Revolution

Decision Making in U.S. History

By Kevin O'Reilly

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HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

Think of this book, and the other books in this series, not as a text, but as a menu. As a teacher, you select lessons from the menu. It was never intended that you would have everything on the menu—that would be overeating. Take a look at the table of contents.] When choosing a lesson, look first at the problems on the student handout(s), and then at the student handout describing these problems' historical outcomes. If you like what you see, take a look at the lesson plan for ideas on using the handouts. You can teach all of the lessons by giving students a problem handout, having them discuss what they would do, and finally distributing the outcomes handout. You may also consult the "Quick Motivator" section of a lesson plan to use the handouts as a short introduction to class.

On the other hand, you can think of this book as a "how-to" guide for teaching specific decision-making skills while also covering significant events in United States history. The book posits a general guideline of ten distinct skills, organized under the acronym **P-A-G-E** to help students remember these skills. Take a look at the explanation of **P-A-G-E** in the introduction to this book, under the section titled "Guide to Thoughtful Decision Making." This section explains each of the ten skills and includes examples.

Every lesson in this series analyzes the historical topic in terms of **P-A-G-E.** Each lesson targets specific skills, letting the content and the actual decision in history determine the skills emphasized in the lesson. Take a look at the skills grid for each lesson on page 1 of this book. Handouts are frequently used to focus students on using specific skills. For example, many lessons include a list of questions designed to provoke more questions from students, as well as to give them ideas of the types of questions to ask. Other lessons give students a list of assumptions and ask which they assumed in making their decisions. The other skills have similar handouts.

Whether you try the problem-discussion-outcome approach or concentrate more on specific decision-making skills, I hope these books will help make you a more effective teacher and help your students learn United States history in a way that will help prepare them to make more thoughtful decisions as citizens.

Kevin O'Reilly

INTRODUCTION

RATIONALE: Hindsight versus Foresight

When we study history, it is all too easy to sit in judgment of those who came before us. We read it after the fact; we see it in hindsight. Given the benefit of such 20/20 hindsight, some historical figures seem to have been very misguided or downright silly in their decisions. Why didn't they anticipate the consequences of their choices? How could they have been so shortsighted? Sports enthusiasts call this sort of analysis "Monday morning quarterbacking."

However, it's not so easy to laugh at the follies of past decision makers if we are confronted with decisions in history before we learn the actual results. In such a situation, we find ourselves making some of the same mistakes that historical characters made, and we sometimes commit new errors they did not make. This method of studying history, which we might call "foresight history," is far more challenging—and engaging—than the traditional retroactive method to which we are inured.

In short, when we learn history by hindsight we risk becoming more arrogant and complacent. If, on the other hand, we learn history by *foresight,* by casting ourselves in the role of those historical figures and making decisions as they did—without knowing the outcome—we can learn humility and gain a great deal of empathy for them. Students in my classes constantly exclaim, "This is hard!" as opposed to, "This is boring!"

Foresight history also helps students improve key decision-making skills they will use again and again as citizens. Schools of law, medicine, business, and nursing, along with the military and many other institutions, use case-study methods, where students are forced to make decisions about a particular case and then analyze their thinking. If each of these varied disciplines values decision making so much, shouldn't we be training all our future citizens how to make good decisions?

History provides many benefits for those who study it. Historical knowledge can be liberating all by itself, letting us draw back the veil of ignorance and see the present with eyes enlightened by the past. The more knowledge of history we possess, the better we understand our societies and ourselves. Study and evaluation of primary sources, discussions of motives, debates about significance, analyzing causes and effects, and many other strategies are vital to history courses. The lessons here on decision making are meant to support and enhance these other methods of studying history, not replace them with a more "practical" type of history.

OVERVIEW

The lessons in *Decision Making in U. S. History* are to be used independently within a standard U.S. history course in middle school, high school, or college. Each book in this series comprises between eight and thirteen lessons. Each lesson includes the following:

1. Introduction: includes an overview of the topic, content vocabulary, and decision-making skills emphasized in the lesson.
2. Lesson plan: includes suggestions for how to use the handouts, how to focus on decision-making skills, how to connect the decision to the larger historical context, how to use video and other supplementary sources, and how to troubleshoot problems, should any arise.
3. Suggested answers: this section features teacher notes about outcomes (student versions of the outcomes are also provided—see number 6 below), references to historians' interpretations of the topic, decision-making analysis, and suggestions for further research.
4. Sources: includes the specific sources used in the lesson.
5. Problem(s): reproducible handouts used by students to read and analyze the problem.
6. Historical outcome of the problem: what people in history actually did and the consequences thereof.
7. Primary sources and visuals (if any): these are integrated into the lesson itself and are not included merely as window dressing.

Each individual decision-making challenge is referred to as a "problem." Some lessons have one problem to challenge students, while others contain numerous problems. The handouts for each lesson are reproducible; teachers can also decide to use only selected parts of the handouts, if so desired.

While decision making is the main point of the books, historical content is also very important. These lessons focus on real historical problems that convey powerful lessons about U.S. history. The problems involve important issues relevant both to America's past and its present: taxation, foreign intervention, regulation of businesses and individuals, immigration, welfare, war, and so forth. In addition, not all of the problems come from the perspective of political leaders: many ask students to consider the perspectives of ordinary Americans such as workers, voters, farmers, African Americans, business owners, Native Americans, and women. Including problems from the perspectives of ordinary people prepares students for their roles as citizens in a democracy and encourages empathy for unfamiliar groups.

Most of the problems are brief—some as short as one paragraph—and can be used as class warm-ups lasting no more than ten minutes. Even with the shorter problems, however, the outcomes can often be quite complex, running on for several pages. The problems may appear deceptively simple, but analyzing them can be complicated. You

can best judge how much analysis to include for each problem, and for how long to run each problem and discussion.

On the other hand, some problems are more complicated. These problems deal with crucial turning points in the nation's history. Students will almost certainly need more background information before making decisions, and analysis of these problems could take several class periods. These more involved problems could form the organization for an entire unit of study. For example, in my classes the problem on the New Deal provides me with the bulk of the time and activities on my unit concerning the New Deal. Students learn about the basic New Deal programs, including their advantages and disadvantages, while simultaneously working to improve their decision-making skills.

DECISION MAKING

What is Decision Making?

As explained in Student Handout 1, decision making involves making a choice when there is no clearly correct answer. Students can derive important lessons about decision making from encountering "messy" problems like these. Even where outcomes do not show a particular choice to be clearly right or wrong, students will still be surprised by some aspects of the outcomes and thereby gain insight into decision making.

Decision Making as Experience

As argued in Student Handout 1, the most powerful way to teach good decision making is through experience. People learn to make good decisions just by making decisions, period. Bad decisions are more instructive, perhaps, in making us more skeptical decision makers, but that isn't stressed in Student Handout 1. Examples from the teaching profession illustrate this negative-reinforcement aspect of decision making. Teachers who just put students into groups without giving specific directions quickly learn not to do it again. Lessons that don't work well are dropped or modified the next time around. Good teaching is basically good decision making, and good decision making is shaped rapidly by previous decisions.

Ordinary people, including students, have an optimistic tendency simply to assume their decisions will result in positive outcomes, rather than making an estimate of the probabilities of certain outcomes. Decision-making experts, on the other hand, have a much more realistic view of these probabilities, due in part to their greater experience with the types of problem with which they often deal. Experience teaches us to be more realistic about outcomes.

Just encountering the problems and outcomes in these books, therefore, can help students improve their decision-making skills in general.

Targeting Decision-Making Skills

As mentioned in Student Handout 1, these books go beyond just decision-making problems and their outcomes. They also provide teachers with a decision-making model and strategies for teaching the skills involved in decision making. Students learn a simple model that provides basic guidelines for making decisions. This model goes by the acronym **P-A-G-E** (as explained below and in Student Handouts 2 and 3), and it gives support and guidance for student decisions, allows for communication built around specific skills and a common vocabulary, and provides specific criteria for teachers to evaluate student progress on those skills.

It's crucial for the teacher to act as a coach and guide students as they encounter the decision-making problems, in what Reuven Feuerstein refers to as "mediated learning." The teacher's guidance and questions can help students make sense of what they are thinking when they make decisions about historical situations.

The debate among researchers about the relative power of experience versus instruction on decision making is not crucial to these books. Rather, the problems and lessons in these books allow teachers to combine experience and instruction in the form of mediated learning (coaching).

Repetition in Order to Master Skills

These books are based on the hypothesis that several repetitions of decision-making problems and outcomes help improve decision making. That is, a person who has tried 50 problems will most likely have improved his/her decision-making skills more than a person who has tried only ten problems, simply because he or she has had more experience making decisions. There are many problems included in these books, and teachers are encouraged to use them regularly (once or twice per week, perhaps) as warm-ups to start classes or units. It isn't expected, however, that teachers will necessarily use all the problems.

Having experience with a large number of problems also provides students with more historical analogies upon which they can draw. It is striking how often decision makers base their thinking on an analogy (usually a recent one) in looking for ideas to help decide a problem. Having a broader range of analogies allows students to be more skeptical of any analogy suggested, since students are more likely to think of different analogies than the ones offered.

Though many experiences with decision making will help, it is essential that teachers coach students (mediated learning) and have time to reflect on their thinking during decision-making problems. Metacognition (thinking about our own thinking) is vital for improving thinking skills, according to numerous writers. Teachers should therefore allow "postmortem" time after each experience for students to reflect on their thinking, either verbally or in writing (see the section on evaluation for ideas). Teachers are also

encouraged to use some of the lessons for lengthier (1–3 class periods), more in-depth analysis of student thinking and the historical topics involved; perhaps two or three lessons could be used for in-depth analysis per semester.

Individual Choice Versus Historical Context

Research indicates that students generally view the role of individual choices as critical to historical events (for example, viewing Rosa Parks as an important catalyst for the civil rights movement), while professional historians stress the importance of underlying forces (for example, African Americans fighting in World War II, the Cold War, etc. as important causes of the civil rights movement). Students often miss the significance of these underlying forces and do not always recognize the extent to which historical context has constrained the actions of people in the past.

By focusing on decisions by individuals and by groups, the books in this series may seem to perpetuate an overemphasis on the individual vs. historical forces. However, the lessons in these books help students see more historical context, not less. In order to make good decisions, students need to learn a great deal of historical context. All lessons in this book require students to ask questions about context. Each lesson includes a short outcome and a question about why students think that option was tried (e.g., "The Congress rejected the 1790 petition to end slavery. Why do you think it was rejected? Which historical forces at the time led to this outcome?"). Each problem also asks students to think about the historical forces that made it difficult for the individual to make a good decision. In addition, many problems include multiple points of view, which enrich student understanding of context. Finally, students discuss the ways in which the actual historic decision was similar to or different from the decision they made; this emphasizes the role of context in shaping individual choices.

STRATEGIES

The basic format of the lessons, as explained in the overview, is problem, decision, outcome, discussion. However, many of the subskills of decision making are difficult for students to master. In order to assist students, many lessons put these subskills in a sort of multiple-choice format. For example, to improve the "asking for more information" skill, some lessons include a list of questions from which students can select the ones they wish to ask. To improve "identifying underlying problems," some lessons list possible underlying problems. To improve "considering other points of view," some lessons include handouts that put students into different roles (for example, not just looking at labor strike problems from the point of view of the workers, but from the point of view of the owners as well).

GOALS

The books in this series have four main goals:

1. **Make history more interesting:**
   Simply giving students the problems, having them make decisions, and then telling them what the people involved actually did will keep student interest high. It's exciting to make decisions before you know what the historical figures actually did. It's dynamic, open-ended learning. Students enjoy comparing their decisions to those of their classmates and to the decisions actually made by the historical figures. Even if you decide to use the lessons without giving instruction on how to perform the skills involved in decision making, students will still enjoy learning history this way.

   This increased interest should also lead to increased reading comprehension. After all, when students read their texts they will actively search for what actually happened and will want to compare it with what they chose.

2. **Improve decision making through experience:**
   The primary way people learn to make better decisions is through the process of making decisions, both good and bad. Students therefore become more sophisticated decision makers with every choice they make. By giving students many chances to make decisions where they can learn from mistakes and surprises, we can speed up the process of making them savvy decision makers. For example, students who decide to have a foreign government overthrown and see many negative consequences will think twice before trying that again, and will be skeptical of such a plan if proposed in the present day. Experience itself becomes the teacher.

3. **More complex ethical thinking:**
   Ethical questions will arise regularly, and by discussing their positions students will develop more complex ethical arguments and understandings. Please note, however, that these lessons are not aimed primarily at ethical reasoning. Teachers who want to focus primarily on this should consult *Reasoning with Democratic Values* (2 volumes; by Alan Lockwood and David Harris, New York: Teacher's College Press, 1985).

4. **Improve the use of decision-making skills and reflection on those skills:**
   As much as students can improve their decision making through experience, they will develop it that much more if they learn specific subskills, which can then become guidelines for thinking through decision-making problems more carefully. The instruction in these books is based on the skills of the **P-A-G-E** model. The specific elements of **P-A-G-E** are described in the section "Guide to Better Decision Making," and the strategies for teaching those skills are explained below in the section "Teaching Specific Decision-Making Skills."

One of the teaching strategies emphasizes journal writing, in which students reflect on the problems they encounter, including how they could improve their own decision making. If teachers can get them to reflect on how to improve upon decisions they've just made, students will learn to be more reflective in general.

Ideally, we want to train future citizens to approach decision-making problems by asking insightful questions, carefully probing for underlying problems, seeing a problem from a variety of perspectives, setting clear and realistic goals, and imagining consequences.

EXPLANATION OF P-A-G-E FOR TEACHERS

(See Student Handouts 1–3)

Good decision making involves a number of subskills. The more students can use the subskills, the more complex their thinking will be when they make decisions. In order to help students recall the subskills involved in decision making, these books offer a simple acronym—**P-A-G-E**. The acronym is only meant to help students recollect the subskills rather than provide an actual formula for making decisions; decision-making problems are too complex and varied for step-by-step formulas. For instance, in one problem, students will need to focus on envisioning unintended consequences, while in another, historical context will be more important. Research indicates that expert decision makers don't follow step-by-step models. The **P-A-G-E** acronym consists of guidelines only, not specific steps or points that must be followed.

PROBLEM

Student Handout 3, "P-A-G-E Explanations and Examples," discusses the specific parts of **P-A-G-E.** The first section focuses on analyzing the problem, explaining what some experts call "framing." Framing seems to have a variety of meanings for different people. The handout emphasizes finding the underlying problem in an attempt to keep things simple for students. It also asks, "What's really going on here?" in order to help students uncover underlying problems.

According to Gary Klein, experts (people with a great deal of experience in a particular field, such as nursing, firefighting, or chess) "recognize" particular problems as being of one type or another. Once they make this recognition (i.e., once they frame it or represent it a particular way), experts can make very quick and successful decisions—that's why they're experts! In making these recognitions, experts draw upon analogies they've learned through experience. Thus, the section of the handout that discusses framing is related to the section on analogies. Experiments with expert chess players have shown that recognition is extremely important. When pieces were placed on a board in completely random fashion, experts could remember the placement no better than novices. But when the pieces were arranged in a way similar to placements in a game, experts could remember the placements with a single glance and project ahead several possible moves.

How students see or frame a problem depends partly on how the problem is worded. To help students become more aware of wording, some problems are phrased in two different ways: for example, half the class could get the problem worded using positive language, while the other half gets it worded with negative language. After students make their decisions, the class can discuss the effects of different wording on their decisions. Was it a big factor?

Political Scientist James Voss believes that the way people perceive problems in foreign policy acts as a key variable in the decisions they make. He believes that problem representation (which is similar to framing) constrains what we do thereafter. For example, if we see a problem as a case of communist aggression, we will make different choices than if we see it as a typical boundary dispute between neighboring countries. Questions included with some problems help students become more attuned to problem representation.

The section on assumptions is greatly simplified compared to the literature on assumptions, which delineates several different types of assumptions (presuppositions, working assumptions, etc.). The primary method used in these books to teach students to recognize their own assumptions is by asking them to identify which of a specific menu of assumptions they made. When they see a list of possible assumptions, they can better recognize which ones they've made. This strategy seems more effective than having students read a lengthy explanation on types of assumptions.

ASK FOR INFORMATION

Asking questions is crucial in good decision making. The more people know about background sources and context, the better they will understand the real problem.

The "Guide to Thoughtful Decision Making" also emphasizes asking questions about analogies ("How is the historical case different from this decision-making problem?"), but you should also encourage students to think of historical analogies in the first place. Students will often think about a problem in terms of a personal analogy: for example, "I don't like it when people criticize me, so it's wrong for a country to make a harsh speech against another country." Probing for personal or historical analogies, teachers should ask students where they got their ideas about what is really going on in a problem.

GOALS

The section on goals includes setting clear, realistic goals and generating numerous options for accomplishing those goals. Questions about ethicality have also been included in this section, since ethics are related to setting goals.

EFFECTS

The section on effects/consequences includes both long-term, unintended consequences and short-term possibilities of what could go wrong. Gary Klein argues that the ability to run mental simulations—that is, to envision what could go wrong and to imagine positive and negative consequences—is a vital skill in decision making. Every decision-making problem in this series emphasizes unintended consequences and things that could go wrong.

EVALUATING STUDENTS

There are numerous ways to evaluate student progress in both content and decision-making skills. Here are a few examples:

- Quiz students on the vocabulary included in the relevant lesson(s)
- Have each student keep a decision-making log, as outlined in Student Handout 3. It's a good idea to copy the handout onto colored paper: you can then tell students after analyzing the outcome of a problem to turn to their green (for example) decision-making log sheet and record their thoughts. The right column requires students to reflect on their thinking.
- Have students keep a journal in which they comment on:
- the decision actually made in history
    - what the actual decision makers did well or poorly
    - historical constraints on the decision makers
    - what the outcome of the decision reveals about that time period
    - the decision made by the student and what he/she did well or poorly
    - the "lessons" of this decision-making problem
- Have students write a "history" of an event after the class has participated in a decision-making problem on that event and has discussed the outcome. I've required students to include at least two elements of **P-A-G-E** in their historical analysis.
- As a test question, have students make a decision about a problem you haven't used in class. Give them the problem and instruct them to make a decision and explain their thinking according to **P-A-G-E**. You have criteria in the suggested answers for grading their work.

EVALUATION TIPS FOR STUDENT HANDOUT 5

Here are some criteria to consider in grading student responses to the thinking of Prime Minister Grenville in 1764. Students need only get five criteria, and they only need to suggest ideas for each criterion. So, for example, I give full credit to students who suggest any possible underlying problem, or ask any reasonable question. (The Duties Act was known in the colonies as the "Sugar Act." Since students may recognize the Sugar Act and get colonial responses [consequences] from memory, the handout retains the name "Duties Act.") The question in this analysis is: Which of these did Prime Minister Grenville consider?

- **Underlying problem:**
  1. The American colonies were more independent, now that France had been removed as a threat as a result of the French and Indian War.
  2. Britain was increasingly dependent upon trade with the prosperous mainland American colonies.
  3. The enormous British debt loomed over everything.
- **Other points of view:**
  1. Plantation owners in the British West Indies (Barbados, Jamaica): They would be happy if molasses sales increased from their islands to America. These owners composed a powerful lobby in Parliament, which would help get it passed. Unfortunately, smuggling continued and sales of British molasses did not increase.
  2. British public: They were paying high taxes and felt they had fought a war to help the colonies. The colonists should pay their fair share in taxes. Smugglers were breaking the law, so they deserved to be punished.
  3. American colonists: The French and Indian War was fought to help Britain, not the colonies. Colonists should not have to pay taxes without representation in Parliament.
  4. American smugglers: The trade laws were unfair—they should have been able to trade freely with anyone—so smuggling was justified. Officials had allowed it for years before 1764.
  5. British customs officials: They weren't going to like the increased penalties.
- **Recognize assumptions or emotions:**
  1. Did Grenville assume that colonists would like the reduction in molasses tax enough to overcome their dislike of increased enforcement?
  2. Did Grenville assume that colonists in general would not actively support molasses smugglers?.
- **Ask questions about context:** (Based on the description, Grenville must have asked the first two questions. Students may think of some of these other questions.)
  1. Had trade laws been enforced strictly in America? (No. American colonists have been allowed to smuggle for many years in a policy called "salutary

neglect." The trade laws of England had basically not been enforced in the American colonies, especially with regard to smuggling in the French and Dutch West Indies. The customs service, which also contains many relatives of people already working in customs, costs more to run than it raises in customs.)

2. Has there been much smuggling up to this point?
3. How popular are merchants in America? Smugglers?
4. Do the colonists generally feel that the French and Indian War had been fought for their benefit?
5. How much will enforcement increase military spending?
6. How large is the debt? (It is double the size it was just seven years ago.)
7. How high are taxes in England compared to the colonies? (Taxes are 20 times higher in England. There had recently been riots against the cider tax in England.)
8. How strong is the British economy at this time? (Britain is in a recession, with high unemployment and increased bankruptcies. In such bad economic times, the British people are in no mood to pay higher taxes for anything, let alone for the colonies.)

- **What are my goals? Are they realistic?**
  1. One goal was to raise a significant amount of money to help pay off the debt. It's not clear if this was a realistic goal. Colonists may have continued to smuggle, in which case the enforcement of paying duties would have been more than the revenue collected. Likewise, it was very difficult to stop corruption among customs officials.
  2. Another goal was to continue the prosperous trade that existed at that point between Britain and the colonies. Strict enforcement threatened to jeopardize this trade, so the first goal conflicted with this one.
  3. A third goal was to assert more British authority over the colonies by getting them to obey stricter laws and by tightening up on British officials to enforce the laws. Again, if the colonists or British officials got around the new rules, this goal would not be accomplished.
- **Generate alternative options:**
  1. Maybe there were alternative ways to get Americans to buy molasses from the British West Indies. One way might have been for the British government to subsidize (pay some of the cost for) molasses growers in the British West Indies. With the price of British molasses lower than the price of molasses from the French West Indies, the colonists might have bought from the British. There would have been no need to enforce the tariff.
  2. The British government could have paid farmers in the British West Indies to switch to a different crop. Then there would have been no need for the tariff on molasses from the French West Indies..
- **Play out the options:**
  1. Grenville had to think about getting Parliament to pass the bill into law. He did very well on this point, waiting until he had a solid majority to vote on it. He also had the support of the King at that point.

