Part II

A Review of AP U.S. History Exam
Period 1: 1491–1607

Pre-Columbian America and Initial European Exploration

The America "discovered" by the Spanish crew of Christopher Columbus in 1492 had in fact been occupied for thousands of years by a diverse group of Native American tribes and civilizations. The arrival of Europeans marked the beginning of a new age and the description of the discovered lands as the "New World" seems appropriate. In fact, it would be the contact among the peoples of Europe—the Spanish the first to arrive in large numbers—the Americas, and West Africa that would give birth to an entirely new world, full of new promise and new devastation.

KEY CONCEPTS FROM THE COLLEGE BOARD

1.1 Before the arrival of Europeans, native populations in North America developed a wide variety of social, political, and economic structures based in part on interactions with the environment and each other.

1.2 European overseas expansion resulted in the Columbian Exchange, a series of interactions and adaptations among societies across the Atlantic.

1.3 Contacts among American Indians, Africans, and Europeans challenged the worldviews of each group.
INITIAL CONTACTS: 1491–1607

Thirty to forty thousand years before Christopher Columbus—or any western European, for that matter—found his way to the New World (the Western Hemisphere), the continent had already been settled by migrants who had crossed a land bridge that once connected Alaska with Russia. Much later, in the early eleventh century, Viking ships entered the Western Hemisphere intent on establishing colonies in North America, but the Norse venture failed. In the latter stages of the feudal era, powerful western European nations such as Spain and Portugal were emerging, and they too were bent on expanding their political and economic advantages through colonization. As Europe emerged from its feudal period around the fifteenth to sixteenth century, commerce and exploration increased in intensity, stimulated by new navigational developments such as the compass and better shipbuilding techniques, as well as nonmaritime discoveries and advancements such as the printing press. In the feudal age, power had been diffused and often decentralized, but with the rise of the modern nation-state, powerful monarchs and wealthy merchants were willing to finance explorations of discovery. Colonization ultimately followed these explorations, and it was not long before France, Holland, and England set covetous eyes on the New World as well. In fact, the expansion of commerce was an essential element in the explorations that took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Leading the way were Spain and Portugal, but England, the latecomer, would gain the upper hand in North America and set the stage for the unfolding of United States history.

KEY CONCEPTS

- The Americas were richly populated with diverse groups before the arrival of European explorers.
The Columbian Exchange set off a series of economic, cultural, social, and political changes that would revolutionize the world.

The rise of nation-states in Europe was a factor in stimulating explorations to the New World and dictated the goals of settlers and explorers.

Contact between Native Americans, enslaved Africans, and European explorers led to intense competition and to the development of ideas about race and class that would permeate colonial society and beyond.

The exploration of the New World and colonial life in North America are discussed in depth in *The American Pageant*, 15th and 16th eds., Chapter 1.

**PRE-COLUMBIAN SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA**

Long before the arrival of permanent European settlers, a wide variety of complex Native American societies had developed on the North American continent. American Indian civilizations were diverse in their structure, culture, and lifestyle and most differences can be traced to their interactions with the environment across a broad range of climates. In adapting to local conditions, Native American communities transformed their environment—a theme that would only accelerate with the arrival of the first colonists in the New World. The Natives of North America can be divided into four major groups as follows:

- **The American Southwest** After the advent of maize cultivation, many of the nomadic tribes of the American Southwest began to develop complex, urban settlements characterized by large, apartment-like stone and adobe structures. While never giving up hunting completely, these groups began to rely on highly organized systems of agriculture supported by well-engineered irrigation systems. Despite the challenges of the arid Southwest, tribes such as the Pueblo were able to grow enough food to sustain fairly large population centers that, in some places, may have numbered in the thousands.

- **The American Northwest (and California)** In the resource-rich areas of modern day Oregon, Washington, and northern California, other groups of Native Americans, like the Chinook, were able to establish sedentary communities by developing sophisticated methods for hunting and fishing, combined with some foraging. Because of their use of fixed settlements, American Indians in this region rarely experienced conflict or competition among tribal groups. Their resulting prosperity also allowed for the development of a highly structured system of social stratification.

- **The Great Basin and the Great Plains** Unlike other regions, the Great Basin (between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas) and the Great Plains posed such significant challenges to native inhabitants that permanent settlements were impossible. Relying on large, migratory game, the American Indians of these regions lived as nomads in fairly small groups scattered across the vastness of the land. Some of the archetypes of Native Americans are based on the lives of those who lived in this region; the Plains Indians, like the Pawnee, hunted bison and built highly mobile dwellings that
could be transported easily (like the teepee). These groups were particularly astute at using every bit of any animal they killed—
including organs, bones, hide, and hair.

- **American Northeast and Atlantic Seaboard** Because of the variety of available resources, weather patterns, and game, the Native peoples of the East Coast of North America—like the Iroquois and the Algonquian—utilized multi-crop patterns of cultivation (like maize, beans, and squash planted together) to provide for more stable, permanent villages. Although the nature of the terrain lent itself to fairly small communities, connections among tribes that were part of confederacies like the Iroquois nation were highly complex. By forming self-governing bodies, the American Indian inhabitants of the Eastern Seaboard capitalized on and made efficient use of the resources of the territory they occupied.

**THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE**

When Christopher Columbus returned to Spain after having discovered the New World, he initiated a system of trade that would revolutionize the world.

Once brought back by Columbus and other explorers, New World goods like corn and potatoes quickly became staples in the diets of people all over Europe and Africa, enabling population growth. Old World transplants such as sugar and coffee thrived in the rich soil and warm weather of Central and South America, a fact that led to their rapid development as cash crops in the plantation system that relied upon forced labor. Furthermore, the introduction to the New World of cattle and horses dramatically changed the lifestyle of Native Americans, such as the Plains Indians, like the Apache and Sioux, whose nomadic culture quickly embraced the horse’s ability to expand their hunting grounds and further increase their mobility.

Most dramatic of all, however, was the result of the introduction of European diseases to populations of Native Americans with no natural resistance. Though usually unintentional, deadly epidemics of yellow fever and smallpox reduced Native American populations by as much as 90 percent in a single century. Many of those infected had never even seen a European.

Over time, the pace of these changes only accelerated as new technologies and new methods for raising the funds required for exploration made the exploration of the New World much easier. These developments, in turn, opened the door for colonization and settlement, a change that would literally turn the course of history.

**EXPANSION INTO THE NEW WORLD**

The Treaty of Tordesillas, drafted in 1494 with influence from the pope, had drawn a line of demarcation to divide the world between Catholic Spain and Portugal. All of the Western Hemisphere except Brazil was assigned to Spain; Portugal was permitted to colonize Asia. Although other nations did not take this agreement seriously, Spain and Portugal were in the forefront of exploration, spurred on by new
technological developments in navigation and the consolidation of power by their respective royal families.

Initially, the Spanish journeyed to North and South America in search of precious metals and gave little thought to colonizing the areas they explored. The gold and silver that they discovered and mined provided the capital necessary for a host of political changes among European powers, among which is counted the shift from feudalism to capitalism. On the heels of the early explorers and settlers came Catholic missionaries, who viewed the Western Hemisphere as fertile ground for proselytizing their religious views. Furthermore, as competition among European monarchies heated up, the New World offered fertile ground for the seizure of territory (and power) in hopes of beating out Old World rivals.

**AP Tip**

Information in this chapter can be used in a free-response question that deals with the causes of imperialism, inter-imperialist competition, and the clash of cultures.

**INTERACTION BETWEEN THE EUROPEANS, NATIVE AMERICANS, AND AFRICAN SLAVES**

First to lay claim to the New World, the Spanish sought to subdue the vast new territory claimed for it by explorers such as Francisco Coronado, Francisco Pizzaro, and Hernán Cortés. Though the Americas were full of rich resources, labor was required to extract them. Initially, the Spanish developed an institution known as the encomienda system, which granted colonists the rights to the labor of Native Americans in exchange for providing for their food, shelter, and, above all, for Christianizing them. Little more than slavery, this system powered sugar plantations and silver mines for a short time, until the many thousands of Natives who had been present at the time of Spanish colonization were all but annihilated by disease. Though there were some voices of protest—most notably that of missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas—most of the conquistadors felt that the American Indians' lack of "civilization" was an indicator of their inferiority and made their subjugation natural. Despite being vastly overpowered, Native Americans who remained under Spanish rule—in encomiendas or on Spanish missions—resisted the changes forced upon them, and some rebelled violently (as did the Pueblan Rebellion in 1680). Over time, however, intermarriage led to the creation of new cultural identities and to the development of a caste-like system defined by race and power.

In response to the issues that developed with the use of Native labor, the Spanish quickly turned to African forced labor. In partnership with the Portuguese (who controlled the European trade in slaves along the West African coast), Spanish slave ships brought hundreds of thousands of slaves to work in sugar plantations and silver mines in the Americas. Though Arab and African traders had practiced the sale of slaves for centuries, the scale of the importation
of slaves to the New World dwarfed any prior model. Furthermore, the institution of slavery that developed in the New World—with its permanency and basis in race, not conquest—created tensions that would set up racial conflicts in the centuries to come. However, despite every attempt to confound slave organization and cooperation, African slaves nevertheless managed to maintain some cultural autonomy, particularly on plantations where incredible numbers of slaves toiled together. Though many adopted the religion of their captors, slave communities often preserved tribal traditions and blended them into their practice of Christianity.

**Content Review Questions**

1. Which of the following best describes the impact European colonization had on the Western Hemisphere’s native population?
   (A) The native population was highly respected in terms of territorial possessions and religious beliefs.
   (B) The Europeans for the most part did not interact with the native population.
   (C) Spain was the only European country to successfully create an alliance with the native population.
   (D) Native populations were often killed off or driven away by the Europeans.

2. Which of the following regions was home to bands of nomadic Native Americans who relied on their game for the vast majority of their needs?
   (A) The Southwest
   (B) The Northwest
   (C) The Great Plains
   (D) The Eastern Seaboard

3. Which of the following shows how Native Americans adapted to and transformed the environment in which they lived?
   (A) The creation of large-scale irrigation works to promote the growing of maize
   (B) The development of highly structured systems of social stratification
   (C) The construction of monuments to nature-based deities
   (D) The organization of self-governing confederacies among disparate tribes

4. Which of the following tribes was encountered by English settlers and best known for their highly evolved system of government?
   (A) The Pueblo
   (B) The Chinook
   (C) The Sioux
   (D) The Iroquois
5. As a result of the Columbian Exchange, the New World gained
(A) a significant new source of staple food crops.
(B) an influx of gold and silver capital for the construction of new
urban centers.
(C) advanced medical techniques that extended the life-span of
Native Americans.
(D) new animals as sources of food and to serve as beasts of
burden.

6. European diseases that arrived in the New World were particularly
deadly because
(A) little medical aid was available so far from European urban
centers.
(B) the European conquerors deliberately accelerated the spread
of the most deadly strains.
(C) the Native Americans had no natural resistance to these
diseases.
(D) the vast devastation of warfare with the Europeans left few to
care for the sick.

7. One significant impact of the Columbian Exchange on the Old
World was
(A) the growth of the food supply and subsequent population
increase.
(B) the introduction of slavery as a significant source of labor for
European landowners.
(C) the widespread devastation of new diseases among the poor.
(D) a draining of capital from the royal families and a shift of
wealth to the hands of the merchant class.

8. Which of the following explains the impact of the Treaty of
Tordesillas (1494)?
(A) It offered eternal life to anyone who would convert the natives
of North America.
(B) It encouraged Spanish exploration of the New World.
(C) It banned the Portuguese slave trade.
(D) It condoned the use of the encomienda system.

9. Which of the following served as the initial motivation for Spanish
exploration?
(A) Desires to convert the Native Americans to Catholicism
(B) Hopes of establishing permanent colonies for settlement
(C) The desire to beat out European rivals in the land grab for
North America
(D) The need for new sources of wealth to support the growth of
the nation

10. All of the following contributed to European expansion into the
New World EXCEPT
(A) the development of new navigational technology.
(B) an end to European wars between competing royal families.
(C) a rise in nationalism among European states.
(D) the desire to spread Christianity.
11. Which European nation was first to lay claim to the New World?
   (A) Portugal
   (B) Spain
   (C) France
   (D) England

12. In the view of the encomienda system, Native Americans were seen primarily as
   (A) a source of labor.
   (B) a group to be protected.
   (C) a focus of evangelization.
   (D) outcasts to be excluded from Spanish settlement.

13. What aspect of Spanish colonization did missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas famously protest?
   (A) The refusal of explorers to tithe on the wealth they discovered
   (B) The lack of missionary zeal among the conquistadors
   (C) The treatment of Native Americans as subhuman and expendable
   (D) The focus of the Spanish Crown on Latin America while neglecting the Reconquista at home

14. All of the following encouraged the growth of African slavery EXCEPT
   (A) the cooperation of Portuguese, Arab, and African merchants.
   (B) the cultural unwillingness of the Spanish to work alongside the Native Americans who they perceived to be pagan.
   (C) the success of the slave-based labor system in the English colonies.
   (D) the dramatic reduction in the population of able-bodied Native Americans due to disease.

15. All of the following characteristics of the Atlantic Slave Trade distinguished it from the forms of slavery that had existed previously EXCEPT
   (A) the scale of the slave trade.
   (B) slavery's basis in race.
   (C) the use of African slaves.
   (D) the permanent nature of this form of slavery.

**Short-Answer Questions**

1. The arrival of Europeans in the New World greatly impacted the American Indian populations.
   (a) Of the choices below, choose ONE and explain the effects of that particular development for the Native Americans.
      The exchange of crops and animals
      The spread of diseases
      The political and social interaction between Native Americans and Europeans
   (b) Explain the impact of the change you chose in Part a on the Europeans.
Question 2 is based on the following map.

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2. Use the map and your knowledge of U. S. history to answer Parts a and b.
   (a) Briefly explain the culture of one of the groups of Natives encountered by Spanish explorers in the 16th century.
   (b) Briefly explain the interaction between the Native Americans and Spanish explorers in the New World.

**Long Essay Questions**

1. Explain how contact between Europeans, Native Americans, and the people of West Africa created a new world.
2. What role did competition over resources play in the conflicts that emerged in the Americas after European exploration and settlement?
Answers

CONTENT REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. (D) The impact of European colonization on the native populations of both North and South America and the Caribbean was devastating (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 15–16/16th ed., pp. 15–16; Learning Objective PEO-4).

2. (C) Low levels of rainfall and large herds of buffalo encouraged the nomadic lifestyle of the Plains Indians (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 8/16th ed., pp. 9–10; Learning Objective ENV-2).

3. (A) In light of scant rainfall, the Pueblo developed irrigation to support the maize farming that sustained their large urban populations (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 8/16th ed., p. 8; Learning Objective ENV-1).

4. (D) The Iroquois Confederacy was noted by English settlers for its advancement in self-government and democratic principles (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 8/16th ed., p. 8; Learning Objective CUL-1).

5. (D) Cattle and horses revolutionized the lifestyles of many groups of Native Americans in the New World within a few centuries of their introduction by Columbus (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 14/16th ed., p. 14; Learning Objective WOR-1).

6. (C) Isolated for millennia from such strains as smallpox and yellow fever, the Native Americans had almost no way to fight off the dread diseases (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 15/16th ed., pp. 14–15; Learning Objective PEO-4).

7. (A) The arrival of such crops as maize and potatoes provided an easy-to-grow source of more calories to support the growth of the European population (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 14/16th ed., p. 14; Learning Objective WOR-1).

8. (B) By ceding rights to the exploration of Asia to the Portuguese, the Treaty opened the doors to Spanish exploration and profit-seeking in the Americas (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 15/16th ed., p. 16; Learning Objective PEO-1).

9. (D) Though all certainly played a role in Spanish exploration, the search for gold and silver—a valuable trading commodity in the Eastern world—was paramount (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 15–17/16th ed., pp. 15–16; Learning Objective POL-1).

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10. (B) Competition and conflict continued in Europe as each of the major powers sought to lay claim to the wealth of the New World (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 13/16th ed., pp. 12–13, 20; Learning Objective WOR-1).


12. (A) Though recipients of the grants of rights to the Native Americans were encouraged to provide for the sustenance of the Natives and to attempt to Christianize them, they were primarily a source of semi-slave labor for mining and plantation style agriculture (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 17/16th ed., p. 16; Learning Objective WXT-4).

13. (C) De Las Casas was one of the only voices condemning the treatment of Native Americans (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 17/16th ed., p. 16; Learning Objective ID-4).


15. (C) Other civilizations, including the kingdoms of Western Africa, had used slavery for centuries, but the new form of slavery identified the status of a slave by his or her race, not by the conquest of one nation over another, and classified those slaves (captured on an unprecedented scale) as enslaved for their lives and the lives of their posterity. (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 12/16th ed., pp. 12–13; Learning Objective WXT-4).

**SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS**

1. (a) **The exchange of crops and animals** changed the lifestyle of Native groups by providing additional sources of food and beasts of burden. In particular, the hunting and migration patterns of the North American Plains Indians were affected by their adoption of the horse in the seventeenth century. **The spread of diseases** devastated Native American communities who had no immunity to diseases like smallpox and yellow fever. By some accounts, their population was reduced by 90 percent. **The political and social interaction between Native Americans and Europeans** resulted in the creation of a distinct hierarchy among racially mixed populations with Europeans serving as the ruling class, followed by a mestizo class that oversaw the Native and African slave labor. In some places, these relationships played out in the *encomienda* system.
(b) The exchange of crops and animals provided the Old World with new staple crops like corn and potatoes that provided a much-needed boost to the food supply and allowed for a growing population. The spread of diseases affected Europeans to a lesser extent, though syphilis did arrive in the Old World as part of the Columbian Exchange. To a greater degree, the devastation of Native populations eased the path of conquest for European settlers and necessitated the use of African slave labor. The political and social interaction between Native Americans and Europeans led to a distinct, New World culture that in many cases would ultimately lead to differences in the views of colonial and European leaders. Ideas of superiority further developed racial conflict among New World settlers.

2. (a) The Pueblo of the Southwest (encountered by Coronado) created large urban centers based on irrigated agriculture. He, along with Hernando de Soto, also encountered some of the Plains Indians, nomadic people who relied on their skill in hunting vast herds of buffalo. Ponce de León encountered groups of Natives along the Eastern Seaboard who lived in highly organized, though small, bands and relied on a combination of agriculture and hunting and gathering for their survival.

(b) Discuss the violence of conquest and the cultural misunderstandings and perceived inferiority of Native American groups. Explain the role of disease in reducing the strength of the American Indian population. Include a discussion of the encomienda system of forced labor combined with Christianization as a model for Spanish conquest.

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. You should address the nature of the interaction among these groups—with Europeans as conquerors exploiting the labor of West African slaves and subjugating the Native American groups they encounter. Discuss the results of these contacts for all involved, including the impact of the Columbian Exchange (especially the impact of European diseases among Native Americans and the value of New World staple crops for expanding the global food supply). (Historical Thinking Skill I-1: Historical Causation)

2. You should point out that the accumulation of resources (particularly gold and silver, but also new cash crops) served as a primary motivator for the Spanish conquerors. Include a discussion of the role of religion in Spanish encomiendas and missions and the reactions of the Native Americans. Explain the additional role of race and culture as factors that further complicated the interaction between the Spanish and the Native American groups they perceived as inferior and savages. (Historical Thinking Skill II-5: Contextualization and III-6: Historical Argumentation)
Period 2: 1607–1754

The Settlement of North America

On the heels of the Spanish explorers, the French, Dutch, and English each made their way to the New World of North America. Based on their unique resources, goals, and on the varied environments encountered by each group, the European colonies were in every way diverse. As each maneuvered to reap the greatest possible gain from their American settlements, they in turn created distinctive societies that would find their identity in their survival (and thriving) in the New World. Nevertheless, these changes would not come without conflict: conflict between intercolonial rivals and between settlers and the Native Americans who desperately wanted to maintain their way of life.

Key Concepts from the College Board

2.1 Differences in imperial goals, cultures, and the North American environments that different empires confronted led Europeans to develop diverse patterns of colonization.

2.2 European colonization efforts in North America stimulated intercultural contact and intensified conflict between the various groups of colonizers and native peoples.

2.3 The increasing political, economic, and cultural exchanges within the "Atlantic World" had a profound impact on the development of colonial societies in North America.
COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA: 1565–1754

After the initial establishment of a colonial foothold by the Spanish, other European powers scrambled to seize a piece of the New World for themselves. In the subsequent century, the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English each developed their own unique patterns of colonization. Differing decisions about how to interact with Native populations and how best to profit from the development of colonies produced distinctive settlement patterns and defined much of their ultimate success. Geography played an important role, particularly among the British colonies, whose individual situations were so different as to form four distinct regions with diverse needs, values, and challenges. Over time, the rise in the trade system of the Atlantic world helped to unify colonists and, among other developments, contributed to the growth of a unique, American identity.

KEY CONCEPTS

- Spain and Portugal initially colonized the Western Hemisphere and used a mixture of intermarriage and subjugation to dominate the Native people of Central and South America.
- The Dutch colonized the Hudson River Valley, while the French settled in parts of Canada and the Ohio River Valley, both developing significant trade alliances with the American Indians in order to establish a profitable export industry.
- The English ultimately established a strong foothold of permanent settlements on the Eastern Seaboard, where they developed hostile relationships with the Indians who occupied territory they desired. The origins of the English colonies varied, as did their social and political systems.
- The British pursuit of mercantilist policies in the Americas was fairly unsuccessful in light of strong colonial resistance.
The exploration of the New World and colonial life in North America are discussed in depth in The American Pageant, 15th and 16th eds., Chapters 2-5.

SPAIN COLONIZES THE NEW WORLD

Initially, the Spanish journeyed to North and South America in search of precious metals and gave little thought to colonizing the areas they explored. Only when other European powers such as France took an interest in North America did Spain make a concerted effort to establish permanent settlements, first at St. Augustine, Florida (1565), later in South America, the American Southwest, and as far west as California. On the heels of the early explorers and settlers came Catholic missionaries, who viewed the Western Hemisphere as fertile ground for proselytizing their religious views. The goal of the Spanish monarchy, however, was to establish and defend a mercantilist policy that would reserve to Spain all the rewards that the New World had to offer. In North and South America, the authority of the king and his representatives was supreme. By the 1640s, the economic benefits accrued by Spain in the New World began to seriously decline. There were many causes: increased pressure from the other imperial nations, especially from the Dutch; domestic problems in Spain itself; declining profits because of the expense of maintaining its colonies, particularly after the Pueblo Revolt in 1680; enormous military expenditures for the protection of its colonies; and a fleet to defend its trade ships. Spain was left a second-rate power. In its colonies that remained, Spain was forced to accommodate—in some respects—the culture of the American Indians they encountered, intermarrying with them in many cases and creating an entirely new society.

AP Tip

Information in this chapter can be used in a free-response question that deals with the effects of geography on the development of social, economic, and political systems.

DUTCH SETTLEMENTS AND A FRENCH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA

The Dutch entered the race for colonies in the late sixteenth century, exploring what later became known as the Hudson River, where they established a colony, New Netherland. Shortly thereafter another major colony, New Amsterdam, was founded on Manhattan Island. The Dutch, like the French, sought to exploit the lucrative fur trade. And like the French colony in Quebec, New Amsterdam did not receive support from the government at home. Despite enticing settlers with patroonships (large tracts of land given in return for settling an area), few Dutch emigrants arrived, and the colony suffered incessant attacks by Native Americans and incursions by other European nations.
While the Spanish settled colonies in warmer climates, the French established their first permanent settlement in the less hospitable climate of Quebec and Nova Scotia, collectively referred to as New France in the seventeenth century. Not surprisingly, the colony was at first sparsely settled. The French government provided little incentive for its citizens to resettle in the frigid areas in and around Quebec, and it forbade French citizens who were looking for a way out of France, the Huguenots (Protestant reformers persecuted for their break from the Catholic Church), from emigrating. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of French citizens who settled in Canada returned home. Not until 1608 would the French make inroads into acquiring lucrative North American resources, such as beaver pelts. The French (like the Spaniards) would experience some success in the New World because of the alliances they established with various Native American tribes. In fact, the French had earlier joined with two tribes, the Algonquian and the Huron, in a fight with the powerful Iroquois. Unfortunately for all Native Americans, regardless of their tribe, the Europeans brought with them diseases to which the Native Americans had no immunity. The mortality rate was staggering.

Later in the century (1682), the French laid claim to the Mississippi Valley, calling it Louisiana after their king, Louis XIV. Thirty years later the city of New Orleans was established; it would eventually become an important military and economic strategic location. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, the French had settled as far west as present-day New Mexico and South Dakota.

As a consequence, the English colonies that had been settled in the early seventeenth century along the East Coast were restricted to territory east of the Appalachian Mountains by French control of the area from the Ohio River Valley to Louisiana. The turning point, however, for French expansion in North America came with the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Having been on the losing side in the War of Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War, as it was known in the colonies), France lost Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, and Acadia (Nova Scotia) to Britain. Although France could ostensibly afford to lose territory—though of course it preferred not to, especially to its rival Britain—it was the lack of French inhabitants there that hampered the development of its empire in the New World; British settlers outnumbered French settlers in the mid-eighteenth century by a ratio of 3:1. Both Britain and France had Native American allies to swell their numbers as far as defense was concerned, but in 1763, when France was defeated by Britain and its American colonists in the French and Indian War, France temporarily had no major territorial possessions in North America. The Louisiana Territory had been ceded to Spain in 1762, and although Napoleon Bonaparte regained it in 1800, this vast territory was sold to the United States in 1803. Simply stated, by 1763 Great Britain controlled nearly all of North America from the Eastern Seaboard to the Mississippi River as well as Canada.

**THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE NEW WORLD**

England had established a colony, the doomed Roanoke Island settlement in Virginia, as early as 1585, but grander forays into the New World had been slowed by the need to resolve religious division
between Catholics and Protestants, a result of King Henry VIII’s
decision to separate from the Catholic Church. With that settled, and
buoyed by the defeat, under Queen Elizabeth I, of the invading Spanish
Armada in 1588, the English caught up with the other European
imperial powers in exploring and settling the New World. As with the
Dutch and French, the English sailed to North America in search of a
Northwest Passage to Asia. But the English had other motives as well:
exploration could yield lucrative benefits for investors who bought into
joint-stock companies in the hopes of realizing a profit. The lure of raw
materials was an important incentive as well, especially as these
resources were vital to England’s expanding manufacturing sector. At
the heart of the government’s desire for colonies was mercantilism; the
need to accumulate gold, silver, and other precious resources; the
establishment of a favorable balance of trade between the mother
country and its colonies; and the establishment of colonies to act as a
counterbalance to the influence of other imperial nations. The major
early English colonies included the following:

- **Jamestown**  England’s first permanent colony in North America,
  Jamestown was established by the Virginia Company after
  receiving a charter from King James I in 1606. The original settlers
  suffered from disease (especially malaria because the colony was
  established near swampland), internal strife, and starvation, and
  they were heavily dependent on supplies from the mother country
  and assistance from Native Americans. The colony’s economy
  finally stabilized when tobacco was successfully cultivated after its
  introduction by John Rolfe. In 1676, Jamestown was burned to the
  ground during Bacon’s Rebellion. Rebuilt a number of years later, it
  was again destroyed by a fire in 1698.

- **Plymouth**  Whereas the settlers who established Jamestown did
  so for predominantly economic reasons, Plymouth Colony was
  established by religious separatists seeking autonomy from the
  Church of England (Anglican Church). In 1620, these “Pilgrims”
  sailed on the Mayflower to New England after receiving a charter
  from the Virginia Company. When they arrived, they created a
  document known as the Mayflower Compact—the first form of self-
  government in the British colonies. By the end of the century,
  Plymouth, where the Pilgrims settled first, had become part of the
  colony of Massachusetts.

- **Massachusetts Bay Colony**  Started in 1630, the Massachusetts
  Bay Colony was home to many Puritans, who left England because
  of the persecution they faced from the Crown and the Anglican
  Church. Under Calvinist religious leaders such as John Winthrop,
  the colony almost immediately developed into a theocracy in which
  the church was paramount in all decisions, political as well as
  religious. Though far from democratic, it became the first English
  colony to establish the basis of a representative government when
  residents demanded representation if they were to be taxed.

- **Other New England colonies**  Major colonies were also
  established in Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and
  Maine. In the former, a productive fur trade operated in the
  Connecticut River Valley. Unlike the Massachusetts Bay Colony,
  religion was less important than commerce in Connecticut.
  Importantly, Connecticut colonists were the first in America to
write a constitution. The New Hampshire and Maine colonies originated when two Englishmen, given a government grant to the areas north of Massachusetts, divided the land. Both colonies eventually were absorbed into the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but New Hampshire became an independent royal colony in 1679. Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820. Rhode Island's colonial history is very much tied to the trials and tribulations of Roger Williams, whose advocacy of separation of church and state and complete individual religious freedom convinced Boston's Puritan leaders to banish him from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Undeterred, Williams went on to establish the colony of Providence. Other religious refugees, among them Anne Hutchinson, soon found their way to Rhode Island, and in 1663, Parliament granted the colony a new charter that guaranteed religious freedom.

- **The middle colonies** New York became an English colony through conquest. In the seventeenth century, England and Holland had engaged in a series of commercial wars in which the North American fur trade became increasingly important. To eliminate Dutch competition, the Duke of York was provided a fleet by his brother, King Charles II, to capture New Netherland, which he did in 1664. Under the duke, democracy was, at best, limited in the colony now named for him—New York. New Jersey originally belonged to the duke as well, but he transferred parts of it to other nobles. Quakers inhabited parts of east and west New Jersey, but in 1702, the colony was unified and granted a royal charter. Its neighbor to the west, Pennsylvania, was founded as a sanctuary for Quakers when William Penn was provided a grant to establish a settlement. It would be home to Germans, Quakers, and a wide variety of settlers who wanted good farmland in a colony that was, by and large, democratic for the time. Delaware—once Sweden’s colony, then taken by the Dutch, and finally lost to the English—was also owned by the Duke of York. Concerned that Pennsylvania was landlocked, Penn purchased Delaware to provide his settlers access to the sea.

- **The southern and Chesapeake Bay colonies** Despite its rocky start, Virginia would become an economic powerhouse by the dawn of the eighteenth century—supported by a profitable trade in tobacco and other labor intensive crops. Maryland was conceived as a refuge for Catholics by Lord Baltimore, a recent convert to Catholicism and a London Company stockholder. After his death, the English Crown granted his son, the second Lord Baltimore, a charter to administer the colony. For all intents and purposes, Lord Baltimore ran Maryland as if it was a fiefdom, giving vassals land in return for their loyalty and assistance. Over time, republican features seeped into Maryland’s political system, and a bicameral legislature was established. Religious problems ensued, however, between Protestants, who settled the area in increasing numbers, and Catholics, for whom the colony was originally established. In 1649, the Maryland Toleration Act guaranteed freedom of worship for Christians, while punishing those who made blasphemous remarks and committed other religious transgressions. In the Carolinas, land was granted as a reward for those who had helped
in the restoration of the monarchy, following the English Civil War and parliamentary rule. The Carolinas were similar to the middle colonies, which had for the most part been founded by proprietors, not (stock) companies. However, like Maryland, they were initially reminiscent of feudal kingdoms. Over time the Carolinas came to be identified with religious and political freedom, but, paradoxically, slavery was introduced almost immediately because the proprietors also had investments in the slave trade. Thus while indentured servants were represented in the labor force of other colonies, the Carolinas embraced slavery. Not until 1729 was the huge colony divided into North and South Carolina. Georgia, as already mentioned, began its history as a penal colony (where originally rum, Catholics, and blacks were prohibited) and as a first line of defense against Spanish-held Florida. When the number of convicts was found to be insufficient to sustain a viable colony, Georgia welcomed Protestants and skilled craftsmen from England, Scotland, and Germany.

By the eighteenth century the American colonies were on the way to developing their own unique cultures while maintaining the essence of their Old World customs. Some colonies were more theocratic and politically elitist than others; a few had some of the political rights found in a democracy—or anywhere in Europe, for that matter—such as freedom of religion and political expression. For their part, typical English colonists came to the New World in the hopes of improving their economic status or to seek greater political and religious autonomy—the goal of Quakers, Puritans, and Catholics. Once in North America, some sought to convert the Native American population to Christianity. Some arrived as indentured servants, others as refugees from persecution, some as slaves, and still others as castoffs because of criminal records or, more often, indebtedness. Some found success and freedom in the New World; others sank into poverty and despair. As in Europe, the wealthy colonists were generally politically powerful, their interests and concerns not necessarily consistent with those of their less-fortunate fellow colonists.

Despite significant economic, political, social, and racial divisions, the American colonies' common British heritage and the unique challenges (like coming to terms with hostile Native Americans) and experiences (like the religious revival movement known as the Great Awakening) that they encountered in the New World led slowly to the emergence of an American identity. This common culture would, with the added motivation of Enlightenment ideals of self-government and liberty, help establish the foundation of the United States as an independent country.

**British Policy in the Colonies**

Despite the reality of the colonies' ultimate revolution for independence, many historians view the British—colonial relationship as initially benign. In other words, although the British sought to regulate trade and influence the colonial governments overall, it generally limited its intervention and management. During what is often referred to as a period of "salutary (benign) neglect," the years
from about 1650 to the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, the Americans were largely left alone to develop their economy without serious British intervention. But some historians question this view, especially given that mercantilism was the prevailing economic system, one that emphasizes that a nation’s economic power expands by maintaining a favorable balance of trade and controlling hard currency—specie. As with other imperial powers, Britain viewed the American colonies as a reliable source of raw materials and a viable market for British goods, as well as a place for profitable investment opportunities. For example, by the eighteenth century large swaths of Britain had been deforested, a serious concern for a nation that relied heavily on its wooden naval ships to control the seas. North America, on the other hand, had millions of acres of forest that could be harvested for British use.

British mercantilist policies were generally not challenged by the colonists, in part because they were difficult to implement and often infrequently enforced. As long as competition from the Americans wasn’t significant and Britain wasn’t experiencing an economic or fiscal crisis, there was little need or incentive to abandon the policy of salutary neglect. The major British mercantilist policies in the pre-1760 period include the following:

- **The Navigation Laws** These were a series of strict British trade policies designed to promote English shipping and control colonial trade in regard to important crops (such as tobacco) and resources, which had to be shipped exclusively in British ships. In order for the Americans to trade certain enumerated items with other nations, their ships had to stop in England first. The Navigation Law of 1660 would have had a devastating effect on the American economy had the British enforced the law. The British added further requirements in subsequent Navigation Laws in 1663, 1673, and in 1696; the latter allowed British customs officials using writs of assistance—search warrants—to search for and seize smuggled commodities.

