

THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AND INDEPENDENCE



A Re-creation of the Conflict between Loyalists and Patriots about Declaring Independence from England

THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AND INDEPENDENCE

A re-creation of the conflict between Loyalists and Patriots, debating whether or not the American Colonies should declare independence from England

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Why were about one-third of the colonists Moderates in 1776?

During this historical re-creation of the Second Continental Congress and the American thrust for independence, students participate in the decision and problem-solving processes experienced by the delegates in 1775 and 1776. Students continually encounter alternatives, compromises, and conflicts as Radicals, Tories, and Moderates. In the process, the very conscience of a nation is bared as delegates take sides, state views, and pledge their very honor and existence to the cause of rebellion or compromise. The result will be three groups of students arguing the revolutionary issues of the 1770s. Specifically your students will experience the following:

Knowledge

1. The growth of a nation is a long, slow process characterized by continual challenge and compromise.
2. Individuals must cooperate with each other in order to reach compromise or decision.
3. The process of declaring independence was not unanimous; powerful arguments existed on both sides.
4. The decision to break away from the Mother Country was not made swiftly, but only after a long democratic process had taken place.

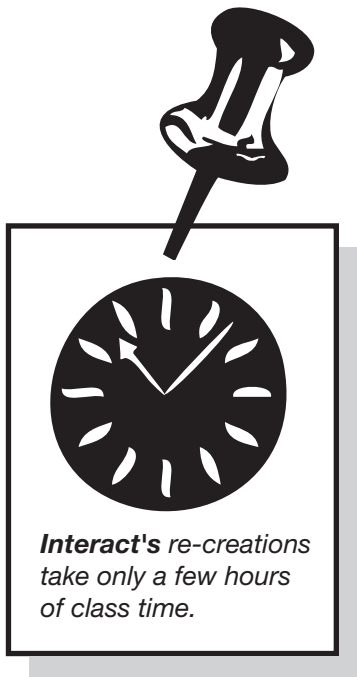
Attitudes

1. Solving problems when two strong points of view are in conflict is very difficult.
2. Alternative ways exist for coping with different sides of arguments.
3. Leadership requires the ability to listen and cooperate as well as compromise.
4. A feeling of unity exists after conflict and compromise merge into decision.

Skills

1. Using various types of information and contrary points of view as sources for a specific purpose
2. Working effectively with others in planning, executing, and evaluating a group activity
3. Making individual and small group decisions
4. Organizing and presenting information clearly and accurately

OVERVIEW



Four class periods—or days—are needed for this re-creation of the Second Continental Congress.

Day 1

In the first hour students are given background information concerning events of this historical period. Students are divided into three factions: Radicals, Tories, and Moderates. With the aid of general and specific information provided, these factions meet and assign specific arguments for various members to present during the second hour. An overnight assignment is provided.

Days 2-3

During the second and third hours the classroom is divided with the three factions seated to the left, right, and center of the chairperson. (You will likely be the chairperson.) The Radical and Tory faction members speak alternately for and against Issue 1. After each side's argument is presented, the Moderates ask questions of the Radicals and Tories. This sequence is followed for the remaining issues. After the debate has concluded, a vote is taken. An overnight assignment is provided.

Day 4

The class is again divided in the final hour for debriefing/testing. Emphasis is placed on the contemporary relevance of the Second Continental Congress.

SETUP DIRECTIONS

1. **Decision about time** This re-creation was written to function within four class periods—one for the preparation, two for the re-creation, and one for the debriefing. However, after carefully studying the Student Guide pages and the various Teacher Guide handouts, you may want to alter it significantly because of your students' abilities, the materials on hand, and the time pressures you feel.
2. **Handouts** Duplicate the number in parentheses, using the masters in this Teacher Guide.
 - RADICALS LEADER (one: one page)
 - RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 1 (one: one page)
 - RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 2 (one: one page)
 - RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 3 (one: one page)
 - RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 4 (one: one page)
 - RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 5 (one: two pages, back to back)
 - TORIES LEADER (one: one page)
 - TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 1 (one: one page)
 - TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 2 (one: one page)
 - TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 3 (one: one page)
 - TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 4 (one: one page)
 - TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 5 (one: two pages, back to back)
 - MODERATES LEADER (one: one page)
 - MODERATES QUESTIONS (one: two-and-a-half pages, cut apart for the five questioners)

Optional:

 - * PRETEST (class set: one page)
 - * POST-TEST (class set: one page)



You will likely wish to divide the students so that each of the three groups has an equal number of capable students—particularly in their ability to speak.

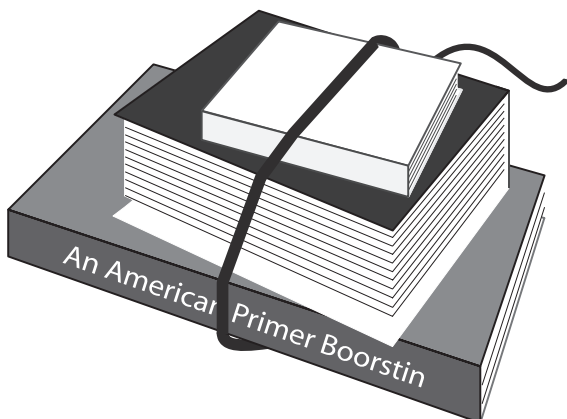
3. **Grouping** Decide if you wish to assign students to groups or allow students to group themselves. Divide class into one-third Radicals, one-third Tories, and one-third Moderates.
4. **Chairperson** As the teacher, you may wish to assume the role of chairperson of the Congress to keep the Congress organized and the ideas flowing. However, you may wish to give a capable, experienced student this role.

BIBLIOGRAPHY



Consider speaking to your friendly librarian. Ask him/her to set up a special **SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS RESERVE** bookshelf so that your capable students can check out books early in order to “flesh out” their identities.

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DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 1



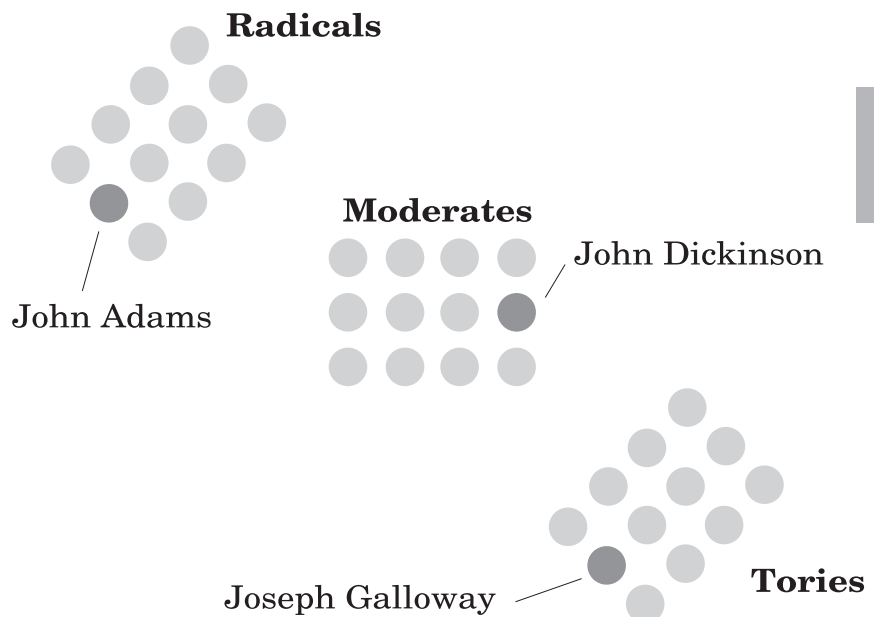
Also assign your students to read the chapter(s) in their textbook covering the Revolutionary period ...

Before Day 1

Be sure you have thoroughly examined this Teacher Guide, the Student Guide, and the various handouts.

1. Pass out the Student Guides. Read aloud to your students the Purpose section. It is vital for you to establish interest in this period of history and the re-creation students are about to enter. You can do this in one of several ways: a) a lecture, reinforced by the reading of the Background Essay in the Student Guide; b) an audio-visual presentation (filmstrip, movie, or video tape); or c) completion of the PRETEST given in this Teacher Guide; or d) any combination of the above. (If you use it, here are answers to the PRETEST: 1. 0, 2. 0, 3. +, 4. 0, 5. +, 6. 0, 7. +, 8. +, 9. +, 10. 0, 11. 0, 12. +, 13. +, 14. +, 15. 0.)
2. Have students read the Background Essay in the Student Guide. This will give each student the same background information to begin the re-creation. As an overnight assignment, have students answer the questions provided in the Student Guide concerning the information presented in the Background Essay. Refer them to the Procedure section on page 5 of the Student Guide, the section under Day 1, Assignment.
3. Either by choice, chance, or dictation—*be careful about equalizing speaking ability within each group*—divide the class into the three factions.

