

Nor have We been wanting in attention 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.

John Hancock	Benjamin Harrison	Lewis Morris
Button Gwinnett	Thomas Nelson Jr.	Richard Stockton
Lyman Hall	Francis Lightfoot Lee	John Witherspoon
George Walton	Carter Braxton	Francis Hopkinson
William Hooper	Robert Morris	John Hart
Joseph Hewes	Benjamin Rush	Abraham Clark
John Penn	Benjamin Franklin	Josiah Bartlett
Edward Rutledge	John Morton	William Whipple
Thomas Heyward Jr.	George Clymer	Samuel Adams
Thomas Lynch Jr.	James Smith	John Adams
Arthur Middleton	George Taylor	Robert Treat Paine
Samuel Chase	James Wilson	Elbridge Gerry
William Paca	George Ross	Stephen Hopkins
Thomas Stone	Caesar Rodney	William Ellery
Charles Carroll of Carrollton	George Read	Roger Sherman
George Wythe	Thomas McKean	Samuel Huntington
Richard Henry Lee	William Floyd	William Williams
Thomas Jefferson	Phillip Livingston	Oliver Wolcott
	Francis Lewis	Matthew Thornton

unwarrantable jurisdiction:
unjustified authority
magnanimity: generous spirit
conjured: urgently called upon

consanguinity: common
ancestry
acquiesce: consent to

rectitude: rightness

Congress adopted the final draft of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. A formal copy, written on parchment paper, was signed on August 2, 1776.



Government

From whom did the signers of the Declaration receive their authority to declare independence?

The following is part of a passage that the Congress took out of Jefferson's original draft: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither." **Why do you think the Congress deleted this passage?**

SECTION

4

READ TO DISCOVER

1. What ideas influenced the writing of the state constitutions?
2. How did the U.S. government work under the Articles of Confederation?
3. What domestic and foreign problems did the new nation face?
4. What compromises did delegates make in drafting the Constitution, and how was the document ratified?

DEFINE

republicanism
depression
electors
federalism
supremacy clause
elastic clause

IDENTIFY

Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom
Articles of Confederation
Northwest Ordinance
Constitutional Convention
Benjamin Franklin
Federalists
Antifederalists

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

The cabinet advises the president on important issues. Use **current events** sources to identify a member of the presidential cabinet and learn about that person's duties. Record your findings in your journal.

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Founding the Nation

EYEWITNESSES
TO History

“You and I, my dear friend, have been sent into life at a time when the greatest lawgivers of antiquity would have wished to live. How few of the human race have ever enjoyed an opportunity of making . . . government . . . for themselves or their children!”

—John Adams, letter to George Wythe, 1776

John Adams expressed to a friend the optimism many early American leaders felt as they faced the challenge of designing a new nation. The American Revolution brought an end to the rule of the British monarchy in America and forced the royal governors from office. To fill this void, the Second Continental Congress advised the former colonies to form new governments “under the authority of the people.”



The Continental Congress

Forming a New Government

American leaders drew upon a wide range of political ideas as they planned these new state governments. English legal tradition inspired many revolutionary leaders.

English political ideas. English nobles had drawn up Magna Carta, or “Great Charter,” in 1215 during the reign of King John. Magna Carta limited the power of the monarchy. In addition to guaranteeing basic civil liberties for nobles, the charter protected their trading rights. The English Bill of Rights, which Parliament passed in 1689, also influenced the colonists. This document guaranteed English citizens rights such as freedom of speech. It also forbade raising an army during peacetime without the consent of Parliament.

The works of Enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke also influenced Americans. The English philosopher who developed the theory of “natural rights,” Locke believed that all people were born with the rights to life, liberty, and property—rights outlined in English constitutional tradition. He thought that the role of government was to protect these rights.

