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Period 3 Summary (1754-1800)

Key Questions for Period 3:

- For what reasons did the colonists shift from being loyal British subjects in 1770 to revolutionaries by 1776? How reluctant or enthusiastic was the average colonist towards the war effort?
- To what extent should Britain's behavior in the 1760s/'70s towards its American colonies be characterized as "tyrannical"?
- How "revolutionary" was the Revolution? To what extent did politics, economics, and society change in its aftermath? (short and long-term)
- What political philosophies undergird the founding documents of the U.S.? To what extent was the government, created by the Constitution in 1787, "democratic" in nature?
- How were masculinity and femininity defined in the new republic?
- To what extent did the Founders and first leaders of the republic agree on how the federal government should operate? To what extent did they agree on how the Constitution should be interpreted?
- For what reasons did political parties emerge in the U.S.? Do the parties of today resemble the original two parties in any ways?
- How did slavery play a role in politics, economics, and society in the early republic?
- How did the new republic engage Native Americans and other nations?

Key Concept 1:

British imperial attempts to assert tighter control over its North American colonies and the colonial resolve to pursue self-government led to a colonial independence movement and the Revolutionary War.

Related Ideas/Examples:

- The competition among the British, French, and American Indians for economic and political advantage in North America culminated in the French and Indian War, in which Britain defeated France and allied American Indians.
 - o Colonial rivalry intensified between Britain and France in the mid-18th century, as the growing population of the British colonies expanded into the interior of North America, threatening French-Indian trade networks and American Indian autonomy.
 - o Britain achieved a major expansion of its territorial holdings by defeating the French, but at a tremendous expense, setting the stage for imperial efforts to raise revenue and consolidate control over the colonies.
 - o After the British victory, imperial officials' attempts to prevent colonists from moving westward generated colonial opposition, while native groups sought to both continue trading with Europeans and resist the encroachments of colonists on tribal lands.
- The desire of many colonists to assert ideals of self-government in the face of renewed British imperial efforts led to a colonial independence movement and war with Britain.
 - o The imperial struggles of the mid-18th century, as well as new British efforts to collect taxes without direct colonial representation or consent and to assert imperial authority in the colonies, began to unite the colonists against perceived and real constraints on their economic activities and political rights.
 - o Colonial leaders based their calls for resistance to Britain on arguments about the rights of British subjects, the rights of the individual, local traditions of self-rule, and the ideas of the Enlightenment.
 - o The effort for American independence was energized by colonial leaders such as Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, as well as by popular movements that included the political activism of laborers, artisans, and women.
 - o In the face of economic shortages and the British military occupation of some regions, men and women mobilized in large numbers to provide financial and material support to the Patriot movement.
 - o Despite considerable loyalist opposition, as well as Great Britain's overwhelming military and financial advantages, the Patriot cause succeeded because of the actions of colonial militias and the Continental Army, George Washington's military leadership, the colonists' ideological commitment and resilience, and assistance sent by European allies.

Related Themes:

- Migration and Settlement: Analyze causes of internal migration and patterns of settlement in what would become the U.S., and explain how migration has affected American life.
- America in the World: Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.
- Politics and Power: Explain how popular movements, reform efforts, and activist groups have sought to change American society and institutions.
- American and National Identity: Explain how ideas about democracy, freedom, and individualism found expression in the development of cultural values, political institutions, and American identity.

Key Concept 2:

The American Revolution's democratic and republican ideals inspired new experiments with different forms of government.

Related Ideas/Examples:

- The ideals that inspired the revolutionary cause reflected new beliefs about politics, religion, and society that had been developing over the course of the 18th century.
 - o Enlightenment ideas and philosophy inspired many American political thinkers to emphasize individual talent over hereditary privilege, while religion strengthened Americans' view of themselves as a people blessed with liberty.
 - o The colonists' belief in the superiority of republican forms of government based on the natural rights of the people found expression in documents like Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and the *Declaration of Independence*. The ideas contained in these documents resonated throughout American history, shaping Americans' understanding of the ideals on which the nation was based.
 - o During and after the American Revolution, an increased awareness of inequalities in society motivated some individuals and groups (a small minority) to call for the abolition of slavery and greater political democracy in the new state and national governments.
 - o In response to women's participation in the American Revolution, Enlightenment ideas, and women's appeals for expanded roles, an ideal of "republican motherhood" gained popularity. It called on women to teach republican values within the family and granted women a new importance in American political culture.
 - o The American Revolution and the ideals set forth in the *Declaration of Independence* reverberated in France, Haiti, and Latin America, inspiring future independence movements.
- After declaring independence, American political leaders created new constitutions and declarations of rights that articulated the role of the state and federal governments while protecting individual liberties and limiting both centralized power and excessive popular influence.
 - o Many new state constitutions placed power in the hands of the legislative branch and maintained property qualifications for voting and citizenship.
 - o The Articles of Confederation unified the newly independent states, creating a central government with limited power. After the Revolution, difficulties over international trade, finances, interstate commerce, foreign relations, and internal unrest led to calls for a stronger central government.
 - o Delegates from the states participated in a Constitutional Convention replete with negotiation, collaboration, and compromise. The proposed constitution created a limited but dynamic central government embodying federalism and providing for a separation of powers between its three branches.
 - o The Constitutional Convention compromised over the representation of slave states in Congress and the role of the federal government in regulating both slavery and the slave trade, allowing (but not requiring) the prohibition of the international slave trade after 1808.
 - o In the debate over ratifying the Constitution, Anti-Federalists opposing ratification battled with Federalists, whose values were articulated in the *Federalist Papers* (primarily written by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison). Federalists ensured the ratification of the Constitution by promising the addition of a Bill of Rights that enumerated individual rights and explicitly restricted the powers of the federal government.
- New forms of national culture and political institutions developed in the United States alongside continued regional variations and differences over economic, political, social, and foreign policy issues.
 - o During the presidential administrations of George Washington and John Adams, political leaders created institutions and precedents that put the principles of the Constitution into practice.
 - o Political leaders in the 1790s took a variety of positions on issues such as the relationship between the national government and the states, economic policy, foreign policy, and the balance between liberty and order. This led to the formation of political parties – most significantly the Federalist Party, led by Alexander Hamilton, and the Democratic-Republican Party, led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.
 - o The expansion of slavery in the deep South and adjacent western lands and a small but rising antislavery sentiment began to create distinctive regional attitudes toward the institution.
 - o Ideas about national identity increasingly found expression in works of art, literature, and architecture.

Related Themes:

- American and National Identity:
 - o Explain how ideas about democracy, freedom, and individualism found expression in the development of cultural values, political institutions, and American identity.
 - o Explain how interpretations of the Constitution and debates over rights, liberties, and definitions of citizenship have affected American values, politics, and society.

- Politics and Power:
 - o Explain how and why political ideas, beliefs, institutions, party systems, and alignments have developed and changed.
 - o Explain how different beliefs about the federal government’s role in U.S. social and economic life have affected political debates and policies.
- Culture and Society:
 - o Explain how religious groups and ideas have affected American society and political life.
 - o Explain how ideas about women’s rights and gender roles have affected society and politics.
 - o Explain how artistic, philosophical, and scientific ideas have shaped society and institutions.
- Work, Exchange, and Technology: Explain how different labor systems developed in North America and the United States, and explain their effects on workers’ lives and U.S. society.
- America in the World: Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.

Key Concept 3:

Migration within North America and competition over resources, boundaries, and trade intensified conflicts among peoples.

Related Ideas/Examples:

- In the decades after American independence, interactions among different groups resulted in competition for resources, shifting alliances, and cultural blending.
 - o Various American Indian groups repeatedly evaluated and adjusted their alliances with Europeans, other tribes, and the U.S., seeking to limit migration of white settlers and maintain control of tribal lands and natural resources. British alliances with American Indians contributed to tensions between the U.S. and Britain.
 - o As increasing numbers of migrants from North America and other parts of the world continued to move westward, frontier cultures that had emerged in the colonial period continued to grow, fueling social, political, and ethnic tensions.
 - o As settlers moved westward during the 1780s, Congress enacted the Northwest Ordinance for admitting new states; the ordinance promoted public education, the protection of private property, and a ban on slavery in the Northwest Territory.
 - o An ambiguous relationship between the federal government and American Indian tribes contributed to problems regarding treaties and American Indian legal claims relating to the seizure of their lands.
- The continued presence of European powers in North America challenged the U.S. to find ways to safeguard its borders, maintain neutral trading rights, and promote its economic interests.
 - o The U.S. government forged diplomatic initiatives aimed at dealing with the continued British and Spanish presence in North America, as U.S. settlers migrated beyond the Appalachians and sought free navigation of the Mississippi River.
 - o War between France and Britain resulting from the French Revolution presented challenges to the U.S. over issues of free trade and foreign policy and fostered political disagreement.
 - o George Washington’s Farewell Address encouraged national unity, as he cautioned against political factions and warned about the danger of permanent foreign alliances.

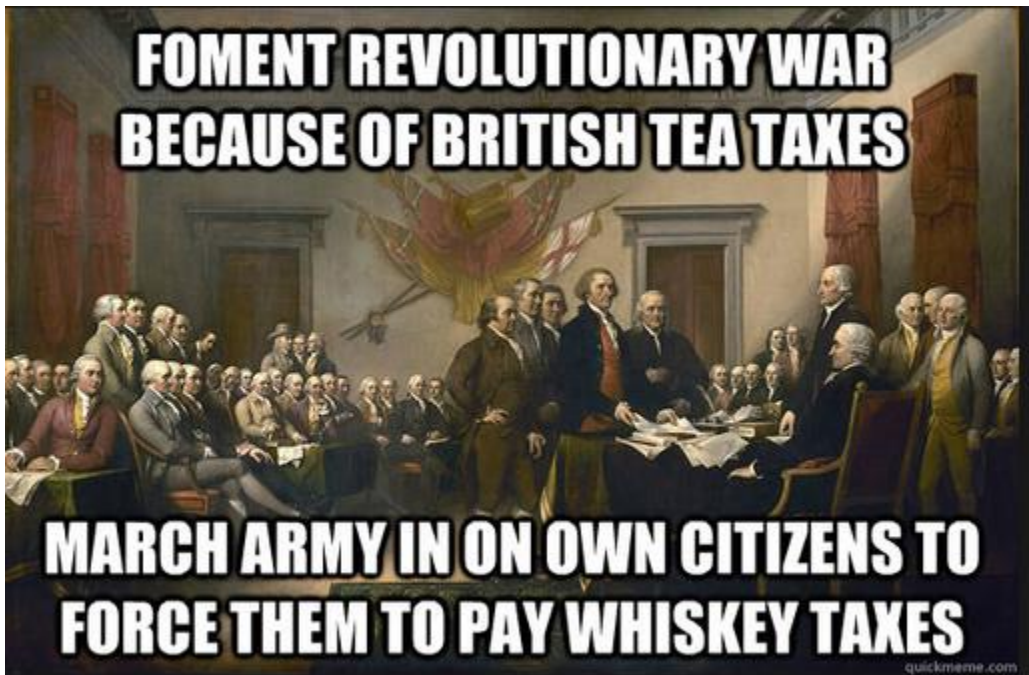
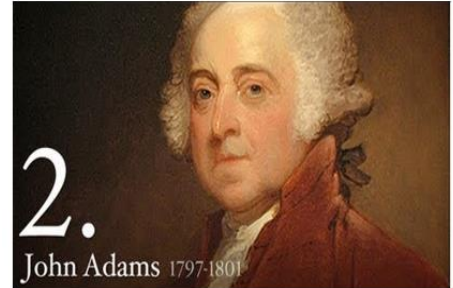
Related Themes:

- Migration and Settlement:
 - o Explain the causes of migration to colonial North America, and, later, the U.S., and analyze immigration’s effects on U.S. society.
 - o Analyze causes of internal migration and patterns of settlement in what would become the U.S., and explain how migration has affected American life.
- Geography and Environment: Explain how geographic and environmental factors shaped the development of various communities, and analyze how competition for and debates over natural resources have affected both interactions among different groups and the development of government policies.
- Culture and Society: Explain how different group identities, including racial, ethnic, class, and regional identities, have emerged and changed over time.
- American and National Identity: Analyze how ideas about national identity changed in response to U.S. involvement in international conflicts and the growth of the U.S.
- Politics and Power: Explain how and why political ideas, beliefs, institutions, party systems, and alignments have developed and changed.

- America in the World:
 - o Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.
 - o Analyze the reasons for, and results of, U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military initiatives in North America and overseas.

Assessment Information:

- The Period 3 exam will consist of two multiple-choice assessments (one at midway point of unit, one at end of unit) and a culminating DBQ essay.
- A “Revolutionary War Seminar” assignment may be utilized as a summative assessment for the Period. This exercise requires document analysis, research, debate in class, and a written reflection.
- The Midterm exam (administered towards the end of December 2018) contains approximately 12 multiple-choice questions from Period 3 material. It is recommended that students review the key concepts outlined above for content highlighted on the midterm.
- National Exam (May 2018): Period 3 comprises approximately 12% of the national APUSH exam.



Period 3 Textbook Assignment

Instructions: Read the assigned sections/pages and outline on a separate sheet of paper (handwrite or type). Do your best to extract key ideas. Whenever “America Compared” or “American Voices” appear, you may skip those sections.

