. The tragedy became known as the Boston Massacre. What happened that night? You're the historian.

Read the two accounts of the Boston Massacre below. One is Captain Preston's report of the event. The other is a colonist's account that quotes eyewitness Samuel Drowne. After reading the accounts, answer the questions and complete the activities that follow.

### From Captain Thomas Preston's account

On Monday night . . . about 9 some of the guards came to and informed me the town inhabitants were assembling to attack the troops. . . . In a few minutes after I reached the guard, about 100 people passed it and went towards the custom house where the king's money is lodged. They immediately surrounded the sentry posted there, and with clubs and other weapons threatened to execute their vengeance on him. . . .

I immediately sent a noncommissioned officer and 12 men to protect both the sentry and the king's money, and very soon followed myself to prevent, if possible, all disorder, fearing lest the officer and soldiers, by the insults and provocations of the rioters, should be thrown off their guard and commit some rash act. . . .

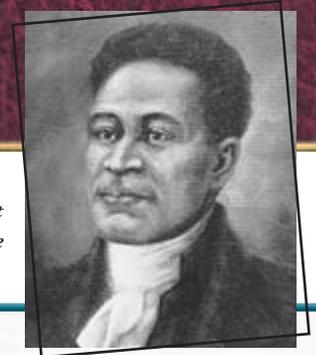
Nay, so far was I from intending the death of any person that I suffered the troops to go . . . without any loading in their [guns]; nor did I ever give orders for loading them. . . .

The mob still increased and were more outrageous, striking their clubs or bludgeons one against another, and calling out come on you rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire if you dare. . . .

At this time I was between the soldiers and the mob . . . endeavoring all in my power to persuade them to retire peaceably, but to no purpose. They advanced to the points of the bayonets, [and] struck some of them. . . . A general attack was made on the men by a great number of heavy clubs and snowballs being thrown at them, by which

all our lives were in imminent danger, some persons at the same time from behind calling out, damn you bloods—why don't you fire. Instantly three or four of the soldiers fired, one after another, and directly after three more in the same confusion and hurry. . . .

The whole of the melancholy affair was transacted in almost twenty minutes. On my asking the soldiers why they fired without orders, they said that they heard the word fire and supposed it came from me. This might be the case as many of the mob called out fire, fire, but I assured the men that I gave no such order; that my words were, don't fire, stop your firing. In short, it was scarcely possible for the soldiers to know who said fire, or don't fire, or stop your firing.



*Crispus Attucks, the first colonist to die in the Boston Massacre*

## From the colonist's account

Samuel Drowne [a witness] declares that, about nine o'clock of the evening of the fifth of March current, standing at his own door in Cornhill, he saw about fourteen or fifteen soldiers. . . . [The soldiers] came upon the inhabitants of the town, then standing or walking in Cornhill, and abused some, and violently assaulted others as they met them; most of them were without so much of a stick in their hand to defend themselves, as he clearly could discern, it being moonlight, and himself being one of the assaulted persons.

All or most of the said soldiers he saw go into King Street (some of them through Royal Exchange

Land), and there followed them, and soon discovered them to be quarreling and fighting with the people whom they saw there, which he thinks were not more than a dozen. . . .

The outrageous behavior and the threats of the said party occasioned the ringing of the meeting house bell . . . which bell . . . presently brought out a number of the inhabitants, who . . . were naturally led to King Street, where [the British] had made a stop but a little while before, and where their stopping had drawn together a number of boys, round the sentry at the Custom House. . . .

There was much foul language between them, and some of them, in consequence of his pushing at them with his bayonet, threw snowballs at him, which occasioned him to knock hastily at the door of the Custom House. . . .

The officer on guard was Captain Preston, who with seven or eight soldiers, with firearms and charged bayonets, issued from the guardhouse, and in great haste posted himself and his soldiers in front of the Custom House, near the corner aforesaid. In passing to this station the soldiers pushed several persons

with their bayonets, driving through the people in disturbance. This occasioned some snowballs to be thrown at them, which seems to be the only provocation that was given. . . .

Captain Preston is said to have ordered them to fire, and to have repeated the order. One gun was fired first; then others in succession, and with deliberation, till ten or a dozen guns were fired; or till that number of discharges were made from the guns that were fired. By which means eleven persons were killed or wounded.



*The site of the Boston Massacre in present-day Boston*

### Understanding the Issue

1. On what events of the night of March 5, 1770, do the two accounts excerpted here agree?
2. On what descriptions of the events do the two accounts differ?
3. As the historian, how do you assess the credibility of the two accounts?

### Activities

1. **Investigate** What happened to Captain Preston after the events of March 5? What were the immediate results of the Boston Massacre? Check other sources, including those available on the Internet.
2. **Mock Trial** Role play a mock trial of the Boston Massacre. Include witnesses, a prosecutor, a defense attorney, a judge, and a jury.

## Guide to Reading

**Main Idea**

After years of escalating tensions and outbreaks of fighting, the colonists declared their independence from Britain on July 4, 1776.

**Key Terms and Names**

committee of correspondence, Boston Tea Party, Intolerable Acts, Suffolk Resolves, minuteman, Loyalist, Patriot, Olive Branch Petition, *Common Sense*

**Reading Strategy**

**Taking Notes** As you read about the escalating tensions between the colonists and Britain and about the colonists' declaration of independence, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The Revolution Begins  
I. Massachusetts Defies Britain  
A.  
B.

**Reading Objectives**

- **Summarize** the first battles between Britain and the colonies.
- **Explain** the circumstances under which the colonies declared their independence.

**Section Theme**

**Government and Democracy** As tensions between Britain and the colonies escalated, the colonial leaders began to act like an independent government.

## Preview of Events

1773

1773

Boston Tea Party

1774

1774

First Continental Congress

1775

1775

Battles of Lexington and Concord;  
Second Continental Congress

1776

1776

Declaration of Independence  
drafted and signed

★ *An American Story* ★

On the night of December 17, 1773, a group of men secretly assembled along a Boston dock to strike a blow against Britain. One of the men was George Hewes, a struggling Boston shoemaker, who had grown to despise the British. Initially, Hewes had taken offense when British soldiers stopped and questioned him on the street and when they refused to pay him for shoes. After the Boston Massacre, which Hewes witnessed, his hatred grew more political.

So, after he "daubed his face and hands with coal dust, in the shop of a blacksmith," he gladly joined the other volunteers on that cold December night as they prepared to sneak aboard several British ships anchored in Boston Harbor and destroy the tea stored on board:

“When we arrived at the wharf . . . they divided us into three parties for the purpose of boarding the three ships which contained the tea. . . . We then were ordered by our commander to open the hatches and take out all the chests of tea and throw them overboard, and we immediately proceeded to execute his orders, first cutting and splitting the chests with our tomahawks, so as thoroughly to expose them to the effects of the water. . . . In about three hours . . . we had thus broken and thrown overboard every tea chest . . . in the ship.”

—quoted in *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six*

**Massachusetts Defies Britain**

For more than two years after the Boston Massacre, the repeal of the Townshend Acts had brought calm. Then, in the spring of 1772, a new crisis began. Britain introduced several policies that again ignited the flames of rebellion in the American colonies. This time, the fire could not be put out.



Tea chest



**The Gaspee Affair** After the Townshend Acts were repealed, trade with England had resumed, and so had smuggling. To intercept smugglers, the British sent customs ships to patrol North American waters. One such ship was the *Gaspee*, stationed off the coast of Rhode Island. Many Rhode Islanders hated the commander of the *Gaspee* because he often searched ships without a warrant, and he sent his crew ashore to seize food without paying for it. In June 1772, when the *Gaspee* ran aground near Providence, some 150 colonists seized and burned the ship.

The incident outraged the British. They sent a commission to investigate and gave it authority to bring suspects back to England for trial. This angered the colonists, who believed it violated their right to a trial by a jury of their peers. Rhode Island's assembly sent a letter to the other colonies asking for help.

In March 1773, the Virginia House of Burgesses received the letter. Thomas Jefferson suggested that each colony create a **committee of correspondence** to communicate with the other colonies about British activities. The committees of correspondence helped unify the colonies and shape public opinion. They also helped colonial leaders coordinate strategies for resisting the British.

**The Boston Tea Party** In May 1773, Britain's new prime minister, Lord North, made a serious mistake. He decided to help the struggling British East India Company. Corrupt management and costly wars in India had put the company deeply in debt. At the same time, British taxes on tea had encouraged colonial merchants to smuggle in cheaper Dutch tea. As a result, the company had over 17 million pounds of tea in its warehouses that it needed to sell quickly to stay in business.

To help the company, Parliament passed the Tea Act of 1773. The **Tea Act** refunded four-fifths of the taxes the company had to pay to ship tea to the colonies, leaving only the Townshend tax. East India Company tea could now be sold at lower prices than smuggled Dutch tea. The act also allowed the East India Company to sell directly to shopkeepers, bypassing colonial merchants who normally distributed the tea. The Tea Act enraged these merchants, who feared it was the first step by the British to squeeze them out of business.

In October 1773, the East India Company shipped 1,253 chests of tea to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town. The committees of correspondence decided that the tea must not be allowed to land. When the first shipments arrived in New York

and Philadelphia, the colonists forced the agents for the East India Company to return home with their cargo. In South Carolina, the ships sat in the harbor until customs officers seized the tea and stored it in a local warehouse, where it remained unsold.

The most dramatic showdown occurred in December 1773, when the tea ships arrived in Boston Harbor. On the night before customs officials planned to unload the tea, approximately 150 men boarded the ships. They dumped 342 chests of tea overboard, as several thousand people on shore cheered. Although the men were disguised as Native Americans, many Bostonians knew who they were. A witness later testified that Sam Adams and John Hancock were among the protesters. The raid came to be called the **Boston Tea Party**.

### Picturing History

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





**The Coercive Acts** The Boston Tea Party was the last straw for the British. King George concluded that concessions were not working. “The time has come for compulsion,” the king told Lord North. In the spring of 1774, Parliament passed four new laws that came to be known as the **Coercive Acts**. These laws applied only to Massachusetts, but they were meant to dissuade other colonies from also challenging British authority.

The first act was the Boston Port Act, which shut down Boston’s port until the city paid for the tea that had been destroyed. The second act was the Massachusetts Government Act. Under this law, all council members, judges, and sheriffs were appointed by the colony’s governor instead of being elected. This act also banned most town meetings. The third act, the Administration of Justice Act, allowed the governor to transfer trials of British soldiers and officials to England to protect them from American juries. The final act was a new quartering act. It required local officials to provide lodging for British soldiers, in private homes if necessary. To enforce the acts, the British moved several thousand troops to New England and appointed General **Thomas Gage** as the new governor of Massachusetts.

The Coercive Acts violated several traditional English rights, including the right to trial by a jury of one’s peers and the right not to have troops quartered in one’s home. The king was also not supposed to maintain a standing army in peacetime without Parliament’s consent. Although the British Parliament had authorized the troops, colonists believed their local assemblies had to give their consent, too.

In July 1774, a month after the last Coercive Act became law, the British introduced the **Quebec Act**. This law had no connection to events in the American colonies, but it also angered the colonists nonetheless.

The Quebec Act stated that officials appointed by the king would govern Quebec. The act also extended Quebec’s boundaries to include much of what is today Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin. If colonists moved west into that territory, they would have no elected assembly. The Quebec Act, coming so soon after the Coercive Acts, seemed to signal Britain’s desire to seize control of colonial governments.

**The First Continental Congress** As other colonies learned of the harsh measures imposed on Massachusetts, they reacted with sympathy and outrage. The Coercive Acts and the Quebec Act together became known as the **Intolerable Acts**.

In May 1774, the Virginia House of Burgesses declared the arrival of British troops in Boston a “military invasion” and called for a day of fasting and prayer. When Virginia’s governor dissolved the House of Burgesses for its actions, its members adjourned to a nearby tavern and issued a resolution urging all colonies to suspend trade with Britain. They also called on the colonies to send delegates to a colonial congress to discuss what to do next.

In New York and Rhode Island, similar calls for a congress had already been made. The committees of correspondence rapidly coordinated the different proposals, and in June 1774, the Massachusetts assembly formally invited the other colonies to a meeting of the First Continental Congress.

