

## Unit 1: The Colonial Period

### DBQ 2: Economic Opportunities

#### Historical Context:

By the mid-eighteenth century the thirteen American colonies, which were later to become the United States, contained well over one million inhabitants. The vast number of colonial Americans made their livings as farmers. But differing climates, geography, and social practices made for great variation in the nature of work in different regions and in the level of economic success enjoyed by different American colonists.

◆ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–6). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of the document and the author's point of view. Be sure to:

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions which follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

*Question: Americans often pride themselves that theirs is a "land of opportunity." How much economic opportunity truly did exist in colonial America, and what factors affected the colonists' opportunities to succeed?*

◆ **Part A:** The following documents deal with the types and extent of economic opportunities that existed in colonial America. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

#### Document 1

This is an excerpt from a popular college textbook explaining the causes of Bacon's Rebellion of 1676. *Colonial America* was written by Oscar T. Barck, Jr., and Hugh Talmadge Lefler, and published by Macmillan Company (1967, p. 209).

... Bacon's Rebellion ... was the first instance in the colonies "in which the common people rose not only against the royal governor, but also the rule of the privileged class."

How does this document help to address the question of this DBQ? \_\_\_\_\_

(continued)



**DBQ 2: Economic Opportunities (continued)**

**Document 2**

This excerpt is from *An Account of Pennsylvania . . .* (1698) by Gabriel Thomas. Thomas was a Welsh Quaker who settled in Pennsylvania in the 1680's.

. . . poor people (both men and women) of all kinds, can here get three times the wages for their labor they can in England or Wales.

What factors might help explain why wage rates were so much higher in the American colonies than in England and Wales? \_\_\_\_\_  
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**Document 3**

This excerpt is from Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania* (1754), taken from the Harvard University edition of 1960, Oscar Handlin, editor. Mittelberger was a German schoolteacher who traveled to Pennsylvania in the early 1750's.

[Speaking of indentured servants] Many parents in order to pay their fares in this way . . . must barter and sell their children as if they were cattle. . . . No one in this country can run away from a master who has treated him harshly and get far. . . . Our Europeans who have been purchased must work hard all of the time. . . . Thus let him . . . who can do this by manual labor in his native country stay THERE rather than come to America.

Was America "a land of opportunity" for indentured servants? \_\_\_\_\_

Explain. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Can both Documents 2 and 3 be valid, or do they contradict each other? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(continued)

**DBQ 2: Economic Opportunities (continued)**

**Document 4**

These excerpts are from Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America* (1775). Burnaby was a young Englishman who traveled through the American colonies in the years just before the American Revolution.

The trade of this colony [Virginia] is large and extensive. Tobacco is the principal article of it. . . . Their manufactures are very inconsiderable.  
Boston . . . in New England, is one of the largest and most flourishing towns in North America . . . it is supposed to contain 3000 houses, and 18 or 20,000 inhabitants. . . . The buildings are in general good; the streets open and spacious . . . and the whole has much the air of some of our best country towns in England. The country round about it is exceedingly delightful.

What view does Burnaby give you of the level of economic opportunities in colonial America? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Document 5**

This excerpt is from Thomas Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America* (1778). Anburey was a British officer during the American Revolution who, as a prisoner of war, was marched from Boston to Charlottesville, Virginia. He published his observations of America after returning to England.

[In Virginia] It is the poor Negroes who alone work hard, and I am sorry to say, fare hard. Incredible is the fatigue which the poor wretches undergo.

What might make you suspect an anti-American bias in Document 5? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Should we reject the validity of Anburey's statement? \_\_\_\_\_

(continued)

## DBQ 2: Economic Opportunities *(continued)*

### Document 6

These excerpts are from St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, "Letters From An American Farmer" (1782). Michel-Guillaume St. Jean de Crèvecoeur was a Frenchman who lived in New York from 1764 until 1780. His "Letters" grew from his travels in New York and Pennsylvania.

