

# UNIT 3 — Period 3: 1754–1800

## Topic 3.1

### Contextualizing Period 3

**Learning Objective:** Explain the context in which America gained independence and developed a sense of national identity.

In the 150 years after 1607, the 13 British colonies in North America began to develop an identity distinct from Great Britain. In the following 50 years, these colonies helped fight a war against France, won their own independence, wrote a constitution, and established a democratic republic. The transformation from colonies to a new country resulted from a change in how the British ruled their colonies, the impact of European affairs and ideas on the colonists, and the development of American leaders and people who wanted self-government.

**British-French Wars** During the colonial period, the British and the French fought a series of wars for control of territory in Europe, the Americas, and South Asia. The last of these, the Seven Years' War, began in North America in 1756. Because American Indians were heavily involved in defending their interests, and most allied with the French, this event is also known as the French and Indian War. The British victory in 1763 consolidated their control of North America and freed colonists from fear of French attacks. In addition, the contributions by the colonies reflected their political maturity. They became more confident of their ability to stand up for their interests.

**Colonial Independence** To pay for the war, the British tried to collect more taxes from the colonies they were protecting. In contrast, many American colonists saw themselves as self-sufficient and were emboldened by “enlightened” thinking to call for greater self-governance. These clashing views caused the colonies to found a new nation.

**The Articles of Confederation and the Constitution** Inspired by the republican ideals of the American Revolution, the new country was initially governed by the Articles of Confederation. However, the national government was so weak that people soon replaced it with a new constitution with a stronger federal government but reserved certain powers for the states. With the addition of the Bill of Rights, it protected basic individual liberties. This Constitution still provides the basis of the U.S. government today.

**Conflicting Views of Government** Debates over the new constitution continued as policy debates under the first president, George Washington.

Truly “Founding Fathers,” the leaders of the new government argued over the economy, individual rights, foreign affairs, relations with Native Americans, and the roles of the federal and state governments.

By the end of Washington’s eight years in office, two political parties had emerged. The Democratic-Republicans argued for stronger state governments. The Federalists argued for a stronger federal government. After the Democratic-Republicans defeated the Federalists in the election of 1800, the young country faced a test of political stability. When the Federalists peacefully transferred power to their political rivals, the country passed the test. By 1820, the Federalists had disappeared as a party. However, their ideas continued to have influence through judges and later politicians.

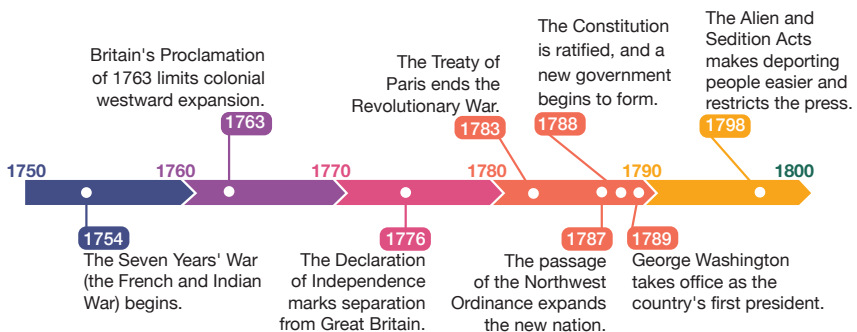
**Changes in Economics, Politics, and Culture** In the new country, immigrants continued to arrive. As people migrated westward in search of land and economic opportunities, they caused conflicts with the Native Americans living on those lands. The British, French, and Spanish who also claimed North American territory provided additional challenges. The United States had to defend its borders on land and its ships at sea in order to protect its economic and diplomatic interests.

As the United States established its place as a new country, people began to form their own cultures. While the United States declared independence in 1776 and ratified the Constitution in 1788, it was not until after 1800 that a national identity could be recognized.

## ANALYZE THE CONTEXT

1. Explain a historical context for the changing relationship between the American colonists and the British government following the Seven Years’ War (the French and Indian War).
2. Explain a historical context for the development of new constitutions and declarations of rights by American political leaders after 1776.
3. Explain a historical context for understanding the regional differences over economic, political, social, and foreign issues that continued along with the formation of the new U.S. cultural and political institutions.

### LANDMARK EVENTS: 1750–1800



# The Seven Years' War

*It is truly a miserable thing that we no sooner leave fighting our neighbors, the French, but we must fall to quarrelling among ourselves.*

Reverend Samuel Johnson, minister in Connecticut, 1763

**Learning Objective:** Explain the causes and effects of the Seven Years' War (the French and Indian War).

Historic European rivalries, particularly between Great Britain, France, and Spain, had been brought to North America by the earliest immigrants from those nations. While the basis for the conflict between these nations may be found in Europe, disputes between them in their colonies served to intensify their differences. While Britain eventually triumphed in a series of 18th century wars, victory was at a cost that they never could have imagined: the rebellion and the loss of their Atlantic coast colonies.

## Empires at War, 1689–1763

Late in the 17th century, a series of wars broke out involving Great Britain, France, and Spain. They were worldwide in scope, with battles in Europe, India, and North America, and they often involved other Europeans and natives of India and North America. The stakes were high for power in Europe and for control of colonies and their lucrative trade. In North America, the most valuable possessions were sugar-producing islands in the Caribbean Sea and the fur-trading network with American Indians in the interior of North America.

## The First Three Wars

These conflicts occurred between 1689 and 1748 and were named after the British monarch under whose reign they occurred:

- In King William's War (1689–1697), the British launched expeditions to capture Quebec from the French, but they failed. American Indians supported by the French burned British frontier settlements.
- In Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the British had more success. They gained both Nova Scotia from France and trading rights in Spanish America.

- King George’s War (1744–1748) was named for George II. In Georgia, James Oglethorpe led a colonial army that repulsed Spanish attacks. New Englanders captured Louisbourg in Canada, a major French fortress on Cape Breton Island that controlled access to the St. Lawrence River. In the peace treaty ending the war, however, Britain returned Louisbourg to the French in exchange for political and economic gains in India. New Englanders were furious about the loss of a fort that they had fought so hard to win.

## The Decisive Conflict

In the first three wars, European powers saw little value in committing regular troops to America. They relied on “amateur” colonial forces. Further, most of the fighting was in Europe. However, by 1754, when the fourth and decisive conflict began, conditions had changed. Great Britain and France recognized the great value of their colonies for the raw materials they produced. Only about 60,000 settlers lived in the French colonies, but they worked with Native Americans to carry on a valuable fur trade. The British colonies were more densely populated, with about 1.2 million people. They produced grain, fish, tobacco, lumber and other products that fueled British industry.

The final war in this series was known in Europe as the **Seven Years’ War**. The North American phase of this war is often called the **French and Indian War**. It began in 1754 and ended in 1763.

**Beginning of the War** From the British point of view, the French provoked the war by building a chain of forts in the Ohio River Valley. One reason the French did so was to halt the westward growth of the British colonies. Hoping to stop the French from completing work on Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) and thereby win control of the Ohio River Valley, the governor of Virginia sent a small militia (armed force) under the command of a young colonel named **George Washington**. After gaining a small initial victory, Washington’s troops surrendered to a superior force of Frenchmen and their American Indian allies on July 3, 1754. With this military encounter in the wilderness, the final war for empire began.

At first the war went badly for the British. In 1755, another expedition from Virginia, led by General **Edward Braddock**, ended in a disastrous defeat, as more than 2,000 British regulars and colonial troops were routed by a smaller force of both French troops and American Indians near Fort Duquesne. The Algonquin allies of the French ravaged the frontier from western Pennsylvania to North Carolina. The French repulsed a British invasion of French Canada that began in 1756.

**The Albany Plan of Union** Recognizing the need for coordinating colonial defense, the British government had called for representatives from several colonies to meet in a congress at Albany, New York, in 1754. The delegates from seven colonies adopted an agreement—the **Albany Plan of Union**—developed by Benjamin Franklin that provided for an intercolonial

government and a system for recruiting troops and collecting taxes from the various colonies for their common defense. Each colony was too concerned about preserving its own taxation powers to accept the plan, however, and it never took effect. The Albany congress was significant, however, because it set a precedent for later, more revolutionary, congresses in the 1770s.

**British Victory** The British prime minister, William Pitt, concentrated the government's military strategy on conquering Canada. This objective was accomplished with the retaking of Louisbourg in 1758, the surrender of Quebec to General James Wolfe in 1759, and the taking of Montreal in 1760. After these British victories, the European powers negotiated a peace treaty (the **Peace of Paris**) in 1763. Great Britain acquired both French Canada and Spanish Florida. In compensation for Spain's loss of Florida, France ceded (gave up) to Spain its huge territory west of the Mississippi River known as Louisiana. With this treaty, the British extended their control of North America, and French power on the continent virtually ended.

**Immediate Effects of the War** Britain's victory in the Seven Years' War was a turning point in the military and diplomatic conflict for control of North America among the British, the French, the colonists, and various tribes of American Indians:

- It gave Great Britain unchallenged supremacy among Europeans in North America.
- It challenged the autonomy of many American Indians.
- It established the British as the dominant naval power in the world.
- It meant that the American colonies no longer faced the threat of concerted attacks from the French, the Spanish, and their American Indian allies.

More important to the colonies, though, was a change in how the British and the colonists viewed each other.

**The British View of the War** The British came away from the war with a low opinion of the colonial military abilities. They held the American militia in contempt as a poorly trained, disorderly rabble. Furthermore, they noted that some of the colonies had refused to contribute either troops or money to the war effort. Most British were convinced that the colonists were both unable and unwilling to defend the new frontiers of the vastly expanded British empire.

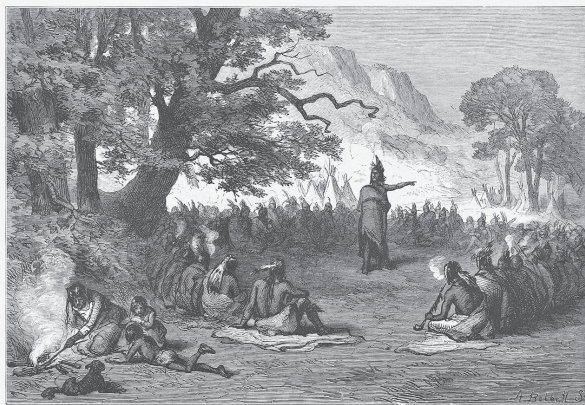
**The Colonial View of the War** The colonists took an opposite view of their military performance. They were proud of their record in all four wars and developed confidence that they could successfully provide for their own defense. They were not impressed with the British troops or leadership, as their methods of warfare seemed badly suited to the densely wooded terrain of eastern America.

## Reorganization of the British Empire

More serious than the resentful feelings stirred by the war experience was the British government's shift in its colonial policies. Previously, Britain had exercised little direct control over the colonies and had not enforced its navigation acts regulating colonial trade. This earlier policy of **salutary neglect** was abandoned as the British adopted more forceful policies for taking control of their expanded North American dominions.

All four wars—and the last one in particular—had been extremely costly. In addition, Britain now felt the need to maintain a large British military force to guard its American frontiers. Among British landowners, pressure was building to reduce the heavy taxes that the government had levied to fund the colonial wars. To pay for troops to guard the frontier without increasing taxes at home, King George III and the dominant political party in Parliament (the Whigs) wanted the American colonies to bear more of the cost of maintaining the British empire.

**Pontiac's Rebellion** The first major test of the new British imperial policy came in 1763 when Chief Pontiac led an attack against colonial settlements on the western frontier. The American Indians were angered by the growing westward movement of European settlers onto their land and by the British refusal to offer gifts as the French had done. Pontiac's alliance of American Indians in the Ohio River Valley destroyed forts and settlements from New York to Virginia. Rather than relying on colonial forces to retaliate, the British sent regular British troops to put down the uprising.



Pontiac im Strigorath.

**Source:** Getty Images.

This engraving, made in 1876, portrays Chief Pontiac speaking to other Native American leaders about the need to unite to resist European settlements.

**Proclamation of 1763** In an effort to stabilize the western frontier, the British government issued a proclamation that prohibited colonists from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains (see map in Topic 3.3). The British hoped that limiting settlements would prevent future hostilities between colonists and American Indians. But the colonists reacted to the proclamation with anger and defiance. After the British victory in the Seven Years' War, colonists hoped

to reap benefits in the form of access to western lands. For the British to deny such benefits was infuriating. Defying the proclamation, thousands streamed westward past the imaginary boundary line drawn by the British.

**Growing British-Colonial Tensions** The divergent views on the war and the changes in British imperial policies provided the context for conflict between Great Britain and its North American colonies. These conflicts would become more intense as the two sides debated issues of taxation and representation.

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain the causes and effects of the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War).

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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**Empire (WOR, GEO)**

Seven Years' War (French and Indian War)

George Washington

Edward Braddock

Albany Plan of Union (1754)

Peace of Paris (1763)

salutary neglect

**American Indians (MIG)**

Pontiac's Rebellion

Proclamation of 1763

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“We apprehend [believe] that as freemen and English subjects, we have an indisputable title to the same privileges and immunities with His Majesty’s other subjects who reside in the interior counties . . . , and therefore ought not to be excluded from an equal share with them in the very important privilege of legislation. . . . We cannot but observe with sorrow and indignation that some persons in this province are at pains to extenuate [excuse] the barbarous cruelties practiced by these savages on our murdered brethren and relatives . . . by this means the Indians have been taught to despise us as a weak and disunited people, and from this fatal source have arisen many of our calamities. . . . We humbly pray therefore that this grievance may be redressed.”

The Paxton Boys, to the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1764

1. The sentiments exhibited in this excerpt were most directly influenced by which of the following historical developments?
  - (A) The Great Awakening
  - (B) The Albany Plan of Union
  - (C) The Seven Years' War
  - (D) The Enlightenment
2. The British had earlier attempted to solve the problem expressed in this excerpt most directly by
  - (A) signing the treaty to end the French and Indian War
  - (B) establishing a boundary between Indian lands and lands open for colonial settlement
  - (C) passing a law that required colonists to house British soldiers
  - (D) enforcing regulations on colonial trade after a period of not enforcing them
3. Which of the following individuals led a group that was in the most similar situation to the Paxton Boys?
  - (A) John Smith because his supporters also wanted an equal share of privileges with other colonists
  - (B) Roger Williams because his supporters also relied on prayer to have their problems solved
  - (C) Nathaniel Bacon because his supporters also wanted stronger government action against American Indians
  - (D) Edmund Andros because his supporters also disputed the power of the British monarch

### SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
  - (a) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development during the Seven Years' War that demonstrated a fundamental change in the British view of its relationship with its American colonies.
  - (b) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development during the Seven Years' War that demonstrated a fundamental change in the colonial view of its relationship with its British government.
  - (c) Briefly describe ONE historical event or development resulting from the changing views by either the British or the colonists.



## Topic 3.3

# Taxation Without Representation

*The people, even to the lowest ranks, have become more attentive to their liberties, more inquisitive about them, and more determined to defend them.*

John Adams, 1765

**Learning Objective:** Explain how British colonial policies regarding North America led to the Revolutionary War.

What caused American colonists in the 1760s to become, as John Adams expressed, “more attentive to their liberties”? The chief reason for their discontent in these years was a dramatic change in Britain’s colonial policy. Britain began to assert its power in the colonies and to collect taxes and enforce trade laws much more aggressively than in the past. While some colonists accepted these changes, others grew angry in defense of what they viewed as violations of their political rights and their ability to carry on trade and commerce freely. As anger spread, colonists from Massachusetts to Georgia began to unite in protest of British actions.

## British Actions and Colonial Reactions

The Proclamation of 1763 was the first of a series of acts by the British government that angered colonists. From the British point of view, the acts were justified as a fair, proper method for protecting its colonial empire and making the colonies pay their share for such protection. From the colonists’ view, each act represented an alarming threat to their liberties. Colonists combined a desire to defend long-established practices in Britain of representative government, local self-rule, and individual rights with the influence of the newer ideas of the Enlightenment (see Topic 3.4). One of the core issues dividing the British and the colonists was the idea of representation:

- Colonists pointed out that they could not directly elect representatives to **Parliament**, so they had no way to consent to or oppose British actions.
- The British responded that the colonists, like all British citizens, had virtual representation in the government. According to this theory, all members of Parliament represented the interests of the entire empire, not just the small district that chose them.

