

# CHAPTER 2

## Origins of American Government

**Essential Question**  
How does the Constitution reflect the times in which it was written?

**Section 1:**  
Our Political Beginnings

**Section 2:**  
The Coming of Independence

**Section 3:**  
The Critical Period

**Section 4:**  
Creating the Constitution

**Section 5:**  
Ratifying the Constitution



### GOVERNMENT ONLINE

#### On the Go

To study anywhere, anytime, download these online resources at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

- Political Dictionary
- Audio Review
- Downloadable Interactivities

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## Lesson Goals

### SECTION 1

Students will . . .

- examine early English concepts of government.
- analyze the influences of the Magna Carta, Petition of Right, and English Bill of Rights on American ideas about government and freedom.
- compare the structure of royal colony governments to our National Government.

### SECTION 2

Students will . . .

- analyze British policies and colonial reactions as causes and effects.
- examine events leading up to the Declaration of Independence through political cartoons and a first-hand account from that era.
- identify, define, and analyze propaganda in political cartoons.

### SECTION 3

Students will . . .

- identify and analyze weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation by completing a worksheet.
- analyze the issue of land claims by examining a map.

### SECTION 4

Students will . . .

- use worksheets to analyze the different plans and compromises in creating the Constitution.
- use primary and secondary sources to evaluate the major compromises made at the Constitutional Convention.

### SECTION 5

Students will . . .

- analyze the positions of the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, using primary sources.
- use primary sources to evaluate arguments in favor of and opposed to a bill of rights.

“Why stand we here idle? . . . Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!”

—Patrick Henry, Speech at the Virginia Convention, March 1775

**Painting:** The colonists meet the British army at Lexington, Massachusetts.

## Pressed for Time

To cover this chapter quickly, review the Bellringer flowchart in Section 1, and explain the rights found in each document. Then have students complete the Section 2 Reading Comprehension Worksheet, identifying the events that led to the Revolution. Explain that the colonists revolted when the rights under the English documents were taken away. Point out these rights in the Declaration of Independence. Have students answer the questions that appear after the Declaration of Independence. Review the Articles of Confederation, and have students fill out the Section 3 Reading Comprehension Worksheet. Review the New Jersey and Virginia plans and the compromises. Have students complete the Section 4 Extend options, creating a yearbook for the Framers and discussing the Enlightenment thinkers. Finally, have them complete the Section 5 Bellringer Worksheet and Extend option, comparing the Federalist and Anti-Federalist Papers.

### DIFFERENTIATED INSTRUCTION KEY

Look for these symbols to help you adjust steps in each lesson to meet your students' needs.

**L1** Special Needs

**L2** Basic

**ELL** English Language Learners

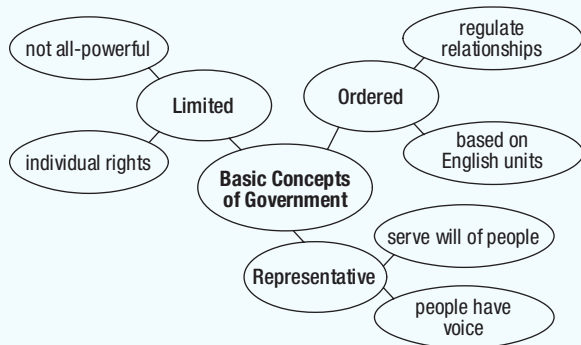
**LPR** Less Proficient Readers

**L3** All Students

**L4** Advanced Students

## GUIDING QUESTION

What ideas and traditions influenced government in the English colonies?



## Get Started

### LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- examine early English concepts of government.
- analyze the influences of the Magna Carta, Petition of Right, and English Bill of Rights on American ideas about government and freedom.
- compare the structure of royal colony governments to our National Government.

### BEFORE CLASS

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 62) before class.

**L2 Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 63)

## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### DRAW INFERENCES AND CONCLUSIONS

To help students learn to draw inferences and conclusions, have them turn to the Skills Handbook, p. S19, and use the steps, as they evaluate the importance of the landmark documents in their own lives and answer interpretive questions, in Parts 1 and 2 of the Core Worksheet. The steps are:

- summarize information;
- study the facts;
- apply other facts or prior knowledge;
- decide if the information suggests an unstated fact or conclusion.

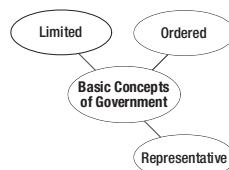
## SECTION 1

# Our Political Beginnings



### Guiding Question

**What ideas and traditions influenced government in the English colonies?** Use a concept web like the one below to take notes on the ideas that shaped American colonists' concepts of government.



### Political Dictionary

- limited government
- representative government
- Magna Carta
- due process
- Petition of Right
- English Bill of Rights
- charter
- bicameral
- proprietary
- unicameral

### Objectives

1. Identify the three concepts of government that influenced the American colonies.
2. Explain the significance of three landmark English documents.
3. Describe the three types of colonies that the English established in the American colonies.

**Image Above:** King John signs the Magna Carta, limiting his own power.

The American system of government did not suddenly spring into being with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Nor was it created by the Framers of the Constitution in 1787.

The beginnings of what was to become the United States can be found in the mid-sixteenth century when explorers, traders, and settlers first made their way to North America. The French, Dutch, Spanish, Swedes, and others came to explore and settle what would become this nation—and to dominate those Native Americans who were here for centuries before the arrival of the first Europeans. It was the English, however, who came in the largest numbers. And it was the English who soon controlled the 13 colonies that stretched for some 1,300 miles along the Atlantic seaboard.

## Basic Concepts of Government

The earliest English settlers brought with them knowledge of a political system—of established laws, customs, practices, and institutions—that had been developing in England for centuries.

Some aspects of that governing system had come to England from other times and places. Thus, the concept of the rule of law that influenced English political ideas has roots in the early civilizations of Africa and Asia.<sup>1</sup> More directly, the ancient Romans occupied much of England from A.D. 43 to 410. They left behind a legacy of law, religion, and custom. From that rich political history, the English colonists brought to North America three basic notions that were to loom large in the shaping of government in the United States.

**Ordered Government** The English colonists saw the need for an orderly regulation of their relationships with one another—that is, a need for government. They created local governments, based on those they had known in England.

<sup>1</sup> For example, King Hammurabi of Babylonia developed a system of laws known as Hammurabi's Code around 1750 a.c. Its 282 legal rules covered real estate, trade, and business transactions, as well as criminal law. The code distinguished between major and minor offenses, established the state as the authority to enforce the law, and tried to guarantee social justice. Because of the Babylonians' close contact with the Hebrews, many of their laws became part of Hebrew law and thus later a part of the Old Testament of the Bible—for example, "An eye for an eye." The English were quite familiar with and devoutly attracted to this Biblical concept of the rule of law.

## Focus on the Basics

Here is the information that your students need to learn in this section.

**FACTS:** • Early English settlers brought with them the tradition of ordered, limited, and representative government. • The Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the English Bill of Rights established basic concepts of government and rights of individuals. • The English colonies were of three types: royal, proprietary, and charter.

**CONCEPTS:** limited government, popular sovereignty, representative government

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • Early colonists in America benefited from English traditions of government. • The colonies served as a school for learning about government.

Many of the offices and units of government they established are with us yet today: the offices of sheriff and justice of the peace, the grand jury, counties, and several others.

**Limited Government** The colonists also brought with them the idea that government is restricted in what it may do, and every individual has certain rights that government cannot take away. This concept is called **limited government**, and it was deeply rooted in English belief and practice by the time the first English ships set sail for America. It had been planted in England centuries earlier, and had been developing there for nearly 400 years before Jamestown was settled in 1607.

**Representative Government** The early English settlers also carried another important concept across the Atlantic: **representative government**. This idea that government should serve the will of the people had also been developing in England for several centuries. With it had come a growing insistence that the people should have a voice in deciding what government should and should not do. As with the concept of limited government, the idea of “government of, by, and for the people” flourished in America.

## Landmark English Documents

These basic notions of ordered government, limited government, and representative government can be traced to several **landmark** documents in English history.

**The Magna Carta** A group of determined barons forced King John to sign the **Magna Carta**—the Great Charter—at Runnymede in 1215. Weary of John’s military campaigns and heavy taxes, the barons who prompted the Magna Carta were seeking protection against heavy-handed and **arbitrary** acts by the king.

The Magna Carta included guarantees of such fundamental rights as trial by jury and **due process** of law (protection against the arbitrary taking of life, liberty, or property). Those protections against the absolute power of the king were originally intended for the

privileged classes only. Over time, however, they became the rights of all English people and were incorporated into other documents. The Magna Carta established the critical idea that the monarchy’s power was not absolute.

**The Petition of Right** The Magna Carta was respected by some monarchs and ignored by others for 400 years. Over that period, England’s Parliament slowly grew in influence. In 1628, when Charles I asked Parliament for more money in taxes, Parliament refused until he agreed to sign the **Petition of Right**.

The Petition of Right limited the king’s power in several ways. Most importantly, it demanded that the king no longer imprison or otherwise punish any person but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. The document also insisted that the king may not impose martial law, or military rule, in times of peace, or require homeowners to shelter the king’s troops without their consent. The Petition declared that no man should be

**PRIMARY SOURCE**  
**compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament.**

—Petition of Right

The Petition challenged the idea of the divine right of kings, declaring that even a monarch must obey the law of the land.

**The English Bill of Rights** In 1689, after years of revolt and turmoil, Parliament offered the crown to William and Mary of Orange. The events surrounding their ascent to the throne are known as the Glorious Revolution. To prevent abuse of power by William and Mary and all future monarchs, Parliament, in 1689, drew up a list of provisions to which William and Mary had to agree.

This document, the **English Bill of Rights**, prohibited a standing army in peacetime, except with the consent of Parliament,

**Checkpoint**  
 What is representative government?



Commemorative coin from the reign of Charles I

**landmark**  
*adj* historical, pivotal, highly significant

**arbitrary**  
*adj* not restrained or limited in the exercise of power

## BELLRINGER

Display Transparency 2A, Three Basic Concepts of English Government. Write on the board: **Copy this flowchart in your notebook. Then write a brief definition of each concept in the boxes.**

## Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**.

### INTRODUCE THE TOPIC

Tell students that today they will discuss the influence of English traditions and ideas on colonial governments. Have students share their definitions from the Bellringer in a brainstorm session. Write their ideas on the board and help students reach a consensus about each definition. (*Ordered government: Government regulates affairs between people and maintains order and predictability. Limited government: Government is restricted in what it may do, and each individual has rights that the government cannot take away. Representative government: Government should serve the will of the people and people should have a voice in what the government can and cannot do.*) Help students connect these concepts to their own experience. Ask: **What kind of government do you live under? What rights do you have that the government cannot take away? How does the government help you in your everyday life?**

### DISCUSS LANDMARK DOCUMENTS

Point out that the three basic concepts of English government can be traced to three documents. Ask: **What are these three landmark documents?** (*the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the English Bill of Rights*) Discuss the reforms established under each document. Students can take out their Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 62) at this time and use their answers to Part 1 to start the discussion. Help students connect the three basic concepts of government with the documents. (*Magna Carta: limited government, ordered government; Petition of Right and English Bill of Rights: limited, ordered, and representative government*)

### DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET

Distribute the Chapter 2 Section 1 Core Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 64). Explain that students will assess the importance of the landmark documents in their own lives. Ask a student to read the introductory paragraph in Part 1 of the worksheet aloud.

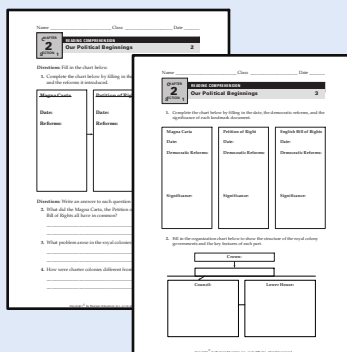
## Answers

**Checkpoint** government should serve the will of the people and people should have a voice in deciding what government should and should not do

## Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 1, Chapter 2, Section 1:

- L2** Prereading and Vocabulary Worksheet (p. 57)
- L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 62)
- L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 63)
- L3** Core Worksheet (p. 64)
- L3** Quiz A (p. 66)
- L2** Quiz B (p. 67)





Display Transparency 2B, Foundation of American Rights. Call on volunteers to define each right. (*trial by jury: right to trial by a jury of peers; due process: prohibits unfair, arbitrary [random] actions by government; private property: prohibits taking property except for legitimate public purpose and only for a fair price; no cruel punishment: punishment must bear a reasonable relationship to the seriousness of the crime and should be humane; no excessive bail or fines: bail or fines must bear a reasonable relationship to the seriousness of the crime; right to bear arms: right of each State to maintain a militia for its own protection; right to petition: right to join with others in public meetings, political parties, interest groups, and other associations to discuss public affairs and influence public policy; no unreasonable searches and seizures: police cannot search, seize evidence, or arrest people without a warrant or probable cause; freedom of speech and of the press: right to speak, publish, and express views; freedom of religion: right to hold personal religious ideas and practices and also the separation of church and state*)

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Pair less proficient students with more proficient students for Part 2.

#### REVIEW WORKSHEET AND SURVEY OPINIONS

Survey students' opinions about the importance of each right. Have them support their opinions.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Ask students to look at the list of rights on the Core Worksheet. Have them choose between one and three rights that they consider most important and write a sentence explaining their reason. Write each of the rights on the board or on separate pieces of paper that can be posted around the room. Have students write their names under the rights that they chose. You will be able to see clearly which rights the class considers most important and then call on students to explain their answers.

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Have students use the list of rights on the Core Worksheet to create quizzes that they exchange with classmates.

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour for a guided audio tour of the foundations of American rights.

## Answers

**Foundations of American Rights** Possible answer: With sufficient public support, a petition could pressure a monarch to change a behavior viewed by the people as an abuse of power.

**Checkpoint** prohibited standing army in peacetime, suspension of laws, and taxes without consent of Parliament; banned excessive bail or fines and cruel punishment; guaranteed right to free elections, to petition, to bear arms, to trial by jury, and to due process

## Foundations of American Rights

The rights established in these landmark documents were revolutionary in their day and influenced government in many countries. *How might the right to petition, first granted in the English Bill of Rights, prevent abuse of power by a monarch?*



The English Bill of Rights is presented to William and Mary.

	1215 Magna Carta	1689 English Bill of Rights	1776 Virginia Bill of Rights	1791 Bill of Rights
Trial by jury	•	•	•	•
Due process	•	•	•	•
Private property	•	•	•	•
No cruel punishment	•	•	•	•
No excessive bail or fines	•	•	•	•
Right to bear arms	•	•	•	•
Right to petition	•	•	•	•
No unreasonable searches or seizures	•	•	•	•
Freedom of speech	•	•	•	•
Freedom of the press	•	•	•	•
Freedom of religion	•	•	•	•

**Checkpoint**  
What were the limitations set by the English Bill of Rights?

**venture**  
n. an undertaking involving risk

**levy**  
v. to impose, to collect by legal authority

and required that all parliamentary elections be free. In addition, the document declared

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

that the pretended power of suspending the laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament is illegal . . .

that levying money for or to the use of the Crown . . . without grant of Parliament . . . is illegal . . .

that it is the right of the subjects to petition the king . . . and that prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal . . .

—English Bill of Rights

The English Bill of Rights also included such guarantees as the right to a fair trial, as well as freedom from excessive bail and from cruel and unusual punishment.

Our nation has built upon, changed, and added to those ideas and institutions that settlers brought here from England. Still, much in American government and politics today bears the stamp of those early English ideas. Surely, this is not so strange when you recall that the colonial period of American history lasted for some 170 years and that the United States has existed as an independent nation for only a slightly longer period.

## The Thirteen Colonies

England's colonies in North America have been described as "13 schools of government." The colonies were the settings in which Americans first began to learn the difficult art of government.<sup>2</sup>

The 13 colonies were established, separately, over a span of some 125 years. During that long period, outlying trading posts and isolated farm settlements developed into organized communities. The first colony, Virginia, was founded with the first permanent English settlement in North America at Jamestown in 1607.<sup>3</sup> Georgia was the last to be formed, with the settlement of Savannah in 1733.

Each of the colonies was born out of a particular set of circumstances. Virginia was originally organized as a commercial **venture**. Its first colonists were employees of the Virginia Company of London (also called the London Company), a private trading corporation. Massachusetts was first settled by

<sup>2</sup> The English and other Europeans brought their own notions of government, but that is not to say that they introduced the idea of government to the Americas. Several Native American societies had developed systems of government. Some Native American political organizations were very complex. For example, five Native American tribes in what is now New York State—the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and Mohawk—formed a confederation known as the Iroquois League. The League was originally created to end conflicts among the tribes. It proved so successful as a form of government that it lasted for some 200 years.

<sup>3</sup> St. Augustine, Florida, is the oldest continuously populated European settlement in what is now the United States. St. Augustine was founded by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565 to establish Spanish authority in the region.

## Background

**EARLY COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS** The earliest English settlers in America recognized the need to establish orderly societies under the rule of law. Before the *Mayflower* landed in 1620, the Pilgrims signed the Mayflower Compact, an agreement to enact laws and abide by them for the general good of the colony. The government of Plymouth Colony was later based on this document. In 1639, the Puritans in Connecticut adopted the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, the first written constitution in the American colonies. The plan of government set out in the Fundamental Orders included a representative legislature and governor elected by male landowners. These founding documents reflected the concepts of ordered, limited, and representative government the colonists brought with them from England.

people who came to North America in search of greater personal and religious freedom. King George granted Georgia to 21 trustees, who governed the colony.

But the differences among the colonies are of little importance. Of much greater significance is the fact that all of them were shaped by their English origins. The many similarities among all 13 colonies far outweighed their differences.

Each colony was established on the basis of a **charter**, a written grant of authority from the king. This grant gave colonists or companies a grant of land and some governing rights, while the Crown retained a certain amount of power over a colony. Over time, these instruments of government led to the development of three different types of colonies: royal, proprietary, and charter.

**Royal Colonies** The royal colonies were subject to the direct control of the Crown. On the eve of the American Revolution in 1775, there were eight: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The Virginia colony did not enjoy the quick success its sponsors had promised. In addition, the colony's government was evolving into one of popular rule. The king disapproved of the local government's methods, as well as their attempt to grow tobacco. So, in 1624, the king revoked the London Company's charter, and Virginia became the first of the royal colonies. Later, as the charters of other colonies were canceled or withdrawn for a variety of reasons, they became royal colonies.

A pattern of government gradually emerged for each of the royal colonies. The king named a governor to serve as the colony's chief executive. A council, also named by the king, served as an advisory body to the royal governor. Later, the governor's council became both the upper house of the colonial legislature and the colony's

highest court. The lower house of a **bicameral** (two-house) legislature was elected by those property owners qualified to vote.<sup>4</sup> It owed much of its influence to the fact that it shared with the governor and his council the power of the purse—the power to tax and spend. The governor, advised by the council, appointed judges for the colony's courts.

The laws passed by the legislature had to be approved by the governor and the Crown. Royal governors often ruled with a stern hand, following instructions from London. Much of the resentment that finally flared into revolution was fanned by their actions.

**The Proprietary Colonies** By 1775, there were three **proprietary** colonies: Maryland,

## The Thirteen Colonies, 1775



▶ **Analyzing Maps** Despite the differing government systems within the colonies, they were all influenced by their English roots. **How many royal colonies were left at this time? How were royal colonies and charter colonies different?**

<sup>4</sup> The Virginia legislature held its first meeting in Jamestown on July 30, 1619, and was the first representative body to meet in the North American English colonies. It was made up of burgesses—that is, representatives—elected from each settlement (each borough) in the colony. Virginia called the lower house of its colonial legislature the House of Burgesses; South Carolina, the House of Commons; Massachusetts, the House of Representatives.

**L4 Differentiate** Ask: **What would happen if we didn't have these rights?** Have partners or small groups work together to act out a scenario in which one of the basic rights does not exist. Assign one of the following scenarios: (1) A student is stopped for speeding, and protection against cruel punishment and excessive bail or fines does not exist. (2) A student's family home is in the middle of a spot planned for a new highway, and the right to private property does not exist. (3) A student has been unfairly accused of destroying parking meters, and the rights to trial by jury and due process do not exist. Alternatively, students could create a scenario of their own choosing.

### REVIEW FACTS

Ask students to turn to the "Structure of the Royal Colonies" organization chart in Part 2 of the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 62). Re-create the flowchart on the board. Call on volunteers to fill in the information.

**L2 Differentiate** If students have a weak background in American history, pause and have them study the map of the colonies in the text.

