

Students if you are reading this then it is time for snow day packets 6-10. My intention is to give you every resource that I would have used in class, so I will be sending power points and giving themes/chapter summaries. Please look at the website below to give you a refresher on where we paused in class. Instead of assigning outlines, I am going to give you information through power points and I am going to hold you to the honor system. You need to make sure you are reading on your own and completing the work given. You will get behind if you do not read. You may continue to complete the outlines on your own, but it is currently something I am not going to require of you considering the circumstances.

<http://ap.gilderlehrman.org/period/3>

March 26th Snow day 6- Chapter 6- Finishing up

March 27th Snow day 7- Chapter 7 Begin

March 30th Snow day 8- Chapter 7 Continue

March 31st Snow day 9- Chapter 8 Begin

April 1st Snow day 10- Chapter 8 Continue

March 26th- Snow Day 6

Finish Chapter 6 Focus Questions and Complete Contending voices on page 121. Please note I have added websites at the end to give extra information. You should have the reading for chapter 7 complete, as well as the outline. I will be giving a grade on chapter 7 outline when we return, but because of the uncertainty of recent events, I am not going to make the outlines a requirement at this moment. However, if you wish to continue outlining the chapter for your own knowledge, please do. We will pick up in class right where we leave off here. I will send all outlines to you while we are off in the form of a power point. Please make sure you continue to read the text and keep yourself updated so that you do not get behind.

March 27th- Snow Day 7

Begin chapter 7 today. Read through the themes, the chapter summary, and the power point that has been sent to you on Live Grades. When you have familiarized yourself, please begin chapter 7 focus questions.

March 30th-Snow Day 8

Today you should finish up any of the remaining focus questions that you have from chapter 7 and work on the Contending voices for chapter 7 and varying viewpoints. These will be directly after the focus questions.

March 31st- Snow Day 9

Begin chapter 8 today. Read through the themes, the chapter summary, and the power point that has been sent to you on Live Grades. When you have familiarized yourself, please begin chapter 8 focus questions.

April 1st- Snow Day 10

Today you should finish up any of the remaining focus questions that you have from chapter 8 and work on the Contending voices for chapter 8 and varying viewpoints. These will be directly after the focus questions. Please note there is a Great Debate about history in chapter 8. I have included it with your information about the chapter, please familiarize yourself with the concepts.

CHAPTER 6

The Road to Revolution, 1754–1775- Focus Questions

1. What region in North America did both France and Britain view as critical to their colonial empires?
2. How did the Albany Congress portend the American Revolution?
3. What were the significant military engagements in North America of the Seven Years' War and what was the outcome of each?
4. In what ways did British policy during and after the Seven Years' War upset and unite the colonies?
5. In what ways did the period 1754–1763 demonstrate both the problems and the possibilities of colonial unity (e.g., the Albany Congress of 1754)?
6. What role did mercantilism play in creating discord between British authorities and the colonists?
7. How did the colonies respond to Grenville's laws, specifically the Stamp Act?
8. What events resulted in British soldiers landing in Boston and being involved in the Boston Massacre?
9. How did the British respond to the Boston Tea Party?

10. What were Britain's strengths and weaknesses on the eve of the American Revolution?
11. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the American colonists on the eve of the American Revolution?

CONTENDING VOICES: JOHN DICKINSON VS THOMAS PAINE will be found on page 121 Reconciliation or Independence.

Questions for Class Discussion

1. What arguments did John Dickinson and Thomas Paine give for their positions?
2. Which writer had the better vision for the colonies at this time? Think about the colonists' needs in terms of trade and diplomacy.

CHAPTER 6 THEMES

Theme: As part of their worldwide rivalry, Great Britain and France engaged in a great struggle for colonial control of North America, culminating in the British victory in the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War) that drove France from the continent.

Theme: Before the Seven Years' War, Britain and its American colonies had already been facing some tensions, as can be seen in sporadic British efforts to enforce trade laws and colonial reaction to the peace treaty in 1748. During the Seven Years' War, the relationship between British military regulars and colonial militias added to the tensions. The French defeat in the Seven Years' War created conditions for a growing conflict between Britain and its American colonies. The lack of a threatening European colonial power in North America gave the American colonists a sense of independence that clashed with new British imperial demands, such as stationing soldiers in the colonies and the Proclamation of 1763.

Theme: Tension between the colonies and Britain centered on the issues of mercantilism and its implementation. The British Empire attempted to more strictly enforce laws aimed at maintaining a system of mercantilism, while colonists objected to this change from the earlier salutary neglect.