- **The Wool (1699), Hat (1732), and Iron (1750) Acts** These acts were intended to subordinate American capital to British capital by preventing American businessmen from turning raw materials into finished commodities. For example, the fashion fad of the eighteenth century was beaver hats. The Hat Act prevented Americans from turning the beaver pelts into hats and selling them on the open market. Instead, as with many raw materials, the pelts were to be sold to English manufacturers, who then used them to make hats, which in turn were sold on the international market, including to the Americans. This type of legislation helps you see why some members of the colonial merchant class, those who had the most to lose financially, took up arms against Great Britain.

- **The Molasses Act (1733)** Molasses, an important sweetener—and an important component of the triangle trade—was used primarily in this era as an essential ingredient in the making of rum, an enormously popular beverage in the colonial period. In an attempt to control the lucrative sale of sugar cane to the colonies, the British government established regulations and restrictions, again not well enforced. Besides, the Americans often purchased sugar from the non-British sugar-producing Caribbean islands.
Discontent on the Frontier

In 1763, a band of western Pennsylvania frontiersmen, the Paxton Boys, attacked Native Americans whom they believed had been part of Pontiac’s rebellion. When the Native Americans took refuge in Philadelphia, the Paxton Boys, numbering in the hundreds, descended on the city to demand funding to support their defensive needs on the frontier. It was not until Benjamin Franklin convinced the belligerent frontiersmen that financial aid would be forthcoming that the Paxton Boys returned home. This event, however, was not the first occasion in which settlers living on the frontier of their colonies took up arms to address grievances they claimed were being ignored by the colonial government. Nearly a hundred years before the Paxton Boys marched on Philadelphia, discontent on Virginia’s frontier erupted into armed insurrection. In 1676, the royal governor of Virginia, William Berkeley, became the focus of discontent for those Virginians on the colony’s frontier. It had become obvious to them that Berkeley was concerned more with the wealthy planters on Virginia’s eastern seaboard (called the Tidewater region) than with those in western Virginia whose lives were considerably more tenuous because of constant fighting with Native Americans. Taking matters into their own hands, the Virginians, led by Nathaniel Bacon, attacked the Native Americans, whereby Governor Berkeley, after promising some needed reforms, organized an attack on Bacon’s forces. Bacon and his men retaliated by marching on Jamestown and burning it. Then, unexpectedly and fortuitously for Berkeley, Bacon died. The revolt came to an end, and many of Bacon’s followers were hanged. Nevertheless, the event was a harbinger of what would happen a century later. Further, many Americans saw that they had a common perception: colonial governments favored the aristocracy over the needs of the masses. Another impact of the rebellion unforeseen by Bacon and his men: a hastening of the move away from the use of indentured servants and toward increased reliance on African slaves (who would never become free and demanding of their rights).

Content Review Questions

1. Which of the following distinguished British settlement patterns from those of the other major European powers?
   (A) Their respect for Native cultures
   (B) Their establishment of widespread missions
   (C) Their focus on extracting gold and silver for export
   (D) Their creation of larger-scale colonies with permanent settlers

2. Which of the following imperial powers originally settled the Hudson River Valley?
   (A) Holland
   (B) England
   (C) France
   (D) Sweden

3. The colony of Georgia was
   (A) comparatively the most democratic English colony.
   (B) established by Spain in order to protect its colony of Florida.
   (C) established by England as a penal colony.
   (D) eventually ceded to Spain in return for Florida.
4. The Duke of Baltimore established the colony of Maryland
   (A) as an opportunity to invest in that colony’s maritime industry.
   (B) in order to prevent France from seizing that territory.
   (C) as a haven for persecuted English Catholics.
   (D) for Quakers who had been evicted from Pennsylvania.

5. French immigrants to the New World tended to inhabit
   (A) Canada.
   (B) Florida.
   (C) territory east of the Appalachian Mountains.
   (D) southern colonies.

6. As the founder of Rhode Island, Roger Williams
   (A) established religious freedom for Jews and Catholics.
   (B) supported freedom of religion for the Huguenots.
   (C) established complete religious freedom for all of the colony’s
       settlers.
   (D) established mandatory church attendance.

7. Which of the following stunted the physical growth of the English
   colony of New York?
   (A) Most settlers refused to recognize the Anglican Church.
   (B) New York relied almost exclusively on imports from Britain.
   (C) Few colonists wanted to settle in the western part of the
       colony.
   (D) Aristocrats controlled vast tracts of land.

8. Which of the following sought to exploit the lucrative fur trade in
   North America?
   (A) The French
   (B) The British
   (C) The French and Dutch
   (D) The Spanish and the French

9. John Winthrop is associated with which colony?
   (A) New Amsterdam
   (B) Massachusetts Bay Colony
   (C) Jamestown
   (D) Quebec

10. The English law decreeing that only the eldest son was eligible to
    inherit family lands concerns
    (A) a charter.
    (B) an entail.
    (C) a confederation.
    (D) primogeniture.

11. A major consequence of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War was
    (A) the repudiation of peaceful coexistence between the English
        and the Indians.
    (B) the territorial expansion of Indian tribes east of the
        Appalachian Mountains.
    (C) the complete destruction of Indian tribes in Virginia.
    (D) the collapse of English colonies in Virginia.
12. In the seventeenth century, the colony of Maryland became a safe haven for
(A) runaway slaves.
(B) runaway indentured servants.
(C) Catholics.
(D) Indians who had been chased from their ancestral lands.

13. The Maryland Act of Toleration (1649) granted religious toleration to
(A) only those colonists who had settled in Maryland before the statute was ratified.
(B) all residents of Maryland except Indians.
(C) Protestants only.
(D) all Christians, but no Jews or atheists.

14. Under Britain’s mercantilist policy
(A) Britain and the other imperialist powers worked out a trade agreement that would prevent conflict.
(B) the colonies were expected to export more finished goods than they imported.
(C) the colonies were expected to supply Great Britain with raw materials.
(D) the colonies enjoyed considerable political and economic growth.

15. The primary goal of the Hat Act, Iron Act, and Wool Act was to
(A) subordinate American capitalism to British capitalism.
(B) increase production levels of these items in the colonies.
(C) prevent British manufacturers from shipping raw materials to America.
(D) raise revenue to pay for the salaries of British officials serving in the American colonies.

**Short-Answer Questions**

1. The French, Dutch, and English each laid claim to various parts of North America in the seventeenth century.
   (a) Explain a major difference between the colonial settlements of the French, the Dutch, and the English regarding ONE of the following:
   - Relations with the Native Americans
   - Settlement patterns
   - Economic initiative
   (b) Explain one cause and one effect of the difference you identified in Part a.

2. The mercantilist principles of the British Empire shaped the development of the American colonies.
   (a) Briefly describe the principle of mercantilism.
   (b) Provide ONE piece of evidence that demonstrates how the British exercised mercantilism in their governance of the American colonies.
   (c) Provide ONE example of a conflict that developed as a result of the British pursuit of mercantilism.
Long Essay Questions

1. Compare the English colonies in the New World in terms of government, population, and origin.

2. What role did religion play in the establishment of English colonies in North America?

Answers

Content Review Questions

1. (D) In fact, the scale and permanency of the British colonies often exacerbated their relationships with Native Americans, with whom they refused to associate (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 15-16/16th ed., pp. 30-31; Learning Objective PEO-5).


3. (C) Another reason the English established the Georgia Colony was to act as a barrier to potential incursion by the Spaniards in Florida (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 38/16th ed., p. 37; Learning Objective PEO-5).

4. (C) The duke was a recent convert to Catholicism and wanted to establish a colony for English colonists who were mistreated by the Anglican Church (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 32/16th ed., p. 33; Learning Objective CUL-1).


7. (D) For example, along the Hudson River, aristocrats owned immense landholdings (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 52-53/16th ed., pp. 52-53; Learning Objective POL-1).


10. (D) Primogeniture was criticized as a method of concentrating land—and therefore wealth—in the hands of the few. It took
root in America but died out in the early nineteenth century (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 27/16th ed., p. 27; Learning Objective PEO-1).

11. (A) The Chesapeake Indians failed to defeat the Virginia colonists and were consequently driven out of their ancestral homes (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 29/16th ed., pp. 30-33; Learning Objective PEO-4).

12. (C) Catholics were persecuted in Protestant England following the English Civil War; Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore in 1634 in part as a refuge for Catholic émigrés (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 32/16th ed., p. 33; Learning Objective CUL-4).

13. (D) Although a step in the right direction in regard to religious freedom, the act protected only Christians. Non-Christians and atheists could suffer the death penalty for their beliefs (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 32/16th ed., p. 33; Learning Objective CUL-4).

14. (D) Under mercantilism, the colonies supplied the center (or mother country) with raw materials and became a market for finished goods (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 114/16th ed., pp. 118-119; Learning Objective WXT-1).


**SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS**

1. The regions available for analysis here are the British New England and Chesapeake colonies, the Dutch settlements around New Amsterdam, and the French settlements along the St. Lawrence River. You could discuss the reasons for the British colonists’ rocky relationships with the Native Americans—including their goals for permanent settlement and refusal to accept Native cultural and religious practices. Discussing the relative sizes of the various nations’ settlements will require an explanation of their respective goals for settlement. Noting the geographic challenges and advantages of each area will help to explain the ultimate outcomes of each settlement.

2. Mercantilism is an economic idea that claims that a positive balance of trade (exporting more than one imports) and a ready supply of specie are central to a nation’s economic and military security. A strong answer must include a discussion of any of the early British laws restricting colonial trade—foremost among them the Navigation Acts—and the colonists’ propensity for smuggling in defiance of those laws.
LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. You should address the differences by explaining that some colonies were started for religious reasons, others as economic ventures, some as grants from the monarch, and Georgia as a penal colony. Some were more democratic than others, and some were more religiously tolerant that others. Massachusetts and the mid-Atlantic colonies tended to have a higher population density than those in the south. (Historical Thinking Skill II-4: Comparison)

2. You should point out that religion was one of several important motives for colonization. Explain the role religion played in the establishment of colonies such as Plymouth and Maryland. Discuss the theocracy that was established in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and contrast this with the freedom of religion that prevailed in Rhode Island. Important to this question is the establishment of Pennsylvania by the Quaker William Penn, whose colony tolerated religious freedom. (Historical Thinking Skill II-5: Contextualization and III-6: Historical Argumentation)
Period 3: 1754–1800

The Rise of the American Republic

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the British and the French were in the midst of a duel for dominance on the continent of North America. Meanwhile, the settlers of the North American colonies had themselves begun to forge a new identity. Although the final battles between the great European powers would result in a British victory—and the loss of all French territory in North America—the conflict over who would rule the land had only just begun. When Great Britain, reeling from her costly victory over France, attempted to force the colonies to live up to the spirit of mercantilism under which they had been founded, trouble arose. In the end, the American colonists had so strongly formed their self-image in liberty and prosperity that the idea of surrendering it to anyone, even their king, seemed unthinkable. After the American Revolution secured for the colonists their independence, they then commenced the real work of creating a nation that could last. It took two attempts, but the final Constitution has since stood the test of time, lasting more than 200 years.

**KEY CONCEPTS FROM THE COLLEGE BOARD**

3.1 Britain’s victory over France in the imperial struggle for North America led to new conflicts among the British government, the North American colonists, and American Indians, culminating in the creation of a new nation, the United States.

3.2 In the late eighteenth century, new experiments with democratic ideas and republican forms of government, as well as other new religious, economic, and cultural ideas, challenged traditional imperial systems across the Atlantic World.

3.3 Migration within North America, cooperative interaction, and competition for resources raised questions about boundaries and policies, intensified conflicts among peoples and nations, and led to contests over the creation of a multiethnic, multiracial national identity.
CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1760–1774

When thinking about the causes of American colonial independence, many people often give little thought to factors other than the desire for liberty. All agree that the Revolution began because the colonists wanted independence, but they do not always trace this desire back to the imperialistic foreign policy adopted by the British long before the struggle for independence began. There are essentially two types of revolution: anti-imperialist and social (or domestic). The objective of the first is self-determination, or autonomy. Profound social change, as in democratization, is the goal of the second type. Ultimately, when you study the causes of the American Revolution, you will need to interpret whether there were one or two revolutionary impulses.

KEY CONCEPTS

- Prior to 1763, the British subordinated American capital to British capital.
- The British success in the French and Indian War transformed the relationship between Britain and the American colonies.
- British policies after 1763 were designed to raise revenue to pay for the cost of the empire.
- The American colonists were divided over what course of action to take in response to British policies.
- The Americans created a government, the Continental Congress, to address the deteriorating relationship between Britain and the colonies.

The causes of the American Revolution are discussed in depth in The American Pageant, 15th and 16th eds., Chapters 6 and 7.
COMPETITION BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IN THE NEW WORLD

By the middle of the eighteenth century, two powerful competitors, Britain and France, continued to vie for dominance in North America. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Great Britain dominated the Eastern Seaboard of what would become the United States. The French were in control of Canada and also laid claim to an enormous swath of land that stretched west well beyond the Mississippi River and south to present-day Texas. Actually, both Britain and France had been fighting intermittently for centuries before they engaged each other militarily and diplomatically over the potential rewards of the North American continent.

French and British inter-imperialist rivalry was most intense between 1689 and 1763, when the French were finally defeated. Before this, however, Great Britain and France fought a series of wars. The final and most famous, which in North America (before spreading to Europe), was the French and Indian War, commonly referred to in Europe as the Seven Years War. The focal point of the struggle in North America was the Ohio Valley, where the French began constructing forts to stop the westward expansion into what they called New France by British colonists. Eventually, British and colonial forces, under the leadership of a youthful planter from Virginia named George Washington, engaged the French in the Ohio Valley. They were defeated. It was apparent that the war would last a bit longer than the British and their colonists had anticipated. In order to prepare for the ensuing warfare, the colonists, with encouragement from Britain, organized the Albany Congress. The immediate objective of this meeting was to keep the Iroquois tribes loyal to Britain. This would be accomplished by involving the Iroquois in discussions about issues affecting both the Iroquois and the American colonists and their British government officials. Under the leadership of Benjamin Franklin, the delegates drew up an American colonial response to the French, which became known as the Albany Plan of Union. This coalition would have provided for an American Congress, which would in turn have the authority to

- carry out diplomatic relations with the Native American tribes
- control public territory
- raise an army
- tax colonial citizens

Unfortunately, the colonists were too concerned about their own interests and unwilling to relinquish control to a provincial congress, so the Albany Plan was not accepted. Still, it created a foundation for future colonial cooperation, especially when it mattered even more, in the war against Britain.

Early on in the French and Indian War, the British suffered serious setbacks—for example, General Braddock’s defeat at the hands of the French and their Native American allies near Ft. Duquesne, the worst British defeat in North America up to that time. But many French colonists were suffering hardships as well, despite their countrymen’s military successes. French-Canadians living in Acadia (present-day
Nova Scotia) were driven out, ultimately settling in New Orleans (where their culture is commonly called Cajun). In 1756, the two imperialist rivals took their war global, each attacking its enemy’s colonies in the Caribbean, the Pacific, and in India. Not until 1758 did British fortunes improve. Under a new British secretary of state, William Pitt, the British and Americans found common ground to address the military and economic demands of the war. Successes followed on the battlefield. The capture of the major French stronghold, Ft. Duquesne, by troops under the command of George Washington, along with major British victories in New York, drove the French out of most of the area they previously controlled. Retreating to Quebec, the French commander General Montcalm was decisively defeated by Britain’s General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, outside of Quebec. Militarily and financially exhausted, the French sued for peace.

The Peace of Paris brought hostilities to a close and with it French control of North America. The parts of the treaty that relate to North America include the following:

- Britain received all of French Canada and all territory south of Canada and east of the Mississippi River.
- France and its ally, Spain, lost their West Indian colonies.
- Britain received Florida from Spain.
- Spain received from France its territory west of the Mississippi, including control of the port city of New Orleans, as compensation for its loss of Florida.

**Problems Inherited by Britain Following the War**

With military victory came political and economic problems for the British. While they defeated their long-time rival in a pivotal campaign for territorial expansion and colonization, the British government had incurred a large debt. Prosecuting the war had been expensive. That and the huge cost of maintaining and controlling its expanded empire created a fiscal crisis, forcing the British to address important political and economic concerns that came with empire building:

- The newly won land, which doubled the size of Britain’s North American territory, must be governed.
- Revenue must be raised to help absorb the costs of maintaining and controlling this vast territory. To make matters worse, citizens in Great Britain were already heavily taxed.
- Hostile Native Americans in the Appalachian region, who felt threatened by American westward expansion into the Ohio River Valley, needed to be controlled. (In 1763, under the leadership of Chief Pontiac, Native Americans in the Ohio Valley responded to these encroachments on what they considered to be their land by destroying forts and homes. The British, wary of their colonists’ fighting capabilities, sent their own redcoats, not the colonial militias, to put down Pontiac’s rebellion.) That year, the British government imposed restrictions on westward settlement.
- French Canadians needed to be assimilated into the British Empire.
- Opening new trade channels posed difficulties.
Intractable American colonists were not about to accept restrictions on their activities. Some colonists, in fact, were beginning to compete effectively with British capitalists and refused to subordinate their economic interests to those of British manufacturers.

