

Chapter 2

Origins of American Government

Why It's Important

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

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

The Creation of the Federal Government



Chapter Overview Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 2—Overview** to preview chapter information.

The Colonial Period

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

limited government, representative government, separation of powers

Find Out

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

Understanding Concepts

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

COVER STORY

Law and Order

JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, 1611

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



Sir Thomas Dale

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

An English Political Heritage



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

The English colonists brought ideas about government that had been developing in England for centuries. They also noticed that some of these ideas were embodied by existing governing systems in North America, such as the Iroquois League, a union of five Native American groups. At the heart of the English system were two principles of government. These principles—limited government and representative government—greatly influenced the development of the United States.

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

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

Charter, that King John was forced to sign in 1215. The Magna Carta provided the basis for the principle of **limited government**, in which the power of the monarch, or government, was limited, not absolute. Later generations interpreted this document as providing protection against unjust punishment and the loss of life, liberty, and property except according to law. The charter also stated that certain taxes could not be levied without popular consent.

The rights in the Magna Carta originally applied only to the nobility. Over time, however, opponents of absolute monarchy used the precedent set by this document to gain more political liberties and support for the idea of constitutional government.

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

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

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

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

Participating IN GOVERNMENT

Being Represented



Participating in their community

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

Activity

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

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

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

Representative Government

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

New Political Ideas The ideas and writings of seventeenth-century English philosophers deeply influenced the American colonists. John Locke, Voltaire, and Jean Jacques Rousseau believed that people should contract among themselves to form governments to protect their natural rights. Locke spelled out his political ideas in *Two Treatises of Government*,¹ first published in 1690. His writings were widely read and discussed in both Europe and America. Colonial leaders such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison regarded these ideas as political truth.

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

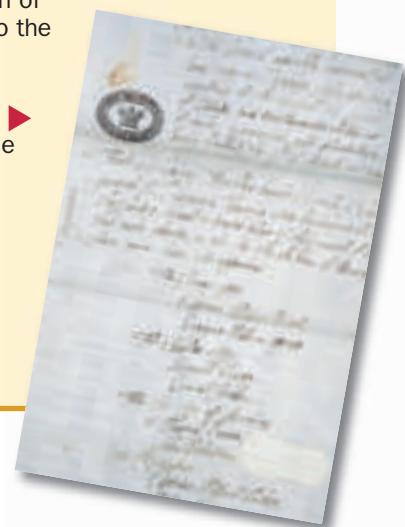
Beginnings of Representative Government in America



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

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

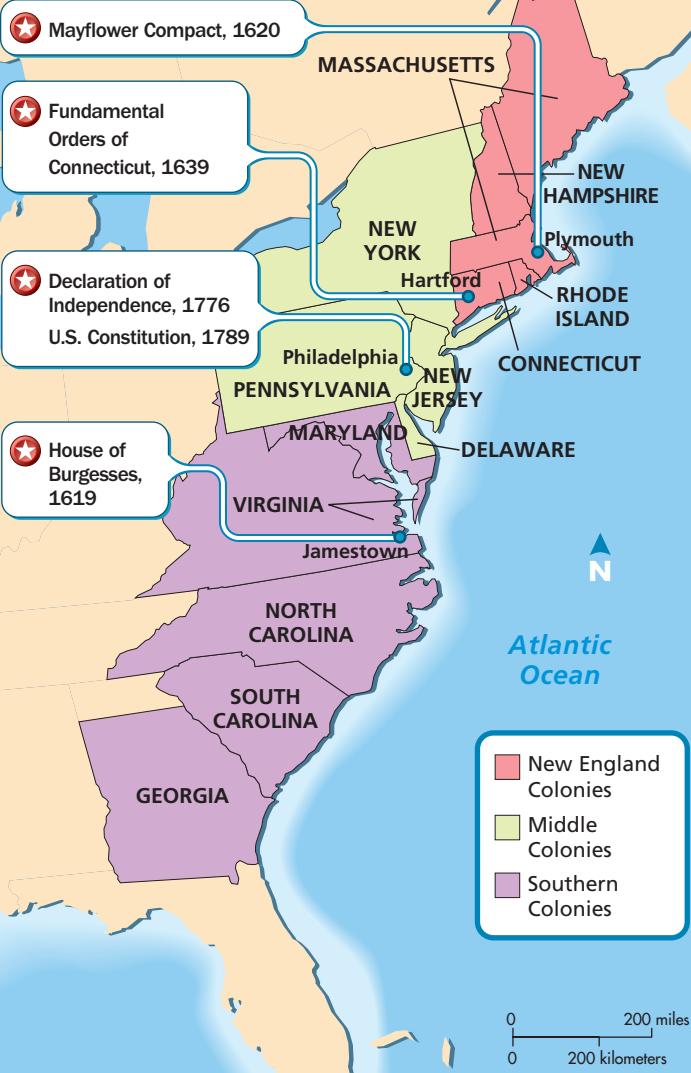
Growth of Democracy *What aspects of the English government influenced the creation of the House of Burgesses?*



