

The American Venture

A History of the United States

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Explorers and Fortune Seekers	
Chapter 2: England Settles North America	
Chapter 3: Kindling the Spirit of Rebellion	
Chapter 4: A New Nation.....	
Chapter 5: A New Constitution.....	
Chapter 6: A Walk through the United States Constitution.....	
Chapter 7: The New President and a Bill of Rights	
Chapter 8: The Making of the United States	
Chapter 9: Democracy and the Republic	
Chapter 10: “Manifest Destiny” – The Push to the West.....	
Chapter 11: America, Old and New.....	
Chapter 12: The Last Days of the Union.....	
Chapter 13: The Civil War.....	
Chapter 14: Post-War America	
Chapter 15: Finale to the Indian Wars.....	
Chapter 16: Industrial America.....	
Chapter 17: Into a New Century.....	
Chapter 18: A War for Democracy?.....	
Chapter 19: The Wild Decade.....	
Chapter 20: Depression, New Deals, and War.....	
Chapter 21: The Greater War: World War II.....	
Chapter 22: In the Aftermath of World War II.....	
Chapter 23: America’s Tumultuous Years.....	

1

EXPLORERS AND FORTUNE SEEKERS

It all began with a mistake.

A seaman from the Italian city of Genoa, Cristoforo Colombo by name, had an idea. He thought that a ship sailing due west from Europe could reach the “Indies” without the sailors and their captain dying of hunger and thirst for being out at sea too long. This sea passage, he claimed, was far shorter than some people thought. This was a very compelling idea in 15th-century Europe, for European rulers were quite interested in making contact with the Indies—the far-off lands of India, China, and *Cipangu*.

The Far East had spices, which Europeans like to spread on their food. A good deal of wealth could be obtained by trading in spices, but for too long, Europeans had had to trade with the Muslims to get spices, such as pepper. Muslim Arabs and Turks controlled the land trade routes with the Indies—which, of course, increased the cost of spices. Europeans not only had to pay for the spices, but for the middlemen who brought the spices to European merchants who, in turn sold them in European markets. The Indies, too, were thought to have an abundance of gold and silver—which made them even more interesting to European kings.

If a European king could establish a direct trade route with the Indies, bypassing all the merchant middlemen, he could secure a good deal of wealth for his land and people and, of course, himself. This is why Colombo’s idea, the “Enterprise of the Indies,” could interest a monarch—that is, if he thought it was believable.

Interest in a direct trade route with the Indies, however, did not begin with Colombo. The small kingdom of Portugal on the Iberian Peninsula had for much of the 15th century been engaged in just such a quest. Portuguese sailors, however, had been going south instead of west, down the coast of Africa to reach India. Under King Alfonso V, Portuguese mariners had discovered the Gold and Ivory coasts on Africa’s western coast, and this discovery had enriched Portugal with gold, ivory, and (tragically) African slaves. All these goods made the Portuguese king very rich, indeed.

Colombo himself had gone to live in Lisbon, Portugal’s capital and chief seaport, to engage in the sea trade. He had sailed to the Gold Coast and, for a time, had lived on the Madeira Islands in

Cipangu: chee-PAHN-goo, or see-PAHN-goo

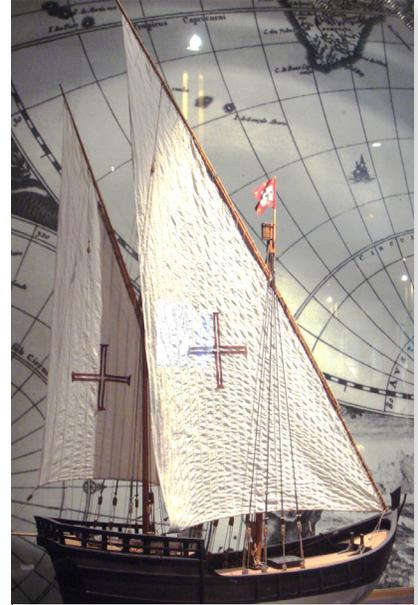
Christopher Columbus



What Made Columbus' Crossing Possible?

Without the discoveries made over centuries in astronomy and geography, as well as changes in sailing technology, Columbus could never have made his sea crossing to America.

Probably the most important factor was ship design. In the ancient world, sails were only a help to sailing; ships were propelled mostly by banks of oars. The size of ships was also important. To make a long sea crossing requires a vessel large enough to store quantities of supplies. Since the smaller ancient ships had to land every few days to replenish their food supplies, they could hardly make a directly westward Atlantic crossing. The building of larger ships, with enough sail to propel them without oars, made crossing the Atlantic possible. The caravel, a ship probably designed by the Portuguese, allowed ships to “sail against the wind”—that is, to move even when the wind was blowing against them. Caravels were also much faster than older ships that had been plying the Mediterranean and along the Atlantic coasts of Europe.



A replica of a Portuguese caravel

Ancient Greek astronomers had made many important astronomical discoveries that aided in navigation. Among these were the division of the globe into 360 degrees, and the development of latitude and longitude lines. Celestial navigation—the use of planets and stars to take direction over the sea—was also an important discovery.

An invention that aided in celestial navigation was the astrolabe. Astrolabes probably existed since the early 6th century and were used by astronomers in the Middle Ages. Mariners began to use astrolabes to steer their ships by the stars shortly before Columbus' time. Vasco da Gama, who in 1496–1499 sailed from Portugal to India and back, used an astrolabe. Yet, in Columbus' time, most sea's captains like him did not use astrolabes or any sort of celestial navigation. His method was the older one called Dead Reckoning, using a compass, an hourglass (to keep time), an estimation of a ship's speed, and charts to direct a ship's course across a trackless sea.

the Atlantic. It was in Portugal that he came up with his *Enterprise of the Indies*. In 1484 or 1485, he presented his plan to the new Portuguese king, Dom *João*, hoping that the monarch would fund it.

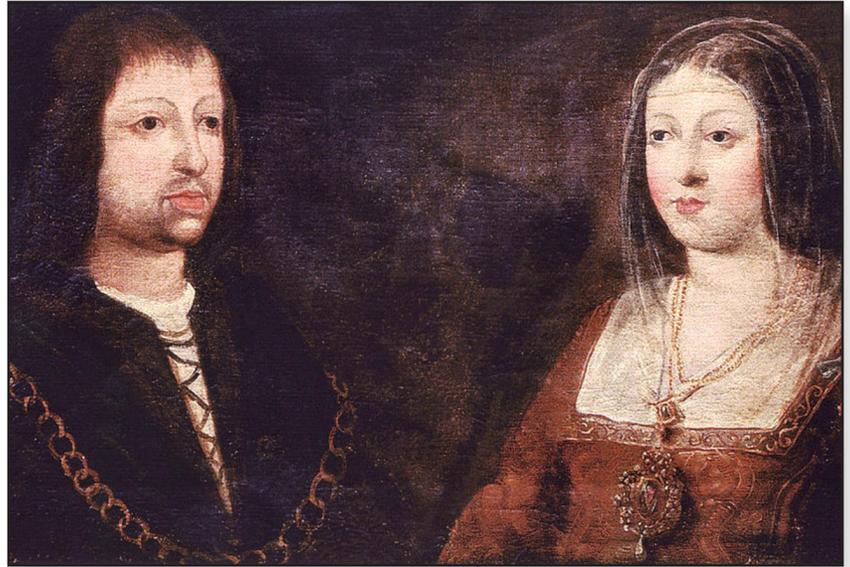
It was Colombo's calculations of the earth's circumference that convinced him that the Indies could be reached by sailing west. Colombo calculated that the island of Cipangu (Japan) was only 2,400 nautical miles from the Canary

Islands, an archipelago in the Atlantic off Portugal’s coast. The problem was that Cipangu was much farther from the Canaries than Colombo thought. The distance was actually 10,600 nautical miles, not a scant 2,400. Colombo thus had underestimated the distance by close to four and a half times.

This was Colombo’s grand mistake.

However, it was not an obvious mistake to people at the time—though there were those who pointed out Colombo’s error. Dom João showed some interest in the Enterprise. (Some three years later, in 1488, João spurned the Enterprise, for one of his own sea captains, *Bartolomeu Dias*, had rounded the southern tip of Africa and so opened a sea route to India.) From Portugal, Colombo went to Spain to present his Enterprise to Isabel, Queen of Castile and León. From 1486 to 1491, Colombo waited in Spain (where he was known as *Cristobal Colón*) while the Queen’s scholars discussed his Enterprise. When, in 1491, Isabel’s scholars had rejected his plan, an offended Colón thought he would approach France’s king with his idea. France might fund his Enterprise.

But Colón (whom we remember as Columbus—Christopher Columbus) never went to France, for Isabel and her husband, Fernando (king of Aragon) had changed their minds. On April 17, 1492, Columbus heard the joyful news that Isabel and Fernando had confirmed his Enterprise and, more importantly, would fund it. Nearly four months later, Columbus, with a crew of 90 men and boys, set out in three small caravels—the Niña, the Pinta, and the Santa María—on the voyage that, they hoped, would land them at last in the Indies.



The Spanish monarchs, King Fernando and Queen Isabel

The Founding of Spanish America

October 12, 1492 was a date that changed the history of Europe and the world forever. On that day, Christopher Columbus and his men landed on the shore of a small island in the Caribbean called *Guanahani* and claimed it for the Spanish sovereigns and the Catholic Church. From this small island that Columbus named “San Salvador” (“Holy Savior”), Spanish rule would spread over the islands of the Caribbean and touch the shores of what became known as North and South America.

Columbus was the first explorer of what became America—though to the day of his death on May 20, 1506, he thought he had reached the Indies. Then, in 1513, another Spanish explorer, *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, discovered the Pacific Ocean, and in 1522, a Spanish expedition under Fernando Magellan and Juan Sebastián Elcano **circumnavigated** the world. These explorers demonstrated just how mistaken Columbus’ calculations had been. He had not discovered a route to the Indies, but a world hitherto unknown to Europeans.

Bartolomeu Dias: bar-TOH-loh-myoo DEE-ahs

Cristobal Colón: crees-TOH-bahl coh-LOHN

Guanahani: gwah-nah-HAH-nee

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa: VAHS-coh NOO-nyez day bal-BOH-ah

circumnavigate: to travel around something in a ship

Why America and not Columbia

Since it was Christopher Columbus who discovered the “New World,” why is it called America and not Columbia (or Colombia)?

It was because of what was most certainly a lie.

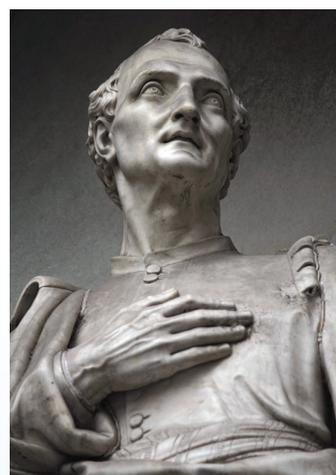
After 1492, the fame of Columbus’ “Indian” discovery spread throughout Europe. Then, on his third voyage in 1498, Columbus discovered more than just islands in the sea; for in that year, he beheld the South American continent off the coast of what is now Venezuela.

But a man named **Amerigo Vespucci** had a different story.

In 1501, Vespucci wrote a letter in which he claimed to have been part of an expedition that had discovered the mainland of the New World. The year, he said, was 1497—one year before Columbus skirted the coast of South America. Vespucci’s letter, published in 1504, was widely read throughout Europe and widely believed—so much so, that people began to call the New World America, from the Latin version of Vespucci’s **Christian name**, Amerigo. Despite the fact that few if any have since believed Vespucci’s story, the name has stuck. Today we call the two great continents of the Western Hemisphere, not North and South Columbia, but North and South America.

Christian name: the name one receives in Baptism; one’s name apart from his family or last name

Amerigo Vespucci: ah-MAYR-ee-goh vehs-POO-chee



Amerigo Vespucci



Hernán Cortés

Juan de Grijalva: hwahn day gree-HAL-vah

Hernán Cortés: ayr-NAHN coh-TEZ

Tenochtitlán: teh-NAWCH-tee-tlahn

It was not long before other explorers followed Columbus. As Spanish rule spread over the islands of the Caribbean—the Bahamas, the Virgin Islands, Hispaniola, and Cuba—the Spanish learned more of the lands of the North and South American continents. In 1518, a Spanish explorer, *Juan de Grijalva*, discovered the coast of Yucatán and Mexico—where, he reported, adventurers could find riches: gold and silver. Such reports inspired the zeal and greed of a Spanish landowner on Cuba, *Hernán Cortés*. In 1519, Cortés outfitted a fleet of 11 ships, 100 sailors, and 508 soldiers to carry out the conquest of the land called Mexico.

In the hands of Hernán Cortés, the standard of Spain moved across the plains and over the mountains of Mexico and laid waste to the beautiful but brutal Aztec empire. Later, the greedy and cruel Francisco Pizarro and his brothers overthrew the power of the great Inca in Peru, while other “conquistadors” (conquerors) extended Spanish rule over South and Central America, and into regions far to the north of the Aztec city, *Tenochtitlán* (called Mexico City by the Spanish). Spanish America would eventually run from Tierra del Fuego, the southernmost tip of South America, to as far north as San Francisco Bay in what is now California.

The goals of the Spanish conquest were twofold—to convert the natives to the Catholic faith, and to win kingdoms and wealth for the Spanish monarchs. Though the Spanish monarchs were genuinely sincere in their desire to convert the natives of America, the desire for wealth too often took first place in the hearts of the conquistadors and settlers of Spanish America. And for Spain, the wealth of the Americas proved to be immense. Gold and silver from mines in Mexico and Peru flooded into Spain, making that kingdom for a time the wealthiest and most powerful in Europe.

Spanish Explorers of the Future United States

By 1512, *Juan Ponce de León* was someone whom many would call successful. From Valladolid in Spain, he had come to the New World with Columbus in 1493. Nine years later, he arrived in Hispaniola, and by suppressing an Indian rebellion there, won the governorship of the eastern part of the island. From 1508 to 1509, he was in Puerto Rico, exploring the island and establishing its first Spanish settlement.

Ponce de León was a wealthy man, the owner of a large plantation on Hispaniola. But like a lot of Spaniards in the New World, Ponce de León was not satisfied. This was likely because he was eager to discover gold and win fame as a conqueror. Some have said, however, that he, growing old, and longing for youth, believed stories of a fountain of youth to be found on an island to the north, called Bimini. Whatever his motives, in 1512 he received a charter from King Fernando to find and explore this Bimini and, if possible, establish a settlement there.

Explorations of La Florida

It was on Easter Sunday, 1513 that Ponce de León's expedition landed on the east coast of Bimini. Since in Spanish Easter was called *Pascua Florida*, "flowery Easter," Ponce de León gave the "island" a new name, La Florida. Ponce de León also stopped thinking of this land as an island, for his explorations of the coastline, from the St. John's River south to Cape Canaveral and then up the western coast to Tampa Bay suggested that La Florida was no island but a peninsula. And Ponce de León discovered another fact—that the Indians of this flowery land were very warlike. It was for this reason he did not attempt a settlement but returned to Hispaniola.

In 1521, Ponce de León went back to Florida, and with the proud title of "Captain of the Land and Sea of San Juan and Governor of Florida and Bimini," attempted a settlement at Charlotte Harbor on the west coast. The Indians, however, attacked the settlers, driving them off and giving Ponce de León the wounds from which he very shortly died.



Juan Ponce de León



Balboa and Ponce de León's exploration routes

Juan Ponce de León: HWAHN
POHN-seh day lay-OHN
Pascua Florida: PAH-skwah
FLOH-ree-dah

It would be another 17 years before another Spaniard attempted an exploration of La Florida. This Spaniard, Hernando de Soto, was a bored rich man, itching for adventure. He had already seen much adventure in the New World. In 1516, he had served under *Pedrarias Dávila*, the brutal conqueror of Darien (now Panama). In 1523, de Soto joined Francisco Fernández de Cordoba in conquering the regions today covered by Nicaragua and Honduras. Nine years later, he was second-in-command of the expedition in which the Pizarro brothers had treacherously conquered Peru. Now, in May 1539, with nine ships and 1,000 men, he was setting forth to explore and conquer La Florida.

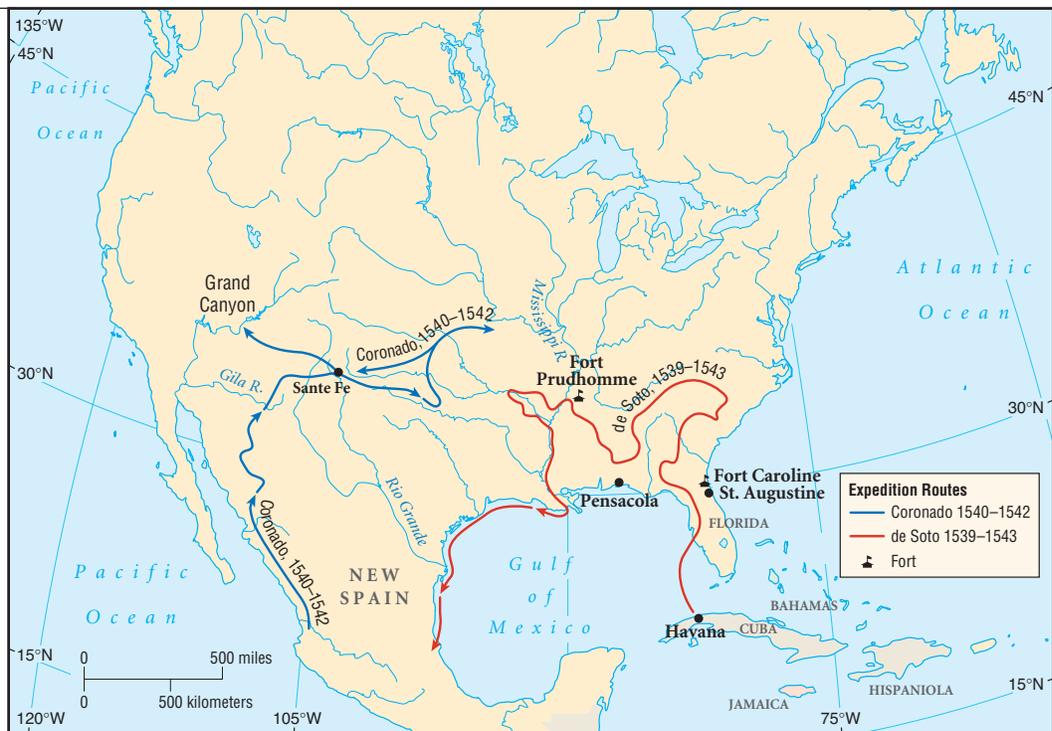
De Soto called the bay on which he landed on La Florida's coast *Espiritu Santo* (Holy Spirit); today, we call it Tampa. From this bay, he and his men moved up the west coast of the peninsula. After subjugating the Apalachee people, de Soto continued his march further into La Florida into what are today Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. All along their path, the Spaniards encountered fierce Indians who might have proved friendly if de Soto had not indulged the bad habit of forcing their proud warriors to carry his army's baggage. For such treatment, the natives frequently attacked the Spaniards. In one fierce, nine-hour battle in what is today Alabama, de Soto and his men left 2,000 Indians dead.

De Soto's great discovery came on May 21, 1541 when he and his men arrived at the banks of a wide, deep, and muddy river—the Mississippi. They were not the first Europeans to see this mighty river—the Spaniard Alonso Alvarez de Pineda had in 1519 found where it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico (and named it *Río de Espiritu Santo*: “River of the Holy Spirit”)—but they were the first to cross its upper waters. It was on the banks of this river that, exactly a year later, de Soto died.

With their commander dead, his men built makeshift ships and floated downriver to the Gulf of Mexico. Following the coasts of what would become Texas and northern Mexico, they arrived, broken and hungry, at Panuco in September

Pedrarias Dávila: peh-DRAH-ree-ahs DAH-vee-lah
Espiritu Santo: eh-SPEER-ee-too SAHN-toh

DeSoto's and Coronado's expeditions in North America



1542. They were all that was left of de Soto's great attempt at the colonization of La Florida.

Quest for Cities of Gold

The same year de Soto was setting forth on his "conquest" of La Florida, word reached the **viceregal** government in Mexico City of an astounding discovery. **Fray** Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan priest, was spreading tales about seven cities of gold in a place called *Cibola*, far, far to the north. The story sparked the interest of the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, and he prepared an expedition to discern the truth of it.

Mendoza placed the expedition under the command of the governor of the province, the soldier Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. With Coronado would go not just soldiers, but settlers as well. Five Franciscans joined Coronado to establish missions among the Indians of Cibola.

After long miles through dusty and arid desert lands, Coronado reached a huddling of rectangular structures made of **adobe** brick. This was Hawikuh, the chief village of the Zuñi people. And though it was no city of gold, it was one of the seven cities Fray Marcos had described. Much to his disappointment, Coronado found no gold there.

Nor did he find gold anywhere else in Cibola—though he sent expeditions in three different directions to find it. That is not to say that these expeditions found nothing worthy of note. One expedition under García López de Cárdenas went northwest and came upon the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon. Another that included Fray *Juan Padilla* and Hernán de Alvarado pushed into what would become northwest Texas. Coronado himself explored the region around the Río Grande and the future Bernalillo, Texas until rumors of a city of gold drew him into the plains of what would become Kansas. Imagine Coronado's disappointment when he discovered not gold, but copper there! He was so disappointed and, indeed, angry, that he ordered the execution of the poor Indian who had told him the story of a gold-rich city called Quivira.

It was not just in failing to find gold that Coronado's expedition was a failure. Returning to the settlement he had founded in the region now called Nuevo México (New Mexico), he found the settlers so unhappy that the only alternative seemed to be to abandon the settlement. Only Fray Juan Padilla, another Franciscan, two lay brothers, and a small number of soldiers to protect them remained in New Mexico when Coronado and most of the expedition turned south again in April 1542.

Like Coronado, Fray Juan did not remain long in New Mexico. With two companions and a handful of soldiers, Padilla went to preach the Gospel to the Indians of the Kansas plains. It was there that he met his death on November 30, 1542, pierced by arrows while holding aloft the cross. Some have called Fray Juan

viceregal: relating to a *viceroy*, a representative sent by a king or queen to rule a territory in his or her own name
fray: (FRY) a Spanish word signifying "brother" or "friar"
adobe: a kind of clay used as a building material, usually in the form of bricks that are dried in the sun



Ruins of a *kiva* (foreground) at Pueblo de Arroyo, New Mexico.

Cibola: SEE-boh-lah
Juan Padilla: HWAHN pah-DEE-yah

Padilla the first martyr in the regions of what would one day be the United States of America.

The Voyages of England's Columbus

Giovanni Caboto was already a widely traveled mariner when, sometime around 1490, he settled in England. A native of Florence, Italy, he had for years sailed the Mediterranean in the service of the merchant city-state of Venice, engaged in the spice trade. Like Columbus, Caboto set his mind on how to establish a direct trade with the Indies, bypassing the Muslim middlemen; and, like Columbus, he conceived his own “Enterprise of the Indies”—a sea passage, westward across the Atlantic.



Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot)

Giovanni Caboto was a mouthful of a name for English speakers, so in his adopted town of Bristol, England Caboto became known simply as John Cabot. But if the merchants of Bristol had a struggle to pronounce his name, they had no difficulty in understanding his Indian enterprise idea. Bristol had long carried on trade with Iceland, and sailors told stories of undiscovered islands to the west. Surely, these might belong to the Indies! Inspired by Cabot's idea, the merchants sent out ships to find these islands, but always without success. Then, in 1493, Cabot and the merchants heard the news of Columbus' discovery of a route to the Indies.

Surely, the news that a rival kingdom had made direct contact with the Indies would interest England's king, Henry VII! It certainly did. Yet, though King Henry granted Cabot and his sons the right to search for unknown lands, he refused to pay for any of it. Cabot had to pay for the expedition himself.

In early May 1497, Cabot, his sons, and a crew of 18 men set sail on the ship *Mathew*, bound for the West. After about a month and a half at sea, they made their first New World landfall on the northernmost tip of Cape Breton Island. It was there on June 24, the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, that Cabot took possession of the land for King Henry VII and England. From Cape Breton, Cabot continued southeastward, down the coast of Newfoundland. Yet, to his disappointment, Cabot found no gold—all that the Indians he met could offer him were animal furs. Certain that he had reached Asia, but without the gold or spices to prove it, he returned to England, arriving in Bristol harbor in August 1497.

The news, however, must not have been too discouraging, for no sooner had Cabot arrived back in England than King Henry was willing to send him out on, and even pay for, another expedition. In May 1498—this time, in five ships and with 200 men—Cabot set sail for Greenland, hoping from there to find a passage to the Indies. Unfortunately, we know little more about this expedition. If Cabot reached America, it seems he never returned to England but was lost at sea. Yet, though Cabot's voyages may seem failures, they established one result of immense importance: England's claim to possess a part of the New World.

As we shall see, this would prove to be a very important result, indeed.