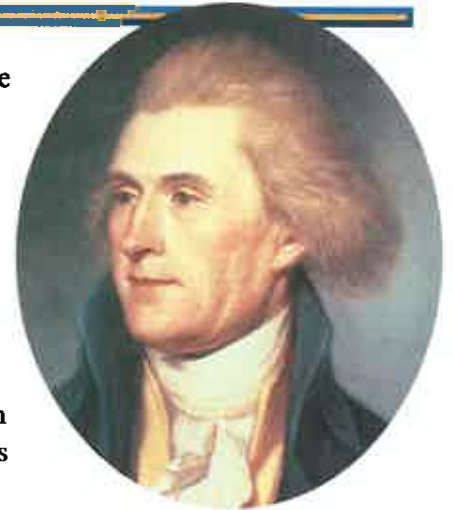
State constitutions. Before declaring independence, the Second Continental Congress had urged the colonies to draft new constitutions to replace their British royal charters. Between 1776 and 1780 all of the states except Connecticut and Rhode Island drafted and ratified, or approved, new constitutions. Connecticut and Rhode Island revised their royal charters by deleting references to British authority.

Several state legislatures formed new governments based on **republicanism**. According to this theory, citizens hold the ultimate authority. They select representatives and give them the authority to make and enforce laws. The Mayflower Compact had incorporated this idea.

The role of religion. Many state constitutions reduced the influence of the church on government. Before the Revolution, several colonies had used tax money to support a particular church. Colonists were required to pay these taxes even if they did not belong to the church. Some colonists, including Thomas Jefferson, opposed this relationship between the government and one religious affiliation.

In the late 1770s Jefferson drafted the **Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom**. It stated that the human mind was created free and that government control over religious beliefs or worship was tyrannical. In his argument for the adoption of the statute in 1785, James Madison declared, “Religion . . . must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man.” Virginia adopted the statute in 1786. By 1833 every state had forbidden the establishment of official state churches supported by tax dollars.

✓ **READING CHECK: Finding the Main Idea** What political and social ideas were reflected in the state constitutions?



Thomas Jefferson drafted the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in 1777, but it was not enacted until 1786.

A Plan for Confederation

Facing the challenge of forming an entirely new government, political leaders decided to join the states in a loose union. A committee headed by John Dickinson presented its plan for a national government—the **Articles of Confederation**—to congressional delegates. The Articles—the first written constitution of the United States—went into effect in 1781.

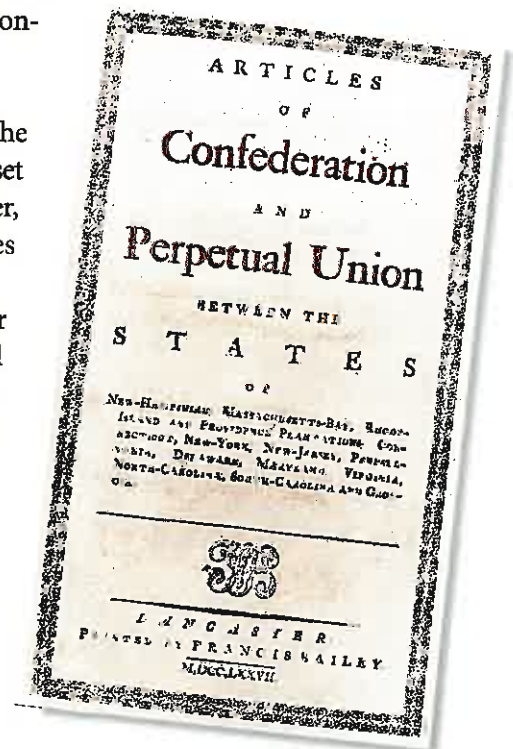
The Articles of Confederation. The Articles of Confederation granted the new government the right to borrow and coin money, conduct foreign affairs, set policy toward American Indians, and settle disputes between the states. However, each state kept its “sovereignty, freedom, and independence.” The Articles created a one-house legislature as the Confederation’s main institution.

For the Articles to take effect, all 13 states had to ratify them. One major issue blocked ratification—control of the Allegheny Mountains and the land beyond them, just east of the Mississippi River. Based on their old royal charters, several states claimed vast tracts of western land. States without land claims wanted the other states to surrender these lands to the new national government.

This conflict centered around the need for money. The new Congress expected each state to help pay for Revolutionary War expenses. States with western lands had additional sources of revenue because they had more land to sell. States without surplus land faced the prospect of raising taxes. Leaders from some states without western lands refused to ratify the Articles unless the bigger states gave up some of their landholdings.

To promote national unity, New York and Virginia—the states with the largest landholdings—gave the disputed land to Congress. Other states followed suit. By 1781 all of the states had agreed to enter the Confederation. The thirteen former British colonies then officially became “The United States of America.”