2. Stricter enforcement might have led to protests in the American colonies, but Grenville didn't think there would be. He was right. There were few protests.
3. Stricter enforcing would cost more money, and it wasn't clear if enforcement would bring in enough tariff money to cover those increased costs.
4. American traders would likely devise different methods of smuggling to get around enforcing the tariff. This was the main response by American traders..

- **Anticipate consequences/effects (long-term):**
  1. Tightening enforcement might have hurt trade. In the long run, reduced trade would hurt the British economy and the colonial economy.
  2. Enforcing the duties might have led to an open break with the colonies, which might have been a cause leading toward revolution.

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GUIDE TO THOUGHTFUL DECISION MAKING

Student Handout 1

Welcome to "Foresight" History!

The problems in the *Decision Making in U.S. History* series will challenge you to make choices about events in United States history before you know what actually happened in those events. This is learning history in a foresighted way—first you decide, then you find out what really happened—rather than hindsight history, where you just find out what happened. You will get at least two benefits from this method of learning history: first, you will improve your decision-making skills. Someday, when you avoid buying a "lemon" used car that would have wasted thousands of dollars, you can thank your history teacher for helping you build up your decision-making skills. Second, it's fun to learn history as though it's a cliffhanger mystery, where you're eager to find out if your decision worked or ended in disaster. But don't forget to concentrate on the actual historical decision that was made and how it turned out. You can learn a lot about your own decision making through these problems, but you're mainly in class to learn history and to understand what really happened, not what could have happened.

What is Decision Making?

You've learned about problem solving in other courses such as math and science, and you've encountered problem solving when you've tried to build something or fix something. Decision making resembles problem solving in some ways (for example, it involves defining a problem and thinking of alternatives) but it's different from problem solving in that there is no one right answer. The lessons in this book involve "messy" problems; even long after the event, people often disagree about what the best decision was or should have been.

Decision Making as Experience

Experience teaches you how to make good decisions. Every decision that you make—whether good or bad—better equips you to make good decisions in the future. For example, you would probably feel safer being treated by a doctor who had a lot of experience than by a brand-new doctor. The historical problems your teacher gives you will provide you with experience in making decisions in general, and will help you become a better decision maker in your role as a citizen. You won't just have learned about history, you will have experienced it. For some of these lessons, you will feel that you made good decisions; for others, you may feel that you've made errors in judgment. As you go along, try to reflect on your experiences as well as on your thinking about decision making.

P-A-G-E Guide to Decision Making

While experience is the most important way to learn to make better decisions, it's also helpful to learn some basic decision-making skills so that you know what areas to target in order to improve your overall decision making. Handout 2 contains an acronym, **P-A-G-E**, that provides you with guidelines for making better decisions. These aren't rules you have to follow; they are just meant as helpful tips to help you improve your thinking about decision making.

Handout 3 explains and gives examples for each part of the **P-A-G-E** guide to decision making. Keep it in your notebook for reference as you make decisions about situations in U.S. history. Every single **P-A-G-E** guideline will not necessarily apply to each decision-making problem you encounter. You (with the assistance of your teacher) will have to determine which guidelines will work best with which problems.

P-A-G-E ANALYSIS FOR DECISION MAKING

Student Handout 2

Decision-Making Analysis

P=Problem:

- Identify any **underlying problem(s):** What's really going on here?
- Consider **other points of view:** How do others see this situation?
- What are my **assumptions**? **Emotions**?

A=Ask for information (about):

- **Historical context:** What is the history and context of this issue?
- **Reliability of sources:** Does my information come from experts on this topic? Do the sources have a reason to lie? Is the information supported by evidence?
- **Historical analogies:** What has been done in the past about situations like this? In what ways do these other situations differ from this situation?

G=Goals:

- What are my main **goals**? Are they **realistic**?
- Generate **options** to help achieve these goals. Are they **ethical**?

E=Effects:

- Predict **unintended consequences.** What are some long-term effects?
- **Play out the options.** What could go wrong?

P-A-G-E EXPLANATIONS AND EXAMPLES
Student Handout 3

PROBLEM

Underlying problem:

Sometimes, a decision-making situation will seem very difficult until you recognize that an underlying problem exists. For example, suppose two people come in for marriage counseling because they have been arguing a lot about money. The counselor is going to look for an underlying problem (such as unfulfilled needs) that might have led to spending more money. A student doing poorly in school might turn things around by discovering she needs glasses—the underlying problem. Please remember that you should *not* just repeat or rephrase the problem: instead, you need to look for what's behind it—for what's causing it. Underlying problems are *not* openly given as part of the decision-making situation—you have to figure them out on your own.

Another way to think of this skill is "the ability to see what is really going on." Some people call this "framing" the problem: in other words, by putting a "frame" around the heart of the problem and excluding unimportant parts, you discover what really is important. You need to call on your own personal experiences in order to see what's really going on. In history, this is done by making analogies. In a sense, you need to say, "The problem we are facing now is like a problem people faced before [this is an analogy], so I'd better do *this*." The way you <u>see</u> (or frame, or represent) a problem influences the decision you eventually make.

<u>Example:</u>
Bob's grades have been much lower for the last three months in history class. He says he's bored in class, and he'll improve his grades when he really needs to.

List at least two possible underlying problems for Bob's lower grades. What's really going on?

Other points of view:

Other people are always involved in decisions in history. We need to consider their points of view as we make decisions about history, just as we need to consider other points of view in our own lives today.

<u>Example:</u>
My brother, Mark, is angry with me for borrowing his car three times. But he's wrong to be angry. I needed to get to work each time I borrowed the car.

Rewrite this problem from Mark's point of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

Sometimes after we make a decision, we realize that we had made an assumption that we didn't even know we were making until it was too late.

Emotions are part of being human, so they represent a legitimate part of the decision-making process. We do, however, need to be aware of our emotions during the decision-making process. Emotions, especially frustration and anger, can sometimes lead us to make irrational choices. People frequently become frustrated and say, "I've had enough of this situation. Let's just do *something.*" But they often come to regret the rushed choices they made under such circumstances. They would have benefited from saying to themselves, "Okay. I'm getting frustrated, but I still need to take the time necessary to make a good decision."

Studies have shown that when people feel pessimistic, or when they're in a bad mood, they exaggerate the possible negative consequences of decisions; similarly, when they feel optimistic or are in a good mood, they overestimate positive consequences.

Emotions and gut feelings are unavoidable and natural, but thinking the situation through is crucial to making good decisions. We wouldn't want the president to decide about nuclear missiles in Cuba based solely on his gut feeling—we'd want him to gather information, consider several options, predict the possible consequences for millions of people, and so forth. As decision makers, we need to account for the role of emotion and gut feelings in our decisions and be aware of them as we choose.

Example for assumptions:
Player to teammate: "We'll have no trouble beating Central. After all, Central lost to Suburban, and we beat Suburban the first game of the year."

What is this player assuming?

Example for emotions:
Suppose you have two children, and are trying to decide whether to buy life insurance. An insurance ad shows a boy who can't go to college because his father died and had no life insurance.

To what emotion does the ad appeal?

ASK

Ask about historical context (history of the issue; context in the world):

Asking questions about both the historical background and the present context of a problem are both essential for getting the information necessary to make a good decision. If you don't know the background, you will have difficulty deciding on the best solution.

Every problem has a backstory, and we need to find out what that story is. The key is to ask questions that will help you obtain the necessary information.

Example:
You are 17 years old, and you have been thinking about buying a car. You work part time after school, about ten hours per week. Your parents have told you that you'll have to pay for the car yourself. You go to a used car dealership and the salesman shows you a used car that costs $2000.

What questions should you ask before you buy it?

Ask about reliability of sources:

Information is crucial to making good decisions, but we need know what the sources of our information are and consider the reliability of those sources. Basing a decision on bad information from questionable sources is a recipe for disaster. You can evaluate sources by asking if the person giving the information has a reason to lie, if the person is a primary source, if other sources support this information, if the person is an expert on the topic, what the person's bias is on the topic, or if the person has been reliable in the past.

You should always be probing for disagreements among sources. Be wary if no disagreements seem to exist. It might mean your advisers are engaging in "groupthink," where they all get pulled to the same option without thoroughly thinking through other options or considering what could go wrong. Always try to find people who disagree with a proposed option. If you can't find one, ask tough questions yourself.

Example:
The car salesman says this used car is in perfect condition.

How reliable is the salesman? What reasons might you have to distrust him?

Ask about historical analogies:

It's natural to compare the problems we encounter to other, similar situations that have occurred in the past. In fact, one reason we study history in the first place is to build a deeper understanding of our world today through learning about historical events/ analogies. You should try to think of analogies to the problems you encounter. As mentioned above in the section on underlying problems, you derive your understanding of what is important in a problem (framing) from analogies. (Example: "This problem is like that situation George Washington was in at Trenton during the American Revolution.") The more you draw on your knowledge of history, the more likely you are to fully understand a decision-making problem.

However, analogies are tricky because important differences often exist between the problems we encounter now and the historical cases we use to guide our decisions. We

should always evaluate analogies by asking, "How do the two cases differ? In what ways are they similar? Are they similar enough to justify the conclusion?" We should also consider whether other, more appropriate analogies exist that could provide us with better guidance.

Example:
Suppose you drove in a race at a parking lot near a mall a month ago. You raced your five-year old Toyota Corolla, and your time was 36.8 seconds. Margaret told you that she drove in a race last Sunday and her time was 28.2 seconds. She says this proves she is a better race driver than you are.

What are two questions you could ask to determine whether Margaret is really a better driver?

GOALS

What are my main goals? Are they realistic?

We can't make good decisions if we are unclear about our goals. Once we establish goals, we can more easily set priorities and use them as a basis for choosing between options.

However, establishing goals isn't enough. The goals we set need to be realistic. Some decisions in history have been catastrophic because the decision makers didn't notice that they had unrealistic goals. It didn't matter how carefully they exercised their other decision-making skills—because their goals were unrealistic, they would never achieve them.

Example:
You're out of school and need a job, since you live on your own and have expenses (rent, car payments, food, heat, insurance, etc.). You've got two offers. The first one is close to where you live and pays a lot more money, but it's doing work you wouldn't like. The second job is farther away and pays less money (but enough to cover your expenses), but it's doing something that you really like.

What do you do? After you decide, list your goals and ask how realistic they are.

Generate options to help achieve my goals. Are they ethical?

After you've made a decision, you don't want to be stuck thinking, "Oh, I wish I'd thought of that option before I decided!" At the same time, though, you don't want to become paralyzed trying to think of every possible option, no matter how remote. Nevertheless, important decisions should spur us to take the time to consider a number of options. We should also consider whether the options we come up with are ethical.

Example:
You are 25 years old, single, work full-time ten miles from where you live, and drive your compact car to work. In recent months, gas prices have risen to very high levels. Your main goal at this point is to save money.

What options do you have for coping with these price increases?

EFFECTS

Predict unintended consequences:

Most of the time, predicting unintended consequences will be more important than any other thinking you do about a problem. For some problems, it may be enough just to see the situation from other points of view or to ask questions about background or context. However, considering consequences will do more to help you avoid that awful feeling you get when you've made a bad decision.

Example:
Suppose you are 35 years old and have a son and a daughter, ages five and two. The company you work for is asking you to move to a different state. You can refuse and take a pay cut.

If you make the move, what unintended consequences might it have on you and your family in ten years? Guess at what the effects of the move might be.

Play out the option. What could go wrong?

Here, you need to think about short-term effects, as opposed to predicting unintended consequences, which focuses more on long-term effects. For example, say you're playing the role of president and decide to get a law passed to help solve a problem. You have to take into account the fact that Congress has the constitutional power to pass laws, and thus to get your law enacted you need to convince Congress to approve it. By noticing that the approval of Congress is vital to the success or failure of your decision, you've identified something that could go wrong, and need to plan accordingly (overcoming opposition by talking to individual members of Congress, thinking of another option as backup, etc.).

Example:
Suppose you are 30 years old and working at a job you like pretty well. You get an offer to work at a job for higher pay that is further away.

If you take the job, what might happen? List two or more things that could go wrong.

DECISION-MAKING LOG

Student Handout 4

Topic	Actual decision	My decision	Why different/similar?	What I learned about P-A-G-E from this topic (two examples)

EVALUATE DECISION MAKING

Student Handout 5

Prime Minister George Grenville decided in 1764 to propose the Duties Act, which was passed by Parliament early in the year. The Duties Act comprised the following parts:

- British customs officials were watched much more closely to prevent corruption. Many officials accepted bribes from colonists to avoid paying duties (import taxes). Now the punishment for being caught were much more severe.
- British customs officials had many more powers to search ships to catch smugglers. Moreover, colonial shippers had to keep very careful records or their cargoes could be taken by the British government.
- Colonists accused of smuggling would be tried in vice-admiralty courts by British judges, rather than in colonial courts by colonial juries.
- The tax on molasses from the French West Indies would be dropped from three pence to six pence per gallon.
-

Prime Minister Grenville felt that the Duties Act was justified because Britain needed the tax revenue to pay off its debts from the French and Indian War. The British had defeated the French, which made the colonies more secure. So, the colonists should pay for part of the cost of the war. By tightening up on smuggling (through making customs officials more honest), by giving customs officials more powers to search, and by making it more likely that accused smugglers would be found guilty (in vice-admiralty courts), more colonists would pay the trade taxes. In addition, the lower tax would allow colonists to trade in French molasses legally, which would reduce smuggling and bring in *more* tax revenue. With more colonists buying legal French molasses, including the tax, molasses from the British West Indies would be more competitive in price. So sales of British molasses would increase also. The colonists would make more money, so they could buy more British manufactured goods. Grenville realized that the trade laws had not been enforced tightly in a policy called "salutary neglect," and he knew that smuggling had been widespread during the French and Indian War.

Analyze Prime Minister Grenville's decision according to five or more criteria from **P-A-G-E** (listed on Handout 2). These are not the main four letters of **P-A-G-E**, but the ten criteria under the main letters. For example, you wouldn't be using "Problem," but one of the three criteria under "Problem," such as "What are my assumptions?" Write each of the five criteria as a separate paragraph.

After you have written your analyses based on five or more criteria, write your overall judgment of Grenville's decision in one paragraph. How well did he do?

REVOLUTION AND CONSTITUTION

Introduction

OVERVIEW

This volume on the American Revolution and the U.S. Constitution comprises seven lessons: four focused on the Revolution and three on the Constitution. The causes of the Revolution present many decision points. The lessons here focus on the Proclamation of 1763, Stamp Act, Tea Act, and Declaration of Independence. The Sugar Act, writs of assistance, the quartering of troops, and a number of other worthy topics were omitted in order to provide brevity and clear focus on decision making. The Constitution lessons focus on the Articles of Confederation, the Northwest Ordinance, and the Constitution itself. As in the other volumes, no effort is made to cover all the major topics of this time period. Rather, lessons were chosen around interesting decision-making problems.

SKILLS GRID FOR THIS VOLUME

X = part of lesson
E = emphasized in the lesson

	Lesson						
Skill	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
Underlying problem	X	X	X	X	X		
Point of view	E	E	E	X		X	
Assumptions/emotions		X		X		X	X
Ask—context	X	X	X		X		
Ask—sources							
Ask—analogies			X		X		E
Goals? Realistic?	X	X	X	E	X		
Options. Ethical?	X	X					
Unintended consequences	E	X	E	E	E	X	E
Play out option	X	X	X		X	E	

LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

Teacher Pages

OVERVIEW

The end of the French and Indian War was a watershed in American history. This lesson transports students back to that dramatic time, letting them view the 1763 Treaty of Paris, as well as the problem of guarding the new territory gained by Britain in the war, from the perspective of the British.

VOCABULARY

- William Pitt—British prime minister during the French and Indian War
- Treaty of Paris—Treaty ending the French and Indian War in 1763. Britain won the rights to Canada, Florida, several islands in the Caribbean, bases in Africa, and also won dominance in India.
- Exports—Goods that countries sell to other countries
- Pontiac—Leader of a Native American rebellion in 1763 whose forces captured eight forts and killed hundreds of white colonial settlers
- Proclamation of 1763—British act preventing colonists from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains
- Lord Jeffrey Amherst—Leader of British forces in America. He stopped giving gifts to Native Americans and later conceived of using smallpox to fight the Native Americans.

DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Ask about context
- Set realistic goals
- Generate options. Are they ethical?
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

LESSON PLAN

A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (One 40-minute class)

Procedure**:**

Distribute Handout 1. Ask students to read it silently and decide what they will do. Next, divide students into groups and have them discuss their choices. Have students list reasons to choose Canada as well as reasons to choose Guadeloupe. Allow some time for students to ask questions. Then bring the class back together and have each group report on its decisions and explain. After the discussion, have students vote on whether to take Canada or Guadeloupe from the French, or whether to demand both. Distribute Handout 3 with the outcomes or tell the class what actually happened.

OPTION: After students have listed arguments for and against both Canada and Guadeloupe, give them Handout 2, which has the arguments made at the time for each option. Alternatively, you could distribute Handout 2 at the same time as Handout 1.

Shift to the second part of the lesson by distributing Handout 4 on the Native American attacks. Have students read the problem and collectively choose two questions to ask, each student getting two votes. Read the suggested answers (Handout 6) for the questions that received the most votes. Discuss student decisions and then have them vote on which option they wish to choose. Distribute Handout 5 or read the outcomes from that handout. Using the primary source (Handout 7) at this point will help students get a better understanding of the Proclamation.

Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from these outcomes. What would they have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes? Which decision-making skills were especially important to the decisions on negotiating the peace treaty? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** especially applied to this problem? (See the section on "Decision-Making Analysis" below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers.

Placing the Actual Decisions Into Historical Context:

Ask students whether historical context or individual choices were more important to the decisions made at the end of the French and Indian War. Students should recognize that historical factors— especially the complex struggles between Native Americans and colonists (settlers, speculators, and traders)—made the choices difficult for British leaders. The proclamation line was only one option, but the choice was difficult. Historical factors were prominent also in the choice to keep an army in the new territory. British leaders would have found it difficult to force thousands of military officers out

of the army given their brave service for their country. They therefore felt constrained to maintain a large army and decided to use it to guard the new territory. On the other hand, there were good arguments and reasons for choosing either option (Canada or Guadeloupe) so this decision depended more on leaders' personal choices.

Connecting to Today:

The British decided to reduce conflict by separating Native Americans from settlers by means of the proclamation line. Ask students to consider conflict situations today where leaders might consider separating populations in an attempt to reduce strife (for example, via segregation, fortifying borders, ethnic relocation, etc.). What are the pros and cons of such actions?

The use of biological warfare is condemned today. Why wasn't the use of smallpox against the Native Americans more strongly condemned in 1763?

Troubleshooting:

Some students may find it difficult to believe the British army could not keep settlers from coming into the area west of the proclamation line. Have them look at the map and imagine spreading 5000 soldiers (many of whom were tied down guarding fixed positions, mainly forts) over an area stretching more that 1500 miles from north to south. That would mean only about three soldiers per mile, even if they were spaced out equally.

B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (15–20 minutes)

Skip Handouts 1–3 and start with Handout 4 for homework. To save even more time, do not copy the end of the handout containing the questions. In class, have students pair up for about two minutes to discuss their answers. Bring the class together and have students vote on which options they wish to choose. Discuss their reasons.

TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 3 and 5.)

The arguments made in colonial-era pamphlets are similar in some ways to the arguments made in blogs today. This analogy might help students understand the debate better.

Note: High retirement costs was one of the reasons for keeping a larger army in America rather than reducing the size of the army by forcing soldiers to retire (see Draper in sources). This reason was very complicated and would require extensive explanation.

The conversion of pounds from 1770 to 2008 dollars (£1=$127) is from the National Archives of England. Estimates of the conversion vary from source to source. The idea in this lesson is to give students a general idea of how much it would be worth today, not to give them a specific number.

DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS

P = Problem
* - **Identify any underlying problem(s)**
* - **Consider other points of view**
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)
* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

G = Goals
* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
* - **Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

E = Effects
* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify underlying problems:** Students should consider the problem that British colonists (speculators and settlers) and Native Americans all wanted the same land. For both the British government and the Native Americans, a second important underlying problem is the growing power and population of the colonies.
- **Consider other points of view:** Students should consider the points of view of

the Native Americans, the French colonists remaining in British territories, and the British colonists. The colonist viewpoint is particularly significant. Colonists wanted the Ohio Valley to finally be opened up to settlement after the French were defeated. They were also bitter that the British failed to protect them during Pontiac's War. About 2000 colonists were killed or captured in the savage fighting. The British army appeared very weak to the colonists. The colonists also demanded to know why the British chose to keep an army in North America now that the French presence had ended; there hadn't been an army stationed there even while the French were a threat.