Giovanni Caboto: jyo-VAH-nee cah-BOH-toh

The First Forays of France

Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean and, later, Elcano's circumnavigation of the world had shown that the lands of America were not the outposts of Asia but a New World. Yet, though this New World offered its own tempting riches, European rulers still hoped to reach Asia. Though the continents of North and South America seemed to lie between the rulers and their dream, some Europeans hoped to find a passage or **strait** through the Americas from the Atlantic to the Pacific and thus to the Indies. If such a passage existed—and many were confident that it did—Spain had not yet discovered it in the South. So, sailing expeditions were sent north and west in the hope of finding a “Northwest Passage” to Asia.

King *François* I of France was eager for new sources of wealth—in large part to combat his chief rival in Europe, King Carlos I of Spain. Carlos was not only king of Spain but Holy Roman Emperor (where he was Karl or Charles V), and the lord of vast lands that surrounded France on all sides, including northern Italy, which François coveted. Carlos had this advantage—the gold and silver of the Americas. To get a part of this treasure, François had financed privateers, or government-sponsored pirates, to attack Spanish galleons and steal the gold and silver they were transporting from America. Yet, François saw that this was not the straightest road to riches. A better way would be for France to establish her own claim to the New World and, perhaps, find a sea passage to the riches of the Far East.

To do just that, François chose an Italian from Florence, Giovanni de *Verrazano*, who set sail in January 1524 in search of the “Straits of Anian,” a name for the Northwest Passage. After crossing the Atlantic, Verrazano landed on the coast of what is now North Carolina; then, sailing north along the coast, he became the first European to sail into a harbor later called New York. Verrazano sailed ever northward, entering Narragansett Bay, and skirted the Maine coast to Newfoundland. He then returned to France in July 1524.

Though he had failed to find the Straits of Anian, Verrazano was enthusiastic about the prospects of America. He urged the king to establish a settlement there. War with Carlos I, however, intervened.

It was not until 1534 that François commissioned another of his privateers, this time the Frenchman *Jacques Cartier*, to explore America. With two small ships and 60 sailors, Cartier set out in April 1534 and, in 21 days, reached Newfoundland. From there, he sailed north along the barren Labrador coast. Turning south, Cartier eventually came upon a very different land, wooded and abundant with wild berries. This was Prince Edward Island. Turning north again, he entered a large bay—today called Chaleur Bay—where he traded with the natives for furs of beaver, fox, and marten.

Only eight months after his return to France, Cartier set out on his second expedition to America. North of Prince Edward Island he discovered a large passage into the continent—the St. Lawrence River. Searching for a gold-rich land, Cartier followed this river as far inland as the site of the future city of Montreal before he turned back. Cartier returned to France in July 1536 without any report of having found a northwest passage or gold. He could, however, report that “Canada,” the name he gave to the lands along the St. Lawrence, was a land rich with potential for settlement.

To found a settlement along the St. Lawrence, Cartier set off again for Canada in 1541. With him went the designated governor, *Jean-François de la Roque*,

strait: a narrow passage of water connecting two larger bodies of water



Jacques Cartier

François: frahn-SWAH
Verrazano: vayr-rah-ZAH-noh
Jacques Cartier: ZHAK CAHR-tyay
Jean-François de la Roque: ZHAN-frahn-SWAH duh lah ROHK

Sieur de Roberval, and 200 settlers. Roberval established his settlement on the St. Lawrence in the spot where Cartier had earlier erected a small fort. Yet, the settlers were not prepared for the harsh winter, and most of them died. Those who survived returned to France in 1543.

Spain's Northernmost Settlements

King *Felipe* II of Spain was not happy at the news.

From Ponce de León and de Soto's explorations, Spain had claimed the vast region called La Florida as its own. Word, however, had come to Felipe that a group of French Protestants called Huguenots had established a settlement, Fort Caroline, on the east coast of the Florida peninsula. King Felipe was no friend to Protestants, and he saw France as his enemy. Thus, he wanted those Huguenots out of La Florida.

La Florida Settled at Last

So it was that Felipe sent a small fleet under *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* to La Florida with orders to establish a settlement there and drive out the Huguenots. On August 28, 1565, the fleet anchored in a small bay on the coast of the peninsula. Since it was the feast of a great defender of the Faith, St. Augustine of Hippo, Avilés christened the bay San Agustín, in the saint's honor.

After establishing a settlement on the bay, Avilés set out against the Huguenots. Within a month, Avilés and his Spaniards had captured Fort Caroline and the French force. Having no place to store his prisoners, Avilés executed them all. Only the Catholics and some 50 women and children were spared.

Sieur de Roberval: syoor duh ROH-bayr-vahl
Felipe: feh-LEE-pay
Pedro Menéndez de Avilés: PAY-droh meh-NEHN-dehz day ah-vee-LAYS

Spanish missions in 17th century Georgia and Florida.



This was the bloody beginning of a town, now called Saint Augustine, from which Spanish settlement spread north, south, and west into eastern North America. Since the king of Spain insisted that the primary purpose of Spanish settlement was the conversion of the native peoples, Franciscan missionaries began working among the Indians of La Florida. By 1590, the Franciscans had established a number of missions in what is today Florida and into a region named *Guale*, now southeastern Georgia. In 1606, the Franciscans began working among the Timucuan people in the interior of the peninsula, and in the 1630s established missions further west, among the Apalachee.

Like anything human, the Spanish settlements of La Florida suffered from injustice and mismanagement. Diseases unwittingly brought by the Spanish killed tens of thousands of native peoples. Spanish governors at times mistreated the Indians and so inspired rebellions in which both Spanish settlers and the missions suffered. Though in many cases, the Indians had welcomed the missions, some found it hard to accept Christian morality. In 1597, a Christian Indian named Juanillo stirred up a revolt when the missionaries told him he could not have more than one wife. By the time Juanillo was killed in 1598, his rebellion had destroyed the Guale missions. It would be another eight years before the Franciscans could reestablish them.

The Founding of New Mexico

For over 50 years, Spain did nothing with Coronado's *Nuevo México*. Franciscan missionaries were there, laboring to convert the native Pueblo people; but there was no European settlement in all of New Mexico.

In Mexico, the wealthy Juan de *Oñate* thought he would change that and approached the viceroy to receive royal permission for a settlement. The viceroy might well have been doubtful, remembering Coronado's failure. Still, Oñate was one of the most respected men in all of New Spain, and very rich. Moreover, Oñate said he would pay for the venture himself. How then could the viceroy refuse?

With Oñate went 200 soldiers and colonists, a band of Christian Indians, 7,000 head of cattle, and eight Franciscans on the long and difficult journey to New Mexico. By April 1598, the expedition had crossed the Río Grande at a place called El Paso and entered New Mexico. On Ascension Thursday, April 30, 1598, Oñate took possession of the land for the crown of Spain.

At first, progress in settling the land seemed promising. The Franciscans who had come with Oñate set right to work and, by the end of 1598, had established three missions among the Pueblo Indians. At the confluence of the Río Grande and Chama rivers, Oñate established the San Juan settlement as the nucleus of his new colony. From San Juan, expeditions set out in all directions in the hopes of finding the elusive cities of gold, the search for which had bedeviled Coronado.



Bell tower of the old mission church of San Geronimo, Taos Pueblo, New Mexico

Guale: GWAH-lay
Oñate: oh-NYAH-tay

The People of the Pueblo

We call various tribes who live in historic New Mexico “Pueblo,” a Spanish word for “town.” Unlike nomadic peoples like the region’s Apache and Comanche, the Pueblo peoples dwelt in compact, permanent settlements made up of rectangular structures built from adobe brick or limestone blocks. Pueblo men were hunters of deer and antelope, and, farther east on the plains, buffalo. Pueblo women farmed maize, squash, beans, and cotton and gathered wild plants.



Ácoma pueblo, atop a sheer sandstone mesa

Traditionally, each pueblo was independent of every other pueblo, ruled by a council of men drawn from each of the pueblo’s religious societies. The culture of the Pueblo peoples was diverse, and they spoke a number of different languages. The religion of the Pueblo peoples was a form of spirit worship in which hundreds of spirits, called *kachinas*, acted as intermediaries between the Pueblo people and God. The Pueblo peoples engaged in yearly, communal ritual cycles to ensure rainfall and the return of the Sun from his “winter house” in the spring.

mesa: a hill that has steep sides and flat top (a Spanish word derived from the Latin, *mensa*, meaning table)

Ácoma: AH-koh-mah

Yet, all was far from well in Nuevo México. Though the Pueblo people at first seemed welcoming, all were not content with Spanish rule. In the very first year of the settlement, the people of Ácoma pueblo rebelled—they were angry that the settlers were seizing their food supplies. Though set atop a high **mesa** of sheer cliffs, Ácoma could not withstand the Spanish assault. After three days, the Spaniards were able to scale the mesa’s walls and take the pueblo. Some 800 Indians died in the assault, and 500 were taken prisoner. The Spaniards brutally punished the survivors to teach them never again to resist Spanish authority.

The Pueblo people learned Ácoma’s lesson well; it would be 80 years before any of them attempted another rebellion. Still, all was not well in New Mexico. Colonizing the land was hard, in large part because the soil was so poor. By 1608, the settlers’ dissatisfaction reached the ears of King *Felipe* III in far-off Spain. At

first, he thought to disband the settlement, but reports of the large numbers of Indian converts changed his mind. Instead of abandoning this fledgling outpost of the Church, he made New Mexico a royal province.

As for Oñate, he had to resign his governorship and return to Mexico. In 1610, a new governor, Pedro de Peralta founded a new settlement south of San Juan, called *Santa Fé* (Holy Faith). Twenty years later, this small settlement was the capital of New Mexico and boasted 1,000 inhabitants. No gold had been found in New Mexico, but it had begun to flourish. By 1630, around 60,000 Christians were living in 90 villages and 25 missions in New Mexico.

England's Colonial Ventures

For over 50 years following Cabot's last voyage, England ignored the New World. What is called the Reformation was dividing Europe into hostile religious camps, Catholic and Protestant, and England was soon drawn into the fray. When Pope Clement VII refused to annul his marriage to Catharine of Aragon (daughter to Fernando and Isabel), King Henry VIII (Henry VII's son) proclaimed the Church of England independent of the papacy. Under the reign of Henry VIII's son, Edward VI, this "Church of England" became thoroughly Protestant in doctrine. When Edward's half-sister, Mary, ascended the throne, she restored unity with the Catholic Church—briefly; under her half-sister, Elizabeth I, the Church of England reverted again to Protestantism. With such religious upheavals, England had little leisure for New World exploration.

Under Queen Elizabeth I, however, England began its decisive turn to the sea. Elizabeth enlarged England's merchant fleet, trading on the North and Baltic seas and the Mediterranean. On the Atlantic, English ships carried out an illegal trade with the Spanish West Indies. English privateers raided Spanish settlements and captured ships carrying gold and silver to Spain. In 1577, Elizabeth commissioned the privateer, Francis Drake, to circumnavigate the world. Setting out from Portsmouth harbor, Drake sailed down the eastern coast of South America, rounded Cape Horn, and continued up the west coast of both North and South America, raiding Spanish settlements and seizing Spanish ships along the way. In the summer of 1579, Drake landed somewhere on the coast of what is now northern California, claiming the land for Queen Elizabeth. He named it "New Albion" (New England).

From New Albion, Drake continued up North America's Pacific coast until he reached the Olympic Peninsula. From there, he set out into the Pacific. After more than a year traversing the Indian Ocean and rounding the Cape of Good Hope into the Atlantic, Drake sailed into Plymouth on September 26, 1580. For this triumph, the queen knighted the pirate, *Sir Francis Drake*.

All this sea travel tantalized English **speculators** with dreams of New World wealth. The first attempt at a New World settlement was made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Gilbert's attempt, in 1583, to form such a colony on Newfoundland, however, was a failure. Gilbert himself was lost at sea on the return voyage to England.

One of the investors in Gilbert's scheme had been his own half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. A great favorite of Queen Elizabeth, Raleigh received royal permission to explore America and to possess any lands he explored and occupied.

speculator: someone who invests money in something (such as a business, a mine, or a scheme), hoping to make more money off it



Sir Francis Drake

Santa Fé: SAHN-tah FAY

Raleigh said he would call these lands Virginia, after Queen Elizabeth, the “Virgin Queen”—so called because she had never married. The Virgin Queen, however, said Raleigh had to stay by her side in England. Others would have to do the exploring and settlement for him, she demanded.

In 1584, Raleigh sent Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to explore Virginia. Reaching the North American coast off of Florida, Amadis and Barlowe sailed north until they came to Roanoke Island, off the coast of what is now North Carolina. There they collected animal skins, pearls, and two Indians (Manteo and Wanchese) and returned to England. Such goods proved of great interest to wealthy Englishmen, and Raleigh was able to secure investment to attempt a permanent settlement.

Sir Walter Raleigh



The following year, Raleigh sent Sir Richard Grenville, Ralph Lane, and a party of 108 men to Roanoke Island. Their attempts at a settlement, however, proved a failure. They arrived too late in the year to plant crops, and Lane’s swaggering with the natives led to violence. Fortunately for the settlers, Sir Francis Drake happened to be passing up the coast at the time. He gathered the disappointed settlers and brought them back to England.

In 1587, Raleigh attempted another settlement—this time of the Chesapeake Bay farther north. However, the sailors who carried John White and the 121 men and women across the Atlantic disobeyed orders and landed them at Roanoke Island, refusing to take them farther north. Making the best of a bad situation, White returned to England for supplies, leaving the settlers to make do with what they had.

The Roanoke settlers never received the supplies. With the threat of war between England and Spain, White could not return to Roanoke until 1591. There he found no one. The colonists were gone, their houses dismantled; only a log carved with the word CROATOAN (the name of an island) remained to mark the lost Virginia settlement. Bad weather prevented White from sailing to Croatoan, forcing him to return to England. Subsequent attempts to find the colonists failed. No one ever learned what happened to them.

Though failures, Raleigh’s attempts at settlement had whipped up English interest in Virginia. Two adventurers, Bartholomew Gosnold and Richard Hakluyt, formed a trading company, called the Virginia Company of London (or just the London Company), and sold “bills of adventure” to investors. In April 1606, Elizabeth’s successor, James I, granted the London Company a charter to found a colony in Virginia.

In April 1607, three ships commissioned by the London Company landed at Cape Henry at the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay. In June, the settlers chose a site for their new colony—Jamestown (in honor of King James I)—on a small peninsula jutting out into a river, also christened James. Jamestown suffered many trials in the first three years of its existence. The lands around the James River were swampy, and fevers killed many of the colonists. The Algonquin people of the region, often incensed to anger by the swaggering way the English forced them to give them supplies, raided the settlement. Then there was the problem that the colony was not producing the wealth that the London Company’s investors wanted. For a time, it appeared that the Jamestown experiment would end in failure.

Then in 1610, an Englishman named John Rolfe arrived at Jamestown with a treasure—tobacco seed, smuggled from the Spanish West Indian islands. Tobacco smoking had become quite popular in England and all of Europe, and the best

tobacco came from the Spanish West Indies. In 1612, the Jamestown settlers planted the smuggled seed and, at harvest, discovered that it produced a leaf that was sweet, strong, and fragrant. Indeed, soon smokers in England were declaring that, though the Virginia leaf was inferior to the Caribbean, it was quite good, nonetheless. Jamestown and Virginia had found their cash crop. Tobacco growing thus saved the fledgling colony from collapse.

For the Strengthening of the Nation

Wealth and power were largely what inspired European nations to seek colonies in the New World. The 16th-century theory motivating this search was later called mercantilism. According to this theory, to grow rich and, therefore, powerful, a nation needs raw materials—such as wood, crops (cotton and tobacco, for instance), and minerals—that could be manufactured into finished goods (such as clothing and metal implements). Manufacturing, however, was to occur only in the mother country—that is, in England, France, or Spain. The colonies were to supply the raw materials but were prohibited from at least large-scale manufacture, for they were to be the market in which the manufactured goods were to be sold. Trade between the colonies and foreign countries was forbidden, for it was feared that if such trade occurred, foreign nations would take wealth from the mother country. And power, it was thought, was based on wealth.

A New France in America

After Cartier and Roberval's failure, troubles at home such as civil wars between Catholics and Huguenots had kept the French kings from attempting another settlement along the St. Lawrence River. These struggles came to an end after 1589 when the Huguenot leader, *Henri IV*, became king of France. Henri assured an uneasy peace by himself becoming Catholic and, in 1598, issuing the Edict of Nantes. The edict promised religious liberty as well as a great deal of political and even military power to the Huguenot minority.

With peace, Henri IV commissioned *Aymar de Chastes* to found a settlement on the St. Lawrence River. In 1603, the royal geographer who accompanied de Chastes, Samuel de *Champlain*, identified a suitable spot for settlement where the St. Lawrence narrows—a place the Indians called Québec.

De Chastes established no settlement. But a year later, Champlain accompanied another expedition that attempted a settlement in the region the French called L'Acadie (now Nova Scotia and Maine). While in L'Acadie, Champlain explored the Atlantic coast, going as far south as Massachusetts Bay. Having returned to France, Champlain set out again for America in 1608, and in July of that year established a dwelling and storehouse at Québec. It was not long before Québec became a center for fur trading. From Québec, villages and farms gradually extended French sway along the banks of the St. Lawrence.

From Québec, French settlement moved up the St. Lawrence into the region of the Great Lakes, north into Canada, and south into the regions now divided by the states of New York, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. From these regions,

Henri: AHN-ree

Aymar de Chaste: AY-mahr
duh SHAST

Champlain: SHAM-plahn

Jolliet and Marquette's and La Salle's voyages in North America



père: (payr) French for father

collectively called New France, the fur trader, *Louis Jolliet* and the Jesuit priest, **Père** Jacques Marquette explored the Mississippi River, extending French claims southward into what would one day be the heartland of the United States of America.

In 1681, the French adventurer, *René-Robert, Sieur de La Salle*, set out with King Louis XIV's blessing to explore the Mississippi River and establish a great inland empire for the French crown.

In April 1682, La Salle reached the Mississippi delta in the far South, where he hoped one day to found a city that would be the Paris of the New World. La Salle claimed the river, all the land on its banks and along its tributary rivers for France, and named it Louisiana in honor of France's king. Yet, though La Salle was able

to establish a few forts and a trading post where Chicago stands today, he did not live to found his New World Paris. Others would do so, calling it not New Paris, but *Nouvelle-Orleans*—New Orleans.

Unlike the Spanish regions of America, New France and Louisiana were never heavily settled. Though some French settlers established farms, especially along the St. Lawrence River, most Frenchmen were content with plying the rivers and lakes of New France in search of furs, France's New World source of wealth.

Louis Jolliet: LOO-wee ZHOH-lee-ay
René-Robert, Sieur de La Salle: reh-NAY ROH-bayr syoor dull ah SAHL
Nouvelle-Orleans: NOO-vel OR-lay-ahn



Bust of King Louis XIV, Old Québec City, Québec

Like Spain, the French king sent missionaries into America to convert its native peoples. Among these missionaries were Jesuits, some of whom died while spreading the Gospel among the Indians. In 1646, Père Isaac Jogues was tortured and killed by the Iroquois on the Mohawk River in what is now New York state. Three years later, Père Jean de Brébeuf, while working among the Huron, died a horrific death at hands of the Huron's enemy, the Iroquois. Other Jesuits who tasted death for the name of Christ were Père *Jean Lalende*, in what is now New York state, and, in Canada, the priests Antoine Daniel and *Gabriel Lalement*. The Church remembers these men today as saints—the “North American Martyrs.”

Jean Lalende: ZHAHN lah-LEND

Gabriel Lalement: GAH-bree-ehl LAH-leh-mahnt

The Natives of New France

The native peoples who lived in Canada, along the shores of the Great Lakes, and in what would become New York, played important roles in the history of New France.

The natives of New France survived by fishing and hunting, as well as simple agriculture. In extensive fields surrounding their villages, Indian women farmed maize, beans, squash, and tobacco. The men were hunters and warriors. Their villages were made up of “longhouses” formed from saplings and covered with elm bark, protected by wooden palisades.

Indian Tribes in North America and French forts and settlements in Canada



One of the most powerful groups in New France were the Iroquois, formed as a league of five (later six) nations: the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. In 1715, the Tuscarora, who had moved from North Carolina to New York, joined the Iroquois, making it the League of Six Nations. The member tribes of the Iroquois League sent delegates, chosen by the clans within each tribe, to a common council that made no important decisions without the agreement of every delegate. Each tribe had its own chiefs' council, as well as a woman's council formed from the mothers of the tribe, who wielded much influence.

Unlike other eastern tribes, the **Iroquois** were **monogamous**, though divorce was common among them. The Iroquois religion was polytheistic. They believed in two gods, one of winter and the other of spring, who were in continual conflict.

monogamous: having only one wife

Iroquois: EER-oh-kwah

(continued on next page)

The Natives of New France *(continued)*

The Iroquois were warlike and ruthless enemies. Yet, though they tortured and enslaved many of their captives, they admitted others to the tribe to replace lost family members. After they obtained guns in the mid-16th century, they were nearly invincible. By 1656, the Iroquois had swept over the Huron on the Great Lakes and the Erie people in what is now northeast Ohio. In the 18th century, the Iroquois conquered the Lenape (Delaware) and the Illini, and harassed the English colony of Virginia. It was because of the Iroquois that the French never established settlements south of upper New York.

Much of what we have said about the Iroquois could be said of the Huron (also called the Wyandot), who lived north of the St. Lawrence. The Huron, however, lacked the Iroquois genius for government, though, like the Iroquois, they had a council or assembly that made all important decisions. Women selected the leaders of the tribe. Though a chief could announce the council's decisions, no chief had the power to enforce obedience. He had to rely on his eloquence, not his power, to sway his warriors.

The Huron believed that the world is filled with good and evil spirits whom they tried to please by sacrifice. The French missionaries said the Huron seemed to have some concept of a supreme being, though they did not worship him.

The Iroquois eventually crushed the Huron, along with their kin, the Algonquin, and their villages were scattered.



Algonquin village of Pomeioc in North Carolina. An 1885 drawing based on a 16th century original.

Chapter 1 Review

Summary:

- To avoid the Muslims as middlemen in the spice trade with the Orient, Europeans sought a sea passage to the Orient by going south along the coast of Africa or west, across the Atlantic, instead of east, which was the shortest land route.
- Three European countries, at various times and in various ways throughout the period of this chapter, sent missions of exploration, evangelization, colonization, and subjugation westward: Spain, France, and England.
- The first explorer, searching for a passage to India, was neither Spanish, nor French, nor English, but Italian. He was Christopher Columbus, from the Italian city of Genoa. The Italians eventually supplied explorers for all three of the exploring countries.
- Spain explored and established settlements in the future United States in what are today Florida and New Mexico. France's earliest settlements were founded along the St. Lawrence River in what is today Canada, and then southward along the Mississippi River. England established its first settlement along the Atlantic seaboard.
- The three European countries that explored and settled that portion of the New World that became the United States interacted with the native

Chapter 1 Review (continued)

populations they found in very different ways. The Spanish came to convert the natives to the Catholic faith while winning kingdoms and wealth for the Spanish crown. The French sought wealth in furs and tried to establish permanent farming settlements. French missionaries worked among the native peoples to bring them into the Catholic Church. The early English attempts at settlement were not directed at evangelizing the Indians but simply to establish a source of wealth for investors in England. All three countries had, at times, a contentious relationship with Native Americans.

- When the Europeans interacted with each other in the New World, it was often through smuggling or privateering. The English were especially effective at this new kind of piracy, and they were active smugglers. Tobacco was first brought to Jamestown by smuggling in Spanish seeds. Privateers filled Queen Elizabeth's coffers by stealing gold from Spanish ships.
- The first continuously inhabited colony in what would become the United States was San Agustín in La Florida. Each colonizing European country established some colonies in the New World, and these colonies met with varying degrees of success.
- The populations of native peoples whom the Europeans encountered when they arrived in the New World differed from each other and from the Europeans in many important ways. Some were nomadic, while others lived in settled towns and practiced some kind of agriculture. Some welcomed the Europeans, while others did not. Each native group had its own existing culture, customs, religious beliefs, and practices.

Key Concepts

Enterprise of the Indies: Columbus' idea that Europeans could establish a direct trade route with the Indies (China, Japan, and India) by sailing west across the Atlantic

mercantilism: the theory that, in order to grow rich and powerful, a nation needs raw materials from elsewhere. The mother country would turn these raw

materials into "finished goods" and sell them to the territories from which the raw materials had been taken. Although this idea did not get a name until later, its tenets were present in the era of European exploration.

Northwest Passage: the "Straits of Anian," a long-sought sea passage across the Americas to the Indies

Dates to Remember

1492: Christopher Columbus lands on an island off the coast of North America.

1497: John Cabot and his ships land north of what is now Newfoundland.

1535: French explorer Jacques Cartier discovers the Saint Lawrence River.

1541: Hernando de Soto discovers the Mississippi River.

1565: Pedro Menendez de Aviles, a Spaniard, establishes San Agustín in La Florida.

1587: first English attempt at a colony in the New World, on Roanoke Island

1607: Jamestown colony founded

1608: Samuel de Champlain establishes a settlement at Québec on the St. Lawrence River.

1610: Tobacco seed arrives in Virginia, providing a cash crop for the colony.

1682: René-Robert, Sieur de la Salle, begins an exploration of the Mississippi River.