1. French & Indian War (1754-1763) and the end of Salutary Neglect

- Page 135 (start at “The Midcentury Challenge”)
- Pages 137 – top of 140
- Pages 152-157 (stop at “The Dynamics of Rebellion”)

2. Road to Revolution (1763-1776)

- Pages 157-163
- Pages 166-171
- Pages 174-179

3. The Revolutionary War (1775-1781/3)

Note: The College Board does not assess for military history per se. Instead, they assess on causes, notable wartime events (i.e. the Revolutionary War would not have been won by colonists had the French not assisted), any significant changes on the homefront (i.e. Japanese Internment Camps in World War II), and key consequences of the war in the short- and long-term (i.e. women’s right to vote in aftermath of, and largely because of, World War I). As such, your outline for the Revolutionary War can be sparse.

- Pages 184-196 (stop at “Creating Republican Institutions”)

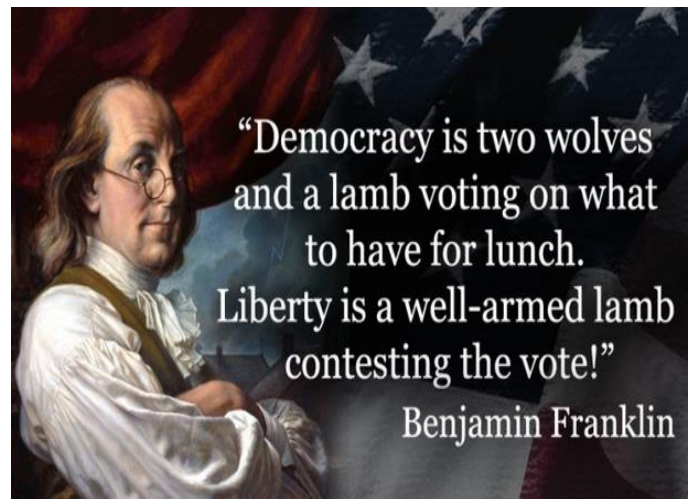
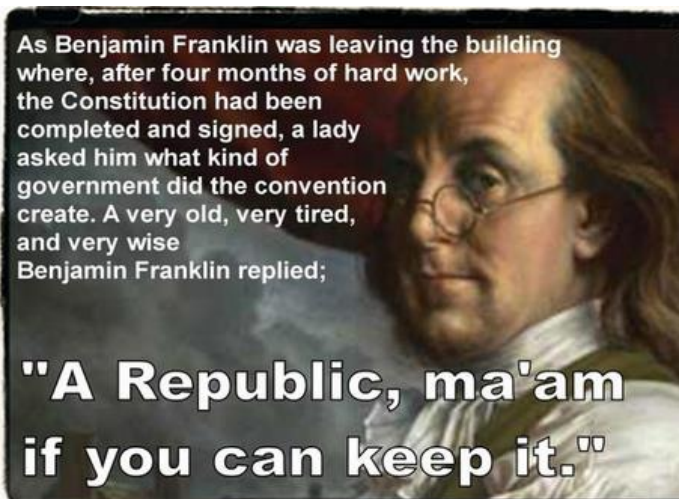
4. Republicanism in Action (1776-1787)

Note: Please remember that when we see “republican” being discussed at the founding of our nation (1770s and ‘80s) it is in reference to the political philosophy that is necessary in a republic. Republicanism calls for an end of monarchs, some form of representative government (Parliament/Congress), checks and balances, guarantees of certain rights, some undemocratic features (as in the indirect election of an executive), etc. The Founders were republicans, meaning supportive of republics rather than limited monarchies (like Britain).

- Pages 196-211

5. Washington and Adams: The Infant Nation (1789-1801)

- Pages 216-231 (stop at “The Jefferson Presidency”)



<p>1776</p>	<p>The Declaration of Independence is written, a result of _____ efforts in the Second Continental Congress.</p> <p><i>Some key ideas from the document:</i></p>
<p>1777-'89</p>	<p>America's first Constitution: _____</p> <p><i>Some key notes on powers/accomplishments:</i></p>
<p>1781</p> <p>1783</p>	<p>Fighting ends in '81; America shockingly defeats the British for several key reasons:</p> <p>Treaty of Paris secured in '83; provisions of treaty:</p>
<p>1786-7</p>	<p>_____ ' Rebellion</p> <p><i>Key events/significance:</i></p>

<p>Advantages and Disadvantages Preparations for War</p>		
	<p>England</p>	<p>Thirteen Colonies</p>
<p>Population</p>	<p>Approximately 12,000,000</p>	<p>Approximately 2,800,000</p>
<p>Manufacturing</p>	<p>Highly developed and flourishing</p>	<p>Practically none</p>
<p>Money</p>	<p>Richest country in the world</p>	<p>No money to support the war effort</p>
<p>Army</p>	<p>Large, well-trained army plus mercenary Hessians</p>	<p>All-volunteer forces—willing to fight but poorly equipped</p>
<p>Leaders</p>	<p>Many dedicated and able soldiers</p>	<p>Few officers capable of leading</p>
<p>Geography</p>	<p>Strange land with long distance to base of supplies</p>	<p>Familiar land with easy access to limited amounts of supplies</p>

PART II: CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION THROUGH ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION (1787-1801)

<p align="center">1787</p>	<p>Constitutional _____ called; delegates decide to secretly scrap the Articles of Confederation in light of the mess the country is in + Shays' Rebellion ('86-7)</p> <p>Founders created a _____, not democratic, form of government, which entails:</p> <p>Led to faction between _____; founding fathers were part of the _____ faction</p>
<p align="center">1787-8</p>	<p>The _____ Papers were written</p> <p>Intended audience: _____</p> <p>Purpose: _____</p> <p><i>Some key arguments from the papers:</i></p>
<p align="center">1789-1797</p>	<p>The Constitution goes into effect when 9 states ratify it; the first administration is under Washington's leadership, who serves two _____-year terms in office</p>
<p align="center">1791</p>	<p>The _____ was added to the Constitution, officially ending the Antifederalist faction</p> <p><i>List some of the overarching themes/rights:</i></p>
<p align="center">1793</p>	<p>Washington's _____ Act</p> <p>But he didn't always choose neutrality, despite what he wrote about its importance in his _____ Address. When <i>did</i> he get involved in external conflicts? _____, due to fear of _____.</p>
<p align="center">1794</p>	<p>The _____ Rebellion</p> <p><i>Notes on events/significance:</i></p>
<p align="center">1795</p>	<p>_____ Treaty</p> <p><i>This treaty would create problems in the next administration; explain:</i></p>

1795	<p>Party system entrenched as a result over debates about Hamilton's _____ plan (tariff, national bank, assumption of state debts) and how to interpret the Constitution (loose vs. strict _____); some key ideas about these parties:</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Federalists Democratic-Republicans</p> <hr/>
1797-1801	<p>The _____ Administration (one term); continues Federalist dominated national government (as was the case under Washington)</p>
1797-'8	<p>The _____ Affair and _____-War with France</p> <p><i>Key events/significance:</i></p>
1798	<p>The _____ Acts were passed in order to:</p>
1798-9	<p>The VA and Ky _____ assert _____, but no other state agrees.</p>
1800	<p>_____’s election to the presidency, which was determined by the _____ due to a tie in the Electoral College between him and Burr</p>

“Nobody should be allowed to burn the American flag - if they do, there must be consequences - perhaps loss of citizenship or year in jail!”

Donald J. Trump on Twitter Nov. 29, 2016

The Supreme Court **has ruled** that flag burning is protected by the First Amendment. It **has also said** that the government may not strip Americans of their citizenship.

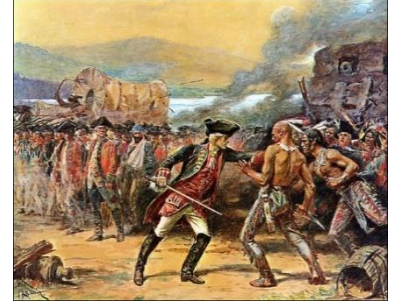
FIRST AMENDMENT

“Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.”

French & Indian War Overview (1754-1763)

Twenty years before the American Revolution, France and Britain's struggle for North America sparked the French and Indian War (1754-1763), which would drastically change the face and fate of America.

France's influence in North America was tied to the fur trade—they set up trading posts in Canada and around the Great Lakes, and maintained good relationships with Native Americans. Meanwhile, British colonists settled along the Atlantic coast, pushing the American Indians further inward. In the 1750's, France and Britain were both building empires, and came to blows over the land between their American settlements—the rich Ohio River Valley, just west of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The colonists wanted Great Britain to prevail in the region because they were eager to expand westward from the increasingly crowded Atlantic seaboard. The French, on the other hand, wanted to keep Britain bottled up on the East coast and link their forts in Canada to Louisiana, through the Ohio Valley. But the American Indians also called this land home, and they would play a valuable role in the war by tipping the balance of power in favor of one of the European empires.



British policies that came as a result of winning the French and Indian War would push the nations towards war in 1776 (the Revolutionary War); for this reason, the French and Indian War is viewed as an extremely important turning point.

Instructions: Read both article extracts on the French and Indian War. Using details from both articles, complete the chart that follows on causes/results of the war.

The French and Indian War, from the *Office of the Historian*

The French and Indian War was the North American conflict in a larger imperial war between Great Britain and France known as the Seven Years' War. The French and Indian War began in 1754 and ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The war provided Great Britain enormous territorial gains in North America, but disputes over subsequent frontier policy and paying the war's expenses led to colonial discontent, and ultimately to the American Revolution, beginning in 1776.

The French and Indian War resulted from ongoing frontier tensions in North America as both French and British imperial officials and colonists sought to extend each country's sphere of influence in frontier regions. In North America, the war pitted France, French colonists, and their Native allies against Great Britain, the Anglo-American colonists, and the Iroquois Confederacy, which controlled most of upstate New York and parts of northern Pennsylvania. In 1753, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, Great Britain controlled the 13 colonies up to the Appalachian Mountains, but beyond lay New France, a very large, sparsely settled colony that stretched from Louisiana through the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes to Canada.

The border between French and British possessions was not well defined, and one disputed territory was the upper Ohio River valley. The French had constructed a number of forts in this region in an attempt to strengthen their claim on the territory. British colonial forces, led by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, attempted to expel the French in 1754, but were outnumbered and defeated by the French. When news of Washington's failure reached British Prime Minister Thomas Pelham-Holles, he called for a quick undeclared retaliatory strike.

The war did not begin well for the British. The British Government sent General Edward Braddock to the colonies as commander in chief of British North American forces, but he alienated potential Indian allies and colonial leaders failed to cooperate with him. On July 13, 1755, Braddock died after being mortally wounded in an ambush on a failed expedition to capture Fort Duquesne in present-day Pittsburgh. However, after 1757 the war began to turn in favor of Great Britain. British forces defeated French forces in India, and in 1759 British armies invaded and conquered Canada.

Despite facing such a formidable alliance of France, native allies, and later, Spain, British naval strength and Spanish ineffectiveness led to British success. British forces seized French Caribbean islands, Spanish Cuba, and the Philippines. By 1763, French and Spanish diplomats began to seek peace. In the resulting Treaty of Paris (1763), Great Britain secured significant territorial gains in North America, including all French territory east of the Mississippi river, as well as Spanish Florida, although the treaty returned Cuba to

Spain. France gave up all its territories in mainland North America, effectively ending any foreign military threat to the British colonies there.

Unfortunately for the British, the fruits of victory brought seeds of trouble with Great Britain's American colonies. The war had been enormously expensive, and the British government's attempts to impose taxes on colonists to help cover these expenses resulted in increasing colonial resentment of British attempts to expand imperial authority in the colonies. British attempts to limit western expansion by colonists and inadvertent provocation of a major Indian war further angered the British subjects living in the American colonies. These disputes ultimately spurred colonial rebellion, which eventually developed into a full-scale war for independence.

For Anglo-American colonists, the treaty was a theoretical success. By confirming the conquest of Canada and extending British possessions to the Mississippi, the colonists no longer had to worry about the threat of a French invasion. For the American Indians in what had been frontier territory, the treaty proved disastrous. They could no longer pursue what had been a largely effective strategy of playing the French and British against each other to extract the most favorable terms of alliance and preserve their lands against encroachment by Anglo-American colonists.

Despite what seemed like a success, the Treaty of Paris ultimately encouraged dissension between Anglo-American colonists and the British Government because their interests in North America no longer coincided. The British Government no longer wanted to maintain an expensive military presence, and its attempts to manage a post-treaty frontier policy that would balance colonists' and Indians' interests would prove ineffective and even counterproductive. Coupled with differences between the imperial government and colonists on how to levy taxes to pay for debts on wartime expenses (direct or virtual representation), the Treaty of Paris ultimately set the colonists on the path towards seeking independence, even as it seemed to make the British Empire stronger than ever.

Treaty of Paris 1763

- The Treaty that officially ended the French and Indian War.
- The British gained control over the area west of the 13 British Colonies all the way to the Mississippi River.
- The French agreed to give up any colonies in North America, including all of Canada.
- Since Spain had helped the French, the Spanish were also forced to give up Florida. But the Spanish still held their territory west of the Mississippi River and in Central and South America.



