

UNIT 1

The British Colonies of North America

1492–1763

40–50-minute classes | 28–32 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

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Why Teach the British Colonies of North America

Christopher Columbus’s discovery of what was then termed “The New World” is one of the most consequential events in all of recorded history. It was as if another half of Earth was being opened to the peoples of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the changes that followed this momentous discovery were immense. Students should be especially aware of the profound effects of the initial contact of European explorers with the indigenous peoples of North America. They should understand the ways of life characteristic of Native American tribes, the exploits of European explorers and settlers, and the triumphs

and tragedies that defined the relationships between settlers and natives. Students should also study closely the manner in which the British colonies of North America were established, since those first settlements would be the seedbed of our country. Our unique American heritage began here, on these coasts, among scattered settlements of men and women pursuing economic independence or religious freedom, leaving behind their familiar lives to seek liberty and opportunity at what to them was the edge of the world. With the promise of freedom at these far reaches also came untold hardships and daily dangers. The American story begins with those few who braved these risks for the freedom to pursue what all human beings desire to attain: *happiness*.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. America's varied and wondrous geography has played a crucial role in many of America's successes.
2. The discovery, exploration, and settlement of the Western Hemisphere was one of the most consequential series of events in human history.
3. The contact between indigenous North American and European civilizations resulted in both benefits and afflictions for natives and colonists alike.
4. The British colonies of North America were unique, and their circumstances gradually shaped the character of the colonists into something unprecedented: *the American*.
5. The freedom afforded to the American colonists resulted in a degree of successful self-government unknown to the rest of the world in 1763.

What Teachers Should Consider

Imagine two more continents, an eighth and a ninth, with different terrain, untouched resources, seemingly limitless lands, and complete openness to any sort of political regime. This is the vision teachers might consider adopting in preparing students to learn American history. In other words, one can adopt an outlook similar to that of the people who began the first chapter in the story of America. Such an outlook will help students to see the origins of America as something that was fluid and not at all inevitable.

In the same way the explorers, settlers, and indigenous Native Americans keenly fixed their attention on the contours of the North American landscape, so should students of American history at the outset of their studies. A close study of American geography sets the stage on which Americans of every generation would act out their lives.

Europeans' exploration and settlement of the Western Hemisphere is an extraordinary era in terms of historical impact, but it also contains engaging stories of intrepid discoverers and of the conditions they found and helped to shape. It is important to find the proper balance in conveying the story of that era. Students ought to step into the lives of these explorers and settlers and understand not only their motivations for undertaking such hazardous trips and ways of living but also their experiences on the Atlantic and on the fringes of an unknown continent. They should also think carefully and honestly about the interactions between Native Americans, explorers, and settlers. They will encounter a mixed picture. At times, they will see cooperation, care, and mutual respect; at other times they will see all the duplicity and

injustice that human nature is capable of. They will see these traits exhibited by all parties at various moments and in different circumstances.

Teachers should also focus on making clear the differences between England's North American colonies and those of other emerging New World empires, such as Spain, France, and Portugal. They should bring out what was unique among the English settlers, from the form of their colonies' settlements to the social and economic ventures of the colonists themselves, as well as their varied relationships to the mother country. Each English colony may be taught separately, each offering a distinct social and economic profile, while a final lesson may be devoted to studying the major events and movements in shared colonial American history. Together, students should come to see that an unplanned experiment was unfolding in the British colonies of North America: one that was shaping a unique society and citizenry, one that would be equipped for great accomplishments in the coming centuries.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

Albion's Seed, David Hackett Fischer
American Slavery, American Freedom, Edmund Morgan
African Founders, David Hackett Fischer
The Formative Years, 1607–1763, Clarence Ver Steeg
The Roots of American Order, Russell Kirk
Freedom Just Around the Corner, Walter McDougall
American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | [Online.Hillsdale.edu](https://www.hillsdale.edu)

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

Letter to King Ferdinand II, Christopher Columbus
The Mayflower Compact
“A Modell of Christian Charity,” John Winthrop
Preface to the Frame of Government of Pennsylvania
An Act for Freedom of Conscience in Pennsylvania
Magna Carta
English Bill of Rights
Second Treatise of Government, John Locke

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND QUIZZES

Lesson 1 — The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the geography of what would become the United States of America, including its physical contours, climate, advantages for civilization, and its Native American inhabitants, as well as the present-day political map of the United States.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages xiii-xv, 1-3
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages xi–xiv, 2–7
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 1–7

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 1 and 2
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 1

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages xiii-xv and 1-3 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Topographic Geography

Atlantic Ocean	Lake Ontario
Caribbean Sea	Niagara River
San Salvador	Niagara Falls
Bahamas	Lake Erie
Puerto Rico	Cape Cod
St. Lawrence River	Nantucket
Appalachian Mountains	Long Island
Green Mountains	Manhattan Island
Lake Champlain	Hudson River
Adirondack Mountains	Catskill Mountains
Finger Lakes	Allegheny River

Allegheny Mountains
 District of Columbia
 Potomac River
 Chesapeake Bay
 James River
 Blue Ridge Mountains
 Shenandoah Valley
 Outer Banks
 Great Smoky Mountains
 Gulf of Mexico
 Mississippi River
 Mississippi Delta
 Lake Pontchartrain
 Ohio River
 Ohio River Valley
 Detroit/St. Clair Rivers
 Lake St. Clair
 Lake Huron
 Lake Michigan
 Straits of Mackinac
 Michigan's Lower Peninsula
 Michigan's Upper Peninsula
 Lake Superior
 Great Lakes
 Cumberland Gap
 49th Parallel

Great Plains
 Missouri River
 Rio Grande
 Rocky Mountains
 Continental Divide
 Yellowstone National Park
 Old Faithful
 Great Salt Lake
 Oklahoma Panhandle
 Texas Panhandle
 Colorado River
 Grand Canyon
 Gadsden Purchase
 Puget Sound
 Columbia River
 Mount St. Helens
 San Francisco Bay
 Sierra Nevada
 Death Valley
 Mojave Desert
 Pacific Ocean
 Yukon River
 Mount McKinley/Denali
 Bering Sea
 Bering Strait
 Hawaiian Islands

Political Geography

Virginia, Richmond
 Massachusetts, Boston
 New Hampshire, Concord
 Maryland, Annapolis
 Connecticut, Hartford
 Rhode Island, Providence
 Delaware, Dover
 North Carolina, Raleigh
 South Carolina, Columbia
 New Jersey, Trenton
 New York, Albany
 Pennsylvania, Harrisburg
 Georgia, Atlanta
 Washington, District of Columbia
 Vermont, Montpelier
 Kentucky, Frankfort
 Tennessee, Nashville
 Ohio, Columbus

Louisiana, Baton Rouge
 Indiana, Indianapolis
 Mississippi, Jackson
 Illinois, Springfield
 Alabama, Montgomery
 Maine, Augusta
 Missouri, Jefferson City
 Arkansas, Little Rock
 Michigan, Lansing
 Florida, Tallahassee
 Texas, Austin
 Iowa, Des Moines
 Wisconsin, Madison
 California, Sacramento
 Minnesota, St. Paul
 Oregon, Salem
 Kansas, Topeka
 West Virginia, Charleston

Nevada, Carson City
 Nebraska, Lincoln
 Colorado, Denver
 North Dakota, Bismarck
 South Dakota, Pierre
 Montana, Helena
 Washington, Olympia
 Idaho, Boise
 Wyoming, Cheyenne
 Utah, Salt Lake City
 Oklahoma, Oklahoma City

New Mexico, Santa Fe
 Arizona, Phoenix
 Alaska, Juneau
 Hawaii, Honolulu
 New England Region
 Mid-Atlantic Region
 Southern Region
 Midwest Region
 Great Lakes States
 Southwestern Region
 Pacific Northwest Region

Terms and Topics

glaciers	Adena
continental shelf	urban
land bridge	cities
Mayas	suburbs
Aztecs	towns
Incas	rural
Hopewell	

Images

Maps
 Famous or exemplar landscapes, landmarks, bodies of water, present-day cities, and other geographic features
 Illustrations of indigenous peoples, civilizations, and life
 Photographs of Aztec, Maya, Inca, Hopewell, and Ancestral Pueblo ruins

STORY FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Christopher Columbus’s crew on their voyage and sighting land

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How would you describe the topography of the United States?
- What resources and advantages does this land afford for the flourishing of a developed civilization? How does it compare to other places in the world?
- What are the various regions, and what are the topographical features that define each of them?
- Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?
- What kinds of civilizations did different groups of indigenous peoples establish in different parts of the Americas?
- How did European and indigenous cultures differ from one another? Is there evidence of conflict among indigenous tribes?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Every story has a setting, and the true story of history is no different. To tell and to teach this story effectively requires first introducing students to the stage on which Americans would act. Thus, American history should begin with a study of American geography. This inaugural lesson does not seek to inundate students with facts to memorize (though they will learn many). Rather, it seeks to transport them to the different places of America, not through an online virtual map but through the use of their own imaginations. Geography instruction is an excellent way to awaken and exercise the imaginations of students, priming them for all the other journeys which this course will ask their minds to undertake. Every history lesson will involve a similar setting of the stage in the students' imaginations, and this lesson establishes that precedent. Of course, the lesson also gives students the "lay of the land" for the entire study of American history, beginning with an immersive trip through the country's magnificent and diverse landscape and then mapping it onto the modern political map of their country. This geography lesson can be full of simple questions about what students observe, training them in the skill of careful discernment of detail. In addition, the collaborative effort of mapping out the country is an excellent way to build rapport, to learn names, and to ease into the school year. At the end of the lesson, the class may return to the virgin topography of the United States and place the various indigenous civilizations on it, learning the smattering of their history that has survived, and then return to the Atlantic and to the Spanish caravels and carracks just over the eastern horizon.

Teachers might best plan and teach *The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America* with emphasis on the following approaches:

- The year of teaching history may begin with a number of brief conversations, introductions, procedures, and assessments of students' prior knowledge of the historical period. It can include discussing the meaning of history and why we study it. It should help students to see that the reasons for studying history are various. Knowing the history of one's country is an essential component of good citizenship. But history also can have value as a form of reflection on human nature and on the requirements of a good society. And like any subject, knowing history is good for its own sake, i.e., for the enjoyment and pleasure that comes with knowing. Being made aware of their motivations may allow students to ascend from "Because I have to" to this highest reason as the year proceeds.
- Begin by telling a story that will encourage students to use their imaginations and set the precedent for the way class will normally be taught. The story of Christopher Columbus's crew sighting land is an excellent example. The story may be picked up when Columbus's three ships are already en route. Paint the scene. Provide descriptions of the ship. Help students get a sense of what sailing was like in those days, and the dangers it involved. Draw out the sounds and smells onboard the ships. Introduce the kind of men on board, the letters and instructions they had with them, and what they may have been thinking from moment to moment. Talk about their captain: his appearance, thoughts, and comportment. Share the story of how recently the crew had nearly mutinied against him, and how he quelled their fears. Describe the sudden appearance of a large flock of birds the previous day. Finally, bring students to the very early morning of October 12, 1492, after the view from the ship's rail had not changed for weeks, when the call came from the masts, "La tierra!" Land!

- Next should come a lesson on the geography of what would become the United States. First go backwards and talk about the geological changes that shaped the continent over time using maps readily available online.
- Treat the physical topography of the United States, following the path that settlers would travel from the Atlantic seaboard westward to the Pacific Ocean. Introduce landmarks, bodies of water, and other physical characteristics, moving from east to west. The items listed under “Topographic Geography” follow in roughly this order. The goal is to make sure students are aware of these landmarks in order to develop an appreciation for the beauty and diversity of their country’s landscape.
- Call upon students’ imaginations by describing the settings of what you introduce with vivid language that engages all their senses. Place them in particular climates with the correct weather depending on the season, including types of natural disasters to which an area is subject. Record all this information with the class on a physical map handed out to them and on its projection on the board. As the class proceeds from coast to coast, label the map together. Ask plenty of questions in the process. For review, project images of key areas discussed on the map and have students try to identify what is being projected. Show a map that reflects this topography, such as a raised relief map, and the distribution of natural resources and future trade routes connected with these resources.
- Emphasize with students the tremendous advantages America’s land offers to human flourishing. America had excellent and untouched soils for cultivation, temperature and rainfall averages were ideal, and timber was plentiful. Native plants and animals suitable for human consumption were abundant, while imported livestock thrived. The virgin forests provided all the fuel needed for fires, heating, and cooking, as well as for building. Waterways were plentiful and mostly navigable; their importance cannot be overstated, and students should appreciate that the colonial-era Atlantic world imagined the world primarily in terms of water flow, especially in North America. Most of the country had mild winters with long, warm growing seasons and few areas subject to drought. As for security from foreign powers, the United States would have two massive oceans separating it from most of the rest of the world.
- After thoroughly covering topography, transition to the modern political map with a new projected map and a corresponding political map handout. In teaching the political map, proceed in the order in which the first thirteen states were settled as colonies, and then in the order in which the remaining thirty-seven became states in the Union. Note special topographical, population, and trade characteristics of each state, including capitals, major cities, and special attractions or landmarks. Review the topography, weather, climate, and seasons in the process. Discuss how population is distributed in the states and across the country, and then group the states into different regions.
- After covering the modern political United States, return to the topographical map and place the indigenous tribes onto the map of North America and into the environments in which the various tribes lived. The diversity of tribes is astounding, and highlighting several communities, particularly on the eastern seaboard, will put students in the right historical context and assist with teaching the events in subsequent lessons.
- Explain how America is and always has been a land of immigrants. Even those who would be considered the indigenous or “native” peoples of both North and South America likely migrated from northeast Asia. Settlements and even great cities of Central and South America emerged in following years as migration resulted in people spreading over the land of the Western Hemisphere.