Central Characters

Christopher Columbus (1451–1506): a sailor from the city of Genoa (in what is now Italy), who was the first European to set sail westward to find a route to the Orient. He discovered, instead, what we call the Americas.

Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512): the man for whom the continents of North and South America are named

Juan Ponce de León (1460–1521): the first European to land on the coast of Florida

Hernando de Soto (1496–1542): a Spaniard who explored what is now the southeast United States

Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot (1450–1499)): an Italian mariner who led the first English exploration of North America

Chapter 1 Review (continued)

Isabel and Fernando: the queen of Castile and León and the king of Aragon who patronized Columbus' Enterprise of the Indies

Henry VII (1485–1509): (r. 1485–1509) the king of England who promoted John Cabot's expedition to North America

François I (1494–1547): (r. 1515–1547) the first king of France to promote exploration in the New World

Elizabeth I (1533–1603): (r. 1558–1603) the queen of England, called the "Virgin Queen," for whom Virginia is named. She commissioned the earliest attempts at English colonization in America.

James I (1566–1625): (r. 1603–1625) king of Scotland and king of England under whom Jamestown colony in Virginia was founded

Questions for Review

1. Which three countries sponsored expeditions to the New World following Columbus' discovery of America?
2. How did missions of exploration differ from those of evangelization, colonization, and subjugation? Which countries engaged in which kinds of missions?
3. Why was the caravel such an important development in navigation?
4. How far did Columbus think he needed to sail to get to the "Indies"? How close was his estimate? Why would that matter?
5. Why were the Europeans so interested in finding a new way to reach the Indies?
6. How did the Pueblo Indians differ from other Indian nations that Europeans encountered in the lands that would become the United States?
7. What was the cash crop that established the Virginia colony? When did that crop arrive in Virginia, and how?
8. When did Henri IV of France issue the Edict of Nantes? Why does that edict matter to American history?
9. When did the League of Five Nations become the League of Six Nations? Why?

Ideas in Action

1. Compare and contrast the approaches the Europeans (the Spanish, French, and English) had to the new places they discovered. Consider, for example, what kinds of voyages each country sponsored and how each country named the new lands and treated the native populations they found in them. How might the Protestant or Catholic faith of the explorers have influenced these differences?
2. In his book, *Congressional Anecdotes*, Paul F. Boller, Jr., tells how a United States Senator from Rhode Island responded to claims that the Viking, Leif Ericsson, not Christopher Columbus, had discovered America. According to Boller, the Senator said, "Of course Ericsson discovered America. That is why we are meeting today in the District of Ericsson." (Its name is the District of Columbia, the location of the nation's capital, Washington. The Senator was trying to be funny, since everyone in the chamber knew the proper name of the district.) Given that Columbus didn't discover the North American Continent, wasn't alive when the United States was founded, and was loyal to the Spanish crown and the Catholic Church, discuss to what extent Americans in both North and South America should honor this Italian explorer. Should Americans honor him at all?
3. One of the challenges the European arrival in the New World presented was how to communicate with the new peoples the Europeans encountered there. The Native Americans and the Europeans shared no common language, at least at first. Divide the class into two groups, one of explorers and one of indigenous populations. The goals of the explorers should include trade for goods, evangelization, mutual cooperation with the indigenous people, and survival. The goals of the indigenous people are a mystery, but survival is surely among them. Have the two student groups try to communicate in silence in order to begin to understand how difficult the situation was for Europeans and Native Americans both at the time of first contact.

Highways and Byways

Long before the days of the Civil Rights movement or the Abolitionist movement in the United States, the voice of the pope, the Vicar of Christ, spoke out about the proper treatment of indigenous populations. The year was 1435, nearly 60 years before Columbus sailed for India, and it had come to Pope Eugene IV's attention that Spaniards were mistreating the native population of the Canary Islands—in some cases enslaving them, and in many cases stealing their property and mistreating them in other ways. It is worth reading the entire letter, all six paragraphs, so here it is:

Sicut Dudum

(Against the Enslaving of Black Natives from the Canary Islands)

*Eugene, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God,
To our venerable brothers, peace and apostolic
benediction, etcetera.*

Not long ago, we learned from our brother Ferdinand, bishop at Rubicon and representative of the faithful who are residents of the Canary Islands, and from messengers sent by them to the Apostolic See, and from other trustworthy informers, the following facts: in the said islands—some called Lanzarote—and other nearby islands, the inhabitants, imitating the natural law alone, and not having known previously any sect of apostates or heretics, have a short time since been led into the Orthodox Catholic Faith with the aid of God's mercy. Nevertheless, with the passage of time, it has happened that in some of the said islands, because of a lack of suitable governors and defenders to direct those who live there to a proper observance of the Faith in things spiritual and temporal, and to protect valiantly their property and goods, some Christians (we speak of this with sorrow), with fictitious reasoning and seizing and opportunity, have approached said islands by ship, and with armed forces taken captive and even carried off to lands overseas very many persons of both sexes, taking advantage of their simplicity.

Some of these people were already baptized; others were even at times tricked and deceived by the promise of Baptism, having been made a promise of safety that was not kept. They have deprived the natives of their property, or turned it to their own use, and have subjected some of the inhabitants of said islands to perpetual slavery, sold them to other persons, and committed other various illicit and evil deeds against them, because of which very many of those remaining on said islands, and condemning such slavery, have remained involved in their former errors, having drawn back their intention to receive Baptism, thus offending the majesty of God, putting their souls in danger, and causing no little harm to the Christian religion

Therefore, We, to whom it pertains, especially in respect to the aforesaid matters, to rebuke each sinner about his sin, and not wishing to pass by dissimulating, and desiring—as is expected from the pastoral office we hold—as far as possible, to provide salutarily, with a holy and fatherly concern, for the sufferings of the inhabitants, beseech the Lord, and exhort, through the sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ shed for their sins, one and all, temporal princes, lords, captains, armed men, barons, soldiers, nobles, communities, and all others of every kind among the Christian faithful of whatever state, grade, or condition, that they themselves desist from the aforementioned deeds, cause those subject to them to desist from them, and restrain them rigorously.

And no less do We order and command all and each of the faithful of each sex, within the space of fifteen days of the publication of these letters in the place where they live, that they restore to their earlier liberty all and each person of either sex who were once residents of said Canary Islands, and made captives since the time of their capture, and who have been made subject to slavery. These people are to be totally and perpetually free, and are to be let go without the exaction or reception of money. If this is not done when the fifteen days have passed, they incur the sentence of excommunication by the act itself, from which they cannot be absolved, except at the point of death, even by the Holy See, or by any

Chapter 1 Review (continued)

Spanish bishop, or by the aforementioned Ferdinand, unless they have first given freedom to these captive persons and restored their goods. We will that like sentence of excommunication be incurred by one and all who attempt to capture, sell, or subject to slavery, baptized residents of the Canary Islands, or those who are freely seeking Baptism, from which excommunication cannot be absolved except as was stated above.

Those who humbly and efficaciously obey these, our exhortations and commands deserve, in addition to our favor, and that of the Apostolic See, and the blessings which follow therefrom, but are to be possessors of eternal happiness and to be placed at the right hand of God, etcetera

Given at Florence, January 13, in the Year of Our Lord, 1435

2

ENGLAND SETTLES NORTH AMERICA

No great ideas inspired the founding of Jamestown—it was a colony that was meant to make money for its backers, the Virginia Company of London. Very different were the motives of those who settled Plymouth, far to the north on the coast of what is now Massachusetts. It was not economics that inspired them, but religion.

A City on the Hill

In 1609, a group of Protestants who called themselves the “Saints” left England for the Netherlands. The Saints belonged to a broader religious movement, called Puritanism, whose members wanted to purify the Protestant Church of England of beliefs and practices they thought were too Catholic. The difference between the Saints and others who shared their beliefs was that the Saints were “Separatists;” that is, they did not want to belong at all to the Church of England, while other Puritans wanted to stay in the Church of England and purify it from within. Because the Saints would suffer persecution if they remained in England, they fled to the Netherlands, which offered freedom of religion.

But the Saints did not want to live in a foreign country. They asked the Virginia Company if they could settle somewhere in Virginia and there practice their religion in peace. The king, James I, would not hear of any of his subjects worshipping outside of the Church of England; but he agreed that, in the case of the Saints, he would ignore their disobedience to his royal authority.

The Saints (whom we remember as the “Pilgrims”) arrived in America at the end of 1620—but they did not land in Virginia. On the ship, *Mayflower*, they sailed to the colder reaches of America that were to be called New England. There they founded Plymouth on Cape

The Saints aboard the *Mayflower*



covenant: a formal or solemn agreement between two parties

Cod Bay. While still on board their ship, the Saints and their fellow colonists (who were not Saints) signed a **covenant** or contract to form a civil society for the “glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country.” This contract, called the “Mayflower Compact,” is important—for while in Europe most lands were governed by tradition and custom, Plymouth was to be governed by a written agreement that made no mention of either tradition or custom. Such written agreements or constitutions would characterize English settlements in the New World.

The Puritans Join the Saints

In 1629, King Charles I of England granted a group of investors called the Massachusetts Bay Company the right to settle on Massachusetts Bay. Not only Separatists were having a hard time in England; even those called “Puritans,” who shared their beliefs but remained in the Church of England, found that it would not tolerate their ideas. So it was that these Puritans, like the Saints, sought room in America where they could practice their religion as they saw fit. These newer settlers founded Massachusetts Bay Colony, whose chief city was Boston.

Like Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay was founded on religious ideals. Puritanism arose out of the Calvinist or Reformed tradition of Protestantism. We might find this tradition rather glum, for Calvinists held that human nature was entirely corrupted by Adam’s fall, making us loathsome to God. This was called the doctrine of Total **Depravity**. This doctrine influenced the Calvinist view of even innocent pleasures, which they deemed “vanities.” They banned celebrations such as Christmas and Easter, as well as dances between men and women. (Puritans did dance, but only men with men and women with women.) A good Puritan worked six days a week, and on Sunday attended to spiritual duties: no playing, dancing, or other “vanities” were allowed.

Total Depravity, however, was not the last word for the Calvinists. By his good pleasure, they said, God redeemed us—or some of us. From all eternity, said the Calvinists, God chose some who would be redeemed (called the elect) and those who would be damned. No one, however, knew to which group he belonged. Living a virtuous life was thought to be a sign of God’s election—but still, one could not be sure. No matter how virtuous one might be, if one were not one of the elect, he would be damned.

Like other Protestants, the Puritans and Separatists believed in individual interpretation of Scripture and the freedom of the individual conscience. But it was the learned ministers of their churches who directed society. These ministers wanted all believers to be able to read the Bible. So it was in Puritan New England that the first free grammar schools were established, where students studied Latin and Greek grammar, literature, and arithmetic. In 1636, Puritan scholars opened the first college in English America, in the town of New Cambridge, outside of Boston. This was Harvard College.

For the Puritans and Separatists alike, life was a very serious business, for they believed their New England settlements had a special purpose, ordained by God. In a sermon, “Christian Charitie, A Modell Hereof,” the Puritan leader John Winthrop urged his listeners to keep their covenant with God—to live according to his commands so as to escape his wrath. If they did so, then, said Winthrop, “wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when hee shall make us a prayse and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, ‘the Lord make it likely

depravity: wickedness or a very bad way of behaving



John Winthrop

that of New England.’ For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are uppon us.”

The Growth of New England

The Puritans did not remain just in Boston but established the pattern of settlement that still characterizes New England. With the permission of the colonial government, people who wanted to could set up new townships. The townships were usually six miles square and divided into lots surrounding a “meeting house” where townsmen worshiped and conducted government business. In this way, the Puritans established the towns of Charlestown, Dorchester, Medford, Watertown, Roxbury, and Lynn in a semicircle around the mother town of Boston.

It was not long before new townships were being established further west and south. In 1634–1635, the orthodox Puritans Thomas Hooker, Roger Ludlow, and John Haynes founded the towns of Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford along the Connecticut River—the beginnings of the colony of Connecticut. In 1638, others joined John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton to found the colony of New Haven.

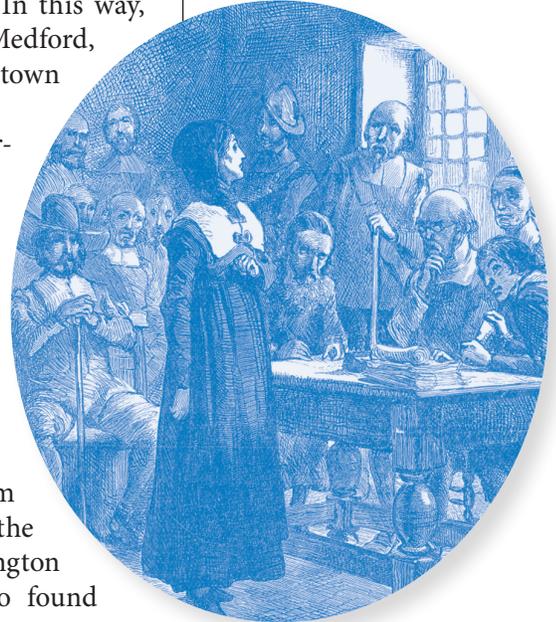
Disagreements with the Puritans inspired others to found new settlements. Anne Hutchinson, for one, thought it was wrong for Massachusetts Bay to enforce laws on those who were saved. The Puritans disagreed, tried her for heresy, and exiled her from Massachusetts. With William Coddington, Hutchinson established the Portsmouth settlement on what would become Rhode Island. Coddington and Hutchinson, however, quarreled, and he left Portsmouth to found Newport in the south of Rhode Island.

Roger Williams, a preacher in Salem, disagreed with the Puritans in Massachusetts over more than religious questions. Massachusetts Bay, he said, had stolen lands from the Indians. The colonial leaders strongly disagreed and reprimanded Williams. But this did not stop his attacks. Finally, the authorities ordered Williams’ arrest, but he fled where the authorities could not touch him—among the Indians.

Williams eventually moved to Narragansett Bay, where he founded the settlement of Providence. As leader of Providence, Williams defended Indians from the greed of white settlers. There, too, he guaranteed freedom of religion and worship—rights not guaranteed in the Puritan colonies. As we have seen in Plymouth and Massachusetts, one had to belong to the Puritan church to exercise the right to vote. These colonies, too, persecuted members of religious groups with whom they disagreed. The Puritans had come to America to obtain religious liberty for themselves alone.

Other colonies were established close to Massachusetts Bay, but independent of it. In the 1620s, the English crown granted Captain John Mason lands that, in 1629, became known as New Hampshire. From 1641 to 1679, Massachusetts governed New Hampshire but quarreled with Mason’s heirs. In 1679, the king made New Hampshire a separate royal province. The crown granted land along the Atlantic coast, north of Boston to the Kennebec River, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges; this colony, named Maine, eventually became part of Massachusetts Bay.

Anne Hutchinson



Sketch of a statue of Roger Williams

Natives of New England

You have heard, no doubt, of the “first Thanksgiving”—how the settlers of Plymouth shared a feast with the local native tribe who had helped in the Saints’ first year of settlement. These Indians were called Wampanoag—a name meaning “eastern people,” or “people of the dawn,” and their chief or *sachem* was Massassoit. Through Massassoit’s aid and friendship, the Saints learned to farm in the New World, growing native maize (corn), beans, squash, and Jerusalem artichokes. The Wampanoag suggested what fields to turn and taught them how to fertilize crops.

The Wampanoag were one of many tribes that lived in what is now New England. Other tribes included the Pequots, Mohegans, Pocumtucks, Norwottucks, Sokokis, Agawams, Woronocos, and Nipmucs. These tribes belonged to a language and cultural group called Eastern Algonquian and thus were related to the Huron whom we discussed in the last chapter.

The Eastern Algonquian peoples had a very loose organization, led by men or women called *sachems*. Wise men, or *pow-waws*, also held great influence over the tribe. Sachems did not govern by force but used their eloquence to sway tribal opinion. Algonquian tribes were divided into families that gathered together in winter to hunt and in spring to fish. In summer, the families would separate again. Algonquian villages were made up of small, round huts called *wigwams*, made from the bark of trees. In warmer weather, the Algonquian used oblong *wigwams* that were open on both sides.



A Wampanoag wigwam at Plymouth, Massachusetts

Among the Algonquian in southern New England, women engaged in farming, cultivating corn, kidney beans, squash, watermelon, Jerusalem artichokes, and other crops on individual plots. They would farm a piece of land until it became unproductive and then move on to find new land. The men hunted and engaged in fishing, both on fresh water and the ocean. The men were the warriors of the tribe. Waterways, especially the Connecticut River, along with trails, provided avenues of trade and exchange between tribes. The Algonquian had no private property as we know it; rather, the entire community held its property in common and divided it among families to use.

Farther north, where the climate was much colder and the summers shorter, the Algonquian lived simply by hunting and trade. They traded with southern tribes for agricultural produce. Among these northern tribes was the Micmac (or Mik’maq), who lived in Maine and farther north into Canada. Unique among the tribes of the future United States, the Micmac had writing that they scratched onto birch bark. Through the work of Jesuit missionaries, the Micmac converted to the Catholic Church and, in New France, intermarried with the European population.

In New England, peace did not persist between the natives and the English settlers. The year 1637 witnessed the bloody conflict in which the English decisively defeated the Pequot in Connecticut. In Plymouth, Massassoit’s second son, Metacomet (called King Philip by the settlers), angered over English encroachments on his people’s lands and other humiliations, attacked the settlement of Swansea on June 24, 1675. With a coalition of the Wampanoag, Narragansett, Abenaki, Nipmuk, and the Iroquoian Mohawk, Metacomet led attacks on western settlements in Massachusetts and Plymouth. By the summer of 1675, the settlements were wiped out. The defeat of the Narragansett at the Great Swamp Fight in Rhode Island in December, however, changed the course of the war. The conflict, called King Philip’s War, ended August 1676 with Metacomet’s capture and execution.



Depiction of the first Thanksgiving

Government in New England

In the agreement they made in 1629 to settle Massachusetts Bay, the Puritans inserted an important proviso—that they be able to take the charter with them rather than leave it in London. With the charter in Massachusetts rather than London, the king could not alter it—an event the settlers had good reason to fear.

The Puritans treasured the charter because it gave their colony broad freedoms. No royal governor would preside in Massachusetts Bay, nor would any representative of the English parliament have a say in its government. The charter allowed the freemen of the colony (the male members in good standing with the Puritan church) the power to elect their own governor as well as the members of the governor’s council. This council, the “Great and General Court,” assisted the governor and acted as the supreme court of the colony.

Though in the colony’s early years, governors such as John Winthrop handed down decisions like Old Testament judges, the people came to want better safeguards for their freedoms. So in 1641, Massachusetts adopted the “Body of Liberties,” and about the same time, Plymouth established the “General Fundamentals.” Both documents guaranteed the traditional safeguards of English liberty: free elections; trial by jury; the right not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; the right not to be taxed without being represented in government; and the right not to **incriminate** oneself in a trial.

By 1640, the colony of New Haven adopted some basic ideas to guide its government. New Haven established an assembly of “Free Burgesses” made up of church members who would make laws and choose magistrates. The Bible, however, was the rule for government in New Haven. New Haven’s laws prohibited trial by jury and commanded the observance of the Sabbath, the death penalty for adultery, and heavy fines for “concealing or entertaining Quakers or other blasphemous heretics.”

New Haven’s northern neighbor, Connecticut, had already come up with its own body of laws to govern itself. These “Fundamental Orders” (adopted in 1639) placed “the supreme power of the commonwealth” in a body called the General Assembly. The General Assembly had power to make laws, create courts, and even set aside court decisions with which it did not agree. Freemen from the towns elected members of the assembly, as well as all magistrates and the colony’s governor. The governor, who served only for a year’s term, had very little power in Connecticut.

Events in England brought about changes in how the New England colonies governed themselves. A civil war in England that began in 1642 led, the following year, to the formation of the United Colonies of New England, a kind of union

Early settlements in New England



incriminate: to make someone appear guilty of committing a crime



King Charles II.

between the Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven colonies. In 1662, the new king, Charles II, granted a charter to Connecticut recognizing the Fundamental Orders and extended Connecticut's boundary to the sea on the south. In this way, New Haven lost its independence and became part of Connecticut.

Charles II's brother, King James II, however, worked to chasten New England's independent spirit. In 1686, he replaced the colony's elected governor with a royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros. Andros removed the Puritans' monopoly on government by granting the **suffrage** to members of other religious groups. Colonists resisted Andros' attempts to unite all New England and New York into one colony. But then in 1688, Parliament drove James II from the throne, and the new king, William, restored New England's old charters. Only Plymouth failed to receive a charter and, with Maine, it became part of Massachusetts in 1691.

The Old Dominion

The Virginia Company's director, Sir Edwin Sandys, had said that in Virginia he wanted to "plant a nation, where none before hath stood." By 1622, it seemed that Jamestown and its surrounding settlements were well on the way to fulfilling Sandys' dream. Virginia colonists were producing tens of thousands of pounds of tobacco and selling it to England. Peace had been made between the English and the native Algonquian chief, Powhatan, when John Rolfe married the chief's daughter, Pocahontas. Virginia settlers obtained the right to own property, which greatly encouraged them to work. In 1619, the Virginia Company established the first representative assembly in the New World—the House of Burgesses, whose members were elected by all freemen. The assembly shared power with the colonial

governor appointed by the company, which took the further step of granting the colonists all the freedoms (such as the rights to trial by jury and due process) that they had enjoyed in England.

Life had certainly improved in Virginia, but all was not well there. Sandys was worried that Virginia's wealth was based too much on tobacco. More varied industries, he thought, might make the colony more sustainable, and he came up with a five-year plan to make Virginia self-sufficient, then a producer of goods for export, and finally a market for English goods. He introduced olive trees and iron works into the colony and was planning to establish a college, when disaster struck.



Sir Edwin Sandys

An English depiction showing John Smith, taking an Algonquian "king" prisoner during a battle between the English and the Indians



suffrage: the right to vote

Opechancanough, who had become chief sachem of the Algonquian when Powhatan died, was very unhappy with the white settlers moving onto his cornfields. In a sudden onslaught in 1622, the Algonquian descended on the Virginia settlements, killing 347 people. This was at least one-third of the colonists, a terrible slaughter.

This disaster forced Sandys to abandon his nation-building projects in Virginia. Two years later, King James I, disgruntled that so little progress had been made in Virginia, disbanded the Virginia Company. Virginia thus became a crown colony, or royal province—a dominion. The king, not the Virginia company, appointed the governor, who was to select a council to help him rule the colony. The House of Burgesses, however, remained, its members still elected by the freemen of the colony. Soon, the colony was flourishing again, and the population began to grow. In 1624, Virginia had 1,100 colonists; by 1671, their number reached over 40,000.

Opechancanough: oh-pech-uhn-KAH-noh

The Natives of Virginia

The Algonquian were not the only native peoples to live in the region now covered by the state of Virginia. Besides the Algonquian, who lived on the coastal plain (the “Tidewater”) between the James River and the Potomac, were the people of Siouan language and culture who lived to the west in what is called the Piedmont, and the Iroquoian groups who dwelt south and west of the modern city of Richmond. Of these groups, we know most about the Algonquian because of accounts of them written by the English settlers.

By the time of Jamestown’s founding, Algonquian groups of the Tidewater (which the Indians called *Tsenacomoco*) had been gathered under *Wahunsonacock*, who took on the name Powhatan when he became “paramount chief.” In the years before English settlement, Powhatan had by diplomacy and war expanded his power over other chieftains until his realm covered all *Tsenacomoco*. The Indian population under Powhatan ranged from 13,000 to 22,000 souls.

The Algonquian culture of *Tsenacomoco* was very similar to the native culture of southern New England. Powhatan’s people lived in semi-permanent villages, hunted, and farmed. Women were the farmers, while the men engaged in hunting and in frequent, small-scale wars. The Algonquian believed in spirits, whom they sought to appease to insure good harvests, successful hunts, victory in war, or the maintenance of peace. As in other Indian cultures, family life contrasted greatly with European practices, for men could have as many wives as they could support. Powhatan, it is said, had as many as 100 wives.



Powhatan receives a crown from English settlers in Virginia

Tsenacomoco: sehna-KOH-moh-coh

Wahunsonacock: wah-hoon-so-NAH-cock

Life in Virginia

Virginia was in many ways very different from New England. While the Puritans formed tightly knit townships, the Virginians lived widely separated on farmsteads because of “head-right”—a system whereby a settler received fifty acres for himself and for every person whom he brought to Virginia. Most settlers had 100- to 200-acre holdings, but some were able to amass great estates by the head-right system and rise from middling circumstances to wealth.

An example of the stocks.
Prisoners were secured by placing their feet and legs through the holes and then locking the halves of the stocks together.



In the early years of the colony, labor on these plantations was provided by indentured white servants. An indentured servant was a man or woman who was bound to complete a period of labor in payment of his or her passage to America. In later years, black slaves from West Africa provided much of the labor on farms and plantations. Before 1681, however, Virginia had very few black slaves—about 3,000 in a population of about 75,000 whites. Unlike the white servants, who would eventually earn their freedom, black people remained slaves for life, unless their masters emancipated them. Some whites believed one could not

hold a fellow Christian in slavery; so, many slaves earned their freedom by being baptized.