Theme: The American Revolution occurred because the American colonists, who had long been developing a strong sense of autonomy and self-government, furiously resisted British attempts to impose tighter imperial controls and higher taxes after the end of the French and Indian War in 1763. The sustained conflict over political authority and taxation, enhanced by American agitators and British bungling, gradually moved Americans from asserting rights within the British Empire to openly warring with the mother country.

Theme: At the outset of the Revolutionary War, Britain appeared to be a mighty empire, but it was weaker than it seemed at first glance. Poor leadership in London, along with second-rate generals in the colonies, reduced the impact of the larger British population and its naval supremacy. Americans, on the other hand, had many advantages such as George Washington's leadership and fighting a defensive war. However, the colonists also faced disorganization, jealousy, and economic difficulties.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

During much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Britain and France engaged in a bitter power struggle that frequently erupted into worldwide wars. In North America, these wars constituted an extended military duel for imperial control of the continent.

The culminating phase of this struggle was inaugurated by young George Washington's venture into the sharply contested Ohio country. After early reversals in the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War), the British, under William Pitt, revived their fortunes and won a decisive victory at Quebec, finally forcing the French from North America.

The American colonials, who had played a large part in Britain's imperial wars with France, emerged with increased confidence in their own abilities. The removal of the French and Spanish threat to British control of North America kindled increasing tensions between the colonists and Britain. The Ottawa chief Pontiac's unsuccessful uprising in 1763 convinced the British of the need to continue stationing troops in America. But with foreign threats gone, the colonists were unwilling to pay taxes for British protection and increasingly resented Britain's authority over them.

A source of long-term conflict between Britain and the North American colonies was the tension between the considerable freedom and self-government the colonists enjoyed in the American wilderness and their participation in the British Empire's mercantile system. While British mercantilism actually provided economic benefits to the colonies, along with certain liabilities, its limits on freedom and patronizing goal of keeping America in a state of perpetual economic adolescence stirred growing resentment.

The short-term movement toward the War of Independence began with British attempts to impose higher taxes and tighter imperial controls after the French and Indian War. To the British these were reasonable measures, under which the colonists would simply bear a fair share of the costs of the empire. To the colonists, however, the measures constituted attacks on fundamental rights.

Through well-orchestrated agitation and boycotts, the colonists forced repeal of the Stamp Act of 1765 as well as the Townshend Acts that replaced it, except for the symbolic tax on tea. A temporary lull in conflict between 1770 and 1773 ended with the Boston Tea Party, conducted by a network of Boston agitators reacting to the Massachusetts governor's attempt to enforce the law.

In response to the Tea Party, the British imposed the harsh Intolerable Acts, coincidentally passing the Quebec Act at the same time. These twin actions aroused ferocious American resistance throughout the colonies and led directly to the calling of the First Continental Congress and the clash of arms at Lexington and Concord.

As the two sides prepared for war, the British enjoyed the advantages of a larger population, a professionally trained militia, and much greater economic strength. The greatest American asset was the deep commitment of those Patriots who were ready to sacrifice for their rights.

KEY TERMS

Acadians: French residents of Nova Scotia, many of whom were uprooted by the British in 1755 and scattered as far south as Louisiana, where their descendants became known as “Cajuns.” (110)

French and Indian War (1754–1763): Nine-year war between the British and the French in North America. It resulted in the expulsion of the French from the North American mainland and helped spark the wider Seven Years’ War in Europe and elsewhere. (111)

Seven Years’ War (1756–1763): First global war, with battles on four continents, as France, England, Spain, Prussia, and other European powers clashed. Colonists called the North American portion of the conflict the “French and Indian War.” The resulting British debt and French resentment after the war both played a critical role in the coming of the American Revolution. (111)

Albany Congress (1754): Intercolonial congress summoned by the British government to foster greater colonial unity and assure Iroquois support in the escalating war against the French. (112)

regulars: Trained professional soldiers, as distinct from militia or conscripts. During the French and Indian War, British generals, used to commanding experienced regulars, often showed contempt for ill-trained colonial militiamen. (112)

Québec, Battle of (1759): Historic British victory over French forces on the outskirts of Québec. The surrender of Québec marked the beginning of the end of French rule in North America. (113)

Pontiac’s War (1763): Bloody campaign waged by Ottawa chief Pontiac to drive the British out of Ohio Country. It was brutally crushed by British troops, who resorted to distributing blankets infected with smallpox as a means to put down the rebellion. (116)