- Show the range of different Western Hemisphere civilizations through the millennia prior to Christopher Columbus, including their ways of life, customs, and beliefs. In conjunction with state and local history, explore the history and traditions of historical Native Americans from the school's locality or state.
- Conclude this first lesson by reminding students that to Columbus, his crew, and the peoples of Europe, Africa, and Asia in 1492 (and for millennia before), none of this was known to them, and discovering the entirety of the New World would take hundreds of years, even after Columbus's voyages.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Complete the topographical map of the United States together as a class and study it for a future map assessment (teacher created).

Assignment 2: Complete the political map of the United States together as a class and study it for a future map assessment (teacher created).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.1

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Volume 1, Pages xiii-xv, 1-3

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What is one reason why the author thinks people must study history?
2. Name one major settlement in the Americas prior to European discovery.
3. Who was Leif Eriksson?
4. How did Native Americans first come to the Americas?

Lesson 2 — Exploration and Settlement

1492–1630

5–6 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the European exploration of North America and the first English settlement efforts at Roanoke, Jamestown, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages 3–11, 15–25
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 7–13, 20–28
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 7–9, 13–14, 20–22, 24–25, 27–28

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 2
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 2

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 3–11 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 15–25 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate excerpts from John Winthrop's "A Modell of Christian Charity" and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Genoa	Virginia
San Salvador/Watling Island	Roanoke
"The New World"	Chesapeake Bay
La Florida	Jamestown
St. Augustine	Cape Cod

Plymouth
Massachusetts Bay

Boston

Persons

Leif Erikson
Ferdinand and Isabella
Christopher Columbus
Ponce de Leon
Amerigo Vespucci
John Smith
Pocahontas

Lord De La Warr
John Rolfe
William Bradford
Miles Standish
Massasoit
John Winthrop

Terms and Topics

Silk Road
Renaissance
humanism
caravel
merchants
nation-states
Niña, Pinta, and Santa María
Taíno
“Indians”
conquistadors
Columbian Exchange
smallpox
mercantilism
joint-stock companies
Virginia Company
indentured servants

Powhatan
“Starving Time”
tobacco
House of Burgesses
Separatist Puritans
Pilgrims
Mayflower
commoner
religious freedom
state of nature
social contract
rule of law
self-government
Wampanoag
Puritans

Primary Sources

Letter to King Ferdinand II, Christopher Columbus
The Mayflower Compact
“A Modell of Christian Charity,” John Winthrop

To Know by Heart

“We must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us.” —John Winthrop

Timeline

Oct. 12, 1492	Columbus lands on San Salvador Island
1607	Jamestown settled
1619	Africans disembark at Jamestown; first meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses

1620	Pilgrims settle Plymouth
1630	Puritans settle Massachusetts Bay
4th Thursday in November	Thanksgiving Day

Images

Historical figures and events
 World map prior to Columbus
 Caravel and carrack
 Maps of Columbus's voyages and other exploration
 Dress of Native Americans, explorers, and settlers
 Waldseemüller and Ringmann map
 Illustrated map of Jamestown
Mayflower
 Mayflower Compact facsimile
 First Thanksgiving

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Christopher Columbus's account of making landfall
- Christopher Columbus's voyages and interactions with natives
- Christopher Columbus's death in poverty and believing he had failed
- The Lost Colony of Roanoke
- John Smith's account of the founding of Jamestown
- The "Starving Time" at Jamestown
- Pocahontas, John Smith, and John Rolfe
- Excerpts from the diary of John Rolfe
- The voyage of the *Mayflower*
- William Bradford's account of going ashore at Plymouth
- The first winter at Plymouth
- Accounts of the First Thanksgiving by Edward Winslow and William Bradford

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What events "unsettled" European civilization and influenced the decision to explore the seas beyond Europe? How so?
- What was Christopher Columbus's theory?
- What were some of the ways in which Christopher Columbus's voyages changed the world?
- In which ways was Christopher Columbus successful, and in which did he fail?
- From where do we get the name "America"?
- How was England's approach to settlement different from that of other countries?
- What were the characteristics of the settlers in England's first successful colonies?
- What motivated settlers to establish Jamestown?
- What problems did Jamestown's settlers create and face? How did they manage to succeed?
- What two things happened in Jamestown in 1619?
- What motivated the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth? What were their goals?

- Why did the Pilgrims draft and sign the Mayflower Compact?
- What is so extraordinary about the Mayflower Compact?
- How did the First Thanksgiving come about? Why?
- Based on John Winthrop’s writings, how did the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay envision their lives and the task before them in North America?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 73: The colonists came to America for many reasons. Name one.
 - Question 74: Who lived in America before the Europeans arrived?
 - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Christopher Columbus’s discovery of the New World was one of the signal achievements of the age of exploration. The ideas of Renaissance humanism fostered confidence in the capacities of man and led monarchs to sponsor expensive and risky voyages to the uncharted waters and lands an ocean away. Enterprising commoners braved the seas and these wild lands for their own fortunes and opportunity. Nearly one hundred years would pass before the English would attempt a permanent settlement in North America and another two decades before they found any success. Yet while Jamestown was founded chiefly on economic motives, the next two decades would see the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies founded, at least in part for religious and cultural ends. What was common to all these efforts was the desire for freedom to better their conditions—both the quality of earthly life and the preparation for eternal life. Put differently, they desired the freedom to seek happiness, made available to the common man in ways that had no parallel in the Old World.

Teachers might best plan and teach Exploration and Settlement with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Begin the teaching of American history by helping students gain historical perspective. Using the following reference points, ask them to compare today’s way of life with life in the centuries prior to the 1600s.
 - a political body based on natural rights and their equal protection
 - ability to believe and act on one’s beliefs without fear of arrest—or worse
 - ability to go about daily life without fear of being injured, killed, or having property taken
 - ability to possess the tools necessary to protect one’s food, shelter, family, and life
 - ability to put one’s thoughts into print without fear of arrest—or worse
 - ability to receive an education paid for, in part, by one’s neighbors
 - ability to speak one’s mind without fear of arrest—or worse
 - ability to vote for those who determine by law what one may or may not do
 - acquisition of clothing, food, and shelter
 - communication by internet, text, phone, mail
 - control of one’s ideas and inventions unless willingly shared with another
 - criticism or protest against those in power without fear of arrest—or worse
 - electricity, plumbing, heating, cooling
 - family structure
 - legal presumption of innocence when accused of a crime
 - literacy and numeracy

- possession of one's own land for food and shelter
 - religious practices
 - risk of disease and injury
 - slavery
 - the distance of one's physical travels
 - the role of most men in family life and the community (working at home or out of doors; defending the family and community)
 - the role of most women in family life and the community (working at home indoors; caring for the family and neighbors)
 - the rule of law
 - travel by plane, car, boat, horse and buggy, walking
 - trial by a jury of one's neighbors
 - trial for crimes effected quickly and publicly
- Offer students some background on the reasons why Europeans began exploring in the first place. If students have previously studied European history, then a brief review will be sufficient. For this course, students should generally understand the Renaissance idea of humanism and the confidence it offered European governments and merchants to leverage the full capacities of man. Humanism intersected with other cultural currents: trade interests in Asia, Muslim control of land routes, newly emerging and competing monarchs, growing prosperity among an expanding middle class, and new maritime technology. Riding these currents, those inspired by humanist ideas turned to the seas in search of what was beyond, first along the African coast, and then across the Atlantic. A short review of explorers who predated Christopher Columbus may be helpful.
 - Relay to students the background to Christopher Columbus. Of important note is the attention he gave to new theories of navigation and the size, but not the shape, of the world.
 - Of Columbus's first voyage, help students to imagine what he was doing and what his crew was undertaking as well. It was far from certain that they would find the route Columbus sought, or that they would survive trying. Even then, Columbus was confident of his theories and of his ability.
 - Share the stories of each of Columbus's four voyages, marking the gradual decline in success, based on the stated goals of each trip.
 - Consider Columbus's specific actions and what they might suggest about his overall character. On the one hand, he was intrepid and determined in pursuit of his theories. He was also a mariner of great skill. Read with students letters in which he claims to have initially secured the respectful treatment of the natives his crew encountered, mindful that we do not have an account from the natives themselves. On the other hand, he was sometimes an incompetent leader whom his men did not listen to or respect, particularly when he took to imposing severe punishments and permitting cruel actions against certain native groups. Columbus's importance in American history is that he established the first enduring links between the Old and New Worlds, initiating European civilization's influence on the Western Hemisphere.
 - Use this opportunity to address with students the history of interactions between the indigenous peoples of North and South America and European explorers and settlers. Of paramount importance is that students not paint with too broad of a brush. The relationships varied widely. Many interactions and relationships were mutually respectful and cooperative. Others were brutal and unjust. Often the relations between the same groups ebbed and flowed between friendship

and conflict over time. Ask why misunderstandings, duplicity, and conflict between very different peoples and cultures—and between fallible individuals of all sorts—might arise.

- In addition to conflicts, discuss how the indigenous people's lack of acquired immunity to diseases—notably smallpox, which most Europeans had been conditioned to survive—was a leading cause of the decline in the Native American population.
- Highlight the later years of Columbus's life, including his removal as commander in Spanish-claimed territories, his shipwreck and stranding on Jamaica for a year, and Spain's unwillingness to commission any further expeditions under his command. Columbus died as an abject failure in the eyes of the world and likely in his own eyes, as he never did find a passage to Asia yet also did not understand that what he had discovered was another half of planet Earth. Note how his sailings along the isthmus of Panama left him, unknowingly, just a few dozen miles from the vast Pacific Ocean, the existence of which he knew nothing.
- Explain that Italian mapmaker Amerigo Vespucci, after joining an outfit to the Western Hemisphere, asserted only after Columbus's death that what Columbus had discovered were not parts of Asia but entirely "new" continents. German mapmakers Latinized and feminized his name into "America" on one of their first maps depicting the New World.
- Review other explorations between Columbus and the beginning of English settlement efforts in the late 1500s. Study Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida and the eventual settlement at St. Augustine, marking the first European presence in the future United States. Students need not study all of these events in detail, but they should grasp the overall strategy that Spain, Portugal, and even France adopted toward exploring and settling the New World, namely, a top-down, economically motivated approach under the direct centralized control of their respective monarchies. It will be important to contrast this approach with that of the English in the next lesson. Have students study maps of the Western Hemisphere and the domains these various powers had claimed for their respective crowns. It should also be noted that, as revealed in the history of exploration by Hernando Cortés and Francisco Pizarro, there was often a gulf between the monarchs' directives to deal with natives justly and humanely and the ability to enforce such restraints across an ocean.
- Trace the paths of various explorers into the future states of America, particularly in Florida and the West. The presence of Catholic missionaries is of special note, highlighting one motivation for exploration.
- Explain how the conflicts between Protestants and Catholics for the English throne, England's relative distance from continental Europe, and its growing naval strength delayed its interests in exploration beyond the commissioning of voyages by John Cabot. The English largely contented themselves through much of the sixteenth century with preying on Spanish ships returning from the New World with spices and bullion.
- Recount the first English effort to establish a permanent settlement in North America in the colony of Roanoke, which famously disappeared with barely a trace after a brief four-year existence.
- Set up the founding of Jamestown as emblematic of one important motivation for the English to establish a colony: material opportunity for the lower classes. Land ownership by common folk was extremely rare in almost all of Europe, and economic mobility itself was a relatively new and rare phenomenon. The organizers and settlers of Jamestown embodied the enterprising spirit that would come to define emigrants from England to North America, and, for that matter, millions of immigrants throughout America's history. This degree of opportunity for the ordinary person was unprecedented. It partly explains why so many European commoners left what was familiar

and risked the greater likelihood of an earlier death to pursue it. The Jamestown settlers exemplified the idea of pursuing “the American dream.”