You will want to give all factions special places in the classroom where they regularly meet.



DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 2



Encourage your students to practice giving their speeches and asking their questions—aloud! Above all, insure that they do not simply read their material from the handouts you have given them.

4. Give each faction the leader and arguments (or questions) handouts. Be certain that each faction receives only the materials written for its point of view. Students may refer to the Arguments Outline: Radicals and Tories in their Student Guides for an overall picture of all sides. Encourage this.
5. Allow students to meet in their factions to choose a leader. *He/she must keep members on task.* First, he/she assigns specific arguments/questions to be presented during the second and third hours. (Each student will present an argument, a specific detail, or question.)
6. If you have an energetic, imaginative group, encourage them to consider finding/creating Revolutionary War clothing to wear during the two-day congressional session.

Days 2-3

1. You likely should assume the role of chairperson of the Congress. This will put you in the role of controlling the flow of arguments on all sides. You will fulfill the same role that the leader does in the three factions.
2. Arrange students by factions facing the chairperson. Place the Moderates in the center between the other two factions.
3. On the first issue have the Radical speaker(s) speak first, the Tory speaker(s) second, the Moderate questioner(s) third. It is important to keep things moving. Tell speakers to use about one minute for the argument, about one minute for the quotation when he/she either becomes the historical identity or quotes that person because he is absent.

Example: The first Radical stands and speaks to the first issue, summarizing the argument provided in the faction's handout. This summary should last about one minute. Next, this same student (or a second Radical) reads aloud Jefferson's own words and reaction to the ideas in Issue 1. This should take about one more minute. The Radical then may make a brief closing remark and invite a Tory response. The total time the first speaker(s) speaks should be kept to about two minutes. Then the first Tory (William Dartmouth) stands. This speaker(s) speaks for about two minutes, using the arguments and quote found in the faction's handout. Lastly, the Moderate questioner(s) James Duane questions both Jefferson and Dartmouth on Issue 1. This question/answer process should last about two minutes. The chairperson then moves the Congress on to the next issue, following the suggested sequence.

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 3



4. At the end of the debate, allow the two opposing factions' leaders time to make statements summarizing their factions' key points.
5. As chairperson, say that you are going to call the roll of the delegates to vote for or against independence. Remind students that they are not committed to vote with their faction. They may vote for or against depending on their free choice based on the arguments presented. You as chairperson may also be a voting member of the Congress.
6. After the vote, give students an overnight assignment such as that found in the Student Guide. **Note:** If you plan to give students the POST-TEST, refer them to the Testing section on page 8 in their Student Guides.

Final Day

1. **Optional:** Pass out the POST-TEST and have students complete the objective part of the exam and/or the essay questions. (Key to POST-TEST: 1. 0, 2. +, 3. 0, 4. +, 5. +, 6. +, 7. 0, 8. 0, 9. +, 10. +.)
2. If you plan to do the debriefing activity, have students turn to the Debriefing section on page 8 in their Student Guides. The Situation and Instructions are clearly provided for the students. Be sure you are familiar with the situation before you present it to the students.
3. The debriefing situation is a modern re-creation of a similar problem involving three factions. Divide the class into three factions: Pro, Con, and Undecided. Allow students to meet in groups and develop arguments pro and con on the situation. The Undecided faction must generate questions to ask each side.
4. Allow students about one-half the period to prepare their arguments. Appoint a spokesperson for each side to present the arguments to the large group and other students to participate in a debate until it is time to take a vote. Allow enough time to answer the discussion questions provided in the Student Guide on page 8. If you run out of time, you may give these questions as an overnight assignment.
5. **Suggested option:** You may wish to do the debriefing activity in the one hour and the POST-TEST the following day.

RADICALS LEADER

Introduction

As **John Adams**, the leader of the Radicals, you are committed to a final break with England. Proud to be an American, you think of yourself as a patriot as much as a rebel. You long for the day when American colonists can break the cord that holds them firmly to the Mother Country.

You are convinced that you colonists' individual rights have been under constant attack from England as its leaders tax you without representation and pass a network of Intolerable Acts all designed to force you into a role of submission. You see Tories as a group of upper-class nobility who represent privilege and superiority. No longer able to tolerate this attitude, you wish to establish basic ideals common to all men regardless of their social rank.

But Tories and the British Parliament are seeking to destroy your individualism and ideals. You know that Americans simply do not enjoy the same rights as do British citizens in England. As a Radical you have demanded equal representation in the British Parliament, but you have been turned down. Time after time you have made attempts to compromise, but your attempts have failed. Convinced that England is attempting to grind you into submission, you do not take your task lightly. *A Declaration of Independence must be arrived at through a democratic process!*

Instructions

1. Your faction has met and has selected you as the person most qualified to lead your faction.
2. You must carefully explain the following points to your faction members. See that all members live up to their responsibilities.
 - a. The issues are to be divided among all members so that each of you has a particular **concern** or **quote** to present during the congress. **Note well:** *Each of you must speak for at least one minute during the congressional session.*
 - b. Each of the arguments must be presented in approximately two minutes. The person (or persons) from your faction assigned to a particular argument should plan to speak for the first minute using the statements found under concerns. The second minute should be spent presenting the historical quote spoken by a real person living in 1776. (The person presenting this quote must announce who the person is whom he or she is role-playing while he/she is presenting this quote.)
 - c. Be aware that after your faction has presented its arguments on a particular issue, a person from the Moderate faction will rise and spend up to one minute asking one of you a question about that particular argument. In such a case one of you will have a minute to answer.
 - d. There will be insufficient time for the person role-playing Thomas Paine—Argument 5—to speak all 12 Thomas Paine quotations. Therefore, your faction may want to divide these 12 quotations among one another to possibly use during their answers to the questions the Moderates will ask them.
 - e. **Keep in mind your major goal:** *Your faction must convince the Moderates that the Radicals' viewpoint is the correct one for them to accept during this American crisis. If you can get these persons' votes, the final vote on independence will represent your faction's viewpoint!*
3. You have a rare opportunity: to lead your fellow citizens in forming a new democratic nation to be called **The United States of America!**

RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 1

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Radicals argument to Issue 1:

The colonies should not depend upon England economically.

Concerns

1. American colonists are perfectly able to maintain a colonial merchant fleet free from heavy British trade restrictions. The establishment of a colonial navy to protect the merchant fleet is a strong possibility. Loyalty to the king offers no particular economic advantage, at least none that cannot be negotiated by a colonial government.
2. As a new nation, America could establish trade markets and economic alliances with other nations in the world. The strength of Britain has only kept America submissive and dependent. Many free markets besides Britain exist. These are ready to buy colonial goods. Thus, America would build a strong economy based on expanded foreign trade. England is just as dependent on colonial goods as America is dependent on English goods. England has restricted American trade and production so that it benefits England, not America.
3. It is neither legally nor morally just for a handful of wealthy citizens to receive special advantages from the crown to control colonial land and the economy. We Radicals have no design on Tory land. We simply seek to eliminate the special privilege some citizens have and others are denied.

Quote (*Concerns 1-2*) Thomas Jefferson, 1743–1826, a lawyer, architect, agriculturalist, educator, political philosopher, diplomat, and statesman. Jefferson also wrote the Declaration of Independence and became the third president of the United States. Jefferson saw no great advantage in being too economically dependent on England. He did not see the British power of trade as a great gift to the colonies but as an unneeded restriction that stifled the American economy.

“History has informed us that bodies of men as well as individuals are susceptible of the spirit of tyranny Besides the duties they (England) impose on our markets of export and import, they prohibit us from going to any markets ... for the sale of commodities which Great Britain will not take from us, and for the purchase of others which she cannot supply us. These acts prohibit us from carrying in quest of other purchases the surplus of our tobaccos remaining after the consumption of Great Britain is supplied. (The result is) we must leave them with the British merchant for whatever he will please to allow us, to be by him reshipped to foreign markets, where he will reap the benefits of making sale of them for full value.”

Quote (*Concern 3*) John Adams, 1735–1826, a lawyer and journalist who signed the Declaration of Independence and became our second president. As a Radical, he was firmly resolved to guide the nation to a total break with England. In a letter to Patrick Henry, Adams looks down upon the Tory feelings of wealth and advantage.

“... the dons, the bashaws, the grandees, the patricians, the sachems, the nabobs, call them what you please, sigh and groan and fret, and sometimes stamp and foam and curse, but all in vain. The decree is gone forth, and it cannot be recalled, that a more equal liberty than has prevailed in other parts of the earth must be established in America.”

RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 2

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Radicals argument to Issue 2: Americans no longer need England's protection.

Concerns

1. The English system of law and order works well if you live in England or are a Tory in America. The Parliament arrogantly tosses pieces of democracy like crusts of bread to the colonies but is more interested in protecting Americans against independence than from any enemy. Where do the children run when the protection they need is from the mother herself?
2. The English forts do very little to protect Americans on the frontier. They are too scattered to do any good. They are more economic outposts for the British fur trade than protective posts. Americans have been dealing with the American Indians for more than 100 years without real British protection.

