

SECTION
1

The Revolutionary Era

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

America declared independence from Great Britain in 1776 and won the Revolutionary War in 1783.

READING FOCUS

1. What events led to the American Revolution?
2. Why did the colonists declare independence?
3. What key events took place as the Revolution continued?
4. How did Americans achieve victory?

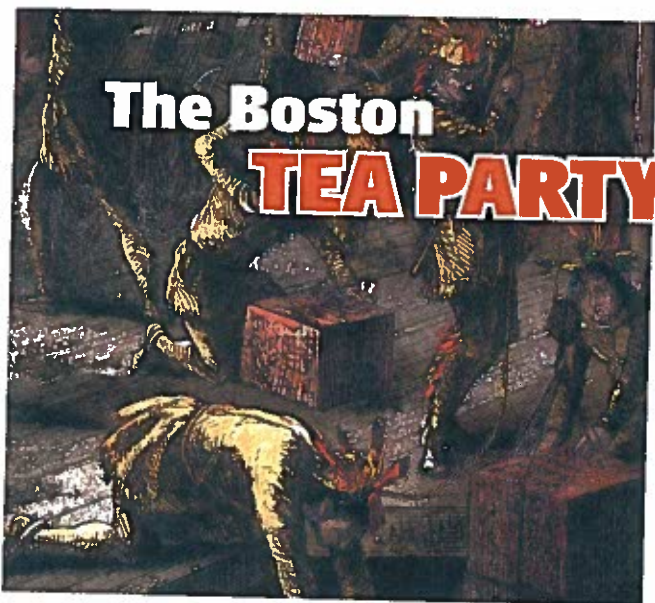
KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Stamp Act
Boston Massacre
Battle of Lexington
Thomas Jefferson
George Washington
Common Sense
Declaration of Independence
Battle of Saratoga
Battle of Yorktown
Treaty of Paris



HSS 11.1.1 Describe the Enlightenment and the rise of democratic ideas as the context in which the nation was founded.

HSS 11.1.2 Analyze the ideological origins of the American Revolution, the Founding Fathers' philosophy of divinely bestowed unalienable natural rights.



▲ Colonists in crude disguises destroy tea at Boston Harbor.

THE INSIDE STORY

How did tea start a rebellion in Boston? In 1773 the British Parliament passed the Tea Act, which was designed to help a struggling British company and reduce smuggling. Because of colonial boycotts, the British East India Company had millions of pounds of unsold tea. Colonists instead were drinking smuggled Dutch tea. Under the new law, the East India Company was allowed to sell tea directly to the colonists. This meant its tea was actually cheaper than smuggled tea. Still, the colonists resisted.

In November 1773 three ships arrived in Boston Harbor. Bostonians allowed the ships to dock but not unload. On the night of December 16, 1773, a large and angry crowd gathered demanding that the ships be sent back to London. Then Samuel Adams and about 70 others arrived,

disguised as Indians. Protected by the crowd, they boarded the ships and dropped the tea chests into the harbor. Hundreds of Bostonians watched the "Boston Tea Party." The loss of the tea infuriated British officials and brought more repressive laws. ■

The Road to Revolution

By the mid-1700s tensions had been rising between Britain and its colonies for some time. These tensions would intensify over the next decade and, eventually, lead the American colonies to revolution.

British laws anger the colonists The French and Indian War left the British with a huge debt. Britain decided the colonists should pay the costs of maintaining its North American empire. Over the next few years, Parliament passed several laws to raise money.

The Sugar Act (1764) was the first such law. It taxed sugar from the French and Spanish West Indies. This meant colonists would have to buy sugar from the British West Indies. Colonial leader Samuel Adams called the act "taxation without representation" because the colonies had no representative in Parliament.

The Stamp Act (1765) was more repressive. It required colonists to pay for an official government stamp on certain paper items. This was the first time Parliament had taxed the colonists directly, and Americans openly protested the stamp tax. Parliament eventually repealed the Stamp Act.

The Quartering Act was also enacted in 1765. This said that colonists must provide food, drink, fuel, living space, and transportation for British soldiers stationed

in America. This was also the policy in Britain, but the colonists saw it as another attack on their rights.

The Stamp Act repeal left Britain with the need to raise money. The Townshend Acts were enacted in 1767. They taxed certain goods that were imported from England. The Townshend Acts also gave customs officers the right to search anyone's house for smuggled goods—without a search warrant. These laws aroused powerful opposition, and British troops were sent to the colonies to enforce the acts.

Continued unrest Parliament partially repealed the Townshend Acts. But in 1773 it passed the Tea Act, giving the British East India Company nearly complete control over the tea market. As you read earlier, this led to the Boston Tea Party. British officials were furious over the incident. They enacted four laws to punish Massachusetts and to set an example for other colonies. The laws were so harsh they were called the Intolerable Acts. In response, a meeting of all the colonies was arranged to discuss what could be done.

The Boston Massacre Boston was a center of protest. On March 5, 1770, five colonists died there when British soldiers fired into an angry crowd that had gathered outside a customs house. The best-remembered victim was Crispus Attucks, a sailor of African and Native American descent. Colonial leaders called the attack the **Boston Massacre**. They said it was a deliberate British attack on innocent civilians. This raised anger among many colonists.

The First Continental Congress In September 1774 delegates from 12 colonies met in Philadelphia at the First Continental Congress. The delegates agreed to issue a Declaration of Rights, protesting Britain's actions. The Congress also agreed to boycott certain goods and formed a force of minutemen, colonial soldiers who would be ready to resist a British attack at short notice. The Congress agreed to meet again in the spring.

Battles of Lexington and Concord Before the Continental Congress could meet again, however, war broke out. British general Thomas Gage was ordered to arrest local Patriot leaders, especially Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and capture gunpowder and weapons that Patriots had stored in Concord, near Boston. On the night of April 18, 1775, about 700 British troops set out for Concord.

Colonial alarm riders, including Paul Revere, rode to warn Adams, Hancock, and the minutemen. By the time the British reached Lexington, near Concord, about 70 minutemen were waiting for them. A shot rang out, and fighting began. Eight colonists were killed at the **Battle of Lexington**.

The British marched to Concord, where they were met by a stronger force of minutemen. On their retreat to Boston, many British soldiers were killed. The Revolutionary War had begun.

READING CHECK **Identifying Cause and Effect** Why did the new tax laws and other events lead to war?

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

imported brought in from another country

THE IMPACT TODAY

Daily Life Each year, the Boston marathon takes place on Patriot's Day, a day in April that commemorates the battles of Lexington and Concord.

Tensions between Britain and America, 1765–1775

QUICK FACTS

STAMP ACT 1765

British Action Britain passed a law requiring colonists to pay tax—in the form of stamps—on certain commercial items.

Colonists' Reaction Refusing to use the stamps, colonists burned them and started riots. In 1765 the colonists formed a Stamp Act Congress asking Parliament to repeal the law.

TOWNSHEND ACT 1767

British Action Britain passed a series of four laws declaring its authority over the colonies. The Townshend Acts suspended one colonial representative assembly and also set up strict measures for collecting taxes in the colonies.

Colonists' Reaction The colonists resented the threat to self-government and protested what they saw as "taxation without representation."

BOSTON MASSACRE 1770

British Action British troops quartered in Boston opened fire after being harassed by an angry mob of colonists. Five colonists died.

Colonists' Reaction Boston colonists, including Samuel Adams, demanded the removal of British troops from Boston.

Declaring Independence

In May 1775, a few weeks after the battles at Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress met as planned. During the next few months it made many crucial decisions. New members included Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, and Thomas Jefferson.

Still, delegates' attitudes toward Britain were mixed. Many felt loyalty toward King George III. All delegates rejected Parliament's authority to tax the colonies, but only a few actually wanted full independence.

The Congress took several steps that reflected its divided nature. It created a Continental Army, with George Washington as leader. Meanwhile, other delegates sent the Olive Branch Petition to King George III, which asked for a "happy and permanent reconciliation" with Britain. The king refused to read it.

The battle for Boston Even as the Congress was meeting, the fighting continued. The British at first treated these encounters as local rebellions. Then colonial forces expanded the war. Key battles included:

- **Battle of Bunker Hill** After the battles at Lexington and Concord, British troops withdrew to Boston, where they were met by 10,000 militia. Although the British won the first battle of the war on June 17, 1775, the colonists' brave defense encouraged resistance. It gave the colonists confidence in

their ability to fight the better-trained and better-equipped British army.

- **Battle of Dorchester Heights** Two weeks after Bunker Hill, Washington took command of the Continental Army in Boston. The army was seriously short of artillery and gunpowder, so Washington sent Henry Knox to Fort Ticonderoga to bring back captured British weapons. As a result, Washington was able to retake Boston in March 1776. His troops captured and fortified Dorchester Heights, south of Boston. From there Washington forced the British troops to evacuate the city. This first test proved Washington's ability as a general.

The Declaration of Independence The events of 1775 pushed more colonists toward support of independence. They were angry at the king's reaction to the Olive Branch Petition. Battles between the Americans and the British were intensifying. Then Thomas Paine issued an extremely influential pamphlet called *Common Sense*. (See excerpt on the next page.) In his pamphlet, Paine condemned the whole system of the monarchy and the rule of George III. He called not for protest but for a declaration of independence.

Paine's argument was based on Enlightenment thinking. Many American leaders had read the philosophy of Enlightenment writers such as John Locke. The idea of natural rights became part of their revolutionary ideology.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

philosophy
set of ideas

Tensions between Britain and America, 1765–1775 continued

TEA ACT 1773

British Action Britain restructured the tax on tea to give a special advantage to the British East India Company. Under the Tea Act, colonial tea merchants would lose business.

Colonists' Reaction In what became known as the Boston Tea Party, colonists dumped shiploads of British tea into Boston Harbor.

