

# Writing Freedom

## Words That Shaped a Nation

*We the People* of the  
 insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence  
 and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution  
 We the People  
 All legislative Powers herein granted shall be



Boston Tea Party

**Discuss It** In what ways is the concept of “no taxation without representation” central to America’s identity as a nation? Write your response before sharing your ideas.



UNIT 1

UNIT INTRODUCTION

ESSENTIAL QUESTION:

What is the meaning of freedom?

LAUNCH TEXT  
ARGUMENT MODEL  
Totally Free?



WHOLE-CLASS LEARNING

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Focus Period: 1750–1800  
A New Nation



ANCHOR TEXT: FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENT

Declaration of Independence  
Thomas Jefferson



▶ MEDIA CONNECTION:  
John F. Kennedy Reads the Declaration of Independence

ANCHOR TEXT: FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS

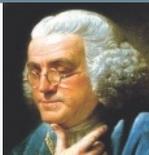
Preamble to the Constitution  
Gouverneur Morris



Bill of Rights  
James Madison

ANCHOR TEXT: SPEECH

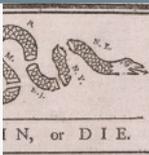
Speech in the Convention  
Benjamin Franklin



▶ MEDIA CONNECTION:  
The U. S. Constitution

MEDIA: IMAGE GALLERY

The American Revolution: Visual Propaganda



PERFORMANCE TASK

WRITING FOCUS:  
Write an Argument

SMALL-GROUP LEARNING

EXPOSITORY NONFICTION

from America's Constitution: A Biography  
Akhil Reed Amar



COMPARE

GRAPHIC NOVEL

from The United States Constitution: A Graphic Adaptation  
Jonathan Hennessey and Aaron McConnell



AUTOBIOGRAPHY

from The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano  
Olaudah Equiano



LETTER | BIOGRAPHY

Letter to John Adams  
Abigail Adams



from Dear Abigail: The Intimate Lives and Revolutionary Ideas of Abigail Adams and Her Two Remarkable Sisters  
Diane Jacobs

SPEECH

Gettysburg Address  
Abraham Lincoln



PERFORMANCE TASK

SPEAKING AND LISTENING FOCUS:  
Present an Argument

INDEPENDENT LEARNING

ESSAY

from Democracy Is Not a Spectator Sport  
Arthur Blaustein with Helen Matatov



SPEECH

Reflections on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution  
Thurgood Marshall



POETRY

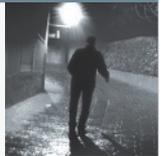
Speech to the Young  
Speech to the Progress-Toward  
Gwendolyn Brooks



The Fish  
Elizabeth Bishop

SHORT STORY

The Pedestrian  
Ray Bradbury



POLITICAL DOCUMENT

from the Iroquois Constitution  
Dekanawidah, translated by Arthur C. Parker



ARGUMENT

from Common Sense  
Thomas Paine



PERFORMANCE-BASED ASSESSMENT PREP

Review Evidence for an Argument

PERFORMANCE-BASED ASSESSMENT

Argument: Essay and Video Commentary

PROMPT:

What are the most effective tools for establishing and preserving freedom?

## Unit Goals

Throughout this unit, you will deepen your perspective of American freedoms by reading, writing, speaking, listening, and presenting. These goals will help you succeed on the Unit Performance-Based Assessment.

Rate how well you meet these goals right now. You will revisit your ratings later when you reflect on your growth during this unit.



### READING GOALS

1 2 3 4 5

- Read a variety of texts to gain the knowledge and insight needed to write about American freedoms. ○—○—○—○—○
- Expand your knowledge and use of academic and concept vocabulary. ○—○—○—○—○

### WRITING AND RESEARCH GOALS

1 2 3 4 5

- Write an argument that has a clear structure and that draws evidence from texts and original research to support a claim. ○—○—○—○—○
- Conduct research projects of various lengths to explore a topic and clarify meaning. ○—○—○—○—○

### LANGUAGE GOALS

1 2 3 4 5

- Note differences in language style over time and in various contexts. ○—○—○—○—○
- Establish a writing “voice.” ○—○—○—○—○
- Correctly use parallelism and verb tenses to convey meaning and enrich your writing and presentations. ○—○—○—○—○

### SPEAKING AND LISTENING GOALS

1 2 3 4 5

- Collaborate with your team to build on the ideas of others, develop consensus, and communicate. ○—○—○—○—○
- Integrate audio, visuals, and text to present information. ○—○—○—○—○

#### STANDARDS

**L.11–12.6** Acquire and use accurately general academic and domain-specific words and phrases, sufficient for reading, writing, speaking, and listening at the college and career readiness level; demonstrate independence in gathering vocabulary knowledge when considering a word or phrase important to comprehension or expression.

## Academic Vocabulary: Argument

Understanding and using academic terms can help you to read, write, and speak with precision and clarity. Here are five academic words that will be useful to you in this unit as you analyze and write arguments.

Complete the chart.

1. Review each word, its root, and the mentor sentences.
2. Use the information and your own knowledge to predict the meaning of each word.
3. For each word, list at least two related words.
4. Refer to a dictionary or other resources if needed.

**TIP**

**FOLLOW THROUGH**

Study the words in this chart, and mark them or their forms wherever they appear in the unit.

WORD	MENTOR SENTENCES	PREDICT MEANING	RELATED WORDS
<p><b>confirm</b></p> <p>ROOT: <b>-firm-</b> "strong"; "steadfast"</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. We could <i>confirm</i> the bird's species by its unusual song.</li> <li>2. Please <i>confirm</i> your position on this topic; right now, I am unsure where you stand.</li> </ol>		<p>confirmation; unconfirmed</p>
<p><b>demonstrate</b></p> <p>ROOT: <b>-mon-</b> "show"; "point out"</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In today's art class, Justin will <i>demonstrate</i> his use of pastels.</li> <li>2. Like humans, some apes use facial expressions to <i>demonstrate</i> feelings.</li> </ol>		
<p><b>supplement</b></p> <p>ROOT: <b>-ple-</b> "fill"</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Some people <i>supplement</i> their diet with a daily multivitamin.</li> <li>2. Camila will <i>supplement</i> her income by taking a second, part-time job.</li> </ol>		
<p><b>establish</b></p> <p>ROOT: <b>-sta-</b> "stand"</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. That observant witness was able to <i>establish</i> the suspect's alibi.</li> <li>2. Max reports that he is second in his class, but his grades <i>establish</i> that he is actually first.</li> </ol>		
<p><b>conviction</b></p> <p>ROOT: <b>-vict-/vinc-</b> "conquer"</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A speaker is far more effective if she speaks with confidence and <i>conviction</i>.</li> <li>2. During the debate, the candidate's <i>conviction</i> about the rightness of his policies seemed to weaken.</li> </ol>		

## LAUNCH TEXT | ARGUMENT MODEL

This selection is an example of an **argument**, a type of writing in which the author presents a claim and organizes evidence and reasons to support that claim. This is the type of writing you will develop in the Performance-Based Assessment at the end of the unit.

**As you read**, look closely at the writer's argument, including the consideration of various viewpoints. Mark facts and examples that provide strong evidence to support the main claim.



## NOTES

- 1 If you ask a dozen high school students to define *freedom*, odds are that ten of them will answer, "Freedom means that I can do anything I want." For many people, freedom is an absolute. It implies the right to think, speak, or act however one wishes. Because we live in a civil society, however, we need to consider other people's rights as we exercise our own freedoms. A better world would combine essential human freedoms with the understanding that my freedoms should not conflict with your right to lead a safe and happy life.
- 2 Suppose that those ten high school students had the total freedom they describe. They might drive a car without a license, because they were free to do so. They might even drive *your* car, because total freedom means that they can have anything they want and do anything they like. They would be free to attend school or not, to run screaming down the hallways if they chose, or even to treat other people cruelly without fear of reprisal. Total freedom could result in lawless mayhem.
- 3 Despite their desperate desire to be free from England's rule, our nation's early leaders carefully defined freedoms in the Bill of Rights. They did not say, "Everyone is free to do as he or she chooses." They said, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress

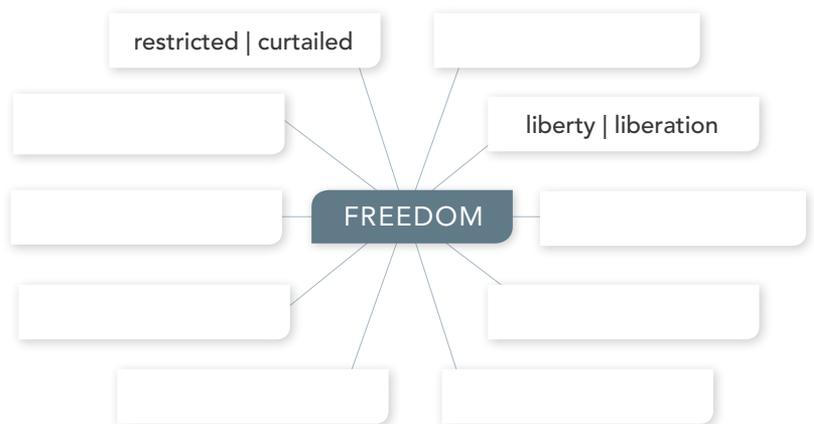
of grievances.” They established a delicate line between the rights of individuals and the power of the government.

- 4 In his 1941 State of the Union address, President Franklin Roosevelt identified four key freedoms as being basic human rights: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Those are not freedoms that one finds in a dictatorship. Nor are they freedoms that we grant to each other without the oversight and protection of government institutions. With the government’s help, and the writing of laws, my freedom from want does not allow me to steal your food, and your freedom of speech does not let you publish lies about me. We are free, but only up to the point at which our freedoms clash.
- 5 Is it even possible to be “totally free”? A person living “off the grid,” far away from civilization, might achieve that kind of liberation. Such a person could live as he or she pleased without ever imposing on the freedoms of others.
- 6 Most of us, however, live in a community. We are bound by laws that both restrict and protect us. If we live in a dictatorship, we may be more restricted and less protected. If we live in a democracy, we may be more protected and less restricted. Human history is a balancing act between the desire for individual freedom and the need to protect everyone’s freedoms.
- 7 *Freedom* implies a lack of restraint, but we are all better off if our freedoms are preserved and protected. At the same time, as members of a society, we must be sure that our freedoms do not conflict. “Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” are powerful goals, but we must never allow one person’s liberty to impose on another’s happiness. 🗣️

NOTES

 WORD NETWORK FOR WRITING FREEDOM

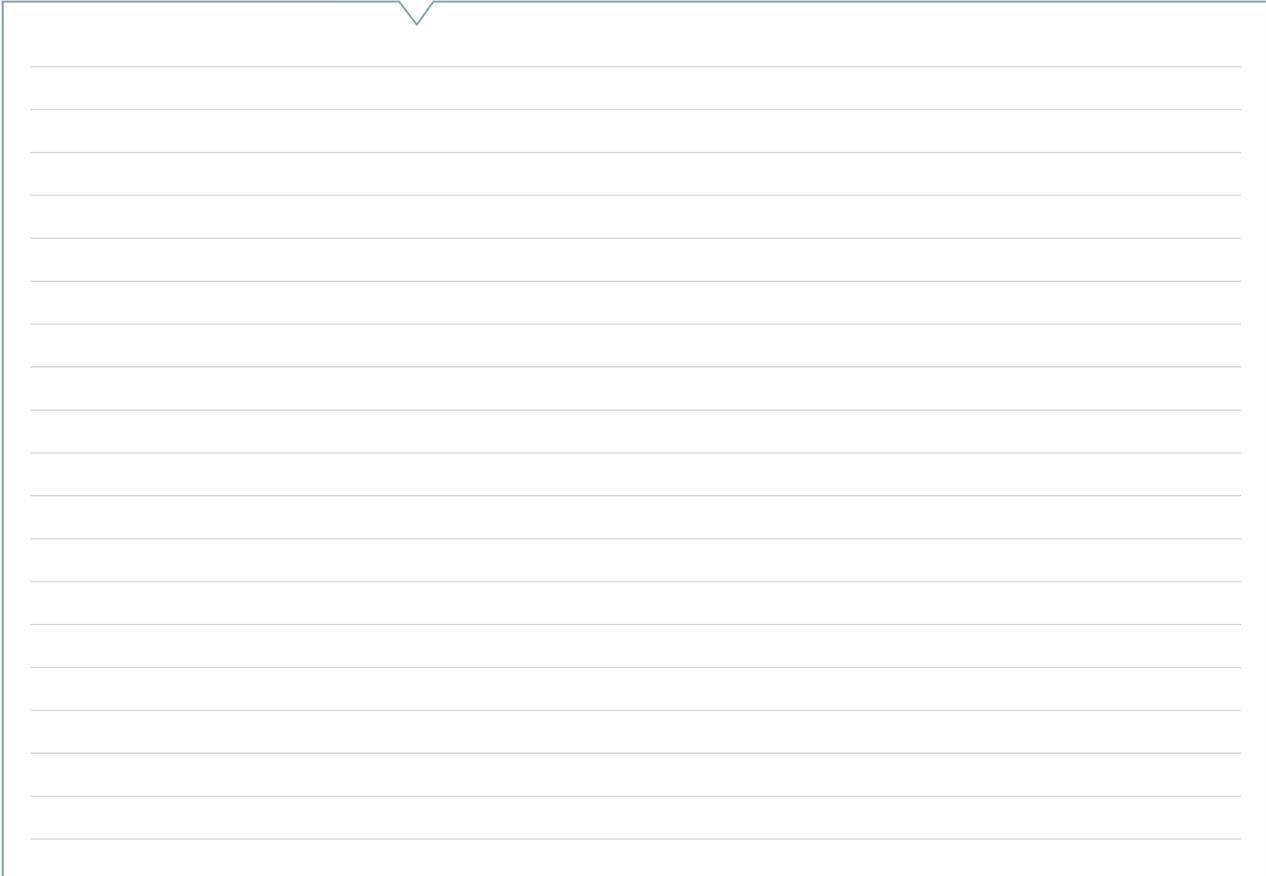
**Vocabulary** A word network is a collection of words related to a topic. As you read the unit selections, identify words related to freedom, and add them to your Word Network. For example, you might begin by adding words from the Launch Text, such as *restricted* and *liberty*. For each word you add, note a related word, such as a synonym or an antonym. Continue to add words as you complete this unit.



 **Tool Kit**  
Word Network Model

## Summary

Write a summary of “Totally Free?” Remember that a **summary** is a concise, complete, and accurate overview of a text. It should not include a statement of your opinion or an analysis.



## Launch Activity

**Define and Explain** Roll a six-sided die, and use your result to perform one of these tasks.

1. Write a definition of the word *freedom*.
2. Describe a historical example of freedom.
3. Describe a current example of freedom.
4. Explain why freedom is important to you.
5. Explain why freedom is important to a society.
6. Explain how freedom might be protected or preserved.

Find other classmates who performed the same task. Share your responses, and consider how best to convey your thinking to the rest of the class. For example, you may combine your answers, or you may revise them to write a new answer. Then, share your work with the class.





ESSENTIAL QUESTION:

# What is the meaning of freedom?

As you read these selections, work with your whole class to explore the meaning of freedom.

**From Text to Topic** For Thomas Jefferson and the other founders, freedom meant breaking away from Great Britain and establishing a nation based on democratic principles and individual liberties. Convincing the colonial majority of that idea would take persuasive words and images. For James Madison and Benjamin Franklin, after independence, freedom needed to be codified in a constitution—again, not an easy task. Issues relating to independence gripped Americans in the mid-eighteenth century. As you read, consider what the selections show about the meaning of American freedom during the country’s formative years, and how they continue to shape our ideas about freedom today.

## Whole-Class Learning Strategies

Throughout your life, in school, in your community, and in your career, you will continue to learn and work in large-group environments.

Review these strategies and the actions you can take to practice them as you work with your whole class. Add ideas of your own for each step. Get ready to use these strategies during Whole-Class Learning.

STRATEGY	ACTION PLAN
Listen actively	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eliminate distractions. For example, put your cellphone away.</li> <li>• Jot down brief notes on main ideas and points of confusion.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
Clarify by asking questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If you’re confused, other people probably are, too. Ask a question to help your whole class.</li> <li>• Ask follow-up questions as needed—for example, if you do not understand the clarification or if you want to make an additional connection.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
Monitor understanding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Notice what information you already know and be ready to build on it.</li> <li>• Ask for help if you are struggling.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
Interact and share ideas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Share your ideas and answer questions, even if you are unsure.</li> <li>• Build on the ideas of others by adding details or making a connection.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>

# CONTENTS

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Focus Period: 1750–1800

### A New Nation

The second half of the eighteenth century was a dramatic period of deep social engagement, as Americans wrestled with the possibility of independence—and the challenges of governing the country that resulted from it.



## ANCHOR TEXT: FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENT

### Declaration of Independence

Thomas Jefferson

When is a colony justified in seeking freedom from the country that governs it?

- ▶ MEDIA CONNECTION: John F. Kennedy Reads the Declaration of Independence

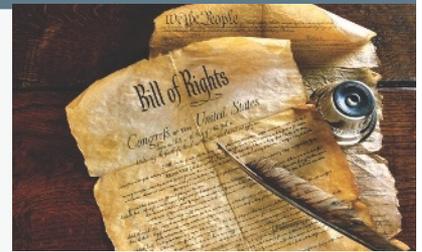


## ANCHOR TEXT: FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS

### Preamble to the Constitution *Gouverneur Morris*

### Bill of Rights *James Madison*

Why do Americans need a governing document, and what rights should it guarantee?



## ANCHOR TEXT: SPEECH

### Speech in the Convention

Benjamin Franklin

How do you persuade people to support a document with which they do not completely agree?

- ▶ MEDIA CONNECTION: The U. S. Constitution



## MEDIA: IMAGE GALLERY

### The American Revolution: Visual Propaganda

A picture is worth a thousand words—especially when it comes to propaganda.



## PERFORMANCE TASK

WRITING FOCUS

### Write an Argument

The Whole-Class readings were born during a time when conflicts between Great Britain and its American colonies were about to change history. After reading, you will write an argument about the continuing relevance of these foundational documents.



# A New Nation

## Voices of the Period

*“Courage, then, my countrymen; our contest is not only whether we ourselves shall be free, but whether there shall be left to mankind an asylum on earth for civil and religious liberty.”*

—Samuel Adams,  
advocate for colonial rights and  
signer of the Declaration of Independence

*“The Enemy have now landed on Long Island, and the hour is fast approaching, on which the Honor and Success of this army, and the safety of our bleeding Country depend. Remember officers and Soldiers, that you are Freemen, fighting for the blessings of Liberty—that slavery will be your portion, and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit yourselves like men.”*

—George Washington,  
then- Commander-in-Chief  
of the Continental Army

*“Accordingly he signed the manumission that day; so that, before night, I who had been a slave in the morning, trembling at the will of another, . . . became my own master, and completely free. I thought this was the happiest day I had ever experienced. . . .”*

—Olaudah Equiano,  
abolitionist and formerly  
enslaved African

## History of the Period

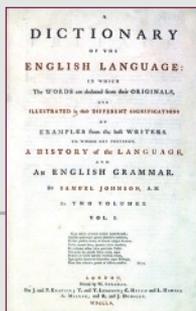
**Founded on Freedom** The quest for freedom drove the establishment of the colonies. The Pilgrims and Puritans settled Massachusetts so that they could practice their religion freely. The Quakers, who settled Pennsylvania, and the Catholics, who settled Maryland, also brought their religious convictions with them as they fled from England’s restrictions.

**An “American” Society** By the mid-eighteenth century, the thirteen disparate colonies had created a new society. Each colony was fiercely independent, but together they viewed themselves as different from societies across the Atlantic. “American” society generally valued equality and opportunity. It was much more homogenous than what was commonplace in Europe, without either nobility or a class of paupers who had no chance of bettering their lives. (Enslaved African Americans were the notable exception. Indentured servants also had limits on their freedom.) Furthermore, most of the colonial governments had two-house legislatures, elected by voters. The colonial governments may not have been fully democratic by modern standards, but colonists had—and expected—far more rights and freedoms than their counterparts in England did.

**Tightening Controls** By the mid-1700s, most Americans took pride in being in charge of their colonial governments, so the demands that Great Britain began to make after winning the French

### TIMELINE

**1754:** The Albany Congress discusses Benjamin Franklin’s Plan of Union for the Colonies.



**1755:** England Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* is published.

**1765:** The British Parliament taxes the Colonies with the Stamp Act.



**1768:** British troops occupy rebellious Boston.

1700

## Integration of Knowledge and Ideas

**Notebook** How was each of the causes resolved as a result of the American Revolution? Which effect do you think may have been most on the minds of the Americans when they rebelled? Which may have been least?

### Causes and Effects of the American Revolution

#### CAUSES

- Britain imposes taxes without providing for colonial representation in Parliament.
- Britain issues the Intolerable Acts to punish the American “rebels.”
- A growing number of colonial leaders see themselves more as American than as British.

The American Revolution

#### EFFECTS

- The thirteen British colonies become the independent United States of America.
- The United States becomes an example for other peoples seeking freedom and self-government.
- American trade becomes free of British restrictions.
- Westward expansion becomes possible, extending to the Mississippi River.

