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ROBERT V. REMINI is professor of history emeritus and
research professor of humanities emeritus at the University of Illinois
at Chicago and historian of the United States House of Representatives.
He is the winner of the National Book Award for the third volume of his
study of Andrew Jackson, and he lives in Wilmette, Illinois.

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II native history that contains the essential facts about
the discovery, settlement, growth, and development of
the American nation and its institutions. Racing across
the centuries — from the arrival and migration of Native
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Depression, up to the global conflicts of the twentieth
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of a great nation's epochs and missteps, and a celebration
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and its abiding commitment to individual freedoms.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF NATIVE
AMERICAN TRIBES TO THE
OBAMA PRESIDENCY

ROBERT V.
REMINI

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Although this history is short in terms of pages...
Mr. Remini makes every word and every sentence in
this free-cramped book count." —*Washington Times*

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF NATIVE AMERICAN
TRIBES TO THE OBAMA PRESIDENCY
**ROBERT V.
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History

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Discovery and Settlement of the New World

THESE ARE MANY intriguing mysteries surrounding the peopling and discovery of the western hemisphere. Who were the people to first inhabit the northern and southern continents? Why did they come? How did they get here? How long was their migration? A possible narrative suggests that the movement of ancient people to the New World began when they crossed a land bridge that once existed between what we today call Siberia and Alaska, a bridge that later disappeared because of glacial melting and is now covered by water and known as the Bering Strait. It is also possible that these early people were motivated by wanderlust or the need for a new source of food. Perhaps they were searching for a better climate, and maybe they came for religious reasons, to escape persecution or find a more congenial area to practice their particular beliefs. Who knows?

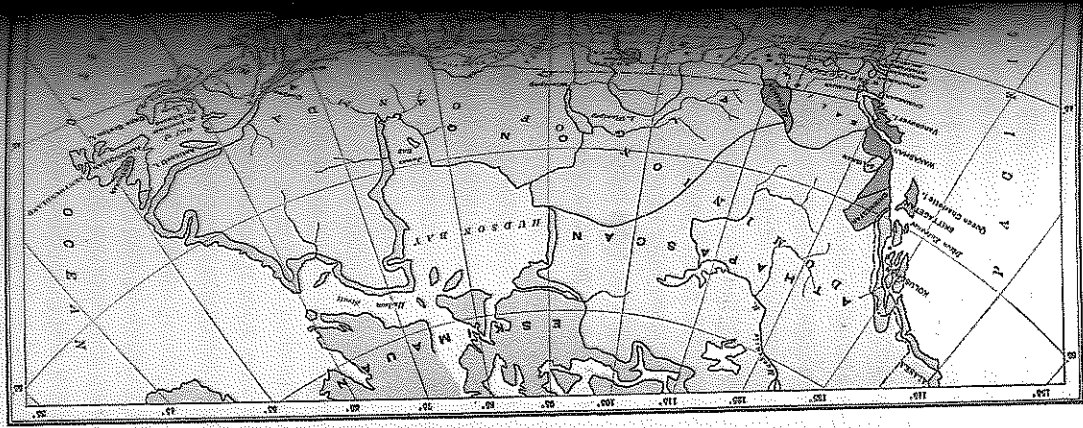
Of course some scholars have argued that these ancient people came by sea, and several modern adventurers have sought to demonstrate how it was accomplished. But if a land route did provide the gateway to this New World, when did it happen? How long ago? The best guess—and it is a guess—is that it took place 50,000 years ago, if not more. But was it a single long migration stretching over a number of years? Or did it come in fits and starts during an extended period of time? Scholars have suggested that the migration continued until 2,000 years ago and that extended families came in groups. Over time, these people

settled into every habitable area they could find, penetrating to the most southernly region and even occupying the many islands off the coast, especially the eastern coast. These ancients established themselves along an 11,000-mile stretch from north to south, and a distance of 3,000 or more miles, in some places, from east to west. They developed a diversity of cultures, depending in the main on the areas where they took up permanent residence; and they spoke at least 300 different languages. Their individual clans formed tribes or nations, and their governments usually consisted of a council of elders and clan chiefs selected by the elders. The highest ruling member of the tribe was the principal chief, chosen from one of the major clans. But many functions of government were normally handled by an individual clan or by a family.

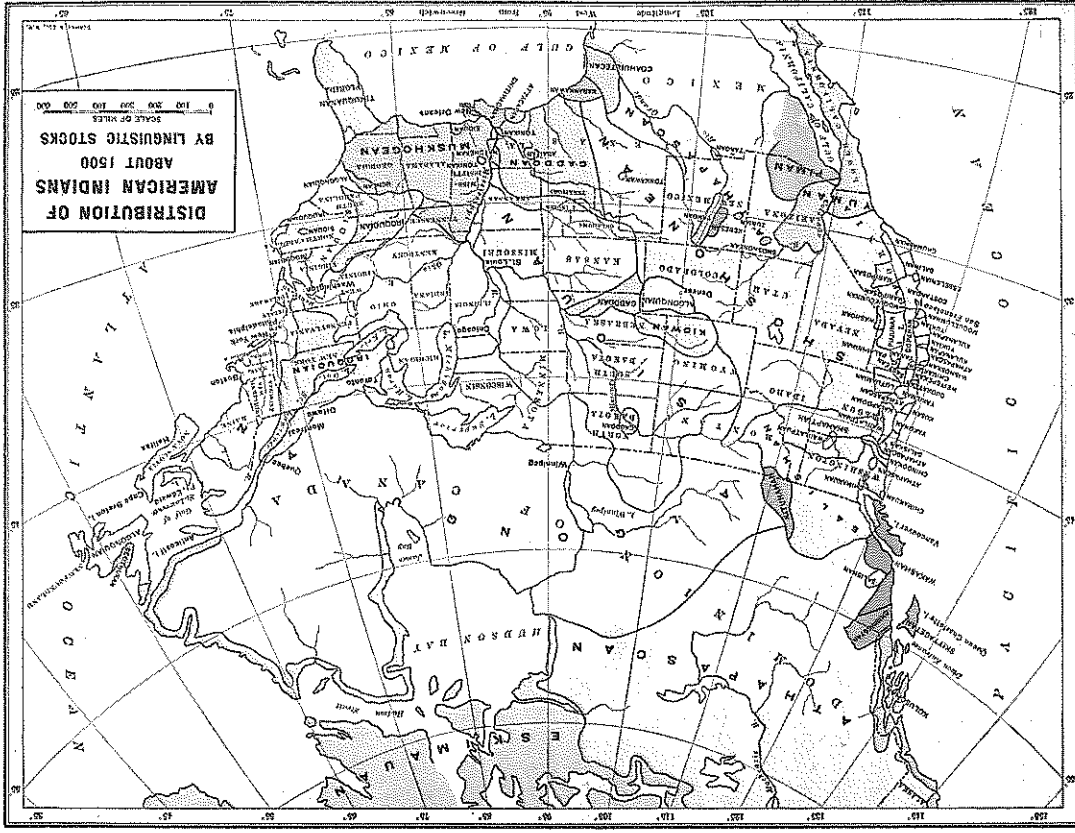
The economy was mostly agricultural, that is, hunting and gathering. But these natives were limited in what they could do by the fact that they had not invented the wheel; nor did they have important domesticated animals, such as the horse and cow. And they had not learned the skills of metallurgy, apart from the hammering of sheet copper to make primitive tools and gold and silver for personal ornaments.

None of the hundreds of tribes who resided in the area north of present-day Mexico had an alphabet or a written language. Instead they resorted to pictographs to record important events, and they substituted a sign language and smoke signals to communicate over long distances. In the south a more culturally advanced society emerged among the Aztec and Inca tribes. The Aztecs had a written language and a command of mathematics and architecture. Their great stone temples commanded the cities and towns in which they were built. It has been suggested that the cultural level of the southern tribes in the eighth century after Christ was more advanced than that of any of the countries in western Europe. If so, the question immediately arises why it came to a full stop and never advanced. That is another mystery that cannot be satisfactorily explained from evidence presently available.

More mysteries. According to Norse sagas, sometime around AD 1000 Vikings were blown off course while sailing west from Iceland to Greenland, and landed in the New World. Just where they found refuge is uncertain. A little later Leif Eriksson and his crew repeated this



Distribution of American Indians



Distribution of American Indians

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journey and probably reached present-day Newfoundland, or possibly some place along the coast of modern-day New England. They made camp and explored a wide area, no doubt visiting sections that later became part of the United States. Further explorations by other Vikings may have taken them down the St. Lawrence River.

In any event the Vikings never established permanent settlements in the New World, and nothing came of their discoveries. It took several more centuries for western Europe to begin to initiate important changes in its society that would result in the migration of many of its people to the New World.

THE CRUSADES UNDOUBTEDLY triggered a good deal of these changes. In 1095, Pope Urban II called Christians to liberate the Holy Land from the Muslims who controlled it. Thousands of Europeans responded and traveled to the East, where they were exposed to a different and more exotic culture, a way of life that excited their imagination. Later they returned home from their adventure with new tastes, new ideas, new interests, and new demands for foods and goods that they had experienced in the East, such as spices, cotton, and silk cloth. Their desire for the products of the East was further enhanced by Marco Polo's account of his extensive travels and life in China, published in the thirteenth century. The gold and silver as well as the spices and silk clothing that Polo described captured the imagination of Europeans. Trade routes were developed to bring these products to an eager market. Soon the manorial, agricultural, closed economy of the medieval world gave way to a capitalistic economy based on trade, money, and credit. Existing cities flourished and new ones were founded. This urban development attracted artisans of every stripe who perfected their crafts and initiated a technological revolution. The printing press made possible the wide distribution of books and stimulated learning. It also contributed to the formation of universities in a number of cities. The compass and astrolabe were introduced by which navigation of the seas became safer and encouraged seamen to seek new routes and new worlds beyond those already known.

As a result of these and many other less notable changes the Middle Ages, with their authoritarian and rigid system of beliefs and practices, slowly disintegrated. The power of the pope and bishops who controlled

the Catholic church by titled noblemen in religion no longer Capitulum, Princes sovereigns combined

ONCE THE ANTIPODEAN multitude of their ships the horizon, during rica. Prince Henry of dized expeditions the length of Africa Good Hope, crossed announced to the

Reaching the East with gold, silver, quest for many seemed believed he could around the continent who felt that the long dangerous risks. Ferdinand, king of Aragon to finance the trip. On *Santa Maria*, manned and—after a brief stop headed toward the seamanship to undertake AM, Columbus and vador (it was later sighted a much larger greeted him Indians, in that and that China was just home to a hero's welcome World, but he never found died still convinced that The subsequent explorations

the Catholic church was supplanted by that of ruling monarchs and titled noblemen in emerging nation-states. And after Martin Luther posted his list of ninety-five theses on a cathedral door, the Christian religion no longer consisted of a single set of beliefs.

Capitalism, Protestantism, and the nation-states ruled by ambitious sovereigns combined to bring about modern Europe.

ONCE THE ASTROLABE allowed navigators to determine the longitude of their ships at sea by measuring the angle between the sun and the horizon, daring explorers ventured farther down the coast of Africa. Prince Henry of Portugal, known as Henry the Navigator, subsidized expeditions that ultimately crossed the equator and sailed down the length of Africa. In 1498, Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Indian Ocean, and reached India, where he announced to the natives that he had come to trade.