INTOLERABLE ACTS 1774

British Action In response to colonial protests, Britain passed a series of laws designed to punish the colonies, especially Massachusetts. The laws essentially took away Massachusetts' power of self-government.

Colonists' Reaction The First Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia and sent a list of grievances to Great Britain.

BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD 1775

British Action 700 British troops advance toward Concord to seize the colonists' military supplies.

Colonists' Reaction In Lexington, about 70 minutemen fight the British, and in Concord hundreds of colonists force the British troops to withdraw. It is the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

Common Sense

In January 1776 many colonists were divided about their future relationship with Great Britain. Then colonist Thomas Paine published *Common Sense*, a pamphlet that stated in clear, easy-to-understand terms why the colonies should break free from British rule. This widely read document strengthened support for the American Revolution.

Paine used direct language to make his arguments for independence from Great Britain.

“[A]ny submission to, or dependence on, Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels, and set us at variance [odds] with nations who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. ‘Tis the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she can never do while by her dependence on Britain she is made the weight in the scale of British politics.”

Paine helped change the way many colonists viewed Great Britain, inspiring them to support independence.

Skills FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- Analyzing Primary Sources** According to Paine, what is a major problem with remaining under British rule?
- Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think Paine named his pamphlet *Common Sense*?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H12, H28–29

Under Locke’s theory of the social contract, the present British government was failing to protect the rights and liberties of its citizens in North America. According to Locke, that justified a rebellion.

Then in June 1776 Virginia issued a declaration of citizens’ rights. This was the first official call for American independence. Congress discussed the Virginia Declaration of Rights, and no one seriously objected.

Finally, a committee began to draft the **Declaration of Independence**. (The full text of the Declaration of Independence appears at the end of this section.) The Declaration formally announced the colonies’ break with Great Britain. It expressed three main ideas. First, it stated that men possessed certain “inalienable rights” including “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Next, the Declaration explained that King George had passed unfair laws and taxed the colonies unfairly. Finally, it declared that the colonies had the right to break away from Great Britain because in passing these unfair laws, King George had violated the conditions of the social contract.

Jefferson wrote the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, but the Congress later made some changes. The members toned down some of what he wrote about the king. Also, because of pressure from some southern colonies, they cut out an entire section attacking the slave trade. Although the Declaration was a document about personal freedom, the colonial economy still depended upon the labor of enslaved Africans.

The final document was presented to the Congress on July 2, 1776, and it voted to declare independence. Two days later, on July 4, the members approved the entire document. Now, in the eyes of Britain, the colonists were all rebels and traitors.

Not all colonists were convinced of the need for independence and about a quarter of them remained loyal to Great Britain. These people were called Loyalists, or Tories. Those who supported independence were called Patriots.

READING CHECK **Identifying Cause and Effect** How did Enlightenment thinking influence the Declaration of Independence?

The Revolution Continues

After Washington's victory in Boston in March 1776, Revolutionary battles were centered in three of the colonies—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Defeats and victories Washington had moved his Continental Army to New York City, believing the British would attack there next. As expected, General Howe sailed into New York Harbor in August 1776 with more than 300 ships and 30,000 soldiers. With these reinforcements, Howe was able to defeat the colonists in several battles. The British managed to take control of New York City. They also forced Washington's troops to cross the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

In traditional European warfare, it was customary not to fight in winter. As a result, Howe's men settled down in towns in New Jersey, including Trenton and Princeton. Hessians, German mercenary soldiers fighting for the British for pay, guarded Trenton, on the Delaware River.

Washington, however, did not follow European fighting methods. Instead, on Christmas night of 1776, he and his men crossed the icy Delaware River to reach Trenton. After spending the day celebrating, the Hessians were asleep. The colonists took them by surprise and captured British weapons and ammunitions.

Moving on, Washington then drove the British out of Princeton. The surprise attack had been a success and ended British hopes to conclude the war quickly.

British setback at Saratoga By mid-1777, the British were waging a campaign in upstate New York. General John Burgoyne and his troops were to invade from Canada and move south, while General Howe's forces would sail up the Hudson to meet them. This, the British hoped, would cut off New England from the rest of the colonies.

In the beginning, the British plan worked well. General Burgoyne recaptured Fort Ticonderoga in New York in July 1777. He then headed toward Albany, not knowing that General Howe had changed his plans and moved to Philadelphia instead.

Because Howe did not arrive in Albany as planned, the colonists were able to attack Burgoyne's army there. In early October, with fewer than 6,000 men left, Burgoyne found himself in Saratoga, New York, surrounded by a Continental force of about 17,000 troops. Burgoyne twice tried to break through the Continental lines, but failed. On October 17, 1777, he surrendered.

The **Battle of Saratoga** in New York is considered the turning point of the Revolutionary War. The colonists' victory encouraged them. General Howe later resigned, in part because of his role in the British defeat.

Winter at Valley Forge In the winter of 1777–1778, Washington and his exhausted troops settled into winter quarters at Valley Forge, about 20 miles north of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. That winter was a low point for the Americans. The weather was bitterly cold, and some 12,000 men were housed in makeshift huts and tents. Food was scarce and soldiers had only worn, ragged uniforms. Many had no shoes. Thousands became ill, and more than 2,500 died of the cold, of diseases such as smallpox, and of malnutrition.

Valley Forge was a tough test of Washington's leadership, but he met the challenge. His firm character and common sense helped hold his troops together. Washington enforced discipline strictly. At the same time, he was always insisting that the Continental Congress treat the army better.

FACES OF HISTORY

George WASHINGTON

1732–1799



Many years before he became the first president of the United States, George Washington earned a reputa-

tion as an exceptional military leader. In 1752 he joined the Virginia militia and led troops in the French and Indian War. Years later, as an early supporter of American independence, Washington began to recruit and train a militia when tensions rose with the British.

Leading the Continental Army, Washington made some early tactical mistakes, such as allowing the British to occupy New York City. Nevertheless, his ability to inspire and manage his army helped the Americans achieve victory in the end.

Predict How do you think Washington's military experience prepared him for the presidency?



STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE CONTINENTAL AND BRITISH ARMIES

QUICK FACTS

Continental Army	British Army
<p>Strengths</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong military leadership • Soldiers fighting for a cause they believed in • Fighting on home territory 	<p>Strengths</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Well-trained military • Ample resources • Alliances with Native Americans, colonial Loyalists, and some American slaves
<p>Weaknesses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small, untrained military • Shortages of resources • Weak central government 	<p>Weaknesses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fighting in unfamiliar territory • Fighting far from home • Soldiers fighting for a cause they didn't necessarily believe in

People in the Revolution British soldiers during the Revolutionary War were known as Redcoats because of their red uniforms. The British Redcoats were a well-trained, well-equipped fighting force. They were assisted by paid, foreign troops, and they formed alliances with some American Loyalists.

In contrast, finding and paying for supplies and military equipment for the Continental Army was hard. Congress was always short of money, so the army depended heavily on captured British guns and ammunition. Soldiers and their commanders complained about the shortages of food, clothes, and gunpowder.

Still, the Continental soldiers had some advantages of their own. Although often poorly equipped, they were fighting for a cause in which they believed. They were also fighting on familiar territory.

African Americans had fought at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. Despite this, Washington barred the enlistment of black soldiers when he assumed command of the Continental Army in 1775. After Valley Forge, however, the need for manpower was too great, and Washington approved the recruitment of

African Americans. About 5,000 fought on the Patriot side.

While men were fighting on the battlefields, women played important roles at home. Some ran farms and businesses, and others made clothing for the troops. A number served as couriers, scouts and spies. A few, such as Deborah Sampson, even disguised themselves as men to fight as soldiers in the Continental Army.

READING CHECK **Summarizing** What advantages and disadvantages did the colonial army have?