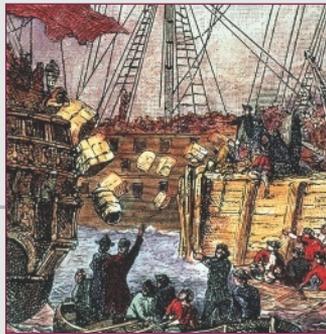
and Indian War (known in Britain as the Seven Years’ War) led inevitably to trouble. Colonists who were eager to move west were stymied by the Proclamation of 1763, which forbade settlement beyond the Appalachian Mountains. Furthermore, the taxes that Britain imposed to pay the cost of securing victory grew more and more onerous to the colonists. Quickly, “no taxation without representation” became a colonial rallying cry.

In response, England tightened its grip. In 1774, Parliament cracked down on American freedoms even more, with laws that the colonists called the

Intolerable Acts. Then, in April 1775, the conflict turned from words and laws to bullets and deaths when the first shots were fired at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts, the hotbed of rebellion.

**Declaring Independence** Six months before patriots and redcoats clashed in Massachusetts, colonial delegates had gathered to consider their complaints at the First Continental Congress. A few weeks after the events at Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia. By June, the colonies were on the road to a real break from Britain.

**1770:** Colonists and British soldiers clash in the Boston Massacre.



**1773:** Parliament’s Tea Act prompts the Boston Tea Party.

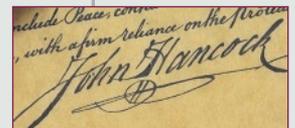
**1774:** Colonial representatives meet for the First Continental Congress.



**1775:** The American Revolution begins.

**1776:** The Second Continental Congress adopts the Declaration of Independence.

1776





When the delegates officially declared the colonies' independence, they made freedom a central factor in their rationale. It is "self-evident," they stated, that all people have "unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In concluding, they pronounced the colonies to be "free and independent states."

**Breaking the Bonds** The new United States battled for independence for the next seven years. The British had a clear goal: to keep the rebellious colonies within the British Empire. The Americans were more divided, however. Although probably no more than 20 percent of the American people were loyal to Great Britain, many others were uncertain about this radical venture of independence. Undeterred, the patriots fought on.

The colonies had a population of about 2.5 million and no standing military forces. By contrast, Great Britain boasted a population of about 7.5 million as well as the world's most powerful army and navy. However, the colonists were fighting on home territory, whereas the British were 3,000 miles away from home and lacked easy access to supplies.

Then, in 1778, France entered the war on the side of the Americans. It was French aid that enabled the Americans to win the decisive battle at Yorktown. Tradition says that as the British surrendered, their band played "The World Turn'd Upside Down," a fitting tune for what had happened. The new nation that had demanded and won its independence would be unique in the world of its day: a self-governing democracy. In 1783, the Treaty of Paris officially brought the American Revolution to an end.

**Defining Freedoms** Having fought for freedom, the new nation had to structure a government that would preserve it. The Articles of Confederation, approved in 1777 and formally ratified in 1781, confirmed the union of the thirteen states as one nation. However, the agreement largely left each state free to function on its own—an arrangement that created an often dysfunctional union. Correcting the problems led to a complete re-creation of the governmental structure and triggered the writing of the Constitution of the United States.

Not satisfied with the guarantees of freedom embedded in the Constitution, however, many leaders urged the creation of what became the Bill of Rights. These first ten amendments to the Constitution focus on guarantees of individual liberties, including freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right to legal counsel and trial by jury.

These rights did not extend to all Americans, however. For all of the focus on freedom and individual rights in the founding of the United States, enslaved African Americans—about 20 percent of the population—were left out of this discussion. In addition, even though property requirements were abolished for male voters in the new nation, 125 years would pass before suffrage was extended to American women.

**A Motivating Force** Freedom has been a defining goal throughout American history. The literature in this unit explores how freedom has shaped the United States, and how authors of both the past and present have applied visions of freedom to an ever-changing world.

TIMELINE

**1777:** The thirteen original states adopt the Articles of Confederation.



**1781:** American forces defeat the British at Yorktown.

**1783:** The Treaty of Paris ends the American Revolution.

**1788:** The United States Constitution is ratified.

**1787:** Delegates meet in Philadelphia to create a new constitution.

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1777

## Literature Selections

**Literature of the Focus Period** Several of the selections in this unit were written during the focus period and pertain to the establishment of a free United States and the rights granted to some, but not all, of its people:

- Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson
- Preamble to the Constitution, Gouverneur Morris
- Bill of Rights, James Madison
- Speech in the Convention, Benjamin Franklin
- from *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, Olaudah Equiano
- Letter to John Adams, Abigail Adams
- from *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine

**Connections Across Time** A consideration of the importance of freedom both preceded and continued past the focus period. Indeed, it has influenced writers and commentators in many times and places.

- from *America's Constitution: A Biography*, Akhil Reed Amar
- from *Dear Abigail: The Intimate Lives and Revolutionary Ideas of Abigail Adams and Her Two Remarkable Sisters*, Diane Jacobs
- Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln
- from *Democracy Is Not a Spectator Sport*, Arthur Blaustein with Helen Matatov
- Reflections on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, Thurgood Marshall
- "Speech to the Young | Speech to the Progress-Toward," Gwendolyn Brooks
- "The Fish," Elizabeth Bishop
- "The Pedestrian," Ray Bradbury
- from *the Iroquois Constitution*, Dekanawidah, translated by Arthur C. Parker

**1789:** George Washington is elected the first President of the United States.



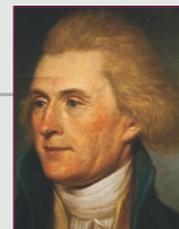
**1789:** France The French Revolution begins.

**1791:** Ten amendments—the Bill of Rights—are added to the Constitution.



**1796:** John Adams is elected the second U.S. president.

**1800:** Thomas Jefferson is elected the third U.S. president.



**1800**



# Declaration of Independence

## Concept Vocabulary

You will encounter the following words as you read the Declaration of Independence. Before reading, note how familiar you are with each word. Then, rank the words in order from most familiar (1) to least familiar (6).

WORD	YOUR RANKING
unalienable	
constrains	
tyranny	
assent	
acquiesce	
rectitude	

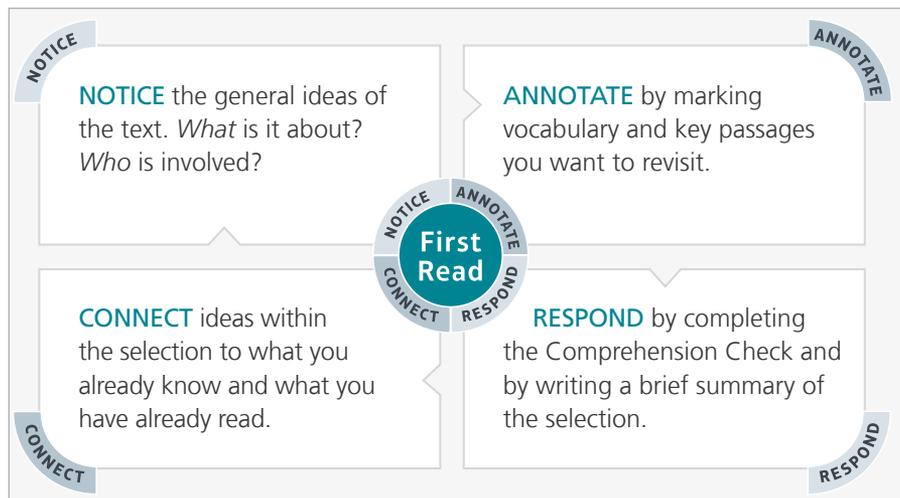
After completing the first read, come back to the concept vocabulary and review your rankings. Mark changes to your original rankings as needed.

## First Read NONFICTION

Apply these strategies as you conduct your first read. You will have an opportunity to complete the close-read notes after your first read.

### Tool Kit

First-Read Guide and Model Annotation



### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

## About the Author

## Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826)

**Author of the Declaration of Independence**

When you look at all of Thomas Jefferson's achievements, it seems almost nothing was beyond his reach. Not only did he help our nation win its independence and serve as its third president, but he also founded the University of Virginia, helped establish the public school system, designed his own home, invented a type of elevator for sending food from floor to floor, and created the decimal system for American money. He was a skilled violinist, an art enthusiast, and a brilliant writer.

**Revolutionary Leader** Born into a wealthy Virginia family, Jefferson attended the College of William and Mary and went on to earn a law degree. While serving in the Virginia House of Burgesses, he became an outspoken defender of American rights. When conflict between the colonists and the British erupted into revolution, Jefferson emerged as a leader in the effort to win independence.

**Valued Statesman** When the war ended, Jefferson served as the American minister to France for several years. He then served as the nation's first secretary of state and second vice president before becoming president in 1801.

**Building the Nation** While in office, Jefferson negotiated with France to buy a tract of land extending from the southern coast of Louisiana north into what is now Canada. This vast expanse of land included all of present-day Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. It also included most of North and South Dakota, northeastern New Mexico, northern

Texas, and portions of Minnesota, Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. This enormous real-estate deal became known as the Louisiana Purchase, and it was one of the defining achievements of Jefferson's presidency. In a single treaty, Jefferson added more than 800,000 uncharted square miles to the holdings of the nation, effectively doubling its size.

**The Lewis and Clark Expedition** Jefferson had long wanted to pursue exploration of the Pacific Northwest. The completion of the Louisiana Purchase strengthened his resolve. He convinced Congress to allocate \$2,500 to fund an expedition, writing:

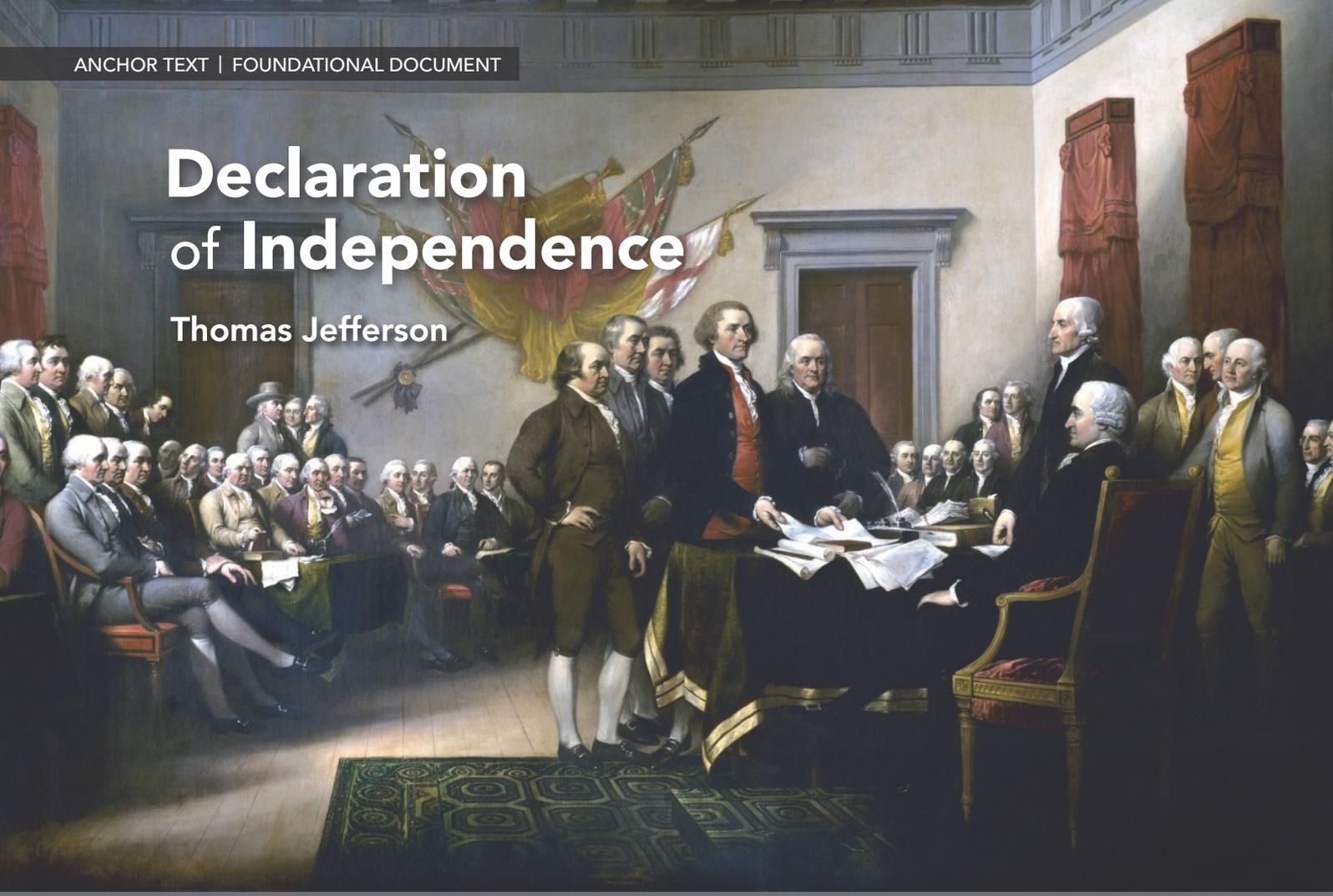
*The river Missouri, and Indians inhabiting it, are not as well known as rendered desirable by their connection with the Mississippi, and consequently with us. . . . An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men . . . might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean. . . .*

The "intelligent officer" he had in mind was his secretary, Captain Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809). Captain William Clark became co-leader of the group, which became known as the Corps of Discovery. Between 1804 and 1806, the team completed an 8,000-mile trek from St. Louis to the source of the Missouri River, across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast, and back to Missouri.

**A Patriotic Departure** On the morning of July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson died at the age of 83. John Adams, Jefferson's fellow contributor to the Declaration of Independence, died several hours later, after his longtime friend. Adams's last words were "Thomas Jefferson still survives."

# Declaration of Independence

Thomas Jefferson



SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA

## NOTES

**unalienable** (uhn AYL yuh nuh buh) *adj.* impossible to take away or give up

## BACKGROUND

The Continental Congress was formed in 1774 by the American colonies to coordinate resistance to British laws considered by most colonists to be unfair. In the summer of 1776, after about a year of war against Britain, representatives met to consider an official break with Britain.

## IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

- 1 *The unanimous declaration of the thirteen united states of America,*
- 2 When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
- 3 We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain **unalienable** rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent

of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations,<sup>1</sup> pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which **constrains** them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations,<sup>1</sup> all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute **tyranny** over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

- 4 He has refused his **assent** to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.
- 5 He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.
- 6 He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.
- 7 He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.
- 8 He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.
- 9 He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.
- 10 He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

---

1. **usurpations** (yoo zuhr PAY shuhnz) *n.* unlawful or violent seizures of power or possessions.

## NOTES

### CLOSE READ

**ANNOTATE:** Mark words in the last two sentences of paragraph 3 that seem especially strong or extreme.

**QUESTION:** Why would Jefferson employ such strong language?

**CONCLUDE:** What effect might this language have had on the American colonists? The British officials?

**constrains** (kuhn STRAYNZ) *v.* requires or forces

**tyranny** (TIHR uh nee) *n.* oppressive power

**assent** (uh SEHNT) *n.* approval or agreement

- 11 He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.
- 12 He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.
- 13 He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.
- 14 He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.
- 15 He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.
- 16 He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:
- 17 For quartering<sup>2</sup> large bodies of armed troops among us:
- 18 For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:
- 19 For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:
- 20 For imposing taxes on us without our consent:
- 21 For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:
- 22 For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:
- 23 For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:
- 24 For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:
- 25 For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.
- 26 He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.
- 27 He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.
- 28 He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.
- 29 He has constrained our fellow citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.
- 30 He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.
- 31 In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated petitions have been

**CLOSE READ**

**ANNOTATE:** Mark the verbs in paragraph 27 that describe what the king has done to the colonists.

**QUESTION:** Why do you think Jefferson chose these verbs?

**CONCLUDE:** What is the effect of this language?

2. **quartering** v. housing.

answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

32 Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity.<sup>3</sup> We must, therefore, **acquiesce** in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

33 We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the **rectitude** of our intentions, do in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war,

3. **consanguinity** (kon sang GWIHN uh tee) *n.* blood relationship.

NOTES

**acquiesce** (ak wee EHS) *v.*  
accept something reluctantly but without protest

**rectitude** (REHK tuh tood) *n.*  
morally correct behavior or thinking; uprightness

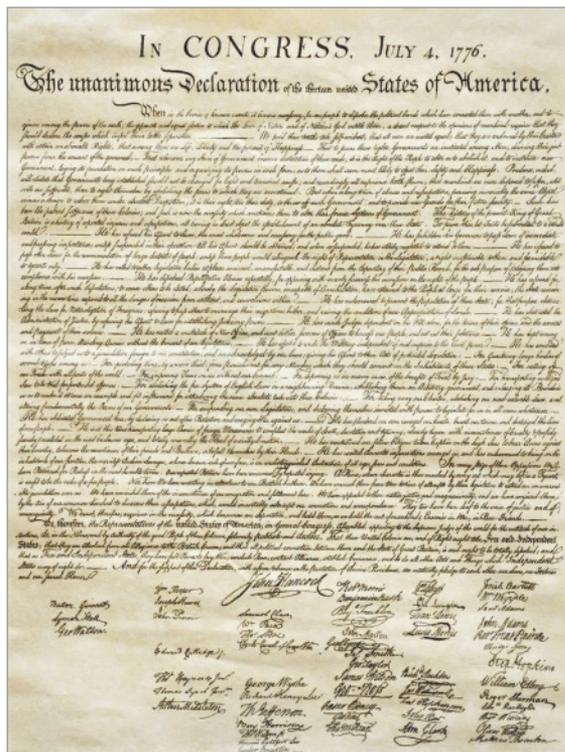


Image of the final, signed version of the Declaration of Independence

war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

*The 56 signatures on the Declaration appear in the positions indicated:*

**Column 1**

**Georgia:**

*Button Gwinnett  
Lyman Hall  
George Walton*

**Column 2**

**North Carolina:**

*William Hooper  
Joseph Hewes  
John Penn*

**South Carolina:**

*Edward Rutledge  
Thomas Heyward, Jr.  
Thomas Lynch, Jr.  
Arthur Middleton*

**Column 3**

**Massachusetts:**

*John Hancock*

**Maryland:**

*Samuel Chase  
William Paca  
Thomas Stone  
Charles Carroll  
of Carrollton*

**Virginia:**

*George Wythe  
Richard Henry Lee  
Thomas Jefferson  
Benjamin Harrison  
Thomas Nelson, Jr.  
Francis Lightfoot Lee  
Carter Braxton*

**Column 4**

**Pennsylvania:**

*Robert Morris  
Benjamin Rush  
Benjamin Franklin  
John Morton  
George Clymer  
James Smith  
George Taylor  
James Wilson  
George Ross*

**Delaware:**

*Caesar Rodney  
George Read  
Thomas McKean*

**Column 5**

**New York:**

*William Floyd  
Philip Livingston  
Francis Lewis  
Lewis Morris*

**New Jersey:**

*Richard Stockton  
John Witherspoon  
Francis Hopkinson  
John Hart  
Abraham Clark*

**Column 6**

**New Hampshire:**

*Josiah Bartlett  
William Whipple*

**Massachusetts:**

*Samuel Adams  
John Adams  
Robert Treat Paine  
Elbridge Gerry*

**Rhode Island:**

*Stephen Hopkins  
William Ellery*

**Connecticut:**

*Roger Sherman  
Samuel Huntington  
William Williams  
Oliver Wolcott*

**New Hampshire:**

*Matthew Thornton*

## MEDIA CONNECTION



John F. Kennedy Reads the Declaration of Independence

**Discuss It** In 1957, then-Senator John F. Kennedy read the Declaration of Independence as part of an Independence Day radio broadcast. What do you think the reading would have meant to radio listeners?

Write your response before sharing your ideas.

SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA 

## Comprehension Check

Complete the following items after you finish your first read.

1. What does Jefferson state directly as the reason this declaration had to be written?
2. According to Jefferson, what is a people's duty when their government is abusive?
3. What new relationship between Great Britain and the United States is announced in this document?
4. **Notebook** Write a summary of the Declaration of Independence to confirm your understanding of the text.

---

## RESEARCH

**Research to Clarify** Choose at least one unfamiliar detail from the text. Briefly research that detail. In what way does the information you learned shed light on an aspect of the document?

**Research to Explore** Conduct research to find out how some signers of the Declaration of Independence expressed their convictions about the document.



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

## Close Read the Text

1. This model, from paragraph 2 of the text, shows two sample annotations, along with questions and conclusions. Close read the passage, and find another detail to annotate. Then, write a question and your conclusion.

**ANNOTATE:** This is very grand language, referring to all of human history.

**QUESTION:** Why does Jefferson present this argument in the context of the entirety of human history?

**CONCLUDE:** Jefferson is saying that the severing of political ties between nations is of momentous importance.

**ANNOTATE:** These words seem to be gentle.

**QUESTION:** Why might Jefferson have chosen such language?

**CONCLUDE:** Perhaps he wanted to make his argument sound reasoned and logical, and not angry.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, . . . a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

2. For more practice, go back into the text and complete the close-read notes.
3. Revisit a section of the text you found important during your first read. **Annotate** what you notice. Ask yourself **questions** such as “Why did the author make this choice?” What can you **conclude**?

### Tool Kit

Close-Read Guide and Model Annotation

### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.1** Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain

**RI.11–12.8** Delineate and evaluate the reasoning in seminal U.S. texts, including the application of constitutional principles and use of legal reasoning and the premises, purposes, and arguments in works of public advocacy.

**RI.11–12.9** Analyze seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century foundational U.S. documents of historical and literary significance for their themes, purposes, and rhetorical features.

