The American Revolution

August 3-4, 2010

Criteria of Essential Questions

- **Cause genuine and relevant inquiry into big ideas and core content.**
- **Provoke deep thought, lively discussion, sustained inquiry, and new understanding as well as more questions.**
- **Require students to consider alternatives, weigh evidence, support their ideas, and justify their answers.**
- **Stimulate vital, ongoing thinking of big ideas, assumptions, and prior lessons.**
- **Spark meaningful connections with prior learning and personal experiences.**
- **Naturally recur, creating opportunities for transfer to other situations and subjects.**

Note: the criteria does not refer to any innate characteristic of a question itself but to its powers in context. No question is inherently essential. It comes down to purpose, audience, and impact. What do you as a teacher – designer intend to have the students do with the question? Is the goal lively inquiry or the recall of a single answer?

Sample "Essential Questions"
On
The Origins of the American Revolution

- **Did Great Britain loose more than it gained from its victory in the French and Indian War?**

- **Were the colonists justified in resisting British policies after the French and Indian War? Explain**

- **Did the Declaration of Independence provide a legitimate justification for American independence?**

- **To what extent did the Declaration of Independence establish the foundation and principles of American government?**

Your essential question:

Historical Habits of the Mind

(source: Bradley Commission)

Courses in history, geography, and government should be designed to take students well beyond formal skills of critical thinking, to help them through their own active learning to:

*understand the significance of the past to their own lives, both private and public, and to their society.

*distinguish between the important the inconsequential, to develop the "discriminating memory" needed for a judgment in public and private life.

* perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by people at the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present - mindedness.

*acquire at one and the same time a comprehension of diverse cultures and of shared humanity.

*understand how things happen and how things change, how human how human intentions matter, but also how the consequences are shaped by the means of carrying them out, in a tangle of purposes and process.

*comprehend the interplay of change, and avoid assuming that either is somehow more natural, or more expected, than the other.

*prepare to live with uncertainties and exasperating, even perilous, unfinished business, realizing that not all problems have solutions.

* grasp the complexity of historical causation, respect particularity, and avoid excessively abstract generalizations.

*appreciate the often tentative nature of judgments about the past, and thereby avoid the temptation to seize upon particular "lessons" of history as cures for present ills.

*recognize the importance of individuals who have made a difference in history, and the significance of personal character for both good and evil.

*appreciate the force of the nonrational, The irrational, the accidental, in history and human affairs.

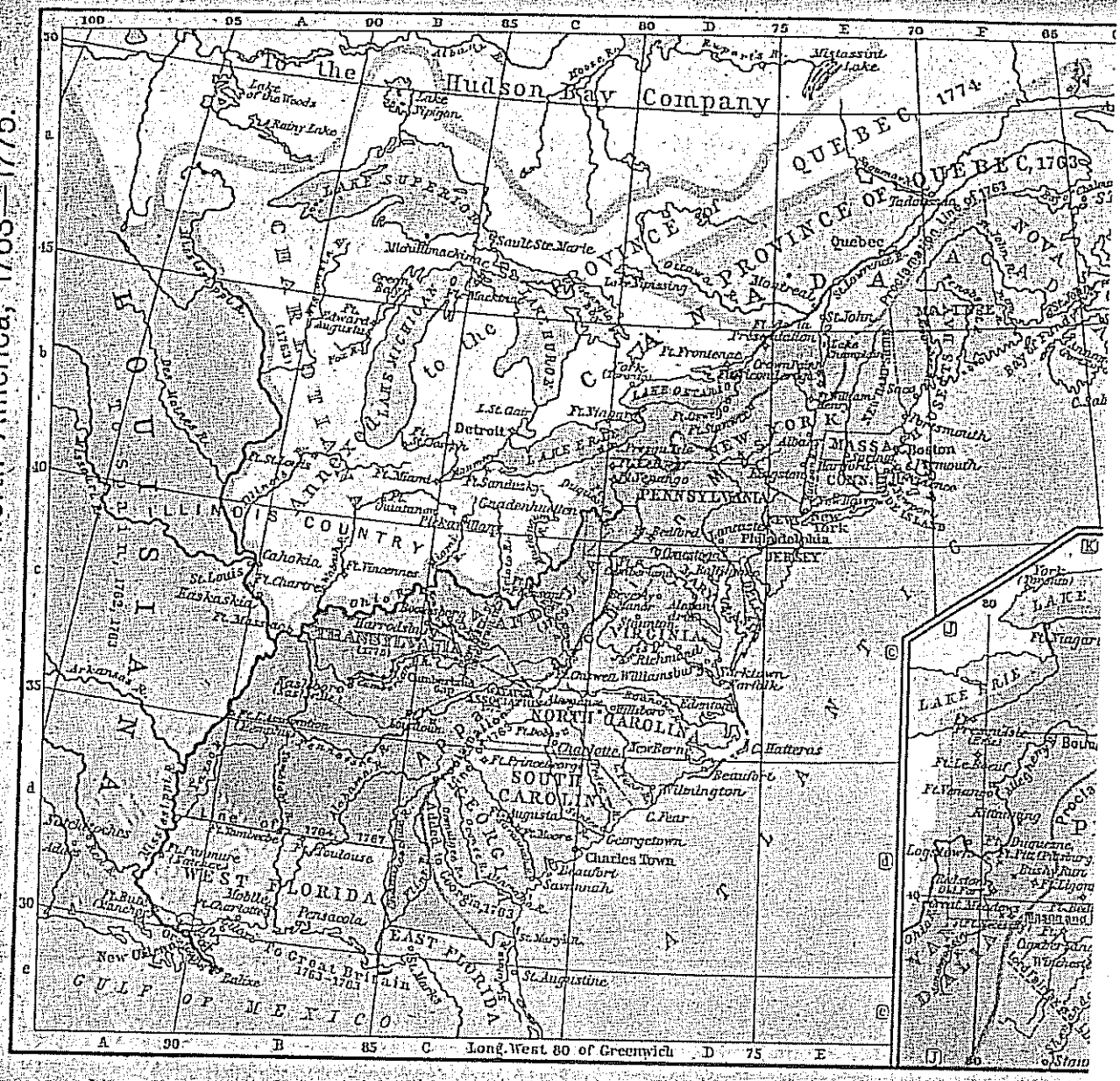
*understanding the relationship between geography and history as a matrix of time and place, and as context for events.

*read widely and critically in order to recognize the difference between conjecture, between evidence and assertion, and thereby to frame useful questions.

Historical Habits of the Mind

- Utilize quantitative data.
- Compare and Contrast differing sets of ideas.
- Assess the importance of the individual in history.
- Examine the influence of ideas.
- Utilize quantitative data.
- Hypothesize the influence of the past.
- Draw upon data in historical maps.
- Appreciate historical perspectives.
- Consider multiple perspectives.
- Evaluate alternative courses of action.
- Compare and Contrast differing economic patterns.
- Analyze multiple causations.
- Utilize visual and mathematical data.
- Reconstruct patterns of historical succession and duration.
- Analyze cause and effect relationships.
- Evaluate the implementation of a decision.
- Obtain historical data.
- Read historical narratives imaginatively.
- Draw upon visual sources.
- Employ literature, architecture, diaries, and artifacts.
- Formulate historical questions.
- Interrogation of history

194 The British Colonies in North America, 1763—1775.



(5)

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT
November 11, 1620

IN The Name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King *James*, by the Grace of God, of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid; And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience. In WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at *Cape Cod* the eleventh of *November*, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *James* of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, the eighteenth and of *Scotland*, the fifty-fourth. *Anno Domini*, 1620

Mr. John Carver	Mr. Stephen Hopkins
Mr. William Bradford	Digery Priest
Mr. Edward Winslow	Thomas Williams
Mr. William Brewster	Gilbert Winslow
Isaac Allerton	Edmund Margesson
Miles Standish	Peter Brown
John Alden	Richard Bitteridge
John Turner	George Soule
Francis Eaton	Edward Tilly
James Chilton	John Tilly
John Craxton	Francis Cooke
John Billington	Thomas Rogers
Joses Fletcher	Thomas Tinker
John Goodman	John Ridgate
Mr. Samuel Fuller	Edward Fuller
Mr. Christopher Martin	Richard Clark
	Richard Gardiner
Mr. William Mullins	Mr. John Allerton
Mr. William White	Thomas English
Mr. Richard Warren	Edward Doten
John Howland	Edward Liester.

3A

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

1. Where and when was the Mayflower Compact signed?
2. How dies the purpose of the voyage stated in the Compact differ from the fou of the Virginia colony? Are the purposes similar in any way?
3. What is meant by a "civil body politick?" [lines 13-14] Who would belong to civil body politick? What powers would it have?
4. What did all the signers promise? What did they expect in return?
5. According to the Mayflower Compact, what basic requirements did any law hi fulfill in order to be valid?
6. There were 102 passengers who came aboard the Mayflower. How many sign Compact? What did they all have in common? Why do you suppose not all th passengers signed it?
7. Would laws passed under the authority of the Mayflower Compact be binding those who did not sign it?
8. Based on evidence in the Mayflower Compact, what is the basis of governmen authority?

ORDINANCE FOR VIRGINIA

2E

The first Assembly of Virginia met in the Jamestown church on July 30, 1619. Delegates were sent from the various communities in Virginia. This document was issued under the authority of the Virginia Company in England.

IV. The other Council, more generally to be called by the Governor, once yearly, and no oftener, but for very extraordinary and important occasions, shall consist, for the present, of the said Council of State, and of two Burgesses out of every Town, Hundred, or other particular Plantation, to be respectively chosen by the Inhabitants; Which Council shall be called THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, wherein (as also in the said Council of State) all Matter shall be decided, determined, and ordered, by the greater Part of the Voices then present; reserving to the Governor always a Negative Voice. And this General Assembly shall have free Power to treat, consult, and conclude, as well of all emergent Occasions concerning the Publick Weal of the said Colony and every Part thereof, as also to make, ordain, and enact such general Laws and Orders, for the Behoof of the said Colony, and the good Government thereof, as shall, from time to time, appear necessary or requisite:

V. Whereas in all other Things, we require the said General Assembly, as also the said Council of State, to imitate and follow the Policy of the Form of Government—Laws, Customs, and Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used in the Realm of *England*, as near as may be, even as ourselves, by his Majesty's Letters Patent, are required.

1. What was the name of the new Council established by the Ordinance for Virginia?
2. What was a burgess? How many could each town (or borough) send to Jamestown? How were they to be chosen? Who might not be eligible to vote or to run for office?
3. How were votes decided in the Virginia Assembly?
4. What powers did the burgesses have?
5. What power did the Governor retain?
6. How could the burgesses expand their powers and eventually get to control the Governor?
7. Could the Governor refuse to call a meeting of the Assembly once a year had passed since last it met? What effect would this rule have on the development of self-government in Virginia?
8. How did the Ordinance help Virginians develop a sense of independence
9. Overall, how would you rate the Ordinance as a landmark in the development of democracy in America?

(8)

The Fundamental Orders

In the spring of 1638 three Connecticut towns, Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, chose representatives and held a general court at Hartford. At its opening session the Reverend Thomas Hooker preached a powerful sermon on the text that "the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people." On January 14 following, by the Julian calendar in use at the time, which would January 24, 1639, by today's Gregorian calendar, the constitution given here was adopted by the freemen of the three towns assembled at Hartford, and is usually named *The Fundamental Orders*. Nowhere in this great document is there a reference to "our dread Sovereign" or "our gracious Lord the King," — nor to any government or power outside of Connecticut itself. It did not even limit the vote to members of Puritan congregations. This appears to be the first written constitution in the Western tradition which created a government, and it is easily seen to be the prototype of our Federal Constitution, adopted exactly one hundred and fifty years later. However, see also the Iroquois Constitution and the Mayflower Compact of earlier times.

Note that the year recorded in the document is 1638, because the British calendar in use at the time began the new year on March 25 instead of January 1 as does the Gregorian calendar we use today. Britain did not convert to the Gregorian calendar until 1751, when 11 days had to be added to their dates to get the Gregorian dates. In 1639 they were 10 days behind the Gregorian calendar.

For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God by the wise disposition of his divine providence so to order and dispose of things that we the Inhabitants and Residents of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the River of Connectecotte and the lands thereunto adjoining; and well knowing where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwealth; and do for ourselves and our successors and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into Combination and Confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also, the discipline of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said Gospel is now practiced amongst us; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such Laws, Rules, Orders and Decrees as shall be made, ordered, and decreed as followeth:

1. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that there shall be yearly two General Assemblies or Courts, the one the second Thursday in April, the other the second Thursday in September following; the first shall be called the Court of Election, wherein shall be yearly chosen from time to time, so many Magistrates and other public Officers as shall be found requisite: Whereof one to be chosen Governor for the year ensuing and until another be chosen, and no other Magistrate to be chosen for more than one year: provided always there be six chosen besides the Governor, which being chosen and sworn according to an Oath recorded for that purpose, shall have the power to administer justice according to the Laws here established, and for want thereof, according to the Rule of the Word of God; which choice shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the Oath of Fidelity, and do cohabit within this Jurisdiction having been admitted Inhabitants by the major part of the Town wherein they live or the major part of such as shall be then present.

(9)

2. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the election of the aforesaid Magistrates shall be in this manner: every person present and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the person deputed to receive them) one single paper with the name of him written in it whom he desires to have Governor, and he that hath the greatest number of papers shall be Governor for that year. And the rest of the Magistrates or public officers to be chosen in this manner: the Secretary for the time being shall first read the names of all that are to be put to choice and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written upon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank; and every one that hath more written papers than blanks shall be a Magistrate for that year; which papers shall be received and told by one or more that shall be then chosen by the court and sworn to be faithful therein; but in case there should not be six chosen as aforesaid, besides the Governor, out of those which are nominated, than he or they which have the most writen papers shall be a Magistrate or Magistrates for the ensuing year, to make up the aforesaid number.

3. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the Secretary shall not nominate any person, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the Magistracy which was not propounded in some General Court before, to be nominated the next election; and to that end it shall be lawful for each of the Towns aforesaid by their deputies to nominate any two whom they conceive fit to be put to election; and the Court may add so many more as they judge requisite.

4. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that no person be chosen Governor above once in two years, and that the Governor be always a member of some approved Congregation, and formerly of the Magistracy within this Jurisdiction; and that all the Magistrates, Freemen of this Commonwealth; and that no Magistrate or other public officer shall execute any part of his or their office before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the court if they be present, and in case of absence by some deputed for that purpose.

5. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that to the aforesaid Court of Election the several Towns shall send their deputies, and when the Elections are ended they may proceed in any public service as at other Courts. Also the other General Court in September shall be for making of laws, and any other public occasion, which concerns the good of the Commonwealth.

6. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the Governor shall, either by himself or by the Secretary, send out summons to the Constables of every Town for the calling of these two standing Courts one month at least before their several times: And also if the Governor and the greatest part of the Magistrates see cause upon any special occasion to call a General Court, they may give order to the Secretary so to do within fourteen days warning: And if urgent necessity so require, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies when they meet, or else be questioned for the same; And if the Governor and major part of Magistrates shall either neglect or refuse to call the two General standing Courts or either of them, as also at other times when the occasions of the Commonwealth require, the Freemen thereof, or the major part of them, shall petition to them so to do; if then it be either denied or neglected, the said Freemen, or the major part of them, shall have the power to give order to the Constables of the several Towns to do the same, and so may meet together, and choose to themselves a Moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power which any other General Courts may.

7. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that after there are warrants given out for any of the said General Courts, the Constable or Constables of each Town, shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly or by going or sending from house to house, that at a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together to elect and choose certain deputies to be at the General Court then following to agitate the affairs of the

Commonwealth; which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted Inhabitants in the several Towns and have taken the oath of fidelity; provided that none be chosen a Deputy for any General Court which is not a Freeman of this Commonwealth. The aforesaid deputies shall be chosen in manner following: every person that is present and qualified as before expressed, shall bring the names of such, written in several papers, as they desire to have chosen for that employment, and these three or four, more or less, being the number agreed on to be chosen for that time, that have the greatest number of papers written for them shall be deputies for that Court; whose names shall be endorsed on the back side of the warrant and returned into the Court, with the Constable or Constables' hand unto the same.

8. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield shall have power, each Town, to send four of their Freemen as their deputies to every General Court; and Whatsoever other Town shall be hereafter added to this Jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the Court shall judge meet, a reasonable proportion to the number of Freemen that are in the said Towns being to be attended therein; which deputies shall have the power of the whole Town to give their votes and allowance to all such laws and orders as may be for the public good, and unto which the said Towns are to be bound.

9. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the deputies thus chosen shall have power and liberty to appoint a time and a place of meeting together before any General Court, to advise and consult of all such things as may concern the good of the public, as also to examine their own Elections, whether according to the order, and if they or the greatest part of them find any election to be illegal they may seclude such for present from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the Court; and if it be proved true, the Court may fine the party or parties so intruding, and the Town, if they see cause, and give out a warrant to go to a new election in a legal way, either in part or in whole. Also the said deputies shall have power to fine any that shall be disorderly at their meetings, or for not coming in due time or place according to appointment; and they may return the said fines into the Court if it be refused to be paid, and the Treasurer to take notice of it, and to escheat or levy the same as he does other fines.

10. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that every General Court, except such as through neglect of the Governor and the greatest part of the Magistrates the Freemen themselves do call, shall consist of the Governor, or some one chosen to moderate the Court, and four other Magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies of the several Towns legally chosen; and in case the Freemen, or major part of them, through neglect or refusal of the Governor and major part of the Magistrates, shall call a Court, it shall consist of the major part of Freemen that are present or their deputies, with a Moderator chosen by them: In which said General Courts shall consist the supreme power of the Commonwealth, and they only shall have power to make laws or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit of Freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of, to several Towns or persons, and also shall have power to call either Court or Magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor, and may for just causes displace or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offense; and also may deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this Commonwealth, except the election of Magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of Freemen. In which Court the Governor or Moderator shall have power to order the Court, to give liberty of speech, and silence unseasonable and disorderly speakings, to put all things to vote, and in case the vote be equal to have the casting voice. But none of these Courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the Court.

11. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that when any General Court upon the occasions of the Commonwealth have agreed upon any sum, or sums of money to be levied upon the several Towns within this Jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to set out and appoint what shall be the proportion of every Town to pay of the said levy, provided the committee be made up of an equal number out of each Town.

Search Results

Your Selection

Back to Search Results Search Again

Here is the full entry for your selection:

Gilder Lehrman Document Number: GLC03107.01891

Title: Proposition to the Oneidas

Author: Kendall, William

Year: 1679/10/30

Place: Albany, [N.Y.]

Type of document: Manuscript document signed

Quotation: "Yours having entered our houses, taken away and destroyed our goods and People"

Description: Kendall states that he is writing to discuss recent incidents of Oneida Indians destroying and plundering colonial settlements, and abducting some women and children. He explains that he is willing to forgive these actions as long as the Oneida agree to cease all attacks, and obey the law that obliges all Indians to stand still and lay down their weapons upon contact with a white man.

Full Text: I am come from Virginia being as all these countries under our great King Charles, to speak to you, upon occasion of some of yours having entered our houses, taken away and destroyed our goods and People, and brought some of our women and Children Captives in your Castles contrary to your faith and promises, and is also a breach of your Peace made with Colonel Coursey without any Provocation or Injury in the Least done by us, or disturbing you in your hunting trade, or Passing until you were found taking our Corn, out of our fields and Plundering and burning our houses. Though your Actions already done, are Sufficient Reasons to Induce us to a Violent war against you which might Engage all our Confederated English neighbours, subjects to our great king Charles, yet upon the Information the governor here hath given us, that you have quietly and Peaceably, delivered to him, the Prisoners you had taken from us, Who are also Returned in Safety to our Country, and your excusing [th]e Same, We are therefore willing and have and do forgive all ye Damages you have done our People (though very great) Provided you nor any Living amongst you or coming from you, for the future do not offend or molest our People or Indians Living amongst us, Which if it shall appear that you do not truly Perform, then we Expect full Satisfaction for all the Injuries that you have already done us to the utmost farthing. And one of your Squaws being taken alive in our Country, and now Returned here, being freed, I Return her to you. And whereas you have still a Christian Girl of our Parts with you, doe expect, that you likeways free & Return ye Same. We have a Law in our Country, that all Indians coming near a Christian any where, must Stand Still, and lay down there Arms, as a token of there being friends, otherwise are Looked upon and taken or destroyed as Enemies, and having many of our People in the woods abroad every way, we doe acquaint you (therewith) that if your People shall go to war towards our Parts against any Indians not in friendship with us that you forbear to come near our Plantations.

Annotation: Few subjects are more clouded by myths and misconceptions than the history of Native Americans. Quite unconsciously, many contemporary Americans have picked up a complex set of myths about Indians. Many assume that pre-Columbian North America was sparsely populated virgin land; in fact, it probably had seven to 12 million inhabitants. Often, when Americans think of early Indians, they imagine hunters on horseback. In fact, many Native Americans were farmers, and horses had been extinct in the New World for 10,000 years before Europeans arrived. The most dangerous misconception is the easiest to slip into. It is to think of the Indians as a people somehow fated for extinction, the passive victims of an acquisitive, land-hungry white population. Far from being passive, Native Americans were active agents who responded to threats to the land and culture through physical resistance, cultural adaptation, and establishment of strategic alliances. Especially during the early colonial period, as the following selection reveals, the English felt forced to deal with Native Americans as nations. Through formal diplomacy, the English felt a continuing need to make pacts and treaties with Indian peoples. Among the ways the Dutch, the English, and eastern Indians would seal agreements were through ceremonies involving peace pipes, peace medals, wampum, and burying a hatchet. Later, the United States would take these symbols to the Trans-Mississippi West, where they did not carry their original meaning.

Click here for copy request forms and visitor information

12

Defining First/Second/and Third Order of Documents

First-Order – The most essential primary source for the teacher on a particular topic in history.

Second-Order – Three to five primary or secondary sources that *challenge* or *corroborate* the central idea in the First-Order document. These are selected by the teacher.

Third-Order – Additional primary or secondary sources that students find to *challenge* or *corroborate* the First-Order document. Ultimately, students should select a Third-Order document to serve as their First-Order document.

Developed by Frederick D. Drake for the National History Project

When in the course of human events...

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.

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 Fortune, and our sacred honor.

Declaration of Sentiments

We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Seneca Falls Convention, 1848

Fellow citizens, I am not wanting in respect for the fathers of this republic. The signers of the Declaration of Independence were brave men. They were great men ... It does not often happen to a nation to raise, at one time, such a number of truly great men...These were statesmen, patriots and heroes, and for the good they did, and the principles they contended for, I will unite with you to honor their memory...

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; you boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless...your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery...There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States, at this very hour.

Frederick Douglass, July 5, 1852

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

...By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights whish the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: " 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."

W.E.Burghardt Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903)

Constitution of Massachusetts

1780

PREAMBLE

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government is to secure the existence of the body-politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquillity, their natural rights and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.

The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals; it is a social compact by which the whole people covenants with each citizen and each citizen with the whole people that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good. It is the duty of the people, therefore, in framing a constitution of government, to provide for an equitable mode of making laws, as well as for an impartial interpretation and a faithful execution of them; that every man may, at all times, find his security in them.

We, therefore, the people of Massachusetts, acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the goodness of the great Legislator of the universe, in affording us, in the course of His providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud, violence, or surprise, of entering into an original, explicit, and solemn compact with each other, and of forming a new constitution of civil government for ourselves and posterity; and devoutly imploring His direction in so interesting a design, do agree upon, ordain, and establish the following declaration of rights and frame of government as the constitution of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

PART THE FIRST

A Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Article I. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and

(16)

unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

Art. II. It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession or sentiments, provided he doth not disturb the public peace or obstruct others in their religious worship.