- Help students to appreciate the several periods when Jamestown was on the verge of failing and the many deaths incurred despite its eventual success. Of particular note was Jamestown’s original experiment with a form of communism. This collectivism, plus rampant disease, helped produce a disastrous first year and a half for the fledgling settlement. John Smith’s requirement that settlers earn their bread by their work and his guarantee of private property ownership, along with some much-needed assistance from the local Native Americans, not only saved the settlement but also became quintessentially American traits, both in law and in the character of the people. But even this near disaster paled in comparison to what was known as the “Starving Time,” in which failure was averted only by a return to the rule of law under Lord De La Warr. The turning point for Jamestown was the successful cultivation of tobacco by John Rolfe. While not the gold many settlers had originally envisioned, the crop would both shore up Jamestown’s existence and spread the news among the English and other Europeans that opportunities were present and realizable in English Virginia.
- Consider how the year 1619 at Jamestown offers a profound insight into colonial America:
 - On the one hand, it was in 1619 that the first enslaved Africans, having been taken from a Portuguese slave ship en route to Mexico by an English privateer, landed at Jamestown.
 - On the other hand, it was also in 1619 at Jamestown that the Virginia House of Burgesses first convened, marking the beginning of representative self-government in the colonies. This self-government would flourish for more than 150 years as the British colonists of North America largely governed themselves and developed the thoughts, practices, and habits of a self-governing people.
- Show how the founding of Plymouth was emblematic of the other important motivation for Englishmen to establish a colony: religion. In the wake of the Protestant Reformation, the Christian world was divided, with various forms of strife and severe restrictions on religious belief and practice. In England, these divisions were within Protestantism itself, with Puritans wishing to purify the Church of England of remaining Catholic trappings and Separatist Puritans (whom we call *Pilgrims*) seeking to establish a new, true Church of England. It was this latter group that sought not only the freedom to practice their form of Anglicanism but also to re-found the Church in the New World. This band of settlers had the marks of a utopian mindset, even when the English crown required a number of prisoners to embark with them on the *Mayflower*. And unlike the all-male group that originally settled Jamestown, the *Mayflower*’s passengers included dozens of families.
- Spend some time with the Mayflower Compact, signed off the coast of Cape Cod before the settlers went ashore. Emphasize the English tradition of the rule of law and of forms of democratic expression traced back at least to the Magna Carta. While it would still be decades before Thomas Hobbes and John Locke formulated the idea of the social contract, these Pilgrims made the social contract a reality. That is, facing a lawless wilderness (a state of nature) with families to protect and ex-convicts in their midst, the Pilgrims resorted to that English tradition of self-government under the rule of law—a social contract among themselves—with God as its ultimate judge. Both the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620 and the convening of the Virginia House of Burgesses down the coast at Jamestown in 1619, the first two successful English settlements, almost immediately practiced self-government. Self-government under law was therefore present at the very inception of America, a fact that makes America unique.

- Note the terrible first winter the Pilgrims suffered at Plymouth, and how the Wampanoag Indians truly saved those who did survive. The next year, with the help of the Wampanoag, was a tremendous success, which Pilgrims and Native Americans together celebrated, and for which they gave thanks to God in what is considered America's First Thanksgiving (notwithstanding a similar celebration in Spanish Florida in the previous century). Share accounts of this festive Thanksgiving from Edward Winslow and William Bradford.
- Finally, discuss the founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony and the leadership of its first governor, John Winthrop. Like the Pilgrims, these Puritans were fierce critics of the Church of England. And like the Pilgrims, they saw the founding of a colony in New England as a sort of religious utopia. Unlike the Pilgrims, however, the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay sought not to separate from the Church of England but to establish a community that would help purify and correct the Church of England while remaining a part of it. As evident in Winthrop's "A Modell of Christian Charity," *New England* would convert *Old England* by its example. This settlement around Boston would be more of a theocracy than even its neighbor on Cape Cod. Together with Jamestown and Plymouth, the English had a beachhead in the New World, and the news spread far and wide across the Atlantic.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Tell of the founding and early years of either Jamestown, Plymouth, or Massachusetts Bay (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Taken together, how do the foundings of Jamestown, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay all demonstrate the principle and practice of self-government (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.2

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 2
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 3-11

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one motivation for European exploration in the late 1400s?
2. What is one way that Europe was changing in the 1400s?
3. Which country got a head start on exploration, especially along the African coast?
4. Which Italian sailor successfully petition Spain to finance his voyage across the Atlantic?
5. What did this sailor believe he had found?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.3

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 2
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 15-25

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which country did England defeat on the high seas in 1588, allowing England to be more deliberate about settling the New World?
2. What was England's first successful colony in North America?
3. Who settled at Plymouth?
4. What legal agreement—named after a ship—proved an early example of social contract and self-government in the British colonies?
5. Who famously described the civilization the Puritans were establishing as a “city upon a hill”?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 1 — Formative Quiz 1

Covering Lessons 1–2
10–15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What resources and advantages does this land afford for the flourishing of a developed civilization?
2. Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?
3. What events “unsettled” European civilization and influenced the decision to explore the seas beyond Europe?
4. How was England’s approach to settlement different from that of other countries?
5. What motivated the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth? What were their goals?

Lesson 3 — The Colonies in Profile

1630–1732

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about each of the thirteen colonies that would become the United States of America, including their foundings, topography, law, and economies, as well as the presence of indentured servitude and slavery.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages 25–27
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 25–30
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 22–23

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 2
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 2

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 25–27 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate the Preface to the Frame of Government for Pennsylvania and An Act for Freedom of Conscience from Pennsylvania, and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

New Hampshire	Hudson River
Maryland	New York
Connecticut	Pennsylvania
Rhode Island	Philadelphia
Delaware	Georgia
Carolina	New England Colonies
New Jersey	Middle Colonies

Southern Colonies
West Indies

The Congo
Gold Coast

Persons

Lord Baltimore
Roger Williams
Henry Hudson
Peter Stuyvesant

William Penn
James Oglethorpe
Olaudah Equiano

Terms and Topics

proprietary charter
royal charter
Harvard College
public education
Catholics
Toleration Act
Fundamental Orders
of Connecticut
religious freedom
township
county
piracy
Quakers
self-government
colonial assemblies
colonial governors

Roman Republic
mercantilism
free market
Navigation Acts
militia
Triangle Trade
indentured servitude
chattel slavery
Asante Empire
slave ships
Middle Passage
Deism
individualism
aristocracy

Primary Sources

Preface to the Frame of Government of Pennsylvania
An Act for Freedom of Conscience in Pennsylvania

Timeline

1607	Jamestown founded
1620	Pilgrims found Plymouth
1630	Puritans found Massachusetts Bay

Images

Historical figures and events
Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
Map of the Triangle Trade
Blueprint of a slave ship
Depictions of indentured servants and then slaves in the colonies

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Roger Williams's statements and efforts to establish religious toleration in Rhode Island
- The successful English takeover of New Amsterdam from the Dutch
- Adriaen van der Donck's account of Peter Stuyvesant's governance in New York
- James Oglethorpe's attempts and failure to establish a debtors' haven in Georgia
- Accounts from the Salem Witch Trials
- Anthony and Mary Johnson's accumulation of significant property
- Selections from Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*
- The lives and accomplishments of Cuffee Slocum and Paul Cuffe in New England
- Jean Bion's account of life on a French slave ship

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How may the English approach to settlement and colonization be best described?
- In what ways did different groups of European settlers see the New World as a place of opportunity and restoration?
- What was unique about religion in the colonies and in the eyes of the law?
- What were the roles of literacy and learning among the colonists?
- What is meant by self-government? How might it be said that the colonists governed themselves?
- What was distinctive about property ownership in the colonies?
- How did colonial economies vary from region to region?
- What was indentured servitude? How is it similar to and different from slavery?
- What are the origins of slavery in world history?
- How were Africans first enslaved, before being brought to the Western Hemisphere?
- What was it like to be an African on the Middle Passage and then a slave in the New World?
- How were African slaves distributed in the New World? What proportions of Africans were taken to which parts?
- How did slavery gradually expand and become sanctioned in law?
- What were the chief characteristics of the "American" colonists? What gave them these characteristics?
- How were the colonies' leading citizens distinct from the aristocracies of Europe?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 14: Many documents influenced the U.S. Constitution. Name one.
 - Question 73: The colonists came to America for many reasons. Name one.
 - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Teaching the histories of each colony helps students to understand and appreciate the humble origins of the future United States. It is also very revealing. Students can see in the early histories of many colonies the beginnings of traits that would eventually be hallmarks of American society, law, and citizenry.

Teachers might best plan and teach *The Colonies in Profile* with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Try to teach the colonies in the order in which they were founded (i.e., as listed above in “Geography and Places”). A map may be projected and distributed to students for reference as the lesson proceeds from colony to colony.
- Compare with students the basic structural differences between French, Spanish, and English colonies; i.e., the native fur trade (France), tributary native labor and precious metals (Spain), and settlement agriculture (England). There are mostly accidental historical reasons for why these three powers’ empires developed as they did, and these factors then had determinative long-term consequences.
- Note the seemingly haphazard approach the English took to colonization, largely shaped by the monarch and parliamentary politics in England at the time of each colonial settlement. For one, colonization was decentralized, and most of the original colonies were established as private property ventures, often sanctioned by the crown but really in the possession of private individuals through joint-stock companies. These were then populated not with government officials or hired agents but with men of all ranks who were also seeking their own opportunity, freedom, and plot of land. Both of these features accounted for the lack of an overall master plan for colonizing North America and marked important departures from the approaches taken by Spain, Portugal, and France. This lack of a plan would become a problem later when England would seek to centralize the administration of the colonies, largely in an effort to raise revenue and enforce the sovereignty of Parliament.
- Help students to understand the importance of these traits. Not only did the English approach to colonization trend toward greater independence from the monarchy, it also attracted and encouraged individuals and families who were independent-minded and determined. What the settlers did not bring with them from Europe were the legal class distinctions that defined the aristocratic and monarchical nations they left behind. These individuals (except for their British governors) were common people who immigrated to America seeking their freedom and to better their station in life. The rugged individualism, practice of personal independence, work ethic, and ingenuity to succeed would become well-known American characteristics and in some cases would result in the formation of new colonies by separation from an existing colony, as was the case in New England.
- Spend time on what it meant to make a living and survive in the daunting wilderness and how such perseverance shaped the character and mind of the colonists. This would include looking at lifestyles and kinds of work done in the colonies, the type of self-reliance necessary for such lives, and the ways in which Christian religious beliefs contributed to how communities functioned.
- Consider how strongly matters of religious faith defined colonial culture, largely because so many came to America to escape the religious persecutions or limitations of the Old World. From the Pilgrims and the Puritans to Roman Catholics and Jews, a wide variety of faiths (most of them Christian and many of whom were intolerant of one another in the Old World) permeated colonial settlements, and their adherents increasingly came to respect one another as neighbors. Establishing this religious freedom in law, moreover, was widespread and exceptional compared to the rest of the world, even while events such as the persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts still occurred.
- Note also for the students that the diversity of religious belief was accompanied by the diversity of immigrants. New York and Rhode Island, for example, were well known for the number of people who had migrated there from many countries other than the British Isles.

- Help students appreciate that colonial America was highly literate and that the leading members of colonial society and government were educated in classical thought, ancient and contemporary history, and philosophy and politics (including thinkers of the moderate Enlightenment). Such high levels of literacy and learning were unheard of anywhere else in the world. Important factors that contributed to this high degree of literacy among the people was the insistence on being able to read the Bible, broad support for education, and collegiate preparation.
- Emphasize with students the degree of self-government that the colonists exercised. Include in this discussion the meaning of self-government. In brief, the colonists largely governed their own internal affairs (rule over local matters, including taxation, as opposed to international trade and security) through local legislatures and governance structures chosen by the people. This was partly due to the English tradition of legislative authority and the rule of law, the loose and decentralized pattern of British colonial settlements and rule compared to other empires. Another factor at play here was the great distance between London and the American eastern seaboard, which led to long periods of “benign neglect” of the colonies and the further development of local institutions of self-government. While all of the colonies would eventually become official royal colonies with royal governors, colony-wide legislative bodies were prolific, as were local governments such as townships, counties, and cities. Unlike almost every place in the world at that time and in history, the people were to a large extent ruling themselves. Read with students the various examples of self-government as enacted by colonial legislatures, such as the Preface to the Frame of Government of Pennsylvania and an Act for Freedom of Conscience in Pennsylvania.
- Outline for students the near universal ownership of firearms among the colonists for self-defense, for hunting, and, when necessary, for the common self-defense.
- Discuss how private property opportunities and protections enabled commoners to earn their livelihood in freedom and contributed to the characteristics of Americans as industrious and independent.
- Explain to students the several kinds of trade and vocational trades present in the various colonies. Farming was, of course, the main livelihood, but manufacturing, fishing, whaling, shipbuilding, and other trades (particularly in New England) rapidly emerged as key colonial contributions. Trade was principally with England, but the British colonies of North America developed robust trade among one another and with the colonies of other nations as well.
- Share with students the complex patterns of relationship between the colonists and Native Americans. The relationships ran the gamut from friendly to violent, varying widely depending on the tribe involved, with misunderstandings and clashes of cultures and languages. Disagreements abounded over the concepts of communal versus private property. Violent clashes occurred along the edges of the colonial frontier, and cross-frontier retaliations by both sides were not uncommon. Colonists could be caught in conflicts between various Native American tribes, and likewise, Native Americans were often caught in conflicts between European powers. Systematic displacement of Native Americans was usually limited to localities during this period (such as after King Philip’s War in southern New England and through the Indian slave trade on the South Carolina frontier). Displacement over time was primarily due to devastation from disease and gradual, individual settlement westward.
- Mention that a number of colonists criticized some of the ways that colonial governments dealt with Native Americans. These also condemned and sought to remove slavery from their colonies. Arguments for justice toward Native Americans and Africans often cited Christian religious beliefs and moral philosophy.