The French and Indian War

- In 1753, the French build forts along the Ohio River Valley to protect their claims against the British
- Early battles took place between the French, their Native American allies and the British along the Ohio River Valley
- George Washington eventually surrenders and returns to Virginia with the news that France will not back down, war breaks out in 1754



A Young George Washington

The Prerevolutionary War, by Jay Winikjan, 2006, *The New York Times*

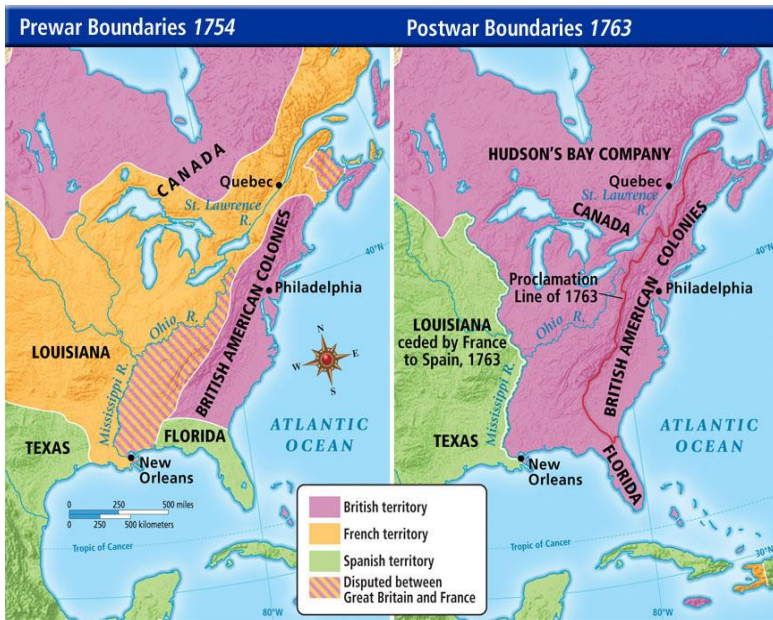
... At the outset, France dealt a severe blow to Britain, and it seemed poised to do so again. Britain's "splendidly brave" Gen. Edward Braddock was taken by surprise by a mixed force of French marines, Canadian militiamen and Indians along the Monongahela River (Fort Duquesne). By day's end, his men had sustained heavy casualties, he was fatally wounded and his aide George Washington barely escaped death, after having had three horses shot out from under him. Marquis de Montcalm followed up this victory by leading France to a string of successes over the British in 1756, 1757 and 1758.

Yet as with so much else about this war, nothing went as planned. France's fortunes suddenly began to slide. Just as suddenly, in 1759, Montcalm was dead, and Britain celebrated a series of stunning victories. By war's end, Britain enjoyed what Anderson calls "the most unequivocal victory" in its history, coming into possession of Canada and Florida, and effectively ending French domination of North America forever. In 1763 the British crown was at its zenith, overseeing an empire that it considered "the greatest since Rome's."

But discontent with British rule quickly mounted; emboldened American colonists, having shared in the war's glorious victories, now saw themselves as equal "partners in empire." They were wrong. When Parliament decided to tax the colonies to cover the costs of victory without colonial representation in Parliament, celebrations of British patriotism became cries of protest, and the seeds of the American Revolution were sown. Nor were the colonists the only ones to revolt. Deprived of their French allies, disgruntled Indian tribes rose up as well, launching Pontiac's Rebellion, a coordinated campaign across the Western frontier that fostered both widespread panic and bloody British retaliation. As a result, the British attempted to limit colonial expansion into territories won from France through the Proclamation Line of 1763, which engendered great frustration among colonists who were eager to expand into Indian territory. In fact, the Indians were probably the greatest losers of the French and Indian War. [I]t encouraged Americans to hate Indians "without reserve or distinction," opening the door to their eventual destruction or subjugation. . . .

What were some of the causes and results of the French and Indian War? Include details from both article extracts:

Causes	Results



'Reluctant Revolutionaries' Documentary

EPISODE DESCRIPTIONS

LIBERTY! is a six-part series of one-hour documentaries for PBS. It describes how the American Revolution evolved and how a new nation was born in the aftermath of the Revolutionary War, using actors, Revolutionary era scholars, and eyewitness accounts of the time.

LIBERTY! is hosted by award winning journalist and ABC news anchor, Forrest Sawyer. Edward Herrmann is the narrator. It was originally broadcast Nov. 23 - 25, 1997. Check [upcoming broadcasts](#) to see when LIBERTY! is on in your area.

EPISODE 1: "The Reluctant Revolutionaries" 1763-1774

In 1763, the capitol city of America is London, George Washington is lobbying for a post in the British army, and no one thinks of Boston harbor when they hear talk of tea parties. In a dozen years, the colonies are on the brink of rebellion. What happens to bring this country so quickly near war with England?

Typically, students see the American Revolution (1775-1781/3) as an organized rebellion of a united people against an oppressive tyrannical government. In their estimation, the colonies simply rose up and gained their independence from a despotic regime. In actuality, the colonists revered England (the "mother country"), believing it to be the most politically "enlightened" government of its time, having incorporated separation of powers, checks and balances, a limited monarch, etc., into their political infrastructure. As such, they would only reluctantly become revolutionaries after a period of about 10 years (1763-1774) in which they were denied political representation in Parliament. Even as far as 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was signed, many of the delegates at the Continental Congress had to be cajoled into supporting secession from England.

Many of the day (at least 1/3 of the colonial population by historians' accounts today) would have agreed with the remark of a woman made during the conclusion of this documentary: "I pray there be some, decent, honorable way to put to an end this conflict, to be once again reconciled with old friends."

1. [Answer throughout film] Throughout the 1760s and '70s, right up to the decision to declare independence, colonists generally had great adoration (respect, admiration) for England. Incorporate evidence from the film that helps to justify this fact.
2. Create a list of descriptors for colonial life, circa 1760. (ex: few dirt paths link the colonies)
3. How did British citizens/subjects view the British colonists living in America? Were the colonists aware of this?

4. Why was the Stamp Act of 1765 passed? What did it call for? How did the British think about the Act?

5. How did colonists respond to the Stamp Act? What was the destiny of the Act?

6. Describe the non-importation / boycott movement in the aftermath of the Declaratory Act (1766):

7. Euro-Americans often make the mistake of thinking their early ancestors in America shunned aristocratic notions from the start. Debunk this myth by highlighting the class issues described by the film:

8. The British often painted the American colonies as being led astray by “radicals” and vigilantes. Take notes on radicals such as Sam Adams, and vigilantes such as unofficial court committees:

9. What led to the Boston Massacre (1770)? How did it galvanize the colonies?

10. Benjamin Franklin’s views on England started to change at this time. Explain:

11. Why did the British think that the Tea Tax (1773) would be effective/unquestioned? Much to their chagrin, how did colonists react?

12. How did England respond to the Boston Tea Party (1773)?

Primary Sources from the Revolutionary Period

DOCUMENT A: Poem from the Daughters of Liberty, 1768 (written after the Townshend Act, which _____)

(use notes/text)

In the year 1768, the people of Boston resolved that they would not import any tea, glass, paper, or other commodities commonly brought from Great Britain, until the act imposing duties upon all such articles should be repealed. This poetic appeal to the ladies of the country, to lend a "helping hand" for the furtherance of that resolution, appeared in the Boston News Letter, anonymously. It was produced by the Daughters of Liberty, established in 1765 as a nonimportation/homespun movement looking to rebel against the British by making home goods instead of buying them from Britain. Since women often purchased consumer goods for the home, the Daughters of Liberty became instrumental in upholding the boycott, particularly where tea was concerned. The most zealous Daughters of Liberty refused to accept gentleman callers for themselves or their daughters who were not sympathetic to the patriot cause.



YOUNG ladies in town, and those that live round,
Let a friend at this season advise you;
Since money's so scarce, and times growing worse,
Strange things may soon hap and surprise you.

And, as one, all agree, that you'll not married be
To such as will wear London factory,
But at first sight refuse, tell 'em such you will choose
As encourage our own manufactory.

First, then, throw aside your topknots of pride;
Wear none but your own country linen;
of economy boast, let your pride be the most
To show clothes of your own make and spinning.

No more ribbons wear, nor in rich silks appear;
Love your country much better than fine things
Begin without passion, 'twill soon be the fashion
To grace your smooth locks with a twine string,

What if homespun they say is not quite so gay
As brocades [rich fabric], yet be not in a passion,
For when once it is known this is much worn in town,
One and all will cry out - 'Tis the fashion!

These do without fear, and to all you'll appear,
Fair, charming, true, lovely and clever;
Though the times remain darkish, young men may be sparkish
[fine],
And love you much stronger than ever.

1. What appears to be the purpose of this poem?

2. Who were the Daughters of Liberty?

DOCUMENT B: Association of the Sons of Liberty in NY, 1773 (written after the Tea Act, which _____) (use notes/text)

The Sons of Liberty, established 1765, was a secret society of colonists who wanted to protect the rights of the colonists and fight British taxation (with no representation). The group would, at times, turn to violence in their cause. Many historians contend that the Sons of Liberty engaged in these activities to excite the lower classes and get them actively involved in rebelling against the authorities. Such violent measures made many of the stamp distributors resign in fear before the Stamp Act was repealed. The Sons of Liberty also popularized the use of tar and feathering to punish and humiliate offending government officials. Notable members of the group included John Adams, Samuel Adams, and Patrick Henry.



The following association is signed by a great number of the principal gentlemen of the city, merchants, lawyers, and other inhabitants of all ranks, and it is still carried about the city to give an opportunity to those who have not yet signed, to unite with their fellow citizens, to testify their abhorrence to the diabolical project of enslaving America.

It is essential to the freedom and security of a free people, that no taxes be imposed upon them but by their own consent, or their representatives. For "What property have they in that which another may, by right, take when he pleases to himself?" And yet, to the astonishment of all the world, and the grief of America, the Commons of Great Britain, after the repeal of the memorable and detestable Stamp Act, reassumed the power of imposing taxes on the American colonies.

...Therefore, to prevent a calamity which, of all others, is the most to be dreaded-slavery and its terrible concomitants-we, the subscribers, being influenced from a regard to liberty, and disposed to use all lawful endeavours in our power, to defeat the pernicious project, and to transmit to our posterity those blessings of freedom which our ancestors have handed down to us; and to contribute to the support of the common liberties of America, which are in danger to be subverted, do, for those important purposes, agree to associate together, under the name and style of the sons of New York, and engage our honour to, and with each other faithfully to observe and perform the following resolutions:

1st. Resolved, that whoever shall aid or abet, or in any manner assist, in the introduction of tea from any place whatsoever, into this colony, while it is subject, by a British Act of Parliament, to the payment of a duty, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

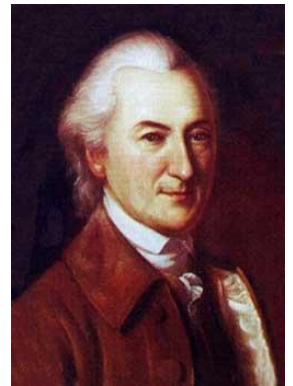
2d. Resolved, that whoever shall be aiding, or assisting, in the landing, or carting of such tea, from any ship, or vessel, or shall hire any house, storehouse, or cellar or any place whatsoever, to deposit the tea, subject to a duty as aforesaid, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

3d. Resolved, that whoever shall sell, or buy, or in any manner contribute to the sale, or purchase of tea, subject to a duty as aforesaid, or shall aid, or abet, in transporting such tea, by land or water, from this city, until the acts shall be totally and clearly repealed, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

3. Is the language of this resolution reasonable/justifiable? Or, does it go too far? Explain.

DOCUMENT C: Olive Branch Petition, 1775

John Dickinson, a member of the First and Second Continental Congresses and signer of the Constitution in 1787, drafted the Olive Branch Petition, which was adopted by the Second Continental Congress on July 5 and submitted to King George on July 8, 1775. It was an attempt to assert the rights of the colonists while maintaining their loyalty to the British crown. But King George proclaimed that the colonists had "proceeded to open and avowed rebellion."



Why did the First Continental Congress meet? Second? Revisit notes/text:

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies . . . in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition. The union between our Mother Country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other Nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

At the conclusion therefore of the late war (French and Indian War), the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonists having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late king, and of Parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace and the emoluments of victory and conquest. While these recent and honorable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of the legislature the Parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of Statutes and

regulations adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and to their inexpressible astonishment perceived the dangers of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic dangers, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Attached to your Majesty's person, family and government with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis, as to perpetuate its blessings uninterrupted by any future dissensions to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We therefore beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief [sic] from our afflicting fears and jealousies occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your Majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient for facilitating those important purposes, that your Majesty be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation...

That your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honor to themselves and happiness to their subjects is our sincere and fervent prayer.

4. For what reason(s) do you think the Second Continental Congress adopted the tone that it used in this document?

5. For what reason(s) do you think King George rejected the petition?

DOCUMENT D: Letters from Abigail Adams to John Adams

In March and April of 1776, Abigail Adams wrote these celebrated letters to husband John, who was serving as the Massachusetts representative to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. This letter shows Abigail to be a woman of unusual boldness and insight, as she urges her husband to "remember the ladies" in an age when women were seen as strictly domestic entities.



March 31, 1776 ...I long to hear that you have declared an independancy-and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If perticular care and attention is not paid to the Laidies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice . . .

