
Chapter 6

Making War and Republican Governments 1776–1789

Teaching Resources

Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. How and why did the Americans win the War for Independence?
2. What were the limitations of the Articles of Confederation?
3. What were the contours of the debate over the ratification of the Constitution in 1787?
4. Why did Shays's Rebellion take place?

Chapter Annotated Outline

I. The Trials of War, 1776–1778

A. War in the North

1. Few observers thought that the rebels stood a chance of defeating the British; Great Britain had more people and more money with which to fight.
2. Few Indians supported the rebels; they were opposed to the expansion of white settlement.
3. The British were seasoned troops, and the Americans were militarily weak.
4. Prime Minister North assembled a large invasion force and selected General William Howe to lead it; North ordered Howe to capture New York City and seize control of the Hudson River in order to isolate the radical Patriots in New England from the other colonies.
5. General William Howe and his 32,000 British troops landed outside New York City in July 1776, just as the Continental

Congress was declaring independence in Philadelphia.

6. Outgunned and outmaneuvered, the Continental army retreated across the Hudson to New Jersey, then across the Delaware River to Philadelphia.
7. The British halted their campaign for the winter months, which allowed the Continental army a few minor triumphs that still could not mask British military superiority.

B. Armies and Strategies

1. General Howe's military strategy was one of winning the surrender of opposing forces, rather than destroying them; this tactic failed to nip the rebellion in the bud.
2. General Washington's strategy was to draw the British away from the seacoast, extending their lines of supply and draining their morale in a **war of attrition**.
3. The Continental army drew most of its recruits from the lower ranks of society, the majority of whom fought for a bonus of cash and land rather than out of patriotism.
4. The Continental army was also poorly provisioned and armed.
5. Given all these handicaps, Washington was fortunate to have escaped an overwhelming defeat in the first year of the war.

C. Victory at Saratoga

1. To finance the war the British ministry increased the land tax and prepared to mount a major campaign in 1777.
2. The primary British goal, the isolation of New England, was to be achieved with the help of General John Burgoyne, a small force of Iroquois, and General Howe.

3. Howe had a scheme of his own; he wanted to attack Philadelphia—home of the Continental Congress—and end the rebellion with a single victory.
 4. Washington and his troops withdrew from Philadelphia, and the Continental Congress fled to the interior, determined to continue the fight.
 5. General Burgoyne’s troops were forced to surrender to General Horatio Gates and his men at Saratoga, New York.
 6. The American victory at Saratoga was the turning point of the war and virtually ensured the success of a military alliance with France.
- D. Social and Financial Perils
1. Wartime difficulties after the victory at Saratoga included a British naval blockade that cut supplies of European manufactures, the occupation of Boston and other major cities, and rising unemployment for urban and rural workers.
 2. Faced with a shortage of goods and rising prices, government officials began requisitioning goods directly from the people; women’s wartime efforts increased farm household productivity and also boosted their self-esteem (and prompted some women to expect greater rights in the new republican society).
 3. The fighting exposed tens of thousands of civilians to displacement and death. Soldiers from both armies looted, raped, and burned farms. Civilians on both sides punished those they deemed disloyal by imposing taxes, fines, and beatings.
 4. On the brink of bankruptcy, the new state governments printed paper money that was worth very little.
 5. Lacking the authority to impose taxes, the Continental Congress borrowed gold from France. When those funds were exhausted, Congress also printed currency and bills of credit, which quickly declined in value.
 6. Farmers refused to sell their crops for worthless currency, even to the Continental army. Either out of pacifism or the hopes of higher prices, farmers either hoarded their grains or accepted the gold or silver for their crops that only the British could pay.
 7. Military morale crumbled, causing some Patriot leaders to doubt that the rebellion could succeed.
 8. The Continental army suffered from lack of necessities; the winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge took as many lives as two years of fighting.
9. To counter falling morale, Baron von Steuben instituted a system of drill and maneuver that shaped the smaller Continental army into a much tougher and better-disciplined force.
- II. The Path to Victory, 1778–1783
- A. The French Alliance
1. Although France and America were unlikely partners, the French were intent on avenging their loss of Canada to Britain in the French and Indian War.
 2. Upon learning of the American victory at Saratoga, French foreign minister Comte de Vergennes sought a formal alliance with the Continental Congress.
 3. The Treaty of Alliance of 1778 specified that neither France nor America would sign a separate peace agreement before America’s independence was ensured.
 4. In return, the American diplomats pledged that their government would recognize any French conquests in the West Indies.
 5. Alliance with the French gave the American army access to supplies and money, strengthening the army and giving it new hope.
 6. Upon the urging of Washington, Congress reluctantly agreed to grant officers half pay after the war for a period of seven years.
 7. The war became increasingly unpopular in Britain as its people grew tired of being taxed, while some actually agreed with Americans’ demands for greater rights.
 8. In 1778, Parliament repealed the Tea and Prohibitory Acts and renounced its power to tax the colonies.
 9. Britain’s offer to return to the constitutional condition that existed before the Sugar and Stamp Acts were rejected by the Continental Congress due in part to its alliance with France.
- B. War in the South
1. American allies had ulterior motives for joining the war: France concentrated its forces in the West Indies because it wanted to capture a rich sugar island; Spain loaned naval assistance because it wanted to regain Florida and Gibraltar.
 2. The British strategy was to capture the rich tobacco and rice-growing colonies and to take advantage of racial divisions in the South.