- Review with students the emergence of chattel slavery during the Renaissance in Europe and through colonization, then address slavery in what would become the future United States. When teaching students about the history of slavery in the British colonies of North America, be mindful of the following:
 - Help students to understand why a full understanding of the human person, of equality, and of justice all make slavery an evil action and practice, violating the principle that all people are equal in their humanity and possession of natural rights. Therefore, no one person may automatically infringe on the humanity or rights of another unless some initial violation of another's rights has occurred.
 - Discuss with students how racism is the belief that some people are superior or inferior to others based on race, racial characteristics, or ancestry, how racism arises from a failure to recognize the equal dignity and value of each human being, and how racism manifests itself through the voluntary acts of individual people, both private words and actions and public speech and actions, such as laws and regulations.
 - Discuss the history of slavery in world history, from ancient times through the middle ages and in different places, leading up to the transatlantic slave trade. Portugal first began using African slaves on their sugar plantations off the west African coast, manifesting the chattel and race-based aspects of slavery in European colonies. The slave trade gradually made its way to the various colonies established throughout the Western Hemisphere, particularly with the cultivation of sugar cane in the Caribbean.
 - Ask students to imagine the Middle Passage and the barbarities of slavery and the slave trade. Overall, of the nearly 11 million Africans who survived being brought to the Western Hemisphere, around 3 percent, or about 350,000, were brought to the North American continent, with the rest of all Africans taken to other colonies in the Caribbean and South America.
 - As mentioned in the previous lesson, the first Africans were brought to Jamestown by an English privateer who had captured a Portuguese slave ship en route from Africa, likely headed for Portugal's South American colonies.
 - Discuss the similarities and differences between slavery and indentured servitude. Indentured servitude was a common way for those who could not afford passage or to establish themselves in the New World to tie themselves to a sponsor for a number of years, offering free labor in exchange for passage across the Atlantic and shelter in the colonies. Oftentimes indentured servitude was not much different from slavery in its practice, as shown in transcripts from court cases of indentured servants claiming relief from a cruel master.
 - It would be several decades before a law emerged in the southern colonies that concerned African colonists in particular or the practice of slavery. In 1662, forty-three years after the arrival of the first Africans at Jamestown, Virginia's commanding general determined that a child born to an enslaved woman would also be a "servant for life," and in 1668, corporal punishment for slaves was permitted in law. These appear to be the first laws regarding slavery in colonial America.
 - The transatlantic slave trade grew with the sugar cane plantations of the Caribbean as far back as the early 1500s—plantations which also happened to become England's most valuable colonies. At the same time, the source of labor shifted away from indigenous peoples, European convicts, and indentured servants to slaves. Although slavery was more widespread in the southern colonies (to grow tobacco and rice) and almost

universal in England's Caribbean sugar plantations, few laws explicitly prohibited the practice in most colonies, at least at certain times in their histories. Consider also the early abolitionist efforts of some colonists, the Quakers, for example.

- Show students maps of the colonies around 1630, 1700, and 1730 that illustrate the real extent of settlement. They should see that the colonists mostly resided only along the Atlantic coast, still hardly a foothold compared to the vastness of the continental interior, the extent of which they did not yet fathom.
- Reflect with students on the unique American character that emerged among the free British colonists in North America. The harshness and risk of settling the New World gave them a certain grit and determination, along with an enterprising mind and innovative skill set. The universal demand for trade skills and farming in establishing a new civilization placed the vast majority of colonists within what we would call today the "working class." In New England especially, colonists' Protestantism made them widely literate for the sake of reading the Bible, skeptical of human sources of authority, and focused on individual improvement. At the same time, it made them highly idealistic, with many seeking to re-found Christendom. For many colonists, previous persecution granted them a deeper and more passionate sense of justice, of right and wrong. It also made them highly attuned to the politics on which freedom depended. A certain rugged, enterprising, and justice-loving individualism defined the colonists.
- Explain how a sort of unofficial aristocracy emerged throughout the colonies, but an aristocracy open to promotion by the meritorious; that is, based on merit, talent, and virtue instead of mere heredity. This unofficial class of leading citizens was also modeled more on the English gentleman rather than on the courts of continental Europe. Their stations in life ranged from planters in the south, where the aristocratic element was most prevalent, to clergy, merchants, professors, and manufacturers in the north. And in general, all of them were highly learned.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how lifestyle varied between colonies (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the origins of slavery, the transatlantic slave trade, and slavery in the New World (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.4

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 25-27

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the name of the main religious group in Pennsylvania, founded by one of their members, William Penn?

2. Which colony was founded as a place for those who could not repay their debts to begin life anew?

3. Which colony was originally founded for Catholics, but quickly became majority Protestant?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 1 — Formative Quiz 2

Covering Lesson 3

10–15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. In what ways did different groups of European settlers see the New World as a place of opportunity and restoration?
2. What were the roles of literacy and learning among the colonists?
3. What are the origins of slavery in world history?
4. How did slavery gradually expand and become sanctioned in law?
5. How were the colonies' leading citizens distinct from the aristocracies of Europe?

Lesson 4 — Major Events in the Colonies

1607–1763

9–10 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the major events and movements in colonial America and further study the ideas and experiences that were shaping the colonists during what Edmund Burke called the period of “salutary neglect.”

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages 12–14, 28–36
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 14–20, 31–42
<i>A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 15–19, 29–32

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 2 and 3
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lectures 2 and 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, Volume 1, pages 12–14 and 28–36, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate excerpts from John Locke’s *Second Treatise of Government* and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Appalachian Mountains	Mississippi River
Allegheny Mountains	New Orleans
Ohio River Valley	Quebec
The Great Lakes	Montreal
Canada	Duquesne
St. Lawrence River	

Persons

Thomas Hobbes
 John Locke
 Jonathan Edwards
 George III

William Pitt
 George Washington
 Benjamin Franklin

Terms and Topics

King Philip’s War
 Queen Anne’s War
 Navigation Acts
 English Civil War
 The Enlightenment
 Bacon’s Rebellion
 Glorious Revolution
 English Bill of Rights
 “salutary neglect”
 representation
 self-government

township
 The Great Awakening
Poor Richard’s Almanac
 French and Indian War
 Iroquois Confederacy
 Battle of Jumonville Glen
 Albany Congress
 Fort Duquesne
 Treaty of Paris

Primary Sources

Magna Carta
 English Bill of Rights
Second Treatise of Government, John Locke

To Know by Heart

Selections from George Washington’s “Rules of Civility & Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation,” such as:

- “Be not apt to relate news if you know not the truth thereof.”
- “Speak not evil of the absent for it is unjust.”
- “Use no Reproachfull Language against any one neither Curse nor Revile.”

Timeline

1688	Glorious Revolution; English Bill of Rights
1754–63	The French and Indian War

Images

Historical figures and events
 Dress of colonists from different periods and places
 Uniforms and munitions of soldiers in the various wars
 Depictions of battles and battlefields, including strategy and tactics, such as the Siege of Louisbourg
 Colonial assembly buildings
 Depictions of Great Awakening gatherings and revival scenes

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- A sermon by Jonathan Edwards
- George Washington and the cherry tree (legend)
- George Washington's time as a surveyor
- George Washington's first battles in the Virginia militia, including his survival and Braddock's death
- John Winslow's account of the Acadians during the French and Indian War
- Benjamin Franklin's autobiography

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What was it like to wage war in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
- What did the colonists learn from the English Civil War?
- Which ancient and Enlightenment figures and ideas influenced the leading colonists?
- What were John Locke's ideas on natural law, natural rights, and the social contract? To what extent had these already been reflected in English law and, therefore, in colonial law?
- What is "salutary neglect"? In what senses were the colonists neglected and how was this neglect actually beneficial to them?
- What did self-government look like in the colonies?
- How did the Great Awakening contribute to a greater sense of unity between the colonies?
- What were the causes of the French and Indian War?
- What were the major battles and moments in the French and Indian War?
- What was the Albany Plan of Union? What did it reveal about the relationships among the colonies?
- Why did the British defeat the French in the French and Indian War?
- How did the Treaty of Paris reshape North America?
- What challenges and opportunities did the British and the British colonists face with the changes wrought by the Treaty of Paris?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 13: What is the rule of law?
 - Question 85: Benjamin Franklin is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Having learned about the establishment and characteristics of each colony, students should consider the major influences and events that shaped colonial history. These include, of course, events that occurred within the colonies themselves, but also certain ideas and events in Europe that had significant influence on the colonists, too. Treatment of the Enlightenment and the English Civil War does not need to be extensive in an American history class, but students should understand how these events affected and informed the colonists. Once the lesson enters the eighteenth century, special focus should be placed on the events that created in the colonists a sense of independence from Great Britain and of greater dependence on one another, even as they themselves did not fully recognize or articulate these trends. In general, this lesson should help students see what the colonists and colonies had become before they learn about the American founding.

Teachers might best plan and teach Major Events in the Colonies with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Review with students the relationships between Native Americans and the settlers. Note the variety of relationships and circumstances over time, helping students to recognize how much time colonial history spans. Disease was the main factor that sent the Native Americans into decline. When significant conflict did occur, it often involved an entangling of rivalries among Native American tribes and those of European powers and their colonies. In light of such conflicts, American colonists in particular were well versed in defending themselves with their own arms and in locally assembled citizen militias.
- Teach students about the various wars that occurred in the New World, either between settlers and Native Americans or with colonies of other countries. A lot of detail is not necessary, but students should appreciate that these wars were significant for those who were endangered by them and left largely to their own defenses. Students should also be introduced to the style, strategy, and tactics of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century warfare, particularly as waged in North America.
- For a time, it was the Puritans who wound up in power in England. As Englishmen, the colonists followed the events of strife from across the ocean. Discuss with students the English Civil War, which involved and influenced some of the main political thought of the colonists, as well as the Glorious Revolution a few decades later. These political developments informed the colonists and drew their careful attention to political considerations.
- Read and discuss with students excerpts from the Magna Carta and the English Bill of Rights to show that there is a long history of understanding that a “fundamental law” exists, and that regardless of particular political institutions (such as the King or Parliament), that fundamental law grants rights and liberties.
- Review or discuss the intellectual influences on the Americans, particularly those who were the colonists’ unofficial aristocracy. In addition to a Judeo-Christian faith tradition and Greco-Roman philosophy and law, the Enlightenment also influenced leading colonists. Students should understand some of the Enlightenment’s main principles and thinkers. In addition to the English Enlightenment’s influence on Britain’s North American colonists in general, Enlightenment ideas on politics were of special interest to a people governing themselves and carefully observing political events taking place back in England.
- Read with students some of the emblematic thought of John Locke—especially the social contract theory—that leading colonists would entertain in the mid-eighteenth century.
- Consider with students the English statesman Edmund Burke’s idea that the colonists in British North America enjoyed a relationship of “salutary neglect” with respect to the English government. They were “neglected” in the sense that they were a month away by sea from England, which meant poor communication and the near impossibility of governing directly. The English also largely overlooked their colonies in North America, sometimes viewing the colonists merely as poor tradesmen, former criminals, religious radicals, and commoners of no noble birth. Compared to England’s Caribbean colonies, they were also far less profitable. England’s preoccupation with rivals Spain and France and her own civil war also left English kings and Parliament with relatively little thought to give the colonies. The mercantilist restrictions on trade, moreover, were seldom fully enforced or even capable of being completely enforced, and the colonies largely traded freely with the world.

- Help students understand why this relationship of neglect was not, in Burke's view, a disadvantage but actually healthy for the colonists. Overall, the colonists were still protected, especially on the seas, by the English. At the same time, however, they were not regulated or administratively directed beyond the general forms of governance; e.g., a royal governor and a local legislature. The colonists were largely free to take the enterprising, individualist spirit of common English settlers and, forced by necessity, to innovate and work hard to pursue livelihoods and security within their own spheres. Laws, moreover, could not wait for a two- or three-month lapse in communication. Colonists were both permitted and forced by circumstances to practice the elements of English law they had brought with them, including a recognition of certain rights and the limits of authority. The colonists had ample talent and opportunity to govern themselves: they had education and a group of leading colonists who were learned in classical thought; they had the English rule of law tradition; and they had general Enlightenment ideas. This tradition of self-government would allow for many generations of practice in self-rule as a feature of daily life. The colonists, therefore, were both used to and deeply practiced in locally governing themselves, replete with the ideas and habits that this process cultivated.
- Briefly spend time reviewing the institutional forms that self-government took in the colonies. In general, representation by election determined the composition of the various colonial assemblies, beginning with the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1619. That representative self-government was the norm in the colonies was astonishing compared to the rest of the world and human history. The creation of the township was also a uniquely colonial American establishment, and the participation by the average colonist in local government was widespread.
- Clarify for students that each colony originally did not see itself as part of a shared English colonial political state. Although their own proprietary charters were eventually replaced with royal charters, each colony viewed itself as its own separate entity, only loosely bound to the others by a common mother country and overall shared culture. This view would persist up to the eve of the Revolution.
- Explore with students how the Great Awakening throughout the colonies provided the separate and distinct colonies with something they could hold in common. At the same time, it awakened a passion for right moral conduct and justice that could be attached to any cause.
- Teach students about the various conflicts in which the British colonists of North America found themselves. Spend some time in particular with the French and Indian War. Of special note here is the presence of a young George Washington and the Virginia militia fighting alongside the British regulars. This is a good opportunity to introduce Washington, including his boyhood biography and his exploits in the war, and especially his actions during the attack on General Braddock. The French and Indian War was also important for providing the colonists another shared experience, this time amidst the adversities of war, and for demonstrating increased cooperation and a sense of unity, as evidenced by the Albany Congress. This is also a good place to introduce the architect of the Albany congress and plan, Benjamin Franklin, including teaching about his biography up to this juncture. In addition to fostering advances toward and experiences in united action, the French and Indian War is also of great importance for understanding the circumstances that would lead to the American Revolution.
- Share with students maps showing the transfer of territory to the British Empire through the Treaty of Paris. Discuss with students what this meant for the relative power of Great Britain and