## New Revenues and Regulations

In the first two years of peace, King **George III**'s chancellor of the exchequer (treasury) and prime minister, Lord George Grenville, successfully pushed through Parliament three measures that aroused colonial suspicions of a British plot to subvert their liberties.

**The Sugar Act (1764)** This act (also known as the Revenue Act of 1764) placed duties on foreign sugar and certain luxuries. Its supporters wanted to regulate the sugar trade and to raise revenue. A companion law also provided for stricter enforcement of the Navigation Acts to stop smuggling. Those accused of smuggling were to be tried in admiralty courts by crown-appointed judges without juries.

**The Quartering Act (1765)** This act required the colonists to provide food and living quarters for British soldiers stationed in the colonies.

**The Stamp Act** In an effort to raise funds to support British military forces in the colonies, Lord Grenville turned to a tax long in use in Britain. The **Stamp Act**, enacted by Parliament in 1765, required that revenue stamps be placed on most printed paper in the colonies, including all legal documents, newspapers, pamphlets, and advertisements. This was the first direct tax—collected from those who used the goods—paid by the people in the colonies, as opposed to the taxes on imported goods, which were paid by merchants.

### *Reaction to the Stamp Act*

People in every colony reacted with indignation to news of the Stamp Act. A young Virginia lawyer named **Patrick Henry** spoke for many when he stood up in the House of Burgesses to demand that the king's government recognize the rights of all citizens—including the right not to be taxed without representation. In Massachusetts, James Otis initiated a call for cooperative action among the colonies to protest the Stamp Act. Representatives from nine colonies met in New York in 1765 to form the so-called **Stamp Act Congress**. They resolved that only their own elected representatives had the legal authority to approve taxes.

The protest against the Stamp Act took a violent turn with the formation of the **Sons and Daughters of Liberty**, a secret society organized for the purpose of intimidating tax agents. Members of this society sometimes destroyed revenue stamps and tarred and feathered revenue officials.

**Economic Pressure** Boycotts against British imports were the most effective form of protest. It became fashionable in the colonies in 1765 and 1766 for people not to purchase any article of British origin. For example, instead of buying imported British cloth, colonial women proudly made their own. Faced with a sharp drop in trade, London merchants put pressure on Parliament to repeal the controversial Stamp Act.

**Declaratory Act** In 1766, Grenville was replaced by another prime minister, and Parliament voted to repeal the Stamp Act. When news of the

repeal reached the colonies, people rejoiced. Few colonists at the time noted that Parliament had also enacted a face-saving measure known as the **Declaratory Act** (1766). This act asserted that Parliament had the right to tax and make laws for the colonies “in all cases whatsoever.” This declaration of policy would soon lead to renewed conflict between the colonists and the British government.

## Second Phase of the Crisis, 1767–1773

The British government still needed new revenue. To obtain it, the newly appointed chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, proposed another tax measure.

**The Townshend Acts** In 1767, Parliament enacted new duties, known as the **Townshend Acts**, to be collected on colonial imports of tea, glass, and paper. The revenue would be used to pay crown officials in the colonies, thus making the officials independent of the colonial assemblies that had paid their salaries. The Townshend Acts also provided for the search of private homes for smuggled goods. All that an official needed to conduct such a search would be a **writ of assistance** (a general license to search anywhere) rather than a judge’s warrant to search a specific property. A related act suspended New York’s assembly for its defiance of the Quartering Act.

At first, most colonists accepted the taxes because they were indirect, meaning they were paid by merchants who then raised their prices to cover the additional costs. They were not direct taxes that consumers paid on their purchases.

However, leaders soon protested the new duties. While they accepted Parliament’s right to regulate trade as legitimate, they rejected taxation without representation as a violation of an essential principle of English law. In 1767 and 1768, **John Dickinson** made these points in *Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania*. He argued that Parliament could regulate colonial commerce, but if it wanted to tax colonists, it had to have the approval of assemblies that included colonial representatives.

In 1768, **James Otis** and **Samuel Adams** jointly wrote the *Massachusetts Circular Letter* and sent copies to every colonial legislature. It urged the colonies to petition Parliament to repeal the Townshend Acts. British officials in Boston ordered the letter retracted, threatened to dissolve the legislature, and increased the number of British troops. Responding to the circular letter, the colonists again conducted boycotts of British goods. Merchants increased their smuggling to avoid the Townshend duties.

**Repeal of the Townshend Acts** Meanwhile, in London, there was another change in the king’s ministers. **Lord Frederick North** became the new prime minister. He urged Parliament to repeal the **Townshend Acts** because they damaged trade and generated a disappointingly small amount of revenue. The repeal of the Townshend Acts in 1770 ended the colonial boycott and, except for an incident in Boston (the “massacre” described below), there was a three-year respite from political troubles as the colonies entered into a period

of economic prosperity. However, Parliament retained a small tax on tea as a symbol of its right to tax the colonies.

**Boston Massacre** Most Bostonians resented the British troops quartered in their city to protect customs officials from attacks by the Sons and Daughters of Liberty. On a snowy day in March 1770, a crowd of colonists harassed the guards near the customs house. The guards fired into the crowd, killing five. Among them was Crispus Attucks, a dockworker of mixed African and American Indian heritage, who would later become a symbol for the antislavery movement. At their trial for murder, the six soldiers were defended by colonial lawyer John Adams. They were acquitted of murder, but two were convicted on the less serious charge of manslaughter. Adams' radical cousin, Samuel Adams, angrily denounced the shooting incident as a "massacre" and used it to inflame anti-British feeling.

## Renewal of the Conflict

Even during the relatively quiet years of 1770–1772, Samuel Adams and a few other Americans kept alive the view that British officials were undermining colonial liberties. A principal device for spreading this idea was by means of the **Committees of Correspondence** initiated by Samuel Adams in 1772. In Boston and other Massachusetts towns, Adams began the practice of organizing committees that would regularly exchange letters about suspicious or potentially threatening British activities. The Virginia House of Burgesses took the concept a step further when it organized intercolonial committees in 1773.

**The Gaspee** One incident frequently discussed in the committees' letters was that of the *Gaspee*, a British customs ship that had caught several smugglers. In 1772, it ran aground off the shore of Rhode Island. Seizing their opportunity to destroy the hated vessel, a group of colonists disguised as American Indians ordered the British crew ashore and then set fire to the ship. The British ordered a commission to investigate and bring guilty individuals to Britain for trial.

**Boston Tea Party** The colonists continued their refusal to buy British tea because the British insisted on their right to collect tax on it. Hoping to help the British East India Company out of its financial problems, Parliament passed the **Tea Act** in 1773, which made the price of the company's tea—even with the tax included—cheaper than that of smuggled Dutch tea.

Many Americans refused to buy the cheaper tea because to do so would, in effect, recognize Parliament's right to tax the colonies. A shipment of East India Company tea arrived in Boston harbor but found no buyers. Before the royal governor could bring the tea ashore, a group of Bostonians, mostly artisans and laborers, took action. Disguised as American Indians, they boarded the British ships and dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor. Colonial reaction to this incident (December 1773) was mixed. While many applauded the Boston Tea Party as a defense of liberty, others thought the destruction of private property too radical.

## Intolerable Acts

In Great Britain, news of the Boston Tea Party angered King George III, Lord North, and members of Parliament. In retaliation, the British government enacted a series of punitive acts (the Coercive Acts), together with a separate act dealing with French Canada (the Quebec Act). The colonists were outraged by these various laws, which were given the epithet “**Intolerable Acts.**”

**The Coercive Acts (1774)** There were four **Coercive Acts**, directed mainly at punishing the people of Boston and Massachusetts and bringing them under control.

- The **Port Act** closed the port of Boston, prohibiting trade in and out of the harbor until the destroyed tea was paid for.
- The Massachusetts Government Act reduced the power of the Massachusetts legislature while increasing the power of the royal governor.
- The **Administration of Justice Act** allowed royal officials accused of crimes to be tried in Great Britain instead of in the colonies.
- The Quartering Act was expanded to enable British troops to be quartered in private homes. It applied to all colonies.

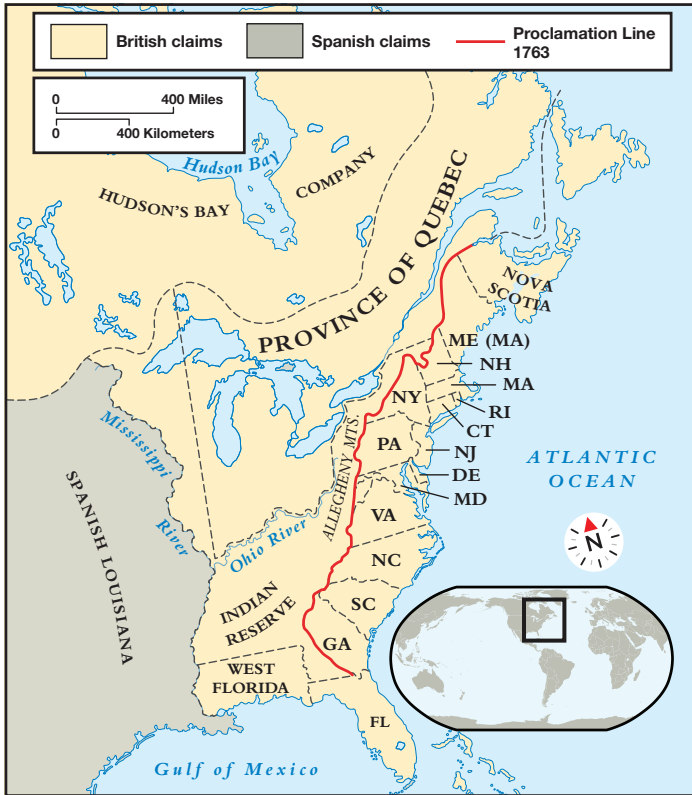
**Quebec Act (1774)** When it passed the Coercive Acts, the British government also passed a law organizing the Canadian lands gained from France. To satisfy the French-speaking Canadians, the act established Roman Catholicism as the official religion of Quebec. It also set up a government without a representative assembly and extended Quebec’s boundary to the Ohio River. The plan, accepted by French Canadians, was resented in the 13 colonies.

The colonists viewed the **Quebec Act** as a direct attack on the American colonies because it took away lands that New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut claimed along the Ohio River. They also feared that the British would attempt to enact similar laws in America to take away their representative government. Further, the predominantly Protestant Americans resented the recognition given to the Roman Catholic Church.

## The Demand for Independence

Britain’s intensifying crackdown on resistance to its policies forced more and more colonists to take sides. Supporters of the British response included many wealthy merchants in New York and Philadelphia and planters in the southern colonies. Opponents, from Virginia to Massachusetts, challenged the British with harsh criticisms. These words were supported by hostile actions towards the British throughout the colonies, but particularly in Boston and New England. As violence increased, enough people were willing to speak out publicly, participate in mass protests, and donate money that the movement for independence grew stronger.

## THE PROCLAMATION LINE AND THE QUEBEC ACT



### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how the changes in British policies toward the colonies led them to rebellion.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

##### Colonial Unrest (NAT, POL)

Patrick Henry  
Stamp Act Congress  
Sons and Daughters of Liberty  
John Dickinson; *Letters From . . .*  
James Otis  
Samuel Adams  
*Massachusetts Circular Letter*

Committees of Correspondence  
Intolerable Acts

##### Rulers & Policies (WXT)

Parliament  
George III  
Whigs  
Lord Frederick North

##### Empire (POL, GEO)

Sugar Act (1764)  
Quartering Act (1765)

Stamp Act (1765)  
Declaratory Act (1766)  
Townshend Acts (1767)  
writ of assistance  
Tea Act (1773)  
Coercive Acts (1774)  
—Port Act  
—Massachusetts Government Act  
—Administration of Justice Act  
Quebec Act (1774)

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“The unhappy disputes between Great Britain and her American colonies . . . have proceeded to lengths so dangerous and alarming as to excite just apprehensions in the minds of His Majesty’s faithful subjects of this colony. . . .

It cannot admit of a doubt but that British subjects in America are entitled to the same rights and privileges as their fellow subjects possess in Britain; and therefore, that the power assumed by the British Parliament to bind America by their statutes in all cases whatsoever is unconstitutional, and the source of these unhappy differences. . . .

To obtain a redress of these grievances, without which the people of America can neither be safe, free, nor happy, they are willing to undergo the great inconvenience that will be derived to them from stopping all imports whatsoever from Great Britain.”

Statement by the Virginia Convention, formerly known as the  
House of Burgesses , 1774

1. Which of the following actions by the colonists is most similar to the one recommended in the excerpt above?
  - (A) The actions taken by the Massachusetts legislature in response to the passing of the Townshend Acts
  - (B) The colonists’ actions in Boston that led to the Boston Massacre
  - (C) The formation of the Committees of Correspondence because it fostered colonial unity against the British
  - (D) The Boston Tea Party because it involved destroying property that was a symbol of British authority
2. The statement that “British subjects in America are entitled to the same rights and privileges as their fellow subjects possess in Britain” indicates that the writers of this document believed that colonists should
  - (A) purchase more goods from British merchants
  - (B) declare independence before the British took any further actions
  - (C) have representation in setting their own internal economic policies
  - (D) demand that Parliament reduce their overall level of taxes

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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1. “The colonists believed they saw . . . what appeared to be evidence of nothing less than a deliberate assault launched surreptitiously by plotters against liberty both in England and in America. The danger to America, it was believed, was in fact only the small immediately visible part of the greater whole whose ultimate manifestation would be the destruction of the English constitution with all the rights and privileges embedded in it. . . .

It was this—the overwhelming evidence, as they saw it, that they were faced with conspirators against liberty determined at all costs to gain ends which their words dissembled [portrayed falsely]—that was signaled to the colonists after 1763, and it was this above all else that in the end propelled them into Revolution.”

Bernard Bailyn, historian, *The Logic of Rebellion*, 1967

“The Americans, ‘born the heirs of freedom,’ revolted not to create but to maintain their freedom. American society had developed differently from that of the Old World. . . . While the speculative philosophers of Europe were laboriously searching their minds in an effort to decide the first principles of liberty, the Americans had come to experience vividly that liberty in their everyday lives. . . . The Revolution was thus essentially intellectual and declaratory: it ‘explained the business to the world, and served to confirm what nature and society had before produced.’ ‘All was the result of reason. . . .’ The Revolution had taken place not in a succession of eruptions that had crumbled the existing social structure, but in a succession of new thoughts and new ideas that had vindicated that social structure. . . . The Americans revolted not out of actual suffering but out of reasoned principle.”

Gordon S. Wood, historian, *The Idea of America*, 2011

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Wood’s and Bailyn’s historical interpretations of why the American colonies rebelled against the British.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1754 to 1776 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Bailyn’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1754 to 1776 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Wood’s interpretation.



## Topic 3.4

# Philosophical Foundations of the American Revolution

*Government even in its best state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one.*

Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* 1776

**Learning Objective:** Explain how and why colonial attitudes about government and the individual changed in the years leading up to the American Revolution.

**F**or Americans, especially those who were in positions of leadership, there was a long tradition of loyalty to the king and Great Britain. As the differences between the colonists and the leaders of Great Britain increased, many Americans tried to justify the diverging directions. As discussed in Topic 2.7, the **Enlightenment**, particularly the writings of John Locke, had a profound influence on the colonies.

## Enlightenment Ideas

The era of the Enlightenment was at its peak in the mid-18th century. These were the very years that future leaders of the American Revolution (Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Adams) were coming to maturity, and their ideas reflected the influence of Enlightenment thought.

**Deism** Many Enlightenment thinkers in Europe and America were Deists. They believed in God, but in one who had established natural laws in creating the universe and then rarely or never intervened directly in human affairs. God set the rules but then allowed people to make choices. This view of God contrasted with the belief held by most Christians of their time that God regularly intervened in everyday life, often to reward or punish individuals or groups for their actions.