An American Victory

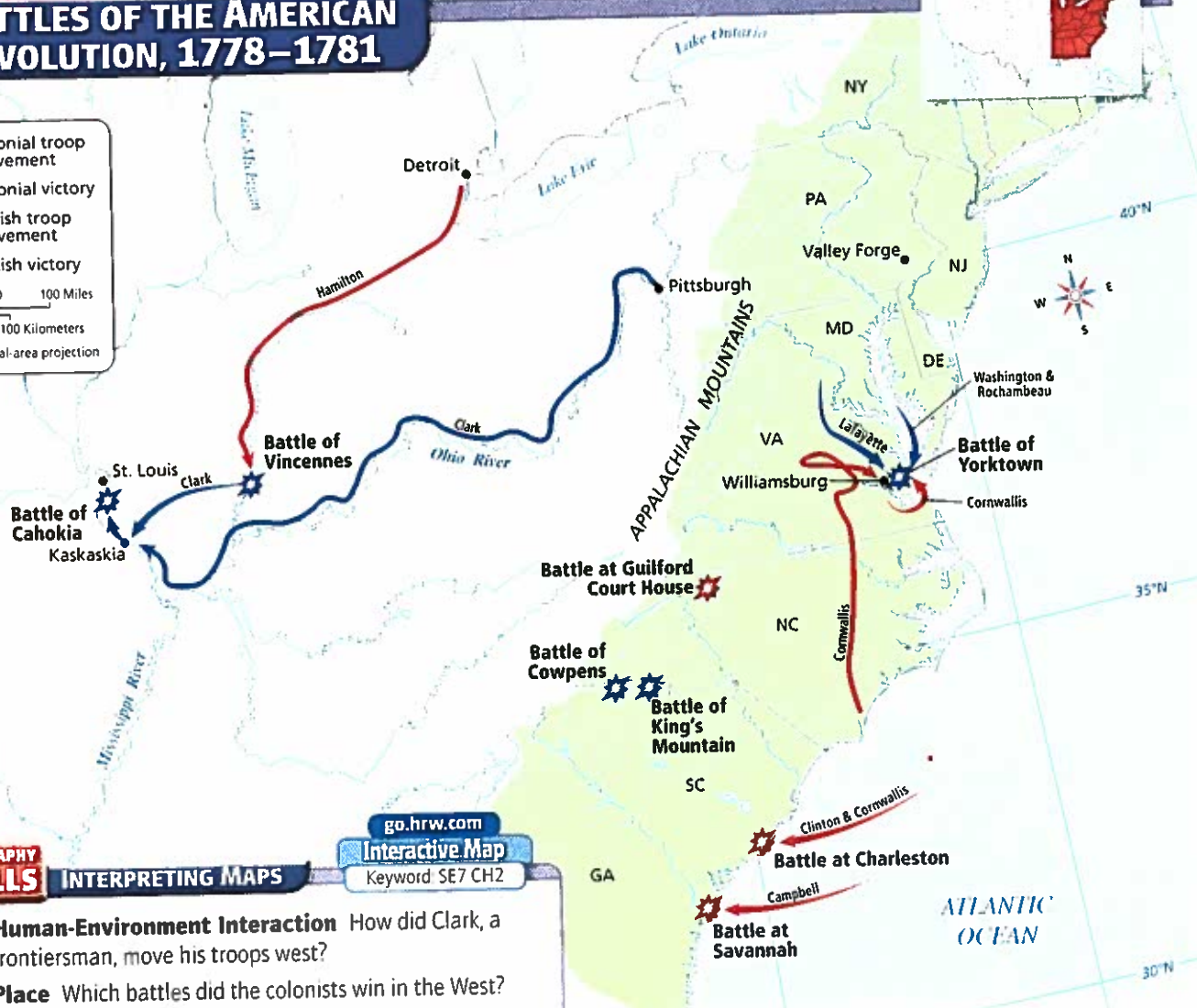
After Saratoga, the Revolutionary War changed in several ways. Action shifted to the South and the western frontier. More importantly, the Americans' victories gained them the support of several European nations. These allies would eventually help the colonists win the war. Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Spanish Louisiana, was one key ally. From France, Washington acquired an invaluable aide, the 20-year-old Marquis de Lafayette.

Interactive Map

BATTLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1778–1781

← Colonial troop movement
★ Colonial victory
→ British troop movement
★ British victory

0 50 100 Miles
0 50 100 Kilometers
Albers equal-area projection



GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

INTERPRETING MAPS

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Interactive Map
Keyword SE7 CH2

- 1. Human-Environment Interaction** How did Clark, a frontiersman, move his troops west?
 - 2. Place** Which battles did the colonists win in the West?
 - 3. Region** Where did the British concentrate their attacks?
- See **Skills Handbook**, p. H19

War in the West and South Americans won some important victories in the region north and west of the Ohio River. This included the present-day states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota.

Then in 1778, the British shifted their strategy. Instead of sending more troops and supplies, British officials hoped that the many Loyalists in America would rise up to support them. Loyalist sympathies were stronger in the South, so they planned to campaign there.

Although the British did have some success in the South, they were hindered by frequent surprise raids by small groups of Patriots. These fighters struck quickly, then disappeared into the woods. The most famous

was Francis Marion, who was nicknamed the Swamp Fox for his daring raids from the Carolina marshes.

Washington's second in command, General Nathanael Greene, took charge in the South. In March 1781 Greene and Lafayette's troops met British commander Lord Cornwallis's army in a brutal battle at Guilford Court House, North Carolina. Cornwallis won, but British losses were so great that he stopped the campaign.

Victory at Yorktown Lafayette's troops gradually forced the British to the coast. In July 1781 Cornwallis took his army to the Yorktown Peninsula in Chesapeake Bay. There they built a fort and waited for British ships

The Revolutionary Era

QUICK
FACTS

The Road to Revolution

- Britain and the American colonies clash over "taxation without representation."
- The First Continental Congress meets.
- Battle of Lexington is "The shot heard 'round the world."

Declaring Independence

- The Second Continental Congress meets.
- Violence continues in Boston.
- Colonists draft and sign the Declaration of Independence.

The Revolution Continues

- Major battles take place in the North.
- The war turns in the colonies' favor at the Battle of Saratoga.
- Washington's troops regroup during the winter at Valley Forge.

An American Victory

- Colonists win major victories in the West and South.
- France and Spain become allies of the colonists.
- The Battle of Yorktown ensures American victory.

to rescue them and bring them to Charleston or New York. Washington then saw his chance to trap Cornwallis at Yorktown. He planned to establish a blockade in Chesapeake Bay, preventing the British ships from rescuing Cornwallis's men.

Washington ordered Lafayette to keep Cornwallis's army trapped on the peninsula. Meanwhile, Washington moved south with a combined French and colonial army of more than 17,000 troops. The Battle of Yorktown lasted about three weeks, but Cornwallis had little chance. His army was being bombarded

by land and sea. On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered. The **Battle of Yorktown** was the last major battle of the Revolutionary War. When it ended, some British officials still hoped that America would remain part of the British Empire. But the colonial diplomats, who were sent to negotiate a peace treaty, insisted on independence.

The **Treaty of Paris** was signed on September 3, 1783. In it, Britain recognized the independence of the United States.

READING CHECK Summarizing Explain how the Revolutionary War came to an end.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP2

HSS 11.1.1, 11.1.2

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- Identify** What was the First Continental Congress?
 - Summarize** What actions did the First Continental Congress take?
 - Predict** Was the meeting of the Congress a final step toward independence? Why or why not?
- Recall** What British actions in 1775 moved the colonists toward independence?
 - Identify Cause and Effect** What was the effect of Paine's *Common Sense* on colonial thinking?
 - Elaborate** How did ideas from the Enlightenment become part of revolutionary ideology?
- Describe** What was Burgoyne's strategy for cutting New England off from the other colonies?
 - Make Generalizations** In general, what was the year 1776 like for the Continental Army?
 - Draw Conclusions** What effect did George Washington's leadership at Valley Forge have?

- Recall** Who was the Marquis de Lafayette?
 - Identify Cause and Effect** How did European allies affect the Revolutionary War?
 - Predict** What challenges do you think the colonists faced after the Treaty of Paris?

Critical Thinking

- Sequencing** Copy the chart below and make a time line of the events and laws leading up to the battles at Lexington and Concord.

Battles at
Lexington and
Concord

FOCUS ON SPEAKING ELA W.1.1

- Persuasive** As a delegate to the First Continental Congress meeting before the Battles of Lexington and Concord, make a speech explaining what course you think the colonies should take next.

The Declaration of Independence

EXPLORING THE DOCUMENT

Thomas Jefferson

wrote the first draft of the Declaration in a little more than two weeks. How is the Declaration's idea about why governments are formed still important to our country today?

Vocabulary

impel force

endowed provided

usurpations wrongful seizures of power

evinces clearly displays

despotism unlimited power

tyranny oppressive power exerted by a government or ruler

candid fair

EXPLORING THE DOCUMENT

Here the Declaration lists the charges that the colonists had against King George III. How does the language in the list appeal to people's emotions?

In Congress, July 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

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

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

Vocabulary

relinquish release, yield

inestimable priceless

formidable causing dread

annihilation destruction

convulsions violent disturbances

naturalization of foreigners the process by which foreign-born persons become citizens

appropriations of lands setting aside land for settlement

tenure term

a multitude of many

quartering lodging, housing

EXPLORING THE DOCUMENT

Colonists had been angry

over British tax policies since just after the French and Indian War. Why were the colonists protesting British tax policies?

Vocabulary

arbitrary not based on law
render make

abdicated given up

foreign mercenaries soldiers hired to fight for a country not their own

perfidy violation of trust

insurrections rebellions

petitioned for redress asked formally for a correction of wrongs

unwarrantable jurisdiction unjustified authority

magnanimity generous spirit

conjured urgently called upon

consanguinity common ancestry

acquiesce consent to

rectitude rightness

EXPLORING THE DOCUMENT

Here the Declaration calls the king a tyrant. What do you think *tyrant* means from this passage?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the **rectitude** of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State

of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock	Benjamin Harrison	Lewis Morris
Button Gwinnett	Thomas Nelson, Jr.	Richard Stockton
Lyman Hall	Francis Lightfoot Lee	John Witherspoon
George Walton	Carter Braxton	Francis Hopkinson
William Hooper	Robert Morris	John Hart
Joseph Hewes	Benjamin Rush	Abraham Clark
John Penn	Benjamin Franklin	Josiah Bartlett
Edward Rutledge	John Morton	William Whipple
Thomas Heyward, Jr.	George Clymer	Samuel Adams
Thomas Lynch, Jr.	James Smith	John Adams
Arthur Middleton	George Taylor	Robert Treat Paine
Samuel Chase	James Wilson	Elbridge Gerry
William Paca	George Ross	Stephen Hopkins
Thomas Stone	Caesar Rodney	William Ellery
Charles Carroll of Carrollton	George Read	Roger Sherman
George Wythe	Thomas McKean	Samuel Huntington
Richard Henry Lee	William Floyd	William Williams
Thomas Jefferson	Philip Livingston	Oliver Wolcott
	Francis Lewis	Matthew Thornton



1776: Courtesy: Art Agency

**EXPLORING
THE DOCUMENT**

Here is where the document declares the independence of the colonies. **Whose authority does the Congress use to declare independence?**

**EXPLORING
THE DOCUMENT**

The Congress adopted the final draft of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. A formal copy, written on parchment paper, was signed on August 2, 1776.

**EXPLORING
THE DOCUMENT**

The following is part of a passage that the Congress removed from Jefferson's original draft: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither." **Why do you think the Congress deleted this passage?**

Creating a New Government

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

After the Revolution, American leaders struggled to form a national government and eventually wrote the Constitution.