The Northwest Territory. Members of Congress knew that the issue of western land remained a problem. In 1787 Congress passed a land ordinance, commonly



INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

Confederation. The Articles of Confederation established a national government. *Why might this cover refer to “Perpetual Union”?*

referred to as the **Northwest Ordinance**. This measure established a system for governing the Northwest Territory—a vast area extending north of the Ohio River to the Great Lakes and west of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River. Congress also outlined the steps to statehood for this territory. Each new state would be admitted with the same political powers as the original thirteen colonies. The present-day states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin eventually were carved out of the territory. This policy established a precedent that would be used for settling territories farther west. The Northwest Ordinance also guaranteed settlers' civil rights and banned slavery in the territory. This ban reflected a growing anti-slavery sentiment in the northern states.

✓ **READING CHECK: Summarizing** How did Congress resolve the conflict over states' claims to western land?

Weaknesses in the Confederation

On paper the Confederation government enjoyed broad powers, but in reality it was weak. Proposed changes to the Articles required the consent of all 13 states. Major new legislation needed the approval of at least nine states.

During the war, the nation had faced serious financial problems. Congress desperately needed cash to pay its war expenses. Because it could not tax the people directly, Congress had to appeal to the states for funds. Claiming their independent sovereign status, some state legislatures avoided paying their share.

Congress responded by printing paper money. The financial consequences proved disastrous. These bills of credit, called Continentals, were not backed by gold or silver. Thus, merchants and lenders refused to accept them at face value.

In 1784 the nation began to experience a **depression**, or a sharp drop in business activity accompanied by rising unemployment. One cause of this depression was the loss of British markets. Before the war, American merchants had traded with Britain and with other colonies within the British Empire. After the war, Britain kept some of its colonial markets closed to American commerce.

Britain worsened the economic crisis by flooding the United States with inexpensive goods. Struggling American merchants and artisans could not match the prices of British-made goods and survive. Congress was powerless to help, since the Articles did not give it the authority to draft international trade policies.

As the nation's economic problems grew, indebted farmers rebelled in western Massachusetts. In what became known as Shays's Rebellion, farmers shut down debtor courts and stopped property auctions. This rebellion caused many people to believe that the United States needed a more powerful government.

✓ **READING CHECK: Identifying Cause and Effect** How did weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation contribute to Shays's Rebellion?

INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

Shays's Rebellion. Daniel Shays's rebels occupy a western Massachusetts courthouse in this illustration. **How does their style of dress help you identify Shays's followers in the illustration?**



THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

The Constitutional Convention

In 1786 Henry Knox explained in a letter to George Washington, “The powers of Congress are totally inadequate.” Concerns about the Articles of Confederation led to the **Constitutional Convention**, held in Philadelphia in May 1787. George Washington, **Benjamin Franklin**, and 53 other state delegates debated how much power the central government should have.

The delegates. The delegates were a remarkable collection of politicians. Many had helped write their state constitutions; almost all had held public office. Most had served as delegates to the Continental Congress, including James Madison of Virginia and Alexander Hamilton of New York. At 81, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania was the elder statesman of the convention. The delegates were generally wealthy and well educated. Many were bankers, merchants, and planters; more than half had studied law.

Compromise on representation. The Confederation Congress had asked the delegates to revise the Articles of Confederation. Some delegates, however, believed that the Articles should be replaced with an entirely new plan of government.

Relations among the states and between the states and the central government were a prominent concern. Madison was the major author of the Virginia Plan, which called for a national government made up of three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. This plan also gave Congress the right to overturn state laws, tax the states, and “bring the force of the Union against any [state] . . . failing to fulfill its duty.”

Under the Virginia plan, the legislature would be bicameral—made up of two houses. Voters would elect representatives to the lower house, who would then choose members of the upper house. State populations would determine the number of representatives in each house.

A dispute quickly arose over the number of representatives each state would have. William Paterson of New Jersey offered an alternative. His New Jersey Plan called for a strong unicameral legislature in which each state would have one vote. It also proposed giving the federal government the power to tax and regulate commerce.