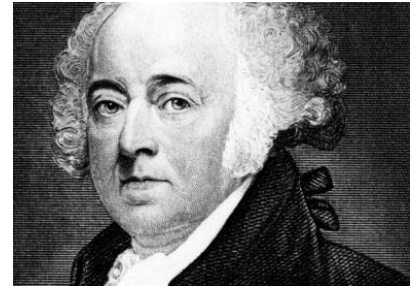
That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of Master for the more tender and endearing one of Friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the Lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of Sense in all Ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your Sex. . . .

August 14, 1776 ...I most sincerely wish that some more liberal plan might be laid and executed for the benefit of the rising generation, and that our new constitution may be distinguished for learning and virtue. If we mean to have heroes, statesmen and philosophers, we should have learned women. The world perhaps would laugh at me, and accuse me of vanity, but you I know have a mind too enlarged and liberal to disregard the sentiment. If much depends as is allowed upon the early education of youth and the first principals which are instilled take the deepest root, great benefit must arise from literary accomplishments in women.

6. What is Adams's argument? Do you suspect her husband was persuaded? Why or why not?

DOCUMENT E: Letters from John Adams to James Sullivan

In 1776, James Sullivan (1744–1808) was a state court judge in Massachusetts who often sympathized with those who challenged the subordination of women while believing that all people should have some involvement in legislation. Disagreeing with this, John Adams explained to James Sullivan why women were excluded from the right to vote and better suited for domestic affairs.



It is certain in Theory, that the only moral Foundation of Government is the Consent of the People, But to what an Extent Shall We carry this Principle? Shall We Say, that every Individual of the Community, old and young, male and female, as well as rich and poor, must consent, expressly to every Act of Legislation? No, you will Say. This is impossible. How then does the Right arise in the Majority to govern the Minority, against their Will? Whence arises the Right of the Men to govern Women, without their Consent? Whence the Right of the old to bind the Young, without theirs.

But let us first Suppose, that the whole Community of every Age, Rank, Sex, and Condition, has a Right to vote. This Community, is assembled—a Motion is made and carried by a Majority of one Voice. The Minority will not agree to this. Whence arises the Right of the Majority to govern, and the Obligation of the Minority to obey? from Necessity, you will Say, because there can be no other Rule. But why exclude Women? You will Say, because their Delicacy renders them unfit for Practice and Experience, in the great Business of Life, and the hardy Enterprises of War, as well as the arduous Cares of State. Besides, their attention is So much engaged with the necessary Nurture of their Children, that Nature has made them fittest for domestic Cares. And Children have not Judgment or Will of their own.

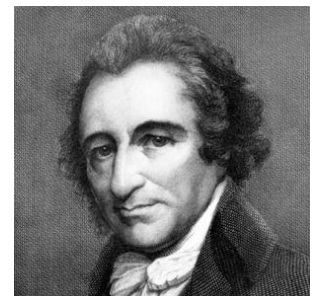
Depend upon it, sir, it is dangerous to open So fruitfull a Source of Controversy and Altercation, as would be opened by attempting to alter the Qualifications of Voters. There will be no End of it. New Claims will arise. Women will demand a Vote. Lads from 12 to 21 will think their Rights not enough attended to, and every Man, who has not a Farthing (a former monetary unit – equal to a quarter of a penny), will demand an equal Voice with any other in all Acts of State. It tends to confound and destroy all Distinctions, and prostrate (level) all Ranks, to one common Level.

7. What do these writings from John Adams highlight about the founding generation’s understanding of democracy and equality?

8. What reasons did Adams give to explain why women, children, and the poor should be denied the right to vote? What did Adams fear would happen if women obtained the right to vote?

DOCUMENT F: Excerpts from Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense*, 1776

*In these excerpts from the famous pamphlet *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine makes the case for independence from Britain. The alleged benefits of British rule, Paine asserts, are actually liabilities; he cites unfair trade policies and American entanglement in Britain’s foreign wars. Published anonymously on January 10, 1776, the work spread quickly through the colonies, especially among “commoners,” and went on to become one of the most famous documents of the American Revolution.*



In the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense. . .

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America has flourished under her former connection with Great-Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. . . [F]or I answer. . . that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. . . . We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was interest not attachment. . . . As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while, by her dependence on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with Kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, because of her connection with Britain. . . . There is something absurd, in supposing a Continent to be perpetually governed by an island. . . .

Where, say some, is the king of America? I'll tell you, Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the royal brute of Great Britain. . . . [I]n America the law is king. . . .

9. What are the main arguments that Paine makes for independence?

DOCUMENT G: A Loyalist Rebuttal to *Common Sense*, 1776 (Rev. Charles Inglis)

Inglis was an British-born clergyman whose New York congregation was largely Loyalist. Soon after Inglis's rebuttal to Paine was published, Sons of Liberty broke into the printer's office and destroyed all copies of the provocative pamphlet.

The following pages contain an answer to one of the most artful, insidious, and pernicious pamphlets I have ever met with. It is addressed to the passions of the populace at a time when their passions are much inflamed. At such junctures, [t]he mind is easily imposed on, and the most violent measures will, *therefore*, be thought the most salutary [beneficial]. . . . [T]he most glaring absurdities and falsehoods will be swallowed.

The author of COMMON SENSE has availed himself of all those advantages. Under the mask of friendship to America, in the present calamitous situation of affairs, he gives vent to his own private resentment and ambition, and recommends a scheme which must infallibly prove ruinous. He proposes that we should renounce our allegiance to our sovereign [king], break off all connection with Great Britain, and set up an independent empire of the republican kind. . . . I find no *Common Sense* in this pamphlet, but much *uncommon* frenzy. It is an outrageous insult on the common sense of Americans, an insidious attempt to poison their minds and seduce them from their loyalty and truest interest. . . . I think it a duty which I owe to God, to my King and country, to counteract in this manner the poison it contains. . . .

I think it no difficult matter to point out many advantages which will certainly attend our reconciliation and connection with Great Britain on a firm constitutional plan. . . .

- By a reconciliation with Britain, a period [end] would be put to the present calamitous war by which so many lives have been lost, and so many more must be lost if it continues. This alone is an advantage devoutly to be wished for. This author says "The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'Tis time to part.'" I think they cry just the reverse. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries It is time to be reconciled. It is time to lay aside those animosities which have pushed on Britons to shed the blood of Britons. It is high time that those who are connected by the endearing ties of religion, kindred and country should resume their former friendship and be united in the bond of mutual affection, as their interests are inseparably united. . . .
- Agriculture, commerce, and industry would resume their wonted vigor. At present, they languish and droop, both here and in Britain, and must continue to do so while this unhappy contest remains unsettled.
- By a connection with Great Britain, our trade would still have the protection of the greatest naval power in the world. England has the advantage in this respect of every other state, whether of ancient or modern times. . . . Such exactly is the power whose protection we want for our commerce. . . . Past experience shows that Britain is able to defend our commerce and our coasts, and we have no reason to doubt of her being able to do so for the future.
- The protection of our trade, while connected with Britain, will not cost a fiftieth part of what it must cost were we ourselves to raise a naval force sufficient for the purpose.



Let us now, if you please, take a view of the other side of the question. Suppose we were to revolt from Great Britain, declare ourselves independent, and set up a Republic of our own; what would the consequences be? I stand aghast at the prospect . . .

- What a horrid situation would thousands be reduced to who have taken the oath of allegiance to the King: yet contrary to their oath, as well as inclination, must be compelled to renounce that allegiance or abandon all their property in America! How many thousands more would be reduced to a similar situation; who, although they took not that oath, yet would think it inconsistent with their duty and a good conscience to renounce their sovereign. I dare say these will appear trifling difficulties to our author; but whatever he may think, there are thousands and thousands who would sooner lose all they had in the world, nay life itself, than thus wound their conscience.
- By a declaration for independency, every avenue to an accommodation with Great Britain would be closed. The sword only could then decide the quarrel, and the sword would not be sheathed till one had conquered the other. The importance of these colonies to Britain need not be enlarged on; it is a thing so universally known. The greater their importance is to her, so much the more obstinate will her struggle be not to lose them. The independency of America would, in the end, deprive her of the West Indies, shake her empire to the foundation, and reduce her to a state of the most mortifying insignificance. Great Britain therefore must, for her own preservation, risk every thing, and exert her whole strength to prevent such an event from taking place. . . .
- This melancholy contest would last till one side conquered. Supposing Britain to be victorious; however high my opinion is of British generosity, I should be exceedingly sorry to receive terms from her in the haughty tone of a conqueror. Or supposing such a failure of her manufactures, commerce, and strength that victory should incline to the side of America; yet who can say in that case what extremities her sense of resentment and self-preservation will drive Great Britain to? For my part, I should not in the least be surprised if, on such a prospect as the independency of America, she would parcel out this continent to the different European powers. Canada might be restored to France, Florida to Spain, with additions to each. Other states also might come in for a portion. . . . I believe as firmly as I do my own existence that, if every other method failed, she would try some such expedient as this to disconcert our scheme of independency; and let any man figure to himself the situation of these British colonies if only Canada were restored to France!

. . . The Americans are properly Britons. They have the manners, habits, and ideas of Britons, and have been accustomed to a similar form of government. But Britons never could bear the extremes either of monarchy or republicanism. Some of their kings have aimed at despotism but always failed. Repeated efforts have been made towards democracy, and they equally failed. . . . If we may judge of future events by past transactions in similar circumstances, this would most probably be the case if America were a republican form of government adopted in our present ferment. After much blood was shed, those confusions would terminate in the despotism of some one successful adventurer; and should the Americans be so fortunate as to emancipate themselves from that thralldom, perhaps the whole would end in a limited monarchy after shedding as much more blood. Limited monarchy is the form of government which is most favorable to liberty which is best adapted to the genius and temper of Britons; although here and there among us a crack-brained zealot for democracy or absolute monarchy may be sometimes found.

Besides the unsuitableness of the republican form to the genius of the people, America is too extensive for it. That form may do well enough for a single city, or small territory; but would be utterly improper for such a continent as this. America is too unwieldy for the feeble, dilatory administration of democracy. Rome had the most extensive dominions of any ancient republic. But it should be remembered that, very soon after the spirit of conquest carried the Romans beyond the limits that were proportioned to their constitution, they fell under a despotic yoke. . . .

America is far from being yet in a desperate situation. I am confident she may obtain honorable and advantageous terms from Great Britain. . . . America, till very lately, has been the happiest country in the universe. Blest with all that Nature could bestow with the profusest bounty, she enjoyed, besides, more liberty, greater privileges than any other land. How painful is it to reflect on these things and to look forward to the gloomy prospects now before us! But it is not too late to hope that matters may mend. By prudent management, her former happiness may again return, and continue to increase for ages to come, in a union with the parent state. . . .

But if America should . . . adopt this republican's scheme, they will infallibly destroy this smiling prospect. They will dismember this happy country make it a scene of blood and slaughter, and entail wretchedness and misery on millions yet unborn.

10. What are the main arguments that Rev. Charles Inglis makes for the Loyalist cause? Your list should be comprehensive:

DOCUMENT H: Declaration of Independence, 1776

The Declaration of Independence has been referred to as an 'Expression of the American Mind,' an inspiring document that has been inscribed on the American soul. The entire history of reform in America can be written as a process of discovery, within Jefferson's words, of a spiritually sanctioned mandate for ending slavery, providing rights of citizenship to blacks and women, justifying welfare programs for the poor, and expanding individual freedoms. Thus, the Declaration has become the American Creed, the closest to political poetry ever produced in America.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

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

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

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

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

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

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

...For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

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

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

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been

deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

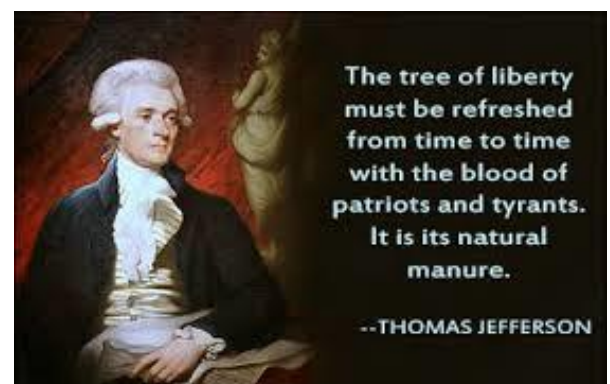
11. According to Jefferson, what is the purpose of government? How do governments derive their powers?

12. Why would Jefferson blame the King for the problems leading to the Declaration instead of Parliament, who passed the acts and approved the taxes that led to the colonists calling for independence?

13. The colonists had been fighting British soldiers for over a year before the Declaration was written. Why do you think it took so long for the colonists to formally announce their goal of independence?

14. In what way(s) does the Declaration reflect Enlightenment ideals?

15. Does the Declaration seem to be radical/revolutionary for its time? Why or why not? If you're unsure, explain what else we would need to know/explore in order to decide:



HBO Episode on Independence



John & Abigail Adams
<3



Dickinson; rep. from PA;
leading advocate for reconciliation w/Britain



Rutledge; rep. from SC
eventually caves to cause of independence

This episode, from the HBO series on John Adams, opens in the midst of the First Continental Congress (1774). The meeting was called after the Boston Tea Party (1773) and subsequent “Intolerable Acts” (1774). Some review of these events is helpful:

You’ll remember that the Boston Tea Party was a response to the Tea Act of 1773, which—despite making tea cheaper for colonists—angered colonists on principle, since the colonies had no role in the formation of the law and were essentially being bribed to buy British tea instead of Dutch tea. After Boston rebels dumped 15,000 pounds of the tea into the waters of Boston Harbor (cost of damage = \$1 million dollars today), Parliament passed the Intolerable/Coercive Acts. These acts prohibited the loading or unloading of ships in any port in Boston Harbor until the town fully repaid the British East India Company for destroyed tea and prohibited town meetings unless directed/approved by the royally appointed governor. Many colonists viewed the Acts as having gone too far, which explains the calling of the First Continental Congress (1774).