READING FOCUS

1. What were the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation?
2. What did the founders discuss when drafting the Constitution?
3. What was involved in ratifying the Constitution?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

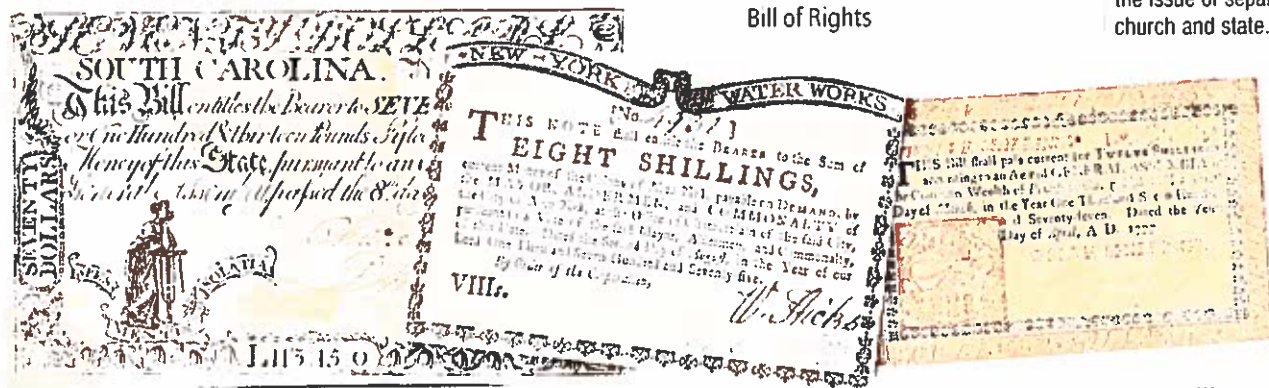
Articles of Confederation
James Madison
checks and balances
legislative branch
executive branch
judicial branch
Federalists
Antifederalists
ratification
Bill of Rights



HSS 11.1.1 Describe the rise of democratic ideas as the context in which the nation was founded.

HSS 11.1.2 Analyze the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and the addition of the Bill of Rights.

HSS 11.3.5 Describe the principles of religious liberty found in the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment, including the debate on the issue of separation of church and state.



LEFT TO RIGHT: PENNSYLVANIA, NEW YORK, SOUTH CAROLINA

▲ Some states, like nations, had their own currencies.

The States, United

THE INSIDE STORY

Why was Pennsylvania money worthless in New York? In 1774, at the First Continental Congress, Patrick

Henry declared, "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian but an American."

Some 13 years later, however, state loyalty was still stronger than any feeling of national unity in the United States. In many ways, each state behaved like a small country. States imposed tariffs, or import taxes, on goods shipped from other states. Some states had their own navies and made treaties with foreign nations. Many states printed their own paper money. This meant if you had a pocket full of paper money printed in Pennsylvania, you could not spend it in New York or Virginia! 🐻

The Articles of Confederation

After the Declaration of Independence, the United States was an independent nation, so American leaders needed to create their own political system. Americans did not want a king or other supreme authority ruling them. Going back to the ideas of John Locke, they wanted a republic, a political system without a monarch. It would rule "with the consent of the governed."

No government in the world at that time was based on this idea. The ideal of republicanism was that hard-working, property-owning citizens would be active in their government. Reality, of course, was different. African Americans and Native Americans were not citizens, and most African Americans were enslaved. The right to vote or to own property was not extended to them. In

addition, women had few property rights and poor white men had more limited civil rights.

The states had formed their new governments quickly. After independence had been declared, each wrote its own **constitution**. But the Second Continental Congress found it harder to agree on a structure for a national government. It was apparent that some kind of central government was needed to carry on the war and make agreements with foreign governments.

A weak central government Congress had adopted the **Articles of Confederation** back in November 1777. This was America's first national constitution. As its name says, the document established a confederation—an association of independent, sovereign states with certain common goals.

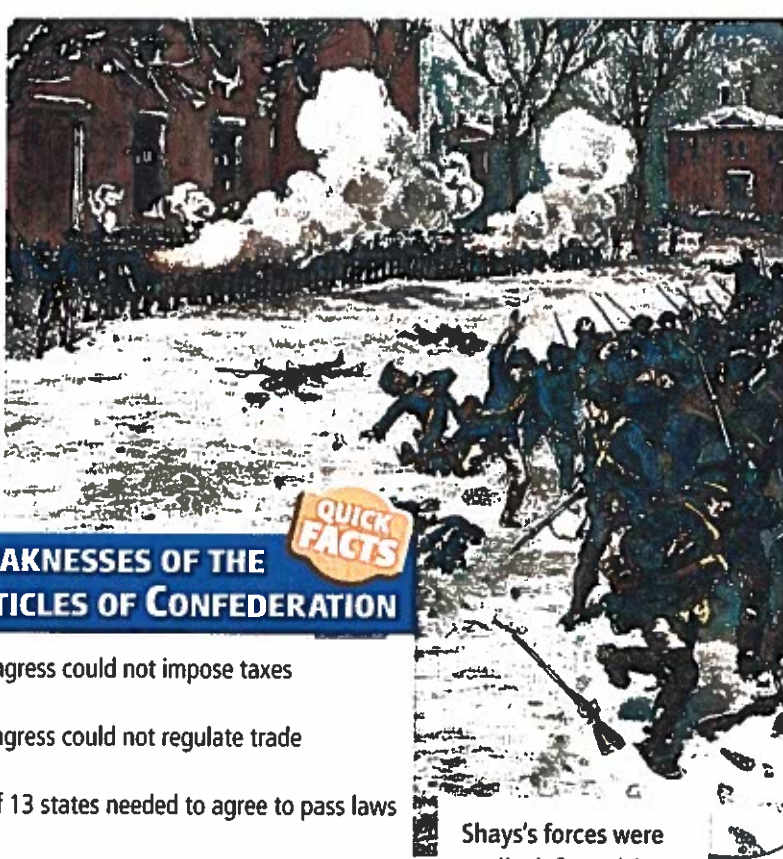
Under the Articles, the central government had power to set national policies and carry on foreign relations, including relations with Native American nations. The government could also borrow and coin money and set up post offices. Finally, it could establish an army and declare war.

But the Articles of Confederation had many weaknesses. Congress was the chief agency of the government because there was no executive branch. It proved difficult, and often impossible, for Congress to put its policies into effect. Nine of the 13 states had to agree on any law. All 13 had to agree to **amend** the Articles of Confederation.

The government also did not have the power to impose or collect taxes, which made it very difficult to pay for the Revolution. The Confederation could not pay back money it had borrowed. Some soldiers who had fought in the Revolution also went unpaid.

Because its central government was so weak, the Confederation had trouble taking advantage of what the United States had won in the 1783 Treaty of Paris. For example, the British continued to occupy their forts in the Great Lakes region. With the help of Native American allies, they kept American settlers out of parts of the Northwest Territory.

Shays's Rebellion It was not only the government that had money problems. Economic problems faced people in every state. The end of the war was a disaster for New England's



WEAKNESSES OF THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

- Congress could not impose taxes
- Congress could not regulate trade
- 9 of 13 states needed to agree to pass laws
- All states had to agree to amend the Articles
- No executive branch to enforce laws passed by Congress
- No judicial branch to interpret laws passed by Congress

Shays's forces were easily defeated, but the rebellion rang alarm bells among the nation's leaders.

valuable trade with Britain and the British West Indies. Traders lost the advantage of being part of the British Empire and now had to pay high customs duties.

In addition, the paper money issued during the war was not backed up with gold or silver. That led to inflation—a huge rise in prices as the value of paper money fell. The Confederation could not collect taxes, but the states could and did. Some required that people pay their taxes in “hard currency,” not the almost-worthless paper money. People who could not pay their debts were jailed. The laws especially hurt poor farmers who were already in debt. That led to riots in several places.

The most famous was Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786. Angry farmers, led by Daniel Shays, a former Continental Army captain, shut down debtor courts. The rebellion was crushed by Massachusetts militiamen, but it illustrated the weakness of the Articles.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

constitution document outlining basic laws and principles
amend make changes

Settling the western territories Even though the Confederation established a weak central government, some of its actions did have long-lasting effects. One notable accomplishment was establishing a pattern for settlement in western lands.

The Articles of Confederation did not cover the question of new states. In 1784 Thomas Jefferson proposed a plan to divide the Northwest Territory—the land north and west of the Ohio River. It would set up 10 districts. When population in any district reached 20,000, its people could send a representative to Congress. Later, it could be admitted as a new state. This plan never went fully into effect.

The next year, in the Land Ordinance of 1785, Congress drew up a plan for surveying, selling, and settling the territory. Land would be surveyed and divided into a neat grid of townships, each six miles square. Within a township were 36 sections, each one mile square. The government would own four of them, while a fifth would be sold to support public schools. This changed the landscape of the Midwest into the checkerboard pattern still seen today.

Then in 1787, Congress passed another law for western settlement, the Northwest Ordinance. It was meant to encourage orderly settlement and the formation of new states, all controlled by law. The states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were eventually carved out of the Northwest Territory.

The Ordinance also promised settlers religious freedom and other civil rights. Significantly, slavery was not allowed.

READING CHECK **Summarizing** Under the Articles of Confederation, what powers did the central government have?

Drafting the Constitution

Frustration with the Articles of Confederation had been building for years among farmers, veterans, merchants doing business between states, and many other Americans. In the fall of 1786 Washington and James Madison convened a meeting of the states in Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss the situation, but delegates from only five states attended.

The Constitutional Convention

Key Delegates at the Constitutional Convention

- 1 Roger Sherman
- 2 Alexander Hamilton
- 3 Benjamin Franklin
- 4 James Madison
- 5 George Washington

After the Annapolis meeting, Congress called all the states to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787 for a Constitutional Convention. This was a turning point in American history. The best account of the Convention is the detailed diary kept by James Madison. Because of the role he played in planning and writing the final document, Madison is often called the Father of the Constitution.