## Analyze the Text

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE** to support your answers.

**Notebook** Respond to these questions.

1. **Make Inferences** Why does Jefferson begin with points about human rights before discussing the colonists’ specific grievances?
2. (a) **Interpret** What does Jefferson mean by saying that people do not change governments for “light reasons”? (b) **Speculate** Why might people be more inclined to put up with a government that is less than satisfactory rather than change it?
3. (a) **Generalize** According to Jefferson, what has been the king’s attitude toward the laws of the colonies? (b) **Analyze** Why is that attitude an important factor in the decision to declare independence?
4. **Historical Perspectives** The signers of the Declaration of Independence knew that their announcement could mean war with powerful, well-equipped Britain. In your opinion, why isn’t that idea more prominent in the document?
5. **Essential Question: *What is the meaning of freedom?*** What have you learned about American freedoms from reading this text? How does Jefferson connect the meaning of freedom to the idea of human rights?

## Analyze Craft and Structure

**Author's Purpose: Argumentation** An **argument** is writing that is meant to get readers to think in a certain way or take a particular action. In an effective argument, the writer presents reasons and supports them with convincing evidence. He or she also uses a variety of **persuasive appeals**, or ways of framing ideas for specific effect:

- **Appeals to Emotion:** ideas or language that attempts to influence readers' feelings; appeals to emotion may include **charged language**—strong words with powerful connotations—as well as references to the divine, references to concepts like justice or fairness, and stories or anecdotes.
- **Appeals to Logic:** ideas or language that connects to readers' rationality or reason; appeals to logic emphasize relationships between evidence, such as facts, and consequences or outcomes.
- **Appeals to Authority:** ideas or language that suggests the writer has special expertise or demonstrates character in a way that merits readers' attention on the subject.

### Practice

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**  
to support your answers.

 **Notebook** Respond to these questions.

1. (a) What appeal to emotion does Jefferson use in paragraph 1?  
(b) Why is this an important technique for him to use as he begins his argument?
2. (a) Mark examples of appeals to emotion in this excerpt from paragraph 2.

*But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states.*

- (b) How does the description of Great Britain and its king constitute charged language? Explain, citing specific words.
3. (a) Which kind of appeal is represented by Jefferson's organized list of grievances? (b) How does the evidence he provides add to his argument?
4. Jefferson wrote this document during the Age of Reason, an era characterized by logic and scientific methodology. How does the Declaration of Independence reflect Jefferson's faith in reason?



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

## Concept Vocabulary

**unalienable****tyranny****acquiesce****constrains****assent****rectitude**

**Why These Words?** These concept vocabulary words convey ideas about power and rights. For example, Jefferson refers to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as *unalienable* rights. He states that the king's actions established absolute *tyranny* over the colonies.

1. How does the concept vocabulary help readers grasp the issues leading to the Declaration of Independence?
2. What other words in the selection connect to these concepts?

### Practice

 **Notebook** Complete these activities.

1. Use each concept vocabulary word in a sentence that demonstrates your understanding of the word's meaning.
2. In two of your sentences, replace the concept vocabulary word with a synonym. What is the effect? For example, which sentence is stronger? Which one makes the sentence seem more positive or more negative?

## Word Study

**Latin Root: -rect-** The Latin root *-rect-* means "right" or "straight." It is the basis for many English words, including such mathematical terms as *rectangular* (having right angles) and *rectilinear* (formed by straight lines).

1. Write a definition of *rectitude* that demonstrates your understanding of its Latin root.
2. Use a print or online college-level dictionary to find the meanings of *rectify* as the word relates to chemistry and as it relates to electronics.

### WORD NETWORK

Add words related to freedom from the text to your Word Network.

### STANDARDS

**L.11–12.1.a** Apply the understanding that usage is a matter of convention, can change over time, and is sometimes contested.

**L.11–12.1.b** Resolve issues of complex or contested usage, consulting references as needed.

**L.11–12.3.a** Vary syntax for effect, consulting references for guidance as needed; apply an understanding of syntax to the study of complex texts when reading.

**L.11–12.4.b** Identify and correctly use patterns of word changes that indicate different meanings or parts of speech. Apply knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon roots and affixes to draw inferences concerning the meaning of scientific and mathematical terminology.

**L.11–12.4.c** Consult general and specialized reference materials, both print and digital, to find the pronunciation of a word or determine or clarify its precise meaning, its part of speech, its etymology, or its standard usage.

## Conventions and Style

**Changes in Syntax and Usage** Language changes over time. During the eighteenth century, when Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, English spelling was almost identical to that of today's English. However, there are elements of Jefferson's style—the style of his era—that may seem old-fashioned to today's readers.

- **Syntax:** the structure of sentences. Some of Jefferson's sentences are very long by today's standards; in fact, the second paragraph of the Declaration is a lengthy single sentence.
- **Usage:** the way in which a word or phrase is used. Jefferson uses some words that would rarely be used—and might even be contested—today. For example, the word *consanguinity* in paragraph 32 is a term that few modern writers would use.
- **Formality:** the level of familiarity with which writers address the reader. While there are still ceremonial and public forums that require formal language, American culture is more casual now than it was in the eighteenth century. Both the purpose of the document and the style of the era are reflected in the Declaration's high level of formality.

### Read It

1. Reread paragraphs 1–2 of the Declaration of Independence. Identify four words or phrases that represent an earlier style of English.
2. Locate Jefferson's use of *conjured* in paragraph 32. What does the word mean to Jefferson in this context? What does the word often mean today? Use an etymological dictionary or other source to explain how the two meanings are connected by word origin and word history.
3. **Connect to Style** What qualities of eighteenth-century style do you find in paragraphs 28–29? Consider syntax, usage, and level of formality.

### Write It

 **Notebook** Rewrite this excerpt from the Declaration of Independence. Use modern English usage and syntax to express the same meaning. Then, compare the two versions and take note of ways in which each version would likely appeal to different audiences.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

## Writing to Sources

The Declaration of Independence represents the position of one side in a conflict. There were numerous other colonial writings, including speeches, pamphlets, and essays, that centered on the same conflict. Together, these multiple writings are a record of the ongoing debate over the colonies' relationship with Britain. Today, debates over public issues often take place in the media—in newspaper articles and editorials.

### Assignment

An editorial is a brief argumentative essay that appears in a newspaper or on a news site and expresses a position on an issue. Write an **editorial** for a local or school newspaper in which you argue your side of an issue that affects your school or community. Use modern syntax and usage, but apply some of Jefferson's persuasive techniques. For example, present a list of reasons just as Jefferson does in the Declaration of Independence.

Your editorial should include:

- a clear statement of your claim, or position
- a list of reasons that support and clarify your claim
- appeals to emotion, logic, and—if warranted—authority
- a concluding statement that follows from the argument

**Vocabulary and Conventions Connection** Consider including several of the concept vocabulary words. Also, remember to use appropriate word choices, grammar, syntax, and a style that makes your ideas clear.

unalienable

tyranny

acquiesce

constrains

assent

rectitude

### Reflect on Your Writing

After you have drafted your editorial, answer the following questions.

1. How did writing your editorial help you understand Jefferson's writing process?
2. Which of the reasons that you listed do you think offers the strongest evidence in support of your argument?
3. **Why These Words?** The words you choose can greatly increase the effect of your writing. Which words helped you create a clear and memorable argument?

#### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1** Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

**SL.11–12.1.c** Propel conversations by posing and responding to questions that probe reasoning and evidence; ensure a hearing for a full range of positions on a topic or issue; clarify, verify, or challenge ideas and conclusions; and promote divergent and creative perspectives.

## Speaking and Listening

### Assignment

You may have listened to the 1957 recording of Senator John F. Kennedy reading the Declaration of Independence. Listen to that recording again and think about his presentation. Then, participate in a **class discussion** about these questions:

- Would you find it meaningful to hear a modern politician of your choice reading this historical document today? Why or why not?
- Would it be just as meaningful to hear the document read by a classmate or a neighbor? Explain.

1. **Think About the Question** Before the discussion, consider the meaning of the Declaration of Independence.
  - Does Kennedy's reading enhance your understanding of the document?
  - Which aspects of the Declaration would a modern politician most likely consider important?
2. **Prepare Your Contribution** Make some notes for the discussion.
  - Which modern politician would you choose as a reader? Why?
  - In what ways would a reading from a classmate or a neighbor be more or less meaningful?
3. **Discuss the Questions** Keep these principles in mind.
  - Speak clearly so that your listeners can follow what you are saying.
  - Respond respectfully to the opinions of others.
  - Be prepared to answer questions that your teacher or classmates ask about your positions.
4. **Listen and Evaluate** As your classmates speak, listen attentively. Decide whether you agree or disagree with their ideas, and why. Contribute your responses with care, and support them with specific examples. In addition, take brief notes that will help as you complete a presentation evaluation guide.

#### PRESENTATION EVALUATION GUIDE

Rate each statement on a scale of 1 (not demonstrated) to 5 (demonstrated).

- Classmates made meaningful contributions to the discussion.
- All of the details in the assignment were discussed.
- Each person spoke clearly and in an appropriate tone of voice.
- Speakers supported their positions with specific examples.

#### EVIDENCE LOG

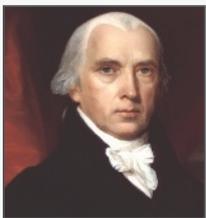
Before moving on to a new selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from the Declaration of Independence.



About the Authors



**Gouverneur Morris** (1752–1816), a distinguished scholar, represented Pennsylvania at the Constitutional Convention. He made some 173 speeches during the proceedings of the Convention, many of them in opposition to slavery. His work on the Preamble to the Constitution earned him the title “Penman of the Constitution.”



**James Madison** (1751–1836) grew up in Virginia and later served in the state’s legislature. The youngest member of the Continental Congress, he was skilled at working with delegates who held opposing views. He is often called “Father of the Constitution” for his role in drafting that document and the Bill of Rights, which followed it. Madison later served as the United States’s fourth president.

**Tool Kit**  
First-Read Guide and Model Annotation

**STANDARDS**  
**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

# Preamble to the Constitution Bill of Rights

## Concept Vocabulary

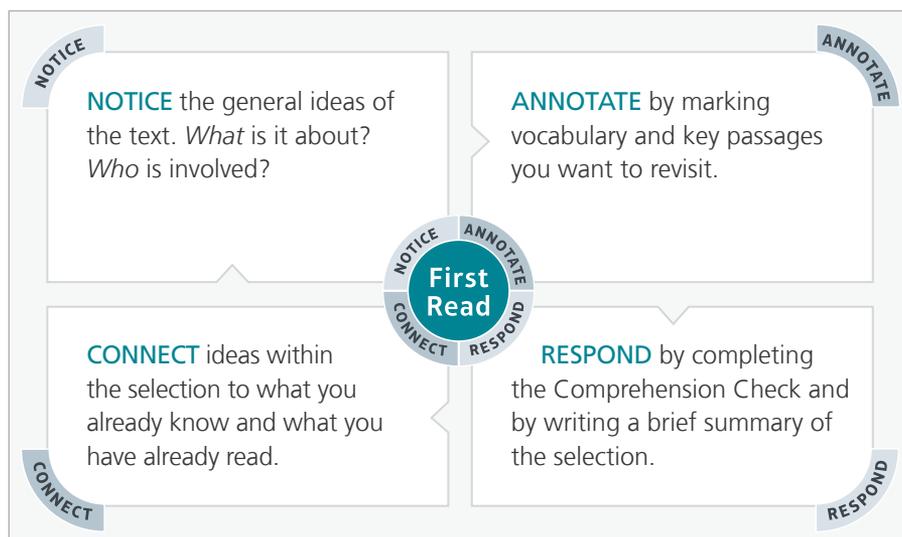
You will encounter the following words as you read the Preamble to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Before reading, note how familiar you are with each word. Then, rank the words in order from most familiar (1) to least familiar (6).

WORD	YOUR RANKING
exercise	
abridging	
petition	
redress	
infringed	
prescribed	

After completing the first read, come back to the concept vocabulary and review your ratings. Mark changes to your original rankings as needed.

## First Read NONFICTION

Apply these strategies as you conduct your first read. You will have an opportunity to complete the close-read notes after your first read.

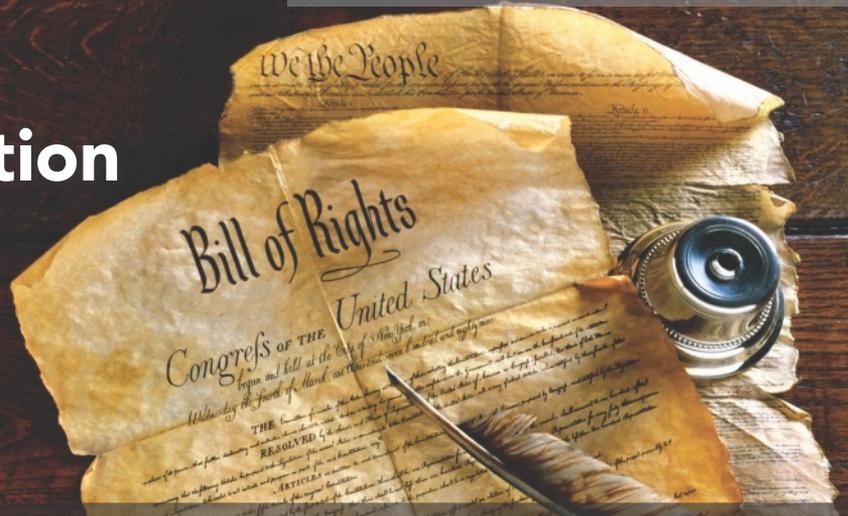


# Preamble to the Constitution

Gouverneur Morris

## Bill of Rights

James Madison



### BACKGROUND

After the Framers approved the Constitution, several of them called for the addition of more protections for individual liberties. James Madison wrote up a list of amendments. Congress passed them, and the states ratified ten of them. These ten amendments are now known as the Bill of Rights.

SCAN FOR MULTIMEDIA 

### Preamble to the United States Constitution

- 1 We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

\* \* \*

### Bill of Rights

#### Preamble

- 2 Congress of the United States begun and held at the City of New York, on Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.
- 3 THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution.
- 4 RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all, or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution; viz.<sup>1</sup>

1. **viz** *abbr.* that is; namely.

### NOTES

#### CLOSE READ

**ANNOTATE:** Mark the nouns in paragraph 1, which is the Preamble to the Constitution.

**QUESTION:** Why does the author list this particular series of nouns?

**CONCLUDE:** What do these nouns establish as the purpose of this document?

**exercise** (EHK suhr syz) *n.*  
implementation; state of  
putting something into action

**abridging** (uh BRIJH ihng) *adj.*  
limiting

**petition** (puh TIHS uhn) *v.*  
formally request; seek help  
from

**redress** (rih DREHS) *n.*  
correction; setting right of  
some wrong

**infringed** (ihn FRIHNJD) *v.*  
violated

**prescribed** (prih SKRYBD) *v.*  
stated in writing; set down  
as a rule

### CLOSE READ

**ANNOTATE:** Mark the  
adjectives that appear in  
Amendment VI.

**QUESTION:** Why are the  
few adjectives used in this  
section important?

**CONCLUDE:** What effect  
might this language have  
on someone accused of a  
crime?

- 5 ARTICLES in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

#### Amendment I

- 6 Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free **exercise** thereof; or **abridging** the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to **petition** the Government for a **redress** of grievances.

#### Amendment II

- 7 A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be **infringed**.

#### Amendment III

- 8 No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be **prescribed** by law.

#### Amendment IV

- 9 The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

#### Amendment V

- 10 No person shall be held to answer for a capital,<sup>2</sup> or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

#### Amendment VI

- 11 In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel<sup>3</sup> for his defense.

2. **capital** *adj.* punishable by execution.

3. **Counsel** *n.* lawyer or group of lawyers giving advice about legal matters and representing clients in court.

**Amendment VII**

- 12 In suits<sup>4</sup> at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

**Amendment VIII**

- 13 Excessive bail<sup>5</sup> shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

**Amendment IX**

- 14 The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

**Amendment X**

- 15 The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. 🗳️

4. **suits** *n.* lawsuits, or legal actions brought by one party against another.

5. **bail** *n.* property or money given to the court to ensure that an arrested person released from custody will return at a certain time.

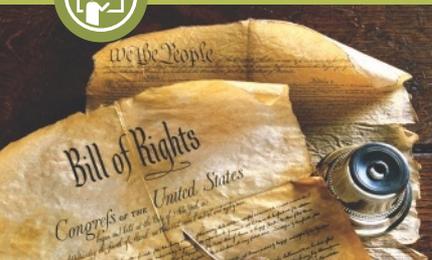
## Comprehension Check

Complete the following items after you finish your first read.

1. According to its Preamble, who is responsible for establishing the Constitution?
2. What laws are forbidden in Amendment I of the Bill of Rights?
3. Which amendments cover legal proceedings?
4. 📓 **Notebook** Write a summary of the Preamble to the Constitution and a summary of the Bill of Rights to confirm your understanding of the texts.

## RESEARCH

**Research to Clarify** Choose at least one unfamiliar detail from these texts. Briefly research that detail. In what way does the information you learned shed light on an aspect of these documents?



PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION | BILL OF RIGHTS

## Close Read the Text

1. This model—Amendment III of the Bill of Rights—shows two sample annotations, along with questions and conclusions. Close read the passage, and find another detail to annotate. Then, write a question and your conclusion.

**ANNOTATE:** These parallel phrases speak to both peace and wartime situations.

**QUESTION:** What do these details say about early American attitudes toward the military?

**CONCLUDE:** They suggest that early Americans wanted to limit military power unless it was needed.

**ANNOTATE:** The paragraph presents contrasting ideas—"consent of the owner" and "prescribed by law."

**QUESTION:** What balance of power do these terms suggest?

**CONCLUDE:** In peacetime, personal choice overrides government concerns; the opposite may be true during wartime.

No soldier, shall **in time of peace** be quartered in any house, without the **consent of the owner**, nor **in time of war**, but in a manner to be **prescribed by law**.

### Tool Kit

Close-Read Guide and Model Annotation

### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.5** Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her exposition or argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging.

**RI.11–12.5.a** Analyze the use of text features in public documents.

**RI.11–12.9** Analyze seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century foundational U.S. documents of historical and literary significance for their themes, purposes, and rhetorical features.

2. For more practice, go back into the text and complete the close-read notes.
3. Revisit a section of the text you found important during your first read. **Annotate** what you notice. Ask yourself **questions** such as "Why did the author make this choice?" What can you **conclude**?

## Analyze the Text

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE** to support your answers.

**Notebook** Respond to these questions.

1. **Analyze** How can you tell from the Preamble that the Constitution is meant to do more than merely resolve the country's issues at that time?
2. **Connect** How does Amendment II of the Bill of Rights reinforce Amendment I?
3. (a) **Paraphrase** When you **paraphrase**, you restate a text in your own words. Paraphrase Amendment VIII. (b) **Analyze** How does this amendment relate to the theme of freedom? Explain.
4. **Historical Perspectives** Which Americans were not granted the freedoms and rights set forth in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights?
5. **Essential Question: *What is the meaning of freedom?*** What have you learned about American freedoms by reading these documents?

## Analyze Craft and Structure

**Author’s Choices: Structure** Both the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are **resolutions**, or legal foundational statements that explain a set of decisions approved by a governing body. Likewise, both begin with a **preamble**, a statement that explains who is issuing the document and for what purpose. The text that follows the Preamble to the Bill of Rights illustrates a simple structure called **enumeration**, in which the major ideas (the first ten amendments) are listed in numerical order. Each of the amendments follows a regular structure, beginning with a **heading**, or label.

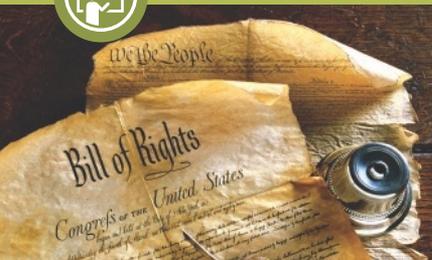
### Practice

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**  
to support your answers.

Answer these questions.

1. What does the preamble to the Bill of Rights tell readers about the reasons the document was created?
  
2. Why is “RESOLVED” used to begin the second paragraph of the Preamble?
  
3. Explain why enumeration is an effective organizational pattern for the Bill of Rights.
  
4. (a) In the chart, record the major idea of each amendment listed—specifically, what rights or related set of rights does each amendment protect? (b) How is Amendment IX different from the other amendments? Explain.

AMENDMENT	MAJOR IDEA
II	
III	
IV	
VI	
VII	
X	



PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION | BILL OF RIGHTS

## Concept Vocabulary

exercise	petition	infringed
abridging	redress	prescribed

**Why These Words?** These concept vocabulary words suggest legal limitations or remedies. For example, the Bill of Rights was written to ensure that nothing *infringed* upon citizens' rights. The document outlines basic rights but does not explain certain points in detail—for example, exactly what *redress* will be available when a wrong is committed. Both *infringed* and *redress* refer to legal matters.

1. How does the concept vocabulary allow the writers to present ideas with both formality and precision?
2. What other words in these documents connect to the concept of legal limitations or remedies?

### Practice

 **Notebook** Complete these activities.

1. Use each concept vocabulary word in a sentence that demonstrates your understanding of the word's meaning.
2. Replace each concept word with a synonym. Use a thesaurus, if you wish. Then, consider which word best expresses your meaning. Which is the clearer, more precise word?