Proclamation of 1763: Decree issued by Parliament in the wake of Pontiac’s War, prohibiting settlement beyond the Appalachians. Contributed to rising resentment of British rule in the American colonies. (116)

republicanism: Political theory of representative government, based on the principle of popular sovereignty, with a strong emphasis on liberty and civic virtue. Influential in eighteenth-century American political thought, it stood as an alternative to monarchical rule. (116)

radical Whigs: Eighteenth-century British political commentators who agitated against political corruption and emphasized the threat to liberty posed by arbitrary power. Their writings shaped American political thought and made colonists especially alert to encroachments on their rights. (116)

mercantilism: Economic theory that closely linked a nation's political and military power to its bullion reserves. Mercantilists generally favored protectionism and colonial acquisition as means to increase exports. (118)

Sugar Act (1764): Duty on imported sugar from the West Indies. It was the first tax levied on the colonists by the crown and was lowered substantially in response to widespread protests. (119)

Quartering Act (1765): Required colonies to provide food and quarters for British troops. Many colonists resented the act, which they perceived as an encroachment on their rights. (119)

stamp tax (1765): Widely unpopular tax on an array of paper goods, repealed in 1766 after mass protests erupted across the colonies. Colonists developed the principle of "no taxation without representation" that questioned Parliament's authority over the colonies and laid the foundation for future revolutionary claims. (119)

admiralty courts: Used to try offenders for violating the various Navigation Acts passed by the crown after the French and Indian War. Colonists argued that the courts encroached on their rights as Englishmen because they lacked juries and placed the burden of proof on the accused. (120)

Stamp Act Congress (1765): Assembly of delegates from nine colonies who met in New York City to draft a petition for the repeal of the Stamp Act. Helped ease sectional suspicions and promote intercolonial unity. (120)

nonimportation agreements (1765 and after): Boycotts against British goods adopted in response to the Stamp Act and, later, the Townshend and Intolerable Acts. The agreements were the most effective form of protest against British policies in the colonies. (120)

Sons of Liberty: Patriotic groups that played a central role in agitating against the Stamp Act and enforcing nonimportation agreements. (See also **Daughters of Liberty.**) (121)

Daughters of Liberty: Patriotic groups that played a central role in agitating against the Stamp Act and enforcing nonimportation agreements. (See also **Sons of Liberty.**) (121)

Declaratory Act (1766): Passed alongside the repeal of the Stamp Act, it reaffirmed Parliament's unqualified sovereignty over the North American colonies. (122)

Townshend Acts (1767): External, or indirect, levies on glass, white lead, paper, paint, and tea, the proceeds of which were used to pay colonial governors, who had previously been paid directly by colonial assemblies. Sparked another round of protests in the colonies. (122)

Boston Massacre (1770): Clash between unruly Bostonian protestors and locally stationed British redcoats, who fired on the jeering crowd, killing or wounding eleven citizens. (122)

committees of correspondence (1772 and after): Local committees established across Massachusetts, and later in each of the thirteen colonies, to coordinate colonial opposition to British policies through the exchange of letters and pamphlets. (123)

Boston Tea Party (1773): Rowdy protest against the British East India Company's newly acquired monopoly on the tea trade. Colonists, disguised as Indians, dumped 342 chests of tea into Boston harbor, prompting harsh sanctions from the British Parliament. (125)

"Intolerable Acts" (1774): Series of punitive measures passed in retaliation for the Boston Tea Party, closing the Port of Boston, revoking a number of rights in the Massachusetts colonial charter, and expanding the Quartering Act to allow for the lodging of soldiers in private homes. In response, colonists convened the First Continental Congress and called for a complete boycott of British goods. (125)

Quebec Act (1774): Allowed the French residents of Québec to retain their traditional political and religious institutions, and extended the boundaries of the province southward to the Ohio River. Mistakenly perceived by the colonists to be part of Parliament's response to the Boston Tea Party. (126)

First Continental Congress (1774): Convention of delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies that convened in Philadelphia to craft a response to the Intolerable Acts. Delegates established The Association, which called for a complete boycott of British goods. (127)

The Association (1774): Nonimportation agreement crafted during the First Continental Congress calling for the complete boycott of British goods. (127)

Lexington and Concord, Battles of (April 1775): First battles of the Revolutionary War, fought outside of Boston. The colonial militia successfully defended their stores of munitions, forcing the British to retreat to Boston. (128)

Valley Forge (1777–1778): Encampment where George Washington's poorly equipped army spent a wretched, freezing winter. Hundreds of men died and more than a thousand deserted. The plight of the starving, shivering soldiers reflected the main weakness of the American army—a lack of stable supplies and munitions. (132)

camp followers: Women and children who followed the Continental Army during the American Revolution, providing vital services such as cooking and sewing in return for rations. (132)

GOOGLE ARTS AND CULTURE

[Art and Culture from the Colonial Times](#)

Click [here](#) to see an exhibition on art and culture.