- **Ask questions:** Use the questions at the end of Handout 4. Which questions were most helpful for this problem? Why?
- **Identify realistic goals:** Students need to be clear about what they are trying to accomplish and examine whether their goals are realistic. In the actual situation, British leaders found that it was unrealistic to try to enforce the proclamation line given the limited number of soldiers present. Was it unrealistic to try to protect the Native Americans from settlers?
- **Are the options ethical?** The all-out attacks on the Native Americans, including the use of smallpox-infected blankets, should be examined in terms of ethical standards.
- **Consider consequences:** The long-term stationing of British soldiers in America to guard the new territory led to higher taxes, leading to increasing strife between colonists and Britain. The associated costs of soldiers did not singlehandedly cause the American Revolution, but they were an important cause.
- **Play out the options:** Students should consider how enforcement of the proclamation line would work out. A little reflection on the act of physically removing settlers from the area west of the proclamation line would show that there would be difficulties. This is not necessarily to say that the proclamation line shouldn't be tried, just that students should consider the difficulties in enforcing it.

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LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

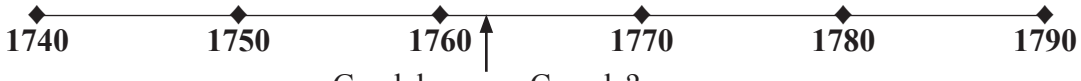
Vocabulary

- William Pitt—British Prime Minister during the French and Indian War
- Treaty of Paris—Treaty ending the French and Indian War in 1763. Britain won the rights to Canada, Florida, several islands in the Caribbean, bases in Africa, and also won dominance in India.
- Exports—Goods that countries sell to other countries
- Pontiac—Leader of a Native American rebellion in 1763 whose forces captured eight forts and killed hundreds of white colonial settlers
- Proclamation of 1763—British act preventing colonists from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains
- Lord Jeffrey Amherst—Leader of British forces in America. He stopped giving gifts to Native Americans and later conceived of the use of smallpox to fight the Native Americans.

LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

Student Handout 1: Problem

Revolutionary Era



Guadeloupe or Canada?

The year is 1760 and you are Prime Minister William Pitt of England. You are four years into the Seven Years' War against France (called the French and Indian War in America). The British have defeated the French in America in several major battles, and even captured Quebec, the most important French city. The French have begun talking about ending the war now that the tide has turned against them. Leaders in England are also hopeful of ending the conflict. That means negotiations will be starting soon toward a peace treaty. The English have been debating how to negotiate.

William Pitt

All agree that Britain should receive territory from the French, since the British are winning the war. But if Britain demands

all the territory in America, the French won't agree, and the war will continue. The English are tired of the war, so continuing it would be unpopular. Besides, Britain has run up enormous debts from the war. The longer the war drags on, the higher the debt and the greater the need to increase taxes.

The English have come down to demanding either Canada or Guadeloupe, an island in the Caribbean. Canada is a vast territory north of the British colonies stretching down the Ohio Valley to the Mississippi River. It has a lively fur trade, but its yearly exports are only £14,000 ($1.8 million in today's dollars). Guadeloupe is a sugar-rich island that produces more sugar than all the British islands together, with yearly exports of £6 million ($762 million). There are arguments (not included here, so you have to think of them on your own) raging in pamphlets in England about which territory the British government should demand from France. The actual negotiations will take several years, so the peace treaty will probably not be signed until 1762 or 1763. Nevertheless, you need to start thinking now about what to demand.

What will you demand from France: Canada, Guadeloupe, or both (knowing that this will prolong the war)? Explain.

LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

Student Handout 2: Arguments

The English pamphlets outline the arguments for and against each option. Summaries of the arguments are listed here:

Arguments concerning Canada: "If Britain takes Canada…":

- It will have a lot of new land, which could lead to increased economic growth, especially with control over the fur trade (good)
- Britain will gain prestige and the prestige of France will weaken (good)
- It will reduce conflicts with France, since the hostile population (the French) has been driven out, and will probably also reduce conflicts with Native Americans, since they won't have France's support to resist the English colonists (good)
- The colonies will expand, which will lead to economic growth (good) and hurt the Native Americans (good for Britain), but hurt the fur trade (bad)
- The colonists will be happy, since they want Britain to choose Canada, and they feel that the British only won the war with the colonists' help (good)
- The colonists will become more independent, since a nearby enemy has been removed (reducing their dependence on Britain); they will be more difficult to deal with and may try to form an independent country (bad)
- It will cost Britain a great deal of money to control such a vast area. When a large area is obtained, the new government also takes on all its problems and responsibilities. Sending soldiers to control it will cost money. Canada has lost money for France for decades; it may end up costing Britain more money than it brings in (bad).

Arguments concerning Guadeloupe: "If Britain takes Guadeloupe…":

- It will help the British economy more than if Britain takes Canada. Sugar sales from this one island will bring in much higher profits than will furs from Canada. A stronger economy will, in turn, make Britain stronger in comparison with other powers in Europe (good).
- It will keep the colonies more dependent on England, because the French in Canada will still be a nearby threat. But the colonies can be defended against the weakened French by means of just a few forts, which will be less costly than occupying the whole of Canada (good).
- It will cost Britain money to occupy Guadeloupe. There may be some tension with the French plantation owners on Guadeloupe. Will British planters be able to buy plantations at a reduced price? If yes, French planters will be upset (causing more control problems); if not, British planters may be upset (bad). On the other hand, Guadeloupe is much smaller than Canada, and will surely be easier to occupy and defend (good).
- It will help Britain pay off its debts from the war, since it will bring in more tax revenue than if Britain takes Canada (good)

LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

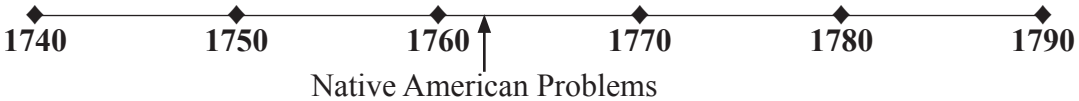
Student Handout 3: Outcomes

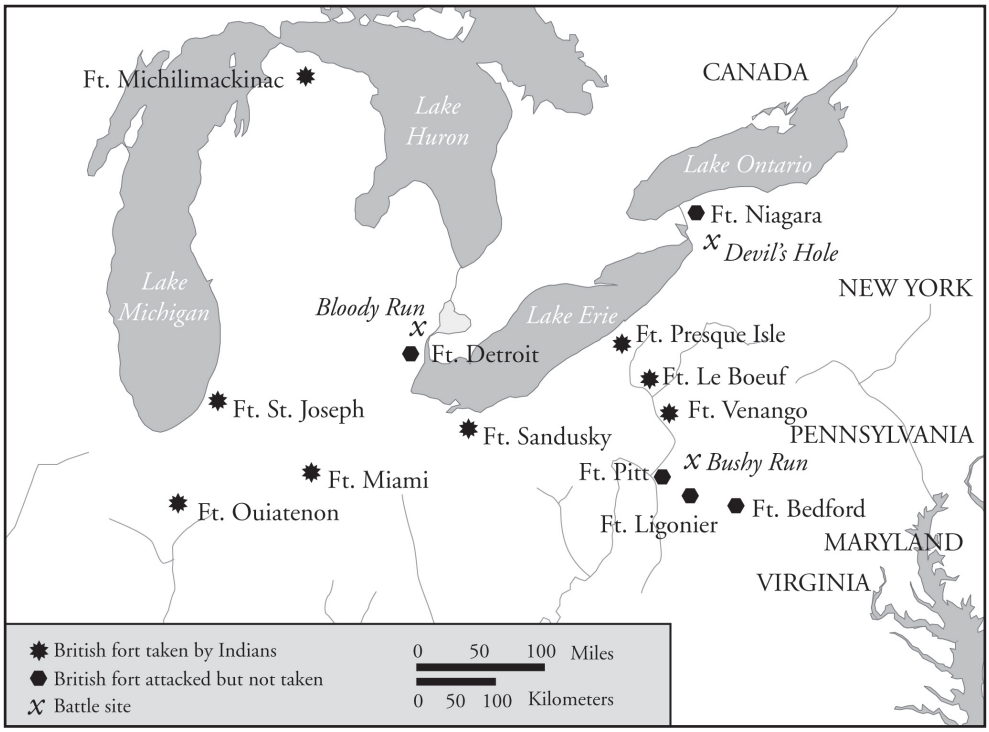
The British decided to demand Canada and let France keep Guadeloupe. Some historians believe taking Canada was a key decision leading to the American Revolution. It cost Britain a great deal of money to police and govern the vast new territory. These increased costs were important reasons for increasing taxes on the colonists, which led to trouble. Second, taking Canada meant removing the French threat, which might have contributed to a more independent attitude among the colonists (just when their taxes were going up). This was the main argument in England at the time against taking Canada. Numerous arguments were made that taking the French out of Canada would lead to greater independence and difficulties in the colonies.

LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

Student Handout 4: Problem

Revolutionary Era





Forts attacked in Pontiac's uprising

The year is 1763 and you are King George III of England. The Seven Years' War, known in America as the French and Indian War, ended earlier this year with the Treaty of Paris. In the treaty, England took over all the French territory in Canada, including the Ohio Valley and the territory in the west to the Mississippi River. The celebration of victory was cut short soon after the war ended, however. In May, Ottawa Native Americans, along with a group of other tribes, began attacking settlements all over the Ohio Valley and around the Great Lakes. They have been unified under Pontiac, the Ottawa chief. Over a six-month period, Native Americans have captured eight forts along the frontier and are attacking two other forts at Detroit and Niagara. About 2000 settlers have been killed or captured in the most well-coordinated military attacks yet by Native Americans on British colonists and soldiers. (The conflict has been called Pontiac's Rebellion, or

King George III

Uprising, or War.) Thousands of other settlers have abandoned their homes on the frontier for more settled areas. The population of settlers along the frontier has been reduced by one-third to one-half.

British leaders in London fear that the Native Americans will make secret agreements with the French colonists remaining in the area (whom the Native Americans prefer to the more numerous British settlers) for weapons to resist the British settlers. Such an alliance of French colonists and Native Americans could make it very difficult for Britain to take control of all this new territory in the Ohio Valley. The English will wonder why they even fought the war if the government was simply going to give control of the captured territory back to the enemy.

British leaders on the Board of Trade believe the source of the Native American trouble is unfair trading practices by white traders and the seizure of Native American land by white speculators and settlers. Native Americans have complained repeatedly that they are being mistreated by white settlers. These unfair trading and land practices must be stopped in order to bring about peace. British leaders promised in 1758 to protect Native American lands. Now is the right time to carry out the promise.

Pontiac's Rebellion is a crisis that needs to be resolved. More importantly, however, the larger issue of what to do about the Native Americans and the new territory needs to be decided.

What will British policy be toward the Native Americans and the new territories in America gained from the French in the Treaty of Paris? Explain. You can choose as many options as you'd like:

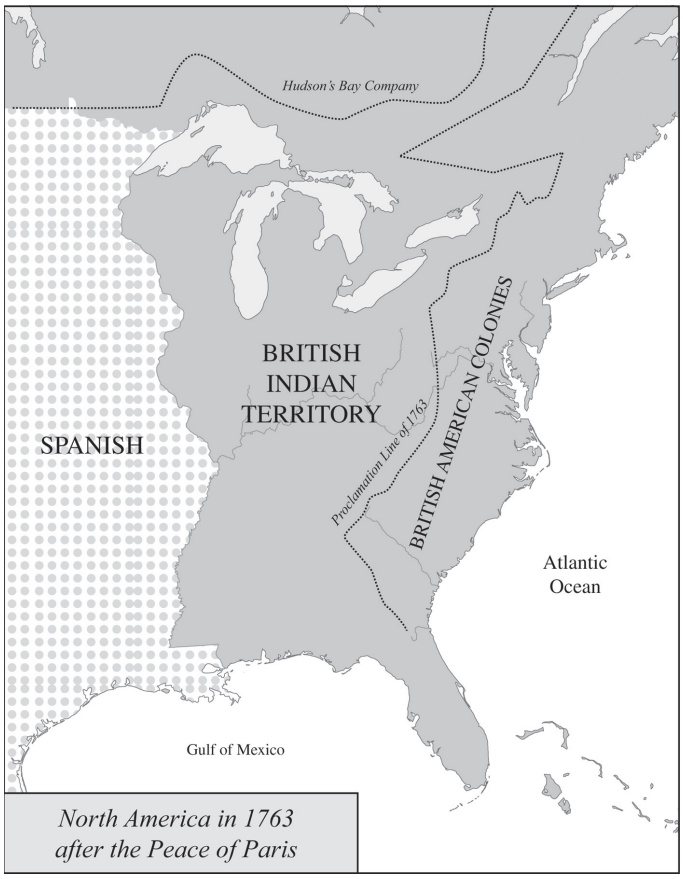
1. Keep a large number of British soldiers in America to guard the new territories taken from the French. There are 8000 British soldiers in America now. A suggestion by one advisor is to keep them there and send over another 2000.
2. Ask the colonies to raise militias to guard the new territories. Colonial fighters would cost about the same as British soldiers, but the colonies and the British government would be sharing the cost of the colonial militias.
3. Draw a line between the British colonies and the new territories gained from the French, making it illegal for British colonists to settle to the west of the line in the new territories. The west would become a large Native American territory, reserved just for them.
4. Negotiate a settlement with the leaders of Pontiac's Rebellion. Compromise on some of the Native American grievances and assure the Native Americans that the British will deal fairly with them. The negotiations would involve giving gifts to the Native Americans, a sign of respect. Negotiations would also involve a British promise to oversee trading and land sales to ensure that Native Americans are treated fairly.
5. Use British soldiers in America to crush Pontiac's Rebellion militarily and recapture all the forts. The Native Americans have to realize that the British are in control of the whole territory up to the Mississippi River.

You may ask any two of the following questions:

1. How strong are the British soldiers? Can they defeat the Native Americans?
2. How strong are colonial fighters? Can they defeat the Native Americans? Can the colonists raise enough fighters to guard the frontier?
3. Why are the Native Americans rebelling?
4. Will the colonists actually be willing to pay for soldiers? Have they been cooperative in helping the British Empire in the past?
5. How many settlers already live in the West, beyond the proposed line?

LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

Student Handout 5: Outcomes



North America in 1763 after the Peace of Paris

The British decided to prevent the colonists from expanding beyond the ridge of the Appalachian Mountains in the Proclamation of 1763 (option 3). British leaders felt they needed to reduce conflicts between colonists and Native Americans; one way to do that was to separate the two groups. No one could buy land from Native Americans without the approval of a Native American council as well as a British official. The proclamation was intended to protect the Native Americans from the colonists.

There was a big problem with the Proclamation, however—enforcement. Colonists poured over the Appalachians like water, and there was no way to stop them without sending a huge army, many more than 10,000 men. Moreover, there was no way to force existing settlers out of the territory. For example, the proclamation said that trade was still open in the territory. If a settler in the Ohio Valley was farming but also trading with Native Americans, should he and his family be forced out of the territory? Whole towns of settlers lived in the Ohio Valley legally. Were they now to be expelled? How was the army supposed to deal with settlers who refused to leave? Some colonies, such as Virginia, had grants of land extending into the Ohio Valley. Were these now illegal and invalid?

Many colonists were enraged by the proclamation. They felt they had just helped the British defeat the French in war, and now they couldn't even expand into the new territory gained from the French. The colonists saw the proclamation as unfair. Many colonial tobacco farmers, merchants, and other businessmen were also in debt. They had hoped to make money to pay back their debts by speculating (buying and selling) in land in the new territory, but the proclamation only made their financial situation worse. Moreover, the British government granted land to British soldiers in the Ohio Valley. The colonists thought it outrageous that they were prevented from living in the new territory while British soldiers were given land in the very same territory. Even fur traders didn't like the proclamation because it restricted the fur trade to a few forts, reducing overall trade.

The Proclamation of 1763 slowed the settlement of the West, but did not prevent it. Colonists continued to move across the Appalachians, and conflicts with Native Americans continued. In 1772, the British government withdrew the soldiers from the frontier to the cities in rebellion. Western settlement increased further, and there were more conflicts with Native Americans.

The colonists also saw the proclamation, by keeping them near the coast, as a method of controlling them; that indeed was one of the motivations of some British leaders. The British Board of Trade said that the colonists should be confined "to such a distance from the seacoast, as that those settlements should lie within the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom…and also of the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction, which was conceived to be so necessary for the preservation of the colonies in due subordination to, and dependence upon, the mother country." British General Thomas Gage agreed that if the colonists moved west in large numbers they would begin manufacturing for themselves and become independent.

The British decided to crush Pontiac's Rebellion through military force (option 5). British soldiers recaptured the eight forts and broke the siege of the other two. The British commander in America, Lord Jeffrey Amherst (for whom Amherst College is named), approved the use of biological weapons against the Native Americans. Blankets infected with smallpox were given as gifts to the Native Americans. The Native Americans were weakened significantly as the smallpox spread through their tribes. On the other hand, British leaders also tried to negotiate (option 4). They removed General Amherst and replaced him with a commander who would give (non-lethal) gifts to and negotiate with the Native Americans. These negotiations, combined with military victories, brought Pontiac's Rebellion to an end.

British leaders decided to keep a large British force of soldiers in the colonies, rather than ask the colonies to raise soldiers to help guard the new territories. There were two reasons for maintaining a larger British force. First, British leaders did not want to force a large number of officers out of the army after they had just served their country in the war against the French. Officers forced to retire would be upset, and many had political connections to members of Parliament. Second, British leaders did not trust the colonists to raise soldiers and actually pay for them (option 2). British leaders remembered the start of the French and Indian War, when the colonists were uncooperative. They should have also remembered, however, that in the last two years of the war, the colonists were very cooperative in raising soldiers and helping to defeat the French. The British may have missed a chance to get colonial help.

LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

Student Handout 6: Suggested Answers to Handout 4

1. **How strong are British soldiers? Can they defeat the Native Americans?**
   The British soldiers in the area are in very poor shape. Many of them fought against the Spanish in Cuba during the war and are sick from tropical diseases. Morale is low, and many are only interested in going back to England. They will probably be able to recapture the forts, but they will have great difficulty defeating the Native Americans completely. The Native Americans know the land and are going to be difficult to defeat. They triumphed over General Braddock's army in 1754. They have already killed about 500 British soldiers in this uprising. There are about 3500 Native American warriors involved in the uprising, so it will take thousands of soldiers to defeat them.
   How strong are the colonial fighters? Can they defeat the Native Americans? Can the colonists raise enough fighters to guard the frontier?
2. Colonial fighters are in better health than British soldiers, and they are better adapted to fighting in the wilderness. However, they are less disciplined than British soldiers. There are about 3500 Native American warriors involved in this uprising, so the colonists would have to raise thousands of fighters to defeat them.
3. **Why are the Native Americans rebelling?**
   They weren't the ones defeated in the war, so they think it's unfair for their territory to be transferred from one country (France) to another (Britain). When the war ended, the Native Americans wondered why the British were building and occupying more forts. They feared the forts and soldiers were to control them. However, the biggest problem occurred when British General Amherst stopped the practice of giving gifts to the Native Americans while negotiating with them.
4. **Will the colonists actually pay for soldiers? Have they been cooperative in helping the British Empire in the past?**
   The colonists were uncooperative in raising soldiers or paying for them during the first part of the French and Indian War, but for the last three years of the war, the colonists raised about 10,000 soldiers per year. They paid for the soldiers, but were repaid by the British government for most of those costs.
5. **How many settlers already live in the West?** There are thousands of colonial settlers west of the Appalachian Mountains—some of them descended from marriages between Native Americans and settlers, some currently married to Native Americans. It will be next to impossible to get them out, or to keep new ones out. Many colonists want to move west to pay off their debts by buying and selling land. Some want to make money from trading, while others just want a fresh start in a new area. Colonists feel that they are entitled to the land, since they helped defeat the French. Now that the French barrier has been removed, why shouldn't the colonists get some of the land?

LESSON 1: TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

Student Handout 7: Primary Source

From the Proclamation of 1763

"WHEREAS WE have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to Our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris...and being desirous that all Our loving Subjects...may avail themselves… of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation, We have thought fit...to issue this Our Royal Proclamation...

And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories…lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers [Appalachian Mountains] which fall into the Sea from the West and North West as aforesaid.

And We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved. without our especial leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained [from British officials].

And We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever who have either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any other Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What restrictions does this act place on the colonists?
2. Who does this proclamation mainly help?
3. How reliable is this document in revealing the motives of British leaders?

LESSON 2: STAMP ACT, 1765

Teacher Pages

OVERVIEW

According to many historians, the Stamp Act served as the catalyst for colonial independence, as it was the point at which the key arguments leading to the American Revolution were debated. In this lesson, students will have to decide what to do in terms of taxation from both the British and colonial points of view, thereby gaining greater perspective on this crucial cause of the Revolution.

VOCABULARY

- Parliament—The body of representatives in England that makes laws
- George Grenville—The British prime minister who pushed the Stamp Act through
- French and Indian War—The British defeated the French in this world war
- Debt—The total amount of money owed by the government
- Recession—When the economy declines for at least nine months. It is characterized by high unemployment and numerous bankruptcies.
- Boycott—The refusal by a group of people to buy from or sell to another group
- Member of Parliament (MP)—An elected representative of a group of people or region, similar to a congressperson in the U.S.
- Virginia Resolves—A series of statements against the Stamp Act
- Stamp Act Congress—A meeting of representatives from nine colonies to decide how to respond to the Stamp Act
- Repeal—To take back or cancel an action or law
- Virtual representation—Members of Parliament consider the best interest of all people in the British Empire, including those who do not or cannot vote
- Declaratory Act—An act passed after the repeal of the Stamp Act, which stated that Parliament could pass laws for the colonies in all cases whatsoever

DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Recognize assumptions
- Ask about context
- Set realistic goals
- Generate options. Are they ethical?
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

LESSON PLAN

A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (Two 40-minute classes)

Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and ask students to answer the question. Have students pair up to discuss whether to pass the stamp tax and the reasons for their decision. Move around the room in case students have questions. Bring the class together to discuss the decision. Note: Students who lean toward approving the tax may have a tendency to stress only positive results. Ask students to think about what could go wrong with the tax. After the discussion, ask students to vote on whether to approve the tax.