## Word Study

**Multiple-Meaning Words** The concept vocabulary word *exercise* has more than one meaning. As a noun, *exercise* can refer to physical exertion that maintains or improves health. It also can refer to an activity that tests or displays a particular skill. As a verb, it can refer to the action of physical training or the action of implementing one's right to do something.

1. Write four sentences using the word *exercise*. Each sentence should demonstrate one of the four meanings of the word noted above.
2. The concept words *abridging*, *petition*, and *prescribed* are also multiple-meaning words. For each word, write its meaning as it is used in the Bill of Rights. Then, write a second meaning for each word. Use a college-level dictionary to verify your work.

### WORD NETWORK

Add words related to freedom from the text to your Word Network.

### STANDARDS

**L.11–12.1.a** Apply the understanding that usage is a matter of convention, can change over time, and is sometimes contested.

**L.11–12.4** Determine or clarify the meaning of unknown and multiple-meaning words and phrases based on *grades 11–12 reading and content*, choosing flexibly from a range of strategies.

**L.11–12.4.c** Consult general and specialized reference materials, both print and digital, to find the pronunciation of a word or determine or clarify its precise meaning, its part of speech, its etymology, or its standard usage.

## Conventions and Style

**Punctuation for Enumeration** Listing, or enumeration, is an important characteristic of the style used in these documents. When enumerating ideas, place a comma between each item in the series. The choice to use the **serial comma** in a list of three or more enumerated items is a matter of style. If it is used, the serial comma is placed immediately before the coordinating conjunction (usually *and*, *or*, or *nor*). In addition, enumerated text must demonstrate **parallel structure**. For instance, if two items in the list are prepositional phrases, then the remaining items should also be prepositional phrases.

TYPE OF ITEM	EXAMPLE OF PARALLEL STRUCTURE
single words	<i>nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property (nouns, from Amendment V)</i>
phrases	<i>in order to form a more perfect union, [to] establish justice, [to] insure domestic tranquility, [to] provide for the common defense, [to] promote the general welfare, and [to] secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity (infinitive phrases, from the Preamble to the Constitution)</i>
clauses	<i>Excessive bail shall not be required, nor [shall] excessive fines [be] imposed, nor [shall] cruel and unusual punishments [be] inflicted (independent clauses, from Amendment VIII)</i>

### Read It

1. Add commas to each sentence about these documents. Then, identify what type of item has been enumerated in each sentence.
  - a. The Preamble to the Constitution secures “the blessings of liberty” to the American people to their descendants and to every generation.
  - b. These brief historic and comprehensive amendments shape many aspects of American life.
  - c. Today, Americans can read the text of the Bill of Rights online they can purchase printed copies or they can see one of the original documents on display.
2.  **Notebook Connect to Style** Reread the Preamble to the Constitution. Explain how enumeration helps Madison convey a great deal of information in a compact space.

### Write It

 **Notebook** Use enumeration to revise and expand upon these sentences. Use commas to make the enumeration clear.

#### EXAMPLE

**Original Sentence:** Amendment VI identifies rights of defendants.

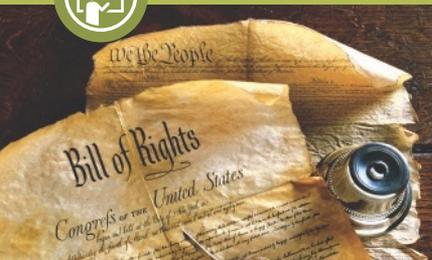
**Sentence with Enumeration:** According to Amendment VI, defendants **will have a speedy and public trial, will face witnesses, and will be represented by a lawyer.**

1. James Madison included several freedoms in Amendment I.
2. Today, the Bill of Rights does many things for Americans.

#### TIP

#### CLARIFICATION

Serial commas can increase the clarity of your writing. Consider this sentence without a serial comma: “The actress plays Marina, a mermaid and a comedian.” Did the actress play one person, Marina, who is a mermaid and a comedian? Or did she play three separate characters? Use of the serial comma eliminates this ambiguity.



PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION | BILL OF RIGHTS

## Writing to Sources

The Preamble to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are examples of informative writing. Like other kinds of informative writing, they were written primarily to convey facts. The facts are organized and presented in a way that best suits the writer's purpose and the audience's needs.

### Assignment

An extended definition is an informative text—usually one or two paragraphs—that explains a key concept. Choose and reread one amendment from the Bill of Rights. Then, write an **extended definition** of a key word or concept presented in that amendment. Your extended definition should explain both the dictionary meaning of the word or concept and any shades of meaning reflected in the amendment. Use at least two of these techniques to clarify your information and engage readers.

- Compare and contrast the word or concept with more familiar words or concepts.
- Discuss what the word or concept does *not* mean.
- Identify meanings that people often assign to the word or concept.
- Provide examples of ways in which the word or concept is used today.
- Share a personal experience that helped you understand the word or concept.

**Vocabulary and Conventions Connection** Consider including several of the concept vocabulary words. Also, remember to use commas correctly if you include enumeration.

exercise	petition	infringed
abridging	redress	prescribed

### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.2.b** Develop the topic thoroughly by selecting the most significant and relevant facts, extended definitions, concrete details, quotations, or other information and examples appropriate to the audience's knowledge of the topic.

**SL.11–12.4** Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective and a logical argument, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks. Use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation.

### Reflect on Your Writing

After you have drafted your extended definition, answer these questions.

1. Which techniques did you use to develop your extended definition?
2. In what ways did those techniques strengthen your writing?
3. **Why These Words?** The words you choose make a difference in your writing. Which words made your text more powerful or precise?

## Speaking and Listening

### Assignment

Write and deliver a **speech** about the Bill of Rights, in which you explain how the document as a whole, or a particular amendment, applies to your life. If you wish, work as a class to share these speeches as part of a lecture series called “It’s My Right!”

- 1. Write the Speech** Think about the Bill of Rights. How does it relate to your life? Which amendments are especially significant to you? Why?
  - Have you had any experiences involving freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press? If so, think about the protections offered by Amendment I.
  - How do you expect the Bill of Rights to affect your life in the future?
  - Draft your speech, using facts and examples to illustrate your personal response to the document.
- 2. Deliver the Speech** To prepare to deliver your speech, review your text and practice presenting it. Mark the words you will emphasize, points at which to pause or stop for effect, and so on.
  - As you deliver the speech, make eye contact with your audience. Don’t stare; rather, look at audience members for a few seconds to make sure they understand your message.
  - Use appropriate volume so everyone can hear you, even in the back rows. Carry yourself proudly, and hold your head up so that your voice carries.
  - Avoid rushing. Remember that your audience has not heard your speech before. Give them time to absorb your words and meaning.
- 3. Evaluate Your Presentation** After your speech, use the evaluation guide to assess how well you presented your ideas. Did you fulfill the assignment by showing how the Bill of Rights applies to your life? Were your ideas logical, clear, and appropriate to your audience and subject? Use your self-evaluation to establish several goals for your next oral presentation.

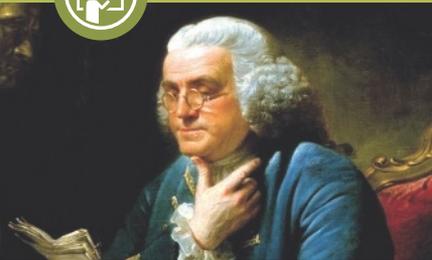
#### PRESENTATION EVALUATION GUIDE

Rate each statement on a scale of 1 (not demonstrated) to 5 (demonstrated).

- I conveyed a personal understanding of the Bill of Rights.
- I held the audience’s attention.
- I used appropriate eye contact to convey meaning and sufficient volume to be heard.
- I did not rush and pronounced words correctly and clearly.

#### EVIDENCE LOG

Before moving on to a new selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from the Preamble to the Constitution and from the Bill of Rights.



# Speech in the Convention

## Concept Vocabulary

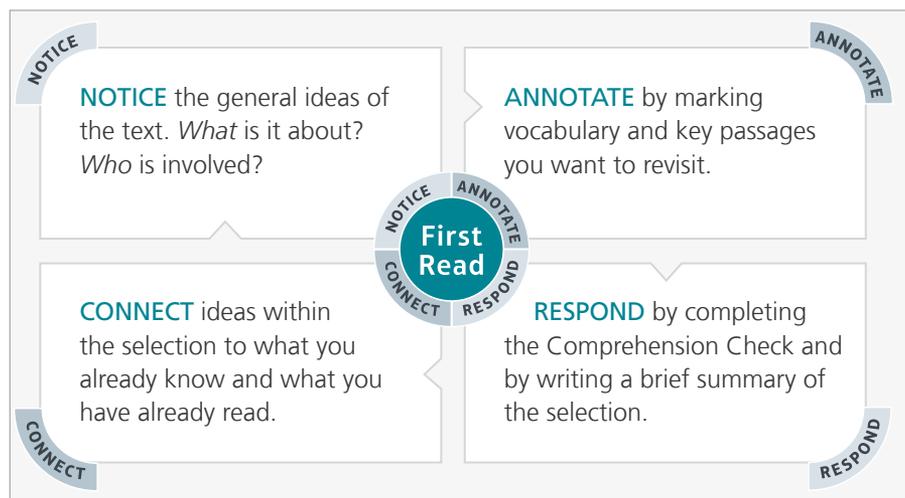
You will encounter the following words as you read the speech Benjamin Franklin gave at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Before reading, note how familiar you are with each word. Then, rank the words in order from most familiar (1) to least familiar (6).

WORD	YOUR RANKING
infallibility	
despotism	
corrupted	
prejudices	
salutary	
integrity	

After completing the first read, come back to the concept vocabulary and review your rankings. Mark changes to your original rankings as needed.

## First Read NONFICTION

Apply these strategies as you conduct your first read. You will have an opportunity to complete the close-read notes after your first read.



### Tool Kit

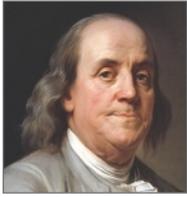
First-Read Guide and Model Annotation

### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

## About the Author

## Benjamin Franklin



From his teen years until his retirement at age forty-two, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) worked as a printer. He got his start as an apprentice to his brother James Franklin, a Boston printer. By

the time he was sixteen, Ben was not only printing, but writing parts of his brother's newspaper. Using the name "Silence Dogood," he wrote letters satirizing daily life and politics in Boston. When he was seventeen, Franklin moved to Philadelphia to open his own print shop. This move gave birth to one of his most enduring contributions to American culture, *Poor Richard's Almanack*. This annual publication, which was published from 1732 to 1752, contained information, observations, and advice and was a colonial bestseller.

**The "Write" Reputation** Just as he had signed "Silence Dogood" to the letters he wrote for his brother's paper, Franklin created a fictitious author/editor for the *Almanack*. The chatty Richard Saunders, or Poor Richard, first appeared as a dull and foolish astronomer. However, over the years his character developed, becoming more thoughtful, pious, and funny.

Like most almanacs, *Poor Richard's Almanack* contained practical information about the calendar, the sun and moon, and the weather. It also featured a wealth of homespun sayings and observations, or aphorisms, many of which are still quoted today. It was these aphorisms that made the *Almanack* so popular. Franklin included an aphorism at the top or bottom of most of the *Almanack's* pages. The wit and brevity of these sayings allowed him to weave in many moral messages, while also entertaining his readers.

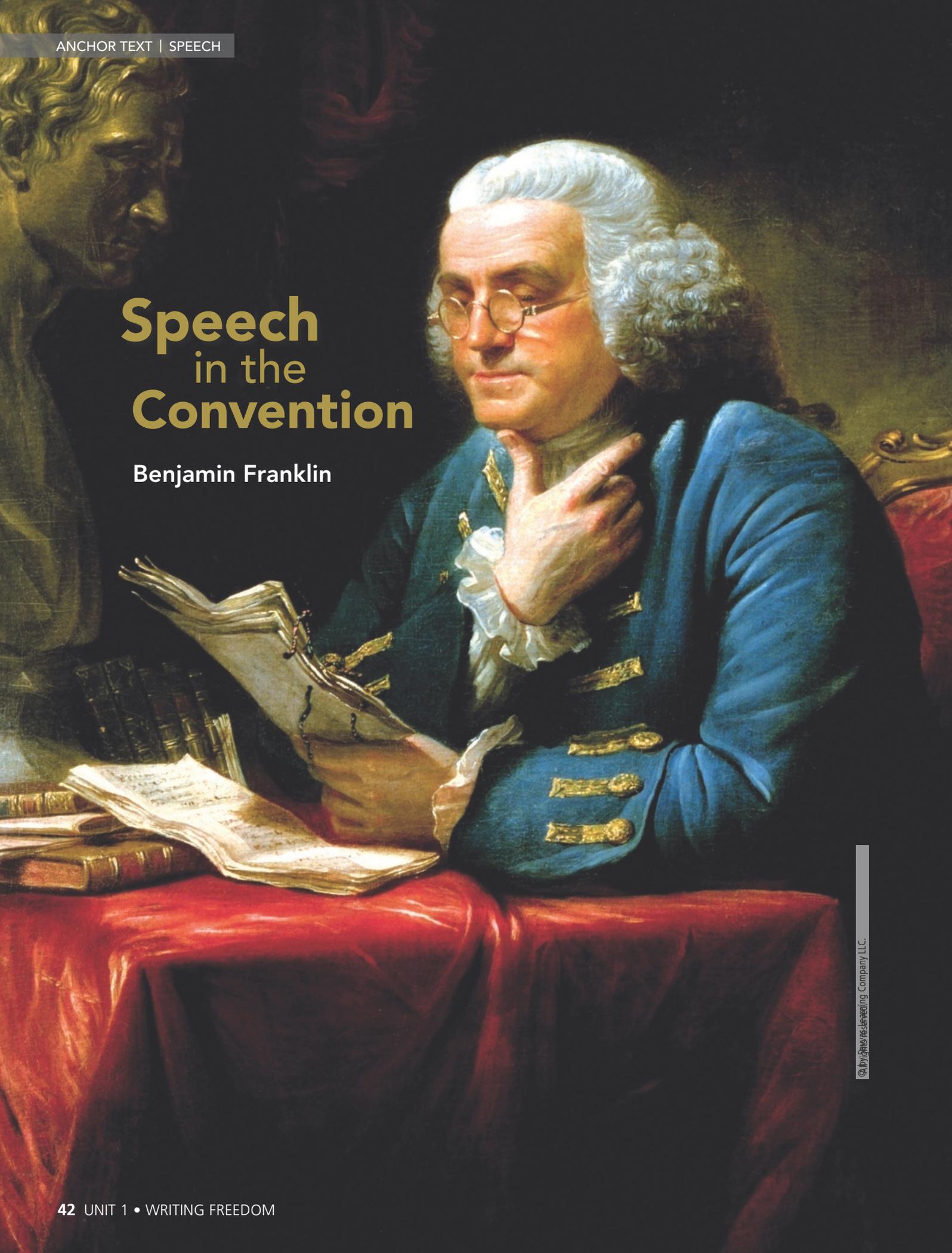
**Inventor and Scientist** When Franklin was forty-two, he retired from the printing business to devote himself to science. He proved to be as successful a scientist as he had been a printer. Over the course of his life, Franklin was responsible for inventing the lightning rod, bifocals, and a new type of stove. He confirmed the laws of electricity, charted the Gulf Stream, and contributed to the scientific understanding of earthquakes and ocean currents. In spite of all these achievements, Franklin is best remembered for his career in politics.

**Statesman and Diplomat** Franklin played an important role in drafting the Declaration of Independence, enlisting French support during the Revolutionary War, negotiating a peace treaty with Britain, and drafting the United States Constitution. In his later years, he was the United States ambassador to England and then to France. Even before George Washington earned the title, Franklin was considered to be "the father of his country."

**American Success Story** Perhaps it is no surprise that a person of Franklin's accomplishments, longevity, and historic importance would write the story of his life. Franklin's *The Autobiography* remains a classic of the genre as well as a prototype for the American success story. Franklin wrote the first section of the work in 1771, when he was sixty-five years old. At the urging of friends, he wrote three more sections—the last shortly before his death—but succeeded in bringing the account of his life only to the year 1759. Though never completed, his autobiography, filled with his opinions and advice, provides not only a record of his achievements, but also an understanding of his extraordinary character.

# Speech in the Convention

Benjamin Franklin



## BACKGROUND

After the American Revolution, each of the newly independent states created its own constitution. While Congress was able to pass limited laws, it had no power to tax the states or regulate issues, such as trade, that were affected by state boundaries. These problems led to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Representatives from twelve states met to approve a national constitution. The argument was lively and often contentious. At the age of eighty-one, Benjamin Franklin—representing Pennsylvania—brought his diplomatic skills to the debate.



*Mr. President,*

- 1 I confess, that I do not entirely approve of this Constitution at present; but, Sir, I am not sure I shall never approve it; for, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change my opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that, the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. . . . Though many private persons think almost as highly of their own **infallibility** as of that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a little dispute with her sister, said, “But I meet with nobody but myself that is *always* in the right.” “*Je ne trouve que moi qui aie toujours raison.*”
- 2 In these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults,—if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people, if well administered; and I believe, farther, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in **despotism**, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so **corrupted** as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better constitution; for, when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their **prejudices**, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a *perfect* production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear, that our councils are confounded like those of the builders of Babel, and that our states are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another’s throats. Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had

## NOTES

**infallibility** (ihn fal uh BIHL uh tee) *n.* inability to be in error

### CLOSE READ

**ANNOTATE:** Franklin refers humorously to “a certain French lady.” Mark her words and their English translation in paragraph 1.

**QUESTION:** Why does Franklin choose to illustrate his point in this way?

**CONCLUDE:** What is the effect of this quotation?

**despotism** (DEHS puh tihz uhm) *n.* absolute rule; tyranny

**corrupted** (kuh RUHPT ihd) *adj.* dishonest

**prejudices** (PREHJ uh dihs ihz) *n.* unfavorable opinions or feelings formed beforehand or without factual support

## NOTES

**salutary** (SAL yuh tehr ee)  
*adj.* beneficial; promoting a positive purpose

**integrity** (ihn TEHG ruh tee) *n.*  
virtue; commitment to moral or ethical principles

of its *errors* I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavor to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the **salutary** effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on *opinion*, on the general opinion of the goodness of that government, as well as of the wisdom and **integrity** of its governors. I hope, therefore, for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, that we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it *well administered*.

- 3 On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every member of the convention who may still have objections to it, would with me on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make manifest our *unanimity*, put his name to this instrument. 🗣️

## MEDIA CONNECTION



The U. S. Constitution

**Discuss It** How does this video help you understand the challenges that Franklin faced in persuading the delegates to approve the Constitution?

Write your response before sharing your ideas.

SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA 

# Comprehension Check

Complete the following items after you finish your first read.

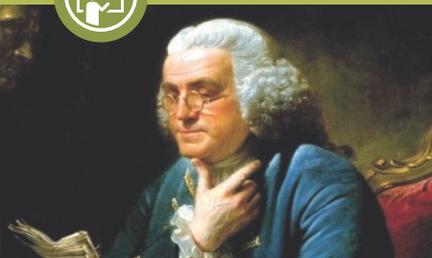
1. What does Franklin admit has caused him to change his mind in the past?
2. Why does Franklin believe that any constitution the Convention approves will be an imperfect document?
3. Why does Franklin want the delegates to keep their divided opinions to themselves once the Constitution is approved?
4. Whose “opinion” does Franklin believe is key to a government’s strength and efficiency?
5.  **Notebook** Write a summary of Franklin’s speech to confirm your understanding of the text.

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## RESEARCH

**Research to Clarify** Choose at least one unfamiliar detail from the text. Briefly research that detail. In what way does the information you learned shed light on an aspect of the speech?

**Research to Explore** Conduct research on an aspect of the text you find interesting. For example, you might research why Franklin was one of the most popular authors and public figures of his time.



SPEECH IN THE CONVENTION

## Close Read the Text

1. This model, from paragraph 1 of the speech, shows two sample annotations, along with questions and conclusions. Close read the passage, and find another detail to annotate. Then, write a question and your conclusion.

**ANNOTATE:** The word “confess” is a startling beginning to a speech.

**QUESTION:** Why does Franklin say this?

**CONCLUDE:** By confessing to his own struggle, Franklin shows that compromise is not a sign of weakness.

**ANNOTATE:** Franklin reminds listeners of his old age.

**QUESTION:** Why does he make this point?

**CONCLUDE:** He is reminding them of his age and experience—he has authority his listeners lack.

I confess, that I do not entirely approve of this Constitution at present; but, Sir, I am not sure I shall never approve it; for, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change my opinions. . . .

### Tool Kit

Close-Read Guide and Model Annotation

2. For more practice, go back into the text and complete the close-read notes.
3. Revisit a section of the text you found important during your first read. Read this section closely, and **annotate** what you notice. Ask yourself **questions** such as “Why did the author make this choice?” What can you **conclude**?

## Analyze the Text

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE** to support your answers.

**Notebook** Respond to these questions.

1. **Draw Conclusions** Franklin addresses his remarks to “Mr. President”—George Washington, who led the proceedings. How can you tell that his remarks do not concern Washington alone?
2. (a) Early in the speech, what does Franklin admit that he sometimes doubts? (b) **Connect** How does this admission relate to his overall argument?
3. An **allusion** is a passing or unexplained reference to something from history or culture. (a) **Interpret** In paragraph 2, what is the purpose of Franklin’s allusion to the builders of Babel? (b) **Criticize** Do you consider this allusion to be effective? Explain.
4. **Historical Perspectives** In what ways does Franklin fear the delegates may undermine the Constitution even after they sign it? Explain.
5. **Essential Question:** *What is the meaning of freedom?* What have you learned about the nature of freedom by reading this speech?

### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.1** Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain.

**RI.11–12.6** Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

## Analyze Craft and Structure

**Author’s Purpose: Rhetoric** Franklin’s speech was successful: The Constitution was approved and sent to the states for ratification. Franklin’s text provides examples of several **rhetorical devices**, or ways of using language for effect, that appeal to an audience and produce a successful oratory.

- **Paradox** is a statement or idea that seems contradictory but actually presents a truth. For example, in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, the statement “I must be cruel to be kind” seems illogical. On reflection, however, it demonstrates a deeper truth: Sometimes, one must face a painful reality in order to rise above or learn from it.
- **Concession** is the acknowledgment of an opponent’s arguments.
- **Rhetorical questions** are questions asked for effect—to make a point, or introduce a topic. The speaker does not expect the audience to answer, because the answer is obvious.

While not strictly an example of a rhetorical device, a speaker’s **tone**, or attitude toward the subject and audience, can also sway listeners. Phrasing and word choice combine to convey tone, which may be ironic, serious, humorous, friendly, distant, cynical, earnest, and so on.

### Practice

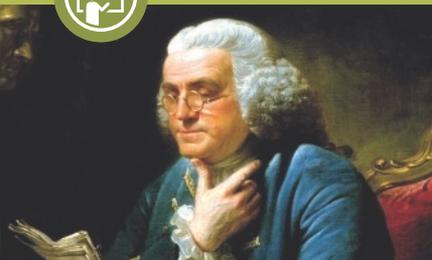
**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**  
to support your answers.

 **Notebook** Complete these activities.

1. Use the chart to identify examples from Franklin’s speech of each rhetorical device noted. Explain how each device serves to strengthen Franklin’s argument or influence his audience.

RHETORICAL DEVICE	EFFECT
paradox:	
concession:	
rhetorical question:	

2. (a) Choose the set of adjectives that best describes the tone of the first paragraph of this speech.
  - slyly humorous and self-deprecating
  - deeply earnest, concerned, and frustrated
  - serious, witty, and informal
 (b) Explain your choice, citing specific words and phrases that support your answer.
3. During his long political career, Franklin had extensive experience as a diplomat. In what ways does this speech reflect a diplomatic approach to conflict? Explain.



SPEECH IN THE CONVENTION



## WORD NETWORK

Add words related to freedom from the text to your Word Network.

## STANDARDS

**L.11–12.2** Demonstrate command of the conventions of standard English capitalization, punctuation, and spelling when writing.

**L.11–12.3.a** Vary syntax for effect, consulting references for guidance as needed; apply an understanding of syntax to the study of complex texts when reading.

**L.11–12.4.c** Consult general and specialized reference materials, both print and digital, to find the pronunciation of a word or determine or clarify its precise meaning, its part of speech, its etymology, or its standard usage.

## Concept Vocabulary

infallibility    corrupted    salutary  
despotism    prejudices    integrity

**Why These Words?** These concept vocabulary words are used to describe human vices and virtues, especially when it comes to the power governments can wield over citizens. Franklin believes any government can be *corrupted*, and that those in positions of leadership should have *integrity*.

1. How does the concept vocabulary suggest human goals—and the human failings that make the achievement of those goals difficult?
2. What other words in the speech connect to this concept?

## Practice



**Notebook** Respond to these questions.

1. Why might it be difficult to deal with people who never doubt their own *infallibility*?
2. What are two negative effects that might result from a government ruled by *despotism*?
3. What safeguards could a constitution include to minimize the chance that a government will be *corrupted*?
4. Name two ways in which *prejudices* can affect human behavior.
5. What *salutary* effects can result from cooperation?
6. Would you vote for a candidate who displayed *integrity*? Why or why not?

## Word Study

**Latin Suffix: -ity** The suffix *-ity* means “state or quality of.” When this suffix is added to an adjective, the resulting word is a noun. For example, in the word *infallibility*, the suffix is added to the adjective *infallible*, which means “incapable of failing.” The resulting noun means “the state of being incapable of failing.”

1. Find and define two other words near the end of Franklin’s speech that end with the suffix *-ity*. Check your definitions in a print or digital college-level dictionary.
2. Identify and define two other words that end with the suffix *-ity*. Use a dictionary to verify your definitions.

## Conventions and Style

**Syntax and Rhetoric** **Parallelism** is the use of similar grammatical forms or patterns to express similar ideas. Effective use of parallelism adds rhythm and balance to writing and strengthens connections among ideas. Faulty parallelism presents equal ideas in a distracting and potentially confusing mix of grammatical forms.

### EXAMPLE

**Nonparallel:** Franklin **was supportive of** the Constitution, **went to express** his feelings, and **was writing** emphatically about the document.

**Parallel:** Franklin **supported** the Constitution, **expressed** his feelings to others, and **wrote** emphatically about the document.

The parallel sentence states three similar ideas as phrases that begin with an action verb in the simple past tense.

### Read It

- Underline the parallel elements in these sentences.
  - The sensible, brilliant, and influential James Wilson was among the delegates from Pennsylvania.
  - Franklin was too weak to deliver the speech himself—but was the weakness due to his unremitting pain, his unceasing work for compromise, or his exhaustion after days of argument?
  - Wilson read the speech, which came at a critical moment in the proceedings, addressed the need for compromise, and swayed several delegates.
- Connect to Style** Reread paragraph 2 of Franklin's speech. Identify two examples of parallelism. Explain the ideas the parallel items express.

### Write It

-  **Notebook** Rewrite each sentence so that it uses parallelism. Be sure to place commas to separate the ideas or details.

### EXAMPLE

**Incorrect:** *Fueled by love for liberty, eager to form an effective government, and with personal determination, several political leaders founded the Society for Political Inquiries in 1787.*

**Correct:** *Fueled by love for liberty, eagerness to form an effective government, and personal determination, several political leaders founded the Society for Political Inquiries in 1787.*

- The society's members considered issues of government, wrote essays on political topics, and there were discussions about how governments can serve people.
- At the Constitutional Convention, throughout the fight for state ratification, and when Washington was president, this group continued to function.

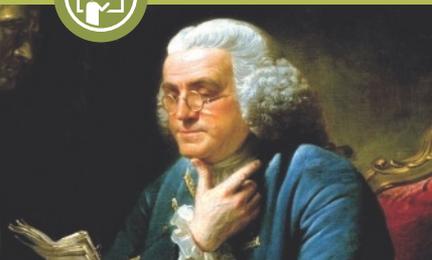
### TIP

#### USAGE

When you use correlative conjunctions (which appear in pairs) to achieve parallelism, make sure that the words are in the correct order.

*Incorrect:* Franklin **not only** wanted unanimity **but also** civility.

*Correct:* Franklin wanted **not only** unanimity **but also** civility.



SPEECH IN THE CONVENTION

## Writing to Sources

When you evaluate a text—whether you do so in writing, in discussions with other readers, or just in your own thinking process—you consider what an author sought to achieve in a piece of writing and whether he or she was successful.

### Assignment

Franklin’s speech in the Convention has been called a masterpiece. Do you agree? Write an **evaluation** of the speech. Consider Franklin’s goal and the techniques he used to accomplish it. Be sure to include these elements in your evaluation:

- an introduction that includes a statement of your position
- at least one reference to Franklin’s goal
- valid reasoning, supported by textual evidence that clearly relates to each point
- specific references to the ideas Franklin conveyed and to his use of rhetorical devices
- original rhetorical devices that help you make your points
- a conclusion that reasserts your opinion in a memorable way

**Vocabulary and Conventions Connection** Consider including several of the concept vocabulary words in your evaluation. Also, remember to use parallelism to emphasize related ideas and create rhythm in your writing.

infallibility	corrupted	salutary
despotism	prejudices	integrity

### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1** Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

**W.11–12.1.f** Use specific rhetorical devices to support assertions.

**SL.11–12.3** Evaluate a speaker’s point of view, reasoning, and use of evidence and rhetoric, assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used.

**SL.11–12.5** Make strategic use of digital media in presentations to enhance understanding of findings, reasoning, and evidence and to add interest.

### Reflect on Your Writing

After you have drafted your evaluation, answer the following questions.

1. What evidence did you provide in your evaluation?
2. What rhetorical devices did you use in your evaluation?
3. **Why These Words?** The words you choose make a difference in your writing. Which words helped you express your ideas?

## Speaking and Listening

### Assignment

As a class, prepare to make a **video recording** of a dramatic delivery of Franklin's speech. Follow these steps to complete the assignment.

- 1. Discuss the Speech** Use a class discussion to clarify your thoughts about the speech. Be prepared to share notes you made while reading the text as you and your classmates respond to these questions.
  - What is Franklin's opinion of the Constitution in its draft form?
  - How does he use concession and paradox as he argues his position?
  - What is his tone? How does Franklin's tone appeal to his audience and help persuade them of the validity of his opinion?
  - What are some of the ways in which Franklin's tone could be expressed in a dramatic reading?
- 2. Practice and Present** Work together to decide who will read various parts of the speech. Have classmates take a few minutes to practice their parts individually, using Franklin's punctuation to help with phrasing and checking the pronunciation of challenging words. Next, practice together so that the reading moves smoothly from one speaker to the next. Then, present the speech as your teacher makes a video recording. Remember these points:
  - Be quiet and attentive while others are presenting their parts.
  - Use the tone and emphasis that you think Franklin might have used if he had delivered the speech himself.
  - Use appropriate gestures to convey key points.
- 3. Evaluate the Video** Schedule sufficient time to watch the video. Allow about ten minutes for the follow-up discussion. Then, use the evaluation guide to analyze what you saw and heard. Encourage everyone to contribute. If possible, add the video to the class website or digital portfolio.

### EVALUATION GUIDE

Rate each statement on a scale of 1 (not demonstrated) to 5 (demonstrated). Be prepared to defend your rating, using examples.

- Speakers clearly conveyed the text's meaning.
- Speakers held the audience's attention.
- Speakers used the tone and emphasis that Franklin likely intended when he wrote the speech.
- Speakers used appropriate gestures and body language.

### EVIDENCE LOG

Before moving on to a new selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from Franklin's speech in the Convention.



### About Visual Propaganda

Whether printed on posters or in newspapers, sewn into the design of a flag, broadcast in television commercials, or presented in other forms, **visual propaganda** uses striking images (and sometimes simple slogans) to convey a persuasive message, especially during times of turmoil, such as war. One of the earliest examples can be seen in Mesopotamian carvings announcing a military victory in 2250 B.C. The Bayeux Tapestry provided woven visual propaganda about the Norman Conquest in A.D. 1066. Visual propaganda was especially critical during the Russian Revolution in 1917, and during World War I, when the political poster was created to rouse patriotic fervor.

# The American Revolution: Visual Propaganda

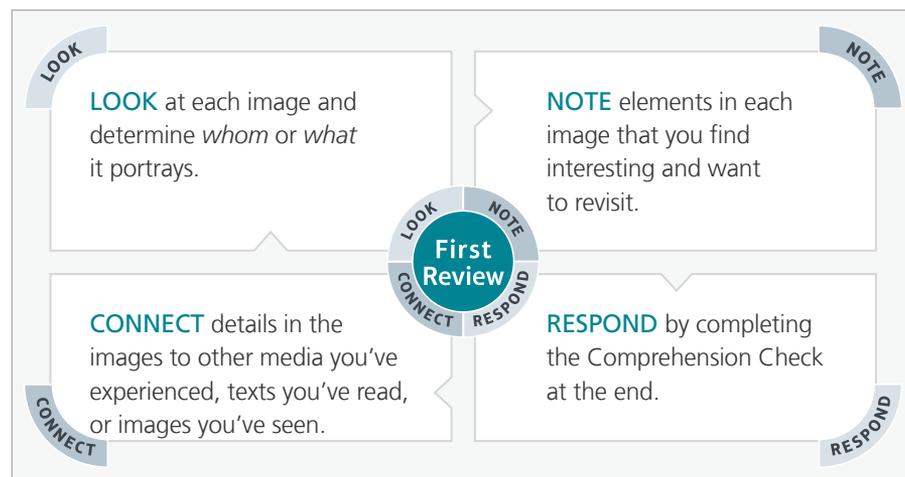
## Media Vocabulary

These words or concepts will be useful to you as you analyze, discuss, and write about visual propaganda.

<b>propaganda:</b> information, ideas, or rumors spread widely and deliberately to help or harm a person, group, movement, cause, or nation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creators of propaganda attempt to persuade people by presenting images and words that strongly suggest a particular <i>slant</i>, or viewpoint.</li> <li>• Propaganda encourages people to react emotionally rather than logically—for example, to vote a certain way out of fear or to oppose a cause out of anger.</li> </ul>
<b>appeal:</b> the ability to attract and engage an audience’s mind or emotions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A logical appeal (called <i>logos</i>) influences reason.</li> <li>• An emotional appeal (called <i>pathos</i>) targets or manipulates people’s feelings.</li> <li>• Propaganda depends much more heavily upon pathos than upon logos.</li> </ul>
<b>symbolism:</b> the use of images or objects to represent ideas or qualities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Symbolism uses images and objects that many people associate with certain concepts, such as a flag to represent a country, a rose to represent love, or the color red to represent danger.</li> <li>• In propaganda, symbolism appears primarily in visuals because it provides a quick way to convey meaning.</li> <li>• An image or object can have more than one symbolic meaning. The meaning can vary from one culture to another.</li> </ul>

## First Review MEDIA: ART AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Apply these strategies as you conduct your first review.



### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

# The American Revolution: Visual Propaganda

## BACKGROUND

The practice of persuading people with paintings, drawings, and other kinds of images has a long history in the United States, dating back to the colonial period. The images that follow are examples of visual propaganda published by both the colonists and the British in support of their respective causes.

SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA



**IMAGE 1: Join or Die** This political cartoon was published by Benjamin Franklin in 1754. The segments of the snake are labeled with the initials of American colonies. The purpose of the cartoon was to urge the colonies to unite against the French in the French and Indian War. During the American Revolution, it took on new meaning as a symbol of colonial protest against Great Britain.

## NOTES

The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King — Street BOSTON on March 5<sup>th</sup> 1770 by a party of the 29<sup>th</sup> REG<sup>t</sup>



Engraved Printed & Sold by PAUL REVERE BOSTON

Unhappy BOSTON! see thy Sons deplore,  
Thy hallow'd Walks befear'd with guiltlefs Gore:  
While faithlefs P—n and his favaige Bands,  
With murd'rous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands,  
Like fierce Barbarians griming o'er their Prey,  
Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.

If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wring  
If speechlefs Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue,  
Or if a weeping World can ought appease  
The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these:  
The Patriot's copious Tears for each are shed,  
A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead

But know EXTREMUM is to that awful Goal.  
Where JUSTICE strips the Murd'rer of his Soul:  
Should venal C—ts the scandal of the Land,  
Snatch the relentlefs Villain from her Hand,  
Keen Execrations on this Plate inferib'd,  
Shall reach a JUDGE who never can be brib'd.

*The unhappy Sufferers were Mess<sup>rs</sup> SAM<sup>l</sup> GRAY SAM<sup>l</sup> MAVERICK, JAM<sup>s</sup> CALDWELL, CRISPUS ATTUCKS & PAT<sup>l</sup> CARR  
Killed Six wounded; two of them (CHRIST<sup>s</sup> MONTE & JOHN CLARK) Mortally*

**IMAGE 2: The Boston Massacre**

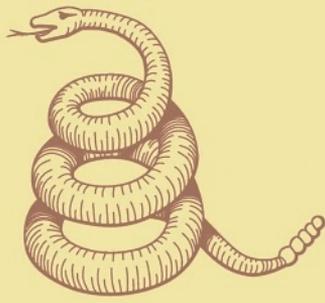
Paul Revere engraved this image in 1770 after the Boston Massacre, in which several colonists were shot to death by British soldiers. Revere's depiction does not show the events exactly as they happened. For example, the Americans had been rioting against the British authorities when the shots were fired. Also, the British did not have a clear firing line. Rather, they had been surrounded and were struggling with the crowd.

NOTES



**IMAGE 3: The Bostonians in Distress** This print was published in a London newspaper during the British blockade of Boston in 1774. In the image, colonists feed caged Bostonians as the British navy continues to keep Boston Harbor closed. The image may have amused the British—but it may have provoked very different feelings among Americans who saw it.

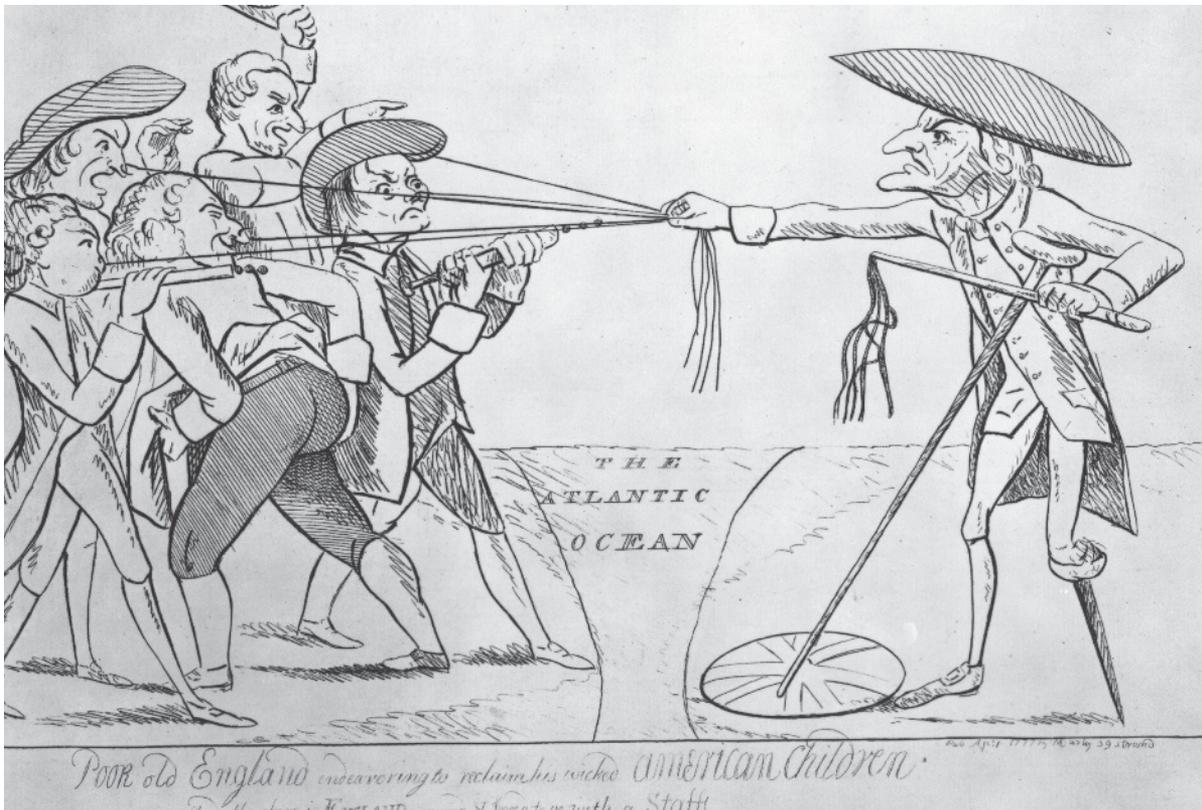
#### NOTES



## DONT TREAD ON ME

**IMAGE 4: The Gadsden Flag** Colonist Christopher Gadsden created this flag during the American Revolution. Referencing Franklin's "Join or Die" cartoon, the flag is expressly directed at the English, showing a whole snake ready to strike.

NOTES

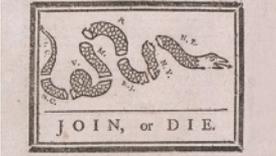
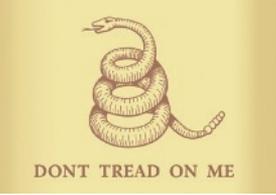
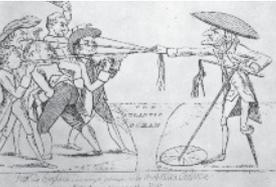


**IMAGE 5: Poor Old England** The caption for this cartoon reads, "Poor Old England, Endeavoring to Reclaim His Wicked American Children." The scene represents efforts by King George III to harness and control the colonists, who show no signs of either respecting or submitting to the king's wishes. This cartoon was published in London in 1777, fourteen months after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

NOTES

# Comprehension Check

Use the chart to note details about each image. Identify the main people and/or objects in the image and the activity depicted. Use the captions where helpful. In the final column, express your idea about the overall purpose of the image as a piece of propaganda.

IMAGE	PEOPLE AND/OR OBJECTS	ACTIVITY IN THE IMAGE	PURPOSE OF THE IMAGE
<p>IMAGE 1</p> 			
<p>IMAGE 2</p> 			
<p>IMAGE 3</p> 			
<p>IMAGE 4</p> 			
<p>IMAGE 5</p> 			



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION:  
VISUAL PROPAGANDA

## Close Review

Revisit the images and your first-review notes. Write down any new observations that seem important. What **questions** do you have? What can you **conclude**?



## Analyze the Media

CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE  
to support your answers.