Locke reasoned that in a state of nature (before governments were formed), all people were born free, equal, and independent. He believed that the laws of nature, or “natural law,” provided rights to life, liberty, and property. Locke argued that if a government failed to protect these natural rights, the people could change that government (social contract theory).

Such political philosophy was revolutionary in an age when monarchs still claimed they had God-given absolute powers. Locke, Voltaire, and Rousseau denied that people were born with an obligation to obey their rulers. Rather, in his “Second Treatise of Government,” Locke insisted that:

The Thirteen Colonies



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

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

—John Locke, 1690

Government, then, was legitimate only as long as people continued to consent to it. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the ideas behind the French Revolution all reflected this philosophy.

Government in the Colonies

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

Democracy grew rapidly in all the colonies, but it did not yet exist in its current form. Women and enslaved persons could not vote, and every colony had some type of property qualification for voting. Nine of the thirteen colonies had an official or established church, and many colonists remained intolerant of religious dissent. In Puritan town meetings, for example, voting was originally reserved for members of the community church.

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

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

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

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

—The Mayflower Compact, 1620

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

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

In 1639 Puritans who had left the Massachusetts Bay Colony to colonize Connecticut drew up America's first formal constitution, or charter, called the **Fundamental Orders of Connecticut**.² This document laid out a plan for government that gave the people the right to elect the governor, judges, and representatives to make laws.

Soon after, other English colonies began drawing up their own charters. These documents established a system of limited government and rule by law in each of the colonies.

 See the following footnoted materials in the Reference Handbook:
1. *Mayflower Compact*, page 804.
2. *Fundamental Orders of Connecticut*, page 805.

Colonial Legislatures Representative assemblies also became firmly established in the colonies. The Virginia House of Burgesses, the first legislature in America, was established in 1619, only 12 years after the settlement of Jamestown. Farther north, the colonists' religious beliefs played an important role in the development of representative assemblies. In England, the king appointed the leaders of the Church of England. Puritans rejected this idea. They believed that the members of each congregation should choose their own ministers and leaders. Many Puritans migrated to America to gain the freedom to organize their churches as they chose. As Puritan congregations gained experience in electing their church leaders and local town officials, they came to believe that church members should also elect the colony's government. In 1636 Puritans in Massachusetts forced their leaders to reorganize the government so that each town elected two representatives to the General Court, the colony's legislative assembly. By the mid-1700s most colonial legislatures had been operating for more than 100

Forming a Government



Political Processes Tompkins H. Matteson painted *Signing the Compact on Board the Mayflower*. In the compact the Pilgrims pledged to obey the laws passed “for the general good of the colony.” **Why did the colonists feel they needed to draw up the Mayflower Compact?**

TIME

For the Record

Best Bird The bald eagle became our national bird in 1782. What did this raptor have going for it? The bird is native to the United States, and to the Founders it symbolized courage, strength, freedom, and immortality. Benjamin Franklin, however, disagreed with the other Founders. He thought the bald eagle was too aggressive and preferred the turkey. After a six-year debate, Franklin was outvoted, which no doubt ruffled his feathers.