Quote Thomas Jefferson, 1743–1826, points out that the British Empire made little effort to protect the American colonists until more recent times when the Empire had something to gain economically.

“America was conquered, and her settlements made and firmly established, at the expense of individuals, and not of the British public. (Americans’) own blood was spilled in acquiring lands for *their* settlements, *their own* fortunes expended in making that settlement effectual. For *themselves* they fought, for *themselves* they conquered, and for *themselves alone* they have right to hold. No shilling was ever issued from the public treasures of His Majesty ... for their assistance, till of very late times after the colonies had become established on a firm and permanent footing. (Only when the colonies had) become valuable to Great Britain for commercial purposes (economic gain), Parliament was pleased to lend assistance.”

RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 3

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Radicals argument to Issue 3: American grievances are clearly justified.

Concerns

1. Colonists have made every attempt at compromise. The First Continental Congress put forth pleas to the Parliament for reconciliation. All such attempts were turned down by the crown. The crown even turned down an *Olive Branch Petition* and responded with a Declaratory Act sending armed German troops to the colonies.
2. Colonists should not have to pay a war debt owed by a Parliament in which the Americans have no representation. It was not an *American* war. It was a *British* war with a resulting *British* debt.

Quote Thomas Jefferson, 1743–1826, considers British attempts to generate revenues among the colonies unreasonable and clearly states the American attitude.

“American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten England’s own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament, in the most mild and decent language. Administration (Parliament), sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures ... sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was aroused ... but it was the indignation of virtuous, loyal and affectionate people. A Congress of delegates ... was assembled (First Continental Congress) We resolved again to offer a humble and dutiful petition to the King We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure ... but subsequent events have shown how vain was the hope of finding moderation. The Lords and Commons (Parliament) said that a rebellion ... actually existed Parliament adopted ... a perpetual auction of taxations (and) left to us raising the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated? ... In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them We fight not for glory or conquest but ... in defense of the freedom that is our birthright and which we ever enjoyed till the violation of it.”

RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 4

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Radicals argument to Issue 4:

The colonies should no longer obey the English government.

Concerns

1. Americans are not Englishmen. If they were, they would enjoy equal advantages. Colonists cannot remain obedient when they are always submitting to England. Why we're not even represented in Parliament when Parliament passes laws to tax us!
2. All men are created equal under the eyes of God. The English government seeks to keep Americans unequal in the eyes of Parliament; therefore the British government is going against the will of God.

Quote Samuel Adams, 1722–1803, a revolutionary patriot and Radical leader of the Sons of Liberty. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and second cousin to John Adams. Sam Adams made his feelings clear on the subject of obedience to the British government. Americans owed England no form of submission. England owed America the right of liberty and equality as God intended it. Americans, therefore, are not Englishmen in any sense, for if they were, Americans would all have equality, justice, and freedom.

“All men have a right ... in case of intolerable oppression (and submission), civil or religious, to leave the society they belong to and enter another Just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty ... is a thing all men are clearly entitled to by the eternal and immutable laws of God The right of freedom being the gift of Almighty God, it is not in the power of man to alienate this gift and voluntarily become a slave. All persons born in British American colonies are, by the laws of God ... and by the common law of England ... and by Acts of the British Parliament declared to be entitled to all the natural, essential, inherent and inseparable rights, liberties, and privileges of subjects born in Great Britain and within the realm.”

RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 5 - 1

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Radicals argument to Issue 5: The true interest of America is to declare immediate independence from Great Britain.

Concerns

1. Reconciliation was the sole aim of the First Continental Congress. Americans have far more to gain in a political sense than lose in a revolution. And there are few better causes to fight a war for and to die for than liberty.
2. A war can have a cleansing effect. It can purge the colonies of an overbearing, oppressive mother and establish basic freedoms to all.

Quotes Thomas Paine, 1737–1809, a philosopher, journalist, and pamphleteer who was an influential advocate of colonial independence. His pamphlet *Common Sense* was an important publication in the American move for independence. He left no stone unturned in his insistence that Americans had nothing to gain, economically, politically, or otherwise by remaining loyal to England. The following excerpts from his pamphlet *Common Sense* prove the wealth of Paine's devotion to revolution and independence.

The following quotes relate not only to the two concerns in Issue 5 but also to concerns under the other four issues. Therefore, your faction leader may decide to divide these quotes among your members to use earlier during the Congressional debate.

1. "Arms, as the last resource, must decide the contest. The appeal was the choice of the King, and the continent has accepted the challenge. The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. Tis not the affair of a city, a country, a province, or a kingdom but of a continent—of at least one-eighth part of the habitable globe."
2. "I have heard it asserted ... that America has flourished under Great Britain (and that) the same connection is necessary toward her future happiness. Nothing can be more fallacious We may as well assert that because a child has thrived on milk ... it is never to have meat."
3. "America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had anything to do with her. The articles of commerce ... are the necessities of life and will always have a market as long as eating is the custom of Europe."

RADICALS ARGUMENT: Issue 5 - 2

Here are the final nine quotes by Thomas Paine, 1737–1809, a philosopher, journalist, and pamphleteer who was an influential Radical during the American Revolution.

4. “England has defended the continent at our expense as well as her own She would have defended Turkey ... for the sake of trade and dominion She did not protect us from our enemies on our account but from her enemies on her own account, from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the same account.”
5. “By breaking our dependence with Britain, we should be at peace with France and Spain, were they at war with Britain. France and Spain never were our enemies as Americans, but as our being the subjects of Great Britain.”
6. “But Britain is the parent country ... then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families.”
7. “Our plan is commerce ... it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free port. Her trade will always be a protection (helping) secure her from invaders.”
8. “Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace; and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin because of her connection with Britain.”
9. “Even the distance at which the Almighty has placed England and America is ... proof that the authority of the one over the other was never the design of heaven.”
10. “It is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice. The business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed ... by a power so distant ... and so ignorant of us ... to be always running 3,000 or 4,000 miles with ... a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which, when obtained, requires five or six more to explain it In a few years (this will) be looked upon as folly.”
11. “Small islands ... are the proper objects for Kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something absurd in supposing a continent governed by an *island*.”
12. “A government which cannot preserve the peace is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing.”

TORIES LEADER

Introduction

You are **Joseph Galloway**, a Tory, who prefers the name Loyalist. Regardless, you are bent on leading the American colonists to remain loyal to England.

You are proud to be an Englishman, proud of the British Empire's strength and its history of law, justice, and order. Your individual rights as an Englishman have established you well in front of any other country on earth. This outbreak of trouble in the colonies is a threat to the law and order of the British Empire. You consider the Radicals "rabble in arms." They are a group of misfits and trouble-makers who seek to destroy the English system of law and justice.

Above all, you are convinced that if these Radicals are allowed to be successful, orderly rule will disappear in the American colonies. The result will be confusion and mob rule. Radicals have shown their true colors to you in past events such as the Boston Tea Party, which was a blatant assault on property rights.

Leaders in the British government have made every effort to compromise by repealing acts which the colonists deemed unjust. Their reward has been open rebellion. Radicals are just looking for an excuse to seize your money and property since Tories in America own large amounts of land and control much of the colonial revenue. You have worked hard for your money and property, and you are not anxious to give it up to a group of jealous rabble.

Instructions

1. Your faction has met and has selected you as the person most qualified to lead your faction.
2. You must carefully explain the following points to your faction members. See that all members live up to their responsibilities.
 - a. The issues are to be divided among all members so that each of you has a particular *concern* or *quote* to present during the congress. **Note well:** *Each of you must speak for at least one minute during the congressional session.*
 - b. Each of the arguments must be presented in approximately two minutes. The person (or persons) from your faction assigned to a particular argument should plan to speak for the first minute using the statements found under concerns. The second minute should be spent presenting the historical quote spoken by a real person living in 1776. (The person presenting this quote must announce who the person is whom he or she is role-playing while he/she is presenting this quote.)
 - c. Be aware that after your faction has presented its arguments on a particular issue, a person from the Moderate faction will rise and spend up to one minute asking one of you a question about that particular argument. In such a case one of you will have a minute to answer.
 - d. There will be insufficient time for the person role-playing Charles Inglis—Argument 5—to speak all Inglis' quotations. Therefore, your faction may want to divide his quotations among one another to use as part of the answers to the questions the Moderates will ask them.
 - e. **Keep in mind your major goal:** *Your faction must convince the Moderates that the Tories viewpoint is the correct one for them to accept during this American crisis. If you can get these persons' votes, the final vote on independence will represent your faction's viewpoint!*
3. You have a rare opportunity: to lead your fellow colonists in appreciating and retaining their membership in the greatest empire ever to exercise power on this earth—the **British Empire!**

TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 1

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Tories argument to Issue 1:

The colonies need to depend upon England economically.