So extensive were these problems, so aggravating to colonial-British relations, that it can be rightly stated that Britain's eventual loss of its American colonies paradoxically began with its inter-imperialist victory in the French and Indian War.

Not surprisingly, with the defeat of the French, American colonists no longer felt threatened by French attacks, but an unanticipated consequence of the war soon became apparent. The British and Americans had taken away from the conflict contrary views of their relationship during the course of the conflict. For its part, Britain was highly critical of the American military contribution to the war effort. The American militia, they claimed, had fared poorly—in fact, not all colonies had sent troops to help. To the British, it was obvious that the Americans would be incapable or unwilling to defend the mother country's newly acquired territories. Further, throughout the war the Americans had continued to engage in illegal smuggling, which was harmful to the British economy. The American colonists, however, were equally disappointed with the British. Convinced they had indeed fought well, they were highly critical of Britain's military, which seemed more suited for European-style warfare than for warfare in the dense woodlands of North America. Politically and economically, the outcome of the war forever changed the relationship between the center, Britain, and its periphery, the colonies. Eventually that outcome took both to a point hardly imaginable at the end of the French and Indian War, a fight for colonial independence.

**BRITISH ATTEMPTS TO EXERT AUTHORITY**

Although annoying to some Americans, British mercantilist policy before the French and Indian War was not as irritating to them as what was to follow. The year 1763, while not as indelible as, say, 1776, is no less as fateful for two significant events that would profoundly shape the American colonists' relationship with Britain. The French and Indian War had created a fundamental change in the relationship between the American colonies and Great Britain. In some ways, 1763 can be considered a turning point in the association between Britain and its American colonies. It was in that year that King George III appointed George Grenville as prime minister. Under Grenville, the British devised a solution to their economic woes by fundamentally transforming their political, economic, and trade relationship with the American colonies. As a result, the policy of salutary neglect was abandoned. From then on, the British government would play a considerably enlarged (and, to some colonists, exploitative) role in the colonies. The first major controversial measure was the Proclamation of 1763.

One especially undesirable consequence of sustaining an imperialist policy is the cost of empire exceeding its benefits. Britain in the mid-eighteenth century was sensitive to this. Given the limited military
resources the Crown had in the colonies and the large size of its territory after the French and Indian War, the British were already stretched thin. Allowing colonists to move farther west beyond British control (though Parliament would use the word “protection” instead) would only aggravate their already evident difficulties in governing the American colonies. The constant need to fight Native Americans out West (for example, Pontiac’s rebellion) would be a further drain on Britain’s military and financial resources. Out of this concern came the Proclamation of 1763, which prohibited colonial migration and settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains. Americans were incensed by the act, but it did not prevent them from streaming across the Appalachian Mountains—and the proclamation line. The colonists believed that the Proclamation had little to do with preventing colonial-Native American hostilities and almost everything to do with political, military, and economic control of them. The Proclamation effectively closed the area to Americans who wished to invest in the economic opportunities—fur, timber, and land speculation—that the West offered.

Over the two years following the Proclamation of 1763, Parliament would enact a series of revenue-raising acts that infuriated many American colonists, especially as the British began to enforce their colonial laws. The following controversial legislation was passed:

- **Sugar (or Revenue) Act of 1764** With the first Navigation Law passed by Parliament in the previous century, Britain established its authority to regulate colonial trade. In 1733, it attempted to control the lucrative sugar trade between the colonies and the Spanish and French West Indies. The Sugar Act of 1764, which replaced the ineffective Molasses Act of 1733, actually reduced the duties on imported sugar (possibly as an enticement to colonial importers to stay within the law), but the British made a concerted effort to enforce the act and punish smugglers.

- **The Currency Act of 1764** Superseding the Currency Act of 1751 (which applied only to New England), this act forbade the colonists from printing their own currency and instead required them to use hard currency (gold and silver), which was in short supply in the colonies. All taxes had to be paid in hard currency as well.

- **The Quartering Act** Instituted in 1765, this act required Americans to provide food and supplies to British troops stationed in the colonies—going so far as to allow troops to be stationed in colonists’ homes and businesses if no other facilities were available.

- **Stamp Act (1765)** Few acts of Parliament angered the American colonists as much as this attempt to raise revenue by taxing virtually all printed material, from newspapers and wills to marriage licenses and even playing cards. American opposition to this direct, or internal, tax was vociferous. Many colonists did not challenge Parliament’s right to tax its citizens (and most Americans at this point believed themselves to be British citizens). What they wanted, as Virginia’s Patrick Henry so passionately declared, was the right accorded other British subjects—namely, no taxation without representation. Many colonists were directly affected by the act, especially those who relied on the use of legal documents, such as attorneys and businessmen. It is not surprising, then, that the colonial middle class was so actively involved in organizing
resistance to this act and subsequent legislation. In the case of the Stamp Act, they organized almost immediately. In the fall of 1765, delegates from nine colonies met in New York City for what was referred to as the Stamp Act Congress. They issued a Declaration of Rights, the essence of which was the contention that Britain could not tax the colonists because they lacked representation in Parliament. Recalcitrant Americans responded to the Stamp Act with noncompliance—not using items that were affected by the tax (a boycott). Some used force and coercion. For example, the Sons (and Daughters) of Liberty and the Loyal Nine organized to attack and intimidate tax agents as well as fellow colonists who used the stamps. By the following year the British government realized that the act was a political and economic debacle—made abundantly clear when they could find no one willing to risk his life collecting the tax—and repealed it. But the act had allowed individuals and organizations—for example, Sam Adams’s the Loyal Nine and the Sons of Liberty—to suggest that a complete break with Britain was essential to the colonies’ future.

- **Declaratory Act (1766)** Britain professed the right to tax the colonists without challenge (or, in the language of the document, “in all cases whatsoever”) even as it repealed the Stamp Act. Britain’s response to the cry of no taxation without representation was that in fact the Americans possessed virtual representation. That is, members of Parliament were representatives of all British subjects wherever they lived.

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### Class Conflict in Colonial America

The contrast in the colonists’ reactions to the hardly noticed Sugar Act (that taxed a good purchased nearly exclusively by the elites) and the Stamp Act (that taxed goods purchased by members of all classes) is revealing. Though the American Revolution would ultimately be fought for liberty and equality, strong elements of classism already existed in the colonies.

In 1771, just a few years before the American Revolution, Carolinians calling themselves Regulators revolted against what they believed were unfair taxes and a lack of representation in their state legislature. Although the rebellion was put down, it personalized the assertion that taxation without representation is tyranny. Some historians believe that the Revolution was needed to not only win independence but also to democratize American society and government.

Many British elites criticized Parliament for appeasing the colonies and expected the government to compel the colonists to pay their share of taxes. Under the new prime minister, Charles Townshend (called Champagne Charley for his ability to make speeches in Parliament while drunk), the British looked for new ways to address their revenue problem. The result was the Townshend Acts (1767).

In order to bring revenue into the Exchequer (British treasury), Townshend proposed that items produced in Britain and sold in America—such as paper, glass, lead, paint, and tea—be taxed. But this

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was not a direct levy in that it did not immediately come out of the individual consumer’s pocket; it was to be paid at American ports. One way or another, however, the price of these commodities would be inflated. Further, Townshend suspended the New York Assembly for refusing to provide British troops with supplies, as required by the Quartering Act. The suspension was also meant as a warning to other disobedient colonies. To prevent further smuggling, Townshend established an American Board of Customs and admiralty courts to hear such cases. Writs of assistance were again issued to prevent smuggling. To make matters worse, some of the revenue raised from the act would go to pay for the salaries of the colonial royal governors, those very same individuals who were charged with the responsibility of governing the colonists and therefore enforcing the Townshend Acts.

The colonial response was immediate: boycott. In Massachusetts, the legislature condemned the Townshend Acts in a circular letter—that is, a letter disseminated in all the colonies. It stated that “a taxation of their constituents, even without their consent, grievous as it is, would be preferable to any representation that could be admitted for them there.” The British maintained that the circular letter was treasonous, but it was not long before other colonies had adopted their own circular letters. Dissent was spreading, and even individual citizens took quill to paper to express their concerns. In Pennsylvania, John Dickinson published his *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* (1767) in which he attacked Britain’s assertion of the right to tax the colonists to raise revenue—Dickinson, like most Americans, had no argument with Britain’s right to regulate colonial trade. Other colonial leaders such as Benjamin Franklin and Sam Adams weighed in as well, Franklin through the use of reasoned oratory and Adams through intimidation and belligerence. One coercive and humiliating tactic designed to send a message to officials in the colonies and in Britain was to tar and feather customs officers. Still, many colonists were not terribly affected by this indirect tax, especially because they could purchase smuggled items, such as tea, at a lower, nontaxed price. From the British perspective, these actions could not be tolerated. In haste, more British troops were sent to the center of discontent, Boston. It was there on a winter’s day in March 1770, that one of the most famous and incendiary events in our story took place, the Boston “Massacre.”

**THE BOSTON “MASSACRE”**

For enlisted men, serving in the British army was often an act of desperation. They were paid subsistence wages, and discipline was maintained through the use of physical punishment and intimidation. In the American colonies, most notably in Boston, these lobsterbacks (as they were derisively referred to because of their scarlet coats) sometimes took spare jobs when they were off-duty for a fee lower than colonial workers would accept. This only added to the tension that prevailed in Boston—already a tinderbox in 1770. On March 5, a crowd of Bostonians attacked a squadron of British troops. The redcoats opened fire, killing and wounding about eleven of the provocateurs, including a black or mulatto mob leader, Crispus
Attucks. John Adams defended the British soldiers, winning an acquittal for most of them. But American propagandists wasted little time in presenting the event as an unprovoked attack on Americans. A Boston silversmith named Paul Revere created a powerful and widely distributed engraving whose imagery left no doubts as to the nature of the event. Long after the deadly volley had ceased, it would be referred to as the Boston Massacre. And it took the colonies one step closer to the formal separation with Britain five years later.

In the months following the Boston Massacre, the colonies settled into a period of comparative calm after Parliament agreed with the new prime minister, Lord North, that the Townshend duties, except the tax on tea, should be repealed. Although this was a significant victory for the colonies, activists and radicals such as Sam Adams nurtured the revolutionary spirit by creating committees of correspondence. The committees acted as a conduit for the exchange of ideas and for disseminating the goal of a unified response by the colonial governments.

**THE TEA TAX**

In the midst of this period of calm, two incidents revealed that the tranquility was deceptive. On a summer night in 1772, a British customs schooner, *Gaspee*, ran aground near Providence, Rhode Island. Residents in the area led by a merchant named John Brown wasted no time in burning the *Gaspee* to the waterline, but not before putting its crew ashore and looting the ship. Although a board of inquiry was established, the British never were able to establish guilt, in large part because of uncooperative Rhode Islanders. The looting of the *Gaspee*, while serious, pales in comparison with the plundering of a British commercial ship by Bostonians the following year. That ship carried tea in its holds.

In some areas, many colonists continued to boycott British tea. Yet by 1773, most Americans had begun once again to purchase tea from British merchants. In fact the opposition to paying the tax had withered, mainly because of the abundance of tea for sale, which made British tea cheaper than smuggled tea. The supply of tea became so great that the powerful British East India Company had an enormous surplus, which brought it to the brink of bankruptcy. But the company had powerful friends in high places in the British government, and they too were not eager to see the lucrative tea tax dry up should the company go under. The British government’s solution to the problem was to grant the company a monopoly of the colonial tea trade. New England merchants who sold non-British tea believed this legislation placed them at a competitive disadvantage. Then tea prices came down even more as the company sought to unload its surplus. But most colonists would have none of it. True, they could purchase tea at a cost lower than ever, but the Americans believed the British government was duplicitous, getting the Americans to pay the tea tax by enticing them with lower prices. Incensed, individual consumers, merchants, and even colonial assemblies throughout the colonies responded, in some cases with violence, in others with noncompliance. Some of the tea was in fact confiscated and sold, the money eventually—and ironically—going to fund the Continental Army.
The Boston Tea Party and the British Response

Our story returns to Boston, where residents by this point had had considerable experience with acts of civil disobedience, protest, and violence. One victim was the royal governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson. After he confronted the mob in the Stamp Act crisis of 1765, his home was burned by the protestors. Hutchinson was resolute: he would enforce the letter of the law. Bostonians, however, were resolved not to pay the tea tax. The British government was determined to unload the tea in Boston despite strong opposition; they even considered suspending some civil liberties, which further enraged some Bostonian radicals such as Sam Adams. In response Bostonians, disguised to look like Native Americans, boarded the tea ships on the evening of December 16, 1773, and proceeded to throw the cargo into Boston Harbor as citizens of the city looked on silently and, more often than not, sympathetically. Governor Hutchinson returned to England in disgust. He had had enough of Boston.

The British government now faced an important dilemma. A strong response might only exacerbate the situation; no response was tantamount to appeasement and tolerance of the destruction of private property. By spring the British had decided on their answer. They would punish not just those who destroyed the tea, and not the city of Boston alone, but the entire state of Massachusetts, to show other colonies the consequences of challenging British authority. Collectively the British response is referred to as the Intolerable Acts (or Coercive Acts) of 1774, which included the following:

- The Boston Port Bill, which closed the port of Boston and relocated the customs house so that some important supplies could enter Massachusetts
- The Administration of Justice Act, which required that trials of royal officials accused of serious crimes in the colonies while carrying out their duties be held in Britain
- The Massachusetts Government Act, which greatly limited citizens' rights to organize freely and replaced the election of Massachusetts judiciary and council members with Crown appointees

In addition, the Quartering Act was expanded to require all colonists to house British troops when ordered.

To make matters even worse, in 1774 the British passed another act that was considered nothing short of contemptible by the Americans. The Quebec Act was designed to facilitate the incorporation of French Canadians and their land into Britain's colonial American empire. Quebec's boundary was extended to the Ohio River, Catholicism was recognized as Quebec's official religion, and a nonrepresentative government was established for its citizens. The Quebec Act was roundly condemned by the American colonists because they

- feared a precedent had been established in regard to the type of government (nonrepresentative) that was created in Quebec
- resented the expansion of Quebec's (French Canadian) colonial territory, to which they had been denied access by the Proclamation of 1763
were offended by the Crown's recognition of Catholicism, given
that most American colonials were Protestants.

When it passed the Intolerable Acts in 1774, Parliament did not know
that in just one year its troops and its colonists would exchange
gunfire that would open the floodgates to a full-scale war for
independence.

THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

In September 1774, delegates from twelve of the colonies sent
representatives to Philadelphia to discuss a response to the Intolerable
Acts. The eventual rejoinder from this body, later known as the First
Continental Congress, ultimately took the form of a series of radical
resolutions.

The vast majority of delegates reflected the views of those in their
home colonies—namely, that conditions did not yet warrant a
complete break with Great Britain. A distinct minority, however, did
see this as the only viable alternative to what they viewed as a long
series of British abuses. Others looked back, hoping to find a solution
to the crisis in the pre-French and Indian War relationship. All had
confidence in the American colonies' long history of self-government
through institutions as varied as the Virginia House of Burgesses and
the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut. The tyrannical actions of the
British toward the colonies could not be allowed to continue
unchecked. The delegates then fell into three distinct groups:

- **Radicals** (such as Virginia's Patrick Henry, Massachusetts's Sam
  and John Adams, and Pennsylvania's Charles Thomson) believed
  that the colonies' relationship with Britain had already passed a
  point of no return. They saw only two alternatives: force Britain to
  accede to their demands or declare independence.

- **Moderates** (such as Pennsylvania's John Dickinson and Virginia's
  George Washington) believed that the relationship between the
  colonies and Great Britain could be repaired.

- **Conservatives** (such as New York's John Jay and Pennsylvania's
  Joseph Galloway) were not prepared to make an aggressive
  response but did favor a mild rebuke of the British. In fact,
  Galloway proposed a union of colonies under British authority
  similar to that proposed in the ill-fated Albany Plan of the French
  and Indian War. If adopted, the relationship would return Britain
  and the colonies essentially to what had been the situation before
  the dramatic changes that took place in 1763 and the years since.
  There was one substantial addition, however: a colonial "grand
  council" would have the power to veto British acts. The Galloway
  Plan was narrowly defeated, setting the stage for the radicals to
  guide the direction of events and actions.

Using as their philosophical inspiration the ideas set forth by
Thomas Jefferson in his pamphlet, *A Summary View of the Rights of
British America*, the more radical delegates applied the following ideas
to their response:

- Parliament possessed no inherent authority to tax the colonists.
The British Empire was a compact (or loose union) between the center (the mother country) and its colonies, not one unit dominated by Britain.

Each colony possessed its own legislature independent of Britain's legislative authority.

Holding together this loose-knit union was a collective allegiance to the king.

The delegates adopted a statement of rights, the Declaration and Resolves, which had originally been enacted in Massachusetts as the Suffolk Resolves. In it, the delegates took the following actions:

- They declared the Intolerable Acts null and void.
- They recommended that colonists arm themselves and that militias be formed. (In fact, Massachusetts residents had already taken this step, forming militia units ready to respond at a moment's notice—the Minute Men.)
- They recommended a boycott of British imports. (“Associations” were established in every colony to make sure the boycott was enforced.)