**L4 Differentiate** Have partners create a compare-contrast chart, showing similarities and differences between the royal colony governments and our National Government today. (*similarities: bicameral legislature and distinct executive and legislative branches; differences: today separate judicial and legislative branches and no king*)

### EXTEND THE LESSON

**L3** Provide copies of the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, the first constitution in the American colonies. Assign a section to each pair of students to summarize the key points in their own words.

**L3 L4** Ask small groups to debate the following idea: Had Britain allowed other colonies the same freedoms and self-government as Connecticut and Rhode Island enjoyed, the Revolutionary War might never have occurred.

**L4** Have students talk about why Britain did not allow other colonies to govern themselves.

## Background

**JOHN LOCKE** The ideas of English philosopher John Locke were so radical that he could not publish his *Treatises on Government* until 1690, ten years after its completion. Locke believed that all people are born with natural rights, including life, liberty, and property. People establish governments to protect these rights. If the government fails in this duty, the people have a right to change the government. This idea challenged the divine right of kings, and was used to justify the Glorious Revolution. Locke's ideas of natural rights, government by and for the people, and religious toleration greatly influenced the Framers of the U.S. Constitution.

This information also appears on the Extend Worksheet for Section 4, along with information about other influential philosophers covered in this chapter.

## Answers

**Analyzing Maps** 8; A royal colony was subject to direct control of the monarch, who appointed the governor. A proprietor controlled a proprietary colony and appointed the governor.

## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheets and assess the students' class participation, using the Rubric for Assessing a Graph, Chart, or Table (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 217).

**L3** Assign the Section 1 Assessment questions.

**L3** Section Quiz A (All-in-One, p. 66)

**L2** Section Quiz B (All-in-One, p. 67)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.

### REMEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The rights and protections in the three landmark documents (Questions 3, 5)	Create a chart on the board with a column for each document. Have students work together and write the rights and protections on note cards and then put the note cards in the correct columns.
The three kinds of colonies (Questions 4, 6)	Have pairs create concept webs with each kind of colony in the center. Each pair should write the characteristics of each colony in the outlying circles.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** Proprietary colonies were organized by, and the governor was appointed by, a proprietor to whom the king had granted land. Charter colonies were self-governing, and the governors were elected.

## Assessment Answers

- ordered government; limited government; representative government; trial by jury; due process; private property; no cruel punishment; no excessive bail; right to bear arms; right to petition; no martial law in peacetime; no requirement to shelter troops; no levying money without consent
- Government serves the will of the people, and the people have a voice in determining what their government can and cannot do.
- The barons wanted to protect themselves from heavy-handed and arbitrary acts by the

king. The document guaranteed trial by jury and due process of law.

- (a)** a legislature made up of two houses  
**(b)** elected by property owners qualified to vote
- limited government, trial by jury, due process of law
- Students should back up their responses with evidence from the text. Possible response: Yes, I agree. Connecticut and Rhode Island essentially governed themselves, while the governments of the other colonies were more

**✓ Checkpoint**  
What is the difference between a proprietary colony and a charter colony?

**haven**  
n. a place of safety

Pennsylvania, and Delaware. These colonies were organized by a proprietor, a person to whom the king had made a grant of land. By charter, that land could be settled and governed much as the proprietor chose. In 1632, the king granted Maryland to Lord Baltimore, which was intended as a **haven** for Catholics. In 1681, Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn. In 1682, Penn also acquired Delaware.<sup>5</sup>

The governments of these three colonies were much like those in the royal colonies. The governor, however, was appointed by the proprietor. In Maryland and Delaware, the legislatures were bicameral. In Pennsylvania, the legislature was a **unicameral** body. It consisted of only one house. The Frame of Government, a constitution that William Penn drew up for that colony in 1682, was, for its time, exceedingly democratic. As in the royal colonies, appeals of decisions in the proprietary colonies could be carried to the king in London.

**The Charter Colonies** The Massachusetts Bay Colony was established as the first charter colony in 1629. Its charter was later

<sup>5</sup> New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia also began as proprietary colonies. Each later became a royal colony.

revoked, and Massachusetts became a royal colony in 1691.

Connecticut and Rhode Island were charter colonies founded by religious dissidents from Massachusetts. Connecticut was founded in 1633, and granted a charter in 1662. Rhode Island was founded in 1636, and granted a charter in 1663. Both colonies were largely self-governing.

The governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island were elected each year by the white, male property owners in each colony. Although the king's approval was required before the governor could take office, it was not often asked. Laws made by their bicameral legislatures were not subject to the governor's veto, nor was the Crown's approval needed. Judges in the charter colonies were appointed by the legislature, but appeals could be taken from the colonial courts to the king.

The Connecticut and Rhode Island charters were so liberal for their time that, after independence, they were kept with only minor changes as State constitutions until 1818 and 1843, respectively. In fact, many historians say that if Britain had allowed the other colonies the same freedoms and self-government found in the charter colonies, the Revolution might never have occurred.

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

**Essential Questions Journal** To continue to build a response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your **Essential Questions Journal**.

- Guiding Question** Use your completed flowchart to answer this question: What ideas and traditions influenced government in the English colonies?

### Key Terms and Comprehension

- Define the concept of **representative government**.
- Explain why the barons forced King John to sign the **Magna Carta**.
- (a)** What is a **bicameral** legislature?  
**(b)** How was the lower house of the legislature chosen in the royal colonies?

### Critical Thinking

- Make Comparisons** What principles do the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the English Bill of Rights have in common?
- Predict Consequences** The English Crown gave Connecticut and Rhode Island many freedoms not enjoyed by other colonies. Do you agree with the historians who say that the Revolution may have never happened if all colonies enjoyed the same freedoms? Why or why not?

### Quick Write

**Narrative Writing: Choose a Colony** Choose one of the 13 colonies and write questions about its founding, its original government, and how it changed throughout the Revolutionary period. You will later research answers for these questions and write a narrative nonfiction piece. For example, if you choose Connecticut, you might ask: What was Connecticut's reaction to the English government's treatment of the colonies?



# ISSUES OF OUR TIME

## Adopting a Constitution

### ▶▶ Track the Issue

The need for a constitution has been debated in different nations and international groups like the European Union (E.U.). Most have adopted constitutions, while a few have not.

1788

The Constitution is ratified after nearly a year of heated debate.

1861

The Confederate States of America ratifies a constitution that closely resembles the Constitution of the United States.

1949

The Federal Republic of Germany adopts a constitution based on the principles of the American Constitution and the British government.

2005

Voters in France and the Netherlands reject the E.U. constitution; a new charter was written for new review.

October 2005

The Iraqi people vote to approve their new constitution during U.S. occupation.

The Iraqi Governing Council held their signing ceremony on March 8, 2004. ▼



### ▶▶ Perspectives

On July 13, 2003, twenty-five individuals representing the many religious and ethnic groups in Iraq met to write a new constitution. Called the Iraqi Governing Council, its goal was to create a federal and democratic government for its diverse population, much like our Constitutional Convention of 1787. After more than two years of debate, a constitution was written and ratified, but not without opposition. Many people, including members of the Sunni Arab community in Kirkuk, feared a federal system would divide the nation rather than unite it.

“The constitution will not be complete or legitimate unless those who did not participate in the previous elections or those who are not represented in the National Assembly are involved in it. Among these are the Sunni Arabs. If they do not take part in writing the constitution, the constitution will not be at all legitimate. It will be a lame constitution which will be met with objection and rejection by a large sector of the Iraqi society.”

—Sheik Khalaf Salih al-Ulwayan,  
head of National Dialogue Council

“Kirkuk’s Arabs refuse any constitution that would divide the country by different names, which is at odds with Islam and with the Arabic nation of Iraq.”

—Sheik Abdul Rahman Mished, leader of Kirkuk’s Arab Assembly

### ▶▶ Connect to Your World

1. **Understand (a)** Why does Sheik Abdul Rahman Mished oppose a federal system? **(b)** Do you agree or disagree with him?
2. **Compare and Contrast (a)** What were the arguments for and against the ratification of the American Constitution? **(b)** What similarities exist between the arguments of the Anti-Federalists and those of the Sunni Arabs?

#### GOVERNMENT ONLINE

##### In the News

For updates about the Iraqi constitution, visit [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

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## LESSON GOAL

- Students will examine the challenges of creating a constitution for a diverse nation, using a contemporary example.

## Teach

### ACTIVATE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

Ask students to define what a constitution is. (*possible answer: the body of fundamental laws setting out the principles, structures, and processes of government*) Have them brainstorm ideas about the purpose of a written constitution. (*Possible answers: A written constitution allows citizens to reach consensus about what form of government they will have and how power will be distributed, to agree on common principles that will unite them, and to protect the safety and interests of individuals.*)

### SUMMARIZE THE ISSUE

Have students read “Adopting a Constitution” and call on volunteers to summarize the issue. Ask them to identify the arguments for and against a constitution based on a federal system.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Have students look up the definition of *federalism* in the glossary.

### PREDICT

Point out that the challenge of establishing a constitution that brings together diverse groups with different interests has been replayed throughout modern history, as the timeline indicates. Invite students to suggest what might be the universal hopes and fears behind this issue. Explain that in this chapter they will learn more details about the Federalist and Anti-Federalist debate over ratification of the U.S. Constitution.

## Assess and Remediate

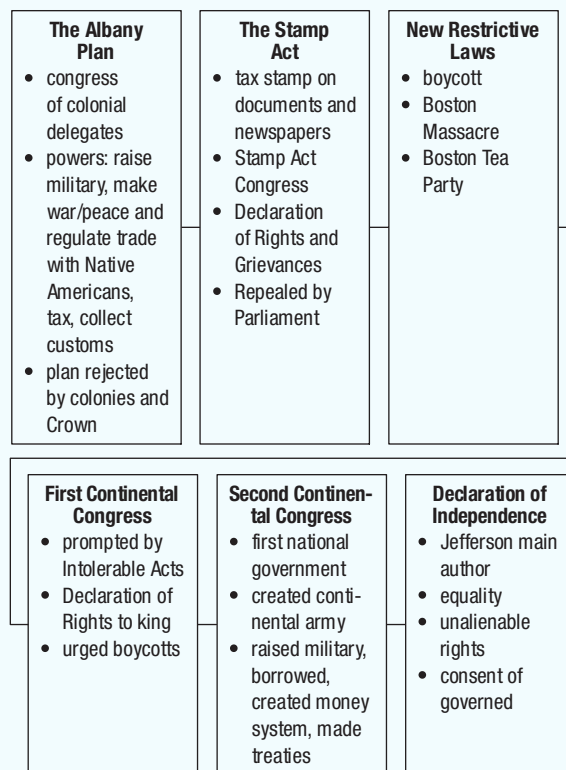
Have students write a short radio ad in support of one side of the issue, as stated in the quotes.

### Answers

1. **(a)** He fears that a federal system will divide rather than unite the nation. **(b)** Sample answer: I disagree. The federal system has helped unite our country, which has many regional and ethnic differences.
2. **(a) For:** strong central government needed to solve nation’s problems, separation of powers will prevent abuse; **Against:** States should hold more power, president or Congress could become too powerful **(b)** Both feared strong central government and preferred local identity.

## GUIDING QUESTION

What events and ideas led to American independence?



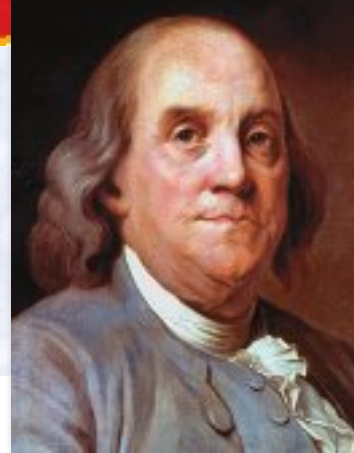
## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### COMPARE VIEWPOINTS

To practice comparing viewpoints in this section, use the Chapter 2 Skills Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 76). You may teach the skill explicitly either before or after filling out the Bellringer chart. For L2 and L1 students, assign the adapted Skill Activity (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 77).

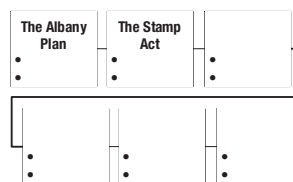
## SECTION 2

# The Coming of Independence



### Guiding Question

**What events and ideas led to American independence?** Use a flowchart like the one below to record major events that led to American independence.



### Political Dictionary

- confederation
- Albany Plan of Union
- delegate
- popular sovereignty

### Objectives

1. Explain how Britain's colonial policies contributed to the growth of self-government in the colonies.
2. Identify the major steps that led to growing feelings of colonial unity.
3. Compare the First and the Second Continental Congresses.
4. Analyze the ideas in the Declaration of Independence.
5. Summarize the common features of the first State constitutions.

**Image Above:** Benjamin Franklin was a leading member of the Second Continental Congress.

**“W**e must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately.” Benjamin Franklin is said to have spoken these words on July 4, 1776, as he and the other members of the Second Continental Congress approved the Declaration of Independence. Those who heard him may have chuckled. But they also may have felt a shiver, for Franklin's humor carried a deadly serious message.

In this section, you will follow the events that led to the momentous decision to break with Great Britain.<sup>7</sup> You will also consider the new State governments that were established with the coming of independence.

## Britain's Colonial Policies

The 13 colonies were separately controlled under the king, largely through the Privy Council and the Board of Trade in London. Parliament took little part in the management of the colonies. Although it did become interested in matters of trade, it often left administrative matters to the Crown.<sup>8</sup>

Over the century and a half that followed the first settlement at Jamestown, the colonies developed within that framework of royal control. In theory, they were governed from London. But London was more than 3,000 miles away, and it took nearly two months to sail that distance. The colonists became used to a large measure of self-government.

Each colonial legislature began to assume broad lawmaking powers. Many found the power of the purse to be very effective. They often bent a royal governor to their will by not voting the money for his salary until he came to terms with them. As one member of New Jersey's assembly put it: “Let us keep the dogges poore, and we'll make them do as we please.”

By the mid-1700s, the relationship between Britain and the colonies had become, in fact if not in form, federal. This meant that the central government

<sup>7</sup> England became Great Britain by the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707.

<sup>8</sup> Much of British political history can be told in terms of the centuries-long struggle for supremacy between the monarch and Parliament. That conflict was largely settled by England's Glorious Revolution of 1688, but it did continue through the American colonial period and into the nineteenth century. However, Parliament paid little attention to the American colonies until very late in the colonial period.

## Focus on the Basics

**FACTS:** • Britain became more involved in trying to govern the colonies in the 1760s. • Delegates joined the First Continental Congress to plan opposition to British policy. • The Second Continental Congress proclaimed independence and served as the first United States government. • After the Declaration of Independence, most of the 13 States adopted written constitutions, which later influenced the U.S. Constitution.

**CONCEPTS:** limited government, popular sovereignty, civil rights and liberties, constitutional government

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • More restrictive British policies ignited resentment in the colonies and led to the American Revolution. • Principles expounded in early State constitutions influenced the development of our current system of government.



in London was responsible for colonial defense and for foreign affairs. It also provided a uniform system of money and credit and a common market for colonial trade. Beyond that, the colonies were allowed a fairly wide amount of self-rule. Little was taken from them in direct taxes to pay for the central government. The few regulations set by Parliament, mostly about trade, were largely ignored.

This was soon to change. Shortly after George III came to the throne in 1760, Britain began to deal more firmly with its colonies. Restrictive trading acts were expanded and enforced. New taxes were imposed, mostly to support British troops in North America.

Many colonists took strong exception to those policies. They objected to taxes imposed on them from afar. That arrangement, they claimed, was “taxation without representation.” They saw little need for the costly presence of British troops on North American soil, since the French had been defeated and their power broken in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Yet, the colonists still considered themselves British subjects loyal to the Crown.

The king’s ministers were poorly informed and stubborn. They pushed ahead with their policies, despite the resentments they stirred in America. Within a few years, the colonists faced a fateful choice: submit or revolt.

## Growing Colonial Unity

A decision to revolt was not one to be taken lightly—or alone. The colonies would need to learn to work together if they wanted to succeed. Indeed, long before the 1770s, several attempts had been made to promote cooperation among the colonies.

**Early Attempts** In 1643, the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut settlements formed the New England Confederation, a “league of friendship” for defense against Native American tribes. A **confederation** is a joining of several groups for a common purpose. As the danger passed and frictions among the settlements grew, the confederation lost importance and finally dissolved in 1684.

In 1696, William Penn offered an elaborate plan for intercolonial cooperation,

largely in trade, defense, and criminal matters. It received little attention and was very quickly forgotten.

**The Albany Plan** In 1754, the British Board of Trade called a meeting of seven of the northern colonies at Albany. The main purpose of the meeting was to discuss the problems of colonial trade and the danger of attacks by the French and their Native American allies. Here, Benjamin Franklin offered what came to be known as the **Albany Plan of Union**.

In his plan, Franklin proposed the creation of an annual congress of **delegates** (representatives) from each of the 13 colonies. That body would have the power to raise military and naval forces, make war and peace with the Native Americans, regulate trade with them, tax, and collect customs **duties**.

**Checkpoint**  
How did Britain’s dealings with the colonies change? When did they change?

**duty**  
n. a tax on imports



**Analyzing Political Cartoons** (1) A colonial cartoonist mocks British Lord William on stilts fishing for popularity in the Atlantic after the Stamp Act disaster. (2) A British cartoon depicts the colonists, forcing tea down the throat of a tarred-and-feathered tax collector. Both Britain and the colonies had their own opinions about the taxes. **How does the British cartoon depict the colonists? How does this differ from the colonist cartoon?**



Chapter 2 • Section 2 37

## Get Started

### LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- analyze British policies and colonial reactions as causes and effects.
- examine events leading up to the Declaration of Independence through political cartoons and a first-hand account from that era.
- identify, define, and analyze propaganda in political cartoons.

### BEFORE CLASS

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 68) before class.

**L2 Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 70)

### BELLRINGER

Display Transparency 2C, The Road to Revolution. Write on the board: **In your notebook, use a chart like this to identify each event leading to the Revolutionary War as a British or Colonial action or reaction. Use the Cause-Effect Chains from your Reading Comprehension Worksheet and the timeline in the text to help you.**

## Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**.

### INTRODUCE THE TOPIC

Tell students that today they will discuss the events that led to war and independence. Ask students to help fill out the Bellringer chart.

British Actions/Reactions	Colonial Actions/Reactions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• British troops stay in America</li> <li>• Taxes on Colonies to pay for troops</li> <li>• Stamp Act</li> <li>• Boston Massacre</li> <li>• Intolerable Acts</li> <li>• Battles of Lexington and Concord</li> <li>• Refusal to back down</li> <li>• Stricter measures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Outrage, anger, defiance</li> <li>• Stamp Act Congress</li> <li>• Boston Tea Party</li> <li>• Mob violence</li> <li>• First Continental Congress</li> <li>• Declaration of Rights</li> <li>• Battles of Lexington and Concord</li> <li>• Second Continental Congress</li> <li>• Declaration of Independence</li> <li>• State Constitutions</li> </ul>

## Answers

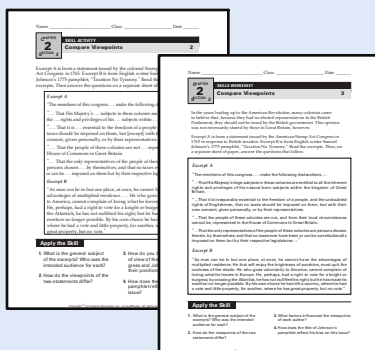
**Checkpoint** Shortly after George III became king in 1760, Britain began imposing restrictive trading acts and new taxes.

**Analyzing Political Cartoons** as a mob of bullies; each side makes the other side look foolish

## Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 1, Chapter 2, Section 2:

- L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 68)
- L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 70)
- L3** Core Worksheets A and B (pp. 72, 74)
- L3** Skills Worksheet (p. 76)
- L2** Skill Activity (p. 77)
- L2** Extend Activities (pp. 78, 79)
- L3** Quiz A (p. 80)
- L2** Quiz B (p. 81)



# The Road to Independence

## The New World



**1607** Jamestown, Virginia, the first successful English settlement, is founded.

**1620** The Pilgrims sign the Mayflower Compact.

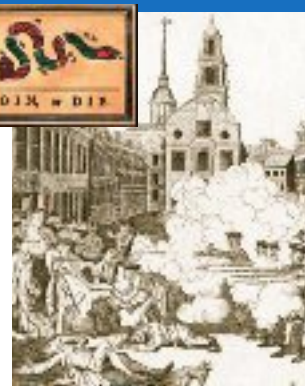
**1669** John Locke contributes to the constitution for the Carolina colony.