Art. III. As the happiness of a people and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality, and as these cannot be generally diffcused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God and of the public instructions in piety, religion, and morality: Therefore, To promote their happiness and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies-politic or religious societies to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

And the people of this commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subject an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

Provided, notwithstanding, That the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies-politic, or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right and electing their public teachers and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship and of public teachers aforesaid shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; othewise it may be paid toward the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised.

And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

Art. IV. The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State, and do, and

forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, or may not hereafter be, by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled.

Art. V. All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are the substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them.

Art. VI. No man nor corporation or association of men have any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges distinct from those of the community, than what rises from the consideration of servicces rendered to the public, and this title being in nature neither hereditary nor transmissible to children or descendants or relations by blood; the idea of a man born a magistrate, lawgiver, or judge is absurd and unnatural.

Art. VII. Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men; therefore the people alone have an incontestable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government, and to reform, alter, or totally change the same when their protection, safety, prospertiy, and happiness require it.

Art. VIII. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life; and to fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments.

Art. IX. All elections ought to be free; and all the inhabitants of this commonwealth, having such qualifications as they shall establish by their frame of government, have an equal right to elect officers, and to be elected, for public employments.

Art. X. Every individual of the society has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to standing laws. He is obliged, consequently, to contribute his share to expense of this protection; to give his personal service, or an equivalent, when necessary; but no part of the property of any individual can, with justice, be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of the representative body of the people. In fine, the people of this commonwealth are not controllable by any other laws than those to which their constitutional representative body have given their consent. And whenever the public exigencies require that the property of any individual should be appropriated to public uses, he shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor.

Art. XI. Every subject of the commonwealth ought to find a certain remedy, by having recourse to the laws, for all injuries or wrongs which he may receive in his person, property, or character. He ought to obtain right and justice freely, and without being obliged to purchase it; completely, and without any denial;

18

promptly, and without delay, conformably to the laws.

Art. XII. No subject shall be held to answer for any crimes or no offence until the same if fully and plainly, substantially and formally, described to him; or be compelled to accuse, or furnish evidence against himself; and every subject shall have a right to produce all proofs that may be favorable to him; to meet the witnesses against him face to face, and to be fully heard in his defence by himself, or his counsel at his election. And no subject shall be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

And the legislature shall not make any law that shall subject any person to a capital or infamous punishment, excepting for the government of the army and navy, without trial by jury.

Art. XIII. In criminal prosecutions, the verification of facts, in the vicinity where they happen, is one of the greatest securities of the life, liberty, and property of the citizen.

Art. XIV. Every subject has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his houses, his papers, and all his possessions. All warrants, therefore, are contrary to this right, if the cause or foundation of them be not previously supported by oath or affirmation, and if the order in the warrant to a civil officer, to make search in suspected places, or to arrest one or more suspected persons, or to seize their property, be not accompanied with a special designation of the persons or objects of search, arrest, or seizure; and no warrant ought to be issued but in cases, and with the formalities, prescribed by the laws.

Art. XV. In all controversies concerning property, and in all suits between two or more persons, except in cases in which it has heretofore been otherways used and practised, the parties have a right to a trial by jury; and this method of procedure shall be held sacred, unless, in causes arising on the high seas, and such as relate to mariners' wages, the legislature shall hereafter find it neessary to alter it.

free press ✓ Art. XVI. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth.

Art. XVII. The people have a right to keep and to bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and the military power shall always be held in an exact subordination to the civil authority and be governed by it.

Art. XVIII. A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the constitution, and a constant adherence to those of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry, and frugality, are absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty and to maintain a free government. The people ought, consequently, to have a particular attention to all those principles, in the choice of their officers and representatives; and they have a right to require of their

19

lawgivers and magistrates an exact and constant observation of them, in the formation and execution of the laws necessary for the good administration of the commonwealth.

Art. XIX. The people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good; give instructions to their representatives, and to request of the legislative body, by the way of addresses, petitions, or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done them, and of the grievances they suffer.

Art. XX. The power of suspending the laws, or the execution of the laws, ought never to be exercised but by the legislature, or by authority derived from it, to be exercised in such particular cases only as the legislature shall expressly provide for.

Art. XXI. The freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate, in either house of the legislature, is so essential to the rights of the people, that it cannot be the foundation of any accusation or prosecution, action or complaint, in any other court of place whatsoever.

Art. XXII. The legislature ought frequently to assemble for address of grievances, for correcting, strengthening, and confirming the laws, and for making new laws, as the common good may require.

Art. XXIII. No subsidy, charge, tax, impost, or duties, ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.

Art. XXIV. Laws made to punish for actions done before the existence of such laws, and which have not been declared crimes by preceding laws, are unjust, oppressive, and inconsistent with the fundamental principles of a free government.

Art. XXV. No subject ought, in any case, or in any time, to be declared guilty of treason or felony by the legislature.

Art. XXVI. No magistrate or court of law shall demand excessive bail or sureties, impose excessive fines, or inflict cruel or unusual punishments.

Art. XXVII. In time of peace, no soldier ought to be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; and in time of war, such quarters ought not be made but by the civil magistrate, in a manner ordained by the legislature.

Art. XXVIII. No person can in any case be subjected to law-martial, or to any penalties or pains, by virtue of that law, except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service, but by authority of the legislature.

Art. XXIX. It is essential to the preservation of the rights of every individual, his life, liberty, property, and character, that there be an impartial interpretation of the laws, and administration of justice. It is the right of every citizen to be tried

20

by judges as free, impartial, and independent as the lot of humanity will admit. It is, therefore, not only the best policy, but for the security of the rights of the people, and of every citizen, tht the judges of the supreme judicial court should hold their offices as long as they behave themselves well, and that they should have honorable salaries ascertained and established by standing laws.

Art. XXX. In the government of this commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them; to the end it may be a government of laws, and not of men.

PART THE SECOND

The Frame of Government

The people inhabiting the territory formerly called the province of Massachusetts Bay do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body-politic or State, by the name of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER I.--THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

Section I.--The General Court.

Article I. The department of legislation shall be formed by two branches, a senate and house of representatives; each of which shall have a negative on the other.

The legislative body shall assemble every year on the last Wednesday in May, and at such other times as they shall judge necessary; and shall dissolve and be dissolved on the day next preceding the said last Wednesday in May; and shall be styled the *General Court of Massachusetts.*

Art. II. No bill or resolve of the senate or house of representatives shall become a law, and have force as such, until it shall have been laid before the governor for his revisal; and if he, upon such revision, approve thereof, he shall signify his approbation by signing the same. But if he have any objection to the passing such bill or resolve, he shall return the same, together with his objections thereto, in writing, to the senate or house of representatives, in whichsoever the same shall have originated, who shall enter the objections sent down by the governor, at large, on their records, and proceed to reconsider the said bill or resolve; but if, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of the said senate or house of representatives shall, notwithstanding the said objections, agree to pass the same, it shall, together with the objections, be sent to the other branch of the legislature, where it shall also be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of the members present, shall have the force of law; but in all such cases, the vote of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for or against the said bill or resolve shall be entered upon the public records of the commonwealth.

21

And in order to prevent unnecessary delays, if any bill or resolve shall not be returned by the governor within five days after it shall have been presented, the same shall have the force of law.

Art. III. The general court shall forever have full power and authority to erect and constitute judicatories and courts of record or other courts, to be held in the name of the commonwealth, for the hearing, trying, and determining of all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, plaints, actions, matters, causes, and things whatsoever, arising or happening within the commonwealth, or between or concerning persons inhabiting or residing, or brought within the same; whether the same be criminal or civil, or whether the said crimes be capital or not capital, and whether the said pleas be real, personal, or mixed; and for the awarding and making out of execution thereupon; to which courts and judicatories are hereby given and granted full power and authority, from time to time, to administer oaths or affirmations, for the better discovery of truth in any matter in controversy, or depending before them.

Art. IV. And further, full power and authority are hereby given and granted to the said general court from time to time, to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes, and ordinances, directions and instructions, either with penalties or without, so as the same be not repugnant or contrary to this constitution, as they shall judge to be for the good and welfare of this commonwealth, and for the government and ordering thereof, and of the subjects of the same, and for the necessary support and defence of the government thereof; and to name and settle annually, or provide by fixed laws, for the naming and settling all civil officers within the said commonwealth, the election, and constitution of whom are not hereafter in this form of government otherwise provided for; and to set forth the several duties, powers, and limits of the several civil and military officers of this commonwealth, and the forms of such oaths or affirmations as shall be respectively administered unto them for the execution of their several offices and places, so as the same be not repugnant or contrary to this constitution; and to impose and levy proportional and reasonable assessments, rates, and taxes, upon all the inhabitants of, and persons resident, and estates lying, within the said commonwealth; and also to impose and levy reasonable duties and excises upon any produce, goods, wares, merchandise, and commodities whatsoever, brought into, produced, manufactured, or being within the same; to be issued and disposed of by warrant, under the hand of the governor of this commonwealth, for the time being, with the advice and consent of the council, for the public service, in the necessary defence and support of the government of the said commonwealth, and the protection and preservation of the subjects thereof, according to such acts as are or shall be in force within the same.

And while the public charges of government, or any part thereof, shall be assessed on polls and estates, in the manner that has hitherto been practised, in order that such assessments may be made with equality, there shall be a valuation of estates within the commonwealth, taken anew once in every ten years at least, and as much oftener as the general court shall order.

CHAPTER I

Section 2.--Senate

Article I. There shall be annually elected, by the freeholders and other inhabitants of this commonwealth, qualified as in this constitution is provided, forty persons to be councillors and senators, for the year ensuing their election; to be chosen by the inhabitants of the districts into which the commonwealth may from time to time be divided by the general court for that purpose; and the general court, in assigning the numbers to be elected by the respective districts, shall govern themselves by the proportion of the public taxes paid by the said districts; and timely make known to the inhabitants of the commonwealth the limits of each district, and the number of councillors and senators to be chosen therein: *Provided*, That the number of such districts shall never be less than thirteen; and that no district be so large as to entitle the same to choose more than six senators.

And the several counties in this commonwealth shall, until the general court shall determine it necessary to alter the said districts, be districts for the choice of councillors and senators, (except that the counties of Dukes County and Nantucket shall form one district for that purpose,) and shall elect the following number for councillors and senators, viz: . . . .[39 senators]

Art. II. The senate shall be the first branch of the legislature; and the senators shall be chosen in the following manner, viz: There shall be a meetin on the first Monday in April, annually, forever, of the inhabitants of each town in the several counties of this commonwealth, to be called by the selectmen, and warned in due course of law, at least seven days before the first Monday n April, for the purpose of electing persons to be senators and councillors; and at such meetings every male inhabitant of twenty-one year of age and upwards, having a freehold estate of thevalue of sixty pounds, shall have a right to give in his vote for the senators for the district of which he is an inhabitant. And to remove all doubts concerning themeaning of the word "inhabitant," in this constitution, every person shall be considered as an inhabitant, for the purpose of electing and being elected into any office or place within this State, in that town, district, or plantation where he dwellethor hath his home.

The selectmen of the several towns shall preside at such meetings impartially, and shall receive the votes of all the inhabitants of such towns, present and qualified to vote for senators, and shall sort and count them in open town meeting, and in presence of the town clerk, who shall make a fair record, in presence of the selectment, and in open town meeting, of the name of every person voted for, and of the number of votes against his name; and a fair copy of this record shall be attested by the selectmen and the town clerk, and shall be sealed up, directed to the secretary of the commonwealth, for the time being, with a superscription expressing the purport of the contents thereof, and delivered by the town clerk of such towns to the sheriff of the county in which such town lies, thirty days at least before the last Wednesday in May, annually; or it shall be delivered into the secretary's office seventeen days at least before the said last Wednesday in May; and the sheriff of eaach county shall deliver all such certificates, by him received, into the secretary's office seventeen days before the said last Wednesday in May.

23

And the inhabitants of the plantations unincorporated, qualifed as this constitution provides, who are or shall beempowered and required to assess taxes upon themselves toward the support of government, shall have the same privilege of voting for councillors and senators, in the plantations where they reside, as town inhabitants have in their respective towns; and the plantation meetings for that purpose shall be held annually, on the same first Monday in April, at such place in the plantations, respectively, as the assessors thereof shall direct; which assessors shall have like authoirty for notifying the electors, collecting and returning the votes, as the selectmen and town clerks have in their several towns by this constitution. And all other persons living in places unincorporated, (qualified as aforesaid,) who shall be assessed to the support of government by assessors of an adjacent town, shall have the privilege of giving in their votes for councillors and senators in the town where they shall be assessed, and be notified of the place of meeting by the selectmen of the town where they shall be assessed, for that purpose, accordingly.

Art. III. And that there may be a due convention of senators, on the last Wednesday in May, annually, the governor, with five of the council, for the time being, shall, as soon as may be, examine the returned copies of such records; and fourteen days before the said day he shall issue his summons to such persons as shall appear to be chosen by a majority of voters to attend on that day, and take their seats accordingly: *Provided, nevertheless,* That for the first year the said returned copies shall be examined by the president and five of the council of the former constitution of government; and the said president shall, in like manner, issue his summons to the persons so elected, tht they may take their seats as aforesaid.

Art. IV. The senate shall be the final judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of their own members, as pointed out in the constitution; and shall, on the said last Wednesday in May, annually, determine and declare who are elected by eah district to be senators by a majority of votes; and in case there shall not be the full number of senators returned, elected by a majority of votes for any district, the deficiency shall be supplied in the following manner, viz: The members of the house of representatives, and such senators as shall be declared elected, shall take the names of such persons as shall be found to have the highest number of votes in such district, and not elected, amounting to twice the number of senators wanting, if there be so many voted for, and out of these shall elect by ballot a number of senators sufficient to fill up the vacancies in such district; and inthis manner all such vacancies shall be filled up in every district of the commonwealth; and in like manner all vacancies in the senate, arising by death, removal out of the State or otherwise, shall be supplied as soon as may after such vacancies shall happen.

Art. V. *Provided, nevertheless*, That no person shall be capable of being elected as a senator [who is not seized in his own right of a freehold within this commonwealth, of the value of three hundred pounds at least, or possessed of personal estate to the value of six hundred pounds at least, or of both to the amount of the same sum, and] who has not been an inhabitant of this commonwealth for the space of five years immediately preceding his election, and, at the time of his election, he shall be an inhabitant in the district for which he shall be chosen.

Art. VI. The senate shall have power to adjourn themselves; provided such adjournments do not exceed two days at a time.

Art. VII. The senate shall choose its own president, appoint its own officers, and determine its own rules of proceedings.

Art. VIII. The senate shall be a court, with full authority to hear and determine all impeachments made by the house of representatives, against any officer or officers of the commonwealth, for misconduct and maladminstration in their offices; but, previous to the trial of every impeachment, the members of the senate shall, respectively, be sworn truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to the evidence. Their judgment, however, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honor, trust, or profit under this commonwealth; but the part so convicted shall be, nevertheless, liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to the laws of the land.

Art. IX. Not less than sixteen members of the senate shall constitute a quorum for doing business.

CHAPTER I.

Section 3.--House of Representatives

Article I. There shall be, in the legislature of this commonwealth, a representation of the people, annually elected, and founded upon the principle of equality.

Art. II. And in order to provide for a representtion of the citizens of this commonwealth, founded upon the principle of equality, every corporate town containing one hundred and fifty ratable polls, may elect one representative; every corporate town containing three hundred and seventy-five ratable polls, may elect two representatives; every corporate town containing six hundred ratable polls, may elect three representatives; and proceeding in that manner, making two hundred and twenty-five ratable polls the mean increasing number for every additional representative.

Provided, nevertheless, That each town now incorporated, not having one hundred and fifty ratable polls, may elect one representative; but no place shall hereafter be incorporated with the privilege of electing a representative, unless there are within the same one hundred and fifty ratable polls.

And the house of representatives shall have power, from time to time, to impose fines upon such towns as shall neglect to choose and return members of the same, agreeably to this constitution.

The expenses of travelling to the general assembly and returning home, once in every session, and no more, shall be paid by the government out of the public treasury, to every member who shall attend as seasonably as he can, in the judgment of the house, and does not depart without leave.

Art. III. Every member of the house of representatives shall be chosen by written votes; and, for one year at least next preceding his election, shall have been an inhabitant of, andhave been seized in his own right of a freehold of the value of one hundred pounds, within the town he shall be chosen to represent, or any ratable estate to the value of two hundred pounds; and he shall cease to represent the said town immediately on his ceasing to be qualified as aforesaid.

Art. IV. Every male person being twenty-one years of age, and resident in any particular town in this commonwealth, for the space of one year next preceding, having a freehold estate within the same town, of the annual income of three pounds, or any estate of the value of sixty pounds, shall have a right to vote in the choice of a representative or representatives for the said town.

Art. V. The members of the house of representatives shall be chosen annually in the month of May, ten days at least before the last Wednesday of that month.

Art. VI. The house of representatives shall be the grand inquest of this commonwealth; and all impeachments made by them shall be heard and tried by the senate.

Art. VII. All money bills shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Art. VIII. The house of representatives shall have power to adjourn themselves; provided such adjournments shall not exceed two days at a time.

Art. IX. Not less than sixty members of the house of representatives shall constitute a quorum for doing business.

Art. X. The house of representatives shall be the judge of the returns, elections, and qualifications of its own members, as point out in the constitution; shall choose their own speaker, appoint their own officers, and settle the rules and order of proceeding in their own house. They shall have authority to punish by imprisonment every person, not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the house, by any disorderly or contemptuous behavior in its presence; or who, in the twon where the general court is sitting, and during the time of its sitting, shall threaten harm to the body or estate of any of its members, for anything said or done in the house; or who shall assault any of them therefor; or who shall assault or arrest any witness, or other person, ordered to attend the house, in his way in going or returning; or who shall rescue any person arrested by the order of the house.

And no member of the house of representatives shall be arrested, or held to bail on mesne process, during his going unto, returning from, or his attending the general assembly.

Art. XI. The senate shall have the same powers in the like cases; and the governor and council shall have the same authority to punish in like cases; *Provided*, That no imprisonment, on the warrant or order of the governor, council, senate, or house of representatives, for either of the above-described offences, be for a term

exceeding thirty days.

And the senate and house of representatives may try and determine all cases where their rights and privileges are concerned, and which, by the constitution, they hav authority to try and determine, by committees of their own members, or in such other way as they may, respectively, think best.

CHAPTER II.--EXECUTIVE POWER

Section I,--Governor

Article I. There shall be a supreme executive magistrate, who shall be styled "The governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts;" and whose title shall be "His Excellency."

Art. II. The governor shall be chosen annually; and no person shall be eligible to this office, unless, at the time of his election, he shall have been an inhabitant of this commonwealth for seven years next preceding; and unless he shall, at the same time, be seized, in his own right, of a freehold, within the commonwealth, of the value of one thousand pounds; and unless he shall declare himself to be of the Christian religion.

Art. III. Those persons who shall be qualified to vote for senators and representatives, within the several towns of this commonwealth, shall, at a meeting to be called for that purpose, on the first Monday of April, annually, give in their votes for a voernor to the selectmen, who shall preside at such meetings; and the town clerk, in the presence and with the assistance of the selectmen, shall, in open town meeting, sort and count the votes, and form a list of the persons foted for, with the number of votes for each person against his name; and shall make a fair record of the same in the town books, and a public declaration thereof in the said meeting; and shall, in the presence of the inhabitants, seal up copies of the said list, attested by him and the selectmen, and transmit the same to the sheriff of the county, thirty days at least before the last Wednesday in May; and the sheriff shall transmit the same to the secretary's office, seventeen days at least before the said last Wednesday in May; or the selectmen may cause returns of the same to be made, to the office of the secretary of the commonwealth, seventeen days at least before the said day; and the secretary shall lay the same before the senate and the house of representatives, on the last Wednesday in May, to be by them examined; and in case of an election by a majority of all the votes returned, the choice shall be by them declared and published; but if no person shall have a majority of votes, the house of representatives shall, by ballot, elect two out of four persons, who had the highest number of votes, if so many shall have been voted for; but, if otherwise, out of the number voted for; and make return to the senate of the two persons so elected; on which the senate shall proceed, by ballot, to elect one, who shall be declared governor.

Art. IV. The governor shall authority, from time to time, at his discretion, to assemble and call together the councillors of this commonwealth for the time being; and the governor, with the said councillors, or five of them at least, shall and may, from time to time, hold and keep a council, for the ordering and

27

directing the affairs of the commonwealth, agreeably to the constitution and the laws of the land.

Art. V. The governor, with advice of council, shall have full power and authority, during the session of the general court, to adjourn or prorogue thesame at any time the two houses shall desire; and to dissolve the same on the day nex preceding the last Wednesday in May; and, in the recess of the said court, to prorogue the same from time to time, not exceeding ninety days in any one recess; and to call it together sooner than the time to which it may be adjourned or prorogued, if the welfare of the commonwealth shall require the same; and in case of any infectious distemper prevailing in the place where the said court is next at any time to convene, or any other cause happening, whereby danger may arise to the health or lives of the members from their attendance, he may direct the session to be held at some other the most convenient place within the State.

And the governor shall dissolve the said general court on the day next preceding the last Wednesday in May.

Art. VI. In cases of disagreement between the two houses, with regard to the necessity, expediency, or time of adjournment or prorogation, the governor, with advice of the council, shall have a right to adjourn or prorogue the general court, not exceeding ninety days, as he shall determine the public good shall require.

Art. VII. The governor of this commonwealth, for the time being, shall be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of all the military forces of the State, by sea and land; and shall have full power, by himself or by any commander, or other officer or officers, from time to time, to train, instruct, exercise, and govern the militia and navy; and, for the special defence and safety of the commonwealth, to assemble in martial array, and put in warlike posture, the inhabitants thereof, and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, repel, resist, expel, and pursue, by force of arms, as by sea as by land, within or within the limits of this commonwealth; and also to kill, slay, and destroy, if necessary, and conquer, by all fitting ways, enterprises, and means whatsoever, all and every such person and persons as shall, at any time hereafter, in a hostile manner, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of this commonwealth; and to use and exercise over the army and navy, and over the militia in actual service, the law-martial, in time of war or invasion, and also in time of rebellion, declared by the legislature to exist, as occasion shall necessarily require; and to take and surprise, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons, with their ships, arms, and ammunititon, and other goods, as shall, in a hostile manner, invade, or attempt the invading, conquering, or annoying this commonwealth; and that the governor be intrusted with all these and other powers incident to the offices of captain-general and commander-in-chief, and admiral, to be exercised agreeably to the rules and regulations of the constitution and the laws of the land, and not otherwise.

Provided, That the said governor shall not, at any time hereafter, by virtue of any power by this constitution granted, or hereafater to be granted to him by the legislature, transport any of the inhabitants of this commonwealth, or oblige them

(28)

to march out of the limits of the same, without their free and voluntary consent, or the consent of the general court; except so far as may be necessary to march or transport them by land or water for the defence of such part of the State to which they cannot otherwise conveniently have access.

Art. VIII. The power of pardoning offences, except such as persons may be convicted of before the senate, by an impeachment of the house, shall be in the governor, by and with the advice of council; but no charter or pardon, granted by the governor, with the advice of the council, before conviction, shall avail the party pleading the same, notwithstanding any general or particular expressions contained therein, descriptive of the offence or offences intended to be pardoned.

Art. IX. All judicial officers, the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, all sheriffs, coroners, and registers of probate, shall be nominated and appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council; and every such nomination shall be made by the governor, and made at least seven days prior to such appointment.

Art. X. The captains and subalterns of the militia shall be elected by the written votes of the train-band and alarm-list of their respective companies, of twnety years of age and upwards; the field-officers of regiments shall be elected by the written votes of the captains and subalterns of their respective regiments; the brigadiers shall be elected, in like manner, by the field-officers of their respective brigades; and such officers, so elected, shall be commissioned by the governor, who shall determine their rank.