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

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

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

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

Separation of Powers Colonial charters divided the power of government. The governor, the king's agent in the colonies, had executive power. Colonial legislatures had the power to pass laws, and colonial courts heard cases. This principle of **separation of powers** was widely popularized in Charles-Louis Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws* and was later vital to the United States Constitution. Though colonial legislatures and courts could be reviewed by a committee of the king's Privy Council, the colonies practiced considerable self-government.

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

Section 1 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

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

Key Practices of American Government
- Define** limited government, representative government, separation of powers.
- Identify** Magna Carta, Petition of Right, English Bill of Rights, Mayflower Compact, Great Fundamentals.
- Analyze John Locke's natural law argument as it applies to the social contract theory.

Critical Thinking

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

Concepts IN ACTION

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

SHOULD SONG LYRICS BE PROTECTED BY THE FIRST AMENDMENT?

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

PROTECTED AND UNPROTECTED SPEECH

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

SOCIAL CONCERN VS. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

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

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

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

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



Debating the Issue

Do You Think Song Lyrics Should Be Protected by the First Amendment Despite Their Content?

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

KEY ISSUES

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

violence or defames a portion of our population?
✓ Are there dangers in limiting artistic expression?

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

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

Uniting for Independence

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

revenue, embargo

Find Out

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

Understanding Concepts

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

COVER STORY

British Battle Militias

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, APRIL 1775

A force ordered to destroy the supplies of self-styled patriot militias and to arrest two of their leaders met armed resistance outside the city early today. About 700 British troops scattered some 70 militia members, called Minute Men, who had gathered in the town of Lexington. The troops then marched on to Concord. Later, fighting broke out with another militia unit at North Concord Bridge. As the troops returned to Boston, they came under attack from more militia groups before reaching the safety of the city. Losses totaled 73 dead and 174 wounded. Rebel casualties were set at 95.



Drum used at Lexington

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

The Colonies on Their Own

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

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

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

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

The French and Indian War started as a struggle between the French and British over lands in western Pennsylvania and Ohio. By 1756 several other European countries had become involved as well. Great Britain eventually won the war in 1763 and gained complete control of the eastern third of the continent.

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

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

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

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

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

We the People

Making a Difference

The Signers of the 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." With these final words, the signers of the Declaration of Independence launched their nation's bid for freedom. For many who signed the Declaration, achieving that goal came at great personal cost.

Four of the signers—Edward Rutledge, George Walton, Arthur Middleton, and Thomas Heyward—were taken prisoner while fighting in South Carolina and held for nearly a year. Richard Stockton of New Jersey was taken prisoner, beaten, and held for several years. His health ruined, he died soon after being released.

The New York home of signer Francis Lewis was plundered, and his wife was taken prisoner. Badly

mistreated, she died less than two years after her release. William Floyd of New York was forced to flee with his family after the British occupied his home. He remained a refugee for seven years, living on the charity of friends. Altogether, the homes of 14 signers were invaded, their property destroyed, and their families forced to flee.

Carter Braxton of Virginia lost the merchant ships he owned to British naval attacks. Robert Morris of Pennsylvania used a large portion of his own wealth to keep American troops in the field.

Although only Robert Stockton appears to have lost his life as a direct result of the war, it is clear that all of the signers were willing to risk everything in support of the Revolutionary War. Without their courage, independence could not have been achieved.



George III's crown—a symbol of authority

Growing Distrust

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



Teapot—a symbol of resistance

impose direct taxes such as the Stamp Tax.

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

Colonial Unity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Independence

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

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

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

—Thomas Paine





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



Lap desk Jefferson used to draft the Declaration of Independence

The views of patriot Samuel Adams also influenced the colonists. Adams asked, “Is not America already independent? Why not then declare it?” In June 1776, more than a year after fighting had begun in the colonies, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia did just that. Lee introduced a resolution in the Continental Congress “[t]hat these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.”

The Declaration of Independence After Lee’s resolution, the Congress promptly named a committee composed of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman to prepare a written declaration of independence. The committee asked Thomas Jefferson, a Virginia planter known for his writing skills, to write the draft. On June 28 the committee submitted the edited draft to the Congress.