The Continental Congress met for the first time on September 5, 1774, in Philadelphia. The 55 delegates represented 12 of Britain’s North American colonies. (Florida, Georgia, Nova Scotia, and Quebec did not attend.) They also represented a wide range of opinion. Moderate delegates opposed the Intolerable Acts but believed a compromise could

## Causes and Effects of the American Revolution

### Causes

- Colonists’ tradition of self-government
- Americans’ sense of a separate identity from Britain
- Proclamation of 1763
- British policies toward the colonies after 1763

### Effects

- United States declares independence
- A long war with Great Britain
- World recognition of American independence

### Graphic Organizer Skills

The conflict between Britain and America grew worse after the passage of the Intolerable Acts of 1774.

**Analyzing Information** Why do you think the tradition of self-government played a role in the colonists’ decision to declare independence?



be worked out. More radical delegates felt the time had come for the colonies to fight for their rights.

The Congress's first order of business was to endorse the **Suffolk Resolves**. These resolutions, prepared by Bostonians and other residents of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, urged colonists not to obey the Coercive Acts. They also called on the people of Suffolk County to arm themselves against the British and to stop buying British goods.

The Continental Congress then began to debate a plan put forward by Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania. Galloway proposed that the colonies remain part of the British Empire but develop a federal government similar to the one outlined in the Albany Plan of Union. After the radicals argued that Galloway's plan would not protect American rights, the colonies voted to put off consideration of the plan.

Shortly afterward, the Congress learned that the British had suspended the Massachusetts assembly. In response, the Congress issued the Declaration of Rights and Grievances. The declaration expressed loyalty to the king, but it also condemned the Coercive Acts and stated that the colonies would enter into a nonimportation association. Several days later, the delegates approved the Continental Association, a plan for every county and town to form committees to enforce a boycott of British goods. The delegates then agreed to hold a second Continental Congress in May 1775 if the crisis had not been resolved.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** How did the British react to the Boston Tea Party?

## The Revolution Begins

In October 1774, while the Continental Congress was still meeting, the members of the suspended Massachusetts assembly gathered and organized the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. They then formed the Committee of Safety and chose John Hancock to lead it, giving him the power to call up the militia. In effect, the Provincial Congress had made Hancock a rival governor to General Gage.

A full-scale rebellion against authority was now under way. The Massachusetts militia began to drill in formation and practice shooting. The town of Concord created a special unit of men trained and ready to "stand at a minute's warning in case of alarm." These were the famous **minutemen**. All through the summer and fall of 1774, colonists created provincial congresses, and militias raided military depots for ammunition and gunpowder. These rebellious acts further infuriated British officials.

**Loyalists and Patriots** British officials were not alone in their anger. Although many colonists disagreed with Parliament's policies, some still felt a strong sense of loyalty to the king and believed British law should be upheld. Americans who backed Britain came to be known as **Loyalists**, or Tories.

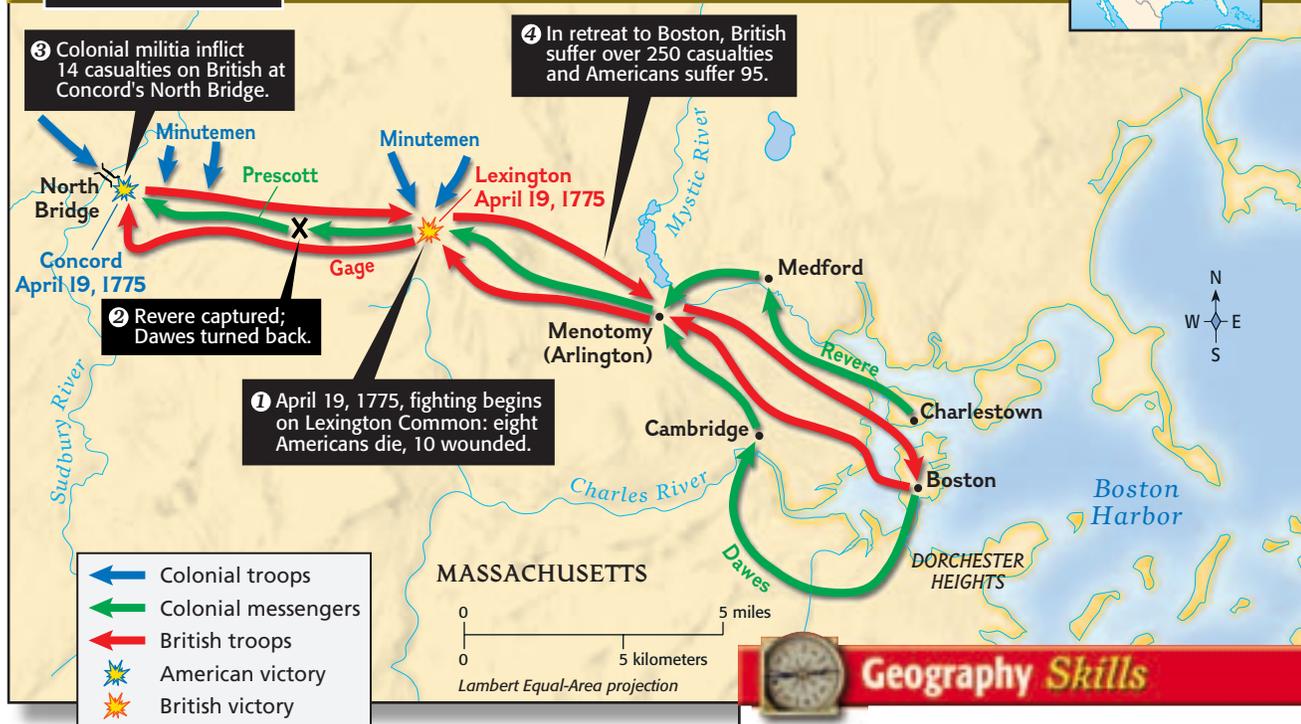
Loyalists came from all parts of American society. Many were government officials or Anglican ministers. Others were prominent merchants and landowners. Quite a few backcountry farmers on the frontier remained loyal as well, because they regarded the king as their protector against the planters and merchants who controlled the local governments. Historians estimate that about 20 percent of the adult white population remained Loyalist after the Revolution began.

On the other side were those who believed the British had become tyrants. These people were known as **Patriots**, or Whigs. Patriots also represented a wide cross section of society. They were artisans, farmers, merchants, planters, lawyers, and urban workers. Historians think that 30 to 40 percent of Americans supported the Patriots once the Revolution began. Before then, Patriot groups brutally enforced the boycott of British goods. They tarred and feathered Loyalists who tried to stop the boycotts, and they broke up Loyalist gatherings. Loyalists fought back, but they were outnumbered and not as well organized.

The Patriots were strong in New England and Virginia, while most Loyalists lived in Georgia, the Carolinas, and New York. Everywhere, however, communities were divided. Even families were split. The American Revolution would not be a war solely between the Americans and the British. It would also be a civil war between Patriots and Loyalists. Caught in the middle were many Americans, possibly a majority, who did not support either side. These people simply wanted to get on with their lives.

**Lexington and Concord** In April 1775, General Gage received secret orders from Britain to arrest the members of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. Gage did not know where the Congress met, so he decided to seize the militia's supply depot at Concord instead. On April 18, 700 British troops set out for Concord on a road that took them past the town of Lexington.

Patriot leaders heard about the plan and sent two men, **Paul Revere** and **William Dawes**, to spread the alarm. Revere reached Lexington by midnight and warned the people there that the British were coming.



**Geography Skills**

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Which side suffered the most casualties at Lexington and Concord?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** About how far was Lexington from Boston?

Revere, Dawes, and a third man, Dr. Samuel Prescott, then set out for Concord. A British patrol stopped Revere and Dawes, but Prescott got through in time to warn Concord.

On April 19, British troops arrived in **Lexington** and spotted 70 minutemen lined up on the village green. The British troops marched onto the field and ordered them to disperse. The minutemen had begun to back away when a shot was fired, no one is sure by whom. The British soldiers, already nervous, fired into the line of minutemen, killing 8 and wounding 10.

The British then headed to **Concord**, only to find that most of the military supplies had already been removed. When they tried to cross the North Bridge on the far side of town, they ran into 400 colonial militia. A fight broke out, forcing the British to retreat.

Having completed their mission, the British decided to return to Boston. Along the way, militia and farmers fired at them from behind trees, stone walls, barns, and houses. By the time the British reached Boston, 73 of their men had been killed, and another 174 were wounded. The colonists had 49 men dead and 46 wounded. As news of the fighting spread, militia raced from all over New England to help. By May 1775, militia troops had surrounded Boston, trapping the British inside.

**The Second Continental Congress** Three weeks after the battles at Lexington and Concord, the **Second Continental Congress** met in Philadelphia. The first issue under discussion was defense. The Congress voted to “adopt” the militia army surrounding Boston, and they named it the Continental Army. On June 15, 1775, the Congress appointed George Washington as general and commander in chief of the new army.

Before Washington could get to his troops, however, the British landed reinforcements in Boston. Determined to gain control of the area, the British decided to seize the hills north of the city. Warned in advance, the militia acted first. On June 16, 1775, they dug in on Breed’s Hill near Bunker Hill and began building an earthen fort at the top.

The following day, General Gage sent 2,200 troops to take the hill. His soldiers, wearing heavy packs and woolen uniforms, launched an uphill, frontal attack in blistering heat. According to legend, an American commander named William Prescott told his troops, “Don’t fire until you see the whites of their eyes.” When the British closed to within 50 yards, the Americans took aim and fired.



They turned back two British advances before they ran out of ammunition and had to retreat.

The **Battle of Bunker Hill**, as it came to be called, helped build American confidence. It showed that the largely untrained colonial militia could stand up to one of the world’s most feared armies. The British suffered more than 1,000 casualties in the fighting. Shortly afterward, General Gage resigned and was replaced by General **William Howe**. The situation then returned to a stalemate, with the British trapped in Boston, surrounded by militia.

 **Reading Check** **Interpreting** Why was the Battle of Bunker Hill important to the Americans?

negotiate with the Native Americans, and it established a postal system, a Continental Navy, and a Marine Corps. By March 1776, the Continental Navy had raided the Bahamas and begun seizing British merchant ships.

**The Fighting Spreads** With fighting under way, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, organized two Loyalist armies to assist the British troops in Virginia—one composed of white Loyalists, and the other of enslaved Africans. Dunmore proclaimed that Africans enslaved by rebels would be freed if they fought for the Loyalists. The announcement convinced many Southern planters that the colonies had to declare independence. Otherwise, the planters might lose their labor force.

## The Decision for Independence

Despite the onset of fighting, in the summer of 1775 many colonists were not prepared to break away from Great Britain. Most members of the Second Continental Congress wanted the right to govern themselves, but they did not want to leave the British Empire. The tide of opinion turned, however, when Britain refused to compromise.

**Efforts at Peace** In July 1775, as the siege of Boston continued, the Continental Congress sent a document known as the **Olive Branch Petition** to King George. Written by John Dickinson, the petition asserted the colonists’ loyalty to the king and asked him to call off hostilities until the situation could be worked out peacefully.

In the meantime, radical delegates convinced the Congress to order an attack on the British troops based in Quebec. They hoped their action would inspire the French in Quebec to join in fighting the British. The American forces captured the city of Montreal, but the French did not rebel. Moreover, the attack convinced British officials that there was no hope of reconciliation. When the Olive Branch Petition arrived in England, King George refused to look at it. Declaring the colonies to be “open and avowed enemies,” he issued a proclamation ordering the military to suppress the rebellion in America.

With no compromise likely, the Continental Congress increasingly began to act like an independent government. It sent people to



### History Through Art

**Colonial Confidence** Artist Alonzo Chappel painted *The Battle of Bunker Hill*. The battle showed the colonists that they could win against the British. [How does the artist portray the colonists’ courage?](#)



# What If...

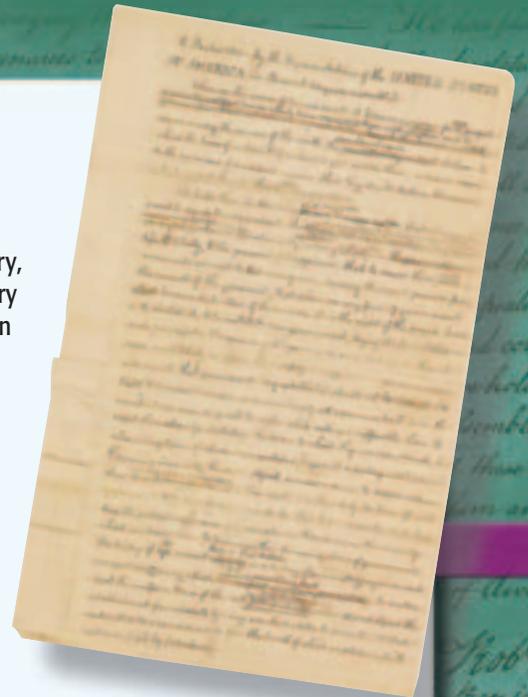
## The Declaration of Independence Had Condemned Slavery?