Reaching the East by the shortest possible route and returning home with gold, silver, spices, and other exotic products became an ambitious quest for many seamen. An Italian navigator, Christopher Columbus, believed he could reach the Orient faster by sailing due west, not around the continent of Africa. Despite the objections of her advisers, who felt that the long voyage by small caravels into the unknown posed dangerous risks, Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile, who married Ferdinand, king of Aragon, to form the nation-state of Spain, agreed to finance the trip. On August 3, 1492, three ships, the *Nina*, *Pinta*, and *Santa Maria*, manned by about ninety sailors, left Palos, Spain, and—after a brief stop at the Canary Islands off the coast of Africa—headed toward the setting sun. It took enormous courage and superb seamanship to undertake this voyage, but on October 12 at around two AM, Columbus and his crew made landfall on what he called San Salvador (it was later named Watlings Island), in the Bahamas. He next sighted a much larger island, Hispaniola, and called the natives who greeted him Indians, in the mistaken belief that he had arrived in India and that China was just a short distance farther west. He returned home to a hero's welcome and made three further trips to this New World, but he never found the treasures and spices he desired, and he died still convinced that he had reached Asia.

The subsequent exploration of a New World by Portuguese and

Spanish adventurers prompted their respective monarchs, in 1494, to reach an agreement known as the Treaty of Tordesillas, by which they drew a line, north and south, 1,100 miles west of the Canary Islands, wherein the land west of the line belonged to Spain, and the land east of it belonged to Portugal.

The search for a route to Asia, and the treasure that adventurers believed they would find, continued into the next century. Another Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci, made several trips along the southern coast of the western hemisphere and wrote vivid, if largely untrue, descriptions of what he called this "New World," which caught the attention of mapmakers and geographers. In 1507 a German mapmaker, Martin Waldseemüller, who published Vespucci's accounts, suggested that this New World be called America in his honor. Now the continents of the western hemisphere had a new name.

Soon other Spanish explorers headed west in search of fortune and glory. These conquistadores were tough, ruthless soldiers who spared no life, Indian or Spanish, to find the riches and honor they sought. They roamed the New World in their search, and in the process of their explorations they established an empire for Spain. They were also convinced that they were performing the will of God by bringing Christianity to heathens.

Hernán Cortés, a particularly brutal but capable leader, made his way to the New World in 1504. He participated in the conquest of Cuba and later commanded an expedition to the Yucatán, where he heard stories of great wealth farther west among the Aztecs, who called themselves Mexics. He set out with 500 men to find it. Montezuma, the Aztec emperor, believed that Cortés was the god Quetzalcoatl returning to his country as foretold in Aztec mythology. To greet this returning god, Montezuma sent him as an offering both food and a huge disk the size of a wagon wheel in the shape of a sun and made of solid gold. The Spanish realized that they had come upon unbelievable wealth, and they meant to have it all. Sharp-witted and resourceful, Cortés played the part of Quetzalcoatl and in 1519 captured Montezuma, who paid a handsome ransom for his release. With the help of surrounding tribes who hated the Mexics, Cortés not only conquered the Aztec Nation but also slaughtered the natives with his guns and cannons. His conquest was also aided by the diseases his troops carried

with them, such as smallpox, influenza, and the natives had no immunity.

The plunder the intruders seized from the conquistadores to range up and down the east, and west, looking for precious metals, and adventurer in search of glory, was sold in the south, in what is now Peru, that could be. After several unsuccessful expeditions, Emperor, Charles V of Spain, from whom the change for one-fifth of all the treasure the conquistador set out with several hundred years of civilization in Peru. He overwhelmed Emperor, Atahuallpa, and made off with the treasure.

These discoveries and the mines that Spain and financed its expansion as the result of an infusion of so much wealth into Spain that it drove the price of goods upward to unprecedented heights. Spaniards swarmed over the Americas, and sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to establish a North American coast. In September of 1565 St. Augustine in what is now Florida, the first European settlement in North America. Cortés, the Caribbean, and in Central and South America, pointed to represent the monarch and the Council. But absolute authority resided in the Council of the Indies in Spain. The council officials and drafted the laws and rules by which the colonies were governed.

Spanish society in the Americas consisted of the highest rank had been born in Spain. Next came those born in America of Spanish blood, as *criollos*, most of whom were landowners. The upper class of society in New Spain. The Indian blood were known as *mestizos*. The lower social scale were the natives who had adapted to the new conditions and constituted the broad laboring class, and those of mixed European and African blood.

with them, such as smallpox, influenza, measles, and typhus, to which the natives had no immunity.

The plunder the intruders seized from the Mexics inspired other conquistadores to range up and down the continents, north, south, east, and west, looking for precious metals. Francisco Pizarro, one such adventurer in search of glory, was told about a civilization farther to the south, in what is now Peru, that could provide the wealth he sought. After several unsuccessful expeditions he gained the confidence of the Emperor, Charles V of Spain, from whom he received support in exchange for one-fifth of all the treasure Pizarro discovered. In 1531 the conquistador set out with several hundred men and discovered the Inca civilization in Peru. He overwhelmed all resistance, murdered the Emperor, Atahuallpa, and made off with a fortune in gold and silver.

These discoveries and the mines that produced such wealth enriched Spain and financed its expansion as the powerhouse of Europe, but the infusion of so much wealth into Spain also brought about inflation that drove the price of goods upward to unprecedented levels.

Spaniards swarmed over the Americas. In 1565 the Spanish monarch sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to establish settlements along the North American coast. In September of that year Menéndez founded St. Augustine in what is now Florida. It was the first permanent European settlement in North America. Colonies were also established in the Caribbean, and in Central and South America, with viceroys appointed to represent the monarch and administer these colonies. But absolute authority resided in the king, who ruled through the Council of the Indies in Spain. The council members nominated officials and drafted the laws and rules by which the colonies were to be governed.

Spanish society in the Americas consisted of several ranks. Those in the highest rank had been born in Spain and were called *peninsulares*. Next came those born in America of Spanish parents. They were known as *criollos*, most of whom were landowners. These two groups formed the upper class of society in New Spain. Those of mixed Spanish and Indian blood were known as *mestizos*. Lower on the social and economic scale were the natives who had adopted Spanish life and culture and constituted the broad laboring class. Next were the mulattoes, those of mixed European and African blood. At the bottom of the

ladder were black slaves brought from Africa to work in the mines and fields of the Spanish conquerors.

Most important was the position of the Roman Catholic church. Like Spain, the church and state were intricately entwined, each serving the other to the advantage of both.

Spanish expeditions also resulted in the discovery, in 1513, of the Pacific Ocean by Vasco de Balboa, and Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon. Even the globe was circumnavigated by an expedition that started from St. Lucar in 1519 and led by Ferdinand Magellan, who was killed in a battle with natives in what today are known as the Philippine Islands. Of the five ships and 250 original sailors that set out on this remarkable voyage in 1519, only one ship and eighteen men returned home in 1522.

Hernando de Soto fought his way north into present-day Georgia and the Carolinas from 1539 to 1542, and then westward through Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas. And Francisco de Coronado led a force from Mexico in 1540 into the interior of North America in search of the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola, that were believed to be paved with gold. California was explored by Juan Cabrillo in 1542; and Catholic priests established missions to convert Indian tribes to Christianity.

THE GREAT SUCCESS Spain enjoyed in establishing a worldwide empire, and raking in a fabulous fortune in the process, encouraged other emerging nations in Europe to follow suit and carve out areas for colonization for themselves. France began its reach for empire in 1534, when the king commissioned Jacques Cartier to search for a Northwest Passage that would lead to the Indies. Cartier failed to find such a passage, but in several voyages he laid claim to the eastern half of Canada and a slice of land between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. Later, Samuel de Champlain explored the St. Lawrence River area and founded the cities of Quebec and Montreal. The lucrative fur trade in the Great Lakes area became a source of wealth, but it did not attract many French settlers. The Indians constituted the bulk of the population in New France, and Champlain succeeded in forging an alliance with the Hurons that helped that tribe defeat their ancient enemy, the Iroquois.

The Iroquois were probably more culturally advanced than some

other tribes. They occupied the area that is now Ontario, the Five Nations, Onondaga, Mohawk, Oneida, and Tuscarora, becoming the dominant power in the region.

Farther north, above the St. Lawrence River, were the Hurons, who were a natural one, since the Huron population in the Algonquin region sought to defeat the Hurons in exchange for guns, resulting in the Iroquois came close to driving the Hurons out of the region.

The Dutch also tried their hand at obtaining wealth. In 1609 Henry Hudson, who bears his name and established the Dutch Company controlled several territories in North America. The Dutch were New Amsterdam on Manhattan, New York, and Fort Orange, which was established in 1614. The Dutch occupied them following the Dutch Company's concentration on obtaining furs, and the Dutch traded guns for furs with the Iroquois.

THEN THERE WERE the English, who were the first to establish colonies on the islands in the North Sea and the Atlantic. With stout ships and even stout crews, they created an empire. As early as 1497, John Cabot, in the name of John Cabot, hunted for a Northwest Passage along Newfoundland and the North American coastline, thereby opening a segment of what later became the United States. Queen Elizabeth I, a Protestant, was the first to show interest in the New World. For the most part, the English were interested by attacking its merchant and treasure-seekers such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake. Their quest for their queen a hoard of gold and silver led to a heavy involvement in the raids and at the same time circumnavigated the globe and scored

other tribes. They occupied the region south of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario. The Five Nations of the Iroquois included the Seneca, Onondaga, Mohawk, Cayuga, and Oneida, and were later joined by the Tuscarora, becoming the Six Nations.

Farther north, above the St. Lawrence, lived the Algonquin tribes, principally the Hurons, who were leagued with the French. This alliance was a natural one, since the French desired furs and the beaver population in the Algonquin country was judged the best. The Iroquois sought to defeat the Hurons to obtain the furs, which they wanted to exchange for guns, resulting in intermittent Indian wars in which the Iroquois came close to driving the French from North America.

The Dutch also tried their hand at enlarging their possessions and obtaining wealth. In 1609 Henry Hudson sailed up the river that now bears his name and established trading posts. The Dutch West India Company controlled several such posts: the most important of these were New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, which later became New York, and Fort Orange, which was renamed Albany after the English occupied them following the Dutch War. Like the French, the Dutch concentrated on obtaining furs, not on colonization, and they regularly traded guns for furs with the Iroquois.

THEN THERE WERE the English: those Anglo-Saxons perched on islands in the North Sea and protected by water that they soon ruled. With stout ships and even stouter hearts they searched the world to create an empire. As early as 1497, under King Henry VII, an Italian by the name of John Cabot hunted for a westward passage to the Orient, first along Newfoundland and a year later farther south along the North American coastline, thereby giving England a claim to a large segment of what later became the United States. But not until the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, a Protestant, did the English take a serious interest in the New World. For the most part they struck at Spanish power by attacking its merchant and treasure ships plying the high seas. Buccaneers such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake brought home to their queen a hoard of gold and silver. Elizabeth both disclaimed any involvement in the raids and at the same time knighted Drake after he circumnavigated the globe and scooped up a veritable fortune. Philip

II, the Spanish king, struck back in 1588 with a mighty Armada of 130 ships armed with thousands of cannons, hoping to subdue the English and restore them to Catholicism. Between the intrepid British sailors, their highly maneuverable ships, and punishing storms at sea the armada was crippled, and only about half the original number of Spanish ships reached the safety of their ports. England could now make a bid for possession of a healthy chunk of the North American continent.

A few years earlier, in 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh dispatched a small group of settlers, who landed on a tiny island off present-day North Carolina and named it Roanoke. The attempted invasion of England by the Spanish Armada postponed any effort to keep Roanoke supplied. When assistance did arrive in 1591, the would-be rescuers found the island completely deserted. No one, to this day, knows what happened to the settlers.

Despite this disaster, adventurous English merchants still had hopes of sponsoring colonization of the New World in the expectation of imitating the discoveries of the Spanish. A group of them formed a joint-stock company, the London Company, in which shares were sold to stockholders for twelve pounds ten shillings, in order to sponsor colonization by settlers in North America. A charter granted by James I, the first of the Stuart kings, who succeeded Elizabeth upon her death in 1603, allowed the company to develop the land from the coastline westward to the Pacific Ocean. The area was named Virginia after Elizabeth, known as the Virgin Queen because she had never married. Three ships, the *Susan Constant*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery*, sailed from England in December 1606 and landed in Virginia in April 1607: the settlement was named Jamestown.