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

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

Key Parts of the Declaration The American Declaration of Independence¹ is one of the most famous documents in history. In writing the document Jefferson drew together the ideas of thinkers such as Locke and others to set out the colonies’ reasons for proclaiming their freedom. The purpose of the Declaration was to justify the revolution and to put forth the founding principles of the new nation. Jefferson later wrote:

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

—Thomas Jefferson



See the following footnoted materials in the Reference Handbook:
1. Declaration of Independence, pages 770–773.

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

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

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

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

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

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

About two months before the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress had instructed each of the colonies to form “such governments as shall . . . best conduce [lead] to the happiness and safety of their constituents.” By the end of 1776, 10 states had adopted written constitutions. Within a few years every former colony had a new constitution or had converted the old colonial charters into state constitutions.

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

GOVERNMENT *Online*

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

Section 2 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

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



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

Critical Thinking

- 5. Analyzing Information** Why did Jefferson's principles and ideas in the Declaration of Independence support separation from England?

Concepts IN ACTION

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

The Articles of Confederation

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

ratify, unicameral, cede, ordinance

Find Out

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

Understanding Concepts

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

COVER STORY

Congress Flees Capital

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 1783

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



Continental soldier

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

Government Under the Articles



Under the Articles, the plan for the central government was simple. It included a **unicameral**, or single-chamber, Congress from which executive positions were chosen. A Committee of the States made up of one delegate from each state managed the government when Congress was not assembled. There was no federal court system. Congress settled disputes among states. Each state had one vote in Congress, no matter what its size or population. Every state legislature selected its own representatives to Congress, paid them, and could recall them at any time.

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



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

Weaknesses of the Articles

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

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

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

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

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

Government Under the Articles of Confederation



Critical Thinking The Articles of Confederation established a league of cooperation among the 13 states, but the national government had only limited powers and was dependent on the states for revenue, soldiers, and law enforcement. *Why was the Confederation Congress often short of money to run the government?*

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

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

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

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

—William Davie, 1787

Achievements

Despite its weaknesses, the Confederation accomplished important tasks. The greatest achievement was the establishment of a fair policy for the development of the lands west of the Appalachians. The individual states **ceded**, or yielded, their claims to these territories to the central government, providing a focus for national unity. Congress enacted two land **ordinances**, or laws, that provided for the organization of these territories. The Ordinance of 1785 allowed for their survey and division, while the **Northwest Ordinance** of 1787 established the principle that the territories were to be developed for statehood on an equal basis with the older states.

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

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

GOVERNMENT and You

Applying for a Passport

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

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

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



A United States passport

Participating IN GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

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

Growing Unrest

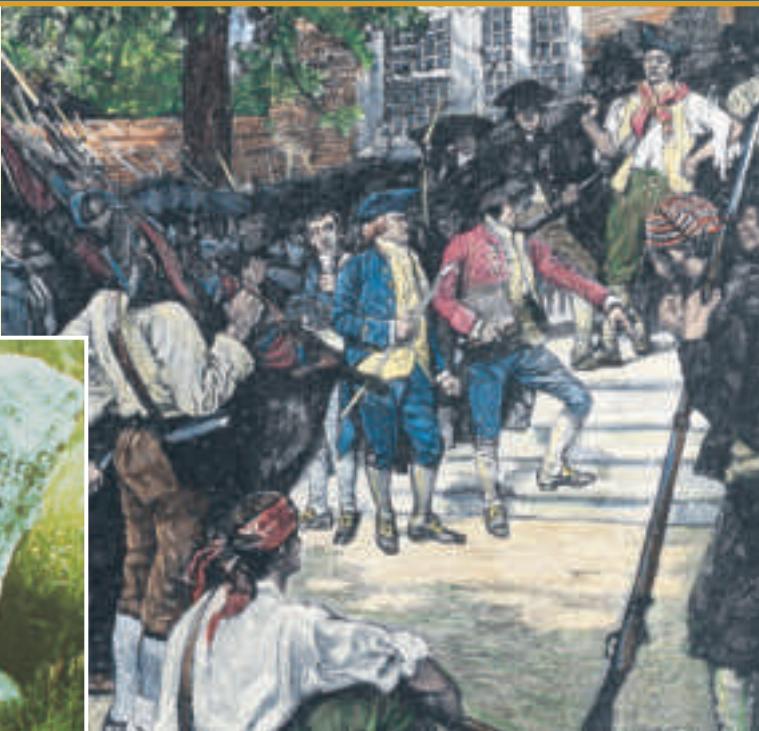
Past Government authorities often jailed debtor farmers or seized their property. Shays led armed men to capture and close the courts, stopping land confiscations.