## The Colonies Unite

**1754** The Albany Congress proposes that the colonies unite.

**1765** The Stamp Act is passed.

**1770** Five colonists are killed by the British at the Boston Massacre.



► **Interpreting Timelines** English colonists brought with them the ideas of the Enlightenment and limited government. In time, these ideas began to shape the ideals of American government and the actions of the colonists. *How did early events contribute to the signing of the Declaration of Independence?*

**repeal**  
v. to cancel

**boycott**  
n. a refusal to buy or sell certain goods

Franklin's plan was ahead of its time. It was agreed to by the representatives attending the Albany meeting, but it was turned down by the colonies and by the Crown.

**The Stamp Act Congress** Britain's harsh tax and trade policies fanned resentment in the colonies. Parliament had passed a number of new laws, among them the Stamp Act of 1765. That law required the use of tax stamps on all legal documents, on certain business agreements, and on newspapers.

The new taxes were widely denounced, in part because the rates were perceived as severe, but largely because they amounted to "taxation without representation." In October of 1765, nine colonies—all except Georgia, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Virginia—sent delegates to a meeting in New York, the Stamp Act Congress. There, they prepared a strong protest, called the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, against the new British policies and sent it to the king. The Stamp Act Congress marked the first

time a significant number of the colonies had joined to oppose the British government.

Parliament **repealed** the Stamp Act, but frictions still mounted. New laws were passed and new policies made to tie the colonies more closely to London. Colonists showed their resentment and anger by completely evading the laws. Mob violence erupted at several ports, and many colonists supported a **boycott** of English goods. On March 5, 1770, British troops in Boston fired on a jeering crowd, killing five, in what came to be known as the Boston Massacre.

Organized resistance was carried on through Committees of Correspondence, which had grown out of a group formed by political leader Samuel Adams in Boston in 1772. Those committees soon spread throughout the colonies, providing a network for cooperation and the exchange of information among the patriots.

Protests multiplied. The Boston Tea Party took place on December 16, 1773. A group of men, disguised as Native Americans, boarded

38 Origins of American Government

## Debate

Divide the class into patriots and loyalists. Have them debate this question from their assigned point of view: **Should we declare independence from Britain?** Use the quotation below from loyalist clergyman Charles Inglis to start the debate.

"Suppose we were to revolt from Great-Britain, declare ourselves Independent, and set up a Republic of our own—what would be the consequence? — I stand aghast at the prospect — my blood runs chill when I think of the calamities, the complicated evils that must ensue . . ."

—Charles Inglis

*The True Interest of America Impartially Stated* (1776)

Point out that each action and reaction had momentous effects. Ask: **What was the effect of the Stamp Act and other English taxes on the colonies?** (*colonists: outraged, sent delegates to Stamp Act Congress, organized boycotts; British: refused to back down, enacted further restrictions; Both: tension mounted*) **Why did the British adopt these taxes?** (*They needed money to support British troops in America.*) **Why did the colonists oppose taxes for these troops?** (*They believed that British troops were unnecessary, and that "taxation without representation" was unfair.*) **Why did the colonists react so strongly to this tax?** (*The colonists had enjoyed a long history of self-government in America; these new taxes, levied by a distant Parliament that did not represent them, shocked and dismayed them.*) Discuss the causes and effects of each item on the chart. You may want to review students' cause-effect chains in the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 68) at this time.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Review the timeline in the textbook. Ask: **What events does the timeline show?** (*the events leading up to the War for Independence*) **What happened in 1773?** (*The Tea Act was passed, sparking the Boston Tea Party.*) **What happened in 1775?** (*The Battles of Lexington and Concord started the Revolutionary War.*) You might want to compare and contrast timelines and cause-effect chains. (*A timeline shows events in chronological order; a cause-effect chain shows the relationship of one event to another. A timeline is useful for visualizing and remembering a series of events; a cause-effect chart is helpful for understanding the impact of each event within a series and its influence on outcomes.*)

**L4 Differentiate** Point out that by the end of the costly French and Indian War, Britain was in the midst of financial crisis, while the colonies were prospering. As a result, Britain passed a series of acts that led to the Revolutionary War. Invite students to consider both sides of the growing crisis. Have students research Britain's financial woes as well as the taxes and other acts that Britain passed to ease this emergency at home (for example, Sugar Act, Stamp Act, Quartering Act, Declaratory Act, Townshend Acts, Tea Act, Intolerable Acts). Then have a roundtable discussion about this question: **Was Britain justified in imposing taxes on the colonies?**

After students discuss this question, have them create a journal entry about their findings. Ask them whether their understanding of Britain's viewpoint changed during this investigation.

## Answers

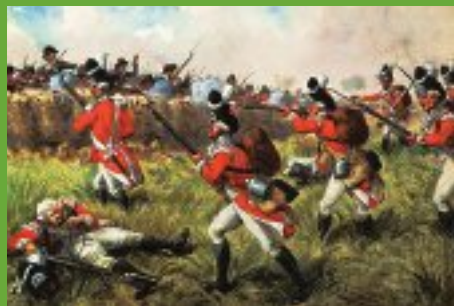
**Interpreting Timelines** Colonists organized their own governments, and colonies moved toward unity. New taxes sparked protest and later armed conflict, resulting in the Declaration of Independence.

38 Origins of American Government



**War Begins**

**1773** The Tea Act is passed. Colonists respond with the Boston Tea Party.



**1775** The battles of Lexington and Concord spark the Revolution.

**Independence**



**1776** The Declaration of Independence is signed.

three tea ships in Boston Harbor. They broke open the chests and dumped the cargo into the sea to protest British control of the tea trade.

**First Continental Congress**

In the spring of 1774, Parliament passed yet another set of laws, this time to punish the colonists for the troubles in Boston and elsewhere. These new laws, denounced in America as the Intolerable Acts, prompted widespread calls for a meeting of the colonies.

Delegates from every colony except Georgia met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. Many of the **ablest** men of the day were there: Samuel Adams and John Adams of Massachusetts; Roger Sherman of Connecticut; Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island; John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania; John Jay and Philip Livingston of New York; George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry of Virginia; and John Rutledge of South Carolina.

For nearly two months, the members of that First Continental Congress discussed the worsening situation and debated plans for action. They sent a Declaration of Rights,

protesting Britain's colonial policies, to King George III. The delegates urged the colonies to refuse all trade with England until the hated taxes and trade regulations were repealed. The delegates also called for the creation of local committees to enforce that boycott.

The meeting adjourned on October 26, 1774, with a call for a second congress to be convened the following May. Over the next several months, all 13 colonial legislatures gave their support to the actions of the First Continental Congress.

**Second Continental Congress**

During the fall and winter of 1774–1775, the British government continued to refuse to compromise, let alone reverse, its colonial policies. It reacted to the Declaration of Rights as it had to other expressions of colonial discontent—with even stricter and more repressive measures.

The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. By then, the Revolution had begun. The “shot heard ’round the world” had been fired. The battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought three weeks earlier, on April 19.

**Checkpoint**  
What did the First Continental Congress accomplish?

**ablest**  
*adj.* the most talented, capable, competent, skillful

**DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET A**

Distribute the Chapter 2 Section 2 Core Worksheet A (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 72). Explain that students will now examine the people and events of the Revolutionary War era through the prism of political cartoons. Cartoons were important tools in the propaganda war, used to sway public opinion, strengthen unity, and promote both the colonial and British causes. By studying the cartoons closely, students will better understand both points of view. They will also appreciate what a potent weapon propaganda can be. Ask a student to read the directions and questions on the worksheet.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**CHAPTER 2 CORE WORKSHEET A**  
**SECTION 2 The Coming of Independence 3**

Examine each cartoon and answer the questions that follow.

**CARTOON 1: The Repeal, or the Funeral of Miss Ame-Stamp**

1. What is the subject of the cartoon?
2. How would you sum up the point of the cartoon?
3. Which details stand out in the cartoon? Why?
4. Whose point of view does the cartoon take (i.e., the colonists' or the British)? How can you tell?
5. How might this subject have been portrayed from the opposite point of view?
6. Is the cartoon humorous? Explain your answer.

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Tell students to go to the Audio Tour for a guided audio tour of the Road to Independence timeline.

**Government online** All print resources are available on the Teacher's Resource Library CD-ROM and online at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com).

**Teacher-to-Teacher Network**

**ALTERNATE LESSON PLAN** The Revolutionary War-era propaganda was crucial for uniting the colonies and for winning foreign support. Analyzing historical materials from institutions such as the Library of Congress or the National Archives can help students understand the role propaganda played before and during the Revolution. By learning about propaganda during the time period covered by this chapter, students can develop critical awareness in dealing with propaganda in their own lives.

To see this lesson plan, go to



**Answers**

**Checkpoint** It unified colonial response to British policies by organizing a boycott of trade, calling for local committees to enforce the boycott, and calling for a second congress.



**✓ Checkpoint**  
What was the purpose  
of the Declaration of  
Independence?

## DISCUSS THE IMPACT OF PROPAGANDA

Point out that political cartoons are a form of propaganda and that both the patriots and the British used this tool to promote their own agenda. Call on volunteers to define *propaganda*. (*Propaganda is a form of persuasion that appeals to emotions in order to convince people about the truth of a particular idea or point of view.*) Ask: **What are some kinds of propaganda?** (*advertisements, editorials, political speeches and writing, testimonials, other persuasive writing*) **How are political cartoons different from other forms of propaganda?** (*Political cartoons use visual humor and visual exaggeration as persuasive devices; cartoons seldom use reason or evidence to bolster opinions or point of view.*) **How are political cartoons similar to other forms of propaganda?** (*Like all propaganda, political cartoons promote a point of view and use techniques such as exaggeration and emotional appeals.*)

Students can work with partners or individually to answer the questions for each cartoon on the worksheet. They can also answer the same questions for the cartoons that appear in Chapter 2, Section 2 of the textbook or on Transparency 2D.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Divide the class into three groups and assign each group one political cartoon. Have the groups complete the questions for their cartoons. Allow time for groups to share their findings with the class.

**L4 Differentiate** Ask students to write a brief persuasive argument in favor of the point of view presented in one of the cartoons they studied. They should use logic and evidence along with persuasive techniques to support their opinions. Students' written argument should get across the same idea as the cartoon.

## DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET B

Have a student read the article about the Boston Massacre in Core Worksheet B. Then call on volunteers to answer the questions.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students investigate the trial of Captain Preston and President John Adams's defense of the British soldier.

**L1 L2 ELL Differentiate** Preview difficult vocabulary from the article to support comprehension: *circumstances* (situation, condition); *outrage* (wrongdoing, crime); *enormous* (huge); *slaughter* (killing); *issued* (came out from); *dispersed* (went away, disappeared).

## Answers

**Checkpoint** to proclaim the existence of a new nation

**The Delegates** Each of the 13 colonies sent representatives to the Congress. Most of those who had attended the First Continental Congress were again present. Most notable among the newcomers were Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania and John Hancock of Massachusetts.

Hancock was chosen president of the Congress.<sup>9</sup> Almost at once, a continental army was created, and George Washington was appointed its commander-in-chief. Thomas Jefferson then took Washington's place in the Virginia delegation.

**Our First National Government** The Second Continental Congress became, by force of circumstance, the nation's first national government. However, it rested on no constitutional base. It was condemned by the British as an unlawful assembly and a den of traitors. But it was supported by the force of public opinion and practical necessity.

The Second Continental Congress served as the first government of the United States for five fateful years, from the formal adoption of the Declaration of Independence in July 1776 until the Articles of Confederation went into effect on March 1, 1781. During that time, the Second Continental Congress fought a war, raised armies and a navy, borrowed funds, bought supplies, created a money system, made treaties with foreign powers, and did other things that any government would have had to do in those circumstances.

The unicameral Congress exercised both legislative and executive powers. In legislative matters, each colony—later, State—had one vote. Executive functions were handled by committees of delegates.

## The Declaration of Independence

Slightly more than a year after the Revolution began, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia proposed to the Congress:

<sup>9</sup> Peyton Randolph, who had also served as president of the First Continental Congress, was originally chosen to the office. He resigned on May 24, however, because the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which he was the speaker, had been called into session. Hancock was then elected to succeed him.

## PRIMARY SOURCE

**Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.**

—Resolution of June 7, 1776

Congress named a committee of five—Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson—to prepare a proclamation of independence. Their momentous product, the Declaration of Independence, was very largely the work of Jefferson.

On July 2, the final break came. The delegates agreed to Lee's resolution—but only after spirited debate, for many of the delegates had serious doubts about the wisdom of a complete separation from England. Two days later, on July 4, 1776, they adopted the Declaration of Independence, proclaiming the existence of the new nation.

At its heart, the Declaration proclaims:

## PRIMARY SOURCE

**We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.**

—The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America

## Background

**BARON DE MONTESQUIEU** In his work *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), French philosopher Baron de Montesquieu examined different forms of government. He observed that corruption can creep into any government. “. . . [C]onstant experience shows us that every man invested with power is apt to abuse it . . . it is necessary from the very nature of things that power should be a check to power.” Montesquieu concluded that abuse of power can be prevented by separating legislative, executive, and judicial powers among different bodies. Each body would restrain the power of the others, and all would be bound by the rule of law.

This information also appears on the Extend Worksheet for Section 4, along with information about other influential philosophers covered in this chapter.



“And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.”  
—Declaration of Independence

The members of the Second Continental Congress signed the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. *By signing this document, what were these men risking? Why were they willing to sign it?*

No political system had ever been founded on the notion that the people should rule instead of being ruled, nor on the idea that every person is important as an individual, “created equal,” and endowed with “certain unalienable rights.” The Declaration was also groundbreaking because it was founded on the concept of “the consent of the governed,” not divine right or tradition as the basis for the exercise of power.

With the adoption of the Declaration, the United States was born. The 13 colonies became free and independent States.

## The First State Constitutions

In January 1776, New Hampshire adopted a constitution to replace its royal charter. Less than three months later, South Carolina followed suit. Then, on May 10, nearly two months before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the Congress urged each of the colonies to adopt “such governments as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents.”

**Drafting State Constitutions** In 1776 and 1777, most of the States adopted written

constitutions—bodies of fundamental laws setting out the principles, structures, and processes of their governments. Assemblies or conventions were commonly used to draft and then adopt these new documents.

Massachusetts set a lasting example in the constitution-making process. There, a popularly elected convention submitted its work to the voters for ratification. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 is the oldest of the present-day State constitutions, and the oldest written constitution in force in the world today.<sup>10</sup>

**Common Features** The first State constitutions differed, sometimes widely, in their details. Yet they were on the whole more alike than not. The most common features were the principles of **popular sovereignty** (a government that exists only with the consent of the governed), limited government, civil rights and liberties, separation of powers, and checks and balances.

**Popular Sovereignty:** Everywhere, the people were recognized as the only source of

<sup>10</sup>From independence until that constitution became effective in 1780, Massachusetts relied on its colonial charter, in force prior to 1691, as its fundamental law.

## REVIEW FACTS

Ask students to turn to the “Common Features of State Constitutions” chart in Part 2 of the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 68). Recreate the chart on the board. Call on volunteers to fill in the information.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students write a one-page essay on this question: **Why did many first State constitutions share several common features?**

## EXTEND THE LESSON

**L3** If you have time, have students draw a political cartoon with a clear point of view, either pro-colonist or pro-British. It should describe one of the key events or concepts covered in this section. Their cartoon should use exaggeration and humor and should express a point of view about a specific idea or event. Ask students to annotate their cartoons, explaining who, what, when, and where.

**L3** Display Transparency 2E, Excerpt from a Letter to John Adams from Dr. Benjamin Rush, about the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Ask: **What risk did the patriots face in defying Britain? (execution) Based on their reaction to Harrison’s statement, did the patriots believe they really might be executed? Explain.** (Yes. *The macabre joke brought only a momentary smile.*)

**L1 L2 ELL** Have these students complete one or both of the Extend Activities (Unit 1 All-in-One, pp. 78, 79), on the topics of “Making a Difference” and “Patriotism.”

**L4** Have students work in small groups to create outlines for the constitution of a fifty-first state. Allow time for students to compare their results.

## Background

**CAPTAIN PRESTON’S ACCOUNT** After students analyze the colonist’s account of the Boston Massacre in Core Worksheet B, have them compare it to this account from Thomas Preston, the commander of the British troops: “The mob still increased and were more outrageous, striking their clubs . . . one against another, and calling out, come on you rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire if you dare. . . . [I was] endeavouring all in my power to persuade them to retire peaceably, but to no purpose. They advanced to the points of the bayonets. . . . [O]ne of the soldiers having received a severe blow with a stick . . . instantly fired, on which turning to and asking him why he fired without orders, I was struck with a club on my arm. . . . On this a general attack was made on the men by a great number of heavy clubs and snowballs being thrown at them, by which all our lives were in imminent danger.”

## Answers

**Caption** their lives, wealth, and honor; the members probably felt they had no other recourse

## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheets and assess students' work.

**L3** Assign the Section 2 Assessment questions.

**L3** Section Quiz A (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 80)

**L2** Section Quiz B (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 81)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.

### REMIEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The events leading up to the Declaration of Independence (Questions 2, 3, 4, 5)	Have students work in pairs to create their own timelines. Write a list of events from the text on the board, including the First and Second Continental Congresses. Students should plot the events in sequential order and include a sentence or two describing each event.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** executive, legislative, and judicial branches

### Common Features of State Constitutions

- ▶ Popular Sovereignty
- ▶ Limited Government
- ▶ Civil Rights and Liberties
- ▶ Separation of Powers
- ▶ Checks and Balances



Once the seat of Massachusetts government, the Old State House in Boston has endured just as the State constitution has. Shown here: the Old State House as seen in 1870 and present day.

**✓ Checkpoint**  
How did the State constitutions separate governmental power?

**unalienable**  
*adj.* cannot be surrendered or transferred, sacred

governmental authority. Government could be conducted only with the consent of the governed.

**Limited Government.** The new State governments could exercise only those powers granted to them by the people through the constitution. The powers that were given were hedged with many restrictions.

**Civil Rights and Liberties.** In every State, it was made clear that the sovereign people held certain rights that government must at all times respect. Seven of the new documents began with a bill of rights, setting out the “unalienable rights” held by the people.

**Separation of Powers, Checks and Balances.** The powers granted to the new State governments were divided among three distinct branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. Each branch was given powers with which to check, or restrain the actions of, the other branches of the government.

Beyond those basics, the new State constitutions were rather brief documents. They were, for the most part, declarations of principle and statements of limitation on governmental power. Memories of the royal governors were fresh, and State governors were given little real power. Most of the authority that was granted to government was placed in the legislature. Elective terms of office were made purposely short, seldom more than one or two years. The right to vote was limited to those adult white males who could meet rigid qualifications, including property ownership.

We shall come back to the State constitutions later, in Chapter 24. For now, note this very important point: The earliest of those documents were, within a very few years, to have a marked impact on the drafting of the Constitution of the United States.

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

### Essential Questions Journal

To continue to build a response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your Essential Questions Journal.

- Guiding Question** Use your completed concept web to answer this question: What events and ideas led to American independence?

#### Key Terms and Comprehension

- (a)** What is a **confederation**? **(b)** What was the purpose of the New England Confederation?
- In your own words, explain what “taxation without representation” means.

#### Critical Thinking

- Summarize** What major events led to the calling of the First Continental Congress?
- Make Comparisons** **(a)** What were the goals of the First and Second Continental Congresses? **(b)** How did the Framers achieve these goals? **(c)** What challenges did each meeting face?

#### Quick Write

**Narrative Writing: Research Your Colony** Using the questions you drafted in Section 1, conduct preliminary research to find the answers. Add any additional questions that you may have after reading Section 2. Browse the Internet or other sources and take notes on what you find. Use the information to begin a story about your colony's involvement in the shaping of the American government.

## Assessment Answers

**1.** Albany Plan, Stamp Act, Boston Massacre, Boston Tea Party, Intolerable Acts, First Continental Congress, Second Continental Congress, Declaration of Independence

**2. (a)** A confederation is a joining of several groups for a common purpose. **(b)** The New England Confederation was formed to defend several settlements against Native Americans.

**3.** Parliament passed laws to tax the colonies, but the colonists had no elected representatives in Parliament to give them a voice in making the laws.