Concerns

1. Having our colonial merchant fleet protected by the strongest nation in the world, the British Empire with its superb navy, is most desirable. Colonists must not be prejudiced against the king; he offers too many economic advantages.
2. Since ships from America (a British colony) are really British ships, they are subject to all the trade advantages that the strongest nation in the world has to offer. England boasts the largest trading market in the world. Americans are also dependent on English goods.
3. Radicals are attempting revolution for their own economic gain. Radicals have their eyes on Tory land and money which they seek to control. They seek to improve their own personal wealth and position. It is not legally or morally just to steal a person's land or money in this way. Is this the American ideal of freedom and justice for all?

Quote William Dartmouth, 1731–1801, secretary of state representing England in the colonies. He advocated suppression of colonial uprisings and was determined to make the colonies submit by asserting British authority in America. Dartmouth worked diligently to make colonists aware of all they stood to lose should they withdraw their loyalty to England. He clearly points out that England's economic strength is so powerful that without it, the colonists will cease to have commercial privileges in the world. And all the colonists have to do to remain secure is submit to English rule and seek "his Majesty's clemency."

"The King ... commands me to say that it will be your duty to use every endeavor ... to quiet the minds of the people; to remove their prejudices; and, by mind and gentle persuasion, to induce such a submission ... as may give full scope to his Majesty's clemency, and enable his Majesty the discretionary power given him by again restoring ... those commercial privileges and advantages which it has so long enjoyed and which have raised it to its present state of opulence and importance."

TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 2

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Tories argument to Issue 2:

Americans still need England's protection.

Concerns

1. England has always maintained law and order in the colonies. England removed the French threat from the colonies and ruled over and protected them as a mother protects her children. She expects so little in return.
2. England established a system of forts on the frontier to protect colonists from the American Indians. This action is another example of a caring parent helping a threatened child.

Quote Charles Woodmason, 1732–1801, an Anglican clergyman, was displeased with the American colonial system of justice and law enforcement. He believed in British law and order and the strength of British protection. Woodmason insisted that, as citizens of the British Empire, all persons would be protected against lawlessness and injustice. A rebellion against England he considered absurd. Not only would Americans be giving up British protection and order; they would also condone lawless behavior and invite disorder among themselves. He stated a list of circumstances that are problems in the colonies and made it clear that they would not improve under an independent government.

“America without British protection will be ‘infested with an infernal gang of villains,’ committing ‘horrid depredations on our properties and estates; such insults on the person of many settlers ... is past descriptions.’ And why else do colonists need England’s protection? ‘Our large stocks of cattle are either stolen or destroyed ... houses have been burned by these rogues and families stripped and turned naked into the woods. Stores have been broken open ... Private houses have been plundered and the inhabitants wantonly tortured in the Indian manner to be made to confess where they secreted their effects from plunder. Women have been ravished ... and other unheard of cruelties. Representations of these grievances and vexations have been often made by us to those in power (American colonial authorities) but without redress. Our cries must have pierced their ears though not entered into their hearts. We are free men, British subjects, not born slaves ... these are circumstances experienced by no other individuals under British government.’ ”

TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 3

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Tories argument to Issue 3:

The colonies' so-called grievances are exaggerated.

Concerns

1. England has always had an attitude of compromise and fairness. After all, England eliminated all the taxes except for the tax on tea which was so small it didn't amount to much. Are these the acts of a government that refuses to compromise?
2. Colonists should not be upset at British taxes. They should, after all, help pay the war debt since the war was fought to eliminate France as a threat to American lands. The victory in the French and Indian War gave Americans more land they could settle in the future. It is a small price to pay as members of the greatest nation in the world.

Quote Jonathan Boucher, 1738–1804, an Anglican clergyman and Tory violently opposed to separation from England. He preached his last sermon from his pulpit with loaded guns beside him before returning to England.

"It is not unreasonable for England to ask its colonies to help in the business of running an Empire. Americans reap all the advantages of being within the powerful hands of the British Empire yet make no contribution to it. It is the King and the Parliament and the people of England itself who are being unjustly treated; no American ever had it so bad. To suffer grievances nobly is proper; to disobey the established government is simply to resist the ordinances of God. England has compromised by repealing Acts and taxes seen unfit. What compromise have colonists made? ... only the compromise of Rebellion."

TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 4

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Tories argument to Issue 4:

The Colonies should obey the English government.

Concerns

1. A war or revolution would be a civil war, Englishman against Englishman, at the hands of a few Radicals who seek glory and wealth. Colonists must remain obedient to the established British government.
2. English law is superior to all forms of government; it is the will of God that gives English law its authority. How can these Radicals justify rebelling against such a fine government?

Quote Jonathan Boucher, 1738–1804, a cleric who drew his reasons from the scriptures and the laws of God. He stated in one of his sermons: “Obedience to government is everyman’s duty ... particularly Christians, because it is enjoyed by the positive commands of God; and, therefore, when Christians are disobedient to human ordinances, they are also disobedient to God. If the government under which the providence of God has been pleased to place us (the British government) be mild and free, it is our duty to enjoy it with gratitude ... and to be careful not to abuse it. Early Christians remained subject to the governments under which they lived. Jesus Christ did not encourage them to overthrow the established order. Their new liberty as Christians gave them no new civil privileges ... the duty of submission and obedience to government was enjoined upon the converts to Christianity with new and stronger sanctions. Colonists, as Christians and Englishmen, cannot break this bond so strongly planted in Christian history. To do so would be to violate the very will of God Himself.”

TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 5 - 1

Instructions

1. Study the concerns below carefully enough so that you can paraphrase them into your own words.
2. On note cards (3" x 5" or 4" x 6") or one-half page note sheets copy each of the concerns *in your own words*. Feel free to add some other historical details to strengthen your argument.
3. You will have one minute to present these concerns from your own note cards or note sheet.
4. In your second minute you are to read all or part of the quote below. (If two of you are working together, the second person should present this quote.)
5. Speak enthusiastically.
6. If you wish to do so, dress like a person living in the American colonies in the 1770s.

Tories argument to Issue 5: The true interest of America is to reconcile difference with the Mother Country.

Concerns

1. We must prevent the pains and sufferings that any war would bring. Reconciliation is far easier than destruction and death. Americans simply have too much to lose and too little to gain.
2. Peace is of far greater value than war. No good can come of a revolution and the evils that it lets loose. England yearns for peace. We must allow ourselves to be led by the greatest nation in history, the British empire.

Quotes Charles Inglis, 1734–1816, a colonial Anglican bishop and Loyalist. A prolific writer of essays designed to convince Patriots of the error of their ways, Inglis was determined to point out the many advantages of reconciliation with England. He stressed the many evils which inevitably must attend any separation from Britain. In many ways, Charles Inglis reflected the very Tory conscience itself in much the same manner that Thomas Paine reflected the Radical conscience.

The following nine quotes relate not only to the two concerns in Issue 5 but also to concerns under the other four issues. Therefore, your faction leader may decide to divide these quotes among your members to use earlier during the Congressional debate.

1. "By a reconciliation with Britain, a period would be put to the present calamities, by which so many lives have been lost, and so many more must be lost if it continues It is time to lay aside those animosities which have pushed on Britons to shed the blood of Britons."
2. "By a reconciliation with Great Britain, peace ... will be restored. In one respect, peace is like health; we do not know its value but by its absence."
3. "Agriculture, commerce, and industry would resume their wanted vigor. At present they languish and drop, both here and in Britain, and must continue to do so as long as this unhappy contest remains unsettled."
4. "By connection with Great Britain, American trade would still have the protection of the greatest naval power in the world."

TORIES ARGUMENT: Issue 5 - 2

Here are the final five quotes by Charles Inglis, 1734–1816, a colonial Anglican bishop and Loyalist who wrote essays designed to convince Patriots of the error of their ways.

5. “Past experience shows that Britain is able to defend our commerce and our coasts, and we have no reason to doubt her being able to do so for the future.”
6. “The protection of our trade, while connected with Britain, will not cost us a fiftieth of what it must cost were we ourselves to raise a naval force sufficient for the purpose.”
7. “While connected with Great Britain ... we may be better supplied with goods by her than we could elsewhere.”
8. “Americans are properly Britons. They have the manners, habits, and ideas of Britons; and have been accustomed to a similar form of government.”
9. “If Americans ... should adopt this republican scheme ... they will dismember this happy country, make it a scene of blood and slaughter, and entail wretchedness and misery on millions yet unborn.”

MODERATES LEADER

Introduction

As **John Dickinson**, a Moderate leader during the 1770s, you represent the undecided faction at the Second Continental Congress. You have spent endless time and energy listening to arguments from Radicals and Tories. Most of these Radicals and Tories are friends whose ideas and opinions you do not easily dismiss. A cautious, patient, and thoughtful man who holds your fellow delegates with the utmost regard, you find it extremely difficult to commit yourself totally to either point of view.