3. By the end of 1779, Sir Henry Clinton and his men had reconquered Georgia, and in 1780, Lord Cornwallis and his men took control of South Carolina.
 4. The tide of the battle turned when the Dutch declared war against Britain and the Marquis de Lafayette convinced Louis XVI to send French troops to America.
 5. General Nathanael Greene devised a new military strategy: divide the militiamen into small groups with strong leaders so that they could harass the less mobile British.
 6. His troops weakened by the war of attrition, abandoned by the British navy, and surrounded by the French navy and Washington's Continental army, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781.
 7. Isolated diplomatically in Europe, stymied militarily in America, and lacking public support at home, Britain gave up prosecution of the war.
- C. The Patriot Advantage
1. Angry members of Parliament demanded an explanation for how a mighty country such as Britain could be defeated by a motley colonial army; the ministry blamed the military leadership, pointing with some justification to a series of military blunders.
 2. The Patriots had experienced politicians who commanded public support and, in George Washington, an inspired leader who recruited outstanding officers to shape the new Continental army.
 3. The Continental army was fighting on its own territory with the assistance of militiamen who could be mobilized at crucial moments, and also had support from France.
 4. Americans themselves preferred Patriot rule and refused to support Loyalist forces or accept occupation by the British army.
- D. Diplomatic Triumph
1. In the Treaty of Paris, signed September 1783, Great Britain recognized independence of its seaboard colonies and relinquished claims to lands south of the Great Lakes.
 2. This land, between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, was the domain of undefeated, pro-British Indian peoples.
 3. Leaving the Native Americans to their fate, British negotiators did not insist on a separate Indian territory and promised to withdraw their garrisons quickly.
 4. Other treaty provisions granted Americans North Atlantic fishing rights, forbade the British from "carrying away any negroes or other property," and guaranteed freedom of navigation on the Mississippi.
 5. The American government promised to allow British merchants to recover prewar debts and to encourage the state legislatures to return confiscated property to Loyalists and grant them citizenship.
 6. The British made peace with France and Spain with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.
 7. Only Americans profited greatly from the treaties; they gained independence from Britain and opened up the interior of the North American continent for settlement.
- III. Creating Republican Institutions, 1776–1787
- A. The State Constitutions: How Much Democracy?
1. In 1776 Congress urged Americans to suppress royal authority and establish new governing institutions by writing state constitutions to achieve **republicanism**.
 2. The Declaration of Independence stated that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed."
 3. Pennsylvania's constitution abolished property owning as a test of citizenship, allowed all male taxpayers to vote and hold office, and created a unicameral legislature with complete power.
 4. John Adams denounced the Pennsylvania unicameral legislature as "so democratical that it must produce confusion and every evil work."
 5. In his *Thoughts on Government* (1776), Adams devised a system of government that dispersed authority by assigning law-making, administering, and judging to separate branches; called for a bicameral legislature in which the upper house, filled with property-owning men, would check the power of the popular majorities in the lower house; and proposed an elected governor with the power to veto laws and an appointed—not elected—judiciary to review them.
 6. Patriots endorsed Adams's system because it preserved representative government while restricting popular power, but were wary of a veto power for the governor and most states did retain property qualifications for voting.