On the eve of Revolution, the First Continental Congress found leading political figures as well as ordinary individuals grappling with their identity. What was America, and what did it mean to be American? These images and material objects show the consolidation of an American art and culture. They include not just iconography of resistance and violence, but also communication, music, fashion, and paintings.

[Historic American Buildings Survey](#)

Click [here](#) to see a collection of colonial buildings.

These photographs of colonial-era buildings allow a perspective on the visual world during the lead-up to the Revolution. The buildings, located around modern New England, include sites involved in the Boston Massacre. A National Parks historian captured the photos during the 1930s.

[Black and British: A Forgotten History](#)

Click [here](#) to see an exhibition on blackness in England.

The Treaty of Paris marked a rupture in the histories of the United States and Great Britain, yet both nations struggled separately with related problems. This series explores slavery and emancipation, the founding of Sierra Leone, and differing interpretations of freedom in British history.

CHAPTER 7

America Secedes from the Empire, 1775–1783

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What were some of the military engagements that occurred before independence was declared by the colonists and what was the outcome of each?
2. How did Thomas Paine convince colonists to fight for independence?
3. What were Thomas Paine's views on government?
4. Why was Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence so inspiring at the time and for future revolutions?
5. Who were likely to be Loyalists, and why? How were Loyalists treated during the war?
6. What were the major military campaigns after the colonists declared independence?
7. How was French aid secured by American diplomats?
8. How did Old World tensions contribute to the success of American diplomats in securing the Treaty of Paris and its generous provisions?

CONTENDING VOICES: FRIEDRICH VON GENTZ VS JOHN QUINCY ADAMS Page 156 Two Revolutions: French and American

1. How did von Gentz in 1800 contrast the American Revolution with the French Revolution?
2. Why did Adams so approve of von Gentz's analysis?

VARYING VIEWPOINTS: WHOSE REVOLUTION?

Expanding the View

- Carl L. Becker, *Beginnings of the American People* (1915).
A "progressive" view of the Revolution as the product of social conflict among colonial groups:
"It was the opposition of interests in America that chiefly made men extremists on either side.... Those men who wished to take a safe middle ground, who wished neither to renounce their country nor to mark themselves as rebels, could no longer hold together."
- Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967).

An “ideological” view of the Revolution as resulting from the colonists’ ideas about liberty and power:

“The colonists believed they saw emerging from the welter of events during the decade after the Stamp Act a pattern whose meaning was unmistakable.... They saw about them, with increasing clarity, not merely mistaken, or even evil, policies violating the principles upon which freedom rested, but what appeared to be evidence of nothing less than a deliberate assault launched surreptitiously by plotters against liberty both in England and in America.... This belief transformed the meaning of the colonists’ struggle, and it added an inner accelerator to the movement of opposition.... It was this...that was signaled to the colonists after 1763, and it was this above all else that in the end propelled them to Revolution.”

- Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (1999).

A “neo-progressive” view of the Revolution as resulting from pressures particular to the American circumstance, including slaves and Indians:

“In complex ways and without intending to, Indians, merchants, and slaves helped drive gentlemen like Jacob Hite and smallholders like Murty Handler into the rebellion against Britain. In addition, small farmers exerted direct and deliberate pro-Independence pressure upon gentlemen.”

Questions for Discussion

1. According to each of these viewpoints, what provided the fuel that drove the colonists from particular political disagreements to revolutionary assertion of independence?
2. How would each of these historians interpret the common view of the American Revolution as a fight for liberty?
3. How would the sequence of events leading up to the Revolution (for example, the Stamp Act and the Boston Tea Party) be treated according to each of these perspectives?

Chapter Themes

Theme: When hostilities began in 1775, the colonists were still fighting for their rights as British citizens within the empire, but in 1776, they declared their independence, based on a proclamation of universal, self-evident truths. Inspired by revolutionary idealism, they also fought for an end to monarchy and the establishment of a free republic.