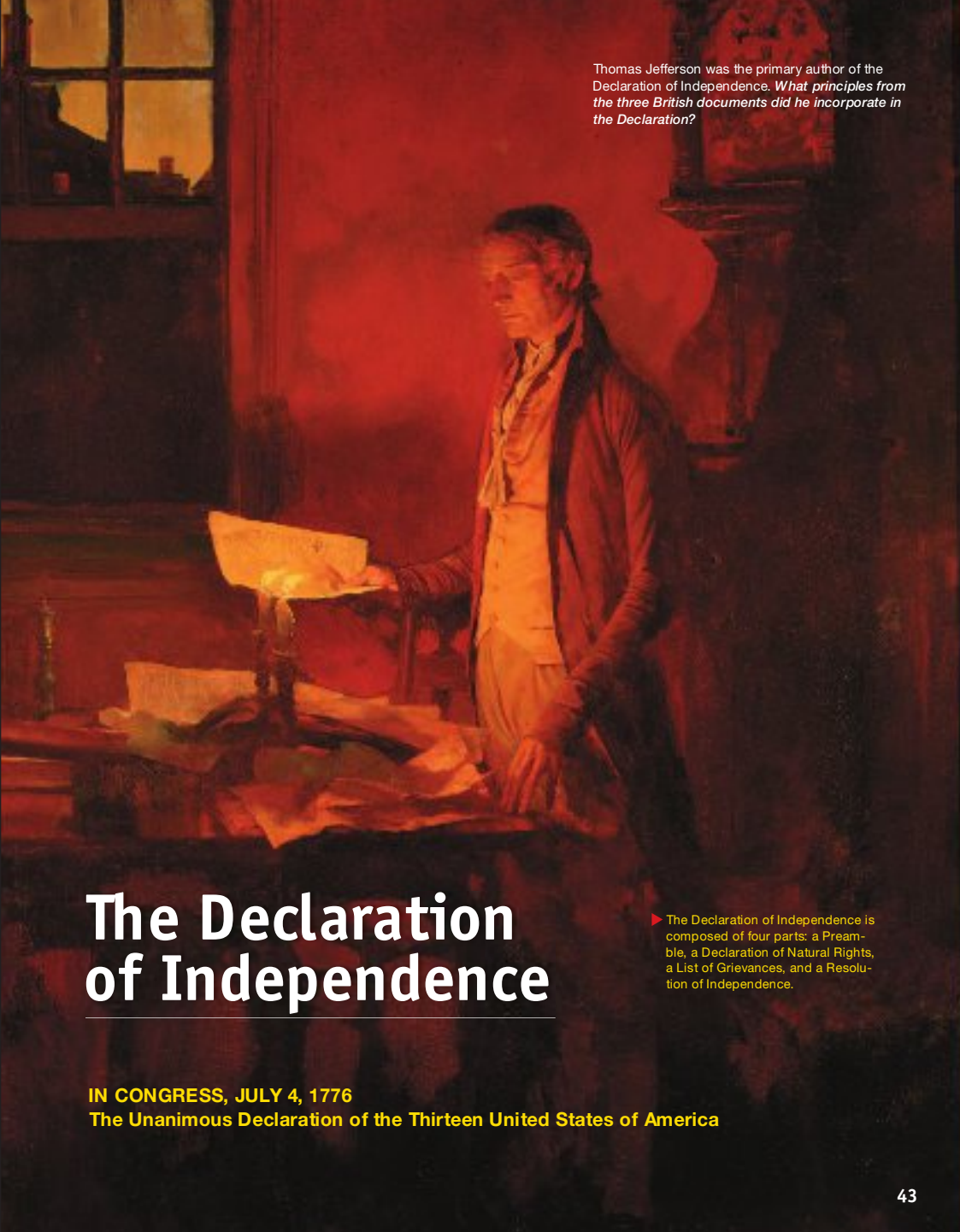
**4.** Britain's restrictive laws fueled unrest in the colonies. Protests, boycotts, and mob violence broke out. When Britain passed additional laws, called the Intolerable Acts, to punish the colonies, the First Continental Congress was called to discuss the situation.

**5. (a)** The goals of the First and Second Continental Congresses were to address the growing restrictions on the colonies by Britain. **(b)** The First Continental Congress sent a Declaration of Rights to the king, organized a boycott, and called for local committees to enforce

the boycott. The Second Continental Congress created the Declaration of Independence and conducted the war. It raised a military, borrowed funds, bought supplies, created a money system, and made treaties. **(c)** Each meeting faced the challenge of attracting enough delegates, coming to a consensus on issues, and keeping their meetings secret.

**QUICK WRITE** A strong assignment will show research from reputable sources. Questions should lead to a basic summary of the colony's involvement in the Revolution.





Thomas Jefferson was the primary author of the Declaration of Independence. *What principles from the three British documents did he incorporate in the Declaration?*

# The Declaration of Independence

► The Declaration of Independence is composed of four parts: a Preamble, a Declaration of Natural Rights, a List of Grievances, and a Resolution of Independence.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776  
The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America

43

## Get Started

### LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- read and analyze the Declaration of Independence.
- analyze the reactions of different audiences to the Declaration of Independence.

### BEFORE READING

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Declaration of Independence Prereading and Vocabulary Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 58)

### BEFORE CLASS

Assign the Declaration of Independence in the text and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 82) before class.

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Declaration of Independence Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 83)

### BELLRINGER

Display Transparency 2F, showing an especially stirring passage from the Declaration of Independence. Write these instructions on the board: **Rewrite this passage in your own words.**

**L1 L2 ELL Differentiate** Ask students to paraphrase only the first sentence from the passage. Preview difficult vocabulary: *self-evident* (clear); *endowed* (given); *unalienable* (not to be taken away); *pursuit of* (search for).

## Answers

**Caption** the right to petition the government, freedom from cruel punishment, the right to trial by jury, the right to due process, the right to private property

## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### ANALYZE SOURCES

Before students begin this section's Core Worksheet, you may want to review tips on analyzing primary sources in the Skills Handbook, p. S14.

## Focus on the Basics

**FACTS:** • The Declaration of Independence has four parts: the Preamble, the Declaration of Natural Rights, the List of Grievances, and the Resolution of Independence. • The Preamble explains reasons for separating. • The Declaration of Natural Rights lists basic rights to which people are entitled. • The List of Grievances offers evidence that King George has violated the colonists' rights. • The Resolution of Independence asserts that the colonies are now independent from Britain.

**CONCEPTS:** popular sovereignty, civil rights and liberties

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • The Declaration of Independence expresses the political ideals that underlie American democracy. • The Declaration of Independence has had an enduring influence on American government and culture.

# Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com).

## INTRODUCE THE TOPIC

Tell students that today they will analyze one of the most important political documents in the world. Have students share their paraphrase from the Bell-ringer activity. *(Possible answer: All people are born with basic rights that cannot be taken from them, including the freedom to live and search for happiness as they see fit. People establish governments to safeguard their basic rights. If a government does not protect these rights, people have the right to end that government and establish a new one.)*

Point out that Thomas Jefferson was the principal author of the Declaration of Independence. Ask: **Why did Jefferson begin his case for independence with a statement of natural rights?** *(Jefferson wanted to establish a philosophical foundation for his argument that the colonies had the right and duty to sever their ties to England. In the eighteenth century, Enlightenment thinkers were famous, influential, and respected. Using a philosophical foundation based on Enlightenment thinking gave weight and influence to the colonial argument.)*

Ask students to name Enlightenment thinkers who influenced Jefferson and the other Founders. *(Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Hobbes, Voltaire, Blackstone)* Review the ideas of these philosophers. Information can be found in the Background notes in the Chapter 2 teacher's edition and on the Section 4 Extend Worksheet for students (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 101).

## REVIEW READING COMPREHENSION WORKSHEET

Have students take out their Reading Comprehension worksheets (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 82) and share their answers to be sure they understand the four parts of the Declaration.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Write sentences from the Declaration of Independence on index cards. Have students take turns picking a card and identifying from which part of the document (Preamble, Declaration of Natural Rights, List of Grievances, or Resolution of Independence) each sentence comes.

**L4 Differentiate** Point out to students that Jefferson and many signers of the Declaration of Independence held slaves. Ask them to do research about one of these men and explain how he reconciled the ideals of the Declaration with his role as a slaveholder. Then ask them to explain what the Declaration left unsaid or unresolved.

## DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

► **Preamble:** The Preamble explains why the Declaration was written.

► **Declaration of Natural Rights:** This paragraph lists the basic rights to which all people are entitled. It describes those rights as being unalienable. They cannot be taken away. The government gets its power from the people. When the government usurps (takes) power from the people and does not protect their rights, the people have the right and responsibility to throw off that government and to create a new one.

► **List of Grievances:** This section lists the colonists' 27 complaints against the British Crown. In essence, King George III had chosen to rule as a tyrant rather than govern with the people's well-being in mind.

► The people refuse to give up their right to representation—a right the colonists considered vital.

► The king had dissolved representative houses and refused to allow the election of new legislators. Without legislators, the colonists were without protection from foreign invasion or convulsions (riots) from within.

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

► We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Differentiated Resources

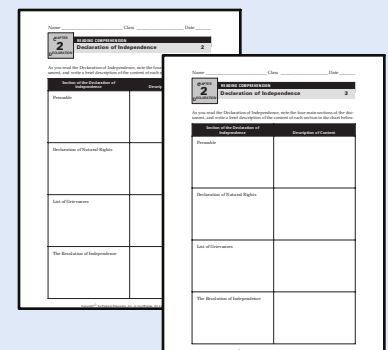
The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 1, Chapter 2, Declaration of Independence:

**L2** Prereading and Vocabulary Worksheet (p. 58)

**L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 82)

**L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 83)

**L3** Core Worksheet (p. 84)



ation by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES  
 RICA, in General Congress assembled.  
 in the course of human events it becomes necessary for  
 political bands which have connected them with another, and  
 the powers of the earth the <sup>separate and equal</sup> ~~separate and equal~~ <sup>independent</sup> sta



Thomas Jefferson

Even the Declaration of Independence had revisions.

- ▶ He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.  
 He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.
- ▶ He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.  
 He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.  
 He has kept among us in time of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our legislatures.  
 He has affected to render the Military independent of, and superior to, the Civil Power.  
 He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:
- ▶ For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;  
 For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States;  
 For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world;  
 For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent;  
 For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury;  
 For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses;
- ▶ For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;  
 For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments;  
 For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

- ▶ The king had tried to slow population growth by preventing individuals from other countries from becoming citizens of the colonies.
- ▶ This grievance was later addressed in Article III, Section 1 of the Constitution, which states that federal judges shall hold office "during good Behaviour."
- ▶ The king forced colonists to lodge British soldiers in their homes. The Bill of Rights addressed this in the 3rd Amendment, which states that no soldier can be lodged in "any house" without the consent of the owner.
- ▶ Here, the Declaration refers to Canada. The colonists feared that they, too, would fall under absolute rule. Britain extended the border of Quebec to the Ohio Valley, cutting it off to colonial settlers.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

**DISTRIBUTE THE CORE WORKSHEET**

Distribute the Chapter 2 Declaration of Independence Core Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 84), which asks students to consider the role of the Declaration as an idealistic statement of human rights, as a statement of grievances, and as propaganda. Students may work with partners or individually to complete Part 1 by rating the Declaration of Independence in terms of its various purposes and then explaining their reasons for each ranking.

After students share their responses, have partners complete Part 2 of the Core Worksheet to analyze how different groups might have reacted to the Declaration because of their differing viewpoints.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**CHAPTER 2 CORE WORKSHEET**  
**Declaration of Independence 3**

**Part 1** Think about the different parts of the Declaration of Independence. Then rate the effectiveness of the document on a scale of 1 to 10 as (1) an idealistic statement of human rights; (2) a statement of grievances; (3) propaganda. State your reasons for each evaluation.

1. an idealistic statement of human rights

1 (not at all effective) \_\_\_\_\_ 10 (very effective)

Reasons:

- 
- 
- 

2. a statement of grievances

1 (not at all effective) \_\_\_\_\_ 10 (very effective)

Reasons:

- 
- 
- 

3. propaganda

1 (not at all effective) \_\_\_\_\_ 10 (very effective)

Reasons:

- 
- 
- 

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**L1 L2 Differentiate** Have groups of students represent each group listed in Part 2 of the Core Worksheet. Ask them to make a public statement about the Declaration from their perspective. You may extend the activity by letting the groups respond to each other's public statements.

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Ask students to represent another group: "recently arrived colonials" or "new Americans." Encourage them to explain the viewpoint of this group to the class.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students write a response to the Declaration of Independence from an opposing point of view in the form of a propaganda brochure.

## Background

**EQUALITY** In 1775, reacting to colonial charges of British oppression, British author Samuel Johnson wrote, "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty from the drivers of Negroes?" Indeed, many signers of the Declaration of Independence, including its author—Thomas Jefferson—held slaves. Yet Jefferson's words "all men are created equal" would become a rallying cry for groups seeking equality. Abolitionists before the Civil War cited these words to support their calls to end slavery. Civil Rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., quoted these words in a 1963 speech: "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'" The Women's Rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848 adapted Jefferson's words, asserting that "all men and women are created equal."



## EXTEND THE LESSON

Show a Revolutionary War movie in class, or assign a movie to students or partners to watch at home on a DVD. Encourage students to rate the movie with one to four stars, with four stars as the top rating. Have students write a review of the movie.

**L4 Differentiate** Have groups of students prepare a script for an additional short scene for the movie. Tell them that they can plan their scene to go into any point in the movie, not just the beginning or end. They should use the same characters, and their scene should be consistent with the plot of the movie. After students in each group perform their scene, have the class discuss what the scene contributed to the plot or character development of the movie.

## DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

- ▶ The king had forced captive sailors to fight against their own people, or die.
- ▶ The colonists tried repeatedly to petition the king to correct his wrongs. However, their protests were met by harsh laws. Therefore, he does not deserve to rule the colonies.
- ▶ The colonists still felt a common identity with citizens of Britain. However, their fellow British subjects ignored their appeals for help.
- ▶ **The Resolution of Independence:** The colonies declare themselves free and independent States, by authority of the people of the States and of God. Therefore, the States have the power to declare war, make peace, create alliances and trade with foreign powers, and do all other acts afforded to independent States.

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

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

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

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

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

- ▶ In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.
- ▶ Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.
- ▶ We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved, and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

## Background

**JOHN ADAMS** When the Second Continental Congress opened in May 1775, John Adams arrived ready for action. Armed conflict had already occurred at Lexington and Concord. Adams wanted Congress to prepare for war. Impatient with the slow progress, Adams took the floor. He proposed the formation of a Continental Army, under the command of George Washington. He also urged the colonies to form their own governments. As Congress debated the Declaration of Independence in June 1776, Adams's passionate support won over the hesitant delegates. On July 3, 1776, the day after Congress approved Richard Henry Lee's resolution to pursue independence, Adams wrote to his wife Abigail: "The Second Day of July . . . will be celebrated, by succeeding Generations, as the great anniversary Festival . . . with Pomp and Parade, . . . Guns, Bells, Bonfires and Illuminations. . . ."

War, concluded  
 declaration, with a firm reliance

John Hancock

New Hampshire:  
**Josiah Bartlett**  
**William Whipple**  
**Mathew Thornton**

Massachusetts Bay:  
**John Hancock**  
**Samuel Adams**  
**John Adams**  
**Robert Treat Paine**  
**Elbridge Gerry**

Rhode Island:  
**Stephan Hopkins**  
**William Ellery**

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

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

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

Delaware:  
**Caesar Rodney**  
**George Read**  
**Thomas M'Kean**

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

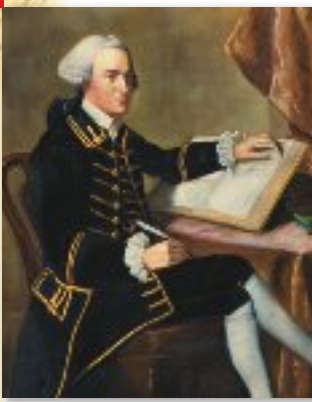
Virginia:  
**George Wythe**  
**Richard Henry Lee**  
**Thomas Jefferson**  
**Benjamin Harrison**  
**Thomas Nelson, Jr.**  
**Francis Lightfoot Lee**  
**Carter Braxton**

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

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

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

Georgia:  
**Button Gwinnett**  
**Lyman Hall**  
**George Walton**



As president of the Second Continental Congress, John Hancock was the first to sign the Declaration of Independence, approving it with his now-famous signature.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

## Reviewing the Declaration

### Vocabulary

Choose ten unfamiliar words in the Declaration. Look them up in the dictionary. Then, on a piece of paper, copy the sentence in the Declaration in which each unfamiliar word is used. After the sentence, write the definition of the unfamiliar word.

### Comprehension

1. Name the three “unalienable rights” listed in the Declaration.
2. From what source do governments derive their “just powers”?
3. According to the Declaration, what powers belong to the United States as “Free and Independent States”?

### Critical Thinking

4. **Recognize Cause and Effect** Why do you think the colonists were unhappy with the fact that their judges’ tenure and salaries were dependent on the king?
5. **Identifying Assumptions** Do you think that the words “all men are created equal” were intended to apply to all those who lived in the colonies? Which groups were most likely not included?
6. **Drawing Conclusions** What evidence is there that the colonists had already and unsuccessfully voiced their concerns to the king?

Declaration of Independence 47

## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheet and assess students’ class participation, using the Rubric for Assessing Performance of an Entire Group (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 218).

**L3** Assign the Declaration of Independence Assessment questions.

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.

### REMEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The Declaration of Natural Rights (Questions 1, 2)	Write in your own words the rights listed in this section. Have students work in pairs to find their location in the text. Have volunteers read aloud the sentence that contains each right.
The List of Grievances (Questions 4, 6)	Work with students to write the grievances in their own words. List them on the board, and provide any relevant historical information that might clarify the grievances.

## Assessment Answers

Vocabulary answers should reflect an understanding of the selected words.

1. life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness
2. Governments derive their “just powers” from the consent of the governed.
3. They have the power to declare war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do everything else that independent States have a right to do.

4. Judges were likely to favor the king over the colonists in order to keep their jobs.
5. Possible answer: No; many of the signers, including Jefferson, owned slaves and were unwilling to extend these basic rights to African Americans. In addition, Native Americans and women were also excluded.
6. Just before the Resolution of Independence, the Declaration claims that the colonists petitioned the king several times and that they also appealed to the British people for justice.

## GUIDING QUESTION

What weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation made a lasting government impossible?

### I. The Articles of Confederation

#### A. Weaknesses

1. Congress lacked power to tax, regulate trade between States, and make States obey its laws or the Articles
2. Laws required approval of 9 of 13 States
3. Change to Articles required approval of all 13 States

#### B. Effects of the Weaknesses

1. Congress had to ask States for funds or borrow, neither of which raised enough money
2. States bickered among themselves; made treaties with other nations; raised own military; taxed one another's goods and banned some trade; and printed own money with little backing, causing economic chaos
3. Violence—Shays' Rebellion
4. Congress too weak to deal with problems

## Get Started

### LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- identify and analyze weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation by completing a worksheet.
- analyze the issue of land claims by examining a map.

## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### ANALYZE MAPS

To teach the skills of analyzing maps, have students read Analyze Maps in the Skills Handbook, p. S27. Then have them examine the map in the Core Worksheet and answer the questions.

## SECTION 3 The Critical Period



### Guiding Question

**What weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation made a lasting government impossible?** Use an outline like the one below to take notes on the reasons why the Articles of Confederation failed.

#### I. The Articles of Confederation

##### A. Weaknesses

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_

##### B. Effects of the Weaknesses

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_

### Political Dictionary

- Articles of Confederation
- ratification

### Objectives

1. Describe the structure of the government set up under the Articles of Confederation.
2. Explain why the weaknesses of the Articles led to a critical period for the country in the 1780s.
3. Describe how a growing need for a stronger national government led to plans for a Constitutional Convention.

**Image Above:** Daniel Shays' rebellion made the need for a stronger government clear.

The First and Second Continental Congresses rested on no legal base. They were called in haste to meet an emergency, and they were intended to be temporary. Something more regular and permanent was clearly needed. In this section, you will look at the first attempt to establish a lasting government for the new nation.

## The Articles of Confederation

Richard Henry Lee's resolution that led to the Declaration of Independence also called on the Second Continental Congress to propose "a plan of confederation" to the States. Off and on, for 17 months, Congress debated the problem of uniting the former colonies. Finally, on November 15, 1777, the **Articles of Confederation** were approved.

The Articles of Confederation established "a firm league of friendship" among the States. Each State kept "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every Power, **jurisdiction**, and right . . . not . . . expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled." The States came together "for their common defense, the security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare. . . ." In effect, the Articles created a structure that more closely resembled an alliance of independent states than a government "of the people."

The Articles did not go into effect immediately, however. The **ratification** (formal approval) of each of the 13 States was needed first. Eleven States approved the document within a year. Delaware added its approval in February 1779. Maryland did not ratify until March 1, 1781. The Second Continental Congress declared the Articles effective on that date.