7. The Adams bicameral legislature emerged as the dominant branch of government, and state constitutions apportioned seats on the basis of population.
 8. Most of the state legislatures were filled by new sorts of political leaders; ordinary citizens increasingly chose to elect men of “middling circumstances” rather than electing their social “betters.”
 9. Only in Vermont and Pennsylvania were radical Patriots able to take power and create democratic institutions, yet everywhere representative legislatures had more power and the day-to-day politics became much more responsive to the demands of average citizens.
- B. Women Seek a Public Voice
1. Upper-class women entered into the debate but remained second-class citizens unable to participate directly in politics.
 2. The republican quest for educated citizenry provided the avenue for the most important advances made by American women.
- C. The Loyalist Exodus
1. As the war turned in favor of the Patriots, thousands of Loyalists emigrated to the West Indies, Britain, and Canada.
 2. While some Loyalist lands were either sold or given to Patriot tenants, in general the revolutionary upheaval did not alter the structure of rural communities.
 3. Social turmoil was greatest in the cities as Patriot merchants replaced Tories at the top of the economic ladder.
 4. The war replaced a tradition-oriented economic elite—one that invested its profits from trade in real estate and became landlords—with a group of entrepreneurial-minded republican merchants who promoted new trading ventures and domestic manufacturing.
- D. The Articles of Confederation
1. The Articles of Confederation were passed by Congress in November 1777 and ratified in 1781.
 2. The Articles provided for a loose confederation in which each state retained its independence as well as the powers and rights not “expressly delegated” to the United States.
 3. The confederation government was given the authority to declare war and peace, make treaties, and adjudicate disputes between states, print money, and requisition funds from the states.
4. A major weakness under the Articles was that Congress lacked the authority to impose taxes.
 5. Robert Morris persuaded Congress to charter the Bank of North America in the hope that its notes could stabilize the inflated Continental currency.
 6. The Confederation refused Morris’s proposal for an import duty to raise revenues for the national government.
 7. Instead, Congress asserted the Confederation’s title to the trans-Appalachian West in order to sell it and raise additional revenue for the government.
 8. In 1783 Congress negotiated with Native American tribes to obtain new western lands. It created the Southwest Territory, the future states of Alabama and Mississippi, on lands ceded by North Carolina and Georgia. Slavery was allowed.
 9. The Northwest Territory was established, and three ordinances in the 1780s provided for its orderly settlement while reducing the prospect of secessionist movements and dependent “colonies” of the states.
- E. Shays’s Rebellion
1. In the East, peace brought recession: the British Navigation Acts barred Americans from trading with the British West Indies, and low-priced British goods flooded American markets.
 2. State governments were saddled with large war debts in the form of bonds, which speculators demanded state governments redeem quickly, and at full value, a policy that required high taxes; yet yeomen farmers and artisans, hard hit by the postwar recession, demanded and were given tax relief.
 3. To assist indebted yeomen, many states printed more paper currency and passed laws allowing debtors to pay their creditors in installments.
 4. The lack of such debtor-relief legislation in Massachusetts provoked an armed uprising led by Captain Daniel Shays, known as Shays’s Rebellion—as a struggle against taxes imposed a distant government.
 5. To preserve its authority, Massachusetts passed a Riot Act outlawing illegal assemblies.
 6. Shays’s army dwindled during the winter of 1786–1787 and was dispersed by Governor James Bowdoin’s military force.
 7. Many families who had suffered while supporting the war felt that they had

traded one kind of tyranny for another; others feared the fate of the republican experiment.

IV. The Constitution of 1787

A. The Rise of a Nationalist Faction

1. Money questions dominated the postwar agenda, and officials looked at them from a national rather than a state perspective and became advocates of a stronger central government.
2. Without tariff revenues, Congress could not pay the interest on foreign debt, but key commercial states in the North and most planters in the South opposed national tariffs.
3. In 1786 the Virginia legislature met to discuss tariff and taxation policies and called for a convention in Philadelphia and a revision of the Articles of Confederation.

B. The Philadelphia Convention

1. In May 1787, delegates from every state except Rhode Island arrived in Philadelphia; most were “monied men” who supported creditors’ property rights and a central government.
2. George Washington was elected as presiding officer, and, to forestall popular opposition, decided to deliberate in secret.
3. The delegates exceeded their mandate to revise the Articles of Confederation and considered James Madison’s Virginia Plan for national government.
4. Madison’s plan favored national authority, called for a national republic that drew its authority from all the people and had direct power over them, and created a three-tiered national government in which the people would elect only the lower house of the legislature.
5. The plan had two flaws: citizens would oppose the national government’s vetoing of state laws, and small states would object because they would have less influence than larger states.
6. Delegates from the small states preferred the New Jersey Plan, which strengthened the Confederation by giving it the power to raise revenue, control commerce, and make binding requisitions on the states, but preserved the states’ control over their laws and guaranteed their equality.
7. The Virginia Plan was passed by a bare majority, but the final plan had to be acceptable to existing political interests and social groups.

8. A “Great Compromise” was accepted wherein the Senate would seat two members from each state, while seats in the House would be appointed on the basis of population.

9. The convention vested the judicial powers of the United States “in one supreme Court” and left the national legislature to decide whether to establish lower courts.
10. The convention placed the selection of the president in an electoral college chosen on a state-by-state basis.
11. Congress was denied the power to regulate slavery for twenty years.
12. To protect the property of southern slave owners and the notion of **free markets**, delegates agreed to a “fugitive” clause that allowed masters to reclaim enslaved blacks—or white indentured servants—who took refuge in other states; to mollify anti-slavery sentiment in the northern states, the delegates did not give slavery national legal recognition by explicitly mentioning it in the Constitution (which spoke instead of citizens and “all other Persons”).
13. The Constitution was to be the supreme law of the land, and national government was given power over taxation, military defense, and external commerce and given the power to make laws.
14. The Constitution, signed on September 17, 1787, mandated that the United States honor the national debt and restricted the ability of states’ governments to assist debtors.

C. The People Debate Ratification

1. The Constitution would go into effect upon ratification by special conventions in at least nine of the thirteen states.
2. Nationalists began calling themselves **Federalists** and launched a political campaign supporting the proposed Constitution through pamphlets and newspaper articles.
3. Antifederalists, opponents of the Constitution, feared losing their power at the state level and pointed out that it lacked a declaration of individual rights.
4. Well-educated Americans with traditional republican outlooks wanted the nation to remain a collection of small sovereign republics tied together only for trade and defense.
5. The Federalists pointed out that national

authority would be divided among a president, a bicameral legislature, and a judiciary and that each branch would check and balance the other.