After a month of deliberations and squabbling, the delegates adjourned in late October, agreeing to reconvene in the spring. As they made their way home from Philadelphia, few delegates could have anticipated that in April 1775, an exchange of gunfire in a small Massachusetts town would take the Americans and the British to a crossroad in their rocky relationship. The road to Lexington and Concord had already begun.

**Content Review Questions**

1. A major goal of the French in wanting to maintain control over the Ohio Valley was to
   (A) prevent attacks by Native Americans on their forts and outposts.
   (B) eventually expand into Canada.
   (C) merge their landholdings from Canada to the Mississippi Valley.
   (D) exploit the lumber trade.

2. The most immediate objective of the Albany Congress was to
   (A) bring to an end the French and Indian War.
   (B) convince American colonists to boycott British-made goods.
   (C) end hostilities between Native Americans and French settlers in the Ohio Valley.
   (D) improve relations with the Iroquois tribes.

3. As a result of the French and Indian War,
   (A) relations between French and American colonists improved dramatically.
   (B) France was able to hold on to Canada but lost the rest of its North American empire.
   (C) the Americans and British developed a mutual respect for each other's military abilities.
   (D) Britain felt it necessary to abandon the practice of salutary neglect.
4. Which of the following is the correct chronological order?

   The Peace of Paris (1)
   Navigation Law of 1660 (2)
   The Tea Act (3)
   The Molasses Act (4)
   The Albany Congress (5)

   (A) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
   (B) 2, 5, 1, 4, 3
   (C) 5, 4, 1, 3, 2
   (D) 1, 2, 5, 4, 3

5. All of the following served as challenges to the British government in the aftermath of the French and Indian War EXCEPT

   (A) the added expense of governing new territory.
   (B) the hostility of Native Americans west of the Appalachian Mountains.
   (C) the difficulty of assimilating French Canadians into the British Empire.
   (D) the struggling economy of the American colonies.

6. Prior to the 1760s, Britain’s Navigation Acts

   (A) were effective in raising enormous revenue for the Crown.
   (B) prevented the American colonies from shipping raw materials to Great Britain.
   (C) were only loosely enforced in the American colonies.
   (D) successfully ended smuggling in the American colonies.

7. The Boston Massacre

   (A) was propagandized by American revolutionaries in order to stir up protests against British rule.
   (B) represented the first major battle of the American Revolution.
   (C) resulted in the passage of the Coercive (or “Intolerable”) Acts.
   (D) was a story invented by the Sons of Liberty to justify their escalating tactics.

8. The Declaration of Rights (adapted from the Suffolk Resolves by the delegates to the First Continental Congress) declared the ________ null and void.

   (A) Tea tax
   (B) Declaratory Acts
   (C) “Intolerable Acts”
   (D) Quartering Act

9. All of the following are correct regarding the Quebec Act EXCEPT

   (A) it was warmly accepted by American colonists as a way of building a closer relationship with French colonists.
   (B) Catholicism was accepted as the official religion of French Quebec.
   (C) Americans were suspicious that the nonrepresentative assembly established in Quebec would set a precedent for British rule in the American colonies.
   (D) Americans were angry that Quebec’s territory was extended to the Ohio River.
10. Conservative delegates to the First Continental Congress
   (A) sought immediate independence from British control.
   (B) favored using violence and intimidation to convince the British
to grant the Americans their independence.
   (C) argued for a middle course between self-government and the
tyranny of the status quo.
   (D) argued that the colonies had no legal right to representation.

11. One example of the long colonial tradition of self-government is
the drafting of the Fundamental Orders among the settlers of the
Connecticut River Valley, which
   (A) prohibited future land sales in the region.
   (B) banned all non-Christian religions.
   (C) established a modern constitution.
   (D) allowed women to vote for the first time in American history.

12. The Navigation Laws passed by England in the seventeenth
century had a profound impact on England’s American colonies in
   that they
   (A) led to considerable prosperity for colonial merchants and
   shippers.
   (B) were a major cause of the French and Indian War.
   (C) inhibited American trade with countries that were not under
   English rule.
   (D) were welcomed by most American colonies as an opportunity
   to increase trade with nations other than England.

13. The Zenger trial, which took place in New York in 1734–1735, was
a pivotal event in the expansion of the rights of
   (A) women.
   (B) freed slaves.
   (C) colonial assemblies.
   (D) the press.

14. Which of the following was an effective means of coordinating
   colonial responses to British Crown policies?
   (A) The Albany Congress
   (B) The Declaratory Act
   (C) The Committees of Correspondence
   (D) The Proclamation of 1763

15. The Association was created by the First Continental Congress. It
   (A) provided arms and other supplies for Britain’s war effort
   against the French.
   (B) organized a complete boycott of British goods.
   (C) was the first major military unit established by the Americans.
   (D) sought an immediate break with the mother country.

**Short-Answer Questions**

Question 1 is based on the following two passages.

“Political power is that power, which every man...has given
up into the hands of...the governors...with this express or
tacit trust, that it shall be employed for their good, and the preservation of their property...and so [it] cannot be an absolute, arbitrary power over their lives and fortunes.... And this power has its original only from compact and agreement, and the mutual consent of those who make up the community.”

John Locke, “Second Treatise on Civil Government,” Section 121 (1690)

“...Whenever the legislators endeavour to take away, and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people...by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands...and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and, by the establishment of a new legislative, (such as they shall think fit) provide for their own safety and security.”

John Locke, “Second Treatise on Civil Government,” Section 222 (1690)

1. Based on the two passages from John Locke’s “Second Treatise on Civil Government,” complete the following three tasks:
(a) Briefly explain the main point made by Passage 1 (from section 121).
(b) Briefly explain the main point made by Passage 2 (from section 222).
(c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the period between 1763 and 1775 in support of the argument of some colonists that the British had violated the rights of the colonists as here explained by John Locke.

2. United States historians have proposed various events to mark the beginning of the American Revolution.
(a) Choose ONE of the events listed below, and explain why your choice best represents the beginning of the American Revolution. Provide at least ONE piece of evidence to support your explanation.
   The passage of the Stamp Act
   The First Continental Congress
   The Battle of Lexington and Concord
(b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.

**Long Essay Questions**

1. In the decision to rebel against Britain, was the American Revolution fought strictly for independence, or did a desire for democratization play a role?

2. Compare the positions of moderates, radicals, and conservatives at the Continental Congresses. Which group was most effective in achieving its goals?
Answers

CONTENT REVIEW QUESTIONS


2. (D) Though the Albany Congress addressed other concerns, such as coordinating a united response to the French, its most immediate objective was keeping the powerful Iroquois nation loyal to Great Britain (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 106/16th ed., p. 109; Learning Objective POL-1).

3. (D) The war strained American-British relations, particularly because of the resulting increase in taxation (and crackdown on smuggling) that Britain felt was necessary to finance the colonies’ defense (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 114–116/16th ed., p. 119; Learning Objective WOR-1).

4. (B) Keep in mind that the Navigation Laws were poorly enforced and of almost no consequence. It was not until after the French and Indian War (during which the colonists met at the Albany Congress) had been concluded by the Peace of Paris that the British began raising significant taxes on the colonists. Though the Molasses Act met little resistance, the Tea Act caused much uproar (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 114–116/16th ed., pp. 118–119; Learning Objective WOR-1).

5. (D) In fact, the success of the colonial economy led many American colonists to begin to question Britain’s insistence upon mercantilism and to see themselves as self-reliant (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 115/16th ed., pp. 118–119; Learning Objective WOR-1).

6. (C) Prior to the 1760s, Americans avoided the Navigation Laws through such illegal activities as smuggling. The British did not yet have a financial need to enforce the acts (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 114/16th ed., p. 118; Learning Objective WXT-1).

7. (A) Though only killing five and wounding six others, the graphic engraving made by Paul Revere helped to solidify in many American minds the idea that the British were bent on attacking the innocent colonists (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 118–119/16th ed., p. 123; Learning Objective ID-1).

9. (A) Most American colonists rejected the Quebec Act for the reasons expressed in answers B–D. A is the primary reason the Quebec Act was passed (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 122/16th ed., p. 126; Learning Objective POL-1).


12. (C) The Navigation Laws prohibited American trade with nations, such as France, that were not controlled by England. Naturally, many Americans resented the laws and sought to circumvent them through smuggling (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 49/16th ed., p. 118; Learning Objective WXT-1).

13. (D) Zenger’s newspaper had criticized the colony’s royal governor, and Zenger was arrested for libel. The court’s decision was essential to the development of a free press (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 92/16th ed., p. 95; Learning Objective WOR-2).

14. (C) Radical agitators such as Sam Adams organized Committees of Correspondence throughout the colonies in order to incite the colonists to challenge the decisions and policies of the British government (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 119–121/16th ed., p. 124; Learning Objective ID-5).

15. (B) Considered the most significant achievement of the First Continental Congress, the Association sought to convince the British government to address colonial grievances, many of which were economic in nature (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 123/16th ed., p. 127; Learning Objective WOR-2).

**SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS**

1. Understanding the first passage’s point about the purpose of government and the origins of power is key to a strong answer. In the second passage, you must include an explanation of the just cause of a revolution. For your example, choose an event (like the Intolerable Acts) where the British were perceived by the colonists as abusing their power and, most importantly, failing to protect the property of the colonists.

2. Each of these three events represents the beginning of some new phase of the road to Revolution (though indeed, the colonists did not declare independence until 1776, more than a year after the first shots were fired at Lexington). Focus your
answer on what element of the Revolution "began" at the event of your choice. Was it the beginning of the feeling that the British were abusing the rights of the colonists? The beginning of a concerted colonial effort to condemn the British? The point of no return after which political solutions to the conflict seemed unworkable?

**LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS**

1. A discussion of the causes of the American Revolution must focus on the desire for independence, but another dimension can be added depending on your perspective: the war was also fought to democratize American society by removing the British, who were content to maintain the status quo in the colonies. For the first revolutionary impulse, you should address pre- and post-1763 policies. For the second, discuss the features of colonial America that were not particularly democratic. (Historical Thinking Skill III-6: Historical Argumentation)

2. Be sure to point out that twice as many Americans were opposed or indifferent to independence as favored liberty. This is reflected in the First and Second Continental Congresses: conservatives favored a return to the relationship that existed before the French and Indian War. Moderates maintained that events had not yet necessitated a break from Britain, and radicals favored immediate independence. Later events would satisfy the radicals' goals. (Historical Thinking Skill II-4: Comparison)
Debate over the rights of the colonists had been raging since the close of the French and Indian War. Even in England, the radical British Whigs lamented the arbitrary use of power by the aristocratic Parliament and power-hungry king. Nevertheless, when the First Continental Congress's appeal to King George III, the Declaration of Rights, reached Britain in 1774, it was, to put it mildly, poorly received. Massachusetts was now considered to be in open rebellion, and soon fresh troops began arriving to enforce British laws and policies.

**KEY CONCEPTS**

- Both the British and the Americans had military, political, and economic advantages and disadvantages in the war.
- The Battle of Saratoga was the turning point in the war, for it persuaded the French to give what proved to be significant help to the Americans in the war for independence.
- Black Americans played an important role in the war.
- The American victory did not fundamentally change the condition or status of blacks or women.

The American Revolution is discussed in depth in *The American Pageant*, 15th and 16th eds., Chapters 7 and 8.

Massachusetts met this escalation of hostilities with its own call to arms. In April 1775, General Thomas Gage, who had replaced Hutchinson as royal governor of Massachusetts, dispatched troops to seize military supplies that militiamen had stored in Lexington. Upon meeting the Minute Men (militiamen who could be mobilized at a moment's notice) in Lexington, shots were exchanged between the two forces, killing eight of the Massachusetts combatants. The British then
proceeded to Concord to continue their futile search for gunpowder and weapons. On their return from Concord, the British were ambushed time and again as they attempted to make their way back to Boston. Their losses were staggering, almost three hundred casualties. Even more damaging, however, was that the events at Lexington and Concord had a lightning-rod effect. Soon colonists were organizing to confront the British. As planned, the following month the Second Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia. This time there were but two conflicting groups: those who sought immediate independence and those who still hoped for a negotiated settlement. Both sides had their say. The Congress then drew up military plans, in the Declaration of the Causes and Necessities for Taking Up Arms, which called for

- an American army to be organized and led by George Washington
- an American navy to be created to disrupt British shipping
- a military expedition to be led by Benedict Arnold to wrest Canada from the British Empire

By this time, Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys had already seized Fort Ticonderoga in New York. But the center of hostilities continued to be Massachusetts, specifically Boston, the hotbed of radical dissent.

**THE WAR BEGINS IN EARNEST: BUNKER HILL**

For weeks after Lexington and Concord, both British and American troops poured into the Boston area, anticipating a major conflict. The Americans, under General Israel Putnam, occupied two strategic areas overlooking Boston, Breed’s Hill and Bunker Hill, in advance of the British, who also wanted to control the high ground around Boston. On June 13, 1775, British troops, in their distinctive, conspicuous scarlet uniforms and weighed down with heavy supplies, attacked. After launching several assaults in which over one thousand British and some four hundred Americans were killed, the redcoats drove the Americans, who were nearly out of supplies, from their positions. Importantly, the colonists had stood their ground against what was considered the best European fighting force at that time. But even then there were still some colonial leaders who firmly believed that a peaceful solution could be found. The month after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Congress sent the Olive Branch Petition to King George III. Reaffirming their loyalty to him, they implored him to intercede on their behalf. Their appeal fell on deaf ears; the king would not negotiate with his own subjects, especially those who had taken up arms and clashed with his forces. In August, Parliament issued the Prohibitory Act, declaring all of the colonies in open rebellion and suspending all trade between Britain and the American colonies.

**THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

In early June of 1776, Virginia’s representative to the Second Continental Congress, Richard Henry Lee, introduced a resolution in Congress that declared the colonies free and independent states. A committee that included John Adams and Benjamin Franklin was
established to write a draft declaring this sentiment and the justifications for it. Thomas Jefferson, a gifted writer and brilliant thinker, was given the task of writing the document, which was then to be edited by the committee. Jefferson was influenced by the Enlightenment philosophers of his day, whose ideas can be found in the document he presented. By early July, all of the colonies except New York, which had a large percentage of its population still loyal to the king, adopted Lee’s call for independence as articulated in Jefferson’s draft. On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was formally approved by Congress.

**Tom Paine’s Common Sense (January 1776)**

Whereas some colonists viewed the king’s response to the Olive Branch Petition with dismay and foreboding, a recent English immigrant to Philadelphia, Thomas Paine, was resolute in his demands for independence. Considered incendiary and radical, Paine’s forty-seven-page pamphlet, *Common Sense,* made some bold assertions. Foremost among them was his condemnation of monarchy and aristocracy and his advocacy for republican self-government based on the natural rights of the people. Moreover, Paine viewed the American cause as one that had historical impact for all people under the thumb of foreign domination. Obviously the themes of the pamphlet resonated with those who advocated a republican form of government, one deriving its power from the people. Over 150,000 copies were sold, an astounding number for its day. But the pamphlet, like the revolution it espoused, has lived on as a political inspiration ever since.

In the first part, which includes the Preamble (an introduction), Jefferson explains the necessity of independence for the preservation of basic natural laws and rights. These were John Locke’s thoughts about the social contract, articulated in his *Two Treatises of Government,* and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Social Contract.*

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The second part of the Declaration of Independence lists the grievances of the colonies, a series of “abuses and usurpations” by the king and his government. This maltreatment, claimed Jefferson, violated the social contract the British monarch had with his colonies, thereby justifying the actions his American subjects felt compelled to take. The document ends with what is tantamount to a formal declaration of war. Even before signing the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress appointed a committee to draft the first constitution of the United States—the Articles of Confederation.
THE MILITARY PHASE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

For upstart colonists to challenge the formidable British army and the even more potent Royal Navy in the late eighteenth century was an intimidating task. But as in all wars, both sides had their strengths and weaknesses.

- **British Advantages**
  - The British had a considerably larger population from which to draw for troops. However, they relied on volunteers and mercenaries (such as hired Germans called Hessians).
  - The British possessed considerable financial resources.
  - Britain had a highly trained and experienced professional fighting force.
  - Britain’s Royal Navy controlled the seas, and therefore trade.
  - Native American tribes, eager to see an end to colonial westward expansion, generally allied themselves to the British.
  - Many Americans opposed to independence, called Tories or Loyalists, fought against the Continental Army. Among these were many immigrants from Germany, the Netherlands, and France who believed that the British offered greater religious tolerance than the at times puritanical Americans.
  - Black American slaves were offered freedom if they helped the British and some served in the British army.

- **British Disadvantages**
  - Britain needed a substantial part of its military to maintain its global empire. In fighting the Americans it eventually battled Holland, Spain, and France, nations all eager to see Britain defeated.
  - The European style of fighting practiced by the British army was not suitable for the North American wilderness.
  - The British had considerable logistical problems as their lines of communication and supplies stretched across the Atlantic Ocean.
  - The British army had to crush the rebellion by destroying Washington’s army.