Virginians tended to be “royalists”—supporters of the king—and they were devoted to the king’s Church of England, the “Anglican” Church. Yet the Anglican Church in Virginia had a very Puritan flavor both in its worship services, which were quite plain, and in the colony’s moral legislation. Every parish had churchwardens who enforced church discipline. Those who missed church on the Sabbath, swore, played cards, or threw dice could suffer punishments such as whipping or the stocks. Yet, since Virginia parishes were so large, it was much harder to enforce regulations. In New England townships, one’s neighbors were close by and on the watch.

Virginia did not develop a system of free grammar schools like New England did. The colony had only two free schools, besides which were “field schools” for the children of the tobacco planters. Many wealthy students were sent to private tutors for their education. It was not until 1693 that Virginia established a college—the College of William and Mary, in Williamsburg.

Though having Puritan aspects, Virginia was never so stern as New England. Virginia’s colonists had come for economic reasons, not religious ideals. Though puritanical, Virginians enjoyed horse racing, drinking, and the fox chase. Their culture would develop a genteel and aristocratic flavor in contrast to the hard-laboring and middle-class **ethos** of New England.

ethos: a character, sentiment, moral characteristic, or the guiding beliefs that distinguish a person, group, people, or nation



The 13 original colonies in North America

Our Lady's Haven

It was not easy being a Catholic in 17th-century England.

Since the days when King Henry VIII separated the English Church from the pope, faithful English Catholics lived an uneasy existence. Under Elizabeth I, the English government had placed penalties—called penal laws—on hearing Mass and for failing to attend Church of England services. The law set the death penalty for those who made converts to the Faith and for priests caught in England. Such laws remained under Elizabeth's successor, King James I.

It was, indeed, none too easy to be a Catholic in 17th-century England.

Still, despite the penal laws, one gentleman from Yorkshire in England became Catholic. This was Sir George Calvert who, with his family, entered the Catholic Church in 1625. He had probably little to fear, for King James I was his friend; and though Calvert, due to his religion, had to resign his post as secretary of state, the king made him a lord—dubbing him the first Baron Baltimore.

Calvert, now Lord Baltimore, thought the way to solve England's "Catholic problem" (as the Protestants saw it) was to send Catholics far away from England



King James I

to North America. The king agreed. In 1632, James I's son, King Charles I, granted Calvert and his family ownership of a portion of Virginia, including the Chesapeake Bay and lands north and west of the bay. There, Sir George's son, Lord Cecil Calvert, established the colony of Maryland. The colony was so named, it was said, for Charles I's queen, Henrietta Maria, but really it was in honor of Mary, the Mother of God.

The Settlement of Maryland

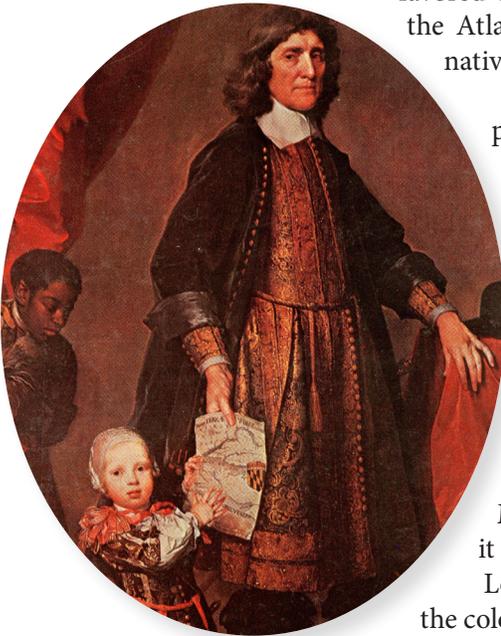
From its beginnings, Maryland was a mixed colony made up of both Catholics and Protestants. Though King Charles I knew of Lord Baltimore's plans for a Catholic haven in Maryland, he could not openly promote any measure that favored Catholics. England simply did not have enough Catholics willing to cross the Atlantic to populate Maryland and live in untamed lands among hostile natives. Thus, Protestants were included in the colony's settlement.

In fact, most of Maryland's settlers were Protestant. At first, this was no problem, for the colony's richest and most influential men were Catholic. Too, Lord Baltimore decreed complete religious freedom in Maryland and forbade anyone to insult another's religion under threat of a fine. In 1649, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, directed the colonial legislature to approve the Toleration Act that protected the religious expression of anyone "professing to believe in Jesus Christ." As a subject of the king who was head of the Church of England, Lord Baltimore had to establish the Anglican Church in Maryland. The Catholic Church had no such official recognition. The Jesuit priests who came to minister to Maryland's Catholics had to set up plantations and become farmers to support themselves. In the settlement of St. Mary's, Catholics and Anglicans shared the same church building, using it at different times.

Lord Baltimore was Maryland's proprietor—that is, the king granted him the colony as a personal domain, unlike Massachusetts, which had been granted to a company of investors. Yet, though it fell under Lord Baltimore's proprietorship, Maryland was to become the most self-governing of the English colonies. Cecil Calvert provided for Maryland's government by appointing a governor and establishing a house of burgesses. The function of the burgesses was to advise the governor and the proprietor, but it was not long before it began to approve or reject laws proposed by the governor. Lord Baltimore decreed that all freemen, whether landowners or not, had the right to vote for members of the burgesses.

Like Virginia, Maryland was settled by head-right. Those who held 2,000 acres or more were called "lords of manors," and they had the judicial power to settle disputes between tenants and servants and to mete out punishments for minor offenses. This arrangement gave Maryland a somewhat feudal character. Cecil Calvert, however, was careful to send over workers and craftsmen to Maryland; gentlemen, he knew, could not and would not do the work required to build a colony. Many indentured servants came to Maryland—so many that there seemed to be little need for black slaves to farm the tobacco that became Maryland's chief export. As the indentured servants worked themselves into freedom, however, the number of black slaves increased. Large and small landowners, including the Jesuit priests, used slave labor to farm the rich lands of their Maryland home.

For many years, Maryland provided a haven for English Catholics and for others who disagreed with the Church of England. But more Protestants than



Cecil Calvert

Catholics continued to settle in Maryland; and though Catholics continued to live there, under King William III, Maryland's government began to enact anti-Catholic penal laws. Though these laws were not always enforced, Catholics in Maryland had to be very private in the practice of their religion.

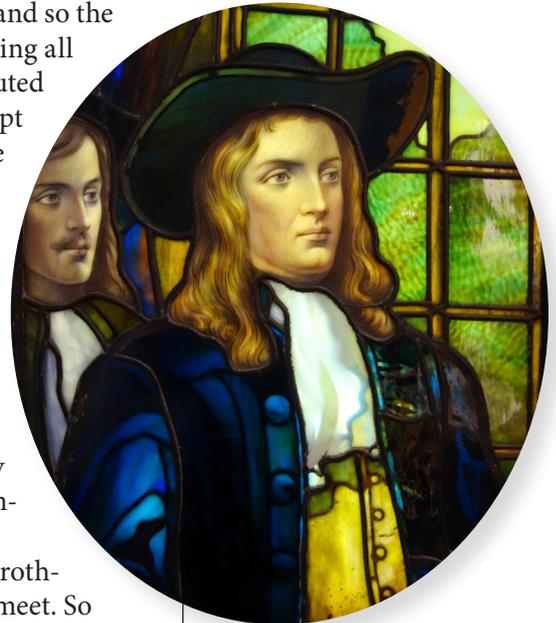
Penn's Woods

Another colony provided a welcoming atmosphere for Catholics and all others who dissented from the Church of England. This colony was Pennsylvania, founded by William Penn with King Charles II's permission in 1682. Penn himself belonged to the Society of Friends, called "Quakers" because in their meetings they apparently would shake or tremble with enthusiasm.

Quakers thought that believers need not listen to a church or even the Bible to hear God's voice but must heed the light of the Holy Spirit's presence in the soul. Since everyone was capable of having this inner light, all were equal, and so the Friends had no clergy or hierarchy. Quakers were pacifists, condemning all violence. Yet, despite their peaceful demeanor, Quakers were persecuted in Europe and the British Isles. Every English American colony except Rhode Island had laws against them. Quakers believed in complete religious toleration; everyone, they said, should be free to practice his religion without hindrance. Thus, Pennsylvania guaranteed religious freedom. Penn saw his colony as a "holy experiment" in religious toleration. Catholics and other religious groups found a welcome refuge in Pennsylvania.

Penn's tolerance extended not just to religion. He insisted on treating Indians justly, for which he earned their friendship. Though he did not abolish slavery in Pennsylvania, Penn insisted that slaves receive education and be guaranteed the right to marry—rights they did not possess in other parts of English America. The colonial assembly Penn established, however, rejected these proposals.

In 1682, as the nucleus of his colony, Penn established his "city of brotherly love"—Philadelphia—where the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers meet. So many settlers came to Penn's colony that, in only three years, Pennsylvania had a population of 9,000 inhabitants. Penn advertised for settlers in the British Isles and the European continent. Quakers from Wales and England thus settled the colony in great numbers, as did Germans. Among these settlers were Mennonite Germans under Franz Daniel Pastorius, who, in 1683, founded Germantown. These were the ancestors of those whom today we call the "Pennsylvania Dutch" (Dutch being a corruption of *Deutsch*—the name Germans call themselves).



Stained glass depiction of William Penn

Other English Colonies

It was not just the English who settled the northern portion of the Atlantic coastline. In 1614 or early 1615, the Netherlands had established settlements on the Hudson River at Fort Nassau (later replaced by Fort Orange) and Manhattan Island. The settlement on Manhattan, called New Amsterdam, would become one of the most important cities in North America. In 1638, people from Sweden and Finland founded a settlement, Fort Christina, on the Delaware River. This colony



A depiction of Dutch New Amsterdam, later New York

remained under Sweden's control until 1655, when the Dutch seized it, making it a part of their larger New Netherlands possessions.

The Dutch colony had a mixed population. Along with the Dutch, there were Swedes and Finns and Puritan English who had come from Connecticut. The Dutch allowed the English to govern themselves by their own laws. Here, too, black African slaves worked farms owned by the rich landowners called patroons. The Dutch, however, imposed a series of bad governors on New Netherlands, who angered everyone, including the Dutch settlers.

Thus, in 1664, no real opposition met the English when they conquered all of the

Dutch possessions along the Hudson River. King Charles II granted these lands to his brother, James. Since James was Duke of York, the grant became known as New York. New Amsterdam became the city of New York, while Fort Orange was renamed Albany.

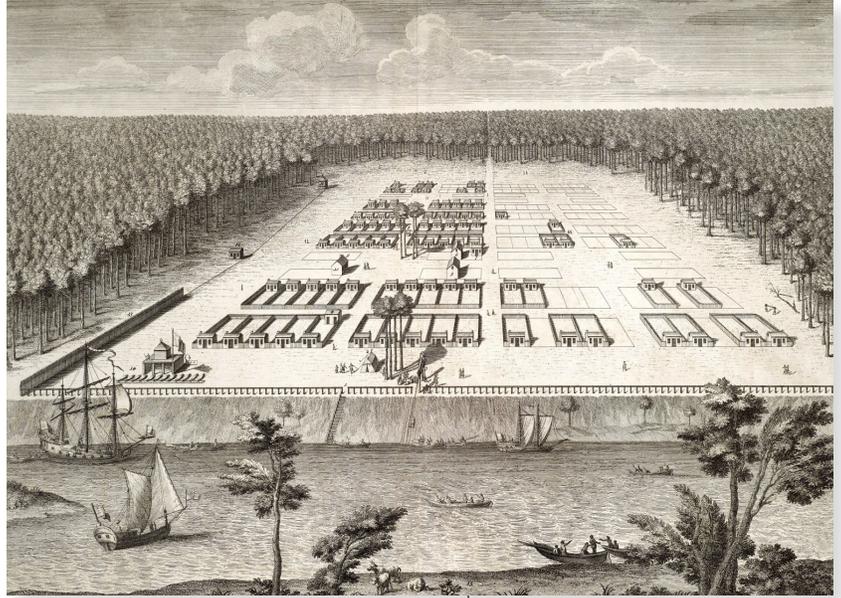
For the Dutch, Duke James' government was at least satisfactory. James' deputy governor did not harass the Dutch inhabitants nor force them to speak English. The duke's English colonists, however, were not so pleased with James' government, for he imposed taxes on them without their consent and they did not have a say in forming the colony's laws. James eventually allowed the New Yorkers to form an assembly, which met in 1683 and enacted "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges." This body of laws declared that the assembly had the supreme legislative power in the colony and final say over any new taxes.

This was just the sort of thing James objected to, and he did not approve the charter. When, however, the duke became King James II of England, problems at home and the cost of governing New York compelled him to make New York a royal province. In 1691, James' successor, King William III, granted New York the right to have its own colonial assembly.

The colony of New York originally included lands that are part of other states now, including western Connecticut and Massachusetts, Vermont, and Maine east of the Kennebec River. With so much land, Duke James could easily give up some of it to his friends—and this he did in the case of what became known as the Province of New Jersey. As proprietors of New Jersey, Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley issued a charter, the Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors of New Jersey, which gave settlers generous land grants, a representative assembly, and assured freedom of religion. Eventually, the province was divided between East New Jersey and West New Jersey, each having its own representative assembly. In 1702, the proprietors gave these holdings to the crown, which united them as the Royal Province of New Jersey.

William Penn also benefited from Duke James' possession of New York and purchased three counties east of the Delaware River from him. In 1701, Penn granted these three counties, together called Delaware, their own Charter of Liberties, which guaranteed them a colonial assembly. Delaware's governor, however, was Pennsylvania's governor, appointed by Penn to direct the colony.

Over three decades later, in 1733, and much farther to the south, General James Edward Oglethorpe with a group of **philanthropists** established a colony (named Georgia, for George II, who had been reigning since 1727) as a refuge for debtors. The settlers of Georgia were not numerous. They were Germans from Salzburg, Germany; Scots Highlanders; as well as English debtors. North of Georgia lay Carolina, whose chief city, Charles Town (Charleston), had been settled by English and French Huguenots and Scots. Settlers from Virginia began moving into the region of the Albemarle Sound in Carolina in the 1650s. Eventually, Carolina was divided into two separate colonies, North Carolina and South Carolina.



A depiction of Savannah, Georgia in the 18th century

Life in English America

The thirteen English colonies in North America underwent a kind of population explosion between 1660 and 1754. Much of this growth came from immigrants, who arrived at first from the British Isles. Beginning in 1740, however, the British parliament began allowing large numbers of non-British to settle in the colonies, and Irish, Germans, and French began to live side-by-side there with English and Scots.

Unlike England and Scotland, scarcely any large manufacturing industries existed in the thirteen American colonies. Most of the colonists lived on farms that ranged from small family subsistence farms (where most of the produce went to support the family, and only the remainder was sold on the market) to larger, more prosperous “middle-class” farms. Fewer were the families that owned the

philanthropist: someone who gives generously of his wealth to support charitable causes



American rural scene, 18th century

tobacco and rice plantations in the South—large operations that utilized the labor of gangs of black slaves from West Africa. These plantations had a profound effect on English colonial society by encouraging the slave trade. By the middle of the 18th century, every major port from New England to the Carolinas was engaged in the African slave trade. Black slaves were sold not only as workers for the great plantations, but as personal servants, and as laborers on smaller farms—though the vast majority of small farmers owned no slaves at all.

After a while, some colonists pursued industries other than farming, such as iron smelting. Merchants in the larger coastal cities traded both legally and illegally with other parts of the British Empire as well as with Europe and non-British colonies. Yet, though towns thrived in the colonies, most English colonists remained country folk. In all of English America, no town came anywhere near the size of London. England had nearly six cities with populations over 30,000 and more than 20 with populations of at least 10,000. The English colonies, by contrast, had only about six cities of over 5,000 people. Philadelphia, the largest colonial city, had a population of about 20,000.

A Mirror of English Society

It is not surprising, perhaps, that in many ways the culture and society of English America imitated English culture and society. To understand the character of the English colonies, then, we must take a look at English society.

Three terms are key to understanding English society and, thus, English colonial society in America: *hierarchy*, *paternalism*, and *interdependence*.

In a hierarchy, members of society are designated as above or below in order of honor, rank, power, and authority. English society was hierarchical, for at its head was the king, from whom all political authority in society was seen to come. Though Parliament made laws and even had overthrown kings, its authority was seen to come from the king, not from the people. England had a defined class structure. The highest class, the aristocracy, included the king and the great nobles—dukes, earls, barons, counts, and marquises. Next in rank came the gentry, who owned large landed estates. Below the gentry were the professional classes that included lawyers, doctors, farmers, merchants, and craftsmen.

Those who belonged to the gentry and aristocracy were the only ones called “gentlemen.” The code of the gentleman required him to act as a father to those below him on the social ladder—that is, to show a **paternalistic** concern for them. Gentlemen loaned money at little or no interest to their dependents. They were to look out for the good of their dependents, who, in return, gave their lords good crops (on lands rented from the lord), respect, and loyalty. The status of the common man was not thought undignified. Indeed, just as common men were dependent on the nobility and gentry for leadership, loans, and land, the nobility and gentry were dependent on the professionals, farmers, and crafts-

paternalistic: acting in the way a father deals with his children

An American gentleman, George Washington, overseeing his plantation



men for services, food, goods, and rental income. Thus, everyone in society was seen as dependent on each other.

This description of English society applied to the American colonies imperfectly. There were no nobles (dukes, counts, marquises, etc.) in English America, though there were wealthy gentlemen who acted as aristocrats in their neighborhoods. These gentlemen, however, were never as wealthy as their fellow gentlemen in England. Too, while in England, most farmers had to rent their land from lords and gentry, the presence of open land in America meant that many if not most common people were not as dependent on gentlemen as they were in England. Thus, English American aristocrats were never as paternalistic as aristocrats in England.

Still, in America, people were very dependent on one another. Everyone was seen to depend on everyone else, for everyone belonged someplace and to someone. One belonged to his family and to the village or town where he lived. This sense of belonging inspired trust among people. Thus, English colonial society in America was very personal. You knew those upon whom you depended, and they knew you. Nobody was anonymous.

Chapter 2 Review

Summary

- There were two different kinds of settlements in the English colonies of North America. In Virginia, Jamestown existed almost entirely for the purpose of economic profit. Much further north, in what is now New England, other colonies established settlements for the remaking of civilization according to their own religious beliefs.
- The Protestant dissidents of the Church of England who settled in New England belonged to two groups: one that called itself “Saints” and the other known as “Puritans.”
- Both the Puritans and the Saints believed in individual interpretation of Holy Scripture, freedom of the individual conscience, and a doctrine called Total Depravity, which held that humans were completely loathsome to God on account of the fall of Adam, and that God created or predestined some people to populate Heaven and others to suffer in Hell. A virtuous life, furthermore, was a sign for the Puritans and Saints of predestination, not a cooperation in the work of redemption.
- The Saints or Pilgrims signed the *Mayflower Compact*, which was a written constitution of sorts, the first of its kind making no mention whatsoever of tradition or custom, but basing its authority on the consent of the governed.
- It was in New England that the first free, public education—grammar schools—existed in the New World. This was also the region where the first college in English America was founded, in 1636.
- Many Indian tribes lived in what we now call New England. One of them, the Micmac, had a written language, received the Catholic faith, and intermarried with Europeans.
- Not only did the Puritans disagree among themselves, they fought with the local Indian tribes. One war between Indians and Englishmen gained the name “King Philip’s War,” from King Philip, the leader of the Narragansett tribe. King Philip’s Narragansett name was Metacomet.
- Each colony in New England set up its own form of government. In 1641, Massachusetts adopted the “Body of Liberties,” a set of principles based in English law and guaranteeing free elections, trial by jury, and protection against arbitrary seizures by the authorities. The Body of Liberties forbade taxation in which the citizens had had no input and prohibited self-incrimination in trials. New Haven, on the other hand, prohibited trial by jury

Chapter 2 Review (continued)

and imposed the death penalty upon conviction for adultery.

- Though influenced by Puritanism, Virginia's legislation to enforce social rules was never as effective as New England's. Virginians lived widely separated on farmsteads because of "head-right"—a system whereby a settler received fifty acres for himself and for every person whom he brought to Virginia. Although slaves were first sold in Virginia in 1619, as late as 1681, Virginians held very few slaves. Unlike New England, Virginia never developed a system of free public education in the 17th century.
- Since 1535, it had been illegal in England to practice the Catholic faith; but in 1625, Sir George Calvert, a friend of the king, became Catholic and managed in the next seven years to procure a colony in the New World to serve as a haven for English Catholics. This colony, called Maryland, had a sizable Protestant (Anglican) population even at the start because there simply were not enough English Catholics willing to settle in the New World. In time, Protestant settlers in Maryland came to outnumber Catholics, and Maryland's government began enacting anti-Catholic penal laws like those found in England.
- In 1682, William Penn founded Pennsylvania colony in the region north of Maryland and southwest of New England. Penn established Philadelphia (the "City of Brotherly Love") as the colonial capital. Although Penn himself practiced a kind of religious toleration, treated Indians justly, and allowed for the education and marriage of slaves, the colonial assembly he established did not enshrine all these ideas in law. Pennsylvania's principle of religious tolerance, however, attracted settlers from the British Isles as well as the continent of Europe. Catholics, too, found a haven in "Penn's Woods."
- In addition to the English in New England, the Dutch in 1614 began establishing settlements on the Hudson River as well as Manhattan Island. Swedes and Finns established their own colony, Fort Christina, on the Delaware River. Fort Christina, however, was conquered by the Dutch in 1655.
- In 1664, the Dutch lost their own North American possessions to the English. The Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam henceforth was known as New York city. The city as well as the colony of New York was named for King Charles II's brother, James, Duke of York, who received the colony as a personal domain. When, however, James became king of England, he made New York a royal province. James II's successor, William III, granted New York a colonial assembly.
- The early 18th century saw the establishment of the colonies of New Jersey and Delaware. Three decades later, and much further south, General James Oglethorpe established the colony of Georgia as a "refuge for debtors." Between Virginia and Georgia lay the colony of Carolina, which eventually divided into North and South Carolina.
- Much of the population expansion in English-controlled North America between 1660 and 1754 can be attributed to immigration. Germans and French joined English, Scots, and Irish in settling the thirteen English North American colonies.
- A small number of land owners in Maryland and Virginia, as well as the colonies to the south, owned large plantations, where rice and tobacco were raised. Such plantations came to rely on slave labor, imported from West Africa, which spawned a lucrative slave trade in English America. Most of the colonists lived on farms that ranged from small family subsistence farms to larger, more prosperous "middle-class" farms. Yet, though most American colonists lived in the country and engaged in farming, the colonies had thriving towns, especially on the coast.
- Beyond English common law, three principles that governed English society took root in American soil: *hierarchy*, *paternalism*, and *interdependence*.

Key Concepts

depravity: wickedness or a very bad way of behaving
covenant: a formal or solemn agreement between two parties

incriminate: to make someone appear to be guilty of having committed a crime. Self-incrimination is the

act of an accused person giving witness (usually in a court case) against himself.

suffrage: the right to vote

hierarchy: From Greek roots meaning “holy order,” the term means, in the context of the chapter, the ordering of a society where members are designated as above and below based on criteria such as honor, rank, power, and authority.

paternalism: Derived from the Latin word *pater* (meaning “father”), the word means, in a positive sense, the proper care shown by fathers and superiors to children and subordinates. It is sometimes used in a negative sense, especially when, among equals, one person behaves in a fashion that suggests that he considers himself superior or when the government of a country treats its citizens as if they are incapable of thoughtful action or moral agency. A country may act paternalistically toward another country when it offers it help out of a sense of superiority or where the help proceeds from selfish motives rather than altruistic ones.

interdependence: the idea that each member of a society relies on the other members of the society for the proper functioning of that society and the welfare of all

Dates to Remember

1614 (or early 1615): The Dutch establish Fort Nassau.

1619: Virginia establishes the House of Burgesses, the first representative assembly in the New World.

1620: The Pilgrims arrive in Cape Cod Bay.

1629: King Charles I grants the Massachusetts Bay Company the right to settle on Massachusetts Bay.

1632: Lord Baltimore founds Maryland.

1682: William Penn founds Pennsylvania.

Central Characters

John Winthrop (1588–1649): a leader of the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony who spoke of the colony as a “city on a hill”

Roger Williams (ca. 1603–1683): a Puritan dissident and the founder of the Providence colony

Metacomet (1638–1676): (also known as King Philip) the leader of the Pequot Indians in King Philip’s War

George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore (ca. 1578–1632): an English gentleman who converted to the Catholic Church in 1625 and began the process of

founding a Catholic colony in the New World—a task completed by his son, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore (1605–1675)

William Penn (1644–1718): an English Quaker who founded the colony of Pennsylvania

Questions for Review

1. Name both the major and minor nationalities represented in the England’s North American colonies.
2. Identify at least two ways in which the New England colonies differed from the colonists of Virginia.
3. Which was the only Native American tribe to have a written language?
4. How did the suffrage come to non-Puritans in New England, when, and why?
5. Who compared New England to “a city upon a hill”? What did he mean by this name?
6. How was Maryland different from Massachusetts, in terms of the charters by which each was established?
7. How did the various groups of colonists interact with the Indians? Give at least three examples of these interactions, positive or negative.
8. What rights were guaranteed to the residents of Massachusetts by the Body of Liberties, and why?
9. What was the largest city in the colonies by the early 1700’s? How did it compare in terms of size to cities in England?
10. What is “hierarchy,” and why is it important to understand it in the context of pre-revolutionary America?