To the chagrin of John Adams, the delegates in the Congress were conservatives who wanted to avoid war and remain loyal to King George III. Their preferred strategy for regaining their rights as Englishmen (i.e. representation) was non-importation and negotiation. But events in Boston would raise tensions. When Bostonians stockpiled firearms/gunpowder in Concord, Massachusetts, the British ordered an attack (1775). Colonists ambushed the British on their way to Concord, at nearby Lexington, and forced retreat.

Despite the outbreak of fighting, most delegates at a Second Continental Congress maintained their conservative positions and extended an Olive Branch Petition to the king, asking for restoration for rights and reconciliation. Once it was flatly rejected by the King, the Congress selected George Washington to command the Continental Army. Finally (from Adams’s point of view), the Congress persuaded Thomas Jefferson to draft a declaration of independence (secession), which the delegates confirmed (almost unanimously) on July 2, 1776. Final wording was approved on July 4th, 1776.

1. (Answer throughout entire episode) Throughout the episode we see the delegates debating how to respond to the conflict with Britain, which eventually evolves into debates over the pros and cons of declaring independence. Describe the opposing views that are articulated by various individuals and states. The episode opens with Dickinson articulating his views. (Note: This question is continued on the following page

Adams (MA)

Dickinson (PA)

2. Why did John Adams select Thomas Jefferson to take the lead in writing the Declaration?

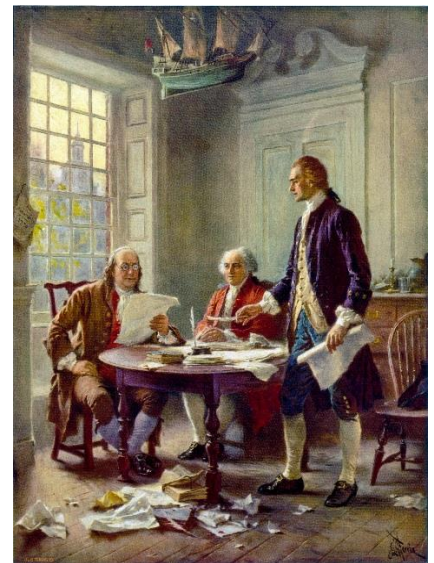
3. What helped to unify the delegates around John Adams's cause? Explain.

4. What does the episode highlight about the Continental Army?

5. What ideas were contained in the Declaration? Why was message of the document "unexpected"?

6. What were the results of the final vote on the Declaration of Independence?

7. (Post-viewing) What new insights did you gain from this episode about the time period (gender relations, disease, war on the homefront, etiquette) and/or decision to declare independence (pacing, preparedness, etc.)?



Thomas Jefferson (right), Benjamin Franklin (left), and John Adams (center) meet at Jefferson's lodgings, on the corner of Seventh and High (Market) streets in Philadelphia, to review a draft of the Declaration of Independence.

Secondary Sources from the Revolutionary Period

Actively read both secondary sources and respond to the corresponding prompts. Both sources provide what may appear to be controversial or unusual perspectives on “revolutionary” America, however both have largely been endorsed by scholars of our day. Should they be?

Excerpt from John L. Hancock’s book, *Liberty Inherited: The Untold Story of American Exceptionalism* (2011) John L. Hancock is generally recognized as one of the leading figures in the field of American exceptionalism, conservative history, and the foundational infrastructure of English-speaking societies.

The American Evolution, not Revolution!

Since 1776, there have been many attempts by other countries to replicate what the Americans did that fateful year. The French were the first in 1789, followed by others, including the Mexicans (1810), the Russians (1917), the Chinese (1949), and the Cubans (1959). Unfortunately, rather than providing those nations with leaders such as Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Madison, these revolutions ended with tyrants such as Napoleon, Santa Anna, Stalin, Mao, and Castro.

This begs the question, “Why did the American Revolution succeed where so many have failed?”

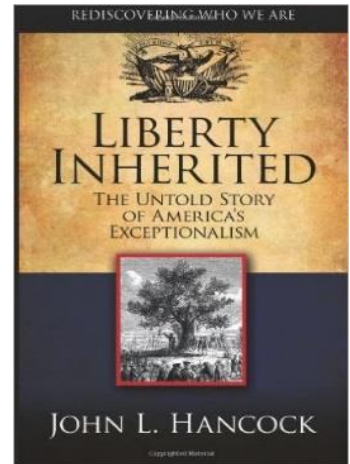
The American Revolution was not really a revolution. It was actually the next step in the development of a socio-political-economic system that evolved over the previous 1200 years in England. As George Washington would write in 1783 [which was *after* the Revolution], the British Empire “was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and suspicion but in an epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period.”

And he was not alone. In 1763, John Adams wrote: “[T]he British constitution¹ is much more like a republic than an empire. They define a republic to be a government of laws, and not of men. If this definition be just, the British constitution is nothing more nor less than a republic, in which the king is first magistrate. This office being hereditary, and being possessed of such ample and splendid prerogatives, is no objection to the government’s being a republic, as long as it is bound by fixed laws, which the people have a voice in making, and a right to defend. An empire is a despotism, and an emperor a despot, bound by no law or limitation but his own will; it is a stretch of tyranny beyond absolute monarchy.” And, as late as March 1775 [right before Lexington and Concord], Benjamin Franklin was hopeful that British America could remain part of the Empire, even to the point of offering his entire net worth to pay for the tea spilt in the Boston Tea Party if London would only address the colonists’ grievances.

It is clear from these few examples (and there are many more) that the Founding Fathers of this nation considered the British system of government—with its limited government and respect for the rights of the individual—the best in the world. They did not consider it tyrannical, despotic, or authoritarian. Even after the defeat of the Empire by the American colonists Washington still maintained a positive opinion of the system.

Furthermore, through the colonial assemblies and the hands-off approach of London, the colonists had over 150 years of semi self-rule. Each colony had an assembly based on the English Parliament (either unicameral or bicameral) with the now familiar executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. The most common shape of a colonial government had the executive in the form of the colony’s governor appointed by London, a legislature in the form of an assembly elected by the colonists, and a judicial with locally elected judges and the Governor’s Counsel acting as a supreme court. The colonies, with few exceptions, were free to create their own laws as long as the laws did not violate English Common Law. These 150 years of experience created political traditions, customs, and culture that the colonies of the other colonial powers (mainly Spain and France) lacked.

While it is true that the Founding Fathers established a congress rather than a parliament, an elected president rather than a hereditary monarch, and a federal republic rather than a constitutional monarchy, the American Revolution is less of a revolution than it initially appears to be. The truth is that when the time came for British America to become America and establish its own government the Founding Fathers took the system they knew, respected, and envied and made it their own. They kept English



¹ Britain, unlike most modern states, does not have a codified constitution, but an unwritten one formed by Acts of Parliament, court judgments, and conventions. Though you’ll sometimes see a reference to the “British Constitution,” it does not exist in tangible form.

Common Law² as the basis of their legal system; and used the Declaration of Rights of 1689 (which guaranteed in writing the ‘rights of all Englishmen’) as the model and basis for the founding documents [the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights]. So, while the mechanics of government were changed, the basic political principles and values of the English system—mainly limited government³, individual rights, private property . . . remained at the heart of the system. The ‘rights of freeborn Englishmen’ became the ‘rights and liberties of Americans.’

This is why the American Revolution was really more of an evolution than a revolution. It is also why the Americans were able to succeed where so many others have tragically failed, often with great bloodshed and loss of life. Real revolutions attempt to fundamentally change a society by imposing an unfamiliar political system (including values and principles) on the people. This is traumatic for the society and results in the blood-thirsty tyrannies that often come out of the chaos they create. The Founding Fathers did not try to impose a system of government that was alien or offensive to the majority of the people. In fact, the principles on which the new government was based on were quite familiar to most of the colonists because it was, in reality, an Americanized version of the British system.

This does not take away from the fact that the American form of government was a leap forward in the idea that the common man is capable of ruling himself. But this idea did not develop out of thin air. It developed out of the British system, which—just as the American system was a leap forward from the British system—was a leap forward from the absolutism that condemned the common man to a life of poverty and servitude.

The actions of declaring, fighting, and winning the Revolutionary War were revolutionary: the American colonists revolted against the British government and that revolution resulted in American independence. However, the consequences of the War were evolutionary: the War did not dramatically change the structure or content of American society.

It did not establish a democratic government [rule of the majority] or create a new economic structure; rather, it kept capitalism in place and resulted in a conservative Constitution that often took power away from the majority. Nor did it significantly change the structure of American society; rather, it reinforced the political, economic, and social *status quo* and reinforced the power of conservative elites. “The war was not about home rule, but about *who would rule at home*” (Carl Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776*,” [University of Wisconsin Press, 1909]).

In closing, 1) the outcome of the war saw no broad change in the composition of those who dominated the social, political, and economic structure of the former colonies. Those individuals who were wealthy, powerful, and influential before the event continued to possess wealth, power, and influence later. The Revolution was basically a revolt by colonial elites against the elites in England. 2) The Constitution was created to maintain commercial and landowning elites’ power, influence, and standing in the face of events such as Shays’ Rebellion. [We’ll cover this event in upcoming documents.] 3) At the end of the day, it’s best to say that the Revolutionary War placed Americans on an evolutionary road to creating a more democratic nation.

1. What evidence is marshaled in support of Hancock’s “American Evolution, not Revolution!” argument?
2. Do you find Hancock’s argument(s) persuasive? Why or why not? Can you think of any potential counterarguments to Hancock’s claims?

² Common law is the part of English law that is derived from custom and judicial precedent rather than statutes (laws).

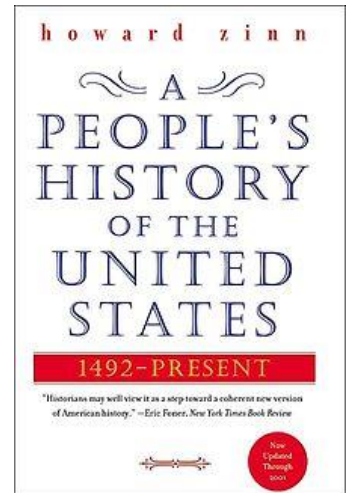
³ Limited government is the concept that government may only do those things that the people have given it the power to do. Put another way, it is the idea that government operates within certain boundaries set by the people (usually in constitutional form). In this context, “limited” does not mean “small.” A government could be quite large and activist yet still be considered “limited,” assuming it only did what the people had given it the power to do and did not violate the country’s constitution.

Excerpt from Howard Zinn's book, *A People's History of the United States* (1980 and subsequent revised editions through 2005) Howard Zinn (1922-2010) was an historian and political scientist who spent much of his career at Boston University. The book "A People's History" is often required reading at the collegiate level and was a runner-up for the National Book Award in 1980.

[See attached excerpt.]

3. Zinn focuses a significant amount of attention to the economic dynamics of the Revolution. He argues that Revolutionary leaders:

- *had to woo (compel) support from people who really weren't that interested in independence;*
- *devised mechanisms to ensure the poor joined the cause and ended up believing in it;*
- *and had to deal with rampant "class warfare" (class conflict) throughout the war.*



Whenever you locate these, or related, economic dynamics in the reading, highlight with a _____ highlighter.

What are your reactions/questions to the material highlighted for this prompt?

4. Zinn made several arguments that line up with Hancock's assertions (about the Revolution not being as revolutionary as some believe).

Whenever you locate these similar arguments, highlight with a _____ highlighter.

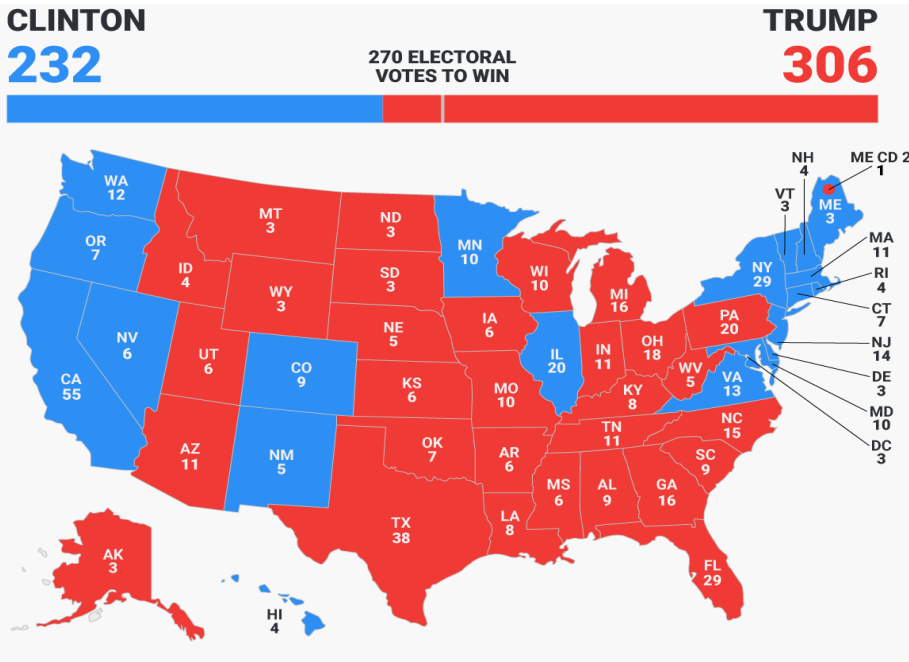
5. Zinn attempted to set the record straight about what exactly the Revolution was/did.