What then is the American, this new man?  
... He does not find, as in Europe, a crowded society, where every place is over-stocked. There is room for every body in America. . . .  
The rich stay in Europe, it is only the middling and poor that emigrate.  
Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labor.  
Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to West Florida.

What view does Crèvecoeur give us of the extent and types of economic opportunities that existed in colonial America? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Why were most American colonists "tillers of the earth"? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### ◆ Part B—Essay

*Americans often pride themselves that theirs is a "land of opportunity." How much economic opportunity truly did exist in colonial America, and what factors affected the colonists' opportunities to succeed?*

## Unit 2: Revolution, Confederation, Constitution

### DBQ 3: Causes of the Revolutionary War

#### Historical Context:

1763 marked the end of the French and Indian War, the final defeat of the French and their Native American allies in America. For America's English colonists, this was a cause for great celebration and pride in their English identity. Expressions of English patriotism were widespread. But only twelve years later, these same American colonists found themselves locked in a bitter and violent conflict with the mother country that had so recently been the object of their proud respect. To this day, now over two hundred years later, the reasons behind this abrupt transition of England and her American colonies from allies to enemies are debated.

- ◆ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–7). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of the document and the author's point of view. Be sure to:
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
  2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions which follow each document.
  3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
  4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
  5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

**Question:** *Were the American colonists justified in waging war and breaking away from Britain?*

- ◆ **Part A:** The following documents address the question of whether the American colonists were really justified in waging war against England. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.


#### Document 1

This excerpt is from "Considerations . . .," a pamphlet written by Thomas Whately. Whately was an advisor to George Grenville, British Chancellor of the Exchequer (1763–1765) and the author of the Stamp Act. In this pamphlet, Whately explained why the British were justified in levying taxes on their American colonists.

We are not yet recovered from a War undertaken solely for their [the Americans'] Protection . . . a War undertaken for their defense only . . . they should contribute to the Preservation of the Advantages they have received. . . .

Why did Whately (and probably most other English officials) feel that the American colonists should be willing to pay higher taxes to Parliament? \_\_\_\_\_

(continued)

Document-Based Assessment   
Activities for U.S. History Classes

## DBQ 3: Causes of the Revolutionary War *(continued)*

### Document 2

These excerpts are from *Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, [1767–1768] by John Dickinson. Dickinson was a Pennsylvania political leader who served in the Stamp Act Congress of 1765. Later in his career, he served in the Continental Congress, and later still, in the Constitutional Convention. In the following statement, Dickinson condemned some of the new taxes being imposed by Parliament.

There is another late act of parliament, which appears to me to be unconstitutional, and . . . destructive to the liberty of these colonies. . . .

The parliament unquestionably possesses a legal authority to regulate the trade of Great Britain, and all her colonies. I have looked over every statute [law] relating to these colonies, from their first settlement to this time; and I find every one of them founded on this principle, till the Stamp Act administration. . . . All before, are calculated to regulate trade. . . . The raising of revenue . . . was never intended. . . . Never did the British parliament, [until the passage of the Stamp Act] think of imposing duties in America for the purpose of raising a revenue.

[The Townshend Acts claim the authority] to impose duties on these colonies, not for the regulation of trade . . . but for the single purpose of levying money upon us.

According to Dickinson, what taxes was Parliament justified in imposing on the colonies? \_\_\_\_\_

Why did he object to the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts? \_\_\_\_\_

### Document 3

On March 5, 1770, a crowd of Boston boys and men surrounded a number of British soldiers and began taunting and cursing them while pelting them with snowballs. Order quickly broke down and the frightened soldiers fired into the crowd. When the shooting ended, several people were dead and more were wounded. This engraving by Paul Revere, a leader of the Boston Sons of Liberty, was sent throughout the colonies in the following weeks to arouse anti-British feelings. (The original is in the John Morgan Hill collection, Yale University.)



How does the engraving tell a different story from the above description of the Boston Massacre?