The legislature shall, by standing laws, direct the time and manner of convening the electors, and of collecting votes, and of certifying to the governer the officers elected.

The major-generals shall be appointed by the senate and house of representatives, each having a negative upon the other; and be commissioned by the governor.

And if the electors of brigadiers, field-officers, captains, or subalterns shall neglect or refuse to make such elections, after being duly notified, according tot he laws for the time being, then the governor, with the advice of council, shall appoint suitable persons to fill such offices.

And no officer, duly commissioned to command in the militia, shall be removed from his office, but by the address of both houses to the governor, or by fair trial in court-martial, pursuant to the laws of the commonwealth for the time being.

The commanding officers of regiments shall appoint their adjutants and quartermasters; the brigadiers, their brigade-majors; and the major-generals, their aids; and the governor shall appoint the adjutant-general.

The governor, with the advice of council, shall appoint all officers of the Continental Army, whom, by the Confederation of the United States, it is provided that this commonwealth shall appoint, as also all officers of forts and garrisons.

(29)

The divisions of the militia into brigades, regiments, and companies, made in pursuance of the militia-laws now in force, shall be considered as the proper divisions of the militia in this commonwealth, until the same shall be altered in pursuance of some future law.

Art. XI. No moneys shall be issued out of the treasury of this commonwealth and disposed of, except such sums as may be appropriated for the redemption of bills of credit or treasurer's notes, or for the payment of interest arising thereon, but by warrant under the hand of the governor for the time being, with the advice and consent of the council for the necessary defence and support of the commonwealth, and for the protection and preservation of the inhabitants thereof, agreeably to the acts and resolves of the general court.

Art. XII. All public boards, the commissary-general, all superintending officers of public magazines and stores, belonging to this commonwealth, and all commanding officers of forts and garrisons within the same, shall, once in every three months, officially and without requisition, and at other times, when required by the governor, deliver to him an account of all goods, stores, provisions, ammunition, cannon, with their appendages, and small-arms with their accoutrements, and of all other public property whatever under their care, respectively; distinguishing the quantity, number, quality, and kind of each, as particularly as may be; together with the condition of such forts and garrisons; and the said commanding officer shall exhibit to the governor, when required by him, true and exact plans of such forts, and of the land and sea, or harbor or harbors, adjacent.

And the said boards, and all public officers, shall communicate to the governor, as soon as may be after receiving the same, all letters, dispathces, and intelligences of a public nature, which shall be directed to them respectively.

Art. XIII. As the public good requires that the governor should not be under the undue influence of any of the members of the general court, by a dependence on them for his support; that he should, in all cases, act with freedom for the benefit of the public; that he should not have his attention necessarily diverted from that object to his private concerns; and that he should maintain the dignity of the commonwealth in the character of its chief magistrate, it is necessary that he should have an honorable stated salary, of a fixed and permanent value, amply sufficient for those purposes, and established by standing laws; and it shall be among the first acts of the general court, after the commencement of this constitution, to establish such salary by law accordingly.

Permanent and honorable salaries shall also be established by law for the justices of the supreme judicial court.

And if it shall be found that any of the salaries aforesaid, so established, are insufficient, they shall, from time to time, be enlarged, as the general court shall judge proper.

CHAPTER II.

30

Section 2.--Lieutenant-Governor

Article I. There shall be annually elected a lieutenant-governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, whose title shall be "His Honor;" and who shall be qualified, in point of religion, property, and residence in the commonwealth, in the same manner with the governor; and the day and manner of his election, and the qualification of the electors, shall be the same as are required in the election of a governor. The return of the votes for this officer, and the declaration of his election, shall be in the same manner; and if no one person shall be found to have a majority of all the votes returned, the vacancy shall be filled by the senate and house of representatives, in the same manner as the governor is to be elected, in case no one person shall have a majority of the votes of the people to be governor.

Art. II. The governor, and in his absence the lieutenant-governor, shall be president of the council; but shall have no voice in council; and the lieutenant-governor shall always be a member of the council, except when the chair of the governor shall be vacant.

Art. III. Whenever the chair of the governor shall be vacant, by reason of his death, or absence from the commonwealth, or otherwise, the lieutenant-governor, for the time being, shall, during such vacancy perform all the duties incumbent upon the governor, and shall have and exercise all the powers and authorities which, by this constitution, the governor is vested with, when personally present.

CHAPTER II.

Section 3.--Council, and the Manner of Settling Elections by the Legislature

Article I. There shall be a council, for advising the governor in the executive part of the government, to consist of nine persons besides the lieutenant-governor, whom the governor, for the time being, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, at this discretion, to assemble and call together; and the governor, with the said councillors, or five of them at least, shall and may, from time to time, hold and keep a council, for the ordering and directing the affairs of the commonwealth, according to the laws of the land.

Art. II. Nine councillors shall be annually chosen from among the persons returned for councillors and senators, on the last Wednesday in May, by the joint ballot of the senators and representatives assembled in one room; and in case there shall not be found, upon the first choice, the whole number of nine persons who will accept a seat in the council, the deficiency shall be made up by the electors aforesaid from among the people at large; and the number of senators left shall constitute the senate for the year. The seats of the persons thus elected from the senate, and accepting the trust, shall be vacated in the senate.

Art. III. The councillors, in the civil arrangements of the commonwealth, shall have rank next after the lieutenant-governor.

Art. IV. Not more than two councillors shall be chosen out of any one district in

this commonwealth.

Art. V. The resolutions and advice of the council shall be recorded in a register and signed by the members present; and this record may be called for, at any time, by either house of the legislature; and any member of the council may insert his opinion, contrary to the resolution of the majority.

Art. VI. Whenever the office of the governor and lieutenant-governor shall be vacant by reason of death, absence, or otherwise, then the council, or the major part of them, shall, during such vacancy, have full power and authority to do and execute all and every such acts, matters, and things, as the governor or the lieutenant-governor might or could, by virtue of this constitution, do or execute, if they, or either of them, were personally present.

Art. VII. And whereas the elections appointed to be made by this constitution on the last Wednesday in May annually, by the two houses of the legislature, may not be completed on that day, the said elections may be adjourned from day to day, until the same shall be completed. And the order of elections shall be as follows: The vacancies in the senate, if any, shall first be filled up; the governor and lieutenant-governor shall then be elected, provided there should be no choice of them by the people; and afterwardss the two houses shall proceed to the election of the council.

CHAPTER II.

Section 4.--Secretary, Treasurer, Commissary, etc.

Article I. The secretary, treasurer, and receiver-general, and the commissary-general, notaries public, and naval officers, shall be chosen annually, by joint ballot of the senators and representatives, in one room. And, that the citizens of this commonwealth may be assured, from time to time, that the moneys remaining in the public treasury, upon the settlement and liquidation of the public accounts, are their property, no man shall be eligible as treasurer and receiver-general more than five years successively.

Art. II. The records of the commonwealth shall be kept in the office of the secretary, who may appoint his deputies, for whose conduct he shall be accountable; and he shall attend the governor and council, the senate and house of representatives in person or by his deputies, as they shall respectively require.

CHAPTER III.

Judiciary Power.

Article I. The tenure that all commission officers shall by law have in their officces shall be expressed in their respective commissions. All judicial officers, duly appointed, commissioned, and sworn, shall hold their offices during good behavior, excepting such concerning whom there is different provision made in this constitution: *Provided, nevertheless*, The governor, with consent of the council, may remove them upon the address of both houses of the legislature.

Art. II. Each branch of the legislature, as well as the governor and council, shall have authority to require the opinions of the justices of the supreme judicial court upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions.

Art. III. In order that the people may not suffer from the long continuance in place of any justice of the peace, who shall fail of discharging the important duties of his office with ability or fidelity, all commissions of justices of the peace shall expire and become void in the term of seven years from their respective dates; and, upon the expiration of any commission, the same may, if necessary, be renewed, or another person appointed, as shall most conduce to the well-being of the commonwealth.

Art. IV. The judges of probate of wills, and for granting letters of administration, shall hold their courts at such place or places, on fixed days, as the convenience of the people shall require; and the legislature shall, from time to time, hereafter, appoint such times and places; until which appointments the said courts shall be holden at the times and places which the respective judges shall direct.

Art. V. All causes of marriage, divorce, and alimony, and all appeals from the judges of probate, shall be heard and determined by the governor and council until the legislature shall, by law, make other provision.

CHAPTER IV.

Delegates to Congress

The delegates of this commonwealth to the Congress of the United States shall, some time in the month of June, annually, be elected by the joint ballot of the senate and house of representatives assembled together in one room; to serve in Congress for one year, to commence on the first Monday in November, then next ensuing. They shall have commissions under the hand of the governor, and the great seal of the commonwealth; but may be recalled at any time within the year, and others chosen and commissioned, in the same manner, in their stead.

CHAPTER V.--THE UNIVERSITY AT CAMBRIDGE, AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE, ETC.

Section 1.--The University

Article I. Whereas our wise and pious ancestors, so early as the year [1636], laid the foundation of Harvard College, in which university many persons of great prominence have, by the blessing of God, been initiated in those arts and sciences which qualified them for the public employments, both in church and State; and whereas the encouragement of arts and sciences, and all good literature, tends to the honor of God, the advantage of the Christian religion, and the great benefit of this and the other other United States of America, it is declared, that the president and fellows of Harvard College, in their corporate capacity, and their successors in that capacity, their officers and servants, shall have, hold, use, exercise, and enjoy all the powers, authorities, rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, and franchises which they now have, or are entitled to have, hold, use, exercise, and

33

enjoy; and the same are hereby ratified and confirmed unto them, the said president and fellows of Harvard College, and to their successors, and to their officers and servants, respectively, forever.

Art. II. and whereas there have been, at sundry times, by divers persons, gifts, grants, devises of houses, lands, tenements, goods, chattels, legacies, and conveyances heretofore made, either to Harvard College in Cambridge, in New England, or to the president and fellows of Harvard College, or to the said college, by some other description, under several charters succcessively, it is declared, that all the said gifts, grants, devises, legacies, and conveyances are hereby forever confirmed unto the president and fellows of Harvard College, and to their successors, in the capacity aforesaid, according to the true intent and meaning of the donor or donors, grantor or grantors, devisor or devisors.

Art. III. And whereas by an act of the general court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, passed in the year [1642], the governor and deputy governor for the time being, and all the magistrates of that jurisdiction, were, with the President, and a number of the clergy, is the said act described, constituted the overseers of Harvard College; and it being necessary, in this new constitution of government, to ascertain who shall be deemed successors to the said governor, deputy governor, and magistrates, it is declared that the governor, lieutenant-governor, council, and senate of this commonwealth are, and shall be deemed, their successors; who, with the president of Harvard College, for the time being, together with the ministers of the congregational churches int he towns of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester, mentioned in the said act, shall be, and hereby are, vested with all the powers and authority belonging, or in any way appertaining, to the overseers of Harvard College: *Provided*, that nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the legislature of this commonwealth from making such alterations in the government of the said university as shall be conducive to its advantage, and the interest of the republic of letters, in as full a manner as might have been done by the legislature of the late province of the Massachusetts Bay.

CHAPTER V.

Section 2.--The Encouragement of Literature, etc.

Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the university at Cambridge, public schools, adn grammar-schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions, rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings; sincerity, and good humor, and all social affections and generous

34

sentiments, among the people.

CHAPTER VI.

Oaths and Subscriptions; Incompatibility of and Exclusion from Offices; Pecuniary Qualifications; Commissions; Writs; Confirmation of Laws; Habeas Corpus; The Enacting Style; Continuance of Officers; Provision for a Future Revisal of the Constitution, etc.

Article I. Any person chosen governor, lieutenant-governor, councillor, senator, or representative, and accepting the trust, shall, before he proceed to execute the duties of his place or office, make and subscribe the following declaration, viz:

"I, A.B., do declare that I believe the Christian religion, and have a firm persuasion of its truth; and that I am seized and possessed, in my own right, of the property required by the constitution, as one qualification for the office or place to which I am elected."

And the governor, lieutenant-governor, and councillors shall make and subscribe the said declaration, in the presence of the two houses of assembly; and the senators and representatives, first elected under this constitution, before the president and five of the council of the former constitution; and forever afterwards, before the governor and council for the time being.

And every person chosen to either of the places or offices aforesaid, as also any persons appointed or commissioned to any judicial, executive, military, or other office under the government, shall, before he enters on the discharge of the business of his place or office, take and subscribe the following declaration and oaths or affirmations, viz:

"I, A.B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare that the commonwealth of Massachusetts is, and of right ought to be, a free, sovereign, and independent State, and I do swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the said commonwealth, and that I will defend the same against traitorous conspiracies and all hostile attempts whatsoever; and that I do renounce and abjure all allegiance, subjection, and obedience tot he King, Queen, or government of Great Britain, (as the case may be,) and every other foreign power whatsoever; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, superiority, preeminence, authority, dispensing or other power, in any matter, civil, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this commonwealth; except the authority and power which is or may be vested by their constituents in the Congress of the United States; and I do further testify and declare that no man, or body of men, hat, or can have, any right to absolve or discharge me from the obligation of this oath, declaration, or affirmation; and that I do make this acknowledgment, profession, testimony, declaration, denial, renunciation, and abjuration heartily and truly, according to the common meaning and acceptation of the foregoing words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever: So help me, God."

"I, A.B., do solemnly swear and affirm that I will faithfully and impartially

discharge and perform all the duties incumbent on me as ----------, according to the best of my abilities and understanding, agreeably to the rules and regulations of the constitution and the laws of the commonwealth: So help me, God."

Provided always, That when any person, chosen and appointed as aforesaid, shall be of the denomination of people called Quakers, and shall decline taking the said oaths, he shall make his affirmation in the foregoing form, and subscribe the same, omitting the words, "I do swear," "and abjure," "oath or," "and abjuration," in the first oath; and in the second oath, the words, "swear and," and in each of them the words, "So help me, God;" subjoining instead thereof, "This I do under the pains and penalites of perjury."

And the said oaths or affirmations shall be taken and subscribed by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and councillors, before the president of the senate, in the presence of the two houses of assembly; and by the senators and representatives first elected under this constitution, before the president and five of the council of the former constitution; and forever afterwards before the governor and council for the time being; and by the residue of the officers aforesaid, before such persons and in such manner as from time to time shall be prescribed by the legislature.

Art. II. No governor, lieutenant-governor, or judge of the supreme judicial court shall hold any other office orplace, under the authority of this commonwealth, except such as by the constitution they are admitted to hold, saving that the judges of the said court may hold the office of the justices of the peace through the State; nor shall they hold any other place or office, or receive any pension or salary from any other State, or government, or power, whatever.

No person shall be capable of holding or exercising at the same time, within this State, more than one of the following offices, viz: judge of probate, sheriff, register of probate, or register of deeds; and never more than any two offices, which are to be held by appointment of the governor, or the governor and council, or the senate, or the house of representatives, or by the election of the people of the State at large, or of the people of any county, military offices, and the offices of justices of the peace excepted, shall be held by one person.

No person holding the office of judge of the supreme judicial court, secretary, attorney-general, solicitor-general, treasurer or receiver-general, judge of probate, commissary-general, president, professor, or instructor of Harvard College, sheriff, clerk of the house of representatives, register of probate, register of deeds, clerk of the supreme judicial court, clerk of the inferior court of common pleas, or officer of the customs, including in this description naval officers, shall at the same time have a seat in the senate or house of representatives; but their being chosen or appointed to, and accepting the same, shall operate as a resignation of their seat in the senate or house of representatives; and the place so vacated shall be filled up.

And the same rule shall take place in case any judge of the said supreme judicial court or judge of probate shall accept a seat in council, or any councillor shall accept of either of those offices or places.

36

And no person shall ever be admitted to hold a seat in the legislature, or any office of trust or importance under the government of this commonwealth, who shall in the due course of law have been convicted of bribery or corruption in obtaining an election or appointment.

Art. III. In all cases where sums or money are mentioned in this constitution, the value thereof shall be computed in silver, at six shillings and eight pence per ounce; and it shall in the power of the legislature, from time to time, to increase such qualifications, as to property, of the persons to be elected to offices as the circumstances of the commonwealth shall require.

Art. IV. All commissions shall be in the name of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, signed by the governor, and attested by the secretary or his deputy, and have the great seal of the commonwealth affixed thereto.

Art. V. All writs, issuing of the clerk's office in any of the courts of law, shall be in the name of the commonwealth of Massachusetts; they shall be under the seal of the court from when they issue; they shall bear test of the first justice of the court to which they shall be returned who is not a party, and be signed by the clerk of such court.

Art. VI. All the laws which have heretofore been adopted, used, and approved in the province, colony, or State of Massachusetts Bay, and usually practiced on in the courts of law, shall still remain and be in full force, until altered or repealed by the legislature, such parts only excepted as are repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in this constitution.

Art. VII. The privilege and benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall be enjoyed in this commonwealth, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious, and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

Art. VIII. The enacting style, in making and passing all acts, statutes, and laws, shall be, *"Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives in general court assembled, and by authority of the same."*

Art. IX. To the end there may be no failure of justice or danger arise to the commonwealth from a change in the form of government, all officers, civil and military, holding commissions under the government and people of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, and all other officers of the said government and people, at the time this constitution shalol take effect, shall have, hold, use, exercise, and enjoy all the powers and authority to them granted or committed until other persons shall be appointed in their stead; and all courts of law shall proceed int he execution of the business of their respective departments; and all the executive and legislative officers, bodies, and powers shall continue in full force, in the enjoyment and exercise of all their trusts, employments, and authority, until the general court, and the supreme and executive officers under this constitution, are designated and invested with their respective trusts, powers, and authority.

Art. X. In order the more effectually to adhere tot he principles of the constitution, and to correct those violations which by any means may be made therein, as well as to form such alterations as from experience shall be found necessary, the general court which shall be in the year of our Lord [1795] shall issue precepts to the selectmen of the several towns, and to the assessors of the unincorporated plantations, directing them to convene the qualified voters of their respective towns and plantations, for the purpose of collecting their sentiments on the necessity or expediency of revising the constitution in order to amendments.

And if it shall appear, by the returns made, that two-thirds of the qualified voters thoughout the State, who shall assemble and vote in consequence of the said precepts, are in favor of such revision or amendment, the general court shall issue precepts, or direct them to be issued from the secretary's office, to the several towns to elect or direct them to be issued from the secretary's office, to the several towns to elect delegates to meet in convention for the purpose aforesaid.

And said delegates to be chosen in the same manner and proportion as their representatives in the second branch of the legislature are by this constitution to be chosen.

Art. XI. This form of government shall be enrolled on parchment and deposited in the secretary's office, and be a part of the laws of the land, and printed copies thereof shall be prefixed to the book containing the laws of this commonwealth in all future editions of the said laws.

JAMES BOWDOIN, *President*

Samuel Barrett, *Secretary*

©1999 National Humanities Institute

When any one comes to settle in the country, they lend him horses, cows &c, they give him provisions, all which he repays as soon as he is at ease, and as to the land he pays in to the West India Company after ten years the tenth of the produce which he reaps.

This country is bounded on the New England side by a river they call the Fresche river, which serves as a boundary between them and the English. The English however come very near to them, preferring to hold lands under the Dutch who ask nothing from them rather than to be dependant on English Lords who exact rents and would fain be absolute. On the other side southward towards Virginia, its limits are the river which they call the South river on which there is also a Dutch settlement, but the Swedes have at its mouth another extremely well provided with men and cannon. It is believed that these Swedes are maintained by some merchants of Amsterdam, who are not satisfied that the West India Company should alone enjoy all the commerce of these parts. It is near this river that a gold mine is reported to have been found.

See in the work of the Sieur de Laet of Antwerp the table and article on New Belgium as he sometimes calls it or the map; Nova Anglia, Novu Belgium et Virginia.

It is about fifty years since the Hollanders came to these parts. The fort was begun in the year 1615: they began to settle about twenty years ago and there is already some little commerce with Virginia and New England.

The first comers found lands fit for use, formerly cleared by the savages who previously had fields here. Those who came later have cleared in the woods, which are mostly of oak. The soil is good. Deer hunting is abundant in the fall. There are some houses built of stone; they make lime of oyster shells, great heaps of which are found here made formerly by the savages, who subsisted in part by this fishery.

The climate is very mild. Lying at 40 2/3 degrees; there are many European fruits, as apples, pears, cherries. I reached there in October, and found even then a considerable quantity of peaches.

Ascending the river to the 43d degree you find the second Dutch settlement, which the flux and reflux reaches but does not pass. Ships of a hundred and a hundred and twenty tons can ascend to it. There are two things in this settlement, which is called Renselaerswick, as if to say the coloiny of Renselaer, who is a rich Amsterdam merchant: 1st a wretched little fort called Ft Orange, built of logs with four or five pieces of cannon of Breteuil and as many swivels. This has been reserved and is maintained by the West Indis Company. This fort was formerly on an island in the river, it is now on the main land towards the Hiroquois, a little above the said island. 2ndly, a colonie sent here by this Renselaer, who is the Patroon. This colonie is composed of about a hundred persons, who resident in some 25 or 30 houses, built along the river, as each one found it most convenient. In the principal house resides the Patroon's agent, the minister has his apart, in which service is performed. There is also a kind of bailiff here whom they call Seneschal, who administers justice. All their houses are merely of boards and thatched. As yet there is no mason work, except in the chimneys. The

40

forests furnishing many large pines, they make boards by means of their mills which they have for the purpose.

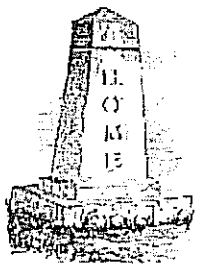
They found some pieces of ground all ready, which the savages had formerly prepared and in which they sow wheat and oats for beer and for their horses, of which they have a great stock. There is little land fit for tillage, being crowded by hills which are bad soil. This obliges them to be separated the one from the other, and they occupy already two or three leagues of country.

Trade is free to all, this gives the Indians all things cheap, each of the Hollanders outbidding his neighbor and being satisfied provided he can gain some little profit.

This settlement is not more than twenty leagues from the Agniehronons, who can be reached either by land or by water, as the river on which the Iroquois lie falls into that which passes by the Dutch; but there are many shallow rapids and a fall of a short half league where the canoe has to be carried.

There are many nations between the two Dutch settlements, which are about thirty German leagues apart, that is about 50 or 60 French leagues. The Loups, whom the Iroquois call Agotzogenens, are the neartest to Renselaerwick and Ft Orange. War breaking out some years ago between the Iroquois and the Loups, the Dutch joined the latter against the former, but four having been taken and burnt they made peace. Some nations near the sea having murdered some Hollanders of the most distant settlement, the Hollanders killed 150 Indians, men, women and children; the latter having killed at divers intervals 40 Dutchmen, burnt several houses and committed ravages, estimated at the time that I was there at 200,000 liv. (two hundred thousand livres) troops were raised in New England, and in the beginning of winter the grass being low and some snow on the ground they pursued them with six hundred men, keeping two hundred always on the move and constantly relieving each other, so that the Indians, pent up in a large island and finding it impossible to escape, on account of the women and children, were cut to pieces to the number of sixteen hundred, women and children included. This obliged the rest of the Indians to make peace, which still continues. This occurred in 1643 and 1644.

Three Rivers in New France,
August 3d, 1646.



New Netherlands in 1644

By Rev. Isaac Jogues, S.J. Geographic description of New Amsterdam

New Holland which the Dutch call in Latin Novum Belgium, in their own language Nieuw Nederland, that is to say, New Low Countries, is situated between Virginia and New England. The mouth of the river called by some Nassau river or the great North river (to distinguish it from another which they call the South river) and which in some maps that I have recently seen is also called, I think, River Maurice, is at 40°30'. Its channel is deep, for the largest ships that ascend to Manhattes Island, which is seven leagues in circuit, and on which there is a fort to serve as the commencement of a town to be built there and to be called New Amsterdam.