These colonists searched for gold, but there was none. Conditions at the triangular fort they built worsened with each month. John Smith took control of the colony during the terrible winter of 1609-1610 known as the "starving time," and those who survived ate roots, berries, and even their horses. They received help from the Powhatan tribes who taught them how to grow corn and where best to catch fish. But relations between the Indians and the English became strained to the breaking point because of the rapaciousness of the English, and Smith was taken prisoner by a hunting party while on an exploring expedition. He was turned over to Opechancanough, who was probably the half

brother of Chief Powhatan. Opechancanough had been sent to Spain to learn the language so that he could translate between the Indian and Spanish names. Don Luis de Velasco, in the late 1570s, he renounced his position of authority without being instrumental in the slaughter back to Virginia. Most likely, he had not been for Pocahontas, the daughter of Chief Powhatan.

At the time, Pocahontas was likely that there was a romantic relationship between the two. Historians have guessed that it is she who may have been acting as an intermediary between Chief Powhatan and John Smith and his fellow settlers in their acknowledgment of his superior protection. Whatever the truth, Pocahontas tended her friendship with other English Christians and married John Rolfe. Their marriage strengthened the ties between the settlers and the Indians. Pocahontas later treated with the deference due her as a king and queen. Unfortunately, she died at age twenty-two.

Instead of gold, the colonists discovered that the Indians had smoked for centuries a "filthy" habit, as King James labeled it. The increasing demand provided the settlers with a valuable commodity that they desperately needed to survive. The value of tobacco to more English settlers to America. As the colony evolved to grow the plant, and Virginia became a more important part of the English empire. The London Company sent Thomas Dale to govern Virginia, and he instituted stern measures to improve the life of the community. Then, in 1610, the governor to summon two landowning representatives

brother of Chief Powhatan, and threatened with death. As a young boy, Opechancanough had been kidnaped by the Spanish in 1559. He was sent to Spain to learn western customs and culture and the Spanish language so that he could be trained and serve as an interpreter and translator between the Indians and the Spanish. He was even given a Spanish name: Don Luis de Velasco. On his return home, sometime in the late 1570s, he renounced his Spanish affiliations and reclaimed his position of authority within the Powhatan tribe. He may also have been instrumental in the slaughter of the missionaries who accompanied him back to Virginia. Most likely he would have killed John Smith, had it not been for Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of the Powhatan chief.

At the time, Pocahontas was only eleven years of age, so it is unlikely that there was a romantic reason for her action. A number of historians have guessed that in successfully pleading for Smith's life she may have been acting out an Algonquin rite in which the power of Chief Powhatan over life and death was demonstrated by accepting Smith and his fellow settlers in Jamestown into his overlordship. By their acknowledgment of his superior position he granted them his protection. Whatever the true reason for Pocahontas's action, she extended her friendship with other English settlers. She converted to Christianity and married John Rolfe, one of the settlers, in 1614, and their marriage strengthened the friendship between the Powhatans and the settlers. Pocahontas later traveled to England, where she was treated with the deference due her Indian rank and presented to the king and queen. Unfortunately, she contracted smallpox and died at age twenty-two.

Instead of gold, the colonists discovered the value of tobacco, which the Indians had smoked for centuries. Introduced in Europe, this "filthy" habit, as King James labeled it, became very fashionable, and the increasing demand provided the settlers with a cash crop they desperately needed to survive. The value of the trade brought more and more English settlers to America. As a result, large plantations soon evolved to grow the plant, and Virginia became a thriving colony.

The London Company sent Thomas Dale, a military man, to govern Virginia, and he instituted stern measures to ensure the continued life of the community. Then, in 1619, the company instructed the governor to summon two landowning representatives from each of the

small settlements in the colony to meet in Jamestown to provide authority. Twenty-two men gathered in the church in town, disregarding the company's instructions, and proceeded to enact a series of laws for the colony against gambling, drunkenness, idleness, and Sabbath-breaking. This House of Burgesses, as it came to be called, then adjourned. It was clear right from the beginning that English settlers were prepared to go their own way and address problems they felt were important for their safety and livelihood. Their action demonstrated a desire for independence that would be imitated by future legislative bodies in North America in asserting their right to solve their own problems their own way.

As the settlers in and around Jamestown prospered, their numbers steadily increased, so that by 1620 there were roughly 2,000 colonists. Opechancanough watched with dismay the steady strengthening of white men's control of the region to the detriment of the Powhatan tribes. He therefore decided to put a stop to it. Early in the morning of March 22, 1622, a number of Indians who were unarmed circulated through several settlements and appeared to be friendly. Then, suddenly, they seized muskets and axes and began a systematic slaughter of the inhabitants. It was a typical Indian ploy: an outward show of friendship to lull the apprehensions of the colonists, followed by a sudden, swift killing spree. They wiped out about a third of the settlers, who retaliated with lethal force and attempted to drive the tribe further west. The slaughter on both sides and the resulting turmoil were so intense that King James revoked the London Company's charter in 1624 and made Virginia a royal colony. But the change in government did not end the killing. Sometime after Powhatan's death, probably in 1628, Opechancanough became the "Paramount Chief" and renewed the fighting, although sporadically. Then, in 1644, he launched what the colonists called the "great assault" of 1644, in which Opechancanough killed over 500 settlers. But the chief was old, possibly about 100 years, and his faculties were sharply diminished. He was captured and after a short time in prison he was assassinated. Thus ended the Powhatan War.

During the interim the House of Burgesses made every effort to meet regularly, and in 1639 the king instructed the governor to summon

the Burgesses together each year, a recognition of what had already become regular practice.

NOT ALL THE settlers who came to America searched for gold or other forms of financial gain. A great number came in pursuit of religious freedom. Following the Protestant Reformation and the religious wars between the various sects and creeds, persecution of opposing religious beliefs became standard practice. In England the Anglican church was established by the monarchy in opposition to the Roman Catholic church, although Anglicanism retained many Catholic ceremonies and rituals. As a consequence, any number of Protestants felt that the Church of England needed to be purified of such trappings, and they became known as Puritans. Others, more radical in their thinking, felt compelled to separate themselves from the Anglican church altogether.

A group of English separatists sought even more religious freedom and fled to Holland in 1608, only to find life in this foreign country totally unsuited to their needs and temperament. They decided to relocate. They gained permission from the London Company to settle in Virginia. Thus authorized, they departed Holland and sailed aboard the *Mayflower* to the New World.

They never got to Virginia. They landed at Plymouth on Cape Cod on November 21, 1620, and before they left the ship to establish their colony, forty-one of them signed a compact by which they pledged allegiance to their "dread sovereign, the King" and did "covenant and combine" themselves into "a civil Body Politick." They further promised to obey whatever laws were thought "meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony." This Mayflower Compact thereby became the authority by which the settlers made their own laws and chose their own officials. They then disembarked.

It is interesting to note that these settlers made an agreement that they committed to paper, stating their position on government and the means by which they had formed their society. The Mayflower Compact became one of many more such documents to follow, by which the people of this New World spoke openly about the ways they would

be governed and the principles on which their government would rest. Relying on a written document as an authority became an American custom in enunciating principles and practices by which the inhabitants in the society would be governed.

It was the Pilgrims' good fortune that they were met by two English-speaking Indians—Squanto, a Pawtuxet tribesman, and Samoset, a Pemaquid—who helped them arrange a peaceful agreement with the surrounding Indian tribes. The Indians also taught them how to raise corn and showed them the best places to fish and hunt. The colony survived and prospered, and the colonists gave thanks for their good fortune.

Back in England, King Charles I, who succeeded the "dread sovereign" James I, gave a group of Puritans permission to form a joint-stock company in 1629 called the Massachusetts Bay Company, by which they could establish a colony in an area north of Virginia that John Smith had described in one publication as New England. John Winthrop, like many other Puritans, had become deeply troubled about the moral life in England and the future of religion. He decided to leave and take his immediate family with him. As an influential administrator of the Company, he was chosen to lead a "Great Migration" of Puritans to America. Numbering more than 1,000 men, women, and children aboard a fleet of 17 ships, these Puritans left England on May 22, 1630, with John Winthrop as their governor, and arrived in America on June 12, 1630, eventually settling in Boston. Upon their arrival, Winthrop assured his followers that if they bound themselves together "as one man," God would protect them and ensure their prosperity. "We shall be as a City upon a Hill; the eyes of all people are upon us. . . . We shall be made a story and a byword throughout the World." They believed that they had formed a covenant with God to build a society based on the teachings of the Bible. Church, state, family, and individuals were bound together as a unit to create a government and community in accordance with demands of the Almighty. Many of the settlers were well educated and had enough money to set themselves up in trade, commerce, or farming. Within a few years the population of the colony numbered 20,000, dispersed among several surrounding towns.

The Massachusetts Bay Company had decided to relocate its entire operation to America, taking the charter along as well. That meant

there was no need to consult England in making government. Company was totally on its own the governor and eighteen assistants. In 1634 the Court allowed each town to elect deputies. ten years later, the court divided the colonial legislature to fashion the Colony.

But there were dissenters and rulings or actions, or the system. Roger Williams, a young Puritan and who preached unacceptable to ruling clergy in Boston. Williams and their culture. He made no attempt. He felt that individuals could not God. He even tolerated different gifts of faith in the formulation of our salvation in practicing one's religion from the colony because he questioned to enforce religious beliefs. But he had to England by escaping into the wilderness group of his followers: he founded the Rhode Island community where religious church and state were made possible by his colony.

Anne Hutchinson, another dissenter, discussed religious matters and the worth of preaching a "covenant of grace" that emphasized communication with God through direct, considerable following. Condemned as an enemy of the colony in 1637. She and her disciples joined the followers of Roger Williams, who was murdered by Indians.

One of the most popular preachers in the colony was Thomas Hooker, and his very popularity drew other preachers, most notably John Cotton.

there was no need to take directions from any group in England in making governmental decisions. To a very large extent, the Company was totally on its own. The colony was administered by the governor and eighteen assistants elected by the freemen, called the General Court. In 1634 the General Court, responding to criticism, allowed each town to elect deputies to sit with the assistants. Then, ten years later, the court divided into two houses, thus creating a bicameral legislature to fashion the laws for the entire Massachusetts Bay Colony.

But there were dissenters among them who objected to particular rulings or actions, or the system of government. One of these was Roger Williams, a young Puritan who led a congregation in Salem and who preached unacceptable heresy—at least it was heresy to the ruling clergy in Boston. Williams truly respected the Indian tribes and their culture. He made no attempt to convert them to Christianity. He felt that individuals could differ in the way they worshipped God. He even tolerated different interpretations of the Bible. God's gift of faith in the formulation of one's conscience was the only road to salvation in practicing one's religion, he preached. He was banished from the colony because he questioned the right of a civil government to enforce religious beliefs. But he foiled an attempt to ship him back to England by escaping into the wilderness and fleeing south. With a group of his followers he founded the town of Providence, the first Rhode Island community where religious freedom and separation of church and state were made possible. In 1644 he received a charter for his colony.

Anne Hutchinson, another dissenter, held meetings in her home to discuss religious matters and the worth of individual clergymen. She preached a "covenant of grace" that emphasized an individual's direct communication with God through divine grace. She attracted a considerable following. Condemned as an "antinomian," she was expelled from the colony in 1637. She and her disciples fled to Rhode Island and joined the followers of Roger Williams. She and her family were later murdered by Indians.