**Rationalism** In general, Enlightenment thinkers trusted human reason to understand the natural world and to respond to the many problems of life and society. While most were Christians, their trust in reason led them to emphasize studying science and human behavior rather than following traditional interpretations of the Bible.

**Social Contract** In politics, one important Enlightenment idea was the **social contract**, the concept of an agreement among people to form a government to promote liberty and equality. This idea represented a sharp break from the prevailing assumption that monarchs ruled by divine right—because God had chosen them. Under the social contract, power came from “below,” not from “above.” This philosophy, derived from **John Locke** and others, had been developed further by the French philosopher **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**. Support for a social contract had a profound influence on educated Americans in the 1760s and 1770s—the decades of revolutionary thought and action that finally culminated in the American Revolution.

## Thomas Paine’s Argument for Independence

In January 1776, one of the most important pieces of writing by an American colonist was published. The author, **Thomas Paine**, had been born in England before moving to the colonies. His pamphlet, *Common Sense*, argued in clear and forceful language that the colonies should become independent states and break all political ties with the British monarchy. Paine argued that it was contrary to common sense for a large continent to be ruled by a small and distant island and for people to pledge allegiance to a king whose government was corrupt and whose laws were unreasonable.

The pamphlet spread rapidly throughout the colonies and ignited public demands for independence. Unlike earlier writers, who focused their anger on Parliament and the ministers, Paine directly attacked King George III and even the ideas of a monarchy. Paine’s success was based largely on his ability to make complicated, abstract ideas understandable for common readers. *Common Sense* became a key factor in widening the divide between the colonies and Great Britain.



### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHY DID THE COLONIES REBEL?

Did America’s break with Great Britain in the 18th century signify a true revolution with radical change, or was it simply the culmination of evolutionary changes in American life?

**Revolution as a Radical Break** For many years, the traditional view of the founding of America was that the American Revolution was based on the ideas of the Enlightenment and had fundamentally altered society. In the early 20th century, Progressive historians believed that the movement to end British dominance had provided an opportunity to radically change American society. A new nation was formed with a republican government based on a division of powers between a national and state government and an emphasis on equality and the rights of the individual. The revolution was social as well as political.

**Revolution Before the War** During the second half of the 20th century, some historians argued that American society had been more democratic and changed long before the war with Great Britain. The war reflected these changes. Historian Bernard Bailyn has suggested that the changes that are

viewed as revolutionary—representative government, expansion of the right to vote, and written constitutions—had all developed earlier during the colonial period. According to this perspective, what was significant about the break from Great Britain was the recognition of an American philosophy based on liberty and democracy that would guide the nation.

**Support an Argument** *Explain two perspectives on how revolutionary the colonial separation from Britain was.*

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the new colonial views of the individual and government and the reasons for this in the times leading to the American Revolution.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

#### Philosophy (NAT, SOC)

Enlightenment

Deism

rationalism

social contract

John Locke

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Thomas Paine

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“It is inseparably essential to the freedom of a People, and the undoubted Right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them, but with their own Consent, given personally, or by their representatives. . . . That it is the indispensable duty of these colonies, to the best of sovereigns . . . to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of Parliament . . . for the restriction of American commerce.”

Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, 1765

1. The above excerpt was primarily directed to which person or group?
  - (A) Colonial merchants
  - (B) The king
  - (C) Leaders in Parliament
  - (D) Residents of England

2. The philosophical basis behind the excerpt was that the writers
  - (A) accepted Parliament's authority generally but not for direct taxation
  - (B) accepted Parliamentary actions only in specific, limited cases
  - (C) rejected only how Parliament was spending tax revenues
  - (D) rejected Parliament's entire authority as violating the social contract
3. The Enlightenment idea most clearly reflected in this passage was that
  - (A) God rarely intervened in human affairs directly
  - (B) reason was the best guide to understanding the world
  - (C) governments needed popular consent to rule legitimately
  - (D) kings received their authority to rule from God

### SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. "I wish I knew what mighty things were fabricating. If a form of government is to be established here, what one will be assumed? Will it be left to our assemblies to choose one? And will not many men have many minds? And shall we not run into dissensions among ourselves?

I am more and more convinced that man is a dangerous creature; and that power, whether vested in many or a few, is ever grasping. . . .

How shall we be governed so as to retain our liberties? Who shall frame these laws? Who will give them force and energy. . . .

When I consider these things, and the prejudices of people in favor of ancient customs and regulations, I feel anxious for the fate of our monarchy or democracy, or whatever is to take place."

Abigail Adams, Letter to John Adams, November 27, 1775

Using the excerpt, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific perspective expressed by Abigail Adams in the excerpt above.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period leading up to independence that led to the view expressed here by Abigail Adams.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period leading up to independence that challenged the views expressed here by Abigail Adams.

# The American Revolution

*What do we mean by the revolution? The war? That was no part of the revolution; it was only an effect and consequence of it. The revolution was in the minds of the people.*

John Adams, Letter to Thomas Jefferson, August 24, 1815

**Learning Objective:** Explain how various factors contributed to the American victory in the Revolution.

Parliament's passage of the **Intolerable Acts** in 1774 intensified the conflict between the colonies and Great Britain. In the next two years, many Americans reached the conclusion—unthinkable to most colonists only a few years earlier—that the only solution to their quarrel with the British government was to sever all ties with it. How did events from 1774 to 1776 lead to revolution?

## The First Continental Congress

The punitive Intolerable Acts drove all the colonies except Georgia to send delegates to a convention in Philadelphia in September 1774. The purpose of the convention—later known as the **First Continental Congress**—was to respond to what the delegates viewed as Britain's alarming threats to their liberties. Most Americans had no desire for independence. They simply wanted to protest parliamentary infringements of their rights and restore the relationship with the crown that had existed before the Seven Years' War.

**The Delegates** Those attending the congress were outwardly similar: all were wealthy White men. But they held diverse views about the crisis, from radical to conservative. Leading the radicals—those demanding the greatest concessions from Britain—were **Patrick Henry** of Virginia and **Samuel Adams** and **John Adams** of Massachusetts. The moderates included **George Washington** of Virginia and **John Dickinson** of Pennsylvania. The conservative delegates—those who favored a mild statement of protest—included **John Jay** of New York and **Joseph Galloway** of Pennsylvania. Unrepresented were the **Loyalists**, the colonists who would not challenge the king's government in any way.

**Actions of the Congress** The delegates voted on a series of proposed measures, each of which was intended to change British policy without offending moderate and conservative colonists. Joseph Galloway proposed a plan, similar to the Albany Plan of 1754, that would have reordered relations

with Parliament and formed a union of the colonies within the British Empire. By only one vote, Galloway's plan failed to pass. Instead, the convention adopted these measures:

- It endorsed the **Suffolk Resolves**, a statement originally issued by Massachusetts. The Resolves called for the immediate repeal of the Intolerable Acts and for colonies to resist them by making military preparations and boycotting British goods.
- It passed the Declaration and Resolves. Backed by moderate delegates, this petition urged the king to redress (make right) colonial grievances and restore colonial rights. In a conciliatory gesture, it recognized Parliament's authority to regulate commerce.
- It created the Continental Association, a network of committees to enforce the **economic sanctions** of the Suffolk Resolves.
- It declared that if colonial rights were not recognized, delegates would meet again in May 1775.

## Fighting Begins

Angrily dismissing the petition of the First Continental Congress, the king's government declared Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion and sent additional troops to put down further disorders. The combination of colonial defiance and British determination to suppress it led to violent clashes in Massachusetts—what would be the first battles of the American Revolution.

**Lexington and Concord** On April 18, 1775, General Thomas Gage, the commander of British troops in Boston, sent a large force to seize colonial military supplies in the town of **Concord**. Warned of the British march by two riders, **Paul Revere** and **William Dawes**, the militia (or **Minutemen**) of **Lexington** assembled on the village green to face the British. The Americans were forced to retreat under heavy British fire with eight killed in the brief encounter. Who fired the first shot of this first skirmish of the American Revolution? The evidence is ambiguous, and the answer will probably never be known.

Continuing their march, the British entered Concord and destroyed some military supplies. Marching back to Boston, the long column of British soldiers was attacked by hundreds of militiamen firing from behind stone walls. The British suffered 250 casualties—and also humiliation at being so badly mauled by “amateur” fighters.

**Bunker Hill** Two months later, on June 17, 1775, a true battle was fought between opposing armies on the outskirts of Boston. A colonial militia of Massachusetts farmers fortified Breed's Hill, next to **Bunker Hill**, for which the ensuing battle was wrongly named. A British force attacked the colonists' position and managed to take the hill, suffering over a thousand casualties. Americans claimed a victory of sorts, having succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the attacking British army.

## The Second Continental Congress

Soon after the fighting broke out in Massachusetts, delegates to the **Second Continental Congress** met in Philadelphia in May 1775. The congress was divided. One group of delegates, mainly from New England, thought the colonies should declare their independence. Another group, mainly from the middle colonies, hoped the conflict could be resolved by negotiating a new relationship with Great Britain.

The congress adopted a **Declaration of the Causes and Necessities for Taking Up Arms** and called on the colonies to provide troops. George Washington was appointed the commander-in-chief of a new colonial army and sent to Boston to lead the Massachusetts militia and volunteer units from other colonies. Congress also authorized a force under Benedict Arnold to raid Quebec in order to draw Canada away from the British empire. An American navy and marine corps were organized in the fall of 1775 for the purpose of attacking British ships.

### Peace Efforts

At first the congress adopted a contradictory policy of waging war while at the same time seeking a peaceful settlement. Many in the colonies valued their heritage and Britain's protection, so they did not want independence. They did, however, want a change in their relationship with Britain. In July 1775, the delegates voted to send an "**Olive Branch Petition**" to King George III, in which they pledged their loyalty and asked the king to intercede with Parliament to secure peace and the protection of colonial rights.

King George angrily dismissed the congress's plea and agreed instead to Parliament's **Prohibitory Act** (August 1775), which declared the colonies in rebellion. A few months later, Parliament forbade all trade and shipping between Britain and the colonies.

### The Declaration of Independence

After meeting for more than a year, the congress gradually and somewhat reluctantly began to favor independence rather than reconciliation. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced a resolution declaring the colonies to be independent. Five delegates, including **Thomas Jefferson**, formed a committee to write a statement in support of Lee's resolution. The declaration drafted by Jefferson listed specific grievances against George III's government and also expressed the basic principles that justified revolution: "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."

The congress adopted Lee's resolution calling for independence on July 2. It adopted Jefferson's work, the **Declaration of Independence**, on July 4, 1776.

## The Revolutionary War

From the first shots fired in Lexington and Concord in 1775 to the final signing of a peace treaty in 1783, the American War for Independence, or Revolutionary War, was a long and bitter struggle. As Americans fought, they also laid the foundations for a new national identity, as the former colonies became a new country, the United States of America.

### The Competing Sides

About 2.6 million people lived in the 13 colonies in 1775. Maybe 40 percent of them actively joined the struggle against Britain. They called themselves American **Patriots**. Around 25 percent sided with the British as Loyalists. All others remained neutral, with many paying little attention to the struggle.

**British Strength** The British entered the war with far greater resources than the colonists. They had three times the population, a wealthy economy that could finance a war, a large and well-trained army, and the most powerful navy in the world. From previous conflicts with French, they had experience fighting overseas in North America, the West Indies, and South Asia.

**Patriots** The largest number of Patriots were from the New England states and Virginia. Most soldiers were reluctant to travel outside their own region. They would serve in local militia units for short periods, leave to work their farms, and then return to duty. Thus, even though several hundred thousand people fought on the Patriot side in the war, General Washington never had more than 20,000 regular troops under his command at one time. His army was chronically short of supplies, poorly equipped, and rarely paid. However, many colonists had a strong commitment to independence, so they provided a solid core of people resilient enough to undergo hardships.

**African Americans** Initially, George Washington rejected the idea of African Americans serving in the Patriot army. However, when the British promised freedom to enslaved people who joined their side, Washington and the congress quickly made the same offer. Approximately 5,000 African Americans fought as Patriots. Most of them were free citizens from the north, who fought in mixed racial forces, although there were some units composed entirely of African Americans. These troops took part in most of the military actions of the war, and a number, including Peter Salem, were recognized for their bravery.

**Tories** The Revolutionary War was in some respects a civil war in which anti-British Patriots fought pro-British Loyalists. Those who maintained allegiance to the king were also called **Tories** (after the majority party in Parliament). Almost 60,000 American Tories fought next to British soldiers, supplied them with arms and food, and joined in raiding parties to pillage Patriot homes and farms. The war divided some families. For example, while Benjamin Franklin was a leading Patriot, his son William joined the Tories and served as the last royal governor of New Jersey.



How many American Tories were there? They were often strongest in major port cities, except in Boston. In New York, New Jersey, and Georgia, they were probably in the majority. Toward the end of the war, about 80,000 Loyalists emigrated from the states to settle in Canada or Britain rather than face persecution at the hands of the Patriots.

Although Loyalists came from all groups and classes, they tended to be wealthier and more conservative than the Patriots. Most government officials and Anglican clergy in America remained loyal to the crown.

**American Indians** At first, American Indians tried to stay out of the war. Eventually, however, attacks by colonists prompted many American Indians to support the British, who promised to limit colonial settlements in the west.

## Initial American Losses and Hardships

The first three years of the war, 1775 to 1777, went badly for Washington's poorly trained and equipped revolutionary army. It barely escaped complete disaster in a battle for New York City in 1776, in which Washington's forces were routed by the British. By the end of 1777, the British occupied both New York and Philadelphia. After losing Philadelphia, Washington's demoralized troops suffered through the severe winter of 1777–1778 camped at **Valley Forge** in Pennsylvania.

Economic troubles added to the Patriots' bleak prospects. British occupation of American ports resulted in a 95 percent decline in trade between 1775 and 1777. Goods were scarce, and inflation was rampant. The paper money issued by Congress, known as **continentals**, became almost worthless.

## Alliance with France

The turning point for the American revolutionaries came with a victory at Saratoga in upstate New York in October 1777. British forces under General John Burgoyne had marched from Canada in an effort to join forces marching from the west and south. Their objective was to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies (or states). Burgoyne's troops were attacked at Saratoga by troops commanded by American generals Horatio Gates and Benedict Arnold. The British were forced to surrender.

The diplomatic outcome of the **Battle of Saratoga** was even more important than the military result. News of the surprising American victory persuaded France to join the war against Britain. France's king, Louis XVI, an **absolute monarch**, had no interest in aiding a revolutionary movement. But he did see a chance to weaken his country's traditional foe, Great Britain, by undermining its colonial empire. France had secretly provided money and supplies to the American revolutionaries as early as 1775. After Saratoga, in 1778, France openly allied itself with the Americans. (A year later, Spain and Holland also entered the war against Britain.) The French alliance proved decisive in the American struggle for independence as it widened the war, forcing the British to divert military resources away from America.

## Victory

Faced with a larger war, Britain decided to consolidate its forces in America. British troops were pulled out of Philadelphia, and New York became the base of British operations. In a campaign through 1778–1779, the Patriots, led by **George Rogers Clark**, captured a series of British forts in the Illinois country to gain control of parts of the vast Ohio territory. In 1780, the British army adopted a southern strategy, concentrating its military campaigns in Virginia and the Carolinas, where Loyalists were especially numerous and active.

**Yorktown** In 1781, the last major battle of the Revolutionary War was fought near Yorktown, Virginia, on the shores of Chesapeake Bay. Strongly supported by French naval and military forces, Washington's army forced the surrender of a large British army commanded by General Charles Cornwallis.

**Treaty of Paris** News of Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown was a heavy blow to the Tory Party in Parliament that was conducting the war. The war had become unpopular in Britain, partly because it placed a heavy strain on the economy and the government's finances. Lord North and other Tory ministers resigned and were replaced by Whig leaders who wanted to end the war.

In Paris, in 1783, the belligerents finally signed a peace treaty. The **Treaty of Paris** provided for the following: (1) Britain would recognize the existence of the United States as an independent nation. (2) The Mississippi River would be the western boundary of that nation. (3) Americans would have fishing rights off the coast of Canada. (4) Americans would pay debts owed to British merchants and honor Loyalist claims for property confiscated during the war.

### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the factors that resulted in the American success against Britain.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

##### Separation (NAT)

Intolerable Acts  
First Continental Congress  
Patrick Henry  
Samuel Adams  
John Adams  
George Washington  
John Dickinson  
John Jay  
Joseph Galloway  
Suffolk Resolves  
economic sanctions  
Second Continental Congress (1775)

Declaration of the Causes  
and Necessities for  
Taking Up Arms  
Olive Branch Petition  
Thomas Jefferson  
Declaration of  
Independence

##### War (POL)

Concord  
Paul Revere  
William Dawes  
Lexington  
Bunker Hill  
Battle of Saratoga

George Rogers Clark  
Yorktown

##### Final Break (WOR)

Prohibitory Act (1775)  
absolute monarch  
Treaty of Paris (1783)

##### A New Nation (SOC)

Loyalists (Tories)  
Patriots  
Minutemen  
continentals  
Valley Forge

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“I have not the least doubt that the Negroes will make very excellent soldiers, with proper management. . . .

I foresee that this project will have to combat much opposition from prejudice and self-interest. The contempt we have been taught to entertain for the black makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason nor experience; and an unwillingness to part with property of so valuable a kind will furnish a thousand arguments to show the impracticability or pernicious tendency of a scheme which requires such a sacrifice. But it should be considered that if we do not make use of them in this way, the enemy probably will. . . . An essential part of the plan is to give them their freedom with their muskets.”

Alexander Hamilton, “A Proposal to Arm and Then Free the Negroes,” 1779

1. This excerpt suggests that Hamilton saw the conflict with Great Britain as also a conflict among colonists over
  - (A) whether to trust reason or experience more
  - (B) whether colonists had adequate skills to manage soldiers
  - (C) the views of plantation owners about the enemy
  - (D) the views of White Americans toward enslaved Black Americans
2. The excerpt supports the claim that the use of Black troops during the Revolutionary War was likely motivated by which of the following?
  - (A) Awareness that the French were using Black soldiers in their army
  - (B) Fear that the British would recruit African Americans
  - (C) Concern that state militias were short of troops
  - (D) Belief that the Declaration of Independence called for equality

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
  - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific strength that Patriots had in the American Revolution in the period 1774 to 1783.
  - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific way that France influenced the American Revolution in the period 1774 to 1783.
  - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific role that Native Americans played in the American Revolution in the period 1774 to 1783.

# The Influence of Revolutionary Ideals

*How is the one exalted, and the other depressed, by the contrary modes of education which are adopted! The one is taught to aspire, and the other is early confined and limited. . . . The sister must be wholly domesticated, while the brother is led by the hand through all the flowery paths of science.*

Judith Sargent Murray, "On the Equality of the Sexes" (1779)

**Learning Objective 1:** Explain the various ways the American Revolution affected society.

**Learning Objective 2:** Describe the global impact of the American Revolution.

Revolutionary ideas impacted American society before, during, and after the war that brought the colonies freedom from British control. These ideas shaped the new state governments that replaced the colonial ones (see Topic 3.7), and they had particular significance for women, enslaved workers, and Native Americans.

## Women in the Revolutionary Era

Both prior to and during the war, groups of women such as the **Daughters of Liberty** organized to oppose British actions. Before the war, they took direct action by boycotting British goods. During the war, they provided supplies to the fighting forces. Some women followed men into the armed camps and worked as cooks and nurses. In a few instances, women fought in battle, either taking their husband's place, as **Mary McCauley** (also known as **Molly Pitcher**) did at the Battle of Monmouth, or passing as a man and serving as a soldier, as **Deborah Sampson** did for a year. Similarly, female Loyalists also provided support to colonial and British troops.

**Economic Role** The most important contribution of women during the war was maintaining the colonial economy. While fathers, husbands, and sons were away fighting, women ran family farms and businesses. They provided much of the food and clothing necessary for the war effort.

**Political Demands** The combination of hearing the revolutionary rhetoric and being actively engaged in the struggle influenced how many women viewed their role in society. A new view of their status in society evolved, a change referred to as **Republican Motherhood**. This new role called for educating women so that in the home they could teach their children the values of the new republic and their roles as citizens. This gave women a more active role in shaping the new nation's political life. However, it was still a role carried out in the home, not in public, and it did not imply equality with men. Few people, male or female, advocated full equality.

Despite their contributions, women continued in their second-class status. Unsuccessful were pleas such as those of **Abigail Adams** to her husband, John Adams: "I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors."

## The Status of Enslaved African Americans

The institution of slavery contradicted the spirit of the Revolution and the idea that "all men are created equal." For a time, the leaders of the Revolution recognized this and took some corrective steps. The Continental Congress abolished the importation of enslaved people, and most states went along with the prohibition. Several northern states ended slavery, while in the south, some owners voluntarily freed their enslaved laborers. Slavery was in decline. Many leaders, including slave owners such as James Madison, wanted it to end. However, he could not envision a society in which White and free Black people lived together. So, he hoped that freed people would simply return to Africa.

However, this changed dramatically with the development of the cotton gin in 1793 (Topic 3.12). By making cotton production more efficient, it quickly increased the demand for low-cost labor. Slave owners came to believe that enslaved labor was essential to their prosperity and that the ideals of the Revolution did not apply to the people they owned. By the 1830s, they developed a rationale for slavery that found religious and political justification for continuing to hold human beings in lifelong bondage.

## Native Americans and Independence

American Indians generally supported the British in the Revolutionary War, so they did not benefit from the success of the colonies' independence. Further, colonists' racism and greed for land caused most of them to view American Indians as obstacles to settlement that should be removed. Very few colonists believed that the ideas of liberty and equality applied to American Indians.

## International Impact of the American Revolution

Just as the American Revolution was shaped by ideas imported by the European Enlightenment, so it influenced events elsewhere. The ideas that people have a right to govern themselves, that all people are created equal, and that individuals have inalienable rights have had wide appeal. Leaders of the French



One of the leaders inspired by the American Revolution was Toussaint Louverture of Haiti. He led the largest successful revolution by enslaved people in history.

**Source:** Engraving (1802). John Carter Brown Library, Wikipedia.org

Revolution (1789–1799) that overthrew the monarchy, the United Irishmen who rebelled against British rule (1798), the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) that ended slavery, and numerous Latin American revolutions against European control in the 19th century all cited the Declaration of Independence as inspiration. In the 20th century, the impact of these ideas appeared in countries as diverse as Zimbabwe in central Africa and Vietnam in southeast Asia.



### **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: HOW UNUSUAL WAS THE REVOLUTION?**

Was the American Revolution similar to or different from other revolutions in history. Historians have provided different answers to this question.

**Similarities with Other Revolutions** In *Anatomy of a Revolution* (1965), historian Crane Brinton was struck by how alike the American Revolution, the French Revolution (1789–1794), and the Russian Revolution (1917–1922) were. According to Brinton, each one passed through similar stages and became increasingly radical.

Other historians have noted similarities between the American Revolution and the colonial rebellions in Africa and Asia after World War II. All were against distant European imperial powers. Many featured guerrilla forces (the colonies in the 1770s, Cuba in the 1950s, and Vietnam in the 1960s) and were weaker in the cities but stronger in the surrounding rural territories.

**Differences with Europe** Other historians have focused on the differences between American and European revolutions. For example, the French and Russians reacted to feudalism and aristocratic privilege that did not exist in the American colonies. In their view, Americans did not revolt against outmoded institutions but merely carried to maturity a liberal, republican movement that had been gaining force for years.

**Impact** Historians also disagree on whether the American Revolution shaped later revolutions. Using the insights from comparisons has helped historians better understand the American Revolution in its historical context.

**Support an Argument:** *Explain two perspectives on the radical nature of the American Revolution.*

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain different ways that the American Revolution affected society and the world.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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**A New Nation (SOC)**

Mary McCauley (Molly Pitcher)

Deborah Sampson

Republican Motherhood  
Abigail Adams

**Separation (NAT)**

Daughters of Liberty

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“A Declaration of Rights made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia . . .

Section 1. That all men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights. . . .

Section 2. That all power is vested in and consequently derived from the people. . . .

Section 4. That no man, or set of men, is entitled to exclusive or separate . . . privileges from the community. . . .

Section 5. That the legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judiciary. . . .

Section 6. That elections of members . . . as representatives of the people, in assembly, ought to be free; and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage. . . .

Section 12. That freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty. . . .

Section 16. All men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion.”

Virginia Declaration of Rights, 1776

1. Which of the following sections was the most direct reason for conflicts between Virginia and the British government?
  - (A) Section 1: all people are by nature equal
  - (B) Section 2: legitimate government power comes from the people
  - (C) Section 4: no person deserves special privileges
  - (D) Section 16: people should be able to worship freely
2. Which of the following sections most clearly reflected a belief in the social contract theory of government?
  - (A) Section 2: origins of governmental power
  - (B) Section 5: separation of government powers
  - (C) Section 6: right to vote
  - (D) Section 12: freedom of the press
3. The group most likely to oppose the ideas expressed in this excerpt would have been
  - (A) the Minutemen of Lexington, because they were from New England
  - (B) the Daughters of Liberty, because they were women
  - (C) Tories such as William Franklin, because they supported the British
  - (D) African Americans, because most of them were enslaved

### SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “In the decades following the Revolution, American society was transformed. . . . The Revolution resembled the breaking of a dam, releasing thousands upon thousands of pent-up pressures. . . . It was as if the whole traditional structure, enfeebled and brittle to begin with, broke apart, and the people and their energies were set loose in an unprecedented outburst. “Nothing contributed more to this explosion of energy than did the idea of equality. Equality was in fact the most radical and most powerful ideological force let loose in the Revolution. Its appeal was far more potent than any of the revolutionaries realized. Once invoked, the idea of equality could not be stopped, and it tore through American society and culture with awesome power. . . . Within decades following the Declaration of Independence, the United States became the most egalitarian nation in the history of the world, and it remains so today, regardless of its great disparities of wealth.”

Gordon S. Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 1993



“Today, ‘equality’ is generally interpreted to include protection for the rights of minorities; during the Revolution, ‘the body of the people’ referred exclusively to the majority. . . .

It is one of the supreme ironies of the American revolution that the assumption of authority by “the body of the people”—probably its most radical feature—served to oppress as well as to liberate. This was a real revolution: the people did seize power, but they exercised that power at the expense of others—loyalists, pacifists, merchants, Indians, slaves—who, although certainly people, were not perceived to be part of the whole. This was, after all, a war. It would not be the last time Americans sacrificed notions of liberty and equality in the name of the general good.

Our Revolutionary heritage works both ways. “The body of the people, the dominant force during the 1770s, has empowered and deprived.”

Ray Raphael, *A People’s History of the American Revolution*, 2001

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Wood’s and Raphael’s historical interpretations of how radical the American Revolution was.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1774 to 1787 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Wood’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1774 to 1787 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Raphael’s interpretation.

# The Articles of Confederation

*The source of the evil is the nature of the government.*

Henry Knox to George Washington, December 17, 1786

**Learning Objective:** Explain how different forms of government developed and changed as a result of the Revolutionary Period.

**H**aving declared independence, the 13 colonies were faced with the task of fighting for it. To win such a war of independence, the colonists realized that they needed some form of government. The challenge was bringing together 13 distinct colonies united largely by a distrust and fear of a tyrannical British government. This led to an intentionally weak form of central government under a document, the **Articles of Confederation**, that was written by the Second Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War.

## Organization of New Governments

While the Revolutionary War was being fought, leaders of the 13 colonies worked to change them into independently governed states, each with its own constitution (written plan of government). At the same time, the revolutionary Congress that originally met in Philadelphia tried to define the powers of a new central government for the nation that was coming into being.

## State Governments

By 1777, ten of the former colonies had written new constitutions. Most of these documents were both written and adopted by the states' legislatures. In a few states (Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina), a proposed constitution was submitted to a vote of the people for ratification (approval).

Each state constitution was the subject of heated debate between conservatives, who stressed the need for law and order, and liberals, who were most concerned about protecting individual rights and preventing future tyrannies. Although the various constitutions differed on specific points, they had the following features in common:

**List of Rights** Each state constitution began with a “bill” or “declaration” listing basic rights and freedoms. Common provisions identified the right to a jury trial and the freedom of religion. These rights and freedoms belonged to all citizens, and state officials could not infringe (encroach) on them.

**Separation of Powers** With a few exceptions, the powers of state government were given to three separate branches: (1) legislative powers to an elected two-house legislature, (2) executive powers to an elected governor, and (3) judicial powers to a system of courts. The principle of separation of powers was intended to be a safeguard against tyranny—especially against the tyranny of a too-powerful executive.

**Voting** The right to vote was extended to all White males who owned some property. The property requirement, usually for a minimal amount of land or money, was based on the assumption that property owners had a larger stake in government than did the poor and property-less.

**Office-holding** Those seeking elected office usually had to meet a higher property qualification than the voters.

## The Articles of Confederation

At Philadelphia in 1776, as Jefferson was writing the Declaration of Independence, John Dickinson drafted the first constitution for the United States as a nation. Congress modified Dickinson's plan to protect the powers of the individual states. The Articles of Confederation, as the document was called, was adopted by Congress in 1777 and submitted to the states for ratification.

**Ratification** Approval of the Articles was delayed by a dispute over state claims to the vast American Indian lands west of the Alleghenies. Some states, such as Rhode Island and Maryland, insisted that states give up these claims and the lands be under the jurisdiction of the new central government. When Virginia and New York finally agreed to cede their claims to western lands, the Articles were ratified in March 1781.

**Structure of Government** The Articles established a central government that consisted of just one body, a congress. In this unicameral (one-house) legislature, each state was given one vote, with at least nine votes out of 13 required to pass important laws. There was no separate executive, nor a separate judiciary (court system). Amending the Articles required a unanimous vote. A Committee of States, with one representative from each state, could make minor decisions when the full Congress was not in session.

**Powers** The Articles gave Congress the power to wage war, make treaties, send diplomatic representatives, and borrow money. However, Congress did not have the power to regulate commerce or to collect taxes. To finance any of its decisions, Congress had to rely upon taxes voted by each state. Neither did the government have executive power to enforce its laws.

## The United States Under the Articles, 1781–1789

The 13 states intended the central government to be weak—and it was. It consisted of a weak Congress and no executive or judicial branch.

## Accomplishments

Despite its weaknesses, Congress under the Articles did have some lasting accomplishments:

- Independence: The U.S. government could claim some credit for the ultimate victory of Washington’s army and for negotiating favorable terms in the treaty of peace with Britain.
- **Land Ordinance of 1785:** Congress established a policy for surveying and selling the western lands. The policy set aside one square-mile section of land in each 36 square-mile township for public education.
- **Northwest Ordinance of 1787:** For the large territory lying between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, Congress passed an ordinance (law) that set the rules for creating new states. The Northwest Ordinance granted limited self-government to the developing territory and prohibited slavery in the region.

THE UNITED STATES IN 1783



By reserving land for schools and banning slavery, the government made the Northwest Territory attractive to both White and free Black settlers. However, the government auctioned land by the square mile (640 acres). So, even though the starting price per acre was a low \$1 per acre, the benefit of the system went first to those rich enough to spend at least \$640 at once. The purchasers, then, sold off the land in smaller parcels to less wealthy Americans.

## Weaknesses of the Articles

These accomplishments were overshadowed by the difficulties the country faced in addressing certain problems without a strong government.

**Foreign Affairs** Relations between the new United States and the European powers were troubled. European nations had little respect for a nation that could neither pay its debts nor take united action in a crisis. For example, the country could not enforce the Treaty of Paris that ended the Revolutionary War. The U.S. government was too weak to stop Britain from maintaining military outposts on the western frontier and restricting trade. It was also too weak to force states to restore property to Loyalists and repay debts to foreigners as the treaty required. Britain and Spain threatened to take advantage of U.S. weakness by expanding their interests in the western lands.