You Moderates have been seeking a middle ground between total loyalty and total submission. Lately you have felt the fever and temperament of the delegates reaching a peak. As a result, you have become increasingly aware that the Moderate faction which you represent will be pressed into a decision for or against a Declaration of Independence.

Instructions

1. When your faction met, members selected you to lead them.
2. First speak to all members and make clear to them the awesome responsibility facing them in the crucial days ahead.
3. Next divide all the questions handouts among your members. If possible, get each faction member involved by giving him/her a pair of questions to ask.
4. Tell members that when they ask a question, they must speak for no more than one minute. Tell them this recommended sequence:
 - a. First mention briefly who you are (the historical figure you are playing—or a friend of this person).
 - b. Then stress how you are troubled, caught between the logic and force of the Tory and Radical viewpoints.
 - c. Finally, end by directing your question to a specific Tory or Radical. The person you have questioned will then have one minute to answer you.
5. There will likely be insufficient time for faction members to ask all the questions provided or to make up other questions on their own. Therefore, members must be selective and ask only the strongest questions. (However, if your teacher decides to have a lengthy congressional debate, members will be able to ask all the questions and to amplify them with original questions.)
6. Stress to your members that their major responsibility is to act as the swing vote. Both the Radicals and the Tories will be courting you with their arguments. They both want to influence you to vote for their positions. Consequently, listen carefully during the debate, evaluating both sides' speeches and answers to your questions.

MODERATES QUESTIONS - 1

Cut apart on broken lines.

Issue 1:

Should the colonies depend on England economically?

James Duane, 1733–1797

An American jurist from New York, James Duane was a member of the Continental Congress, a firm Moderate sympathetic to both points of view.

Questions for Radicals

1. How can you be certain that other nations in the world will risk Britain's disfavor by negotiating economic alliances with America?
2. If England is powerful enough to keep the American economy submissive and dependent, are they not powerful enough to do the same to other countries who might ally themselves to the American cause?

Questions for Tories

1. Why must Americans seek the world's trading market through England's economic alliances and not their own?
2. Since the English are as dependent on foreign goods as Americans, why risk economic turmoil in the world by forcing Americans into submission?

Issue 2:

Do Americans still need England's protection?

John Dickinson, 1732–1808

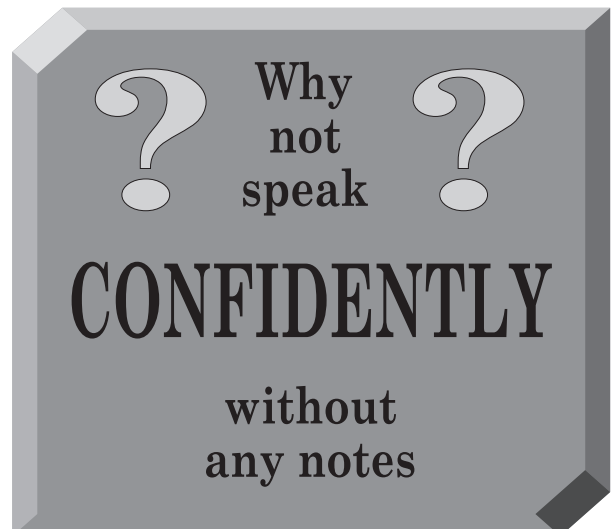
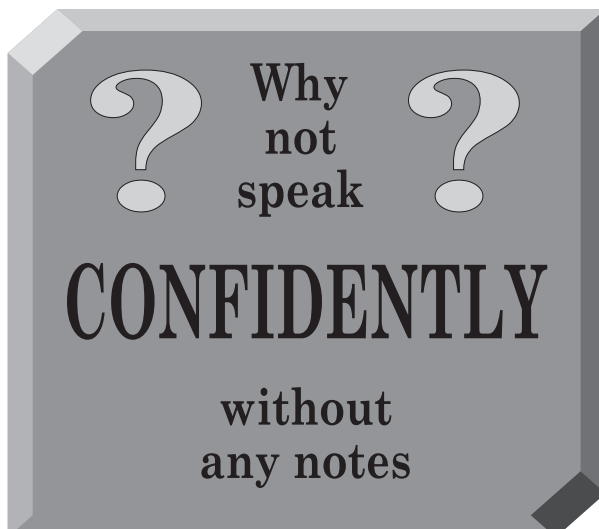
An American statesman and lawyer, John Dickinson was a member of the Continental Congress who was deeply concerned with the talk of revolution and independence. He constantly advocated reconciliation.

Questions for Radicals

1. How can you Radicals even think of severing our ties with the most powerful economic and political country in the world?
2. Didn't England prove her commitment to protecting America by removing the French from Canada and by opening the American frontier?

Questions for Tories

1. What are the real economic dangers you are protecting the colonists against that they cannot protect themselves against?
2. Is the British government really powerful enough to reach as far as the undeveloped American frontier to protect the Americans?



MODERATES QUESTIONS - 2

Cut apart on broken lines.

Issue 3:

How justified are American grievances?

John Rutledge, 1739–1800

An American statesman and jurist, John Rutledge was a member of the Continental Congress. He prevailed upon both sides to keep an open mind toward the matter of colonial grievances.

Questions for Radicals

1. You admonish the British for their taxation policies. Will you not have the same taxation problems in your new government?
2. How do you explain such a radical attitude? After all, hasn't England withdrawn almost all its taxes in America? Have they not manifested a true spirit of compromise?

Questions for Tories

1. Would it not be best to grant Americans full rights as British citizens and end this conflict once and for all?
2. Aren't the economic advantages you gain from the colonies more than adequate to sustain you financially?

Issue 4:

Should the American Colonies continue to obey the British government?

Carter Braxton, 1736–1797

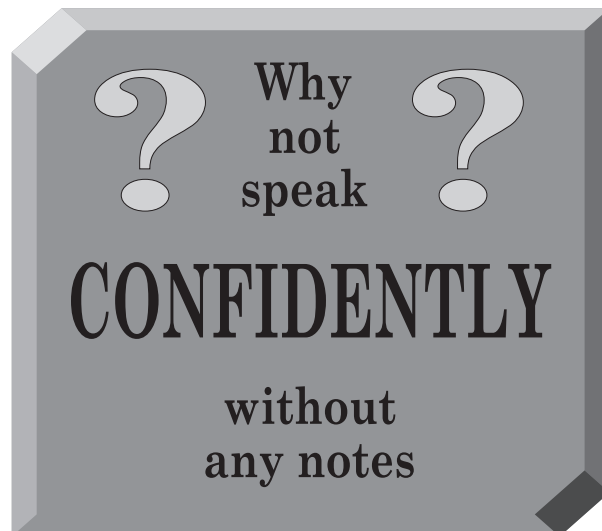
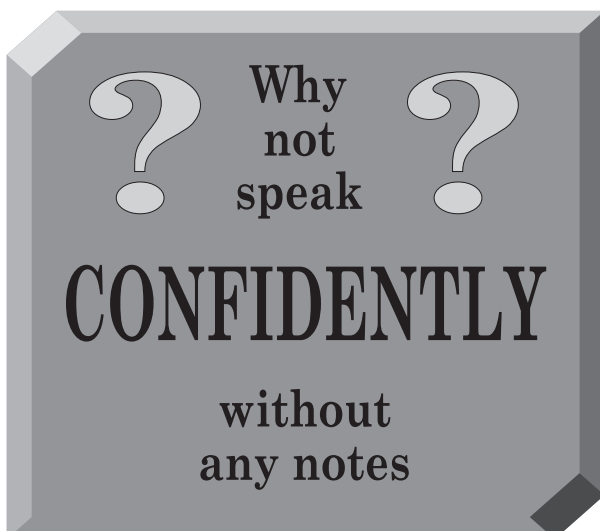
Carter Braxton was another person in the Virginia delegation to the Continental Congress who wanted to ask some questions before he made up his mind about voting for or against separation from the Mother Country.

Questions for Radicals

1. By overthrowing one established government, what makes you think the one you are replacing it with will be any better?
2. Isn't it better to operate within the system by remaining obedient to the government which offers you so many advantages rather than going outside it where nothing is guaranteed?

Questions for Tories

1. How do you expect Americans to remain obedient to a government that fosters inequality?
2. If Americans are truly Englishmen, why not treat them as Englishmen?



MODERATES QUESTIONS - 3

Cut apart on broken lines.

Issue 5:

In summation, what is the true interest of America?