Ideas in Action

1. Divide the class into five groups, with each group studying the music peculiar to one of the colonial cultures of North America in the 1600s and 1700s: Puritan, Anglican, English Catholic, French, and Spanish. Each student group should write a report on what it finds in its study. They may even perform selections of music for the class.
2. What would be the rules which governed a group of colonists setting up the first human habitation

Chapter 2 Review (continued)

on the Moon, or on Mars or even on some planet we don't know about yet, but might travel to in a large space ship? When would the first colonists need to agree on the rules for the running of the society: before they left Earth, just before they got to their destination, or at some other time? What would they use as the basis for formulating rules to govern life in the newly established colony?

3. Pennsylvania's Quakers practiced a kind of religious tolerance, as did the Catholics in Maryland. The Puritans and Pilgrims practiced nothing like religious tolerance. What role can religious tolerance play in a society which wishes to stay cohesive? At what point does religious tolerance instead become religious indifference—the belief that holds that it is unimportant what religion one follows or that all religions are alike pleasing to God?

Highways and Byways

A Look at the Mayflower Compact

The original text of the Mayflower Compact, which governed the Pilgrims at Plymouth until they became part of the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1691, no longer exists. A reconstruction of it from 1622 does, however. That text opens thus:

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, etc.

The “etc” in this text is in the original, and it suggests that the opening formula is just that, a formula, attached to a legal document out of custom. This point becomes more clear when we recognize that the title, “Defender of the Faith,” given to King James was originally bestowed on King Henry VIII by the pope. Neither King James nor the Pilgrims still recognized the authority of the Holy Father, nor did they acknowledge the Catholic faith; nevertheless, the king remained for them “Defender of the Faith.” Remember, that, though the Pilgrims recog-

nized James as their king, they dissented from his religion—his faith.

Because they had left England without a formal charter from the king, the Pilgrims, with their compact, were setting up a temporary governance system until some kind of right order could be established in their colony. The compact expresses the purposes for which they were establishing their government:

Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, [we] do by these present, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid....

Notice that the claim is made that they have undertaken this voyage for the advancement of the Christian faith, such as they understood it, and the honor of the king and country that they left because of restrictions on their religious freedom. To a certain extent, colonists needed to appeal to a high motive, especially since they were about to create a new realm in a new way: they were attempting to establish a government which gained its “legitimacy” from the consent of the governed. “Covenant” in modern use is a noun, but here it is clearly used as a verb: we covenant ourselves into a civil body politic.

... and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, 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.

Although the colonists had acknowledged King James as their sovereign Lord, they promised submission and obedience to the government they were about to create—a government that found its legitimacy simply in the consent of the governed.

3

KINDLING THE SPIRIT OF REBELLION

As we have seen, the availability of open land made the English colonies in North America different from England in one important way—in America, the common folk were less dependent on gentlemen than they were in England. This difference between the mother country and the colonies became only more pronounced over time as lands opened up further west of the settlements on the Atlantic coast. The pull of the West began tearing at the fabric of traditional English society in America.

Drawn by the promise of cheaper land to the west, people began to leave their old homes. **Extended families** broke apart as their members left parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts to move west. As older families left their neighborhoods and towns, new people moved in. With all this change, it became **be** harder and harder to say that anyone belonged somewhere and that the local community had any claim on one's loyalty. Long-established families found it hard to trust the newcomers, for the very simple reason that it is hard to have confidence in someone one hardly knows; and the trust and friendship that had held communities together began dissolving. Too, in the West, the new settlements tended to have no gentlemen or great folk; thus, people in these settlements saw themselves as equals and began to resent anyone who claimed to be higher than they were on the social ladder.

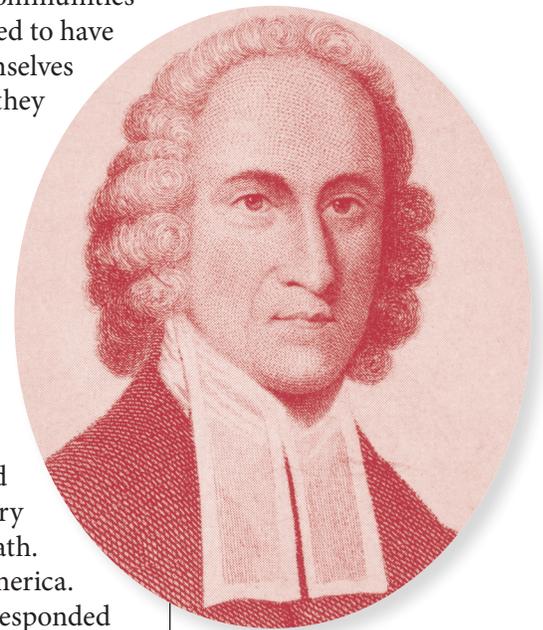


extended family: a group consisting of a nuclear family (father, mother, children) and various near relatives (grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc.)

Revolutionary Forces and Ideas

This feeling of equality was encouraged by a religious movement called the “Great Awakening.” Beginning in 1734, the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, a Puritan minister and pastor of the Congregationalist church of Northampton, Massachusetts, had ignited a fiery religious revival that spread from New England to other colonies, and even to England and Germany. Edwards preached of God’s judgment of sinners in often frightening terms. God is angry with sinners, he exclaimed, and so they must repent to escape his wrath.

The Great Awakening had important effects on life in colonial America. It spawned revival meetings—highly emotional events where people responded to a preacher’s call to repentance, often with weeping and wailing. But more importantly, the Great Awakening inspired people with the conviction that



Jonathan Edwards

each individual can achieve salvation through a personal relationship with God. Individuals did not need churches or learned theologians to experience God; they were thus equal to their superiors in religious matters. It was not long before they began to think themselves equal in other areas of life as well.

As important as the Great Awakening was, however, the spread of new political and social ideals throughout English America proved at least as powerful in their influence on America's English colonies. These new political and social ideals were Liberal, and they were influential not only in America but in Europe as well. Indeed, it was from Europe (particularly France and England) that these ideas came. The term, Liberal, here does not have exactly the same meaning as Americans use today. It does not refer just to the peculiar traits and ideas of political parties that we call liberal. That meaning of Liberal is derived from the Liberalism we are discussing here, but has a much narrower application. Indeed, historical Liberalism can include those ideas and traits we call liberal today, but also those we might call conservative. Liberalism in this sense is the foundational political ideal of our world today.

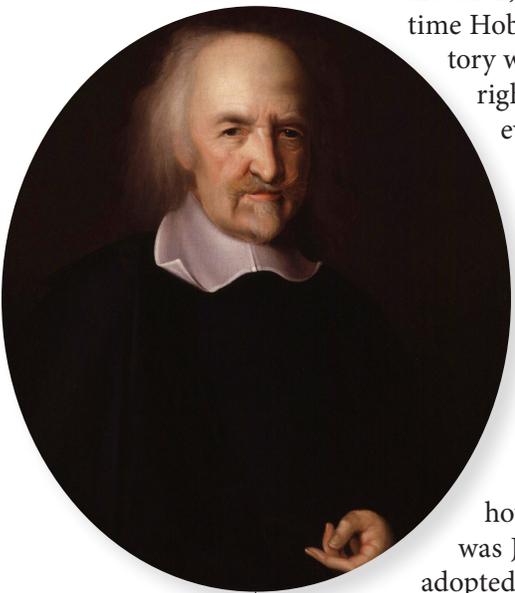
What is Liberalism?

Liberalism, which developed in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, was a political and social philosophy that emphasized the freedom of individuals to follow their own desires in their social, religious, and economic life. To the Liberal way of thinking, human beings by nature are individuals who live unconnected to anyone and have no obligation to obey anyone. Since by nature every person is born completely free, every person is equal to every other person. In the state of nature, no one has a superior who may tell him what to do.

What is the state of nature? It was the English thinker, Thomas Hobbes, who developed this concept which became the basis of Liberalism. In his 1651 book, *The Leviathan, or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil*, Hobbes says that at one time people were left entirely to themselves—a time Hobbes called the “state of nature.” For Hobbes, this period of human history was fairly miserable, for in the state of nature, people had no “notions of right or wrong, justice or injustice,” said Hobbes, and life was “a war of every man against every man.”

So terrible was the state of nature, said Hobbes, that people decided to escape it by banding together under a common government. To defend themselves against strong and cruel men, they made a contract, a social contract, with a sovereign ruler to whom they gave up all the freedoms they enjoyed in the state of nature in return for peace and security. The social contract gave this ruler absolute power over his subjects and allowed him to do whatever he needed to do to keep order. His subjects were never allowed to disobey or resist him but must obey him in every particular aspect of their lives.

Hobbes' rather pessimistic view of human nature was not embraced, however, by other thinkers who followed him. One of these thinkers was John Locke, who, in his 1689 work, *the Two Treatises on Government*, adopted some of Hobbes' ideas but rejected others. Like Hobbes, Locke said that mankind originally lived in a state of nature in which individuals were completely free to do as they saw fit. Each person in the state of nature possessed three natural rights, according to Locke—goods that no one could justly take from him. These were life, liberty (one's ability to do what seems good to him),



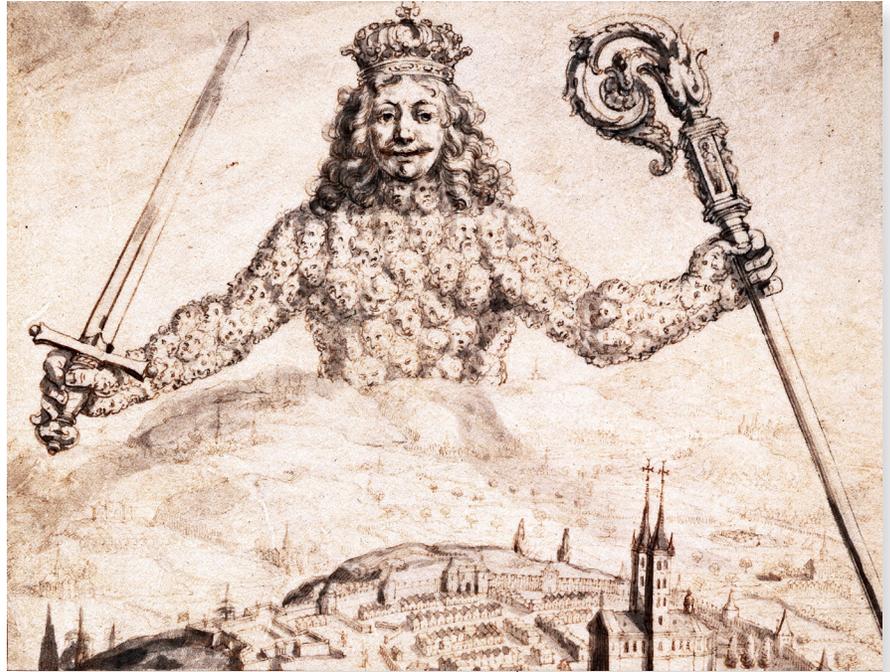
Thomas Hobbes

and property (land or other material goods needed for maintaining life and exercising one's liberty). Unlike Hobbes, however, Locke said that in the state of nature human beings followed a moral law, a "natural law," that required them to respect the rights of others. Locke did not think that people in the state of nature were always cruel, selfish creatures, but he did think that their rights were not entirely secure. They always faced the threat of losing their life, liberty, or property to the more powerful and unscrupulous among them.

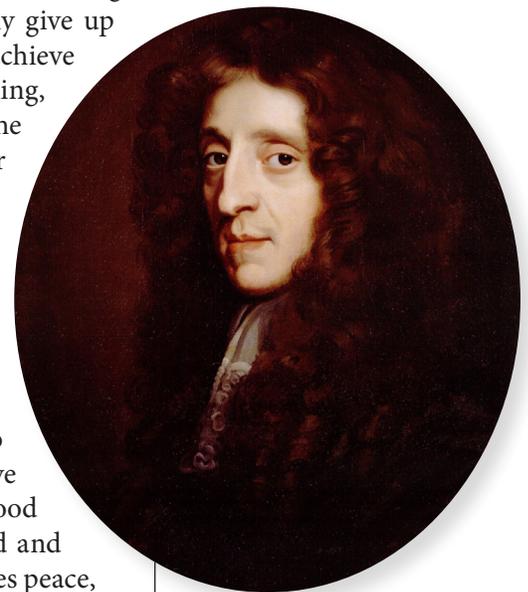
To secure their rights, said Locke, individuals made a social contract with each other and formed the state or "commonwealth." In doing so, individuals agreed to give up *only some* of their liberties (but not liberty itself) in order to preserve their life and property. The commonwealth, in turn, said Locke, is bound by natural law to respect life, liberty, and property—but, especially, property. "The great and chief end . . . of men uniting into commonwealths and putting themselves under government," wrote Locke, "is the preservation of property."

We call Locke's thought "Liberalism" because it emphasizes human liberty. There were other Liberal thinkers besides Locke who disagreed with him on some particulars; but to Locke and these Liberal thinkers, government exists to make sure that every person may exercise his rights with as much freedom as possible. Indeed, this was why these thinkers said people left the state of nature—because in the state of nature, they could not exercise their rights securely. But, according to Liberalism, no one enters society to become unfree. Men certainly give up some of their freedoms when they enter society, but they still want to achieve their own personal goals. So, according to the Liberal way of thinking, society and government exist to protect each person's ability to attain the goals he sets for himself without, however, harming the rights of other individuals. As in the state of nature, so in society: individuals first and foremost work for themselves, for their own private benefit. The function of government is to make sure everyone may work for himself and his interests without hindering other individuals from doing the same.

Catholic thinkers in the Middle Ages had arrived at very different conclusions about the individual and the society he lives in. To the medieval mind, human beings are persons who are made by God to live in society with others. Only in society, in fact, can people achieve the "common good," which is the best good for man. The common good includes the ability to obtain the things that sustain life, such as food and shelter, but it is much more than that. Finally, the common good includes peace, wisdom, virtue, and, ultimately, the greatest common good of all: everlasting union with God in heaven.



Detail from frontispiece of *Leviathan*. The state appears in the form of a king, his body (except the head) composed of his subjects. In his right hand, the king holds a sword (the symbol of temporal authority) and in his left a crosier (a symbol of church authority). What do you think this picture tells us about Hobbes' view of government?



John Locke

The common good, in sum, includes those good things everyone needs to live a fully human life. It is *common* because all share the common good together. It is common too because, only by living in community with others, can we attain the common good. Liberals tended to think of government as a necessary evil—if we could live without it, we would. But the medieval ideal said that government is a positive good. It does not exist just to keep individuals from hurting one another but to help form the type of society where everyone can together achieve what is necessary to make him fully human.

Medieval thinkers thought governments were supposed to help people achieve the greatest of all goods—eternal life. Because of this, medieval thinkers held that rulers had to protect and foster the one true religion by actively supporting the mission of the Church, on the one hand, and fighting immorality and heresy, on the other. Medieval rulers did not think false religions should have full public freedom; to the medieval mind, false religions threatened the common good of society by spreading error. Religious error, it was believed, kept men from achieving the common goods of truth and virtue. It ultimately destroyed the very purpose of human society.

Liberalism was one aspect of a wider European movement called the “Enlightenment,” which held that experimental science and reason were the only avenues to knowing truth. Religion, which bases much of what it teaches on divine revelation, they thought no better than a personal opinion. Because they saw religion as just a matter of private opinion, Liberals said that governments should not be in the business of forcing one group’s private opinions on other people. Liberals, therefore, insisted that governments should permit freedom of thought and expression. Individuals should be permitted to speak and to publish their opinions, no matter what they were.

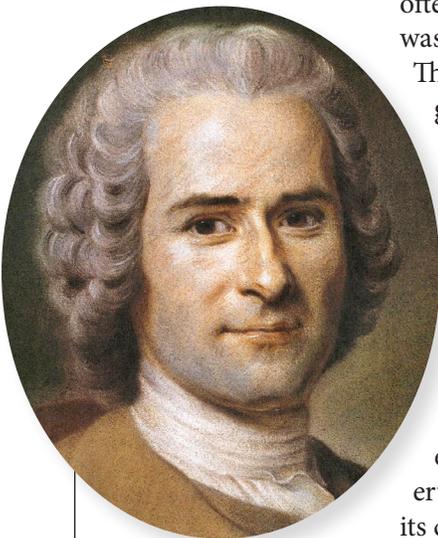
Believing as they did in freedom of thought, not all Liberals held the same set of ideas. Some thought that individuals gave up their liberty entirely when they formed a social contract; others, like Locke, insisted that people gave up only some of their liberties but not others. Some Liberals spoke of a right to revolution, while others said that no one had the right to resist the power of government. Liberalism was in some ways a very mixed bag of ideas, and Liberal freedoms often were applied quite selectively. But a common thread of all Liberal thought was to replace the idea of the common good with the ideal of individual liberty.

The only just society, according to Liberals, is one that allows the individual the greatest scope to achieve his personal goals and desires.

Republican Liberalism

As we have said, there were different kinds of Liberals. Some Liberals defended absolute monarchy—the conviction that the “social contract” gives a ruler absolute power over his subjects—while others (such as Locke and the French thinker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau) said the best form of government is one that is controlled by the majority of the free citizens through assemblies of representatives, such as the British parliament. According to these Liberals (called republicans), especially those who followed John Locke, governments exist to protect individual rights, especially the “inalienable” rights to life, liberty, and property. According to Locke, when a government violates these rights, its citizens may overthrow it and establish a new government in its place.

Republicans not only opposed old ideas of government but attacked the idea that someone has a right to hold political power and authority just because he



Jean-Jacques Rousseau

belongs to a noble family. Republicans were thus opposed to all forms of family hierarchy and paternalism. Republicans held that only men of talent—the *natural aristocracy*—should hold political office, whether they were “aristocrats” or not. They said men of virtue should guide society, and by “virtue” they meant something more than “moral virtue” (self-control, courage, and chastity, for instance). The virtues needed by leaders, republicans said, include prudence, intelligence, insight into public affairs, and a public spirit.

But while republicans held that all men are created equal, they did not think that everyone remained equal. For one thing, they said that public servants had to have enough wealth to be independent. Farmers, craftsmen, merchants, and mechanics—these folk had to work for a living and thus did not have the time to dedicate themselves to politics. Moreover, common people were dependent on others for jobs and so, if they were in government, could be pressured to do what their employers wanted, not what was good for all of society. Some common people could have the right to vote, but they were to use their vote to put intelligent, public spirited, and wealthy men into office—those the republicans called the “natural aristocracy.” Thus, republicans were not opposed to gentlemen governing society; they only redefined the meaning of gentleman. For them, a gentleman was not someone born into an old, aristocratic family; he was a man of talent, intelligence, refined manners, education, and wealth.

Republicanism and Liberalism—these ideas influenced many of the intellectual class in Europe: even those who stood to lose most if these ideas were ever implemented. Oddly enough, members of the European nobility and aristocracy adopted Liberal and Republican ideas and openly championed them. These ideas found adherents in the English American colonies, especially among those who might be called the colonial aristocracy. These “aristocrats” were not necessarily members of the colonial ruling class but they were prominent men—wealthy merchants, large landowners, members of the **intelligentsia**. Many of these men thought of themselves as belonging to the natural aristocracy, and so objected that they had little power in colonial government. Others who were not quite so rich or well educated also embraced Liberal and republican ideas and saw themselves as natural aristocrats. Many of the less well-educated and wealthy, however, would come to reject the notion of natural aristocracy and embrace an ideal fostered by movements such as the Great Awakening. This movement we call *democracy*.

intelligentsia: a group of intelligent and well-educated people who try to guide the life of society

Struggles for a Continent

The great European powers that held colonies in America—Spain, France, and Great Britain (England)—were often at war with each other in the 18th century. Their wars, fought primarily on European soil, were waged in their colonial lands as well.

But colonists in the New World did not always claim the excuse of a European war to wage war on one another. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, English settlers from Charleston were raiding the Catholic missions to the Indians in Spanish Florida—destroying the missions and enslaving the Christian Indians there. These raids only increased in 1702 when the English, the Dutch, and the Austrians went to war against France and Spain. This “War of the Spanish Succession” was in America called Queen Anne’s War (for the reigning monarch of England, Scotland, and Wales). The end of this war saw France surrender its

American colonies of Newfoundland and L'Acadie (which became Nova Scotia—"New Scotland") to England.

In 1739, Spanish authorities captured Robert Jenkins, an English mariner who was carrying on illegal trade in Spanish waters. His punishment? The Spanish cut

off one of his ears. This outrage convinced England's parliament to declare war on Spain—a war that popularly became known as the "War of Jenkins' Ear." In 1744, this war merged with a broader war in Europe, called the War of the Austrian Succession in Europe, but King George's War in America.

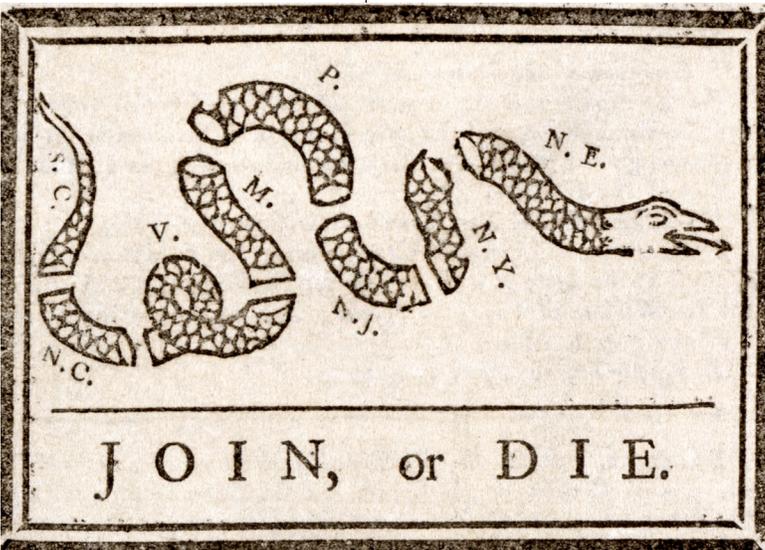
Rivalry between British and French colonists over the Ohio River valley led to a new struggle that later became known as the "Old French and Indian War." English colonists had been forming land companies to buy up lands in what is now western Pennsylvania and Ohio and sell them to English settlers. The French governor of Canada, who claimed these regions for France, ordered fortresses erected on the Allegheny and upper

Ohio rivers. These fortresses worried the colony of Virginia, whose western border ran along the Ohio River. When the French ignored a protest delivered to them by the Virginian lieutenant colonel, George Washington, Virginia's governor, Robert Dinwiddie, sent Washington to attack the French Fort Duquesne (which was then being built). Washington's battle with the French at Great Meadows near Fort Duquesne ended in defeat for the Virginians. In another assault on Fort Duquesne, led by British General Braddock on July 7, 1755 (in which Washington participated), the French and their Indian allies again routed the British and the Virginian colonial militia. Indian raids on Virginia subsequently forced English colonists to abandon their settlements in the Shenandoah Valley.



An English cartoon depicting Robert Jenkins (his wig being removed from his ear-deprived head) handing his severed ear to British prime minister Robert Walpole (seated at left)

Cartoon by Benjamin Franklin, encouraging the colonies to unite their efforts at the Albany Congress



A First Stab at Colonial Unity

News of the Virginians' defeat at Great Meadows filled the English colonies with fear. The French seemed suddenly more powerful. Many English colonials thought Washington's defeat showed that the colonies needed to act in a more unified fashion if they were to defend themselves against the French. So it was that a congress of colonial representatives met at Albany, New York, in June 1754, to discuss how to achieve greater colonial unity.

The Albany Congress approved a plan of union, introduced by Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia and Thomas Hutchinson of

Boston. The plan called for a legislative assembly whose members would be appointed by the colonies, with a president appointed by the king. This colonial government would have the power to declare war, make peace, and conclude treaties with Indian nations in the name of all the colonies. It could raise armies, equip fleets, build forts—and raise the taxes necessary to pay for all of this. This body would govern purchase of lands in the West, as well as the governance of the West until the British government should decide to establish new colonies there.

This plan of union never became more than a proposal. Though adopted by the Albany Congress, it was rejected by every colonial legislature. The colonies were not ready—nor would they be ready for another 35 years—to unite themselves. They were jealous of their local independence and prerogatives. Moreover, even if they had adopted the plan of union, it is unlikely that the British government would have approved it, since it would have given the colonies a significant degree of independence.

The French and Indian War

The Old French and Indian War soon merged with a new war—called the Seven Years' War in Europe, but simply the “French and Indian War” in America. The struggle in America at first went badly for the English. The first three years (1755–1758) witnessed a series of victories for the French and the Indian allies who fought with them. But things began to change in 1758, when William Pitt became secretary of state and prime minister of Great Britain. Pitt appointed Jeffrey Amherst as commander-in-chief of British and colonial forces in America—and Amherst was served by a capable brigadier general, James Wolfe. In conjunction with the British fleet, Amherst and Wolfe captured the French fortress of Louisbourg in July 1758. This was the beginning of a series of victories for the British and colonists that ended with the capture of Fort Duquesne—afterward named Pittsburgh, in honor of Prime Minister Pitt.