Tell students that Parliament indeed approved the stamp tax. Now they are going to look at the tax from the point of view of the colonists. Distribute Handout 2 and have students read it. In pairs, have them decide what they will do as members of a colonial legislature. Allow time for questions. Then have the class discuss and vote on the various options.

As you distribute Handout 3, tell students they will see that the colonists resisted the Stamp Act. Now they will return to the British point of view. They have to decide how to respond to the colonial reaction. Again, allow for questions, discuss and vote on the various options.

For homework, assign students to read the primary source, an excerpt from the Stamp Act Congress (Handout 6), as well as the outcomes of the Stamp Act and its repeal in Handouts 4 and 5. You can discuss these results in the subsequent class. Ask students whether they think the colonists opposed the tax more for economic reasons or as a matter of principle.

Option: You could use a form of role play for the three problem handouts. Distribute Handout 1 (which represents the British point of view) to half the students, and Handout 2 (the colonists' point of view) to the other half. Have each group discuss what action they will take. Before hearing each group's decisions, tell students to go back and anticipate what they think the other group is thinking and what decision they will make—and why. (It will be obvious to the colonists that the British will decide in favor of the Stamp Act, but they need to anticipate the reasons why the act will pass.) Have a spokesperson from each group explain its decision and the reasons behind it. Then have the groups meet again to discuss whether they would change their decision given what they heard from the other group. After a few minutes, distribute Handout 3 to the British group and have them decide how to react. In the meantime, have the colonists' group discuss what they think the British group will decide to do in response to the colonial reaction.

Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from these outcomes. What would they have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes? Which decision-making skills were especially important for the decisions on the stamp tax and the reaction and response to it? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See "Decision-Making Analysis" below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis.

Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students whether historical context or individual choices were more important to the decisions made in the Stamp Act crisis. Students should recognize that historical factors, such as the national debt from the French and Indian War, the need to protect the new land Britain acquired in the war, and the growing power of the American colonies all restricted the choices made, especially on the British side. Nevertheless, particular decisions were also important. George Grenville had a forceful personality and made confrontational policy choices. On the colonial side, the general public wanted strong action against the Stamp Act, so leaders were limited in their response. On the other hand, colonial leaders in Boston freely decided to employ the services of gang leaders.

Connecting to Today:

Ask students what if anything is wrong with the government taxing a person who isn't represented in Congress (you might mention the unusual political status of Washington, DC). How effective have voters in the U.S. been in limiting taxes in our country today? Should there be a limit on taxes, or is the power to vote representatives out of office itself enough of a limit on taxation?

Troubleshooting:

The concepts of representation and virtual representation may be difficult for some students to grasp. Ask students to explain what these terms mean, or ask them who their representative in Congress is and what that person does. It's a great opportunity for a civics lesson.

B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–15 minutes)

Give students Handout 1 for homework. In class, have students pair up for about two minutes to discuss their answers. Bring the class together and ask how many would support the stamp tax. Distribute Handout 2 and ask how they, as the colonists, would react. Give them time to discuss and ask questions. Distribute Handout 4, and discuss the outcomes of these decisions. Tell students that Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, but don't use Handouts 3 or 5 on that topic.

TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 4 and 5)

George Grenville was the treasury minister (or more correctly, First Lord of the Treasury) of Great Britain. As the leader of the government, he was also the prime minister. In this lesson, his position is shortened to prime minister.

Many historians believe that George Grenville was not the incompetent leader that he is sometimes portrayed as. He was actually thoughtful, honest, careful, and a tireless worker (see Bullion, Anderson, and Gipson in the sources). He was a risk taker and was very confident—perhaps overconfident. He tried to get around governmental bureaucracies, including experts, because he felt he knew the best course to follow. His fatal mistake was misjudging colonial reaction to the Stamp Act. He did not seem to understand the changing political situation in America.

To avoid needless complexity, this lesson does not address the fact that the Stamp Act was delayed for one year or that the colonies subsequently requested further delay.

The Virginia Resolves mentioned in Handout 3 are complicated because the resolve arguing that colonists could be taxed only by their own representatives was repealed. Nevertheless, it appeared in American newspapers, and it affected British decisions.

Historian Fred Anderson (see sources) argues that British leaders should have given more consideration to having the colonists tax themselves and raise their own soldiers for defense of the new territories (Handout 3, Option 7; and Handout 5). British leaders did consider the idea but felt it was unrealistic, since the colonists had been uncooperative in helping Britain in the French and Indian War. What British leaders overlooked was the change in colonists' behavior toward the end of the French and Indian War. Colonists did raise tax money and soldiers, and those actions were very significant to the British victory in the war. John Bullion (see sources) emphasizes more that Grenville was distrustful of the independence that the colonies would gain by raising their own troops.

King George removed George Grenville in July 1765, for a number of reasons. In the king's eyes, Grenville had cut government spending too much and was too insistent on putting his own associates into government vacancies (see Bullion). Grenville also lectured the king about appointing a regent upon his death (see Anderson). The king was greatly annoyed at being lectured.

DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS

P = Problem
* **- Identify any underlying problem(s)**
* **- Consider other points of view**
* **- What are my assumptions? Emotions?**

A = Ask for information (about)
* **- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

G = Goals
* **- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
* **- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

E = Effects
* **- Predict unintended consequences.**
* **- Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify underlying problems:** The growing power and independence of America was a significant fear of many in Britain. British leaders had talked openly for decades about this expanding power and wealth, including Britain's increasing dependence on American trade.
- **Point of view:** Students will be forced to consider both the British and colonial points of view as they switch roles from Handout 1 to Handout 2 to Handout 3. Many students may never have considered the British point of view.
- **Assumptions:** It may be easy as the British to assume that the colonies would go along with such a small tax, or that any reasonable person would agree that the colonists should have to pay for part of their defense. Students might also believe as Americans that the British are out to oppress them, rather than to raise money to pay a debt. These assumptions may be accurate, but students still need to check the evidence to see whether they are true.
- **Ask questions about context:** In their roles as the British in Handout 1, students should consider a number of questions:
- 1) Is the army available to enforce the law in case there is trouble? (No, as reported by General Gage in Handout 3. Students needed to ask this question for Handout 1.)
    - 2) Has the tax been tried in other places? (A stamp tax has been used in England, as mentioned in Handout 1. It has worked well and there were no serious protests. But is taxation in England similar to taxing the colonies?)
    - 3) How do colonists feel about taxes to raise revenue? (The colonists have

paid taxes, but always for regulating trade, not to pay for soldiers. When Parliament proposed a tax during the French and Indian War, the colonists argued against it. The colonists would only allow their own legislatures to tax them, and insisted that they decide how the money could be used. When members of Parliament asked Benjamin Franklin if Americans would submit to the stamp tax, he replied, "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.")

- 4) How powerful are the colonies? (More than one third of British trade is with the colonies, and about one half of colonial trade is with Britain. The colonies and Britain need each other. The Americans are wealthy and their economy is growing rapidly. There are few extremely rich people, but there are also few desperately poor people as compared to England. In addition to this economic power, the population of the colonies, though still smaller than England's, has doubled over the past 25 years or so, while the population of England has remained about the same. This rapidly growing, comparatively wealthy population means American clout is on the rise. Without a doubt, America will eventually want to make independent decisions.)
- **Consider goals:** Being clear about goals is important to both sides, but especially for the British. Are they trying mainly to raise money to pay the debt, establish the right of Parliament to tax the colonists, reassert their dominance over the recalcitrant colonies, or keep the benefits of the trade between the colonies and England flowing?

- **Generate options:** There are a number of options laid out for Handouts 2 and 3, but none for Handout 1. Did students think about alternatives to the tax on stamps?
- **Consider consequences:** In the long run, the Stamp Act contributed to the break between the colonies and Britain, leading to the American Revolution.
- **Play out the option:** The Stamp Act was impossible to enforce, as shown in Handouts 2 and 4. The stamp distributors were intimidated into resigning and the army wasn't in the area to enforce the law.

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LESSON 2: STAMP ACT, 1765

Vocabulary

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- Repeal—To take back or cancel an action or law
- Virtual representation—Members of Parliament consider the best interest of all people in the British Empire, including those who do not or cannot vote
- Declaratory Act—An act passed after the repeal of the Stamp Act, which stated that Parliament could pass laws for the colonies in all cases whatsoever

LESSON 2: BRITISH POLICIES, 1765

Student Handout 1: Problem

Revolution Era

British Prime Minister
George Grenville

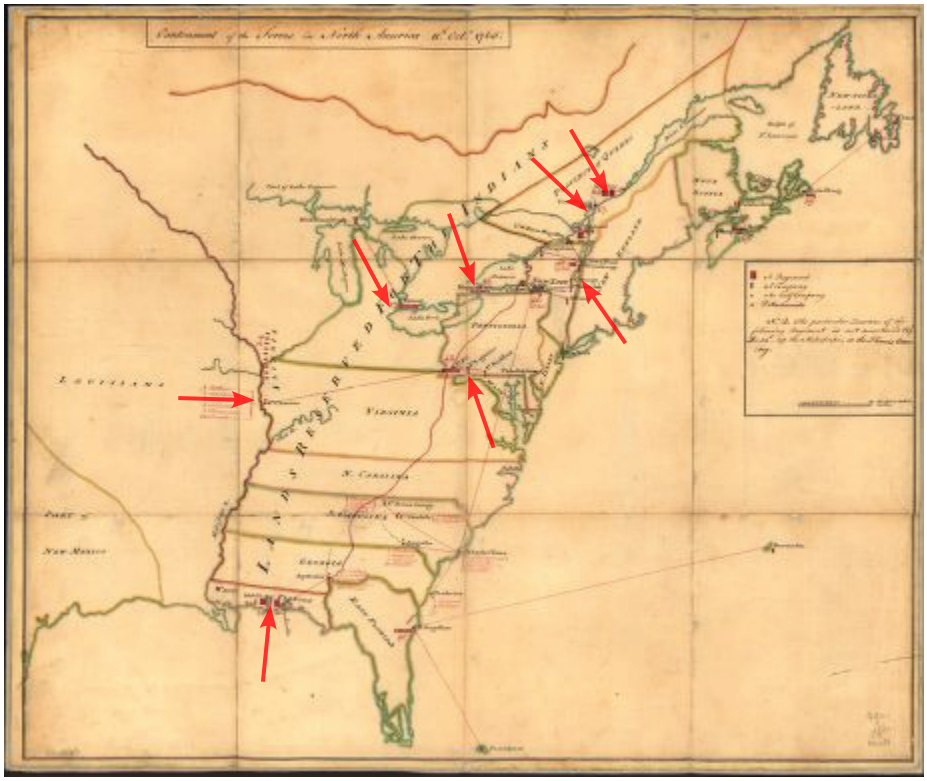
The year is 1765, and you are a member of Parliament. British Prime Minister George Grenville has submitted a bill that would require colonists to use stamped paper for all documents (the paper comes stamped, with a postage stamp similar to what we have today). Since the colonists would have to pay a fee for the stamped paper, the bill is basically a tax. It would be used to pay part of the cost of the French and Indian War and to pay for the 10,000 soldiers now stationed in America (7500 in North America). The tax requires very little enforcement, since the colonists have to have stamped paper to make documents legal. Documents can be checked as to their legality whenever they are used in court and when posting (mailing) them. Ship captains can't unload their goods unless their cargo lists are on stamped paper. Marriage licenses and property deeds will also require stamped paper. Merchants can easily be punished if their products (newspapers, books, cards, etc.) aren't on stamped paper. One cannot smuggle one's way around the act—it is self-enforceable.

Mr. Grenville argues that this tax will work. The stamp tax in England works very smoothly and raises about £260,000 (about $33 million today) each year, after subtracting for administrative costs. This stamp tax on the colonies is much smaller, amounting to less than a day's wages per colonist per year. Even this small stamp tax will probably raise a significant amount of money, however, and the colonists probably won't oppose such a small tax.

The tax would be fair, since it would be proportional to the wealth in each colony (wealthier colonies would use more documents, and therefore pay more in taxes). In addition, the tax will rise naturally as the colonies become wealthier. There will be no need to change the tax or pass new laws. Mr. Grenville asked colonial leaders to select representatives, one for each colony, to distribute and sell the stamped paper. The distributors will be paid 7.5% of the amount of stamped paper sold, so they will have an incentive to make the tax work. Since the stamped paper will be sold by Americans, colonists will be unlikely to resist the tax.

The French and Indian War, which ended two years ago, caused several problems for England. First, the war greatly increased the national debt. The national debt is staggering in England, amounting to £129 million (about $1.6 billion today), while the entire national budget is only £10 million. The interest alone is £5 million per year. The debt is equal to £18 per person in England, while the average income is about £8 per year. Meanwhile, people in England pay about 26 times the taxes per person that the colonists pay. Leaders in Britain fear that the debt will lead to even higher taxes—which will lead to higher prices, which will lead to a decline in exports from Britain (with other countries having lower prices), which will lead to higher unemployment and less power for Britain. Many leaders in Britain want to lower taxes on the British people in order to lower costs and increase trade. The debt will also lead to higher interest rates in England, which will reduce economic growth, since higher interest rates will lead to fewer loans and therefore less expansion of business.

Second, the war increased costs for the British government. The British army is larger now than before the war. The government also has to pay the costs of running the new French territories in America, including soldiers, forts, and government officials.



North America at the time of the Stamp Act in 1765. Arrows point to forts and concentrations of British forces.

To compound the problems, Britain is in a recession. Bankruptcies are up, fewer goods are being produced, trade has dropped off, and more people are unemployed and find themselves in poverty. People are migrating around England and Scotland in search of financial help from towns. There were riots in England two years ago against the cider

tax. MPs certainly don't want to increase taxes on the British people. Almost every MP feels that the American colonies should pay for some of the costs of empire. The colonists can afford to pay the tax due to their great prosperity. The French and Indian War was fought to defend the colonies. The British spent enormous sums of money to reimburse the colonies for their expenses, while the colonies actually prospered during the war. Most colonies have no debt at all from the war. The least the Americans could do is pay some of the cost for defending the newly won territory.

Grenville and others argue that it is certainly reasonable for the colonists to help pay the cost of their own defense. MP Charles Townshend made this speech in favor of the bill:

"Now, will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence until grown to a degree of strength and opulence, protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute a mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under for their defense?"

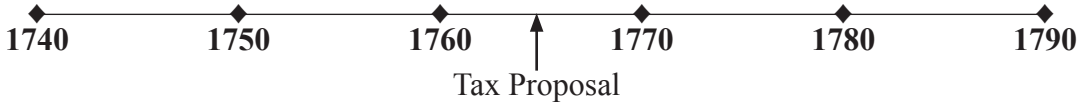
Grenville has reminded Parliament that, according to the British Constitution, the British government has the right to tax its colonies. And the colonists are used to paying taxes, such as those on sugar and molasses. The revenue from this stamp tax will equal less than one-third of the cost of supporting the British soldiers in America; the British people will still be paying most of the cost. Grenville asks: Why should the colonists get away without paying to reduce the war debt and support the British troops defending them?

Will you vote in favor of or against this proposal for a stamp tax? Explain.

LESSON 2: COLONIAL REACTION, 1765

Student Handout 2: Problem

Revolution Era



The year is 1765 and you are a member of the legislature of Massachusetts. Parliament has just passed the Stamp Act. This act forces colonists to use official, stamped paper for legal documents, newspapers, and some games, such as playing cards. Since colonists are required to pay the British government for the stamped paper, the act is basically a tax. Anyone getting married, buying land, gambling, reading a newspaper, taking public office, shipping goods, or going to court would be paying the tax. Worse, colonists may not recognize they are paying a tax, since the people buying the paper will pay the tax and pass the cost along to whoever buys the product or document.

Before it was passed, various colonial legislatures sent petitions against the Stamp Act. The act passed anyway and is about to go into effect in the colonies. But the colonists are not happy about it. The colonies are in a recession. Businesses are going bankrupt, poverty and unemployment are high, trade has dropped, and fewer goods are being made. A tax, no matter how small, is the last thing the colonies need. It will make the recession worse, further slowing trade. Most importantly, the colonists do not want to be taxed by anyone other than their own representatives in their own legislatures. As John Locke has argued, if the government can take your property (in taxes) without your consent, that property isn't really your own. The fact that the tax is small only makes it more disturbing. If colonists allow the British to tax them a small amount, then they have agreed that the Parliament can tax them at all. It's the principle of taxation that matters here, not the size of the tax.

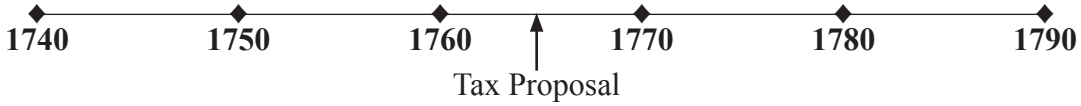
How will you respond to the stamp tax? You can choose as many options as you would like. Explain your choice(s).

1. Send more petitions to Parliament, making it clear that the colonies do not want to be taxed. Argue that colonists can and should only be taxed by their own representatives in their own legislatures.
2. Organize mobs to threaten stamp distributors with violence and the destruction of their homes. If there is no one to sell the stamps, the Stamp Act won't work.
3. Organize a boycott of British goods. The lack of trade will hurt the colonial economy, but it will hurt British merchants also, who will put pressure on Parliament to repeal (withdraw) the tax.
4. Call for a meeting of the various colonies' leaders to organize a response to the tax. The colonies must be united in their response to the Stamp Act.

LESSON 2: BRITISH RESPONSE, 1765

Student Handout 3: Problem

Revolution Era



The year is 1765 and you are a member of the British Parliament. Parliament passed the Stamp Act, and the colonists responded with riots in Boston, New York, and other American cities. The riots frightened all of the stamp distributors into resigning, so no one is selling the stamped paper. Colonial mobs have prevented the stamp tax from going into effect.

Colonists are also boycotting British goods in response to the Stamp Act—almost all trade with the colonies has been stopped. London merchants as well as merchants from all over England have asked Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. They argue that the colonial boycott is killing their business. Soon, many businesses will be bankrupt. After all, more than one-third of all British trade is with the American colonies. Whole industries, such as glassware, nails, and linen cloth, are entirely dependent upon exports to America for their prosperity. In addition, colonial businesses have borrowed a great deal of money from British banks. Without trade, American businesses won't be able to repay their loans and British banks will be hurt. What good is a small tax if the effect cripples British businesses and banks?

A political cartoon protesting the Stamp Act

The colonists have also sent arguments to Parliament against the Stamp Act. The House of Burgesses sent the Virginia Resolves, which included the argument that colonists can only be taxed by their own representatives. In addition, nine of the 13 colonies met together in a "Stamp Act Congress." Their petition likewise stressed the point that colonists could only be taxed by their own representatives, and it added that the colonies could never really be represented in Parliament due to their great distance from England and their distinctive local circumstances.

William Pitt, the best-known MP and the hero of the French and Indian War, agrees with the merchants that Britain should repeal the Stamp Act. He argues that although Parliament has supreme authority over the colonies to pass laws, it has no right to tax the colonists directly within the colonies. Rather, Parliament can only tax trade coming from and going to the colonies. Another MP, Edmund Burke, argues that Parliament has the right to tax the colonies, but that enforcement of the tax will hurt both the colonies and Britain, so it should be repealed.

George Grenville, the man who proposed the Stamp Act, says that repeal would send a message of weakness to the colonies. The issue is no longer a matter of raising money to pay for the soldiers in America, but a matter of asserting Parliament's authority. Parliament has the right to tax the colonies directly and that right must be upheld. Grenville argues that colonists are "virtually" represented in Parliament. That is, whenever MPs consider an act, they take the welfare of the colonists into account when making their decision. The colonists do not need to have representatives elected to Parliament because MPs already consider the best interests of the colonies. Grenville warns darkly that if America can disobey Parliament and get away with it, then America is in fact already independent of Britain.

An opponent of repeal has reiterated Grenville's argument, saying, "The Americans imbibe Notions of Independence and Liberty with their very Milk, and will some Time or other shake off all subjection. If we yield to them by repealing the Stamp Act, it is all over; they will from that moment assert their freedom. Whereas, if we enforce the Act, we may keep them in Dependence for some Years longer."

The leading British general in America, General Gage, reports that the army there is too weak to quell further riots. Almost the entire army is stationed on the frontier, far from the riots in eastern American cities. Many British leaders do not want to use the army to control the Americans—they oppose the use of soldiers against British people and colonials.

How will you respond to the colonial reactions to the stamp tax? You can choose as many options as you would like. Explain your choice(s).

1. Keep the Stamp Act in force. The colonists have to obey Parliament.
2. Send more soldiers to the colonies to enforce the Stamp Act and bring order to these rebellious colonies. Move some of the soldiers from the frontier to the eastern cities to control colonial behavior.
3. Repeal the Stamp Act, but raise taxes on imports (which is not a direct tax within the colonies)
4. Repeal the Stamp Act, but pass a declaration asserting that Parliament has the right to pass laws, including taxes, that the colonists must obey
5. Withdraw all British soldiers from the colonies and make the colonies an independent partner in the British Empire
6. Allow colonial representatives in Parliament. Then Parliament can tax the colonists without them asserting "no taxation without representation"
7. Ask the colonial legislatures to raise taxes to help pay for the defense of the colonies, and have them recruit their own soldiers to help with the defense

LESSON 2: BRITISH POLICIES, 1765

Student Handout 4: Outcomes

The British indeed passed the Stamp Act (Handout 1) and without much debate. British leaders did not expect much opposition in America. They were wrong. The colonists reacted strongly against the Stamp Act (Handout 2). Colonial leaders in Boston asked two gang leaders to help intimidate the stamp distributors (Option 2). The gang leaders formed a mob that destroyed stamp distributor Andrew Oliver's building, which was under construction. The mob then broke windows and did other damage to Andrew Oliver's home. He resigned the next day. Two weeks later, another mob severely damaged the home of Lt. Governor Thomas Hutchinson. The mob pulled down walls, took off part of the roof, destroyed the fence, and stole all the goods from the house, including furniture, silver, and books. News of the success of the Boston mobs spread to other cities, including Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, and Charleston. There were more riots in these cities and all the stamp distributors resigned. Many colonial leaders, though they asked for help from gangs, were shocked by the violence and tried to prevent it in the future. Middle-class colonial leaders, with some education and wealth, did not want to see destruction of property, or violence.