Present This marker commemorates Shays's revolt. The state militia attacked Shays's men in this field and killed more than 30 of them.

Reaction to Rebellion

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

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



Need for Stronger Government

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

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

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

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

Shays's Rebellion These economic troubles led to rebellion. Armed groups of farmers forced several courts to close in order to prevent farm foreclosures and the loss of their farms. The men hoped that the state would pass laws allowing them to keep their farms through the depression. Daniel Shays, a former captain in the Revolutionary Army, led a band that closed the Massachusetts state supreme court. When their pleas brought no help from the justices, Shays gathered a force of 1200 men and advanced on the federal arsenal in Springfield.

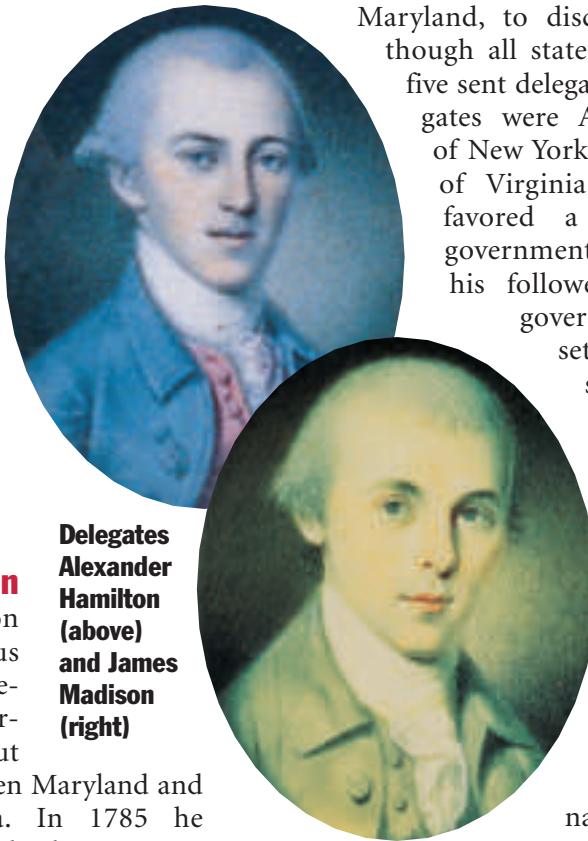
The Massachusetts militia put down the rebellion, but the armed unrest frightened American leaders. Henry Knox, later the nation's first secretary of war, echoed the growing number of Americans who were ready to agree to a strong national government. In a letter to George Washington, Knox wrote:

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

—Henry Knox

The Annapolis Convention

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



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

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

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

Section 3 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

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

Articles of Confederation	
Weaknesses	Achievements

Critical Thinking

- Identifying Central Issues** What problems did Shays's Rebellion reveal?

Concepts IN ACTION

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

The Constitutional Convention

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

interstate commerce, extralegal, anarchy

Find Out

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

Understanding Concepts

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

COVER STORY

Massachusetts Approves!

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 1788

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



John Hancock

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

The Convention Begins

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Decisions and Compromises



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Three-Fifths Compromise

The Three-Fifths Compromise A second compromise settled a disagreement over how to determine how many representatives each state would have in the House. Almost one-third of the people in the Southern states were enslaved African Americans. These states wanted enslaved persons to be counted the same as free people to give the South more representation. At the same time, the Southern states did not want enslaved persons counted at all for levying taxes. Because the North did not have many enslaved persons, Northern states took the opposite position. They wanted the enslaved persons counted for tax purposes but not for representation.