One of the most popular preachers in the Massachusetts Colony was Thomas Hooker, and his very popularity generated jealousy among other preachers, most notably John Cotton, the senior minister in the

colony. Rather than face expulsion, Hooker decided to lead his congregation across the wooded wilderness to the Connecticut River valley, where his followers established themselves in Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Hooker himself was instrumental in writing the bylaws for the colony's government, called "The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." Like Rhode Island, but unlike in Massachusetts, church membership was not a condition for voting; nor were clergymen permitted to participate in politics. A charter was granted in 1662.

In an effort to establish a colony that would be loyal to the Anglican church and would act as a rival to Massachusetts, Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained a charter to establish a settlement in Maine; but he died before he could attract immigrants, and his heirs sold the charter to Massachusetts. Thus Massachusetts and Maine were joined as a single colony. Moreover, another attempt at colonizing a northern portion of New England in what is now New Hampshire also failed. The area was subsequently settled in 1638 by another preacher who had been banished from Massachusetts, John Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of Anne Hutchinson. The original grant was subsequently revoked, and in 1679 New Hampshire became a royal colony.

Catholics also sought refuge in the New World. George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, obtained a charter in which he hoped to establish a colony for Catholics, he himself having converted to that faith. Under his plan, he would be the proprietor, and the land, involving millions of acres, his private estate. Those who settled on this property would pay him a land tax, called a quitrent; he, in turn, was required to pay the king two Indian arrows each Easter. Calvert was empowered to appoint the governor, judges, and councilors; organize the court system; and authorize a legislature to enact the laws. However, George Calvert died before the king had given his final approval to this proprietorship, and it was inherited in 1632 by Calvert's son, Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, who immediately sent out an expedition to establish the colony of Maryland. Unfortunately, the area impinged on the charter granted to the Virginia Company, provoking repeated conflicts between the two authorities. And although Calvert expected to dictate his wishes to the settlers as commands, the settlers had other ideas. When the first Maryland legislature met in 1635, it insisted on the right to enact its own laws, and Calvert wisely agreed to this. But Catholics

did not stay in the colony. Many more fled to the north by the end of the century. In 1649 the Maryland legislature passed a Toleration Act, which would be protective of non-Christians, but it had a limited claim to religious freedom.

Thus, over a relatively short period, English colonies were established in the north, the middle, and the south. Another proprietorship was established in a series of debts to a previous proprietor, Charles I, in 1660 after the restoration of the throne in 1660 after the death of Charles I, in 1649, and it was well. This colony, like the others, had a charter was granted to the proprietors from Barbados, and it was based on trade in rice, ginger, and sugar. The proprietor, Charles's wife, Queen Anne, was the proprietor. The colony was the property of the proprietors, Anthony Ashley Cooper, John Locke, and others. The colony was named Carolina, and it attempted to be a sharply defined social and political system. The colony was based on slavery—Carolina was the only colony in the world for religious freedom, and it was drawn to this inviting atmosphere, which could never take over the land—and enjoyed the same rights as the other colonies. By the end of the century, the colony had expanded to the north around Albemarle and Pamlico, and one 300 miles to the south. The colony was named the king, Charles Town, and it was well. The colony enjoyed increased migration

did not swarm into Maryland as the proprietor had hoped. Instead many more Protestants took advantage of his liberal land grants, and by the end of the century they outnumbered Catholics ten to one. In 1649 the Maryland assembly accepted Lord Baltimore's proposal and passed a Toleration Act, stating that no person who believed in Christ would be persecuted for practicing his or her religion. But since non-Christians were excluded from the colony, this legislation had only limited claim to toleration.

Thus, over a relatively short period of time, there developed in the English colonies in America three forms of government: royal, corporate, and proprietary.

Another proprietary colony was formed when Charles II paid off a series of debts to a group of eight men who had helped him regain the throne in 1660 after the Puritan Revolution that executed his father, Charles I, in 1649, and established a dictatorship under Oliver Cromwell. This colony lay between Virginia and Spanish Florida, and the charter was granted in 1663. The proprietors expected to attract settlers from Barbados, Virginia, and New England and profit from a trade in rice, ginger, and silk. The area was named Carolina after Charles's wife, Queen Caroline. One distinctive feature of this proprietary colony was the plan of government drawn up by one of the proprietors, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the earl of Shaftesbury, and his secretary, John Locke. It was called the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, and it attempted to engraft in America a feudal system with a sharply defined social structure, including titles, and a similar hierarchical judicial system. Although it recognized and legalized slavery—Carolina was the first colony to do so openly—it did provide for religious freedom and a representative assembly. Settlers were drawn to this inviting area, but they disregarded the feudal aspects—which could never take root in America, because of the vastness of the land—and enjoyed the more liberal attractions of the Fundamental Constitutions. By the end of the century some 50,000 colonists populated the region. But they tended to concentrate in two areas: one to the north around Albemarle Sound, in what is presently North Carolina; and one 300 miles to the south around a community named after the king, Charles Town, today's Charleston. Both areas prospered and enjoyed increased migration from other parts of the English colonies.

In North Carolina the inhabitants grew tobacco and provided naval stores to shipbuilders. In South Carolina, because of the moisture, temperature, and soil conditions, the colonists cultivated rice and indigo, which is used as a dye.

Many of the Carolina colonists were Scots-Irish who were predominantly Presbyterian in their religious beliefs and had initially moved from lowland Scotland to northern Ireland, where they remained for many years before crossing the ocean and settling in the Carolinas. They engaged the various Indian tribes in defending themselves against the Spanish in Florida. These tribes included the Wateree, Congaree, Santee, Waxhaw, and Catawba, all of whom belonged to the Siouan group. The most dominant tribe, however, was the powerful and fierce Cherokee Nation, who were concentrated in the mountains to the west and related to the Iroquois farther north.

The Carolina settlers frequently aided one group of Indians against another in combat and regularly sold captured natives into slavery. Before long these settlers had exterminated or enslaved the Indians in the Carolinas, or reduced them to a state of total dependence.

CHARLES II AND his brother James, the Duke of York, who later succeeded Charles as James II, cast covetous eyes on the Dutch colony of New Netherland, especially the attractive port at the foot of Manhattan Island where the Hudson River ran into the ocean. The Dutch had not been as successful as the English in establishing colonies since its citizens lacked the impetus of English settlers in migrating to America. The people in New Amsterdam, for example, had little regard for the Dutch West India Company and its autocratic governors. The most recent dictator, Peter Stuyvesant, arrived as governor in the colony on May 11, 1647, looking "like a peacock." He was all pomp and majesty. He wore a decorated peg leg, having lost his own in a pitched battle several years earlier. Determined to bring order and one-man control to the colony, he ruled for seventeen years by stern decrees that won him few friends and many enemies.

Since England and Holland were commercial rivals, it did not take long for Charles to initiate a war by granting to his brother James all the land between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. Then a British

fleet appeared in the harbor and the surrender of Manhattan was a foregone conclusion. He would never surrender. He knew they could not take the city, so they persuaded him to surrender. He was fired. James, the Duke of York, was the victor. He blithely assumed the position of governor without a title. He soon learned that the Dutch had no title of ocean guaranteed to them. He succeeded his brother as governor. He presided over the first legislative assembly. The Dutch had no title of the New York colony. The system of semifeudalism was still in vogue. It further exacerbated the problems and tensions between them.

James turned over the colony to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret as governor of Jersey in the province and Carteret of the other. Berkeley, proprietorships, and Putnam provided province until the King dissolved it in 1702.

One of the more successful colonies resulted from a grant of land to William Penn. While studying in England, the Society of Friends, which had authority of priests and bishops, had only what they called the "interior" of the colony. They refused to bow to the king or to the officials. They professed complete independence.

William Penn embraced their ideas and was put in prison and provoked the anger of the king. Admiral William Penn. Once released, he worked in Holland and Germany. Since Charles owed Admiral Penn

fleet appeared in the harbor of New Amsterdam and demanded the surrender of Manhattan Island. The governor, Peter Stuyvesant, swore he would never surrender, but the leading citizens overruled him. They knew they could not fight off the well-armed and determined British, so they persuaded Stuyvesant to surrender the colony. And not a shot was fired. James, now the proprietor, renamed the colony New York. He blithely assumed he could rule the Dutch settlers through his chosen governor without any consultation whatsoever with the residents. He soon learned that such an approach from across thousands of miles of ocean guaranteed disobedience and lawlessness. Thus, when he succeeded his brother as King James II, he did permit the calling of a legislative assembly. Still, his regular disregard of the needs and requests of the New York colonists only generated further discord. The system of semifeudal landholdings of the original Dutch settlers further exacerbated the problem. It produced social, economic, and ethnic tensions between them and the new English arrivals.

James turned over the lower section of his holdings to two friends, Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Since Carteret had served as governor of Jersey in the English Channel, the area was named New Jersey in his honor. Berkeley was in charge of the western half of the province and Carteret of the eastern half. Both men later sold their proprietorships, and Puritans, Anglicans, and Quakers settled the divided province until the King united East and West Jersey into a single royal colony in 1702.

One of the more successful attempts at establishing a proprietary colony resulted from a grant of land in the New World from Charles II to William Penn. While studying at Oxford, Penn joined a radical religious sect, the Society of Friends, whose members denounced war, rejected the authority of priests and bishops, abhorred ceremonial worship, and obeyed only what they called the "inner light of conscience." These Quakers even refused to bow to the king or remove their hats when confronted by royal officials. They professed complete equality—none excepted.

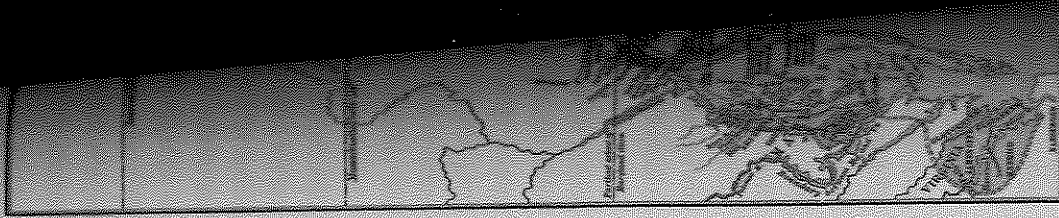
William Penn embraced their beliefs with a fervor that landed him in prison and provoked the anger and disappointment of his father, Admiral William Penn. Once released from jail, he took up missionary work in Holland and Germany, where he organized Quaker societies. Since Charles owed Admiral Penn a large sum of money, he agreed to

grant the son a tract of land in full payment of the debt. William Penn realized that it could be a haven for persecuted Quakers, and in 1681 he received a charter, which made him the proprietor of what is now the state of Pennsylvania. Young Penn also persuaded the duke of York to cede to him the three lower counties on the Delaware River that the Dutch had seized from the Swedes years earlier. These three counties remained a part of the Penn proprietary domain until the American Revolution, when they asserted their independence and became the state of Delaware.