The colonists also held a meeting, the Stamp Act Congress, to organize all the colonies against the tax (Option 4). Up to this point, the American colonies had operated independently of each other. This was the first time in 150 years that the American colonies had come together to achieve a common interest. It was a powerful sign of growing American independence. The Congress sent a Declaration of Rights and Grievances arguing that only their own representatives could tax them and that due to their local circumstances the colonies could not be represented in Parliament. Therefore, Parliament could not tax the colonies.

Parliament was persuaded to repeal the Stamp Act by the colonial boycott of British goods (Option 3). Since over one-third of British exports went to America, the boycott severely hurt many businesses in England and increased unemployment. Business and political leaders could see the damage being done to the British economy by the boycott. Colonial merchants sent notes to British merchants, whom they knew well from business dealings, asking them to pressure Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act for the sake of good business. Colonial merchants were also hurt by the boycott and the disruptions of the lack of stamps for trade. Nevertheless, the political effects on Parliament were more important.

George Grenville and many other British leaders misjudged the colonial response to the Stamp Act. They feared the growth of American wealth and power, but they did not understand important changes in American politics. By 1765, ordinary people in the colonies resented the wealthy and privileged. Popular leaders played on this resentment to gain power. Colonial stamp distributors, including Andrew Oliver of Massachusetts, were all from this elite, which only increased resentment of the tax. The colonists saw the stamp

distributors as servants of London. Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts symbolized the privileged lifestyle. He held four offices: lieutenant governor, chief justice of the Superior Court, probate judge for Suffolk County, and commander of Castle William (a fort in Boston Harbor). He was the brother-in-law of Andrew Oliver, and he promoted many of his relatives to government positions. A mob destroyed his home in Boston.

Other features of the Stamp Act also backfired. Grenville's moderate words ("We're listening to your concerns," and, "We'll try out the tax. If it's too much, we'll certainly lower it.") only increased colonial fears of a trap. The small size of the tax also increased fear that British leaders were trying sneakily to establish Parliament's authority to tax the colonists. Even the fact that the tax would be administered by the colonists themselves backfired, since the stamps were distributed by colonial elites. Colonists recognized that since they couldn't smuggle their way around the tax they faced only two choices: resistance or submission. Given this stark choice, the colonists opted for forceful resistance.

LESSON 2: BRITISH POLICIES, 1765

Student Handout 5: Outcomes

The British government voted 275–167 to repeal the Stamp Act (Handout 3), but also passed the Declaratory Act, which said that Parliament had the right to pass all laws (including taxes) for the colonies (Option 4). A change in the political situation in England contributed to the repeal: King George had removed George Grenville as head of government (for reasons other than the Stamp Act) before the tax went into effect and colonial riots against the stamp tax began. The leader of the new government had opposed the stamp tax all along, so he did not support enforcement. The new head of the government was also a weak leader. The Parliament and the English people were split in the debate over repeal of the Stamp Act. Those who supported enforcement of the Stamp Act (Option 1) or sending more soldiers to ensure enforcement (Option 2) resented the idea of repealing the act, seeing it as humiliating. George Grenville, now an MP after being removed as prime minister, argued that the lack of trade would hurt the colonies so much that they would stop their opposition. He said the Stamp Act had to be enforced. But the new prime minister was listening to (and encouraging) protests by British merchants asking for the stamp tax to be repealed.

Colonists were encouraged by the repealing of the Stamp Act and resisted further, as predicted by Grenville and others in Parliament. The Declaratory Act had no effect. What Parliament said about its power was irrelevant compared to its actions. Repeal of the Stamp Act showed Parliament's weakness, not its strength.

MPs never seriously considered the idea of giving the colonists representation in Parliament (Option 6), since then the Irish would have demanded to be represented and possibly the people of India also. The English would then have been in danger of being outnumbered in their own Parliament. However, the British were not alone in their skepticism of colonial representation. The colonists never made a serious request to the British government for parliamentary representation either. Colonists believed that only their own representatives in their own colonial legislatures, who knew their unique circumstances in America, should be able to tax them.

MPs also did not consider withdrawing British soldiers from the colonies (Option 5), since that would lead to weakened British authority there.

Colonial leaders suggested that British leaders allow the colonists to defend themselves and to raise their own taxes (Option 7). After all, the colonies had raised about 10,000 soldiers per year for each of the last three years of the French and Indian War. In response, George Grenville argued that the colonies were too divided to put up a coordinated defense. He also asked the colonial leaders if the colonies could agree on the proportions of the tax that each colony would pay. The colonial leaders responded negatively, which scuttled that plan. Grenville had a more basic reason for opposing

colonial taxation for defense, however: He feared that colonial taxation for defense of the empire would make the colonies too independent. The Stamp Act was a way for Parliament to maintain its control over the colonies.

With the repeal of the Stamp Act, the British government was still faced with how to pay for the troops stationed in America. British leaders increased taxes in England. One of the taxes was a higher tax on wheat, which resulted in "bread riots" (protests against the high price of bread). Later, the British tried new taxes on imports (Option 3).

LESSON 2: BRITISH POLICIES, 1763

Student Handout 6: Primary Source

From the "Declaration of Rights of the Stamp Act Congress"

OCTOBER 19, 1765

The members of this congress, sincerely devoted, with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to His Majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British colonies on this continent; having considered as maturely as time would permit, the circumstances of said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations, of our humble opinions, respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labor, by reason of several late acts of Parliament…

2d. That His Majesty's liege subjects in these colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and privileges of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain.

3d. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted rights of Englishmen, that no taxes should be imposed on them, but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives.

4th. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain…

8th. That the late act of Parliament entitled, "An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, etc.," by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these colonies, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists…

Lastly, That it is the indispensable duty of these colonies to the best of sovereigns, to the mother-country, and to themselves, to endeavor, by a loyal and dutiful address to His Majesty, and humble application to both houses of Parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of Parliament whereby the jurisdiction of the admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of the American commerce.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What are the two most important points made by the colonists in this declaration?
2. How effective do you think this declaration was? Does it make good arguments? Is it phrased well?
3. How reliable is this document in revealing the colonists' true motives?

LESSON 3: TEA ACT AND THE BOSTON TEA PARTY, 1773

Teacher Pages

OVERVIEW

The Tea Act, which led to escalating tensions between the British government and the American colonists, was an important cause of the American Revolution. This lesson explores the Tea Act from the points of view of both the British and the Americans.

VOCABULARY

- British East India Company—British tea company in India
- Bankrupt—A company that goes out of business
- Recession—When the economy declines for at least nine months; it is characterized by high unemployment and numerous bankruptcies.
- Tea Act—An act to help the British East India Company become profitable; it did not put a tax on tea
- Repeal—To take back or cancel an action or law
- Monopoly—The sole seller of a product, who therefore has control over the price
- Tea Party—Colonists destroyed the British tea rather than pay the tax
- Coercive Acts—Britain's attempt to punish Massachusetts for the Tea Party; known as the "Intolerable Acts" in the colonies

DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Ask about context
- Ask about analogies
- Set realistic goals
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

LESSON PLAN

A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (One 40-minute class)

Procedure**:**

Distribute Handout 1 and ask students to answer the question. Have students pair up and discuss whether to pass the Tea Act. Move around the room in case there are questions. Bring the class together to discuss the decision. Ask students to think about what could go wrong with the tax, and to think about how the colonists might respond to it. After the discussion, have students vote on whether to approve the Tea Act.

Tell students that Parliament approved the Tea Act. Then explain that they are next going to look at the tax from the point of view of the colonists. Distribute Handout 2 and have students read it and decide which options they will choose as members of a colonial legislature. Allow time for questions, and then discuss and vote on the various options.

As you distribute Handout 3, tell students that the British passed the Tea Act and the colonists resisted it. They now have to decide how to respond to the colonial reaction. Again, allow time for questions, and then discuss and vote on the various options.

OPTION: After distributing Handout 3, but before discussing options as a class, distribute the eyewitness account of the Boston Tea Party (Handout 5) and have students answer the questions. After students decide as the British, ask if they were influenced by the description of the Tea Party. If so, how and why?

OPTION: Have the students role-play for the three problem handouts. Distribute Handout 1, representing the British point of view, to half the students, and give Handout 2, which represents the American viewpoint, to the other half. Then have them discuss what action each group will take. Before hearing each group's decisions, tell students to go back and anticipate what they think the other group is thinking, and what decision they will make and why. (It will be obvious to the Americans that the British will decide to pass the Tea Act, but they need to anticipate the reasons why the act passed.) Have a spokesperson for each group explain the group's decision and the reasons behind it. Then have groups meet again to discuss whether they would do anything differently in light of what they heard from the other group. After a few minutes, distribute Handout 3 to the British group and have them decide how to react. In the meantime, have the American group discuss what they think the British group will decide to do in response to the colonial reaction.

When all three problems have been discussed and decided, distribute the outcomes (Handout 4) and discuss with students. Did some outcomes surprise them? Why? Were some outcomes expected? If so, what made these outcomes predictable?

Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from these outcomes. What would they have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes? Which decision-making skills were especially important to these decisions on the Tea Act? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the section on "Decision-Making Analysis" below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students whether the Tea Act, the colonial response, and the Intolerable Acts were due more to historical factors or to the decisions of individuals. (There seem to be good arguments for both historical factors and individual decisions in this lesson.)

Connecting to Today:

Similar to the British East India Company in the 1760s, some companies today or in the recent past, such as General Motors or several of the airline companies, have suffered major financial losses. They have fired many of their workers and scaled back their operations to cut costs. Yet they are still losing money and are in danger of going out of business. Should the government give financial or other aid to help these companies to stay in business and recover? Why or why not?

Troubleshooting:

Remind students that the tax on tea is from the Townshend Duties. The Tea Act did not put a tax on tea; students often get confused on this point. You might also want to review the characteristics of monopolies with students.

B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–15 minutes)

Only present Handout 1 to the students. Discuss their answers briefly and have students vote whether or not to pass the Tea Act. Distribute Handout 4 (Outcomes), which will give students an idea of some of the effects of the Tea Act. Skip Handouts 2 and 3.

TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 4.)

Some historians assert that tea from the British East India Company (without the taxes paid in England) was priced the same as the smuggled Dutch tea, while others say it was priced lower. Labaree (see sources) argues that the Dutch would have reacted eventually and made their price lower than the British. On the other hand, Draper (see sources) has specific figures showing that the British tea was less expensive at the time. Draper's interpretation is used in this lesson.

The Tea Act was the result of months of antagonistic negotiations between the government and the East India Company. The following are complications that are skipped in the student pages (they are noted here for your reference): The government wanted to limit the dividends the company could pay, and it wanted to take over control of Bengal in India. When these negotiations broke down, it was suggested to sell the tea without taxes in continental Europe. However, there was a problem with that—the British tea would then be so cheap it would be profitable to smuggle it back into England, which would undermine tea sales there. America was a better prospect because the tea couldn't easily be smuggled back to England.

The amount of tea that could be sold in America was estimated to be as high as six million pounds. Two million pounds was the figure used most often at the time of the Tea Act.

According to Cook (see sources), King George III told Lord North that he insisted on keeping the tax on tea to preserve Britain's authority to tax the colonists. In this lesson, Lord North gets the blame for keeping the tax, but it may have been at the king's insistence.

DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS

P = Problem
- * - **Identify any underlying problem(s)**
- * - **Consider other points of view**
- * - **What are my assumptions? Emotions?**

A = Ask for information (about)
- * - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- - Reliability of sources
- * - **Historical analogies**

G = Goals
- * - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- - Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects
- * - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- * - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify underlying problems:** From the British perspective, there were two underlying problems. The first was the growing power of America. The second was America's growing nationalism. These two problems made it unlikely that the colonies would agree to actions such as the Coercive ("Intolerable") Acts.
- **Consider other points of view:** The lesson is set up to emphasize both the British and colonial point of view
- **Ask about context:** Students should ask numerous questions, such as:
  - In Handout 1, has the tea tax taken in much money so far? (No. Only £10,000 in three years.)
  - Do the colonists drink much tea? (Yes, the colonists drink a great deal of tea, about half of which is smuggled.)
  - Are the smugglers powerful? (Yes, the smugglers are very powerful and influential. This Act will definitely make them angry and get them to organize resistance to the Act.)
  - How will colonists view the lower-priced tea, which still has the tax? (They will probably see it as an attempt to get a monopoly by the East India Company and they will predictably hate to pay the tea tax.)
  - Why is so much tea sitting in warehouses unsold? (Partly because of the taxes on British tea, which make the Dutch tea less expensive. Taxes are a big part of the problem: export taxes are illogical, as they reduce exports leading to problems for the exporting companies, such as those of the British East India Company.)

- How did the British East India Company get into this mess? (It changed its focus from trade, especially of tea, to taking over part of India, specifically a state called Bengal. The company aggressively took over land and worked out a deal with the Mughal government of India to collect taxes in Bengal. However, the companys' officers in England and India didn't know much about the country, and that lack of knowledge led to extra costs that made taking the state a net loss of revenue. There is significant corruption in the company, as agents take bribes to look the other way. The company also paid very high dividends to its stockholders, which deprived the company of money. Taxes were a third cause, as explained above.)

In Handout 2, students could ask several questions:

Have the colonists been successful in the past in resisting other British acts? (Yes. They successfully resisted the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts.)

- Who is making the arguments in the colonies against the Tea Act? (One group is the merchants who are smuggling Dutch tea. They will be cut out of the tea trade if the Tea Act is successful, so they have a powerful reason to convince the colonists to resist the Act. A second group is ordinary Americans who really do see that the principle of taxation is more important than the size of the tax or the price of tea.)
- In Handout 3, students could ask: Have punishments worked in the past with Americans? (No. Colonists have increased resistance when punished, making punitive acts almost impossible to enforce.)

- **Ask about analogies:** Both the colonies and the British should consider the analogies of what happened in previous efforts to tax the colonies, such as the Stamp Act and Townshend Acts. These turned out to be helpful analogies for the colonists in suggesting strategies to resist the act. The British, meanwhile, could have been warned by such analogies to avoid provoking the colonies.
- **Consider goals:** The Tea Act had two conflicting goals—to help the British East India Company by selling its excess tea in America, and to enforce the tax on tea. Unfortunately for the British, enforcing the tax meant more resistance by colonists, which made it harder for the company to sell its tea in America. On the other hand, helping the company sell tea in America meant giving up on enforcing the tax.
- **Play out the option:** Both sides had difficulty planning how to implement their goals. The colonists put a great deal of effort into enforcing non-consumption, which in the end became effective, as outlined in Handout 4. Critics argued against the boycott, saying that the British would simply sell their goods to different countries or areas. They also argued that in the long run, Americans would not forgo the goods that they had become accustomed to buying and using. These arguments show an anticipation of what could go wrong. The British didn't seem to have thought about how to deal with the colonies if the Americans resisted the Tea Act.

- **Consider consequences:** According to many observers (including John Adams), the Tea Act, along with its consequences, was the crucial point in pushing the colonies into open rebellion. In terms of raising the key issues, the Stamp Act was the key point. But for a point where the colonists found themselves facing the stark choices of revolution or capitulation, the Tea Act was key.

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LESSON 3: TEA ACT AND TEA PARTY, 1773

Vocabulary

- British East India Company—British tea company in India
- Bankrupt—A company that goes out of business
- Recession—When the economy declines for at least nine months; it is characterized by high unemployment and numerous bankruptcies
- Tea Act—An act to help the British East India Company become profitable; it did not put a tax on tea
- Repeal—To take back or cancel an action or law
- Monopoly—The sole seller of a product, who therefore has control over the price
- Tea Party—Colonists destroyed the British tea rather than pay the tax
- Coercive Acts—Britain's attempt to punish Massachusetts for the Tea Party; known as the "Intolerable Acts" in the colonies

LESSON 3: BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1773

Student Handout 1: Problem

Revolution Era

East India Company

The year is 1773, and you are a member of Parliament. The British East India Company, which basically runs one of the largest states in India, is close to bankruptcy. The company is so large that should it go out of business, the banking system in England will be crippled, further hurting an economy already in recession. Britain's trade will be hurt and stockholders in the company will lose a fortune. The government has already agreed to lend the company £1.4 million in exchange for gaining more control over the company. But the company also has 18 million pounds of tea (worth £2 million then or $254 million today) sitting in warehouses in England. This represents a three-year supply of tea for the English market. It is sitting there, at great storage cost, because the Americans are buying tea smuggled in from Holland at a lower price. Even with all its control in India, the company still gets 90% of its money from the sale of tea. Now, the prime minister, Lord North, is proposing that the tax in England on exporting tea be dropped so the tea can be sold in America for a lower price than the smuggled tea. The company will be able to sell the tea sitting in warehouses, which will help it recover financially.

Lord North

There is another advantage in having the British East India Company sell its tea in America at reduced price—the colonists will finally start paying taxes in significant amounts. The British government has had to repeal (cancel) its taxes on stamps in the Stamp Act. It also repealed the taxes on paper, paints, lead, and glass from the Townshend Acts, but not on tea. After each of these acts, the colonists resisted with petitions, refusal to pay, riots, violence against property, and boycotts. The only tax left for raising money in America is on tea. Some colonists are already buying the British tea and paying the tax, although about 90% of the tea bought in the colonies is smuggled. If the act is passed, the price of British tea will be so low that many more colonists will buy the tea even if they have to pay the tax. And with a large number of colonists paying the tax, Parliament will at long last have established the authority to tax the colonists.

Prime Minister North points out that everyone will win with this Tea Act: the British East India Company gets to recover financially, the colonists get less-expensive tea without the risks of smuggling, and the British government gets tax revenue.

Will you vote in favor of or against this proposal? Explain.

LESSON 3: BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1773

Student Handout 2: Problem

The year is 1773, and you are a farmer near New York City. The British have passed the Tea Act, which eliminates taxes the British East India Company has to pay in England. Without the taxes in England, the company can sell its tea in America at a lower price than smuggled Dutch tea. Many if not most colonists will buy the British tea, since there is a risk of being arrested or fined whenever buying smuggled tea.

The colonists are threatened by the Tea Act in two ways. First, those who buy the tea will be paying a tax on tea coming into America. The tax on tea was not repealed (canceled) when the Townshend duties were repealed. Right now, some colonists are buying the British tea and paying the tax. The danger is that the number of people buying British tea will increase dramatically with the price of British tea so low. With large numbers of colonists paying the tax on tea, the colonies will basically be agreeing that Parliament has the power to tax them. New taxes could then follow.

Second, the Tea Act could lead to a monopoly by the British East India Company on tea in America. With colonists buying the lower priced British tea, the Dutch will be shut out of the American market. Once the British East India Company has no competition, the company could raise prices. The colonists would be the losers in the end. The British could then set up monopolies on other products.

Which of these suggestions will you support? You can choose as many as you like. Explain your choice(s).

1. Send petitions to Parliament demanding that the Tea Act be repealed
2. Organize mobs to destroy the tea and other property (ships, buildings) of the British East India Company. The company can't sell the tea if there isn't any.
3. Organize a boycott of British tea. If colonists don't buy the tea, they won't be paying the tax and this whole British policy will fail. The boycott of British goods during the Stamp Act was not completely successful, but that was non-importation. This time non-consumption will be enforced. Anyone caught drinking British tea will be ostracized or worse. It will be enforced by patriotic groups in each city, town and village.
4. Organize a boycott (non-consumption) of British goods in general. The lack of trade will hurt the colonial economy, but it will hurt British merchants also. They will put pressure on Parliament to withdraw the tax.
5. Don't protest and don't boycott. Buy the tea and pay the tax. The colonists will be getting tea cheaply, even with the tax. The Dutch may lower their prices even more to compete. With a price war between the British and Dutch tea companies, colonists will keep getting their tea more cheaply. Besides, as loyal Englishmen, colonists should obey the law, not break it.

LESSON 3: BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1773

Student Handout 3: Problem

You are a member of Parliament in 1774. Colonists in Boston have reacted to the Tea Act, which was to help the British East India Company, by dumping thousands of chests of tea into Boston Harbor. Prime Minister North is proposing a bill to punish the rebels. It will close the port of Boston until the company is paid back for the destroyed tea. It will also prevent most towns in Massachusetts from holding town meetings. Further, the colonists will be required to have British soldiers sleep and eat in their homes. Lord North feels that the bill's punishments will single out and isolate Massachusetts from the other colonies. It will send a message that the other colonies can't defy British law.

The Boston Tea Party

The king supports North's bill, as does a majority of the British public. They want to see strong measures to stop the rebels in Massachusetts and keep order in the colonies.

Which parts of the bill will you support in response to the destruction of tea in Boston? You can choose as many as you like. Explain your choice(s).