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

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

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

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



Southern Patriots increased their efforts to raise a large army. In December 1775, their troops attacked and defeated Dunmore’s forces near Norfolk, Virginia. The British then pulled their soldiers out of Virginia, leaving the Patriots in control. In February 1776, Patriots in North Carolina dispersed a Loyalist force of backcountry farmers at the Battle of Moore’s Creek. In South Carolina, the local militia prevented British troops from capturing Charles Town.

Meanwhile, in the North, Washington’s troops seized the hills south of Boston. From that vantage point, they intended to bombard the British with cannons. The British troops fled Boston by ship, however, leaving the Patriots in control.

Everywhere, the British seemed to be on the run. Nonetheless, despite their

defeats, it was clear that they were not backing down. In December 1775, the king issued the Prohibitory Act, ending all trade with the colonies and ordering the British navy to blockade the coast. The British government also began expanding its army by recruiting mercenaries—paid foreign soldiers. By the spring of 1776, the British had hired 30,000 Germans, mostly men from the region of Hesse, or Hessians.

**The Colonies Declare Independence** As the war dragged on, more Patriots began to think the time had come to formally break with Britain although they feared that most colonists were still loyal to the king. Even radicals in the Continental Congress worried that a declaration of independence might cost them public support.

Things began to change in January 1776, when Thomas Paine published a lively and persuasive pamphlet called *Common Sense*. Until then, everyone had regarded Parliament, not the king, as the enemy. Paine attacked the monarchy instead. King George III, he said, was responsible

CLICK HERE



**Student Web Activity** Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at [tarvol2.glencoe.com](http://tarvol2.glencoe.com) and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 3** for an activity on the American Revolution.





by seizing power from the people. George III was a tyrant, he proclaimed, and it was time to declare independence:

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

—from *Common Sense*

Within three months, *Common Sense* had sold over 150,000 copies. George Washington wrote, “*Common Sense* is working a powerful change in the minds of men.” One by one, provincial congresses and assemblies told their representatives at the Continental Congress to vote for independence.

In early July, a committee composed of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson submitted a landmark document Jefferson had drafted, in which the colonies declared themselves to be independent. On July 4, 1776, the full Continental Congress then issued this **Declaration of Independence**. The colonies had now become the United States of America, and the American Revolution had begun.

## What might have happened?

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

for British actions against the colonies. Parliament did nothing without the king’s approval. Paine argued that monarchies had been established

**Reading Check Analyzing** How did Thomas Paine help persuade colonists to declare independence?

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

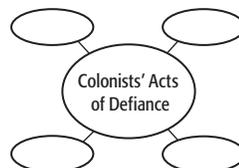
1. **Define:** committee of correspondence, minuteman, Loyalist, Patriot.
2. **Identify:** Boston Tea Party, Intolerable Acts, Suffolk Resolves, Olive Branch Petition, *Common Sense*.
3. **Explain** why the First Continental Congress met.

### Reviewing Themes

4. **Government and Democracy** After King George III refused to consider the Olive Branch Petition, in what ways did the Continental Congress begin to act like an independent government?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Synthesizing** What role did the committees of correspondence play in the colonists’ move toward independence?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to indicate ways in which colonists defied Britain after the repeal of the Townshend Acts.



### Analyzing Visuals

7. **Analyzing Art** Study Chappel’s painting, *The Battle of Bunker Hill*, on page 87. What elements of the painting show that the artist was sympathetic to the American cause?

### Writing About History

8. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you were a member of the Sons of Liberty and a participant in the Boston Tea Party. Write a diary entry describing the event. Be certain to use correct spelling, grammar, and punctuation.

# The Declaration of Independence

## What It Means

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

**impel** *force*

## What It Means

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

**endowed** *provided*  
**despotism** *unlimited power*

## What It Means

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

**usurpations** *unjust uses of power*

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

## [Preamble]

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

## [Declaration of Natural Rights]

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are **endowed** by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,

That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute **Despotism**, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

## [List of Grievances]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**relinquish** *give up*  
**inestimable** *priceless*

**annihilation** *destruction*

**convulsions** *violent disturbances*

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

**tenure** *term*



**quartering** *lodging*

**render** *make*

**abdicated** *given up*

**perfidy** *violation of trust*

**insurrections** *rebellions*

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

**unwarrantable jurisdiction** *unjustified authority*

**consanguinity** *originating from the same ancestor*

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

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

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

For **quartering** large bodies of troops among us:

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

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

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## [Resolution of Independence by the United States]

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

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

*John Hancock*  
President from  
Massachusetts

**Georgia**  
Button Gwinnett  
Lyman Hall  
George Walton

**North Carolina**  
William Hooper  
Joseph Hewes  
John Penn

**South Carolina**  
Edward Rutledge  
Thomas Heyward, Jr.  
Thomas Lynch, Jr.  
Arthur Middleton

**Maryland**  
Samuel Chase  
William Paca  
Thomas Stone  
Charles Carroll  
of Carrollton

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

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

**Delaware**  
Caesar Rodney  
George Read  
Thomas McKean

**New York**  
William Floyd  
Philip Livingston  
Francis Lewis  
Lewis Morris

**New Jersey**  
Richard Stockton  
John Witherspoon  
Francis Hopkinson  
John Hart  
Abraham Clark

**New Hampshire**  
Josiah Bartlett  
William Whipple  
Matthew Thornton

**Massachusetts**  
Samuel Adams  
John Adams  
Robert Treat Paine  
Elbridge Gerry

**Rhode Island**  
Stephen Hopkins  
William Ellery

**Connecticut**  
Samuel Huntington  
William Williams  
Oliver Wolcott  
Roger Sherman

### What It Means

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

**rectitude** *rightness*

### What It Means

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



*John Hancock*

## SECTION 3

# The War for Independence

### Guide to Reading

#### Main Idea

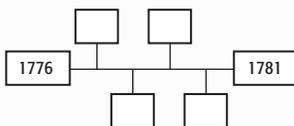
After a war lasting several years, Americans finally won their independence from Britain.

#### Key Terms and Names

Robert Morris, guerrilla warfare, John Burgoyne, letter of marque, Charles Cornwallis, Nathaniel Greene, Francis Marion, Benedict Arnold

#### Reading Strategy

**Sequencing** As you read about the war for independence, complete a time line similar to the one below to record the major battles and their outcomes.



#### Reading Objectives

- **List** the advantages and disadvantages of each side at the beginning of the war.
- **Discuss** the roles of France and Spain in the war, and explain how the war ended.

#### Section Theme

**Global Connections** Hostility between the French and British caused France to support the colonies.

#### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



Troops at Valley Forge

Colonel Henry Beckman Livingston could only watch helplessly the suffering around him. A veteran of several military campaigns, Livingston huddled with the rest of George Washington's army at its winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. The winter of 1777 to 1778 was brutally cold, and the army lacked food, clothing, and other supplies. Huddled in small huts, soldiers wrapped themselves in blankets and survived on the smallest of rations. Livingston described the army's plight in a letter to his brother, Robert:

“Our troops are in general almost naked and very often in a starveing condition. All my men except 18 are unfit for duty for want of shoes, stockings, and shirts. . . . Poor Jack has been necessitated to make up his blanket into a vest and breeches. If I did not fear starveing with cold I should be tempted to do the same.”

—adapted from *A Salute to Courage*

## The Opposing Sides

The struggle at Valley Forge was a dark hour for the patriots. No one knew if they were strong enough to defeat the powerful British Empire. On the same day the Continental Congress voted for independence, British troops, called “redcoats” because of their uniforms, began landing in New York. By mid-August, an estimated 32,000 men had assembled under the command of General William Howe. This was an enormous force



## The Opposing Sides

Colonial Advantages	British Advantages
Fighting on home ground	Well-trained, well-supplied army and navy
Good decisions by generals	Wealth of resources
Fighting for their rights and freedoms	Strong central government
French alliance: loans, navy, troops	
Colonial Disadvantages	British Disadvantages
Untrained soldiers; small army	Fighting in unfamiliar, hostile territory
Food and ammunition shortages	Fighting far away from Britain and resources
Weak and divided central government	Troops indifferent; halfhearted support at home

### Chart Skills

- 1. Interpreting Charts** Why was fighting for their rights and freedoms an advantage for the colonists?
- 2. Analyzing** In what ways would a weak government be a disadvantage in wartime?

in the 1700s, and the troops were disciplined, well trained, and well equipped. Given their strength, the British did not expect the rebellion to last very long.

The Continental army was comparatively inexperienced and poorly equipped. Although more than 230,000 men served in the Continental army, they rarely numbered more than 20,000 at any one time. Many soldiers deserted or refused to reenlist when their terms were up. Others left their posts to return to their farms at planting or harvest time.

Paying for the war was another challenge. Lacking the power to tax, the Continental Congress issued paper money. These “Continental” were not backed by gold or silver and quickly became almost worthless. Fortunately, **Robert Morris**, a wealthy Pennsylvania merchant and banker, personally pledged large sums for the war effort and arranged for foreign loans.

In addition to the Continental army, the British also had to fight the local militias in every state. The militias were untrained, but they were adept at sneak attacks and hit-and-run ambushes. These **guerrilla warfare** tactics proved to be very effective against the British.

Another problem for the British was disunity at home. Many merchants and members of Parliament opposed the war. If Britain did not win quickly and cheaply, support for the war effort would erode. Therefore, the United States simply had to survive until the British tired of the economic strain and surrendered.

The European balance of power also hampered the British. The French, Dutch, and Spanish were all eager to exploit Britain’s problems, which made these countries potential allies for the United States. To defend

against other threats to its empire, Britain had to station much of its military elsewhere in the world.

**Reading Check** **Identifying** What three major disadvantages did the British face in the American Revolution?

## The Northern Campaign

The British knew that a quick victory depended on convincing Americans that British military superiority made their cause hopeless, and that they could safely surrender without being hanged for treason. General Howe’s strategy, therefore, had two parts. He placed many troops in New York to intimidate the Americans and to capture New York City. He also invited delegates from the Continental Congress to a peace conference, promising that those who surrendered and swore loyalty to the king would be pardoned.

When the Americans realized that Howe had no authority to negotiate a compromise, they refused to talk further. Although Howe’s peace offer was rejected, his military strategy was initially successful. Washington’s Continental army was unable to prevent the British from capturing New York City in the summer of 1776. In the fall of that year, Washington moved most of his troops from the northern end of Manhattan Island to White Plains, New York.



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



**Geography Skills**

- Interpreting Maps** Name two sites of colonial victories in New Jersey.
- Applying Geography Skills** What was the role of the British navy in the war?

**Crossing the Delaware** After Howe managed to push Washington’s troops back from New York City, he moved his forces toward Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was meeting. Caught by surprise, the Continental army had to move quickly to get in front of Howe’s forces before they reached Philadelphia.

By the time Washington’s troops reached Pennsylvania, the weather had turned cold. Both armies halted the campaign and set up winter camps to conserve food supplies. Attempting to bolster morale, Washington had Thomas Paine’s latest pamphlet read to the troops. Paine’s words reminded all that “the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph”:

“These are the times that try men’s souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.”

—from *The American Crisis*

At this point, Washington decided to launch a daring and unexpected winter attack. On the night of December 25, 1776, he and some 2,400 men crossed the icy Delaware River from Pennsylvania to New



## History Through Art

**A Savage Winter** William B.T. Trego's painting, *The March to Valley Forge*, depicts the difficult conditions that led to almost 2,500 deaths during the winter encampment of 1777 to 1778. **Why did the British and Continental armies stop fighting to camp during the winter months?**

Jersey. They then marched about nine miles and, during a sleet storm, defeated a group of Hessian mercenaries at Trenton. Several days later, the Patriot army overcame three British regiments at Princeton. After these small victories, the Continental army camped in the hills of northern New Jersey for the winter.

**Philadelphia Falls** In March 1777, British General **John Burgoyne** had devised a plan to combine his troops with General Howe's and isolate New England from the other American states. Unfortunately, Burgoyne did not coordinate this with Howe, who was launching his own plan.