This fort which is at the point of the island about five or six leagues from the mouth, is called Fort Amsterdam; it has four regular bastions mounted with several pieces or artillery. All these bastions and the curtains were in 1643 but ramparts of earth, most of which had crumbled away, so that the fort could be entered on all sides. There were no ditches. There were sixty soldiers to garrison the said fort and another which they had built still further up against the incursions of the savages their enemies. They were beginning to face the gates and bastions with stone. Within this fort stood a pretty large church built of stone; the house of the Governor, whom they called Director General, quite neatly built of brick, the storehouses and barracks.

On this island of Manhate and in its environs there may well be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations; the Director General told me that there were persons there of eighteen different languages; they are scattered here and there on the river, above and below as the beauty and convenience of the spot invited each to settle, some mechanics however who ply their trades are ranged under the fort; all the others were exposed to the incursions of the natives, who in the year 1643, while I was there actually killed some two score Hollanders and burnt many houses and barns full of wheat.

The river, which is very straight and runs due north and south, is at least a league broad before the fort. Ships lie at anchor in a bay which forms the other side of the island and can be defended from the fort.

Shortly before I arrived there three large vessels of 300 tons each had come to load wheat; two had found cargoes, the third could not be loaded because the savages had burnt a part of their grain. These ships came from the West Indies where the West India Company usually keeps up [to] seventeen ships of war.

No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists, but this is not observed, for there are, besides Calvinists, in the Colony Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Muistes &c.

39

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), a Congregational minister in New England, was certainly exposed to Enlightenment thought and intellectual vigor as well as to the methodology it engendered, but he had also been educated in the rich, challenging Calvinist theology of the earlier Puritan church. Edwards believed that people had fallen away from the demanding faith, with its emphasis on God's grace, that was so essential to their salvation. With that in mind, this great theologian began a revival in his Northampton, Massachusetts, church in the 1730s that became part of the general revival movement called the Great Awakening. To awaken people's faith and belief in the majesty of God, he presented both positive and negative images of God's power. He wanted people to feel God's presence, not just think about it.

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked. His wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire. He is of purer eyes than to bear you in his sight; you are ten thousand times as abominable in his eyes as the most hateful, venomous serpent is in ours.

You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince, and yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment. It is to be ascribed to nothing else that you did not got to hell the last night; that you were suffered to awake again in this world, after you closed your eyes to sleep. And there is no other reason to be given why you have not dropped into hell since you arose in the morning, but that God's hand has held you up. There is no other reason to be given why you have not gone to hell since you have sat here in the house of God provoking his pure eye by your sinful, wicked manner of attending his solemn worship. Yea, there is nothing else that is to be given as a reason why you do not this very moment drop down into hell.

O sinner! consider the fearful danger you are in! It is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath that you are held over in the hand of that God whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you as against many of the damned in hell. You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of Divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder. . . .

It would be dreadful to suffer this fierceness and wrath of Almighty God one moment; but you must suffer it to all eternity. There will be no end to this exquisite, horrible misery. When you look forward, you shall see along forever a boundless duration before you, which will swallow up your thoughts, and amaze your soul. And you will absolutely despair of ever having any deliverance, any end, any mitigation, any rest at all. You will know certainly that you must wear out long ages, millions of millions of ages in wrestling with this Almighty, merciless vengeance. And then when you have so done, when so many ages have actually been spent by you in this manner, you will know that all is but a point [dot] to what remains. So that your punishment will indeed be infinite.

Oh! who can express what the state of a soul in such circumstances is! All that we can possibly say about it gives but a very feeble, faint representation of it. It is inexpressible and inconceivable: for "who knows the power of God's anger"!

How dreadful is the state of those that are daily and hourly in danger of this great wrath and infinite misery! But this is the dismal case of every soul in this congregation that has not been born again, however moral and strict, sober and religious, they may otherwise be. Oh! that you would consider it, whether you be young or old!

There is reason to think that there are many in this congregation, now hearing this discourse, that will actually be the subjects of this very misery to all eternity. We know not who they are, or in what seats they sit, or what thoughts they now have. It may be they are now at ease, and hear all these things without much disturbance, and are now flattering themselves that they are not the persons, promising themselves that they shall escape.

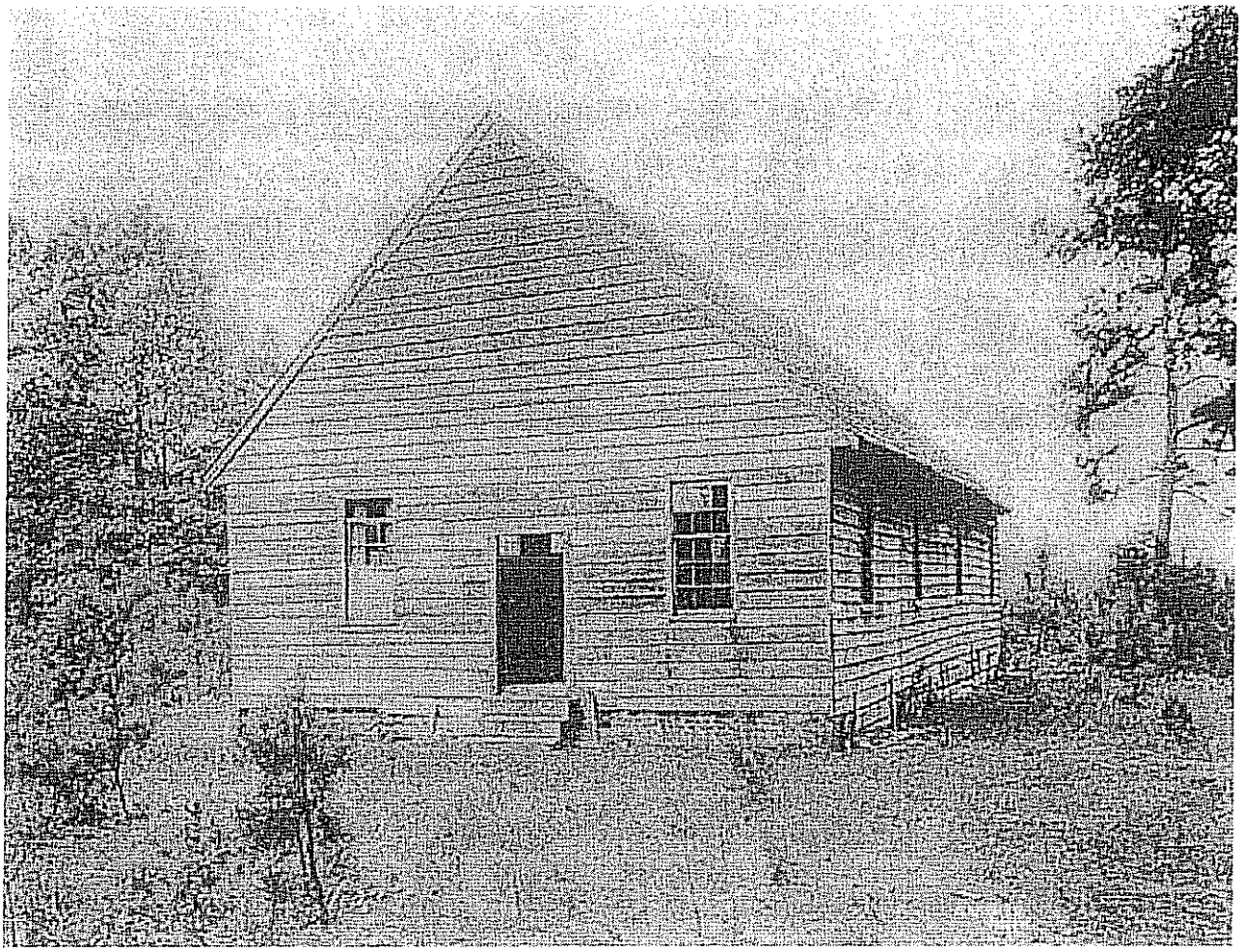
If we knew that there was one person, and but one, in the whole congregation, that was to be the subject of this misery, what an awful thing it would be to think of! If we knew who it was, what an awful sight would it be to see such a person! How might the rest of the congregation lift up a lamentable and bitter cry over him!

But, alas! instead of one, how many is it likely will remember this discourse in hell! And it would be a wonder, if some that are now present should not be in hell in a very short time, before this year is out. And it would be no wonder if some persons that now sit here in some seats of this meeting-house, in health, and quiet and secure, should be there before tomorrow morning!

[From Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of President Edwards*, vol. 6 (1817; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), pp. 458, 461–62. [Editorial insertions appear in square brackets—Ed.]]

Print this page Close this page

(42)

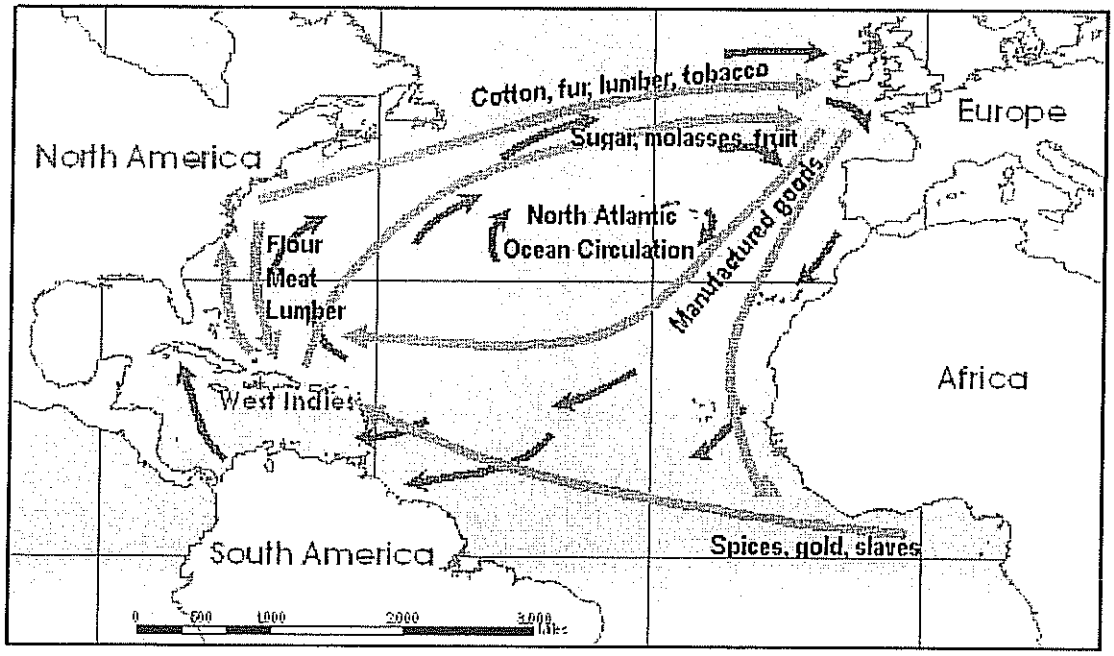


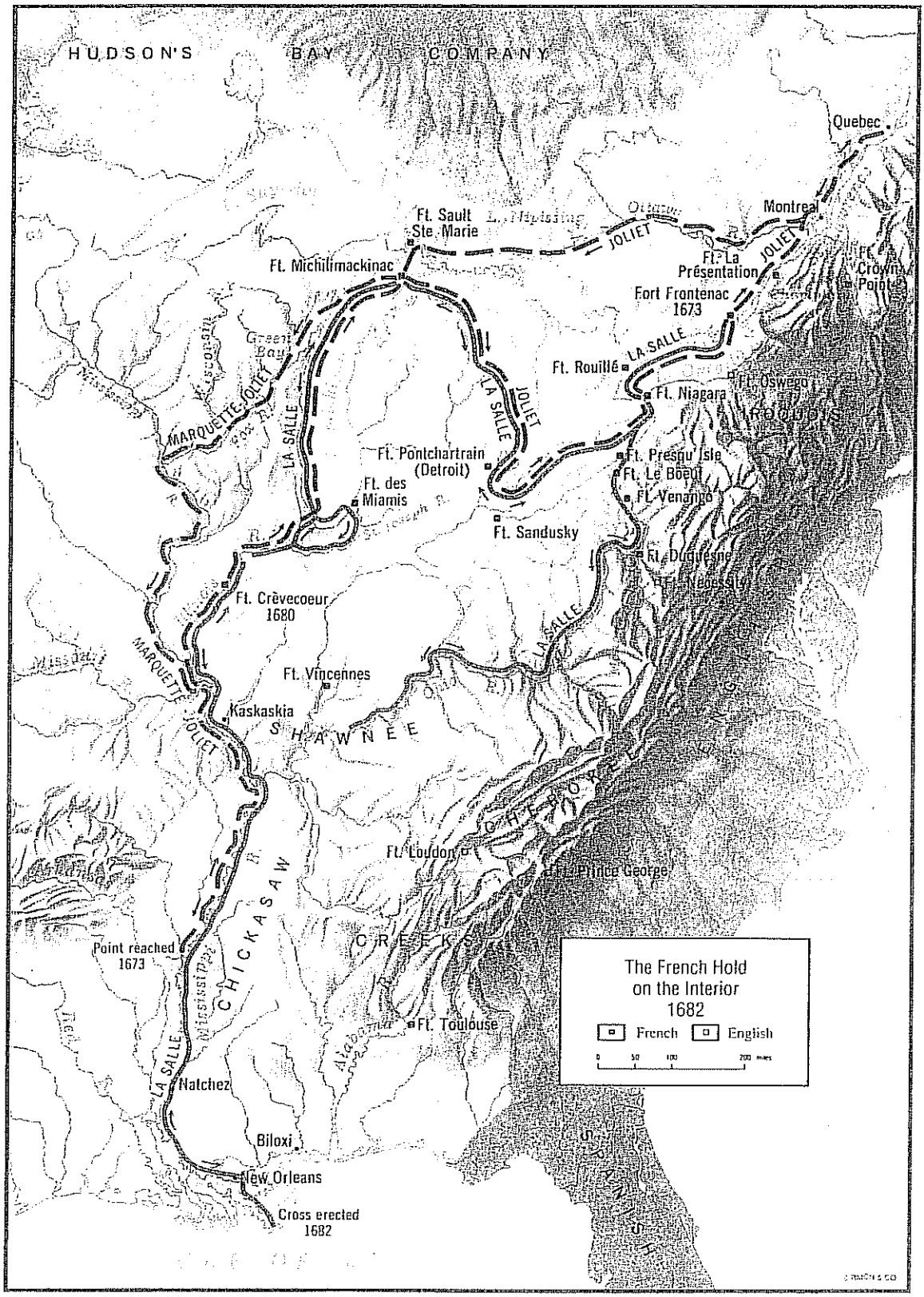
(43)

Quotes from Jonathan Mayhew

"All civil rulers, as such, are the ordinance and ministers of God; and they are all, buy the nature of their office, and in their respective spheres and stations, bound to consult the public welfare"

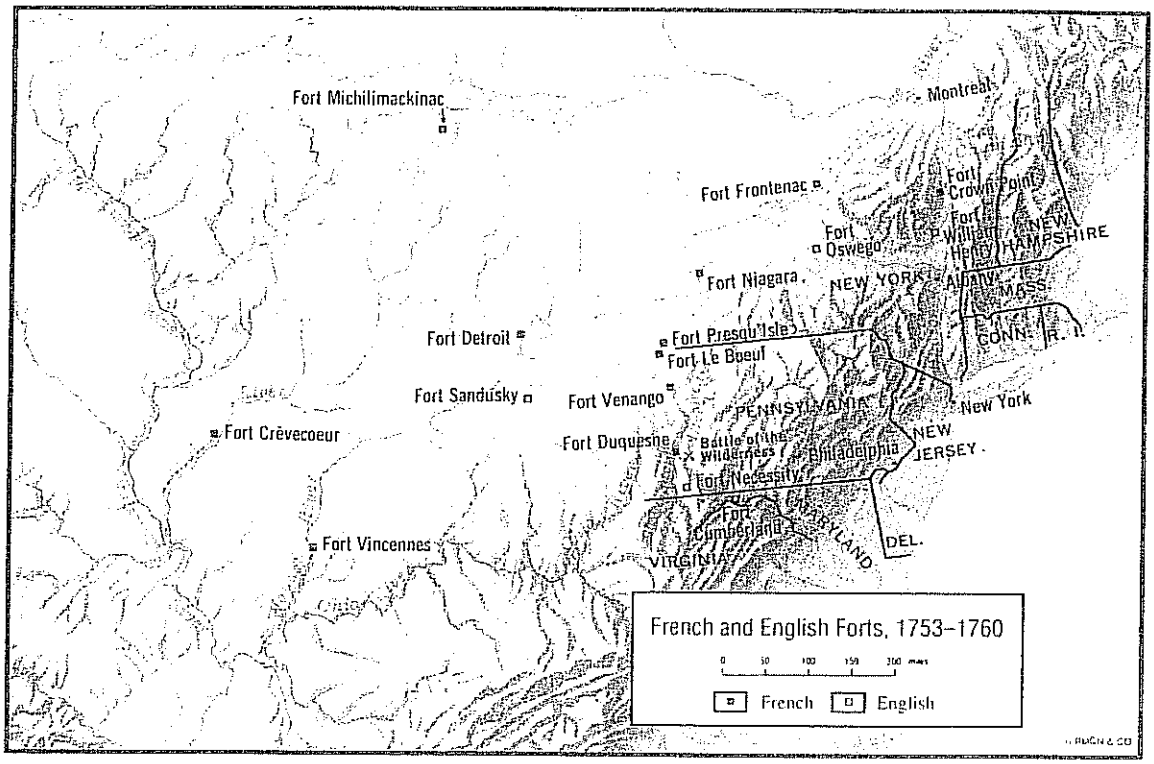
"The apostle enters upon his subject thus – Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of god: the powers that be, are ordained by God"


Cotton, fur, lumber, tobacco
Sugar, molasses, fruit
Europe
North America
North Atlantic
Ocean Circulation
Manufactured goods
Flour
Meat
Lumber
Africa
West Indies
South America
Spices, gold, slaves
0
500
1000
2000
3000
Miles

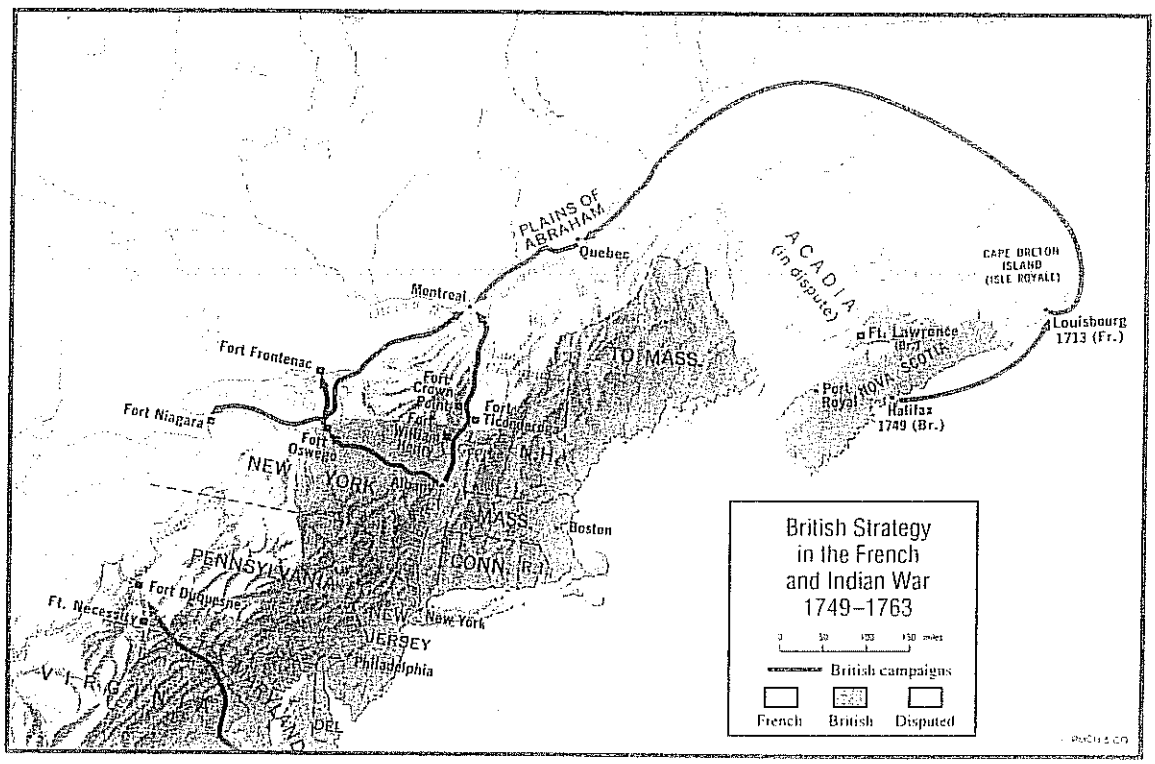


With the explorations of LaSalle, Marquette and Joliet the French maintained a strong hold on the interior. This map also shows the location of some native Indian tribes.

(46)


Fort Michilimackinac
Montreal
Fort Frontenac
Fort Crown Point
Fort Oswego
Fort William Henry
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Fort Niagara
NEW YORK
Albany
MASS.
Fort Detroit
Fort Presqu'Isle
Fort Le Boeuf
CONN.
R. I.
Fort Sandusky
Fort Venango
PENNSYLVANIA
New York
Fort Crèvecoeur
Fort Duquesne
Battle of the Wilderness
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
Fort Necessity
Fort Cumberland
MARYLAND
DEL.
Fort Vincennes
VIRGINIA
French and English Forts, 1753–1760
French
English

a


PLAINS OF ABRAHAM
Quebec
Montreal
ACADIA (in dispute)
CAPE BRETON ISLAND (ISLE ROYALE)
Louisbourg 1713 (Fr.)
Ft. Lawrence (Br.)
NOVA SCOTIA
Port Royal
Halifax 1749 (Br.)
Fort Frontenac
Fort Crown Point
Fort Ticonderoga
Fort William Henry
Fort Oswego
Fort Niagara
MASS.
NEW YORK
Albany
Boston
PENNSYLVANIA
CONN.
Fort Duquesne
Ft. Necessity
New York
NEW JERSEY
Philadelphia
DEL.
British Strategy in the French and Indian War 1749–1763
British campaigns
French
British
Disputed

b

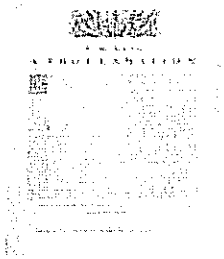
47

Search Results

Your Selection

Back to Search Results | Search Again

Here is the full entry for your selection:



Enlarge

Gilder Lehrman Document Number: GLC05214

Title: A Proclamation.

Author: George III, King

Year: 1763

Place: London

Type of document: Broadside

Quotation: "The several Nations...of Indians...should not be molested"

Description: The proclamation establishes colonial rule over former French and Spanish possessions in Canada, Florida, Grenada and other areas; it offers tolerance to Roman Catholics; it calls for governments and assemblies like those in existing colonies and recognizes the rights and land ownership of Indian tribes. One of nine known surviving copies. References: Clarence Brigham, British royal proclamations relating to America, 1603-1783; Clements Sale 1996 lot 223. Nine copies are known to survive.

Full Text: WHEREAS WE have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to Our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris...and being desirous that all Our loving Subjects...may avail themselves with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation; We have thought fit...to issue this Our Royal Proclamation.... And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to Our Interest and the Security of Our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians, with whom We are connected, and who live under Our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed...no Governor...in any of Our other Colonies or Plantations in America, do presume, for the present...to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean.... And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in the purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of Our Interests, and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order therefore to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the End that the Indians may be convinced of Our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable cause of Discontent, We do...enjoin and require, that no private Person do presume to make any Purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians....