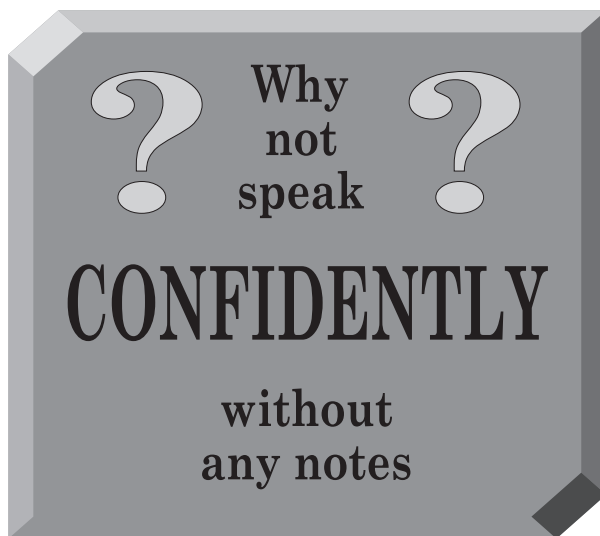
Any member of the Moderates faction

Questions for Radicals

1. Is a war really needed? Could you not achieve the same goals by keeping open the channels of negotiation and diplomacy?
2. Could the American Colonies really have flourished and been in the position they are in today without the effects of British law, justice, and protection for all these years?

Questions for Tories

1. How would the rest of the world—particularly other British colonies—react to a war between Great Britain and one of her colonies?
2. Wouldn't it be better to reach a compromise with these Americans than to risk a threat of rebellion by other British colonies throughout the world?



PRETEST

Directions: Either on your own paper or in the spaces at left, mark a + for **true** statements, a 0 for **false** statements.

- | | |
|---|---|
| _____ 1. After the British victory over the French in the French and Indian War, Americans were drawn even closer into total loyalty to England, the Mother Country. | _____ 8. The Second Continental Congress established the groundwork for a revolution and ended its work with a formal Declaration of Independence. |
| _____ 2. The English passed a series of acts (Tea Act, Sugar Act, Stamp Act) which the American colonists accepted as just and fair ways to help the Mother Country. | _____ 9. The English placed the Americans into a position of submitting to tyranny under King George or rebelling openly. |
| _____ 3. English attempts to force the colonists into submission generated a spirit of resistance and unity among the colonists. | _____ 10. A Radical is a person who is unsure of his course of action toward England. |
| _____ 4. Americans rejected any attempt at compromise or reconciliation; instead, they jumped head-on into a revolution. | _____ 11. A Tory is a person committed to open rebellion against England. |
| _____ 5. The First Continental Congress was called to attempt to reach a compromise with England and establish guidelines by which American protests could be heard by England. | _____ 12. A Moderate is a person who views both sides of an argument clearly and with an open and questioning mind in an attempt to reach a decision. |
| _____ 6. Only a handful of Radicals wanted to declare independence; the majority of Americans were loyal to England. | _____ 13. Approximately one-third of the colonists were Radicals, one-third Tories, and one-third Moderates or undecided. |
| _____ 7. England refused to listen to colonial protests and demands. Instead it branded the Americans “rebels.” | _____ 14. The Declaration of Independence was written to justify revolution. |
| | _____ 15. The impact of the Declaration of Independence on the rest of the world has been insignificant in the years since 1776. |

POST-TEST

Directions: Either on your own paper or in the spaces provided, write your answers to Part 1. Complete Parts 2 and 3 on your own paper.

Part 1: True-False

Write + for **true** statements; 0 for **false** statements.

- _____ 1. Radicals had an easy time convincing everyone that their arguments and reasons were just and valid.
- _____ 2. The Tory arguments were strong and caused many Moderates to consider the Tory point of view.
- _____ 3. Moderates had an easy time deciding which argument to follow in the congress.
- _____ 4. All three factions—Radical, Tory, and Moderate—had just and honest men representing their points of view.
- _____ 5. The Second Continental Congress was an excellent example of the democratic process at work.
- _____ 6. The First Continental Congress attempted to reach compromise and reconciliation while the Second Continental Congress attempted to reach decision
- _____ 7. All delegates to the Second Continental Congress were committed to revolution and independence.
- _____ 8. The Declaration of Independence was a document of compromise, drawing together the best arguments of all three factions.
- _____ 9. The Declaration of Independence was a document of revolution and change.
- _____ 10. The Declaration of Independence was the document that brought unity to the Second Continental Congress and ultimately unity to the American cause.

Part 2: Short answers

- _____ 1. You are a Tory, loyal to England. List the five strongest arguments you can think of to justify your belief that Americans must remain loyal.
- _____ 2. You are a Radical, an American Patriot bent on separation from England. List the five strongest arguments you can think of to justify your belief that revolution and independence is the only course of action open to you.

Part 3: Essay questions

Depending upon your teacher's directions, write short or long answers to one or more of the following questions.

- _____ 1. Explain the strongest Tory (Loyalist) arguments from their point of view. Write as if you are a Tory.
- _____ 2. Explain the strongest Radical (Patriot) arguments from their point of view. Write as if you are a Radical.
- _____ 3. Choose three areas where Tory and Radical arguments strongly differed. Then write objective paragraphs contrasting their positions.
- _____ 4. Discuss this quotation: "The colonists were undoubtedly justified in declaring independence in 1776."
- _____ 5. Discuss this quotation: "England was simply not the tyrant that Radicals pictured her to be."

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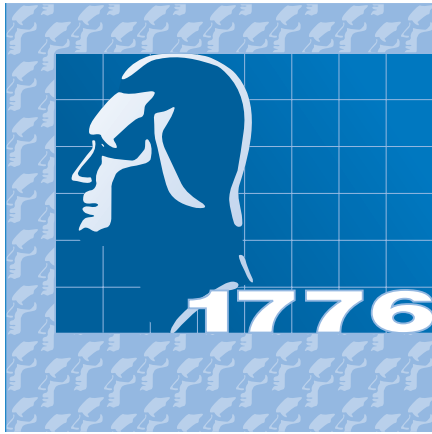
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THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AND INDEPENDENCE

A re-creation of the conflict between Loyalists and Patriots, debating whether or not the American Colonies should declare independence from England

PURPOSE

During the next few classroom hours you will actively take part in a re-creation of history. The event is the Second Continental Congress, the setting is Philadelphia, and the time is 1775-1776. As a member of one of three Congressional groups—Radicals (Pro-War), Tories (Anti-War), or Moderates (Undecided)—you will participate in the swift rush of events that would ultimately give birth to a new nation, one forged from open rebellion but tempered with democratic ideals. This re-creation provides an opportunity for you to experience the pulse of democracy from which would spring the body of this new nation, the United States of America.

BACKGROUND ESSAY

Background The events leading to American independence mixed a tightened English control with an increased American opposition and defiance. England and France had been at constant odds in a century-long struggle for North America. The struggle culminated with the Peace of Paris in 1763, which ended the French and Indian War. France ceded Canada and all her territory east of the Mississippi River to England. England, having thus established a strong foundation in North America, could now proceed with the business of molding the American colonists into a new imperial framework.

Problems begin But England's problems had just begun. The Americans did not want their freedom limited in any way. The war had removed the French threat to Americans and, consequently, their dependence upon England for protection. The colonial militias had proven their worth against European regulars. Americans now wanted to be left alone. But England, feeling the weight of new imperial responsibilities, sought colonial contribution toward the 130-million-dollar war debt. Americans felt a noose being tightened around their necks. The Mother Country was now trying to regulate and restrict the 13 American colonies with a system of taxes and intolerable acts. This policy soon forged two divergent points of view, Radical and Tory, tempered by a Moderate, undecided element. Eventually the conflict had to move either to revolution or reconciliation.

English policy In the last quarter of the 18th century, England experienced a series of misfortunes and poor administration. Her government failed to take into account why the American colonies, after a century and a half of self-rule, were not prepared to submit to a new authority. Each English attempt to force the colonists into submission generated a mounting spirit of resistance and unity. Thus, the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Townshend Program, the Tea Act, the Quartering Act, and the Intolerable Acts were not acts of revenue and order but were wedges splitting apart two seemingly immovable forces.



**Question
for you to
consider:**

What was
it like for
American
colonists to
live with the
uncertainty
of not
knowing
what
direction
the colonies
were going
to go?

American policy The American reply to English authority was mixed. Radicals under Sam Adams in Boston destroyed private property by dumping 342 chests of tea into the harbor in response to the Tea Act. Other colonists cried out that the Sugar Act was “taxation without representation.” Moderates called a Stamp Act Congress and issued a *Declaration of Rights and Grievances*, stating American rights to representation in the British Parliament. England’s response to this was the Declaratory Act, stating that Parliament had authority to legislate for the colonists in all instances. Consequently, two immovable forces—England’s desire to enforce her old ideals and the colonies’ desire for more freedom—were drawing toward open conflict.