\_\_\_\_\_

Where do you suppose the term "massacre" to describe this event came from? \_\_\_\_\_

**DBQ 3: Causes of the Revolutionary War (continued)**

**Document 4**

In *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1777*, Cresswell, a young Englishman, kept an account of his travels through the American colonies. The following excerpts are dated October 19, 1774 and tell of his visit to Alexandria, Virginia. (From *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1777*, edited by Samuel Thornely. New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1924.)

Everything here is in the utmost confusion. Committees are appointed to inspect into the character and conduct of every tradesman, to prevent them selling tea or buying British manufacturers. Some have been tarred and feathered, others had their property burned and destroyed by the populace.

The King is openly cursed, and his authority set at defiance . . . everything is ripe for rebellion. The New Englanders by their canting, whining, insinuating tricks have persuaded the rest of the colonies that the government is going to make absolute slaves of them.

Who did Cresswell blame for the growing antagonism between the British and the American colonists? \_\_\_\_\_

**Document 5**

This excerpt is from "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms," issued by the Second Continental Congress on July 5, 1775. The war had broken out in April, when British forces had marched to Lexington and Concord, two villages just outside of Boston. This document, written largely by John Dickinson and Thomas Jefferson, was designed to explain and justify the fighting that had continued since April.

[The British declare] that parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? . . . We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated [British officials], or resistance by force.— The latter is our choice.

Why, according to this document, were the Americans justified in fighting the British?

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(continued)

### DBQ 3: Causes of the Revolutionary War *(continued)*

#### Document 6

These excerpts are from Thomas Paine's "Common Sense," published in January 1776. This popular pamphlet helped to convince many Americans that the conflict with England was beyond peaceful settlement and that independence was America's only course.

Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offenses of Great Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, COME, COME, WE SHALL BE FRIENDS AGAIN FOR ALL THIS. But . . . then tell me whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land?

. . . No man was a warmer wisher for a [peaceful settlement] than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775 [the battles at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts occurred on this day], but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen-tempered [King of England] for ever.

Why was Paine unwilling to be reconciled with Britain? \_\_\_\_\_

Was Paine an objective and unbiased reporter? Explain. \_\_\_\_\_

#### Document 7

These excerpts are from "The Declaration of Independence," adopted by The Continental Congress of July 4, 1776.

The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations [unlawful seizures], all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States.

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.

How does this document describe King George? \_\_\_\_\_

Was the Declaration an objective and unbiased statement of the American-British conflict? Explain. \_\_\_\_\_

#### ◆ Part B—Essay

*Were the colonists justified in waging war and breaking away from Britain?*



# Articles of Confederation

## I. INTRODUCTION

Articles of Confederation, first constitution of the United States. The Articles were in force from March 1, 1781, to June 21, 1788, when the present Constitution of the United States went into effect. The Articles were written in 1777 during the early part of the American Revolution by a committee of the Second Continental Congress of the 13 colonies. The head of the committee, John Dickinson, presented a report on the proposed articles to the Congress on July 12, 1776, eight days after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Dickinson initially proposed a strong central government, with control over the western lands, equal representation for the states, and the power to levy taxes. *See also* Public Lands: II. Acquisition of the Public Domain.

Because of their experience with Great Britain, the 13 states feared a powerful central government; consequently, they changed Dickinson's proposed articles drastically before they sent them to all the states for ratification in November 1777. The Continental Congress had been careful to give the states as much independence as possible and to specify the limited functions of the federal government. Despite these precautions, several years passed before all the states ratified the articles. The delay resulted from preoccupation with the revolution and from disagreements among the states. These disagreements included quarrels over boundary lines, conflicting decisions by state courts, differing tariff laws, and trade restrictions between states. The small states wanted equal representation with the large states in Congress, and the large states were afraid they would have to pay an excessive amount of money to support the federal government. In addition, the states disagreed over control of the western territories. The states with no frontier borders wanted the government to control the sale of these territories so that all the states profited. On the other hand, the states bordering the frontier wanted to control as much land as they could. Eventually the states agreed to give control of all western lands to the federal government, paving the way for final ratification of the articles on March 1, 1781.