To balance the interests of large and small states, delegate Roger Sherman of Connecticut proposed a bicameral legislature that would allow for both equal representation and representation based on population. This Great Compromise granted each state, regardless of size, an equal voice in the upper house. In the lower house, representation would be according to population. The delegates narrowly approved this proposal, ending the most serious debate of the Convention.

Other compromises. The delegates next debated whether slaves should be counted as part of a state’s population to determine representation in the lower house. Southern delegates insisted that the slave population be included. Northern delegates strongly objected to this demand. Northern and southern delegates accepted a compromise. The final agreement, known as the Three-Fifths Compromise, established that three fifths of the slave population would count in determining total state population.



James Madison helped draft Virginia’s state constitution before he served as a member of the Continental Congress.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

JAMES MADISON

The Federalist Papers

Papers No. 10 and No. 51 were two of the most significant essays from the Federalist Papers arguing for the ratification of the Constitution. James Madison wrote both. In essay No. 10, he argues that a strong national government is necessary to reduce conflict among opposing groups. In essay No. 51, Madison contends that the balance of power among different branches of government would prevent any one branch from gaining too much power. In Madison's view, how will the Constitution create a "well-constructed" Union?

Federalist Paper "No. 10" (1787)

Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction [splinter group] . . . The influence of factious [rebellious] leaders may kindle a flame within their particular states but will be unable to spread a general conflagration [larger fire] through the other states.

Federalist Paper "No. 51" (1788)

The great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department consists in giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives to resist encroachments [advances] of the others. The provision for defense must . . . be made commensurate [equal] to the danger of attack.

The delegates also debated the control of commerce. They agreed that Congress could levy tariffs, or taxes, on imports but not on exports. Southern planters worried that Congress might use its power to tax imports to restrict or abolish the slave trade. Bowing to pressure from southern delegates, the convention voted to permit the slave trade to continue until at least the end of 1807.

In September 1787 delegates presented the final version of the Constitution. Of the 42 delegates remaining in Philadelphia, 39 signed it. The Constitution went to Congress and then to the states for ratification.

✓ **READING CHECK: Comparing and Contrasting** How did the compromises at the Constitutional Convention reflect the concerns of both northern and southern states?

Federalists and Antifederalists

To win ratification, the Constitution required the approval of 9 of the 13 states. Although many convention delegates hoped for unanimous approval, citizens were soon divided over ratification.

Support for ratification. One group who called themselves **Federalists** favored ratification of the Constitution. Wealthy merchants, planters, and lawyers typically were Federalists. They supported a strong national government that would be able to ensure a sound currency and would protect property rights. Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, James Madison, and John Marshall were among the leading Federalists. Madison spoke of the need for the new government.



"If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty is this: You must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place, oblige it to control itself."

—James Madison, *Federalist Paper* "No. 51"

Many Americans who were not wealthy also supported the Constitution. They believed that a strong national government would provide stability and



The Federalist

security against political unrest like Shays's Rebellion.

Opposition to ratification.

Antifederalists, as their opponents called them, feared a powerful national government. Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Patrick Henry, and George Mason were among the Antifederalist leaders. They offered several objections. Saying he “smelled a rat,” Henry claimed that the delegates were plotting to take away states’ rights. He feared that “the tyranny of Philadelphia may be like the tyranny of [King] George III.” The Antifederalists demanded that a bill of rights, or a written document protecting individual liberties, be added to the Constitution.

The Antifederalists pointed to the election procedures outlined in the Constitution as proof that the new national government was undemocratic. Under the Constitution, voters did not directly elect the president, the vice president, or U.S. senators. **Electors**, delegates selected by state governments, chose them. Ordinary voters would directly elect only members of the lower house of Congress—the House of Representatives.

Governor George Clinton of New York wrote several letters under the name “Cato.” He challenged citizens to consider the dangers of the proposed national government.



“For what did you throw off the yoke of Britain and call yourselves independent? Was it from a disposition fond of change, or to procure [get] new masters? . . . This new form of national government . . . will be dangerous to your liberty and happiness.”

—Cato, letter to the *New-York Journal*, October 11, 1787

The Federalists answered their critics in a series of 85 essays written by John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison. Between the fall of 1787 and the spring of 1788, 77 of the essays appeared in New York newspapers. The essays were later published in a book entitled *The Federalist*, also known as the *Federalist Papers*. The differences in view between the Federalists and Antifederalists laid the foundations for the later emergence of opposing political parties.