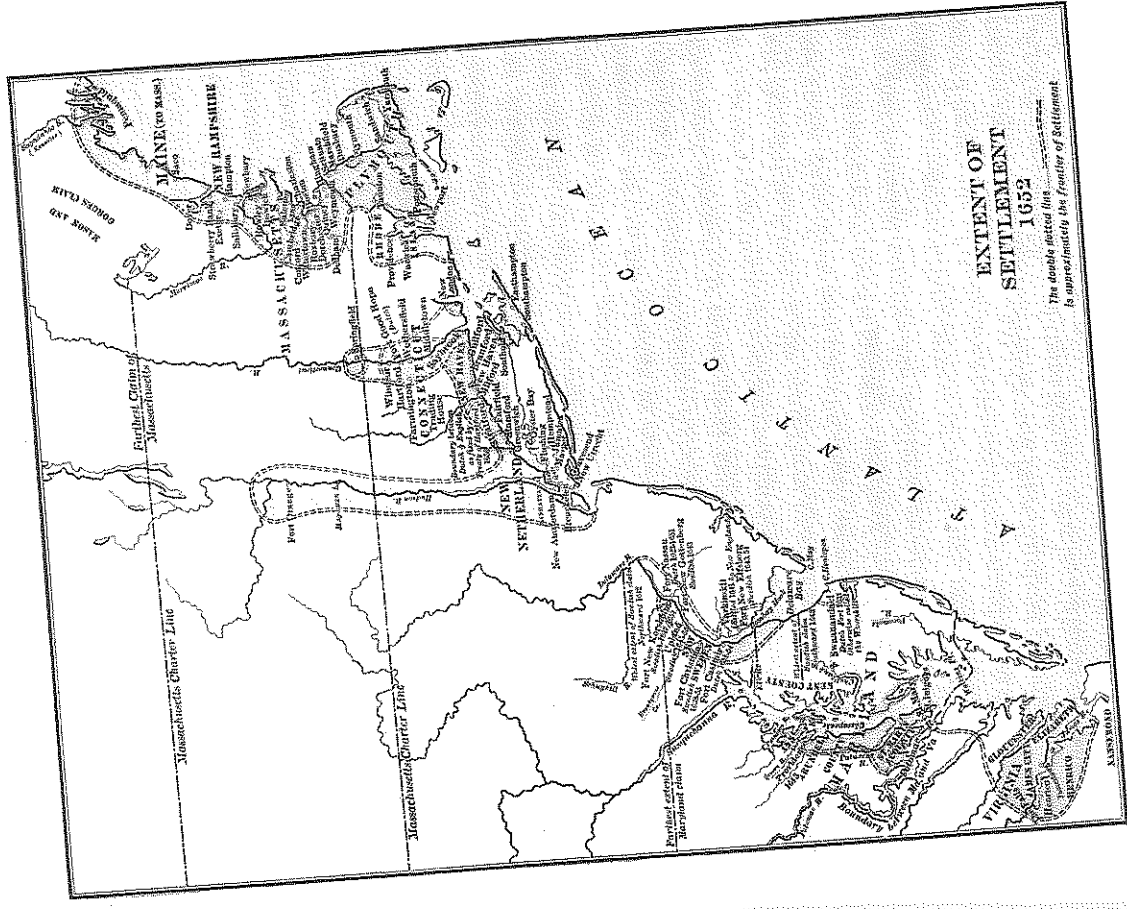
What is remarkable about Pennsylvania was the liberality with which it was governed. It became a "holy experiment" in which everyone could live in peace and harmony. And that included Indians. In his Frame of Government of 1682, Penn included a governor with an appointed council who originated all laws, along with an assembly, which initially lacked real authority but over time became more self-assertive. Most important of all, Penn advertised in England and on the continent, inviting people of all nationalities to settle in his colony and offering land at extremely low prices. Dutch, Welsh, Swedish, French, German, and English emigrants responded to his appeals, and Pennsylvania soon became the most populous and prosperous of all the American colonies.

In 1732, Georgia was founded, when James Oglethorpe obtained a twenty-one-year charter from George II to a group of trustees for land between Savannah and Altamaha rivers.

BECAUSE OF CLIMATE variations, soil conditions, the type of settlers, and the reasons that brought them to the different areas of the New World, among other things, a distinctive culture soon evolved within each of three areas: the New England, Middle, and Southern colonies. New England, for example, engaged in shipbuilding because of the sturdy, straight, tall pines that grew throughout the region. Fishing also became an important component of the New England economy. But many settlers built small farms in clusters around a seaport or farther inland near rivers or streams. Each cluster comprised a village, with a section of land held as commons to serve all the nearby inhabitants for such purposes as grazing cattle. Since the settlers were predominantly



Puritan, their minister who preached England colonies were In the Middle wheat, corn, and other animals Philadelphia region



Puritan, their lives centered on the local church they built and the minister who preached to them and guarded their moral behavior. The New England colonies were founded primarily for religious purposes.

In the Middle colonies, farming and commerce developed in which wheat, corn, and vegetables were grown; while beavers, raccoons, and other animals provided fur for export. Ships from New York City and Philadelphia regularly put to sea carrying these commodities not only to

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Europe but also to the southern colonies and the West Indies. Most settlers had farms of small or moderate size, except in New York, where the Dutch had laid out enormous estates that extended across an entire county, such as the Van Rensselaer tract that straddled both sides of the Hudson River. The Dutch influence in New York continued after the arrival of the English and had an impact on architecture, language, and customs. Germans in Pennsylvania added a strong flavor to the colony's culture. Although Pennsylvania had been founded for religious and idealistic reasons, the other middle colonies were settled to exploit the wealth of the area. The population of this region tended to be quite diverse.

Because the cultivation and harvesting of tobacco, cotton, rice, and indigo in the Southern colonies necessitated the creation of sizable plantations and a large workforce, life in this section of the New World was distinctly different from that in regions farther north. Initially there was the reliance on indentured servants, individuals who signed contracts to work for a period of four or five years for the holder of their contract in return for passage to America. Then in 1619 a Dutch ship arrived in Virginia with twenty Africans who may have been slaves or indentured servants. It is not clear just what their status was. In any case, slavery soon became institutionalized, as more and more Africans were brought to America. By 1700 there existed in the South a master class and a slave class, and life and death were determined by the former without regard for the rights or needs of the latter. A small middle class that provided services not available on plantations, such as legal assistance, arose in urban centers of the South near harbors and seaports. The people of these Southern colonies tended to be more homogeneous than those of the Middle and New England colonies.

And the governments of these British colonies differed in some particulars, depending on whether they were royal, corporate, or proprietary, but they had several common characteristics. Each colony had a governor who represented the king, the proprietor, or the corporation and was expected to enforce all English laws passed by Parliament or the policies devised by the Privy Council who advised the king. In purely local matters, the governors had wide discretion. They were advised by resident landowners who were appointed to their position. Elected assemblies or legislatures enacted local laws but theoretically had limited power since their actions could be annulled by the gover-

nor of the these eleven acted local competitive his salary could direct them to pass James II colonies consisting of New shire. Later appointed him the power able freedom anger. And individual settlers and King James for his defiance Glorious Revolution was feared by birth to a son who politic. So Parliament her husband. When word of Andros and the government and England made the The action of the gland to bring the action of his predecessor and a Council of trade with the colonies of political ambitions. These monarchs favored gold and silver. In of trade, whereas the

nor or the royal authority in England. In actual practice, however, these elected assemblies exerted considerable authority. Since they enacted local taxes they had the power of the purse, which they used to compel the governor to heed their demands. They could deprive him of his salary, for example, or the salaries of his assistants. He, in turn, could dismiss them and call for new elections; but he could not compel them to pass laws they opposed.

James II did attempt to exercise greater control over several northern colonies in 1686, when he created the Dominion of New England, consisting of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. Later he added the colonies of New York and New Jersey. He appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of this dominion, and granted him the power to enact laws, including taxes. The loss of the considerable freedom the colonists had enjoyed engendered resentment and anger. And Andros himself was a mistake. Arbitrary, contemptuous of individual rights and traditions, he exercised dictatorial rule over the settlers and soon came to grief.

King James was hated both in America and in England, especially for his defiance of Parliament and its laws. He was overthrown in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. As a Catholic in spirit if not in fact, he was feared by many Protestants, who revolted when James's wife gave birth to a son who would inherit the throne, most probably as a Catholic. So Parliament invited James's daughter Mary, a Protestant, and her husband, William of Orange, to take the English throne as a pair. When word of James's overthrow reached Boston, the colonists arrested Andros and terminated the Dominion of New England. The colonial governments and local officials were reestablished. The Parliament in England made no attempt to resurrect the dominion.

The action of James II in establishing the Dominion of New England to bring the northern colonies under closer supervision, and the action of his predecessor, Charles II, in creating a Council of Trade and a Council of Foreign Plantations, by which a favorable balance of trade with the colonies could be achieved, were not simply expressions of political ambitions or goals. Actually they reflected economic need. These monarchs hoped to acquire wealth for England, and that meant gold and silver. To achieve such wealth necessitated a favorable balance of trade, wherein the money owed to a nation would be paid in specie.

Most settlements were the entire colony of the ar- rages, and the colony's and ide- the wealth. rice, and of sizable New World. Initially who signed their of their Dutch ship sent slaves or was. In any are Africans with a master by the for- small middle such as legal ions and sea- more homo- nies. in some par- or proprie- h colony had a the corporation Parliament or d the king. In on. They were their position. that theoretically ed by the gover-

Colonies were therefore necessary to provide the goods the mother country could sell abroad—selling more to foreigners than it bought and thus producing the favorable balance. The American colonies could supply raw materials such as tobacco, naval stores, cotton, rice, indigo, furs, and sugar, which England could sell to other nations. At the same time the colonies would provide a market for the mother country's manufactured goods. This program was called mercantilism, and through a series of Navigation and Trade Acts, Parliament in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries acted to monopolize the trade of its colonies and exclude foreign nations from that trade.

In Boston a mercantile class developed, transporting furs, naval stores, and fish to other colonial and Caribbean ports. The Bostonian merchants traded lumber and furs for West Indian molasses, which could be distilled into rum. New England shippers took their wares to England and the European continent and then sailed to Africa, where they acquired slaves to transport to the southern colonies. This triangular trade—Africa, West Indies, and North America—was carried on in violation of the Navigation Acts, but these enterprising merchants were an intrepid lot and managed to get away with it.

They were so successful that they soon acquired sufficient wealth to displace the New England Puritan elite of the earlier generation. The amount of money an individual acquired became the means by which an American rose to the upper class of society. This became the norm throughout America, not simply New England. Money or property determined social rank. Material goods replaced birth and heredity as the most important component in determining one's position in society.

RELIGION HAD ALWAYS been a prime factor in bringing settlers to America. Some colonies were actually founded as a haven for adherents of a particular creed or church. Puritans and Quakers were obvious examples.

Puritans were governed along congregational lines, that is, the congregation formulated the rules of society and its economy. But as the commercial activity of New England expanded, ministers became aware of the threat to their authority and sought to counteract it by holding synods, which spelled out doctrinal errors and demanded con-

formity in understanding and membership in the church. This involved a lengthy and genuine conversion and a synod in 1662 the clergy Covenant by which individuals were the grandchildren of right to vote and hold office.

In Quaker-dominated areas Quakers refused to take oaths. This made testimony in legal proceedings complicated the pledging of oaths were pacifists and refused to bear arms. Over time the Quaker-dominated areas evaporated, and William Penn's colony was absorbed into the middle of the eighteenth century.

A revival of strong religious Awakening. It began around 1730 and affected all classes of society and Ministers such as Jonathan Edwards, Theodorus Frelinghuysen in New Jersey, and Whitefield, who came to this country in 1739. Whitefield toured the colonies, preaching the message of salvation to all who would repent and be baptized. Whitefield helped regenerate the revivalist movement in Philadelphia he preached to 10,000 people.

Jonathan Edwards and others in England, likened humans to the heathen in desperate need of salvation. In 1741 an "Angry God," Edwards declared, "has cast his lightning bolts into the pit of hell, much as one holds a torch to the fire . . . is dreadfully provoked from allowing the wicked to fall into it; repent and desist from their sinful practices or he will destroy them."

This Great Awakening evoked a response from the ministers and from those who

formity in understanding the will of the Almighty. Obtaining membership in the church that would allow a male to vote and hold office involved a lengthy examination to make certain an individual had a genuine conversion and actually experienced the presence of God. At a synod in 1662 the clergy established what they called the Halfway Covenant by which individuals were granted "halfway" status if they were the grandchildren of "saints," thereby conferring on them the right to vote and hold office.