Other key delegates to the Constitutional Convention—now known as the Framers—included Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, and James Wilson. Leading the group were George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. The convention unanimously chose Washington as its president.

Compromises at the Convention The major issues at the Constitutional Convention centered on how to find a balance between large and small states and between northern and southern interests. There was also a battle between those who wanted a strong national government and those who wanted to protect states' rights.

Edmund Randolph of Virginia presented the Virginia Plan, which proposed a completely new form of government. There would be three separate branches: an executive branch, a legislative branch, and a judicial branch. The legislature would choose an executive to carry out the laws. It would also set up a court system. The legislature would be bicameral, or made up of two houses, or groups of representatives. Members of the legislature would be chosen in proportion to each state's population.

Smaller states quickly objected to the Virginia Plan. Because their large neighbors would have more representatives in the legislature they would have more power. One delegate from a small state, William Paterson of New Jersey, proposed a "small state" plan. The New Jersey Plan kept many features of the Confederation, although it gave Congress additional powers. Among other proposals, the plan suggested a one-house legislature with equal representation for each state.

Finally, the Connecticut delegates came up with a plan for a compromise that would

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

proportion
proper or equal share



This painting shows the Framers signing the Constitution on September 17, 1787. A key accomplishment of the Convention was an agreement to create a bicameral, or two-house, legislature. This agreement is called the Great Compromise.

THE GREAT COMPROMISE

QUICK FACTS

Virginia Plan

(Large state plan)

- Gave more power in national government to large states
- Bicameral legislature
- Each state's number of representatives would be based on population

New Jersey Plan

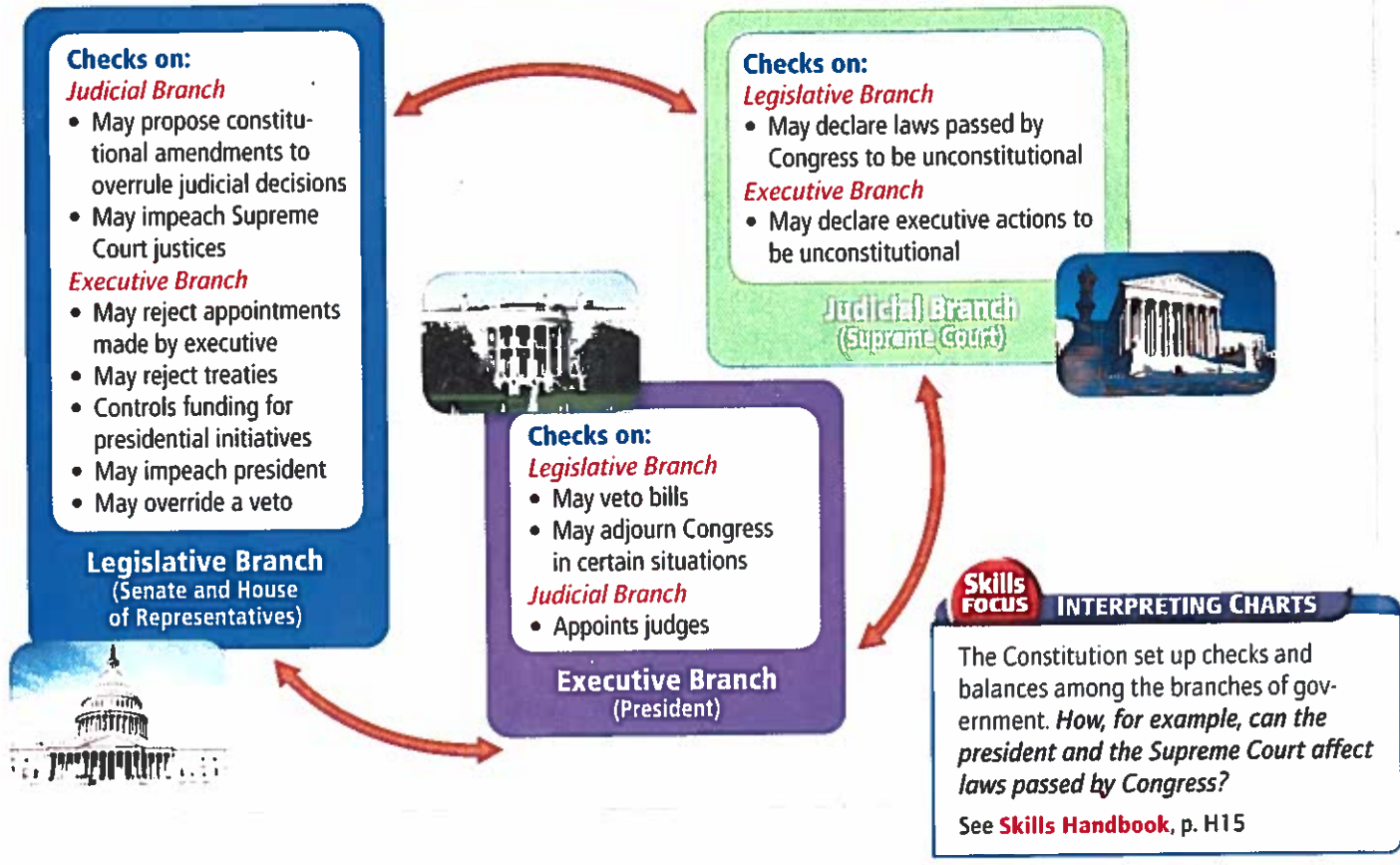
(Small state plan)

- Gave equal power in national government to all states
- Unicameral legislature
- Each state would have an equal number of representatives

THE GREAT COMPROMISE

- Bicameral legislature
- In the lower house, each state's number of representatives is determined by population
- In the upper house, each state has an equal number of representatives

CHECKS AND BALANCES



balance the interests of both large and small states. They said, "The two ideas . . . ought to be combined; that in one branch the people ought to be represented; in the other the States." That is, the upper house of the legislature, the Senate, would have two representatives from each state. In the lower house, representation would be based on population. All spending bills would begin in the lower house, where large states had more power.

Today this answer seems obvious. But it was such a major step for the convention that it became known as the Great Compromise. It is also called the Connecticut Compromise. As part of the Great Compromise, delegates also had to decide on how to count population.

Enslaved African Americans made up a large proportion of the population in several southern states—as much as 30 to 40 percent. Counting them would give those states greater representation in Congress. But because some taxes were based on population, it would also increase taxes. Southern states at first wanted to count all slaves for representation but none for taxation. Northern states objected.

In the Three-Fifths Compromise, delegates agreed that all whites plus three-fifths of the slave population (referred to as "all other persons") would be counted for both representation and taxation. Native Americans would not be counted.

Providing checks and balances Once the first draft of the Constitution was written, there were still other points to consider. One major point of discussion was the balance between the powers of Congress and those of the president (as the executive was by then being called). One underlying question was that of states' rights against the power of the federal, or national, government.

The outcome was another compromise. Instead of people directly electing the president, the state legislatures would select electors, who would then choose a president. These last-minute changes were important in setting up checks and balances among the three branches of government.

The committee gave the president the power to make treaties and nominate judges

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY
 federal national

and ambassadors. But the Senate had to give its “advice and consent” to these actions. The president could veto a law passed by Congress. But Congress could pass it over his veto if two-thirds of each house agreed to do so.

At last, the Convention had a final document. It set out a plan of government that had never been tried before. It had three separate branches. The **legislative branch** (Congress) makes the laws. The **executive branch** (the president and the departments that help run the government) carries out those laws. The **judicial branch** (the Supreme Court and lower courts) interprets the laws as they relate to the Constitution.

As the diagram on the facing page shows, there were checks and balances between the three branches of government. Each branch could delay or stop an action taken by one of the other branches. This ensured that no one branch of the government would dominate the others or become too powerful.

Despite all of the compromises, a few of those who had worked hardest to draft a constitution could not bring themselves to sign the final document. In all, 39 delegates from 12 states signed the Constitution. Then the Constitutional Convention adjourned on Monday, September 17, 1787. Now it was time for the American people to ratify, or approve, the document.

READING CHECK

Drawing Conclusions

How did small states and large states reach compromise over the issue of representation in Congress?

Ratifying the Constitution

The proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention had been secret. As the meeting continued through the summer of 1787, people wondered what it would produce. When the document was finally published, supporters and opponents of the new Constitution immediately began to present their arguments.

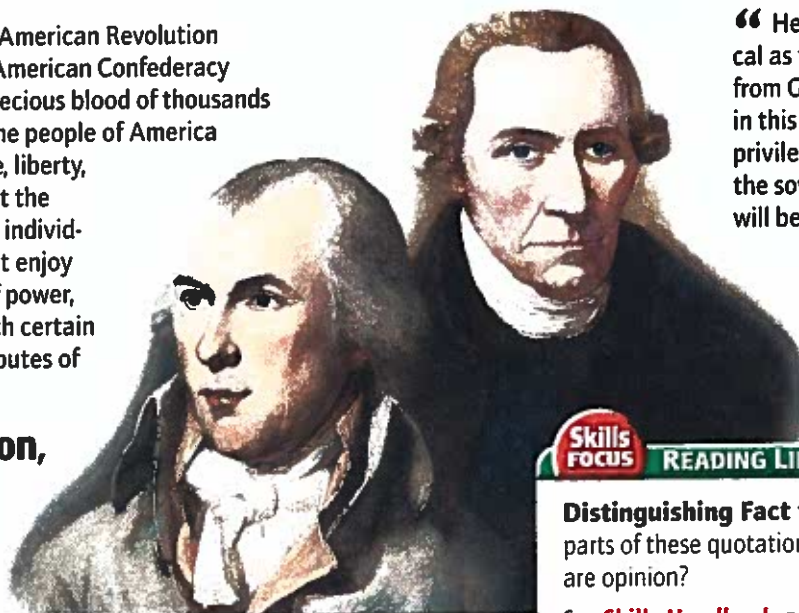
COUNTERPOINTS

Federalist vs. Antifederalist

In Federalist No. 45, James Madison argued that the states were too powerful under the Articles of Confederation.