- **Colonial (Patriot) Advantages**
  - Americans were fighting for a lofty ideal—liberty—as well as for their homes and way of life.
  - By and large, the Americans had excellent officers, such as George Washington, as well as foreigners who came to assist the Americans, such as Thaddeus Kosciusko and Casimir Pulaski of Poland, Germany’s Baron von Steuben, and, most famously, the Marquis de Lafayette from France.
  - The Americans were able to utilize guerrilla warfare, which often effectively counteracted Britain’s disciplined troops and greater firepower.
The Americans received financial support from France and greatly benefited from direct French military intervention after 1778.

The Americans hoped that a protracted war would convince the British public and allies of the American cause in Parliament that continuing the war was senseless.

Colonial Disadvantages

- George Washington's army was considerably smaller than Britain's military forces in North America.
- The Continental Congress had no real political authority. It had no power to tax or to create a sound currency.
- Most Americans were loyalists or were indifferent or neutral about the war and so did not support it. Many Tories actually took up arms to crush the rebellion.
- The Continental Army frequently suffered from supply shortages.
- As with their foe, the Americans were vulnerable to war weariness and a sense of futility, possible consequences of a long war.

**Major Military Events of the War**

Though they suffered significant losses at the Battle of Bunker Hill, the Americans, under the command of George Washington, forced the British out of Boston in 1776. The British commander, Lord Howe, relocated his center of operations to New York. Washington's forces attempted to drive the British out of New York in 1776, but they were decisively defeated at the battles of Long Island and Washington Heights. Retreating to New Jersey, the Continental Army launched successful attacks on Hessian troops at Trenton and on the British at Princeton. The British then devised a plan that, if successful, would strategically divide the New England colonies from the rest. It called for a coordinated pincer movement requiring British Generals Burgoyne in Canada, St. Leger in the Great Lakes region, and Howe in the South to unite their forces in central New York, near Albany. Unfortunately for the British, Howe inexplicably moved south to Philadelphia instead of north, and St. Leger was forced to retreat to Canada. Howe did manage to capture Philadelphia and defeat Washington's army at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown in Pennsylvania, but these actions left Burgoyne isolated north of Albany. Washington's troops then retreated to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, where, despite a serious shortage of supplies and in critical condition, they bravely endured a miserable winter. ("These are the times that try men's souls," declared Thomas Paine.)

But despair was soon to turn to victory for the Continental Army. Upon reaching Albany, Burgoyne's army was surrounded and defeated at the Battle of Saratoga (1777) by American forces under General Horatio Gates. More than just a decisive military victory, Saratoga was the turning point in the war. It convinced the French, still bitter about their defeat in the French and Indian War, to help the Americans. There is considerable speculation among historians as to the likelihood of American military success had the French not provided military and economic aid.
Following the debacle at Saratoga, British morale improved when Howe's replacement, Sir Henry Clinton, launched a major military campaign in the southern states. But in 1781, the sixth year of the war, fortunes in the South again changed as American forces began to win a series of military engagements. A British army under General Cornwallis's command marched to Yorktown, on the coast of Virginia, so that it could be protected by the Royal Navy. By this time, the British controlled only New York City and several southern ports. Their future success was tied to Cornwallis's army in Virginia.

Unfortunately for Cornwallis, Washington's army was closing in on him from the north, General Lafayette's combined French and American force was on the move in Virginia, and French Admiral DeGrasse's flotilla of warships cut Cornwallis off from supplies, reinforcements, and finally even retreat. There was only one option left to the British general. On October 17, 1781, with the British band playing "The World Turned Upside Down," Cornwallis's army surrendered. Upon hearing of the defeat, the British public demanded an end to the war, Lord North resigned as prime minister, and before long the British and Americans convened peace negotiations in Paris.

**THE TREATY OF PARIS**

The three principal American diplomats—Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams—were directed to work closely with the French to bring about a suitable resolution. Whereas the Americans and French had been effective military allies, their diplomatic relationship soon revealed weaknesses. Both had been unified in their effort to defeat the British, but it became apparent that the French had further objectives; for instance, they stipulated that Britain return Gibraltar to its ally, Spain, as a prerequisite to an agreement. The Americans were also concerned that France might negotiate an independent settlement with Britain that would exclude American independence. Thus the three American delegates chose to carry out their negotiations independent of the French. In September 1783, the British and American delegates reached an agreement that effectively ended all hostilities between the two. On January 14, 1783, Congress ratified the Treaty of Paris. Two weeks later, Britain, France, and Spain agreed to their own provisional peace treaty.

The terms of the Treaty of Paris were as follows:

- Britain formally and unconditionally recognized the independence of the United States.
- The boundaries of the new nation were established: north at the Canadian border and along the Great Lakes, west to the Mississippi River, and south to Florida (which in a separate treaty had been returned by Britain to Spain).
- American fishing ships were given unlimited access to the waters off Newfoundland.
- The government of the United States agreed it would not interfere legally with British creditors and merchants seeking to collect debts owed to them by Americans.
- The United States would compensate loyalists whose property had been confiscated during the war.
The success of the United States in securing its liberty from the tyrannical rule of Great Britain had impacts far beyond the borders of the North American colonies. In Haiti, France, and elsewhere, the ideals of the American Revolution as articulated by Thomas Jefferson inspired revolutionary movements around the world.

**WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTION**

Women’s rights would not be addressed by a major reform movement until the mid-nineteenth century, and even then, women would have to wait until 1919 just for the right to vote. (Though New Jersey did enfranchise women after the American Revolution, this right was repealed early in the nineteenth century.) American women were certainly conscious of the revolutionary goals for which their male family members were fighting: liberty and the “rights of man.” But some women wondered whether their own rights could be enhanced as well. Abigail Adams counseled her husband that when writing the “new code of laws . . . I desire you would remember the ladies [and] do not put such unlimited power in the hands of husbands.” Some enlightened leaders such as Benjamin Franklin were even supportive of female education; however, women at the end of the American Revolution were no better off than before—this despite the fact that women played a major role in maintaining the colonial economy. They had run the family farms and businesses while their husbands, sons, and brothers were away fighting the war. Women also contributed to the war effort by providing essential supplies, serving as nurses, and, in rare cases, even as soldiers. Ideologically, a new concept of “republican motherhood” emerged, which exhorted women to maintain and teach the values of democratic rule and citizenship to their children—an important role in the nascent republic. It was a step forward, the idea of republican motherhood added cultural value to women and their role in the nation. Yet, in every practical sense of the word, they continued to be subordinated to men. The patriarchal society that defined gender roles in the colonial period would survive for many more decades.

**BLACKS AND THE REVOLUTION**

In the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson actually blamed King George III for the existence of slavery in the colonies. Thankfully, Benjamin Franklin and the other editors of the document removed that allegation. Still, it is one of the tragic ironies of U.S. history that some of the most famous leaders of the war for independence—among them Washington and Jefferson—owned slaves. This did not go unnoticed by Dr. Samuel Johnson, the famous British author and contemporary of the American Revolution. “How is it that the loudest yelps for liberty,” he asked, “come from the drivers of slaves?” Even more ironic is that black Americans contributed to both sides during the war and for basically the same reason: their own independence. Some black colonists actually fought as redcoats because they were promised their freedom if they joined the British. As for the American side, blacks had actually been in northern militia units before the war and could rightly be called Minute Men. Some were even veterans of the French and Indian War. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1775, due in large part to pressure from the southern colonies (who feared that blacks would seek their own freedom), the Continental Congress prohibited blacks from serving in the Continental Army, whether they were free men or
slaves. As the war dragged on, however, blacks began to enter the Continental Army from both northern and some southern colonies. By the end of the war, approximately 5,500 black colonists fought for the American side, though frequently they were segregated from white troops. They had hoped that their contribution to American independence would entitle them to their own freedom, but many black soldiers were returned to slavery at the end of the war. They had been considered patriots in name only.

**TWO REVOLUTIONS?**

The primary goal of those who took up arms against Britain was to end British control of their colonies. To this end, the war was an anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. But did the war have another dimension, one that also sought to democratize America socially and politically? Some historians contend that this is not the case, that the war was in fact a conservative revolution. In their view, America was qualitatively and comparatively democratic already, and the revolutionaries of all classes consequently were seeking to preserve the social, economic, and political order, not transform it. These historians point to the democratic features already in place in the colonies in the eighteenth century, such as basic political, economic, and religious freedoms. For example, they argue, there were few obstacles to white male enfranchisement. Given the vast amount of land, most Americans had the ability to purchase inexpensive property and therefore meet any land-ownership requirements for voting. What is more, social mobility was indeed open to nearly all white males; thus social conflict in colonial society was minimal.

Other historians see a dual impulse: win independence in order to further democratize society, government, and the economy. Independence was the precondition for this goal because it was in Britain’s interest to preserve the status quo in the colonies. This in turn permitted the colonial elites to maintain their dominance and control over the rest of colonial society through, for example, voting qualifications based on property ownership (substantial in some colonies, especially New York, where thirty families controlled three-quarters of the land), and the merchant class’s monopoly of the retail trade. The outbreak of violence against entrenched elites—for example, the hostility expressed in the Regulator Movement in the late eighteenth century and Bacon’s Rebellion in the mid-seventeenth century—demonstrate class tensions in pre-Revolutionary America. There are other examples as well; in Boston, over 40 percent of the city’s wealth was controlled by just 1 percent of the population. There are many points to support both perspectives.

As you reflect on the causes and impact of the American Revolution, it is important to remember that there were members of society who, even after independence had been won, were just as concerned about the effects of too much democracy as there were those who believed the war had in part been fought to expand it. The creation of a permanent government in the postwar years would reveal the nature of this debate as well as concerns over the constitutional powers and limitations that should be accorded the new government of the United States.
Content Review Questions

1. The Declaration of Rights
   (A) was issued by Parliament to grant greater autonomy for colonial governments.
   (B) was a formal declaration of war issued by the First Continental Congress.
   (C) was written by George Washington.
   (D) was rejected by the British Parliament.

2. The opening shots of the American Revolution occurred at
   (A) the Battles of Lexington and Concord.
   (B) the Battle of Bunker Hill.
   (C) the Boston Massacre.
   (D) the Battle of Saratoga.

3. Which one of the following was NOT an advantage the British had in their war effort to suppress the American rebellion?
   (A) A larger military
   (B) Shorter supply lines
   (C) A larger and stronger navy
   (D) Greater financial resources

4. The Olive Branch Petition
   (A) was an attempt by the British to reach a political settlement after their defeat at the Battle of Saratoga.
   (B) was issued by France in an attempt to bring hostilities between the British and Americans to an end.
   (C) was offered to Native American tribes by the First Continental Congress to gain their support in the war against the British.
   (D) was an attempt by the First Continental Congress to prevent further hostilities after the Battle of Bunker Hill.

5. Which of the following British measures declared that because the American colonies were in open rebellion against the British Crown, all trade would be suspended?
   (A) The Intolerable Acts
   (B) The Quartering Act
   (C) The Declaration of Rights
   (D) The Prohibitory Act

6. Thomas Paine
   (A) was Britain’s prime minister during the early stage of the American Revolution.
   (B) was president of the First Continental Congress.
   (C) wrote Common Sense, an appeal to the colonists to resist the British and establish a republican form of government.
   (D) was the leader of the radicals in the Second Continental Congress.
7. The Battle of Saratoga was the turning point of the American Revolution because
   (A) the French entered the war on the American side.
   (B) the last major British army in North America surrendered to Washington’s army.
   (C) most Americans who had been Tories decided to switch sides and fight for independence.
   (D) the British issued the Olive Branch Petition, in which they agreed to open peace negotiations with the Americans.

8. The argument that “abuses and usurpations” by King George and his government violated the social contract that had existed between Britain and its American colonies was articulated in
   (A) the Treaty of Paris.
   (B) the Declaration of Rights.
   (C) the Declaration of the Causes and Necessities for Taking Up Arms.
   (D) the Declaration of Independence.

9. The Regulator Movement, Bacon’s Rebellion, and the Paxton Boys
   (A) were the names of Tory militia units who fought against the American revolutionaries in the war.
   (B) indicate to some historians the undemocratic nature of pre-Revolutionary American society.
   (C) were Massachusetts radicals who participated in the Boston Tea Party.
   (D) were black American military units who fought for American independence.

10. The Treaty of Paris included the following terms EXCEPT
    (A) Britain formally recognized American independence.
    (B) Britain was allowed to maintain several forts in the area west of the Appalachian Mountains in order to protect its trading posts.
    (C) American fishing ships were given permission to fish off the coast of Newfoundland.
    (D) the Americans promised to compensate loyalists whose property had been confiscated during the war.

11. Which of the following colonies did not send delegates to the First Continental Congress?
    (A) New York
    (B) Georgia
    (C) South Carolina
    (D) Pennsylvania

12. One significant consequence of the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, was that Great Britain
    (A) formally recognized American independence.
    (B) ceded Quebec to the Americans.
    (C) declared war on France once the war with the Americans was concluded.
    (D) paid the new United States millions of dollars in war damages.
13. Some Americans who allied themselves with the British Crown
(A) found themselves in a distinct minority, as most colonists
favored independence.
(B) believed they would receive greater religious freedom under
British rule.
(C) were forced into supporting the British war effort for fear of
losing their land and possessions.
(D) did so primarily because they believed the independence
movement would not be successful.

14. Which of the following statements best represents the position of
British Whigs toward American independence?
(A) Britain should impose a naval blockade on all American ports
until the colonists capitulate.
(B) The American colonies and Canada should be unified and ruled
as one nation.
(C) The American colonies were the property of Britain and any
rights granted to them could come only from the British
Crown.
(D) The American independence movement was a battle for
freedom against a tyrannical monarchy.

15. In order to supplement the troops it had fighting in the American
colonies, Britain
(A) instituted the first military draft in its history.
(B) forced American colonists into the British army.
(C) hired Hessian mercenaries.
(D) forced runaway slaves into the army.

Short-Answer Questions

Question 1 is based on the following passage.

The American Revolution was integral to the changes occurring in
American society, politics, and culture at the end of the eighteenth
century. These changes were radical, and they were extensive. To
focus, as we are today apt to do, on what the Revolution did not
accomplish—highlighting and lamenting its failure to abolish
slavery and change fundamentally the lot of women—is to miss the
great significance of what it did accomplish; indeed, the Revolution
made possible the anti-slavery and women’s rights movements of
the nineteenth century and in fact all our current egalitarian
thinking.... The Revolution brought respectability and even
dominance to ordinary people long held in contempt and gave
dignity to their menial labor in a manner unprecedented in history
and to a degree not equaled elsewhere in the world.

Gordon S. Wood, The Radicalism of the American Revolution
(2001)

1. Based on the argument advanced by Gordon S. Wood in the above
passage, complete the following two tasks.
   (a) Provide ONE piece of evidence from American Revolutionary
       history that supports the argument made by Wood.
(b) Provide ONE piece of evidence from American Revolutionary history that challenges the argument made by Wood.

2. The American Revolution helped to establish many American values.
   (a) Choose ONE of the values listed below and provide at least ONE piece of evidence demonstrating how Americans embodied that ideal during the struggle for independence from Britain.
   - Liberty
   - Equality
   - Justice
   (b) Based on the value you chose in Part A, identify one source of inspiration for the colonists and explain how they came to esteem that principle.

**Long Essay Questions**

1. What caused the American colonists to move toward independence in the period between 1763 and 1776?

2. Compare the relative advantages of the American Continental Army and Great Britain’s regulars when war broke out in 1775.

**Answers**

**CONTENT REVIEW QUESTIONS**


2. **(A)** British redcoats and Massachusetts Minute Men fired the first shots at Lexington and later at Concord. They have been called “the shots heard ’round the world” (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 124/16th ed., p. 135; Learning Objective POL-1).


4. **(D)** Even after a major battle, Bunker Hill, had been fought, the First Continental Congress appealed to King George III to end hostilities. The petition was summarily rejected (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 133/16th ed., p. 136; Learning Objective POL-1).

5. **(D)** The Prohibitory Act (1775) was an attempt to stop the rebellion by crippling the American economy (this material does not appear in the text; Learning Objective POL-1).

7. (A) Not only was the Battle of Saratoga a major American victory, it convinced the French to provide financial and military assistance to the Americans (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 145/16th ed., p. 148; Learning Objective WOR-1).


9. (B) The Regulators, Bacon’s supporters, and the Paxton Boys rose up against their colonial governments to protest the lack of representation and the claim that these governments served the interests of colonial America’s elites (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 62, 80/16th ed., pp. 64, 80; Learning Objective ID-5).

10. (B) Great Britain removed all of its troops from the area south of Canada. However, Britain still held political and military control of Canada (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 151–152/16th ed., p. 155; Learning Objective WOR-2).

11. (B) Georgia failed to send delegates for several reasons: the state’s considerable distance from Philadelphia, the poor condition of southern roads, and the benefits Georgia had received from British protection against Spanish-controlled Florida (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 123/16th ed., p. 126; Learning Objective ID-5).


13. (B) Some members of German, Dutch, and French religious sects had already been confronted with religious persecution in America and believed they would experience greater tolerance under British rule (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 140/16th ed., pp. 141–143; Learning Objective PEO-5).

14. (D) At least initially, many British Whigs viewed the American independence movement as a conflict that would enhance their own struggle against the powers of King George III (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 113/16th ed., pp. 117–118; Learning Objective POL-1).
15. (C) King George III arranged with six German princes to hire German soldiers (most of whom came from the principality of Hesse). Interestingly, a number of Hessians stayed in America after the war ended (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 133/16th ed., p. 136; Learning Objective WOR-1).