**Economic Problems** The underlying problem was that Congress had no taxing power and could only request that the states donate money for national needs. It had no dependable source of revenue to repay the money it borrowed to fight the war. Similarly, states had large unpaid debts as well. The unpaid debts resulted in limited credit and reduced foreign trade. The printing of worthless paper money by many states added to the problems. These problems combined to cause an economic depression.

**Internal Conflicts** The 13 states treated one another as rivals and competed for economic advantage. They placed tariffs and other restrictions on the movement of goods across state lines. A number of states faced boundary disputes with neighbors that increased interstate tension. The national government had no power to settle these disputes.

**Shays's Rebellion** In the summer of 1786, Captain Daniel Shays, a Massachusetts farmer and Revolutionary War veteran, led other farmers in an uprising against high state taxes, imprisonment for debt, and lack of paper money. The rebel farmers stopped the collection of taxes and forced the closing of debtors' courts. In January 1787, when Shays and his followers attempted to seize weapons from the Springfield armory, the state militia of Massachusetts broke Shays's Rebellion.

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain how during the American Revolution different forms of government arose and adjusted to the ideals and demands of the Revolution.

## KEY TERMS BY THEME

### Expansion (MIG, POL)

Land Ordinance of 1785  
Northwest Ordinance of 1787

### A New Nation (SOC)

Articles of Confederation  
Shays's Rebellion

### Final Break (WOR)

Treaty of Paris (1783)

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“Let us see what will be the consequences of not authorizing the federal government to regulate the trade of the states. Besides the want [lack] of revenue and of power, besides the immediate risk to our independence, the dangers of all the future evils of a precarious Union. . .

There is something noble and magnificent in the perspective of a great federal republic, closely linked in the pursuit of common interest—tranquil and prosperous at home, respectable abroad. But there is something proportionably diminutive and contemptible in the prospect of a number of petty states, with the appearance only of union.”

Alexander Hamilton, “Arguments for Increasing the Power of the Federal Government,” July 1782

1. Hamilton’s comment that “there is something proportionably diminutive and contemptible in the prospect of a number of petty states, with the appearance only of union” is most directly a criticism of
  - (A) the British form of government
  - (B) the ideals of the Enlightenment
  - (C) the Declaration of Independence
  - (D) the Articles of Confederation
2. Hamilton’s comments in the excerpt were similar to his concerns about
  - (A) the rapid expansion by settlers onto the lands of American Indians
  - (B) the slowness of the negotiations over the Treaty of Paris
  - (C) the need to repay state debts after the Revolutionary War
  - (D) the importance of passing the Northwest Ordinance
3. This excerpt provides support for the argument that Hamilton believed that the Articles of Confederation should be
  - (A) kept as they are because they were working well
  - (B) amended to protect the rights of states better
  - (C) discarded so states could act independently
  - (D) replaced with a new constitution

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “The government designed by the Articles of Confederation made it easy for relatively small groups of people—especially individual states or sections of the country—to block any change. There was a requirement for every single state to agree to alter the powers of the Confederation...

From the beginning the Union had been a pretty loose alliance, so people felt relatively free about saying they just didn’t feel like going along with a particular policy... The result was stalemate. I can tell you that the people who wrote the Constitution thought a stalemated government could not survive.”

George William Van Cleve, interview, *The Nation*, 2017

“The conventional view is that American political history from the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution was dominated by ‘the complete inability of the government set up by the Articles of Confederation to function.’ This view ignores effective exercises of national power that took place during this period and the evolution of institutions extending beyond the text of the articles. Congress and the state judiciaries often read the Articles broadly and expansively in response to the practical needs of the country. The institutions created by Congress exercise wide powers that furthered national unity, and the states acquiesced.”

Eric M. Freedman, “The United States and the Articles of Confederation: Drifting Toward Anarchy or Inching Toward Commonwealth?” *Yale Law Journal*, November 1978

Using the excerpt, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Van Cleve’s and Freedman’s interpretations of the value of the Articles of Confederation.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1754 to 1800 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Van Cleve’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1754 to 1800 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Freedman’s interpretation.

# The Constitutional Convention and Debates Over Ratification

*Thus I consent, sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best.*

Benjamin Franklin, 1787

**Learning Objective:** Explain the differing ideological positions on the structure and function of the federal government.

With these words, Benjamin Franklin, the oldest delegate at the **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia, attempted to overcome the skepticism of other delegates about the document that they had created. Would the new document, the Constitution, establish a central government strong enough to hold 13 states together in a union that could prosper and endure? Several problems led to a convention that wrote a new constitution, which was followed by intense debates on whether to ratify the new plan of government.

## The Annapolis Convention

To review what could be done about the country's inability to overcome critical problems, George Washington hosted a conference at his home in **Mount Vernon**, Virginia (1785). Representatives from Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania agreed that the problems were serious enough to hold further discussions at a later meeting at Annapolis, Maryland, with all the states invited. Only five states sent delegates to the **Annapolis Convention** in 1786. After discussing ways to improve commercial relations among the states, **James Madison** and **Alexander Hamilton** persuaded the others that another convention should be held in Philadelphia for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.

## Drafting the Constitution at Philadelphia

After a number of states elected delegates to the proposed Philadelphia convention, Congress consented to give its approval to the meeting. It called upon all 13 states to send delegates to Philadelphia “for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.” Only Rhode Island, not trusting the other states, refused to send delegates.

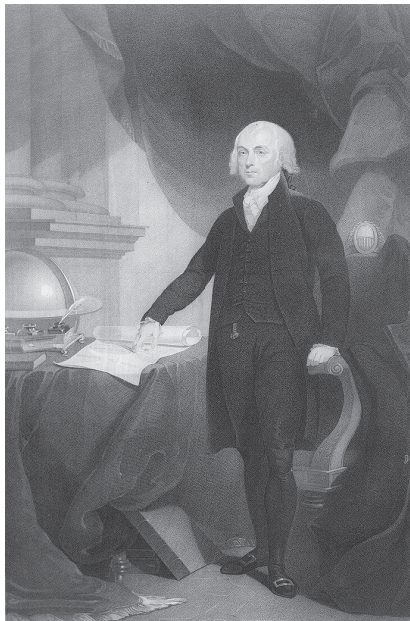


## The Delegates

Of the 55 delegates who went to Philadelphia for the convention in the summer of 1787, all were White, all were male, and most were college-educated. As a group, they were relatively young (averaging in their early forties). With few exceptions, they were far wealthier than the average American of their day. They were well acquainted with issues of law and politics. A number of them were practicing lawyers, and many had helped to write their state constitutions.

The first order of business was to elect a presiding officer and decide whether or not to communicate with the public at large. The delegates voted to conduct their meetings in secret and say nothing to the public about their discussions until their work was completed. George Washington was unanimously elected chairperson. Benjamin Franklin, the elder statesman at age 81, provided a calming and unifying influence. The work in fashioning specific articles of the Constitution was directed by James Madison (who came to be known, despite his objections, as the Father of the Constitution), Alexander Hamilton, **Gouverneur Morris**, and **John Dickinson**. While they represented different states, these convention leaders shared the common goal of wanting to strengthen the young nation.

Several major leaders of the American Revolution were not at the convention. John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams were on diplomatic business abroad, and Thomas Paine was also in Europe. Samuel Adams and John Hancock were not chosen as delegates. Patrick Henry, opposing any growth in federal power, refused to take part.



James Madison kept detailed notes on the debates at the convention. Since the convention did not allow outside observers and delegates were prohibited from talking to the press, his notes have shaped how historians interpret what happened during the convention. This engraving was probably made when Madison was in his 60s.

**Source:** David Edwin, c. Library of Congress.

## Key Issues at the Convention

The convention opened with the delegates disagreeing sharply on its fundamental purpose. Some wanted to simply revise the Articles. Strong nationalists, such as Madison and Hamilton, wanted to draft an entirely new document. They argued that the confederate model of government, in which the states were loosely united under a weak central government, was unworkable. They believed in **federalism**, a system with a strong but limited central government. The nationalists quickly took control of the convention.

Americans in the 1780s generally distrusted government and feared that officials would seize every opportunity to abuse their powers, even if they were popularly elected. Therefore, Madison and other delegates believed in the **separation of powers**, dividing power among different branches of government. They wanted the new constitution to be based on a system of **checks and balances**, in which the power of each branch would be limited by the powers of the others. (For more on federalism and separation of powers, see Topic 3.9.)

**Representation** Especially divisive was the issue of whether the larger states such as Virginia and Pennsylvania should have proportionally more representatives in **Congress** than the smaller states such as New Jersey and Delaware. Madison's proposal—the **Virginia Plan**—favored the larger states. It was countered by the **New Jersey Plan**, which favored the smaller states. The issue was finally resolved by a compromise solution. Roger Sherman of Connecticut proposed the **Connecticut Plan** or the **Great Compromise**. It provided for a bicameral (two-house) Congress. In the **Senate**, states would have equal representation, but in the **House of Representatives**, each state would be represented according to the size of its population.

**Slavery** Two contentious issues grew out of slavery. Should enslaved people be counted in the state populations? Southerners argued they should. Northerners said that since they did not have the rights of citizens, they should not. The delegates agreed to the **Three-Fifths Compromise**, which counted each enslaved individual as three-fifths of a person for the purposes of determining a state's level of taxation and representation. Should the slave trade be allowed? Some delegates wanted to ban it for humanitarian reasons. Others were concerned about maintaining a supply of labor. The delegates decided to guarantee that enslaved people could be imported for at least 20 years longer, until 1808. Congress could vote to abolish the practice after that date if it wished.

**Trade** The northern states wanted the central government to regulate interstate commerce and foreign trade. The south was afraid that export taxes would be placed on its agricultural products such as tobacco and rice. The **Commercial Compromise** allowed Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, including placing tariffs (taxes) on foreign imports, but it prohibited placing taxes on any exports.

**The Presidency** The delegates debated over the president’s term of office. Some argued that the chief executive should hold office for life. The delegates limited the president’s term to four years but with no limit on the number of terms. They also debated the method for electing a president. Rather than having voters elect a president directly, the delegates decided to assign to each state a number of electors equal to the total of that state’s representatives and senators. This **Electoral College system** was instituted because the delegates feared that too much democracy might lead to mob rule. Finally, the delegates debated what powers to give the president. They finally decided to grant the president considerable power, including the power to veto acts of Congress.

**Ratification Procedure** On September 17, 1787, after 17 weeks of debate, the Philadelphia convention approved a draft of the Constitution to submit to the states for ratification. Anticipating opposition, the Framers (delegates) specified in Article VII that a favorable vote of only nine states out of 13 was required for ratification. Each state would hold popularly elected conventions to debate and vote on the proposed Constitution.

## Federalists and Anti-Federalists

Ratification was fiercely debated for almost a year, from September 1787 until June 1788. Supporters of the Constitution and its strong federal government were known as **Federalists**. Opponents who feared that that new government would be too strong were known as **Anti-Federalists**. Federalists were most common along the Atlantic Coast and in the large cities, while Anti-Federalists tended to be small farmers and settlers on the western frontier.

DEBATING THE CONSTITUTION		
Issue	Federalists	Anti-Federalists
<b>Position on Constitution as Proposed</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Supported ratification</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Opposed ratification</li> </ul>
<b>Arguments</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A stronger central government was needed to maintain order and preserve the Union</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A stronger central government would destroy the work of the Revolution, limit democracy, and restrict states’ rights</li> </ul>
<b>Strategies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Emphasized the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation</li> <li>Portrayed Anti-Federalists as merely negative opponents with no solutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Argued that the proposed Constitution contained no bill of rights to protect individual freedoms</li> <li>Claimed the proposed Constitution gave the central government more power than the British ever had</li> </ul>
<b>Advantages</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strong leaders</li> <li>Well-organized</li> <li>Widespread concern about the problems under the Articles</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Widespread distrust of government power because of experiences as colonists</li> </ul>
<b>Disadvantages</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Constitution was new and untried</li> <li>The original Constitution lacked a bill of rights</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Less united than the Federalists</li> </ul>

## The Federalist Papers

A key element in the Federalist campaign for the Constitution was a series of highly persuasive essays written for a New York newspaper by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. The 85 essays, later published in book form as *The Federalist Papers*, presented cogent reasons for believing in the practicality of each major provision of the Constitution.

## The Path to Ratification

The Federalists won early victories in the state conventions in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—the first three states to ratify. However, the Federalists were not confident of victory in enough other states for ratification.

**Debate on a Bill of Rights** One of the main objections expressed by the Anti-Federalists was that the proposed Constitution lacked a list of specific rights that the federal government could not violate. They argued that Americans had fought the Revolutionary War to escape a tyrannical government in Britain. What was to stop a strong central government under the Constitution from acting similarly? Only by adding a bill of rights could Americans be protected against such a possibility.

Federalists responded that since members of Congress would be elected by the people, they did not need to be protected against themselves. Furthermore, people should assume that all rights were protected rather than create a limited list of rights that might allow unscrupulous officials to assert that unlisted rights could be violated. However, to win support for the Constitution, the Federalists promised to add to it a bill of rights as the first order of business for a new Congress. (For the language of the Bill of Rights, see Topic 3.9.)

**Ratification Achieved** With this promise, the Federalists successfully addressed the Anti-Federalists' most significant objection. With New Hampshire voting yes in June 1788, the Federalists won the necessary nine states to achieve ratification of the Constitution. Even so, the large states of Virginia and New York had not yet acted. If they failed to ratify, any chance for national unity and strength would be in dire jeopardy.

**Final States** In 1788, Virginia was by far the most populous of the original 13 states. There, the Anti-Federalists rallied behind two strong leaders, George Mason and Patrick Henry, who viewed the Constitution and a strong central government as threats to Americans' hard-won liberty. Virginia's Federalists, led by Washington, Madison, and John Marshall, managed to prevail by a close vote only after promising a bill of rights.

News of Virginia's vote had enough influence on New York's ratifying convention (combined with Alexander Hamilton's efforts) to win the day for the Constitution in that state. North Carolina in November 1789 and Rhode Island in May 1790 reversed their earlier rejections and thus became the last two states to ratify the Constitution as the new "supreme law of the land."

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain the competing philosophical views on the organization and tasks of the new government.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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<b>Founders (NAT, SOC)</b>	<b>A Constitution (POL, ARC)</b>	Virginia Plan
James Madison	Constitutional Convention	New Jersey Plan
Alexander Hamilton	Mount Vernon Conference	Connecticut Plan; Great Compromise
Gouverneur Morris	Annapolis Convention	Senate
John Dickinson	federalism	House of Representatives
Federalists	separation of powers	Three-Fifths Compromise
Anti-Federalists	checks and balances	Commercial Compromise
<i>The Federalist Papers</i>	Congress	Electoral College system

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“The plan of government now proposed is evidently calculated totally to change, in time, our condition as a people. Instead of being 13 republics under a federal head, it is clearly designed to make us one consolidated government. . . .

The essential parts of a free and good government are a full and equal representation of the people in the legislature. . . .

There are certain rights which we have always held sacred in the United States, and recognized in all our constitution, which, by adoption of the new Constitution in its present form, will be left unsecured. . . . I am fully satisfied that the state conventions ought most seriously to direct their exertions to altering and amending the system proposed before they shall adopt it.”

Richard Henry Lee, *On the Rights that Must Be Preserved in the New Constitution*, 1787

1. Richard Henry Lee’s concerns expressed in this excerpt would have been supported most by people in which of the following groups?
  - (A) Merchants who wanted stronger support of commerce
  - (B) Slave owners who opposed the three-fifths compromise
  - (C) Quakers who advocated for greater freedom of conscience
  - (D) Politicians who philosophically favored more local autonomy

2. People who advocated for ratification of the Constitution responded to Lee and others who shared his views by
  - (A) agreeing to add of a bill of rights
  - (B) meeting with Lee at the Mount Vernon Conference
  - (C) renegotiating the Commercial Compromise
  - (D) rejecting the Great Compromise
3. Based on the excerpt, Lee would have most likely advocated for which of the following types of changes?
  - (A) Strengthening the power of the chief executive
  - (B) Replacing the compromise on slavery taxation and representation
  - (C) Protecting the independence of the judiciary
  - (D) Eliminating one house in the two-house legislature

### SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
  - (a) Briefly explain how ONE compromise passed at the Constitutional Convention altered the development of the United States.
  - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific criticism of a compromise passed at the Constitutional Convention that would have altered the development of the United States.
  - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific criticism brought forth by the Anti-Federalists concerning the power of the new federal government.