**Governmental Structure** The government set up by the Articles was quite simple. A Congress was the sole body created. It was unicameral, made up of delegates chosen yearly by the States in whatever way their legislatures might direct. Each State had only one vote in the Congress, no matter its population or wealth.

The Articles established no executive or judicial branch. These functions were to be handled by committees of the Congress. Each year the Congress would choose one of its members as its president. That person would be its

## Focus on the Basics

**FACTS:** • The Second Continental Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation to establish a more lasting form of government. • Under the Articles, each State had one vote in Congress; no executive or judicial branches existed. • Congress did not have the power to tax, regulate commerce, or make the States obey the Articles. • The Articles' weaknesses led to bickering among the States. • The growing need for a stronger National Government led to plans for a Constitutional Convention.

**CONCEPTS:** limited government, federalism, States' rights

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • The Articles of Confederation set up a central government that was too weak to solve the nation's problems. • The chaos of the 1780s led to a movement favoring a more powerful central government.



**presiding officer**, but not the president of the United States. Civil officers such as postmasters were to be appointed by the Congress.

**Powers of Congress** Several important powers were given to the Congress. It could make war and peace, send and receive ambassadors, make treaties, borrow money, set up a money system, establish post offices, build a navy, raise an army by asking the States for troops, fix uniform standards of weights and measures, and settle disputes among the States.

**State Obligations** By agreeing to the Articles, the States pledged to obey the Articles and acts of the Congress. They promised to provide the funds and troops requested by Congress; treat citizens of other States fairly and equally within their own borders; and give full faith and credit to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. In addition, the States agreed to surrender fugitives from justice to one another, submit their disputes to Congress for settlement, and allow open travel and trade among the States.

Beyond those few obligations, the States retained those powers not explicitly given to the Congress. They, not the Congress, were primarily responsible for protecting life and property, and for promoting “the safety and happiness of the people.”

**Weaknesses** The powers of the Congress appear, at first glance, to have been considerable. Several important powers were missing, however. Their omission, together with other weaknesses, soon proved the Articles inadequate for the needs of the time.

The Congress did not have the power to tax. It could raise money only by borrowing and by asking the States for funds. Borrowing was, at best, a poor source. The Second Continental Congress had borrowed heavily to support the Revolution, and many of those debts had not been paid. And, while the Articles remained in force, not one State came close to meeting the financial requests made by the Congress.

Nor did the Congress have the power to regulate trade between the States. This lack of a central mechanism to regulate the young

**Checkpoint**  
What powers did Congress hold under the Articles of Confederation?

**jurisdiction**  
n. legal authority

**presiding officer**  
n. the chair of a meeting

## BEFORE CLASS

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 86) before class.

**L2 Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 87)

## BELLRINGER

Display Transparency 2G. Write on the board:

**(1) Which government issued this currency?**  
**(2) What problems did local currencies create?**  
**Answer in your notebook.**

**L4 Differentiate** Add to the directions: **What features of the Articles of Confederation contributed to the currency disaster?** (*Lacking the power to tax, Congress had no funds to establish a national money system. Lacking the power to enforce the Articles, Congress could not stop the States from issuing their own currency.*)

## Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**.

## INTRODUCE THE TOPIC

Have students share their answers to the Bell-ringer activity. (*1. Massachusetts; 2. Local currencies hampered interstate trade, because their value and acceptability varied from State to State. This would interfere with the development of a national economy.*) The printing of State currency was one of many State actions that weakened the new government. Ask students what other State actions undermined national unity. (*States refused to meet financial requests of Congress, made agreements with foreign governments, organized their own military forces, and taxed or banned goods from other States.*)

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Write the answers on the board or print the worksheet onto a transparency to allow students to copy the correct answers.

### Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

## “WHO WILL TREAT WITH US ON SUCH TERMS?”

George Washington’s frustration with the Articles of Confederation is reflected in his quote above. The Articles were too weak to bind the States together, thus presenting a quarreling group of States rather than a unified nation to the rest of the world. *What were the consequences of these weaknesses?*

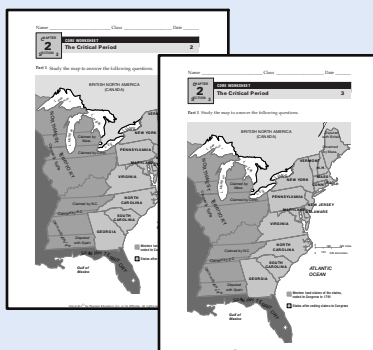
- Only a **“firm league of friendship”** among States
- **Only one vote** for each State, regardless of size
- Congress **powerless to levy taxes** or duties
- Congress **powerless to regulate commerce**
- **No executive power** to enforce acts of Congress
- **No national court system**
- Amendments require **the consent of all States**
- A **9/13 majority** required to pass laws



## Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 1, Chapter 2, Section 3:

- L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 86)
- L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 87)
- L3** Core Worksheet (p. 88)
- L2** Core Worksheet (p. 91)
- L3** Quiz A (p. 95)
- L2** Quiz B (p. 96)



## Answers

**Checkpoint** make war and peace, send and receive ambassadors, make treaties, borrow money, set up a money system, establish post offices, build a navy, raise an army by asking the States for troops, fix uniform standards of weights and measures, settle disputes among States

**Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation**  
possible response: a loose alliance of independent States rather than a cohesive nation

## DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET

Distribute the Chapter 2 Section 3 Core Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, page 88). The map shows land claims of the States and foreign nations after the Revolution. Have student pairs examine the map and answer the questions.

**L2 Differentiate** Distribute the adapted Chapter 2 Section 3 Core Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 91).

## DISCUSS

Display Transparency 2H. Ask why the Articles were adopted, given their many flaws. To what extent were colonists reacting to English abuses that led to war? Were the Articles appropriate for their time?

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Use the Think-Pair-Share strategy (p. T22) to allow students to verbalize their answers before starting the class discussion.

## PREDICT CONSEQUENCES

Explain that Part 2 of the Core Worksheet asks students to consider what might have happened had the Articles of Confederation remained the national constitution. Students will make predictions about five scenarios on the worksheet. After they finish, allow time to compare and contrast predictions.

## DISCUSS SHAYS' REBELLION

Ask students to explain the significance of Shays' Rebellion. (*It showed the weakness of the National Government under the Articles and led to calls for a Constitutional Convention.*) Then ask why some of Shays' contemporaries might have seen his rebellion as an extension of the War for Independence. (*They might have said that he was rebelling against a government that was taxing people unfairly and using arbitrary power, just as the colonists had rebelled against British abuses.*)

**L4 Differentiate** Ask: **Was Shays a traitor? Did he deserve to be pardoned?** Students might work in teams to debate both sides of these questions.

## EXTEND THE LESSON

Have students work in small groups to invent a game called "Government under the Articles." Their games might be board games, card games, or other games. Students' games should reflect the weaknesses and challenges presented by the Articles. For example, the point of the game might involve trying to pass a bill or act to benefit one or many States.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Provide an outline of a game for students to work out in groups. For example: "Pass a bill to build an interstate road" card with 20 to 30 cards. A small number of cards would say "Nine states agree" or "Bill passes." The other cards would have actions allowed under the Articles, which worked against passage. The point of the game might be to get approval first, or some other variation.

nation's growing commerce was one of the major factors that soon led to the adoption of the Constitution.

The Congress was further limited by a lack of power to make the States obey the Articles of Confederation or the laws it made. Congress could exercise the powers it did have only with the consent of 9 of the 13 State delegations. Finally, the Articles themselves could be changed only with the consent of all 13 of the State legislatures.

## The Critical Period, the 1780s

The long Revolutionary War finally ended on October 19, 1781. America's victory was confirmed by the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Peace, however, brought the new nation's economic and political weaknesses into sharp focus. Problems, made even more difficult by the weaknesses of the

Articles, soon surfaced.

With a central government unable to act, the States bickered among themselves. They grew increasingly jealous and suspicious of one another. They often refused to support the new central government, financially and in almost every other way. Several of them made agreements with foreign governments without the approval of the Congress, even though that was forbidden by the Articles. Most organized their own military forces. George Washington complained, "...we are one nation today and 13 tomorrow. Who will treat with us on such terms?"

The States taxed one another's goods and even banned some trade. They printed their own money, often with little backing. Economic chaos spread throughout the colonies as prices soared

and sound credit vanished. Debts, public and private, went unpaid. Violence broke out in a number of places.

The most spectacular of these events played out in western Massachusetts in a

series of incidents that came to be known as Shays' Rebellion. As economic conditions worsened there, property holders, many of them small farmers, began to lose their land and possessions for lack of payment on taxes and other debts. In the fall of 1786, Daniel Shays, who had served as an officer in the War for Independence, led an armed uprising that forced several State judges to close their courts. Early the next year, Shays mounted an unsuccessful attack on the federal arsenal at Springfield. State forces finally moved to quiet the rebellion and Shays fled to Vermont. In response to the violence, the Massachusetts legislature eventually passed laws to ease the burden of debtors.

## A Need for Stronger Government

The Articles had created a government unable to deal with the nation's troubles. Inevitably, demand grew for a stronger, more effective national government. Those who were most threatened by economic and political instability—large property owners, merchants, traders, and other creditors—soon took the lead in efforts to that end. The movement for change began to take concrete form in 1785.

**Mount Vernon** Maryland and Virginia, plagued by bitter trade disputes, took the first step in the movement for change. Ignoring the Congress, the two States agreed to a conference to resolve conflicts over commerce and navigation on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay. Representatives from the two States met at Alexandria, Virginia, in March 1785. At George Washington's invitation, they moved their sessions to his home at nearby Mount Vernon.

Their negotiations proved so successful that on January 21, 1786, the Virginia General Assembly called for "a joint meeting of [all of] the States to consider and recommend a federal plan for regulating commerce."

**Annapolis** That joint meeting opened at Annapolis, Maryland, on September 11, 1786. Turnout was poor, with representatives from only five of the 13 States attending: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and

**arsenal**  
n. a store of arms or military equipment



Delegates met first at Alexandria. They met again at Annapolis. The First and Second Continental Congresses met at Philadelphia.

## Background

**VOLTAIRE** François-Marie Arouet, known as Voltaire, was one of the most vocal of the French Enlightenment thinkers. He wrote scathing attacks on religious bigotry and fanaticism, for which he was jailed and eventually exiled. In place of traditional religion, Voltaire promoted *deism*—a religious philosophy that acknowledged God but rejected specific teachings of any church. Deists argued for religious freedom and toleration. As Voltaire wrote in *A Treatise on Toleration* (1763), "We ought to look upon all men as our brothers." Deist views migrated to America and were adopted by leaders such as Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and George Washington.

This information also appears on the Extend Worksheet for Section 4, along with information about other influential philosophers covered in this chapter.

Virginia. Although New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and North Carolina had appointed delegates, none attended the Annapolis meeting. Disappointed but still hopeful, Alexander Hamilton, a delegate from New York, and Virginia's James Madison persuaded the gathering to call for yet another meeting of the States.

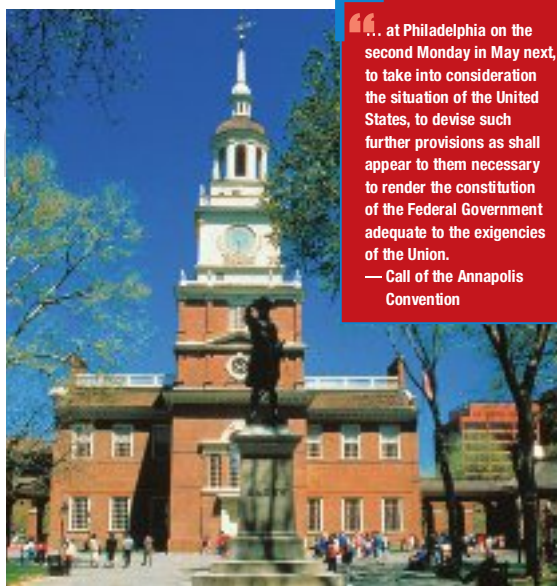
By mid-February of 1787, seven of the States had named delegates to the Philadelphia meeting: Delaware, Georgia, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. On February 21, the Congress, which had been hesitating, also called upon the States to send delegates to Philadelphia

### Primary Source

... for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States render the [Articles] adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union.

—The United States in Congress Assembled, February 21, 1787

That Philadelphia meeting became the Constitutional Convention. What began as an assembly to revise the existing Articles



Independence Hall served as the meeting place for both the Second Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention. *What significance might this building have had for the Constitutional Convention?*

... at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next, to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union.  
— Call of the Annapolis Convention

of Confederation would evolve into the creation of an entirely new kind of government. This government would derive its power from a constitution.

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Essential Questions Journal

To continue to build a response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your Essential Questions Journal.

**1. Guiding Question** Use your completed outline to answer this question: What weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation made a lasting government impossible?

#### Key Terms and Comprehension

- 2.** What was the goal of the **Articles of Confederation**?
- 3. (a)** Under the Articles of Confederation, was Congress unicameral or bicameral? **(b)** How were representatives chosen to serve in Congress?

#### Critical Thinking

- 4. Synthesize Information** When the States ratified the Articles, they agreed to obey the Articles and all acts of Congress. **(a)** Did the States honor their agreement? **(b)** How do you know?
- 5. Identify Point of View** Washington was referring to foreign affairs when he complained, "We are one nation today and 13 tomorrow. Who will treat with us on such terms?" **(a)** What did Washington fear would happen? **(b)** Do you agree with his point of view? Why or why not?

#### Quick Write

**Narrative Writing: Details and Anecdotes** When writing narrative nonfiction, it is important to have details and anecdotes to keep your reader's interest. Choose some important dates or events that you wish to highlight. Research them further to find personal accounts or interesting examples from that time.

## Assessment Answers

**1. Weaknesses:** Congress lacked power to tax, regulate trade between States, or make States obey its laws or the Articles. Laws required approval of 9 of 13 States. Changes to Articles required approval of all 13 States. **Effects of the weaknesses:** Congress had to ask States for funds or borrow, neither of which raised enough money. States bickered among themselves, made treaties with other nations, raised their own military forces, taxed one another's goods and banned some trade,

and printed their own money with little backing, causing economic chaos. Violence broke out, including Shays' Rebellion. Congress was too weak to deal with the problems.

- 2.** The goal was to unite the colonies (now States) under one central, though weak, government. The States kept their sovereignty but came together for matters such as defense and trade.
- 3. (a)** unicameral **(b)** chosen yearly from each State by whatever method the State chose
- 4. (a)** no **(b)** The States failed to support the

## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheet and assess students' work.

**L3** Assign the Section 3 Assessment questions.

**L3** Section Quiz A (All-in-One, p. 95)

**L2** Section Quiz B (All-in-One, p. 96)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.

### REMEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The structure of the government under the Articles of Confederation (Question 3)	Draw a diagram that depicts the structure of the Federal Government under the Articles of Confederation, and create a list of its powers. Compare it with a diagram of the three branches of the current Federal Government and a list of their powers. Ask students to point out differences.
The need for the Framers to create a stronger government (Questions 4, 5)	Refer back to the diagrams. Ask students to point out reasons why specific features of the Federal Government under the Articles of Confederation (such as the existence of a Congress only) might make for a weak government.

## Answers

**Caption** The Declaration of Independence was signed there.

central government, made alliances with foreign countries, and created their own money.

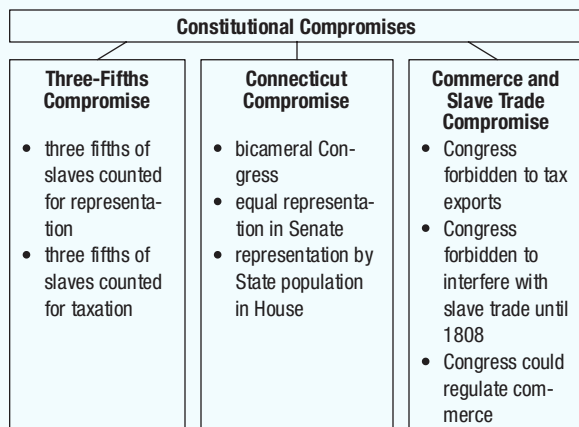
**5. (a)** that foreign countries would see each State as sovereign, and deal with them individually, rather than with Congress **(b)** Possible response: I agree. Foreign nations would see the States, not the nation, as capable of entering and enforcing agreements. This would undermine the United States as a nation.

**QUICK WRITE** Students should find personal accounts or interesting examples for their chosen dates or events.



## GUIDING QUESTION

What compromises enabled the Framers to create the Constitution?



## Get Started

### LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- use worksheets to analyze the different plans and compromises in creating the Constitution.
- use primary and secondary sources to evaluate the major compromises made at the Constitutional Convention.

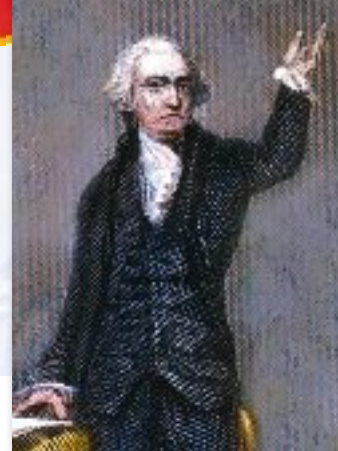
## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### GIVE A MULTIMEDIA PRESENTATION

Before the debate in this lesson, you may want to review tips on giving a multimedia presentation in the Skills Handbook, p. S21.

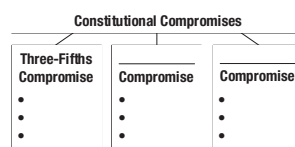
## SECTION 4

# Creating the Constitution



### Guiding Question

**What compromises enabled the Framers to create the Constitution?** Use a flowchart like the one below to record details about the Framers' compromises.



### Political Dictionary

- Framers
- Virginia Plan
- New Jersey Plan
- Connecticut Compromise
- Three-Fifths Compromise
- Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise

### Objectives

1. Identify the Framers of the Constitution and discuss how they organized the Philadelphia Convention.
2. Compare and contrast the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan.
3. Summarize the convention's major compromises and the effects of those decisions.
4. Describe the delegates' reactions to the Constitution.

**Image Above:** George Washington was president of the Constitutional Convention.

**P**icture the scene. It is hot—sweltering, in fact. Yet all of the windows of the State House are closed and shuttered to discourage eavesdroppers. Outside, soldiers keep curious onlookers and others at a distance. Inside, the atmosphere is frequently tense as 50 or so men exchange sometimes heated views. Indeed, some who are there become so upset that they threaten to leave the hall, and a few actually do so.

This was often the scene at the Philadelphia meeting, which finally began on May 25, 1787.<sup>11</sup> Over the long summer months, until mid-September, the Framers of what was to become the Constitution worked to build a new government that could meet the needs of the nation. In this section, you will consider that meeting and its outcome.

## The Framers

Twelve of the 13 States, all but Rhode Island, sent delegates to Philadelphia.<sup>12</sup> In total, 74 delegates were chosen by the legislatures in those 12 states. For a number of reasons, however, only 55 of them actually attended the convention.

Of that 55, this much can be said: Never, before or since, has so remarkable a group been brought together in this country. Thomas Jefferson, who was not among them, later called the delegates “an assembly of demi-gods.”

The delegates who attended the Philadelphia Convention, known as the **Framers** of the Constitution, included many outstanding individuals. These were men of wide knowledge and public experience. Many of them had fought in the Revolution; 46 had been members of the Continental Congress or the Congress of the Confederation, or both. Eight had served in constitutional conventions in their own States, and seven had been State governors. Eight had signed the Declaration of Independence. Thirty-four of the delegates had attended college in a day when there were but a few colleges in the land. Two were to become

<sup>11</sup> Not enough States were represented on the date Congress had set, May 14, to begin the meeting. The delegates who were present met and adjourned each day until the 25th, when a quorum (a majority) of the States was on hand.

<sup>12</sup> The Rhode Island legislature was controlled by the soft-money forces, mostly debtors and small farmers, who were helped by inflation and so were against a stronger central government. The New Hampshire delegation, delayed mostly by lack of funds, did not reach Philadelphia until late July.

## Focus on the Basics

**FACTS:** • The Constitutional Convention convened in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation. • The Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan each offered an approach to organizing a new government. • Delegates accepted compromises that led to agreement on the configuration of Congress and other issues.

**CONCEPTS:** compromise, constitutional government, limited government

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • The Framers produced one of the world's landmark documents. • The new plan of government addressed the major concerns of the States. • While the Framers made significant compromises, they agreed on the fundamental principles of popular sovereignty, limited government, separation of powers, and checks and balances.

Presidents of the United States, and one a Vice President. Nineteen later served in the Senate and thirteen in the House of Representatives.