“The Death of Wolfe” in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham

It was to Wolfe, however, that the most important victory was given: the capture of the French city and fortress of Québec. In September 1759, on the Plains of Abraham outside the city, Wolfe's forces drove the French before them in defeat. Wolfe lost his life in this battle, but the British gained Québec and the entire St. Lawrence River from the sea to Montreal. Almost a year later, the French surrendered Montreal to the British. Except for an uprising of French Indian allies led by Chief Pontiac in what is now Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the capture of Montreal ended the war.

The effects of the French and Indian War were most important. In the Peace of Paris (signed in 1763), France gave up to Britain all of her North American colonies except a few small islands off Newfoundland and in the Caribbean. Spain received Louisiana—though, as France's ally in the war, she had to abandon Florida to the British. The French and Indian War basically ended France's great adventure in North America. All of America, from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Coast, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the far northern reaches of Canada, now belonged to Great Britain.

smuggling: importing or exporting goods secretly in violation of the law, often without paying duties or taxes

Colonial possessions of France, Spain, and England after the French and Indian War



England's Colonists Grow Rebellious

The French and Indian War marked the beginning of a new period in the relations between Great Britain and her 13 colonies in North America. Before 1765, Parliament in London and the colonial governments shared the tasks of governing the colonies. Basically, Parliament controlled foreign affairs, issues of war, and all trade between America, Great Britain, British dominions, and foreign countries. In other words, Parliament made laws having to do with the colonies' relationships with the world outside the colonies.

On the other hand, colonial assemblies (such as Virginia's House of Burgesses) controlled affairs within their respective colonies—such as appointing colonial government officials (though not necessarily royal governors), paying their salaries, administering schools and churches, and, most importantly, levying taxes. Parliament levied taxes on colonial trade with regions outside the colonies, but it did not levy taxes on activities or items within the colonies.

But during the French and Indian War, the government of King George III began doing a number of things that irritated its American colonists. In 1764, the British government began to crack down on **smuggling** in the colonies. It gave customs officials legal permission to search homes, warehouses, and ships for evidence of smuggling and decreed that those accused of smuggling would not be tried in local courts but in faraway Halifax, Nova Scotia. This meant that those accused of smuggling would not be tried in their own communities by juries of their peers (who, admittedly, were often very willing to let smugglers off)—a right guaranteed by English law and custom.

Other measures arising from the mother country annoyed the English colonists. One was just a suggestion—that the king appoint a Church of England bishop

for America. Colonists protested that this was tantamount to establishing a state church in America. Then, in 1763, Parliament drew what was called the “Proclamation Line” that was to run along the western borders of the colonies. The lands beyond this line—in the regions recently ceded by France—were to be reserved to the Indians. No white people were to settle in these regions, and merchants had to receive governmental permission before they could trade with the Indians. This was annoying to those colonists who had already settled these lands—and especially annoying to rich speculators who had been buying up lands in the West to sell to white settlers. Despite the Proclamation Line, speculators continued to encourage people to settle in the West.

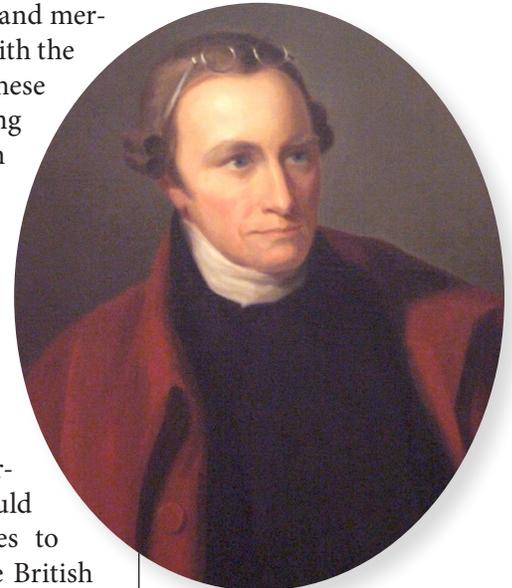
Then, in 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act, which placed a tax, not on goods being brought into America from elsewhere, but on trade within each colony. The Stamp Act said that all legal documents, as well as newspapers, had to have a stamp affixed to them for which a tax had to be paid. Colonists, such as the Virginian, Patrick Henry, vehemently protested the Stamp Act. At Henry’s urging, Virginia’s House of Burgesses approved a set of Resolves against the Stamp Act. The Resolves declared that placing “internal taxes” on the colonists violated their liberties as British subjects. Only an assembly that represented the people could levy such internal taxes. Since the colonists sent no representatives to Parliament, the Stamp Act was a violation of rights guaranteed by the British constitution, that body of laws and customs that governed Great Britain.

King George III and members of Parliament justified the new internal tax on the colonies in this way. The French and Indian War, they said, had saved the colonies from destruction. Thus, to demand that the colonies help pay for that war (which had been quite expensive) was only right and just. Moreover, George III was intent on tightening his control of the colonies, which, he thought, had in the past been given too much free reign to flout royal laws for too long.

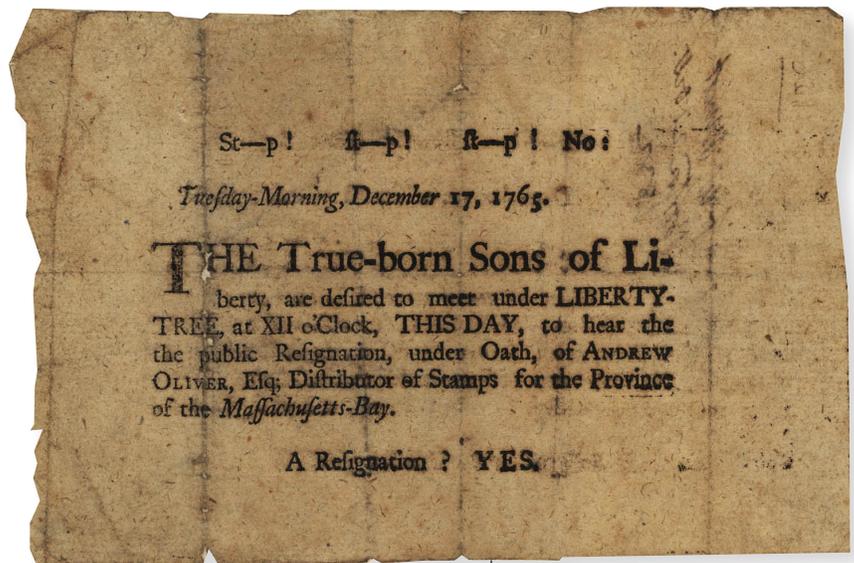
Reaction in the colonies to the Stamp Act went beyond formal protests by colonial assemblies. Organized in groups called the “Sons of Liberty,” colonists destroyed stamp paper, forced stamp distributors to resign their jobs, and incited mobs to attack the “enemies of liberty.” In October 1765, representatives of nine colonies met in New York City in a Stamp Act Congress and issued a set of resolves that declared that the British government had no right to lay taxes on its subjects without their consent. Since, said the resolves, the colonists “are not, and ... cannot be, represented in Parliament,”

only their local assemblies could impose taxes on them. The resolves declared that a trial by a jury of one’s peers was a central right guaranteed to every Englishman.

The violence and the protests had their effect. Seeing that it could not enforce the Stamp Act, Parliament repealed it in March 1766. But Parliament wasn’t backing down, for it next passed the “Declaratory Act” that said the king and Parliament



Patrick Henry



A Sons of Liberty from the era of the Stamp Act controversy

of Great Britain could “bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.” In other words, the colonists had only those rights that Parliament granted them. Such a declaration could only infuriate America’s English colonists. It is not because they were no longer loyal to King George that they were opposing Parliament’s laws, but because they thought Parliament was not treating them as Englishmen, with all the rights that Englishmen possessed.

But Parliament did not stop imposing taxes and other burdens on the colonists—and the colonists did not stop their protests and resistance. In 1767, after Parliament legislated acts that the colonists thought oppressive, the Massachusetts assembly approved a letter written by Samuel Adams of Braintree, Massachusetts and James Otis of Boston protesting the acts. The British government responded by suspending the assembly; and after a mob in Boston attacked a customs official, the government sent two regiments of soldiers into Boston. Colonists from Massachusetts to Georgia then tried to form a movement to **boycott** British goods. But it appeared that such measures would be unnecessary, for the king’s new prime minister, Frederick Lord North, repealed almost all of the acts that had so infuriated the colonists.

Subsequent events, however, further embittered relations between the colonies and Parliament. In March 1770, British soldiers fired into a mob that had been pelting them with snow and stones, killing three and wounding two Bostonians. The Sons of Liberty used this “Boston Massacre” to stir up anger against Parliament. Throughout the colonies, groups called Committees of Correspondence formed to organize resistance against the royal government.

It was a seemingly small matter, however, that finally decided the course the colonies would take. In May 1773, Parliament approved a law that would allow the British East India Company to sell its tea to the colonies at a very reduced price—below the price even New England smugglers could charge for their tea. When ships bearing the East India Company tea arrived outside the harbors of New York and Philadelphia, they were turned away. But tea ships were allowed into Boston harbor. When Massachusetts’ governor, Thomas Hutchinson, refused to force the ships to leave Boston, a group of the Sons of Liberty, dressed as Indians and blacks, boarded the ships and dumped the tea into Boston harbor.

This “Boston Tea Party” had the effect the Sons of Liberty and their leader, Sam Adams—a former brewer, tradesman, and tax collector turned revolutionary—had hoped for. In March 1774, Parliament approved the “Coercive Acts,” which struck at Boston’s economy and liberties. The first of these acts, the Boston Port Act, closed the port of Boston until the city paid for the spilt tea and the property of royal officials destroyed by mobs. The port

boycott: to abstain from buying or using products



The Boston Massacre, engraving by Paul Revere



Early depiction of the Boston Tea Party

would open only when the king decided that peace and due obedience to the laws had been reestablished in Boston. While the British fleet blockaded the harbor, British troops would occupy the city. Later, Parliament would pass the Quartering Act, requiring Boston citizens to house and board soldiers and officers.

The Colonies Rebel

If Parliament had been content to punish Boston alone, it may have been able to keep other colonies from joining the city in opposition to the British government. But among the Coercive Acts was one very objectionable one that removed the right of the Massachusetts people to elect many public officials. This Massachusetts Government Act said these officials were to be appointed by the royal governor. The same day Parliament passed this act, it approved the Administration Act for “the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults.” Under this act, British officials held to have committed capital crimes, including murder, could not be tried in Boston, where Parliament thought they would receive no fair trial. Instead, their trials would be moved to another colony or England. Angry Bostonians condemned this measure as the “Murder Act.”

With the passing of these Coercive Acts—called the “Intolerable Acts” in the colonies—outrage against Parliament spread from Boston into the Massachusetts countryside, and thence to the other colonies. Outside of New England, from New York to South Carolina, colonial leaders called for taking a stand with Massachusetts against “tyranny.” When the royal governor of Virginia dissolved the House of Burgesses for its resolve to stand with Massachusetts, the burgesses gathered at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg and called for the formation of a Continental Congress to represent all the colonies. Soon, other colonies joined Virginia, and the Continental Congress was set to convene in September 1774.

In the meantime, Parliament adopted a measure that its American colonists thought very intolerable. This act, called the Quebec Act, was not directed at the thirteen Atlantic-seaboard colonies but, as the name suggests at Quebec. The act guaranteed to the French in Quebec the freedom to practice their Catholic faith

and allowed them to govern themselves by French rather than English laws. Just as bad to the colonists, it extended the southern border of Quebec to the Ohio River, cutting off the Ohio Country and lands to the west from English settlement. British colonists were appalled that a Protestant king would tolerate the Catholic Church anywhere in his domain. Propagandists warned that the act might be the first move to force them to follow “tyrannical” French law, and convert to the Catholic Church. Alexander Hamilton of New York worried that “a nation of Papists and slaves” threatened the liberties of English America. Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty spread the rumor that George III was himself secretly thinking of become Catholic.

In this heightened spirit of anger, fear, and foreboding, America’s English colonists awaited the convening in Philadelphia of what would prove to be a momentous gathering—the Continental Congress.

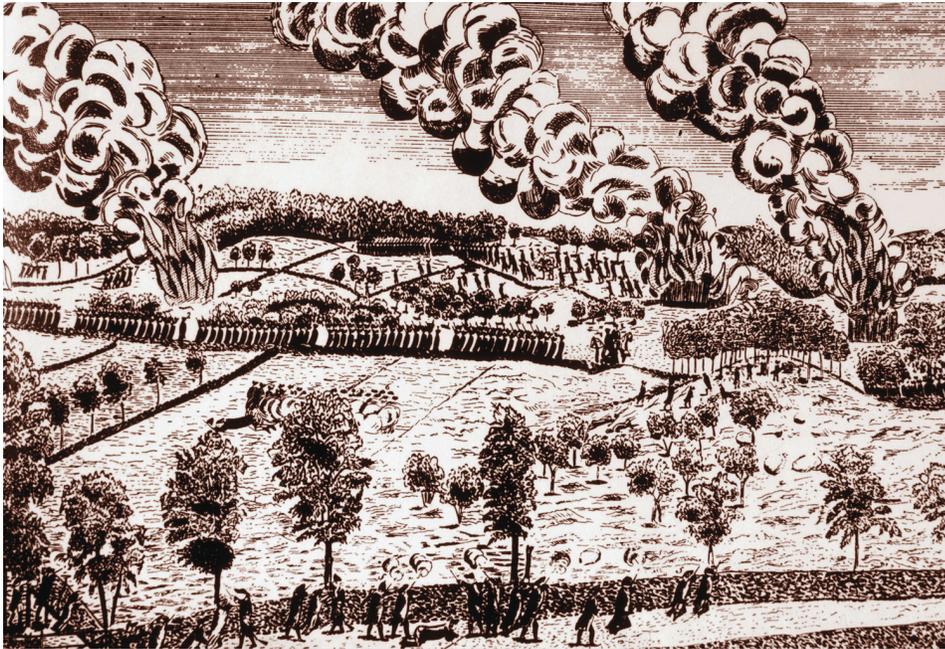
The First Continental Congress

The congress that gathered in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, was divided between those who wanted to remain loyal to the British parliament and king and those who favored more radical solutions. Congress agreed that it had genuine grievances against the mother country and that it should seek for a redress of such grievances—but it was not clear on what basis it should demand redress. Should it appeal to the British Constitution, to the longstanding and customary rights of the English (trial by jury, no taxation without representation, etc.)? Should it say that Parliament was violating the rights given in the charters that established the colonies? Or should it invoke what Liberal thinkers called “natural law”?

In a *Declaration and Resolves* issued on October 14, 1774, Congress appealed to all of these. “The inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America,” said Congress, hold their rights “by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts.” The colonists, said the declaration, “are entitled to life, liberty, and property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.” It then argued that Americans are guaranteed all the constitutional rights of Englishmen, especially since they “by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights” by their emigration to America. It vehemently protested the Quebec Act because it established “the Roman Catholick [sic] Religion” in Quebec and erected a “tyranny there, to the great danger, from so great a dissimilarity of Religion, law, and government, of the neighboring British colonies.”

Before its members returned home, Congress decided on peaceful means to resist Parliament—a compact called the Association, which would make sure that no one imported goods from Great Britain, exported goods there, or consumed British products. But even though forming the Association was not an act of war, it was not without violence. Committees of Safety, appointed by Congress, used threats and violence to enforce the Association. And events did not wait on Congress’s wishes. News came from Massachusetts that on April 18 and 19, 1775, colonial militia had fought—and defeated—British Redcoats at Lexington and Concord. Soon, contingents from other colonies joined the Massachusetts militia, laying siege to the British in Boston. Then, in May 1775, came the news that colonial forces under Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allan had taken British Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, in New York.

While Arnold and Allan were assaulting Fort Ticonderoga, another colonial gathering, the second Continental Congress had gathered in Philadelphia. The



The Battle of Lexington, engraving from a contemporary drawing by Ralph Earle, April 19, 1775

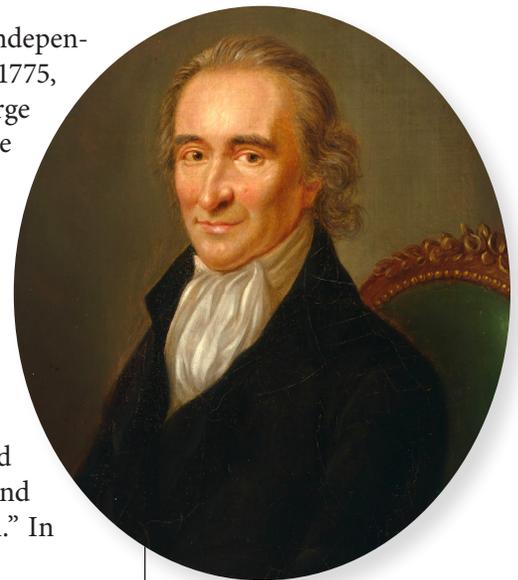
delegates (who included John and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, and Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington of Virginia) saw they faced a certain war with the mother country and that they therefore needed an army. Congress designated the colonial troops around Boston as the provisional army of the United Colonies and made Washington the army's commander-in-chief. Though Congress insisted it did not seek independence from Great Britain, it was beginning to function as if it were the government of an independent nation.

The Road to Independence

It took some time to convince people in the English colonies to seek independence from their king and Parliament. Even as late as the end of 1775, General Washington and his officers were drinking toasts to King George III. But by the spring of 1776, attitudes were changing—and one of the things that helped them change was a small book by a relatively new English immigrant to America. A man named Thomas Paine.

Paine's book, *Common Sense*, is an eloquent summary of Liberal social contract theory. Governments, says *Common Sense*, are necessary only to protect individual freedom and security. But while other Liberal thinkers argued for aristocracies and monarchies, such governments for Paine were nothing but tyrannies. The only just form of government, he said, is a republican government of officials elected by the people. As for the king of Great Britain—he, said Paine, only used the colonies for his own benefit. Moreover, America had come of age and thus no longer needed to be ruled by the “Royal Brute of Great Britain.” In America, said Paine, not George III, but the law should be king.

Though *Common Sense* convinced many colonists, including George Washington, of the necessity of independence, many others, including some members of the Continental Congress, remained opposed. But despite the oppo-



Thomas Paine

sition, between mid-May and early June 1776, all the southern and New England colonies endorsed independence. In Congress, a resolution was proposed, that “these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states”; but a vote on it was delayed until July 1. In the meantime, a committee made up of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Livingston of New York, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Thomas Jefferson was working to write up a formal declaration of independence. It was Thomas Jefferson who was appointed to write the draft of the declaration.

When at last, on July 2, 1776, Congress voted on independence, delegates from 12 of the 13 colonies approved it. Next, the delegates voted to adopt (after some changes) the text of Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence. On July 4, John Hancock, president of the Congress, signed the document. It was sent then to the various colonial legislatures for their approval. At last, on August 2, 1776, the members of Congress signed the declaration, and the United Colonies declared themselves free and independent states.

Now, they had to secure their independence.

The Declaration of Independence

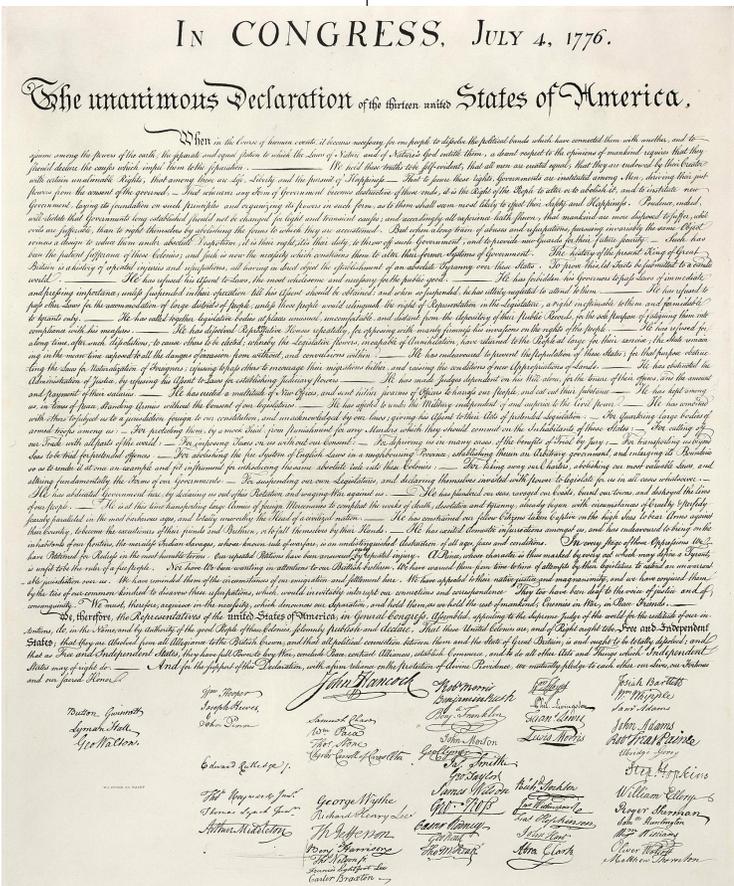
Though it was originally written only to proclaim the independence of the “united States” from Great Britain, the Declaration of Independence has become a kind of creed for the United States of America—for it expounds the political and social ideals that are the basis for what people have called the “American experiment.” It is thus, perhaps, the most important political document in U.S. history.

Thomas Jefferson was a happy choice to draft the text, for he had a certain mastery of English prose and could turn out elegant phrases. But Jefferson was more than a gifted scribbler; he was one of the most learned men in the colonies. Moreover, he was a disciple of European Liberal thought, particularly of the political and social thought of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

It is perhaps for this reason that when the Declaration of Independence lays out the reasons justifying the revolution and independence, it makes no reference to the traditional rights of Englishmen or the colonial charters. Instead, it justifies revolution and independence by appealing to a Liberal idea of “natural law” and human rights.

Using language inspired by John Locke, the Declaration speaks of the “self-evident” truth that all men are created equal, and “that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” It is interesting that Jefferson’s language differs from Locke’s by substituting the phrase, “pursuit of Happiness,” for Locke’s “property.” Jefferson may have taken this language from the Virginia Bill of Rights, which says:

The Declaration of Independence



. . . all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

The Declaration uses the language of the social contract to justify political revolution. Governments, it says, exist to secure the people's rights. They derive their "just powers from the consent of the governed." When a "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." This should not be done for any reason, but only "when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce [a people] under absolute Despotism." When this occurs, the Declaration says it is the people's "right," "it is their duty, to throw off such Government and to provide new Guards for their future security." The Declaration then lists the alleged "injuries and usurpations" of the king of Great Britain against the colonies.

In its final lines, the declaration lives up to its name and proclaims the independence of the former colonies from Great Britain:

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States. 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.

Under this banner, the English colonies, now proclaimed states, fought to purchase their independence.

Chapter 3 Review

Summary

- The fact that there was much land cheaply available in America, especially west of the original settlements, influenced the colonists by weakening their ties to each other, even within families. It also stoked the fires of distrust between those who had been in America for generations and those who were newly arrived.
- Jonathan Edwards preached of God's judgment in frightening terms. He taught that only God's will at this present moment prevents sinners from plunging into Hell, and that each person can attain salvation through a personal relationship with God, unmediated by anything or anyone whatsoever. The Great Awakening that Edwards inspired was a religious movement that, nevertheless, encouraged the idea of human equality.
- Liberalism was a social and political philosophy that encouraged a re-thinking of society as an organism which thrives when each person freely pursues his own private interests. The Englishman John Locke and other Liberal thinkers taught that government exists to make sure that every person's individual freedom is secured and he may exercise his rights with as much freedom as possible. The

Chapter 3 Review (continued)

function of government (a necessary evil) is to make sure everyone may work for himself and his interests without hindering other individuals from doing the same.

- In contrast to Liberalism, medieval Catholic political emphasized that government is by nature a positive good, because it exists to promote the “common good.” This common good includes some amount of material prosperity but does not prioritize it, seeing instead a growth in virtue among citizens as more important, and the salvation of souls as the highest good. Because of this, Catholic thinkers considered the role of rulers is to protect and foster the one true religion by actively supporting the mission of the Church, on the one hand, and fighting immorality and heresy, on the other.
- A political ideal arising from Liberalism, called Republicanism, promoted the idea of a “natural aristocracy” rather than a “hereditary aristocracy,” so that “men of talent, intelligence, refined manners, education and wealth” might direct the life of society. Republicans held that the best form of government is one that is controlled by the majority of the free citizens through assemblies of representatives. These citizens, Republicans thought, would recognize the natural aristocrats and vote them into office.
- The wars European powers fought in the Old World had their counterparts in the New. For instance, Queen Anne’s war (in the New World) was a theatre of the War of the Spanish Succession, fought in the old.
- When the English colonists saw France becoming more powerful in North America, they attempted to form a colonial union of sorts. The only unity which came of their efforts was that every colonial legislature rejected the plan of unity put forward at the Albany Congress in 1754.
- The French and Indian war, which ended in 1763, resulted in England becoming the dominant power in the New World, from Canada to the southern tip of Florida.
- During the French and Indian War and afterwards, King George III (1760–1820) began to

try to rein in the colonists. Smugglers were put on trial in Nova Scotia, instead of the district in which they lived, for example, and the Church of England suggested an Anglican bishop just for North America. Additionally, the British government drew a line (the Proclamation Line) beyond which colonists were forbidden to settle, because it marked the beginning of Indian territory.