Annotation: In 1773, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) published a brief history of the British government's actions during the preceding decade. Its title: Rules by Which a Great Empire May be Reduced to a Small One. Beginning in 1763, successive British ministries made a series of political missteps that gradually stirred the colonists to assert American liberties against British oppression. Before 1763, the colonists largely accepted Parliament's right to take actions on their behalf--and even the primacy of England's economic interests over their own. Prior to the Seven Years' War, however, almost all parliamentary actions had been designed to regulate trade, and while the colonies sometimes regarded these acts as unfair or inexpedient, they did not regard them as especially oppressive or burdensome. After 1763, however, Parliament's actions appeared to clash with the colonists' interests. At the end of the Seven Years' War, France surrendered Canada and much of the Ohio and Mississippi valley--two-thirds of eastern North America--to British rule. Many colonists regarded these new lands as a godsend. But the Proclamation of 1763 reserved lands west of the Appalachian mountains for Indians and forbade white settlement there. Equally disturbing, new British politics restricted Indian trade to traders licensed by the British government. For the first time, power over westward expansion was placed in the hands of British officials, outside the colonists' control. By preventing the colonial population from moving inland, the British ministry hoped to avoid costly Indian wars, protect the western fur trade, and keep western land speculation under the control of the crown. To enforce the proclamation, the British cabinet decided to station up to 10,000 troops along the frontier, at a cost of 250,000 pounds sterling annually. The colonists, who wanted to expand westward without the interference of British troops, deeply resented the proclamation. They feared that if they were walled in along the eastern coast, the results would be overpopulation, the growth of crowded cities, and social stratification along rigid class lines.

Click here for copy request forms and visitor information

THE GILDER LEHRMAN INSTITUTE of AMERICAN HISTORY

Introduction

Print this page

Guided Readings: The American Revolution 1760-1780

The Road to Revolution

Unlike many modern revolutions, the American Revolution was not rooted in economic deprivation or in the struggle of an oppressed class against an entrenched elite. But this does not mean that the colonists did not suffer from serious grievances.

The Revolution was the product of 40 years of abuses by the British authorities that many colonists regarded as a threat to their liberty and property. But people do not act simply in response to objective reality but according to the meaning that they give to events. The Revolution resulted from the way the colonists interpreted events.

The American patriots were alarmed by what they saw as a conspiracy against their liberty. They feared that the corruption and the abuses of power by the British government would taint their own society. And, further, they were troubled by the knowledge that they had no say over a government three thousand miles away.

1733: The Molasses Act, which levies a stiff tax on rum, molasses, and sugar produced in the British West Indies for sale to the colonies, produces vigorous opposition on the grounds that it seeks to protect English economic interests at the colonists' expense.

1750: After Parliament passes the Iron Act, which impedes the development of iron manufacturing in the colonies, Benjamin Franklin publishes a treatise denouncing the absurdity of restraining the colony's economic growth.

1751: The British government vetoes colonial laws that would prohibit convicts from entering the colonies, leading Benjamin Franklin to suggest that the colonists ship rattlesnakes to Britain.

1754: For the fourth time since the 1680s, Britain and France go to war. The conflict is known as the Seven Years' War in Europe and the French and Indian War in North America. When it ends in 1763, France cedes Canada and the Ohio River Valley to British rule.

1763: To prevent the colonists from rushing into territories vacated by the French and provoking conflict with the Indians, Parliament adopts the Proclamation of 1763, forbidding the colonists from purchasing land west of the Appalachians. To enforce the Proclamation, the royal government stations 10,000 troops in the colonies-the first time a standing army has been stationed in the colonies in peacetime.

Britain also orders western settlers to vacate Indian land and restricts Indian trading to traders licensed by the British government. For the first time, westward expansion is placed in the hands of royal officials.

1764: To maintain the army and repay war debts, Parliament decides to impose charges on colonial trade. It passes the Sugar Act, imposing duties on foreign wines, coffee, textiles, and indigo imported into the colonies, and expanding the customs service.

Britain requires colonial vessels to fill out papers detailing their cargo and destination. The royal navy patrols the coast to search for smugglers, who

(49)

were to be tried in special courts without a jury.

1764: The Currency Act prohibits colonial governments from issuing paper money and requires all taxes and debts to British merchants to be paid in British currency.

1765: To increase revenues to pay the cost of militarily defending the colonies, Parliament passes the Stamp Act, which requires a tax stamp on legal documents, almanacs, newspapers, pamphlets, and playing cards. This was the first direct tax Parliament had ever levied on the colonies and a violation of the principle that only the colonies' legislative assemblies could impose taxes. Suspected violators were to be tried in admiralty courts without juries.

Colonists boycotted British goods and intimidated stamp distributors into resigning. They protested the Stamp Act on two grounds: that it represented taxation without representation and that it deprived colonists of the right to trial by jury. Outside of Georgia, no stamps were ever sold. London merchants ultimately persuaded Parliament to repeal the act.

The Stamp Act made many Americans realize for the first time that the British government could act contrary to the colonies' interests.

1765: Parliament unanimously passes the Declaratory Act, asserting its right to make laws governing the colonists.

1765: Parliament approves the Quartering Act, requiring colonial governments to put up British soldiers in unoccupied buildings and provide them with candles, bedding, and beverages. When the New York Assembly resists, the British governor suspends the assembly for six months.

1767: Chancellor of the Exchequer Charles Townshend imposes new duties on imports of glass, lead, paint, paper, and tea to the colonies. The Townshend Acts also expand the customs service. Revenue from the acts was to pay the salaries of colonial governors and judges-preventing colonial legislatures from exercising the power of the purse over these officials.

1770: British soldiers under Captain Thomas Preston fire on a Boston crowd, killing five and wounding six. In a subsequent trial, in which John Adams defended the soldiers, all but two of the soldiers are acquitted of murder.

After discovering that the Townshend duties have raised only 21,000 pound sterling (while sales of British goods in the colonies have fallen more than 700,000 pounds, the British government repeals all the Townshend duties, except the duty on tea, to remind the colonists of Parliament's power to tax.
1773: Parliament passes the Tea Act, authorizing the East India Company to bypass American wholesalers and sell tea directly to American distributors. Cutting out the wholesalers' profit would make English tea cheaper than team smuggled in from Holland.

Colonists in Boston, disguised as Indians, board three vessels and dump 342 canisters of British tea into Boston harbor.

The British government responds harshly; it closes Boston harbor to trade; modifies the Massachusetts colonial charter; forbids town meetings more than once a year; calls for the billeting of British troops in unoccupied private homes; provides for trials outside the colonies when royal officials are accused of serious crimes; and declares that British officials accused of and names a general to serve as Massachusetts' royal governor.

1774: The Quebec Act enlarges French Quebec to cover the area as far west as the Mississippi River and as far south as the Ohio River. French law would prevail in this area and the Catholic Church would have a privileged status there.

1774: Virginia takes the lead in opposing British policies. Local committees called for the support of Boston and the elimination of all trade with Britain.

1774: In September, the first Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia to orchestrate resistance to British policies. It declares that all trade with Britain should be suspended.

1775: British General Thomas Gage is ordered to use military force to put down challenges to royal authority in the colonies. To curtail colonial military preparations, he dispatches royal troops to destroy rebel supplies at Concord, Massachusetts.

On the night of April 18, Paul Revere and William Dawes alert patriots of the approach of British forces. Revere is seized and Dawes is turned back at Lexington, Mass., but the Concord militia moves or destroys the supplies and prepares to defend their town.

On April 19, British redcoats arrive at Lexington and order 70 armed "Minutemen" to disperse. A shot rings out, drawing fire from the British soldiers. Eight Americans are killed. The British move on to Concord, destroying the supplies they can find, then return to Boston, as American patriots fire from behind hedges and walls. British losses are 65 dead, 173 wounded, and 26 missing. American casualties are 49 dead and 46 wounded or missing.

1775: In May, the second Continental Congress convenes in Philadelphia and appoints George Washington commander-in-chief.

1776: On July 2, the Continental Congress approves a resolution that begins: "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent."

Back to menu

Next

Return To Teacher Modules

Source Readings: "The Empire Strikes Back!"

"The greatest hope from the conquest of Canada, as indicated by the . . . conversation of people. . . was to be able to sit under their own vines and fig trees, and to have none to make them afraid. . . . The only things they have ever suffered as a community had been from their French and Indian neighbors. In every respect, except the costs of Indian wars, they had felt less of the burdens of government than any other people who had enjoyed so much benefit from it. . . . As long as the French remained up the continent, the English colonists had been fearful sooner or later they might be driven from it. But as soon as the French were removed, a new scene opened. . . . There was nothing to prevent a gradual advance of settlement through a vast continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. . ."
----- Governor Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts* (1778).

"His Royal Majesty's Government declares that: In so much as it is in our interest and in the interest of our colonies that several nations of Indians who live under our protection should not be disturbed in the territories that are reserved to them as hunting grounds; we do therefore. . . declare it to be our royal will that no governor in any of our colonies. . . grant warrants of survey or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of the stated proclamation line."
----- Proclamation of 1763.

"An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards further defraying the expense of defending, protecting, and security the same. . . . be it enacted . . . the following taxes shall apply. . . For every bond, deed, letter of attorney, mortgage. . . a stamp tax of two shillings and three pence. . . . And for and upon every pack of playing cards and all dice, which shall be sold or used. . . the sum of one shilling. . . . and for and upon every paper, commonly called a pamphlet, and upon every newspaper. . . a stamp duty of one-half penny,, for every printed copy thereof. . . ."
----- The Stamp Act, March 22, 1765

"Resolved. . . that the General Assembly of this colony have the only and sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this Colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever other than the General Assembly aforesaid has a manifest destiny to destroy . . . American freedom. . . . Resolved: That His Majesty's people, the inhabitants of this Colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law. . . designed to impose taxation . . . upon them, other than the laws of the General Assembly. . ."
----- Virginia Stamp Act Resolutions, May 30, 1765

"Whereas it is expedient that a revenue should be raised, in your Majesty's Dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and support of civil government. . . and towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and security of the said dominions. . . be it enacted. . . that from and after the twentieth of November, 1767, there shall be raised, levied, collected and paid, unto His Majesty. . . a tax on the following goods, which shall be imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation. . . glass, lead, paper, paints tea."
----- The Townshend Revenue Act, June 2, 1767.

"An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, and whereas the method of electing such counselors or assistants. . . hath. . . for some time past, been such as had the most manifest tendency to obstruct, and in great measure, defeat, the execution of the laws. . . Be it therefore enacted. . . . after . . .August 1, 1774, the council. . . of the province. . . shall be composed of such of the inhabitants. . . as shall be. . . nominated and appointed by His Majesty. . . ."
----- Massachusetts Government Act, May 20, 1774.

"Many of our subjects, in various parts of North America, misled by dangerous people and forgetting their allegiance they owe to the power that has protected and supported them, have proceeded to open and declared rebellion. They have organized themselves in a hostile manner in order to withstand the execution of the law and to traitorously prepare, order, and carry out war against us. . . . This rebellion has been encouraged by the traitorous correspondence, advice, and support of various wicked and desperate people in this realm. To insure that none of our subjects neglect or violate their duty, we have issued a royal proclamation declaring that all civil and military officers are obliged to exert their utmost efforts to suppress this rebellion and bring the traitors to justice. . . . We order that the King's subjects transmit to . . . our appropriate officials full information about all people . . . aiding or abetting . . . open rebellion against our government in any of the colonies of North America."
----- Proclamation of King George III, August, 1775.

"Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, . . . are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. . . . There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! . . . This war is inevitable! . . . I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"
----- Patrick Henry, Speech to Virginians, March 23, 1775.

The American Revolution: *evolutionary in process*
revolutionary in result?

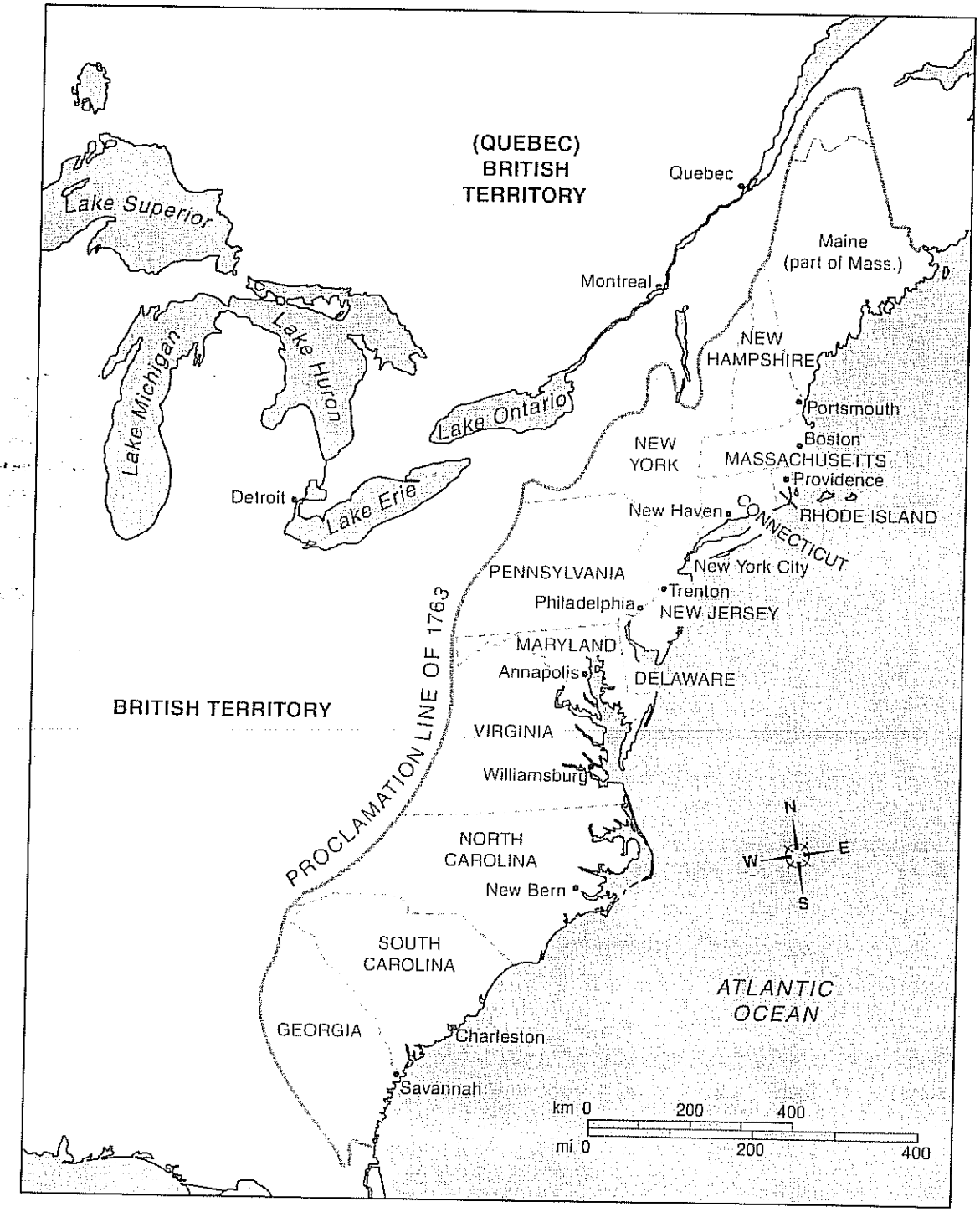
British Actions	Colonial Reactions/Responses
Before 1763: regulate trade Navigation Acts Hat Act Iron Act Woolens Act Sugar and Molasses Act (1733)	**Acceptance** (little protest) (salutary neglect)
↓	↓
1763 to 1773: raise revenue Proclamation of 1763 Sugar Act of 1764 Quartering Act (1765) Stamp Act (1765) Townshend Acts (1767) Writs of Assistance	**Resistance** Pamphlets and Petitions to the King Boycotts & Non-importation agreements Riots & Demonstrations: Sons of Liberty Committees of Correspondence Boston Massacre (1770)
↓	↓
1773 to 1776: exercise control Boston Tea Party (1773) Intolerable Acts (Coercive Acts) (1774) Quebec Act (1774) Battles of Lexington and Concord (1775)	**Revolution** First Continental Congress (1774) Second Continental Congress (1775) Olive Branch Petition (1775) Publication of "Common Sense" (1776) Declaration of Independence (1776)

"For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction." ----- Sir Isaac Newton

"There is something absurd in supposing a Continent to be perpetually governed by an island." ------ Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (1776)

Name _____ Date _____

The 13 British Colonies



Outline Maps

Copyright © Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.

Education Place®
www.eduplace.com

Interpreting Primary Sources: Toward Revolution

Reading 1:
For fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other....In short...were they left to themselves there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other, while the Indians and Negroes would...impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them all together.

Rev. Andrew Burnaby, 1760

Reading 2:
The revolution was effected before the war commenced. The revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people.

John Adams, 1818

Reading 3:
A colonist cannot make a button, a horseshoe, nor a hobnail, but some snootly ironmonger or respectable buttonmaker of England shall bawl and squall that his honor's worship is most egregiously maltreated, injured, cheated, and robbed by the rascally American republicans.

Boston Gazette, 1765

Reading 4:
We have called this a burthensome tax, because the duties are so numerous and high...that it would be totally impossible for the people to subsist under it....We further apprehend this tax to be unconstitutional. We have always understood it to be a grand and fundamental principle of the constitution, that no freeman should be subject to any tax to which he has not given his own consent, in person or by proxy....We take it clearly, there fore, to be inconsistent with the spirit of the common law, and of the essential fundamental principle of the British constitution, that we should be represented in that assembly in any sense, unless it be by a fiction of law....

Resolution of the Town of Braintree, Massachusetts, 1765, opposing the Stamp Act

Reading 5:
If we view the whole of the conduct of the ministry and parliament, I do not see how any one can doubt but that there is a settled fix'd plan for enslaving the colonies, or bringing them under arbitrary government....If the ministry can secure a majority in parliament...they may rule as absolutely as they do in France or Spain, yea as in Turkey or India....

View now the situation of America: loaded with taxes from the British parliament, as heavy as she can possibly support under,--our lands charged with the most exorbitant quit rent,--these taxes collected by foreigners, steeled against any impressions from our groans or complaints...our charters taken away--our assemblies annihilated,--governors and councils, appointed by royal authority without any concurrence of the people, enacting such laws as their sovereign pleasure shall dictate...the lives and property of Americans entirely at the disposal of officers more than three thousand miles removed from any power to control them--armies of the soldiers quartered among the inhabitants, who know the horrid purpose for which they are stationed, in the colonies--to subjugate and beat down the inhabitants....

Reverend Ebenezer Baldwin, 1774

Reading 6:
Considering the utter impracticability of their ever being fully and equally represented in parliament, and the great expense that must unavoidably attend even a partial representation there, this House thinks that a taxation of their constituents, even without their consent, grievous as it is, would be preferable to any representation that could be admitted for them there.

Circular letter, Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1768

Reading 7:
The New Englanders by their canting, whinings, insinuating tricks have persuaded the rest of the Colonies that the Government is going to make absolute slaves of them.

Nicholas Cresswell, a Tory, 1774

Reading 8:
I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, that the same connection is necessary toward her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument....

Not one third of the inhabitants, even of this province [Pennsylvania] are of English descent. Wherefore I reprobate the phrase of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being false, selfish, narrow and ungenerous....

The injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance: Because, any submission to, or dependence on Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and sets us at variance with nations, who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom, we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it....

[Continued British rule will lead to] the ruin of the continent. And that for several reasons. First. The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this continent. And as he hath shown himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power; is he, or is he not, a proper man to say to these colonies, "You shall make no laws but what I please"....Secondly. That as even the best terms, which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no longer than till the colonies come of age, so the general face and state of things, in the interim, will be unsettled and unpromising....

O ye that love mankind! Yet that dare oppose, not only tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression.

Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 1776

Questions to Think About

1. What do the quotations suggest were the fundamental causes of the American Revolution?

2. Describe the political and constitutional views of the colonists. What is their view of Parliament's right to tax the colonies?

3. Do you think colonists from different sections and different social classes share the same political ideas?

4. Would you describe the colonists' grievances as calm and carefully reasoned or as exaggerated and paranoid?

"The BLOODY MASSACRE Perpetrated in King Street BOSTON on March 5th 1770 by a Party of the 29th REGT." 1770.

Revere, Paul, engraver

68

ORIENTAL RUGS
BOSTONRUG.COM

Captain Thomas Preston's Accou
Boston Massacre
(13 march 1770)

*** Quote ***

There also is an anonymous account of the Boston M
a rather different point of view

It is [a] matter of too great notoriety to need any prc
his Majesty's troops in Boston was extremely obnoxi
They have ever used all means in their power to w
and to bring them into contempt by promoting and a
with impunity, even where there has been the clea
fact, and by grossly and falsely propagating untruths
the arrival of the 64th and 65th their ardour seemin
being too expensive to buy off so many, and al
rendered too dangerous from the numbers

And has ever since their departure been breaki
violence after their embarkation. One of their justi
acquainted with the people and their intentions, on
the 14th Regiment, openly and publicly in the hearin
people and from the seat of justice, declared "that th
care of themselves, nor trust too much to their arms, for t
that the inhabitants carried weapons concealed under t
destroy them in a moment, if they pleased". This, cons
temper of the people, was an alarming circumstance
which several disputes have happened between the
soldiers of both regiments, the former being encou
countenance of even some of the magistrates, and b
the party against government. In general such disp
too secret from the offi- cers. On the 2d instant t
through one Gray's ropewalk, the rope-makers insu
they would empty a vault. This unfortunately had
provoking the soldiers, and from words they went t
suffered in this afftay, and finally the soldiers retired
officers, on the first knowledge of this transaction, t
in their power to prevent any ill consequence. Nc

single quarrels could not be prevented, the in
provoking and abusing the soldiery. The insolence a:
of the inhabitants to the troops increased daily, in
and Tuesday, the 5th and 6th instant, were priva
general engagement, in consequence of which sever
from the country armed to join their friends, menacir
should oppose them. This plan has since been discov

On Monday night about 8 o'clock two soldiers were a
the party of the townspeople in order to carry m
length, broke into two meeting houses and rang the
supposed was for fire as usual, but was soon undecei
the guard came to and informed me the town inhabit
to attack the troops, and that the bells were ringing
purpose and not for fire, and the beacon intended t
the distant people of the country. This, as I was
occasioned my repairing immediately to the main gu
I saw the people in great commotion, and heard the
and horrid threats against the troops. In a few minut
guard, about 100 people passed it and went towar
where the king's money is lodged. They immedia
sentry posted there, and with clubs and other we
execute their vengeance on him. I was soon infor
their intention was to carry off the soldier from h
murder him. On which I desired him to return for fur
he soon came back and assured me he heard th
would murder him. This I feared might be a prelud
the king's chest. I immediately sent a non-commis
men to protect both the sentry and the king's m
followed myself to prevent, if possible, all disorder, f
and soldiers, by the insults and provocations of t
thrown off their guard and commit some rash ac
through the people, and by charging their bayonet
them at a little distance. Nay, so far was I from inten
person that I suffered the troops to go to the spo
affair took place without any loading in their pieces
orders for loading them. This remiss conduct in
censure; yet it is evidence, resulting from the natu
the best and surest that can be offered, that my int
offensively, but the contrary part, and that not wit
mob still increased and were more outrageous, s
bludgeons one against another, and calling out, com
bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire if you dar
and be damned, we know you dare not, and much
was used. At this time I was between the soldiers ar
with, and endeavouring all in my power to pers
peaceably, but to no purpose. They advanced t
bayonets, struck some of them and even the muzzl
seemed to be endeavouring to close with the soldiers
behaved persons asked me if the guns were charge

then asked me if I intended to order the men to fire.
means, observing to them that I was advanced befo
men's pieces, and must fall a sacrifice if they fired; t
upon the half cock and charged bayonets, and my
under those circumstances would prove me to be n
thus speaking, one of the soldiers having received
stick, stepped a little on one side and instantly fired
and asking him why he fired without orders, I was
my arm, which for some time deprived me of the use
it been placed on my head, most probably would hav
On this a general attack was made on the men b
heavy clubs and snowballs being thrown at them, t
were in imminent danger, some persons at the sar
calling out, damn your bloods-why don't you fire. Ins
the soldiers fired, one after another, and directly afl
same confusion and hurry. The mob then ran away,
men who instantly expired, in which number was Mr.
walk the prior quarrels took place; one more is sinc
are dangerously, and four slightly wounded. The whc
affair was transacted in almost 20 minutes. On my as
they fired without orders, they said they heard the w
it came from me. This might be the case as many
fire, fire, but I assured the men that I gave no such
were, don't fire, stop your firing. In short, it was sca
soldiers to know who said fire, or don't fire, or sto
people's assembling again to take away the dead
supposing them coming to attack them, were makin
which I prevented by striking up their firelocks with n
after a townsman came and told me that 4 or
assembled in the next street, and had sworn to tal
man's with me. On which I judged it unsafe to rem
and therefore sent the party and sentry to the ma
street is narrow and short, there telling them off into
and planted them at each end of the street to secure
expecting an attack, as there was a constant cry
arms, to arms, turn out with your guns; and the to
arms, I ordered my drums to beat to arms, and bein
the different companies of the 29th regiment, I form
into street firings. The 14th regiment also got under
their barracks. I immediately sent a sergeant witl
Dalrymple, the commanding officer, to acquaint him
Several officers going to join their regiment were k
mob, one very much wounded and his sword ta
lieutenant-governor and Colonel Carr soon after me
29th regiment and agreed that the regiment sh
barracks, and the people to their houses, but I
strengthen the guard. It was with great difficulty
governor prevailed on the people to be quiet and r
went off, excepting about a hundred.