To get the Constitution ratified the Federalists promised to support amending the Constitution to include a bill of rights. By June 21, 1788, the required 9 out of 13 states had ratified the U.S. Constitution. A new national government was born.

READING CHECK: Categorizing What were the main Antifederalist arguments against the new Constitution? How did the Federalists respond?



INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

Ratification. In 1788 the people of New York City celebrated the adoption of the Constitution with a parade. A team of horses pulled this ship on wheels that represent the “ship of state.” **Why might the base read “HAMILTON”?**

The Living Constitution

The framers of the Constitution created a government based on **federalism**, or the division of powers between a strong central government and the state governments. The framers identified specific powers each government would have.

State and federal power. The Constitution grants the federal government the authority to raise armed forces, coin money, and establish foreign policy. State and local governments retain the power to establish schools and conduct elections. The central and state governments share the right to levy taxes and establish courts. The states retain any and all powers not expressly granted to the federal government. In cases of conflicting state and national laws, the delegates added a clause in Article VI of the Constitution. The **supremacy clause** asserts: “This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties . . . of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land.”

Separation of powers. The framers of the Constitution wanted to prevent the central government from abusing its powers. As a result, they divided it into three branches. The legislative branch makes the laws. The executive branch sees that the laws are carried out. The judicial branch interprets and applies the laws. Through

Skill-Building

Strategies

Building Vocabulary

In your study of history, you will regularly come across new and unfamiliar words. Learning the meaning of these words will enlarge your vocabulary and help you understand new information and ideas.

How to Build Vocabulary

1. **Identify new words.** As you read your textbook or supplemental assignments, create a list of words that you cannot pronounce or define. When reading the textbook, also make sure to review the key terms at the beginning of each section.
2. **Study the context of new words.** Study the paragraph and the sentence where you find a new word. This context, or setting, may provide clues to the word’s meaning through examples or a definition using more familiar words.
3. **Use a dictionary.** Use a dictionary to learn the pronunciation and the precise meaning of each word on your list.

4. **Review new vocabulary words.** Look for ways to use new words—in homework assignments, classroom discussions, or everyday conversation. The best way to master a new word is to use it.

Applying the Skill

As you read Section 4, create a list of the new words that you encounter in the text. Write down what you think each word means, then check your definitions against those in a dictionary.

Practicing the Skill

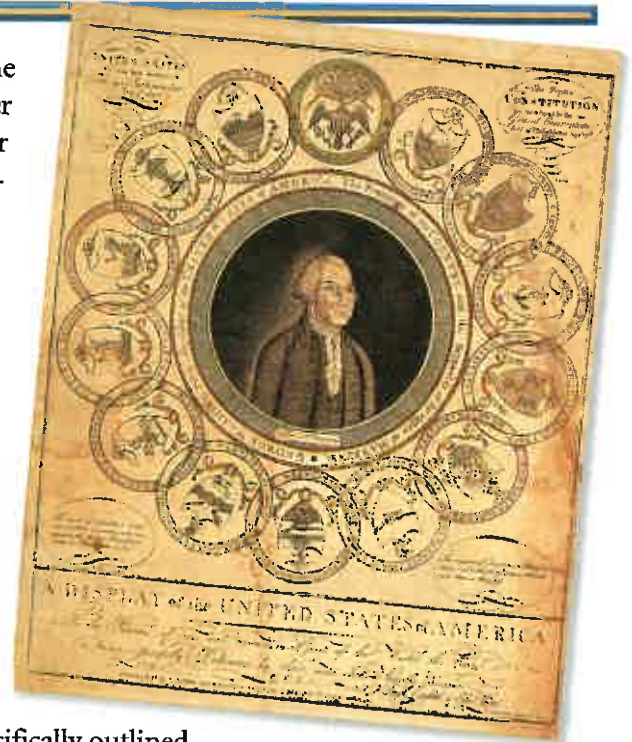
Answer the following questions.

1. What does the phrase *natural rights* mean? How did its use in this section help you arrive at this definition?
2. What does the word *supremacy* mean? How did its use in this section help you arrive at this definition?

a system of checks and balances, each branch can restrict the actions of the other branches. For example, Congress has the power to propose and pass bills into law, but the president has the power to veto, or reject, these bills. The judicial branch can check legislative power by judging laws unconstitutional.