First Continental Congress In September 1774, 55 delegates from 12 colonies (Georgia abstained) gathered in Philadelphia to deal with the increasing conflicts with the English. Three distinct groups—Radicals, Tories, and Moderates—arose, and each had its opinion as to how the colonists should deal with the surge of British order. Although this Congress did not declare independence, it did set in motion the machinery for a possible revolution. The Radicals, led by men such as John Adams, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee, preferred to call themselves “Patriots.” Other colonists, however, called them “zealots of anarchy” and “dictators of sedition” because they argued for revolution and a final break with England, the Mother Country. The colonists who opposed the Radicals were called Tories (also known as “Loyalists”). Led by men such as Joseph Galloway, James Duane, and George Read, they consistently sought reconciliation with England. Galloway had proposed a plan to the Congress calling for the colonies to be represented as an “inferior and distinctive branch of the British Legislature,” but the plan was defeated by one vote. Persons in the third group, in between the other two, were the Moderates. John Jay, one of their leaders, stated, “Even if we leave our Mother Country, we cannot leave our allegiance.” This attitude was shared by many, and the First Continental Congress resolved only to protest, not to fight, while waiting for British response. The delegates adjourned and agreed to meet in May 1775 to re-evaluate the situation.

An example of the temper of these times, though the thought was written somewhat later by John Adams: “If I were called upon to calculate the divisions among the people of America, I should say that full one-third were averse to the revolution ... an opposite third conceived a hatred for the English ... the middle third ... the yeomanry, the soundest part of the nation ... were rather lukewarm to England.” All three points of view would reconvene at Philadelphia as the Second Continental Congress. From this meeting the shape of a new nation would take form.

Second Continental Congress In May 1775 representatives from the 13 colonies met in Philadelphia. The British had not yielded to colonial demands and protests from the First Continental Congress. Tories were disappointed when they learned that Congress established a Continental Army with George Washington as commander and chief. On July 6, 1775, delegates drew up a *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms*. The British had put the Americans into a position of submitting to tyranny under King George or resisting by armed force. The Americans chose the latter and “resolved to die free men rather than to live like slaves.” An *Olive Branch Petition*, embodying a “hope for reconciliation,” was sent to King George. The king’s responses to the petition were to brand the Americans “rebels,” to hire German soldiers (Hessians) to fight the rebels, and to cut off all trade with the colonies.

A call to arms Early in 1776, Thomas Paine wrote a pamphlet called *Common Sense*, which issued an emotional call to arms and became a strong uniting force among the colonists. Paine called King George “the royal brute of Britain” and warned that the time to strike was now. The longer the colonists waited, “the harder it would be to accomplish.” Paine strikingly established his point of view by saying that “one honest man (was) more worth ... to society and in the sight of God than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.”

On July 2, 1776, Congress accepted a resolution by Richard Henry Lee “that these United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and Independent States.” On July 4, 1776, a Declaration



of Independence prepared by Thomas Jefferson was signed by the delegates. With this declaration, any chance for compromise or reconciliation was over.

Factions The 13 years following the end of the French and Indian War that preceded the revolution were years of turmoil and unrest. As has been previously stated, three factions emerged in this period of upheaval: Radicals, bent on independence and revolution; Tories, desiring eternal loyalty to England; and Moderates, who attempted to take a middle ground between total separation and blind loyalty to a Mother Country whose demands were growing more unreasonable each day. Before starting the re-creation, you need to know more information about these groups.

Radicals Perhaps the best way to understand this group is to first view them as the Tories did. They saw the Radicals as selfish, ambitious, power-hungry men who were blindly leading people to revolution for their own selfish goals. They referred to Sam Adams as the “Father of the American Revolution.” Of Adams they said, “If someone were going to paint a picture of the devil, he would hire Sam Adams to sit

for it.” Such feelings were reinforced in numerous Tory writings. One Tory writer stated, “Why is the sudden transition made from Obedience to Rebellion, but to gratify the Pride, Ambition, and Resentment of a few abandoned Demagogues, who were lost to all sense of Shame and Humanity? ... All the understanding which people had was whirled away ... and a vacuum left ... to crowd in what rubbish would best serve their turn.” Radicals, on the other hand, saw themselves as men of their times who, like mirrors, tried to reflect the reality of the situation to the people. These Radicals were in a battle between liberty and tyranny. England had become an overbearing, oppressive mother. America, the unruly child, would soon emerge as a persistent and independent son. George III, the English king who was sarcastically called the “Father of American Independence” by the Radicals, had made a mockery of human freedom. The Radicals, who now called themselves, Patriots, said this “Royal Brute” would discover he had fathered a new kind of child: a child of liberty, of revolution, of change!

Tories When Radicals viewed a Tory, they saw “a man whose head was in England, his body was in America, and whose neck ought to be stretched. All fools aren’t Tories, but all Tories are fools.” This Patriot attitude toward Tories was common throughout the colonies. But Tories must be seen in another light. These men did not lack courage or a sense of purpose. They honestly saw themselves as protectors of man’s liberty. Tories believed the power of law must be superior to the power of the common man. They saw themselves as members of a higher social order, a higher social class. Consequently, they felt they possessed greater reason and wisdom for being loyal to their Mother Country. Therefore, they called themselves Loyalists rather than the more common term, Tories, which was the name of the conservative political party in England. They thought they were being completely logical. They were simply defending the tried and true system of law and justice that had operated perfectly for 150 years. King George was no tyrant. Instead the true tyrants were the “demagogues, the firebrands, and Radicals” who were preaching liberal doctrines of democracy and equality. England was a grateful, just mother whose only goal was to guide her wayward children who were part of the strongest family in the world, the British Empire.

Moderates The Moderates asked questions and listened to arguments of both Patriots and Loyalists at the Continental Congresses. These middle-of-the-roaders represented the pulse of many Americans waiting for the decision of the delegates. At times the Moderates leaned towards the Loyalist point of view. Later they would swing back to the Patriot view when reminded of British oppressions and lack of attempts to compromise. Their always present, always questioning attitude made these decisions a true democratic process.



If you had been a young person living in the colonies, which position do you expect you and your family members would most likely have accepted in the mid 1770s?



Benjamin Franklin told the delegate during the debate that “we must hang together, or we will hang separately.”

Declaration of Independence When these three groups met at the Second Continental Congress, they argued again over independence. Radicals pushed for a Declaration of Independence, a document they said would unify the session and solidify the American determination of “liberty and justice for all.” The Loyalists still argued against separation, but even they were beginning to weaken. Moderates worked like doctors trying to save an ailing patient. In the end, the Radicals convinced most of the Moderates that the patient would be fine, if the patient were on its own. The document was approved with the signing of the formal Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. This date marked the beginning of a new nation based on justice and freedom that would not only survive the revolution but also light the torch of revolt against tyranny in many nations in succeeding years.

PROCEDURE

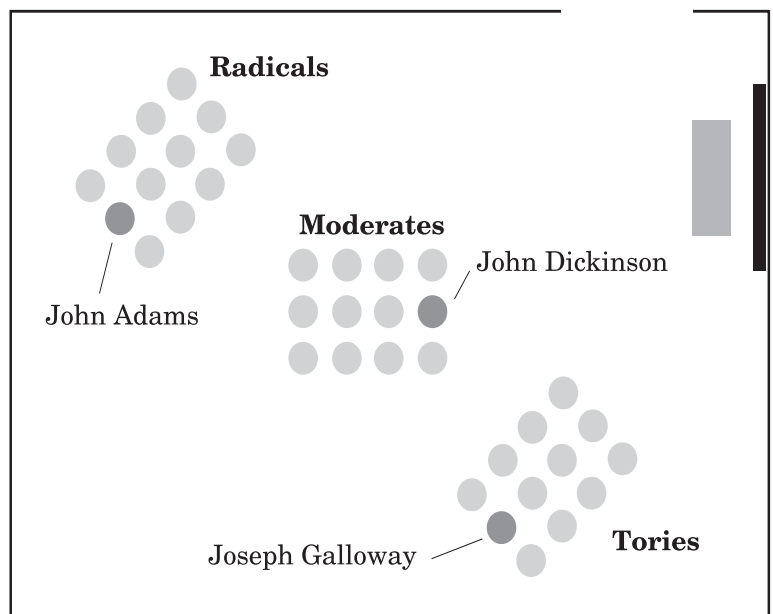
This re-creation of events that led to the American Declaration of Independence has been designed to fit within a specific framework of time. Your teacher will give you instructions for each day’s assignment and will explain exactly what will be expected of you as an individual and as a member of one of three factions—Radicals, Tories, or Moderates.

Day 1

1. **Introduction** Your teacher may give you a lecture, or some kind of audio-visual presentation, or the optional PRETEST.
2. **Background** You will read the Background Essay in your Student Guide.
3. **Division of class** Your class will be divided into three factions: Radicals, Tories, and Moderates.
4. **Handouts** Each faction will receive separate handouts containing key arguments or questions representing the faction’s point of view. The Radical and Tory factions will have arguments; the Moderate faction will have questions.
5. **Meeting** Each of the three factions will meet. Members choose a chairperson, who then assigns specific arguments to be presented by faction members during Days 2-3. Your faction leader will keep all persons working. He/she may choose to represent the specific role of a powerful Radical, Tory, or Moderate in history.