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Given that Wood argues that the Revolution was, in fact, revolutionary—even at the socio-political level—you must identify examples of radical changes being made to colonial society (or colonial values) in order to support Wood's argument. One possible example would be the shift in the perception of the value of women. On the contrary, identifying examples of the preservation of elements of aristocracy or of contempt for the common man would help to challenge his argument. An analysis of the property-based motivation for the war itself may serve as fertile ground for this side of the argument.

2. You might draw heavily from the rhetoric of Thomas Jefferson (in the Declaration of Independence) or Thomas Paine (in Common Sense) in your answer. In order to identify inspiration, consider the works of the Enlightenment philosophers like John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau or the cultural impact of the Great Awakening in the colonies.

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. You should incorporate in your essay the idea of taxation without representation versus the British policy of virtual representation. Also, royal governors were appointed to oversee the colonies, which diluted the colonial governments. As for the economic relationship, you should discuss the reasons for specific British economic acts and whether the American responses to these acts were based on moderation or inspired by radicals. (Historical Thinking Skill I-1: Historical Causation)

2. You should discuss the fact that American colonists were divided. Many on the frontier and more remote areas were unaffected by the British government's acts and policies. Point out that the Americans faced serious economic, political, and military disadvantages. On the other hand, point out the political and military advantages on the American side, and be sure to include French intervention. (Historical Thinking Skill II-4: Comparison)
CREATION OF THE U.S.
CONSTITUTION: 1781–1791

When Virginia's Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution in the Second Continental Congress on June 7, 1776, in favor of American independence, he also proposed that a government be established based on an accord of confederated states—an association of sovereign states. Within a month, under the direction of John Dickinson, a committee established by the Congress had devised a plan of government called the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.

The Articles of Confederation were adopted by the Congress the next year and were finally approved by all the states in 1781. But by 1787, it was clear that the Articles were insufficient for the young nation. A convention charged with revising the Articles concluded that an entirely new structure was needed. The Constitution was the result. In this chapter we will take a closer look at the Founding Fathers and how they came to write the Constitution.

KEY CONCEPTS

- The Articles of Confederation were unable to address the economic and political problems facing the new nation.
- The Constitution was completed only because the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were able to reach a number of major compromises.
- Opposition to ratification of the Constitution came from antifederalists, who feared a strong central government.
- Promise of a bill of rights was important to ratification of the Constitution.

The Articles of Confederation and the Constitution are discussed in depth in The American Pageant, 15th and 16th eds., Chapter 9.
CREATING THE NATION’S FIRST GOVERNMENT:
ISSUES AND CONCERNS

Not unexpectedly, problems developed as the committee drawing up the Articles of Confederation worked out the details of this newly independent political system. One critical concern was the issue of where, in this new government, power should reside. Would the states be autonomous and more powerful than the central government? Would the central government be paramount in its dealings with the states? Or would there be a sharing of powers and responsibilities? Keep in mind that Americans were then fighting a war against what they perceived to be a tyrannical government, autocratic and seemingly insensitive to the rights of American colonists. As a consequence, Americans were deeply suspicious about placing too much authority in the hands of a central power. But if the central government had little authority compared with the states, then what was the purpose of even having one? Other questions soon arose as well. Would this new government be bicameral (a two-house legislature) or unicameral (a one-house legislature)? How would representation be apportioned? Would larger states with larger populations have more representation than smaller states? Would larger states pay more in taxes? What about the relationship between the powers of the government and the rights of citizens? These were questions that could be answered only if the delegates were able to agree on what was arguably the most pivotal question: What did they actually intend when they created a United States of America?

In most cases, these questions were adequately addressed by the delegates in their deliberations and in the ultimate ratification of the Articles of Confederation. Other key issues, however, would go unresolved for decades. In fact, it took the Civil War to conclusively determine the relationship between the states and federal government. But what delayed ratification of the Articles for nearly four years had little to do with issues relating to the nature of the government or the powers of the states, but rather disputes over western land claims. Some states—Rhode Island, for one—insisted that jurisdiction over disputed western lands should be a responsibility of the central government. But settling land claims was an especially difficult task because western state boundaries were often not clearly delineated. This led to claims by more than one state for the same territory. In fact, some states insisted that their western boundaries stretched to the Mississippi River and even as far as the Pacific Ocean. Some land claims were seemingly arbitrary, such as Virginia’s claim to land in what is present-day Wisconsin. Only when the two states that had been obstacles to a compromise, New York and Virginia, agreed to relinquish their western land claims was the new government, embodied in the Articles of Confederation, ratified by the Continental Congress, in March 1781.
THE MAJOR FEATURES OF THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION (AOC)

Under the AOC, the central government was extremely ineffective and impotent; most authority remained with the individual states. To many, the decentralization of authority was important to the maintenance of democracy. Further, it protected against potential tyrannical abuses by a strong central government. The AOC had the following features, many of which were considered weaknesses by those favoring a stronger central government:

- A unicameral legislature
- No authority for Congress to impose taxes
- One vote in Congress for each state
- No national court system
- No provision for a uniform national currency
- No chief executive
- A requirement that nine of the thirteen states approve passage of certain legislation
- Unanimity for amendment of the AOC
- No authority for Congress to regulate either interstate or foreign commerce

AP Tip

Many of the problems and abuses that occurred in the years immediately following the end of the American Revolution can be traced to the weaknesses of the AOC in addressing these concerns. Making this connection is important in understanding why the AOC were inadequate for the new nation and why early on some questioned the new government’s usefulness.

As the United States emerged from the turmoil of war, it was immediately faced with serious economic concerns. These were some of the problems afflicting American society in the 1780s:

- The infant manufacturing sector of the economy was adversely affected by Great Britain’s practice of flooding the American market with British goods. The consequent unfavorable balance of trade had a negative effect on the nation’s economy in general and on many of the new American industries and businesses that emerged in the postwar years.
- Infrastructure (roads, bridges, highways) had been neglected, so the transportation system was inadequate for commerce and trade.
- Inflation was rampant because of the absence of a uniform currency and also because notes were often given an arbitrary value by private banks and state governments. This had a direct impact on business transactions within a state and between states.
- Interstate trade was adversely affected by state trade barriers and a vast assortment of currencies.
The government could do little to address the effects of a depression that struck following the war.

Because the new government could not address the economic needs of the nation and the individual states, the AOC could do nothing to remedy the maladies of inflation and depression. Individual states had to solve their economic problems. Some states imposed heavy taxes on their citizens to tackle inflation and address their infrastructural needs. For example, Massachusetts imposed a 30 percent tax on the average farmer. Overburdened by the weight of this levy, many farmers lost their farms or went to debtor’s prison. It was not long before farmers in Massachusetts organized and petitioned their state legislature to enact stay laws (which would stay, or keep, them from prison for indebtedness). They also wanted their state government to issue more money in order to inflate the economy, thereby expanding the credit system and inflating prices. The Massachusetts state legislature rejected their demands in favor of a deflationary policy (less money in the system), which they expected would strengthen the economy and therefore enhance the public’s confidence; this in turn would allow for a more viable credit system. As it turned out, that approach did not work. The depression intensified, and deflation replaced inflation as more and more money was taken out of the system. Believing their government was insensitive to their economic predicament, some farmers engaged in an open revolt known as Shays’ Rebellion.

**Shays’ Rebellion**

The most famous example of agrarian discontent in the postwar years occurred in Massachusetts in 1786. An armed band of farmers numbering in the hundreds and led by Daniel Shays, a former officer in the Continental Army, sought to shut down the courts as a form of protest and to prevent the continued foreclosure of their farms and the collection of taxes. The farmers were met by an equally large state militia force, but they still managed to close the courts. However, when Shays and his men marched on the Springfield arsenal, they were routed. In the end, Shays and his men were pardoned, and the state of Massachusetts did modify its tax laws. But the rebellion made an indelible impression on the minds of some Americans and their political leaders: civil disobedience could spread easily from county to county and state to state.

As delegates began arriving in Philadelphia in the late spring of 1787 to amend the AOC, the events in Massachusetts weighed heavily on their minds, particularly the nation’s conservative political leaders, who believed that a strong central government with the authority to suppress domestic disturbances was necessary. When the delegates wrote a new constitution for the nation, they had the symbolic importance of Shays’ Rebellion in mind when they gave to the national government the authority to “protect each of them [states] against invasion; and . . . against domestic violence” (Article IV, Section IV). For others, the strengthening of the national government would lead to tyranny; it would allow those in power to maintain the status quo by preventing fundamental changes to society, the economy, and government. No wonder, then, that in refusing to attend the Constitutional Convention, the famous patriot Patrick Henry exclaimed, “I smell a rat.”
ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE AOC

In its short life as the government of the United States (1777–1789), the
AOC did achieve some noteworthy successes. The AOC was, after all,
the government during the American Revolution and negotiated peace
terms with the British at the end of the war. In addition, two very
important land policies that would shape the future of the nation, the
Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, came
about in this period. Both were significant achievements in that they
facilitated the settlement of western territories and made expansion
systematic.

- **Land Ordinance of 1785** In 1784 Congress decided that western
  lands would be organized into states roughly the size of each of the
  original thirteen states. This area would first be divided into
  sovereign districts, which in due course would become states.
  However, the plan was not instituted, in large part because of the
  political clout of land speculators, who wanted to increase the
  amount of acreage that an individual or company could purchase.
  Instead, a new plan, the Land Ordinance of 1785, was enacted to
  provide for the systematic sale and organization of the territories,
  including the following provisions:
  - Townships six miles square would be surveyed. These in
    turn would again be divided into sections equaling one
    square mile.
  - The sections were to be sold in lots of 640 acres at no less
    than $1 an acre. Land speculators found this agreeable;
    they had large amounts of ready cash. The average buyer
    did not have $640 in disposable wealth, nor was credit
    made available as part of the plan.
  - The revenue from the sale of one section for each township
    would be used to develop public education.

The Land Ordinance of 1785 established a precedent for subsequent
surveys of public land and federal support for public education.

- **The Northwest Ordinance** (also known as the Land Ordinance of
  1787) sought to address the government of the territories, and
  embodied two of the nation’s guiding political principles: federalism
  and republicanism. It provided for the following:
  - The Northwest Territory would be divided into three to five
    separate territories.
  - A methodical process would advance each territory to
    statehood.
  - Unorganized territories would be overseen by officials
    appointed by Congress.
  - Once the population of the territory reached 5,000, it could
    be organized as a territory. Residents would then elect
    members to a state legislature and send a delegate to
    Congress.
  - Once the population reached 60,000, a constitution would
    be written and the territory would apply to Congress for
    statehood.
From the region that was the Northwest Territory, five states emerged between 1803 and 1848: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

**THE AOC ATTEMPT TO CONFRONT FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROBLEMS**

Problems for the new government were not limited to domestic issues and concerns. Difficulties with foreign affairs were another burden. After the war, relations with European powers quickly deteriorated, especially with the new nation’s former nemesis, Great Britain. In some cases the United States brought the problems on itself, as it failed to abide by the Treaty of Paris. Remember that the U.S. government had promised to compensate loyalists whose property was confiscated during the war and to pay foreign debts. Both promises were not met. But the British violated the treaty as well. King George III, who was never impressed with American military power (and now especially since the AOC had to rely on the states to provide troops to protect the nation), broke Britain’s treaty obligations by maintaining forts in the Northwest Territory. The United States could do nothing about the forts except vehemently protest. The British also placed various trade restrictions on the United States, which further damaged its already weak economy. To make matters worse, the disunity that plagued the nation under the AOC raised eyebrows in Europe’s political circles and threatened the reputation of the United States. European nations reasoned that because the individual states were themselves embroiled in trade disputes, commercial agreements with the United States would certainly be questionable.

Even a former wartime ally, Spain, saw an opportunity to exploit the new nation. The monarchical government of Spain, always wary of the potential for the United States to expand its power, was perhaps even more wary of the democratic ideals emanating from the United States. The two countries quarreled over the undefined northern boundary of Florida (which Britain had ceded back to Spain in 1783), called the Yazoo Strip. There was friction, too, over navigation rights to the Mississippi River—the Spanish controlled the lower river, which was vital to American commerce. Still another problem was Spain’s relationship with Native American tribes in the West. Both wanted to contain American western expansion, especially in the South, which interfered with Georgia’s desire to expand. In 1785 war broke out between the state of Georgia and the Creeks. Despite the enmity of the Native Americans and Spanish, Americans flooded into what would eventually become Tennessee and Kentucky. Some of these settlers did not hold deeds to this land, which often was owned by eastern speculators. In eastern Tennessee, a group of settlers organized a new state, which they named Franklin in honor of their celebrated compatriot Benjamin Franklin. They then petitioned Congress to admit Franklin into the United States but were rejected. Spain saw its chance. Secret agents were employed to bring Franklin under Spain’s control. (It seems that Daniel Boone was one of the agents, but he did nothing to help the project, even though he was paid by Spain.)
effort ultimately collapsed, but not because of any response by the United States. 

Given the inability of the AOC to address troublesome domestic and foreign affairs problems, it is not surprising that some of the nation’s foremost political leaders wanted to revise the AOC. In 1787, delegates met in Philadelphia to do just that. Before they were through, however, they had in fact created an entirely new government.

**Early Attempts to Revise the AOC**

By the time the delegates met in Philadelphia, two attempts had already been made to revise the AOC.

- **Alexandria Conference (1785)** Delegates from Virginia and Maryland met to discuss ways to improve navigation and commerce on the Potomac River. They decided to invite delegates from the other states to a meeting in Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss commerce on a national level.

- **Annapolis Conference (1786)** Eight states sent delegates to this conference, but only five arrived on time. Nevertheless, while attendance was poor, there was obviously strong sentiment across the nation that the AOC had to be revised. Important leaders such as James Madison of Virginia and Alexander Hamilton of New York took it upon themselves to invite states to send delegates to a national convention in Philadelphia.

**THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION**

By May 1787, fifty-five delegates from twelve states (Rhode Island chose not to participate) had arrived in Philadelphia to begin work on revising the government of the United States. The list of delegates was a veritable “who’s who” in America at that time, among them George Washington and James Madison (both future presidents), Benjamin Franklin, George Mason, and Roger Sherman. Those who were absent were just as formidable: radical leaders Patrick Henry, Sam Adams, and Thomas Paine chose not to attend, for they were wary of any attempt to increase the power of the central government. Future presidents Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were serving overseas as U.S. ambassadors. Generally, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were men of wealth and property. To a large extent, their motives were twofold: to create a government that would protect the nation and at the same time to protect their investments. The difficulty they faced was in designing a strong central government while safeguarding individual liberties. They knew that a new government would not be ratified by the people unless it balanced authoritarian rule and democratic rule. Rest assured that both extremes concerned them.

To be sure, most delegates concluded that the old form of government was no longer suitable. In retrospect, the Framers had
four general goals in mind when they deliberated on how best to revise the government. It must be able to

- prevent a tyranny of the majority
- prevent a tyranny of the minority
- have sufficient powers to create conditions for both short- and long-term economic development
- formulate and conduct a more effective foreign policy

Historians Interpret the Intent of the Framers

Which concerns, issues, and hopes motivated the delegates as they left the comfort of their homes in late spring 1787 and headed for Philadelphia to revise the AOC? Historians have contemplated this question for over a century. One of the earliest views held that the Framers did what was necessary and appropriate given the domestic and foreign affairs problems that were plaguing the nation under the AOC.

Not until the early decades of the twentieth century was this view challenged. Most significantly, historian Charles Beard powerfully rejected this view in his highly influential book An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. Beard’s thesis was simple and devastating: the Framers had their own self-interest at heart when they met in Philadelphia. As men of property and wealth, they wanted a government that would stimulate trade and industrial growth, protect private property against “mob rule,” and recover loans owed to them in the form of public debts. According to Beard, the AOC government, had it been given a chance to develop, could have become a perfectly suitable system of government. Forty years later, Beard’s thesis was in turn refuted by other historians who claimed that there was no correlation between support for the Constitution and one’s financial status. Instead, a delegate’s regional interests and concerns were the key to their support. Beard’s thesis has so eroded that many historians have serious reservations about it. But other historians, with Beard’s view in mind, have added to the debate by claiming, for example, that the delegates’ views on ratifying the new Constitution were certainly based on their economic outlook. On the one hand, agrarian interests were cautious about creating a centralized government, whereas more commercially minded delegates considered centralization necessary for the sustained economic growth of the nation. Regardless of one’s view, the debate over the Framers’ rationale continues to be a lively and vital part of any debate on the Constitution.

It was not long, however, before core conflicts emerged among different interest groups:

- Bankers (hard money advocates) versus debtors (cheap money advocates)
- Northern (commercial) versus southern (rural slave) economic interests
- Economic competition between states
- Conflicts between states over western land ownership
- Large states (representation by population) versus small states (equal representation for each state)
- Supporters of a strong central government versus supporters of individual and states’ rights

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Those with democratic ideals versus those with aristocratic leanings

Slave states, which wanted to include slaves in the population count (for purposes of representation in Congress) versus nonslave states, which sought to omit slaves from the count (thereby reducing the South’s representation in Congress)

Despite the enormous chasm between advocates of the differing approaches, a number of important compromises were worked out:

- The Commerce Compromise (regulating trade and commerce)
  - The South agreed to federal control over foreign and interstate trade.
  - The importation of slaves would be permitted for twenty years, until 1808.
  - The federal government was given the authority to collect import taxes, but there would be no duties on exports.