1. Close the port of Boston. This action will cripple the whole city economically and put pressure on townspeople to pay for the tea that was destroyed.
2. Prevent town meetings in most towns in Massachusetts
3. Require colonists in Massachusetts to have British soldiers sleep and eat in their homes
4. Don't support any of these proposals
5. Come up with your own idea

LESSON 3: BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1773

Student Handout 4: Outcomes

Parliament voted to allow the British East India Company to sell its tea without paying the export tax from England, but also kept in place the tax on tea left over from the Townshend duties (Handout 1). The price of British tea was now lower than the price of smuggled Dutch tea. Nevertheless, the colonists still refused to buy British tea because of the tax. Colonists felt that if they paid the tea tax (which was intended, after all, to raise revenue) they would be admitting that Parliament had the authority to tax them. They also feared that if British tea achieved a monopoly over the tea trade in America, the British East India Company could then increase the price.

Parliament could have avoided the conflict by removing the tea tax in America. The tax itself had taken in only about £10,000 in three years (about $1.3 million in 2007), only £1200 after expenses were deducted ($152,400 in 2007), a tiny amount compared to the national budget, the debt, or the cost of troops in America. Why risk losing £2 million (about $2.5 million in 2007) worth of tea for the company over such a small amount of tax revenue? Some members of Parliament (MPs) argued that the British East India Company should just pay a tax in England equivalent to the tax on tea in America. Then the colonists would not feel they were paying the tax and a crisis could be avoided. One MP stated, "If [Lord North] doesn't take off the duty [the colonists] won't take the tea." Lord North argued that he deliberately wanted the colonists to recognize and pay the tax in order to assert Parliament's authority.

As it was, the colonists had "tea parties" (Handout 2, Option 2) in which they destroyed the tea to be imported. The strongest resistance, of course, was the Boston Tea Party, in which tea was dumped into the harbor. Threats in other cities forced tea distributors to resign before any tea could be sold. Colonists also sent petitions (Option1) and organized boycotts on tea and on British products in general (Options 3 and 4). As outlined in Option 3 (Handout 2), the colonists focused on non-consumption rather than non-importation. Every town had a committee to enforce non-consumption of British products. The rebels used threats against fellow colonists in order to enforce the boycotts: colonists who helped the British might be tarred and feathered. It effectively reduced British trade, but more importantly, it spread the patriotic viewpoint to all areas of the colonies. Revolutionary beliefs were spread from neighbor to neighbor throughout the colonies during the boycott. Whereas the colonists bought a significant amount of British tea up to 1773, they bought almost none (even though it was at a lower price) after the Tea Act. Buying or drinking tea was equated with sin in the minds of some colonists.

The Tea Act did not save the British East India Company by helping to get rid of its excess tea. The £1.4 million ($177.8 million in 2007) loan helped the company survive, but increased government control over the company. Meanwhile, the option to obey the

Tea Act (Option 5) was chosen by loyalists in the colonies, as the break between patriots and loyalists widened into a chasm. The Tea Act was the first major point of division.

Parliament decided to punish the colonists of Boston for the Tea Party by passing Options 1, 2, and 3 from Handout 3 and calling them the "Coercive Acts." Most of the British public and MPs felt the destruction of property had gone too far—the British government couldn't allow it. Unfortunately for the British, the acts weren't successful in singling out Boston or even Massachusetts for punishment. Although the Tea Party occurred in Boston, there was violence and intimidation in other colonies as well. Opposition to the Tea Act was general, not limited to Massachusetts. Due to the unity built up among the colonies in opposition to previous acts, other colonies supported Massachusetts in this crisis. The other colonies could see that the restrictions of the rights of the people of Massachusetts were a danger to the rights of people in all the colonies. The Coercive Acts, rather than the destruction of property in the Boston Tea Party, became the central issue between Britain and the colonies. The colonists referred to the Coercive Acts as the "Intolerable Acts." The unity of the colonies against the Intolerable Acts was coming very close to outright rebellion.

LESSON 3: BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1773

Student Handout 5: Primary Source

Eyewitness Account of the Boston Tea Party, by George Hewes

It was now evening, and I immediately dressed myself in the costume of an Indian, equipped with a small hatchet, which I and my associates denominated the tomahawk, with which, and a club, after having painted my face and hands with coal dust in the shop of a blacksmith, I repaired to Griffin's wharf, where the ships lay that contained the tea. When I first appeared in the street after being thus disguised, I fell in with many who were dressed, equipped, and painted as I was, and who fell in with me and marched in order to the place of our destination…

We were immediately ordered by the respective commanders to board all [three] ships at the same time, which we promptly obeyed. The commander of the division to which I belonged, as soon as we were on board the ship appointed me boatswain, and ordered me to go to the [British] captain and demand of him the keys to the hatches and a dozen candles. I made the demand accordingly, and the captain promptly replied, and delivered the articles; but requested me at the same time to do no damage to the ship or rigging.

We then were ordered by our commander to open the hatches and take out all the chests of tea and throw them overboard, and we immediately proceeded to execute his orders, first cutting and splitting the chests with our tomahawks, so as thoroughly to expose them to the effects of the water.

In about three hours from the time we went on board, we had thus broken and thrown overboard every tea chest to be found in the ship, while those in the other ships were disposing of the tea in the same way, at the same time. We were surrounded by British armed ships, but no attempt was made to resist us.

We then quietly retired to our several places of residence, without having any conversation with each other, or taking any measures to discover who were our associates; nor do I recollect of our having had the knowledge of the name of a single individual concerned in that affair, except that of Leonard Pitt, the commander of my division, whom I have mentioned. There appeared to be an understanding that each individual should volunteer his services, keep his own secret, and risk the consequence for himself. No disorder took place during that transaction, and it was observed at that time that the stillest night ensued that Boston had enjoyed for many months…

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did the colonists dress as Native Americans?
2. Why did the British warships not stop the colonists?
3. Why did the colonists not know each others' names?
4. How reliable is this document as a source?

LESSON 4: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1774–1776

Teacher Pages

OVERVIEW

The Declaration of Independence is one of the great documents in American and world history. In this lesson, students decide what actions to take in 1774, and then decide what should be in their declaration of independence, before they see the real Declaration. One goal of the lesson is for the students to remember each part of the declaration and the rationale behind it.

VOCABULARY

- Continental Congress—Meeting of colonial delegates in 1774 to decide on a unified plan of action against the Intolerable Acts
- Coercive Acts—Laws passed by Parliament to punish Massachusetts for defying the Tea Act and destroying British tea; known in the colonies as the Intolerable Acts
- Suffolk Resolves—Resolutions passed by an assembly in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, stating that Massachusetts colonists would not pay taxes or obey the Tea Act or the Intolerable Acts
- Boycott—Refusing to buy or sell goods to (or from) a group or country
- Lexington and Concord—First two battles between the colonists and the British
- Bunker Hill—British soldiers tried to charge up Breed's Hill (mistakenly identified as Bunker Hill) to force the colonists out of their defenses
- *Common Sense*—Pamphlet by Thomas Paine arguing that colonists should choose independence

DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Recognize assumptions
- Set realistic goals
- Predict unintended consequences

LESSON PLAN

A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (One 40-minute class)

Procedure**:**

Distribute Handout 1, ask students to read it silently, and have them decide which options they will choose. Divide students into groups and tell them to discuss their choices. Allow some time for students to ask questions. Bring the class back together to discuss student choices and to vote on the various options. Distribute Handout 2 and discuss the choices the colonists actually made.

Handout 3 presents students with a different kind of decision-making problem. Here, students must decide how to argue for independence to the world. To guide students, there are specific questions for each part of the declaration. Distribute Handout 3 and have students work on it individually. Then have them pair up and discuss how they will frame their arguments for independence. Circulate around the room to answer questions. Bring the class together to discuss their declarations. You could call on pairs of students to share their answers to specific questions.

OPTION: Help students identify their audience. Should the declaration be directed at the British people, the Parliament, the king, the French government, the American people, or American soldiers? Students may choose more than one audience.

OPTION: If you anticipate that students will have difficulty thinking of grievances, distribute Handout 4, which gives them a list to choose from.

In this problem, the primary source (Handout 6) is a key to the outcome (also explained in Handout 5). Distribute Handouts 5 and 6 and have students compare their own declarations to the actual Declaration of Independence. For homework, have them answer the "Questions for Discussion" in Handout 6. How do their declarations compare to the actual Declaration? After reading through the Declaration, who do they think the main target audiences were?

You may end the lesson by asking how many students would have signed the Declaration. Apparently, the Declaration was signed in almost complete silence. One of the larger signers joked with another that he would die more quickly than the smaller man when he was hanged for this traitorous action of signing. The whole idea of the Declaration of Independence was to announce a bold and risky commitment to break with Britain. Only by signing could the colonial leaders implement this commitment.

Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from these outcomes. What would they have done

differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes? Which decision-making skills were especially important to the decisions on negotiating the peace treaty? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the section on "Decision-Making Analysis" below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers.

Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students whether the Declaration of Independence was inevitable. What factors made it possible or likely? Was it more the result of the actions of one man or a group of men, or was it more due to historical forces? Was the Revolution more the work of a few key leaders, or the result of the actions of many ordinary people?

Connecting to Today:

Ask students: What effects does the Declaration of Independence have on today's world? Does it still inspire people? Does it affect decisions by governments? Since students may not have much information about foreign current events, you can give them articles about other countries, or alternatively you could have students research contemporary countries or situations.

Troubleshooting:

Some students may have difficulty reading the Declaration (Handout 6). Some words are explained in brackets, but you might want to go over the Declaration paragraph by paragraph. At the end of each section, ask students what that section means.

B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (15–20 minutes)

Give students Handout 3 for homework. In class, have students share what they wrote for each section. You could also do only one or two examples for question 4 (Handout 3). Distribute Handout 6 (and maybe 5), and for homework, have students write out how the actual Declaration compares to what they decided.

TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 5.)

George III's hiring of German soldiers to fight against the colonies was extremely upsetting to many colonists, so it is no surprise it was cited in the Declaration of Independence.

Americans blamed the king specifically in the Declaration for two reasons: First, blaming the king was the traditional way Englishmen announced revolution, since the king was the symbol of British authority. Second, many Americans were convinced that the king was personally responsible for the numerous problems with the colonies. Americans also blamed the British people, although it is unclear what the British people could have done to change the situation after the parliamentary election of 1774.

The Declaration of Independence became a partisan document after independence was achieved. Federalists, who were pro-British and anti–French Revolution in the 1780s and 1790s, deemphasized the Declaration. Moreover, they certainly didn't want to emphasize its main author Thomas Jefferson, who led the opposition party, the (Democratic-) Republicans. In the election of 1800, the Republicans emphasized the Declaration as a "deathless instrument" and celebrated "the immortal Jefferson." The Republicans used the Declaration as a symbol of the break with monarchist Britain, weakening their pro-British opponents, the Federalists. When the Federalist Party faded from the scene after the War of 1812, only the celebration of the greatness of the document and its author remained. Increasingly, the greatness of the document was associated with its assertion of equal rights, rather than the assertion of the right of revolution. The emphasis on equal rights became debatable throughout American history, especially before the Civil War. In what ways, exactly, were men equal?

The statements in the Declaration of Independence are very similar to those written by George Mason in the Virginia Declaration of Rights:

a. "That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent natural rights, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive their posterity; among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

b. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from the people…

c. That government is, or ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people… [W]henever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it…"

DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS

P = Problem
* - **Identify any underlying problem(s)**
* - **Consider other points of view**
* - **What are my assumptions? Emotions?**

A = Ask for information (about)
- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

G = Goals
* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects
* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify underlying problems:** Students should consider the underlying power comparison between Britain and the colonies in Handout 1 (Continental Congress). It was this underlying problem that Thomas Paine focused on in his pamphlet *Common Sense* (mentioned in Handout 3).
- **Consider other points of view:** When writing their declarations, students should consider numerous groups. How do they think the following individuals or groups will react to their words?: King George III, Parliament, the British public, sympathizers of the colonies in Britain, colonial merchants, colonial farmers, colonists supportive of King George and Parliament, the Native Americans, the French, and people in other countries.
- **What are my assumptions?** The second question in Handout 3 focuses on student assumptions about government. What are the principles that underlie the kind of government students want?
- **What are my goals? Are they realistic?** Students need to ask themselves what their main goals are for the Continental Congress problem (Handout 1). Are they trying to bring about reform of the British system or do they really want independence? Next, they need to ask if their overall goals are realistic. Is compromise still possible? If the Americans break with Britain, can they defeat the trained British soldiers in battle? The British have the largest navy in the world. Can they fight such a powerful navy?
- **Consider consequences:** The long-term consequences of the Declaration of Independence are profound. Countries and groups around the world have adopted

the Declaration as a model for their own independence movements. The phrase "all men are created equal" was the basis for the women's movement beginning in the 1830s; its Declaration of Sentiments rephrased the statement as "all men and women are created equal." The phrase was also influential in the abolitionist movement. President Lincoln referred to the Declaration in his Gettysburg Address with his phrase "our forefathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." The concept of inalienable rights has profoundly influenced the human rights and civil rights movements of the 20th century.

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LESSON 4: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1774–1776

Vocabulary

- Continental Congress—Meeting of colonial delegates in 1774 to decide on a unified plan of action against the Intolerable Acts
- Coercive Acts—Laws passed by Parliament to punish Massachusetts for defying the Tea Act and destroying British tea; known in the colonies as the Intolerable Acts
- Suffolk Resolves—Resolutions passed by an assembly in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, stating that Massachusetts colonists would not pay taxes or obey the Tea Act or the Intolerable Acts
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- Lexington and Concord—First two battles between the colonists and the British
- Bunker Hill—British soldiers tried to charge up Breed's Hill (mistakenly identified as Bunker Hill) to force the colonists out of their defenses
- *Common Sense*—Pamphlet by Thomas Paine arguing that colonists should choose independence

LESSON 4: CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774

Student Handout 1: Problem

Revolution Era

The year is 1774, and you are a member of the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia. The Congress is to decide how to react to British actions against Massachusetts. The British passed the Intolerable Acts to punish Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party. The Intolerable Acts closed the port of Boston, suspended town meetings in some places, and forced people in Massachusetts to feed and shelter British soldiers in their homes. Some members of the Continental Congress say these British actions threaten the rights of all the colonies. If the British government can suspend rights in Massachusetts, it can suspend them anywhere.

On top of the Intolerable Acts, the governor of Massachusetts has closed the legislature, and the governor of Virginia has closed the House of Burgesses (both governors were appointed by the British government). Articles in colonial newspapers are calling for independence from Britain. Massachusetts has asked all Americans to boycott British goods.

Massachusetts wants united action against the British. The Massachusetts delegates have presented the Suffolk Resolves to the Congress, stating that the Intolerable Acts are murderous. They say that Parliament is part of a "wicked administration to enslave America." The present British government is "tyrannical and unconstitutional." They urge a total boycott of Britain until the Intolerable Acts are repealed and call for the colonies to prepare for war.

Which of these suggestions will you support in response to the Intolerable Acts? You can choose as many as you want. Explain your choice(s).

1. Send petitions to Parliament demanding repeal of the Intolerable Acts
2. Tell Parliament that the colonists will no longer pay taxes to Britain. Meanwhile, set up community groups to make sure no pro-British colonists continue to pay taxes.
3. Organize a boycott of British goods. Set up community groups to make sure no pro-British colonists continue to buy British goods or sell goods to Britain.
4. Close down the official governments (mainly courts) in the colonies and reopen them under the control of colonial leaders; force local pro-British officials to resign
5. Organize an army to fight Britain
6. Declare independence from Britain
7. Compromise with Britain. Ask for more rights within the empire. In exchange, colonists will pledge to obey the law and pay for the destroyed tea.

8. Obey the law and pay for the tea. The colonists are also Englishmen, so they need to follow the rules laid out for them by the British government. It was wrong to destroy the tea, so the people in Massachusetts must accept the punishment for these actions.

LESSON 4: CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774

Student Handout 2: Outcomes

The colonists decided on Options 1 through 4 from Handout 1. They sent petitions demanding an end to the Intolerable Acts, refused to pay taxes, organized and enforced a boycott on British goods, and closed down many government posts in the colonies. Enforcing the boycott led to threats by colonists against other colonists and public humiliation (tarring and feathering) to keep people in line. Many colonial merchants did not want to go through with the boycott because they would lose money. However, most colonists, both rich and poor, were strongly in favor of American rights. The boycott effectively reduced British trade, but more importantly, it spread the patriotic point of view to all areas of the colonies. Revolutionary beliefs were spread from neighbor to neighbor throughout the colonies during the boycott. Closing down some government posts meant that the colonies were setting up separate, unsanctioned governments, a giant step toward independence.

Colonists decided not to choose Options 5 through 8 at this time. They did not organize an army, declare independence, compromise, or obey the law. The colonists saw the threat to their own rights posed by the Intolerable Acts, so they were generally not interested in compromise or in simply obeying the law and accepting the punishment against Massachusetts. On the other hand, they were not ready to declare independence and fight a war. The Intolerable Acts were a threat, but not worth fighting over. Many colonists felt that, though there were disputes with the British government, they were still Englishmen. The idea of breaking away from Britain was too radical an idea in 1774. However, in 1775, the colonists began to explore the other options. They sent a compromise proposal (called the "Olive Branch Petition") to Britain asking for reforms (Option 7). In addition, they organized an army (Option 5) and in the end declared independence (Option 6).

Some colonists, known as "loyalists," followed Option 8. They kept their distance from the radicals. Loyalists continued to split from patriots for a variety of reasons, including respect for the British government, or respect for property rights and fear of revolution. Many loyalists were middle-class or rich colonists who did not want to see the mob take control. Others feared they would lose their jobs, which were dependent on the British government. Some slaves sided with Britain in the hope of gaining freedom. Native Americans supported Britain in order to continue the alliance and have their land protected against colonial settlers.

The Continental Congress didn't break with England in 1774, but it moved the colonies much closer to independence.

LESSON 4: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776

Student Handout 3: Problem

Revolution Era

The year is 1776, and you are part of a committee for deciding how to declare independence. Many important events have taken place in the past two years. The American colonies have formed a continental congress that is functioning as their own national government. Colonial militias have been formed around Boston. The British sent soldiers to capture weapons at Concord and fought battles with colonial militiamen at Lexington and Concord. British soldiers attacked the American militia at Bunker Hill. Both sides have suffered casualties (killed and wounded). Earlier this year, Thomas Paine wrote in his pamphlet *Common Sense* that it is just common sense that an island (Britain) cannot rule a continent (America). America is larger, wealthier, and more powerful than Britain. He wants Americans to decide one way or the other about breaking from England. You and your committee have been commissioned to write a declaration of independence from Britain. Answer these questions to help you decide what to write. For each, explain why you answered the way you did (use the back if you don't have enough room):


Battle of Lexington.

1. How do the colonists explain the underlying principles for separating? In general (no specifics), why are the colonists publicly declaring independence?

2. What are the colonists' underlying beliefs about government that form the basis of separating from Britain? List two or three beliefs.

3. Overall, who do the colonists blame for the problems leading to separation? Do the colonists concentrate on Parliament, the prime ministers, the British people, or King George III?

4. What are the colonists' specific grievances? List at least six specific actions that Britain has taken that have influenced the colonists to choose separation.

5. List two issues that you will deliberately not include as grievances (complaints) against Britain.

6. List two statements you will put into the concluding paragraph.

LESSON 4: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776

Student Handout 4: Problem

What reasons will you give to justify independence from Britain? You may choose as many as you feel would help convince people that the colonies justified in revolting:

1. Parliament said it could write laws for the colonies in all cases whatsoever
2. Parliament has promoted slavery in America
3. Parliament has prevented American exports to England
4. British soldiers have killed Americans in battle
5. The king has hired foreign soldiers to fight the colonists
6. Parliament has prevented colonial legislatures from meeting
7. British soldiers swarm around American cities, oppressing the people
8. Parliament has not listened to our petitions
9. Parliament has prevented colonists from settling in the West
10. Parliament has closed the port of Boston
11. Parliament has appointed commissioners (government officials) to collect taxes in America, but these officials were corrupt and stole money from American merchants
12. British officials have searched the homes and businesses of Americans without good reason, and in violation of privacy
13. Americans are tried in military courts by judges instead of juries made of fellow citizens
14. Parliament has increased taxes in America. Colonists' taxes are now much higher than the taxes in England.
15. British soldiers have shot innocent American civilians
16. Colonists have been forced to let British troops stay in their homes.
17. Parliament has tried to create a tea monopoly in America to help a British tea company

LESSON 4: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776

Student Handout 5: Outcomes for Handout 3

Signing the Declaration of Independence

1. The colonists stated that they needed to convince a skeptical world, but the main audience was the American people. It was an attempt to unite Americans in favor of independence. The colonists also hoped to divide the British people and to gain the sympathy and support of other countries, especially France. The first paragraph stresses that declaring independence was a last resort. The colonists have tried everything else—but now they have no choice but independence.
2. The colonists stress several beliefs: that all men are equal and have rights which governments can't take away; that government is based on the consent of the people, an agreement between the people and those they choose to represent them; and that the people have a right and duty to alter or abolish a government that abuses people's rights.
3. The colonists mostly blamed the king. He was the symbol of Britain, so it makes sense that the colonists would focus on him. Many colonists believed the king really was the main source of trouble. Americans started to focus on the king after the battles of Lexington and Concord, the hiring of German soldiers, and the king's rejection of the Olive Branch Petition. The patriots deliberately avoided blaming Parliament in order to emphasize the point that Parliament did not really

have authority over the colonies. The Declaration also blamed the British people, in the second-to-last paragraph. The colonists had sent petitions to the British people, but nothing had changed.

The main audiences, according to many historians, were the colonial people and colonial soldiers. Blaming the king and the British people would not win their cause much sympathy in England, and arguing for a right of revolution against a monarchy would probably not please the French king, Louis XVI, so aid from him was unlikely. However, declaring independence would help to increase the commitment of the colonial people and their soldiers in the coming war for independence.