# The Constitution

*The Constitution is the guide which I never will abandon.*

George Washington, letter to the Boston city leaders, 1795

**Learning Objective:** Explain the continuities and changes in the structure and functions of the government with the ratification of the Constitution.

The men who wrote the newly ratified Constitution hoped it would both follow the ideals of the Enlightenment and provide a working system to guide the new republic. They wanted to correct the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation without creating a government with excessive power. To guard against tyranny, they divided power vertically—between the federal and state levels. They also divided federal power horizontally—among three branches. As a further step toward keeping government power in check, and to fulfill a promise made during the ratification debates, one of the first tasks of the new Congress was to propose a Bill of Rights.

## Federalism

The writers of the Constitution (or Framers) divided power between the federal government and state governments. The federal government would handle issues that affected the entire country, such as national defense and foreign affairs, and issues that crossed state boundaries, such as interstate commerce and a postal service. States would be in charge of issues that affected only their state, such as schools and local elections.

As changes in transportation, communication, and the economy have increased the interactions among people across state lines, the federal government has become more powerful. Further, constitutional amendments added specific powers to the federal government. For example, the 19th Amendment, ratified in 1920, gave Congress the power to protect the right of women to vote.

By the 21st century, the government accounted for around 40 percent of the gross domestic product of the country. The federal government was usually responsible for over half of all public expenditures, paying for programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and the military, and transferring money to state and local governments. However, most public employees worked for state or local governments, with the largest number employed in schools and universities.

## Separation of Powers

The Framers also divided powers among three main branches of government:

- legislative: Congress makes laws, passes taxes, and allocates spending
- executive: led by the president, it recommends and carries out laws and federal programs
- judicial: it consists of the Supreme Court and all lower federal courts; it interprets the laws and the Constitution

The Constitution provided each branch of government ways to limit the power or at least influence the other two branches:

- Congress can pass laws, but the president can veto laws and the Supreme Court can rule them unconstitutional.
- The president can make treaties, but they must be ratified by Congress.
- The president can enforce the laws, but the Supreme Court can stop those actions if it finds that they violate the Constitution.
- The Supreme Court interprets the laws, but Congress can write new laws.
- The Supreme Court can order a president to enforce a law, but a president has the power to appoint justices.

## The Bill of Rights

In 1789, the first Congress acted quickly to approve **amendments** to defend individual liberty. Drafted largely by James Madison, the ten ratified by the states in 1791 are known as the **Bill of Rights**. Originally, they protected against abuses by the central (or federal) government. Since the ratification of the 14th Amendment in 1868, most of the protections have been extended to apply to abuses by state governments as well. Below is the text of the Bill of Rights.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

**Eighth Amendment** “Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.”

**Ninth Amendment** “The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.”

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

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain what stayed the same and what changed in the form and the workings of the government under the new Constitution compared to government under the Articles of Confederation.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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**Founders (NAT, SOC)**  
federalism  
separation of powers

amendments  
Bill of Rights

**Founders (NAT, SOC)**  
James Madison

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“It is not denied that there are implied [existing but not clearly stated] as well as express [clearly stated] powers, and that the former are as effectually delegated as the latter.

It is conceded that implied powers are to be considered as delegated equally with express ones. Then it follows, that as a power of erecting a corporation [such as a bank] may as well be implied as any other thing, it may as well be employed as an instrument or means of carrying into execution any of the specified powers. . . . But one may be erected in relation to the trade with foreign countries, or to the trade between the States . . . because it is the province of the federal government to regulate those objects, and because it is incident to a general sovereign or legislative power to regulate a thing, to employ all the means which relate to its regulation to the best and greatest advantage.”

Alexander Hamilton, Letter on the National Bank, 1791

1. Hamilton’s constitutional argument was based on which of the following types of powers?
  - (A) Employed
  - (B) Expressed
  - (C) Implied
  - (D) Regulated
2. Hamilton’s position expressed in the excerpt most clearly reflected his dissatisfaction with which of the following?
  - (A) The Declaration of Independence
  - (B) The Articles of Confederation
  - (C) The Northwest Ordinance
  - (D) The Bill of Rights
3. Which of the following would best serve as the basis for modifying or refuting Hamilton’s position expressed in the excerpt?
  - (A) The ideals of the Enlightenment, such as the emphasis on reason
  - (B) The theory of the separation of powers, which divided power among three branches of government
  - (C) The purpose of the 10th Amendment, which reserves powers to the states
  - (D) The writings of Thomas Paine, which supported revolution

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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1. “The contest over the Constitution was not primarily a war over abstract political ideals, such as states’ rights and centralization, but over concrete economic issues, and the political division which accompanied it was substantially along the lines of the interests affected—the financiers, public creditors, traders, commercial men, manufacturers, and allied groups, centering mainly in the larger seaboard towns, being chief among the advocates of the Constitution, and the farmers, particularly in the inland regions, and the debtors being chief among its opponents. That other considerations, such as the necessity for stronger national defense, entered into the campaign is, of course, admitted, but with all due allowances, it may be truly said that the Constitution was a product of a struggle between capitalistic and agrarian interests.”

Charles A. Beard, historian, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, 1915

“It is easy to accept the general proposition that ideas and interests are somehow associated. . . . But there are some dangers in working with any such formula. The first is that ideas—or all those intangible emotional, moral, and intellectual forces that may roughly be combined under the rubric of ideas—will somehow be dissolved and that we will be left only with interests on our hands. . . . Then there is the danger that interests will be too narrowly construed: that we will put too much emphasis on the motives and purposes of individuals and groups, not enough on the structural requirements of a social system or on the limitations imposed on men by particular historical situations . . . that the way in which men perceive and define their interests is in some good part a reflex of the ideas they have inherited and the experiences they have undergone. . . .

For the generation of the Founding Fathers, the central, formative, shattering, and then reintegrating experience of civic life was the Revolution, which recast the pattern of their interests and galvanized their inherited store of ideas.”

Richard Hofstadter, historian, *The Progressive Historians*, 1968

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- Briefly explain ONE major difference between Beard’s and Hofstadter’s interpretations of the influences on the Constitution.
- Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1776 to 1789 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Beard’s interpretation.
- Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1776 to 1789 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Hofstadter’s interpretation.

# Shaping a New Republic

*There is nothing which I dread so much as a division of the republic into two great parties. . . . [It] is to be dreaded as the greatest political evil under our Constitution.*

John Adams, letter to Jonathan Jackson, 1780

**Learning Objective 1:** Explain how and why competition intensified conflict among peoples and nations from 1754 to 1800.

**Learning Objective 2:** Explain how and why political ideas, institutions, and party systems developed and changed in the new republic.

**H**aving faced the challenges of declaring independence, fighting a Revolutionary War, agreeing on a Constitution, and forming a functioning government, the new nation's continued existence was not guaranteed. Under the leadership of the first two presidents, George Washington and John Adams, the Republic dealt with a multitude of challenges, both foreign and domestic.

## Washington's Presidency

Members of the first Congress under the Constitution were elected in 1788 and began their first session in March 1789 in New York City (then the nation's temporary capital). People assumed that George Washington would be the electoral college's unanimous choice for president, and indeed he was.

## Organizing the Federal Government

Washington took the oath of office as the first U.S. president on April 30, 1789. From then on, what the Constitution and its system of checks and balances actually meant in practice would be determined from day to day by the decisions of Congress as the legislative branch, the president as the head of the executive branch, and the Supreme Court as the top federal court in the judicial branch.

**Executive Departments** As chief executive, Washington's first task was to organize new departments of the executive (law-enforcing) branch. The Constitution authorizes the president to appoint chiefs of departments, although they must be confirmed, or approved, by the Senate. Washington appointed four heads of departments: Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury, **Henry Knox** as secretary of

war, and **Edmund Randolph** as attorney general. These four men formed a **cabinet** of advisers with whom President Washington met regularly to discuss major policy issues. Today, presidents still meet with their cabinets to obtain advice and information.

**Federal Court System** The only federal court mentioned in the Constitution is the **Supreme Court**. Congress, however, was given the power to create other **federal courts** with lesser powers and to determine the number of justices making up the Supreme Court. One of Congress' first laws was the **Judiciary Act of 1789**, which established a Supreme Court with one chief justice and five associate justices. This highest court was empowered to rule on the constitutionality of decisions made by state courts. The act also provided for a system of 13 district courts and three circuit courts of appeals.

## Hamilton's Financial Program

One of the most pressing problems faced by Congress under the Articles had been the government's financial difficulties. Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, presented to Congress a plan for putting U.S. finances on a stable foundation. Hamilton's plan included three main actions. (1) Pay off the **national debt** at face value and have the federal government assume the war debts of the states. (2) Protect the young nation's "infant" (new and developing) industries and collect adequate revenues at the same time by imposing high tariffs on imported goods. (3) Create a **national bank** for depositing government funds and printing banknotes that would provide the basis for a stable U.S. currency. Support for this program came chiefly from northern merchants, who would gain directly from high tariffs and a stabilized currency.

Opponents of Hamilton's financial plan included the Anti-Federalists, who feared that the states would lose power to the extent that the central government gained it. Thomas Jefferson led a faction of southern Anti-Federalists who viewed Hamilton's program as benefiting only the rich at the expense of indebted farmers. After political wrangling and bargaining, Congress finally adopted Hamilton's plan in slightly modified form. For example, the tariffs were not as high as Hamilton wanted.

**Debt** Jefferson and his supporters agreed to Hamilton's insistence that the U.S. government pay off the national debt at face value and assume payment of the war debts of the states. In return for Jefferson's support on this aspect of his plan, Hamilton agreed to Jefferson's idea for the nation's capital to be in the south along the Potomac River (an area that, after Washington's death, would be named Washington, D.C.).

**National Bank** Jefferson argued that the Constitution did not give Congress the power to create a bank. But Hamilton took a broader view of the Constitution, arguing that the document's "necessary and proper" clause authorized Congress to do whatever was necessary to carry out its enumerated powers. Washington supported Hamilton on the issue, and the proposed bank was voted into law. Although chartered by the federal government, the Bank

of the United States was privately owned. As a major shareholder of the bank, the federal government could print paper currency and use federal deposits to stimulate business.

## Foreign Affairs Under Washington

Washington's first term as president (1789–1793) coincided with the outbreak of revolution in France, a cataclysmic event that was to touch off a series of wars between the new French Republic and the monarchies of Europe. Washington's entire eight years as president, as well as the four years of his successor, John Adams, were taken up with the question of whether to give U.S. support to France, France's enemies, or neither side.

### *French Revolution*

Americans generally supported the French people's aspiration to establish a republic, but many were also horrified by reports of mob hysteria and mass executions. To complicate matters, the U.S.–French alliance remained in effect, although it was an alliance with the French monarchy, not with the revolutionary republic. Jefferson and his supporters sympathized with the revolutionary cause. They also argued that because Britain was seizing American merchant ships bound for French ports, the United States should join France in its defensive war against Britain.

**Proclamation of Neutrality (1793)** Washington, however, believed that the young nation was not strong enough to engage in a European war. Resisting popular clamor, in 1793 he issued a proclamation of U.S. neutrality in the conflict. Jefferson resigned from the cabinet in disagreement with Washington's policy.

**“Citizen” Genêt** Objecting to Washington's policy, “Citizen” Edmond Genêt, the French minister to the United States, broke all the rules of diplomacy by appealing directly to the American people to support the French cause. So outrageous was his conduct, even Jefferson approved of Washington's request to the French government that they remove Genêt. Recalled by his government, Genêt chose to remain in the United States, where he married and became a U.S. citizen.

### *The Jay Treaty (1794) with Great Britain*

Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay on a special mission to Britain to talk about two issues. One was Britain's continued occupation of posts on the U.S. western frontier. The other was Britain's offensive practice of searching and seizing American ships and impressing seamen into the British navy. After a year of negotiations, Jay brought back a treaty in which Britain agreed to evacuate its posts but included nothing about impressment. Narrowly ratified by the Senate, the unpopular **Jay Treaty** angered American supporters of France, but it did maintain Washington's policy of neutrality, which kept the United States at peace.

## The Pinckney Treaty (1795) with Spain

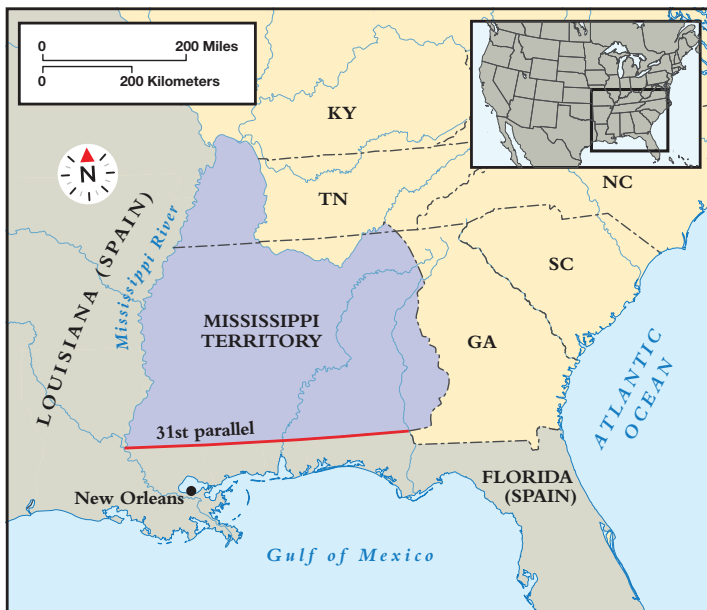
Totally unexpected was the effect that the Jay Treaty had on Spain's policy toward its territories in the Americas. Seeing the treaty as a sign that the United States might be drawing closer to Spain's longtime foe Britain, Spain decided to consolidate its holdings in North America. The Spanish influence in the Far West had been strengthened by a series of Catholic missions along the California coast, but they were concerned about their colonies in the southeast. Thomas Pinckney, the U.S. minister to Spain, negotiated a treaty with these provisions:

- Spain opened the lower Mississippi River and New Orleans to American trade.
- The **right of deposit** was granted to Americans so that they could transfer cargoes in New Orleans without paying duties to the Spanish government.
- Spain accepted the U.S. claim that Florida's northern boundary should be at the 31st parallel (not north of that line, as Spain had formerly insisted).

## Domestic Concerns under Washington

In addition to coping with foreign challenges, stabilizing the nation's credit, and organizing the new government, Washington faced a number of domestic problems and crises.

PINKNEY'S TREATY, 1795



**American Indians** Through the final decades of the 18th century, settlers crossed the Alleghenies and moved the frontier steadily westward into the Ohio Valley and beyond. In an effort to resist the settlers' encroachment on their

lands, a number of the tribes formed the Northwest (or Western) Confederacy. The Shawnee, Delaware, Iroquois, and other tribes allied under the Miami war chief Little Turtle. Initially, they won a series of bloody victories over the settler militias.

In some cases, the British were supplying the American Indians with arms and encouraging them to attack the settlers. Hearing this incensed the Americans. In 1794, the U.S. army, led by General Anthony Wayne, defeated the Confederacy tribes at the **Battle of Fallen Timbers** in northwestern Ohio. The next year, the chiefs of the defeated peoples agreed to the **Treaty of Greenville**, in which they surrendered claims to the Ohio Territory and promised to open it up to settlement.

**The Whiskey Rebellion (1794)** Hamilton, to make up the revenue lost because tariffs were lower than he wanted, persuaded Congress to pass excise taxes, particularly on the sale of whiskey. In western Pennsylvania, the refusal of a group of farmers to pay the federal tax on whiskey seemed to pose a major challenge to the viability of the U.S. government under the Constitution. The rebelling farmers could ill afford to pay a tax on the whiskey that they distilled from surplus corn. Rather than pay the tax, they defended their “liberties” by attacking the revenue collectors.