- In other attempts to get its North American colonists to behave more like subjects of the Crown than they had been inclined to do, Great Britain’s Parliament passed the Stamp Act, the Declaratory Act, and the Coercive Acts. Each time the Parliament tried to limit colonial liberties, the colonists pushed back.
- The straw which broke the proverbial camel’s back, however, was an act not directed at the thirteen North American colonies, but at the newly acquired territory of Quebec, the French—speaking province north of the St. Lawrence River. It didn’t restrict Quebec’s citizens, or the colonists further south. In fact, it formally permitted the French in Quebec to practice their Catholic faith, and to live according to French rather than English laws. Most of the founding fathers of the United States objected to the Quebec Act because they saw the Catholic faith and people who practice that faith as opposed to English American liberties.
- The Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, declared the independence of the thirteen colonies from Great Britain. The declaration drew heavily on the ideas of John Locke, but substituted “pursuit of happiness” for “property.”

Key Concepts

extended family: a group consisting not only of parents and their children, but also near relatives such as aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents

smuggling: the practice of importing or exporting goods (or people) secretly, in violation of the law, often without paying duties or taxes

boycott: to abstain from buying or using products. This word, defined as a verb, may also be used as a noun—a boycott.

Liberalism: s philosophy based on the idea that a person should enjoy maximum freedom of action and thought (which, together, formed “liberty”) consistent with order in society

Enlightenment: an intellectual movement in the 17th and 18th centuries which asserted that scientific investigation and reason are the only avenues for human beings to come to the knowledge of the truth. Questions which could not be investigated by scientific experimentation, such as whether or not God exists, were treated as if they were merely matters of personal opinion.

Great Awakening: a religious movement that inspired people with the conviction that each individual can achieve salvation through a personal relationship with God. Individuals did not need churches or learned theologians to experience God; they were thus equal to their superiors in religious matters. The Great Awakening inspired people to think of themselves as equal in other areas of life as well.

Dates to Remember

1754: the Albany Congress

1765: Parliament passes the Stamp Act.

1766: Parliament repeals the Stamp Act, replacing it with the Declaratory Act.

1767: Parliament passes more acts that elicit colonial protest.

1774: Parliament passes the Coercive Acts. They include the Boston Port Act, the Massachusetts Government Act, and the Administration Act. The colonists called these the Intolerable Acts.

1774: Parliament passes the Quebec Act, giving the French inhabitants of Quebec the right to practice their Catholic faith and to be governed by French laws.

1776: The Continental Congress declares that the colonies “are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States.”

Central Characters

Thomas Hobbes: an English thinker who created the concept of a “state of nature,” a foundational concept for Liberalism

John Locke: an English thinker who wrote two Treatises on Civil Government that developed concepts of Liberalism that influenced the American colonists

Jonathan Edwards: a fiery Puritan minister whose preaching inspired the Great Awakening

Jean-Jacques Rousseau: a French Liberal philosopher whose writings greatly influenced the founding fathers, especially Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Paine: the author of *Common Sense*

George Washington: a lieutenant colonel who led the English attack on Fort Duquesne in 1755. He went on to become the commander-in-chief of the Colonial armies in the Revolutionary War.

George III: king of Great Britain (1760–1820)

Questions for Review

1. Who were the three intellectual grandfathers of the American Revolution, two English and one French?
2. Who was the major figure whose preaching inspired the Great Awakening in North America?
3. Discuss how the ideas of Liberalism and medieval Catholic thought on life in society contrast with each other.
4. What was the Quebec act, and why was it important?
5. Why were there so many wars fought in North America in the period before the American Revolution?
6. What was the Proclamation Line, and why did it matter in North America’s English colonists?
7. Why did Sam Adams and his group dump tea into Boston harbor? Why were similar acts not carried out in other ports up and down the Atlantic coast?
8. On what grounds did the Virginia House of Burgesses oppose the Stamp Act?
9. We celebrate Independence Day on July 4, but who was the only person to sign the Declaration of Independence that day?
10. Who wrote *Common Sense*, and why?

Ideas in Action

1. Imagine that you and your classmates are members of the Continental Congress. Re-argue the case for independence from Britain. There are three possible outcomes: agree with the decision

Chapter 3 Review (continued)

and the argument of Congress; disagree with the argument or the decision of Congress; decide (even if you agree with some of Congress' arguments) to remain loyal to King George. The decision must be unanimous, or nearly unanimous, to reflect the outcome of the historical debate over independence in Congress.

2. The English colonists in America objected to trials for accused smugglers being held elsewhere than the smugglers' local courts, partly because it deprived them of a "jury of their peers." Discuss what a peer is in this context and what constitutes a jury of one's peers.
3. Why did the founding fathers believe that only independently wealthy people should hold some offices in government? Is the same argument valid for restricting who can exercise the right to vote? Why or why not?

Highways and Byways

An Englishman Pleads for the Americans

Edmund Burke, an Englishman, observed the deteriorating situation in North America and, later, the revolutionary situation in France. Although these two events came from similar causes (the Enlightenment being the motivating force of both), Burke was sympathetic to one and openly hostile to the other. He urged "conciliation" with America, but the strongest resistance to the French. When he spoke in the House of Commons in March 1775, Burke said this about the Americans:

In this character of the Americans, a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole: and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable [sic] whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the

English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth, and this from a great variety of powerful causes; which, to understand the true temper of their minds and the directions which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, sir, is a nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles.

In effect, Burke makes the claim that to fight with the colonists is for England to be at war with herself, precisely because that which causes the Americans to be upset is the constraining of their freedom—which freedom they so ardently love because they are Englishmen. At the end of the speech, he says this:

We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire, and have made the most extensive and the only honorable conquests—not by destroying but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is: English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

By the time Burke made this speech, the Americans had begun to think of themselves as something more than mere Englishmen.

4

A NEW NATION

The moment I heard of America, I loved her; the moment I knew she was fighting for freedom, I burned with a desire of bleeding for her.

These words, penned by the young **Gilbert du Motier**, expressed the sentiments of a number of French noblemen—some of whom came to America to bleed for the former English colonies in their struggle against Great Britain. Motier—whom we remember by his title, Lafayette (**Marquis de Lafayette**)—was one of these French nobles. An awkward, somewhat homely youth (one American officer said that his nose “does not appear to correspond perfectly with his person”), Lafayette was given to romantic dreams of military glory. But glory did not interest him for its own sake, at least not entirely. Rather, he wanted to lend his sword to a cause that would establish the rule of liberty and equality on Earth. The American Revolution, he thought, was just such a cause.

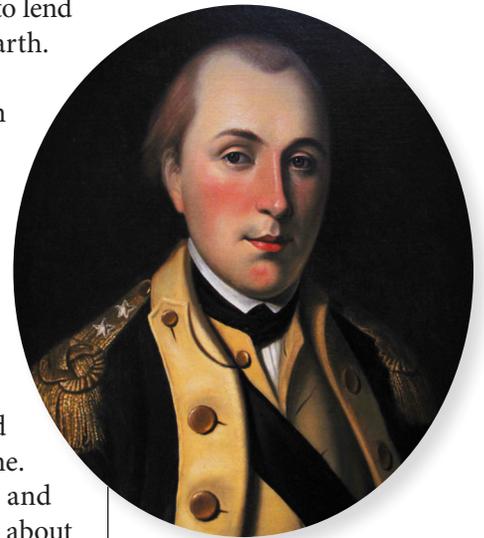
In France, Lafayette was not alone in his devotion to Liberalism nor in his enthusiasm for the American Revolution. Many French intellectuals, members of the **bourgeoisie**, as well as aristocrats like Lafayette, cheered the Americans on. A number of these folks did so because they wanted to see France’s ancient enemy, England, humbled—and it had been 14 years since the Treaty of Paris gave nearly all of French North America to the British. But if national pride inspired Frenchmen, so did Liberalism. The ideals of the Declaration of Independence resonated with many French intellectuals, *bourgeoisie*, and even aristocrats.

Yes, even aristocrats—the very people who, one might think, would stand to lose the most from a Liberal republican revolution—supported one. But if the American Revolution was republican, it was also an ocean away and then some from Paris. In the **salons** of that city, aristocrats could banter about Liberalism over their champagne and cognac without any fear that a revolution would come knocking at their doors—or so they thought.

Of course, not all the Liberal French aristocrats held so far aloof from the events of America; some, like Lafayette, came to America and offered their services to General George Washington and Congress. (Congress in 1777 commissioned Lafayette a major general in the Continental Army.) But if Washington and Congress welcomed such volunteers (and some they definitely did not welcome), they were not content with only a few French volunteers. They were looking for something much more: a French alliance.

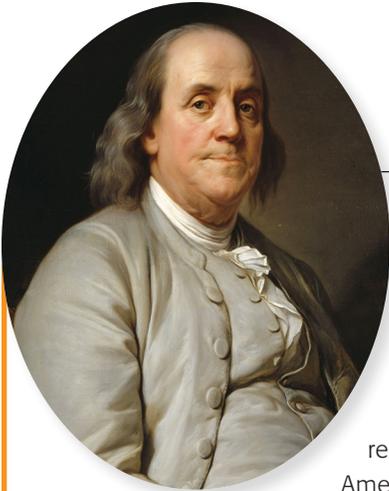
To achieve this alliance, Congress had sent Benjamin Franklin as its ambassador to the court of King Louis XVI. But though Franklin was wildly popular

bourgeoisie: (boor-zhwah-ZEE) member of the middle class, made up of tradesmen, manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, and men of other professions
salon: a large room in a house used for entertaining guests



Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette

Gilbert du Motier: jihl-BAYR doo moh-tee-YAY
Marquis de Lafayette: mahr-KEE duh lah-fah-YET



Benjamin Franklin

with the Parisians for his scientific achievements and wit, he could not convince the king to recognize American independence openly and thus join in the war against Great Britain. France was sending cargoes of clothing and munitions to America, but no direct military aid. No navy and no troops.

The Plight of the Loyalists

Not all Americans in the English colonies favored rebellion against Great Britain or American independence. Throughout the years of struggle, only about a third of the colonists strongly supported the revolutionary cause; others supported it more reluctantly. Some of these reluctant ones initially had believed the colonies had genuine grievances against king and Parliament but in the end threw in their lot with Britain and King George. These “loyalists” (also insultingly called Tories, the name of an English royalist party) made up from 20 to 30 percent of the colonial population. Most of the other colonists were neither loyalist nor “patriot” but came to support one side or the other depending on circumstances. If British forces abused their persons or property, they might become patriots. If Sons of Liberty or the Continental army threatened them, they would gravitate toward the loyalists.

Loyalists and neutral colonists had made Congress’ enforcement of the Association for non-importation difficult. Many of these folk did not recognize Congress’ authority, for it was difficult (if not impossible) to defend the idea that Congress derived its powers from all the people or even a majority of them. To enforce the Association, Congress allowed Committees of Safety to administer a “pledge” to citizens to honor non-importation of British goods. Any who refused to take this pledge could be held up to public scorn, threatened with losing their livelihood or property (or worse), and ostracized from society. In each town the committees were usually composed of self-appointed Sons of Liberty, so their authority was even more doubtful than that of Congress. The committees investigated private papers, spied on their neighbors, and used informers. Those found guilty of loyalty were punished in a number of ways. Some had merely to humiliate themselves, say, by running around a Liberty Tree. Others were tarred and feathered or even killed. In Chester, Massachusetts, one man was buried alive for wishing success to the king’s troops.

Loyalists came from all walks of society. They were former agents of the British government (such as customs men), Anglican clergymen, and some of the very rich. Their number, however, included small farmers, poor craftsmen, fugitive slaves (to whom King George promised freedom if they abandoned their rebel masters), and scoundrels. Why they were loyal varied from person to person. Some remained loyal out of self-interest (as in New York after the British occupied the city), but others out of conscience—for instance, those who would not violate their oath of fidelity to George III. Some loyalists tried to remain neutral, while others joined loyalist regiments that served with the British against the rebels.

American independence brought new woes to loyalists because they could now be accused of treason. Those who actively supported the king, or were thought to, could expect death; but even those who tried to stay neutral in the conflict had cause to fear for their lives. Both loyalists and patriots were guilty of barbaric acts throughout the war—burning houses, insulting women, murdering the innocent. The American Revolution was truly a civil war; and, like all civil wars, it awakened the worst passions and **animosities** in men’s hearts. Such animosities would linger many years after the war was done.

animosity: a strong feeling of dislike or hatred



A 1783 engraving showing Great Britain offering refuge to American loyalists

What Changed the King's Mind?

Even if they were partial to it, King Louis and his advisers knew the American Revolution might not succeed. It wouldn't do to waste money and men on a lost cause.

The Americans had been having some success. Though the British general, Sir William Howe, had beaten Washington (with the loss of 1,000 men) on Long Island in August 1776, Washington had on December 26 that year forced Hessian **mercenary** soldiers to surrender at Trenton, New Jersey. (The British used soldiers from the German state of Hesse as part of their force to end the Revolution.) In early January, Washington and his ragtag Continentals made the British retreat at Princeton, New Jersey. By the end of January, Washington had captured the New Jersey towns of Hackensack, Elizabethtown, and Newark.

Despite such victories, however, the British were far from defeated. In fact, British Major General John Burgoyne was forming a campaign for the spring of 1777 that, if successful, could cut New England off from the other states. According to this plan, Burgoyne, with the support of the Iroquois and loyalists from upper New York, was to move down Lake Champlain to the Hudson River, where he would join with British forces under General Howe, who would move north along the Hudson from New York City.

It was not until June 1, 1777 that Burgoyne with his 4,000 British regular troops, 3,000 Hessian auxiliaries, and 1,000 Canadian and Indian allies began his advance to the Hudson. For his part, Howe, with 27,000 men in New York City, delayed. Finally, in July, when Howe began to move, he sent only part of his force up the Hudson. The larger portion of his force he sent south toward the American capital, Philadelphia. At Brandywine Creek, south of Philadelphia, Washington with 12,000 men met Howe's force of 18,000 in battle on September 11, 1777 and was defeated. On September 26, Howe captured Philadelphia.

Such a defeat as Washington's would have confirmed the French in their reluctance to ally themselves with America; and, if they had known of Congress' decision to appoint the incompetent Horatio Gates to command the army that would face Burgoyne, they might have closed the books on America for good. But fortunately for the Americans, Gates had a very competent officer under his command—Benedict Arnold of Connecticut. When on September 1777 the American army met Burgoyne's Redcoats in battle at Freeman's Farm, near Saratoga, New York, it was Arnold who led the assault that ended in a British defeat. On October 7, Burgoyne attacked the American position at Freeman's Farm; but Arnold, taking command of the New England regiments, routed him. Unable to advance or retreat, Burgoyne surrendered to Gates ten days later.

News of Burgoyne's defeat worried the French government; it might, they thought, move the British to seek peace with America. Benjamin Franklin used this fear to con-

mercenary: a soldier hired to fight for a foreign country or one that will fight for any group or country that pays him (from the Latin, *merces*, meaning "wages")



Major General John Burgoyne

Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga



A Long and Weary War

Though the French alliance raised hopes of victory in America, it had at first little effect on the course of the war. Indeed, despite the alliance, it appeared the revolution was heading to certain defeat.

In November 1778, British forces under Colonel Sir Archibald Campbell moved against Savannah, Georgia, and in December drove out its American defenders. Campbell then pushed further into the interior, conquered the state capital, Augusta, in the spring of 1779, and reinstated the royal governor there. Even with French help, the Americans could not retake Savannah. An American and French sea-and-land assault on the city in October 1779 was a failure. Savannah remained in British hands.

American forces in Charleston, South Carolina held out longer against an army composed of loyalists and Cherokee Indians. But in April 1780, a British fleet passed the guns of Fort Moultrie, which guarded Charleston Bay, while British troops under the command of Sir Charles Cornwallis **invested** the city from the south. Caught between the fleet and the army, the American general, Benjamin Lincoln, surrendered the city.

From Charleston, Cornwallis moved west and by July had restored all of South Carolina to royal control. At Camden, South Carolina, Cornwallis utterly defeated American troops under General Horatio Gates.

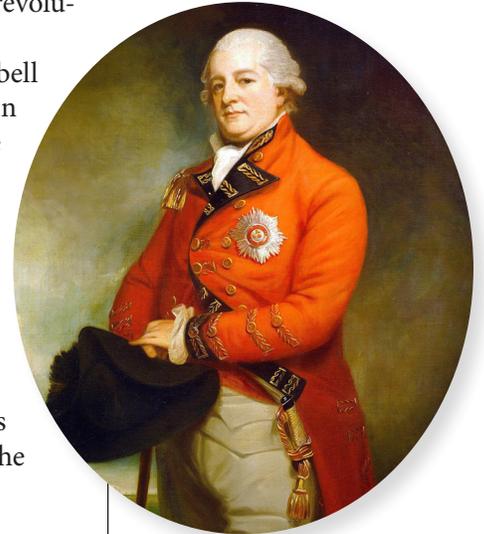
From South Carolina, Cornwallis determined to invade North Carolina—but here he met his first check. As Cornwallis advanced on Charlotte, North Carolina, his support force of loyalists under Major Patrick Ferguson turned west to harry the patriot regions (those loyal to the revolutionary government) of western North Carolina. On October 7, 1780, settlers of that mountainous region, along with men of the new Tennessee settlements to the west, led by John Shelby and “Nolichucky” Jack Sevier, engaged Ferguson in battle at King’s Mountain, on the border of South and North Carolina. In the one-hour battle, Ferguson was killed and his troops routed. Without the loyalists’ support, Cornwallis withdrew again into South Carolina.

From Defeat to Victory

The beginning of 1781 seemed to promise little change to rebel fortunes. Since December, Benedict Arnold (who had betrayed the patriot cause) had been leading 1,700 loyalist volunteer troops on raids in Virginia. In January, he captured Virginia’s capital, Richmond, forcing Governor Thomas Jefferson to flee the city. Hoping to take advantage of Arnold’s successes, Cornwallis led a force of 1,400 into Virginia, joining forces with Arnold at Petersburg.

But before Cornwallis could leave North Carolina, he had to contend with a different kind of American commander—Nathaniel Greene. Appointed by Washington to replace Gates, Greene was the sort of general the southern army needed. Under his command, the southern army lost battle after battle—but it

invest: to surround with troops or with ships



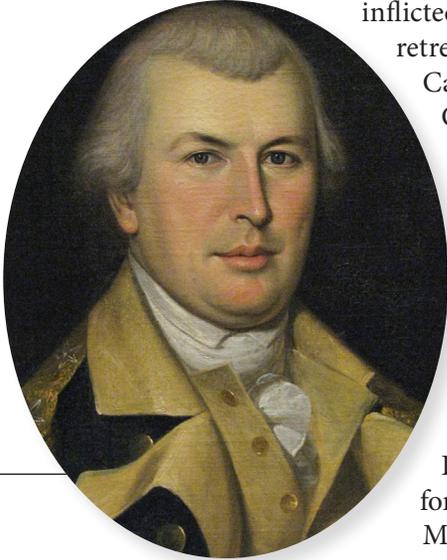
Colonel Sir Archibald Campbell



General Sir Charles Cornwallis



Benedict Arnold



**Nathaniel
Greene**

François Joseph Paul: frahn-SWAH ZHO-sef PAWL
Comte de Grasse: KOHMT-duh-GRAHs
Rochambeau: roh-shahm-BOH

inflicted more losses on the British than it suffered itself. After Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington, North Carolina, Greene marched into South Carolina, forcing British and loyalist forces to withdraw into Charleston. Most of South Carolina once again belonged to the patriots.

In June, Cornwallis began moving his forces toward Virginia's old capital, Williamsburg. In July, General George Clinton, who had replaced Howe in New York in 1778, ordered him to establish a naval base in Virginia, and Cornwallis chose Yorktown—a town set on a long peninsula formed by the James River to the south, and the York River to the north. On August 2, 1781, Cornwallis entered Yorktown, where he hoped a large force under Clinton would soon join him. But Clinton never arrived. Instead, he sent Cornwallis only a small portion of the British forces in New York.

Meanwhile, Washington had received good news. Louis XVI had promised to send a major portion of his army to America, along with a fleet of 20 ships under Rear Admiral **François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse**. De Grasse would sail to the West Indies, where four more ships and 3,000 soldiers awaited him. The French alliance, it seemed, would finally pay off.

Washington and his French allies debated where they should strike—New York or Yorktown? It was de Grasse who finally decided on Yorktown. In early September, Washington and the French General **Rochambeau**, by land, and De Grasse, by sea, moved on Cornwallis' position. On September 28, the allies began their siege of Yorktown. Blocked seaward by de Grasse's fleet, Cornwallis' 8,000

**Cornwallis'
surrender at
Yorktown**



men could not escape by ship. Nor could they retreat by land, blocked as they were by Rochambeau's 8,000 French troops, Washington's 5,645 Continentals, and 3,200 Virginia militia. Seeing he would get no relief from Clinton, Cornwallis surrendered his army to Washington on October 19, 1781.

War's End

Though for over a year, violence continued to rage between settlers and Indians who were British allies in the lands west of the Appalachians, Yorktown was the battle that effectively ended the war. It was not, however, until March 12, 1783 that Washington's troops in Philadelphia heard the good news that Great Britain and the United States had at last signed a treaty of peace.

The Treaty of Paris, signed by Great Britain and the United States on November 30, 1782, acknowledged American independence and granted the United States all lands lying between the Appalachians west to the Mississippi and from the border of Florida north to the Great Lakes. A second treaty, however, involved not only the United States and Great Britain, but France, Spain, and Holland, who had waged war on Great Britain. In this second Treaty of Paris, signed September 3, 1783, France received little, while Spain obtained Florida and was assured of its possession of Louisiana.

It was not, however, until November 25, 1783 that British troops at last left New York, and General Washington, leading the tattered United States army, marched into the city.

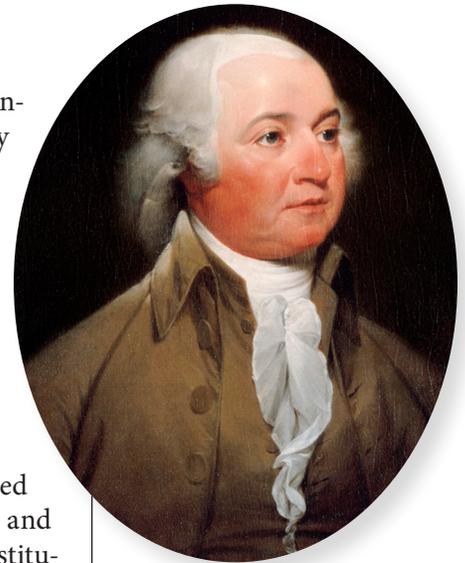
Revolutionary Governments

By war, the former English colonies of North America had won their independence. But what they had obtained by war, they could lose in peace—if they found no effective means of governing themselves.

Revolutions often follow a predictable path in history. First, revolutionaries establish a new government; then follows a period of confusion, which ends in dictatorship. Happily, the American Revolution did not follow this pattern for the simple reason that the states already had functioning representative governments that continued to operate both during and after the war. The new “united States” did not so much overthrow their governments as remove their governments from the authority and power of the British king.

The governments of the newly independent states of North America differed in some significant ways. Some state governments, such as Connecticut and Virginia, continued to operate as they had in colonial times. Virginia's constitution became the model for several other states. The Virginia-inspired constitutions provided for three major divisions in the government: a legislature, a council, and a governor. In such constitutions, the legislature possessed most of the powers of government. The governor's task was to execute (that is, enforce) laws passed by the legislature. He had the power to **veto** laws, but only if the members of his council supported the veto. Council members were appointed by the legislature, not chosen by the governor.

Some of the state governments adopted new constitutions following independence. In 1779, John Adams drafted a constitution for Massachusetts that estab-



John Adams, about 1783

veto: the power or right of one branch of government to cancel or postpone the decisions or acts of another branch of government

lished what is called a “mixed” government—one where governmental power is divided among equal branches. Adams’ constitution set up a legislature, divided into two sections or “houses.” Members of the first or upper house, called the “Senate,” were elected by the wealthier members of their districts. The second, or lower house, called the “House of Representatives,” was composed of members elected by a broader section of the population. Both houses of the legislature had to approve a measure before it could become law. The constitution provided for a governor, elected by the people, who could veto acts of the legislature. The governor appointed members of a judicial court that decided whether or not government acts were in accord with the state constitution.