A Council was immediately called, on the breakin justices met and issued a warrant to apprehend me a hearing of this procedure I instantly went to the sh myself, though for the space of 4 hours I had it in my my escape, which I most undoubtedly should have easily executed, had I been the least conscious examination before the justices, two witnesses swore orders to fire. The one testified he was within two that I swore at the men for not firing at the first wor heard me use the word "fire," but whether do or do n say; others that they heard the word fire, but cou from me. The next day they got 5 or 6 more to swe fire. So bitter and inveterate are many of the malco are industriously using every method to fish out evide concerted scheme to murder the inhabitants. Oth utmost malice and revenge into the minds of the peo jurors by false publications, votes of towns, and all o from a settled rancour against the officers and tr suddenness of my trial after the affair while the p greatly inflamed, I am, though perfectly innocent, circumstances, having nothing in reason to expect b very ignominous manner, without the interposition goodness.

Text prepared by Garry Wiersema
for **From Revolution to Reconstruction - an .HTML p**
Last update: 2003-3-6 time: 10:01
© 1994- 2006. All rights reserved. Department of Humanitie

72

THE Boston- AND COUNTRY Gazette, JOURNAL. No. 779.
Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestic.
MONDAY, March 12, 1770.

The Boston Massacre

Here is the complete text of the account of the Boston Massacre as reported in the Boston Gazette and Country Journal on Monday, March 12, 1770.

A few minutes after nine o'clock four youths, named Edward Archbald, William Merchant, Francis Archbald, and John Leech, jun., came down Cornhill together, and separating at Doctor Loring's corner, the two former were passing the narrow alley leading Mr. Murray's barrack in which was a soldier brandishing a broad sword of an uncommon size against the walls, out of which he struck fire plentifully. A person of mean countenance. armed with a large cudgel bore him company. Edward Archbald admonished Mr. Merchant to take care of the sword, on which the soldier turned round and struck Archbald on the arm, then pushed at Merchant and pierced through his clothes inside the arm close to the armpit and grazed the skin. Merchant then struck the soldier with a short stick he had; and the other person ran to the barrack and brought with him two soldiers, one armed with a pair of tongs, the other with a shovel. He with the tongs pursued Archbald back through the alley, collared and laid him over the head with the tongs. The noise brought people together; and John Hicks, a young lad, coming up, knocked the soldier down but let him get up again; and more lads gathering, drove them back to the barrack where the boys stood some time as it were to keep them in. In less than a minute ten or twelve of them came out with drawn cutlasses, clubs, and bayonets and set upon the unarmed boys and young folk who stood them a little while but, finding the inequality of their equipment, dispersed.

On hearing the noise, one Samuel Atwood came up to see what was the matter; and entering the alley from dock square, heard the latter part of the combat; and when the boys had dispersed he met the ten or twelve soldiers aforesaid rushing down the alley towards the square and asked them if they intended to murder people? They answered Yes, by G-d, root and branch! With that one of them struck Mr. Atwood with a club which was repeated by another; and being unarmed, he turned to go off and received a wound on the left shoulder which reached the bone and gave him much pain. Retreating a few steps, Mr. Atwood met two officers and said, gentlemen, what is the matter They answered, you'll see by and by. Immediately after, those heroes appeared in the square, asking where were the boogers? where were the cowards? But notwithstanding their fierceness to naked men, one of them advanced towards a youth who had a split of a raw stave in his hand and said, damn them, here is one of them. But the young man seeing a person near him with a drawn sword and good cane ready to support him, held up his stave in defiance; and they quietly passed by him up the little alley by Mr. Silsby's to King Street where they attacked single and unarmed persons till they raised much clamour, and then turned down Cornhill Street, insulting all they met in like manner and pursuing some to their very doors. Thirty or forty persons, mostly lads, being by this means gathered in King Street, Capt. Preston with a party of men with charged bayonets, came from the main guard to the commissioner's house, the soldiers pushing their bayonets, crying, make way! They took place by the custom house and, continuing to push to drive the people off pricked some in several places, on which they were clamorous and, it is said, threw snow balls. On this, the Captain commanded them to fire; and more snow balls coming, he again said, damn you, fire, be the consequence what it ! One soldier then fired, and a townsman with a cudgel struck him over the hands with such force that he dropped his firelock; and, rushing forward, aimed a blow e Captain's head which grazed his hat and fell pretty heavy upon his arm. However, the soldiers continued the fire successively till seven or eight or, as some say, eleven guns were discharged.
By this fatal manoeuvre three men were laid dead on the spot and two more struggling for life; but what showed a degree of cruelty unknown to British troops, at least since the house of Hanover has directed their operation, was an attempt to fire upon or push with their bayonets the persons who undertook to remove the slain and wounded!

Mr. Benjamin Leigh, now undertaker in the Delph manufactory, came up and after some conversation with Capt. Preston relative to his conduct in this affair, advised him to draw off his men, with which he complied. The dead are Mr. Samuel Gray, killed on the spot, the ball entering his head and beating off a large portion of his skull.

A mulatto man named Crispus Attucks, who was born in Framingham, but lately belonged to New-Providence and was here in order to go for North Carolina, also killed instantly, two balls entering his breast, one of them in special goring the right lobe of the lungs and a great part of the liver most horribly.

Mr. James Caldwell, mate of Capt. Morton's vessel, in like manner killed by two balls entering his back.

Mr. Samuel Maverick, a promising youth of seventeen years of age, son of the widow Maverick, and an apprentice to Mr. Greenwood, ivory-turner, mortally wounded; a ball went through his belly and was cut out at his back. He died the next morning.

A lad named Christopher Monk, about seventeen years of age, an apprentice to Mr. Walker, shipwright, wounded; a ball entered his back about four inches above the left kidney near the spine and was cut out of the breast on the same side. Apprehended he will die.

A lad named John Clark, about seventeen years of age, whose parents live at Medford, and an apprentice to Capt. Samuel Howard of this town, wounded; a ball entered just above his groin and came out at his hip on the opposite side. Apprehended he will die.

Mr. Edward Payne of this town, merchant, standing at his entry door received a ball in his arm which shattered some of the bones.

Mr. John Green, tailor, coming up Leverett's Lane, received a ball just under his hip and lodged in the under part of his thigh, which was extracted.

Mr. Robert Patterson, a seafaring man, who was the person that had his trousers shot through in Richardson's affair, wounded; a ball went through his right arm, and he suffered a great loss of blood.

Mr Patrick Carr, about thirty years of age, who worked with Mr. Field, leather breeches-maker in Queen Street, wounded; a ball entered near his hip and went out at his

A lad named David Parker, an apprentice to Mr. Eddy, the wheelwright, wounded; a ball entered his thigh.

A Declaration by the Representatives
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
in General Congress assembled.

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 ~~inherent and~~ *certain* inalienable[1] 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 it's foundation on such principles, and organising it's 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 & 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, ~~begun at a distinguished period, &~~ 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, & to provide new guards for their future security. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity which constrains them to

[1] In the printed version, "inalienable" became "unalienable." Becker, n. 1 at p. 175, suggests that "unalienable" might have been "the more customary form in the eighteenth century."

~~expunge~~ *alter* their former systems of government. the history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of ~~unremitting~~ *repeated* injuries and usurpations, ~~among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest; but~~ all *having* ~~have~~ in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world~~, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood~~.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

he has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has *utterly* neglected ~~utterly~~ to attend to them.

he has refused to pass other laws for the accomodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinguish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants only.

he has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, & distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly ~~& continually,~~ for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

he has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions within.

he has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

he has ~~suffered~~ *obstructed* the administration of justice ~~totally to cease in some of these states,~~ *by* refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

he has made ~~our~~ judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount & paiment of their salaries.

(78)

he has erected a multitude of new offices ~~by a self-assumed power,~~ & sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

he has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies ~~and ships of war,~~ without the consent of our legislatures.

he has affected to render the military independant of, & superior to, the civil power.

he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknoleged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation

for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

for protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

for imposing taxes on us without our consent;

for depriving us *in many cases* of the benefits of trial by jury;

for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging it's boundaries so as to render it at once an example & fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these states.[2]

for taking away our charters abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

for suspending our own legislatures, & declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

he has abdicated government here~~, withdrawing his governors, &~~ *by* declaring us out of his ~~allegiance and~~ protection *and waging war against us*.

[2]Boyd, in *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text* . . . (revised edition, Princeton, N.J., 1945), argues that Congress substituted "states" for "colonies," and so restored Jefferson's original wording, which had been changed either by Jefferson or the drafting Committee (p. 30 and n. 57, p. 33 and n. 61). Becker did not include this among Congress's changes, nor have I, since the Lee copy says "states."

he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, & destroyed the lives of our people.

he is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to compleat the works of death, desolation & 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* endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes & conditions ~~of existence~~.

~~he has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of property.~~

he has constrained *our fellow citizens* ~~others,~~[3] taken captives on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends & brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

~~he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life & 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. this piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he now is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which *he* has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom *he* also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another.~~

[3]Boyd, *Declaration of Independence*, 33, does not seem to include this among Congress's changes. I have followed Becker, who explained his position in n. 2 at p. 166. The change is clearly shown on the Lee draft. The Lee copy is now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, which published it, with background information on the manuscript by I. Minis Hays, in its *Proceedings*, Vol. XXXVII (1898), pp. 88–107 (mss. on 103–107).

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 ~~who mean to be free. future ages will scarce believe that the hardiness of one man adventured within the short compass of twelve years only, to build a foundation, so broad and undisguised, for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom~~.

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 ~~a~~ *an unwarrantable* jurisdiction over *us.* ~~these our states.~~ we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, ~~no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expence of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, or ever in idea, if history may be credited: and~~ we *have* appealed to their native justice & magnanimity, ~~as well as to~~ *and we have conjured them by* the tyes of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which ~~were likely to~~ *would inevitably* interrupt our connection, & correspondence. they too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; ~~and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power. at this very time too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. these facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection; and manly spirit bids us to renouce forever these unfeeling brethren.~~ we must *therefore* ~~endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. we might have been a free & a great people together, but a communication of grandeur and~~

~~of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. be it so, since they will have it. the road to happiness and to glory is open to us too; we will climb it apart from them~~ *and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.* ~~and~~ acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our ~~eternal~~ separation.

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 ~~states, reject~~ *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* ~~and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain, & all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve~~ all political connection ~~which may heretofore have subsisted~~ between ~~us~~ *them* and the *state* ~~parliament or people~~ of Great Britain; *is & ought to be totally dissolved;* ~~and finally we do assert~~ [~~and declare~~][4] ~~these colonies to be free and independant states,~~ & that as free & independant states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other acts and things which independant 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.

[4] Becker added the words "and declare" from Jefferson's "Rough Draft," assuming that Jefferson had mistakenly left it out of the Lee copy. Becker also reversed "parliament or people" in conformance with the Rough Draft. There I chose to remain consistent with the Lee copy. See Becker 170, n.1.

Remembering Independence Day

Have you ever wondered what happened to the 56 men who signed the Declaration of Independence?

- 5 signers were captured by the British as traitors, and tortured before they died.
- 12 had their homes ransacked and burned.
- 2 lost their sons serving in the Revolutionary Army; another two had sons captured.
- 9 of the 56 fought and died from wounds or hardships of the Revolutionary War.

They signed and they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

- 24 were lawyers and jurists.
- 11 were merchants.
- 9 were farmers and large plantation owners.
- 12 were men of means, well educated.

But they signed the Declaration of Independence knowing full well that the penalty would be death if they were captured.

Carter Braxton of Virginia, a wealthy planter and trader, saw ships swept from the seas by the British navy. He sold his home and properties ton pay his debts, and died in rags.

Thomas McKeam was so hounded by the British that he was forced to move his family almost constantly. He served in the Congress without pay, and his family was kept in hiding. His possessions were taken from him, and poverty was his reward.

Vandals or soldiers looted the properties of Dillery, Hall, Clymer, Walton, Gwinnett, Heyward, Ruttledge, and Middleton.

At the battle of Yorktown, Thomas Nelson Jr., noted that the British General Cornwallis had taken over the Nelson home for his headquarters. He quietly urged General George Washington to open fire. The home was destroyed, and Nelson died bankrupt.

Francis Lewis had his home and properties destroyed. The enemy jailed his wife, and she died within a few months.

John Hart was driven from his wife's bedside as she was dying. Their 13 children fled for their lives. His fields and his gristmill were laid to waste. For more than a year he lived in forests and caves, returning home to find his wife dead and his children vanished. A

few weeks later he died from exhaustion and a broken heart. Norris and Livingston suffered similar fates.

Such were the stories and sacrifices of the American Revolution. These were not wild-eyed, rabble-rousing ruffians. They were soft spoken men of means and education. They had security, but they valued liberty more. Standing tall, straight, and unwavering, they pledged:
"For the support of this declaration, with firm reliance on the protection of the divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Articles of Confederation vs. the Constitution

The following chart compares some of the provisions of the Articles of Confederation with those in the Constitution. It's important to note that most commentators see the Articles period (1781-1789) as a weak one in terms of governmental power. Whether that is a positive or negative for the United States depends on one's point of view regarding the size and influence of a national government. Those favoring a limited government, (Libertarians, for example) would view the Articles period as the pinnacle of American freedom, while those favoring a strong central government would see it as a failure.

	Articles of Confederation	**Constitution**
Levying taxes		
Federal courts		
Regulation of trade		
Executive		
Amending document		
Representation of states		
Raising an army		
Interstate commerce		
Disputes between states		
Sovereignty		
Passing laws		

Articles of Confederation vs. the Constitution

The following chart compares some of the provisions of the Articles of Confederation with those in the Constitution. It's important to note that most commentators see the Articles period (1781-1789) as a weak one in terms of governmental power. Whether that is a positive or negative for the United States depends on one's point of view regarding the size and influence of a national government. Those favoring a limited government, (Libertarians, for example) would view the Articles period as the pinnacle of American freedom, while those favoring a strong central government would see it as a failure.

.	Articles of Confederation	Constitution
Levying taxes	Congress could request states to pay taxes	Congress has right to levy taxes on individuals
Federal courts	No system of federal courts	Court system created to deal with issues between citizens, states
Regulation of trade	No provision to regulate interstate trade	Congress has right to regulate trade between states
Executive	No executive with power. President of U.S. merely presided over Congress	Executive branch headed by President who chooses Cabinet and has checks on power of judiciary and legislature
Amending document	13/13 needed to amend Articles	2/3 of both houses of Congress plus 3/4 of state legislatures or national convention
Representation of states	Each state received 1 vote regardless of size	Upper house (Senate) with 2 votes; lower house (House of Representatives) based on population
Raising an army	Congress could not draft troops and was dependent on states to contribute forces	Congress can raise an army to deal with military situations
Interstate commerce	No control of trade between states	Interstate commerce controlled by Congress
Disputes between states	Complicated system of arbitration	Federal court system to handle disputes between states and residents of different states.
Sovereignty	Sovereignty resides in states	Constitution was established as the supreme law of the land
Passing laws	9/13 states needed to approve legislation	50%+1 of both houses plus signature of President

Please cite this source when appropriate:

Feldmeth, Greg D. "Articles of Confederation vs. The Constitution," *U.S. History Resources* http://www.polytechnic.org/faculty/gfeldmeth/chart.art.html (24 June 2004

The Avalon Project *at Yale Law School*

Articles of Confederation

Annapolis Convention	Madison Debates	Federalist Papers	U. S. Constitution
See Also Benjamin Franklin's Draft and John Dickinson's Draft			
See Discussion of The Articles of Confederation in Jefferson's Autobiography			

Art 1	Art 2	Art 3	Art 4	Art 5	Art 6	Art 7
Art 8	Art 9	Art 10	Art 11	Art 12	Art 13	

To all to whom these Presents shall come, we the undersigned Delegates of the States affixed to our Names send greeting.

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

I.

The Stile of this Confederacy shall be

"The United States of America".

II.

Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

III.

The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

IV.

The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State, on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

V.

For the most convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislatures of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a powerreserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of

holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests or imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendence on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

VI.

No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any King, Prince or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any King, Prince or foreign State; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any King, Prince or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress, to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgement of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State; but every State shall always keep

up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of filed pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the Kingdom or State and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

VII.

When land forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

VIII.

All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

94

IX.

The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article -- of sending and receiving ambassadors -- entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever -- of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated -- of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace -- appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies commited on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other causes whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgement and sentence of the court to be appointed, in

95

the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgement, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgement or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgement, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State, where the cause shall be tried, 'well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgement, without favor, affection or hope of reward': provided also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before presecribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

* The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States -- fixing the standards of weights and measures throughout the United States -- regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated -- establishing or regulating post offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office -- appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers -- appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States -- making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated 'A Committee of the States', and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs

96

of the United States under their direction -- to appoint one of their members to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses -- to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half-year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted -- to build and equip a navy -- to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and cloath, arm and equip them in a solid-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled. But if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, cloathed, armed and equipped in the same manner as the quota of each State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spread out in the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, cloath, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judeg can be safely spared. And the officers and men so cloathed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of the majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgement require secrecy; and

77

the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

X.

The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of the nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said Committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled be requisite.

XI.

Canada acceding to this confederation, and adjoining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

XII.

All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed, and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pleged.

XIII.

Every State shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

And Whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union.

Know Ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said Confederation are submitted to them. And that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Eight, and in the Third Year of the independence of America.

Agreed to by Congress 15 November 1777 In force after ratification by Maryland, 1 March 1781

Source:
Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States.
Government Printing Office, 1927.
House Document No. 398.
Selected, Arranged and Indexed by Charles C. Tansill

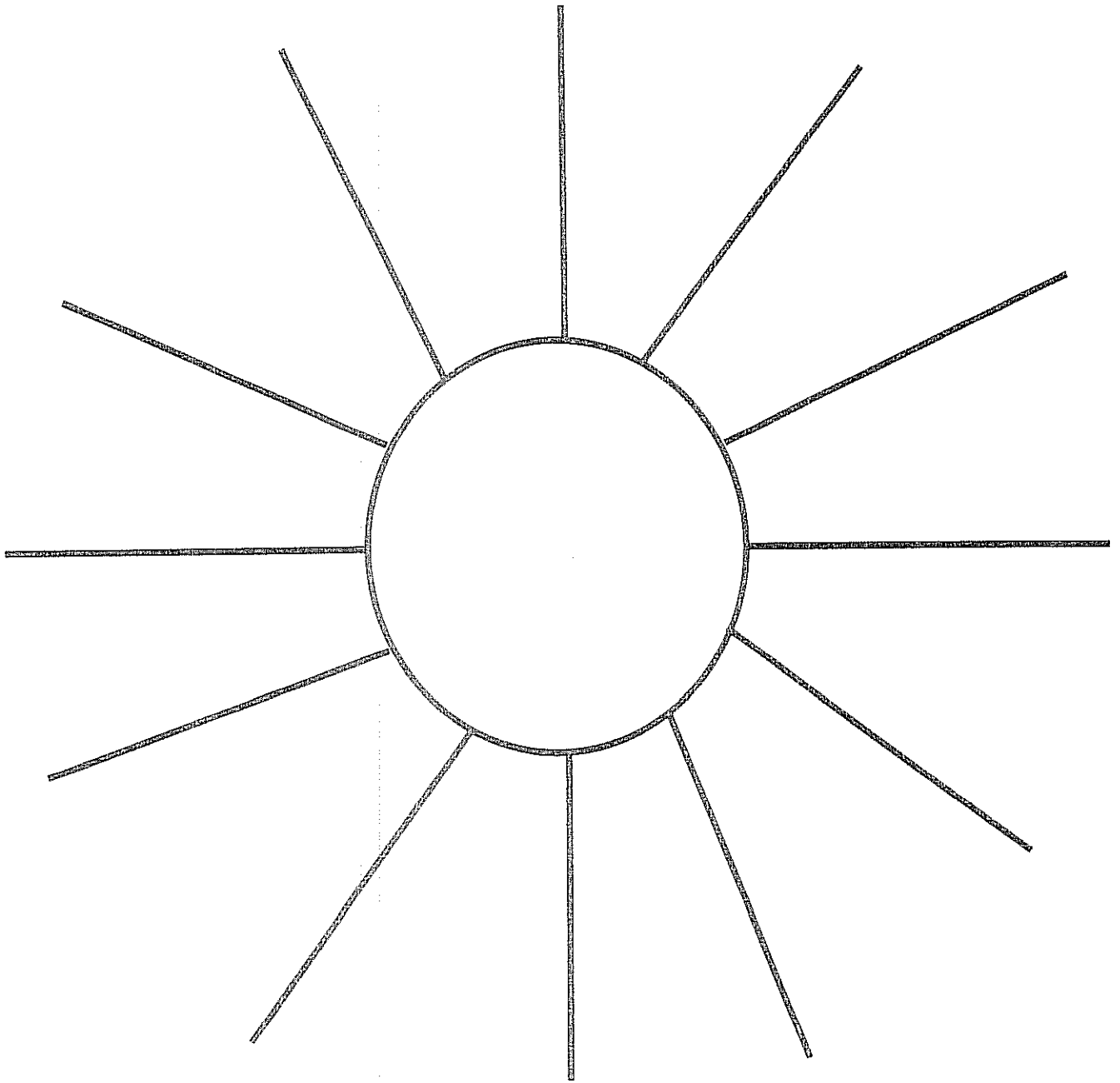
18th Century Page	Constitution Page	Avalon Home Page

Search the Avalon Project

Statement of Purpose and Document Inclusion Policy		
Search Page	Help Desk & FAQ	Avalon Home
Document Collections		What's New

© 1996-2007 The Avalon Project at Yale Law School.
The Lillian Goldman Law Library in Memory of Sol Goldman.

Title _____

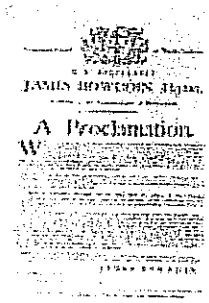


Search Results

Your Selection

Back to Search Results

Here is the full entry for your selection:



Gilder Lehrman Document Number: GLC03538

Title: A proclamation

Author: Bowdoin, James (1726-1790)

Year: 1786/09/02

Place: Boston, Massachusetts

Type of document: Broadside

Enlarge

Quotation: "This high-handed offence...must tend to subvert all law and government"

Description: Issued as Governor of Massachusetts. Gives a brief account of the rebel mobs storming the Court of Common Pleas in Northampton. Calls upon all civil & military officers to suppress Shays' Rebellion.