Examples:

Radical...John Adams;
Tory...Joseph Galloway;
Moderate...John Dickinson.





Please take considerable notes, writing down what is said and your reactions to what is said during this mini-unit. You will then gain a great deal from this historical re-creation.

Research shows us that when persons write as they are learning, they retain considerable knowledge—and for a long time period.

6. **Assignment** Your teacher will possibly give you a two-part overnight assignment.
- Work on the argument or arguments you will present as a member of one of the three factions. Your faction leader should be certain that each member has a specific argument or question to present during Days 2-3.
 - Write the answers to the questions below. For help use the information given you in the Background Essay and in your history textbook.
 - After the British victory over the French in the French and Indian War, what was the American attitude toward the British?
 - What effects did British attempts to force the colonists into submission have on the American colonists?
 - Specifically, how did Americans try to reach compromise with the British during the First Continental Congress and during the Second Continental Congress?
 - Did any one of the three factions honestly have a weak point of view?
 - Why did many Americans come to feel a formal Declaration of Independence was needed?
7. **Notes** Prepare note sheets to use during the Congressional debates beginning on Day 2. You will need to take notes on the various factions' arguments. Take notes on each issue on one side of an 8-1/2"x11" sheet of paper. Here is a model to follow for all five note sheets.

You will write all your specific details in the spaces under the arguments.

Second Continental Congress: 1776	
1: <i>Should the colonies depend upon England economically?</i>	
Radical Arguments	Tory Arguments
1. America needs freedom from British trade restrictions.	1. The colonial economy is being protected by the strongest nation in the world.
2. America needs freedom to establish American economic alliances and thus open a larger market to Americans and eliminate dependence upon British goods.	2. England has the largest trading market in the world, and Americans depend on English goods.
3. America must remove the system of privilege that the Tories have in relation to land and money.	3. Radicals are bent on seizing English land and money for their own gain.

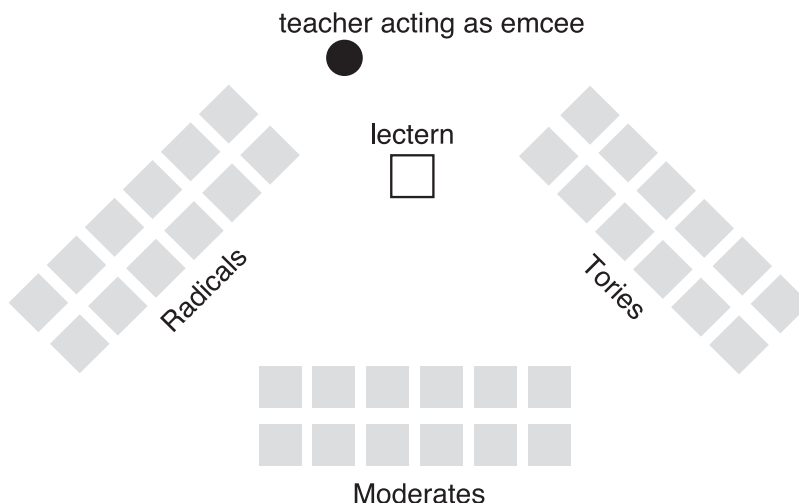
Days 2-3

1. **Chairperson** Your teacher may assume the role of chairperson of Congress.
2. **Setup** You will seat yourselves as follows:
 - Radicals on one side of room facing chairperson
 - Tories on opposite side of room facing chairperson
 - Moderates in the center of the room.



Adopt the scholar's attitude during your debate. How?

Try to imagine how the historical age influenced how persons divided persons into factions ...



3. **Debate** Faction members speak alternately, covering the five issues outlined on the next page. Radicals present their arguments on Issue 1 first; the Tories answer with their arguments; finally, the Moderates question both sides. As the debate takes place, students record arguments on their note sheets. When all points of view have been expressed on one issue, Congress moves on to the next issue. This sequence will continue until all issues have been covered that your Congress is debating.



4. **Vote** When all issues have been debated, the proceedings will end and the chairperson will call for a vote. The vote will determine if independence should or should not be declared. (Moderates will be the swing vote, voting either for or against independence.) The chairperson may be a voting member of the Congress.
5. **Assignment** As an overnight assignment your teacher may ask you to complete the following statement in a short essay: "As a member of the Second Continental Congress, I voted _____ because"

Day 4

1. **Testing** Your teacher may give you a POST-TEST. If so, refer to the Testing section in this Student Guide.
2. **Debriefing** Your teacher will divide you into groups for the debriefing activity. See the Debriefing section in this Student Guide.

ARGUMENTS OUTLINE: RADICALS AND TORIES

Problem The year is 1776, and colonists have been taking up arms against England. Approximately one-third of the people have been actively supporting the rebels. Another one-third have chosen to remain loyal to England and have expressed total opposition to the rebel cause. The remaining people are indifferent or have not taken a side. Radical, Tory, and Moderate leaders of all the colonies have been called to Philadelphia for the Second Continental Congress. Their main problem is easily stated: *Should America remain loyal to England or declare independence?* What the Moderate faction decides will determine the answer to this question.

Instructions Below is an outline of the Radical and Tory arguments about five issues. Each side's arguments are presented in *general* statements. Specific historical details supporting the general statements can be found in the handouts your teacher will give persons belonging to each faction. On page 6 are directions to follow so that you will prepare note sheets prior to the debate in the Second Continental Congress. Study your notes while you decide to vote for or against independence.

BASIC RADICAL ARGUMENTS

BASIC TORY ARGUMENTS

Issue 1: Should the colonies depend upon England economically?

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. America needs freedom from British trade restrictions. | 1. The colonial economy is being protected by the strongest nation in the world. |
| 2. America needs freedom to establish American economic alliances and thus open a larger market to Americans and eliminate dependence on British goods. | 2. England has the largest trading market in the world, and Americans depend on English goods. |
| 3. America must remove the system of privilege that the Tories have in relation to land and money. | 3. Radicals are bent on seizing English land and money for their own gain. |

Issue 2: Do Americans still need England's protection?

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. England offers protection to Americans only to the extent that it is economically beneficial to itself. | 1. England maintains law and order in America as proved by her removing the French threat to North America. |
| 2. Americans have protected themselves for years and resent any new order England offers. | 2. England has established forts on the frontier for American protection. |

Issue 3: How justified are American grievances?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Americans have made numerous attempts at reconciliation, but to no avail. | 1. England, by withdrawing the various acts which the colonists have deemed unjust, has thus shown her spirit of compromise. |
| 2. Americans resent England's unreasonable acts and taxes when the English government offers them no basic freedoms. | 2. As British citizens, Americans owe the British government a fair share of money to support the Empire. |

Issue 4: Should the American Colonies continue to obey the British government?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Americans cannot be obedient to a government which places them in a role of submission. | 1. A revolution would be a civil war, Englishman against Englishman. |
| 2. It is the will of God that all men are created equal. | 2. English law is superior to all forms of government, and it functions under the will of God. |

Issue 5: In summation, what is the true interest of America?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. What is a greater cause to fight and die for than liberty? | 1. Reconciliation is a far better choice than death in an unnecessary war. |
| 2. England is an overbearing mother; the colonies must break this bond. | 2. England wants peace, not war, and a chance to guide her colonists into the future. |

TESTING

Your teacher may choose to give you a three-part POST-TEST:

- **Part 1** includes 10 true/false questions which deal with the Second Continental Congress, the three factions present, and the real significance of the Declaration of Independence.
- **Part 2** asks you to list specific arguments for or against independence as presented by the factions at the Congress.
- **Part 3** has five short essays in which you state your opinions in regards to the Radical and Tory arguments presented at the Second Continental Congress.

true/false questions your opinions arguments for/against

DEBRIEFING



This culminating activity will be enjoyable and a real learning activity if you have studied the 1776 arguments carefully during the re-creation.

Good luck!

By now you have experienced a re-creation representing three points of view. Respond to the situation below by taking sides in a modern re-creation that could divide Americans in much the same way as the problems of the delegates to the Second Continental Congress.

Situation Certain Radicals in your state have decided that they have had enough of the federal government, its bureaucracy, its taxes, and its regulations. These Radicals present a bill in your state legislature to declare independence from the federal union and establish your state as an independent nation, economically and politically.

Instructions Divide yourselves as delegates to the First State Congress for independence. Establish your point of view as For, Against, or Undecided. Develop arguments within the For and Against groups; questions within the Undecided group. You may wish to use some of the same arguments presented in the re-creation to organize your points of view. Present your arguments to the large group in the same manner you debated during the re-creation. Vote on the outcome of the debate and compare your results with the outcome of the vote of the Second Continental Congress.

Questions

1. Would the issue of your state withdrawing from the federal union be as monumental as the issue of the colonists withdrawing from the Mother Country?
2. Would the reaction of citizens of your state be divided along the same lines as the factions for independence?
3. Discuss the similarities and differences in the two moves for independence.