6. Addressing an Antifederalist argument, Federalists promised to amend the Constitution with a national bill of rights.
7. Against great odds the Federalists had created a national republic and partly restored an elitist system of political authority. To endow their regime with moral legitimacy, Federalists placed a copy of the Constitution on an “altar of liberty,” using sacred symbolism to lay the foundations for a secular “**civil religion**” of American nationality.

Key Terms

war of attrition A military strategy of small-scale attacks used usually by the weaker side to sap the resources and morale of the stronger side. Examples include the attacks carried out by Patriot militias in the South during the War of Independence, and the guerilla tactics of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese during the Vietnam War. (179)

republicanism A political ideology that repudiates rule by kings and princes and celebrates a representative system of government and a virtuous, public-spirited citizenry. Historically, most republics have limited active political participation to those with a significant amount of property. After 1800 the United States became a democratic republic, with widespread participation by white adult men of all social classes and, after 1920, by adult women. (183)

free market A system of economic exchange in which prices are determined by supply and demand and no producer or consumer dominates the market. The term also refers to markets that are not subject to government regulation. (194)

Federalists Supporters of the Constitution of 1787, which created a strong central government, were called Federalists; those who feared that a strong central government would corrupt the nation’s newly won liberty were called Antifederalists. (195)

civil religion A term used by historians to refer to a religious-like reverence for various political institutions and ideologies. An example is the belief in republicanism after the American Revolution. (200)

Lecture Strategies

1. Write a lecture that asks, then answers, the following questions: How did the British lose? How did the Americans win? In your analysis you can note that the British had far superior military power but had difficulty supplying their troops and were plagued by indecisive generals who hesitated to use the full force of their armies. This hesitation was fatal because the Americans, having the support of the majority of the population and fighting on their home soil, needed only to evade the British and wait for them to lose the will to continue. Be sure to comment on the role of France and Spain in the War for Independence.
2. Write a lecture that explains the formation and major limitations of the Articles of Confederation. Be sure to explain the complexities surrounding how the government functioned during the Revolutionary War, and the problems that the nation experienced as a result of the new Articles of Confederation. This lecture will provide the context for a subsequent lecture that explains why and how the United States formed a permanent constitution in 1787.
3. Write a lecture that relates the struggles of the Revolutionary leaders in their attempt to form a permanent Constitution in 1787. Describe the conditions under which the delegates labored in Philadelphia. This lecture provides instructors with the opportunity to probe the way economic interests motivated the “Founding Fathers” as they formed the new U.S. government. Be sure to also explain the competing plans formed by the delegates to revise the Articles of Confederation.
4. Write a lecture that examines the predicament of slaves, women, and Native Americans during the Revolutionary era. Each group played key roles in the Revolution. Many slaves were forced to labor for either the British or the Continental armies, whereas others fled to the frontier. Women shouldered the burdens of administering households and farms in the absence of many men sent to the armies. Native Americans sought alliances, mostly with the British, which they reasoned would provide them the greatest benefit after the war. Who benefited and who lost from these arrangements? Why?

Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the

Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

The Trials of War, 1776–1778 (pp. 170–177)

1. Why were British forces militarily superior to American forces in the first years of the war? How did the Americans sustain the Revolution between 1776 and 1778?
 - Britain had a larger population than the colonies, had access to more wealth, a more powerful navy and army, a more experienced officer corps, and possessed Indian allies in North America.
 - Patriots took advantage of winter weather to retreat and increase their forces, create surprise attacks against the British, and achieve small but important military victories that provided moral support to keep fighting. General Howe of the British refused to destroy the Continental army; instead he wanted them to surrender, which gave the rebellion a chance to continue.
2. Who was most to blame for Britain's failure to win a quick victory over the American rebels—General Howe, General Burgoyne, or the ministers in London? Explain your answer.
 - General Howe was most responsible: Rather than destroying the rebels, Howe encouraged Congress to surrender, buying the rebels further time during the winter of 1777 to improve their forces.
 - Howe's slow and misguided attack against Philadelphia contributed to General Burgoyne's loss at Saratoga, New York.
3. What were the most important economic and fiscal problems facing the Patriots at the outset of the war? How successful were they in addressing them?
 - Problems included a lack of money to operate a new rebel government, lack of military supplies, a British naval blockade, which cut off manufactured goods and disrupted domestic fishing and farming, and rampant inflation due to overproduction of paper currency.
 - Patriots were relatively successful in overcoming these problems, buying more time to continue the rebellion. They relied on the domestic production of women, the donations of clothing from the civilian population, and loans from Holland and France.