In Quaker-dominated Pennsylvania problems arose over the fact that Quakers refused to take oaths, insisting that oaths violated the Bible. This made testimony in legal disputes difficult to obtain; and it complicated the pledging of allegiance to the crown. Moreover, Quakers were pacifists and refused to engage in warfare against the Indians. Over time the Quaker-domination of the government in Pennsylvania evaporated, and William Penn's "Holy Experiment" came to an end.

A revival of strong religious practice occurred in America in the middle of the eighteenth century with what is known as the First Great Awakening. It began around the 1720s in New England and New Jersey and affected all classes of society and all regions of the country. Ministers such as Jonathan Edwards in Northampton, Massachusetts; Theodorus Frelinghuysen in New Jersey; and the young George Whitefield, who came to this country from England in 1739, preached salvation to all who would repent and place their trust in Jesus Christ. Whitefield toured the colonies, mesmerizing those who heard him. He helped regenerate the revivalistic fervor that swept the country. In Philadelphia he preached to 10,000 who were hungry for salvation.

Jonathan Edwards and other revivalists, called New Lights in New England, likened humans to the lowest of God's creatures who were in desperate need of salvation. In a sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," Edwards declared, "The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire . . . is dreadfully provoked." Only His mercy stays His hand from allowing the wicked to fall into hellfire. But unless His creatures repent and desist from their sinfulness He will surely and utterly destroy them.

This Great Awakening evoked intense emotional outbursts both from the ministers and from those who heard them. One could hear

"screaming, singing, laughing, praying all at once," with people experiencing convulsions and falling into trances. It was not uncommon for an audience to become so aroused that it bordered on frenzy. Many of these preachers were itinerants and insisted that there must be a direct and close connection between the sinner and God, thus undermining the authority of the resident clergy. This individual and personal relationship was necessary for salvation, they argued, not the ministrations of preachers. Preachers emphasized the fact that individuals alone were responsible for their final end. Without doubt, the promotion of individualism was one of the important effects of the Great Awakening. Another was its antiauthoritarianism, which permanently altered and diminished the power of resident ministers in both religious and secular affairs. Still another important effect was that it fostered the founding of new colleges to provide an education which would help individuals achieve salvation as well as to train New Light ministers. Such schools as Princeton, Dartmouth, Brown, Rutgers, and Columbia were established, and Jonathan Edwards himself became the president of Princeton.

By the 1770s, the fervor of the Great Awakening began to fade, but it succeeded in convincing Americans that they had a choice in religion and that it was up to them to earn their salvation. Such ideas carried into the political realm as well. Colonists reckoned that their government should be grounded in the will of the people, that they had a choice in the kind of government they wanted, the kind of government that suited their needs.

THE BRITISH ROYAL authority in London failed to provide the colonies in America with regular direction, and as the settlers moved farther west they encountered problems that required immediate solutions. The Indians and the invading French from Canada in the western country resisted English encroachment, and so the colonists were obliged to attend to this problem themselves and conduct their own affairs without outside guidance, instruction, or contradiction. Thus they relied on their own assemblies to address their concerns and pass the necessary legislation to resolve them. Since they believed they were unrepresented in Parliament, they felt justified in raising taxes to oper-

ate their local governments, increase the size of the national intrusion. It was an attitude of "salutary neglect," a policy and buttressed their sense of their own affairs.

The problem of Indian land for land frequently resulted into the Connecticut River out with the Pequot in 1675 that tribe. This was followed chief of the Wampanoag tribe the British, launched a war had greeted the Pilgrims who had friendly relations with the time, and the hanging of several Metacom, touched off the war tribes in the surrounding area. August 1676, when his severed

THE FRENCH CONSTITUTIONAL settlers. In their search for fur into the western regions beyond around the Great Lakes. As directed Marquis Duquesne de Menneville Lake Erie to the Ohio River to engage

The rivalry for empire between developed into a hundred years of the century, in both Europe and 1689 with the War of the League of War in America. In that war colonists William Phips captured Port Royal, Nova France a year later. The War of the Succession in 1702, was called Queen Anne's War War of the Austrian Succession, or the conclusion France ceded Newfoundland

ate their local governments, pay the salaries of their officials, and increase the size of the militia to fight the Indians and ward off French intrusion. It was an arrangement by which England followed a policy of "salutary neglect," a policy that suited the needs of the inhabitants and buttressed their sense of their right as Englishmen to conduct their own affairs.

The problem of Indian resistance to the constant need of colonists for land frequently resulted in all-out war. When the Puritans moved into the Connecticut River valley in the 1630s a full-scale conflict broke out with the Pequot in 1637 and resulted in the virtual extermination of that tribe. This was followed by King Philip's War in 1675. The Indian chief of the Wampanoag tribe, Metacom, but dubbed King Philip by the British, launched a war that centered around Plymouth. This tribe had greeted the Pilgrims when they first arrived on Cape Cod and had had friendly relations with the settlers. But these relations soured over time, and the hanging of several Wampanoag, including the brother of Metacom, touched off the war and soon involved many of the other tribes in the surrounding area. It ended with King Philip's death in August 1676, when his severed head was put on public display.

THE FRENCH CONSTITUTED another problem for the English settlers. In their search for furs they had spilled down from Canada into the western regions beyond the Appalachian Mountains and around the Great Lakes. As directed by the French governor of Canada, Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, they built a series of forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio River to ensure their control.

The rivalry for empire between England and France had already developed into a hundred years of warfare, starting in the late seventeenth century, in both Europe and America. It began in Europe in 1689 with the War of the League of Augsburg, called King William's War in America. In that war colonists under the command of Sir William Phips captured Port Royal, Nova Scotia, but it was recaptured by France a year later. The War of the Spanish Succession, which started in 1702, was called Queen Anne's War in the colonies. Then came the War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War, in 1740. At its conclusion France ceded Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson Bay to

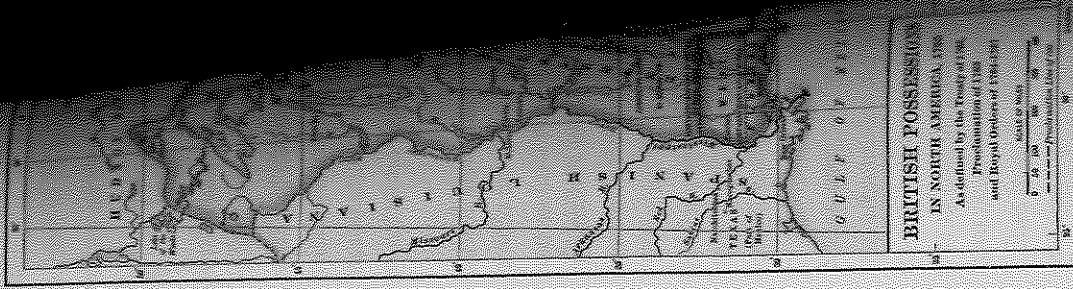
Great Britain. In all these wars both the French and the English allied themselves to Indian tribes, the French arming the Algonquin and the English the Iroquois.

In the final war of this struggle for empire, the Seven Years' War, or French and Indian War, actually started in America. In 1754, Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia dispatched his militia, led by a twenty-two-year-old colonel, George Washington, to construct a fort at the juncture of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers that forms the Ohio River. Driven off the site of the junction, the Virginians built a stockade fifty miles away, called Fort Necessity. The frontier became a living hell for colonists in the west as the French and their Indian allies ravaged the American settlements in one military defeat after another.

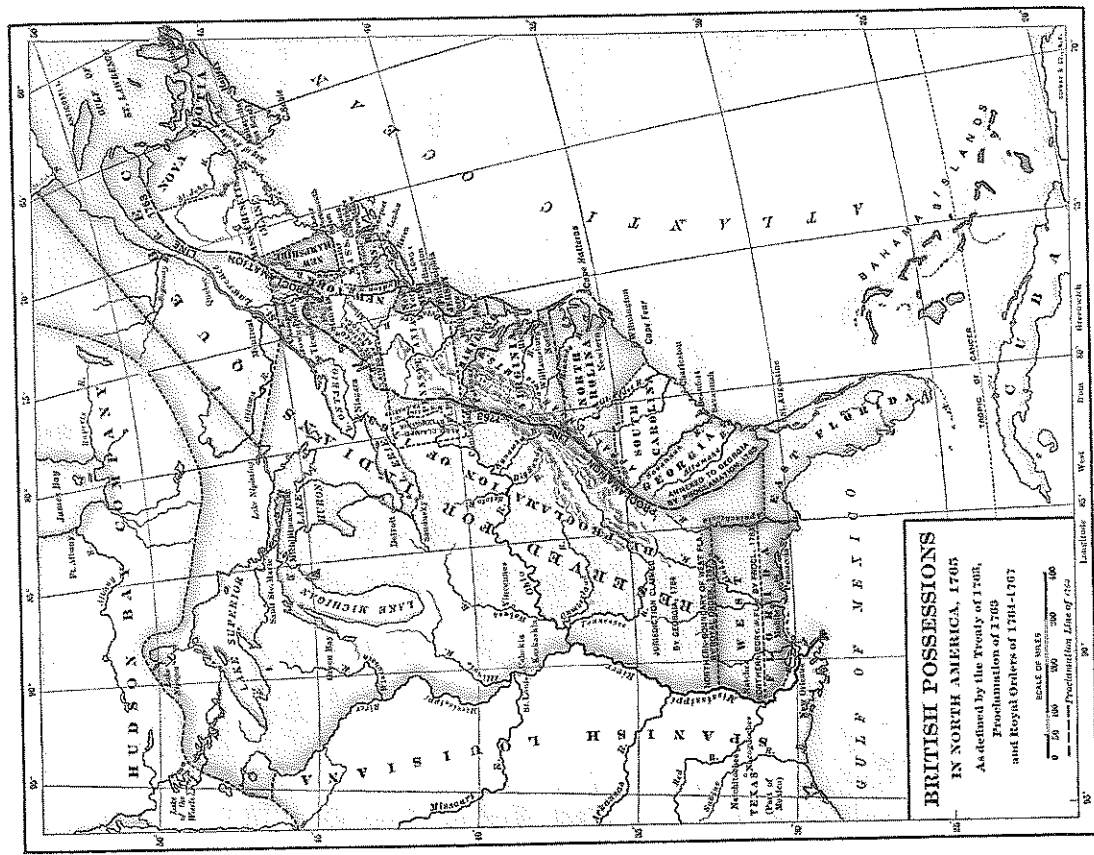
Then the situation made a complete about-face. When William Pitt became prime minister, he completely altered British policy in fighting this war. He left the conflict on the European continent to his Prussian ally, Frederick the Great, and concentrated on the war in the colonies. He sent crack troops and his best generals to America, including general James Wolfe and Jeffrey Amherst. Amherst had a reputation for gifting the Indians with smallpox-infected blankets. After a series of engagements the French abandoned Fort Duquesne in what is now Pittsburgh. Louisbourg, Ticonderoga, Quebec, and Montreal were captured by the British. In the siege of Quebec both General Wolfe and the French general, Marquis de Montcalm, were killed.

At the peace treaty signed in Paris in 1763, France surrendered Canada to Great Britain. To compensate its ally, Spain, for losing Florida to Great Britain, France ceded Louisiana to her. The acquisition of Canada pleased fur traders because it provided an enormous territory in which to hunt animals, and it pleased the colonists, who no longer feared the presence of the French and their incitement of Indians on the frontier. The French minister, Étienne-François de Choiseul, sagaciously predicted that the colonies would break free of Great Britain once Canada was ceded.