## II. THE PROVISIONS OF THE ARTICLES

The articles created a loose confederation of independent states that gave limited powers to a central government. The national government would consist of a single house of Congress, where each state would have one vote. Congress had the power to set up a postal department, to estimate the costs of the government and request donations from the states, to raise armed forces, and to control the development of the western territories. With the consent of nine of the thirteen states, Congress could also coin, borrow, or appropriate money as well as declare war and enter into treaties and alliances with foreign nations.

There was no independent executive and no veto of legislation. Judicial proceedings in each state were to be honored by all other states. The federal government had no judicial branch, and the only judicial authority Congress had was the power to arbitrate disputes between states. Congress was denied the power to levy taxes; the new federal government was financed by donations from the states based on the value of each state's lands. Any amendment to the articles required the unanimous approval of all 13 states.

## III. WEAKNESSES

In attempting to limit the power of the central government, the Second Continental Congress created one without sufficient power to govern effectively, which led to serious national and international problems. The greatest weakness of the federal government under the Articles of Confederation was its inability to regulate trade and levy taxes. Sometimes the states refused to give the government the money it needed, and they engaged in tariff wars with one another, almost paralyzing interstate commerce. The government could not pay off the debts it had incurred during the revolution, including paying soldiers who had fought in the war and citizens who had provided supplies to the cause. Congress could not pass needed measures because they lacked the nine-state majority required to become laws. The states largely ignored Congress, which was powerless to enforce cooperation, and it was therefore unable to carry out its duties.

Congress could not force the states to adhere to the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1783 ending the American Revolution, which was humiliating to the new government, especially when some states started their own negotiations with foreign countries. In addition, the new nation was unable to defend its borders from British and Spanish encroachment because it could not pay for an army when the states would not contribute the necessary funds. Leaders like Alexander Hamilton of New York and James Madison of Virginia criticized the limits placed on the central government, and General George Washington is said to have complained that the federation was "little more than a shadow without

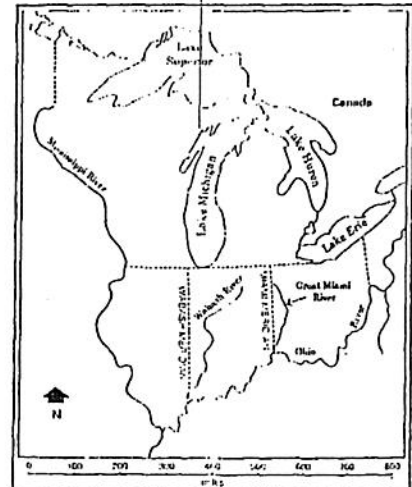
On February 21, 1787, Congress called for a Constitutional Convention to be held in May to revise the articles. Between May and September, the convention wrote the present Constitution of the United States, which retained some of the features of the Articles of Confederation but gave considerably more power to the federal government. It provided for an executive branch and allowed the government to tax its citizens. Congress also went from one house to two houses—the Senate and House of Representatives.

# The Northwest Ordinance

In 1787 Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance which said:

- Appoint a governor to make rules for each area where people settled.
- When 5,000 free male settlers over the age of 21 came to an area, it could start its own legislature to make its own laws.
- After 5,000 free male settlers moved to an area it would then be called a territory.
- A territory could later become a state.
- Legislators from a territory could go to Congress, but they could not vote.
- People living in territories were given the same rights as all Americans.
- When 60,000 free people moved to a territory they could write a state constitution and ask to become a state. Free people did not include blacks or slaves.

Map 8.5-Future State Boundaries as Provided in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787  
(Cartography Laboratory, Department of Geography, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1995)



Arguably the single most important piece of legislation passed by the Continental Congress other than the U.S. Constitution, it established the precedent by which the United States would expand westward across North America by the admission of new states, rather than by the expansion of existing states. The banning of slavery in the territory had the effect of establishing the Ohio River as the boundary between free and slave territory in the region between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. This division helped set the stage for the balancing act between free and slave states that was the basis of a critical political question in American politics in the 19th century until the Civil War.