**Notebook** Respond to these questions.

1. (a) In Image 1, what does the snake represent? (b) **Connect** How does that representation shed light on the meaning of Image 4?
2. (a) **Compare and Contrast** From the colonial point of view, how do Images 2 and 3 have a similar slant? (b) **Analyze** Which details in the two images suggest that slant? Explain.
3. **Historical Perspectives** What do these images suggest about the colonists' growing sense of an American versus a British sense of identity? Explain.
4. **Essential Question: *What is the meaning of freedom?*** What have you learned about American freedoms from analyzing these images?

## LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

### Media Vocabulary

Use these words as you discuss and write about the images.

propaganda      appeal      symbolism

1. Which image most clearly presents the British as aggressors in the conflict with the colonies? Explain your choice, citing details from the image.
2. Which image most clearly expresses the colonists' resolve in their fight against Britain? Explain your choice, citing details from the image.
3. (a) In what ways does Image 2 distort facts in order to present a story that is favorable to one side? (b) What does this image suggest about propaganda as a source of reliable information? Explain.

#### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.5.a** Analyze the use of text features in public documents.

**RI.11–12.7** Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.

**SL.11–12.5** Make strategic use of digital media in presentations to enhance understanding of findings, reasoning, and evidence and to add interest.



# Speaking and Listening

## Assignment

With a partner, create an imaginary candidate who is campaigning for a major office, and develop a **political infomercial**, or extended, informative advertisement. Design and write the script for a presentation, including images that take a particular slant. Include a campaign slogan and a logo. As you work, take into account aspects of propaganda, appeal, and symbolism. Record and present the infomercial to the class.

**1. Plan the Project** To help you prepare your infomercial, consider these questions.

- What ideas does the candidate represent? What is his or her stance on issues such as education, the economy, and national defense?
- What facts from real life will you include? Which sources will you research for that information? Which visuals will best present that information in a way that helps the candidate’s cause?
- How will you display your ideas and images? For example, you might create a video, use presentation software, or project on a whiteboard.

**2. Consider Image Choices** As you select or create images, consider the appeal that each one will have. For example, decide whether it adds emotional impact, symbolism, information, or serves another purpose.

ELEMENT	PURPOSE

**3. Prepare the Script** Once you have a final set of images and ideas, decide how you will weave them together to create your infomercial.

- Decide on the order of presentation. Add transitions to link related ideas.
- Create a pacing guide to determine the amount of time you will spend on each image.
- Choose which partner will narrate, and allow time to practice.

**4. Present and Discuss** Record the infomercial and share it with the class. After all of the infomercials have been presented, discuss how the types of techniques and images students used compare to that of American Revolutionary War propaganda.

### TIP

#### PROCESS

Make sure that you and your partner agree to and understand the slant that your infomercial will present. Doing so will help you choose images and decide what to say about them.

#### EVIDENCE LOG

Before moving on to a new selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from “The American Revolution: Visual Propaganda.”

#### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.5.a** Make strategic use of digital media in presentations to enhance understanding of findings, reasoning, and evidence and to add interest.



WRITING TO SOURCES

- DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
- PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION
- BILL OF RIGHTS
- SPEECH IN THE CONVENTION
- THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: VISUAL PROPAGANDA

Tool Kit

Student Model of an Argument

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

As you craft your argument, consider using some of the academic vocabulary you learned in the beginning of the unit.

- confirm
- demonstrate
- supplement
- establish
- conviction

STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1.a–f** Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

**W.11–12.10** Write routinely over extended time frames and shorter time frames for a range of tasks, purposes, and audiences.

# Write an Argument

You have just read a variety of documents from the early years of our nation. Each text reveals, in its own way, the principles that guided the nation’s founders and other Americans of that era.

## Assignment

Write a brief **argumentative essay** in which you address this question:

**Which statement do you find most compelling for Americans today: the Preamble to the Constitution or the first sentence of paragraph three of the Declaration of Independence?**

Begin by choosing a position and stating a claim. Then, use specific details from the texts, historical examples, and your observations of our society today to support your claim. Make sure that your reasons link directly to your claim.

## Elements of an Argument

In an **argument** a writer articulates a position, viewpoint, belief, or stand on an issue. Well-written arguments may convince readers to change their minds about an issue or to take a certain action.

An effective argument contains these elements:

- a precise claim
- consideration of counterclaims, or opposing positions, and a discussion of their strengths and weaknesses
- logical organization that makes clear connections among claim, counterclaims, reasons, and evidence
- word choices that are appropriate for a given audience
- clear reasoning and well-chosen evidence
- a concluding statement or section that logically completes the argument
- formal and objective language and tone
- error-free grammar, including correct and consistent use of verbs

**Model Argument** For a model of a well-crafted argument see the Launch Text, “Totally Free?” Review the Launch Text for examples of the elements of an effective argument. You will look more closely at these elements as you prepare to write your own argument.



## Prewriting / Planning

**Break Down the Prompt** Reading the prompt carefully and thoroughly can assist you in your planning. Complete these sentences to ensure that you understand the task that you are being asked to accomplish.

1. I am supposed to write a(n) \_\_\_\_\_.
2. In my own words, the question I must answer is \_\_\_\_\_.
3. My writing must include \_\_\_\_\_  
and \_\_\_\_\_.
4. I need to use examples from \_\_\_\_\_ as evidence and  
connect my ideas to \_\_\_\_\_.

**Develop a Claim** Start by deciding on a basic response to the question in the prompt. Then, develop your response into a claim. Use the sentence frame below to do so. Then, as you gather details and clarify your ideas, adjust your claim to reflect your new thinking.

I believe that \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 because \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**Gather Evidence** The assignment asks you to use a variety of evidence, including examples from history, to support your position. In what sorts of resources might you find the types of historical information you need? Write some possibilities here.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Always confirm your evidence by using more than one source.

**Connect Across Texts** The prompt asks you to connect your ideas to the texts you have read. The Launch Text shows you two means of doing this:

- You may **paraphrase**, or restate ideas in your own words. The Launch Text presents a paraphrase in the discussion of Roosevelt’s “Four Freedoms” speech (his 1941 State of the Union address).
- You may also use **direct quotations**, as happens when the Launch Text quotes from the Declaration of Independence.

### EVIDENCE LOG

Review your Evidence Log and identify key details you may want to cite in your argument.

#### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1.a** Introduce precise, knowledgeable claim(s), establish the significance of the claim(s), distinguish the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and create an organization that logically sequences claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.

**W.11–12.1.b** Develop claim(s) and counterclaims fairly and thoroughly, supplying the most relevant evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both in a manner that anticipates the audience’s knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases.

**W.11–12.1.f** Use specific rhetorical devices to support assertions.



## ENRICHING WRITING WITH RESEARCH

**Using Research** A strong argument is always based on sound evidence and thoughtful, logical support. You may find support for your ideas in online or library resources.

### Read It

This excerpt from the Launch Text provides an example of the use of researched evidence. After doing some reading, the writer decided to use Franklin D. Roosevelt’s “Four Freedoms” speech to support the contention that freedoms should not clash.

#### LAUNCH TEXT EXCERPT

In his 1941 State of the Union address, President Franklin Roosevelt identified four key freedoms as being basic human rights: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Those are not freedoms that one finds in a dictatorship. Nor are they freedoms that we grant to each other without the oversight and protection of government institutions. With the government’s help, and the writing of laws, my freedom from want does not allow me to steal your food, and your freedom of speech does not let you publish lies about me. We are free, but only up to the point at which our freedoms clash.

**Using a Search Engine** As you develop an argument, you may not have specific examples and reasons in mind. You may need to use a search engine wisely to develop your argument’s support. The writer of the Launch Text may have used a path like this.

Search: Freedom in American History

Result: A website on different meanings of freedom over time in America

Action: Skim article to locate interesting and relevant examples.

1. Civil War: A new birth of freedom
2. World War II: The Four Freedoms
3. Cold War: The Free World

Search: The Four Freedoms

Result: An article about the “Four Freedoms” speech from the FDR Presidential Library

Actions: Skim article to learn about the Four Freedoms.

Decide whether they apply to the original argument—and, if so, how.

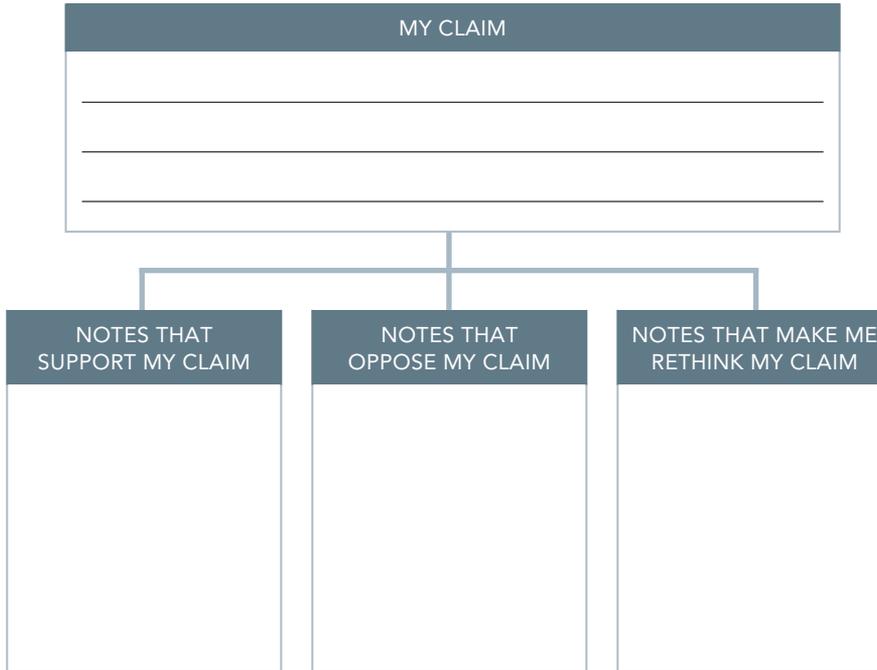
The writer located a specific speech from American history to support the claim that we need to consider other people’s rights and needs as we exercise our own freedoms.

To narrow the search, the writer used a phrase rather than just the word *freedom*.

Notice how one search led to a second, more specific search, and so on until the writer found the best possible support for the claim.

**Write It**

Review the facts and evidence that you have gathered. Use this flowchart to organize your materials.



**TIP**

**CONVENTIONS**

Be sure to quote sources correctly.

- Run a short quotation from a source into the text and enclose it in quotation marks.
- Set off a long quotation in a block with all lines indented from the left. Such block quotations do not use quotation marks.

**Notes That Support My Claim** Some information you find may offer direct and fairly obvious support for your claim. Other information may require some interpretation or explanation on your part. For example, in the excerpt from the Launch Text, the writer analyzed the researched information about Roosevelt’s speech and demonstrated how it supports the claim.

**Notes That Oppose My Claim** As you read and review sources, you may find some material that contradicts your claim. Consider working that material into the discussion of a counterclaim. You might start in one of these ways:

- Although [research source] states that \_\_\_\_\_, I believe that \_\_\_\_\_.
- [Research source] claims that \_\_\_\_\_. Nevertheless, it is clear that \_\_\_\_\_.
- Despite [research source]’s assertion that \_\_\_\_\_, it seems more likely that \_\_\_\_\_.

Remember to supply evidence that supports your rejection of any counterclaim that you mention.

**Notes That Make Me Rethink My Claim** Sometimes, your research will send you in a new direction. It may change your original ideas and make you rethink your claim. Do not be afraid to scrap your original plan if new evidence changes your mind. Just as architects or engineers do, good writers frequently discard a flawed plan and start over.

**STANDARDS**

**W.11–12.1.b** Develop claim(s) and counterclaims fairly and thoroughly, supplying the most relevant evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both in a manner that anticipates the audience’s knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases.

**W.11–12.8** Gather relevant information from multiple authoritative print and digital sources, using advanced searches effectively; assess the strengths and limitations of each source in terms of the task, purpose, and audience; integrate information into the text selectively to maintain the flow of ideas, avoiding plagiarism and overreliance on any one source and following a standard format for citation including footnotes and endnotes.



## Drafting

**Organize Your Text** Your text should include three parts:

- the **introduction**, in which you state your claim
- the **body**, in which you provide analysis, supporting reasons, and evidence. Each paragraph of your body should focus on one idea and evidence that directly supports it.
- the **conclusion**, in which you summarize or restate your claim

Use a formal style to get your points across. Avoid slang, contractions, and personal (“I”) statements. The following chart will help you organize your thoughts.

Topic: _____	
Question: _____	
CLAIM	COUNTERCLAIM
EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____
REASONS/SUPPORT FOR EVIDENCE	REASONS/SUPPORT FOR EVIDENCE
1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____

**Write a First Draft** Refer to your chart as you write your first draft. Make sure to include a precise claim and to address counterclaims where possible. Write a conclusion that follows logically from your argument, supports your claim, and adds interest to your writing.

**Use Rhetorical Devices** **Rhetorical devices** are patterns of language that create emphasis and build emotion. While they do not replace sound reasoning and evidence, they can help to present your ideas in a memorable way. Consider using one or more of the following rhetorical devices in your essay:

- **Repetition:** Repeat key words to focus your argument.
- **Parallelism:** Repeat related ideas in the same grammatical structures.
- **Analogy:** Use comparisons to help readers grasp ideas.

### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1.a** Introduce precise, knowledgeable claim(s), establish the significance of the claim(s), distinguish the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and create an organization that logically sequences claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.

**W.11–12.1.e** Provide a concluding statement or section that follows from and supports the argument presented.

**W.11–12.1.f** Use specific rhetorical devices to support assertions.

## LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT: CONVENTIONS

### Create Cohesion: Tense Sequence

A **sequence of tenses** means that there is agreement among the tenses of verbs in related sentences or clauses. In formal writing, it is important to maintain **consistency of tense** from one sentence to the next unless the time frame of the action changes.

#### Read It

The Launch Text uses verbs correctly to point to both past and current situations.

*President Franklin Roosevelt **identified** four key freedoms... (past)*

*These **are** not freedoms that one **finds** in a dictatorship. (present)*

Within a sentence, verbs are consistent in tense if the actions are consistent in time.

*Because we **live** in a society, we **need** to consider other people's rights and needs as we **exercise** our own freedoms.  
(all present tense)*

When actions vary in time, the writer applies logic to sequence the verbs. In this example, the action of developing laws took place in the past but still applies today, and those laws restrict and protect us in the present.

*Our government **has developed** laws that both **restrict** us and **protect** us. (present perfect; present; present)*

#### Write It

As you draft your essay, use logic to sequence verbs. Use the tense of the independent clause plus any key transitional words to determine the tense of dependent clauses. In most compound sentences, keep the tense consistent. Here are some examples.

present + past	I <b>am</b> eager to read the biography that you <b>recommended</b> .
present perfect + present	Now that she <b>has mastered</b> French, Alice <b>enjoys</b> Quebec.
present + future	Until the senator <b>returns</b> , I <b>will wait</b> patiently in her office.
present + present	Actors <b>recite</b> the Bill of Rights, and the audience <b>listens</b> raptly.
past perfect + past perfect	The colonists <b>had complained</b> , but the king <b>had ignored</b> them.
future + future	We <b>will follow</b> the law, or we <b>will face</b> the consequences.
past + past perfect	We <b>arrived</b> in plenty of time, but the tour guide <b>had left</b> .

#### TIP

#### USAGE

Change tense only when the timing of an action changes. In general:

- Use the present tense when writing about your own ideas and opinions, factual topics that are widely known, or actions in a written work.
- Use the past tense when writing about past events or completed studies or analyses.

#### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1.c** Use words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text, create cohesion, and clarify the relationships between claim(s) and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claim(s) and counterclaims.

**L.11–12.1** Demonstrate command of the conventions of standard English grammar and usage when writing or speaking



## Revising

### Evaluating Your Draft

Use this checklist to evaluate the effectiveness of your first draft. Then, use your evaluation and the instructions on this page to guide your revision.

FOCUS AND ORGANIZATION	EVIDENCE AND ELABORATION	CONVENTIONS
<input type="checkbox"/> Provides an introduction that establishes a precise claim. <input type="checkbox"/> Distinguishes the claim from opposing claims. <input type="checkbox"/> Provides a conclusion that follows from the argument. <input type="checkbox"/> Establishes a logical organization and develops a progression throughout the argument. <input type="checkbox"/> Uses words, phrases, and clauses to clarify the relationships between and among ideas.	<input type="checkbox"/> Develops the claim and responds to counterclaims by using facts and details that provide relevant evidence and reasons. <input type="checkbox"/> Provides adequate examples for each major idea. <input type="checkbox"/> Uses word choices and rhetorical devices effectively. <input type="checkbox"/> Establishes and maintains a formal style and an objective tone.	<input type="checkbox"/> Attends to the norms and conventions of the discipline, especially regarding sequence and consistency of verb tenses.

### WORD NETWORK

Include interesting words from your Word Network in your argument.

### Revising for Focus and Organization

**Strong, Logical Connections** An argument should be built on sound logic that includes strong reasons, definitive evidence, and clear connections. Consider these strong and weak reasons for a pay increase. Connecting words that clarify relationships between ideas are underlined.

- Strong Reasoning: I deserve a raise, as shown by the fact that clients consistently ask to work with me.
- Strong Reasoning: I deserve a raise because my contract calls for an increase after six months.
- Weak Reasoning: Since my brother makes more than I do, I deserve a raise.
- Weak Reasoning: I deserve a raise because I want one.

### Revising for Evidence and Elaboration

**Word Choice and Style** As you work to create an objective, formal tone, consider replacing informal words and phrases with more formal choices. Here are some examples of informal and formal transitional words and phrases.

INSTEAD OF . . .	USE . . .
also	in addition
anyway	nevertheless
basically	in summary
plus	furthermore
so	therefore

### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1.d** Establish and maintain a formal style and objective tone while attending to the norms and conventions of the discipline in which they are writing.

## PEER REVIEW

Exchange arguments with a classmate. Use the checklist to evaluate your classmate's argument and provide supportive feedback.

1. Is the claim clear?

yes    no   If no, explain what confused you.

2. Do you find the argument convincing?

yes    no   If no, tell what you think might be missing.

3. Does the essay conclude in a logical way?

yes    no   If no, indicate what you might change.

4. What is the strongest part of your classmate's argument? Why?

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## Editing and Proofreading

**Edit for Conventions** Reread your draft for accuracy and consistency. Correct errors in grammar and word usage. Check for consistency of verb tense in related sentences and clauses.

**Proofread for Accuracy** Read your draft carefully, looking for errors in spelling and punctuation. Be sure to capitalize place names and names of documents correctly.

## Publishing and Presenting

Post your claim and your strongest reason or piece of evidence on your class's online discussion board. Ask classmates to comment on your post. Review others' posts and point out what you like best about what you read.

## Reflecting

Consider what you learned by writing your text. Did you use research effectively to find support for your claim? What did you find to be the most difficult part of this assignment? Why? Think about what you might do differently the next time you write an argument.

### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.5** Develop and strengthen writing as needed by planning, revising, editing, rewriting, or trying a new approach, focusing on addressing what is most significant for a specific purpose and audience.



## OVERVIEW: SMALL-GROUP LEARNING

ESSENTIAL QUESTION:

# What is the meaning of freedom?

As you read these selections, work with your group to explore the meaning of freedom.

**From Text to Topic** The colonies had gained their independence and created a free nation, but freedom had not come to all. The Constitution had not settled the issue of slavery—and by 1790, when the first census in the United States was taken, approximately 700,000 African Americans were enslaved. The issue of slavery laid the foundation for the Civil War, arguably the most tragic time in the history of the United States. As you read, consider what these selections show about the nation’s continuing efforts to define freedom.

## Small-Group Learning Strategies

Throughout your life, in school, in your community, and in your career, you will continue to learn and work with others. Use these strategies during Small-Group Learning. Add ideas of your own at each step.

STRATEGY	ACTION PLAN
Prepare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complete your assignments so you are prepared for group work.</li> <li>• Take notes on your reading so you can contribute to your group’s discussions.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
Participate fully	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Make eye contact to signal that you are listening and taking in what is being said.</li> <li>• Use text evidence when making a point.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
Support others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Build on ideas from others in your group.</li> <li>• State the relationship of your points to those of others—whether you are supporting someone’s point, refuting it, or taking the conversation in a new direction.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
Clarify	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paraphrase the ideas of others to ensure that your understanding is correct.</li> <li>• Ask follow-up questions.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>

COMPARE

EXPOSITORY NONFICTION

*from America's Constitution: A Biography*

*Akhil Reed Amar*

The United States needed a Constitution, but the road to its ratification was by no means smooth.

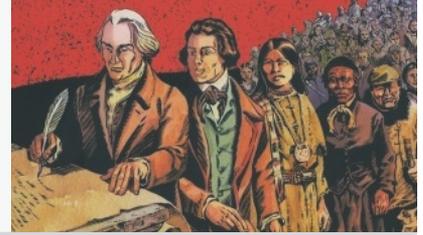


MEDIA: GRAPHIC NOVEL

*from The United States Constitution: A Graphic Adaptation*

*Jonathan Hennessey and Aaron McConnell*

We can read about the ratification process—and we can “see” it, too!



AUTOBIOGRAPHY

*from The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*

*Olaudah Equiano*

What does it mean to be a slave in a land that takes pride in its freedom?



LETTER | BIOGRAPHY

*Letter to John Adams* *Abigail Adams*

*from Dear Abigail: The Intimate Lives and Revolutionary Ideas of Abigail Adams and Her Two Remarkable Sisters* *Diane Jacobs*

Letter-writing connects a famous couple when circumstances force them apart.