Flexibility and change. In 1788 the Constitution was well suited for an agricultural nation of 13 states and fewer than 4 million inhabitants. It also works today for an industrialized nation of 50 states and a population of more than 280 million. To allow for change to the Constitution, the framers specified an amendment procedure. Only 27 amendments have been added to the Constitution since 1789, although many have been proposed.

The Constitution's "necessary and proper" clause, also known as the **elastic clause**, has increased the document's flexibility. To the specific powers granted to Congress, this clause adds the power "to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers." The elastic clause allows Congress to exert its powers in ways not specifically outlined in the Constitution. For example, the framers of the Constitution could not have anticipated the development of computers and the Internet. Congress, however, has the power to pass laws relating to new technology that may affect other Constitutional issues, such as commerce. In this way, the government has adapted the Constitution to fit changing times.



This 1788 print shows George Washington encircled by the seals of the 13 states and the seal of the United States.

✓ **READING CHECK: Analyzing Information** What provisions in the Constitution allow for its flexibility?

SECTION 4 REVIEW

1. Define and explain:

- republicanism
- depression
- electors
- federalism
- supremacy clause
- elastic clause

2. Identify and explain:

- Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom
- Articles of Confederation
- Northwest Ordinance
- Constitutional Convention
- Benjamin Franklin
- Federalists
- Antifederalists

3. Comparing Copy the chart below. Use it to compare the powers of federal government under the Articles of Confederation with those in the Constitution.

Articles of Confederation	Constitution

4. Finding the Main Idea

- a. How did English political tradition influence the writing of the state constitutions?
- b. What were the major compromises at the Constitutional Convention?
- c. What were the major arguments for and against ratification? How was the document finally ratified?

5. Writing and Critical Thinking

Analyzing Information Write an article persuading your fellow colonists to ratify the Constitution.

Consider:

- the problems the nation faced under the Articles of Confederation
- the relationship between the state governments' constitutions and the U.S. Constitution
- the strengths of the Constitution

Go! **Homework Practice Online**
 keyword: SE3 HP1



Review

Creating a Time Line

Copy the time line below onto a sheet of paper. Complete the time line by filling in the events and dates from the chapter that you think were most significant. Pick three events and explain why you think they were significant.



Writing a Summary

Using standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation, write an overview of events in the chapter.

Identifying People and Ideas

Identify the following terms or individuals and explain their significance.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. feudalism | 7. Declaration of Independence |
| 2. Christopher Columbus | 8. Thomas Jefferson |
| 3. House of Burgesses | 9. Benjamin Franklin |
| 4. Pilgrims | 10. federalism |
| 5. Mayflower Compact | |
| 6. King George III | |

Understanding Main Ideas

SECTION 1 (pp. 4–8)

- How did early Native American cultures develop?

SECTION 2 (pp. 9–14)

- How were the English colonies in North America settled?

SECTION 3 (pp. 15–23)

- What events led British colonists to declare their independence from Great Britain?
- How did the colonists achieve independence?

SECTION 4 (pp. 28–35)

- How did the delegates at the Constitutional Convention create a new government?
- What were the arguments for and against ratification of the Constitution?

Reviewing Themes

- Economics** What attracted explorers and traders to seek out distant lands?
- Geography** How did geography affect the settlement of North America?
- Constitutional Heritage** How did the Constitution reflect the colonists' desires for a new government?

Thinking Critically

- Comparing** What role did religion play in founding the New England colonies, the middle colonies, and the southern colonies?
- Making Generalizations** How did the colonists fill their demand for agricultural labor? Why did these methods change over time?
- Summarizing** Explain the significance of the following dates: 1607, 1776, and 1787.
- Analyzing Information** How did delegates address the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation in the Constitution?
- Drawing Conclusions** Why can it be said that the U.S. Constitution is a “living document”?

Writing About History

Evaluating Copy the chart below. Use it to evaluate the importance of the Mayflower Compact, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, and the House of Burgesses to the growth of representative government in the colonies. Then write a paragraph suggesting how the delegates to the Constitutional Convention could incorporate these ideas into the Constitution.

The Mayflower Contract	Fundamental Orders of Connecticut	House of Burgesses