Theme: A combination of Washington’s generalship and British bungling in 1776–1777 prevented a quick British victory and brought French assistance, which enabled the Patriots to achieve victory after several more years of struggle.

Theme: American independence was recognized by the British only after the conflict had broadened to include much of Europe. American diplomats were able to secure generous peace terms because of the international political scene: Britain’s recently reorganized government that favored peace and France’s inability to make good on its promises to Spain.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Even after Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress did not, at first, pursue independence. The Congress's most important action was selecting George Washington as military commander.

After further armed clashes, George III formally proclaimed the colonists in rebellion, and Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* finally persuaded Americans to fight for independence as well as liberty. Paine and other leaders promoted the Revolution as an opportunity for self-government by the people, though more conservative republicans wanted to retain political hierarchy without monarchy. Jefferson's Declaration of Independence deepened the meaning of the struggle by proclaiming its foundation in self-evident and universal human rights.

The committed Patriots, only a minority of the American population, had to fight both Loyalist Americans and the British. Loyalists were strongest among conservatives, city-dwellers, and Anglicans (except in Virginia), while Patriots were strongest in New England and among Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

In the first phase of the war, Washington stalemated the British, who botched their plan to quash the rebellion quickly at Saratoga. When the French and others then aided the Americans, the Revolutionary War became a world war.

American fortunes fell badly in 1780–1781, but the colonial army in the South held on until Cornwallis stumbled into a French-American trap at Yorktown. Lord North's ministry collapsed in Britain, and American negotiators achieved an extremely generous settlement from the Whigs.

KEY TERMS

Second Continental Congress (1775–1781): Representative body of delegates from all thirteen colonies. Drafted the Declaration of Independence and managed the colonial war effort. (138)

Bunker Hill, Battle of (June 1775): Fought on the outskirts of Boston, on Breed's Hill, the battle ended in the colonial militia's retreat, though at a heavy cost to the British. (139)

Olive Branch Petition (July 1775): Conciliatory measure adopted by the Continental Congress, professing American loyalty and seeking an end to the hostilities. King George rejected the petition and proclaimed the colonies in rebellion. (139)

Hessians: German troops hired from their princes by George III to aid in putting down the colonial insurrection. This hardened the resolve of American colonists, who resented the use of paid foreign fighters. (139)

***Common Sense* (1776):** Thomas Paine's pamphlet urging the colonies to declare independence and establish a republican government. The widely read pamphlet helped convince colonists to support the Revolution. (141)

Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776): Formal pronouncement of independence drafted by Thomas Jefferson and approved by Congress. The Declaration allowed Americans to appeal for foreign aid and served as an inspiration for later revolutionary movements worldwide. (143)

Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789): Rights adopted during the French Revolution. Modeled after the American Declaration of Independence. (144)

Loyalists: American colonists who opposed the Revolution and maintained their loyalty to the king; sometimes referred to as “Tories.” (144)

Patriots: Colonists who supported the American Revolution; they were also known as “Whigs.” (144)

Long Island, Battle of (August 1776): Battle for the control of New York. British troops overwhelmed the colonial militias and retained control of the city for most of the war. (148)

Trenton, Battle of (December 1776): George Washington surprised and captured a garrison of sleeping German Hessians, raising the morale of his crestfallen army and setting the stage for his victory at Princeton a week later. (148)

Saratoga, Battle of (October 1777): Decisive colonial victory in upstate New York, which helped secure French support for the Revolutionary cause. (150)

Model Treaty (1776): Sample treaty drafted by the Continental Congress as a guide for American diplomats. Reflected the Americans’ desire to foster commercial partnerships rather than political or military entanglements. (150)

Fort Stanwix, Treaty of (1784): Treaty signed by the United States and the pro-British Iroquois granting Ohio Country to the Americans. (154)

privateers: Privately owned armed ships authorized by Congress to prey on enemy shipping during the Revolutionary War. More numerous than the tiny American navy, privateers inflicted heavy damages on British shippers. (154)

Yorktown, Battle of (October 1781): George Washington, with the aid of the French army, besieged Cornwallis at Yorktown, while the French naval fleet prevented British reinforcements from coming ashore. Cornwallis surrendered, dealing a heavy blow to the British war effort and paving the way for an eventual peace. (155)

Paris, Treaty of (1783): Peace treaty signed by Britain and the United States ending the Revolutionary War. The British formally recognized American independence and ceded territory east of the Mississippi while the Americans, in turn, promised to restore Loyalist property and repay debts to British creditors. (157)

GOOGLE ARTS AND CULTURE

[Intangible Heritage](#)

Click [here](#) to see an exhibition on the Spanish legacy in the Americas.