“Was, then, the American Revolution effected, was the American Confederacy formed, was the precious blood of thousands spilt, . . . not that the people of America should enjoy peace, liberty, and safety, but that the government of the individual States . . . might enjoy a certain extent of power, and be arrayed with certain dignities and attributes of sovereignty?”

James Madison,
1787



Patrick Henry spoke against the proposed Constitution, saying it took power away from the states.

“Here is a resolution as radical as that which separated us from Great Britain. It is radical in this transition; our rights and privileges are endangered, and the sovereignty of the states will be relinquished.”

Patrick Henry,
1788

Skills
FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Distinguishing Fact from Opinion Which parts of these quotations are fact, and which parts are opinion?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL COMPANION

Federalists and Antifederalists

Supporters of the Constitution, once called nationalists, were now referred to as **Federalists**. Their name comes from the term *federalism*, which is a sharing of power between a national government and its subdivisions (such as states). The people who opposed the Constitution were called **Antifederalists**. These two groups would battle over **ratification**, or official approval, of the Constitution.

Most Federalists believed that a strong national government was necessary for the survival of the nation. They wanted government to end chaos and be a check on the kind of mob rule shown by Shays's Rebellion. At the same time, they pointed out that the separation of powers in the Constitution limited government power. The Federalist cause was generally popular in the cities and among the wealthy.

On the other hand, Antifederalists feared that a strong national government would lead to a kind of tyranny—just what they had fought against in the Revolutionary War. The Antifederalists worried that the central government would abuse both states' rights and individual liberties. They did not trust any government to protect its people's rights.

Many Antifederalists also thought the new government favored the educated and the wealthy over ordinary people. The Antifederalists came from different economic backgrounds and social classes. Many, however, were farmers and planters.

The Federalist Papers Some of the most important support for the Constitution appeared in a series of 85 essays known as the Federalist Papers. Published anonymously in a New York newspaper, they were eventually collected in a book called *The Federalist*.

In the essays, the anonymous writer who called himself Publius discussed and defended each part of the Constitution. The main goal of the essays was to persuade New York delegates to ratify the document by explaining its advantages. But they were also brilliant explanations of the principles of federalism.

Publius was in fact three leading Federalists—James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. Madison, on whose ideas the Constitution was based, wrote on political theory. Hamilton was leading the Federalist campaign in New York. He offered practical arguments for a strong government.

Creating a New Government

quick
FACTS

The Articles of Confederation (ratified 1781)

- America's first written constitution
- A loose union of sovereign states
- States intentionally made the central government weak because they feared tyranny
- The weak central government under the Articles of Confederation was ineffective



The United States Constitution (ratified 1788)

- Replaced the Articles of Confederation
- Provided representation for all states
- Established three branches of government (executive, legislative, judicial) with separation of powers to avoid tyranny
- Created checks and balances between the three branches
- Included a Bill of Rights (ratified in 1791)



The Bill of Rights Before agreeing to ratify the Constitution, most Antifederalists first wanted a **Bill of Rights**. They wanted to see basic rights added to the document to be sure that individual liberties would be protected. Adding a Bill of Rights to the Constitution became the main focus of the struggle over ratification.

Article VII of the Constitution explained what must be done to bring the document into effect and make the new government a reality. The Framers knew that getting unanimous agreement would be difficult. Therefore, only nine of the thirteen states needed to ratify the Constitution.

In the end, several crucial states ratified the Constitution only because they were promised a Bill of Rights. Once the new Congress was elected, it had to begin work on such legislation quickly. Article V of the Constitution gave either Congress or state conventions the right to propose amendments. Amendments then would go to the states for approval.

Madison took charge of getting a Bill of Rights through Congress. By the end of 1791, 10 amendments were approved. These first 10 amendments to the Constitution became the Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights protected both individuals and states against what people feared might be too much government power. The first eight amendments dealt with individual civil liber-

ties. The Ninth Amendment stated that listing certain rights given to the people did not mean that others did not exist.

Most of the amendments that form the Bill of Rights listed things that no government, state or federal, could do. The final amendment addressed the actions that states could take. It addressed the Antifederalists' fears about the loss of states' rights and sovereignty.

The Tenth Amendment defined two kinds of government powers. The Constitution gives certain powers to each branch of the national, or federal, government. Those are known as the delegated powers. Some are expressly stated and others are implied. The Tenth Amendment also defined the reserved powers. Those are powers not specifically given to the federal government or denied to the states. Reserved powers belong to the states or to the people. This compromise opened the way to putting the Constitution in force.

Most of the amendments in the Bill of Rights echoed the rights listed in the Virginia Declaration of Rights, written by George Mason. The First Amendment, for example, guaranteed basic civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, the press, and religion. You can read the complete text of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution Handbook at the end of this chapter.

READING CHECK **Making Inferences** Why did Madison lead the fight for a Bill of Rights?

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government
The free-speech protection of the First Amendment has also been applied to "symbolic" speech—non-verbal communication that expresses an idea, such as wearing a protest button.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com
Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP2

HSS 11.1.1, 11.1.2, 11.3.5

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. **a. Describe** What kind of government did the Articles of Confederation create?
b. Explain Why was it so difficult to amend the Articles of Confederation?
c. Evaluate Do you think the farmers in Shays's Rebellion were justified in rebelling? Explain your answer.
2. **a. Identify** Identify the three branches of government and the role of each of them.
b. Explain How did the Great Compromise balance the wishes of small states and large states?
c. Develop How did delegates' opinions change during the course of the Constitutional Convention?
3. **a. Recall** What is the Bill of Rights?
b. Summarize What kinds of rights were promised in the first eight amendments to the Constitution?

- c. Evaluate** How has the Bill of Rights been important in American history since 1791?

Critical Thinking

4. **Comparing** Copy the chart below and list the powers and the weaknesses of the Confederation government.

Powers	Weaknesses

FOCUS ON WRITING

ELA W1.1

5. **Persuasive** As a Federalist or Antifederalist during the 10 months after the Constitutional Convention, write a paragraph arguing for or against ratification.

Forging the New Republic

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

Under presidents Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, the United States continued to shape its new government while facing both foreign and domestic challenges.

READING FOCUS

1. What actions did Washington take when he became president?
2. What challenges did the United States face in the 1790s?
3. What were the main events of Jefferson's presidency?
4. What were the causes and effects of the War of 1812?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Alexander Hamilton
Democratic-Republicans
Judiciary Act of 1789
strict constructionist
loose constructionist
Whiskey Rebellion
John Adams
Marbury v. Madison
Louisiana Purchase
War of 1812



HSS 11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.



A BORN LEADER

THE INSIDE STORY

How did Americans welcome the new president? On April 16,

George Washington left his home in Virginia to attend his presidential inauguration in New York City. His trip north was one long celebration. As Washington's coach passed through towns and villages on the way, enthusiastic crowds cheered him. Men on horseback rode alongside the coach, stirring up dust from the dirt roads. Washington stopped in small towns to make speeches. He led parades and went to lavish dinners. The emotions of the people seemed almost overwhelming. At last Washington reached New York, and the joyful celebrations reached a peak on the historic day of his inauguration, April 30, 1789. ■

◀ Washington's stately image has come to symbolize the presidency.

Washington Becomes President

In his inaugural address, Washington spoke modestly, saying that he was not experienced in civil administration. But the former commander in chief was used to being a leader. His dignity and air of quiet power along with his impressive height clearly commanded authority. He knew that what he did as president would set a pattern for later administrations.

Washington's cabinet One of the first things Washington did was set up the cabinet, a group of advisers to the president. The Constitution mentions the "heads of the executive departments" but does not mention the cabinet by name. In 1789 Congress created the first three executive departments—state, treasury, and war. To lead these new departments, Washington chose men he knew and trusted.

Henry Knox, who had been in charge of artillery in the Revolution, was secretary of war. Thomas Jefferson was secretary of state, while Alexander Hamilton was secretary of the treasury. Edmund Randolph of Virginia was attorney general, the president's legal adviser.

There were political divisions between the cabinet members. Hamilton and Jefferson were both brilliant but disagreed about policies. They were also very different in personality and grew to dislike each other intensely.

The Federalists, led by Hamilton, still saw the country growing into a strong centralized nation with prospering cities and businesses and a role in world affairs. But others saw a more rural than urban country, with power residing closer to the people, in the state governments. Led by Jefferson and Madison, they took the name **Democratic-Republicans**.

Another precedent set by the first government was setting up the structure of the court system. In the **Judiciary Act of 1789**, Congress organized the judicial branch. It had a six-person Supreme Court with one chief justice and five associates. It also set up district courts and circuit courts of appeal. Washington named John Jay as the first chief justice of the Supreme Court.

Hamilton's financial plan The first secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, faced enormous problems. The new government had

ACES OF HISTORY

Thomas JEFFERSON
1743–1826



Thomas Jefferson is best known as the writer of the Declaration of Independence as well as being the nation's third president. His most

important accomplishment as president was the Louisiana Purchase.

Jefferson was a man of many talents and contradictions. He was not only a politician but also a gifted architect, scholar, scientist, and writer. Even though he was a wealthy and educated Virginia planter, he truly believed in republican simplicity. His actions reflected this belief. Jefferson was casual in the way he dressed and acted. He walked to and from his inauguration and kept state dinners informal.