Washington responded to this crisis by federalizing 15,000 state militia and placing them under the command of Alexander Hamilton. The show of force had its intended effects. The Whiskey Rebellion collapsed with almost no bloodshed and the federal government solidified its authority. Some Americans applauded Washington’s action, contrasting it with the previous government’s helplessness to do anything about Shays’s Rebellion. Among westerners, however, the military action was widely resented and condemned as an unwarranted use of force against the common people. The government’s chief critic, Thomas Jefferson, gained in popularity as a champion of western farmers.

**Western Lands** In the 1790s, the Jay Treaty and the victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers gave the federal government control of vast tracts of land. Congress encouraged the rapid settlement of these lands by passing the **Public Land Act** in 1796, which established orderly procedures for dividing and selling federal lands at moderate prices. The process for adding new states to the Union, as set forth in the Constitution, went smoothly. While the first new state was in New England (Vermont in 1791), the next two reflected the country’s push westward: Kentucky in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796.

## The First Political Parties

Washington’s election by unanimous vote of the Electoral College in 1789 underscored the popular belief that political parties were not needed. The Constitution itself did not mention political parties, and the framers assumed none would arise. They were soon proven wrong. The debates between Federalists and Anti-Federalists in 1787 and 1788 were the first indication that a two-party system would emerge as a core feature of American politics.



## Origins

In colonial times, groups of legislators commonly formed temporary factions and voted together either for or against a specific policy. When an issue was settled, the factions would dissolve. The dispute between Federalists and Anti-Federalists over the ratification of the Constitution closely resembled the factional disputes of an earlier period. What was unusual about this conflict was that it was organized—at least by the Federalists—across state lines and in that sense prefigured the national parties that emerged soon afterward.

In the 1790s, sometimes called the **Federalist era** because it was dominated largely by Federalist policies, political parties began to form around two leading figures, Hamilton and Jefferson. The **Federalist Party** supported Hamilton and his financial program. In opposition, the **Democratic-Republican Party** supported Jefferson and tried to elect candidates in different states who opposed Hamilton's program. The French Revolution further solidified the formation of national **political parties**. Americans divided sharply over whether to support France. A large number followed Jefferson's lead in openly challenging President Washington's neutrality policy.

## Differences Between the Parties

The Federalists were strongest in the northeastern states and advocated the growth of federal power. The Democratic-Republicans were strongest in the southern states and on the western frontier and argued for states' rights. By 1796, the two major political parties were taking shape and becoming better organized. In that year, President Washington announced that he intended to retire to private life at the end of his second term.

COMPARISON OF FEDERALIST AND DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTIES		
Trait	Federalists	Democratic-Republicans
<b>Leaders</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>John Adams</li><li>Alexander Hamilton</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Thomas Jefferson</li><li>James Madison</li></ul>
<b>View of the Constitution</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Interpret loosely</li><li>Create a strong central government</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Interpret strictly</li><li>Create a weak central government</li></ul>
<b>Foreign Policy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Pro-British</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Pro-French</li></ul>
<b>Military Policy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Develop a large peacetime army and navy</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Develop a small peacetime army and navy</li></ul>
<b>Economic Policy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Aid business</li><li>Create a national bank</li><li>Support high tariffs</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Favor agriculture</li><li>Oppose a national bank</li><li>Oppose high tariffs</li></ul>
<b>Chief Supporters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Northern business owners</li><li>Large landowners</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Skilled workers</li><li>Small farmers</li><li>Plantation owners</li></ul>

## Washington's Farewell Address

Assisted by Alexander Hamilton, the retiring president wrote a speech known as his Farewell Address for publication in the newspapers in late 1796. This message had enormous influence because of Washington's prestige. The president spoke against policies and practices that he considered unwise:

- Do not get involved in European affairs.
- Do not make “**permanent alliances**” in foreign affairs.
- Do not form political parties.
- Do not fall into sectionalism.

For the next century, future presidents would mostly heed Washington's first two warnings against foreign entanglements. However, in the case of political parties, Washington was already behind the times. By the time he spoke, political parties were well on their way to becoming a vital part of the American political system and sectional differences were growing stronger.

One long-term consequence of Washington's decision to leave office after two terms was that later presidents followed his example. Presidents elected to two terms (including Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson) would voluntarily retire even though the Constitution placed no limit on a president's tenure in office. The **two-term tradition** continued unbroken until 1940 when Franklin Roosevelt won election to a third term. Then, the 22nd Amendment, ratified in 1951, made the two-term limit a part of the Constitution.

## John Adams' Presidency

Even as Washington was writing his Farewell Address, political parties were working to gain majorities in the two houses of Congress and to line up enough electors from the various states to elect the next president. The vice president, **John Adams**, was the Federalists' candidate, while former secretary of state Thomas Jefferson was the choice of the Democratic-Republicans.

Adams won by three electoral votes. Jefferson became vice president, since the original Constitution gave that office to the candidate receiving the second highest number of electoral votes. (Since the ratification of the 12th Amendment in 1804, the president and vice president have run as a team.)

**The XYZ Affair** Troubles abroad related to the French Revolution presented Adams with the first major challenge of his presidency. Americans were angered that French warships and privateers were seizing U.S. merchant ships. Seeking a peaceful settlement, Adams sent a delegation to Paris to negotiate with the French government. Certain French ministers, known only as X, Y, and Z because their names were never revealed, requested bribes as the basis for entering into negotiations. The American delegates indignantly refused. Newspaper reports of the demands made by X, Y, and Z infuriated many Americans, who now clamored for war against France. “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute” became the slogan of the hour. One faction

of the Federalist Party, led by Alexander Hamilton, hoped that by going to war the United States could gain French and Spanish lands in North America.

President Adams, on the other hand, resisted the popular sentiment for war. Recognizing that the U.S. Army and Navy were not yet strong enough to fight a major power, the president avoided war and sent new ministers to Paris.

**The Alien and Sedition Acts** Anger against France strengthened the Federalists in the congressional elections of 1798 enough to win a majority in both houses. The Federalists took advantage of their victory by enacting laws to restrict their political opponents, the Democratic-Republicans. For example, since most immigrants voted Democratic-Republican, the Federalists passed the Naturalization Act, which increased from 5 to 14 the years required for immigrants to qualify for U.S. citizenship. They also passed the Alien Acts, which authorized the president to deport aliens considered dangerous and to detain enemy aliens in time of war. Most seriously, they passed the Sedition Act, which made it illegal for newspaper editors to criticize either the president or Congress and imposed fines or imprisonment for editors who violated the law.

**The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions** Democratic-Republicans argued that the Alien and Sedition Acts violated rights guaranteed by the 1st Amendment of the Constitution. In 1799, however, the Supreme Court had not yet established the principle of judicial review, the idea that the court could overturn a law that it found in conflict with the Constitution (see Topic 4.2). Democratic-Republican leaders challenged the legislation of the Federalist Congress by enacting nullifying laws of their own in the state legislatures. The Kentucky legislature adopted a resolution that had been written by Thomas Jefferson, and the Virginia legislature adopted a resolution introduced by James Madison. Both resolutions declared that the states had entered into a “compact” in forming the national government. Therefore, if any act of the federal government broke the compact, a state could nullify the federal law. Although only Kentucky and Virginia adopted nullifying resolutions in 1799, they set forth an argument and rationale that would be widely used in the nullification controversy of the 1830s (see Topic 4.8).

The immediate crisis over the Alien and Sedition Acts faded when the Federalists lost control of Congress after the election of 1800, and the Democratic-Republican majority allowed the acts to expire or repealed them. Further, in 1803, the Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall asserted its power in deciding whether federal laws were constitutional.

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain how and why disagreements deepened struggles among peoples and nations from 1754 to 1800.

## KEY TERMS BY THEME

### Disputes (WXT)

national bank

### New Republic (POL)

executive departments

Henry Knox

Edmund Randolph

cabinet

Supreme Court

federal courts

Judiciary Act (1789)

national debt

Federalist era

Federalist Party

Democratic-Republican

Party

political parties

two-term tradition

John Adams

### Founders (NAT, SOC)

Washington's Farewell

Address

"permanent alliances"

Alien and Sedition Acts

Kentucky and Virginia

Resolutions

### Expansion (MIG, POL)

Battle of Fallen Timbers

Treaty of Greenville

Public Land Act (1796)

### Foreign Affairs (WOR)

French Revolution

Proclamation of Neutrality  
(1793)

"Citizen" Genêt

Jay Treaty (1794)

Pinckney Treaty (1795)

right of deposit

XYZ Affair

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1-3 refer to the following excerpt.

"Friends and Fellow Citizens: I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made. . . .

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties . . . with particular reference to . . . geographical discriminations. . . .

Let it simply be asked—where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths. . . .

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit . . . avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt . . . which unavoidable wars may have occasioned . . . in mind that toward the payment of debt there must be . . . taxes. . . .

By interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, [we] entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice. . . . It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

George Washington, Farewell Address, 1796

1. One of the primary reasons Washington and others warned against political parties was concern about
  - (A) damage to the national reputation
  - (B) divisive sectionalism
  - (C) rights of property owners
  - (D) unavoidable wars
2. One of the outcomes of the Farewell Address was
  - (A) the two-party system
  - (B) the precedent of a two-term limit
  - (C) the first presidential library
  - (D) the beginning of greater U.S. involvement overseas
3. Which of the following developments during Washington's presidency most likely had a direct impact on the views he expressed in the excerpt?
  - (A) The status of American Indians
  - (B) The creation of a federal court system
  - (C) The Proclamation of Neutrality
  - (D) The National Bank

### SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
  - (a) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period 1789 to 1800 that is an example of the American foreign policy of avoiding war.
  - (b) Briefly explain ONE positive or negative result in the period 1789 to 1800 of the American foreign policy of avoiding war.
  - (c) Briefly explain how ONE person or group in the U.S. in the period 1789 to 1800 challenged the United States government's foreign policy.

# Developing an American Identity

*The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions.*

J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782

**Learning Objective:** Explain the continuities and changes in American culture from 1754 to 1800.

A truly unique American identity would take at least a generation, if not more, to become clearly established and recognized. Admiration of the influence of the “founding fathers,” the leaders who declared independence, fought a war to achieve it, and created a new system of government, became the core of an American identity which continues today. A clear example of this influence is demonstrated by the actions of George Washington. His Farewell Address (Topic 3.10) and two-term tradition as president retain their relevancy in varying degrees today. That people still debate the meaning of the founding fathers’ words and ideas reflects their importance in understanding the United States and its people, then and now. In the process of forging an identity, Americans retained much of their ancestors’ culture and traditions. The evolving identity would be built on the foundation of the people and culture of the 13 colonies (Topic 2.7), formed by the thought and experience of the Revolution (Topics 3.4 and 3.6), and enlarged by regional differences (Topic 2.3) and the ongoing additions of immigrants.

## Social Change

In addition to revolutionizing the politics of the 13 states, the War for Independence also profoundly changed American society. Some changes occurred immediately before the war ended, while others evolved gradually as the ideas of the Revolution began to filter into the attitudes of the common people. Together, these changes fostered growing awareness of how the United States was different from Great Britain and the rest of Europe.

**Abolition of Aristocratic Titles** State constitutions and laws abolished old institutions that had originated in medieval Europe. No legislature could grant titles of nobility, nor could any court recognize the feudal practice of primogeniture (the first-born son’s right to inherit his family’s property). Whatever aristocracy existed in colonial America was further weakened by the confiscation of large estates owned by Loyalists. Many such estates were subdivided and sold to raise money for the war.

**Separation of Church and State** Most states adopted the principle of separation of church and state. In other words, they refused to give financial support to any religious group. The Anglican Church (which became known as the Episcopal Church in the United States) formerly had been closely tied to the king's government. However, it was disestablished (lost state support) in the south. Only in three New England states—New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts—did the Congregational Church continue to receive state support in the form of a religious tax. This practice was finally discontinued in New England early in the 1830s.

**Regional Variations** As the example of church-state separation shows, all of the states did not change at the same time. The regional differences that emerged in the colonial period continued to shape how the states evolved. The term “southerner” had entered common usage in the 1780s. The biggest difference was in slavery. While slavery continued to decline in northern states, it became stronger than ever in southern states.

Visitors also noticed differences in how people acted. In 1785, Jefferson wrote to a friend in France that an observant visitor could determine the line of latitude simply by paying attention to the character of the people in the area. In general, said Jefferson, northerners were more serious and persevering in their work, while southerners were more generous and forthright in their speech.

## Political Change

The development of political parties (Topic 3.10) both added to and reflected the American identity. The distinctions between the two initial parties, the Federalist and Democratic-Republican, had their origins in the debate between Federalists and Anti-Federalists over the ratification of the Constitution. These distinctions matured largely based on regional differences and distinct views of the roles, functions, and powers of the federal government. The evolution of political parties continues today, as does the distinctiveness of an American identity.



The Great Seal includes symbols that represent the United States. For example, the stars represent the 13 original states, the olive branch represents a desire for peace, and the arrows represent a readiness to go to war. The white stripes represent purity, the red stripes represent courage, and the blue field represents vigilance.

**Source:** U.S. Government. [Wikipedia.org](https://www.wikipedia.org).

## Cultural Change

While much of the nation's culture reflected its British origins, gradually a distinctive national identity evolved. This change was facilitated by the expansion of newspapers in the late 1700s as a means of communication and a source for political discussion. Writer Charles Brockden Brown explored the meaning of an American identity through novels. In Philadelphia, **Charles Wilson Peale** opened what is recognized as the first art gallery. In the 1790s, **Pierre-Charles L'Enfant** developed the design for Washington, D.C., **Gilbert Stuart** painted the nation's leaders, and the American Academy of Fine Arts held its first exhibition. Later, developments such as the first dictionary for American English and a book on American geography would continue the process of creating a distinctive culture.

### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain what stayed the same and what was altered in American culture in the period from 1754 to 1800.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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##### **Culture (ARC)**

Charles Wilson Peale

Pierre-Charles L'Enfant

Gilbert Stuart

### MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1-2 refer to the following excerpt.

“Friends, what then is the American, this new man? He is either a European, or the descendant of a European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a Frenchwoman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations.

He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great alma mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. . . .



The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury [poverty], and useless labor he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence—this is an American.”

J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782

1. The clearest way to modify or refute the answer given in the excerpt to the question, “What then is the American, this new man?” would be to point out the important role of
  - (A) the enslaved African Americans who worked on plantations
  - (B) the leaders who wrote the Constitution
  - (C) the development of political parties
  - (D) the ideas in Washington’s Farewell Address
2. Which of the following groups best represents the change described in the last sentence of the excerpt?
  - (A) American Indians who lived in the region before Europeans arrived
  - (B) Puritans who settled in Massachusetts Bay in the 17th century
  - (C) Indentured servants who became free after working for a master for several years
  - (D) Elected leaders who served in legislative bodies during the colonial period

### SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
  - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between the cultural life in the American colonies under British rule and life in the newly independent United States.
  - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between the cultural life in the American colonies under British rule and life in the newly independent United States.
  - (c) Briefly explain how ONE legal change impacted the cultural life of the colonies and the United States in the period 1754 to 1800.

# Movement in the Early Republic

*I have long since given up the expectation of any early provision for getting in the extinguishment of slavery among us.*

Thomas Jefferson letter to William Burwell, 1805

**Learning Objective 1:** Explain how and why migration and immigration to and within North America caused competition and conflict over time.

**Learning Objective 2:** Explain the continuities and changes in regional attitudes about slavery as it expanded from 1754 to 1800.

The founding of the Republic increased the movement of people, mainly westward. The uncertainties of rebellion and war had ended. With peace and the removal of British control came a re-ordering of government and life. At the same time, however, hostile forces remained on the borders of the new nation. The British to the north and west, and the Spanish to the south and west, both threatened the young country's existence. In addition, both within and on the borders lived Native Americans who resented the expansion of European settlers onto their lands.