France and the new challenges and opportunities inherent in such a sudden change of territory and power.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the major events and ideas that influenced American colonists' views of government (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Tell the story of the French and Indian War (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.5

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 4
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 12-14 and 28-36

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What major disruption in Europe would have a significant influence on the future British colonies in North America?
2. Name one major event from the 1600s in England that the author mentions.
3. How was George Washington involved in the French and Indian War?
4. What was the Great Awakening about?
5. What was the Enlightenment about?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Unit 1 Test — Study Guide

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

Oct. 12, 1492	Columbus lands on San Salvador Island
1607	Jamestown settled
1619	Africans disembark at Jamestown; first meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses
1620	Pilgrims settle Plymouth
1688	Glorious Revolution; English Bill of Rights
1730s	The Great Awakening
1754–63	The French and Indian War

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Genoa	Plymouth	The Great Lakes
San Salvador/Watling's Island	Massachusetts Bay	Canada
"The New World"	Boston	Mississippi River
La Florida	New England Colonies	New Orleans
St. Augustine	Middle Colonies	Quebec
Virginia	Southern Colonies	Montreal
Roanoke	Appalachian Mountains	Duquesne
Jamestown	Allegheny Mountains	
	Ohio River Valley	

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

Leif Erikson	John Rolfe	Thomas Hobbes
Ferdinand and Isabella	William Bradford	John Locke
Christopher Columbus	Massasoit	Jonathan Edwards
Ponce de Leon	John Winthrop	George III
Amerigo Vespucci	Roger Williams	George Washington
John Smith	William Penn	Benjamin Franklin
Pocahontas	James Oglethorpe	

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

glaciers	tobacco	chattel slavery
land bridge	House of Burgesses	Middle Passage
Hopewell	Pilgrims	Deism
urban	<i>Mayflower</i>	individualism
rural	commoner	aristocracy
Silk Road	religious freedom	King Philip's War
nation-states	state of nature	English Civil War
<i>Niña, Pinta, and Santa María</i>	social contract	The Enlightenment
Taíno	self-government	Glorious Revolution
"Indians"	Wampanoag	English Bill of Rights
conquistadors	Puritans	"salutary neglect"
Columbian Exchange	public education	representation
smallpox	Fundamental Orders	The Great Awakening
joint-stock companies	of Connecticut	French and Indian War
Virginia Company	religious freedom	Albany Congress
indentured servants	colonial assemblies	Fort Duquesne
Powhatan	militia	Treaty of Paris
"Starving Time"	Triangle Trade	

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well-prepared.

The Mayflower Compact
 "A Modell of Christian Charity," John Winthrop
 Magna Carta
 English Bill of Rights
Second Treatise of Government, John Locke

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be third grade students.

- Christopher Columbus's voyages and interactions with natives
- The "Starving Time" at Jamestown
- Pocahontas, John Smith, and John Rolfe
- The voyage of the *Mayflower*
- Accounts of the First Thanksgiving by Edward Winslow and William Bradford
- George Washington and the cherry tree (legend)
- George Washington's time as a surveyor

- George Washington’s first battles in the Virginia militia, including his survival and Braddock’s death
- Benjamin Franklin’s autobiography

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America

- What resources and advantages does North America afford for the flourishing of a developed civilization? How does it compare to other places in the world?
- Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?
- What kinds of civilizations did different groups of indigenous peoples establish in different parts of the Americas?

Lesson 2 | Exploration and Settlement

- What was Christopher Columbus’s theory?
- What were some of the ways in which Christopher Columbus’s voyages changed the world?
- In which ways was Christopher Columbus successful, and in which did he fail?
- From where do we get the name “America”?
- What two things happened in Jamestown in 1619?
- What motivated the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth? What were their goals?
- Why did the Pilgrims draft and sign the Mayflower Compact?
- Based on John Winthrop’s writings, how did the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay envision their lives and the task before them in North America?

Lesson 3 | The Colonies in Profile

- How may the English approach to settlement and colonization be best described?
- In what ways did the settlers and later colonists express a hope for renewal and restoration in the New World?
- What was unique about religion in the colonies and in the eyes of the law?
- What were the roles of literacy and learning among the colonists?
- What is meant by self-government? How might it be said that the colonists governed themselves?
- What was indentured servitude? How is it similar to and different from slavery?
- What are the origins of slavery in world history?
- What was it like to be an African on the Middle Passage and then a slave in the New World?
- How did slavery gradually expand and become sanctioned in law?
- What were the chief characteristics of the “American” colonists? What gave them these characteristics?
- In what sense was there an “unofficial aristocracy” in the colonies? What made it “unofficial” and how was it distinct from the aristocracies of Europe?

Lesson 4 | Major Events in the Colonies

- What did the colonists learn from the English Civil War?
- Which ancient and Enlightenment figures and ideas influenced the leading colonists?
- What were John Locke's ideas on natural law, natural rights, and the social contract? To what extent had these already been reflected in English law and, therefore, in colonial law?
- What is "salutary neglect"? In what senses were the colonists neglected and how was this neglect actually beneficial to them?
- How did the Great Awakening contribute to a greater sense of unity between the colonies?
- What were the causes of the French and Indian War?
- In what ways did the French and Indian War foster a greater unity among the colonies?
- What was the Albany Plan of Union? What did it reveal about the relationships among the colonies?
- How did the Treaty of Paris reshape North America?
- What challenges and opportunities did the British and the British colonists face with the changes wrought by the Treaty of Paris?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 1 | Test — The British Colonies of North America

TIMELINE

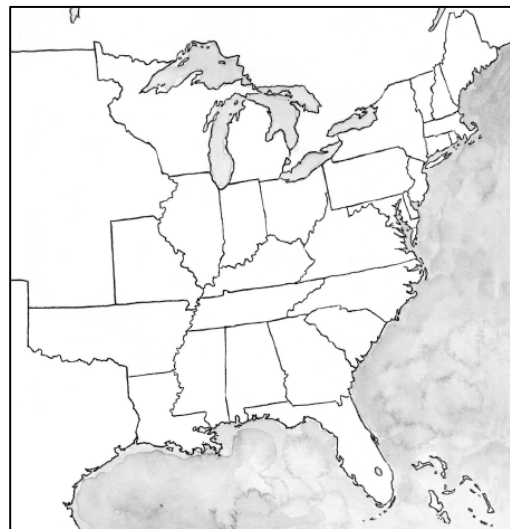
Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

Oct. 12, 1492 _____
 1607 _____
 1619 _____
 1620 _____
 1688 _____
 1730s _____
 1754–63 _____

- A. Africans disembark at Jamestown; first meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses
- B. Columbus lands on San Salvador Island
- C. Glorious Revolution; English Bill of Rights
- D. Jamestown settled
- E. Pilgrims settle Plymouth
- F. The French and Indian War
- G. The Great Awakening

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Label with dots and/or circle:
- Jamestown
 - Plymouth
 - Boston
 - Appalachian Mountains
 - Ohio River Valley
 - The Great Lakes
 - Mississippi River
 - New Orleans
 - Quebec
 - Montreal
 - Duquesne



Map courtesy of *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank.

2. England’s first attempt at establishing a permanent settlement in North America was the _____ in present-day North Carolina. The experiment failed, however, when the colony disappeared without a trace four years into its existence.

3. England's second attempt at colonization nearly failed on two occasions, and the settlers had a fraught relationship with the local Powhatan tribe. The eventual success of _____ came largely from _____'s successful cultivation of tobacco, which was exported to Europe at a great profit.
4. Not tolerated in England, the _____ were dismissed on a religious journey to Virginia under the leadership of William Bradford. Instead of settling in Virginia, however, they landed far to the north on the North American coast at Cape Cod and established _____
5. Originally founded by the Dutch, _____ was seized by the British in 1664. This meager but ideal harbor town at the mouth of the Hudson River, with commerce moving between Manhattan Island and Long Island, would become the largest city in the Americas.
6. Pennsylvania was named after its founder, _____, who intended the colony to be a haven for Quakers and a place that would tolerate different religions.
7. John Calvert, Lord of Baltimore, Ireland, founded _____ as a refuge for persecuted Catholics from England. Quickly, however, Catholics found themselves in a minority.
8. With an economy based on the large plantation farming of tobacco, indigo, and rice, the _____ colonies developed an aristocratic society and culture of leisure dependent upon a lower class of slaves and yeoman farmers.
9. The British colonies in North America were part of a trade pattern that included England, Caribbean colonies, and African colonies. The American colonies exported cod, ships, lumber, rum, iron, whale oil, tobacco, indigo, and other raw materials to England, and they imported guns, clothes, furniture, paper, and tea from England and slaves from Africa. Historians named this trade system after the shape its trade routes made on a map of the Atlantic: the _____.
10. The colonists' relationship with England left them both free to establish their own governmental structures and in need of doing so. While the emergence of government institutions did not follow any set pattern, such institutions were all based on the English law tradition, they developed organically, and they epitomized American rule by the people, called _____.
11. Power struggles often arose within colonial governments between the elected assemblies and the royally appointed _____. There thus emerged a long pattern of colonial power challenging and usually proving superior to English authority within the colonies, partly due to claims of power originating from the people themselves.
12. Agreed to in 1215 by King John and the English barons, the _____, or "Great Charter," was the first English pronouncement of the rule of law. Together with the Mayflower Compact and the English Bill of Rights, which concluded the Glorious Revolution, the colonists drew many ideas and much language from these principal English legal precedents.

13. The philosophy of the British Enlightenment thinker _____ defined an increasingly popular idea in England and in the colonies: that of a social contract that would allot power in a political body beholden to the people in order to preserve and protect the natural rights human beings equally enjoyed by virtue of their humanity.
14. Of the ancient Greek and Roman political philosophers, the American aristocracy was influenced far more by the ancient _____, especially regarding their understanding that a republic ultimately rests on the virtue of its citizens.
15. Irish Member of Parliament Edmund Burke captured the idea that England's relative neglect of the colonies contributed to the colonists' successful governance of themselves in the phrase _____.
16. As the population of the colonies doubled every generation, westward expansion brought the British into conflict not only with Native Americans but also with the French in Canada, especially over who controlled the very fertile and wild lands west of the _____ Mountains known as the Ohio River Valley.
17. _____ began his career as a surveyor from Virginia. His experience mapping and camping in the uncharted wilderness motivated him at age nineteen to join the Virginia militia, in which he rose to the rank of Major General.
18. To gain a secure alliance with the Iroquois Confederacy and to foster inter-colony cooperation during the French and Indian War, the seven most northern colonies met at the Albany Congress under the direction of the accomplished printer, thinker, statesman, and inventor from Philadelphia named _____. While their plan for union was not adopted by the colonies, it was the first instance of united action among the several American colonies, and it became a model for future colonial cooperation.

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be third grade students.

19. Christopher Columbus's various interactions with Native Americans.

20. An account of the “Starving Time” at Jamestown.

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

21. Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?

22. What motivated the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth? What were their goals?

23. Why did the Pilgrims draft and sign the Mayflower Compact?

24. What are the origins of slavery in world history?

25. What was it like to be an African on the Middle Passage and then a slave in the New World?

26. What did the colonists learn from the English Civil War?

27. What is “salutary neglect”? In what senses were the colonists neglected and how was this neglect actually beneficial to them?

28. What were the causes of the French and Indian War?

29. How did the Treaty of Paris reshape North America?

Unit 1 | Writing Assignment — The British Colonies of North America

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

What are the most important historical moments or ideas in the history of the thirteen colonies, from the founding of Jamestown through the French and Indian War?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Christopher Columbus

The Pilgrims

John Winthrop

William Penn

First Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly

John of England

Parliament of England

John Locke

ADMIRAL CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

To King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile

LETTER

February 15, 1493

The *Niña* | The Atlantic Ocean

BACKGROUND

Christopher Columbus informed King Ferdinand II of the discoveries on his first voyage in this letter from early 1493.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Christopher Columbus find on his voyage?
2. How does Columbus describe the islands?
3. How do the Native Americans treat Columbus and his crew?
4. What is the culture of the Native Americans as described by Columbus?
5. Why does Columbus believe his voyage was important?

Christopher Columbus, "Letter to King Ferdinand II," American Studies at the University of Virginia, <https://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/HNS/Garden/columbus.html>.

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SIR: Since I know that you will be pleased at the great victory with which Our Lord has crowned my voyage, I write this to you, from which you will learn how in thirty-three days I passed from the Canary Islands to the Indies, with the fleet which the most illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, gave to me. There I found very many islands, 5 filled with innumerable people, and I have taken possession of them all for their Highnesses, done by proclamation and with the royal standard unfurled, and no opposition was offered to me.