Analyze What was Jefferson's most important accomplishment as president?

no money to pay everyday expenses. It also owed money to foreign nations, to private lenders, and even to former soldiers. Hamilton did not share the belief in republican ideals. He thought that a wealthy, aristocratic class was the secret of a stable government.

Hamilton's financial plan recommended three major steps:

- The federal government should take on both state and national debt.
- The government should raise revenue by passing tariffs.
- The United States should create a national bank and a national mint to stabilize the banking system.

Hamilton's debt repayment plan was controversial. For one, many felt it would unfairly reward wealthy people who bought Revolutionary War bonds from the original bondholders. These bondholders, mostly merchants, farmers, and soldiers, had sold their bonds at low prices believing the government would not repay. Secondly, many southern states had already paid their debts. They resented that the federal government would take on state debts.

In part, the disagreement between northern and southern states was solved by moving the capital. Southerners had long felt that a capital in New York City would give the northern states too much influence. In 1791 the capital moved to Philadelphia with a plan to move south in ten years to a site on the Potomac River, later called Washington, D.C.

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government

The Supreme Court today consists of a chief justice and eight associate justices. Chief Justice William Rehnquist served as the nation's 16th chief justice until his death in 2005. He was succeeded by Chief Justice John Roberts.

The Bank of the United States By far, the most controversial part of Hamilton's plan was the idea of a national bank. Some people, such as Jefferson, believed that the government did not have the power to create a national bank. These people thought that the government only had the powers specifically granted in the Constitution. A person who held this belief was called a **strict constructionist**.

Alexander Hamilton, on the other hand, was a **loose constructionist**. When he proposed the national bank, he said that the Constitution also allows actions that are not specifically mentioned—as long as they are not specifically prohibited. He pointed to the clause that allows Congress to pass all laws that are “necessary and proper” to carry out its assigned powers.

Jefferson urged Washington to veto the bank bill. While Washington admitted that he was “greatly perplexed,” he did not want to use the veto. Hamilton eventually persuaded him that it was necessary to be flexible. In February 1791 Washington signed the bill to charter the first Bank of the United States.

The differences of opinion between Hamilton and Jefferson had another consequence. Those who supported Jefferson became known as Democratic-Republicans, while supporters of Hamilton were known as Federalists. The Constitution did not anticipate political parties because most of the Framers thought political parties were dangerous to national unity. However, in the 1790s that was the way national politics was developing. The Democratic-Republicans and the Federalists became the nation's first two political parties.

READING CHECK **Identifying Problem and Solution** Why did Washington decide to sign the bank bill?

Challenges in the 1790s

Washington's presidency had a productive start. Still, the United States would continue to face challenges during the 1790s from groups both at home and abroad.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Washington's Farewell Address

In 1796 George Washington announced that he would not seek a third term in office. In his famous Farewell Address, Washington prepared the country for new leadership. Among other things, he warned Americans to avoid divisions based on political parties and geography.

The word *despotism* means “a system of government in which the ruler has unlimited power.”

“I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful [harmful] effects of the spirit of party, generally . . .

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension . . . is itself a frightful despotism . . .

It serves always to distract the public council and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one party against another, foment[s] [promotes] occasionally riot and insurrection . . .”

By “geographical discriminations,” Washington meant differences based on where different sections of the country are located.

Skills Focus

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Making Inferences** What does Washington mean by the phrase “the spirit of party”?
- 2. Analyzing Primary Sources** According to Washington, what are the dangers of political parties?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H17, H28–H29

The French Revolution In early 1789 France exploded into revolution. French citizens protested against food shortages, high prices, and taxes. On July 14, 1789, a crowd of angry Parisians stormed the Bastille prison, which was a hated symbol of royal power. Soon, a revolutionary government took over. It limited the king's power and made France a constitutional monarchy.

In 1793 radicals called Jacobins took power in France and declared a republic. They imposed a Reign of Terror. Thousands of people were arrested and imprisoned or sent to the guillotine to be beheaded, including the king and queen. Then moderates regained control.

Many Democratic-Republicans supported the French Revolution, thinking that it was a turn toward liberty in France. Hamilton's Federalists, however, were displeased that the revolution had overthrown the French government and that France was at war with European nations, including Britain.

President Washington was convinced that the growth and prosperity of the United States depended on staying neutral. In April 1793, he issued the Neutrality Proclamation. He held to that policy for the rest of his presidency.

Jay's Treaty and Pinckney's Treaty Some ongoing disputes between Great Britain and the United States were resolved in 1794 in Jay's Treaty, negotiated by Chief Justice John Jay. Britain agreed to pay damages for American ships they had seized. They also agreed to vacate their forts in the Northwest Territory. The treaty was unpopular in the United States, where many felt Great Britain should have been punished more severely for seizing American ships.

Then in Pinckney's Treaty (1795), the United States peacefully settled boundary disputes with Spain over Spanish Florida. Americans considered this treaty a success because it opened the frontier to further settlement.

The Whiskey Rebellion At home, the first major challenge was the **Whiskey Rebellion**. In 1794 farmers in western Pennsylvania objected violently to Hamilton's excise tax on whiskey. They attacked tax collectors and burned the barns of people who gave away the location of stills where whiskey was made. Washington

responded quickly, sending militia to put down the rebellion. He wanted to make it clear that armed rebellion against the national government would not be tolerated. No blood was shed, and the farmers backed down.

Conflict in the Northwest Territory As the Whiskey Rebellion was taking place, Americans were also facing conflicts with Native Americans in the Northwest Territory. In 1794 General Anthony Wayne defeated a confederacy of Native Americans at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Then in the Treaty of Greenville, the United States claimed most of the Indian land in the Northwest Territory.

Challenges for President Adams In 1796 Washington refused to consider a third term as president. As his Farewell Address, he published a long letter in a Philadelphia newspaper. (See the excerpt on facing page.) In it he continued to warn against getting involved in party politics and the affairs of foreign countries. Washington's vice president, John Adams, was elected president. Thomas Jefferson became vice president.

Adams wanted to improve the relationship between the United States and France, but some angry Federalists wanted war. In 1797 Adams sent three diplomats to France—Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall. Rather than meeting with them, the French foreign minister sent three minor diplomats who demanded bribes and a loan.

An angry President Adams sent a report to Congress, naming the three French agents as X, Y, and Z. When the XYZ affair became public, many Americans wanted war. A popular slogan was "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute!"

The XYZ affair brought new suspicions about the Republicans' pro-French sympathies and a general resentment of foreigners. That allowed Congress to pass several repressive laws, including the Alien and Sedition Acts, which prohibited criticism of the federal government. In the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, Jefferson and Madison argued that these laws were unconstitutional.

READING CHECK **Sequencing** List, in order, the domestic and foreign challenges the United States faced in the 1790s.

Jefferson's Presidency

The election of 1800 was the first American election in which power passed from one political party to another. President Adams ran for reelection as a candidate of the Federalist Party, with Charles Cotesworth Pinckney nominated as his vice president. Running against Adams was Thomas Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican candidate. Jefferson's party nominated Aaron Burr to run as his vice president.

The election of 1800 was also unique because it was a tied election. At that time, the candidate who received the most electoral votes became president, and the candidate who received the second most electoral votes became vice president. Jefferson and Burr received the same number of electoral votes.

Eventually the House of Representatives decided that Jefferson would be president. To ensure that the problem never happened again, Congress also passed the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution. This set up separate ballots for president and vice president, a system that remains in effect today.

Jefferson's inaugural address spoke of unity and tolerance. "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists," he said. Jefferson's presidency was guided by two essential principles:

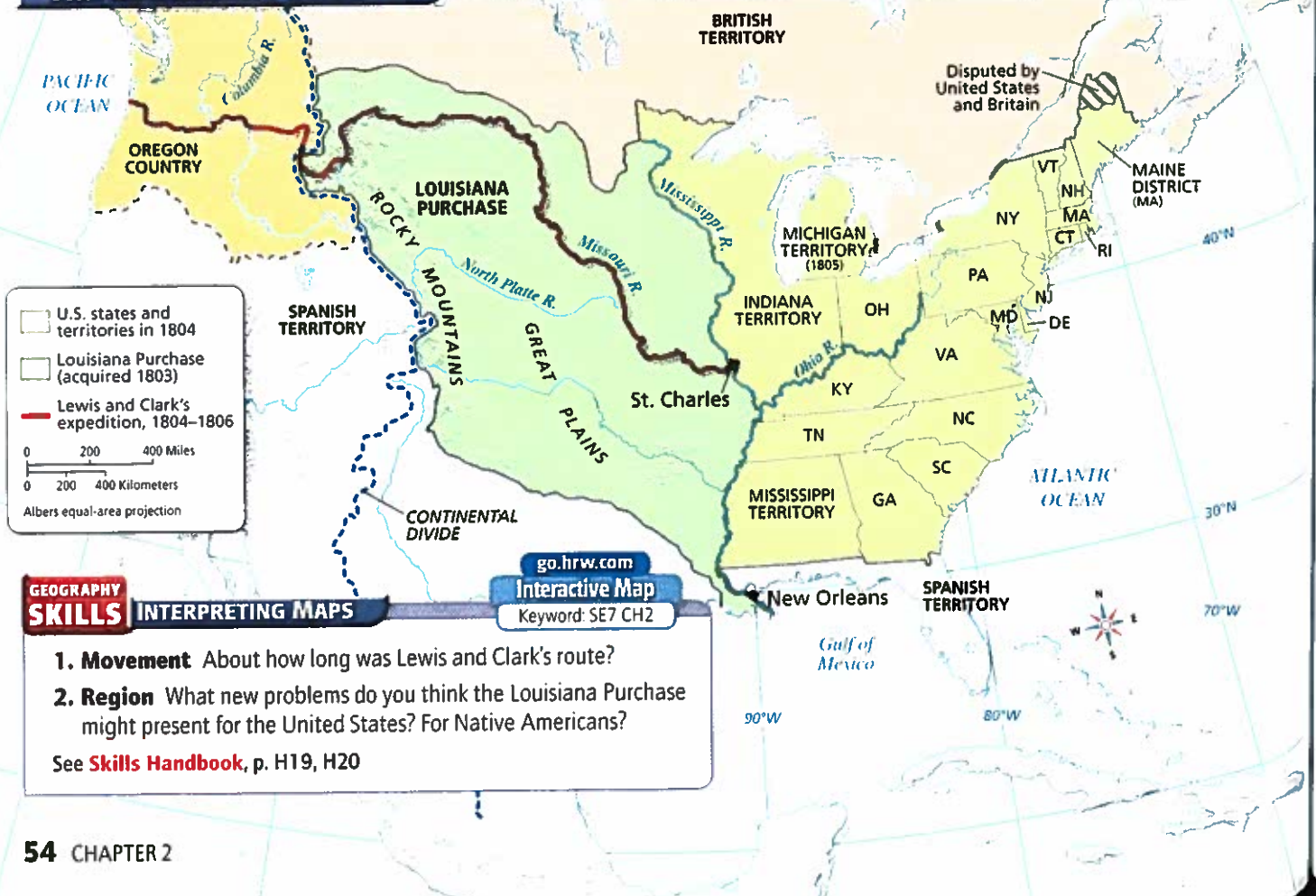
- reducing the size and influence of the federal government
- cutting back the taxes passed under Hamilton's financial plan