Whenever you locate these arguments, highlight with a _____ highlighter.

What are your reactions/questions to the material highlighted for this prompt?



Examining the Electoral College



	Total Votes	% of Vote
Clinton	65,516,951	48.2%
Trump	62,844,908	46.2%
Other	7,630,968	5.6%
Total	136,001,827	100.0%

Clinton Margin	+2,672,043	+2.0%
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The way America elects its president has stirred debate since the Electoral College was conceived in 1787 at the Constitutional Convention. Over the years, nearly 1,000 amendments have been proposed that seek to reform or abolish the Electoral College, but it has yet to change. Should it? In this document we'll gain an introduction to the Electoral College so as to better understand the political philosophy of the Founders.

1. Take notes on "Electing a U.S. President in Plain English." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ok_VQ8l7g6I
2. After watching the video, what questions do you have about the Electoral College?
3. What are your initial thoughts on this mode of election? Does it make sense given that the Founders were mostly conservatives, suspicious of "democracy" (majority rule)? Why or why not?
4. Use red and blue colored pencils to color-code the 2016 Electoral Visual Representation at the top of the page. What are your thoughts/general observations about the map and its contrast with the popular vote to the right of the image?

2012		2008		2004	
Barack Obama [D]		Barack Obama [D]		George W. Bush [R]	
Mitt Romney [R]		John McCain [R]		John F. Kerry [D]	
Winner: 332	Main Opponent: 206	Winner: 365	Main Opponent: 173	Winner: 286	Main Opponent: 251

Creating the Electoral College—Constitutional Convention, 1787

Once delegates to the Convention decided the executive branch would be led by one individual (the president), they had to decide how he would be elected. Most thought Congress (the Senate plus House of Representatives) should determine the president. But the problem with this was that it was assumed the president would simply do as Congress wished in order to get reelected, thereby giving too much power to Congress (this would violate the principle of *separation of powers*). Some then proposed the “radical” idea of popular election, with the states determining who was eligible to vote, but this was rejected for being far too democratic. (This reminds us how unpopular “democracy” was in the 18th century.)

The Electoral College became the compromise. The delegates that created the Electoral College had the following in mind:

- The government should be a mixture of *state-based* and *population-based* government, so as to avoid tyranny of any kind.
 - Examples:
 - *State-based* Senate (two Senators per state, regardless of population)
 - *Population-based* House of Representatives (representatives for each state are determined by population in a state → more populous = more representatives in the House)
 - In the Electoral College, the president would be elected by a *mixture* of the two modes
 - The president should have *broad geographic support* (even if it was shallow), rather than narrow and deep support; they wanted the president to represent the broad population of the U.S.
 - If you look back at the electoral map from 2016, Trump clearly had significant geographic support over Clinton, despite Clinton’s narrow, deep, majority support; ultimately, the Founders felt the former was a better quality for the president, who was meant to represent the entire United States
5. Do you agree with the Founders that it’s better to have broad geographic support (even if it’s shallow), rather than narrow and deep support? Try your best to consider this objectively, without thinking of which candidate would have benefited from your view.

Article II of the Constitution, which establishes the executive branch, explains, “Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be an Elector.”

In plain English, the Founders were saying:

- that each state legislature would decide how they wanted their electors elected
 - Allowing states some autonomy in determining how electors would be selected highlights the principle of *federalism*, which calls for the division of power between national and state governments
 - Note: Throughout the 19th century, state legislatures started giving up their power to elect the electors and passed it on to the parties themselves (so each party in a state started nominating its own electors, who would only cast votes if their party won the state-wide popular vote)
- the total number of electors for each state would be determined by adding the number of national legislators up (Senators (always 2) plus Rep.’s in each state)
- members of the national government were forbidden from being electors

How did the Founders expect electors to act?

- Before the transition to party-nominated electors, it was believed that each presidential elector (selected by the state legislatures) would consider their state’s view, but would ultimately exercise *independent judgment* when voting. Allowing presidential electors independent judgement highlights the principle of *fear of pure democracy*. The Founders had disdain for pure democracy, which allows the majority view to always prevail, because what if the majority were wrong? A trusted elector, voted in by the people, would be better trusted to make the decision.

Other important facts about the Electoral College, as outlined in Article II:

- To win the presidency a candidate must receive an absolute majority of electoral votes (today that is 270)
- Should the Electoral College not produce a winner, the election is to be decided by the House of Representatives, which chooses from the three highest performers; each state delegation gets one vote

The Electoral College, Today

Even though the aggregate national popular vote is calculated and discussed at length by media organizations, the national popular vote has no bearing whatsoever on who wins the presidency.

Who are the electors?

There are 538 electors; this number is determined by adding 435 representatives + 100 Senators + 3 electors for D.C. The original method of choosing electors was by state legislative choice, but this changed as political parties became more and more entrenched in America's political system. Throughout the 19th century, one state legislature after the other started passing on the role of elector selection to the parties themselves. Candidates for elector are now nominated by their state political parties in the months prior to election day. Each party selects *their own* party electors, who pledge to be loyal to the party's presidential candidate. So, PA has both 20 Democratic electors and 20 Republican electors; whichever party wins the state-wide vote sends its electors to the capital to vote for the president. So, since Trump won PA, the 20 Republican electors—who were voted in by their party—went to their state capital and gave their support to him. Those 20 electoral votes helped Trump attain the 270 (a majority) he needed to take the White House.

It often comes as a surprise to Americans to find out that when they vote for the president, they are actually choosing a *slate of electors*, rather than an actual individual.

What is a "faithless elector"?

A "faithless elector" is one who casts an electoral vote for someone *other than* the person pledged, or does not vote for any person. This would be like one of those Republican electors casting their electoral vote to a different candidate out of opposition to the president. In the most recent election, there were just 2 electors across the country that "cheated" on Trump. But, as we've seen historically, this did not change the outcome of the election. The number of faithless electors in U.S. history is around 100, and studies show that they have never influenced the outcome. Nonetheless, 29 states have laws that punish faithless electors, typically through fines.



A "winner-take-all" system:

In all states except Maine and Nebraska, electors operate on a "winner-take-all" basis. Whichever candidate receives a majority of the popular vote within a state takes *all of* the state's electoral votes. Even if the candidate earned just 51% of the state-wide popular vote, they receive *all* electoral votes for their state. In 2016, PA, like many states, was a very close race. Trump had 48.2% of the vote, which Clinton trailing closely behind at 47.5%; nonetheless, because Trump was the winner, he took all 20 of PA's electoral votes.

Pennsylvania Results

President ✓ Trump | Senate ✓ Toomey | House 5 D 13 R | State Legislature | Ballot Measures

President

CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES	PCT.	E.V.
 ✓ Donald J. Trump	Republican	2,970,733	48.2%	20
 Hillary Clinton	Democrat	2,926,441	47.5	—

6. What are your thoughts on the "winner-take-all" system? What do you think about the fact that Trump took all 20 electoral votes from PA even though he had just .7% more support than Clinton?

The "Congressional District" or "Proportion Method":

Maine and Nebraska do things differently than the other states, adopting the "Congressional District" or "Proportion Method," which is a more democratic way of electing a president. Whichever candidate wins the state's popular vote gets two electoral votes automatically, but all other electoral votes are determined by a district-to-district basis. As an example, Maine has four electoral votes and two Congressional districts (each representative in the House represents one district). It awards one vote per district and two by the state-wide popular vote; as such, Maine and Nebraska could end up giving some electoral votes to one candidate, and other electoral votes to the other candidate.

7. Read the proponents vs. opponents summaries (see attachment). Put key ideas in the chart below. Put a star by the most convincing arguments and an X by those that are not convincing.

Proponents	Opponents

Electoral College Simulation

- Take a “popular vote” for _____ vs. _____.

RESULTS:

_____ votes for _____
 _____ votes for _____

- Divide into 6 groups of various sizes to represent states of different sizes. Take a popular vote in your “state” to determine electoral votes.

RESULTS OF POPULAR VOTE IN “STATE”:

_____ votes for _____
 _____ votes for _____

OF ELECTORAL VOTES FOR WINNER OF POPULAR VOTE IN “STATE”: _____

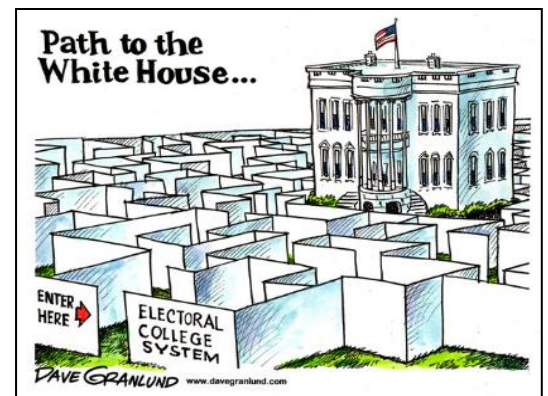
- After all electoral votes are tallied, record results.

OF ELECTORAL VOTES FOR _____: _____

OF ELECTORAL VOTES FOR _____: _____

WINNER OF ELECTION: _____

- 8. Reflect on this simulation. How did it impact your views on the Electoral College and what insights were gained in the process?

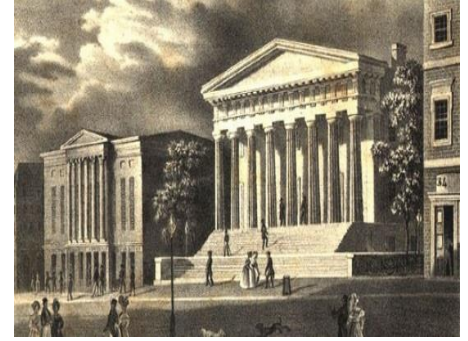


The Washington Administration (1789-1797)

This document will highlight how Washington organized the nation's finances, resolved disputes over constitutional interpretation, and used his executive leadership to articulate advice for the infant nation.

Hamilton's Financial Plan, excerpted from *ushistory.org*

Presidents Washington (\$1), Lincoln (\$5), Jackson (\$20), and Grant (\$50) all appear on currency. But what about this guy Alexander Hamilton on the ten-spot? How did he get there? A major problem facing the first federal government was how to deal with the financial chaos created by the American Revolution. States had huge war debts. . . Many areas of the economy looked dismal throughout the 1780s. Economic hard times were a major factor creating the sense of crisis that produced the stronger central government under the new Constitution.



Background on Hamilton: George Washington chose the talented Alexander Hamilton, who had served with him throughout the Revolutionary War, to take on the challenge of directing federal economic policy as the treasury secretary. . . Born in the West Indies to a single mother who was a shopkeeper, he learned his first economic principles from her and went on to apprentice for a large firm. From these modest origins, Hamilton would become the foremost advocate for a modern capitalist economy in the early national United States. Hamilton's influential connections were not just with Washington, but included a network of leading New York merchants and financiers. His 1780 marriage to Elizabeth Schuyler, from a wealthy Hudson River valley land holding family, deepened his ties to rich and powerful leaders in New York. His innovative financial policies helped overcome the fiscal problems of the nation, and also benefited an economic elite with which he had close ties.

Issue 1: Debt: The first issue that Hamilton tackled as Washington's secretary of the treasury was government debt. The commitment to pay back debts was not taken very seriously. Hamilton issued a bold proposal. The federal government should pay off all state debts at full value. Such action would dramatically enhance the legitimacy of the new central government. To raise money to pay off the debts, Hamilton would issue new bonds to investors and foreign nations. [Bonds serve as IOU's: give me money now that I can use, and I promise to pay it back later, with interest.] The problem with this part of the plan was that the debts themselves were not evenly distributed among the states. Some southern states, like wealthy Virginia among them, had already paid most of their war-era debts. Others, including several northern states, had paid little and were still struggling financially. If the federal government assumed responsibility for all state debts and began collecting federal taxes, states like Virginia would essentially be forced to help pay off the debts of other states.

Hamilton needed a deal to get around this political impasse. With Jefferson's help, a bargain was struck in which Madison, both a Virginian and the most influential member of the House, would help get Hamilton the votes needed to pass the Funding Act, which would allow the federal government to assume the states' debts. In exchange, Hamilton would help Madison get the votes needed to pass the Residence Act, which would fix the site of the national capital along the Potomac River, thereby giving the South increased political power to balance the North's growing economic power (industrialization was beginning). The decision on the capital's final location would be left to President Washington. In essence, the capital would be the reward for acquiescing to the debt deal.

On January 24, 1791, acting under the authority granted to him by the Residence Act, President Washington issued a proclamation fixing the boundaries of the new federal district. The capital would include 69 square miles of Maryland territory (including Georgetown) and 31 square miles of Virginia territory (including Alexandria). All that remained to be done was build a city from scratch.