To the first island which I found I gave the name "San Salvador," in remembrance of the Divine Majesty, Who had marvellously bestowed all this...To the second, I gave the name 10 the island of "Santa Maria de Concepcion," to the third, "Fernandina," to the fourth, "Isabella," to the fifth island, "Juana," and so each received from me a new name.

When I came to Juana, I followed its coast to the westward, and I found it to be so extensive that I thought that it must be the mainland, the province of Cathay. And since there were neither towns nor villages on the seashore, but small hamlets only, with the 15 people of which I could not have speech because they all fled immediately, I went forward on the same course, thinking that I could not fail to find great cities or towns. At the end of many leagues, seeing that there was no change and that the coast was bearing me northwards, which I wished to avoid, since winter was already approaching and I proposed to make from it to the south, and as, moreover, the wind was carrying me 20 forward, I determined not to wait for a change in the weather and retraced my path as far as a remarkable harbour known to me. From that point, I sent two men inland to learn if there were a king or great cities. They travelled three days' journey, finding an infinity of

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small hamlets and people without number, but nothing of importance. For this reason, they returned.

I understood sufficiently from other Indians, whom I had already taken, that this

land was nothing but an island, and I therefore followed its coast eastward for one

5 hundred and seven leagues to the point where it ended. From that point, I saw another

island, distant about eighteen leagues from the first, to the east, and to it I at once gave the

name "Española." I went there and followed its northern coast, as I had followed that of

Juana, to the eastward for one hundred and eighty-eight great leagues in a straight

line. This island and all the others are very fertile to a limitless degree, and this island is

10 extremely so. In it there are many harbours on the coast of the sea, beyond comparison

with others that I know in Christendom, and many rivers, good and large, which is

marvellous. Its lands are high; there are in it many sierras and very lofty mountains,

beyond comparison with that of Tenerife. All are most beautiful, of a thousand shapes; all

are accessible and are filled with trees of a thousand kinds and tall, so that they seem to

15 touch the sky. I am told that they never lose their foliage, and this I can believe, for I saw

them as green and lovely as they are in Spain in May, and some of them were flowering,

some bearing fruit, and some at another stage, according to their nature. The nightingale

was singing and other birds of a thousand kinds, in the month of November, there where

I went. There are six or eight kinds of palm, which are a wonder to behold on account of

20 their beautiful variety, but so are the other trees and fruits and plants. In it are marvellous

pine groves; there are very wide and fertile plains, and there is honey; and there are birds

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of many kinds and fruits in great diversity. In the interior, there are mines of metals, and the population is without number.

Espanola is a marvel. The sierras and the mountains, the plains, the champaigns, are so lovely and so rich for planting and sowing, for breeding cattle of every kind, for building
5 towns and villages. The harbours of the sea here are such as cannot be believed to exist unless they have been seen, and so with the rivers, many and great, and of good water, the majority of which contain gold. In the trees, fruits and plants, there is a great difference from those of Juana. In this island, there are many spices and great mines of gold and of other metals.

10 The people of this island and of all the other islands which I have found and of which I have information, all go naked, men and women, as their mothers bore them, although some of the women cover a single place with the leaf of a plant or with a net of cotton which they make for the purpose. They have no iron or steel or weapons, nor are they fitted to use them. This is not because they are not well built and of handsome stature, but
15 because they are very marvellously timorous. They have no other arms than spears made of canes, cut in seeding time, to the ends of which they fix a small sharpened stick. Of these they do not dare to make use, for many times it has happened that I have sent ashore two or three men to some town to have speech with them, and countless people have come out to them, and as soon as they have seen my men approaching, they have
20 fled, a father not even waiting for his son. This is not because ill has been done to any one of them; on the contrary, at every place where I have been and have been able to have speech with them, I have given to them of that which I had, such as cloth and many other

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things, receiving nothing in exchange. But so they are, incurably timid. It is true that, after they have been reassured and have lost this fear, they are so guileless and so generous with all that they possess, that no one would believe it who has not seen it. They refuse nothing that they possess, if it be asked of them; on the contrary, they invite any one to

5 share it and display as much love as if they would give their hearts. They are content with whatever trifle of whatever kind that may be given to them, whether it be of value or valueless. I forbade that they should be given things so worthless as fragments of broken crockery, scraps of broken and lace tips, although when they were able to get them, they fancied that they possessed the best jewel in the world...They took even the pieces of the

10 broken hoops of the wine barrels and, like savages, gave what they had, so that it seemed to me to be wrong and I forbade it. I gave them a thousand handsome good things, which I had brought, in order that they might conceive affection for us and, more than that, might become Christians and be inclined to the love and service of Your Highnesses and of the whole Castilian nation, and strive to collect and give us of the things which they

15 have in abundance and which are necessary to us.

They do not hold any creed nor are they idolaters; but they all believe that power and good are in the heavens and were very firmly convinced that I, with these ships and men, came from the heavens, and in this belief they everywhere received me after they had mastered their fear. This belief is not the result of ignorance, for they are, on the contrary,

20 of a very acute intelligence and they are men who navigate all those seas, so that it is amazing how good an account they give of everything. It is because they have never seen people clothed or ships of such a kind.

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As soon as I arrived in the Indies, in the first island which I found, I took some of the natives by force, in order that they might learn and might give me information of whatever there is in these parts. And so it was that they soon understood us, and we them, either by speech or by signs, and they have been very serviceable. At present, those I bring
5 with me are still of the opinion that I come from Heaven, for all the intercourse which they have had with me. They were the first to announce this wherever I went, and the others went running from house to house, and to the neighbouring towns, with loud cries of, "Come! Come! See the men from Heaven!" So all came, men and women alike, when their minds were set at rest concerning us, not one, small or great, remaining behind, and
10 they all brought something to eat and drink, which they gave with extraordinary affection.

In all the islands, they have very many canoes, which are like rowing fustas, some larger and some smaller; some are greater than a fusta of eighteen benches. They are not so broad, because they are made of a single log of wood, but a fusta would not keep up with
15 them in rowing, since their speed is an incredible thing. In these they navigate among all those islands, which are innumerable, and carry their goods. I have seen one of these canoes with seventy or eighty men in it, each one with his paddle.

In all these islands, I saw no great diversity in the appearance of the people or in their manners and language. On the contrary, they all understand one another, which is a very
20 curious thing, on account of which I hope that their Highnesses will determine upon their conversion to our holy faith, towards which they are very inclined.

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I have already said how I went one hundred and seven leagues in a straight line from west to east along the seashore of the island of Juana, and as a result of this voyage I can say that this island is larger than England and Scotland together, for, beyond these one hundred and even leagues, there remain to the westward two provinces to which I have
5 not gone. One of these provinces they call "Avan," and there people are born with tails. These provinces cannot have a length of less than fifty or sixty leagues, as I could understand from those Indians whom I have and who know all the islands.

The other island, Espanola, has a circumference greater than all Spain from Collioure by the seacoast to Fuenterrabia in Vizcaya, for I voyaged along one side for one hundred and
10 eighty-eight great leagues in a straight line from west to east. It is a land to be desired and, when seen, never to be left. I have taken possession of all for their Highnesses, and all are more richly endowed than I know how or am able to say, and I hold all for their Highnesses, so that they may dispose of them as they do of the kingdoms of Castile and as absolutely. But especially, in this Espanola, in the situation most convenient and in the
15 best position for the mines of gold and for all trade as well with the mainland here as with that there, belonging to the Grand Khan, where will be great trade and profit, I have taken possession of a large town, to which I gave the name "Villa de Navidad," and in it I have made fortifications and a fort, which will now by this time be entirely completed. In it I have left enough men for such a purpose with arms and artillery and provisions for more
20 than a year, and a fusta, and one a master of all seacraft, to build others, and I have established great friendship with the king of that land, so much so, that he was proud to call me "brother" and to treat me as such. And even were he to change his attitude to one

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of hostility towards these men, he and his do not know what arms are. They go naked, as I have already said, and they are the most timorous people in the world, so that the men whom I have left there alone would suffice to destroy all that land, and the island is without danger for their persons, if they know how to govern themselves.

- 5 In all these islands, it seems to me that all men are content with one woman, and to their chief or king they give as many as twenty.

It appears to me that the women work more than do the men. I have been able to learn if they hold private property; it seemed to me to be that all took a share in whatever any one had, especially of eatable things.

- 10 In these islands I have so far found no human monstrosities, as many expected, but on the contrary the whole population is very well tried, nor are they negroes as in Guinea, but their hair is flowing and they are not born where there is intense force in the rays of the sun... In these islands, where there are high mountains, the cold was severe this winter, but they endure it, being used to it and with the help of meats which they
- 15 consume with many and extremely hot spices. Thus I have found no monsters, nor had a report of any, except in an island "Carib," which is the second at the coming into the Indies, and which is inhabited by people who are regarded in all the islands as very fierce and who eat human flesh. They have many canoes with which they range through all the islands of India and pillage and take whatever they can. They are no more malformed
- 20 than are the others, except that they have the custom of wearing their hair long like women, and they use bows and arrows of the same cane stems, with a small piece of wood

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at end, owing to their lack of iron which they do not possess. They are ferocious among these other people who are cowardly to an excessive degree, but I make no more account of them than of the rest. These are they who have intercourse with the women of "Matini-
no," which is the first island met on the way from Spain to the Indies, in which there is
5 not a man. These women engage in no feminine occupation, but use bows and arrows of
cane, like those already mentioned, and they arm and protect themselves with plates of
copper, of which they have much.

In another island, which they assure me is larger than Espanola, the people have no
hair. In it there is incalculable gold, and from it and from the other islands I bring with
10 me Indians as evidence.

In conclusion, to speak only of what has been accomplished on this voyage, which was so
hasty, their Highnesses can see that I will give them as much gold as they may need, if
their Highnesses will render me very slight assistance; presently, I will give them spices
and cotton, as much as their Highnesses shall command; and mastic, as much as they
15 shall order to be shipped and which, up to now, has been found only in Greece, in the
island of Chios, and the Seignory sells it for what it pleases; and aloe, as much as they
shall order to be shipped; and slaves, as many as they shall order, and who will be from
the idolaters. I believe also that I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and I shall find a
thousand other things of value, which the people whom I have left there will have
20 discovered, for I have not delayed at any point, so far as the wind allowed me to sail,
except in the town of Navidad, in order to leave it secured and well established, and in
truth I should have done much more if the ships had served me as reason demanded.

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This is enough. And thus the eternal God, Our Lord, gives to all those who walk in His way triumph over things which appear to be impossible, and this was notably one. For, although men have talked or have written of these lands, all was conjectural, without ocular evidence, but amounted only to this, that those who heard for the most part
5 listened and judged rather by hearsay than from even a small something tangible. So that, since Our Redeemer has given the victory to our most illustrious King and Queen, and to their renowned kingdoms, in so great a matter, for this all Christendom ought to feel delight and make great feasts and give solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity, with many solemn prayers for the great exaltation which they shall have in the turning of so many
10 peoples to our holy faith, and afterwards for the temporal benefits, because not only Spain but all Christendom will have hence refreshment and gain.

This is an account of the facts, thus abridged.

Done in the caravel, on the Canary Islands, on the fifteenth day of February, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-three.

15 At your orders.

THE ADMIRAL.

THE UNDERSIGNED SUBJECTS OF KING JAMES

Agreement Between the Settlers of New Plymouth

LAW

November 11, 1620

Mayflower | Off the Coast of Cape Cod, Colony of Virginia

The Mayflower Compact

BACKGROUND

The settlers who traveled to the British possession of Virginia on the *Mayflower* drafted and signed this agreement pertaining to their governance before disembarking in the New World.

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IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage
5 to plant the first Colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Further-
ance of the Ends aforesaid: And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just
and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Officers, from time to time, as shall
10 be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience.

IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape-Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini; 1620.

"The Mayflower Compact," in *History of Plymouth Plantation* by William Bradford, ed. Charles Deane (Boston, 1856), 89-90.

GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP

A Modell of Christian Charity

SPEECH

April 8, 1630

The *Arabella* | The Atlantic Ocean

BACKGROUND

John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, delivered these remarks aboard the *Arabella* toward the end of its voyage across the Atlantic Ocean.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does John Winthrop say God gives different conditions to different people?
2. What are the work, end, and means of the Massachusetts Bay Colony?
3. What does it mean to be “a city on the hill,” according to Winthrop?

“A Model of Christian Charity,” Hanover Historical Texts Collection, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html>
[Original Source: Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1838), 3rd Series 7:31-48.]

A Model hereof.

GOD ALMIGHTY in his most holy and wise providence, hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity; others mean and in submission.

5 *The Reason hereof.*

1 *Reas.* First to hold conformity with the rest of his world, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures, and the glory of his power in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole; and the glory of his greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, so this
10 great king will have many stewards, Counting himself more honored in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his own immediate hands.

2 *Reas.* Secondly that he might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit: first upon the wicked in moderating and restraining them: so that the rich and mighty should not eat up the poor nor the poor and despised rise up against and shake off their
15 yoke. 2ly In the regenerate, in exercising his graces in them, as in the great ones, their love, mercy, gentleness, temperance etc., in the poor and inferior sort, their faith, patience, obedience etc.