At the outset of the conflict between American colonists and their French opponents on the frontier, particularly at Fort Duquesne, there was an attempt at unified action. Representatives from seven colonies—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland—met in Albany in June 1754, along



with 100 Iroquois chiefs, common defense. Devised for Pennsylvania, the plan required an executive council appointed by the king would have power over all legislation.



with 100 Iroquois chiefs, and agreed on a Plan of Union for the common defense. Devised for the most part by Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, the plan recommended the creation of a continental government with representatives from each colony. A president-general appointed by the king would act as the chief executive officer with veto power over all legislation. The single house would meet annually to

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regulate such matters as Indian affairs, public lands, and a colonial militia. This was the first attempt by American settlers to form a continental government to act for the entire English population within the colonies. But to Franklin's intense disappointment, the king and several colonial legislatures rejected the plan.

Because of their long history of conducting their own local affairs, the colonists believed they were merely acting on their rights as Englishmen. Besides, the policy of "salutary neglect" pursued by Parliament seemed to confirm their claim. They regarded their legislative assemblies as one expression of their right to enact laws commensurate with perceived local needs, not the gift of a temporarily distracted or overburdened Parliament.

Parliament, of course, saw it differently. The colonists were British subjects and therefore obliged to obey the laws enacted by the central government in London. It was all well and good to have local assemblies operating in the colonies, but they were inferior to Parliament, which could alter or nullify what they enacted when and if it conflicted with imperial needs. Such a difference of conception about their position and rights was sure to produce a collision. And it was not long before the collision burst into violence.

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ALTHOUGH the British colonial domain, French territory, and the Allegheny Mountains presented and resisted the British in the grounds by English. British continue the British had no interest of 1763 the Indians tawa chief Pontiac, in Tribes from the Great and destroyed every first

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Independence and Nation Building

ALTHOUGH THE TITANIC battle for empire between the French and British ended with a total English victory, it created monumental problems in London as to the administration of this vast domain. French forces had been swept from the region west of the Allegheny Mountains, but thousands of Indians lived in the area and resisted the ever-increasing invasion of their hunting grounds by English colonists. The Indians also demanded that the British continue the French practice of supplying them with weapons and ammunition and lower prices on other trading necessities. The British had no intention of imitating French practice, and in the summer of 1763 the Indians finally rose up, under the leadership of the Ottawa chief Pontiac, in an effort to drive the settlers back to the ocean. Tribes from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico joined the rebellion and destroyed every frontier fort west of the mountains.

The British government not only decided that it must keep a standing army of at least 10,000 troops in North America to maintain order and control, but also issued the Proclamation of 1763, which forbade colonists from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains. It drew a north-south line at the crest of the mountains with the idea of reserving the land west of the line for the Indians. This was meant to pacify the tribes but served only to infuriate the colonists, who refused to be bound by the Proclamation.

Another problem arising from the cessation of hostilities between the British and French involved expense. The national debt in England stood at £147 million, and the Prime Minister, George Grenville, was determined to reduce it. One of his worst headaches was administering this expanded empire. It proved so costly that Parliament abandoned the policy of "salutary neglect" and passed a series of laws levying duties on English imports into America, with part of the revenue to go toward paying the salaries of royal officials in the colonies. The first bill was the Sugar Act, passed in 1764, which established duties on foreign sugar, textiles, coffee, indigo, rum, wine, and several other items. It was the first law approved by Parliament intended specifically to raise money in the colonies. Grenville expected this act to yield at least £45,000 annually if properly enforced. The Sugar Act was not simply a customs duty but a program that threatened to disrupt American trade and the livelihood of thousands.

This act was followed the next year by the Quartering Act, which required the colonies to provide lodging for troops stationed in their communities to protect them. The Stamp Act, which came a few days later, added a tax stamp to be placed on newspapers, legal documents, contracts, playing cards, marriage licenses, land deeds, and a host of other items that involved paper. It was the first direct tax levied by Parliament on the colonies. These acts—the Sugar, Quartering, and Stamp Acts—created quite an uproar in the colonies—the legal class was particularly hard hit by the Stamp Act—and James Otis in Massachusetts proposed that a general meeting of delegates from each of the colonies meet to take action against the Stamp Act. The proposal won a favorable response from the various colonies, and delegates chosen by their constituents met in October 1765 in New York City to protest the despised legislation. All but four colonies were represented at this Congress; in a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances," written chiefly by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, the delegates insisted that only their own duly elected legislatures had the right to tax them. Parliament in no way represented them, they insisted, and was prohibited from imposing taxes on them. Taxation without representation, they declared, was nothing less than tyranny. In London, Benjamin Franklin, an agent for Pennsylvania, warned Parliament that any attempt to enforce the Stamp Act with troops might lead to rebellion.

Organization and Liberty were forced to resign. The businessmen, finally in 1766, but again it was "full power and authority, subjects of the crown.

But Americans were to repeal the Stamp Act. If nothing else, they by unified action the rights. Let Parliament might be the onset of It is interesting and to describe their assembly it does today, namely that tenth and nineteenth century of sovereign and independent Act Congress represents ties who considered the Englishmen by which they benefit of the people living

IN VIRGINIA, A young Henry, got up in the House of King and Parliament. He the rights of colonists against the room shouted, "Treason" standing up for one's rights advantage of it. He introduced archy and Parliament. Although less extreme of them, new them to the other colonies.

At this point a change in the cellor of the Exchequer, Charles

Organizations such as the Sons of Liberty and the Daughters of Liberty were formed in 1765, and several riots occurred. The Sons of Liberty did not hesitate to resort to violence. All the stamp agents resigned. The violence, and the disastrous effect on merchants and businessmen, finally prompted Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act in 1766, but again it asserted in the Declaratory Act the government's "full power and authority . . . to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever." But Americans were so delighted that they had forced Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act that they simply disregarded the Declaratory Act. If nothing else, their Stamp Act Congress had demonstrated that by unified action the colonies could compel Parliament to respect their rights. Let Parliament attempt another such tax, and the consequence might be the onset of rebellion.

It is interesting and important that they used the word "Congress" to describe their assembly. The word did not have the same meaning as it does today, namely that of a legislative body. A congress in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries usually denoted a diplomatic assembly of sovereign and independent states. Thus the delegates to this Stamp Act Congress represented a collection of individual and distinct entities who considered themselves as having rights and powers as Englishmen by which they had full power to enact legislation for the benefit of the people living in their respective colonies.

IN VIRGINIA, A young, eloquent lawyer by the name of Patrick Henry, got up in the House of Burgesses and railed against both the king and Parliament. He argued so vehemently and so convincingly for the rights of colonists against the authority in London that someone in the room shouted, "Treason!" He was quick to respond, saying that if standing up for one's rights is treason then the colonists should take advantage of it. He introduced seven resolutions denouncing the monarchy and Parliament. Although the Burgesses passed only four of the less extreme of them, newspapers printed all seven and distributed them to the other colonies.

At this point a change in government in London brought the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, to the head of government,

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a man who rejected every argument Americans put forward regarding their rights. To demonstrate his contempt, he persuaded Parliament to impose what he called an "external" as opposed to "internal" taxes on a wide variety of items to be imported from England, including glass, paper, and tea. Worse, part of the revenue to be collected would pay the salaries of royal officials in the colonies. Not only did these duties tax colonists without their consent, but they also eliminated the one lever of power the colonists had over their royal governors: namely, the appropriation of their salaries and the salaries of their advisers and other officials.

In another act the Parliament, on October 1, 1767, suspended the New York assembly for refusing to provide supplies to the troops quartered in the colony. This suspension was an all-out assault on what Americans regarded as their fundamental rights. Suspension could lead to an abolition of legislative assemblies, they contended, and result in virtual enslavement of the settlers. John Dickinson of Pennsylvania spelled out the colonists' complaints in a popular pamphlet, *Letters from an American Farmer*. The suspension of the New York assembly, he wrote, was a damnable "stroke aimed at the liberty of all these colonies. . . . For the cause of one is the cause of all." Moreover, "Those who are *taxed* without their own consent are *slaves*," he cried. "We are taxed without our own consent. . . . We are therefore—SLAVES."

A new prime minister in London, Lord North, took over from Townshend in 1770 and ordered the repeal of the duties, except for a tax of three pennies a pound on tea, which was meant more as a symbol of Parliament's authority than as a producer of revenue.

Radical activists who plotted to bring about a revolution kept stirring up popular resentment against British rule. Sam Adams, a cousin of John Adams, wrote letters and articles in newspapers, summoning "the people of this country explicitly to declare whether they will be Freemen or Slaves." He urged the formation of committees of correspondence and in 1772 set up such committees in every Massachusetts town. The idea prompted Thomas Jefferson of Virginia to aid in the formation of similar committees throughout the colonies.

In 1771 Thomas Hutchinson was appointed governor of Massachusetts. He was not a British nobleman sent by the crown to enforce absolute control of the province. Rather, he was a Harvard-educated

fifth-generation American who had served in the assembly and the supreme court. Because of his demonstrations and his opposition to the Stamp Act, he drew the rage of British officials. The rage against him was so great that his house was ransacked in 1765, and Hutchinson had to flee for writs of assistance in 1767 during wartime. James Oglethorpe gave a speech so powerful that it led to the American Revolution. The American Revolution was won by the British.

Then, on March 5, 1770, British authority and the lives of British soldiers guarding the city of Boston were threatened. Thomas Preston, with his soldiers and snowballs at their feet, was surrounded by a crowd, killing five men and wounding six. The soldiers avoided when Hutchinson ordered them to withdraw the troops from the city. They were arrested and charged with murder. Quincy accepted the request for their release. Six of his men were acquitted, but the others were acquitted of manslaughter and were released. "Boston Massacre," as it was called, was a turning point in the year in Massachusetts, and it was a turning point throughout the colonies.

But it was the tea tax that was the real turning point into the hands of the most radical of the Tea Company verged on bankruptcy. It had a monopoly on the tea trade. It held a surplus of 17 million pounds. It was required by law, and therefore it was a turning point. The movement responded in May 1773 by

fifth-generation American, but a devoted loyalist who had served in the assembly and later became chief justice of the highest Massachusetts court. Because Hutchinson hated and sought to quell public demonstrations and mob action as a way of getting across their demands, Bostonians regarded him as the figurehead of everything they detested about British rule. And although he deplored the stupidity of the Stamp Act, he defended the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. The rage against him grew to such an extent that his house had been ransacked in 1765, when he was the chief justice.

Hutchinson had also defended the use of search warrants, called writs of assistance, in an effort to curb smuggling in the colonies during wartime. James Otis gave a crowd-pleasing tirade against the writs, a speech so powerful that John Adams hailed it as the beginning of the American Revolution. "Then and there," Adams later wrote, "the child Independence was born."

Then, on March 5, 1770, the mounting antagonism between the British authority and the citizenry of Boston erupted in violence. British soldiers guarding the customhouse, commanded by Captain Thomas Preston, were jeered at and heckled by agitators who threw stones and snowballs at them. The soldiers reacted by firing into the crowd, killing five men and wounding six others. A general melee was avoided when Hutchinson, at the insistence of Sam Adams, agreed to withdraw the troops from Boston. Preston and eight of his soldiers were arrested and charged with murder. John Adams and Josiah Quincy accepted the request that they defend the soldiers. Preston and six of his men were acquitted, but two soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter and were released after being branded on the hand. This "Boston Massacre," as it was called, was regularly remembered each year in Massachusetts, and a print of the bloody scene was circulated throughout the colonies.

But it was the tea tax that really set off a series of events that played into the hands of the most radical colonial agitators. The East India Tea Company verged on bankruptcy and turned to the government for help. It had a monopoly on the importation of tea into England and held a surplus of 17 million pounds of tea. But it could not pay the duty required by law, and therefore could not sell the tea in Britain. Parliament responded in May 1773 by passing a Tea Act allowing the company

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In addition to all the other outrages perpetrated by the crown, Hutchinson was replaced as governor of Massachusetts by General Thomas Gage, accompanied by an army of 4,000 soldiers, who promised to put an end to the colonists' resistance to British law. "The die is cast," King George informed Lord North. "The colonists must either triumph or submit."