This collection portrays the significant legacy that Spanish colonization left on areas of what is now the United States. Language, religion, culture, customs, and celebrations are analyzed in Louisiana and the Southwest.

[Independence National Historical Park](#)

Click [here](#) to tour Independence National Historical Park, Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, a key site in the Revolutionary War, chose to memorialize the independence of the United States with a historical park. This virtual tour allows you to explore the park.

[Powers of the President](#)

Click [here](#) to see an exhibition on the presidency.

The writers of state and federal constitutions grappled with the sharing of power and the balancing act of governance, legislature, and judiciary. The powers of the president of the United States have changed over time, reflecting not just the vision of the originators of the constitution, but also of contemporary reality. This exhibit explores how the role of the president has changed over time.

CHAPTER 8

The Confederation and the Constitution, 1776–1790

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What distinguishes constitutions in America from a constitution in the British tradition?
2. What were the shortcomings of the Articles of Confederation?
3. What events and situations motivated a desire for a stronger central government in some Americans?
4. What compromises at the convention allowed the Constitution to move forward?
5. How did the antifederalists view the proposed Constitution?
6. What was the ratification process for the Constitution, and how did the federalists eventually triumph?

7. How did the principle of equality influence American society after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence?

CONTENDING VOICES: JONATHAN SMITH VS. PATRICK HENRY

Questions for Class Discussion

1. Why did small farmer Jonathan Smith approve of the proposed Constitution?
2. How did Patrick Henry interpret the proposed Constitution in a very different manner?

VARYING VIEWPOINTS

Expanding the View

- Charles Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913).

A view of the Constitution as a conservative “counterrevolution”:

“The concept of the Constitution as a piece of abstract legislation reflecting no group interests and recognizing no economic antagonisms is entirely false. It was an economic document drawn with superb skill by men whose property interests were immediately at stake; and as such it appealed directly and unerringly to identical interests in the country at large.”

- Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic* (1969).

A view of the Constitution as the extension of republican political theory:

“Because new ideas had grown often imperceptibly out of the familiar, the arguments the federalists used in 1787–88 never really seemed disruptive or discontinuous. Americans had been prepared for a mighty transformation of political thought by a century and half of political experience telescoped into the rapid intellectual changes that had taken place in the three decades of the Revolutionary era.... Americans had destroyed the age-old conception of mixed government and had found new explanations for their policies created in 1776, explanations that rested on their expansion of the principle of representation. America had not discovered the idea of representation, said Madison, but it could ‘claim the merit of making the discovery the basis of unmixed and extensive republics.’”

- David Waldstreicher, *Slavery’s Constitution: From Revolution to Ratification* (2009).

A view of the Constitution as fundamentally shaped by the issue of slavery:

“The Constitution never mentions slavery. The word does not appear. And yet slavery is all over the document. Of its eighty-four clauses, six are directly concerned with slaves and their owners. Five other clauses had implications for slavery that were considered and debated by the delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention and the citizens of the states during ratification.”

Questions for Class Discussion

1. Why was Beard’s view of the Constitution and the Founding Fathers so shocking when it first appeared? What would the implications be if Beard were correct?

2. Does Wood's view fit Beard's critique of those who see the Constitution as "a piece of abstract legislation reflecting no group interests"? What would Wood see as the interests of the Founding Fathers?
3. How would the holder of each of these views understand the relationship between the Revolution and the Constitution? How would each of them interpret the antifederalists?
4. How does the issue of slavery in the Constitution complicate arguments made by Beard and Wood?

CHAPTER THEMES

Theme: The American Revolution was not a radical transformation like the French or Russian revolutions, but it did produce political innovations and some social change in the direction of greater equality and democracy.

Theme: Compromise, on a number of important issues, was required to create the new federal Constitution. Adopting the new document required great political skill and involved changing the ratification process defined in the Articles of Confederation, writing persuasively in support of the stronger central government, and promising to add amendments to protect individual liberty and states' rights.