The Path to Victory, 1778–1783 (pp. 177–183)

1. Why did Britain switch to a southern military strategy? Why did that strategy ultimately fail?
 - Many factors contributed to the switch: Britain could exploit racial divisions within southern society, take advantage of Native American allies like the Cherokees, and utilize the larger number of Loyalists present in the southern than northern colonies. In addition, there were French attacks in the West Indies, the southern slave colonies were more wealthy,
 - The strategy ultimately failed because of colonial use of guerilla tactics in the Carolinas, Holland's declaration of war against Britain, and the French dispatching troops to the North American mainland. French naval forces helped to defeat the British southern strategy.
2. How did the French alliance ensure the success of the American rebellion?
 - France, a large nation, initially provided the colonies with a secret loan and tons of gunpowder, and opened up diplomatic channels with American leaders. Both nations wanted to defeat Britain, and signed the Treaty of Alliance in 1778, which specified that neither partner would sign a separate peace with Britain.
3. The text argues that "it was the American people who decided the outcome of the war." Based on the evidence presented in the chapter, do you agree? Why or why not?
 - American civilians were key to the success of the war in their choice to volunteer for the armed forces, to donate clothing and other material for the war effort, and to increase domestic home production by women to meet wartime needs.

Creating Republican Institutions, 1776–1787 (pp. 183–192)

1. What were the main differences between conservative state constitutions, like that of Massachusetts, and more democratic constitutions, like Pennsylvania's?
 - Pennsylvania's constitution abolished property ownership as test of citizenship, granted taxpaying men the right to vote and hold office, and created a unicameral legislature with complete power and no upper house. The governor lacked veto power.

- Massachusetts's constitution restricted office holding to elite property holders, and had a bicameral legislature with an upper house composed of elite property holders, a mixed government with separate functions, an elected governor with the power to veto laws, and an appointed judiciary.
2. Was there a consensus among different social groups about the meaning of American's republican revolution? What evidence does the chapter provide?
 - Women saw the revolution as an opportunity to assert claims to gender equality through participation in the male realm of politics.
 - Working-class Americans viewed the republican revolution as an opportunity to increase their wealth and achieve class equality with elite farmers, merchants, and planters.
 - Loyalists viewed the revolution as anti-English. Over 100,000 Loyalists fled the British North American colonies.
 3. What were the causes of Shays's Rebellion?
 - Grim postwar conditions included economic recession, a disrupted economy, and a shattered economic infrastructure.
 - Wealthy merchants and landowners had purchased state debt certificates during the war at lower than face value, then required taxes to be raised in order to redeem them after the war.
 - By 1780s middling farmers and artisans now controlled lower houses of state legislatures.
 - In Massachusetts, where farmers could not pay their debts nor seek debt relief legislation passed by other states, creditors threatened them with lawsuits.
 - To prevent loss of property and imprisonment, middling farmers created extralegal conventions that called for closing debtor courts by force, leading to outright rebellion.
- Delegates met in Philadelphia in 1787 to revise the Articles. They created two plans: The Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan.
2. How did the Philadelphia convention resolve three contentious political issues: the representation of large and small states, slavery, and state sovereignty?
 - The delegates created a new government based on a combination of the New Jersey and Virginia plans, creating a bicameral legislature that reflected the needs of small and large states. Every state was allowed to send two members to the Senate, while in the House the largest states would have the most representatives.
 - Slavery issues were resolved by placing a twenty-year moratorium on the Atlantic Slave Trade; treating other aspects of slavery as political rather than moral issues; agreeing to a fugitive slave cause that allowed masters to reclaim slaves who escaped to other states; refusing to mention slavery in the Constitution; and compromising over the issue of counting slaves in determining a state's representation in Congress.
 - State sovereignty was preserved by restricting the central powers of the national government through the use of state rather than national courts. Voters in national elections did not have to be landowners, and the president of the nation would be chosen by an electoral college chosen on a state-by-state basis.
 3. Why did the Antifederalists oppose the Constitution?
 - Antifederalists opposed the Constitution because they felt that state governments would lose power, because the Constitution lacked a declaration of individual rights, and because they feared that the government would be run by wealthy men.

The Constitution of 1787 (pp. 192–200)

1. What were the central problems of the Articles of Confederation and how did the delegates to the Philadelphia convention address them?
 - The main problem was a loose central government. Other issues included the lack of a separate executive branch, the format of the judiciary, the fact that each state possessed one vote regardless of population, and a unicameral legislature.

Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 6 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. The text states that Saratoga was the turning point of the War of Independence. Do you agree? Explain your answer.
 - Saratoga was a turning point for many reasons: It proved that capturing the colonial capital could not stop the rebellion, resulted in the capture of over 5,000 British troops and equipment,

and ensured the success of American diplomats in France.

2. How revolutionary was the American Revolution? What political, social, and economic changes did it produce? What stayed the same?

- *Changes:* There was a cultural fragmentation of the British world. Federalism and republicanism replaced monarchy and deference as fundamental principles of the Revolution. The colonial relationship with Britain was destroyed. The Atlantic slave trade was condemned and outlawed by 1808. Non-elite men achieved a great role in determining the government system that ruled over them.
- *Status quo:* Women remained second-class citizens, slavery remained a legal institution for African American people, Native Americans continued to be viewed as outsiders who had a minimum role to play in the independence movement, and elite white men continued to control national affairs.

3. Why was the Constitution a controversial document even as it was being written?

- The need to balance several competing issues, such as the role of large and small states, the raising of national revenues, the development of slavery, and the scope of national government and its power over individual states kept the Constitution controversial.