Issue 2: National Bank: Hamilton's vision for reshaping the American economy also included a federal charter for a national financial institution. He proposed a Bank of the United States. Modeled along the lines of the Bank of England, a central bank would help make the new nation's economy dynamic through a more stable paper currency. Alexander Hamilton conceived of the First Bank of the United States as a way to standardize American currency and cope with national Revolutionary War debt. The Bank still stands today on Independence National Park in Philadelphia. But the central bank faced significant opposition. Many feared it would fall under the influence of wealthy, urban northeasterners and speculators from overseas. In the end, with the support of George Washington, the bank was chartered with its first headquarters in Philadelphia.

Issue 3: Protectionist Economic Policy: The third major area of Hamilton's economic plan aimed to make American manufacturers self-sufficient. The American economy had traditionally rested upon large-scale agricultural exports to pay for the import of British manufactured goods (through prism of mercantilism). Hamilton rightly thought that this dependence on expensive foreign goods kept the American economy at a limited level, especially when compared to the rapid growth of early industrialization in Great Britain. Rather than accept this condition, Hamilton wanted the United States to adopt an economic policy that would protect American manufacturers through direct government subsidies (handouts to business) and tariffs (taxes on imported goods). This protectionist policy would help fledgling American producers to compete with inexpensive European imports.

Hamilton possessed a remarkably acute economic vision. His aggressive support for manufacturing, banks, and strong public credit (paying off of debt) all became central aspects of the modern capitalist economy that would develop in the United States in the century after his death. Nevertheless, his policies were deeply controversial in their day. Many Americans neither liked Hamilton's elitist attitude nor his commitment to a British model of economic development. His pro-British foreign policy was potentially explosive in the wake of the Revolution. Hamilton favored an even stronger central government than the Constitution had created and often linked democratic impulses with anarchy. Finally, because the beneficiaries of his innovative economic policies were concentrated in the northeast, they threatened to stimulate divisive geographic differences in the new nation. Regardless, Hamilton's economic philosophies became touchstones of the modern American capitalist economy. Bet you \$10 you now see why he's on the \$10 bill.

1. Mistaken Americans will often claim that the Founding Fathers practiced “laissez-faire” economics, whereby supply and demand is left to dictate price, consumption, production, etc., and government stays out of economic matters. Use the summary of Hamilton’s financial plan to bust this myth:

Debates over the Constitutionality of a National Bank - Jefferson and Hamilton (1791)

The debate over the national bank during Washington’s administration was intense. Thomas Jefferson led the opposition (but was defeated), and Alexander Hamilton led the pro-national bank camp, which President Washington supported. At the core of their disagreement was a divergent understanding of the Constitution and how it should be applied. The next two primary sources provide insight as to Jefferson’s and Hamilton’s mindset.

Hamilton and Jefferson: Differing Views	
Alexander Hamilton	Thomas Jefferson
• Favored trade, manufacturing and cities	• Favored farmers and rural communities
• Believed that the federal government should have more power than the states	• Believed that states should have more power than the federal government (<u>state’s rights</u>)
• Believed in a loose interpretation of the Constitution	• Believed in a strict interpretation of the Constitution
• was pro-British	• was pro-French

THOMAS JEFFERSON (Sec. of State) to George Washington (February 15, 1791)

I consider the foundation of the Constitution as laid on this ground: That "all powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people." [10th amendment.] To take a single step beyond the boundaries thus specially drawn around the powers of Congress, is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition.

The incorporation of a bank, and the powers assumed by this bill, have not, in my opinion, been delegated to the United States, by the Constitution. They are not among the powers specially enumerated, such as:

To "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the States, and with the Indian tribes." To erect a bank, and to regulate commerce, are very different acts. To make a thing which may be bought and sold, is not to prescribe regulations for buying and selling. Besides, if this was an exercise of the power of regulating commerce, it would be void, as extending as much to the internal commerce of every State, as to its external. For the power given to Congress by the Constitution does not extend to the internal regulation of the commerce of a State, (that is to say of the commerce between citizen and citizen,) which remain exclusively with its own legislature; but to its external commerce only, that is to say, its commerce with another State, or with foreign nations, or with the Indian tribes. Accordingly the bill says it will produce "considerable advantages to trade." Still less are these powers covered by any other of the special enumerations.

Nor are they within either of the general phrases, which are the two following:

To consider the "general welfare" phrase as giving a distinct and independent power to do any act they please, which might be for the good of the Union, would render all the preceding and subsequent enumerations of power completely useless. It would reduce the whole instrument to a single phrase, that of instituting a Congress with power to do whatever would be for the good of the United States; and, as they would be the sole judges of the good or evil, it would be also a power to do whatever evil they please.

. . . Certainly no such universal power was meant to be given them. It was intended to lace them up straightly within the enumerated powers, and those without which, as means, these powers could not be carried into effect.

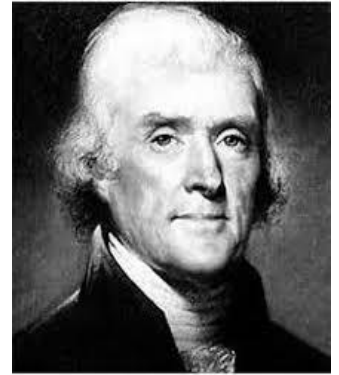
The second general phrase is, "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers." But they can all be carried into execution without a bank. A bank therefore is not necessary, and consequently not authorized by this phrase.

If has been urged that a bank will give great facility or convenience in the collection of taxes. Suppose this were true: yet the Constitution allows only the means which are "necessary," not those which are merely "convenient" for effecting the enumerated powers. If such a latitude of construction be allowed to this phrase as to give any nonenumerated power, it will go to everyone and everywhere. It would swallow up all the delegated powers, and reduce the whole to one power, as before observed. Therefore it was that the Constitution restrained them to the necessary means, that is to say, to those means without which the grant of power would be nugatory (pointless, of no value).

It may be said that a bank whose bills would have a currency all over the States, would be more convenient than one whose currency is limited to a single State. So it would be still more convenient that there should be a bank, whose bills should have a currency all over the world. But it does not follow from this superior conveniency, that there exists anywhere a power to establish such a bank; or that the world may not go on very well without it.

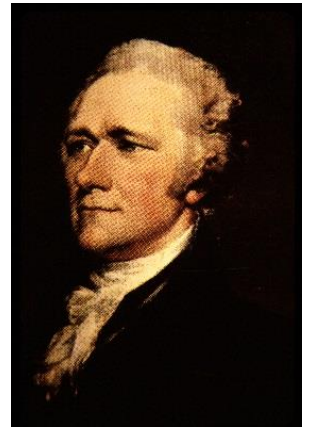
Can it be thought that the Constitution intended that for a shade or two of convenience, more or less, Congress should be authorized to break down the most ancient and fundamental laws of the several States? Nothing but a necessity invincible by any other means, can justify such a prostitution of laws, which constitute the pillars of our whole system of jurisprudence.

2. Summarize Jefferson's key arguments:



ALEXANDER HAMILTON (Sec. of Treasury) to George Washington (February 23, 1791)

In entering upon the argument, it ought to be premised that the objections of the secretary of state and attorney general are founded on a general denial of the authority of the United States to erect corporations. Now it appears to the secretary of the treasury that this general principle is INHERENT in the very DEFINITION of government and ESSENTIAL to every step of the progress to be made by that of the United States, namely: that every power vested in a government is in its nature sovereign and includes, by force of the term, a right to employ all the MEANS requisite and fairly applicable to the attainment of the ENDS of such power, and which are not precluded by restrictions and exceptions specified in the Constitution, or not immoral, or contrary to the essential ends of political society. . . .



If it would be necessary to bring proof to a proposition so clear as that which affirms that the powers of the federal government, as to its objects, were sovereign, there is a clause of its Constitution which would be decisive. It is that which declares that the Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance of it, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority, shall be the supreme law of the land. The power which can create the supreme law of the land in any case is doubtless sovereign as to such case.

It is unquestionably incident to sovereign power to erect corporations, and consequently to that of the United States, in relation to the objects entrusted to the management of the government.

It is not denied that there are implied as well as express powers and that the former are as effectually delegated as the latter.... It is conceded that implied powers are to be considered as delegated equally with expressed ones. Then it follows that as a power of erecting a corporation may as well be implied as any other thing, it may as well be employed as an instrument or mean of carrying into execution any of the specified powers as any other instrument or mean whatever.

The only question must be, in this, as in every other case, whether the mean to be employed or, in this instance, the corporation to be erected, has a natural relation to any of the acknowledged objects or lawful ends of the government. Thus a corporation may not be erected by Congress for superintending the police of the city of Philadelphia, because they are not authorized to regulate the police of that city. But one may be erected in relation to the collection of taxes, or to trade with foreign countries, or to trade between the states, or with Indian tribes; because it is the province of the federal government to regulate those objects, and because it is incident to a general sovereign or legislative power to regulate a thing, to employ all the means which relate to its regulation to the best and greatest advantage.

Through this mode of reasoning respecting the right of employing all the means requisite to the execution of the specified powers of the government, it is objected that none but necessary and proper means are to be employed; and the secretary of the state maintains that no means are to be considered as NECESSARY but those without which the grant of the power would be nugatory. . . . It is essential to the being of the national government that so erroneous a conception of the meaning of the word "necessary" should be exploded. It is certain that neither a grammatical nor popular sense of the term requires that construction. According to both, "necessary" often means no more than needful, requisite, incidental, useful, or conducive to. It is a common mode of expression to say that it is NECESSARY for a government or a person to do this or that thing, when nothing more is intended or understood than that the interests of the government or person require, or will be promoted by, the doing this or that thing.

The whole turn of the clause containing it indicates that it was the intent of the Convention by that clause, to give a liberal latitude to the exercise of the specified powers. The expressions have peculiar comprehensiveness. They are, "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

To understand the word as the secretary of state does would be to depart from its obvious and popular sense and to give it a restrictive operation, an idea never before entertained. . . . This restrictive interpretation of the word "necessary" is also contrary to this sound maxim of construction; namely, that the powers contained in a constitution of government, especially those which concern the general administration of the affairs of a country, its finances, trade, defense, etc., ought to be construed liberally in advancement of the public good. . . .

If the end be clearly comprehended within any of the specified powers, and if the measure have an obvious relation to that end, and is not forbidden by a particular provision of the Constitution, it may safely be deemed to come within the compass of the national authority.

There is also this further criterion, which may materially assist the decision: Does the proposed measure abridge a preexisting right of any state or of any individual? If it does not, there is a strong presumption in favor of its constitutionality. . . . A hope is

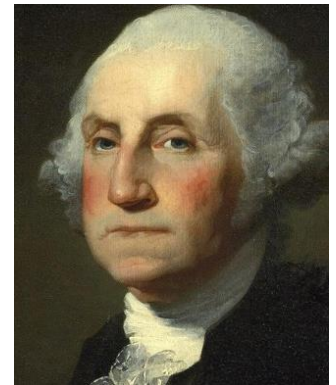
entertained that it has, by this time, been made to appear, to the satisfaction of the President, that a bank has a natural relation to the power of collecting taxes -- to that of regulating trade -- to that of providing for the common defense . . .

3. Summarize Hamilton's key arguments:

4. Washington ultimately sided with Hamilton. How different might the country be today if he had sided with Jefferson on this issue?

Farewell Address—George Washington, 1796

As he left the office of the president in 1796 (much to the dismay of the public, who hoped that he would serve a third term), George Washington outlined his ideas about the future of the still young United States. His so-called Farewell Address was published as an open letter to the people of the United States. The vision he presented laid the foundation for presidents of the future and helped reiterate (or re-state) the philosophical basis of the nation.



Friends and Citizens: The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, . . . But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken . . . to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; . . . it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; . . . watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. . . .

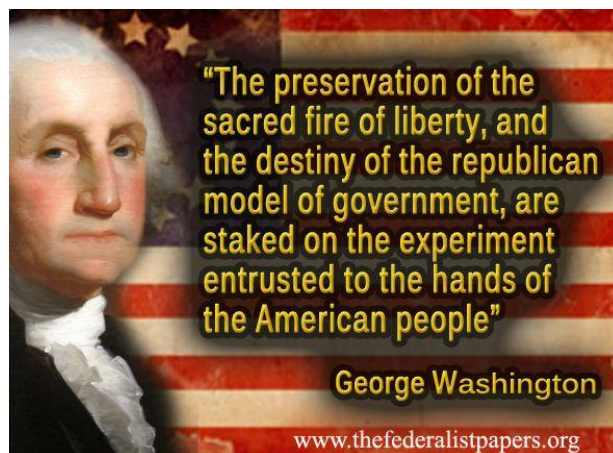
To the efficacy and permanency of your union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. . . . This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government. All obstructions to the execution of laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community, and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels and modified by mutual interests. . . .

Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful (harmful) effects of the spirit of party generally. This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy. The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid

enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty. Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another. . . .

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . Nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. . . . Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. . . . The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop. . . . It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world

5. Washington's Farewell Address discussed a few basic themes: national unity (in the face of growing sectionalism), obedience to the law, the danger of political parties, and the importance of neutrality and isolationism. Respond to the following:
 - a. Did Washington practice what he preached? To what extent did he encourage/enforce what he says in his Farewell Address?
 - b. Based on what you know of politics and life in the United States, assess whether or not we are living up to Washington's vision as it pertains to one of the specific themes in #5.