3 *Reas.* Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knit more nearly together in the Bonds of brotherly affection. From hence it appears
20 plainly that no man is made more honorable than another or more wealthy etc., out of any particular and singular respect to himself, but for the glory of his creator and the common good of the creature, man. Therefore God still reserves the property of these gifts to himself as Ezek. 16. 17. he there calls wealth, *his gold and his silver*, and Prov. 3. 9. he claims their service as his due, *honor the Lord with thy riches* etc.--All men being thus
25 (by divine providence) ranked into two sorts, rich and poor; under the first are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their own means duly improved;

and all others are poor according to the former distribution. There are two rules whereby we are to walk one towards another: Justice and Mercy. These are always distinguished in their act and in their object, yet may they both concur in the same subject in each respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of showing mercy to a rich man in some sudden
5 danger or distress, and also doing of mere justice to a poor man in regard of some particular contract etc. There is likewise a double Law by which we are regulated in our conversation towards another; in both the former respects, the law of nature and the law of grace, or the moral law or the law of the gospel, to omit the rule of justice as not properly belonging to this purpose otherwise than it may fall into consideration in some
10 particular cases. By the first of these laws man as he was enabled so with all is commanded to love his neighbor as himself. Upon this ground stands all the precepts of the moral law, which concerns our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy; this law requires two things. First that every man afford his help to another in every want or distress. Secondly, that he perform this out of the same affection which
15 makes him careful of his own goods, according to that of our Savior, (Math.) *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you.* This was practiced by Abraham and Lot in entertaining the angels and the old man of Gibeon. The law of Grace or of the Gospel hath some difference from the former; as in these respects, First the law of nature was given to man in the estate of innocency; this of the Gospel in the estate of regeneracy. 2ly, the
20 former propounds one man to another, as the same flesh and image of God; this as a brother in Christ also, and in the communion of the same Spirit, and so teaches to put a difference between Christians and others. *Do good to all, especially to the household of faith;* upon this ground the Israelites were to put a difference between the brethren of such as were strangers though not of the Canaanites....

25 ...It rests now to make some application of this discourse, by the present design, which gave the occasion of writing of it. Herein are 4 things to be propounded: first the persons, 2ly the work, 3ly the end, 4thly the means. 1. For *the persons.* We are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, in which respect only though we were absent from each other many miles, and had our employments as far distant, yet we

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ought to account ourselves knit together by this bond of love, and, live in the exercise of it, if we would have comfort of our being in Christ. This was notorious in the practice of the Christians in former times; as is testified of the Waldenses, from the mouth of one of the adversaries *Aeneas Sylvius* "mutuo ament pere antequam norunt," they use to love any
5 of their own religion even before they were acquainted with them. 2nly for the *work* we have in hand. It is by a mutual consent, through a special overruling providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seek out a place of Cohabitation and Consortship under a due form of Government both civil and ecclesiastical. In such cases as this, the care of the public must over sway all private
10 respects, by which, not only conscience, but mere civil policy, does bind us. For it is a true rule that particular Estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the public. 3ly The *end* is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord; the comfort and increase of the body of Christ, whereof we are members; that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world, to serve the Lord and work out our
15 Salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances. 4thly for the *means* whereby this must be effected. They are twofold, a conformity with the work and end we aim at. These we see are extraordinary, therefore we must not content ourselves with usual ordinary means. Whatsoever we did, or ought to have, done, when we lived in England, the same must we do, and more also, where we go. That which the most in their churches
20 maintain as truth in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practice; as in this duty of love, we must love brotherly without dissimulation, we must love one another with a pure heart fervently. We must bear one another's burdens. We must not look only on our own things, but also on the things of our brethren. Neither must we think that the Lord will bear with such failings at our hands as he does from those among
25 whom we have lived...

When God gives a special commission he looks to have it strictly observed in every article; When he gave Saul a commission to destroy Amalek, He indented with him upon certain articles, and because he failed in one of the least, and that upon a fair pretense, it lost him the kingdom, which should have been his reward, if he had observed his

commission. Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into Covenant with Him for this work. We have taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles. We have professed to enterprise these and those accounts, upon these and those ends. We have hereupon besought Him of favor and blessing. Now if the
5 Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath he ratified this Covenant and sealed our Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends we have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves
10 and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us; be revenged of such a [sinful] people and make us know the price of the breach of such a Covenant.

Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity, is to follow the counsel of Micah, *to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God*. For this end, we must be knit together, in this work, as one man. We must entertain each other in
15 brotherly affection. We must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience, and liberality. We must delight in each other; make other's conditions our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, as members
20 of the same body. So shall we *keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace*. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his own people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways. So that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our
25 enemies; when he shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "the Lord make it likely that of *New England*." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. We shall

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open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are a going.

- 5 I shall shut up this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithful servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israel, Deut. 30. *Beloved there is now set before us life and good, Death and evil, in that we are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another, to walk in his ways and to keep his Commandments and his Ordinance and his laws, and the articles of our Covenant with him, that we may live and be multiplied,*
- 10 *and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it. But if our hearts shall turn away, so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship and serve other Gods, our pleasure and profits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it;*

- Therefore let us choose life that we, and our seed may live, by obeying His voice and
- 15 cleaving to Him, for He is our life and our prosperity.

WILLIAM PENN

Preface to the Frame of Government

CONSTITUTION EXCERPT

May 5, 1682
Province of Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

William Penn, Founder of the Province of Pennsylvania, wrote this preface for the colony's first constitution.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. According to William Penn, does God desire a government for mankind?
2. What is the purpose of government?
3. Are the people meant to participate in government?
4. What is the importance of good men to a community?
5. What is the relationship between liberty and obedience?

“Frame of Government of Pennsylvania,” The Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/pa04.asp [Original Source: The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies, Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America (Congress: June 30, 1906).]

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When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures, it pleased him to choose man his Deputy to rule it: and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honor and his happiness, and whilst he stood here, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive means; the precept of divine love and truth, in his bosom, was the guide and keeper of his innocency. But lust prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it; and the law, that before had no power over him, took place upon him, and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not live comformable to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction of the just law without, in a Judicial administration.

This the Apostle teaches in divers of his epistles: "The law," says he, "was added because of transgression." In another place, "knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man; but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and prophane, for murderers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, and for man-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons," etc., but this is not all; he opens and carries the matter of government a little further: "let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil: wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same." "He is the minister of God to thee for good." "Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake."

This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends: first, to terrify evil doers: secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world, as good men shall be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a filing sacred in its institution and end. For, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is as such, though a lower, yet an emanation of the same Divine Power, that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the

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other more corporal and compulsive in its operations: but that is only to evil doers; government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness and charity, as a more private society. They weakly err, that think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it: daily experience tells us that the care and
5 regulation of many other affairs, more soft, and daily necessary, make up much of the greatest part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fell, and will continue among men, on earth, under the highest attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed Second Adam, the Lord from heaven. Thus much of government in general, as to its rise and end.

10 For particular frames and models, it will become me to say little; and comparatively I will say nothing. My reasons are:

First. That the age is too nice and difficult for it; there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. It is true, they seem to agree to the end, to wit, happiness; but, in the means, they differ, as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much
15 the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason, and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

Secondly. I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergences have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government, that
20 shall serve all places alike.

Thirdly. I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men discourse on the subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: Any government is free to the
25 people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.

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But lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders that in good hands, [it] would not do well enough; and story tells us, the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great or good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as
5 governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn.

I know some say, let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them: but
10 let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better: for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men, but good men will never want good laws nor suffer ill ones. It is true, good laws have some awe upon-ill ministers, but that is where they have not power to escape or abolish them and the people are generally wise and good: but a loose and depraved people (which is the question) love laws and an
15 administration like themselves. That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it, viz: men of wisdom and virtue, qualities, that because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy than to their parents for their private patrimonies

20 These considerations of the weight of government and the nice and various opinions about it made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame and conditional laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humors and engagements and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

But, next to the power of necessity, (which is a solicitor that will take no denial) this
25 induced me to a compliance, that we have (with reverence to God and good conscience to men) to the best of our skill contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government to the great end of all government; viz., to support power in reverence with the people and to secure the people from the almost of power; that they may be free by

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their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy. Where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions, but where both are
5 wanting, it must be totally subverted; then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

FIRST PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY

An Act for Freedom of Conscience

LAW

December 7, 1682

Province of Pennsylvania | Chester, Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

William Penn, Governor of Pennsylvania, insisted upon this law, which the Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly passed in 1682.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the proper end of government?
2. Why are there laws?
3. What is the freedom of conscience?
4. What are its limits?
5. What are the punishments given for breaking this law?

“Pennsylvania: An Act for Freedom of Conscience,” *Colonial Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary History*, ed. Donald S. Lutz (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1998).

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Whereas the glory of almighty God and the good of mankind is the reason and end of government and, therefore, government in itself is a venerable ordinance of God. And forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the Proprietary and Governor and the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging to make
5 and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty in opposition to all unchristian, licentious, and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Caesar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppression on the one side and insolence and licentiousness on the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the Governor and people of the province
10 and territories aforesaid and their posterity.

Be it, therefore, enacted by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the freemen of this province and counties aforesaid in assembly met and by the authority of the same, that these following chapters and paragraphs shall be the laws of Pennsylvania and the territories thereof.

15 Chap. i. Almighty God, being only Lord of conscience, father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who can only enlighten the mind and persuade and convince the understandings of people, in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind:

Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person now or at any time hereafter
20 living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge one almighty God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and who professes him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and quietly under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice. Nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or
25 ministry whatever contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his, or her, Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection. And if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matters

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of religion, such person shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace and be punished accordingly.

But to the end that looseness, irreligion, and atheism may not creep in under pretense of conscience in this province, be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that,
5 according to the example of the primitive Christians and for the ease of the creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, people shall abstain from their usual and common toil and labor that, whether masters, parents, children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the scriptures of truth at home or frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions.

10 Chap. ii. And be it further enacted by, etc., that all officers and persons commissioned and employed in the service of the government in this province and all members and deputies elected to serve in the Assembly thereof and all that have a right to elect such deputies shall be such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the son of God, the savior of the world, and that are not convicted of ill-fame or unsober and
15 dishonest conversation and that are of twenty-one years of age at least.

Chap. iii. And be it further enacted, etc., that whosoever shall swear in their common conversation by the name of God or Christ or Jesus, being legally convicted thereof, shall pay, for every such offense, five shillings or suffer five days imprisonment in the house of correction at hard labor to the behoove of the public and be fed with bread and water
20 only during that time.

Chap. v. And be it further enacted, etc., for the better prevention of corrupt communication, that whosoever shall speak loosely and profanely of almighty God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, or the scriptures of truth, and is legally convicted thereof, shall pay, for every such offense, five shillings or suffer five days imprisonment in the
25 house of correction at hard labor to the behoove of the public and be fed with bread and water only during that time.

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Chap. vi. And be it further enacted, etc., that whosoever shall, in their conversation, at any time curse himself or any other and is legally convicted thereof shall pay for every such offense five shillings or suffer five days imprisonment as aforesaid.

KING JOHN OF ENGLAND*Magna Carta Libertatum*

ROYAL CHARTER

June 15, 1215

The Meadow of Runnymede | Windsor, England

BACKGROUND

Following the loss of English territory in France, England was left weak and vulnerable. In order to regain power, King John attempted to assert total authority over all the barons of England. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted to prevent the potential civil war by drafting the Magna Carta, which was signed by King John.

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JOHN, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, foresters, sheriffs, stewards, servants, and to all his officials and loyal subjects, Greeting.

5 KNOW THAT BEFORE GOD, for the health of our soul and those of our ancestors and heirs, to the honour of God, the exaltation of the holy Church, and the better ordering of our kingdom, at the advice of our reverend fathers...and other loyal subjects:

(1) FIRST, THAT WE HAVE GRANTED TO GOD, and by this present charter have confirmed for us and our heirs in perpetuity, that the English Church shall be free, and shall have its rights undiminished, and its liberties unimpaired. That we wish this so to be
10 observed, appears from the fact that of our own free will, before the outbreak of the

“Magna Carta, 1215,” The National Archives, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/magna-carta/british-library-magna-carta-1215-runnymede> [Translation by the British Library].

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present dispute between us and our barons, we granted and confirmed by charter the freedom of the Church's elections – a right reckoned to be of the greatest necessity and importance to it – and caused this to be confirmed by Pope Innocent III. This freedom we shall observe ourselves, and desire to be observed in good faith by our heirs in perpetuity.

5 TO ALL FREE MEN OF OUR KINGDOM we have also granted, for us and our heirs for ever, all the liberties written out below, to have and to keep for them and their heirs, of us and our heirs: ...

(4) The guardian of the land of an heir who is under age shall take from it only reasonable revenues, customary dues, and feudal services. He shall do this without destruction or
10 damage to men or property. If we have given the guardianship of the land to a sheriff, or to any person answerable to us for the revenues, and he commits destruction or damage, we will exact compensation from him, and the land shall be entrusted to two worthy and prudent men of the same 'fee', who shall be answerable to us for the revenues, or to the
15 person to whom we have assigned them. If we have given or sold to anyone the guardianship of such land, and he causes destruction or damage, he shall lose the guardianship of it, and it shall be handed over to two worthy and prudent men of the same 'fee', who shall be similarly answerable to us.