4. Both the Federalists and the Antifederalists claimed to represent the true spirit of the Revolution. Which group do you think was right? Why?

- Antifederalists most represented the aims of the Revolution because they remained wary of centralized control and the tendency of governments to become despotic and ruled by wealthy men, championed a declaration of individual rights, and feared that smaller state governments would lose power in a large centralized system.

Class Discussion Starters

1. How did the Americans win the War of Independence?

Possible answers

- a. By gradually learning to avoid the British in the open field, the short-term militia soldiers kept from being outnumbered and outmaneuvered by seasoned professionals.

- b. The Americans evaded the British forces, defended themselves, and kept the Continental army intact. Occasionally, they struck offensively at the enemy to improve morale.

- c. They drew the French into an alliance. When this happened, the British had to realign their land and naval forces to confront the French in the West Indies and in other imperial holdings. This diminished the British ability to concentrate their power solely against Washington's army.

- d. Popular support sustained the army and the cause in spite of Loyalists, British occupation of major cities, invasions, and near civil war in the South.

- e. French military support in the campaign of 1781 enabled Washington to trap Cornwallis against the sea, which was controlled by Admiral de Grasse.

2. What types of social changes were caused by the American Revolution?

Possible answers

- a. Several thousand black slaves escaped to the British side. A growing movement to abolish slavery developed in the North.

- b. Social rhetoric was republicanized, emphasizing unity and equality.

- c. Loyalists departed from some colonies but probably in small numbers overall. This resulted in a degree of social mobility.

- d. Soldiers and militiamen, as well as women at home who did the farm work and made home-spun cloth, felt empowered and enjoyed increased self-esteem. They felt they were contributing to a political system in which they had an important stake.

- e. The same ruling class continued in power throughout the war, but the artisan class was further empowered by the rise of republican ideology.

3. What were the various motives of the men who wanted to reform the Articles of Confederation and establish a strong national government?

Possible answers

- a. To provide a sounder financial footing for the national government.

- b. To prevent the abuses of democracy from leading to chaos and civil war.

- c. To make America an equal among other countries.
- d. To reverse the populist gains of the Declaration and the Revolution so that merchants, elites, and creditors could regain control of the government and counteract the pro-debtor policies of the states.

4. In what ways were the Articles of Confederation a success or a failure?

Possible answers

- a. *Success:* They established a western land policy and planned for the admission of new states into the Union. This prevented rebellions in the United States.
- b. *Success:* They managed to guide the country during a period when political energy was focused on the states. Moreover, the government under the Articles recognized its own shortcomings and participated in the movement for reform.
- c. *Failure:* They provided no central financial authority and left the government unable to establish policy because it had no power to tax and raise revenues except customs duties.
- d. *Failure:* With few checks and balances, a tyranny of the majority developed, and resistance by disgruntled minorities in the states increased.

5. Why did Antifederalists oppose the Constitution?

Possible answers

- a. They were suspicious of eastern creditors, “monied men,” and merchants in the coastal cities.
- b. Having just ended a war to throw off a central government that was unresponsive to local concerns, they did not want to replace it with another.
- c. They were worried that interests outside their area, unconnected to them and thus with no representation by them, would pass laws to annihilate state and local governments.
- d. They feared the power of centralized taxation and the corruption it would bring.
- e. They feared that a large, centralized republic would degenerate into despotism, eventually creating opposition and civil war.

6. Was the Constitution more or less democratic than the state constitutions and the Articles of Confederation?

Possible answers

- a. *Less:* In its creation of a president with veto power elected indirectly by the people, a Senate of older men elected from each state, and a judiciary that could determine the constitutionality of laws passed by Congress, the new government ensured that a small elite would rule in spite of the direct wishes of the people.
- b. *Less:* By restricting the power of the states, the Constitution restricted the right of people in different states to rule themselves.
- c. *More:* It supported broader suffrage and provided increased civil rights (by implication) for women.
- d. *More:* By including a Bill of Rights backed by federal supremacy, it assured that the central government would defend the rights of all citizens.

Classroom Activities

1. Divide the class into two groups: Patriots vs. the British. Then pose the question, How did the Americans win the Revolutionary War? Ask both sides to come up with an answer, listing their reasons. Then reconvene the class and write each group’s responses on the board. Be sure to save enough time to allow one group to respond to the other’s “case” for why Britain lost, and the United States won.
2. To help students understand the complexities of the debate surrounding the formation of the U.S. Constitution in 1787, divide the class into either (1) Federalists vs. Antifederalists or (2) New Jersey Plan vs. Virginia Plan advocates. Then ask the students: What kind of new government should be created in the wake of the Revolution? A very spirited debate should emerge from this discussion.

Oral History Exercise

- Ask the students to conduct an Internet search in which they examine various Web sites on the American Revolution, with a goal of finding sites that use oral history as part of the database. Then ask them how oral history as a historical research tool adds or detracts from the overall presentation of the Web site.