The Adams Administration (1797-1801)

At the end of Washington's administration, the two-party system had formed—Federalists vs. Democratic-Republicans. While the term "Federalist" had originally applied to the advocates of the Constitution (whose opponents were the "Anti-Federalists"), the term became a party name with Hamilton and Adams' leadership under Washington. Their views are outlined below, left. As debate over the national bank intensified during the Washington administration, the opposition party, the Democratic-Republicans, was formed with Jefferson's and Madison's leadership. Their views are outlined below, right.

During the Adams administration (1797-1801), the Federalist Congress (and Adams) supported the controversial Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, passed in the face of imminent war with France and political incivility in the press. Their opponents, the Democratic-Republicans, were so appalled by the Acts that they asserted the principle of nullification—that states had the right to consider an act of Congress void if they deemed the act unconstitutional. These acts, and subsequent debate over their constitutionality, contributed to the ongoing debate about the proper relationship between the national and state governments that plagued the infant nation. These acts also contributed to the ongoing debate about the role of the press in a republic.

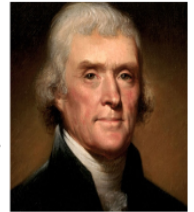
Federalists

- ▶ Concentrate power in federal government
- ▶ Fear of mob rule
- ▶ Envisioned a republic run by a wise elite
- ▶ Loose interpretation of the Constitution
- ▶ "Anglophiles"
- ▶ Supporters: those from the Atlantic seaboard, merchants, manufacturers, landowners, investors, lawyers; conservatives
- ▶ Formerly called the nationalists, or federalist faction (back when the Constitution was being debated)



Democratic-Republicans

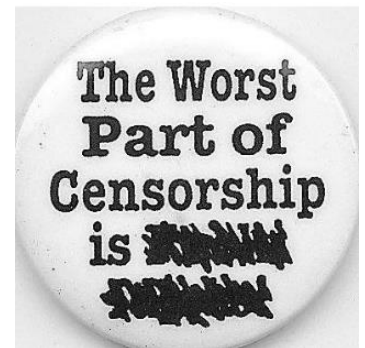
- ▶ Favored state/local power
- ▶ Limit federal government
- ▶ Create a democratic society of independent farmers
- ▶ Strict interpretation of Constitution
- ▶ Democratic system based on broader popular participation
- ▶ "Francophiles"
- ▶ Supporters: those from the frontier, farmers, tradespeople
- ▶ Some former Federalists from the 1787-'89 disputes (like Jefferson) but lots of former Antifederalists as well
- ▶ Note: Also called simply Republicans, or Jeffersonians



1. Quick review of context outlined above: When did the two-party system form? What debate led to the formation of the party system?

The Alien and Sedition Acts, 1798

No protesting the government? No immigrants allowed in? No freedom of the press? Lawmakers jailed? Is this the story of the Soviet Union during the Cold War? No. It [kind of] describes the United States in 1798 after passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts, signed into law by a Federalist Congress and president—John Adams. These acts were passed in the context of "nasty politics" (incivility between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans) and imminent war with France. The French were angry that the U.S. was seemingly pro-British and had disregarded the 1778 alliance made during the American Revolution, which committed the U.S. to help France if it were under attack. Since France was fighting against Britain during this time (along with several other European powers) they disapproved of U.S. trade with Britain and retaliated by seizing American ships/cargo bound for Britain.



The Federalists saw foreigners as a deep threat to both Federalist and American security. Some of the most vocal critics of the Adams administration were foreign-born, either French or Irish, who tended to lash out on anyone who was even faintly pro-British, which the Federalists were. The French in particular, numbered in the tens of thousands, were of real concern to the Federalists. Since war with France was a possibility, the loyalties of the French in America were questioned: *were they spies?* But not all enmity for foreigners came from fear for national security: as one Federalist in Congress declared, there was no need to "invite hordes of Wild Irishmen, nor the turbulent and disorderly of all the world, to come here with a basic view to distract our tranquility." Not

coincidentally, non-English ethnic groups had been among the core supporters of the Democratic-Republicans in 1796. As a result of such political and national security “threats,” Federalists passed the Alien Act, which included new powers to deport foreigners and raised the residence requirement for new immigrants. Before the law, a new immigrant would have to reside in the United States for five years before becoming eligible to vote, but the new law raised this to 14 years.

The strong steps that Adams took in response to the French foreign threat and “nasty politics” included severe repression of domestic protest. The Sedition Act prohibited public opposition to the government. Fines and imprisonment could be used against those who “write, print, utter, or publish . . . any false, scandalous and malicious writing” against the government. Under the terms of this law over 20 Republican newspaper editors were arrested and some were imprisoned. The most dramatic victim of the law was Rep. Matthew Lyon of Vermont. His letter that criticized President Adams’ “unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and self avarice” caused him to be imprisoned. While Federalists sent Lyon to prison for his opinions, his constituents reelected him to Congress even from his jail cell.

Adams’ justification of the Sedition Act (which was proposed and penned by Congress, not him) stemmed from the belief that the rhetoric employed to defame the government fuelled insurrection, which the government had a duty to prevent (see Preamble and list of Congressional powers/duties). Nonetheless, the Sedition Act is a clear violation of individual protections under the first amendment of the Constitution. But the practice of “judicial review,” whereby the Supreme Court considers the constitutionality of laws, was not yet well developed (this principle wouldn’t be established until *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)). Furthermore, the justices were all strong Federalists, so even if they *had* reviewed the law, it’s likely(?) they would have supported its constitutionality. As a result, Madison and Jefferson directed their opposition to the new laws to state legislatures. With their guidance, the Virginia and Kentucky legislatures passed resolutions declaring the federal laws invalid within their states. The bold challenge to the federal government offered by this strong states’ rights position seemed to point toward imminent armed conflict within the United States.

The resolutions were submitted to the other states for approval, but with no success. Most formally rejected the resolutions while some took no action. Those that formally rejected took the position that the constitutionality of acts of Congress is a question for the federal courts, not the state legislatures. For example, Vermont’s resolution stated, “It belongs not to state legislatures to decide on the constitutionality of laws made by the general government; this power being exclusively vested in the judiciary courts of the Union.” New Hampshire responded, “We think it highly probable that Virginia and Kentucky will be sadly disappointed in their infernal plan of exciting insurrections and tumults.”

Enormous changes had occurred in the explosive decade of the 1790s. Federalists in government now viewed the persistence of their party as the equivalent of the survival of the republic, which led them to enact and enforce harsh laws. Madison, who had been the chief architect of a strong central government in the Constitution, was now wary of national authority.

1. What did these acts do and why were they passed?

ALIEN	SEDITION

2. What viable alternatives existed for resolving the crises the Adams administration faced?

Excerpt from the *Alien and Sedition Acts (1798)*

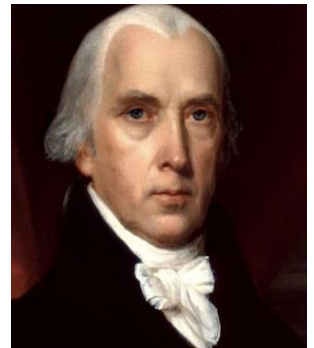
... *And be it farther enacted*, That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the [constitution of the United States](#), or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

APPROVED, July 14, 1798.

3. Based on the overview of these acts and the extract, did the Alien and Sedition Acts do more to protect security or to endanger freedom?
4. Which provisions of the Constitution supported the belief that Congress had the power(s) to pass such laws?
5. If the U.S. had actually been at war with France at the time these acts were passed, would that have made them more constitutional/acceptable? Why or why not? (Note: The Quasi-War with France *was* going on at this time.)

Virginia Resolution, James Madison (a Democratic-Republican), 1798

Before becoming a Democratic-Republican in the 1790s (with Jefferson), Madison had been one of the strongest supporters of a strong, nationalist government and was the key architect in creating the Constitution (in 1787), which—in various places—granted the national government supremacy over the state governments. But Madison would have a change of heart. After experiencing what he believed to be tyranny majority via Federalist rule and the Alien and Sedition Acts, Madison—with Jefferson—articulated the theory of nullification in the KY and VA Resolutions. Nullification asserts that states should have a right to declare national laws unconstitutional (an idea that is itself unconstitutional).



RESOLVED, That the General Assembly of Virginia, doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the [Constitution of the United States](#), and the Constitution of this State, against every aggression either foreign or domestic, and that they will support the government of the United States in all measures warranted by the former.

That this assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges all its powers; and that for this end, it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them, can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the federal government, as resulting from the compact, to which the states are parties; as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting the compact; as no further valid that they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them.

That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret, that a spirit has in sundry instances, been manifested by the federal government, to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them; and that implications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases (which having been copied from the very limited grant of power, in the former articles of confederation were the less liable to be misconstrued) so as to destroy the meaning and effect, of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases; and so as to consolidate the states by degrees, into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable consequence of which would be, to transform the present republican system of the United States, into an absolute, or at best a mixed monarchy.

That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the [Constitution](#), in the two late cases of the "[Alien and Sedition Acts](#)" passed at the last session of Congress; the first of which exercises a power no where delegated to the federal government, and which by uniting legislative and judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the general principles of free government; as well as the particular organization, and positive provisions of the federal constitution; and the other of which acts, exercises in like manner, a power not delegated by the constitution, but on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto; a power, which more than any other, ought to produce universal alarm, because it is leveled against that right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed, the only effectual guardian of every other right.

That the good people of this commonwealth, having ever felt, and continuing to feel, the most sincere affection for their brethren of the other states; the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the union of all; and the most scrupulous fidelity to that constitution, which is the pledge of mutual friendship, and the instrument of mutual happiness; the General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like dispositions of the other states, in confidence that they will concur with this commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid, are unconstitutional...

That the Governor be desired, to transmit a copy of the foregoing Resolutions to the executive authority of each of the other states, with a request that the same may be communicated to the Legislature thereof; and that a copy be furnished to each of the Senators and Representatives representing this state in the Congress of the United States.

Agreed to by the Senate, December 24, 1798.

6. Summarize Madison's key arguments:

7. Practice point-of-view analysis for this particular document and its author:

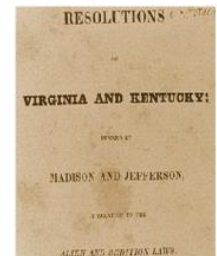
Alien and Sedition Acts, 1798

- ▶ To protect(?) the nation in light of impending war and to counter the growing threat of Republican dissent, Federalists pushed through Congress a series of acts
 - ▶ Raised residence requirement for citizenship
 - ▶ Allowed president to deport or jail anyone considered suspect
 - ▶ Set fines/jail terms for anyone expressing opinions considered damaging
- ▶ Republicans deemed the acts a violation of the 1st Amendment



Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 1798-9

- ▶ Jefferson and Madison organized opposition to the acts by appealing to the states
- ▶ VA and KY resolutions asserted the principle of nullification—that states had the right to nullify, or consider void, an act of Congress that they deemed unconstitutional
- ▶ Washington was horrified by the resolutions
- ▶ Resolutions were rejected (or ignored) by all other states



HBO Episode on Adams' Presidency

In between Episodes 2 (“Independence”) and 6 (titled “Unnecessary War”), Adams writes the Massachusetts Constitution (which served as a model for many of the state constitutions), represents the fledgling union in Europe during the Revolutionary War (1776-1783), helps secure the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 at the conclusion of the war, serves as President Washington’s Vice President from 1789-1797, and becomes president himself when Washington stepped down after serving two terms.

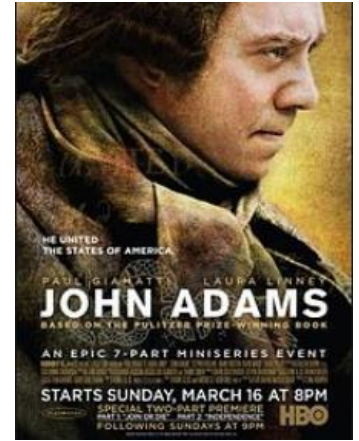
President Adams (1797-1801) holds firm on keeping the nation out of war, signs the controversial Alien and Sedition Acts to “preserve domestic security,” and loses friends (like Jefferson) and former supporters as the country steeps itself deeper in partisan politics. The president is vindicated (at least personally) in the French crisis after peace with Napoleon is brokered, but fails to win a second term as Jefferson claims the presidency. He also faces a crisis at home when he disowns his alcoholic son, Charles.



1. CONFLICT WITH FRANCE: Summarize the conflict with France highlighted in this episode and how it was resolved. Discuss the different views that were articulated about the conflict. At the end of the episode, evaluate President Adams’ decision to seek neutrality with France.

2. POLITICAL PARTIES: What is learned about the political parties from this episode? Provide specific examples of the “nasty politics” that ran rampant during Adams’ presidency.

3. ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS: How was Adams persuaded to sign these controversial acts? How did Jefferson feel about these acts? What was Adams' response? At the end of the episode, evaluate President Adams' decision to sign the Alien and Sedition Acts.



4. ARMY: Describe the disputes between Adams and Hamilton, and Adams and his Cabinet with regards to the army. At the end of the episode, evaluate President Adams' decision to disband the army.

5. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES & REFLECTIONS: Time-period insights, personal challenges of the Adams family, Adams' personality, connections to other periods—including the present—etc.