Is it any wonder that the product of such a gathering was described by the English statesman William E. Gladstone, nearly a century later, as “the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man”?

Remarkably, the average age of the delegates was only 42, and most of the leaders were in their 30s—James Madison was 36, Gouverneur Morris 35, Edmund Randolph 34, and Alexander Hamilton, 30. At 81, Benjamin Franklin was the oldest. His health was failing, however, and he was not able to attend many of the meetings. George Washington, at 55, was one of the few older members who played a key role at the Convention. Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey was, at 26, the youngest delegate.

By and large, the Framers of the Constitution were of a new generation in American politics. Several of the leaders of the

Revolutionary period were not in Philadelphia. Patrick Henry said he “smelt a rat” and refused to attend. Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Richard Henry Lee were not selected as delegates by their States. Thomas Paine was in Paris. So was Thomas Jefferson, as American minister to France. John Adams was the envoy to England and Holland at the time.

## Organization and Procedure

The Framers met in the State House (now Independence Hall), probably in the same room in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed 11 years earlier.

They organized immediately on May 25, unanimously electing George Washington president of the convention. Then, and at the second session on Monday, May 28, they adopted several rules of procedure. A majority of the States would be needed to conduct

**Checkpoint**  
What were some of the Framers' accomplishments?

**envoy**  
n. a representative, especially in diplomatic affairs

### GOVERNMENT ONLINE

#### Audio Tour

Listen to a guided tour of the Framers at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

## Framers of the Constitution

The Framers of the Constitution came from widely varied backgrounds and were accomplished individuals. James Madison noted that considering “the natural diversity of human opinions . . . it is impossible to consider the degree of concord which ultimately prevailed as less than a miracle.” *How might their accomplishments have helped the Framers to create the Constitution?*

**George Washington**  
commander of the Continental Army

**Alexander Hamilton**  
lawyer, signer of the Declaration of Independence

**James Madison**  
major figure in the movement to replace the Articles of Confederation

**Robert Morris**  
major financier of the Revolution

**Benjamin Franklin**  
writer, inventor, diplomat, legislator, printer

**George Mason**  
author of Virginia's Declaration of Rights

Chapter 2 • Section 4 53

## BEFORE CLASS

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 97) before class.

**L2 Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 98)

## BELLRINGER

Display Transparency 21. Write on the board: **Answer these questions in your notebook: (1) What is Franklin's main point? (2) What does he mean by “local interests” and “selfish views”? (3) What does his statement suggest about the difficulties faced by the Convention? (4) How would you paraphrase this statement?**

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Read the quote aloud, and have students paraphrase each clause's meaning.

## Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at [PearsonSuccessnet.com](http://PearsonSuccessnet.com).

## INTRODUCE THE TOPIC

Ask students to volunteer answers to the Bellringer questions. **1.** To form a government, every delegate made compromises that ran counter to his personal and sectional interests. **2.** He means that each delegate had different ideas based on the concerns, needs, and demands of his State. **3.** The Convention faced significant conflict, and compromises were crucial to success in resolving these issues and forming a government. **4.** Possible paraphrase: The Constitution may not be flawless, but I accept and embrace it, because we need a government and no group could produce a better constitution. When you bring together such a diverse group, you get the benefit of their combined intelligence and judgment; but you also get their biases and concerns. Thus, it is remarkable that the Constitution comes so close to ideal.)

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Review the text's photo essay about the Framers. Ask students what similarities, differences, and strengths they see in the background of these important people.

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to listen to a guided audio tour of the Framers of the Constitution.

## Answers

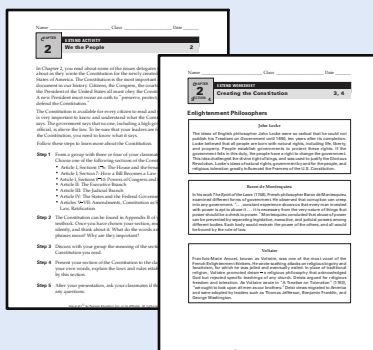
**Checkpoint** fought in the Revolution, served in Continental Congress or Congress of the Confederation, attended State constitutional conventions, served as State governors, signed Declaration of Independence, attended college

**Framers of the Constitution** Their accomplishments gave them the skills they needed to face such a task, and to consider the issues from various points of view.

## Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 1, Chapter 2, Section 4:

- L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 97)
- L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 98)
- L3** Core Worksheet (p. 99)
- L3 L4** Extend Worksheet (p. 101)
- L2** Extend Activity (p. 103)
- L3** Quiz A (p. 104)
- L2** Quiz B (p. 105)



**L4 Differentiate** Which “local interests” and “selfish views” might this sampling of Framers reflect? Have students write a paragraph on this topic.

#### COVER THE BASICS

Ask students to take out the Reading Comprehension Worksheet. Review the New Jersey Plan and the Virginia Plan. Ask: **What is the basic conflict underlying the differences between the two plans?** (*Should the States be represented in Congress equally or by population?*) **What problem did small States have with the Virginia Plan?** (*States with large populations, which gave more money to the central government, would have more power to make laws that favored their own interests.*) **What problem did large States have with the New Jersey Plan?** (*States with small populations could thwart the will of the majority by blocking laws that did not benefit them.*)

#### SUMMARIZE

On the board, recreate the chart of compromises in Part 2 of the Reading Comprehension Worksheet. Call on volunteers to complete the chart. Point out that despite conflict, the Framers agreed on most basic principles. Ask students to identify these principles. (*popular sovereignty, limited government, representative government, separation of powers, checks and balances*)

**L2 Differentiate** Use the Jigsaw strategy (p. T27) and have students work in groups of three to become “experts” on one compromise. Have the students jigsaw into a second group with one “expert” on each compromise and have them review their answers together.

**Government**  
online

All print resources are available on the Teacher’s Resource Library CD-ROM and online at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com).

business. Each State delegation was to have one vote on all matters, and a majority of the votes cast would carry any proposal.

The Framers met on 92 of the 116 days from May 25 through their final meeting on September 17. They did most of their work on the floor of the convention. They handled some matters in committees, but the full body ultimately settled all questions.<sup>13</sup>

**A Momentous Decision** Remember, Congress had called the Philadelphia Convention “for the sole and express purpose” of recommending revisions to the Articles of Confederation. However, almost at once the delegates agreed that they were meeting to create an entirely new government for the United States. On May 30 they adopted this proposal:

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

**Resolved, . . . that a national Government ought to be established consisting of a supreme Legislative, Executive and Judiciary.**

—Edmund Randolph, Delegate from Virginia

With this momentous decision, the Framers redefined the purpose of the convention. From that point on, they set about writing a new constitution, intended to replace the Articles of Confederation. (However, much that would go into this new constitution would come directly from the Articles of Confederation.) Their debates were spirited, even bitter. At times the convention seemed near collapse. Once they had passed Randolph’s resolution, however, the resolve of most of the delegates never wavered.

#### Proposals

Once the Framers resolved to replace the Articles of Confederation, two major plans were offered for the new government, the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan.

<sup>13</sup> Twenty-nine delegates from seven States were present on the first day. The full number of 55 was not reached until August 6, when John Francis Mercer of Maryland arrived. In the meantime, some delegates had departed, and others were absent from time to time. Some 40 members attended most of the daily sessions of the convention.

**Virginia Plan** No State had more to do with the calling of the convention than Virginia. It was not surprising, then, that its delegates should offer the first plan for a new constitution. On May 29, the **Virginia Plan**, largely the work of Madison, was presented by Randolph.

The Virginia Plan called for a new government with three separate branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislature—Congress—would be bicameral. Representation in each house was to be based either on each State’s population or on the amount of money it gave for the support of the central government. The members of the lower house, the House of Representatives, were to be popularly elected in each State. Those of the upper house, the Senate, were to be chosen by the House from lists of persons nominated by the State legislatures.

Congress was to be given all of the powers it held under the Articles. In addition, it would have the power “to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent” to act, to veto any State law in conflict with national law, and to use force if necessary to make a State obey national law.

Under the proposed Virginia Plan, Congress would choose a “National Executive” and a “National Judiciary.” Together, these two branches would form a “Council of revision.” They could veto acts passed by Congress, but a veto could be overridden by the two houses. The executive would have “a general authority to execute the National laws.” The judiciary would “consist of one or more supreme tribunals [courts], and of inferior tribunals.”

The Virginia Plan also provided that all State officers should take an oath to support the Union, and that each State be guaranteed a republican form of government. Under the plan, Congress would have the exclusive power to admit new States to the Union.

The Virginia Plan, then, would create a new constitution by thoroughly revising the Articles. Its goal was the creation of a truly national government with greatly expanded powers and, importantly, the power to enforce its decisions.

The Virginia Plan set the agenda for much of the convention’s work. But some delegates—especially those from New York

## Background

**JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU** “Man is born free, but everywhere is in chains.” Thus began Rousseau’s *The Social Contract* (1762). Rousseau believed that a social contract exists between a government and the governed. The people agree to obey the laws and submit to the general will of society. In exchange, government agrees to protect the rights and equality of all people. Current governments, he argued, broke this contract by protecting only the wealthy and powerful, enslaving the common people. In such cases, the people should change the government. This idea of social contract underlies the Bill of Rights and the concept of consent of the governed.

This information also appears on the Extend Worksheet for Section 4, along with information about other influential philosophers covered in this chapter.



**Audio Tour**  
Listen to a guided audio tour of these philosophers' words at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

## The Enlightenment and American Government

The 17th and 18th centuries are known as the Enlightenment; a period where thinkers based their philosophies on reason. This movement greatly influenced the leaders of the new American government. Read these quotes from four Enlightenment thinkers.

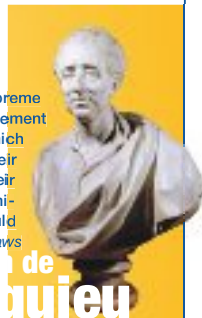
**In what ways do they parallel the principles of American Government?**



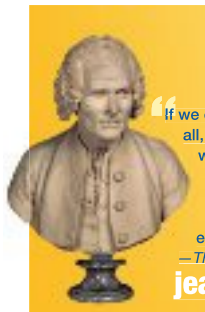
**“The end of law is not to abolish or restrain, but to preserve and enlarge freedom. For in all the states of created beings capable of law, where there is no law, there is no freedom. —Two Treatises of Government**

jo

**“The people, in whom the supreme power resides, ought to have the management of everything within their reach: that which exceeds their abilities must be conducted by their ministers. But they cannot be said to have their ministers [agents], without the power of nominating them: . . . therefore . . . the people should choose their ministers. —The Spirit of Laws**



de  
quieu



**“If we enquire wherein lies precisely the greatest good of all, which ought to be the goal of every system of law, we shall find that it comes down to two main objects, freedom and equality: freedom because any individual dependence means that much strength drawn from the body of the state, and equality because freedom cannot survive without it. —The Social Contract**

jea

**“The absolute rights of man . . . are usually summed up in one general appellation [name . . . of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law of nature: being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued [provided] him with the faculty of free-will. —Commentaries on the Laws of England**



e

and the smaller States of Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey—found it too radical.<sup>14</sup> Soon they developed their counterproposals. On June 15, William Paterson of New Jersey presented the position of the small States.

**The New Jersey Plan** Paterson and his colleagues offered several amendments to the Articles, but not nearly so thorough a revision as that proposed by the Virginia Plan. The **New Jersey Plan** retained the unicameral Congress of the Confederation, with each of the States equally represented. In addition to those powers Congress already had, the plan would add closely limited powers to tax and to regulate trade between the States.

The New Jersey Plan also called for a “federal executive” of more than one person. This plural executive would be chosen by Congress and could be removed by it at the request of a majority of the States’ governors. The “federal judiciary” would be composed of a single “supreme Tribunal,” appointed by the executive.

Among their several differences, the major point of disagreement between the two plans centered on this question: How should the States be represented in Congress? Would it be on the basis of their populations or financial contributions, as in the Virginia Plan? Or would it be on the basis of State equality, as in the Articles and the New Jersey Plan?

For weeks the delegates returned to this conflict, debating the matter again and again. The lines were sharply drawn. Several delegates on both sides of the issue threatened to withdraw. Finally, the dispute was settled by one of the key compromises the Framers were to make as they built the Constitution.

### Compromises

The disagreement over representation in Congress was critical. The larger States expected to dominate the new government. The smaller States feared that they would not be able to protect their interests. Tempers flared on both sides. The debate became so

<sup>14</sup> The Virginia Plan’s major support came from the three most populous States: Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. New York was then only the fifth most populous State.

### DISTRIBUTE THE CORE WORKSHEET

Distribute the Chapter 2 Section 4 Core Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 99), which asks students to examine a population chart of the original States and to analyze in detail two issues that led to key constitutional compromises: size of population and slavery.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**CHAPTER 2 CORE WORKSHEET**  
**SECTION 4 Creating the Constitution 3**

Two key constitutional compromises revolved around issues of population and slavery. Study the chart below and answer the questions.

Total State and Slave Population, 1790			
State	Total Population	Slave Population	Percent Slave Population
Connecticut	238,000	2,648	1.11
Delaware	59,000	8,887	15.06
Georgia	83,000	29,264	35.26
Maryland	320,000	103,036	32.20
Massachusetts	476,000	0	0.0
New Hampshire	142,000	157	0.11
New Jersey	184,000	11,423	6.21
New York	340,000	21,193	6.23
North Carolina	394,000	100,783	25.58
Pennsylvania	434,000	3,707	0.85
Rhode Island	69,000	958	1.39
South Carolina	249,000	107,094	43.01
Virginia	692,000	292,627	42.29

Sources: Historical Statistics of Black America; Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1975

- Rank the States in order of total population. (1 = largest population, 13 = smallest)
- Rank the States in order of slave population.

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**L1 L2 Differentiate** Walk through the lesson as a class, rather than having students work alone.

**L4 Differentiate** James Madison reported that “The States were divided into different interests not by their differences of size, but principally from them having or not having slaves. . . . It did not lie between the large and small States: it lay between the Northern and Southern.” Ask students to write a paragraph about how this difference in interests influenced the framing of the Constitution.

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour for a guided audio tour of Enlightenment thinkers’ words.

## Debate

Divide the class in half, with one group representing Framers in favor of the Virginia Plan and the other half representing Framers proposing the New Jersey Plan. Have students debate the following questions: **How should States be represented in Congress? Should it be on the basis of their populations or financial contributions, or on the basis of State equality?** After students have debated, ask them how the Connecticut Compromise finally settled the conflict.

## Answers

**The Enlightenment and American Government**  
Locke: purpose of law to protect freedom; Montesquieu: popular sovereignty, representative government; Rousseau: freedom, equality; Blackstone: natural rights

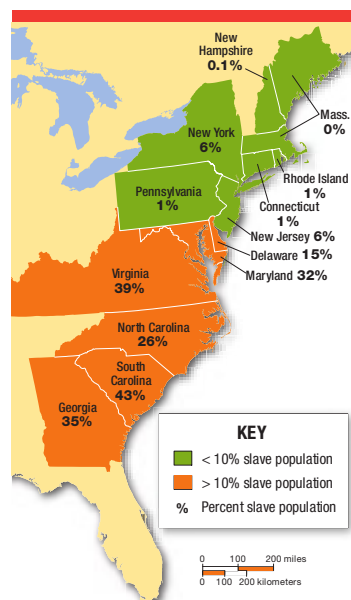
## EXTEND THE DISCUSSION

Use these questions to continue a discussion about constitutional compromises:

**1. In the Three-Fifths Compromise, the Constitution never uses the words “slave” or “slavery.” Instead it refers to “free persons” and “three fifths of all other persons.” Why do you think this was so?** (*Slavery was a contentious issue. Much of the deliberation at the convention was secret, but according to the book *Founding Brothers*: “If political leaders who had pushed through the constitutional settlement of 1787–1788 had been permitted to speak, their somewhat awkward conclusion would have been that slavery was too important and controversial a subject to talk about publicly.” [p. 84]*)

**2. What misgivings might each side of the Great Compromise and the Three-Fifths Compromise have held? Did their worries prove historically true?** (*Small States were worried that they could not protect their interests against the power of large States. States dependent on slavery feared that other States would push through laws banning slavery. The latter fear did prove valid, as sectional rivalries over slavery eventually led to the Civil War.*)

## Slavery in the United States, 1790



▶ **Analyzing Maps** The southern States had a larger slave population than did the northern States at the time of the Constitutional Convention. *How might this have affected their stance on the Three-Fifths and Commerce and Slave Trade compromises?*

✓ **Checkpoint**  
What was the Connecticut Compromise?

The Connecticut Compromise was so pivotal to the writing of the Constitution that it has often been called the Great Compromise.

**Three-Fifths Compromise** Once it had been agreed to base the seats in the House on each State's population, this question arose: Should slaves be counted in figuring the populations of the States?

Again debate was fierce. Most delegates from the southern States argued that slaves should be counted. Most of the northerners took the opposing view. All could see the contradictions between slavery and the sentiments expressed in the Declaration of Independence, but slavery was legal in every State except

intense that Benjamin Franklin was moved to suggest that “henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven . . . be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business.”

**Connecticut Compromise** The conflict was settled by a compromise suggested by the Connecticut delegation. In the **Connecticut Compromise**, it was agreed that Congress should be composed of two houses. In the smaller Senate, the States would be represented equally. In the House, the representation of each State would be based upon its population.

By combining basic features of the plans, the convention's most serious dispute was resolved. The agreement satisfied the smaller States in particular, allowing them to support the creation of a strong central government.

Massachusetts. The slave population was concentrated in the southern States, however, as you can see from the map on this page.

Finally, the Framers agreed to the **Three-Fifths Compromise**. It provided that all “free persons” should be counted, and so, too, should “three fifths of all other persons” (Article I, Section 2, Clause 3). For “all other persons,” read “slaves.” For the three fifths won by the southerners, the northerners exacted a price. That formula was also to be used in fixing the amount of money to be raised in each State by any direct tax levied by Congress. In short, the southerners could count their slaves, but they would have to pay for them.

This odd compromise disappeared from the Constitution with the adoption of the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery, in 1865. For nearly 150 years, there have been no “all other persons” in this country.

**Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise** The Framers generally agreed that Congress must have the power to regulate foreign and interstate trade. To many southerners, that power carried a real danger, however. They worried that Congress, likely to be controlled by northern commercial interests, would act against the interests of the agricultural South.

They were particularly fearful that Congress would try to pay for the new government out of export duties, and southern tobacco was the major American export of the time. They also feared that Congress would interfere with the slave trade.

Before they would agree to the commerce power, the southerners insisted on certain protections. So, according to the **Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise**, Congress was forbidden the power to tax the export of goods from any State. It was also forbidden the power to act on the slave trade for a period of at least 20 years. It could not interfere with “the migration or importation of such persons as any State now existing shall think proper to admit,” except for a small head tax, at least until the year 1808.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Article I, Section 9, Clause 1. Congress promptly banned the importation of slaves in 1808, and, in 1820, it declared the slave trade to be piracy. The smuggling of the enslaved into this country continued until the outbreak of the Civil War, however.

## Background

**WILLIAM BLACKSTONE** William Blackstone was no fan of American independence. Yet his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* would greatly influence America's founding documents, including the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. In his *Commentaries*, he distilled the vast bulk on English common law into four clearly written, understandable volumes. Once Americans had won their rights on the battlefield, they turned to the *Commentaries* for a summary of those rights. Readers included John Adams, John Jay, and James Wilson. Despite their disdain for Blackstone's politics, the Framers often referred to his work as they laid the nation's legal foundation.

This information also appears on the Extend Worksheet for Section 4, along with information about other influential philosophers covered in this chapter.

## Answers

**Analyzing Maps** Southern States wanted slaves counted for representation but not taxation. To win southern support of commerce power, northern States had to agree to forbid Congress to interfere with the slave trade for 20 years.

**Checkpoint** agreement establishing a bicameral Congress, with equal representation in the Senate and representation by State population in the House

## The Connecticut Compromise

“All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.” —Article 1, Section 1



## FROM THE CONSTITUTION



**The Great Compromise** The Connecticut delegates Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth, and William Samuel Johnson presented their compromise to the Philadelphia Convention as a means to end the deadlock between supporters of the rival New Jersey and Virginia Plans. The compromise incorporated parts of each plan in order to resolve the dispute over representation.

### Constitutional Principles

In what ways did each plan propose to limit the powers of the legislative and executive branches?

▲ Seated at the table are William Samuel Johnson (left) and Roger Sherman at the signing of the Constitution.

**A “Bundle of Compromises”** The convention spent much of its time, said Franklin, “sawing boards to make them fit.” The Constitution drafted at Philadelphia has often been called a “bundle of compromises.” Those descriptions are apt, if they are properly understood.