4. The specific grievances are listed in the third section of the Declaration (Handout 6). It is interesting that the colonists included so many grievances. Is it too many? Although the grievances are stated in a general way, there are historical foundations for many of them:
5. The king had approved the suspension of the New York and Massachusetts legislatures (charge 5)
    a. He sent troops to Boston when military rule was imposed (charges 11 and 12)
    b. British soldiers were quartered among the colonists (charge 14)
    c. The British taxed the colonists without their consent in the Stamp Act and other incidents (charge 17)
    d. Colonists were tried in courts without juries in Halifax, which was inconveniently far from the colonies (charges 18 and 19)
    e. British laws were abolished in part of Canada with the Quebec Act (charge 20)
    f. The British declared that they could bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever in the Declaratory Act (charge 22)
    g. The king hired mercenaries (Hessians) to fight the colonists (charge 25)

    On the other hand, some of the charges aren't clearly related to any particular events, and two charges (13 and 15) aren't true. Should lies be included to convince people?
6. The colonists left out slavery and the slave trade as issues. Delegates from Southern colonies did not want that issue stressed, since it implied that slavery was wrong.
7. The last paragraph simply states that in light of all these grievances, the colonies were declaring independence

LESSON 4: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776

Student Handout 6: Primary Source

The Declaration of Independence

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776
The Unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient [temporary] causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn [shown] that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations [unlawful seizing of power], pursuing invariably the same Object evinces [shows] a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid [skeptical] world.

1. He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.
2. He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.
3. He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish [surrender] the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable [very valuable] to them and formidable [dangerous] to tyrants only.

4. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.
5. He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.
6. He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.
7. He has endeavored [tried] to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.
8. He has obstructed the Administration of Justice by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.
9. He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.
10. He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.
11. He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.
12. He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.
13. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction [control] foreign to our constitution [personality], and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:
14. For quartering [sheltering] large bodies of armed troops among us:
15. For protecting them, by a mock Trial from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:
16. For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:
17. For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:
18. For depriving us in many cases, of the benefit of Trial by Jury:
19. For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:
20. For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies
21. For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

22. For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.
23. He has abdicated [abandoned] Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.
24. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.
25. He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries [hired soldiers] to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & Perfidy [treachery] scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.
26. He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.
27. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.
28. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress [asked that they be corrected] in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.
29. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity [fairness], and we have conjured [appealed to] them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity [brotherliness]. We must, therefore, acquiesce [accept] in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude [correctness] of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States, that they are absolved [released] from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved [broken]; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is the purpose of the Declaration, according to the first paragraph?
2. What philosophy of government is expressed in the second paragraph?
3. Why did the colonists list some grievances and leave others out?
4. How convincing is the Declaration?
5. What do you think is the most important part of the Declaration?
6. Is the Declaration propaganda?

LESSON 5: ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, 1777

Teacher Pages

OVERVIEW

Most historians argue that the Articles of Confederation were flawed in significant ways. In this lesson, students decide what powers to give the national government before they learn about the weaknesses in the actual government under the Articles. Will students make the same mistakes?

VOCABULARY

- Continental Congress—Colonies sent delegates to this meeting in 1774 to decide on unified action against the Intolerable Acts
- Governor—The head of a state government who carries out the laws of that state
- Stamp Act—An unpopular tax by the British government to raise revenue in the colonies
- Townshend Acts—British taxes on imports of paper, paint, lead, glass, and tea
- Confederation—A group of states united for a common purpose but having a weak central government
- President—The head of the national government, who carries out national laws
- Tariff—A tax, most often on imports
- Treaty—Agreement between countries, often at the end of a war
- Currency—Coins and paper money
- Congress—Representatives who make laws
- Treaty of Paris (1783)—Treaty ending the Revolutionary War, in which Britain recognized the United States as an independent nation

DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problems
- Ask about context
- Ask about analogies
- Set realistic goals
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

LESSON PLAN

A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (One 40-minute class)

Procedure**:**

Distribute Handout 1 and have students decide what characteristics they will give the new government in 1777. Next, divide students into groups and have them discuss their choices. Allow time for students to ask questions. Tell students to focus especially on Question 7, regarding which powers to give the new government. Then bring the class back together to discuss their choices. Ask students to predict which powers were actually given to the new government. Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes or tell the class what actually happened, and have them fill in the right-hand side of Handout 1. Then distribute the excerpt of the Articles of Confederation (Handout 3) and ask students to answer the questions for analysis.

OPTION: Tell the students to consider which matters of government are local enough to be considered central to state functions, and which matters are more national in nature. This tip may help students to consider the underlying problem of powers, as explained in the "underlying problem" portion of the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below.

OPTION: After the discussion, have students read the actual Articles of Confederation (Handout 3, instead of Handout 2) and use it to fill in the right side of their chart in Handout 1. Then have the class discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the Articles based on the primary source.

Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from these outcomes. What would they have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes? Which decision-making skills were especially important to the decisions on forming a new government? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the section on "Decision-Making Analysis" below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers.

Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students how well they did in predicting what would be included in the Articles government. If they predicted some parts accurately, ask them how they were able to do so. Their answers may reveal an understanding of the historical context. For example, students may predict that the delegates would not allow the central government to tax, because the colonists just fought the British to prevent taxation by a central government. They may predict that women would not be allowed to vote because women were not allowed to vote in most governments at the time.

Connecting to Today:

Ask students whether there are any confederations today (e.g., United Nations, European Union). How well do these confederations work? (There is great debate about how well the United Nations works.)

Troubleshooting:

Make sure students understand what currency is (coins and paper money) as opposed to money (currency plus checking accounts, and also credit cards today). Some students may struggle to understand how having different currencies would hurt trade. Ask them to imagine trading a product from one state to another but the sale has to be converted from one currency to another, including a small charge for converting. Would a change in exchange between the currencies affect their profits? Do they see that trading would be riskier under such conditions? Other students may also struggle to understand how tariffs hurt trade. Again, if people are trading to a state that has a tariff, some of them may decide to trade elsewhere, where they don't have to pay a tax. Tariffs and differences in currencies reduce trade.

B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (15–20 minutes)

Give students Handout 1 for homework. In class the next day, have students pair up for about two minutes to discuss their answers. Bring the class together and ask for a show of hands for each question. Discuss only selected items, especially question 7a. Then distribute Handout 2 (Outcomes).

TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 2.)

The originals draft of the Articles of Confederation (by John Dickinson) gave most powers to the national government, reserving only one power to the states. Some conservative members supported the idea of a strong national government to protect property against the mob. Radicals argued that there is and should remain no power higher than state legislatures. It was for this right (as in the Stamp Act crisis) that the colonies revolted against Britain. Dickinson's draft was altered beyond recognition by Congress, reserving almost all powers to the states. The final clause on reserved powers read: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation *expressly* delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled" (emphasis added). There were to be no implied powers for the national government.

The traditional view of the Articles of Confederation is that it was formed as an agreement between states. According to Richard Morris, however, the Articles government was formed by the people who chose delegates and by the Continental Congress, not primarily as an agreement between sovereign states.

There is dispute among historians about trade problems and the causes of the 1780s depression. Most historians argue that state tariffs crippled trade and contributed to the depression. Libertarian historians feel the Articles government was correcting tariff problems through market effects (high-tariff states were losing trade to low-tariff states). The country would have done away with tariffs between states even without the Constitution. Libertarians see the depression as resulting from inflated currency, not trade problems.

Historians also dispute how bad the economic crisis was in the 1780s. Richard Morris (see sources) and others argue that the depression was a serious crisis and was caused partly by the ineffectual government under the Articles. Jensen (see sources), on the other hand, argues that the economic downturn was not severe. He argues that those who wanted a new constitution in 1787 exaggerated the economic problems to justify changing the government. Evidence indicates that there was a depression from 1781 to 1786 and that by 1787 most Americans were dissatisfied with the government and wanted to change the Articles.

DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS

P = Problem

* **- Identify any underlying problem(s)**
- Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
* **- Historical analogies**

G = Goals

* **- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects

* **- Predict unintended consequences.**
* **- Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify any underlying problem:** Students need to identify the underlying problem of which issues affect which levels of government. Which are state issues and which are national issues? Answering this underlying question will help a great deal in deciding many of the questions about the new constitution.
- **Ask about context:** The historical context is very important to writing the articles for the new government. Students should ask questions such as:
  1. How is the war going at this time? (Americans have had some successes, but it's been a difficult war. It seems it will be long and expensive.)
  2. How well are the states providing food and equipment for American soldiers? (Not well.)
  3. Which issues unite, and which divide, the states? Are the uniting factors greater than the dividing factors? (The war unites the states. Also, all the states are engaged in trade, so they have an incentive to get along. But they are divided in their distinct backgrounds: Nationalism ["I am an American"] is still weak—most people's first allegiance is to their state ["I am from Maryland"]. The issue of slavery also divides the states.)
- **Ask about analogies:** Students should ask about how successful confederations have been in the past. (Many did not work well, although this claim was disputed by supporters of this confederation.)
- **Consider goals:** Possible goals include to (1) win the war, (2) set up a long-lasting, stable government, (3) preserve liberty, (4) set up a government that is a model of republican values (representative government, equal opportunity)

to the world, (5) bring prosperity, and (6) overcome regional divisions between Southern, Middle, and New England states. Students should identify their goals and then ask if these goals are realistic.

- **Consider consequences:** The main long-term consequence was the demonstration that a democratic government could work, even though it had some major problems. The fact that a government by the people didn't completely fall apart was an encouragement for people in other countries to try democracy (see Handout 2). Many arguments later in American history are a repetition of the arguments over how much power to give the national government in the Articles of Confederation. Students should consider these long-term effects, no matter which way they decide.
- **Play out the option:** There were many possible problems in setting up a new government, as outlined in the outcomes to the Articles (Handout 2).

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LESSON 5: ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, 1777

Vocabulary

- Continental Congress—Colonies sent delegates to this meeting in 1774 to decide on unified action against the Intolerable Acts
- Governor—The head of a state government who carries out the laws of that state
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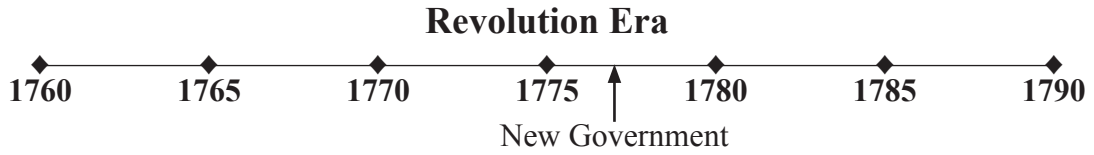
- Currency—Coins and paper money
- Congress—Representatives who make laws
- Treaty of Paris (1783)—Treaty ending the Revolutionary War, in which Britain recognized the United States as an independent nation

LESSON 5: FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT

Student Handout 1: Problem



The year is 1777, and you are a member of the Continental Congress. Americans declared independence from England a year ago and are fighting an all-out war against the British army and navy to secure that independence. The former 13 colonies are now 13 states and have set up state governments. The states are like 13 independent countries in many ways, although the non-consumption campaigns and the declaration of independence from Britain have brought about some measure of unity. Most states have weak governors because the governors remind people of the oppressive British king. For example, in New York the governor is the commander of the state militia and is supposed to make sure laws are carried out—and those are his only powers. In Massachusetts, the governor can also appoint officials and veto bills (but his veto could be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the legislature), but that's the limit of his power. Most people feel that only local representatives should have the power to tax them ("no taxation without representation"). National taxes remind many Americans of the hated Stamp Act and Townshend Acts, with their hated customs officials. Some people think the national congress should be completely eliminated after the war with Britain is won.

On the other hand, some delegates argue for a strong national legislature in order to regulate trade and prevent strife between states. They fear anarchy if a stronger national union isn't achieved.

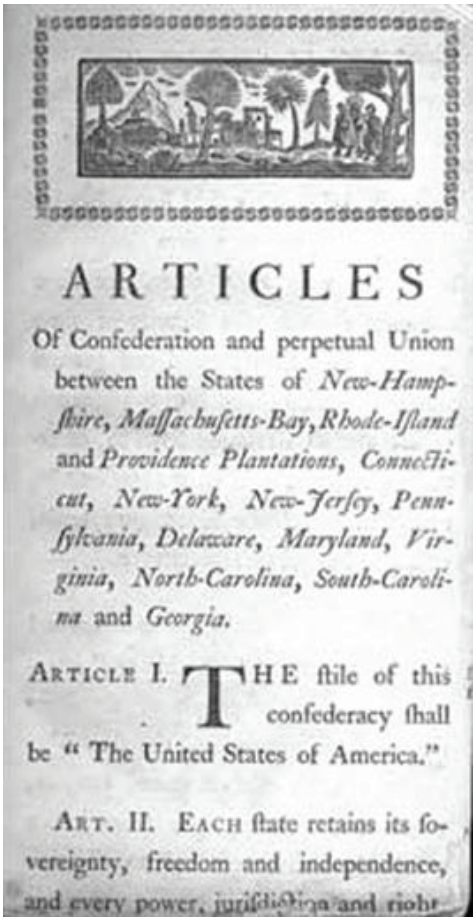
Now it is time to form some sort of national government, at least until the war is won, and to form a stronger union to protect liberty. The Continental Congress, which has been operating against England for three years, has appointed you to a committee to write a constitution for the new government.

You are to decide which powers to give the national government. Put your answers in the left column (Your View). You will fill in the right column after looking at what was actually decided.

Characteristics of the new government:	Your view (what you think is best):	Actual characteristics
1. Will there be a president (a governor for the national government)—yes or no?		
2. Should there be one vote per state, or should states have votes based on population (e.g., one for every 50,000 people, meaning that more-populous states would have more representatives)?		
3. There are 13 states. How many votes will be needed to pass a law—seven (a majority), nine (two-thirds), or all 13?		
4. How many votes will be needed to pass a law—a simple majority, ⅔ majority, or unanimous decision?		
5. Who should be allowed to vote in elections—all adults, men only, or property-owning men only?		
6. Who should be allowed to be a representative—all adults, men only, or property-owning men only?		
7. Which of the following powers should the national government have? (Remember, any power you don't give to the national government could still be given to the states.) Yes/no for each.		
a. Taxation—states would be allowed to tax, but so would the national government		
b. Defense—the government would be able to raise and direct an army, which it is already doing at this point		
c. Ability to regulate trade—to prevent states from instituting tariffs against other states or countries		
d. Negotiate treaties with other countries		
e. Enforce one currency (one type of money) for all 13 states		

LESSON 5: FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT

Student Handout 2: Outcomes



ARTICLES

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

ARTICLE I. THE ſtile of this confederacy ſhall be "The United States of America."

ART. II. EACH ſtate retains its ſovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right

The new constitution was called the Articles of Confederation, and it was the first constitution of the United States. As the title implies, the new government was a confederation, a loose agreement among powerful states that had only a weak central government. The Articles had the following characteristics:

1. There was no president. This made it difficult to enforce laws passed by Congress. There was a president of Congress, but he didn't have any enforcement powers. Congress had executive committees to carry out laws, but these were largely ineffective. Without a president and without a supreme court there were no separate branches and no checks and balances. Congress had all the power of the national government, though that wasn't much power at this point.
2. There was one vote per state, reflecting the idea that the national government was an agreement among states
3. Nine votes out of 13 were required to pass a law. This requirement made it difficult for the Congress to take action when needed.
4. All 13 votes were required to change any articles, making amendments almost impossible, even when confronted with changing circumstances
5. Only property-owning men were allowed to vote in elections. This requirement seems very undemocratic today, but at the time, the idea of holding elections at all was unusual
6. Only property-owning men were allowed to be representatives. The thinking was that those who owned property would have a stake in making sure the government was successful, since they might lose their property if the government failed.
7. Powers:
    a. The national government did not have the power to tax. The representatives at the Continental Congress could not agree on the proportion of taxes each state should pay. The main obstacle was the opposition of Southern states to including slaves in the count to determine the amount of taxation. As a result of the deadlock on national taxes, the Articles government was forced to ask the states for money, which meant

it never got the money it needed. In 1781, for example, the states paid only $50,000 out of $4 million owed to the Confederation. According to most historians, the lack of the power to tax was the biggest weakness of the Articles of Confederation. Without tax revenue, the national government wasn't powerful enough to unite the states. It was a great problem during the war against Britain, but remained a problem even after the war ended. Many Americans wondered if the government could defend the country adequately.

b. The government did have the power to raise an army, but as shown in the explanation above, it didn't have the money necessary to pay the army. Many Americans wanted a stronger army to protect them against Native Americans. Others wanted a stronger government to protect property against riots and lawlessness.
c. The government did not have the power to prevent tariffs between states (the power to regulate trade). Unfortunately, states did put up tariffs, which reduced trade between them. The country suffered economically due to reduced trade.
d. The government did have the power to negotiate treaties, which was important to ending the Revolutionary War, in the Treaty of Paris (1783)
e. The government did not have the power to enforce and regulate one currency. As a result, inflated currencies became more common, causing prices to rise. The unstable prices made it harder to trade and invest, which further hurt the economy of America.

Overall, the weakness of the national government in Articles of Confederation reflected the Americans' fears of a strong central government. The most glaring weakness was the lack of the ability to tax (7a). The government limped along for years, unable to do very much to solve problems facing the new republic. Attendance of representatives was so low that the Congress often lacked a quorum (the minimum number of members necessary to conduct the government's business) to vote on bills.

On the other hand, the Articles were democratic in some ways, and the new government established the concept of government by the people. In addition, the government provided enough political stability to win the war against Britain and bring about an independent nation.

LESSON 5: FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT

Student Handout 3: Primary Source

Articles of Confederation (excerpt)

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

I.
The Stile of this Confederacy shall be "The United States of America."

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

III.
The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare…

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

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

VI.
…No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies…

VIII.
All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State…

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

IX.
The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners…

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States—fixing the standards of weights and measures throughout the United States…

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

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

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

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How many powers do the states retain (get) under the Articles (Article II)?
2. What is the reason stated for forming the government (Article III)?
3. Which level of government (local, state, or national) has the power to tax (Article VIII)?
4. Which level of government has the power to issue money (Article IX)?
5. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of this government?

LESSON 6: LAND IN THE WEST, 1787

Teacher Pages

OVERVIEW

The land ordinances of the 1780s comprised some of the most enlightened laws ever passed in United States history. Will students make the same wise decisions as leaders did then?

VOCABULARY

- Articles of Confederation—Constitution of the United States from 1781 to 1789, with a weak national government
- Treaty of Paris (1783)—Britain recognized the independence of the United States
- Speculator—A person who buys something (for example, land) hoping to sell it at a higher price
- Squatter—A person who claims land without paying for it
- Sectionalism—Promoting the interests of a section or region (such as the North or the South) as opposed to those of the entire country
- Territory—A distinct area under the authority of another government
- Auction—A public sale of something (for example, land) to the highest bidder
- Survey—To measure and record an area of land
- Governor—The leader of a state or territory, who works to enforce the law
- Ordinance—A law

DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Consider other points of view
- Recognize assumptions
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

LESSON PLAN

A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (One 40-minute class)

Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1. Ask students to read it silently and decide what they will do. Next, divide students into groups and have them discuss their choices. Allow some time for students to ask questions. Then bring the class back together and discuss their choices, question by question. After the dialogue on choices, distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes and discuss. What outcomes especially surprised students? Use Handout 3 to analyze western settlement policy through the primary source of the Northwest Ordinance.

Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from these outcomes. What would they have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? Discuss their answers.

Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students what had happened previously in terms of westward expansion in America, especially in the northwest. (Possible context: the fur trade between the French, Dutch, and English colonists; negotiations with the Iroquois and other Native American groups; the causes of the French and Indian War in the Ohio Valley; Pontiac's Uprising; the Proclamation of 1763; and the Quebec Act.)

Connecting to Today:

Ask what students have noticed about land patterns when flying over the Midwest (the checkerboard pattern is a result of the surveying done in the land ordinances).

Troubleshooting:

Some students may have difficulty understanding the term "speculator." You can use an example to make it clearer: A person buys half the land in Ohio for $1 per acre. As the rest of the land in Ohio is sold, and as roads are built and towns are settled, the value of his own land increases, and he can sell his land for $2 or even $3 per acre. He never intends to farm the land himself. He makes money from the increased value of the land (or loses money if the value drops).

B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–15 minutes)

Give students Handout 1 for homework. In class the next day, have students pair up to discuss their answers for about two minutes. Only discuss their answers to Part A, protectorate vs. state, which is the most important part of the ordinances. Students will learn about the other parts of the ordinances from the Outcomes handout.

TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 2.)

There were actually four land ordinances—in 1780, 1784, 1785, and 1787. These four ordinances were reduced to one in this lesson in order to avoid needless complexity. The focus in the lesson is on the principles behind the use of land in the West, not on memorizing the four land ordinances. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 is the best known of the land ordinances, so that is the point of decision here.

The Public Lands Resolution of 1780 first put forth the idea that new areas would be admitted to the Union as states equal to the original states.

Thomas Jefferson and other leaders believed that only by bringing territories into the Union as equal states could the country keep those territories as part of the United States.

There was opposition to the governor appointed by Congress in the territory of Ohio. People there resented the governor, who had been appointed by a Federalist-controlled Congress. In this territory, as in others, there was a movement to become a state. Nevertheless, the push for statehood did not become strong until after 1800.

Native American resistance under Tecumseh in the northwest kept population growth lower than in the southwest. Only Ohio had enough population to become a state (1803) before Tecumseh was defeated in 1811.

Proponents of the Northwest Ordinance argued in favor of internal improvements, such as roads and canals, in order to increase trade and tie the West to the rest of the country. They felt that internal improvements would reduce sectionalism by tying the country more closely together.

DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS

P = Problem
- Identify any underlying problem(s)
* - **Consider other points of view**
* - **What are my assumptions? Emotions?**

A = Ask for information (about)
- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

G = Goals
* - What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects
* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Consider other points of view:** Did students consider the viewpoints of settlers, squatters, speculators, and Native Americans? Students should consider that the land ordinance is a terrible policy from the Native American point of view.
- **What are my assumptions?** People at the time made the assumption that squatters were not civilized and would not form stable communities. As a result of this assumption, decisions were made to control or eliminate squatters.
- **Consider consequences:** Some unintended consequences are listed in Handout 2
- **Play out the option:** The process of settling the Northwest was bound to be messy, so there were numerous ways in which things could go wrong. The people at the time considered the haphazard way that settlment could occur, and pushed for a survey of the land in order to bring it under government control and regulation. Even with this foresight, land sales did not go well at first. Potential buyers tried to get unsurveyed land, since they felt the price for surveyed land was too high. Government leaders then solved the problem of low sales by making a deal with the Ohio Company (mentioned in Handout 2). A second problem in playing out the option of settlement (encouraged by territories) was resistance by Native Americans. Students should consider how to deal with that eventuality.

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LESSON 6: LAND IN THE WEST, 1787

Vocabulary

- Articles of Confederation—Constitution of the United States from 1781 to 1789, with a weak national government
- Treaty of Paris (1783)—Britain recognized the independence of the United States
- Speculator—A person who buys something (for example, land) hoping to sell it at a higher price
- Squatter—A person who claims land without paying for it
- Sectionalism—Promoting the interests of a section or region (such as the North or the South) as opposed to those of the entire country
- Territory—A distinct area under the authority of another government
- Auction—A public sale of something (for example, land) to the highest bidder
- Survey—To measure and record an area of land
- Governor—The leader of a state or territory, who works to enforce the law
- Ordinance—A law

LESSON 6: LAND IN THE WEST, 1787

Student Handout 1: Problem

Revolution Era

The year is 1787, and you are a member of Congress under the Articles of Confederation. The national government is very weak: it doesn't have enough money or authority to get much accomplished. Nevertheless, a decision needs to be made about land in the West. As a result of the Treaty of Paris (1783), in which Britain recognized the independence of the United States, the country acquired a huge amount of land west of the Appalachian Mountains up to the Mississippi River. Settlers began moving into the Ohio Valley when the state of Virginia gave up its claims to the area north of the Ohio River. Thus, the national government has to decide what kinds of policies it will have toward settlement in the west.

There are numerous problems with land in the west. Leaders in North Carolina are trying to control western settlers, who want it to be admitted as a separate state called Franklin. New York's leaders, meanwhile, are struggling with settlers who want to be admitted as the separate state of Vermont. Land speculators are trying to buy up land all through the west, hoping to get the land cheap and resell it to settlers later at a huge profit. Squatters are trying to take land in the West without paying for it.

Some members of Congress want to claim the land for the government and sell it to raise money to pay bills and to pay off the national debt. Many people in the original 13 states fear a huge drop in their population if a large number of people move west. They also fear chaos on the frontier. Uncivilized squatters might start taking land for free and living selfishly for themselves, not for the good of the country or for other people. Secretary for Foreign Affairs John Jay doubts whether even after "two or three generations they will be fit to govern themselves."

People might try to move west in order to escape higher taxes in the original states. The west could become a magnet for malcontents (negative, dissatisfied people). Squatters would be scattered about, which would prevent organized sales of land (conflicting claims in courts for and against squatters would discourage buyers) or organized settlements. These western areas might break free of the United States or make alliances with Britain or Spain. Opponents of westward expansion fear that the country will get too large, which will lead to sectional divisions and eventually to a breakdown of the Union.

Which policies will you support on land in the West? Vote for as many as you would like:

1. Protectorate vs. state:
    a. New territories will be admitted into the United States as protectorates of the original 13 states. These new territories will have nonvoting members of Congress. They will each have a governor and their own territorial legislatures. Their citizens can vote and run for Congress in national elections, but not for president.
    b. New territories can eventually become states in the United States, and have voting members of Congress. Their citizens can vote and run for Congress and for president in national elections.
    c. There will be no more states. New areas will always remain dependent colonies of the original 13 states.
2. Land sales:
    a. Let the land be sold at auction, but with a minimum price that is fairly high, perhaps $1 per acre (meaning a large farm would cost more than a year's income for a farmer). That way, settlers with families and a stake in the system will settle the West, rather than poor, uncivilized ruffians. These serious, stable settlers will increase trade and improve the economy of the West in general. Money from the sales will also help the government increase revenue and pay off the national debt.
    b. Survey (measure and record) the land, so the government can sell it in an orderly way. Set up strong territorial governments—with governors appointed by the national government—to enforce laws and use soldiers to prevent squatters from coming in and taking land without paying. Orderly sales and solid territorial governments will encourage more families to buy land in the West.
    c. Limit the amount of land anyone can buy (for example, no more than 600 acres, which would be the size of a large farm). That way, land speculators won't be able to buy up most of the land and later sell it to settlers for inflated prices.
    d. Allow individuals to settle freely. Don't have any control by the national government, except to screen out criminals. Let people settle in the West according to their own desires or needs. People should decide on their own whether to move out West, without restrictions by the government. They shouldn't be charged by the government to get land. If people want to move west and live on hunting and picking berries, fine; if they want to farm, that's fine too—it's up to them.
    e. Work to limit settlement of the West to a small number of people. The beauty of the West should be preserved basically the way it is now. There can be a few farms every square mile, but no more.
    f. Other rules:
    g. Prohibit slavery in the West.
    h. Require public schools in each settlement
    i. Require police and fire departments in each settlement

LESSON 6: LAND IN THE WEST, 1787

Student Handout 2: Outcomes

Congress passed several acts to help areas in the West become territories and states in an orderly way, including the Land Ordinance of 1785 and—most famously—the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Historians regard these acts as some of the wisest decisions in American history. The United States became one of the few countries in history to admit new areas into the Union as equals to the original states, rather than as inferior colonies. Thanks to this feature, the country became stronger and remained unified as it expanded. Had the new areas become colonies, the original 13 states would have had to police the areas to control a resentful population. As it was, the new states had every reason to support the United States, since they were equal partners in the nation. Naturally, the original 13 states had to give up some of their power due to this new policy. For example, beginning with Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, presidents began to be elected from these new western states. Nevertheless, the original states also benefited from the expanding republic and the growing commerce that came with it.

To exclude land speculators, land policies were put into the ordinance. At $1 per acre, the amount of land any speculator could buy would be limited. The land was too expensive to buy in huge quantities. The national government also used soldiers to drive off squatters. Land sales did not go well at first, which meant that the government did not make much money. In fact, in the beginning, the cost of keeping out squatters and speculators was greater than the money the government made from land sales. But then Congress made a deal with the Ohio Company of Massachusetts and Virginia to settle large numbers of industrious people (middle-class families) from those two states in the west. Land sales skyrocketed. Settlements were orderly, and commercial farming (selling to a market for money, rather than keeping the crops to be eaten by the farmer's family) increased.

Marietta, Ohio, one of the first settlements under the Northwest Ordinance

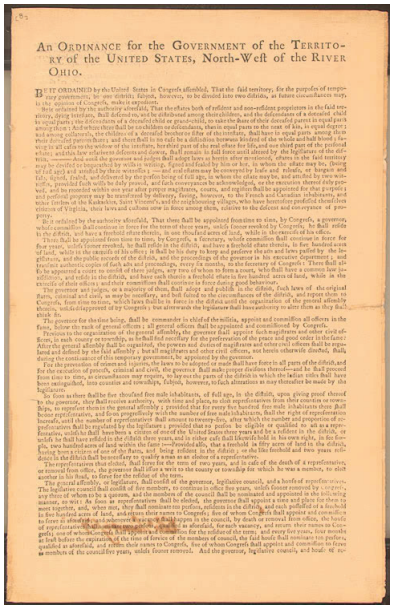
In addition, the Northwest Ordinance excluded slavery. This idealistic provision caused some people to call it the "Freedom Ordinance." Slavery proponents argued for states' rights. They said that once a territory became a state, Congress had no more say in it and a state could choose slavery. Later, the debate over slavery in the Northwest escalated as sectional tensions increased in the 1850s. Mid-19th-century opponents of slavery argued that there was a higher moral law than states' rights, but they could also point out the anti-slavery provision in the Northwest Ordinance to support their argument. In the end, no state in the Northwest adopted slavery.

The provision in the ordinance requiring public education also had a dramatic effect on the country: it raised literacy rates, provided increased economic opportunities for many people, and supplied an educated workforce.

LESSON 6: LAND IN THE WEST, 1787

Student Handout 3: Primary Source

Northwest Ordinance, July 13, 1787 (excerpt)


AN ORDINANCE for the GOVERNMENT of the TERRITORY of the UNITED STATES, North-West of the RIVER OHIO.

An Ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio…

Sec. 3. *Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid*, That there shall be appointed from time to time by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 1000 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office…

Sec. 8. For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district…

Sec. 9. So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants of full age in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect a representative from their counties or townships to represent them in the general assembly…

Sec. 13. And, for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty… to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest…

Sec. 14. It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

Art. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Art. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature…

Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property,

rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress…

Art. 4. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled…

Art. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five States… And, whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: *Provided*, the constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles…

Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of their sovereignty and independence the twelfth.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which three parts of this law do you think are the most enlightened? Explain.
2. What is the weakest part of this law? Explain.
3. Should this law be considered a great document in United States history? Explain.

LESSON 7: CONSTITUTION, 1787

Teacher Pages

OVERVIEW

There are many aspects of the Constitution worthy of study. This lesson focuses on decisions regarding which powers to give the central government. These powers are fundamental to the system of government in the United States, so they are important to consider.

VOCABULARY

- Constitution—The system of rules for a government, usually written
- Articles of Confederation—The United States's first constitution, which provided for only a weak central government
- Tariff—A tax on imports
- President—The head of the national government, who enforces national laws
- Tax—An amount of money charged by a government
- Depression—A serious decline in the economy, usually measured by a drop in GDP (Gross Domestic Product), along with high unemployment
- Shays's Rebellion—A 1787 revolt by farmers in Massachusetts against courts that were selling farms to pay debts
- Debtor—A person who has not yet repaid money s/he borrowed
- Treaty—An agreement between countries, often to end a war
- Currency—Coins and paper money
- Electoral votes—The votes for president cast by electors (who are chosen based on the popular vote) from each state. A candidate needs a majority of electoral votes to win the presidency.
- Great Compromise—An agreement in which each state gets two senators, but gets a number of representatives in proportion to its population
- Amendment—A change to the Constitution

DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Recognize assumptions
- Ask about analogies
- Predict consequences

LESSON PLAN

A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (One 40-minute class)

Procedure**:**

Distribute Handout 1. Have students read it silently and decide what they will do. Next, divide students into groups and have them discuss their choices. Allow time for students to ask questions. Then bring the class back together and discuss their choices, question by question. After the dialogue on choices, distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes and discuss. You can also use Handout 3 (the excerpt from the Constitution) to analyze the outcomes. Which outcomes especially surprised students?

Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from these outcomes. What would they have done differently, if anything, now that they know in the content of the Constitution? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? Discuss their answers.

Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students what experience Americans previously had with governments that might have shaped their decisions in 1787 (colonial governments, the Articles of Confederation, and state governments after the American Revolution).

Connecting to Today:

Ask students if they feel that the national government currently has too much power (Handout 1, Question 7), just the right amount, or not enough power in terms of taxation, tariffs, treaties, and defense. Do they think the Electoral College (Handout 1, Question 2) works fine as is, or do they think it should be eliminated in favor of direct election (i.e., whoever gets the most popular votes wins) by citizens?

Troubleshooting:

Some students may struggle to understand how the Electoral College works. This provides an opportunity to research and discuss it.

B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–15 minutes)

Give students Handout 1 for homework. In class the next day, have students pair up to discuss their answers for about two minutes. Only discuss their answers to Question 7, about the powers of the government. Even within that question, you could focus mostly on part 7a (since taxation was a key power). Distribute Handout 2 and have students read it for homework. Students will learn about the other parts of the Constitution from Handout 2.

TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 2.)

For simplicity, and to focus just on the powers of the branches, a number of topics have been skipped, such as the reasons for Shays's Rebellion, and the Annapolis Convention.

DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS

P = Problem
- Identify any underlying problem(s)
- Consider other points of view
* - **What are my assumptions? Emotions?**

A = Ask for information (about)
- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
* - **Historical analogies**

G = Goals
* - What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects
* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **What are my assumptions?** Many people at the time made the assumption that ordinary men who did not own land, as well as women, would not vote intelligently. They also assumed that tariffs between states reduced trade. What assumptions did students make?
- **Ask about analogies:** Students will hopefully make an analogy to the Articles of Confederation, and consider how these various decisions worked out under the Articles government. The lack of overall power of the national government was a serious problem in 1777, but students should consider whether the situation may be different in 1787. It's possible that reliance on strong state governments and a weak national government is more suited to the situation in 1787. But they will probably conclude that the need for a strong national government is as great or greater than it was in 1777, and thus that the analogy is a strong one.
- **Consider consequences:** Some consequences are listed in Handout 2. The economy especially benefited from the removal of barriers and the stability of currency within the country.

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LESSON 7: CONSTITUTION, 1787

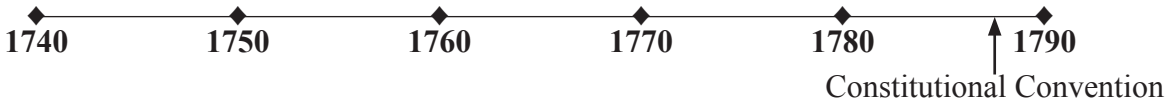
Vocabulary

- Constitution—The system of rules for a government, usually written
- Articles of Confederation—First United States constitution, which provided only a weak central government
- Tariff—A tax on imports
- President— The head of the national government, who enforces national laws
- Tax—An amount of money charged by a government
- Depression—A serious decline in the economy, usually measured by a drop in GDP (Gross Domestic Product) along with high unemployment
- Shays' Rebellion—A 1787 revolt by farmers in Massachusetts against courts that were selling farms to pay debts
- Debtor—A person who has not yet repaid money s/he borrowed
- Treaty—Agreement between countries, often at the end of a war
- Currency—Coins and paper money
- Electoral votes—The votes for president cast by electors (who are chosen based on the popular vote) from each state. A candidate needs a majority of electoral votes (not popular votes) to win the presidency.
- Great Compromise—An agreement in which each state gets two senators, but gets its number of representatives in proportion to its population
- Amendment—A change to the Constitution

LESSON 7: CONSTITUTION, 1787

Student Handout 1: Problem

Revolution Era



The Pennsylvania State House in Philadelphia, where the Constitutional Convention was held

The year is 1787, and you are a member of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Americans have lived under the Articles of Confederation for six years, when it was adopted by the 13 states. It seems that the Articles government is in a crisis. Trade is down by 50% from the level before the Revolution, and the economy is stagnating. States have put up tariffs against other states, which has reduced trade. There is a shortage of money, and the type of currency varies from state to state, which is further hindering trade. Merchants in many cities are urging that the Articles be amended to allow the national government to regulate trade (thus preventing interstate tariffs and letting the government issue one national currency). Without an executive branch (a president), laws can't be enforced, and without national courts, disputes can't be settled by law. The requirement of nine out of 13 votes to pass a bill means very few laws get passed.

Without the power to tax, the national government has had to ask states for tax money. Unfortunately, the states have given only 20% of the tax money Congress has requested. The national treasury is empty. This shortage of money means that the national government hasn't paid off its debts and can't raise an effective army or navy. America, which has defaulted (failed to make a scheduled payment) on its loans to Spain and France, looks weak to other countries. The United States can't get the British out of forts in the West (where they are supplying guns to Native Americans). Moreover, Britain will not allow New England merchants to trade with the British West Indies and has banned the export of machine tools to the United States (to prevent the growth of manufacturing in America). Pirates based in Africa have captured American ships near Europe. In addition, Spain won't allow Americans to ship crops down the Mississippi River to New Orleans (a Spanish territory). Native Americans threaten Americans all along the frontier. The country is in an economic depression (no economic growth and high unemployment).

The national government is barely functioning. Most of the time, there aren't enough representatives in Congress to pass laws. Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts was

recently put down by the state militia, but raised the worrisome question of what would happen if a state couldn't put down a rebellion. Would the weak national government be able to stop a rebellion? Could it protect property rights? Was the government capable of providing security?

The state of Rhode Island has just passed a law that lenders have to accept worthless paper money as payment for their loans. The law helps debtors, but hurts lenders, as it wipes out most of the value of the loans—which makes lenders less willing to make loans, which further hurts economic growth.

As a member of the Constitutional Convention, you are considering ways to revise the Articles of Confederation. How will you answer these questions?

Characteristics of the new government:	**Your view (what you think is best):**	**Actual characteristics:**
1. Will there be a president (a governor for the national government)—yes or no?		
2. If yes, who will elect the president—the people, state legislatures, or a group of educated people themselves selected by the people?		
3. Should there be one vote per state, or should states have votes based on population (e.g., one for every 50,000 people, meaning that more-populous states would have more representatives)?		
4. How many votes will be needed to pass a law—a simple majority, ⅔ majority, or unanimous decision?		
5. How many votes will be needed to revise the Constitution—a simple majority, ⅔ majority, or unanimous decision?		
6. Who should be allowed to vote in elections—all adults, men only, or property-owning men only?		
7. Which of the following powers should the national government have? (Remember, any power you don't give to the national government could still be given to the states.) Yes/no for each.		
a Taxation—states would be allowed to tax, but so would the national government		
b. Defense—the government would be able to raise and direct an army, which it is already doing at this point		
c. Ability to regulate trade—to prevent states from instituting tariffs against other states or countries		
d. Negotiate treaties with other countries		
e. Enforce one currency (one type of money) for all 13 states		

LESSON 7: CONSTITUTION, 1787

Student Handout 2: Outcomes

The signing of the Constitution

The new Constitution created a strong central government that possessed many more powers than the national government had under the Articles of Confederation. The Constitution included these characteristics:

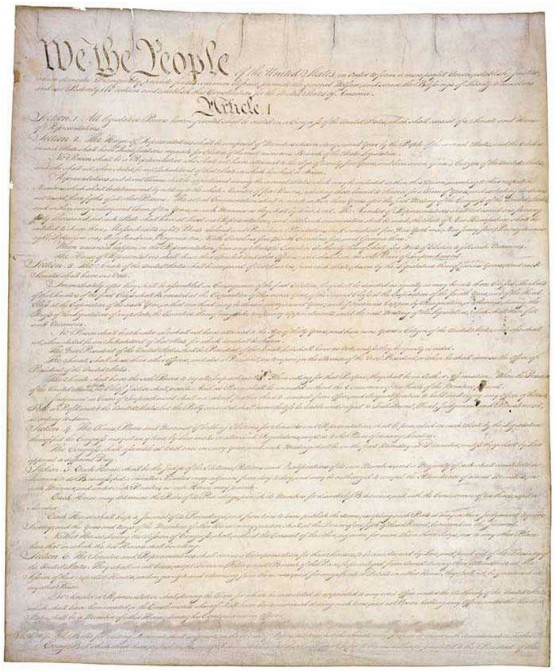
1. An executive branch (a president) as well as a judicial branch (the Supreme Court) of government were created, which together with Congress established a system of checks and balances. Now, the powers of the government were divided, so no one branch could get too much power.
2. The constitutional delegates decided to have educated people elect the president. These electors would be selected by the voters as members of the Electoral College. The president would be elected by a majority of electoral votes.
3. There was a compromise on the question of state representation, referred to as the "Great Compromise." In the Senate, each state received the same number of senators (and thus votes)—two per state. In the House, there was one representative for every 30,000 people.
4. A simple majority of votes was and is required to pass a law. This requirement, lower than the two-thirds required under the Articles of Confederation, made it easier for the Congress to pass laws.
5. A two-thirds majority of both the Senate and House, along with the agreement of three-fourths of the states, was required to change the Constitution, making amendments difficult but not impossible (as they had seemed to be under the Articles)

6. Only property-owning men were allowed to vote in elections, the same as it had been in the Articles. The authors of the Constitution felt that property-owning men would vote carefully, to protect their property.
7. Powers:
    a. The government was granted the power to tax. This was one of the main differences between the new government under the Constitution and the first national government under the Articles of Confederation. Many people felt that being given the power to tax allowed the government to carry out its responsibilities effectively, while others saw it as opening the floodgates to a series of problems: expanding taxation, corruption, and increased state power over individuals.
    b. The government did have the power to raise an army, and since it had the power to tax, it could now adequately fund defense efforts
    c. The government had the power to prevent tariffs between states (the power to regulate trade). Economists believe the lack of tariffs between states was a major reason for economic expansion throughout U.S. history (many other countries had more restrictive domestic trade policies). The U.S. became an enormous free-trade area, which led to lower costs and increased trade.
    d. The government did have the power to negotiate treaties, which brought the country and the government respect from other countries.
    e. The government had the power to enforce one currency. This removed another barrier to trade, further supporting the same enormous market and benefits described in (7c).

LESSON 7: CONSTITUTION, 1787

Student Handout 3: Primary Source

The Constitution of the United States (excerpt)



Preamble

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article. I—The Legislative Branch

Section 8: Powers of Congress

The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;…

To declare War;…

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does the Preamble say are the goals of the Constitution?
2. How well does the Constitution meet the goals listed in the Preamble? Explain.
3. What are the powers of the legislative branch? Are these powers too much or too little? Explain.
4. If the Congress can make laws which are "necessary and proper" for carrying out its other powers, what are the limits on Congress's powers? What laws can it not pass?