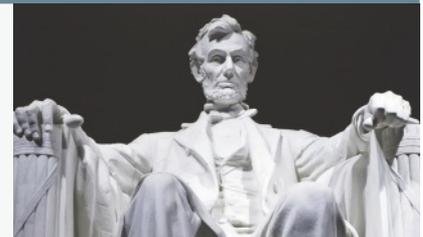


SPEECH

*Gettysburg Address*

*Abraham Lincoln*

What do the founders' ideals mean when the nation is torn apart by war?



PERFORMANCE TASK

SPEAKING AND LISTENING FOCUS

**Present an Argument**

The Small-Group readings provide further glimpses into the concept of freedom. After reading, your group will present a panel discussion about the usefulness of narratives as evidence in arguments about freedom.



### Working as a Team

1. **Take a Position** In your group, discuss the following question:

Do you think teenagers today should have more freedom—or less—than they do now?

As you take turns sharing your positions, be sure to provide reasons for your choice. After all group members have shared, discuss the convictions that students expressed and the arguments they proposed to support their views.

2. **List Your Rules** As a group, decide on the rules that you will follow as you work together. Two samples are provided. Add two more of your own. As you work together, you may add or revise rules based on your experience.

- Everyone should have a chance to speak.
- Group members should not interrupt each other.

- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. **Apply the Rules** Share what you have learned about the meaning of freedom. Make sure each person in the group contributes. Take notes and be prepared to share with the class something you learned from another member of your group.

4. **Name Your Group** Choose a name that reflects the unit topic.

Our group's name: \_\_\_\_\_

5. **Create a Communication Plan** Decide how you want to communicate with one another. For example, you might use email, an online bulletin board, or a collaborative annotation tool.

Our group's decision: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## Making a Schedule

First, find out the due dates for the small-group activities. Then, preview the texts and activities with your group, and make a schedule for completing the tasks.

SELECTION	ACTIVITIES	DUE DATE
<i>from America's Constitution: A Biography</i>		
<i>from The United States Constitution: A Graphic Adaptation</i>		
<i>from The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano</i>		
Letter to John Adams <i>from Dear Abigail: The Intimate Lives and Revolutionary Ideas of Abigail Adams and Her Two Remarkable Sisters</i>		
Gettysburg Address		

## Working on Group Projects

As your group works together, you'll find it more effective if each person has a specific role. Different projects require different roles. Before beginning a project, discuss the necessary roles, and choose one for each group member. Some possible roles are listed here. Add your ideas to the list.

**Project Manager:** monitors the schedule and keeps everyone on task

**Researcher:** organizes research activities

**Recorder:** takes notes during group meetings

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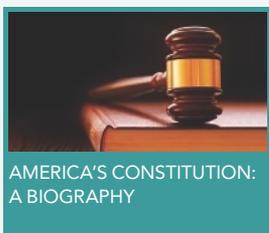
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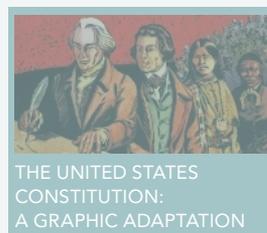
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AMERICA'S CONSTITUTION: A BIOGRAPHY

## Comparing Text to Media

You will read and compare an excerpt from *America's Constitution: A Biography* and an excerpt from the graphic novel *The United States Constitution: A Graphic Adaptation*. First, complete the first-read and close-read activities for *America's Constitution: A Biography*.



THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION: A GRAPHIC ADAPTATION

### About the Author

**Akhil Reed Amar** (b. 1958), an expert on constitutional law, has been called one of the nation's top legal thinkers. Amar graduated from Yale Law School, where he was an editor for the *Yale Law Journal*. He has written several books and articles about the law—works important enough to have been referenced in a number of Supreme Court cases.

# from America's Constitution: A Biography

## Concept Vocabulary

As you perform your first read, you will encounter these words.

conclave      eminent      populist

**Context Clues** An unfamiliar word may become clearer if you use **context clues**—that is, helpful words and phrases in the surrounding text. Here are two types of context clues.

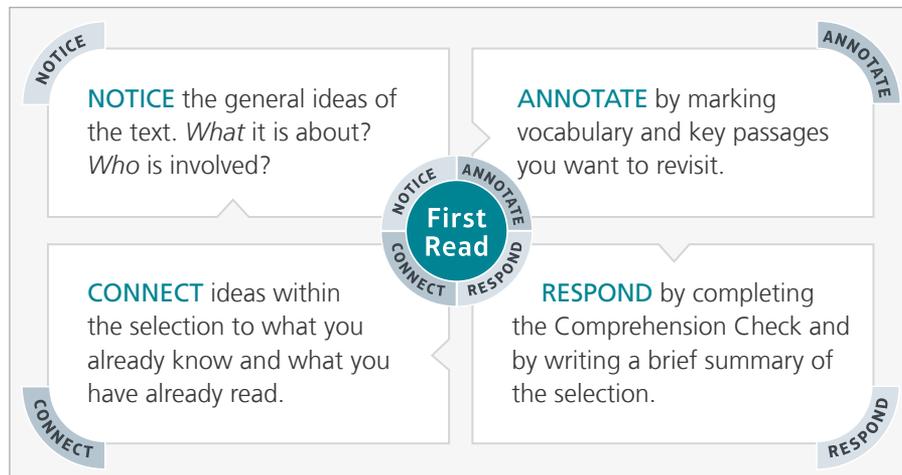
**Synonyms:** New Hampshire became the ninth state to **ratify** the Constitution, approving the document by a margin of 57 to 47.

**Antonyms:** Opponents of the new Constitution were relatively **rigid**, but proponents such as Madison and Franklin were resourceful and flexible.

Apply your knowledge of context clues and other vocabulary strategies to determine the meanings of unfamiliar words you encounter during your first read.

## First Read NONFICTION

Apply these strategies as you conduct your first read. You will have an opportunity to complete a close read after your first read.



### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

**L.11–12.4.a** Use context as a clue to the meaning of a word or phrase.

# from America's Constitution: A Biography

Akhil Reed Amar



## BACKGROUND

Between 1777 and 1787, the United States used a constitution called the Articles of Confederation rather than the Constitution we use today. The Articles of Confederation created a very weak federal government. It soon became apparent that a document demonstrating more clarity would be helpful. There was great debate about whether to simply change the Articles of Confederation or replace them, as well as what this replacement might look like.

SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA



- 1 **I**t started with a bang. Ordinary citizens would govern themselves across a continent and over the centuries, under rules that the populace would ratify and could revise. By uniting previously independent states into a vast and indivisible nation, New World republicans would keep Old World monarchs at a distance and thus make democracy work on a scale never before dreamed possible.

### “We . . . do”

With simple words placed in the document’s most prominent location, the Preamble laid the foundation for all that followed. “We the People of the United States, . . . do ordain<sup>1</sup> and establish this Constitution . . .”

- 2 These words did more than promise popular self-government. They also embodied and enacted it. Like the phrases “I do” in an exchange of wedding vows and “I accept” in a contract, the Preamble’s words actually performed the very thing they described. Thus the Founders’ “Constitution” was not merely a text but a deed—a *constituting*. We the People *do* ordain. In the late 1780s, this was the most democratic deed the world had ever seen.
- 3 Behind this act of ordainment and establishment stood countless ordinary American voters who gave their consent to the Constitution via specially elected ratifying conventions held in the thirteen states beginning in late 1787. Until these ratifications took place, the Constitution’s words were a mere proposal—the text of a contract yet to be accepted, the script of a wedding still to be performed.
- 4 The proposal itself had emerged from a special **conclave** held in Philadelphia during the summer of 1787. Twelve state governments—all except Rhode Island’s—had tapped several dozen leading public

## NOTES

Mark context clues or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**conclave** (KON klayv) *n.*

MEANING:

1. **ordain** *v.* officially order or decree.

## NOTES

Mark context clues or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**eminent** (EHM uh nuhnt) *adj.*

MEANING:

servants and private citizens to meet in Philadelphia and ponder possible revisions of the Articles of Confederation, the interstate compact that Americans had formed during the Revolutionary War. After deliberating behind closed doors for months, the Philadelphia conferees unveiled their joint proposal in mid-September in a document signed by thirty-nine of the continent's most **eminent** men, including George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, Roger Sherman, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, John Rutledge, and Nathaniel Gorham. When these notables put their names on the page, they put their reputations on the line.

- 5 An enormous task of political persuasion lay ahead. Several of the leaders who had come to Philadelphia had quit the conclave in disgust, and others who had stayed to the end had refused to endorse the final script. Such men—John Lansing, Robert Yates, Luther Martin, John Francis Mercer, Edmund Randolph, George Mason, and Elbridge Gerry—could be expected to oppose ratification and to urge their political allies to do the same. No one could be certain how the American people would ultimately respond to the competing appeals. Prior to 1787, only two states, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had ever brought proposed state constitutions before the people to be voted up or down in some special way. The combined track record from this pair of states was sobering: two successful popular ratifications out of six total attempts.
- 6 In the end, the federal Constitution proposed by Washington and company would barely squeak through. By its own terms, the document would go into effect only if ratified by specially elected conventions in at least nine states, and even then only states that said yes would be bound. In late 1787 and early 1788, supporters of the Constitution won relatively easy ratifications in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut. Massachusetts joined their ranks in February 1788, saying “we do” only after weeks of debate and by a close vote, 187 to 168. Then came lopsided yes votes in Maryland and South Carolina, bringing the total to eight ratifications, one shy of the mark. Even so, in mid-June 1788, a full nine months after the publication of the Philadelphia proposal, the Constitution was still struggling to be born, and its fate remained uncertain. Organized opposition ran strong in all the places that had yet to say yes, which included three of America's largest and most influential states. At last, on June 21, tiny New Hampshire became the decisive ninth state by the margin of 57 to 47. A few days later, before news from the North had arrived, Virginia voted her approval, 89 to 79.
- 7 All eyes then turned to New York, where Anti-Federalists initially held a commanding lead inside the convention. Without the acquiescence of this key state, could the new Constitution really work as planned? On the other hand, was New York truly willing to say no and go it alone now that her neighbors had agreed to form a new, more perfect union among themselves? In late July, the state

ultimately said yes by a vote of 30 to 27. A switch of only a couple of votes would have reversed the outcome. Meanwhile, the last two states, North Carolina and Rhode Island, refused to ratify in 1788. They would ultimately join the new union in late 1789 and mid-1790, respectively—well after George Washington took office as president of the new (eleven!) United States.

- 8 Although the ratification votes in the several states did not occur by direct statewide referenda,<sup>2</sup> the various ratifying conventions did aim to represent “the People” in a particularly emphatic way—more directly than ordinary legislatures. Taking their cue from the Preamble’s bold “We the People” language, several states waived standard voting restrictions and allowed a uniquely broad class of citizens to vote for ratification-convention delegates. For instance, New York temporarily set aside its usual property qualifications and, for the first time in its history, invited all free adult male citizens to vote. Also, states generally allowed an especially broad group of Americans to serve as ratifying-convention delegates. Among the many states that ordinarily required upper-house lawmakers to meet higher property qualifications than lower-house members, none held convention delegates to the higher standard, and most exempted delegates even from the lower. All told, eight states elected convention delegates under special rules that were more **populist** and less property-focused than normal, and two others followed standing rules that let virtually all taxpaying adult male citizens vote. No state employed special election rules that were more property-based or less populist than normal.
- 9 In the extraordinarily extended and inclusive ratification process envisioned by the Preamble, Americans regularly found themselves discussing the Preamble itself. At Philadelphia, the earliest draft of the Preamble had come from the quill of Pennsylvania’s James Wilson, and it was Wilson who took the lead in explaining the Preamble’s principles in a series of early and influential ratification speeches. Pennsylvania Anti-Federalists complained that the Philadelphia notables had overreached in proposing an entirely new Constitution rather than a mere modification of the existing Articles of Confederation. In response, Wilson—America’s leading lawyer and one of only six men to have signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—stressed the significance of popular ratification. “This Constitution, proposed by [the Philadelphia draftsmen], claims no more than a production of the same nature would claim, flowing from a private pen. It is laid before the citizens of the United States, unfettered by restraint. . . . By their *fiat*,<sup>3</sup> it will become of value and authority; without it, it will never receive the character of authenticity and power.” James Madison agreed, as he made clear in a mid-January 1788 New York newspaper essay today known as *The Federalist* No. 40—one of a long series

Mark context clues or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**populist** (POP yuh lihst) *adj.*

MEANING:

2. **referenda** *n.* public votes on particular issues.

3. **fiat** (FEE uht) *n.* command that creates something.

of columns that he wrote in partnership with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay under the shared pen name “Publius.” According to Madison/Publius, the Philadelphia draftsmen had merely “proposed a Constitution which is to be of no more consequence than the paper on which it is written, unless it be stamped with the approbation<sup>4</sup> of those to whom it is addressed. [The proposal] was to be submitted *to the people themselves*, [and] the disapprobation of this supreme authority would destroy it forever; its approbation blot out antecedent errors and irregularities.” Leading Federalists across the continent reiterated the point in similar language.

- 10 With the word *fiat*, Wilson gently called to mind the opening lines of Genesis. In the beginning, God said, *fiat lux*, and—behold!—there was light. So, too, when the American people (Publius’s “supreme authority”) said, “We do ordain and establish,” that very statement would do the deed. “Let there be a Constitution”—and there would be one. As the ultimate sovereign of all had once made man in his own image, so now the temporal sovereign of America, the people themselves, would make a constitution in their own image.
- 11 All this was breathtakingly novel. In 1787, democratic self-government existed almost nowhere on earth. Kings, emperors, czars, princes, sultans, moguls, feudal lords, and tribal chiefs held sway across the globe. Even England featured a limited monarchy and an entrenched aristocracy alongside a House of Commons that rested on a restricted and uneven electoral base. The vaunted English Constitution that American colonists had grown up admiring prior to the struggle for independence was an imprecise hodgepodge of institutions, enactments, cases, usages, maxims, procedures, and principles that had accreted<sup>5</sup> and evolved over many centuries. This Constitution had never been reduced to a single composite writing and voted on by the British people or even by Parliament.
- 12 The ancient world had seen small-scale democracies in various Greek city-states and pre-imperial Rome, but none of these had been founded in fully democratic fashion. In the most famous cases, one man—a celebrated lawgiver such as Athens’s Solon or Sparta’s Lycurgus—had unilaterally ordained his countrymen’s constitution. Before the American Revolution, no people had ever explicitly voted on their own written constitution.
- 13 Nor did the Revolution itself immediately inaugurate popular ordainments and establishments. True, the 1776 Declaration of Independence proclaimed the “self-evident” truth that “Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed.” The document went on to assert that “whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of [its legitimate] Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter and abolish it, and to institute new Government.” Yet the Declaration only

4. **approbation** *n.* praise or approval.

5. **accreted** *v.* grown or accumulated gradually.

imperfectly acted out its bold script. Its fifty-six acclaimed signers never put the document to any sort of popular vote.

14 Between April and July 1776, countless similar declarations issued from assorted towns, counties, parishes, informal assemblies, grand juries, militia units, and legislatures across America. By then, however, the colonies were already under military attack, and conditions often made it impossible to achieve inclusive deliberation or scrupulous tabulation. Many patriots saw Crown loyalists in their midst not as fellow citizens free to vote their honest judgment with impunity, but rather as traitors deserving tar and feathers, or worse. (Virtually no arch-loyalist went on to become a particularly noteworthy political leader in independent America. By contrast, many who would vigorously oppose the Constitution in 1787–88—such as Maryland’s Samuel Chase and Luther Martin, Virginia’s Patrick Henry and James Monroe, and New York’s George Clinton and John Lansing—moved on to illustrious post-ratification careers.)

15 Shortly before and after the Declaration of Independence, new state governments began to take shape, filling the void created by the ouster of George III. None of the state constitutions ordained in the first months of the Revolution was voted on by the electorate or by a specially elected ratifying convention of the people. In many states, sitting legislatures or closely analogous Revolutionary entities declared themselves solons<sup>6</sup> and promulgated or revised constitutions on their own authority, sometimes without even waiting for new elections that might have given their constituents more say in the matter, or at least advance notice of their specific constitutional intentions.

16 In late 1777, patriot leaders in the Continental Congress proposed a set of Articles of Confederation to govern relations among the thirteen states. This document was then sent out to be ratified by the thirteen state legislatures, none of which asked the citizens themselves to vote in any special way on the matter.

17 Things began to change as the Revolution wore on. In 1780, Massachusetts enacted a new state constitution that had come directly before the voters assembled in their respective townships and won their approval. In 1784, New Hampshire did the same. These local dress rehearsals (for so they seem in retrospect) set the stage for the Preamble’s great act of continental popular sovereignty in the late 1780s.

18 As Benjamin Franklin and other Americans had achieved famous advances in the natural sciences—in Franklin’s case, the invention of bifocals, the lightning rod, and the Franklin stove—so with the Constitution America could boast a breakthrough in political science. Never before had so many ordinary people been invited to

---

America could boast  
a breakthrough in  
political science.

---

6. **solons** (SOH luhnz) *n.* lawmakers, especially wise ones. Refers to Solon, the statesman who framed the democratic laws of Athens.

deliberate and vote on the supreme law under which they and their posterity would be governed. James Wilson fairly burst with pride in an oration delivered in Philadelphia to some twenty thousand merry-makers gathered for a grand parade on July 4, 1788. By that date, enough Americans had said “We do” so as to guarantee that the Constitution would go into effect (at least in ten states—the document was still pending in the other three). The “spectacle, which we are assembled to celebrate,” Wilson declared, was “the most dignified one that has yet appeared on our globe,” namely, a

people free and enlightened, establishing and ratifying a system of government, which they have previously considered, examined, and approved! . . .

. . . You have heard of Sparta, of Athens, and of Rome; you have heard of their admired constitutions, and of their high-prized freedom. . . . But did they, in all their pomp and pride of liberty, ever furnish, to the astonished world, an exhibition similar to that which we now contemplate? Were their constitutions framed by those, who were appointed for that purpose, by the people? After they were framed, were they submitted to the consideration of the people? Had the people an opportunity of expressing their sentiments concerning them? Were they to stand or fall by the people’s approving or rejecting vote?

- 19 The great deed was done. The people had taken center stage and enacted their own supreme law. 🗳️

## Comprehension Check

Complete the following items after you finish your first read. Review and clarify details with your group.

1. When and where was the Constitution drafted?
2. Once the Constitution was approved, what more had to happen before it could go into effect?
3. What was *The Federalist*, and who was “Publius”?
4. 📓 **Notebook** Confirm your understanding of the text by writing a summary.

## RESEARCH

**Research to Explore** Choose something that interested you from the text, and formulate a research question.



## Close Read the Text

With your group, revisit sections of the text you marked during your first read. **Annotate** details that you notice. What **questions** do you have? What can you **conclude**?



AMERICA'S CONSTITUTION:  
A BIOGRAPHY

## Analyze the Text

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**  
to support your answers.

**Notebook** Complete the activities.

- 1. Review and Clarify** With your group, reread paragraphs 4 and 5 of the selection. What kind of document was the Constitution in the summer of 1787? What does this fact indicate about the power of “We the People”?
- 2. Present and Discuss** Now, work with your group to share the passages from the selection that you found especially important. Take turns presenting your passages. Discuss what you noticed in the selection, what questions you asked, and what conclusions you reached.
- 3. Essential Question: *What is the meaning of freedom?*** What has this text taught you about American freedoms? Discuss with your group.

**TIP**

**GROUP DISCUSSION**

Keep in mind that readers often have differing interpretations of a text. Use the varying perspectives to encourage group members to learn from one another and to clarify their own views.

## LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

### Concept Vocabulary

conclave

eminent

populist

**Why These Words?** The three concept vocabulary words from the text are related. With your group, determine what the words have in common. How do these word choices contribute to the meaning of the text?

### Practice

**Notebook** Confirm your understanding of these words by writing a two- or three-sentence paragraph that includes all three words. Make their meaning clear from the context.

### Word Study

**Notebook** **Latin Suffix: -ist** The Latin suffix *-ist* identifies a word as an adjective or a noun. It often appears in words that relate to attitudes or philosophies. For example, the word *realist* means “a person who sees things as they really are.”

- Write two definitions for the concept vocabulary word *populist*—one for the word’s meaning as a noun and the other for the word’s meaning as an adjective.
- Use a dictionary to find definitions for *naturalist*, *feminist*, and *idealist*. Then, choose one of the words and write two sentences—one using the word as a noun and the other using it as an adjective.

### WORD NETWORK

Add words related to freedom from the text to your Word Network.

### STANDARDS

**L.11–12.4.c** Consult general and specialized reference materials, both print and digital, to find the pronunciation of a word or determine or clarify its precise meaning, its part of speech, its etymology, or its standard usage.



AMERICA'S CONSTITUTION:  
A BIOGRAPHY

## Analyze Craft and Structure

**Author's Choices: Rhetoric** An **analogy** is an extended comparison. It is based on the idea that the relationship between one pair of things is like the relationship between another pair. The use of an analogy can clarify complex ideas by explaining an unfamiliar notion in terms of a familiar one. For example, in paragraph 4, Amar introduces the idea that the Preamble to the Constitution is like the words “I accept” in a contract:

Like the phrases “I do” in an exchange of wedding vows and “I accept” in a contract, the Preamble’s words actually performed the very thing they described.

Using this analogy, Amar makes the point that the Constitution represented a binding commitment that affected how people live their lives.

### Practice

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**  
to support your answers.

Reread the passages noted in the chart. For each analogy, identify the two things being compared. Then, explain the idea the analogy helps to clarify. Work independently. Then, share your analysis with your group.