There were differences of opinion among the delegates, certainly. After all, the delegates came from 12 different States widely separated in geographic and economic terms, and the delegates often reflected the particular interests of their own States. Bringing those interests together did require compromise. Indeed, final decisions on issues such as the selection of the President, the treaty-making process, the structure of the national court system, and the amendment process were all reached as a result of compromise.

But by no means did all, or even most, of what shaped the document come from compromises. The Framers were agreed on many of the basic issues they faced. Thus, nearly all the delegates were convinced that a new national government, a federal government, had to be created, and that it had to have the

powers necessary to deal with the nation’s grave social and economic problems. The Framers were also dedicated to the concepts of popular sovereignty and limited government. None questioned for a moment the wisdom of representative government. The principles of separation of powers and of checks and balances were accepted almost as a matter of course.

Many disputes did occur, and the compromises by which they were resolved came only after hours, days, and even weeks of heated debate. The point here, however, is that the differences were not over the most fundamental of questions. They involved, instead, such vital but lesser points as these: the details of the structure of Congress, the method by which the President was to be chosen, and the practical limits that should be put on the several powers to be given to the new central government.

For several weeks, through the hot Philadelphia summer, the delegates took up resolution after resolution. On September 8, a committee was named “to revise the stile of and arrange the articles which had been agreed to” by the

**apt**  
*adj.* appropriate,  
correct, fit

Chapter 2 • Section 4 57

## EXTEND THE LESSON

Display the “Selected Framers of the Constitution” chart on Transparency 2J. Survey students about how many names they recognize. Point out that all these Framers were distinguished in their day. Ask students what similarities they see in their backgrounds. What strengths did they bring to the Philadelphia convention? Assign partners or small groups one of the Framers. Allow time for students to find portraits and biographical information about each Framer. Much of this information is available from the National Archives Web site. They should use the information to create a “yearbook page” for the Framer of their choice. This page should include the following information: the Framer’s State and occupation, his contribution to the Constitutional Convention, his attitude toward the different compromises, and his contribution to American politics and government before and after the convention.

**L2 Differentiate** Assign students one of the more recognizable Framers, who will be easier to research, such as Washington, Franklin, Madison, or Hamilton.

**L2 L1 Differentiate** For these students, distribute the Extend Activity entitled “We the People” (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 103).

**L3 L4 Differentiate** Have students review “The Enlightenment and American Government” feature in the text along with the Extend Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 101) on Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Blackstone. Have students create a chart identifying ideas from each philosopher that contributed to the framing of the Constitution.

**L4 Differentiate** Ask students how these philosophers would have viewed the process of framing a constitution. Which compromises would these philosophers have found out of step with Enlightenment thinking? Have students write a brief response to these questions from the point of view of one of the philosophers in this group.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students review the information on the Extend Worksheet about the philosophers. Then students should use the information to make a “superlatives” yearbook page, with categories such as “most likely to” and “best philosopher.” Students should come up with the categories and explain them.

## Answers

**Constitutional Principles** Each plan proposed separate branches, each with the power to veto acts of the other two.

## Political Cartoon Mini-Lesson

Display Transparency 2K, Steps in the Establishment of a More Stable Government, as a wrap-up activity. This mid-20th century cartoon depicts the three conventions as steps taking America out of the morass of the Articles of Confederation up to higher, more stable ground with the Constitution. Ask: **What do the steps represent?** (*the three conventions leading to the Constitution*) **How does the cartoonist depict the Articles of Confederation? Why?** (*as dark flowing water, to symbolize the instability of the Articles*) **How does the color of the sky change as Uncle Sam ascends?** (*from darker to lighter*) **How does this detail contribute to the message of the cartoon?** (*America is emerging out of the darkness, or turmoil, under the Articles into a brighter future under the Constitution.*)



## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheet and assess students' work.

**L3** Assign the Section 4 Assessment questions.

**L3** Section Quiz A (All-in-One, p. 104)

**L2** Section Quiz B (All-in-One, p. 105)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.

### REMIEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The identities of the Framers	Divide students into small groups. Give each group the name and picture of one of the Framers. Have students create collages by cutting and pasting words and images, or writing words around the picture of their Framers. Display the collages.
The plans and compromises (Questions 1, 5)	Have groups become experts on one of the plans or compromises. Then have them explain it to the rest of the class.
The Enlightenment philosophers	Write the quotes from the philosophers on the board. Read through each one with students and simplify any language that may be difficult to understand. Write next to the quotes a list of concepts that the Framers derived from these philosophers. Have the class match the concept with each philosopher and quote.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** Delegates agreed on the most fundamental principles, but many vital lesser points required compromise.

## Assessment Answers

- Connecticut Compromise:** bicameral Congress, with States represented equally in the Senate and by population in the House; **Three-Fifths Compromise:** three fifths of all slaves counted for voting and taxing; **Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise:** Congress cannot tax exports or interfere with slave trade for at least 20 years
- (a) to revise the Articles of Confederation  
(b) They realized they needed to create an entirely new constitution.
- The talks were kept secret to encourage

the free exchange of ideas and to protect the delegates from outside pressures.

- Possible response: I agree with the Framers' decision to abandon the Articles. The government set up under it was too weak to sustain a nation. For example, Congress did not have the power to tax, so it could not pay debts. States made their own money, which caused radical inflation.
- The Virginia Plan called for a bigger central government with a bicameral legislature. Each State would be represented by population or

by the amount of money it contributed. The New Jersey Plan proposed a central government with closely limited powers and a unicameral legislature. Each State would be equally represented. The Connecticut Compromise resolved the plans' differences by creating a Congress with two houses. Each State is represented equally in the Senate and by population in the House of Representatives.

**QUICK WRITE** Students should find a central idea that unites their facts and details into one story.

**Checkpoint**  
Why was the Constitution called "a bundle of compromises"?

convention. That committee, the Committee of Style and Arrangement, put the Constitution into its final form. Finally, on September 17, the convention approved its work and 39 names were placed on the finished document.<sup>16</sup> Because not all of the delegates were willing to sign the Constitution, its final paragraph was very carefully worded to give the impression of unanimity: "Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present . . ."

Perhaps none of the Framers was completely satisfied with their work. Nevertheless, wise old Benjamin Franklin put into words what many of them must have thought on that final day:

"Sir, I agree with this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general Government necessary for us . . . I doubt . . . whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests,

<sup>16</sup> Three of the 41 delegates present on that last day refused to sign the proposed Constitution: Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who later supported ratification and served as Attorney General and then Secretary of State under President Washington; Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, who later became Vice President under Madison; and George Mason of Virginia, who continued to oppose the Constitution until his death in 1792. George Read of Delaware signed both for himself and for his absent colleague John Dickinson.

and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does . . ."

—Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, James Madison

On Franklin's motion, the Constitution was signed. Madison tells us that

### PRIMARY SOURCE

. . . Doctor Franklin, looking towards the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising sun from a setting sun. 'I have,' said he, 'often and often in the course of the Session . . . looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting Sun.'

—Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, James Madison



## SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

### Essential Questions Journal

To continue to build a response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your Essential Questions Journal.

- Guiding Question** Use your completed flowchart to answer this question: What compromises enabled the Framers to create the Constitution?

### Key Terms and Comprehension

- (a) What was the goal of the Framers when they met at Independence Hall?  
(b) How did that goal change?
- What was the purpose of keeping the discussions within the Constitutional Convention a secret?

### Critical Thinking

- Test Conclusions** The Framers abandoned the Articles of Confederation in favor of an entirely new constitution. Do you agree with their decision? Why or why not?
- Identify Central Issues** Explain the differences between the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan. How were these differences resolved?

### Quick Write

**Narrative Writing: Choose a Main Idea** When writing narrative nonfiction, it is important to have a main idea. This idea will help you stay on track as you write the story of your colony. Look through your notes and write a main idea.

## SECTION 5

# Ratifying the Constitution



### Guiding Question

What issues aroused the vigorous debate over the ratification of the Constitution? Use an outline like the one below to keep track of the issues debated during ratification.

#### I. Ratification of the Constitution

##### A. Federalist Arguments

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

##### B. Anti-Federalist Arguments

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

### Political Dictionary

- Federalist
- Anti-Federalist

### Objectives

1. Identify the opposing sides in the fight for ratification and describe the major arguments for and against the proposed Constitution.
2. Describe the inauguration of the new government of the United States of America.

**Image Above:** This poster celebrates the bicentennial of Virginia's ratification of the Constitution.

Today, the Constitution of the United States is the object of unparalleled admiration and respect, both here and abroad. But in 1787 and 1788, it was widely criticized, and in every State there were many who opposed its adoption. The battle over the ratification of the document was not easily decided.

## The Fight for Ratification

Remember, the Articles of Confederation provided that changes could be made to them only if *all* of the State legislatures agreed. But the Framers had determined that the new Constitution would replace, not amend, the Articles. They had seen how crippling the requirement of unanimity could be. So, the new Constitution provided that

### FROM THE CONSTITUTION

**The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.**

—Article VII

The Congress of the Confederation agreed to this irregular procedure. On September 28, 1787, it sent copies of the new document to the States.

**Federalists and Anti-Federalists** The Constitution circulated widely and was debated vigorously. Two groups quickly emerged in each of the States: the **Federalists**, who favored ratification, and the **Anti-Federalists**, who opposed it.

The Federalists were led by many of those who attended the Philadelphia Convention. Among the most active were James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. The opposition was headed by such well-known Revolutionary War figures as Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, John Hancock, and Samuel Adams.

The Federalists stressed the weaknesses of the Articles. They argued that the many difficulties facing the Republic could be overcome only by the creation of new government based on the Constitution.

### GUIDING QUESTION

What issues aroused the vigorous debate over ratification of the Constitution?

#### I. Ratification of the Constitution

##### A. Federalist Arguments

1. Articles too weak
2. strong government needed to solve nation's problems
3. liberties protected in State constitutions
4. separation of powers would prevent abuse

##### B. Anti-Federalist Arguments

1. ratification process flawed
2. presidency could become monarchy
3. Congress could become too powerful
4. lacked bill of rights
5. States lacked power to print money

## Get Started

### LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- analyze the positions of the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, using primary sources.
- use primary sources to evaluate arguments in favor of and opposed to a bill of rights.

### BEFORE CLASS

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 106) before class.

**L2 Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 107)

## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### ANALYZE POLITICAL CARTOONS

To help students learn to analyze political cartoons when the class discusses the cartoon in the textbook, have them turn to the Skills Handbook, p. S22, and use the steps explained there.

## Focus on the Basics

**FACTS:** • The Constitution took effect after 11 States voted for ratification. • The Federalists promoted ratification of the Constitution. • The Anti-Federalists opposed the Constitution for its strong central government and lack of a bill of rights. • Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay wrote essays known as the *Federalist Papers*, supporting the Constitution. • In March 1789, the new Congress convened in New York City, the temporary capital.

**CONCEPTS:** limited government, compromise

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • The Federalists supported a strong central government while the Anti-Federalists opposed increasing the powers of central government.

- The *Federalist* papers influenced public opinion in favor of ratification.

## BELLRINGER

Distribute the Bellringer Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 108). Ask students to study the chart about ratification and answer the questions.

## Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com).

## INTRODUCE THE TOPIC

Today students will discuss the struggle for ratification of a new constitution and the establishment of a new government. Point out that the table from the Bellringer reflects how contentious and tightly fought the battle for ratification was. Have students share their answers.

## DISCUSS

Display Transparency 2L and ask: **What important issues divided the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists?** (*Federalists believed that a strong central government with powers divided among executive, legislative, and judicial branches was necessary to hold the new country together. The Anti-Federalists favored a weaker central government, more power for State governments, and strong protections of individual rights.*)

Direct students' attention to the text's cartoon showing columns with State labels. What point is the cartoon making? (*The proposed Constitution will form a strong foundation for the nation. If the States don't ratify it, the nation will fail.*)

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Write the Federalist and Anti-Federalist positions on the board in a table format.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students create a cartoon that presents the Anti-Federalist position and answers the cartoon on this page.

## DISTRIBUTE THE CORE WORKSHEET

Distribute the Chapter 2 Section 5 Core Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 109), which asks students to analyze primary source excerpts about ratification of the Constitution. Students can work with partners or individually to complete Part 1. After students share their answers, have them complete the ranking activity in Part 2.

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to listen to a guided audio tour of the ratification arguments.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** Ratification would require approval of nine instead of all thirteen States.

**Two Sides of Ratification** The Federalists emphasized the nation as a whole, while the Anti-Federalists wanted to preserve more power for the States.

**Checkpoint**  
What change did the Framers make to the ratification process?

**amend**  
v. to change or modify for the better

The Anti-Federalists attacked nearly every part of the document. Many objected to the ratification process. Several worried that the presidency could become a monarchy and that Congress would become too powerful. In Massachusetts, Amos Singletary, a delegate to the ratifying convention, condemned the Federalists:

“These lawyers, and men of learning, and monied men, that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people, swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to . . . get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks . . . just as the whale swallowed up Jonah.”<sup>17</sup>

—Amos Singletary

<sup>17</sup> S.B. Harding, “The Contest Over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in the State of Massachusetts,” 1896, as quoted in Carl Van Doren, *The Great Rehearsal*, 1948.

The lack of one major feature of the proposed Constitution drew the heaviest fire: a bill of rights. The new document did contain some protections of individual rights—for example, a provision for the writ of habeas corpus, which is a protection against arbitrary arrest. The Framers had made no provision for such basic liberties as freedom of speech, press, and religion, however—largely because those matters were covered by the existing State constitutions. They also believed that because the powers to be granted to the new government would be fragmented among three branches, no branch of the government could become powerful enough to threaten the rights of the people.

Everywhere, the Anti-Federalists bore down on the absence of a bill of rights. At Virginia's ratifying convention, Patrick Henry said of the proposed Constitution, “I look on that paper as the most fatal plan that could possibly be conceived to enslave a free

## The Federalist/Anti-Federalist Argument

### Two Sides of Ratification

Both the Federalists and Anti-Federalists felt very strongly about the Constitution. The issue of ratification was fiercely debated in letters, articles, cartoons, and public forums. *Read the arguments for each side and the comments of Alexander Hamilton and Patrick Henry. What do the quotations tell about the sentiments of the time?*

- The Articles of Confederation are too weak.
- Only a strong central government can overcome the difficulties the Republic faces.
- Liberties that would be included in a bill of rights are covered in the State constitutions.

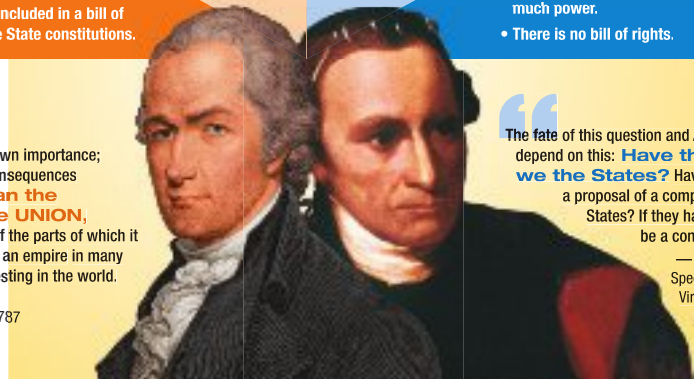
Federalist

Anti-Federalist

- The States no longer have the power to print money.
- The central government holds too much power.
- There is no bill of rights.

“The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences **nothing less than the existence of the UNION**, the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed, the fate of an empire in many respects the most interesting in the world.”  
—Alexander Hamilton,  
*The Federalist*, No. 1, 1787

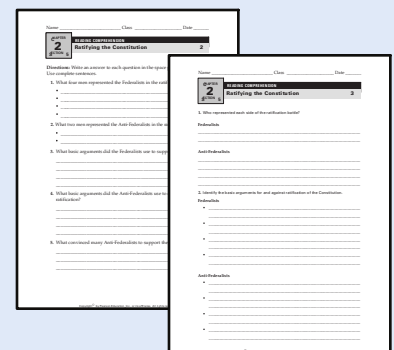
“The fate of this question and America may depend on this: **Have they said, we the States?** Have they made a proposal of a compact between States? If they had this would be a confederation . . .  
—Patrick Henry,  
Speech before the  
Virginia Ratifying  
Convention,  
June 5, 1788



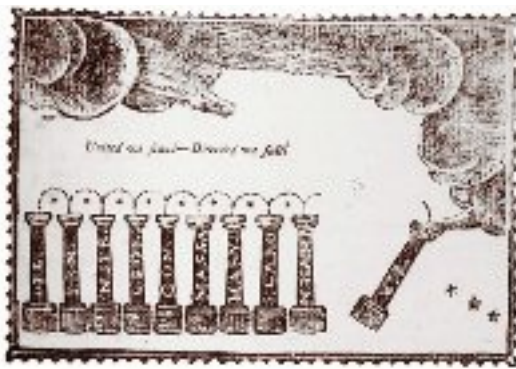
## Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 1, Chapter 2, Section 5:

- L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 106)
- L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 107)
- L3** Bellringer Worksheet (p. 108)
- L3** Core Worksheet (p. 109)
- L2** Extend Activity (p. 113)
- L3** Quiz A (p. 114) **L2** Quiz B (p. 115)
- L3** Chapter Test A (p. 116)
- L2** Chapter Test B (p. 119)







► Columns representing the States that had ratified the Constitution are placed in a row by the hand of God. **Is this a Federalist or Anti-Federalist cartoon? In which States was ratification won by only a narrow margin?**

## Ratification of the Constitution

State	Date	Vote
Delaware	Dec. 7, 1787	30–0
Pennsylvania	Dec. 12, 1787	46–23
New Jersey	Dec. 18, 1787	38–0
Georgia	Jan. 2, 1788	26–0
Connecticut	Jan. 9, 1788	128–40
Massachusetts	Feb. 6, 1788	187–168
Maryland	April 28, 1788	63–11
South Carolina	May 23, 1788	149–73
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	57–46
Virginia	June 25, 1788	89–79
New York	July 26, 1788	30–27
North Carolina*	Nov. 21, 1789	195–77
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	34–32

\* Second vote; ratification was originally defeated on August 4, 1788, by a vote of 184–84.

people.” Stung by the criticism, the Federalists promised that the Constitution, once adopted, would be amended to overcome this fault.

Over the course of the struggle for ratification, an extraordinary number of essays, speeches, letters, and other commentaries were printed. Of them all, the most remarkable were a series of 85 essays that first appeared in various newspapers in New York in the fall of 1787 on into the spring of 1788. Those essays, supporting the Constitution, were written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, and they were soon published in book form as *The Federalist: A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States*. All of the essays bore the pen name “Publius” (Latin for “Public Man”), and they were reprinted throughout the 13 States. They remain an excellent commentary on the Constitution and rank among the finest of all political writings in the English language.

The Anti-Federalists’ attacks were also published widely. Among the best of their works were several essays usually attributed to Robert Yates, who had been one of New York’s delegates to the Philadelphia Convention; they were signed by “Brutus” and appeared in the *New York Journal* at the same time that the paper carried several of the *Federalist* essays. The Anti-Federalists’ views were also presented in pamphlets and letters written by

Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, who used the pen name “The Federal Farmer.”

**Nine States Ratify** Ratification came fairly quickly in a few States and only after a bitter struggle in others. Delaware was the first to approve the Constitution, on December 7. Pennsylvania followed five days later. In Pennsylvania, however, where the legislature had been slow to call a ratifying convention, several Federalists, angered by Anti-Federalist delays, took matters into their own hands. They broke into a Philadelphia boarding house, seized two legislators hiding there, and forcibly marched them to the State house so the assembly could vote to schedule the convention.

The contest for ratification was close in several States, but the Federalists finally prevailed in all of them. On June 21, 1788, New Hampshire brought the number of ratifying States to nine.

Under Article VII, New Hampshire’s ratification should have brought the Constitution into effect, but it did not. Neither Virginia nor New York had yet ratified. Without either of those key States the new government could not hope to succeed.

**Virginia’s Ratification** Virginia’s vote for ratification followed New Hampshire’s by just four days. The brilliant debates in its convention were followed closely throughout the

**Checkpoint**  
Why did the Framers not include a bill of rights in the original Constitution?

## Constitutional Principles

**FEDERALISM AND STATES’ RIGHTS** The delegates to the Constitutional Convention agreed on the fundamental principle of federalism—power divided between the central government and the States. But controversy emerged over how much power each should have. Anti-Federalists preferred more power to the States, a position later known as States’ rights. States’ rights advocates favored limiting the powers of the National Government to those specifically assigned to it in the Constitution. The States would retain all powers not explicitly forbidden them. This controversy would not be solved with ratification of the new Constitution. Because the issue of States’ rights was tightly intertwined with slavery, it would continue to cause heated debate and violent clashes, culminating in the Civil War. Today, States’ rights advocates try to limit national power through strict interpretation of the terms in the Constitution.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**CHAPTER 2** CORE WORKSHEET  
**SECTION 5** Ratifying the Constitution **3**

**Part 1** The new Constitution’s lack of a bill of rights drew strong criticism from many quarters. The following excerpts address this issue. Read each excerpt and answer the questions below.