### Two Proposals for Representation

Large states, which favored a bicameral legislature with representation based on population, put forward the Virginia Plan. It called for a lower house of Congress elected by the people, which in turn would elect members to an upper house. Both houses would then elect an executive—president—who could serve only one term. A judiciary system would also be established. This plan granted more power to the central government while maintaining some features of the AOC. The smaller states favored a unicameral legislature with each state receiving one vote (as it was with the AOC), an executive with no veto power, and a judiciary that could arbitrate cases that had originated in state courts. The smaller states would support the New Jersey Plan.

- The Great (or Connecticut) Compromise (dealing with representation in Congress)
  - A state’s representation in the House of Representatives was to be based on population.
  - The states’ representation in the Senate would be equal (two senators for each state).
  - All money bills would originate in the House.
  - Direct taxes on states were to be assessed according to population.

- The Three-fifths Compromise (counting slaves for representation in Congress)
  - Three-fifths of a state’s slave population would be counted for purposes of taxation and representation.
  - A fugitive slave law required that runaway slaves who escaped to a free state must be returned to their owners.
AP Tip

The Constitution is at the heart of American history. You must be able to identify the ways in which the Constitution was designed to allow the government to meet changing conditions and attitudes.

The delegates also divided power within the national government, creating three branches: the legislative (Congress), the executive (the president), and the judicial (the courts). There was considerable disagreement about the powers of the executive branch, which was given a good deal of power; the AOC had had no executive. Much less discussion was devoted to the judiciary. There was no mention of judicial review, an essential part of the system of checks and balances. That would be established under Chief Justice John Marshall, who served on the Court from 1801 to 1835.

- Powers of the legislative branch
  - Congress has the power of the purse—power to set and collect taxes, borrow money, regulate trade, coin money.
  - Congress was to set up a postal service and issue patents and copyrights.
  - War must be authorized by Congress.
  - Congress is responsible for raising and maintaining an army and a navy.

- Powers of the executive branch
  - The president carries out and enforces laws passed by Congress.
  - The president can veto congressional bills (though Congress can override an executive veto with a two-thirds vote, considerably more difficult than the majority need to pass a bill).
  - The president makes treaties (though the Senate has the authority to accept or reject treaties).
  - The president is commander in chief of the U.S. military.
  - The president appoints federal officials, such as federal judges; however, the Senate must consent to the appointments.

- Powers of the judicial branch
  - Congress was to establish a Supreme Court and lower courts.
  - The kind of cases that could be heard in federal courts was specified.
  - The Supreme Court’s jurisdiction was outlined.
  - Treason was defined; requirements for conviction were set; and punishment was to be in the hands of Congress.
THE RATIFICATION DEBATE:
FEDERALISTS VERSUS ANTIFEDERALISTS

At last, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention had come to an agreement—signing the Constitution in 1787—but the debate had truly only just begun. Before going into effect, the Constitution had to be ratified by a convention in nine of the thirteen states. Ratifying the new government was not easy. For nine months heated exchanges flew back and forth between supporters and opponents of the new constitution. Those who advocated for the new government were known as Federalists; opponents were called Antifederalists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federalists</th>
<th>Antifederalists</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support came mainly from coastal and urban areas and from the upper classes—merchants, financiers, shippers, planters, though not all upper-class citizens were Federalists.</td>
<td>Support came mainly from backcountry and agricultural areas, debtors, and people philosophically opposed to a strong central government.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prominent leaders included Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and Franklin.</td>
<td>Prominent leaders included Patrick Henry, John Hancock, and George Mason.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They favored a strong central government to maintain peace and stability and to strengthen the Union in ways that the AOC could not.</td>
<td>They opposed a central government that did not guarantee protection of individual rights. They believed the Constitution subordinated states’ rights.</td>
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In order to convince the voting public in the crucial state of New York to support ratification, key advocates of the Constitution composed a series of essays for publication in a New York newspaper. Written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, the Federalist Papers went beyond merely pointing out the inadequacies of the AOC. The underlying premise of their argument was that because man is corruptible he cannot always be trusted to govern himself. What is needed, therefore, is an elaborate constitutional system to prevent rulers from acting in an arbitrary and abusive manner, as well as to control the passions of the masses. One of the most famous of the essays was Federalist No. 10, which argues that a republican form of government can effectively and fairly operate in a large and heterogeneous nation in which there are many factions and power is diffused. The authors also addressed claims that too much power would be concentrated in the executive branch, that there would not be enough powers reserved to the states, and that power would be diffused in the federal government as well so that both a "tyranny of the majority" and a "tyranny of the minority" would be prevented. In other words, the delegates were as concerned with a faction of elites (for example, commercial interests or agrarian interests) dominating the government as they were about the masses gaining too much influence.
THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND RATIFICATION
OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Many citizens opposed ratification unless a list of rights was added to the Constitution. Federalists argued that this was unnecessary because members of the House of Representatives would be elected by the people. Further, they argued that by defining the delegated powers of government, they had drastically limited the potential for abuse of power. But if the rights of citizens were enumerated, that would in effect place limitations on their rights. Opponents, the Antifederalists, contended that only a list of basic civil rights could protect citizens from a tyrannical government. The deadlock was resolved when the Federalists promised to add a bill of rights once the Constitution was ratified. (Honoring that promise, the first congressmen elected under the Constitution proposed twelve amendments, ten of which were ratified and adopted in 1791 and make up what we know as the Bill of Rights. They provide for various protections, among them freedom of religion, speech, and the press. There are also protections for the rights of the accused. The Ninth Amendment affirms that citizens have rights that, even if not mentioned, are protected. The Tenth Amendment reserves to the states and the people rights not delegated or prohibited by the Constitution.)

Despite strong opposition, by various states, classes, and regions, the supporters of the new government were able to win over the nine states necessary for ratification by July 1788. North Carolina eventually ratified the Constitution once the Bill of Rights was added. As for the last state, Rhode Island, coercion was needed. Congress threatened to boycott the state if it did not follow the other twelve in ratifying the new government. The following year, 1789, George Washington became the first president of the United States under the new form of government. Though the Framers had put together a document and system of government that was certainly more formidable than the AOC, fissures and divisions that had been present during the Constitutional Convention would soon emerge. Subsequent political leaders in all branches of the government, as well as emerging political parties, would transform the nation's political system, and therefore its economy and society. What is certain, however, is that the U.S. Constitution, despite its inadequacies and limitations, has stood the test of time. It is the world's oldest living written constitution.
The Intellectual Influences on the Framers

The Framers did not write the Constitution in a political or intellectual vacuum. They were very much shaped by the ideas of the previous two centuries, most especially the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century and the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Profoundly important scientific inventions such as Galileo’s astronomical telescope and Leeuwenhoek’s microscope allowed thinkers to view the functioning of planetary and human bodies. Their empirical evidence led them to conclude that everything in the universe—for example, the planets revolving around the sun—operated according to certain natural laws. Human anatomy also functions according to anatomical laws. Consider the chambers of the heart, each with a separate function that is necessary for the entire organ to function. Eighteenth-century thinkers such as Jefferson and Franklin believed that God created the universe but left it to man to identify the laws of the universe. They concluded that because God defined perfection, everything he created would be in a state of equilibrium. Therefore, because humans were created in God’s image, everything they created, such as a political system, should also reflect this equilibrium.

Enlightenment thinkers added to the Framers’ understanding of natural law and human behavior. Take, for instance, Newton’s laws of motion: for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. Or John Calvin’s contention (based in large part on Protestantism) that human nature could not be trusted because men were selfish, greedy, and evil, supplemented by Thomas Hobbes’s argument that because man was basically evil, he required a strong and powerful government to control his inclinations. Consequently, we see here a direct correlation between these ideas and the principles and mechanisms of the Constitution that reflect bicameralism, separation of powers and checks and balances, and federalism.

- **Bicameralism** A two-house legislature allows the upper and lower houses to check each other’s authority.

- **Separation of powers and checks and balances** Each branch has its own powers and responsibilities, but the three branches of government are compelled to interact. For example, Congress passes a bill, which then goes to the president, who may veto it or sign it into law. In turn, the law may be ruled unconstitutional by the judicial branch. These principles were seen as a safeguard against tyranny—by which was meant one branch, especially the executive, gaining too much power.

- **Federalism** Power is divided between the central government and the states. Although federal law is paramount, states have reserved, or enumerated, powers under the Tenth Amendment—for example, overseeing elections and driving ages. The powers of the federal government, which are delegated powers, include declaring war, borrowing money, and establishing a post office, as well as making all laws “necessary and proper.” Yet it took the Civil War to determine conclusively the relationship between the central government’s powers and the states’ rights.
Content Review Questions

1. Which one of the following was a major success of the Articles of Confederation?
   (A) They ended the French and Indian War.
   (B) They led to the creation of a powerful U.S. military.
   (C) They paved the way for closer economic ties with Great Britain.
   (D) They devised land policies that would allow for the systematic incorporation of new states.

2. Of the following list of political leaders, which one was strongly opposed to the plan of government created by the delegates at the Philadelphia convention?
   (A) Patrick Henry
   (B) George Washington
   (C) James Madison
   (D) Benjamin Franklin

3. Which of the following was NOT a feature of the Articles of Confederation?
   (A) They called for a bicameral legislature.
   (B) Unanimity was required to amend the AOC.
   (C) Nine of thirteen states were required to pass legislation.
   (D) There was no national court system.

4. Shays' Rebellion
   (A) convinced many political leaders of the destructive consequences of a strong central government.
   (B) was eventually suppressed when the federal government sent troops to Massachusetts.
   (C) convinced some political leaders of the necessity of giving more power to the central government.
   (D) came about when American settlers clashed with the British over western land claims.

5. Which important controversy was resolved by the Great (or Connecticut) Compromise?
   (A) Western land claims
   (B) Representation in Congress
   (C) No national currency
   (D) No national military

6. Powers granted to the federal government under the U.S. Constitution are expressed as
   (A) enumerated powers.
   (B) checks and balances.
   (C) reserved powers.
   (D) executive powers.
7. All of the following are true regarding the Antifederalists EXCEPT
   (A) their important leaders included John Hancock and Patrick Henry.
   (B) their political support came mostly from backcountry and agricultural areas.
   (C) debtors were supporters of the Antifederalists.
   (D) they maintained there was no need for a bill of rights.

8. The *Federalist Papers*
   (A) were written by opponents of the Constitution, who feared that a tyrannical government would be a consequence of ratification.
   (B) were the intellectual ideas that shaped the creation of the AOC.
   (C) were written by those who advocated maintaining the AOC.
   (D) attempted to calm the anxieties many had about the powers granted to the central government under the Constitution.

9. North Carolina refused to ratify the Constitution
   (A) because the government under the AOC had not yet determined the status of its western land claims.
   (B) until Congress imposed a boycott on the state.
   (C) until the government removed British forts from its western frontier.
   (D) unless a bill of rights would eventually be added.

10. Which part of government was not as fully developed as the others by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention?
    (A) Judicial branch
    (B) House of Representatives
    (C) Senate
    (D) Executive branch

11. Which of the following was NOT taken up by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention?
    (A) New Jersey Plan
    (B) Virginia Plan
    (C) Albany Plan
    (D) Three-fifths Compromise

12. In extolling republican ideology in the years following the Revolution, the concept that democracy depends on citizens subordinating their own needs to the common good was advanced. This concept is known as
    (A) primogeniture.
    (B) fundamental law.
    (C) civic virtue.
    (D) constitutionalism.

13. Which of the following would NOT be considered the roots of the creation of a federal union, as established by the U.S. Constitution?
    (A) Albany Congress
    (B) Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
    (C) First Continental Congress
    (D) Committees of Correspondence
14. In *The Federalist* No. 10, Madison extolled the virtues of
(A) a republican form of government.
(B) a confederation.
(C) nullification.
(D) political parties.

15. In opposing ratification of the U.S. Constitution, Antifederalists claimed that
(A) the federal government would be weakened by the granting of too many powers to the states.
(B) the Constitution would grant states the power to nullify federal laws.
(C) individual freedoms would be endangered by the absence of a bill of rights.
(D) it did not outlaw slavery.

**Short-Answer Questions**

Question 1 is based on the following political cartoon.

"On the erection of the Eleventh PILLAR of the great National DOME, we beg leave most sincerely to felicitate OUR DEAR COUNTRY: "Rise it will." "The foundation good—it may yet be SAVED." "The FEDERAL EDIFICE."

1. Use the cartoon and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer Parts a, b, and c.
   (a) Explain the purpose or viewpoint of this cartoon as published in 1788.
   (b) Explain how ONE element of the cartoon expresses the purpose you identified in Part a.
   (c) Describe ONE argument that could be made against the viewpoint of the cartoonist, making sure to identify what type of person might have opposed this cartoon and why.

2. It can be said that the U.S. Constitution is composed of a series of compromises designed to hold together the diverse interests of the states.
   (a) Name and describe the final decision made in ONE of the compromises that became part of the U.S. Constitution.
   (b) Explain the position of both sides in relation to the compromise you selected.
Long Essay Questions

1. Discuss the relative strengths and weaknesses of the U.S. government under the Articles of Confederation.

2. Compare the positions of the Federalists and Antifederalists.

Answers

Content Review Questions

1. (D) The Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance were considerable achievements of the AOC (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 165–166, 16th ed., p. 166; Learning Objective ENV-4).

2. (A) Wary that the delegates might create a tyrannical government, Patrick Henry refused to attend the Constitutional Convention and later opposed ratification (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 169/16th ed., p. 169; Learning Objective CUL-5).


4. (C) Some delegates were alarmed that the federal government possessed no authority to raise an army to defend the nation or suppress domestic violence (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 167/16th ed., pp. 168–169; Learning Objective ENV-2).


7. (D) The potential for tyrannical abuses by the central government under the Constitution was always on the minds of the Antifederalists. They therefore insisted that a bill of rights be included that would protect citizens from the possible abuses of government (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 172–174/16th ed., p. 174; Learning Objective ID-5).
8. (D) The *Federalist Papers* attempted to convince critics and doubters that the Constitution had in place various checks on the concentration of power (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 175/16th ed., p. 176; Learning Objective CUL-2).

9. (D) Concerned that the Constitution deposited too much power in the executive branch, voters in North Carolina were adamant about the inclusion of a bill of rights (this material does not appear in the 15th ed./16th ed., pp. 176-177; Learning Objective ID-5).


13. (B) Not only were the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions written after the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, but they articulated the doctrine of nullification and states' rights (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 198/16th ed., p. 200; Learning Objective POL-2).

14. (A) Most of Madison's contemporaries believed it was impossible to expand republicanism as the nation expanded its geographical size, a notion effectively challenged in No. 10 (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 175/16th ed., p. 176; Learning Objective CUL-4).

15. (C) The Antifederalists were deeply concerned that not only would the Constitution relegate the authority of the states to the federal government, but that civil liberties would be endangered by a strong central government—thus the need for a bill of rights (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 175/16th ed., pp. 173-174; Learning Objective POL-5).

**SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS**

1. This cartoon, celebrating the eleventh state to ratify the (already in operation) constitutional government, puts strong pressure on North Carolina and Rhode Island to do the same. Pay careful attention to the words used by the cartoonist—"the great National Dome," "Our Dear Country," "Rise it Will," "The Federal Edifice"—as you attempt to explain how the cartoon represents this point of view. In Part c, identify an argument of
an Antifederalist, remembering that they tended to be men of
rural or agricultural background with less of a stake in the
capital economy than their Federalist opponents.

2. The most famous compromises are the Great Compromise
(over representation), the Commerce Compromise (over taxes
and tariffs), and the Three-Fifths Compromise (over slavery).
Identifying the interests of the two sides—usually North and
South or merchant/industrial and agrarian—will require that
you understand the competing fears of tyranny and anarchy.

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. You should first point out that the very nature of a
confederation government is one that has a weak central
government and that most power resides in the states. This
ultimately became a problem for the new nation under the
AOC. In foreign affairs the AOC government had to request
troops from the states, and it had no chief executive or state
department to conduct foreign affairs. Domestically, the
government did not have the authority to tax, establish a
uniform currency, or regulate trade (domestic and
international). Your essay should address the impact this had
on the nation’s economy at the end of the Revolutionary War.
(Historical Thinking Skill IV-8: Interpretation)

2. You can begin by pointing out that both sides of the debate
were wary of tyranny. For the Antifederalists, tyranny meant a
powerful central government that could potentially deny
certain basic rights to the individual and autonomy to the
states. This is why the Bill of Rights, which stated certain basic
rights of citizens as well as powers reserved to the states, was
later added to the Constitution. Federalists believed that, for
example, checks and balances and a bicameral legislature
would prevent tyranny of the majority and tyranny of the
minority. These proponents of the Constitution believed that
the AOC was inadequate to address the problems facing the
nation after the war. Further, you should address some of the
forces that shaped this view, such as Shays’ Rebellion, which
convinced some of the need for a strong central government
that would have the power to defend the nation but also be
prepared to suppress domestic uprisings. (Historical Thinking
Skill II-4: Comparison)