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CHAPTER 9 | *The Thirteen States Create a Constitution*

ENRICHMENT WORKSHEET

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**THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE**

Many view the 1787 Northwest Ordinance as one of the most important documents in United States history. The Ordinance includes six articles outlining the organization of the Northwest Territory and some important rights of the people. Read the following excerpts from the six articles and complete the assignment.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. No person . . . shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.</li> <li>2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law.</li> <li>3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.</li> <li>4. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy. . . .</li> <li>5. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five States. . . .</li> <li>6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory.</li> </ol> |
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**Writing a Summary**

Write a summary of the rights guaranteed to settlers by the Northwest Ordinance. Then write a paragraph explaining why the Northwest Ordinance might be one of the most important documents in American history.

**Summary of Rights**

**Importance of Northwest Ordinance**

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**Challenge Activity**

Write an essay explaining the importance of trial by jury, a representative legislature, and a judicial process prescribed by law. Include in your essay a discussion of how these rights protect citizens in a democratic society.

# Land Ordinance of 1785

*Following the American Revolution a number of states ceded to the federal government their claims to land lying west of the Appalachian Mountains. The cessions eased the worries of landless states, cooled tensions between states with overlapping land claims, and relieved the states of war debts. In turn, the federal government had to determine what to do with the ceded land. The Land Ordinance of 1785 laid the foundation for future American land policy. After the Indian title had been purchased, the ceded lands were to be systematically surveyed, prior to sale or settlement, into townships. Of the thirty-six sections of 640 acres in each township, the sixteenth was reserved "for the maintenance of public schools." The passage below is an excerpt from the Land Ordinance of 1785.*

An Ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of Lands in the Western Territory.

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, that the territory ceded by individual States to the United States, which has been purchased of the Indian inhabitants, shall be disposed of in the following manner: . . .

The Surveyors, as they are respectively qualified, shall proceed to divide the said territory into townships of six miles square, by lines running due north and south, and others crossing these at right angles, as near as may be . . .

The lines shall be measured with a chain; shall be plainly marked by chaps on the trees and exactly described on a plat; whereon shall be noted by the surveyor, at their proper distances, all mines, salt springs, salt licks and mill seats, that shall come to his knowledge, and all water courses, mountains and other remarkable and permanent things, over and near which such lines shall pass, and also the quality of the lands . . .

The board of treasury shall transmit a copy of the original plats, previously noting thereon, the townships, and fractional parts of townships, which shall have fallen to the several states, by the distribution aforesaid, to the Commissioners of the loan office of the several states, who, after giving notice of not less than two nor more than six months by causing advertisements to be posted up at the court houses, or other noted places in every county, and to be inserted in one newspaper, published in the states of their residence respectively, shall proceed to sell the townships, or fractional parts of townships, at public venue . . .

Done by the United States in Congress assembled, the 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1785, and of our sovereignty and independence the ninth.

Charles Thomson, Secretary.  
Richard H. Lee, President.

Source: <http://www.statelib.lib.in.us/www/ihb/resources/doelord.html>

The exterior lines of the townships, the east-west township lines and the north-south range lines, were surveyed first to establish outlines of the townships. When this work was completed, a different crew of surveyors would do the work of running the section lines, or interior lines to subdivide the township into thirty-six sections. It would be convenient to think of all of the exterior township and range lines for the entire state being completed and then the interior subdivision lines were run. In reality, the exterior lines in a specific area were often completed only weeks or months before the interior lines were run.

The exterior township and range lines were run in a seemingly random fashion other than that they would complete the square outline of a township. The interior section lines, however, were run in a strict order that was rarely changed. This subdivision of a township began along the southern boundary of the township one mile west of the southeast corner of the township.