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

Compromise on Commerce and the Slave Trade

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

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

The Three-Fifths Compromise



Constitutional Ideals

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



Congress was forbidden to impose export taxes. As a result, the United States is one of the few nations in the world today that does not tax its exports.

The Slavery Question The word *slave* does not appear in the Constitution. Beyond the compromises just discussed, the Constitution dealt with slavery only by noting that those escaping to free states could be returned to the slaveholders (Article IV, Section 2).¹ At the time, many Northern states were beginning to outlaw slavery. Massachusetts, Delaware, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island were all devising ways to eliminate the practice of slavery. This effort took time, however, and most Northern states did not completely eliminate slavery until the early 1800s.

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

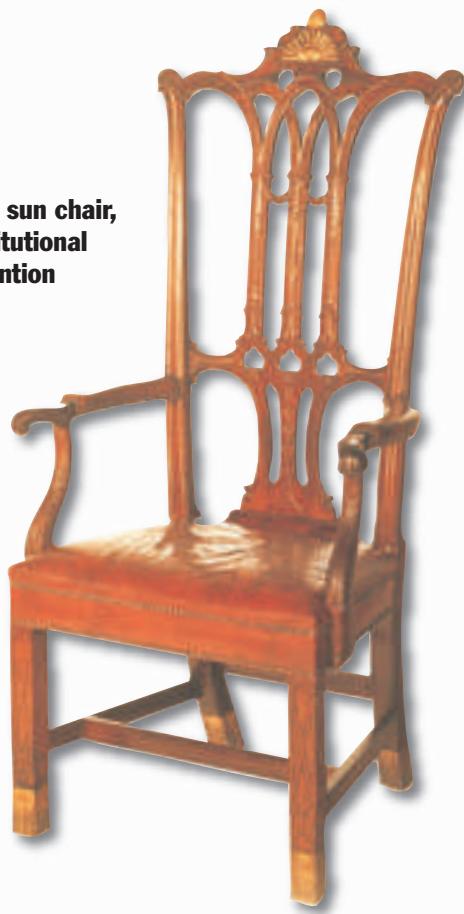
See the following footnoted materials in the Reference Handbook:
1. *The Constitution*, pages 774–799.

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

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

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

Rising sun chair,
Constitutional
Convention



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

Ratifying the Constitution

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

The Federalists and Anti-Federalists

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

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

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

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

—Patrick Henry, 1788

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

Progress Toward Ratification

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

Ratifying the Constitution

Unanimously ratified

Strongly supported ratification

Substantially opposed ratification

Ratified after the Constitution became fully effective



Critical Thinking The Constitution survived strong opposition from a number of the original 13 states. Why were some states hesitant to ratify the Constitution?

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

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

The Constitutional Debate



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

Analyze *The Federalist, Hamilton’s argument for the Constitution, and the Anti-Federalists’ argument against it.*



Patrick Henry

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

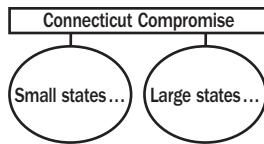
the oath of office to become the first president of the United States.

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

Section 4 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

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



Critical Thinking

- Analyzing Information** Evaluate the impact of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists on the Constitution.

Concepts IN ACTION

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

Skills

Critical Thinking

Interpreting Points of View

Suppose you want to see a new movie, but your friends' opinions range from "terrific" to "boring." People often have different opinions about the same people, events, or issues because they look at them from different points of view.

Learning the Skill

A point of view results from one's own beliefs and values. Many factors affect an individual's point of view, including age, gender, racial or ethnic background, economic class, and religion. To judge the accuracy or the objectivity of an argument, you must first identify the speaker's point of view.

To interpret point of view in written material, gather background information on the author that might reveal his or her point of view. Identify aspects of the topic that the author chooses to emphasize or exclude. Look for emotionally charged words such as *charming*, *vicious*, *heartwarming*, and *drastic*. Also notice metaphors and analogies that imply an opinion, such as, "If this budget can work, then pigs can fly."