Theme: The federal Constitution represented a moderately conservative reaction against the democratic and decentralizing effects of the Revolution and the Articles of Confederation. In effect, it embedded the revolutionary ideals of liberty and popular government within a strong framework designed to advance national identity and interests against the dangers of fragmentation and disorder.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The American Revolution did not overturn the social order, but it did produce substantial changes in social customs, political institutions, and ideas about society and government. Among the changes were the separation of church and state in some places, the abolition of slavery in the North, written political constitutions, and a shift in political power from the eastern seaboard toward the interior.

The first weak national government, the Articles of Confederation, was unable to exercise real authority, although it did successfully deal with the western lands issue. The Confederation's weaknesses in handling foreign policy, commerce, and Shays's rebellion spurred the movement to alter the Articles.

Instead of revising the Articles, the well-off delegates to the Constitutional Convention created a permanent charter for a whole new government. In a series of compromises, the convention produced a plan that provided for a vigorous central government, a strong executive, and protection for property, while still upholding republican principles and states' rights. The pro-Constitution federalists, generally representing wealthier and more commercial forces, frightened other groups who feared that the new government would undermine their rights and their interests.

The federalists met their strongest opposition from antifederalists in Virginia and New York, but through effective organization and argument, as well as promises to incorporate a bill of rights

into the document, they succeeded in getting the Constitution ratified. By establishing the new national government, the federalists checked the Revolutionary movement, but their conservative regime embraced the central Revolutionary values of popular republican government and liberty.

GREAT DEBATES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Great Debate (1787–1789):

The Constitution: Should the United States adopt the new Constitution to replace the Articles of Confederation?

For: The federalists—led by Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and Marshall; including most commercial, seacoast, urban, and upper-class groups.

Against: The antifederalists—led by Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and George Clinton; including many noncommercial, western, agrarian, and state-oriented interests.

ISSUE #1: Need for change. Does the government of the Articles need to be replaced?

Yes: Federalist Alexander Hamilton: “The faith, the reputation, the peace of the whole Union are thus continually at the mercy, the prejudices, the passions, and the interests of every member of which it is composed. Is it possible that foreign nations can either respect or confide in such a government? Is it possible that the people of America will longer consent to trust their honor, their happiness, their safety, on so precarious a foundation?... The Confederation... is a system so radically vicious and unsound, as to admit not of amendment but by an entire change in its leading features and characters.”

No: Antifederalist Patrick Henry: “The honorable gentleman said that great danger would ensue if the Convention rose without adopting this system. I ask, where is that danger? I see none. Other gentlemen have told us, within these walls, that the union is gone, or that the union will be gone.... Till they tell us the grounds of their fears, I will consider them as imaginary.... Where is the danger? If, sir, there was any, I would recur to the American spirit which has enabled us to surmount the greatest difficulties.”

ISSUE #2: Can a republic govern a large territory and a diverse population?

Yes: Federalist James Madison: “Extend the sphere, and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that the majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens.... Hence, it clearly appears that the same advantage which a republic has over a democracy, in controlling the effects of faction, is enjoyed by a large over a small republic....”

No: Antifederalist James Winthrop of Massachusetts: “It is the opinion of the ablest writers on the subject, that no extensive empire can be governed on republican principles, and that such a government will degenerate to a despotism.... No instance can be found of any free government of any considerable extent.... Large and consolidated empires may indeed dazzle the eyes of a distant spectator with their splendour, but if examined more nearly are always found to be full of misery.”

ISSUE #3: Will the new constitutional government create an aristocratic power in the presidency?

No: Federalist Alexander Hamilton: “There is no comparison between the intended power of the President and the actual power of the British sovereign.... The President of the United States would be an officer elected by the people for four years; the king of Great Britain is a perpetual and hereditary prince.... What answer shall we give to those who would persuade us that things so unlike resemble each other? The same that ought to be given to those who tell us that a government, the whole power of which would be in the hands of the elective and periodical servants of the people, is an

Yes: Antifederalist George Clinton of New York: “Wherein does this president, invested with his powers and prerogatives, essentially differ from the king of Great Britain (save as to the name, the creation of nobility and some immaterial incidents...)? The safety of the people in a republic depends on the share or proportion they have in the government; but experience ought to teach you, that when a man is at the head of an elective government invested with great powers, and interested in his reelection...appointments will be made by which means an imperfect aristocracy bordering on monarchy may be established.”

aristocracy, a monarchy and a despotism.”

ISSUE #4: Does the proposed Constitution protect the people’s liberty?

Yes: Federalist Alexander Hamilton: “Here, in strictness, the people surrender nothing; and as they retain everything they have no need of particular reservations.... Bills of rights, in the sense and to the extent in which they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution, but would even be dangerous.... Why declare that things not be done which there is no power to do?... The truth is...that the Constitution is itself, in every rational sense, and to every useful purpose, a BILL OF RIGHTS.”