## Migration and Settlement

The people who moved west, whether they were born in America or came as free immigrants or indentured servants or enslaved Africans, faced a range of forces, both friendly and hostile. This movement was recognized and accepted from the very beginning of the nation. The **Northwest Ordinance** (Topic 3.7), enacted under the Articles of Confederation, provided a mechanism for migration and settlement. It planned for the sale of government land, an orderly adoption of western territory into new states, public education, and outlawed slavery in the territory. While the government had foreseen migration, it still could not eliminate the disputes and conflicts that developed.

## American Indians

By the end of the 18th century, Native Americans found themselves losing conflicts with settlers. As a result, they were increasingly either living on reservations or forced to migrate west.

**Laws** In 1790, the **Indian Intercourse Act** was one of the first laws passed by the new nation. The act placed the federal government in control of all legal

actions with Native Americans. Only the federal government, not the states, could purchase their land and regulate any trade and traveling over their lands. These laws were largely ignored by the traders and settlers migrating westward.

**Resistance** While the settlers ignored laws and treaties intended to maintain peace with the American Indians, the government usually supported the settlers when disputes turned violent. For example, in the Northwest Territory in the 1790s, a confederation of Shawnee and other American Indians twice successfully defeated government troops. In response, a larger government force defeated the confederation at the **Battle of Fallen Timbers** in what is today northwestern Ohio (Topic 3.10). The American Indian position was further weakened in this area as the British, who had supported them, gradually closed the trading forts that they had maintained there in the years immediately following the Revolution.

**West of the Mississippi** Migration was a survivable option for many tribes. They faced overwhelming force, fatal foreign diseases, and the destruction of their hunting grounds depriving them of food and furs to trade. Some did remain where their ancestors had settled. They were unwilling to leave their traditional lands despite being surrounded by hostile settlers. The Iroquois stayed on reservations or moved north to Canada. Many, including the Shawnee in the north and Cherokees further south (Topic 4.8), moved across the Mississippi River. These journeys were perilous as those tribes native to the west resisted these incursions into their traditional lands.

**The Southern Frontier** Further south, near New Orleans and in Florida, the Spanish were primarily concerned with stopping the incursion of settlers from the United States. As a result, they allowed Native Americans more freedom.

### NEW STATES IN THE UNION, 1791 TO 1803



## Population Change

The population increased for several reasons.

- Europeans continued to immigrate to the United States, but in small numbers. The flow increased or decreased in reaction to political and economic upheavals in Europe.
- Enslaved Africans continued to be brought into the country. Slaveowners recognized that the Constitution allowed this trade to end after 1808.
- The largest population gain was natural, as births exceeded deaths. The high birth rate was tied to a plentiful food supply and the desire of families to have children who could help on the farms.

The westward movement was aided by scouts and early settlers who blazed trails through the wilderness for others to follow. Men such as the legendary **Daniel Boone** led the way across the Appalachian Mountains and established the early White settlements in the old northwest.

## Slavery

By the late 18th century, some people openly opposed slavery. Many of these were Quakers, Mennonites, or other people motivated by their Christian faith. Some were influenced by the Enlightenment ideals about equality and liberty. They saw no place for slavery in a democratic republic. In addition, many people, including slaveowners such as James Madison, disliked slavery, hoping it would fade away as it had in Europe and was beginning to do in parts of Latin America. They believed that increasing immigration would provide low-cost free labor to replace enslaved workers.

**Cotton** Slavery, though, grew rather than declined beginning in 1793. In that year, **Eli Whitney** invented the **cotton gin**, a device for separating cotton fiber from the seeds. This turned a slow, costly process into a quick, inexpensive one. The change transformed the agriculture of the south. Suddenly, growing cotton became immensely profitable and the demand for enslaved African Americans increased dramatically.

Mechanization of the textile industry also increased the value of cotton. The British were the first to mechanize. To protect their advantage, they passed laws against taking knowledge of their factory designs outside the country. However, a young apprentice named Samuel Slater broke the British law. He memorized a factory design, moved to the United States, and built his own factory. This launched the a new, more efficient textile industry in the United States.

The combination of the cotton gin and mechanization of the textile industry made cotton cloth less expensive and more plentiful than ever before. The production of cotton goods became a potent global industry.

**Conflict Over Expansion of Slavery** Within the United States, plantation owners eager to increase cotton production based on enslave labor looked westward for more land. After 1800, they quickly settled in Alabama and

Mississippi, which each had excellent climate and geography for growing cotton. However, their desire for lands farther west and north would soon face resistance. The growing number of northerners who opposed slavery or who hoped to settle these land themselves without competition from enslaved workers reflected an increasing regional conflict over slavery.

**The Movements of Enslaved African Americans** Some enslaved people were able to escape bondage. They might find liberty by reaching a free state in the north, although the Constitution included a clause that required states to return fugitives to their owners. Some went to Canada. More settled in land controlled by Indians or in Florida, which belonged to Spain until 1821.

Most enslaved people who moved did so because of their owners' search for greater profits. By the 1790s, the Chesapeake area planters had more enslaved people than they wanted. A decline in the uncertain tobacco market combined with a growing enslaved population through natural increases and expanded importation created a surplus of enslaved people. Efforts to train enslaved people in skilled trades or lease them as servants in the growing cities did not meet the owners' financial desires. In addition, moving enslaved people from the fields to towns, where they could more easily board boats and carriages, added to the risk of people escaping to freedom in the north.

The growing demand for workers in cotton fields provided Chesapeake planters a new opportunity. They could sell their enslaved African Americans to cotton planters in newly settled lands farther south and west, such as Alabama and Mississippi. This interregional slave trade became very large, with between 500,000 and 1 million people transported before the Civil War began in 1861. This trade was particularly cruel because it often broke families apart. Many of the enslaved people who were sold never saw their parents, children, or other relatives again.

STATES WITH AT LEAST 20 PERCENT OF PEOPLE ENSLAVED, 1790				
State	White	Free Nonwhite	Enslaved	Percent Enslaved
Maryland	208,649	8,043	103,036	32
Virginia	442,117	12,866	292,627	39
North Carolina	140,178	4,975	100,572	25
South Carolina	140,178	1,801	107,094	43
Georgia	52,886	398	29,264	35

Source: U.S. Census, 1790

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the reasons and ways the movement to and within North America caused rivalries and clashes during this period.

## KEY TERMS BY THEME

### Expansion (MIG, POL)

Northwest Ordinance  
Indian Intercourse Act

Battle of Fallen Timbers  
Daniel Boone

### Slave industry (MIG, WXT)

Eli Whitney  
cotton gin

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“ARTICLE I. *No person* demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments...

ARTICLE II. *The inhabitants* of said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writs of habeas corpus and the trial by jury...

ARTICLE III. *Religion, morality, and knowledge* being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent...

ARTICLE IV. *The said Territory*, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America...

ARTICLE VI. *There shall be* neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory.

Northwest Ordinance, July 13, 1787

1. Which of the following processes provided the best model for how the principles expressed in Article III could work?
  - (A) The treatment of the Aztecs by the Spanish in the 16th century
  - (B) The negotiations between American Indians and colonists in Pennsylvania in the 17th century
  - (C) The relationship between American Indians and settlers in New England in the 17th century
  - (D) The reaction by colonists to the line created by the British in the Proclamation of 1763

2. Articles I and II most closely reflected ideas expressed in which of the following documents?
- (A) Declaration of Independence
  - (B) Articles of Confederation
  - (C) Constitution as ratified
  - (D) Bill of Rights
3. The Northwest Ordinance established both an immediate and long-lasting process for which of the following?
- (A) Methods for reaching agreements among states
  - (B) Policies toward American Indians
  - (C) Formation of new states
  - (D) Procedures to end slavery

### SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

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Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “Sir, suffer me to recall to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted. . . .

This, Sir, was a time when you clearly saw into the injustice of a State of slavery . . . that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine. . . . ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . .’

But, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of Mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of these rights and privileges, which he hath conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity, and cruel oppression.”

Benjamin Banneker, African American scientist and surveyor,  
letter to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, 1792

Using the excerpt, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific reason for Banneker’s letter to Jefferson.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE critic’s response to Banneker’s position.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific way Thomas Jefferson might have responded to Banneker’s questions about slavery.

# Continuity and Change in Period 3

**Learning Objective:** Explain how the American independence movement affected society from 1754 to 1800.

The reasoning skill of “Continuity and Change” is the suggested focus for evaluating this period. As explained in the contextualization for Period 3, there are many factors to consider in the topic of the American independence movement’s effects on society and the national identity. A reasonable argument to explain the effects of independence on society requires one to examine the *relevant historical evidence*.

On the AP exam, a question may be focused on any one factor such as the impact of the ideas that stimulated independence on new values dealing with politics, religion, and society. In response, one would have to present specific historical evidence of a *change* in values, such as the expansion of rights to include recognition of a new role for women including *Republican Motherhood*. At the same time, evidence also supports a *continuity* of values in that a woman’s status was still considered inferior to men.

This period includes many examples of continuity and change in religion, commerce, foreign policy, politics, civil liberties, and relations between White Americans and Native Americans. After the United States won independence, state support for churches declined but religious fervor remained strong. One could also cite historical evidence to argue that the independence movement did not always bring change. The generally hostile attitudes of the settlers toward Native Americans continued and government legal efforts to maintain peace failed, just as they had under British rule.

## QUESTIONS ABOUT CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

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Use the questions below to make a historically defensible claim.

1. Explain the extent to which the ideas that inspired the revolution changed society while maintaining much of British culture. For example, people examined women’s role in society more closely while they continued to follow traditional British religious practices.
2. Explain how the independence efforts supported efforts to protect individual freedoms while still continuing to limit some rights. For example, view how the Bill of Rights protected individuals while at the same time the government continued to limit the right to vote.





## THINK AS A HISTORIAN: DEVELOPMENTS AND PROCESSES

To analyze historical evidence, you must be able to identify historical ideas and then explain them. Identifying a historical idea is fairly simple. You just say what it is.

The idea you identify may fall into one of three categories.

- **Historical concept:** This is the broadest category. A concept can be an idea or a general understanding of something. Colonization, religious toleration, and salutary neglect are examples of concepts.
- **Historical development:** A development is a change or occurrence. For instance, you have learned about the development of an economic and cultural system within each colony. Also, you have learned about the development of the slave trade and the development of a U.S. national identity.
- **Historical process:** A process is a series of actions or events that lead to an end. You have already learned about the political process. You have also learned about the processes of adding new states to the Union and the process of harvesting cotton.

Historians do much more than identify concepts, developments, and processes. They also explain them. This means describing what it is and how it works, and perhaps providing one or more examples.

An AP® exam might include multiple-choice questions that require you to identify the best example of a historical concept, development, or processes. The short-answer and long-answer questions will also require explanations of historical ideas. Improving your skills at identifying and explaining will help you on the AP® exams, as well as in other courses. Beyond school, they are two of the most basic, commonly used skills in work and everyday life.

- *For each text section below, identify a concept, development, or process in that section. Then explain it.*
1. “Conflicting Views of Government,” pages 84–85: development
  2. “The First Three Wars,” pages 86–87: development
  3. “British Actions and Colonial Reactions,” page 92: concept
  4. “New Revenues and Regulations,” pages 93–94: process
  5. “Enlightenment Ideas,” pages 100–101: concept
  6. “Political Demands,” page 112: concept
  7. “The Path to Ratification,” page 127: process

## UNIT 3 – Period 3 Review: 1754–1800



### WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: ANALYZE THE QUESTION

As you have read, the first stage in writing a long essay is to carefully read and analyze the question so you know exactly what the framework is for your response. (See pages xli–xlii.) In addition to surface-level analysis of the terms of the question, you also apply the thinking skill of analyzing historical developments and processes for a deeper understanding of the question.

Suppose, for example, you choose to answer the following long essay question: “Evaluate the extent to which economic factors in the period from 1763–1776 were the primary cause of the American Revolution.”

For a surface level analysis, you could complete a chart like the one below.

Key Terms and Framework	
Key Terms	Evaluate, extent, economic factors, cause, American Revolution
Framework	<i>Geographic Areas:</i> the 13 colonies <i>Time Period:</i> 1763–1776
Reasoning Process	Causation

For a deeper analysis of the question, use the thinking skill of analyzing historical developments and processes. Ask questions such as the following to arrive at a deeper understanding of the question.

Questions for Deeper Analysis
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ What were the elements of the economy in the 13 colonies?</li><li>▪ How did regions of colonies develop different economic patterns?</li><li>▪ What was the economic role of the colonies in the British Empire?</li><li>▪ How British economic policies change after 1763?</li><li>▪ Why did colonists and British leaders view the Seven Years’ War differently?</li><li>▪ What non-economic factors contributed to the American Revolution?</li></ul>

In the next stage of writing, these questions will help you focus the evidence you gather to answer the question.

**Application:** Suppose you choose to answer the following long essay question: “Evaluate the extent to which economic factors in the period from 1763–1787 were the primary cause of the writing of the U.S. Constitution.” Complete a Key Terms and Framework chart for the question to understand the basic requirements of the task. Then create a Questions for Deeper Analysis chart to help you develop a more complex understanding of the question.

For current free-response question samples, visit: <https://apcentral.collegeboard.org/courses/ap-united-states-history/exam>

## LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

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**Directions:** The suggested writing time for each question is 40 minutes. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
  - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
  - Support an argument in response to the prompt using specific and relevant examples of evidence.
  - Use historical reasoning (e.g., comparison, causation, continuity or change) to frame or structure an argument that addresses the prompt.
  - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which economic factors in the period from 1763–1776 were the primary cause of the American Revolution.
  2. Evaluate the extent to which economic factors in the period from 1763–1787 were the primary cause of the writing of the U.S. Constitution.
  3. Evaluate the extent to which the leadership provided by the founding fathers during the period from 1763–1776 was the key to winning the Revolutionary War.
  4. Evaluate the extent to which the leadership provided by the founding fathers during the period from 1763–1787 was the key to the successful ratification of the Constitution.
  5. Evaluate the extent to which African Americans influenced the course of independence in the period from 1763–1781.
  6. Evaluate the extent to which African Americans influenced the writing of the Constitution in the period from 1763–1787.

## DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

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**Directions:** Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 45 minutes writing your answer. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
  - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
  - Support an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.
  - Use at least one additional piece of specific historical evidence (beyond that found in the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
  - For at least three documents, explain how or why the document’s point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.
  - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which the opposition to taxation without representation was the primary force motivating the American revolutionary movement during the period 1763–1776.

### Document 1

**Source:** Resolution of the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1764

Resolved, That a most humble and dutiful Address be presented to his Majesty, imploring his Royal Protection of his faithful Subjects, the People of this Colony, in the Enjoyment of all their natural and civil Rights, as Men, and as Descendants of Britons; which rights must be violated, if Laws respecting the internal Government, and Taxation of themselves, are imposed upon them by any other Power than that derived from their own Consent, by and with the Approbation of their Sovereign, or his Substitute.

## Document 2

**Source:** Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, 1765

Section 4. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great-Britain.

Section 5. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies, are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.

## Document 3

**Source:** Daniel Dulany, Maryland lawyer, “Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies,” 1765

A right to impose an internal tax on the colonies, without their consent for the single purpose of revenue, is denied, a right to regulate their trade without their consent is admitted.

## Document 4

Source: The Bostonians Paying the Excise (tax) Man, 1774



## Document 5

**Source:** Second Continental Congress, Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, July 6, 1775

They [Parliament] have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the “murderers” of colonists from legal trial.

## Document 6

**Source:** Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, 1776

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet; and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverse the common order of nature, it is evident that they belong to different systems. England to Europe: America to itself.

## Document 7

**Source:** Petition of Seven Free Negroes to the Massachusetts Legislature in Protest of Taxation Without the Right to Vote, February 10, 1780

Petitioners farther sheweth that we apprehend ourselves to be Aggrieved, in that while we are not allowed the Privilege of freemen of the State having no vote or influence in the Election of those that Tax us yet many of our Colour (as is well known) have cheerfully Entered the field of Battle in the defence of the Common Cause and that (as we conceive) against a similar Exertion of Power (in Regard to taxation).