Full Text: A Proclamation WHEREAS information has been given to the Supreme Executive of this Commonwealth, that on Tuesday last, the 29th of August, being the day appointed by law for the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas and Court of General Sessions of the Peace, at Northampton...a large concourse of people, from several parts of that county, assembled at the Court-House...many of whom were armed with guns, swords, and other deadly weapons, and with drums beating and fifes playing, in contempt and open defiance of the authority of this Government, did, by their threats of violence and keeping possession of the Court-House until twelve o'clock on the night of the same day, prevent the sitting of the Court, and the orderly administration of justice in that county: AND WHEREAS this high-handed offence is fraught with the most fatal and pernicious consequences, must tend to subvert all law and government; to dissolve our excellent Constitution, and introduce universal riot, anarchy and confusion, which would probably terminate in absolute despotism, and consequently destroy the fairest prospects of political happiness, that any people was ever favoured with: I HAVE therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of the Council, to issue this Proclamation, calling upon all Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Constables, and other officers, civil and military within this Commonwealth, to prevent and suppress all such violent and riotous proceedings.... AND I DO hereby, pursuant to the indispensable duty I owe to the good people of this Commonwealth, most solemnly call upon them, as they value the blessings of freedom and independence, which at the expense of so much blood and treasure they have purchased--as they regard their faith, which in the sight of GOD and the world they pledged to one another and to the people of the United States, when they adopted the present Constitution of Government- as they would not disappoint the hopes, and thereby become contemptible in the eyes of other nations, in the view of whom they have risen to glory and empire--as they would not deprive themselves of the security derived from well-regulated Society, to their lives, liberties and property and as they would not devolve upon their children, instead of peace, freedom and safety, a state of anarchy confusion and slavery....

Click here for copy request forms and visitor information

For more information please contact: reference@gilderlehrman.com

Back to Search Results

8/

Henry Lee to George Washington, Oct. 1st, 1786

Dear Genl. [October 1? 1786](1)

I have not written to you for a long time having nothing important or agreable to communicate.
Nor have I now any thing agreable, but alas the reverse.
The commotions which have for some time past distracted the two eastern states, have risen in Massachusetts to an alarming height. In New Hampshire the firmness of their President the late General Sullivan has dissipated the troubles in that state.(2) I enclose a full narration of his decided conduct, and the effects which it produced.(3) But affairs are in a very different situation in Massachusetts. After various insults to government, by stopping the courts of Sussex &c, the insurgents have in a very formidable shape taken possession of the town of Springfield, at which place the supreme court was sitting. The friends to government arrayed under the Militia general of the district Shepard in support [of] the court, but their exertions were not effectual. The court removed and broke up, the insurgents continue possessed, of the town & General Shepherd has retired to the United states Arsenal one mile from Springfield. This Arsenal contains a very important share of our munitions of war. Congress have sent their secretary of this department, General Knox, to take the best measures in his power in concert with government for the safety of the Arsenal. What renders the conduct of the insurgents more alarming is, that they behave with decency & manage with system, they are encamped and regularly supplied with provisions by their friends & have lately given orders to the delegates in Assembly from their particular towns, not to attend the meeting of the Legislature.

It must give you pleasure to hear in this very distressing scene, the late officers & soldiers are on the side of government unanimously. The Insurgents it is said are conducted by a Captain of the late army, who continued but a small period in service & possessed a very reputable character.(4)

This event produces much suggestion as to its causes. Some attribute it to the weight of taxes and the decay of commerce, which has produced universal idleness.
Others, to British Councils the vicinity of Vermont & the fondness for novelty which always has & ever will possess more or less influence on man. The next accounts will I hope produce favorable intelligence, but present appearances do not justify this hope.
Has your china arrived, & does it please Mrs Washington. Be pleased to present my best respects to her & accept the repitition of my unceasing regard with which, I have the honor to be most sincerely, Your ob ser,

Henry Lee Junr.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Endorsed by Washington: "The Honble. Henry Lee

Document 7: The "Founding Fathers" on the Articles of Confederation

A) *Jefferson—In December of 1783, Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and the United States ambassador to France during much of the Critical Period, wrote the following in a letter:*

"The constant session of Congress cannot be necessary in time of peace...(the delegates should) separate and return to our respective states, leaving only a Committee of the states...(and thus) destroy the strange idea of their being a permanent body, which has unaccountably taken possession of the heads of their constituents, and occasion jealousies injurious to the public good."

From: Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1969, p. 539.

B) Washington—*In June of 1783, George Washington took the opportunity offered by the disbanding of his army to send a circular letter to the states. In this letter he insists...*

"That, unless the States will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution (Articles of Confederation), everything must rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion. That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual States, that there should be lodged somewhere a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the Union cannot be of long duration. There must be a faithful and pointed compliance, on the part of every State, with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue."

From: Jack Greene, ed., Colonies to Nation, 1763-1789, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975, pp. 436-439.

C) Hamilton—*After many attempts to amend the Articles of Confederation failed, a convention was held at Annapolis, Maryland in September 1786. Delegates from only five states attended, but they adopted an address by Alexander Hamilton of New York calling for all the states to send delegates to a new convention in Philadelphia the following May. A portion of Hamilton's address follows:*

"That there are important defects in the system of the Federal Government is acknowledged by the Acts of all those States, which have concurred in the present Meeting; That the defects, upon a closer examination, may be found greater and more numerous, than even these acts imply, is at least so probable, from the embarrassments which characterise the present State of our national affairs, foreign and domestic, as may reasonably be supposed to merit a deliberate and candid discussion....A Convention of Deputies from the different States, for the special and sole purpose of entering into this investigation, and digesting a plan for supplying such defects as may be discovered to exist [and]...to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union..."

From: Jack Greene, ed., Colonies to Nation, 1763-1789, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975, pp. 509-511.

D) Wilson—*In the summer of 1787, Pennsylvanian James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence made the following statement...*

"Among the first sentiments expressed in the first Congress one was that Virginia is no more, that Massachusetts is no more, that Pennsylvania is no more. We are now one nation of brethren. We must bury all local interests and distinctions. This language continued for some time. The tables at length began to turn. No sooner were the State Governments formed than their jealously and ambition began to display themselves. Each endeavored to cut a slice from the common loaf, to add to its own morsel, till at length the confederation became frittered down to the impotent condition in which it now stands."

From: Edmund S. Morgan, The Birth of the American Republic 1763-89, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977, pp. 125-126.

Search Results

Your Selection

Back to Search Results Search Again

Here is the full entry for your selection:

Gilder Lehrman Document Number: GLC00819.06

Title: [State of the resolutions submitted by... Mr. Randolph...]

Author: Butler, Pierce (1744-1822)

Year: 1787/06/13

Place: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Type of document: Manuscript document

Quotation: "A national government ought to be established consisting of a Supreme Legislature, Judiciary, and Executive"

Description: Changes to the Virginia Plan as agreed to by "a committee of the Whole House." In Secretary to the Convention William Jackson's hand per CH. Date from Hutson.

Full Text: State of the resolutions submitted to the consideration of the House by the honorable Mr. Randolph, as altered, amended, and agreed to in a Committee of the whole House. 1. Resolved.that it is the opinion of this Committee that a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme Legislative, Judiciary, and Executive. 2 Resolved.that the National Legislature ought to consist of Two Branches. 3 Resolved. that the members of the first branch of the national Legislature ought to be electedby the People of the several States. for the term of three years. to receive fixed stipends by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to public service to be paid out of the National Treasury. to be ineligible to any office established by a particular State or under the authority of the United States (except those peculiarly belonging to the functions of the first branch) during the term of service, and, under the national government, for the space of one year after its expiration. 4 Resolvedthat the members of the second branch of the National Legislature ought to be chosen by the individual Legislatures. to be of the age of thirty years at least to hold their offices for a term of years sufficient to ensure their independency namely seven years. to receive fixed stipends, by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to public service. to be paid out of the National Treasury. to be ineligible to any office established by a particular State or under the authority of the United States (except those peculiarly belonging to the functions of the second branch) during the term of service, and, under the national government for the space of one year after its expiration. [2] 5 Resolved.that each branch ought to possess the right of originating acts. 6 Resolved.that the national Legislature ought to be empowered to enjoy the legislative rights vested in Congress by the confederation--and moreover: to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent: or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation to negative all laws passed by the several States contravening, in the opinion of the National Legislature, the articles of union, or any treaties subsisting under the authority of the union. 7 Resolved.that the right of suffrage in the first branch of the national Legislature ought not to be according to the rule established in the articles of confederation: but according to some equitable ratio of representation namely, in proportion to the whole number of white and other free citizens and inhabitants, of every age, sex, and condition, including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and three fifths of all other persons not comprehended in the foregoing description except Indians, not paying taxes in each State. 8 Resolved.that the right of suffrage in the second branch of the national Legislature ought to be according to the rule established for the first. 9 Resolved.that a National Executive be instituted to consist of a Single Person. to be chosen by the National Legislature for the term of seven years. with power to carry into execution the National laws. to appoint to offices in cases not otherwise provided for. to be ineligible a second time--and to be removable on impeachment and conviction of mal practice or neglect of duty. to receive a fixed stipend by which he may be compensated for the devotion of his time to public service. to be paid out of the National Treasury. [3] 10 Resolved.that the National Executive shall have a right to negative any legislative act: which shall not be afterwards passed unless by two third parts of each branch of the national Legislature. 11 Resolved.that a National Judiciary be established to consist of one Supreme Tribunal The Judges of which to be appointed by the second branch of the national Legislature. to hold their offices during good behavior: and to receive, punctually, at stated times, a fixed compensation for their services: in which no increase or diminution shall be made, so as to affect the persons actually in office at the time of such increase or diminution. 12 Resolved.that the National Legislature be empowered to appoint inferior Tribunals. 13 Resolved.that the jurisdiction of the national Judiciary shall extend to cases which respect the collection of

85

the national revenue: impeachments of any National Officers: and questions which involve the national peace and harmony. 14 Resolved.that provision ought to be made for the admission of States, lawfully arising within the limits of the United States, whether from a voluntary junction of government and territory, or otherwise, with the consent of a number of voices in the National Legislature less than the whole. 15 Resolved.that provision ought to be made for the continuance of Congress, and their authorities and privileges until a given day after the reform of the articles of Union shall be adopted: and for the completion of all their engagements. 16 Resolved.that a republican constitution, and it's existing laws, ought to be guaranteed to each State by the United States. 17. Resolved.that provision ought to be made for the amendment of the articles of Union, whensoever it shall seem necessary 18 Resolved.that the Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary powers within the several States ought to be bound by oath to support the articles of Union. 19. Resolved.that the amendments which shall be offered to the confederation by the Convention, ought at a proper time or times, after the approbation of Congress, to be submitted to an Assembly or Assemblies of representatives, recommended by the several Legislatures, to be expressly chosen by the people to consider and decide thereon.

Annotation: For three and a half months during a hot, muggy Philadelphia summer, the delegates debated remarkably sensitive issues: among them were whether the national government should be allowed to veto state laws and whether the states should be eliminated altogether. To encourage the delegates to speak candidly, the Constitutional Convention took extraordinary steps to insure secrecy. Sentries were posted at the doors of Independence Hall, and no copies of the journal were permitted. Delegates were urged to burn their notes. Nevertheless, some of the notes kept by delegates survive, including those of Pierce Butler of South Carolina. Here, Butler, a wealthy planter who was also a champion of backcountry interests in South Carolina calling for greater representation for western interests and moving the state capital westward, summarizes a plan for the new government presented by delegates from Virginia. The Virginia Plan, written by James Madison but presented by Edmund Randolph (1753-1813), proposed a national legislature divided into two houses, the House of Representatives and the Senate. Voters in each state would elect members of the House of Representatives. Under the Virginia Plan, population would determine the number of representatives a state would have in the House. Under Madison's plan, the House of Representatives would select members of the Senate from candidates suggested by state legislatures. The House would also choose members of the judiciary and a President, who would serve for seven years. Congress would have the power to override state legislation. Many delegates objected to the authority over state laws that the Virginia Plan gave Congress. Delegates from small states protested that the plan would give larger states too much power in the national government. New Jersey proposed that all states have an equal number of representatives. Under the New Jersey Plan, which strongly resembled the government under the Articles of Confederation, Congress would consist of only one house, to be elected by the state legislatures, not directly by the people. Delegates rejected both the Virginia and New Jersey plans. Connecticut delegates offered a compromise proposal that became known as the Connecticut Compromise or the Great Compromise. Like the Virginia Plan, it provided for a Congress with two houses. This plan provided for equal state representation in the Senate, along with representation in proportion to population in the House of Representatives. Voters in each state would elect members of the House of Representatives to two-year terms, while state legislatures would choose senators for six-year terms. To foster rational debate and to insure that the people would elect representatives whose outlook transcended narrow local interests, the convention kept the House of Representatives small. The first House had only 65 members, fewer than many state legislatures, which meant that representatives had to win support from large constituencies.

Click here for copy request forms and visitor information

For more information please contact: reference@gilderlehrman.com

Back to Search Results Search Again

86

Search Results

Your Selection

Back to Search Results Search Again

Here is the full entry for your selection:

Gilder Lehrman Document Number: GLC00080

Title: Massachusetts centinel. [Vol. 8, no.1 (September 19, 1787) - v. 10, no. 52 (March 14, 1789)] [Incomplete]

Author: Russell, Benjamin (1761-1845)

Year: 1787-1789

Place: Boston, Massachusetts

Type of document: Newspaper

Quotation: "Three-fifths of all other persons"

Description: 152 issues 1787/09/19-1789/03/14. Lacks: vol. 9 no. 1 and 6, and vol. 10 no. 2 with printings of Federalist and no. 12. Printed by Benjamin Russell. First printing of the Constitution in Massachusetts. Follows the text of the Pennsylvania Packet. Russell printed the Constitution in vol. 8, no. 3, 26 September 1787. Unlike other newspapers, he did not print an Extra. Contents:vol. 8 no.1-40, no. 40 Extraordinary, no. 41-52. vol. 9 no. 2-13, no. 13 Extraordinary, no. 14-52. [no. 6 misnumbered vol.9?] vol. 10 no. 1, no. 3-11, no. 13-23, no. 23 Extraordinary, no. 24-52

Full Text: Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative.... [In 1929, Congress fixed the total number of Representatives at 435; currently, there is one Representative for about every 519,000 persons].

Click here for copy request forms and visitor information

For more information please contact: reference@gilderlehrman.com

Back to Search Results Search Again

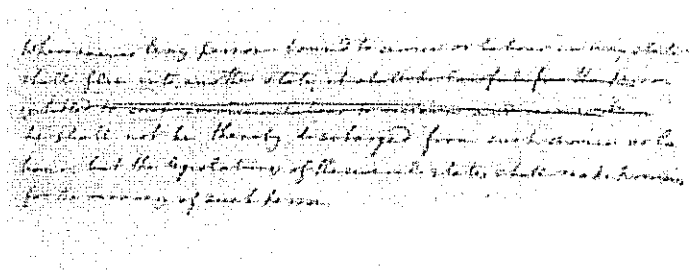
87

Search Results

Your Selection

Back to Search Results Search Again

Here is the full entry for your selection:



Enlarge

Gilder Lehrman Document Number: GLC00819.17

Title: [Wheresoever any person bound to service...]

Author: Butler, Pierce (1744-1822)

Year: 1787/08/28 ca.

Place: [Philadelphia]

Type of document: Autograph document

Quotation: "Any person bound to service...[who] shall flee"

Description: Draft. States that "the legislatures of the several states shall make provision for the recovering of such persons." No mention is made by name of slaves, apprentices or servants. Pencil note on back concerning a meeting at "Clifton at the Blue Bell Wharf." Date from Hutson. Not in Butler's hand.

Full Text: Wheresoever any person bound to service or labour in any state, shall flee into another state, [struck: it shall be lawful for the person intitled [sic] to such service or labour to reclaim and recover him] he shall not be thereby discharged from such service or labour: but the legislatures of the several states shall make provision for the recovery of such person. [2] Kinsee -say Abraham Abraham Kinsey Markett Street on the left hand near Sixth Street -- Clifton at the Blue Bell Wharf--

Annotation: The most controversial issues discussed at the Constitutional Convention involved slavery. Among the matters that Convention debated was whether states were obligated to return runaway slaves; whether slaves would count in apportioning representation or taxation; whether Congress had the power to abolish or regulate the slave trade from Africa or the West Indies or to regulate the interstate slave trade; and whether Congress had the right to prohibit slavery in the western territories. In the end, the northern delegates' commitment to union proved to be greater than any commitment to weaken slavery. Pierce Butler of South Carolina proposed that states be required to return fugitive slaves. The provision was adopted without debate, in part because the northern delegates feared that fugitives might create an unemployment problem in the North.

Click here for copy request forms and visitor information

For more information please contact: reference@gilderlehrman.com

Back to Search Results Search Again

88

The Great Compromise

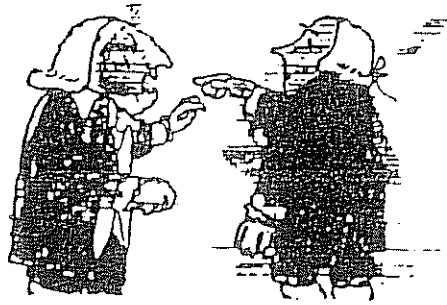
Delegate from Virginia: "I do not think it is fair for the small states to have the same number of votes in Congress as the large states. Since the large states have more people to represent, they must have more voice in the government. To have equal representation would mean that our great number of people are not really represented. When a state has 2,000 people and one vote in Congress and another state has 10,000 people and one vote in Congress, the people are NOT equally represented. Our people will pay more taxes to the government so it is only fair they have more voice in the government."

Delegate from New Jersey: "My dear friend, you must consider the small states. If the large states have more votes, the states with small populations will be swallowed up, just as a whale swallows a small fish. The small states would be defenseless against the whims and desires of the larger states. What recourse would we have? NONE! No, sir, I demand that the small states have an equal vote in the government or there will be no government at all!"

Taxation and Slavery

Delegate from South Carolina: "I suppose the distinguished delegate from Pennsylvania would have the slaves counted not for population but for the purpose of taxation. By doing this you would deny us the right to have a stronger voice in the government but would demand we pay more taxes than our fair share."

Delegate from Pennsylvania: "The delegate from South Carolina claims the slaves should be counted as population. Tell me, sir, do you treat the slaves equal with free men? Do they have a voice in your government? I doubt it. I say that you want to count the slaves as population only so you will have more representation and control in the government. By having more control, you then could continue to practice slavery, a practice that is despicable to me. If you wish to have more representation, then free the slaves and count them as free people!"



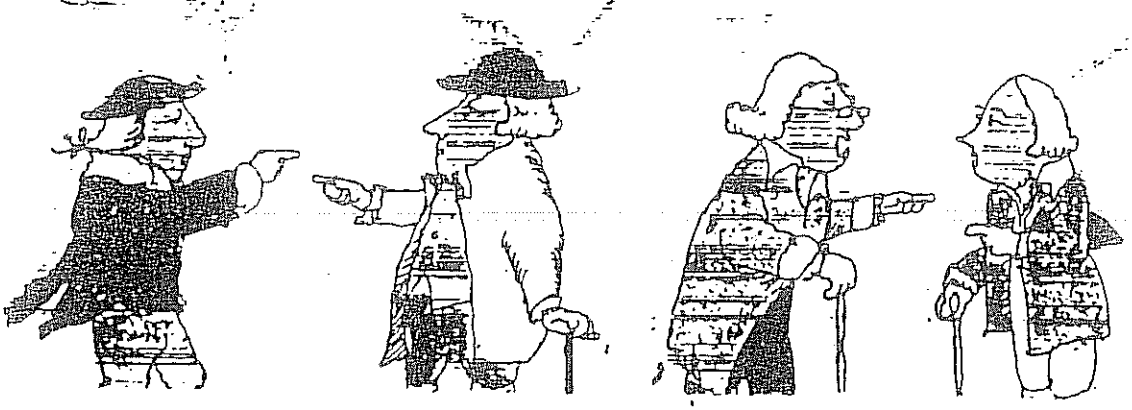
Commerce Compromise

Georgia Farmer: "I am opposed to the government having the power to tax exports. I am but a small farmer who must send his tobacco and indigo to other countries. If my crops were taxed before leaving the country, my farm would make little money, and I would be ruined. What good is a government if it ruins my business?"

Pennsylvania Trader: "The question is not whether Congress will have powers that could bring ruin. Any powers could lead to ruin if Congress so wished. The question is whether the central government will be able to tax exports, as some states already do. These taxes are a necessary source of revenue."

South Carolina Delegate: "If the central government has the power to control commerce and trade, might it not stop the slave trade? Then states that depend on slave labor would be ruined. Many people have fortunes tied up in their slaves, and many states receive goods grown in slave states. To give Congress this power would be to ask for ruin."

Maryland Delegate: "We should prohibit or tax the importing of slaves for three reasons: (1) As five slaves are to be counted as three persons in figuring representation, some states may import slaves to add to their votes in Congress. (2) The slave trade will lead to slave rebellions that all states must pay to put down. (3) Most important of all, slavery is against the spirit of the Revolution."



Source: America Is. Frank Freidel, Charles E. Merrill Pub. Co., 1978.

Interpreting Primary Sources:
Conflict Over Ratifying the Constitution

Reading 1:
These lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves...and then they will swallow up all us little folks, like the great Leviathan [the great whale in the Bible story of Jonah].

Amos Singletary, 1788

Reading 2:
I am a plain man, and get my living by the plough....I have lived in a part of the country where I have known the worth of good government by the want of it. There was a black cloud [Shays' Rebellion] that rose in the east last winter, and spread over the west....It brought on a state of anarchy and that led to tyranny. I say, it brought anarchy. People that used to live peaceably, and were before good neighbors, got distracted, and took up arms against government....

Our distress was so great that we should have been glad to snatch at anything that looked like a government. Had any person that was able to protect us come and set up his standard, we should all have flocked to it, even if it had been a monarch, and that monarch might have proved a tyrant.

Jonathan Smith, Massachusetts farmer

Reading 3:
A little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical....It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government.

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.

Thomas Jefferson, 1787

Reading 4:
It cannot be denied with truth, that this new constitution is, in its first principles, most highly and dangerously, oligarchic.

Richard Henry Lee, 1787

[This is the same Richard Henry Lee who made the Lee Resolution at the Continental Congress in June 1776]

Reading 5:
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....Complaints are every where heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith, and of public and personal liberty; that our governments are too unstable; that the public good is disregarded in the conflict of rival parties; and that measures are too often decided, not according to rules of justice, and the rights of the minor party; but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority....

The Federalist, 1799

Questions to Think About

1. Why did opponents object to the Constitution?

2. How did supporters of the Constitution defend the new plan of government?

3. Which quotations do you find most persuasive--those that argue that the Constitution represented a threat to the liberties of the people and an attempt to impose aristocratic rule or those that argue that the Constitution gives expression to republican values?

Search Results

Your Selection

Back to Search Results

Here is the full entry for your selection:

Gilder Lehrman Document Number: GLC00819.18

Title: Objections to the Constitution as far as it has advanced...

Author: Randolph, Edmund (1753-1813)

Year: 1787/08/30

Place: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Type of document: Manuscript

Quotation: "Objections to the Constitution as far as it has advanced"

Description: Lists eleven objections to the Constitution (the 12th has been struck). Docket reads "Objections to the Constitution / by Mr. Randal."