No: Antifederalist George Mason of Virginia: “There is no declaration of rights: and the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitutions of the several states, the declarations of rights, in the separate states, are no security. Nor are the people secured even in the enjoyment of the benefit of the common law, which stands here upon no other foundations than its having been adopted by the respective acts forming the constitutions of the several states.”

REFERENCES: Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (1969); Thornton Anderson, *Creating the Constitution* (1993).

KEY TERMS

Articles of Confederation (1781): First American constitution that established the United States as a loose confederation of states under a weak national Congress, which was not granted the power to regulate commerce or collect taxes. The Articles were replaced by a more efficient Constitution in 1789. (163)

Old Northwest: Territories acquired by the federal government from the states, encompassing land northwest of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi River, and south of the Great Lakes. The well-organized management and sale of the land in the territories under the land ordinances of 1785 and 1787 established a precedent for handling future land acquisitions. (166)

Land Ordinance of 1785: Provided for the sale of land in the Old Northwest and earmarked the proceeds toward repaying the national debt. (167)

Northwest Ordinance (1787): Created a policy for administering the Northwest Territories. It included a path to statehood and forbade the expansion of slavery into the territories. (167)

Shays's Rebellion (1786): Armed uprising of western Massachusetts debtors seeking lower taxes and an end to property foreclosures. Though quickly put down, the insurrection inspired fears of “mob rule” among leading Revolutionaries. (169)

Virginia Plan (1787): “Large state” proposal for the new constitution, calling for proportional representation in both houses of a bicameral Congress. The plan favored larger states and thus prompted smaller states to come back with their own plan for apportioning representation. (171)

New Jersey Plan (1787): “Small-state plan” put forth at the Philadelphia convention, proposing equal representation by state, regardless of population, in a unicameral legislature. Small states feared that the more populous states would dominate the agenda under a proportional system. (171)

Great Compromise (1787): Popular term for the measure that reconciled the New Jersey and Virginia Plans at the Constitutional Convention, giving states proportional representation in the House and equal representation in the Senate. The compromise broke the stalemate at the convention and paved the way for subsequent compromises over slavery and the Electoral College. (171)

common law: Laws that originate from court rulings and customs, as opposed to legislative statutes. The United States Constitution grew out of the Anglo-American common law tradition and thus provided only a general organizational framework for the new federal government. (172)

civil law: Body of written law enacted through legislative statutes or constitutional provisions. In countries where civil law prevails, judges must apply the statutes precisely as written. (172)

three-fifths compromise (1787): Determined that each slave would be counted as three-fifths of a person for the purpose of apportioning taxes and representation. The compromise granted disproportionate political power to southern slave states. (173)

Electoral College: Mechanism for electing presidents of the United States. Each state has a number of electors equal to its total number of senators and representatives. These electors are chosen by the voters, and they in turn select the president—creating “indirect” presidential elections. (173)

antifederalists: Opponents of the 1787 Constitution, they cast the document as antidemocratic, objected to the subordination of the states to the central government, and feared encroachment on individuals' liberties in the absence of a bill of rights. (175)

federalists: Proponents of the 1787 Constitution, they favored a strong national government, arguing that the checks and balances in the new Constitution would safeguard the people's liberties. (175)

***The Federalist* (1788):** Collection of essays written by John Jay, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton and published during the ratification debate in New York to lay out the federalists'

arguments in favor of the new Constitution. Since their publication, these influential essays have served as an important source for constitutional interpretation. (177)

Society of the Cincinnati (established 1783): Exclusive, hereditary organization of former officers in the Continental Army. Many resented the pretentiousness of the order, viewing it as a vestige of pre-Revolutionary traditions. (178)

disestablish: To separate an official state church from its connection with the government. Following the Revolution, all states disestablished the Anglican Church, though some New England states maintained established Congregational Churches well into the nineteenth century. (179)

Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (1786): Measure enacted by the Virginia legislature prohibiting state support for religious institutions and recognizing freedom of worship. Served as a model for the religion clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution. (179)

civic virtue: Willingness on the part of citizens to sacrifice personal self-interest for the public good. Deemed a necessary component of a successful republic. (180)

republican motherhood: Ideal of family organization and female behavior after the American Revolution that stressed the role of women in guiding family members toward republican virtue. (180)