Howe sent about 13,000 men to launch a surprise attack on Philadelphia. He believed that capturing Philadelphia and the Continental Congress would cripple the Revolution and convince Loyalists in Pennsylvania to rise up and take control of the state.

Howe's action was a military success but a political failure. He defeated Washington at the Battle of Brandywine Creek and captured Philadelphia, but the Continental Congress escaped. Furthermore, no Loyalist uprising occurred.

### **TURNING POINT**

**The Battle of Saratoga** Unaware of Howe's movement to Philadelphia, Burgoyne continued with his plan. In June 1777, he led an estimated 8,000 troops from Quebec south into New York, believing Howe was marching north to meet him. Burgoyne's forces easily seized Fort Ticonderoga, but American forces blocked their path by felling trees, and they removed crops and cattle to deprive the British of food.

Burgoyne eventually retreated to Saratoga, only to be surrounded by an American army nearly three times the size of his own. On October 17, 1777, he surrendered to General **Horatio Gates**. Over 5,000 British troops were taken prisoner. This was an unexpected turning point in the war. It not only dramatically improved American morale but also convinced the French to commit troops to the American cause.

**The Alliance with France** Although both France and Spain had been secretly aiding the Americans well before Saratoga, that battle's outcome convinced

France that the Americans could win the war. On February 6, 1778, the United States signed two treaties with France that officially recognized the new nation and committed France to fight alongside the United States until Britain was forced to recognize American independence.

In 1779 Spain allied with France but not with the United States. These countries provided vital military and financial aid to the United States. Their attacks also forced the British to divert troops and ships from their campaigns along the Atlantic coast.

**Reading Check** **Summarizing** What was General Howe's two-part strategy to win the war quickly?

## Other Fronts

Not all of the fighting in the Revolutionary War took place in the East. Patriots also rallied to the cause on the western frontier, out at sea, and in the South.

**The West** In 1778, **George Rogers Clark** took 175 Patriots down the Ohio River and captured several towns. Although the British temporarily retook one of the towns, they eventually surrendered to Clark in February 1779. The United States now had control of the West. American troops soon secured control of western New York as well. In the summer of 1779, they defeated the British and the Iroquois, their Native American allies in the region. The Iroquois had allied with the British, hoping that a British victory would keep American settlers off Iroquois land.

**The War at Sea** In addition to the war on land, Americans also fought the British at sea. Although the Congress assembled a Continental navy, no one expected it to defeat the huge British fleet in battle. Instead, the United States sent its warships to attack British merchant ships. In addition, Congress issued **letters of marque**, or licenses, to about 2,000 privateers. By the end of the war, millions of dollars' worth of cargo had been seized from British merchant ships, seriously harming Britain's trade and economy.



Perhaps the most famous naval battle of the war involved **John Paul Jones**, American commander of the *Bonhomme Richard*. While sailing near Britain in September 1779, Jones encountered a group of British merchant ships protected by two warships. Jones attacked one of them, the *Serapis*, but the heavier guns of the British ship nearly sank the *Bonhomme Richard*. When the British commander called on Jones to surrender, he replied, “I have not yet begun to fight.” He lashed his ship to the *Serapis* so it could not sink and then boarded the British ship. After more than three hours of battle, the British surrendered.

**The Southern Campaign** After the British defeat at Saratoga in 1777, General Howe had resigned. His replacement, Sir Henry Clinton, began a campaign in the South, where the British believed they had the strongest Loyalist support. British officials hoped that even if they lost the Northern states, they might still keep control of the South, which produced valuable tobacco and rice.

In December 1778, 3,500 British troops captured Savannah, Georgia. They seized control of Georgia’s backcountry, while American troops retreated to Charles Town, South Carolina. Soon afterward General Clinton attacked Charles Town. Nearly 14,000 British troops surrounded the city, trapping the American forces. On May 12, 1780, the Americans surrendered. Nearly 5,500 American troops were taken prisoner, the greatest American defeat in the war. Clinton returned to New York, leaving General **Charles Cornwallis** in command.

**Patriots Rally** Cornwallis moved next to Camden, South Carolina, where he stopped a Patriot force from destroying a British supply base. After winning the Battle of Camden, the British found the tide turning against them in the South. Although many Southerners sympathized with Britain, they objected to the brutal tactics of some Loyalist forces in the region.

One such group, led by a British cavalry officer named Patrick Ferguson, finally went too far in trying to subdue the people living in the Appalachian Mountains. A band of overmountain men, as they were known, assembled a militia force. They intercepted

Ferguson at Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780, and destroyed his army. The Battle of Kings Mountain was a turning point in the South. Southern farmers, furious with British treatment, began to organize their own militias.

The new commander of American forces in the region, General **Nathaniel Greene**, organized the militias into small units to carry out hit-and-run raids against British camps and supply wagons. The most famous of these guerrilla units was led by **Francis Marion**, who was known as the “Swamp Fox.” General Greene hoped that while militia destroyed enemy supplies, the regular army could wear down the British in a series of battles.

Greene’s strategy worked. In 1781 the Americans engaged the British at Cowpens and Guilford Court House, and both battles resulted in hundreds of British casualties. By late 1781, the British controlled very little territory in the South except for the cities of Savannah, Charles Town, and Wilmington.

**Reading Check Explaining** What was the American strategy for attacking the British at sea?

## The War Is Won

In the spring of 1781, General Cornwallis decided to invade Virginia. If he could take control there, he could stop new supplies and troop reinforcements from reaching American forces in the South.

### Profiles IN HISTORY

#### Bernardo de Gálvez 1746–1786

Bernardo de Gálvez was born in Málaga, Spain, in 1746. Following family tradition, he joined the military. At age 18, he traveled to America with his uncle, who had been sent by the government to inspect New Spain. In 1769 Gálvez was placed in command of Spanish forces on New Spain’s northern frontier. During the next two years, he led his forces in battle against the Apache people in what is today west Texas. In 1777 he was appointed governor of Louisiana.

Even before Spain entered the Revolutionary War, Gálvez took steps to aid the United States. He exchanged letters with Patrick Henry and Thomas

Jefferson. He also used his authority as governor to secure the Mississippi against the British, while allowing French, Spanish, and American ships to use the river to smuggle arms to the American forces. When Spain declared war on Britain, Gálvez raised an army, fought British troops near Baton Rouge and Natchez, and captured British forts at Mobile and Pensacola. His campaigns were important to the U.S. victory because they tied down British troops that might otherwise have been used against the Americans farther north. The city of Galveston, Texas, is named in his honor.





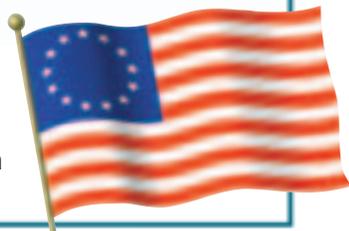
**The Battle of Yorktown** In May 1781, Cornwallis arrived in Virginia, where he joined with forces led by **Benedict Arnold**. Arnold had been an American commander but had later sold military information to the British. When his treason was discovered, Arnold fled to British-controlled New York City, where he was put in charge of British troops and ordered south.

Arnold's and Cornwallis's forces began to conquer the state together. They encountered little resistance at first and almost captured Virginia's governor, Thomas Jefferson. George Washington quickly dispatched troops led by the Marquis de Lafayette and General Anthony Wayne to defend Virginia. As the American forces increased, General Clinton ordered Cornwallis to secure a naval base on the coast. Following orders, Cornwallis headed to the coastal town of Yorktown.

Cornwallis's move created an opportunity for the Americans and their French allies. George Washington and a French commander, Jean Baptiste Rochambeau, led a joint force south to Yorktown. Meanwhile, the French navy, under the command of Admiral François de Grasse, moved into Chesapeake Bay, preventing Cornwallis from escaping by sea or receiving supplies. On September 28, 1781, American and French forces surrounded Yorktown and began to bombard the British. On October 14, Washington's aide, Alexander Hamilton, led an attack that captured key British defenses. Three days later, Cornwallis began negotiations to surrender, and on October 19, 1781, approximately 8,000 British troops marched out of Yorktown and laid down their weapons.

Fact
Fiction
Folklore

**America's Flags** On June 14, 1777, the Continental Congress declared the first Stars and Stripes to be the official flag. The Congress determined that "the Flag of the United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be 13 stars, white in a blue field representing a new constellation." For Americans past and present, the color red symbolizes courage; white, purity of ideals; and blue, strength and unity of the states.



**The Treaty of Paris** After learning of the surrender at Yorktown, Parliament voted to end the war. Peace talks began in Paris in early April 1782.

The final settlement, the **Treaty of Paris**, was signed on September 3, 1783. In this treaty, Britain recognized the United States of America as a new nation with the Mississippi River as its western border. The British kept Canada, but in a separate treaty they gave Florida back to Spain and returned to the French certain colonies they had seized from them in Africa and the Caribbean.

On November 24, 1783, the last British troops left New York City. The Revolutionary War was over, and the creation of a new nation was about to begin.

**Reading Check** **Describing** How was the war won at Yorktown?

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** *guerrilla warfare, letter of marque.*
2. **Identify:** Robert Morris, John Burgoyne, Charles Cornwallis, Nathaniel Greene, Francis Marion, Benedict Arnold.
3. **List** the terms of the Treaty of Paris.

### Reviewing Themes

4. **Identifying Cause and Effect** How did the Battle of Saratoga influence the outcome of the American Revolution?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Evaluating** How did European countries aid the Americans in the war for independence?
6. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the advantages and disadvantages of each side in the American Revolution.

	Advantages	Disadvantages
Britain		
United States		

### Analyzing Visuals

7. **Analyzing Maps** Study the map of the Revolutionary War on page 96. How many British victories, American victories, and indecisive battles are depicted? Although both sides won about the same number of battles, the Americans won the war. Why?

### Writing About History

8. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are a colonist fighting in the American Revolution. Write a letter to convince European nations to support the Americans in the war.

## Guide to Reading

**Main Idea**

After the war, the 13 states were loosely united under the Articles of Confederation.

**Key Terms and Names**

republic, Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, manumission, ratification, Northwest Ordinance, recession, inflation

**Reading Strategy**

**Organizing** As you read about the new government created by the Articles of Confederation, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the Confederation Congress.

Confederation Congress	
Achievements	Weaknesses

**Reading Objectives**

- **Discuss** the new political ideas that prevailed following the war.
- **Examine** the strengths and weaknesses of the newly formed Confederation Congress.

**Section Theme**

**Geography and History** While the weak Confederation government ultimately failed, it created the system by which new states became part of the new nation.

## Preview of Events

1775

**1776**  
Virginia creates Declaration of Rights

1779

**1781**  
Articles of Confederation ratified

1783

**1786**  
Virginia's Statute for Religious Freedom is passed

1787

**1787**  
Northwest Ordinance becomes law



Wooden statue of an African American breaking his chains

★ **An American Story** ★

In the late 1700s, an enslaved Massachusetts man named Quock Walker took an extraordinary step: He took legal action against a white man who had assaulted him. Given the times, this was a bold step, but Walker believed he had the law on his side. Massachusetts's new constitution referred to the "inherent liberty" of all men. The judge, William Cushing, agreed:

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

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

—adapted from *Founding the Republic*

**New Political Ideas**

When American leaders declared independence and founded the United States of America, they were very much aware that they were creating something new. By breaking away from the king, they had established a republic. A **republic** is a form of government where power resides with a body of citizens entitled to vote. This power is exercised by elected officials who are responsible to the citizens and who must govern according to laws or a constitution.



While many Europeans viewed a republic as radical and dangerous, Americans saw its benefits. In an ideal republic, all citizens are equal under the law, regardless of their wealth or social position. This conflicted with existing ideas, including beliefs about slavery, about women not being allowed to vote or own property, and about wealthy people being “better” than people in poorer classes. Despite these contradictions, republican ideas began to change American society.

**New State Constitutions** American leaders believed that the best form of government was a constitutional republic. At the same time, many, including John Adams, worried that a true democracy would lead to tyranny by the majority. For example, the poor might vote to seize all property from the rich. Adams argued that government needed “checks and balances” to prevent any group in society from becoming too strong and taking away the rights of the minority.