Marbury v. Madison A key event of Jefferson's presidency was strengthening the powers of the Supreme Court. This happened in an interesting turn of events. Jefferson's inauguration was not until March 1801. That gave Federalists in Congress time to create several new judgeships. Because Adams worked late into the night of March 3, 1801, appointing Federalists to these positions, they were known as the midnight judges.

Secretary of State James Madison, however, refused to deliver a commission to one of the midnight judges. In *Marbury v. Madison*, the Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution did not give the Court power to make Madison deliver the commission. Therefore, the law

Interactive Map

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE



GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

INTERPRETING MAPS

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Interactive Map
Keyword: SE7 CH2

1. **Movement** About how long was Lewis and Clark's route?
2. **Region** What new problems do you think the Louisiana Purchase might present for the United States? For Native Americans?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H19, H20

The Burning of the White House



THE CRANLER COLLECTION, NEW YORK



During the War of 1812, first lady Dolley Madison safeguarded important White House documents while the president was away. These papers would have otherwise perished when the British set the mansion afire in 1814.

that gave the Court that power—the Judiciary Act of 1801—was unconstitutional. *Marbury v. Madison* thus established the Supreme Court’s right to declare that a law violates the Constitution. This power is known as judicial review.

The Louisiana Purchase One of Jefferson’s major achievements was purchasing Louisiana from France. This transfer was known as the Louisiana Purchase, and it roughly doubled the size of the United States.

The Louisiana Purchase looked like a remarkable bargain, but it raised questions, especially for Jefferson. He had to consider his long-held position in favor of strict construction of the Constitution. Nowhere did the Constitution give him the authority to buy new territory. Yet he felt the purchase was a good idea. Jefferson and his advisers finally decided that the right to acquire territory was implicit in the constitutional power to make treaties.

Once the Louisiana Purchase was approved by Congress, Jefferson sent out a number of expeditions. The most famous was the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–1806), led by Meriwether Lewis, Jefferson’s secretary, and William Clark, an experienced frontiersman.

The ultimate destination of the Lewis and Clark expedition was the Pacific Ocean. Jefferson wanted the expedition to map the country and survey its natural history—plants, animals, and landforms. Lewis, Clark, and their men paddled along rivers, trekked across plains, and tramped through thick forests.

Along the way, they acquired an invaluable guide—a young Shoshone woman, Sacajawea, whose name means Canoe Launcher. In November 1805 the expedition finally reached the Pacific Ocean.

READING CHECK **Identifying Problem and Solution** What constitutional question did the Louisiana Purchase raise?

The War of 1812

Most Americans were enthusiastic about the Louisiana Purchase, bringing a landslide victory for Jefferson in 1804. Then world events pushed the United States toward war.

Causes of the War of 1812 In 1803 the Napoleonic Wars broke out between France and Great Britain. Once again, the United States was caught in the middle. Both French and British warships would stop American merchant ships. The British even began a policy of impressment, or seizing Americans at sea and drafting them into the British navy. This angered many Americans.

Americans also discovered that the British were helping the Native Americans in the Northwest in their fight against American settlers. In response to these events, a group of young Congressmembers known as the War Hawks began calling for war with Britain to protect American interests. Soon, the War of 1812 began.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

implicit true but unexpressed

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE WAR OF 1812

QUICK FACTS

CAUSES

- British impressment of American sailors
- International conflicts over commerce
- British military aid to Native Americans on the Northwest Territory frontier

EFFECTS

- Foreign respect for the United States
- National pride
- Increase in American manufacturing
- Less Native American resistance

The **War of 1812** was the second war between British and American forces in North America. It was fought on land and sea, from Canada in the north to Louisiana in the south. Much of the war took place along the border between Canada and the United States. The British also set up a naval blockade along the Atlantic coast.

In the final battle of the war, Americans won a decisive victory. On January 8, 1815, General Andrew Jackson led American troops against a large British force in New Orleans and defeated it. The battle made Jackson a hero and was the last major conflict of the War of 1812.

Effects of the War of 1812 By the time Jackson won at New Orleans, however, the peace treaty had already been signed. Slow methods of communication prevented Jackson from receiving the message in time to prevent the battle.

In 1814 American and British diplomats met in Ghent, Belgium, to finalize a treaty that had been signed in December. No territory changed hands, but the United States felt it had proved itself as a nation.

Other effects of the war included the end of the Federalist Party, whose members had opposed the war. The war also weakened Native American resistance in the Northwest, and it gave a boost to American manufacturing. Above all, the war increased American pride. The new nation had again successfully defended itself against a foreign threat.

READING CHECK

Making Inferences Why did the War Hawks want war?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP2

HSS 11.1.3

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- Identify** Who were the members of Washington's first cabinet?
 - Explain** How did Washington influence the role of the president?
 - Summarize** What is the difference between strict constructionist and loose constructionist interpretations of the Constitution?
- Describe** How did Washington's retirement influence party politics?
 - Explain** What was the XYZ affair, and how did it affect American public opinion?
 - Rate** Were the Alien and Sedition Acts an effective weapon against outside interference?
- Recall** What was the purpose of passing the Twelfth Amendment?
 - Summarize** What were major issues in the election of 1800?
 - Predict** Why was the election of 1800 significant?

- Recall** Who were the War Hawks?
 - Explain** What were the causes of the War of 1812?
 - Evaluate** Why did Americans see the end of the war as a victory?

Critical Thinking

- Comparing** Copy the chart below and compare the points of view of Federalists and Democratic-Republicans.

Federalists	Democratic Republicans

FOCUS ON SPEAKING

ELA W1.1

- Persuasive** As a political campaign worker in 1800, write a speech persuading people to support the presidential campaign of either John Adams or Thomas Jefferson.

History's Impact video program

Review the videos to answer the closing question: How has the American spirit of exploration affected the history of the nation?



Reviewing Key Terms and People

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

1. Stamp Act
2. Boston Massacre
3. Battle of Lexington
4. *Common Sense*
5. Articles of Confederation
6. checks and balances
7. ratification
8. Bill of Rights
9. Judiciary Act of 1789
10. Louisiana Purchase
11. War of 1812

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (pp. 30–37) HSS 11.1.1, 11.1.2

12. **a. Identify** What objects required stamps under the Stamp Act?
- b. Sequence** Create a brief time line of the events leading up to the Battles of Lexington and Concord.
- c. Analyze** How did the colonists eventually win the Revolutionary War?

SECTION 2 (pp. 42–49) HSS 11.1.1, 11.1.2, 11.3.5

13. **a. Identify** What did the Federalists believe? What did the Antifederalists believe?
- b. Contrast** How was the Constitution different from the Articles of Confederation?
- c. Evaluate** Why was the Bill of Rights necessary for ratification of the Constitution?

SECTION 3 (pp. 50–56) HSS 11.1.3

14. **a. Describe** What actions of Great Britain and France pushed the United States into fighting the War of 1812?
- b. Contrast** What were the different opinions about the Louisiana Purchase?
- c. Evaluate** What was ultimately accomplished by the War of 1812?

Using the Internet

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Practice Online

Keyword: SE7 CH2

15. Revolutionary War battle sites still exist across the eastern seaboard of the United States. Using the keyword above, do research on a Revolutionary War site that tourists can visit today. Then create a brochure that teaches tourists the significance of your site and encourages them to visit.

Critical Reading HSS 11.1.1; ELA R2.4

Read the passage in Section 2 that begins with the heading "The Articles of Confederation." Then answer the questions that follow.

16. What was one notable accomplishment of the Articles of Confederation?
- A establishing a bicameral legislature
 - B establishing a pattern for settlement in western lands
 - C raising money through taxes
 - D paying war debts
17. Which of the following was a weakness of the Articles of Confederation?
- A The executive branch was too strong.
 - B The judicial branch had too much power.
 - C Congress imposed high taxes.
 - D All states had to agree to amend the Articles.

WRITING FOR THE SAT

ELA W2.4

Think about the following issue:

After the U.S. Constitution replaced the Articles of Confederation, the government of the United States was very different.

18. **Assignment** How was the Constitution an improvement upon the Articles of Confederation? Write a short essay in which you develop your position on this issue. Support your point of view with reasoning and examples from your reading and studies.