Working with Documents

COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES

The First National Debate over Slavery (p. 196)

- At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, what were the main arguments for and against federal restrictions on the Atlantic slave trade? How do you explain the position taken by the Connecticut delegates in Philadelphia and Mr. Heath in the Massachusetts debate?
 - Against slave trade:* Inconsistent with principles of Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character
 - For slave trade:* Slavery is an economic investment void of religious or moral concerns; the decision to prohibit the slave trade lies with the states and not the federal government.
 - Connecticut delegates:* States hold the right to allow slavery based on a states-rights argument. Industrial and trade connections between northeastern states and southern slave-owning states also influenced their opinion.
 - Mr. Heath:* His opinion was shaped by Christian sensibilities viewing slavery as a sin, his support of federalism through the power of the federal government to prevent new states from allowing slavery, and a belief in the sanctity of free white labor over slave labor.
- Why did George Mason, a Virginia slave owner, demand a prohibition of the Atlantic slave trade?
 - Britain had forced the slave trade on the colonists, who had tried to stop it repeatedly.
 - It would allow the southern states to sell slaves to western states rather than import Africans.
 - Slave imports prevented white immigration, a large and productive labor pool needed by the United States.
 - He believed the Christian God would judge the United States based on its actions in this matter.
- What evidence of regional tensions do you see in the documents? Several men from different states—Mason from Virginia, Ellsworth from Connecticut, and Heath from Massachusetts—offered predictions about the future of slavery. How accurate were they?
 - Virginia slaveholders wanted to abolish the slave trade to increase the value of its slaves and sell surplus slaves inland to new western states, while

South Carolina and Georgia wanted to continue to import new slaves to improve the less-developed region.

- Connecticut advocated freeing of slaves in the United States since the slavery issue is based on moral and not economic grounds.
- Accuracy of predictions:* Slavery prevents white immigration to regions where slave labor is abundant; slavery decreases industrial development; South Carolina would not be party to the union over slavery issues one day; slavery was vital to the economies of the southern states over time.
- Inaccuracy (Heath):* Slavery will decrease in importance economically in the United States over time. Southerners will one day argue against slavery.

VOICES FROM ABROAD

Baroness Von Riedesel: The Surrender of Burgoyne, 1777 (p. 175)

- What light, if any, does Von Riedesel's account shed on the Battle of Saratoga? How reliable a witness was she?
 - A very reliable witness, though located in the rear with the wounded; she experienced cannon attack and retreat with General Burgoyne.
 - She reveals the movements of troops, character of Burgoyne, weather conditions, impact of artillery, role of women, and the conditions of wounded in the rear.
- What does the presence of the baroness, her children, and the wives of several British officers suggest about the nature of eighteenth-century warfare?
 - Eighteenth-century warfare was a "family affair" and included "camp followers," women and often children who were the relatives of officers and enlisted men.
 - Women were regular participants in both army camps and on battlefields, and were crucial in assisting male soldiers.

Reading American Pictures

Did the Revolution Promote Women's Rights? (p. 187)

- The illustration on the left appeared at the front of *The Lady's Magazine and Repository of Entertain-*

ing, which was published in Philadelphia in 1792. The magazine contained excerpts from Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), which explicitly linked the republican ideology of the American and French revolutions with women's rights. What sort of clothing are the women wearing? Whom do they represent? Do you think this imagery was empowering to women at that time? Why or why not?

- The women wear Roman style clothing and carry shields, spears, and scepters, as if they represent Roman senators or even Greek goddesses, bearing their shoulders and even breasts to the viewer.
 - Women were not always encouraged to engage in scholarly or literary pursuits, let alone take leadership roles at the time. The image of a woman carrying a spear, and another a scepter, while yet another holds out a document was empowering to women because of the confining gender roles held by women in late eighteenth-century American society.
2. The engraving on the right urges women to “Keep Within Compass.” What does this phrase mean? What does it mean in the context of the picture? Look at the smaller pictures on the lower left and lower right. What do they suggest might happen to women who challenge their place in society?
- Stay within traditional gender roles and do not challenge male rule, remain within the home and garden, and tend to children.
 - Women will become the victims of men if they “enter into the way of the wicked,” which included going out at night.

Electronic Media

Web Sites

- *Spy Letters of the American Revolution*
www.si.umich.edu/spies/index-timeline.html
This site, provided by the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, reveals copies of spy letters from the Sir Henry Clinton collection.
- *Birth of the U.S. Navy*
<http://www.history.navy.mil/>
This site from the Naval Historical Center provides the early history of the U.S. Navy.
- *Folk Music of the American Revolution*
www.members.aol.com/bobbyj164/mrev.htm
This site provides folk music of the Independence era.

- Religion and the Founding of the American Republic

www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion

This Library of Congress Web site connects religion with the creation of the new U.S. government.

Films

- “Africans in America: Revolution” (1998, PBS documentary, 360 minutes)
Directed by Orlando Bagwell, this multipart documentary provides a segment on the role of blacks in the Revolution. For the accompanying Web site, see www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/home.html. See also a Canadian Web site on the experience of blacks during the Revolution, “Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities in Nova Scotia” (museum.gov.ns.ca/blackloyalists)
- *Liberty! The American Revolution* (1997, PBS documentary, 360 minutes)
A lengthy and dramatic rendering of the key events of the American Revolution. See also www.pbs.org/ktca/liberty/, a Web site that accompanies the PBS film series *Liberty!*

Literature

- James Kirby Martin, ed., *Ordinary Courage: The Revolutionary War Adventures of Joseph Plumb Martin*, rev. ed. (St. James, NY: Brandywine Press, 1999)
The standard primary account of a common soldier's recollections of fighting against the British.