Adams favored a “mixed government” with a separation of powers. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches would be independent of one another. Adams also argued that the legislature should have two houses: a senate to represent people with property and an assembly to protect the rights of the common people. Adams’s ideas influenced several states as they drafted new constitutions during the Revolution. Virginia’s constitution of 1776 and Massachusetts’s constitution of 1780 established an elected governor, senate, and assembly. By the 1790s, most of the other states had similar documents.

Many states attached a bill of rights to their constitutions as well. This began in 1776, when George Mason drafted Virginia’s **Declaration of Rights**. This document guaranteed to all Virginians freedom of speech, freedom of religion, the right to bear arms, the right to trial by jury, and freedom from unreasonable search and seizure of property.

Several state constitutions also provided for government-funded universities. American leaders considered an educated public to be critical to the republic’s success. Jefferson called it the “keystone of our arch of

government.” In 1795 the University of North Carolina was the first state university to open.

**Voting Rights Expand** The experience of fighting side by side during the Revolution with people from every social class and region increased Americans’ belief in equality. If all men were risking their lives for the same cause, then all deserved a say in choosing their leaders. In almost every state, the new constitutions made it easier for men to gain the right to vote. Many states allowed any white male who paid taxes to vote, whether or not he owned property.

People still had to own a certain amount of property to hold elective office, although usually much less than before the Revolution. The practice of giving veterans land grants as payment for their military service also increased the number of people eligible to hold office. Before the Revolution, over 80 percent of elected officials in the North came from the upper class. Ten years after the war began, a little more than one-third did. In the South, higher property qualifications kept the wealthy planters in power, although their numbers dropped from almost 90 percent of those holding office to about 70 percent.

**Freedom of Religion** The new concern with rights included opposition to “ecclesiastical tyranny”—the power of a church, backed by the government, to



**Picturing History**

**New State Constitutions** From 1776 to 1807, the New Jersey state constitution allowed “all inhabitants . . . who are worth fifty pounds” to vote. This decree allowed women to vote, as seen in this painting of women at a polling place. [How else did voting rights change following the Revolutionary War?](#)



make people worship in a certain way. In Virginia, Baptists led a movement to abolish tax funding for the Anglican Church. Governor Thomas Jefferson wrote the **Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom**, passed in 1786. The statute declared that Virginia no longer had an official church, and that the state could not collect taxes for churches. It further declared:

“[O]ur civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry . . . therefore . . . proscribing any citizen as unworthy of the public confidence . . . unless he profess or renounce this or that religion opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right.”

—quoted in *Founding the Republic*

The idea that the government should not fund churches spread slowly. Massachusetts, for example, permitted Quakers and Baptists to assign their tax money to their churches instead of to the Congregational churches—the successors to Puritan congregations—but it did not abolish religious taxes entirely until 1833.  (See page 947 for the text of the *Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom*.)

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** Which freedoms did Virginia’s constitution guarantee in its bill of rights?

## The Revolution Changes Society

The postwar notions of greater equality and liberty, as noble as they were, were not widely applied to women or African Americans. Both groups did, however, find their lives changed by the Revolution, as did the Loyalists who had supported Britain. The war also helped Americans develop a national identity.

**Women** Women played a vital role during the Revolution, contributing on both the home front and the battlefield. With their husbands, brothers, and sons at war, some women took over running the family farm. Others traveled with the army—cooking, washing, and nursing the wounded. Women also served as spies and couriers, and a few even joined the fighting. Mary Ludwig Hays, known as **Molly Pitcher**, carried water to Patriot gunners during the Battle of Monmouth. Margaret Corbin accompanied her husband to battle, and after his death she took his place at his cannon until the battle ended.

After the war, as Americans began to think about what their revolutionary ideals implied, women made

some advances. They could more easily obtain a divorce, and they gained greater access to education.

**African Americans** Several thousand enslaved Africans obtained their freedom during the Revolution. Although the British seized numerous enslaved people and shipped them to British plantations in the Caribbean, they also freed many others in exchange for military service. Many planters offered freedom to slaves who would fight the British. General Washington permitted African Americans to join the Continental Army, and he urged state militias to do likewise. In all, about 5,000 African Americans served with the Patriot forces.

After the Revolution, many Americans realized that enslaving people did not fit with the new language of liberty and equality. Opposition to slavery had been growing steadily even before the Revolution, especially in the northern and middle states. After the war began, Northern governments took steps to end slavery entirely. Vermont banned the practice in 1777. In 1780 Pennsylvania freed all children born enslaved when they reached age 28. Rhode Island decreed in 1784 that enslaved men born thereafter would be free when they turned 21 and women when they turned 18. In 1799 New York freed enslaved men born that year or later when they reached age 28 and women when they reached age 25. The ending of slavery in the North was thus a gradual process that took several decades.

The story was different in the South. The South relied heavily on enslaved labor to sustain its agricultural economy. As a result, Southern leaders showed little interest in abolishing slavery. Only Virginia took steps in this direction. In 1782 the state passed a law encouraging **manumission**, or the voluntary freeing of enslaved persons, especially for those who had fought in the Revolution. Through this law, about 10,000 slaves obtained their freedom, but the vast majority remained in bondage.

**Loyalist Flight** For many Loyalists, the end of the war changed everything. Former friends often shunned them, and state governments sometimes seized their property. Unwilling to live under the new government and often afraid for their lives, approximately 100,000 Loyalists fled the United States after the war. Some went to England or the British West Indies, but most moved to Canada.

Americans grappled over what to do with the property of Loyalists. In North Carolina and New York, Patriots confiscated Loyalist lands. Public officials elsewhere, however, opposed such actions. The



Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, for example, extended the rights of “life, liberty, and property” to Loyalists, and the relatives and agents of departing Loyalists were often able to claim the land they left behind.

**An Emerging American Culture** The victory over the British united Americans and created powerful nationalist feelings. The Revolutionary War gave Americans a common enemy and a shared sense of purpose as they fought side by side in each other’s states. The Revolution also gave rise to patriotic symbols and folklore about wartime deeds and heroes, which helped Americans think of themselves as belonging to the same group.

In addition, the Revolution sparked the creativity of American artists whose work helped shape a national identity. **John Trumbull**, for example, stirred nationalist pride with his depictions of battles and other events in the Revolution. **Charles Willson Peale** painted inspiring portraits of Washington and other Patriot leaders.

Education also became American-centered. Schools tossed out British textbooks and began teaching republican ideas and the history of the struggle for independence.

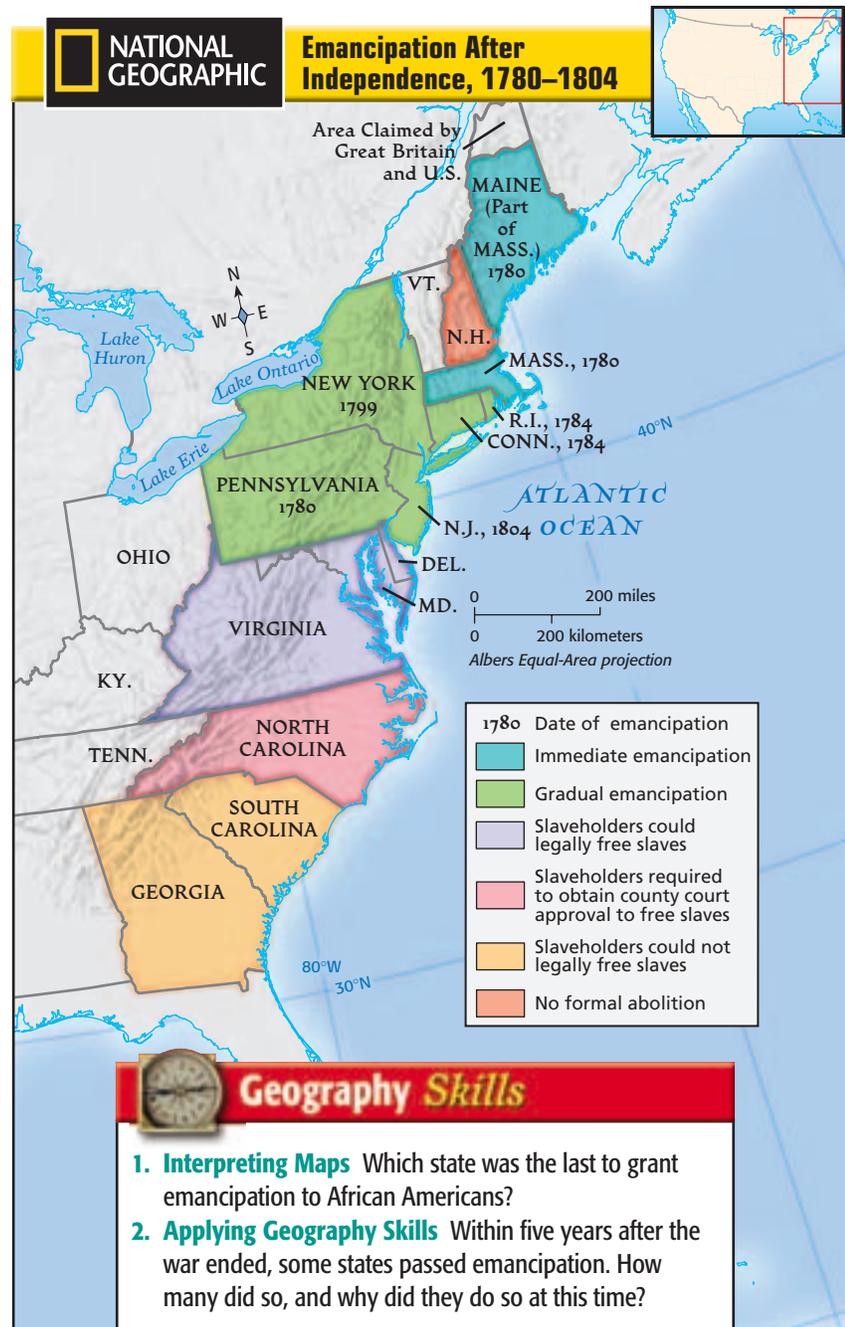
**Reading Check** **Describing** How did the civil rights of African Americans change after the Revolutionary War?

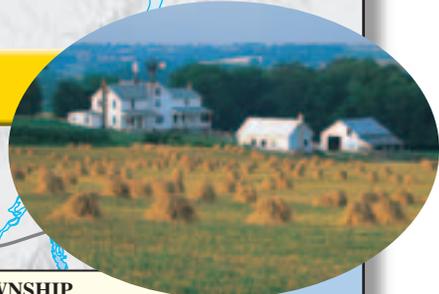
## The Achievements of the Confederation

As the American people began to build a national identity, leaders of the United States turned their attention to creating a government that could hold the new nation together. Even before independence was declared, Patriot leaders had realized that the colonies needed to be united under some type of central government. In November 1777, the Continental Congress adopted the **Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union**—a plan for a loose union of the states under the authority of the Congress. To go into effect, the plan required the **ratification**, or approval, of all the states. Most of the states quickly ratified the articles, but Maryland held out.

The main reason for delay was that a number of states claimed ownership of great tracts

of land west of the Appalachian Mountains. Maryland, which had no land claims, led five other states in proposing that the Congress assume control of all western territories. They argued that all 13 states had jointly won the territories by fighting for American independence. The states already claiming land in the west resisted this proposal. Finally, in 1780, New York and Connecticut agreed to give up most of their claims. Virginia followed in early 1781, which convinced Maryland that the remaining states with land claims would eventually give them up. In February 1781, Maryland ratified the Articles of Confederation, and on March 2, they went into effect. The United States now had its first constitution.





## Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** The Land Ordinance of 1785 provided that the territory be divided into areas of 36 square miles. What were these areas called?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Why was the prohibition of slavery in this territory significant?

**The Articles of Confederation** The Articles of Confederation established a very weak central government. The states had spent several years fighting for independence from Britain. They did not want to give up that independence to a new central government that might become tyrannical.

Under the Articles, each state would select a delegation once per year to send to the **Confederation Congress**. The Congress was the entire government. It had the right to declare war and raise armies. It also could negotiate with other nations and sign treaties, including trade treaties. It could not, however, regulate trade, nor could it impose taxes.

### GEOGRAPHY

**Western Policies** Lacking the power to tax or regulate trade, the only way for the Confederation Congress to raise money to pay its debts and finance its

operations was to sell the land it controlled west of the Appalachian Mountains. To attract buyers, the Congress had to establish systems for dividing up and selling the land and for governing the new settlements.