Full Text: August 30th Objections to the Constitution as far as it has Advanced 1st.No privilege is given to the House of Representatives, which by the way are too few, in disposition of money; by way of counter balance to the permanent condition of the Senate, in the circumstances of duration, power, & smallness of number-- 2d.The expulsion of members of the Legislature is not sufficiently checked. 3d.The inequality of Voices in the Senate is too great-- 4th.The power of raising Armies is too unlimited-- 5th.The Sweeping Clause absorbs everything almost by Constitution-- 6th.No restriction is made on a Navigation Act and certain regulations of Commerce-- 7th.The Executive is One-- 8th.The power of pardon is unlimited-- 9th.Th appointment [struck: of] [inserted: to] Offices will produce too great influence in the Executive-- 10th.The Jurisdiction of the Judiciary will Swallow up the Judiciaries of the States. 11th.Duties on Exports are forbidden but with the approval of the General Legislature of the U.S. [struck: 12th.The Constitution, in general, is] [docket:] Objections to the Constitution by Mr. Randal [sic]

Annotation: Over the course of the Constitutional Convention, the delegates devised the fundamental principles that underlie the American framework of government: separation of powers, checks and balances federalism, and judicial review. The system they created emerged gradually in response to certain deep-rooted concerns. Balancing the framers' republican faith in the people was a fear of direct democracy and th dangers posed by unchecked majorities. And balancing their desire to create an effective national government was a fear that a strong national government with the power to regulate trade and levy taxes would not truly be republican. The challenge the founders faced was to create a national government that would be both strong and effective and republican, a government that would not ultimately degenerate into anarchy or tyranny. The only recent examples of republican-like societies--the Netherlands and Switzerland were small, loosely-knit confederations. Many doubted that a it was possible to have a large and diverse republican society with a strong central government. James Madison formulated an answer to this concern: he argued that in a large republic, difficulties of communication and a wide variety of interest groups would make it difficult to form an oppressive majority. The Constitutional Convention was unable to achieve unanimous agreement on a plan of government. In this selection, Pierce Butler summarizes the objections that Edmund Randolph, a Virginia delegate, raised over the proposed Constitution. Randolph was one of three delegates, the other two were Elbridge Gerry (1744-1814) and George Mason (1725-1792), who refused to sign the Constitution because they objected to the powers it granted to the federal government.

For more information please contact: reference@gilderlehrman.com

Back to Search Results

9

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Students are to read the attached documents and be prepared to answer the following questions. It is suggested that as you go through the readings you take notes keeping the following questions in mind.

1. Explain the arguments of the Federalists who supported the Constitution.

2. Explain the arguments of the Anti-Federalists who were against the ratification of the Constitution.

3. In your opinion, who arguments, the Federalists or the Anti-Federalists, were more sound and convincing? Explain your viewpoint.

4. Compare the viewpoints of historians concerning the ratification of the Constitution. Which historians do you believe make the soundest arguments? Explain your reasons.

Ratification of the Constitution

Anti-federalists

"'Tis really astonishing that the same people who have just emerged from a long and cruel war in defense of liberty, should now agree to fix an elective despotism upon themselves."

---- *Richard Henry Lee*

"This constitution is said to have beautiful features, but when I come toward examining these features, they appear to me horribly frightful; . . . it squints toward monarch ... Your president may easily become king; your senate is so perfectly constructed that your dearest rights may be sacrificed by what may be a small minority.... If your American chief be a man of ambition and abilities, how easy it is for him to render himself absolute.... Away with your president, we shall have a king; the army will salute him monarch; your militia will leave you and assist in making him king."

---- *Patrick Henry at the Virginia Ratifying Convention (June 5, 1788)*

"The assumption of this power of laying direct taxes does, of itself, entirely change the confederation of the states into one consolidated government. This power, being at discretion, unconfined, and without any kind of control, must carry every thing before it. The very idea of converting a confederation to a consolidated government is a totally subversive of every principle which has hitherto governed us. This power is calculated to annihilate totally the state governments . . . the general government being paramount to, and in every respect more powerful than the state governments, the latter must give way to the former...." "Once a standing army is established in any country, the people lose their liberty. When against a regular and disciplined army, yeomanry [farmers] are the only defence---yeomanry, unskilled and unarmed, what chance is there for preserving freedom."

---- *George Mason at the Virginia Ratifying Convention (June 4 and 14, 1788)*

"We contended with Great Britain . . . because they claimed a right to tax us and bind us in all cases whatsoever. And does not this constitution do the same? . . . Does it not lay all taxes, duties, imposts, and excises? . . . These lawyers and men of learning, and monied men, that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to be managers of this constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks."

---- *Amos Singletree at the Massachusetts Ratifying Convention (January 25, 1788)*

Federalists

"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.... Complaints are everywhere heard ...that are governments are too unstable, that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties, and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the right of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority.... The regulation of the various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation.... It may be concluded that a pure democracy ... can admit no cure for the mischiefs of faction ... A republic promises the cure for which we are seeking.... The effect is ... to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country. .... On the other hand, men of factious tempers, of local prejudices ... may betray the interests of the people. The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States, but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States."

----*James Madison, Federalist No. 10*

"The principal purposes to be answered by the Union are these: The common defence of the members; the preservation of public peace . . .; the regulation of commerce with other nations and between the states.... The authorities essential to the care of the common defence are these: To raise armies; to build and equip fleets; to direct operations of the government and provide for its support. These powers ought to exist without limitations because it is impossible to foresee or define the extent and variety of national exigencies . . . and the means which may be necessary to satisfy them. The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite; and for this reason, no constitutional shackles can wisely be imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed."

---- *Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 23*

"All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people.... The people are turbulent and changing.... Give therefore to the first class a distinct permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they will ever maintain good government."

---- *Alexander Hamilton*

"Property is surely a right of mankind as really as liberty.... The rich, therefore, ought to have an effectual barrier in the constitution against being robbed, plundered, and murdered as well as the poor; and this can never be without an independent senate. The poor should have a bulwark against the same dangers and oppressions; and this can never be without a house of representatives of the people. But neither the rich nor the poor can be defended by their respective guardians in the constitution, without an executive power, vested with a negative, equal to either, to hold the balance even between them, and decide when they cannot agree."

--- *John Adams*

Historians

The Constitution fulfilled the promise of popular government and guarded against the abuses of democracy without compromising any of its principles."

---- *Prof. Martin Diamond*

"The Constitution is an undemocratic document put forth by a conservative upper class to undermine the Articles of Confederation and create a stronger national government to further their political and economic interests."

---- *Prof. Charles Beard*

"The most amazing result of the whole situation . . . was that the Constitution aimed to restore much the same sort of authority that the colonies had fought a long war to abolish."

---- *Prof. Harold Faulkner*

"The Federalist were realists.... Federalists believed that the slogans of 1776 were outmoded; that America needed integration, not states rights; that the immediate peril was not tyranny, but disorder or dissolution; that certain political processes, such as war, foreign affairs, and commerce, were natural by nature; that the right to tax was essential to any government; and that the powers wrested from king and parliament should not be divided among thirteen states, if the American government was to have any influence in the world."

---*Profs. Samuel Morison & Henry S. Commager*

Changes in Wealth of Elected Officials			
	Over 5,000 pounds sterling	2,000-5,000 pounds sterling	Under 2,000 pounds sterling
North			
1765-75	36 %	47 %	17 %
1783-90	12 %	26 %	62 %
South			
1765-75	52 %	36 %	12 %
1783-90	28 %	42 %	30 %

★ Questions to Think About

1. What changes took place in the wealth of elected officials over time?

2. In what respects did the wealth of elected officials in the North and South differ?

Differences between Federalists and Antifederalists

Political Alignments of State Senators by Wealth		
	Federalist	Antifederalist
Wealthy	82 %	18 %
Well-to-do	65 %	35 %
Moderate means	42 %	58 %

★ Questions to Think About

1. Were state senators who supported the Constitution wealthier or poorer than opponents of the Constitution?

2. What conclusion might you draw about support for and opposition to the Constitution?

Votes of Delegates to Connecticut, Pennsylania, and New Hampshire Ratifying Conventions, by Occupation		
	Federalist	Antifederalist
Merchants, manufacturers, doctors, lawyers, ministers, large landholders	84 %	16 %
Artisans, innkeepers, surveyors	64 %	36 %
Farmers	46 %	54 %

★ Questions to Think About

1. Which occupational groups were most likely to support ratification of the Constitution?

2. Which occupational groups were least likely to support ratification?

The Importance of the Union (1-14)

FEDERALIST No. 1	General Introduction Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 2	Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence John Jay
FEDERALIST No. 3	Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence (con't) John Jay
FEDERALIST No. 4	Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence (con't) John Jay
FEDERALIST No. 5	Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence (con't) John Jay
FEDERALIST No. 6	Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 7	Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 8	The Consequences of Hostilities Between the States Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 9	The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 10	The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection (con't) James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 11	The Utility of the Union in Respect to Commercial Relations and a Navy Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 12	The Utility of the Union In Respect to Revenue Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 13	Advantage of the Union in Respect to Economy in Government Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 14	Objections to the Proposed Constitution From Extent of Territory Answered James Madison

Defects of the Articles of Confederation (15-22)

FEDERALIST No. 15	The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 16	The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 17	The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 18	The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union (con't) Alexander Hamilton and James Madison

98

FEDERALIST No. 19	The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union (con't) Alexander Hamilton and James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 20	The Insufficiency fo the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union (con't) Alexander Hamilton and James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 21	Other Defects of the Present Confederation Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 22	Other Defects of the Present Confederation (con't) Alexander Hamilton

Arguments for the Type of Government Contained in the Constitution (23-36)

FEDERALIST No. 23	The Necessity of a Government as Energetic as the One Proposed to the Preservation of the Union Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 24	The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 25	The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 26	The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 27	The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 28	The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 29	Concerning the Militia Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 30	Concerning the General Power of Taxation Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 31	Concerning the General Power of Taxation (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 32	Concerning the General Power of Taxation (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 33	Concerning the General Power of Taxation (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 34	Concerning the General Power of Taxation (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 35	Concerning the General Power of Taxation (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 36	Concerning the General Power of Taxation (con't) Alexander Hamilton

The Republican Form of Government (37-51)

99

FEDERALIST No. 37	Concerning the Difficulties of the Convention in Devising a Proper Form of Government James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 38	The Same Subject Continued, and the Incoherence of the Objections to the New Plan Exposed James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 39	The Conformity of the Plan to Republican Principles James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 40	The Powers of the Convention to Form a Mixed Government Examined and Sustained James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 41	General View of the Powers Conferred by The Constitution James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 42	The Powers Conferred by the Constitution Further Considered James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 43	The Powers Conferred by the Constitution Further Considered (con't) James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 44	Restrictions on the Authority of the Several States James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 45	The Alleged Danger From the Powers of the Union to the State Governments Considered James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 46	The Influence of the State and Federal Governments Compared James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 47	The Particular Structure of the New Government and the Distribution of Power Among Its Different Parts James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 48	These Departments Should Not Be So Far Separated as to Have No Constitutional Control Over Each Other James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 49	Method of Guarding Against the Encroachments of Any One Department of Government by Appealing to the People Through a Convention Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 50	Periodical Appeals to the People Considered Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 51	The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments Alexander Hamilton or James Madison

The Legislative Branch (52-66)

FEDERALIST No. 52	The House of Representatives Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 53	The House of Representatives (con't) Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 54	The Apportionment of Members Among the States Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 55	The Total Number of the House of Representatives Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 56	The Total Number of the House of Representatives (con't) Alexander Hamilton or James Madison

100

FEDERALIST No. 57	The Alleged Tendency of the New Plan to Elevate the Few at the Expense of the Many Considered in Connection with Representation Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 58	Objection That The Number of Members Will Not Be Augmented as the Progress of Population Demands Considered James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 59	Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 60	Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 61	Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 62	The Senate Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 63	The Senate (con't) Alexander Hamilton or James Madison
FEDERALIST No. 64	The Powers of the Senate John Jay
FEDERALIST No. 65	The Powers of the Senate (con't) Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 66	Objections to the Power of the Senate To Set as a Court for Impeachments Further Considered Alexander Hamilton

The Executive Branch (67-77)

FEDERALIST No. 67	The Executive Department Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 68	The Mode of Electing the President Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 69	The Real Character of the Executive Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 70	The Executive Department Further Considered Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 70	The Executive Department Further Considered Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 71	The Duration in Office of the Executive Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 72	The Same Subject Continued, and Re-Eligibility of the Executive Considered Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 73	The Provision For The Support of the Executive, and the Veto Power Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 74	The Command of the Military and Naval Forces, and the Pardoning Power of the Executive Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No. 75	The Treaty-Making Power of the Executive Alexander Hamilton
FEDERALIST No.	The Appointing Power of the Executive Alexander Hamilton

76

FEDERALIST No. 77 — The Appointing Power Continued and Other Powers of the Executive Considered Alexander Hamilton

The Judicial Branch (78-83)

FEDERALIST No. 78 — The Judiciary Department Alexander Hamilton

FEDERALIST No. 79 — The Judiciary (con't) Alexander Hamilton

FEDERALIST No. 80 — The Powers of the Judiciary Alexander Hamilton

FEDERALIST No. 81 — The Judiciary Continued, and the Distribution of the Judicial Authority Alexander Hamilton

FEDERALIST No. 82 — The Judiciary Continued Alexander Hamilton

FEDERALIST No. 83 — The Judiciary Continued in Relation to Trial by Jury Alexander Hamilton

Conclusions and Miscellaneous Ideas

FEDERALIST No. 84 — Certain General and Miscellaneous Objections to the Constitution Considered and Answered Alexander Hamilton

FEDERALIST No. 85 — Concluding Remarks Alexander Hamilton

Tell a friend. Click here to e-mail a Founding Fathers "virtual postcard."

interesting.com

107

JOIN the OAH!

Table of Contents

OAH Magazine of History
Volume 15, No 4
Summer 2001

Copyright ©
Organization of American Historians

Using Primary Sources in the Secondary Classroom

Joan W. Musbach

Textbooks, for many reasons, turn students off, but working with letters, posters, or photographs becomes exciting

—OAH *Magazine of History*, Winter 1989

Primary sources are often heralded as the remedy for bored, turned-off history students. But this solution is often proposed by someone who already possesses the vocabulary necessary to decode the documents, the background to understand the relationship of the information to larger topics, and the motivation to do the work necessary to unlock the meaning. In order to successfully bring primary sources into the classroom, it is important to match them to the developmental and educational levels of students.

My zeal for using primary sources to teach history has been tempered by the wisdom that comes from years of teaching early adolescents. There is no denying the power of discovery that can occur as students study actual documents to learn of people and events in a time different from their own. There is no denying the value of helping students understand how we know so much about the past and how the historian pieces together the jigsaw of evidence to give us the picture painted by the words in a good narrative. But there is also no denying that primary sources, poorly selected or improperly handled, can frustrate efforts, close minds, and turn off the curiosity the teacher intended to stimulate.

I would like to suggest five common-sense rules teachers should abide by when planning to use primary sources. All of these rules require expertise on the part of the teacher. No journal article nor beautifully published collection can replace the knowledge teachers must have regarding the learning skills, experience, maturity, interests, and motivation of their students. Furthermore, teachers must consider their own teaching style and comfort level

Teachers are #1!!

103

Rule 2. Be sure that selections are readable and the information readily accessible. Many of the selections from early American history contain vocabulary that is difficult and obscure. If selections are too hard for students to read, the joy of discovery is lost. Similarly, run-on sentences and inconsistency in spelling and punctuation make some selections challenging.

I personally enjoyed this account written by Daniel Trabue, a sixteen-year-old Virginian, who fought with George Rogers Clark during the American Revolution.

I was Giting vbery fraid we would be Defeeted, and as we went on I talked some with Lucust again. He still talked the same way of killing several of them. I for my part began to feel chikinhearted. I was afraid I should be killed in this Drary howling Wilderness but I never mentioned it to any one. I thought if we come in contact with the indians I would keep behind or in the reare, but I thought that would not Do as I might be called a coward. I thought, "I wish I could have courrage like Lucust. I would be glad." Mr. Lucaust was my main Dependence and a poor Dependence he was. I than wished I was back in Old Virginia. . . . All at once I saw the 2 men that was before Jump out of the road and was behind Trees. I Jumped of my horse as quick as a cat and run with all mymight to the exporers that was before looking ahead. And Just before I got up to the 2 Men I saw the Indians before runing and Juming and Dogeing away. I run with all my might and tried to git a shoot at them. I had liked to have got a shoot once or twise. I observed that 2 men as I passed by them was also trying to run a head and shoot.

do as often as you can!

This selection worked well when I read it aloud. When I asked students to read it themselves, it benefitted the language arts teacher more than the history teacher. The students gained little understanding of a young soldier's feelings during the war, but they became keenly aware of the importance of correct spelling and punctuation if one wishes to communicate.

Short selections from letters and diaries of soldiers during the Civil War were more successful. The February 1992 issue of Social Education carried a collection relating to the decision of Lincoln to use black troops. These were written in language understandable to students and related to a subject they cared about and thought was important. The selections were short enough to be easily read and understood.

10¢

curious about my family. They loved knowing that these were my parents and thus enjoyed knowing "personal" things about their teacher—always great fun for junior high students. They liked seeing the actual account book from which the records were copied. As they looked for clues to describe the lives of this farm family, they began to get a picture of how farm families lived during the decade.

As they searched the documents for clues about daily life, they also discovered a mystery. Initially they saw nothing peculiar about the expenditures for silk and silver. In terms of today's spending, $135 and $150 are not remarkable. But as they began to think from the perspective of the farm family, they had a mystery. Initially they were content to guess at the explanation. Some students accepted the suggestion that the purchase of silk was because someone was getting married and the silver purchase was either a gift or an investment. But others saw the lack of logic in these answers and realized that more research would be needed to resolve this question. Since this was my family, I could provide additional materials that solved the mystery. Even had this not been true, to have students ask questions that arise from using documents and realize that more research is necessary or that all questions cannot be answered, are in and of themselves valuable lessons.

a novel idea?

I invite you to try these documents. They will give students a quick snapshot of a life quite foreign to them, yet remarkably American and existing in the century in which they were born. You will not, however, have the prime motivator for my students. Thus, I would encourage you to gather documents and artifacts from your own life and those of your parents and grandparents to share with your history students. Primary sources need not be about wars and politics. They need not be of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, written in unfamiliar language and outdated ways of expression. The 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s are history for the students of today.

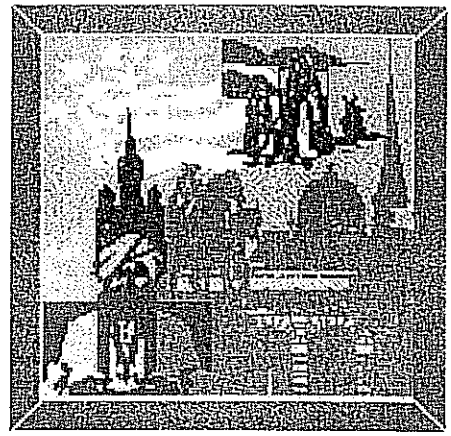
Billy Joel We Didn't Start the Fire

Because I believe in the value of using primary sources in the teaching of history, I am concerned that the results be positive. Inappropriate selections, or poorly crafted lessons can lead to a bad experience for a teacher who may then dismiss primary sources as a bad idea. Instead of being energized, students can be turned off to history and the work of historians. Using primary sources requires judgment and skill.

We want "~~over~~ energized" students

Joan W. Musbach teaches eighth-grade American history and is chair of the Social Studies Department

105



Social Studies

Appendix

Resources

The use of primary sources and other documents should be an integral part of a social studies program. Students should learn how to analyze historical documents and prepare essays and reports that describe different perspectives on various historical issues, events, and questions. An important resource for teachers to use as they incorporate documents into their instructional programs is *Consider the Source: Historical Records in the Classroom* (State Archives and Records Administration), available from the Publications Sales Desk (518-474-3806).

Additional documents can be found on a number of websites including the following:*

American Historical Association . . http://www.theaha.org
American Presidents . . . . . http://www.americanpresidents.org
Amnesty International . . . . . http://www.amnesty.org.uk/fastindex.html
The Armonk Institute . . . . . http://www.armonkinstitute.org/
Asia Society: Ask Asia . . . . . http://www.askasia.org/for_educators/fe_frame.htm
BBC Online Network . . . . . http://news.bbc.co.uk/
British Library . . . . . http://www.bl.uk/welcome.html
British Maps Home Page . . . . . http://www1.pitt.edu/~medart/menuengl/mainmaps.html
Capital District Council for the
Social Studies . . . . . http://home.nycap.rr.com/cdcss/
Central New York Council for the
Social Studies http://www.lm.liverpool.k12.ny.us/cnycss2/cnycss.html
CNN World News . . . . . http://cnn.com/WORLD/
Economic Education Web . . . . . http://ecedweb.unomaha.edu/home.htm
Edsitement . . . . . http://www.edsitement.neh.gov/
Federal Resources for Educational
Excellence-Social Studies . . . . . http://www.ed.gov/free/s-social.html
Gilder Lehrman Collection . . . . . http://www.gilderlehrman.com
Internet History Sourcebook
Project . . . . . http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/
Historical Atlas of the
20th Century http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/20centry.htm
History: Central VCatalogue . . . . http://www.ukans.edu/history/VL/
The History Net . . . . . http://www.thehistorynet.com/THNarchives/WorldHistory/
Law, Youth, and Citizenship . . . . . http://www.nysba.org/lyc/LYC.html
The Library of Congress . . . . . http://www.loc.gov/
The Library of Congress
Country Studies http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/cshome.html
Lower East Side Tenement
Museum . . . . . http://www.wnet.org/tenement
Map Collections: 1544-1996 . . . . . http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gmdhome.html

*The documents posted here contain hypertext links or pointers to information created and maintained by other public and private organizations. These links and pointers are provided for the user's convenience. The Education Department does not control or guarantee the accuracy, relevance, timeliness, or completeness of this outside information. Further, the inclusion of links or pointers to particular items in hypertext is not intended to reflect their importance, nor is it intended to endorse any views expressed, or products or services offered, on these outside sites, or the organizations sponsoring the sites.

National Archives . . . . . .http://nara.gov (future site http://www.nationalarchives.com/)
National Archives and
Record Administration:
The Constitution Community . .http://www.nara.gov/education/cc/main.html
National Archives and
Record Administration:
The Digital Classroom . . . . . .http://www.nara.gov/education/classrm.html
National Archives and
Record Administration:
Presidential Libraries . . . . . .http://www.nara.gov/nara/president/address.html
National Council for the
Social Studies . . . . . .http://www.ncss.org/
National Council on Economic
Education . . . . . .http://www.nationalcouncil.org
National Gallery of Art . . . . . .http://www.nga.gov/
National Geographic Society . . . . .http://www.nationalgeographic.com
The National Park Service . . . . . .http://www.nps.gov
National Register of Historic
Places . . . . . .http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/home.html
NATO 50th Anniversary http://ac.acusd.edu/history/20th/nato50.html
New York State Archives and
Records Administration . . . . . .http://www.sara.nysed.gov/
New York State Council for the
Social Studies . . . . . .http://www.nyscss.org/
PBS Online . . . . . .http://www.pbs.org/
Perry Castañeda Library . . . . . .http://www.lib.utexas.edu/Libs/PCL/Map_collection/Map_collection.html
Project WhistleStop . . . . . .http://www.whistlestop.org/
SUNY New Paltz Department of
Geography . . . . . .http://www.newpaltz.edu/geography/links.html
US State Department . . . . . .http://www.state.gov/
University of Cambridge http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/Faculty/links1c.html
University of Texas at Austin . . . . .http://www.utexas.edu/index.html
Virtual Library History Index . . . . .http://www.msu.edu/~georgem1/history/medieval.htm
Women Watch . . . . . .http://www.un.org/womenwatch/
Women's History Sourcebook . . . .http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/women/womensbook.html
Yale University Library . . . . . .http://www.library.yale.edu/humanities/history/index.html