Submit they would not. Once more delegates assembled from all the colonies, except Georgia, to agree on demands and devise plans to make Britain acknowledge their basic rights as Englishmen. This First Continental Congress convened in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, and included such radical activists as Sam and John Adams of Massachusetts and Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia. However, moderates led by Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania preferred a more conciliatory policy. They offered a variation of the Albany Plan of Union, but the Congress rejected it. Instead, the Congress adopted a Declaration written by John Adams, which affirmed the rights of colonists to "life, liberty, & property," and condemned the recent acts of Parliament as "unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive." Again they used the word "Congress," asserting once more their existence as separate, individual, and sovereign states.

Forthwith, the delegates demanded repeal of the Intolerable Acts, and of all taxes by Parliament. Moreover, they agreed to collective economic action involving nonimportation of British goods, starting on December 1, 1774, and nonexportation of American goods on September 1, 1775. This Continental Association was to be enforced by local committees within each colony. When this Congress adjourned, the delegates truly believed that they had vindicated American rights. They agreed to reassemble the following May.

But events soon developed that pitched the colonies into all-out war with the colonial authorities. On April 18, 1775, General Gage in Massachusetts sent 1,000 troops to seize suspected supplies of guns and ammunition at Concord. Paul Revere rode out of Boston to warn Americans of the approach of the soldiers. At Lexington a company of colonial minutemen tried to block the advance of the British and were fired upon. Eight minutemen died in the clash. The British troops continued to Concord, where they destroyed whatever weapons were found, and then turned around and headed back to Boston. But along

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the way they were attacked by thousands of colonists, who hid behind trees, bushes, and stone walls. By the time the British arrived back at headquarters they had lost almost 300 men.

The situation escalated when Colonel William Prescott fortified Breed's Hill with 1,600 colonials on the night of June 16, 1775, and General Gage sent his army to dislodge them. It took three assaults and the loss of over 1,000 men before the British finally reached the trenches at the top of the hill where the Americans were hidden. Their powder gone, the colonials abandoned the trenches and fled from their attackers. They suffered about one-third as many casualties as they inflicted on the British, who lost over 1,000 men.

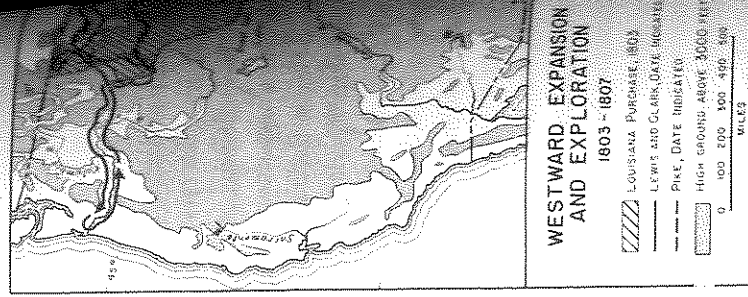
This Battle of Bunker Hill, incorrectly named after a hill nearby, was one of the bloodiest in the entire Revolutionary War. One-eighth of all the British officers who died in the war were killed at Bunker Hill. General Henry Clinton, who—together with Generals William Howe and John Burgoyne—had recently arrived in Boston with reinforcements, wrote a fitting comment on this battle: "Another such victory would have ruined us."

With violence increasing each month, the Second Continental Congress assembled on May 10, 1775, and decided to pursue more radical measures in seeking redress of grievances. The delegates raised an army, appointed General George Washington to command it, issued Continental currency, and opened negotiations with foreign powers to win their support and intervention.

To subdue this rebellion, the British hired 20,000 German mercenaries and shipped them to America, thereby intensifying Americans' determination to seek independence. The publication of *Common Sense* by Thomas Paine in early January 1776, called for immediate independence. He labeled George III the "Royal Brute" and accused the king of instigating all the wretched legislation directed against the colonists. Paine acknowledged that many Americans looked upon Britain as the "parent country," but if true, he said, the recent acts were all the more outrageous: "Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families." But the "Royal Brute" could and did "unflinchingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly slept with their blood upon his soul." America was destined for a republican form of government, Paine insisted, not a "monarchical tyranny." It has been

and will continue to be and religious liberty such an impact on the cause of independence were snuffed up by printings in 1776 about "sound doctrine and

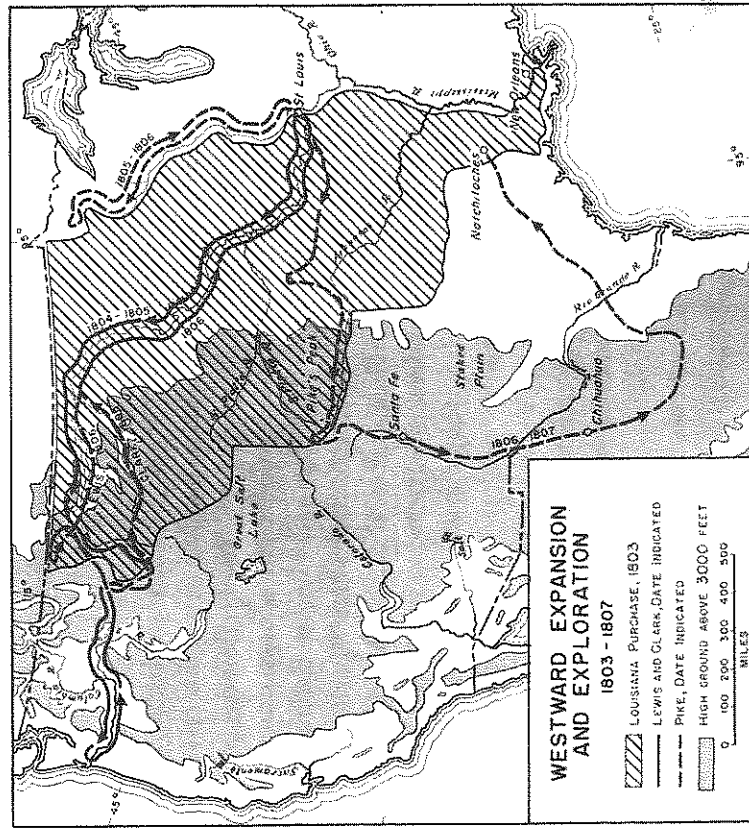
On April 12, 1776, Congress to seek separate offered a resolution to be, free and independent with the mother country them, however, that if



Westward Expansion

and will continue to be "the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe." Paine's pamphlet had such an impact on those who read it that it persuaded many to adopt the cause of independence. More than 100,000 copies of the pamphlet were snapped up by an eager public, and the work enjoyed twenty-five printings in 1776 alone. George Washington referred frequently to its "sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning."

On April 12, 1776, North Carolina instructed its delegates in Congress to seek separation, and on June 7 Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered a resolution stating that these colonies "are and of right ought to be, free and independent states." John Adams seconded Lee's resolution, but there were some in Congress who argued for reconciliation with the mother country. Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania reminded them, however, that if the members of the Congress did not "hang



Westward Expansion

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together," they would "all hang separately." Ultimately the advocates of independence prevailed. As Jefferson explained, "The question was not whether, by a declaration of independence, we should make ourselves what we are not, but whether we should declare a fact that already exists."

A committee was formed to write a justification of the action to be taken should Congress choose to accept the resolution. Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York composed this committee, but a subcommittee of Jefferson and Adams was actually assigned the task of writing the document. Because Jefferson was known to be a "felicitous" writer, he was prevailed upon to prepare what turned out to be an eloquent statement about human liberty and equality. Adams and Franklin added some minor amendments. On July 2 Lee's resolution was passed, and on July 4 the Declaration of Independence was adopted without dissent and signed by the president of the Continental Congress, John Hancock.

The Congress also adopted a flag, on June 14, 1777, one consisting of thirteen red and white alternating stripes and thirteen white stars on a field of blue.

As delegates from sovereign, independent states, the members were united in their determination to win freedom from the tyranny of Great Britain, but they had little enthusiasm for creating a controlling central government. Still, they needed some sort of central authority to attend to such matters as providing for military and financial needs in prosecuting the ongoing war. So another committee was chosen to lay out the specifics for a national government that could address these concerns. The document produced by this committee, known as the Articles of Confederation, was chiefly the work of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania. What the document proposed was a Confederation of states, not a Union of people. As a result, the government it projected was doomed from the start. Nevertheless, it was a major breakthrough in the evolution of a representative government that would encompass a collection of thirteen independent political entities.

The Articles declared that the several states were to be joined in a "perpetual union" and a "firm league of friendship." But it also admitted that all the states would retain their "sovereignty, freedom, and independence." A unicameral legislature was established for this "union,"

representing all the states. Authority to enforce them, whatever it decreed, but impossible. In addition, the support its operation and contributions from each state. But few states paid what they would pay less, and there was about it.

Two other problems were the agreement of all the states could go into effect. Maryland ceded their western lands to the claim to the western country and fortunate states, such as Virginia to the condition, and Maryland the problem involved amending the operation. Again, it required that proved to be impossible. What

ernment subservient to thirteen states. It must be remembered that the Articles of Confederation had no central authority that would eighty of each state. It would take a dozen years for others to decide permanent Union that could pass and property for its citizens and show states. In a word, a federal system

The delegates debated the Articles and not until November 15, 1777, was another three and a half years before the government under the Articles was established.

THE WAR ITSELF had begun at Lexington the rebellion the British had the ability to remain in the field or military

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pted a flag, on June 14, 1777, one consisting of ernating stripes and thirteen white stars on a reign, independent states, the members were ation to win freedom from the tyranny of ad little enthusiasm for creating a controlling they needed some sort of central authority to providing for military and financial needs in war. So another committee was chosen to lay tional government that could address these produced by this committee, known as the , was chiefly the work of John Dickinson of document proposed was a Confederation of ple. As a result, the government it projected t. Nevertheless, it was a major breakthrough representative government that would encompass ependent political entities.

hat the several states were to be joined in a firm league of friendship." But it also admitted retain their "sovereignty, freedom, and in- legislature was established for this "union,"

representing all the states. And although it could enact laws, it had no authority to enforce them. It relied on the states and the people to obey whatever it decreed, but voluntary compliance proved to be virtually impossible. In addition, the government lacked the power to tax. To support its operation and pay for carrying on the war, it had to rely on contributions from each state as set forth by the national legislature. But few states paid what they owed. If hard-pressed for cash, they would pay less, and there was nothing the central government could do about it.

Two other problems were present in the Articles. First, the unanimous agreement of all the states was required before the document could go into effect. Maryland withheld its consent until all the states ceded their western lands to the central government. That state had no claim to the western country and hoped to share in the largess of more fortunate states, such as Virginia. Not until 1781 did all the states agree to the condition and Maryland finally added its consent. The second problem involved amending the Articles once the government began operation. Again it required unanimous approval by the states, and that proved to be impossible. What the document created was a government subservient to thirteen other governments.

It must be remembered that at the time, the delegates who produced the Articles of Confederation had no experience in establishing a workable central authority that would understand and recognize the sovereignty of each state. It would take a learning experience of almost half a dozen years for others to decide what had to be done to create a permanent Union that could pass and enforce laws to protect liberty and property for its citizens and show proper regard for the rights of the states. In a word, a federal system needed to be erected.

The delegates debated the Articles of Confederation for over a year, and not until November 15, 1777, was it formally adopted. Then, it took another three and a half years before all the states agreed and the government under the Articles was established.

THE WAR ITSELF had begun at Lexington and Concord, but to put down the rebellion the British had to destroy General Washington's ability to remain in the field or militarily occupy the entire country.