Additional Bedford/St. Martin's Resources for Chapter 6

FOR INSTRUCTORS

Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 6 are available as full-color acetates:

- The Battle of Bunker Hill
- Map 6.1 Patriot and Loyalist Strongholds
- Map 6.2 The War in the North, 1776–1777
- Map 6.3 Native Americans and the War in the West, 1778–1779
- Map 6.4 The War in the South, 1778–1781
- Map 6.5 New Spain's Northern Empire, 1763–1800

- Frontispiece from *Ladies' Magazine*, 1792
- “Keep Within Compass,” c. 1785
- Map 6.6 The Confederation and Western Land Claims
- Map 6.7 Land Division in the Northwest Territory
- Map 6.8 Ratifying the Constitution of 1787

Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 6, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 6.1 Patriot and Loyalist Strongholds
- Map 6.2 The War in the North, 1776–1777
- Map 6.3 Native Americans and the War in the West, 1778–1779
- Map 6.4 The War in the South, 1778–1781
- Map 6.5 New Spain's Northern Empire, 1763–1800
- Map 6.6 The Confederation and Western Land Claims
- Map 6.7 Land Division in the Northwest Territory
- Map 6.8 Ratifying the Constitution of 1787
- Figure 6.1 Middling Men Enter the Halls of Government, 1765–1790
- The Battle of Bunker Hill
- Losing the War of Public Opinion
- Frontispiece for *Ladies' Magazine*, 1792
- “Keep Within Compass,” c. 1785

Using the Bedford Series with *America's History*, Sixth Edition

Available online at bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries, this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 6 include

- *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Confrontations that Shaped a Nation* by Noble E. Cunningham Jr., *University of Missouri-Columbia*
- *Creating an American Culture, 1775-1800, A Brief History with Documents* by Eve Kornfeld, *San Diego State University*
- *THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN with Related Documents*, Second Edition, Edited with an Introduction by Louis P. Masur, *City College of the City University of New York*
- *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents* by Jack N. Rakove, *Stanford University*
- *THE FEDERALIST* by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay: *The Essential Essays*, Edited with an Introduction by Jack N. Rakove, *Stanford University*
- *Benjamin and William Franklin: Father and Son,*

Patriot and Loyalist by Sheila L. Skemp, *University of Mississippi*

- *COMMON SENSE and Related Writings* by Thomas Paine, Edited with an Introduction by Thomas P. Slaughter, *University of Notre Dame*
- *NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA* by Thomas Jefferson with *Related Documents*, Edited with an Introduction by David Waldstreicher, *Temple University*

FOR STUDENTS

Documents to Accompany *America's History*

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 6 of the companion reader by Melvin Yazawa, *University of New Mexico*:

1. Gouverneur Morris, The Poor Reptiles (1774)
2. Lord Dunmore, A Proclamation (1775)
3. Samuel Johnson, On Liberty and Slavery (1775)
4. William Smith, Jr., Rule for My Own Conduct (1776)
5. Continental Congress to the Iroquois Confederacy (1775)
6. Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, Number I (December 1776)
7. Sarah Osborn, An Account of Life with the Army (1780–1783)
8. Jacob Francis, An African Recounts His War Service (1775–1777)
9. John Struthers, An Account of War on the Frontier (1777–1782)
10. Civil War in the Southern Backcountry (1781)
11. British Perceptions of the War of Independence (1776, 1778)
12. The Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776)
13. Virginia Statutes of Religious Freedom (1786)
14. Abigail Adams, Boston Women Support Price Control (1777)
15. John Heckewelder, Pachgantschihilas Warns about the Long Knives (1781)
16. Proslavery Petitioners in Virginia (1785)
17. James Madison, Vices of the Political System of the United States (1787)
18. Elbridge Gerry, A Warning to the Delegates About Leveling (1787)
19. George Clinton, An Attack on the Proposed Federal Constitution (1787)
20. James Madison, *The Federalist*, No. 10 (1787)
21. James Madison, *The Federalist*, No. 54 (1787)

Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/henretta

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills his-

torians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 6:

Map Activity

- Map 6.4 The War in the South, 1778–1781

Visual Activity

- Reading American Pictures: *Did the Revolution Promote Women's Rights?*

Reading Historical Documents Activities

- Comparing American Voices: *The First National Debate Over Slavery*
- Voices from Abroad: Baroness von Riedesel: *The Surrender of Burgoyne, 1777*

Critical Thinking Modules at bedfordstmartins.com/historymodules

These online modules invite students to interpret maps, audio, visual, and textual sources, centered on events covered in the U.S. history survey. Relevant modules for Chapter 6 include

- To Form a More Perfect Union: The Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention, 1774–1787