## Questions:

1. Why do you think the federal government decided to map the unsettled territory so precisely?
  2. What was to be done with the land once it was surveyed?
  3. Surveyors were human. What types of human errors might surveyors have made?
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### Selected Arguments of Antifederalists (1780s)

*The Antifederalists were persons who opposed the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1787-1788. They conceded that the central government needed more power than it had under the Articles of Confederation, but they argued that the Framers of the Constitution had gone too far, and, deeply suspicious of political power, feared that the centralized government proposed by the Framers would lead to a new kind of tyranny. As you read, look for the main arguments that these Antifederalists put forth against the proposed Constitution.*

#### Melancton Smith, "Representation in Government"

[W]hen we speak of representatives... they resemble those they represent. They should be a true picture of the people, possess a knowledge of their circumstances and their wants, sympathize in all their distresses, and be disposed to seek their true interests. The knowledge necessary for the representative of a free people not only comprehends extensive political and commercial information, such as is acquired by men of refined education, who have leisure to attain to high degrees of improvement, but it should also comprehend that kind of acquaintance with the common concerns and occupations of the people, which men of the middling class of life are, in general, more competent to than those of a superior class. To understand the true commercial interests of a country not only requires just ideas of the general commerce of the world, but also, and principally, a knowledge of the productions of your own country, and their value, what your soil is capable of producing, the nature of your manufactures, the capacity of the country to increase both. To exercise the power of laying taxes, duties, exercises, with discretion, requires something more than an acquaintance with the abstruse parts of the system of finance. It calls for a knowledge of the circumstances and ability of the people in general a discernment how the burdens imposed will bear upon the different classes.

... The number of representatives should be so large, as that, while it embraces the men of the first class, it should admit those of the middling class of life. I am convinced that this government is so constituted that the representatives will generally be composed of the first class in the community, which I shall distinguish by the name of the natural aristocracy of the country...

From these remarks, it appears that the government will fall into the hands of the few and the great. This will be a government of oppression.

...A system of corruption is known to be the system of government in Europe...[and] it will be attempted among us. The most effectual as well as natural security against this is a strong democratic branch in the legislature, frequently chosen, including in it a number of the substantial, sensible, yeomanry of the country. Does the House of Representatives answer this description? I confess, to me they hardly wear the complexion of a democratic branch; they appear the mere shadow of representation.

#### George Clinton, "In Opposition to Destruction of States' Rights"

The... premises on which the new form of government is erected, declares a consolidation or union of all thirteen parts, or states, into one great whole, under the firm of the United States... But whoever seriously considers the immense extent of territory comprehended within the limits of the United States,

together with the variety of its climates, productions, and commerce, the difference of extent, and number of inhabitants in all; the dissimilitude of interests, morals, and politics in almost every one, will receive it as an intuitive truth, that a consolidated republican form of government therein, can never form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to you and your posterity, for to these objects it must be directed: this unkindred legislature therefore, composed of interests opposite and dissimilar in nature, will in its exercise, emphatically be like a house divided against itself..

From this picture, what can you promise yourself, on the score of consolidation of the United States into one government? Impracticability in the just exercise of it, your freedom insecure... you risk much, by indispensably placing trusts of the greatest magnitude, into the hands of individuals whose ambition for power, and aggrandizement, will oppress and grind you where from the vast extent of your territory, and the complication of interests, the science of government will become intricate and perplexed, and too mysterious for you to understand and observe; and by which you are to be conducted into a monarchy, either limited or despotic...

#### Patrick Henry, "Need for a Bill of Rights"

This proposal of altering our federal government is of a most alarming nature!.... You ought to be watchful, jealous of your liberty; for, instead of securing your rights, you may lose them forever... I beg gentlemen to consider that a wrong step made now will plunge us into misery, and our republic will be lost, and tyranny must and will arise...

The necessity of a Bill of Rights appears to me to be greater in this government than ever it was in any government before... All rights not expressly and unequivocally reserved to the people are impliedly and incidentally relinquished to rulers, as necessarily inseparable from the delegated powers...