Adams believed that “pure” forms of government—monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—were easily corrupted. A strong government, he thought, had to be a mixture of these pure forms. Each element of government (the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic) would place a check on the abuses of the others. The democratic branch of the government, Adams’ House of Representatives, could stop any grab for power by the Senate, the aristocratic branch, and vice versa. The governor (the monarchical element) could veto the acts of the representative branch (the Senate and House of Representatives) and so provide a further check on both the democratic and aristocratic elements of society. Finally, the judicial branch, operating independently of any one branch of government, could make sure that all the other branches of government obeyed the constitution.

The architects of Pennsylvania’s constitution followed a very different political philosophy. Influenced by more democratic ideas than Adams, they thought that, since the people choose members of the legislature to represent them, there is no need for other branches of government to check the legislature’s power. To do so would be to thwart the will of the people. So it was that Pennsylvania’s constitution established only a one-house legislature, with no governor.

The states differed as to who had the right to vote. Every state but New Jersey permitted only white males to vote (New Jersey allowed women who owned property and free blacks to vote). Seven states allowed every white male taxpayer to vote; the other states required that a voter own property. A few states, such as New Hampshire, required that voters take oaths to keep Catholics and loyalists from the polls.

Some republican thinkers believed that state constitutions should include lists of citizens’ rights to prevent a government from abusing its power. Virginia was the first state to adopt such a list of rights. This Virginia Declaration of Rights, adopted by the House of Burgesses on June 12, 1776, declared that “all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity.” Among the rights the bill asserted were “the enjoyment of life and liberty,” the “means of acquiring and possessing property,” and the pursuit and obtaining of “happiness and safety.” The Virginia bill guaranteed the freedom of the press and the “free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience.”

Pennsylvania adopted a bill of rights similar to Virginia’s, but added freedom of speech and (on account of the Quakers) protection for those whose conscience would not permit them to serve in the military. In 1780, Massachusetts adopted a bill of rights that included, among other provisions, a right to a mixed government.

The Catholic Church in America

The American Revolution had a profound effect on the lives of Catholics in the new American states. For one thing, it removed all the penal laws which threatened Catholic freedom, even if they were not always enforced. More importantly, the fact that Catholics such as Charles Carroll, a wealthy Marylander, had served the patriot cause, and a Catholic power, France, had helped in the American victory, gave the former English colonists a better opinion of Catholics. That is not to say that Catholics were fully accepted in the new states. Some states still placed restrictions on Catholic participation in voting and holding office.

The Catholic Church in the United States was very small. Only about 25,000 Catholics lived in the states, mostly in Maryland and Pennsylvania, with a few in New York and Virginia. Only 24 priests, many of them old men, served these faithful. The Church in the U.S. had no bishop but was under the direction of the Catholic “vicar-apostolic” in London, England—which, of course, was quite far away. (The vicar-apostolic was a bishop, but he could not use that title in England, for English law granted it only to bishops of the Church of England.) To bring a common government to the Catholic Church in America, Pope Pius VI in 1784 appointed Charles Carroll’s cousin, Father John Carroll, as “prefect apostolic” of the American Church, with the power to administer confirmation. The American priests feared that their Protestant neighbors would object to having a Catholic bishop in the United States.

As prefect apostolic, Father Carroll faced many difficulties. For one, he discovered that lay trustees (laymen who built and ran parishes in America) would often ignore his authority. Even some priests disobeyed Carroll’s commands. It became clear that only a bishop could command the respect of laity and clergy, and on November 6, 1789, Pope Pius VI appointed Carroll as the bishop of Baltimore, Maryland, with jurisdiction over the entire United States. He was consecrated bishop a year later by Bishop Charles Walmesley, at the chapel of Lulworth Castle in England.

Having a bishop in the United States did not end all problems, but it gave the Church a government that could lead her into the next century. One significant event was the founding of a seminary for priests and the establishment of Georgetown College (now in Washington, D.C.) by four priests from France in 1791. The Church in the U.S. could now train its own priests for service to the far-flung Catholic community in America.



Pope Pius VI



Statue of John Carroll at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

The Revolution and Religious Liberty

Like most European nations, many of the new American states had established churches—churches recognized by law and supported by taxes. Some governments required attendance at church services. Following the revolution, however, New York, Maryland, and both Carolinas **disestablished** the Anglican Church.

disestablish: to remove a church’s status as the official religion recognized by the state

Republicans called for the disestablishment of state churches because, as Liberals, they saw religion as a purely private affair. It is, they thought, merely private opinion, in no way objective truth, and so has nothing to do with the state. Some like Thomas Jefferson thought that since religious doctrines could not be proven by reason (that is, by the scientific method), they could not appeal to reasonable men. Not all American leaders shared Jefferson's opinion, but many of the founders held that, at the very least, religious belief and practice should be left entirely to the free choice of individuals.

Both Jefferson's and the less radical opinions about religious liberty contrasted with how both Protestant groups and the Catholic Church viewed the matter. Most Protestants were basically in agreement with Catholic Church teaching that religion is not primarily a matter of personal opinion but has to do with all of human life, including how we live in society. The Catholic Church taught that religion is not, as some Liberals held, superstition. Rather, religion has to do with objective truth, and the most important truths men can know. For this reason, religion had to direct laws and customs so that people could learn what is right and wrong and how they might attain the highest good of all—eternal life with God. Religion thus could not be merely a matter of personal opinion. The government had a role in defending the true religion and encouraging it.

Though the Virginia Bill of Rights allowed for the “free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience,” yet, in Virginia, taxes still went to support the established Anglican Church. Jefferson fought for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Virginia. In 1777, the Virginia assembly repealed all laws requiring church attendance and universal support for the established Anglican Church. But Jefferson wanted to go further. The state, he said, should recognize the equality of all religions and give support to none of them. His opponents, including Patrick Henry and George Washington, favored equal state support for all religious groups. Religion, such men thought, was important because it helped make good citizens. In the end, however, Jefferson won the day. In January 1786, the Virginia assembly passed Jefferson's Statute of Religious Liberty, which separated the state entirely from the practice of religion. The government was neither to restrict religious freedom nor give monetary support to any church at all.

Despite Virginia's action, some states for many years continued to have some sort of established religion. **Selectmen** in New England, for instance, continued to appoint ministers of the Congregational Church in their towns, and other states had anti-Catholic statutes in their laws. It would not be long, however, before religious toleration became the established law in all the states of America.



Thomas Jefferson

selectman: an elected official in a New England town who carried on the government of the town

ratification: the act of confirming or sanctioning; from verb “to ratify,” meaning to confirm or sanction

The First U.S. Constitution

The Revolutionary War had united the newly independent states in a common struggle, which necessitated a political union between themselves. Such a union, in turn, called for a common constitution for all. In July 1776, a draft of such a constitution—called the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union—was presented to Congress. Not until November 15, 1777 did Congress approve the Articles and send them on to the state legislatures for **ratification**. By February 1779, all the states had approved the Articles, except one: Maryland. About two years passed before Maryland ratified the Articles, which then formally went into effect on March 1, 1781, seven months before the surrender at Yorktown.

The Articles of Confederation forged “a firm league of friendship” between the states “for their common defense, the security of their liberties and general welfare.” The Articles established a one-house legislature, called Congress. To this body, each state sent at least two and not more than seven representatives or delegates. The new government had the power to declare war and make peace, approve treaties with foreign nations, regulate the coining of money, and decide disputes between the states. Each state pledged that it would not carry on its own foreign policy, form a separate confederation or alliance with any other state, or tax imports from foreign countries with whom the United States had made treaties. A state was forbidden to wage war by itself, unless it was invaded and could not immediately be protected by the United States forces. A state could not maintain warships or troops unless Congress authorized them for the common defense. However, a state could have a militia for its own protection.

Women of the Revolution

It may seem that it was men alone who took part in the revolution and in governing the colonies and the new United States during that struggle. Of course, only men made up Congress; men alone led the armies that fought the British for American independence. And though we have some examples of women who fought alongside their husbands for the cause of independence (and some who disguised themselves as men to do so), it was men who mostly filled the ranks of the patriot and loyalist regiments. Women, however, in many ways helped the patriot cause by raising money for soldiers, managing the businesses and farms their soldier husbands left behind for the war, and acting as spies and informants for both sides. Women bore many of the burdens that either the loyalist or the patriot cause thrust upon them.

And women helped shape the new American government. Wives, mothers, and daughters discussed the new government and its constitution with their menfolk. Indeed, many of the patriot leaders had relationships of mutual affection and respect with their wives, which led them to respect their wives’ opinions.

One such couple was John and Abigail Adams. Both educated and intelligent, John and Abigail discussed political matters in conversation and by letter, leaving behind an extensive correspondence between them. Together, they envisioned a classical form of government, directed by a noble spirit that insisted on liberty and justice for all. (For Abigail, this meant giving some political power to women—an idea that John rejected.) Although Abigail was never present at the discussions on adopting a new constitution to replace the Articles of Confederation, she influenced the delegates through her husband, John.

Mercy Otis Warren, of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, was another important woman of the period. She was not only the sister of an early revolutionary leader, James Otis, but the wife of the Massachusetts legislator, James Warren, the mother of his five children, and a poet, playwright, and historian. It was in Mercy Warren’s Boston home (where she hosted political protest meetings) that Sam Adams and his allies organized the Committees of Correspondence. After the war, in 1788, she published a book, *Observations on the New Constitution*, in which she opposed the constitution that would be proposed to replace the Articles of Confederation because it gave too much power to the central government.

Mercy Warren was a friend of John and Abigail Adams until, in 1805, she published a three-volume history of the revolution in which she criticized John Adams. It was not until 1812 that Mercy Warren reestablished her friendship with the Adams. Mercy Otis Warren died in 1814, at the age of 86.



Mercy Otis Warren

sovereignty: supreme power, especially over a nation or other political group
duty: a tax, especially on imports or exports

Every state, said the Articles, “shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them.” The union of the states, the Articles said, “shall be perpetual.” In this way, the Articles of Confederation limited the powers of the states. But if they limited state power, the Articles protected state **sovereignty**. “Each state,” they said, “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.” In other words, the states only gave up some of their powers but retained their fundamental independence. Thus, under the Articles of Confederation, the United States was more of an alliance of independent states than a united nation.

To protect its sovereignty and independence, each state, though it could have multiple representatives, received only one vote in Congress. Thus, states that had unequal populations had equal power in the central government. The Articles, furthermore, greatly limited the power of Congress. Congress had no power to collect taxes; instead, it had to rely on state contributions for the funds it needed to carry out its tasks. Nor could Congress place duties on foreign trade. If Congress decided to declare war, make treaties, or borrow money, it had to get the agreement of the delegates of nine of the 13 states. No change could be made in the Articles unless all the state legislatures agreed to it. This was a very difficult, if not, at times, mostly impossible task.

The Call for a New Government

It was not long before the Articles of Confederation began to show their weaknesses as a model for a national government. Congress had to rely on states for revenue, and since the states were unwilling to contribute to the national government, it was constantly short of money. Attempts to change this situation by amendments to the Articles failed, because such amendments had to be approved by all the states. The national government, moreover, could not fulfill the promises it had made in the Treaty of Paris to protect the property of loyalists in the states. Instead, states seized loyalist lands and forced the loyalists to leave the United States. Congress simply could not enforce its will in this matter. Nor could it settle disagreements between states; if such dissensions continued, they would destroy the union of the states that been forged in the revolution.

Foreign powers were taking advantage of the weakness of the United States government. Great Britain continued to hold on to forts in the Northwest that it had promised to abandon in the Treaty of Paris. When Congress complained, the British government retorted that the United States had themselves violated the treaty: they had not paid the debts they owed to Great Britain, nor had they protected loyalist property rights in the states. Spain, too, still held on to the settlements of Natchez and Vicksburg on the U.S. side of the Mississippi River and was protecting the Creek, Choctaw, and Cherokee tribes that were raiding American settlements on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers.

One lasting achievement of the first United States government was a body of laws Congress passed to govern the western territories (lying between the Appalachians and the Mississippi) gained from Great Britain after the war. Congress approved these laws, called the Northwest Ordinance (see sidebar), on July 13, 1787. The Ordinance governs United States territories to this day.

The Northwest Ordinance

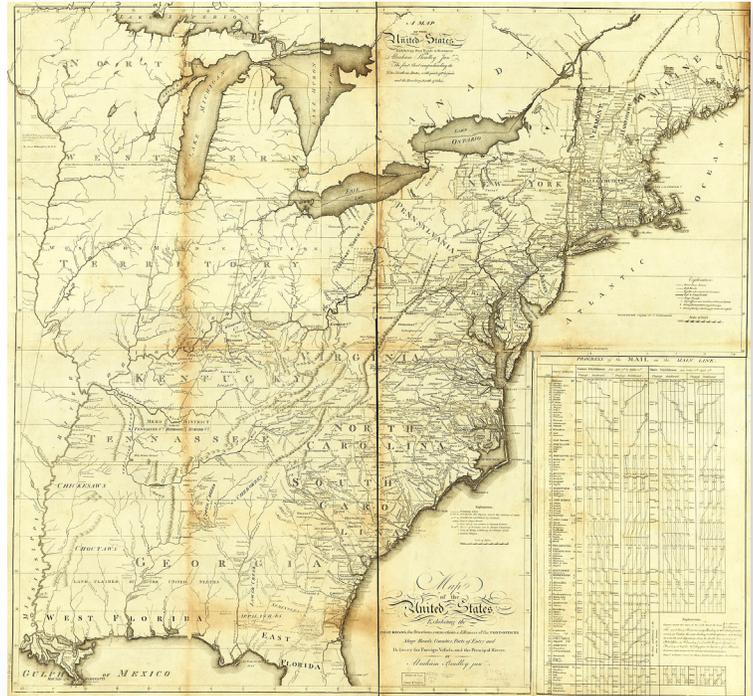
In 1785, Congress had approved an ordinance that opened up federal lands west of the Appalachian Mountains to private ownership. The sale of such lands not only was to provide Congress with needed funds and open lands for common people, but to enable speculators who had amassed title to thousands of acres before the revolution to realize immense profits off the sale of their lands. In 1787, Congress approved a body of laws called the Northwest Ordinance to give governmental organization to the newly settled regions of the western territory.

The Northwest Ordinance contained a number of important provisions. It divided the region west of the Appalachians and north of the Ohio River into five districts and established for each district a representative assembly (elected by the people), a governor (appointed by Congress), and a council of five men chosen by Congress from names submitted by the territorial assembly. Each district could become a state, equal in rights and privileges to the original states, when it attained a population of 60,000 free males. The Ordinance said townships in the territories were to be six miles square and divided into 36 sections, with the revenues of Section 16 in every township dedicated to a public school.

The Northwest Ordinance included a bill of rights for the territories. Such rights included the right of **habeas corpus** and trial by a jury of one's peers. It also guaranteed freedom of religion. In turn, the Ordinance decreed that territorial settlements had to provide for schools, since "religion, morality, and knowledge [are] necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind." The Ordinance forbade slavery in the Northwest Territory. Nevertheless, it stipulated that slaves who escaped to the territory had to be returned to their masters.

Relations between the natives and new settlers was of primary importance in the Northwest Ordinance. "The utmost good faith," said the Ordinance, "shall always be observed towards the Indians." Lands would not be taken from them "without their consent," nor would their property rights and liberty "be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress." Moreover, the Ordinance provided that "laws founded on justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to [the Indians], and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

habeas corpus: a right that protects citizens from illegal imprisonment



An old map of the Northwest Territory

But, even if it could, the Northwest Ordinance came too late to convince many Americans that the Articles of Confederation were an effective instrument of government. A rebellion in Massachusetts, for one thing, filled many with forebodings of the future. Heavy debts and tax burdens had weighed heavily on the

common farmers of Massachusetts—and when the state government did nothing to alleviate the burdens, the farmers rose in rebellion. Under their leaders, Daniel Shays, Eli Parsons, and Luke Day, farmers engaged state militia in three battles but were defeated in each instance. The rebellion, which had begun in January 1787, was crushed by March.

Though the Massachusetts militia had capably handled “Shays’ Rebellion,” some Americans pointed out that the federal government had been powerless to help. This, added to the fact that Congress could do nothing to settle disputes between states, induced Virginia and Maryland to call a convention of the states to discuss what could be done to make the Articles of Confederation a more effective instrument of government.

But only five states sent delegates to the convention that met at Annapolis, Maryland in September 1786. With such a paltry number, the only thing the delegates could do was call for another convention. Congress agreed, and on February 21, 1787, invited the states to send delegates to a convention that was to meet in Philadelphia. The goals of the convention were to be modest—it was only to revise the Articles of Confederation to make “the federal constitution adequate to the **exigencies** of government, and the preservation of the Union.” Several of the delegates who came to Philadelphia, however, had different goals. They did not want simply to revise the Articles of Confederation; they wanted to replace them with an entirely new system of government.

exigency: something that is necessary in a certain circumstance

Chapter 4 Review

Summary

- The ideas of the Declaration of Independence resonated with many people of various classes in France. Among some, the claims for “equality” and “liberty” matched their own desires, at least in the abstract. Still others saw in the American experiment the humiliation of England. England and France had been fighting each other for hundreds of years by the time the American Revolution broke out.
- Before and during the American Revolution, loyalists and neutral colonists were mistreated by those who favored independence from Britain.
- Louis XVI, the king of France, was at first reluctant to help the American Revolution. Then, following significant military victories by the Americans, he committed military forces to aid the Americans in their fight against Great Britain.
- At Yorktown, British general Cornwallis surrendered his army to Washington on October 19, 1781. Though for over a year, violence continued to rage between settlers and Indians allied with the British in the lands west of the Appalachians, Yorktown was the battle that effectively ended the war.
- Two Treaties of Paris, signed in 1782 and 1783, marked the end of the war for American independence, settled the boundaries of the United States, and provided for division of the lands in North America that remained in European hand
- The colonies had their own governmental structures before they achieved independence from Britain. These colonial governments had elements in common with each other, but were not identical. Some were of a mixed sort, bringing together elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, while others were dominated by their legislatures.
- After the Revolution, when states adopted lists of enumerated rights, they did so to limit the power, the authority, and influence of the government.
- Women exercised tremendous influence in the war years and in the years immediately following the revolutionary war. They made it possible for their sons and husbands to fight for the cause, and they provided material support for the war effort. Wives influenced their husbands in the application of the ideas of freedom to the formation of governments and constitutions.
- Pope Pius VI gave Catholics their first bishop and that bishop established the United States’ first seminary for the training of Catholic priests in 1791.
- Views about the role of religion in the life of a nation differed among Americans. At least at the beginning of the country’s united history, the question of the role of religion in civil society was left mostly to the states themselves to determine.
- The Articles of Confederation provided the United States with their first constitution. Under the Articles, each state had exactly one vote, no matter its geographical size or population, in the national legislature, called Congress. While, on paper at least, limiting state power in favor of the national government, the Articles maintained the states’ fundamental independence and sovereignty and created a weak central government.
- In 1787, the federal Congress approved a set of laws whose purpose was to provide for government of U.S. territories. This group of laws is called the Northwest Ordinance.
- Not long after the states ratified the Articles of Confederation, many people voiced doubts over the Articles’ ability to promote and safeguard the federal union. In the end, Congress approved the meeting of a convention of the states to approve a revision to the Articles.

Key Concepts

bourgeoisie: a group of persons within a society who are neither peasants nor nobles but who have learned a trade or a profession. They are sometimes called “middle class,” because they held a middle place between the aristocracy and the peasantry.

Chapter 4 Review (continued)

veto: the power or authority of one branch of government, usually the executive, to cancel or postpone the decisions or acts of another branch of government, usually the legislative. When legislators vote to reaffirm their decisions, this is called “**over-riding**” a veto.

disestablish: to un-make a state religion. Both before and after the Revolution, colonies in North America had established (i.e., government sponsored) churches, even in places where other religions existed as strong minority groups.

ratification: the act of confirming the decision of another. Sometimes “ratification” is a synonym of “sanction,” but the term “sanction” can also mean “express displeasure toward,” as in economic sanctions against another country, which is clearly not ratification.

sovereignty: the exercise of supreme authority within a nation, or within a political group

Habeas Corpus: the legal name for the right of an individual to be protected against wrongful imprisonment. If a person is imprisoned, a lawyer acting for him can seek a “writ of habeas corpus” from a judge to force the release of the prisoner or provide a written explanation for his imprisonment.

Dates to Remember

1777: Congress approves the Articles of Confederation and sends them to the states.

1779: Ratification of the Articles of Confederation by twelve of 13 states

1781: The Article of Confederation go formally into effect.

1781: Cornwallis surrenders to George Washington at Yorktown, Virginia.

1782: The first Treaty of Paris, signed in 1782, grants the United States their independence.

1783: The last British troops leave New York City.

1784: Pope Pius VI appoints John Carroll as prefect apostolic of the United States.

1786: The Virginia assembly adopts the Statute of Religious Liberty.

1787: Shays’ Rebellion

1787: Congress passes the Northwest Ordinance.

1789: Pope Pius VI appoints John Carroll first bishop of the United States

Central Characters

Marquis de Lafayette (Gilbert du Motier): a young French nobleman who typified the desire of many Frenchmen to support the cause of freedom in America

George Washington: a Virginian and a soldier whom Congress appointed chief commander of the war for independence

Benjamin Franklin: a Bostonian who served as America’s ambassador to Louis XVI, king of France, in an effort to get the king to support the revolutionaries with military supplies and manpower

Benedict Arnold: a successful revolutionary military leader who switched sides to fight for the British in the revolution

Sir Charles Cornwallis: British General who surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown, thus ending the war

John Adams: Massachusetts patriot and the main author of the post-war Massachusetts constitution

Charles Carroll: a Maryland gentleman and prominent patriot. A Catholic, Charles Carroll was the cousin of Father John Carroll, the first Catholic bishop in the United States of America.

John Carroll: a Jesuit priest, ordained in 1767, who became the first bishop of Baltimore, in Maryland, and thus the first Catholic bishop in the United States

Questions for Review

1. To whom were the “loyalists” loyal? Why were they loyal?
2. What country sent arms, ships, and men to help the Americans gain their independence from Great Britain?
3. Why did America’s revolution not follow the common path of revolutions and end in establishing a dictatorship?
4. How many of the state legislatures had to approve the Articles of Confederation for it to go into effect? How many were needed to amend it?

5. How did the two Treaties of Paris differ from each other?
6. What are the three forms of “pure” government? Why did John Adams not like any of them by itself?
7. In what ways did American women support the cause of independence?
8. What did the Articles of Confederation forbid state governments to do? What did it forbid the new Congress to do?
9. Why did Cornwallis lose the battle of Yorktown?
10. Who was the first bishop of Baltimore, and (therefore) the first bishop in the United States of America?

Ideas in Action

1. A common argument among historians, or at least among history teachers, centers around whether America is (or was founded as) a “Christian nation.” In order to answer such a question, two other questions need to be addressed. The first is, “What does it mean to be a Christian nation?” The second is, “What evidence would we use to support an opinion whether the United States is or was a Christian nation?” After the students have researched these questions, have the class split in three: one side arguing that America is a Christian nation (or was, at least, founded as one); another side taking the contrary position; and a third side supporting some kind of middle position.
2. In the Articles of Confederation, both the individual states and the new central government exercised sovereignty, but not over the same aspects of life, and not in the same ways. To some degree, this represents the Catholic teaching on subsidiarity, which Pope Pius XI in his 1931 encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, summarized in these words:

Just as it is gravely wrong to take from individuals what they can accomplish by their own initiative and industry and give it to the community, so also it is an injustice and at

the same time a grave evil and disturbance of right order to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do. For every social activity ought of its very nature to furnish help to the members of the body social, and never destroy and absorb them.

In what ways did the Articles provide support for the lower orders—the individual states, for example—but also protection for them against an invasive “higher order”?

3. Women did not have the right to vote in the United States, except in New Jersey, but this does not mean that they had no influence whatsoever on political and social matters. In what ways did women help to form the new country?

Highways and Byways

The Problem of France

In 1783, when the American colonies had gained their independence from England, storm clouds were gathering over France. Within ten years of the Treaty of Paris, France’s revolutionaries had executed their king and begun what became known as the Reign of Terror. A small but determined group of ordinary people in a region called the Vendée, however, refused to cooperate with the revolutionary agenda; they revolted against the revolution and were brutally crushed. Americans had appealed to King Louis XVI for help in their war with England’s King George III, but there is no evidence that these Americans then offered to help King Louis or—if they knew of them—the people of the Vendée in their struggle. Indeed, some Americans supported the revolutionary government in Paris. One reason the Americans may have been unwilling to help the Vendéans is that they called themselves the Royal and Catholic Army, proclaiming that they fought “for God and King.”

Remember, many Americans mistrusted both kings and Catholics; so, for them to proclaim sup-

Chapter 4 Review (continued)

port for people who supported both would have been difficult, even for those who disliked the bloodshed the Revolution had brought to France. Another reason may be that the “Enlightenment” ideas of the revolutionaries in France were very similar to those that motivated the Americans who had sought independence from Britain; and, for “enlightened” revolutionaries, whether French or American, King Louis

XVI and the Catholic Church represented tyranny, superstition, and a past which was quickly going away. Of course, not all Americans supported the French Revolution either. In a subsequent chapter, we’ll see how differences over that revolution help produce rival political factions in the early years of the United States.