(5) For so long as a guardian has guardianship of such land, he shall maintain the houses, parks, fish preserves, ponds, mills, and everything else pertaining to it, from the revenues
20 of the land itself. When the heir comes of age, he shall restore the whole land to him, stocked with plough teams and such implements of husbandry as the season demands and the revenues from the land can reasonably bear.

(6) Heirs may be given in marriage, but not to someone of lower social standing. Before a marriage takes place, it shall be made known to the heir's next-of-kin.

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(7) At her husband's death, a widow may have her marriage portion and inheritance at once and without trouble. She shall pay nothing for her dower, marriage portion, or any inheritance that she and her husband held jointly on the day of his death...

5 (8) No widow shall be compelled to marry, so long as she wishes to remain without a husband. But she must give security that she will not marry without royal consent, if she holds her lands of the Crown, or without the consent of whatever other lord she may hold them of.

(9) Neither we nor our officials will seize any land or rent in payment of a debt, so long as the debtor has movable goods sufficient to discharge the debt...

10 (12) No 'scutage' or 'aid' may be levied in our kingdom without its general consent, unless it is for the ransom of our person, to make our eldest son a knight, and (once) to marry our eldest daughter. For these purposes only a reasonable 'aid' may be levied...

15 (13) The city of London shall enjoy all its ancient liberties and free customs, both by land and by water. We also will and grant that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports shall enjoy all their liberties and free customs.

(14) To obtain the general consent of the realm for the assessment of an 'aid' – except in the three cases specified above – or a 'scutage', we will cause the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons to be summoned individually by letter...

20 (16) No man shall be forced to perform more service for a knight's 'fee', or other free holding of land, than is due from it.

(17) Ordinary lawsuits shall not follow the royal court around, but shall be held in a fixed place...

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- 5 (20) For a trivial offence, a free man shall be fined only in proportion to the degree of his offence, and for a serious offence correspondingly, but not so heavily as to deprive him of his livelihood. In the same way, a merchant shall be spared his merchandise, and a villein the implements of his husbandry, if they fall upon the mercy of a royal court. None of these fines shall be imposed except by the assessment on oath of reputable men of the neighbourhood.
- (21) Earls and barons shall be fined only by their equals, and in proportion to the gravity of their offence.
- 10 (22) A fine imposed upon the lay property of a clerk in holy orders shall be assessed upon the same principles, without reference to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice...
- (24) No sheriff, constable, coroners, or other royal officials are to hold lawsuits that should be held by the royal justices...
- (30) No sheriff, royal official, or other person shall take horses or carts for transport from any free man, without his consent.
- 15 (31) Neither we nor any royal official will take wood for our castle, or for any other purpose, without the consent of the owner.
- (32) We will not keep the lands of people convicted of felony in our hand for longer than a year and a day, after which they shall be returned to the lords of the 'fees' concerned...
- 20 (38) In future no official shall place a man on trial upon his own unsupported statement, without producing credible witnesses to the truth of it.
- (39) No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled, or deprived of his standing in any way, nor will we proceed with force

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against him, or send others to do so, except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land.

(40) To no one will we sell, to no one deny or delay right or justice...

(45) We will appoint as justices, constables, sheriffs, or other officials, only men that
5 know the law of the realm and are minded to keep it well...

(51) As soon as peace is restored, we will remove from the kingdom all the foreign knights, bowmen, their attendants, and the mercenaries that have come to it, to its harm, with horses and arms.

(52) To any man whom we have deprived or dispossessed of lands, castles, liberties, or
10 rights, without the lawful judgment of his equals, we will at once restore these. In cases of dispute the matter shall be resolved by the judgment of the twenty-five barons...

(55) All fines that have been given to us unjustly and against the law of the land, and all fines that we have exacted unjustly, shall be entirely remitted or the matter decided by a majority judgment of the twenty-five barons referred to below in the clause for securing
15 the peace together with Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present...

(60) All these customs and liberties that we have granted shall be observed in our kingdom in so far as concerns our own relations with our subjects. Let all men of our kingdom, whether clergy or laymen, observe them similarly in their relations with their own men.

20 (61) SINCE WE HAVE GRANTED ALL THESE THINGS for God, for the better ordering of our kingdom, and to allay the discord that has arisen between us and our barons, and since we desire that they shall be enjoyed in their entirety, with lasting strength, for ever, we give and grant to the barons the following security:

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The barons shall elect twenty-five of their number to keep, and cause to be observed with all their might, the peace and liberties granted and confirmed to them by this charter.

- 5 If we, our chief justice, our officials, or any of our servants offend in any respect against any man, or transgress any of the articles of the peace or of this security, and the offence is made known to four of the said twenty-five barons, they shall come to us – or in our absence from the kingdom to the chief justice – to declare it and claim immediate redress. If we, or in our absence abroad the chief justice, make no redress within forty days, reckoning from the day on which the offence was declared to us or to him, the four barons shall refer the matter to the rest of the twenty-five barons, who may distrain upon and assail us in every way possible, with the support of the whole community of the land, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, or anything else saving only our own person and those of the queen and our children, until they have secured such redress as they have determined upon. Having secured the redress, they may then resume their normal obedience to us...
- 10
- 15 If one of the twenty-five barons dies or leaves the country, or is prevented in any other way from discharging his duties, the rest of them shall choose another baron in his place, at their discretion, who shall be duly sworn in as they were.

- In the event of disagreement among the twenty-five barons on any matter referred to them for decision, the verdict of the majority present shall have the same validity as a unanimous verdict of the whole twenty-five, whether these were all present or some of those summoned were unwilling or unable to appear.
- 20

The twenty-five barons shall swear to obey all the above articles faithfully, and shall cause them to be obeyed by others to the best of their power.

- We will not seek to procure from anyone, either by our own efforts or those of a third party, anything by which any part of these concessions or liberties might be revoked or
- 25

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diminished. Should such a thing be procured, it shall be null and void and we will at no time make use of it, either ourselves or through a third party...

(63) IT IS ACCORDINGLY OUR WISH AND COMMAND that the English Church shall be free, and that men in our kingdom shall have and keep all these liberties, rights,
5 and concessions, well and peaceably in their fullness and entirety for them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and all places for ever.

Both we and the barons have sworn that all this shall be observed in good faith and without deceit. Witness the abovementioned people and many others.

Given by our hand in the meadow that is called Runnymede, between Windsor and
10 Staines, on the fifteenth day of June in the seventeenth year of our reign.

PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND

An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

February 13, 1689
Parliament | London, England

English Bill of Rights

BACKGROUND

Following a civil war, revolution, the Cromwell Protectorate, and a second, bloodless revolution, the English Parliament enacted this law in 1689.

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An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown.

- Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon
- 5 the thirteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-eight present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing made by the said Lords and Commons in the words following, viz.:
- 10 Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of diverse evil counsellors, judges and ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom;

“English Bill of Rights 1689,” The Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/england.asp.

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By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws and the execution of laws without consent of Parliament...

By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretense of prerogative for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament;

- 5 By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law;

By causing several good subjects being Protestants to be disarmed at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law;

By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament;

- 10 By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament, and by diverse other arbitrary and illegal courses;

And whereas of late years partial corrupt and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly diverse jurors in trials for high treason which were not freeholders;

- 15 And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects;

And excessive fines have been imposed;

And illegal and cruel punishments inflicted;

- 20 And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied;

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm;

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And whereas the said late King James the Second having abdicated the government and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and diverse
5 principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two and twentieth day of January in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight [old style date], in
10 order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted, upon which letters elections having been accordingly made;

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the
15 ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties declare

That the pretended power of suspending the laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;

That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal
20 authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal...

That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal;

That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and
25 prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal;

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That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law;

That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions and as allowed by law;

5 That election of members of Parliament ought to be free;

That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament;

That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted;

10 That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders;

That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void;

15 And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

...Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons
20 assembled at Westminster do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be and be declared king and queen of England, France and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them, the said prince and princess, during their lives and the life of the survivor to them, and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and

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executed by the said prince of Orange in the names of the said prince and princess during their joint lives, and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the same kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess, and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body, and for
5 default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do pray the said prince and princess to accept the same accordingly...

...Now in pursuance of the premises the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming and establishing the
10 said declaration and the articles, clauses, matters and things therein contained by the force of law made in due form by authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be; and that
15 all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed as they are expressed in the said declaration, and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their Majesties and their successors according to the same in all time to come...And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm by reason of any pretended titles to the crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which
20 the unity, peace, tranquility and safety of this nation doth under God wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do beseech their Majesties that it may be enacted, established and declared, that the crown and regal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said Majesties and the survivor of them
25 during their lives and the life of the survivor of them, and that the entire, perfect and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in and executed by his Majesty in the names of both their Majesties during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her Majesty...and thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do in the name of all the

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people aforesaid most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities for ever, and do faithfully promise that they will stand to, maintain and defend their said Majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers with their lives and estates against all persons
5 whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary. And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do further pray that it may be enacted, that
10 all and every person and persons that is, are or shall be reconciled to or shall hold communion with the see or Church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess or enjoy the crown and government of this realm and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging or any part of the same, or to have, use or exercise any regal power, authority or jurisdiction within the same...

15 ...Provided that no charter or grant or pardon granted before the three and twentieth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-nine shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law and no other than as if this Act had never been made.

ANONYMOUS (JOHN LOCKE)

Two Treatises of Government

BOOK EXCERPTS

December 1689
England

BACKGROUND

English doctor and political thinker John Locke published this work on government during the time of Glorious Revolution in England, which was read and influential among colonial leaders in the British North American colonies during the following century.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why do men form political societies according to Locke?
2. What are the two powers man possesses in the state of nature?

John Locke, "Book II," in *Two Treatises of Government* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1824).

123. If man in the state of nature be so free, as has been said; if he be absolute lord of his own person and possessions, equal to the greatest, and subject to nobody, why will he part with his freedom? Why will he give up his empire, and subject himself to the dominion and control of any other power? To which it is obvious to answer, that though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the invasion of others; for all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, and the greater part no strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very unsecure. This makes him willing to quit a condition, which, however free, is full of fears and continual dangers: and it is not without reason, that he seeks out, and is willing to join in society with others, who are already united, or have a mind to unite, for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates, which I call by the general name, property.

124. The great and chief end, therefore, of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property. To which in the state of nature there are many things wanting. First, There wants an established, settled, known law, received and allowed by common consent to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide all controversies between them: for though the law of nature be plain and intelligible to all rational creatures; yet men being biased by their interest, as well as ignorant for want of studying it, are not apt to allow of it as a law binding to them in the application of it to their particular cases.

125. Secondly, In the state of nature there wants a known and indifferent judge, with authority to determine all differences according to the established law: for every one in that state being both judge and executioner of the law of nature, men being partial to themselves, passion and revenge is very apt to carry them too far, and with too much heat, in their own cases; as well as negligence, and unconcernedness, to make them too remiss in other men's.

126. Thirdly, In the state of nature there often wants power to back and support the sentence when right, and to give it due execution. They who by any injustice offend, will seldom fail, where they are able, by force to make good their injustice; such resistance many times makes the punishment dangerous, and frequently destructive, to those who attempt
5 it.

127. Thus mankind, notwithstanding all the privileges of the state of nature, being but in an ill condition, while they remain in it, are quickly driven into society. Hence it comes to pass that we seldom find any number of men live any time together in this state. The inconveniencies that they are therein exposed to, by the irregular and uncertain exercise of
10 the power every man has of punishing the transgressions of others, make them take sanctuary under the established laws of government, and therein seek the preservation of their property. It is this makes them so willingly give up every one his single power of punishing, to be exercised by such alone, as shall be appointed to it amongst them; and by such rules as the community, or those authorized by them to that purpose, shall agree on. And in this
15 we have the original right of both the legislative and executive power, as well as of the governments and societies themselves.

128. For in the state of nature, to omit the liberty he has of innocent delights, a man has two powers. The first is to do whatsoever he thinks fit for the preservation of himself and others within the permission of the law of nature: by which law, common to them all, he
20 and all the rest of mankind are one community, make up one society, distinct from all other creatures. And, were it not for the corruption and viciousness of degenerate men, there would be no need of any other; no necessity that men should separate from this great and natural community, and by positive agreements combine into smaller and divided associations. The other power a man has in the state of nature, is the power to punish the crimes
25 committed against that law. Both these he gives up, when he joins in a private, if I may so call it, or particular politic society, and incorporates into any commonwealth, separate from the rest of mankind.

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129. The first power, viz. “of doing whatsoever he thought fit for the preservation of himself,” and the rest of mankind, he gives up to be regulated by laws made by the society, so far forth as the preservation of himself and the rest of that society shall require; which laws of the society in many things confine the liberty he had by the law of nature.

- 5 130. Secondly, The power of punishing he wholly gives up, and engages his natural force, (which he might before employ in the execution of the law of nature, by his own single authority, as he thought fit) to assist the executive power of the society, as the law thereof shall require: for being now in a new state, wherein he is to enjoy many conveniencies, from the labor, assistance, and society of others in the same community, as well as protection
- 10 from its whole strength; he is to part also, with as much of his natural liberty, in providing for himself, as the good, prosperity, and safety of the society shall require; which is not only necessary, but just, since the other members of the society do the like....