The Land Ordinance of 1785 set up a scheme for dividing the land into square townships, which were then subdivided into smaller sections and sold at auction. The **Northwest Ordinance** of 1787 provided the basis for governing western lands and developing them into states. The law created a single territory bounded roughly by Pennsylvania on the east, the Ohio River on the south, the Mississippi River on the west, and the Great Lakes on the north. Initially the Congress would choose a governor, a secretary, and three judges for the territory. When 5,000 adult male citizens had settled in a district, they could elect an assembly. When the population reached 60,000, the district could apply to become a state "on an equal footing with the original states." Between three and five states could be formed from the territory.

The Northwest Ordinance also guaranteed certain rights to people living in the territory. These included freedom of religion, property rights, and the right to





trial by jury. The ordinance further stated that “there [would] be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory.” The exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory did not affect Southern territories. Like the original states, the frontier would be divided between Southern slave-holding states and Northern free states.

**Success in Trade** The Confederation Congress also tried to promote foreign trade. After the Revolutionary War, the British government sharply restricted American access to British markets. As a result, the Congress negotiated several trade treaties with other countries, including Holland, Prussia, and Sweden. American merchants also sold goods to France and its Caribbean colonies. By 1790 the trade of the United States was greater than the prewar trade of the American colonies.

 **Reading Check Explaining** What were the provisions of the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787?

## Weaknesses of the Congress

Despite the Confederation Congress’s success in signing commercial treaties, trade problems beset the young nation. The Congress also faced other challenges that it could not easily solve.

**Problems With Trade** During the boycotts of the 1760s and the Revolutionary War, American artisans and manufacturers had prospered. After the war, the British flooded the United States with low-cost goods, putting thousands of Americans out of work.

The states fought back by restricting British imports. Unfortunately, the states did not all impose the same duties and restrictions. Because the Confederation Congress was not allowed to regulate commerce, the states began setting up customs posts on their borders to prevent the British from exploiting the different trade laws. They also began to levy taxes on each other’s goods to raise revenue for themselves. New York, for example, taxed cabbage from New Jersey, which retaliated by charging New York for a lighthouse on the New Jersey side of the Hudson River. In effect, each state was beginning to act as a totally independent country.

**Problems in Diplomacy** In other areas of foreign policy, the Congress showed weakness. The first problems surfaced over the Congress’s inability to enforce all the terms of the Treaty of Paris.

Before the war, many American merchants and planters had borrowed money from British lenders. In the peace treaty, the United States had agreed that British creditors should be allowed to recover their debts. They also agreed that states would return property confiscated from Loyalists during the war. In neither case, however, was the Congress able to compel the states to cooperate with these treaty provisions. In retaliation, the British refused to leave some American frontier posts. The Congress had no way to resolve these problems. Without the power to legally compel individuals, state legislatures, or state courts to comply with the terms of the peace treaty, Congress appeared weak and ineffective.

The Confederation Congress felt similarly helpless to settle a dispute with Spain over the boundary between Spanish territory and the state of Georgia. The Spanish then stopped Americans from depositing their goods in Spanish territory at the mouth of the Mississippi River. This effectively closed the Mississippi to farmers who used the river to ship their goods to market. Once more, the

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

### Chart Skills

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



limited power of the Confederation Congress presented a diplomatic solution from being found.

**Problems With Debt** While the Confederation Congress struggled with foreign affairs, many Americans struggled economically. Wartime debts and the British trade imbalance plunged the nation into a severe **recession**, or economic slowdown.

Farmers were badly hit by the recession. They were not earning as much money as they once did, and they had to keep borrowing in order to plant their next crop. Many also had mortgages to pay. The cost of the Revolution also left individual states and the Congress in debt.

To pay off their debts, the states could raise taxes, but farmers and others urged that the state governments begin issuing paper money instead. Paper money would not be backed by gold and silver, so people would not trust it. As a result, **inflation**—a decline in the value of money—would begin. Debtors would be able to pay their debts using paper money that was worth less than the value printed on it. This would let them pay off their debts more easily.

Not surprisingly, merchants, importers, and lenders strongly opposed paper currency because they would not be receiving the true amount they were owed. Nonetheless, starting in 1785, seven states began issuing paper money.

In Rhode Island, the paper money eventually became so worthless that some creditors insisted on being repaid only with gold or silver. After an angry mob rioted in 1786 against merchants who refused to take paper money, Rhode Island passed a law

forcing people to accept the currency at its stated value. Those who refused could be arrested and fined.

**Shays’s Rebellion** A more serious disturbance erupted that same year in Massachusetts. Known as **Shays’s Rebellion**, it started when the Massachusetts government raised taxes to pay off its debts instead of issuing paper money. The taxes fell most heavily on poor farmers in the western part of the state. Many farmers found themselves facing the loss of their farms.

In late August, armed mobs closed down several county courthouses to prevent farm foreclosures. Daniel Shays, a bankrupt farmer and former army captain, emerged as one of the rebellion’s leaders. In January 1787, Shays and about 1,200 followers advanced on the arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts, to seize weapons before marching on Boston. In response, the governor sent more than 4,000 volunteers to defend the armory. This militia quickly ended the rebellion.

Many wealthy Americans worried that uprisings like those in Rhode Island and Massachusetts might occur in other states. “What is to afford our security against the violence of lawless men?” asked General Henry Knox, a close aide to George Washington. “Our government must be braced, changed, or altered to secure our lives and property.”

The Confederation Congress’s continuing problems in trade and diplomacy underscored its powerlessness. By 1787 many people had begun to argue for a stronger central government.

 **Reading Check Summarizing** In what ways was the Confederation Congress ineffective?

## SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Define:** **republic, manumission, ratification, recession, inflation.**
- Identify:** Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, Northwest Ordinance.
- Summarize** the conditions that led to Shays’s Rebellion.

### Reviewing Themes

- Geography and History** How did the Confederation Congress provide for the division, sale, and eventual statehood of western lands?

### Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** How did fear of tyranny shape new state constitutions and the Articles of Confederation?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify how revolutionary ideas affected American life.

	Effects
Political Ideas	
Social and Cultural Ideas	
Economic Ideas	

### Analyzing Visuals

- Studying Maps** Examine the map of the Northwest Ordinance on page 104. What significant provision of the ordinance do the dates on the map signify?

### Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine you are on a committee to write a new constitution for your state. List the freedoms you want attached to your state’s constitution. Explain why you feel it is important to guarantee these rights.



# Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

## Making Comparisons

### Why Learn This Skill?

Suppose you want to buy a portable compact disc (CD) player, and you must choose among three models. You would probably compare characteristics of the three models, such as price, sound quality, and size to figure out which model is best for you. In the study of American history, you often compare people or events from one time period with those from a different time period.

### Learning the Skill

When making comparisons, you examine two or more groups, situations, events, or documents. Then you identify any similarities and differences. For example, the chart on this page compares two documents with regard to the powers they gave the central government. The Articles of Confederation were passed and implemented before the United States Constitution, which took their place. The chart includes a check mark in each column that applies. For example, the entry *Protect copyrights* does not have a check under *Articles of Confederation*. This shows that the government under the Articles lacked that power. The entry is checked under *United States Constitution*, showing that the government under the Constitution does have that power.

When making comparisons, you first decide what items will be compared and determine which characteristics you will use to compare them. Then you identify similarities and differences in these characteristics.

### Practicing the Skill

Analyze the information on the chart on this page. Then answer the questions.

- 1 What items are being compared? How are they being compared?
- 2 What are the similarities and differences of the documents?
- 3 Which document had the most power regarding legal matters? How can you tell?

### The Articles of Confederation and the United States Constitution

Powers of the Central Government	Articles of Confederation	United States Constitution
Declare war; make peace	✓	✓
Coin money	✓	✓
Manage foreign affairs	✓	✓
Establish a postal system	✓	✓
Impose taxes		✓
Regulate trade		✓
Organize a court system		✓
Call state militia for service		✓
Protect copyrights		✓
Take other necessary actions to run the federal government		✓

- 4 Which document had the most power in dealing with other nations? How can you tell?

### Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 119 and the Chapter 3 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

### Applying the Skill

**Making Comparisons** On the editorial page of your local newspaper, read two columns that express different viewpoints on the same issue. Identify the similarities and differences between the two points of view.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

# SECTION 5 A New Constitution

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

In Philadelphia in 1787, members of the Constitutional Convention created a stronger central government.

### Key Terms and Names

Virginia Plan, New Jersey Plan, Great Compromise, Three-Fifths Compromise, popular sovereignty, federalism, separation of powers, checks and balances, veto, impeach, amendment

### Reading Strategy

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

	Federalists	Antifederalists
Source of Support		
Goals		

### Reading Objectives

- **Outline** the framework for the new federal government.
- **Summarize** the main points in the debate between Federalists and Antifederalists.

### Section Theme

**Government and Democracy** The new Constitution tried to uphold the principle of state authority while providing needed national authority.

### Preview of Events

◆ April 1787

**May 14**  
Constitutional Convention opens in Philadelphia

◆ June 1787

**May 29**  
Virginia Plan introduced

**June 15**  
New Jersey Plan introduced

◆ August 1787

**July 2**  
Franklin's committee begins to seek compromise

◆ October 1787

**September 17**  
Final draft of Constitution signed

## ★ An American Story ★



Washington's chair at the Constitutional Convention

As Benjamin Franklin arrived at the Pennsylvania statehouse on September 17, 1787, he rejoiced with his colleagues about the freshness of the morning air. All summer the 81-year-old Franklin had made the short journey from his home just off Market Street to the statehouse. There, delegates to the Constitutional Convention had exhaustively debated the future of the nation. Today, they would have a chance to sign a draft plan for the nation's new constitution.

When it came Franklin's turn to sign, the elderly leader had to be helped forward in order to write his name on the parchment. Tears streamed down his face as he signed. When the remaining delegates had finished signing, a solemn silence enveloped the hall. Franklin relieved the tension with a few well-chosen words. Pointing to the half-sun painted in gold on the back of George Washington's chair, he observed:

“I have often . . . looked at that [sun] behind the President [of the Convention] without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know it is a rising, and not a setting, Sun.”

—quoted in *An Outline of American History*

## The Constitutional Convention

For some time, the weakness of the Confederation Congress had worried many Americans. They believed that the United States would not survive without a strong central government. People who wanted to strengthen the central government became known as nationalists.



One of the most influential nationalists was **James Madison**, a member of the Virginia Assembly. In 1786 Madison convinced Virginia's assembly to call a convention of all the states to discuss trade and taxation problems. Delegates were to meet in Annapolis, Maryland, in September. When the convention began, however, representatives from only five states were present—too few to reach any final decisions. In spite of this, the delegates did discuss the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, and many expressed interest in modifying them.

**Alexander Hamilton**, a delegate from New York, recommended that the Congress itself call for another convention to be held in Philadelphia in May 1787. The Congress hesitated at first, but news of Shays's Rebellion and reports of unrest elsewhere finally convinced it to act. In late February 1787, the Congress invited the states to meet "for the sole purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

Every state except Rhode Island sent representatives to what became known as the Constitutional Convention. The delegates faced a daunting task: to balance the rights and aspirations of the states with the need for a stronger national government.

**The Founders** The 55 men who gathered in May at the Pennsylvania statehouse included some of the most shrewd and distinguished leaders in the United States. The majority were lawyers, and most of the others were planters and merchants. Most had experience in colonial, state, or national government. Seven had served as state governors, 39 had been members of the Confederation Congress, and 8 had signed the Declaration of Independence.

The delegates chose George Washington of Virginia, hero of the American Revolution, as presiding officer. Benjamin Franklin was a delegate from Pennsylvania. Now 81 years old, he tired easily and had other state delegates read his speeches for him. He provided assistance to many of his younger colleagues, and his experience and good humor helped smooth the debates.

Other notable delegates included New York's Alexander Hamilton and

Connecticut's **Roger Sherman**. Virginia sent a well-prepared delegation, including the scholarly James Madison, who kept a record of the debates. Madison's notes provide the best account of the convention. The meetings themselves were closed to the public in order to promote honest, open discussion and minimize outside political pressures.

**The Virginia and New Jersey Plans** The Virginia delegation arrived at the convention with a detailed plan—mostly the work of James Madison—for a new national government. The so-called **Virginia Plan** proposed scrapping the Articles of Confederation entirely and creating a new central government with power divided among legislative, executive, and judicial branches. This government would have the power to raise its own money through taxes and to make laws binding upon the states.