Alexander Hamilton

“Bills of Rights . . . are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers which are not granted; on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restricted when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed?”  
—from *The Federalist* 84 (May 27, 1788)

- Does Hamilton support or oppose a bill of rights?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Underline the sentence that best states Hamilton’s position.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- How would you paraphrase Hamilton’s argument?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Do you think the argument is strong? Why or why not?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Thomas Jefferson

“ . . . I will now tell you what I do not like. First, the omission of a bill of rights, providing clearly . . . for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies . . . [and] the eternal and unremittent force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury . . . Let me add that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth . . . and what no just government should refuse or rest on inference.”  
—from a letter written to James Madison, December 20, 1787

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**L1 L2 Differentiate** The excerpts by Thomas Jefferson and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney are most appropriate for lower-level students. Have them work with partners or in small groups to read these two excerpts and answer the questions.

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Preview vocabulary from the Jefferson and Pinckney excerpts to support student comprehension: *omission* (lack); *unremittent* (never stopping); *are entitled to* (deserve); *insertion* (addition); *consists* (is made of).

**L4 Differentiate** Have students write an editorial that would appear in the *Providence Journal* on May 28, 1790, the day before Rhode Island voted for ratification. The editorial should argue one of the following points: (1) The Constitution should be ratified with a bill of rights. (2) The Constitution should be ratified without a bill of rights.

### EXTEND THE LESSON

Have partners research the positions expressed in either the *Federalist* or *Anti-Federalist* papers on one of these issues: checks and balances, reserved powers, absence of the mention of God in the Constitution, the denial of the power to print money, or the power of the presidency. If the position resulted in a compromise or resolution, they should explain that as well. Encourage partners to share and compare their findings on their issue.

**L2 Differentiate** Distribute the Extend Activity “Influence of the Press” (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 113).

## Answers

**Interpreting Tables** Federalist cartoon; Rhode Island, New York, Virginia

**Checkpoint** They believed liberties were protected by the State constitutions.

## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheet and assess students' work.

**L3** Assign the Section 5 Assessment questions.

**L3** Section Quiz A (All-in-One, p. 114)

**L2** Section Quiz B (All-in-One, p. 115)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.

### REMEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The Federalist and Anti-Federalist arguments (Questions 2, 3, 4)	Hold a debate, in which one group takes the side of the Federalists and the other group takes the side of the Anti-Federalists. Act as mediator to keep students on track.
The ratification process (Question 5)	List the States in no particular order. As a class, create a timeline on the board, plotting when each State ratified the Constitution.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** New York was a large commercial State that effectively separated New England from the rest of the nation.

## Assessment Answers

- Federalists and Anti-Federalists divided over these key issues: how much power to give the central government versus the States, how to prevent the president or Congress from becoming too powerful, and whether or not the Constitution needed a bill of rights to protect individual liberties.
- The Anti-Federalists feared that a presidency would become a monarchy.
- A bill of rights guarantees citizens certain basic rights, such as the right to free speech and the right to a fair trial. These rights were

not guaranteed explicitly in the Constitution itself, and some feared that their basic rights could, therefore, be threatened.

- Singletery accused the Federalists of using the ratification of the Constitution to satisfy their own ends. He feared that the Federalists would use their victory as a way to gain power and money from the new government.
- Virginia played an important role in calling for the Constitutional Convention and in creating the Constitution itself. Several of America's most prominent leaders were Virginians,

including George Washington, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence. Because Virginia was so large and influential, the new government needed Virginia's support to succeed.

**QUICK WRITE** Students' outlines should tell a clear and comprehensive story of their State.

**✓ Checkpoint**  
Why was New York such a key ratification State?

State. The Federalists were led by Madison, John Marshall, and Governor Edmund Randolph (even though he had refused to sign the Constitution at Philadelphia). Patrick Henry, leading the opposition, was joined by James Monroe, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason (another of the nonsigners).

Although George Washington was not one of the delegates to Virginia's convention, his strong support for ratification proved vital. With Madison, he was able to get a reluctant Thomas Jefferson to support the document. Had Jefferson fought as did other Anti-Federalists, Virginia might never have ratified the Constitution.

**inauguration**  
*n.* a ceremonial induction into office

**quorum**  
*n.* a majority

**unanimous**  
*adj.* having the approval or consent of all

**New York, The Last Key State** In New York, the ratifying convention was bitterly divided. The Anti-Federalists were led by Governor George Clinton and two of the State's three delegates to the Philadelphia convention: Robert Yates and John Lansing, who had quit Philadelphia in late July, claiming that the convention had gone beyond its authority.

New York's approval of the Constitution was absolutely necessary, for that large commercial State effectively separated New England from the rest of the nation. Its ratification of the Constitution, on July 26, brought the number of ratifying States to 11. The victory there was largely won by Alexander Hamilton.

## Inauguration

On September 13, 1788, with 11 of the 13 States "under the federal roof," the Congress of the Confederation paved the way for its successor.<sup>18</sup> It chose New York City as the temporary capital.<sup>19</sup> It set the first Wednesday in January as the date on which the States would choose presidential electors. The first Wednesday in February was set as the date on which those electors would vote, and the first Wednesday in March as the date for the **inauguration** of the new government.

The new Congress convened on March 4, 1789. It met in Federal Hall, on Wall Street in New York City. But because it lacked a **quorum**, it could not count the electoral votes until April 6. Finally, on that day, it found that George Washington had been elected President by a **unanimous** vote. John Adams was elected Vice President by a large majority.

On April 30, after a historic trip from Mount Vernon to New York, Washington took the oath of office as the first President of the United States.

<sup>18</sup> Neither North Carolina nor Rhode Island had ratified the new Constitution before it became effective. The Constitution failed in a first convention in North Carolina and was finally approved by a second one in late November of 1789. Rhode Island did not hold a ratifying convention until May of 1790.

<sup>19</sup> The District of Columbia did not become the nation's capital until 1800.

## SECTION 5 ASSESSMENT

**Essential Questions Journal** To continue to build a response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your **Essential Questions Journal**.

- Guiding Question** Use your completed outline to answer this question: What issues aroused the vigorous debate over the ratification of the Constitution?

### Key Terms and Comprehension

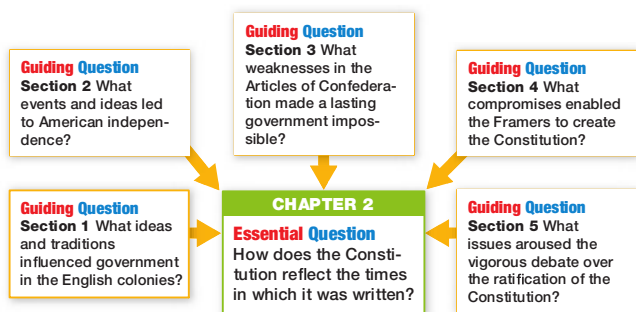
- Explain why the **Anti-Federalists** opposed the presidency.
- Explain the importance of adding a bill of rights to the Constitution.

### Critical Thinking

- Identify Point of View** Reread the quote by Amos Singletery in this section. According to Singletery, why did the Federalists support ratifying the Constitution?
- Make Inferences** Recall Virginia's role in writing the Declaration of Independence and in the Second Continental Congress. Why do you think it was important for Virginia to ratify the Constitution?

### Quick Write

**Narrative Writing: Create an Outline** When writing a narrative nonfiction piece, it helps to have an outline of your thoughts and ideas. Create an outline using your main ideas and supporting details. Revise your outline as needed to make sure that the story progresses in an interesting and clear way.



## Political Dictionary

limited government p. 31  
 representative government p. 31  
 Magna Carta p. 31  
 due process p. 31  
 Petition of Right p. 31  
 English Bill of Rights p. 31  
 charter p. 33  
 bicameral p. 33  
 proprietary p. 33  
 unicameral p. 34  
 confederation p. 37  
 Albany Plan of Union p. 37  
 delegate p. 37  
 popular sovereignty p. 41  
 Articles of Confederation p. 48  
 ratification p. 48  
 Framers p. 52  
 Virginia Plan p. 54  
 New Jersey Plan p. 55  
 Connecticut Compromise p. 56  
 Three-Fifths Compromise p. 56  
 Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise p. 56  
 Federalist p. 59  
 Anti-Federalist p. 59

## Key Documents

### Declaration of Independence: Key Facts

- In 1776, the Second Continental Congress approved the Declaration of Independence.
- Written by Thomas Jefferson, the Declaration proclaimed the natural rights of all citizens, and outlined how the king had violated those rights.
- With the approval of the Declaration, the 13 colonies became free and independent States.

### Constitution: Key Facts

- The New Jersey Plan: A unicameral Congress with each State equally represented
- The Virginia Plan: A bicameral Congress with representation based on population or the amount of money each State contributed to Congress each year
- The Connecticut Compromise: A bicameral Congress with each State equally represented in the Senate and represented by population in the House
- The Three-Fifths Compromise: Three fifths of the slave population was counted for representation in the House and for taxation.
- The Constitution was hotly debated by Federalists and Anti-Federalists.

## The Road to the Constitution

- 1215:** Magna Carta  
**1628:** Petition of Right  
**1689:** English Bill of Rights
- 1765:** Parliament passes the Stamp Act.  
**1774:** The First Continental Congress meets.  
**1775:** The American Revolution begins.  
**1776:** The Declaration of Independence  
**1777:** Articles of Confederation approved.
- 1787:** The Framers sign the Constitution.  
**1789:** The Constitution takes effect.

Have students download the digital resources available at Government on the Go for review and remediation.

## STUDY TIPS

**Choosing a Place to Study** Explain to students that *where* they study can be as important as *how* they study. A good study spot has several important features. It should be a quiet place, with a minimum of distractions. Distractions can come in many forms, including noise, conversation, visitors, and telephone calls. Studying in a place where temptations to play video or computer games exist can make it harder to concentrate. Instead, students should choose a spot in which there is little else to do besides study. In addition, the study area should have good lighting and not be too comfortable. Studying in bed can prompt even those with the best intentions to drop off to sleep! Have students make a list of five possible study spots and ask them to try each one. Have them rate each spot on a scale from one to ten.

## ASSESSMENT AT A GLANCE

### Tests and Quizzes

Section Assessments  
 Section Quizzes A and B, Unit 1 **All-in-One**  
 Chapter Assessment  
 Chapter Tests A and B, Unit 1 **All-in-One**  
 Document-Based Assessment  
 Progress Monitoring Online  
 ExamView Test Bank

### Performance Assessment

Essential Questions Journal  
 Extend the Lesson, p. 56  
 Assessment Rubrics, **All-in-One**

## For More Information

To learn more about the origins of American government, refer to these sources or assign them to students:

**L1 Fradin, Dennis Brindell.** *The Founders: The 39 Stories Behind the U.S. Constitution.* Walker Books for Young Readers, 2005.

**L2 Jordan, Terry L.** *The U.S. Constitution: And Fascinating Facts About It.* Oak Hills Publishing Company, 1999.

**L3 Ellis, Joseph.** *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation.* Vintage Books, 2002.

**L4 Shaara, Jeff.** *Rise to Rebellion.* Ballantine Books, 2001.



# Chapter Assessment

## COMPREHENSION AND CRITICAL THINKING

### SECTION 1

1. **(a) Ordered government:** When the colonists first arrived, they saw the need to regulate relationships among one another. They created governments like they had known in England. **Limited government:** People have certain rights that cannot be taken away, and the government's power is restricted. **Representative government:** Government may rule only with the consent of the people. **(b)** The colonists rebelled against taxation without representation and what they saw as violations of their rights by the British government. These ideas formed the basis of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.
2. **(a) Magna Carta:** trial by jury, due process, private property **(b) Petition of Right:** king may not punish citizens without trial by peers, declare martial law in peacetime, require homeowners to house troops without their consent, or impose taxes without act of Parliament **(c) English Bill of Rights:** no standing army in peacetime; free parliamentary elections; king may not suspend laws or levy taxes without consent of Parliament; subjects have right to petition king; right to a fair trial; freedom from excessive bail or fines and from cruel and unusual punishment; right to bear arms
3. In royal colonies, the colonists elected the lower house, but the king or his appointed governor could strike down any laws passed. This lack of power to shape their own laws led to resentment.

### SECTION 2

4. This kind of government is representative government.
5. **(a)** high tax rates and taxation without representation **(b)** The colonists had no representatives in Parliament and therefore no say in the tax laws imposed on them.
6. **(a)** as wild and bucking, trying to throw off its rider **(b)** as wild and uncontrollable

### SECTION 3

7. **(a)** make war and peace, send and receive ambassadors, make treaties, borrow money, set up a money system, establish post offices, build a navy, raise an army by asking the States for troops, fix uniform standards of weights and measures, settle disputes among States. **(b)** The States began to make treaties with foreign coun-

# Chapter Assessment

**GOVERNMENT ONLINE**  
Self-Test  
To test your understanding of key terms and main ideas, visit [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

## Comprehension and Critical Thinking

### Section 1

1. **(a)** Name and explain the three concepts of government that the English brought with them to the colonies. **(b)** How did these ideas shape the creation of the 13 colonies?
2. Describe the limitations on the monarchy imposed by these documents: **(a)** the Magna Carta, **(b)** the Petition of Right, **(c)** the English Bill of Rights.
3. In the royal colonies, why might the colonists resent the "stern hand" of a royal governor?

### Section 2

4. The Declaration of Independence states, "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." What kind of government is this?
5. **(a)** What were the complaints of the Stamp Act Congress? **(b)** What was meant by "taxation without representation"?
6. **Analyze Political Cartoons** Look at the cartoon below. **(a)** How has the artist drawn the horse "America"? **(b)** How does this reflect British attitudes toward the American colonies?



## Apply What You've Learned

13. **Essential Question Activity** Research a recently created constitution for a foreign nation or international association.  
**(a)** Identify the writer(s) of the constitution, and what their qualifications were.  
**(b)** Research the process through which the constitution was created. How did the writers decide on what to include? What did they think were the most important rights to protect?  
**(c)** Did the constitution go through a ratification process? How was the process conducted?

14. **Essential Question Assessment** Based on your research and this chapter, make a chart comparing the process used to create the U.S. Constitution with a more recently written constitution. This comparison will help you answer the Essential Question: **How does the Constitution reflect the times in which it was written?** Include details such as the concerns of the creators, and the process of ratification in your chart.

**Essential Questions Journal** To respond to the chapter Essential Question, go to your **Essential Questions Journal**.

tries, make their own money, and settle disputes among themselves. **(c)** Foreign countries began to see the States, not the nation, as sovereign, weakening national unity. Trade disputes among States and unrestrained production of money led to inflation and economic chaos. Sound credit vanished and debts went unpaid. Violence broke out in many places.

### SECTION 4

8. **(a)** The central government was too weak to solve the nation's problems. **(b)** reconciling a diversity of opinions, overcoming State

and sectional biases, overcoming fear of a strong central government after just throwing off the oppressive British government

9. The Constitution created a more powerful central government. It gave the federal government the power to tax and to regulate foreign and interstate commerce. Tax revenue would enable the federal government to operate without depending on State funding. The commerce power would reduce trade disputes among States and provide national unity in dealing with foreign nations. The Constitution also established three separate branches of government, creating

# Document-Based Assessment

## CHAPTER 2

### The Constitution and the Revolutionary War Era

The Declaration of Independence espoused the highest principles of Enlightenment thinking. However, a significant percent of the new nation's population remained disenfranchised under their new Constitution. The text below refers to two of those groups.

“

#### Document 1



I long to hear that you have declared an independency — and by the way in the new code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands.

Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If perticular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

—Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, March 31, 1776

“

#### Document 2

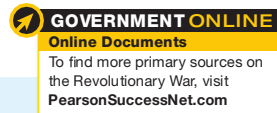
Would any one believe that I am Master of Slaves, of my own purchase! I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my Conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to Virtue, as to own the excellence & rectitude of her Precepts, & lament my want of conforming to them.

I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable Evil. Every thing we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our Slaves, a pity for their unhappy Lot, & our abhorrence for Slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for Reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity. It is the furthmost advance we can make towards Justice. It is a debt we owe to the purity of our Religion, to show that it is at variance with that Law which, warrants Slavery.

—Patrick Henry on slavery, in a letter to Robert Pleasants, January 18, 1773

Use your knowledge of the social reality of the Revolutionary War era and the documents above to answer Questions 1–3.

1. What warning did Abigail Adams issue to her husband in Document 1?
  - A. The new nation will fail if slaves are not freed.
  - B. Families will fail if women are not equal partners with their husbands.
  - C. Women will rise up if their rights are not answered.
  - D. The War for Independence will fail if women do not join the battle.
2. How do Patrick Henry's comments reflect the differences between the ideals of the War for Independence and the reality of life in those times?
3. **Pull It Together** Does the culture of the time in which the Constitution was written excuse inequalities that the document allowed?




### DOCUMENT-BASED ASSESSMENT

1. C
2. The War for Independence touted the ideals liberty and equality for all. However, slaves were not included in these ideals. While many people opposed slavery, the Framers saw it as a necessary evil they could not address at that time.
3. Students' answers should give a clear opinion, supported by what they have learned in the chapter.

**L2 Differentiate** Students use all the documents on the page to support their thesis.

**L3 Differentiate** Students include additional information available online at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**.

**L4 Differentiate** Students use materials from the textbook, the online information at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**, and do additional research to support their views.

 **Go Online to PearsonSuccessNet.com** for a student rubric and extra documents.

checks and balances, and established fair State representation in Congress.

10. Most slaves lived in the South. Under the compromise, three fifths of a State's slave population counted toward the total population. This allowed States like Virginia to send more representatives to Congress. The North may have wanted to abolish slavery to gain more representatives and thus more power in Congress.

#### SECTION 5

11. (a) The Framers believed that State constitutions already protected basic rights and that

separation of powers would prevent government from becoming powerful enough to threaten people's rights. (b) to ensure that this new, stronger central government would not overstep its powers, as Britain had

#### WRITING ABOUT GOVERNMENT

12. Students should combine their research and outline to write a short narrative piece about a State's role in creating the new American government.

#### APPLY WHAT YOU'VE LEARNED

13. Students should thoroughly research the process of writing the constitution of an-

other country. Students may want to look back at Issues of Our Time for ideas.

14. The Constitution is a collection of the beliefs and laws of England, philosophies of the Enlightenment, and solutions to grievances against the Crown that led to the American Revolution. Students should use their research on a more recently written constitution to compare the process to that of the U.S. Constitution. They should explain how the constitution they researched reflects its times.

## Introduce the Chapter

### Essential Questions:

#### UNIT 1

What should be the goals of government?

#### CHAPTER 3

How has the Constitution lasted through changing times?

#### ACTIVATE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

Have students examine the photo and quotation. Ask: **What do the photo and quotation suggest about the Constitution?** (*The historical principles on which the Constitution was created provided guidance for the Framers.*) In this chapter, students will learn about the articles and amendments that make up the Constitution, as well as how the Constitution is changed and interpreted. Tell students to explore the Constitution by completing the Chapter 3 Essential Question Warmup Activity in their **Essential Questions Journal**. Discuss their responses as a class.

#### BEFORE READING

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Chapter 3 Prereading and Vocabulary Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 129)

#### SUCCESSNET STUDENT AND TEACHER CENTER

Visit **PearsonSuccessNet.com** for downloadable resources that allow students and teachers to connect with government “on the go.”

#### DIGITAL LESSON PRESENTATION

The digital lesson presentation supports the print lesson with activities and summaries of key concepts.

## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

#### ANALYZE SOURCES

You may wish to teach analyzing sources as a distinct skill within Section 2 of this chapter. Use the Chapter 3 Skills Worksheet (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 149) to help students learn the steps in analyzing sources. The worksheet asks students to read source excerpts about women’s suffrage and then answer questions about the sources. For L2 and L1 students, assign the adapted Skill Activity (Unit 1 All-in-One, p. 150).



The chapter WebQuest challenges students to answer the chapter Essential Question by asking them about the Constitution.



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## Block Scheduling

**BLOCK 1:** Teach Section 1, omitting the Political Cartoon Mini-Lesson.

**BLOCK 2:** Teach Sections 2 and 3, choosing either the Political Cartoon Mini-Lesson or the Debate in Section 2.