Practicing the Skill

Read the following excerpt from James Madison's *The Federalist, No. 10*. Then answer the questions that follow.

From this view of the subject it may be concluded that a pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble and administer the government in person, can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction.

... Hence it is that such democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have



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

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

1. What subject is Madison addressing? For what group is he speaking?
2. What is Madison's point of view?
3. What emotionally charged words and phrases reveal Madison's point of view?

Application Activity

In a newspaper or magazine, find an editorial or letter to the editor that expresses a point of view on an issue. Write a paragraph analyzing the author's point of view. Compare it to your own and explain why you agree or disagree with the author.

Assessment and Activities

GOVERNMENT Online



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

Reviewing Key Terms

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

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

Chapter Summary

English Traditions

- The Magna Carta established principle of **limited government**
- The **English Bill of Rights** limited the powers of the monarch
- House of Commons exemplified **representative government**



Colonial Independence

- Declaration of Independence** formally separated colonies from England
- Articles of Confederation** emphasized state governments over a strong federal government



New Constitutional Government

- New government **balanced** need for strong central government with continued state power
- Inclusion of **Bill of Rights** ensured ratification of new government

Recalling Facts

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

Understanding Concepts

- Growth of Democracy** Analyze the impact of the English political heritage on the United States and its importance to the Declaration of Independence.
- Federalism** In your opinion, why were the Articles of Confederation an unworkable or unrealistic plan of government?
- Civil Liberties** Why did the Anti-Federalists insist on a Bill of Rights?

Critical Thinking

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

Cause	Effect
	a strong central government
	compromises in the Constitution

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

Analyzing Primary Sources

Inspired by the American Revolution, French Revolutionaries declared war on the crown in 1789. They created a written document similar to the U.S. Declaration of Independence, specifying the rights for which French citizens were fighting. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

"Approved by the National Assembly of France, August 26, 1789

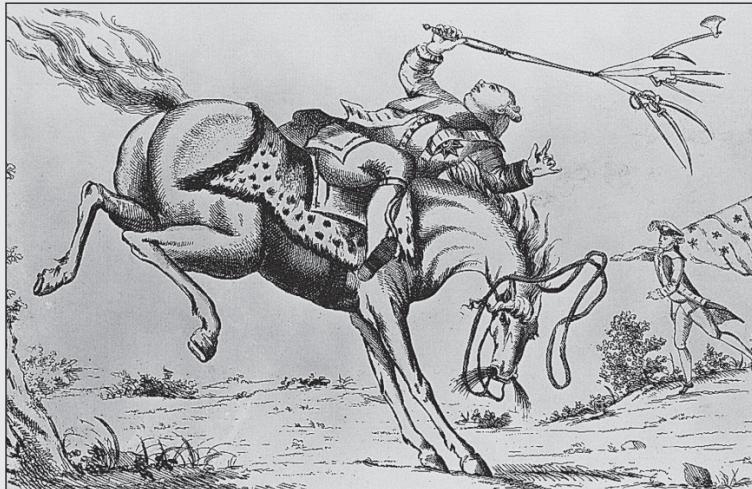
The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man . . . in order that the grievances of the citizens, based hereafter upon simple and incontestable principles, shall tend to the maintenance of the constitution and redound to the happiness of all. Therefore the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims . . . the following rights of man and of the citizen:

Articles:

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. . . .
2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation."

1. How is the preamble to this document similar to the U.S. Declaration of Independence?
2. Why do you think French Revolutionaries used the Declaration of Independence as a model for their own document?

Interpreting Political Cartoons Activity



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

Applying Technology Skills

Using Software Programs Newspaper cartoons were important tools to stir public opinion against Great Britain at the time of the Revolution. Use software clip art to create a political cartoon that might have appeared in a colonial newspaper. The cartoon should illustrate the colonists' feelings toward Britain.



Participating in Local Government

Investigate the history of your local government. Visit local government offices to find out about your community's origins and early leaders. Describe how the government grew and changed over the years. Prepare a brochure about the early governments of your community with the class.