The Virginia Plan also proposed that Congress be divided into two houses. The voters in each state would elect members of the first house, who would then elect members of the second house. In both

## Profiles IN HISTORY

### James Madison 1751–1836

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

Bringing together his research and his experience in helping to draft Virginia's constitution, Madison created the Virginia Plan. His proposal strongly influenced the final document. Perhaps Madison's greatest achievement was in defining the true source of political



power. He argued that all power, at all levels of government, flowed ultimately from the people.

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



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

—Preamble to the Constitution



### History Through Art

**We the People** The delegates at Philadelphia devised a new government that tried to balance national and state power. **Why were discussions held behind closed doors?**

houses, the number of representatives for each state would reflect that state’s population. The Virginia Plan, therefore, would benefit large states like Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts, who would have more votes than the smaller states.

The Virginia Plan drew sharp reactions. The delegates accepted the idea of dividing the government into executive, legislative, and judicial branches, but the smaller states strongly opposed any changes that would decrease their influence by basing representation on population. They feared that the larger states would outvote them.

On June 15, the **New Jersey Plan** was offered as a counterproposal. It did not scrap the Articles of Confederation but proposed modifying them to make the central government stronger. Under the plan, Congress would still have a single house where each state was equally represented, but it would also have the power to raise taxes and regulate trade.

Intense discussion of the two plans followed. After a long debate, on June 19 the convention voted to use the Virginia Plan as the basis of its discussion. With this decision, the convention delegates agreed to go beyond their original purpose of revising the Articles

of Confederation. Instead, the Convention began to work on a new constitution for the United States.

**Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did small states oppose the Virginia Plan?

## A Union Built on Compromise

As the delegates began to hammer out the details of the new constitution, they found themselves divided geographically. Those from small states demanded changes that would protect them against the voting power of the big states. At the same time, Northerners and Southerners disagreed on how to address slavery in the new constitution.

### TURNING POINT

**The Connecticut Compromise** Tempers flared as the impasse dragged on in the summer heat. Delegates from the small states insisted that each state had to have an equal vote in Congress. Angry and frustrated delegates from the larger states threatened to walk out.





In an attempt to find a solution, the convention appointed a special committee to find a compromise. Ben Franklin was chosen to chair the proceedings. He had a calming influence, and the delegates took to heart his warning about what would happen if they failed to agree:

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

—quoted in *American History*

The committee’s solution, variously known as the **Connecticut Compromise** or the **Great Compromise**, was based on a suggestion by Roger Sherman of Connecticut. The committee proposed that in one house of Congress, the House of Representatives, the states would be represented according to the size of their populations, with one House member for every 40,000 people. In the other house, the Senate, each state would have equal representation. The eligible voters in each state would elect members to serve in the House of Representatives, but the state legislatures would choose senators.

**Other Compromises** The Great Compromise sparked fresh controversy. Southern delegates wanted to count enslaved people when determining how many representatives they could elect to the House. Northern delegates objected, pointing out that enslaved people were considered property, not people. They also suggested that if slaves were going to be counted for purposes of representation in government, they should be counted for purposes of taxation as well. The matter was settled by the **Three-Fifths Compromise**. Every five enslaved people in a state would count as three free persons for determining both representation and taxes.

Southern delegates also feared giving Congress the power to regulate trade. If Congress decided to tax exports of tobacco, rice, and indigo, or to ban the import of enslaved Africans, the Southern economy would be crippled. Northern delegates, on the other hand, knew that Northern merchants and

artisans needed a government capable of controlling foreign imports into the United States.

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

The Great Compromise and the subsequent compromises on slavery and trade matters ended most of the major disputes among the state delegations. The convention then focused on the details of how the new government would operate.

**Reading Check** **Summarizing** What did the Three-Fifths Compromise accomplish?

## A Framework for Limited Government

The new Constitution the delegates crafted was based on the principle of **popular sovereignty** (SAH·vuhnr·tee), or rule by the people. Rather than a direct democracy, it created a representative system of government in which elected officials speak for the people.

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

The Constitution also provided for a **separation of powers** among the three branches of the federal government. The two houses of Congress made up the legislative branch of the government. They would make the laws. The executive branch, headed by a president, would implement and enforce the laws passed by Congress. The president would perform other duties as well, such as serving as commander in chief of the armed forces. The judicial branch—a system of federal courts—would interpret federal laws and render judgment in cases involving those laws. To keep the branches separate, no one serving in one branch could serve in either of the other branches at the same time.

**Checks and Balances** In addition to giving each of the three branches of government separate powers, the framers of the Constitution created a system of



Roger Sherman



**checks and balances**—a means for each branch to monitor and limit the power of the other two.

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

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

**Amending the Constitution** The delegates in Philadelphia recognized that the Constitution they wrote in the summer of 1787 might need to be revised over time. To ensure this could happen, they created a clear system for making **amendments**, or changes, to the Constitution. To prevent frivolous changes, however, they made the process difficult.

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

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** How is power divided under the system of federalism?

## Debating the Constitution

By mid-September, the convention had completed its task. On September 17, 39 delegates signed the new Constitution. No one came away entirely satisfied, but most believed it was a vast improvement over the Articles of Confederation. The creation of a flexible framework for government that reflected

the states' many different viewpoints was, in Washington's words, "little short of a miracle." The convention, John Adams declared, was "the single greatest effort of national deliberation that the world has ever seen."

On September 20, the delegates sent the Constitution to the Confederation Congress for approval. Eight days later, the Congress voted to submit it to the states. Now the struggle to craft a new government moved into another phase. Each state would hold a convention to vote on the new Constitution. Nine of the thirteen states had to ratify the Constitution before it could take effect.

**Federalists and Antifederalists** As soon as Americans learned about the new Constitution, they began to argue over whether it should be ratified. The debate took place in state legislatures, mass meetings, newspaper columns, and everyday conversations.

Supporters of the Constitution called themselves **Federalists** to emphasize that the Constitution would create a federal system, with power divided between a central government and the state governments. Federalists hoped the name would remind those Americans who feared a central government that the states would retain considerable power.

Many Federalists were large landowners who wanted the property protection that a strong central government could provide. Supporters also included merchants and artisans in large coastal cities. The inability of the Confederation Congress to regulate foreign trade had hit these citizens hard. They believed that an effective federal government that could impose taxes on foreign goods would help their businesses.

Farmers who lived near the coast or along rivers that led to the coast also tended to support the Constitution, as did farmers who shipped goods across state borders. These farmers depended on trade for their livelihood and had been frustrated by the different tariffs and duties the states imposed. They wanted a federal government that could regulate interstate trade consistently.

Opponents of the Constitution were called **Antifederalists**. This was a somewhat misleading name, as they were not truly against federalism. Antifederalists accepted the need for a national government. The real issue, in their minds, was whether the national government or the state governments would be supreme.

Leading Antifederalists included John Hancock, Patrick Henry, Sam Adams, Richard Henry Lee of



# Different Viewpoints

## Should the Majority Rule?

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

### James Madison opposes majority rule:

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

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

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

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



### Thomas Jefferson defends majority rule:

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

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



### Learning From History

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

Virginia, and George Clinton, governor of New York. Two prominent members of the Constitutional Convention, Edmund Randolph and George Mason, were also Antifederalists because they believed the new Constitution needed a bill of rights.

Antifederalists drew support from western farmers living far from the coast. These people considered themselves self-sufficient and distrusted the wealthy and powerful. Many of them were also deeply in debt and suspected that the new Constitution was simply a way for wealthy creditors to get rid of paper money and foreclose on their farms. As one western farmer, Amos Singletary, wrote:

“These lawyers and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor, illiterate people swallow

down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to be managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks, like the great Leviathan, Mr. President; yes, just like the whale swallowed up Jonah.”

—quoted in the *Massachusetts Gazette*

### GOVERNMENT

**The Federalist** Although many influential American leaders opposed the new Constitution, several factors worked against them. First of all, the Antifederalist campaign was a negative one. The Federalists had presented a definite program to meet the difficulties facing the nation. Although the Antifederalists

complained that the Constitution failed to protect basic rights such as the freedoms of speech and religion, they had nothing to offer in its place.

The Federalists were also better organized than their opponents. Most of the nation's newspapers supported them. The Federalists were able to present a very convincing case in their speeches, pamphlets, and debates at the state conventions.

The arguments for ratification were summarized in *The Federalist*, a collection of 85 essays written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. Under the joint pen name of Publius, the three men had originally published most of the essays in New York newspapers in late 1787 and early 1788. They were hoping to sway the vote in New York, where Antifederalist sentiment was strong.

The essays explained how the new Constitution worked and why it was needed. They were extremely influential. Even today, judges, lawyers, legislators, and historians rely upon *The Federalist* papers to help them interpret the Constitution and understand what the original framers of the document intended. 📖 (See page 948 for an excerpt from *Federalist Paper No. 10*.)

✔ **Reading Check** **Summarizing** Which groups of people tended to support the new Constitution?

## The Fight for Ratification

As the ratifying conventions began to gather, the Federalists knew they had clear majorities in some states. In others, however, including the large and important states of Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York, the vote was going to be much closer.

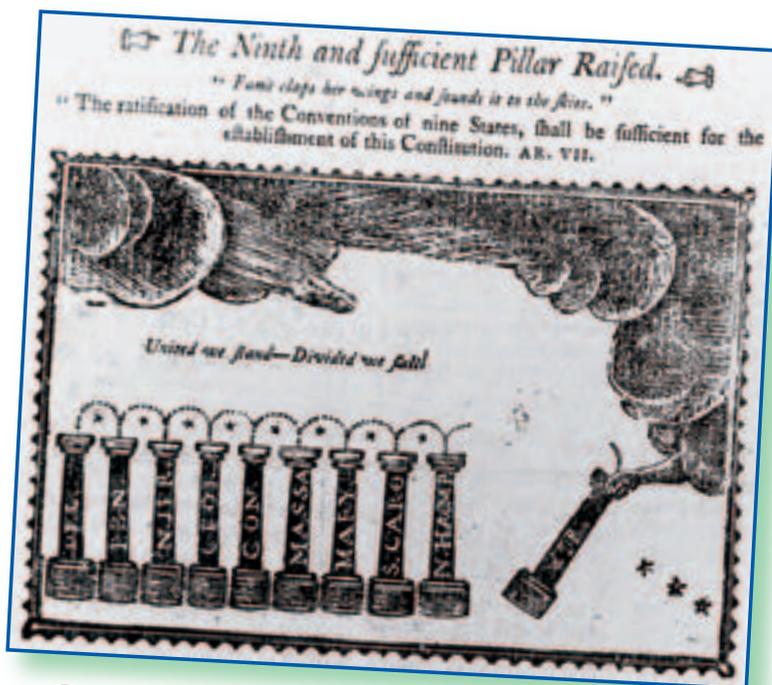
Delaware became the first state to ratify the Constitution, on December 7, 1787. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut quickly followed suit. The most important battles, however, still lay ahead.

**Ratification in Massachusetts** When the Massachusetts convention met in January 1788, opponents of the proposed Constitution held a clear majority. They included the great patriot Samuel Adams, who had signed the Declaration of Independence. Adams strongly believed the Constitution endangered the independence of the states and failed to safeguard Americans' rights.

Federalists moved quickly to address Adams's objections. They promised to attach a bill of rights to the Constitution once it was ratified. They also agreed to support an amendment that would reserve for the states all powers not specifically granted to the federal government. These promises eventually led to the first ten amendments to the Constitution, which came to be known as the Bill of Rights. In combination with the fact that most artisans sided with the Federalists, the promises persuaded Adams to vote for ratification. In the final vote, 187 members of the Massachusetts convention voted in favor of the Constitution while 168 voted against it.

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

**Virginia and New York** At the Virginia convention in June, George Washington and James Madison presented strong arguments for ratification. Patrick Henry, Richard



### Analyzing Political Cartoons

**Support for Ratification** A pro-Federalist cartoon celebrates New Hampshire becoming the ninth state to ratify the Constitution in 1788. **Based on the cartoon's imagery, which state was the first to ratify the Constitution?**



Henry Lee, and other Antifederalists argued against it. On the day of the final debate, as thunderclaps rang out and lightning forked across the sky, Patrick Henry took aim at the framers of the Constitution. “Who authorized them,” he demanded, “to speak the language of We, the People, instead of We, the States?”