This is the question. If you intend to reserve your unalienable rights, you must have the most express stipulation; for, if implication be allowed, you are ousted of those rights. If the people do not think it necessary to reserve them, they will be supposed to be given up.

[W]ithout a Bill of Rights, you will exhibit the most absurd thing to mankind that ever the world saw a government [i.e. state governments] that has abandoned all its powers the powers of taxation, the sword, and the purse. You have disposed of them to Congress, without a Bill of Rights without check, limitation, or control... You have Bill of Rights to defend against a state government, which is bereaved of all its power, and yet you have none against Congress, thought in full and exclusive possession of all power!

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### The English Bill of Rights

In 1689 Parliament drew up and presented to William and Mary the English Bill of Rights, "an act declaring the rights and liberties" of their subjects, that is, the English people. Adapted below are some of the rights listed in this document. Note that they aim at preventing monarchs from abusing their power.

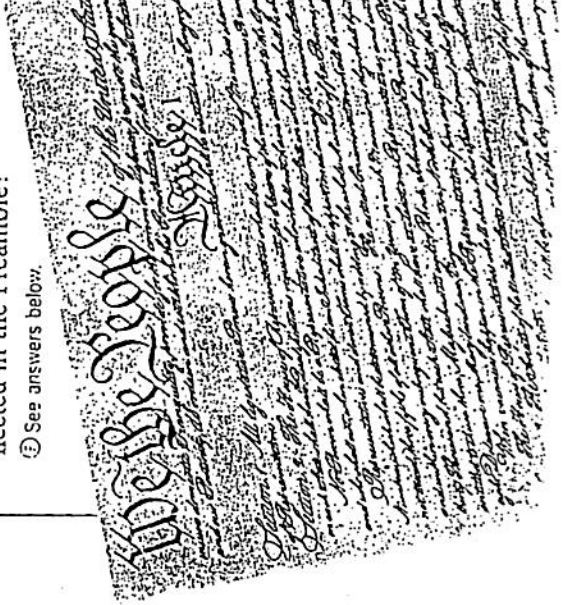
- 66 1. The suspending of laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal. . . .
  4. Levying money [taxation] for the use of the Crown without grant of Parliament is illegal.
  5. It is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all arrests and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.
  6. The raising or keeping of a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against the law.
  7. Subjects who are Protestants may have arms for their defense as allowed by law. . . .
  9. Freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be questioned in any court or place out of Parliament. 99
1. How does the Bill of Rights limit the monarch's power to make laws and tax subjects?
  2. How does the Bill of Rights protect freedom of speech and a person's right to petition the king?
  3. Critical thinking: Why, do you think, were William and Mary willing to sign a document that limited their power as monarchs?

### The Constitution of the United States

The Preamble—or introduction—to the United States Constitution tells why the American people chose to adopt a new form of government.

- 66 We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America. 99
1. Restate, in your own words, each of the following phrases from the Preamble: *form a more perfect union*; *insure domestic tranquility*; *promote the general welfare*.
  2. According to the Preamble, who established the Constitution?
  3. Critical thinking: How are Locke's ideas on government (page 419) reflected in the Preamble?

③ See answers below.



### Declaration of the Rights of Man

The Declaration of the Rights of Man set forth the ideals of the French Revolution. This document, portions of which are adapted below, reflected people's hopes for individual rights and freedom.

- 66 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. . . .
  2. The aim of every political group is the preservation of the natural rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, safety, and resistance to oppression. . . .
  6. The law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to take part in its making. . . .
  10. No one may be disturbed on account of his opinions, even religious ones, as long as the expression of such opinions does not interfere with the established law and order. . . .
  17. No one may be deprived of property, unless a legally established public necessity requires it, and just and prior payment has been made. 99
1. According to the Declaration, what are people's natural rights?
  2. How does the Declaration define law?
  3. How does the Declaration protect property rights?
  4. Critical thinking: In what ways are the English Bill of Rights (page 400) and the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States (page 430) similar to this Declaration?