Henry was a former governor of Virginia. Before the American Revolution, he had stirred many with his passionate cry, “Give me liberty, or give me death.” This time, however, his fiery oratory would not sway enough of his fellow Virginians. Madison’s promise to add a bill of rights won the day for the Federalists—but barely. The Virginia convention voted 89 in favor of the Constitution and 79 against.

In New York, two-thirds of the members elected to the state convention, including Governor George Clinton, were Antifederalists. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, managed to delay the final vote until news arrived that New Hampshire and Virginia had both voted to ratify the Constitution and that the new federal government was now in effect. If New York refused to ratify, it would be in a very awkward position. It would have to operate independently of all of the surrounding states that had accepted the Constitution. This argument convinced enough Antifederalists to change sides. The vote was very close, 30 to 27, but the Federalists won.

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

The two states that had held out finally ratified the Constitution after the new government was in place. North Carolina waited until a bill of rights had actually been proposed and then voted to ratify the Constitution in November 1789. Rhode Island, still nervous about losing its independence, did not ratify the Constitution until May 1790. Even then, the margin of victory was only two votes—34 to 32.

The United States now had a new government, but no one knew if the Constitution would work any better than the Articles of Confederation. With both anticipation and nervousness, the American people waited to see their new government in action. Many expressed great confidence, however, because George Washington had been chosen as the first president under the new Constitution.

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

## SECTION 5 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

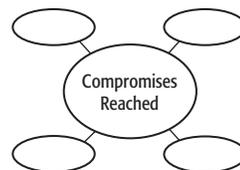
- Define:** popular sovereignty, federalism, separation of powers, checks and balances, veto, impeach, amendment.
- Identify:** Virginia Plan, New Jersey Plan, Great Compromise, Three-Fifths Compromise.
- Summarize** the factors that worked against the Antifederalists.

### Reviewing Themes

- Government and Democracy** In many ways, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were not representative of the American public. Should a broader cross section of people have been involved in shaping the new government? Why or why not?

### Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** Do you think the Founders were right to make the amendment process difficult? Why or why not?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the compromises the Founders reached at the Constitutional Convention.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Paintings** Examine the painting of the Constitutional Convention on page 110. How does the tone of the painting compare with the text’s description of differences and difficulties at the convention? What purpose do you think the artist had that might account for any difference?

### Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of an observer at the Constitutional Convention. Write a journal entry describing what you witnessed. Be sure to record the arguments you heard from each side of the issues discussed, and relate your own opinion on the issues.



## Profile

**GEORGE WASHINGTON** *At the age of 16, George Washington carefully transcribed in his own hand the Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation. Among the rules our first president lived by:*

- Every action done in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those that are present.
- When in company, put not your hands to any part of the body, not usually [un]covered.
- Put not off your clothes in the presence of others, nor go out your chamber half dressed.
- Sleep not when others speak.
- Spit not in the fire, nor stoop low before it. Neither put your hands into the flames to warm them, nor set your feet upon the fire, especially if there is meat before it.
- Shake not the head, feet or legs. Roll not the eyes. Lift not one eyebrow higher than the other. Wry not the mouth, and bedew no man's face with your spittle, by approaching too near him when you speak.
- Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another though he were your enemy.
- Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.
- Think before you speak.
- Cleanse not your teeth with the Table Cloth.

## VERBATIM

### WAR'S END

**“I hope you will not consider yourself as commander-in-chief of your own house, but be convinced, that there is such a thing as equal command.”**

LUCY FLUCKER KNOX,  
*to her husband Henry Knox, upon his return as a hero from the Revolutionary War*

**“The American war is over, but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. Nothing but the first act of the drama is closed.”**

BENJAMIN RUSH,  
*signer of the Declaration of Independence and member of the Constitutional Convention*

**“You could not have found a person to whom your schemes were more disagreeable.”**

GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
*to Colonel Lewis Nicola, in response to his letter urging Washington to seize power and proclaim himself king*

**“It appears to me, then, little short of a miracle that the delegates from so many states . . . should unite in forming a system of national government.”**

GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
*in a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette at the close of the Constitutional Convention*

**“It astonishes me to find this system approaching to near perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies.”**



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
*remarking on the structure of the new United States government*

## Annual Salaries

*Annual federal employee salaries, 1789*

<b>President</b> (he refused it) .....	\$25,000
<b>Vice President</b> .....	\$5,000
<b>Secretary of State</b> .....	\$3,500
<b>Chief Justice</b> .....	\$4,000
<b>Senator</b> .....	\$6 per day
<b>Representative</b> .....	\$6 per day
<b>Army Captain</b> .....	\$420
<b>Army Private</b> .....	\$48



CORBIS

## Milestones

**SETTLED, 1781. LOS ANGELES**, by a group of 46 men and women, most of whom are of Native American and African descent.

**CALLED, 1785. LEMUEL HAYNES**, as minister to a church in Torrington, Connecticut. Haynes, a veteran of the Revolutionary War who fought in Lexington, is the first African American to minister to a white congregation. A parishioner insulted Haynes by refusing to remove his hat in church, but minutes into the sermon, the parishioner was so moved that the hat came off. He is now a prayerful and loyal member of the congregation.



BETTMANN/CORBIS

**PUBLISHED, 1788. THE ELEMENTARY SPELLING BOOK**, by Noah Webster, a 25-year-old teacher from Goshen, N.Y. The book standardizes American spelling and usage that differs from the British.

## NUMBERS

**5** Number of years younger in age of average American brides compared to their European counterparts

**6** Average number of children per family to survive to adulthood

**7** Average number of children born per family

**8** Number of Daniel Boone's surviving children

**68** Number of Daniel Boone's grandchildren

**\$5** Average monthly wage for male agricultural laborer, 1784

**\$3** Average monthly wage for female agricultural laborer, 1784



PIX/PG

### 1780s WORD PLAY

## Dressing the "Little Pudding Heads"

*Can you match these common items of Early American clothing with their descriptions?*

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>1.</b> clout       | <b>a.</b> a band of strong fabric wrapped around a baby to suppress the navel                           |
| <b>2.</b> stays       | <b>b.</b> a diaper  |
| <b>3.</b> surcingle   | <b>c.</b> the wool cover worn over a diaper   |
| <b>4.</b> pilch       | <b>d.</b> a head covering for a child learning to walk to protect its brain from falls                  |
| <b>5.</b> pudding cap | <b>e.</b> a garment worn by children to foster good posture, made from linen and wood or baleen splints |

ANSWERS: 1. b; 2. e; 3. a; 4. c; 5. d

**Reviewing Key Terms**

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

- |                                |                      |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. customs duty                | 5. minuteman         |
| 2. nonimportation agreement    | 6. Loyalist          |
| 3. writs of assistance         | 7. Patriot           |
| 4. committee of correspondence | 8. guerrilla warfare |
|                                | 9. letter of marque  |
|                                | 10. republic         |

- |                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 11. manumission         | 17. separation of powers |
| 12. ratification        | 18. checks and balances  |
| 13. recession           | 19. veto                 |
| 14. inflation           | 20. impeach              |
| 15. popular sovereignty | 21. amendment            |
| 16. federalism          |                          |

**Reviewing Key Facts**

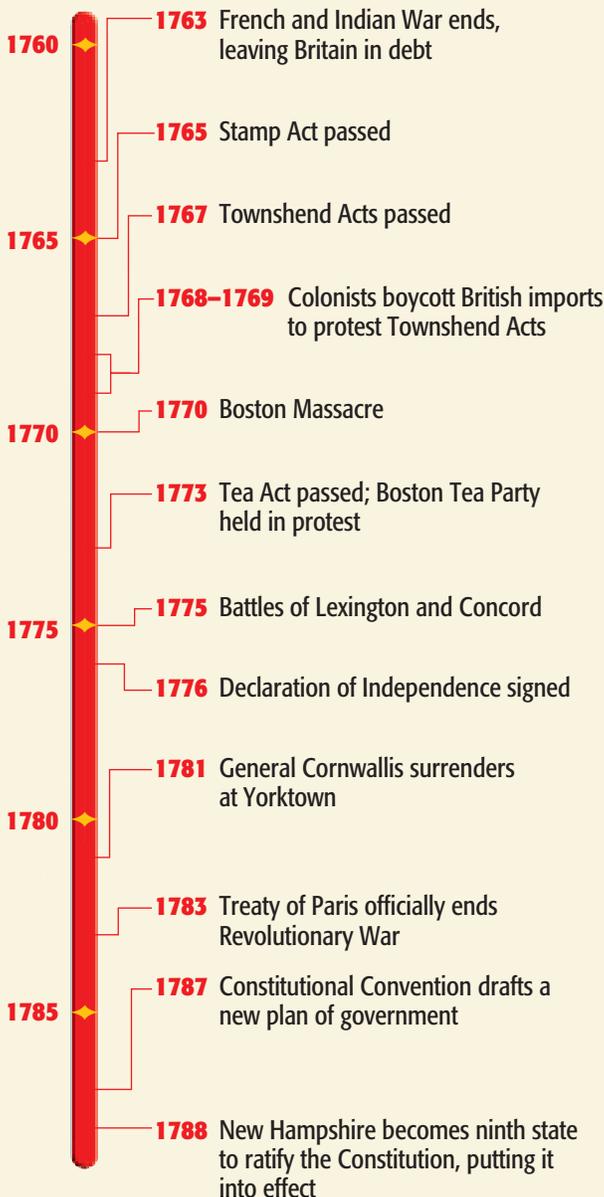
- Identify:** Albany Plan of Union, Sons of Liberty, Stamp Act Congress, Boston Tea Party, Intolerable Acts, Suffolk Resolves, Olive Branch Petition, John Burgoyne, Charles Cornwallis, Francis Marion, Northwest Ordinance, Great Compromise, Three-Fifths Compromise.
- What caused the French and Indian War?
- Why did King George III issue the Proclamation of 1763?
- What were the effects of the Boston Tea Party?
- Why was the Battle of Saratoga a turning point in the Revolutionary War?
- How did Shays’s Rebellion indicate the need for a stronger national government?
- In what city did delegates gather to consider revising the Articles of Confederation?
- What were the two competing plans for a basic framework for a new constitution?
- How did the Founders provide for a separation of powers in the federal government?

**Critical Thinking**

- Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities** What rights did the colonists want from Britain?
- Evaluating** In the colonies, Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* influenced public opinion on the issue of declaring independence. Why do you think this happened?
- Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy** What do you think was the most serious flaw of the Articles of Confederation? Why do you think so?
- Evaluating** What do you think would have happened if New York and Virginia had not ratified the Constitution?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list events that led to the War for Independence.

Events Leading to the War for Independence

**Chapter Summary**





Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at [tarvol2.glencoe.com](http://tarvol2.glencoe.com) and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 3** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

Geography and History

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

Practicing Skills

- 37. **Making Comparisons** Reread the passage about the Virginia and New Jersey Plans from Chapter 3, Section 5, on pages 109–110. Then answer the following questions.
  - a. Which plan gave more power to the states?
  - b. What new power did the New Jersey plan grant to Congress?

Chapter Activities

- 38. **Research Project** Research some popular American painters of the post-Revolutionary War period, such as John Trumbull and Charles Willson Peale. Find and study examples of their paintings. Then write a report explaining how the themes in their paintings helped build an American identity. Share the paintings and your report with your class.
- 39. **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** Read “On Liberty” by John Adams, under *Nation Building*. Assuming the role of a Patriot or a Loyalist, write a letter to the editor of the *Boston Gazette* in reaction to the article by Adams.
- 40. **Internet Research** Use the Internet to research the lives of one Federalist and one Antifederalist discussed on pages 112 and 113. Write a short report comparing the two men and their positions on the proposed Constitution. Use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation.

Writing Activity

- 41. **Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of an American at the time the Constitution was ratified. Write a letter to a friend in Britain describing to him or her the kind of government provided for by the Constitution. Explain why you support or oppose ratification and what you think life will be like under the new government.



Standardized  
Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

Although the Coercive Acts were meant to punish Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party, what impact did they have on the rest of the colonies?

- A The acts caused trade in other harbors to suffer as well.
- B The acts caused the other colonies to fear standing up to the king.
- C The acts were so harsh that other colonies wanted to fight back against the king.
- D The acts caused the colonies to respond with their own laws, called the Intolerable Acts.

**Test-Taking Tip:** Eliminate answers that don't make sense. For example, the colonies were subject to the laws of the British government, not the other way around, so choice D is unlikely. (You may also remember that “Intolerable Acts” was the nickname the colonists gave to the Coercive Acts.)