TEXTUAL DETAILS	TWO THINGS BEING COMPARED	MEANING
“I do” / “we do” (paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 6, 18)		
<i>fiat lux</i> (paragraph 10)		
invention of bifocals, the lightning rod, and the Franklin stove (paragraph 18)		

#### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.6** Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.



## Author's Style

**Historical Narrative as Argument** A **biography** is a type of narrative nonfiction that tells the story of someone's life. By calling his book a "biography" of the Constitution, Amar indicates that he is telling a story. However, it is not the story of a life, but of a document. Within that story, Amar presents his point of view or position on the Constitution's significance. The story he tells, then, is not just a historical narrative—it is also an argument. Amar states his main idea or principal claim at the end of paragraph 2:

In the late 1780s, this [the drafting of the U. S. Constitution] was the most democratic deed the world had ever seen.

Amar goes on to present an in-depth description of the conflicts and drama that arose around the ratification of the Constitution, using varied techniques and evidence to tell the story and develop his claim.

- **Historical Details:** Amar is writing for an audience of general readers, not scholars. He includes historical details that provide important background information for such readers. For example, in paragraph 8, he shows how the rules of the ratifying conventions were based on groundbreaking democratic principles.
- **Numerical Data:** Amar presents numerical facts to support his interpretation of events.
- **Quotations:** Amar interweaves quotations from historical figures. These passages add drama to the story he is telling and reinforce the argument he is presenting.

### Read It

Work on your own to identify examples of Amar's use of historical details, numerical data, and quotations. Explain how each example helps to tell the story of the Constitution and build Amar's argument. Share and discuss your responses with your group.

TYPE OF EVIDENCE	EFFECT
Historical Details	
Numerical Data	
Quotations	

### Write It

 **Notebook** Choose a favorite song, graphic novel or comic book, movie, game, or other text. Write a "biography" of the work in which you both tell the story of its development and defend a claim about its importance. Weave in historical details, facts, and quotations.

### EVIDENCE LOG

Before moving on to a new selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you have learned from the excerpt from *America's Constitution: A Biography*.

### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.3** Analyze a complex set of ideas or sequence of events and explain how specific individuals, ideas, or events interact and develop over the course of the text.

**RI.11–12.5** Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her exposition or argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging.



AMERICA'S CONSTITUTION:  
A BIOGRAPHY

## Comparing Text to Media

This graphic adaptation focuses on the ratification process of the Constitution and the creation of the Bill of Rights. After reviewing this selection, you will look for similarities and differences between the selections.



THE UNITED STATES  
CONSTITUTION:  
A GRAPHIC ADAPTATION

### About the Author



As an adult, **Jonathan Hennessey** gained a new appreciation for his childhood in historic New England, and he notes that "I often find nothing more entertaining than some scrupulously researched historical account." *The United States Constitution: A Graphic Adaptation* is his first published work.

# from The United States Constitution: A Graphic Adaptation

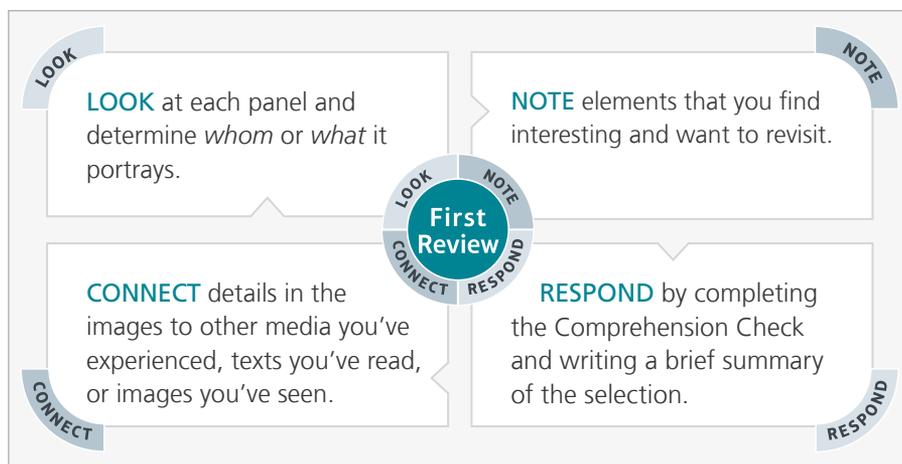
## Media Vocabulary

These words or concepts will be useful to you as you analyze, discuss, and write about graphic novels.

<b>Layout:</b> overall design and look of a graphic presentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Layout deals with the arrangement of graphic panels on a page and with the relationship of text and images within each panel.</li> </ul>
<b>Speech Balloon:</b> shape used in graphic novels and comic books to show what a character says	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A "tail" points from the balloon to the person speaking. If the tail is a series of small bubbles, the balloon expresses a thought.</li> <li>An artist may use a dotted balloon outline to indicate whispered words or jagged "spikes" in the outline to indicate shouting or screaming.</li> </ul>
<b>Caption:</b> separate text that presents information that cannot be expressed quickly and easily in dialogue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A caption may appear anywhere inside or outside a panel. It may be broken into several boxes for a panel.</li> </ul>

## First Review MEDIA: ART AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Apply these strategies as you conduct your first review.

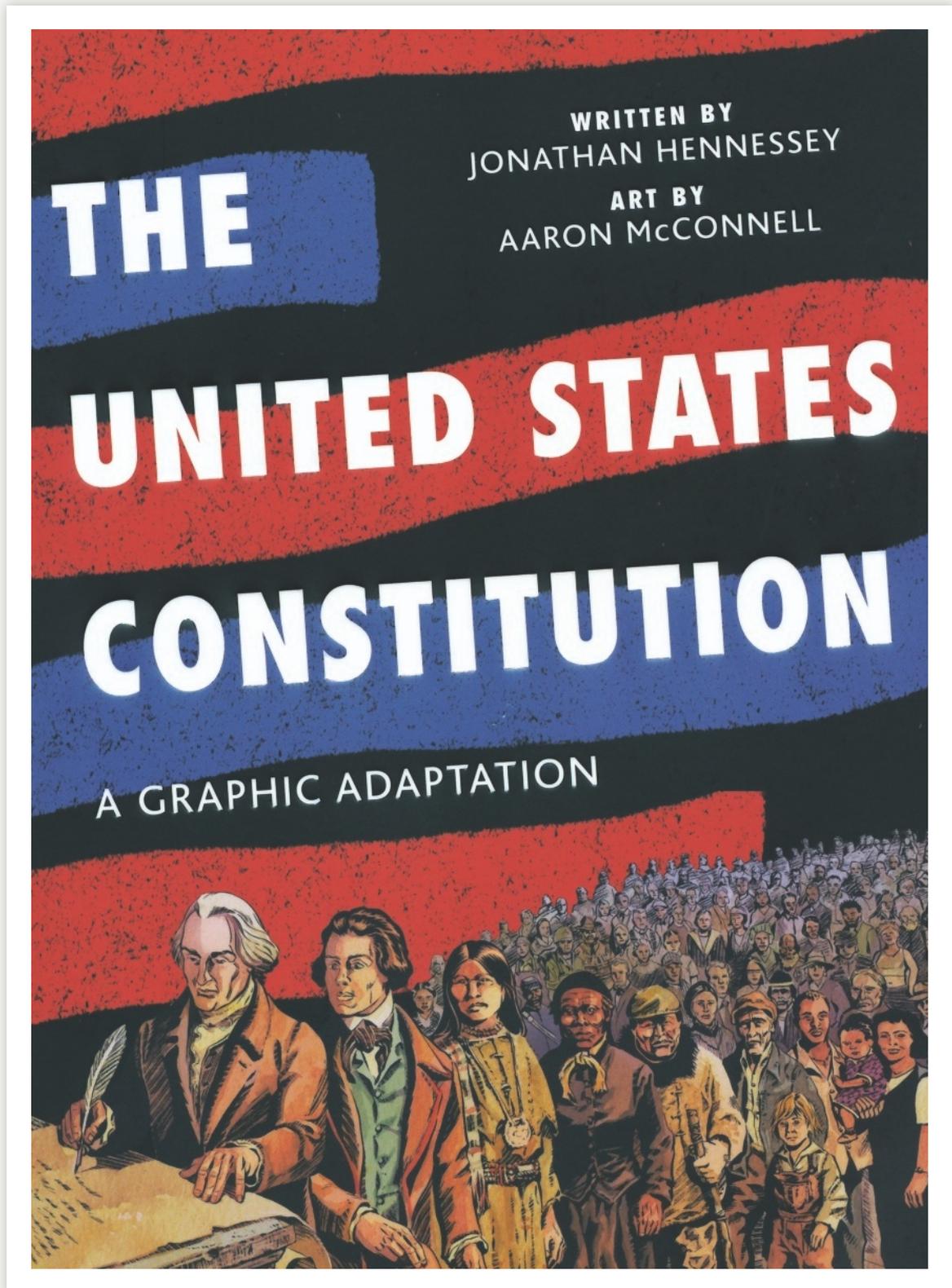


### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

**L.11–12.6** Acquire and use accurately general academic and domain-specific words and phrases, sufficient for reading, writing, speaking, and listening at the college and career readiness level; demonstrate independence in gathering vocabulary knowledge when considering a word or phrase important to comprehension or expression.

**Notebook** As you study the graphic novel, record your observations and questions, noting which panel they refer to for later reference.



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## BACKGROUND

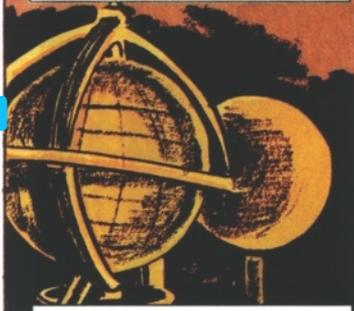
While the Articles of Confederation created Congress, it did not create a capable national government. Individual states continued to conduct foreign diplomacy, and Georgia was threatening its own war with Spain. Furthermore, Congress failed to deal effectively with Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts. These and other weaknesses convinced leaders that revisions to the Articles were necessary to form a stronger national government.

SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA



# RATIFICATION: Federalists vs. Anti-Federalists

IN THE VOTE TO SEND DELEGATES TO RATIFY THE CONSTITUTION, MORE PEOPLE WOULD HAVE A SAY ON THEIR LAWS—AND THE SHAPE OF THEIR FUTURE—THAN EVER BEFORE.

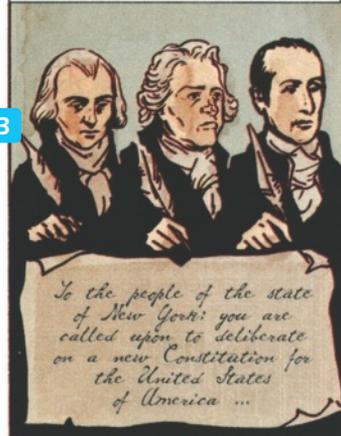


AND FOR THIS VOTE, MOST STATES REDUCED OR ABOLISHED THEIR RULES ABOUT OWNING PROPERTY.

UP TO THAT TIME A **FEDERALIST** WAS SOMEONE WHO BELIEVED FIRST AND FOREMOST IN THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES, WHILE AN **ANTI-FEDERALIST** WANTED A STRONG, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO RULE OVER THEM, JUST AS THE CONSTITUTION WOULD ESTABLISH...

...BUT IN WHAT TODAY WOULD BE CALLED POLITICAL SPIN, THE ONES PUSHING HARDEST TO RATIFY THE CONSTITUTION TOOK THE FEDERALIST NAME FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSE, TO HELP WIN OVER THE COMMON PEOPLE.

UNDER THE PEN NAME PUBLIUS, HAMILTON, MADISON, AND JOHN JAY WROTE 85 ESSAYS NOW KNOWN AS **THE FEDERALIST PAPERS** TO EXPLAIN AND CHAMPION THEIR CAUSE.



NOW STUCK WITH THE ANTI-FEDERALIST NAME, OPPONENTS OF RATIFICATION—MANY PEOPLE, MANY DIFFERENT IDEAS—ATTACKED!

SOME THOUGHT THE CONSTITUTION, WHICH NEVER MENTIONS GOD, WAS ANTIRELIGIOUS.

MANY RESENTED THAT THE FRAMERS HAD OVERSTEPPED THEIR JOB OF SIMPLY FIXING THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION...

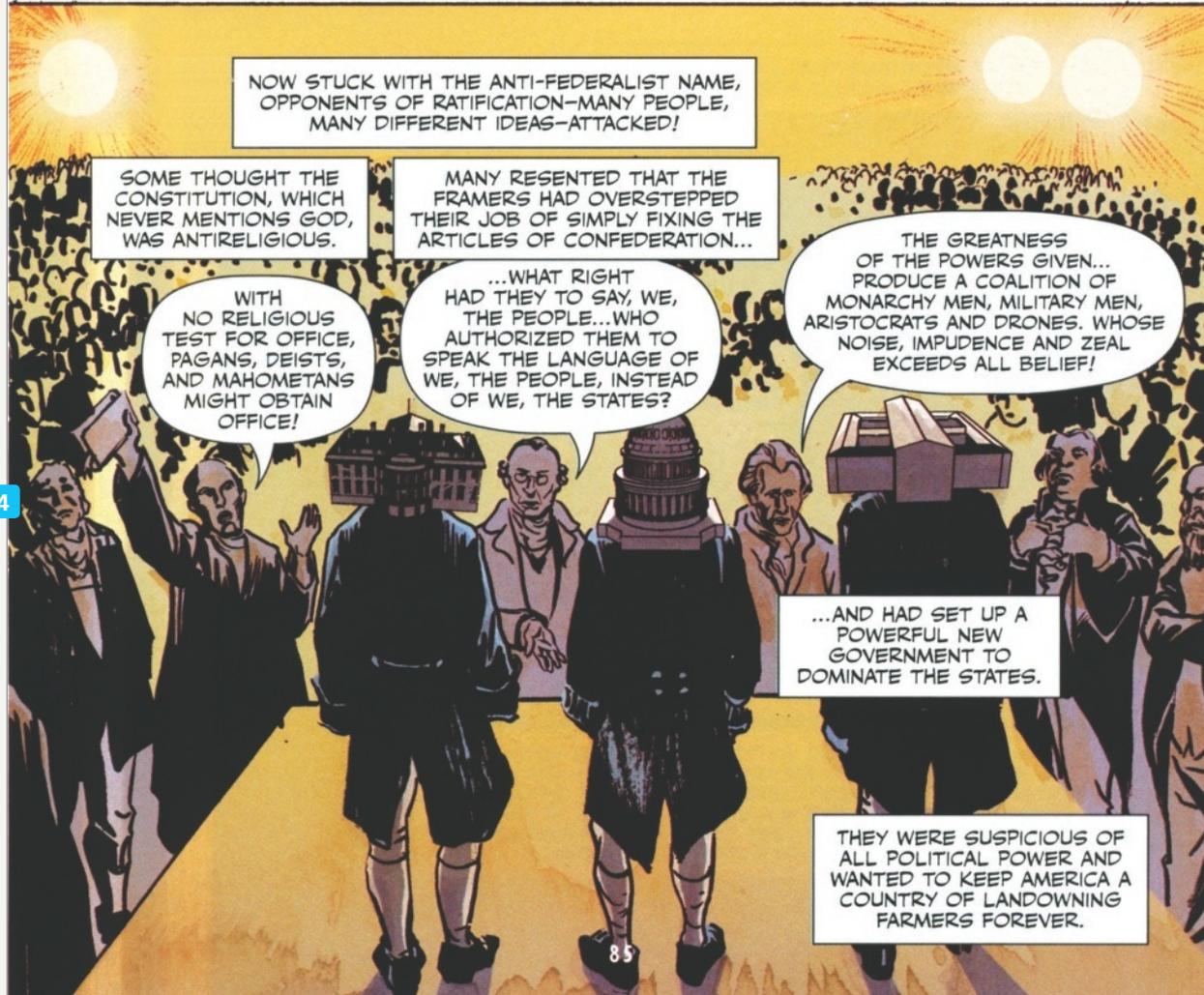
WITH NO RELIGIOUS TEST FOR OFFICE, PAGANS, DEISTS, AND MAHOMETANS MIGHT OBTAIN OFFICE!

...WHAT RIGHT HAD THEY TO SAY, WE, THE PEOPLE...WHO AUTHORIZED THEM TO SPEAK THE LANGUAGE OF WE, THE PEOPLE, INSTEAD OF WE, THE STATES?

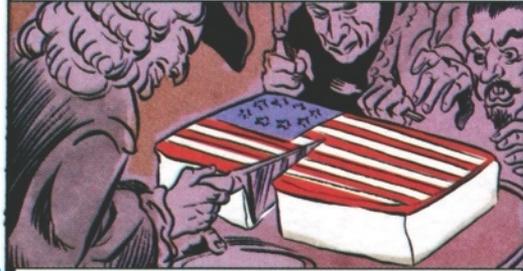
THE GREATNESS OF THE POWERS GIVEN... PRODUCE A COALITION OF MONARCHY MEN, MILITARY MEN, ARISTOCRATS AND DRONES. WHOSE NOISE, IMPUDENCE AND ZEAL EXCEEDS ALL BELIEF!

...AND HAD SET UP A POWERFUL NEW GOVERNMENT TO DOMINATE THE STATES.

THEY WERE SUSPICIOUS OF ALL POLITICAL POWER AND WANTED TO KEEP AMERICA A COUNTRY OF LANDOWNING FARMERS FOREVER.

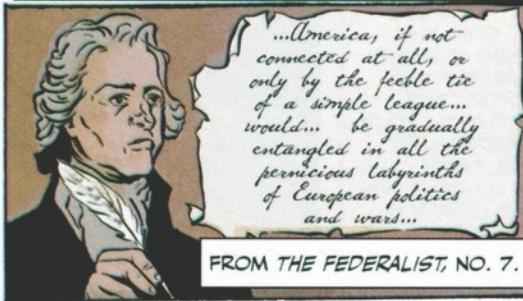


"PUBLIUS" VIVIDLY POINTED OUT THE IMMINENT DANGER IF THE STATES FAILED TO JOIN IN A STRONG UNION.



5

ON THEIR OWN OR IN SMALL GROUPS, THE STATES COULD EASILY BE BROUGHT TO THEIR KNEES BY FOREIGN INVADERS...



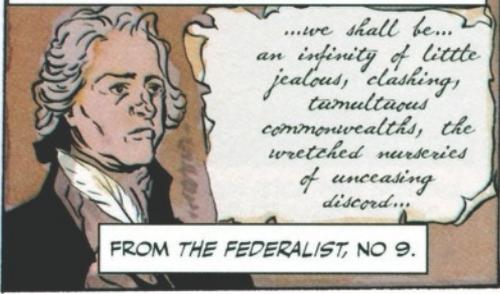
FROM THE FEDERALIST, NO. 7.

...OR, GIVEN ALL THE FIERCE COMPETITION BETWEEN THEM, BY EACH OTHER.



6

OVER TIME BLOODSHED BETWEEN THEM COULD BECOME AS COMMON AS AMONG EUROPE'S MANY COUNTRIES IN THEIR CENTURIES OF ARMED CONFLICTS.



FROM THE FEDERALIST, NO. 9.

AND JUST AS IMPORTANT, "PUBLIUS" SET FORTH WHY THE STATES SHOULD FORM A UNION.

ONE PIVOTAL REASON...



7

THAT'S RIGHT, MEN! KEEP AT IT!

AS LONG AS YOU DO IT ALL TOGETHER- IN A UNION-THE MORE YOU PULL, THE MORE STABLE WE WILL ALL BE!

...THAT THE BIGGER THE COUNTRY- THE MORE DIVERSE ITS PEOPLE, THEIR PASSIONS AND IDEAS ABOUT WHAT THEY WANT FROM GOVERNMENT-THE BETTER.

FROM THE FEDERALIST, NO. 10: "THE SMALLER THE SOCIETY... THE FEWER THE DISTINCT PARTIES AND INTERESTS, THE MORE FREQUENTLY WILL A MAJORITY...EXECUTE...PLANS OF OPPRESSION. EXTEND THE SPHERE...TAKE IN A GREATER VARIETY OF PARTIES AND INTERESTS; YOU MAKE IT LESS PROBABLE THAT A MAJORITY... [WILL] INVADE THE RIGHTS OF OTHER CITIZENS..."

NINE MONTHS AFTER THE CONSTITUTION WAS SIGNED, DEBATE STILL RAGED...

...AND ONLY EIGHT STATES HAD RATIFIED THE DOCUMENT.



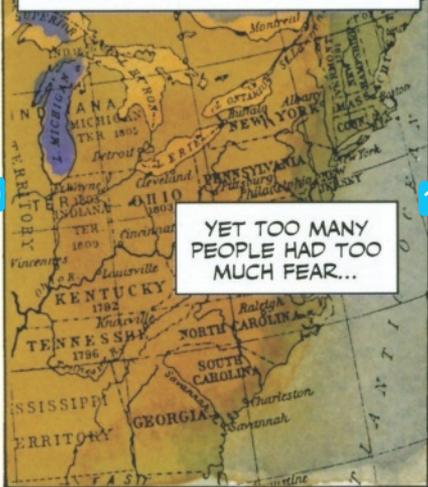
IT WAS NOT YET LAW.

IN MASSACHUSETTS THE DEBATE WAS PARTICULARLY BITTER, AND THE VOTE CLOSE.



ITS CONSENT CAME ONLY WITH A LIST OF CHANGES ITS PEOPLE WANTED.

AND THE STATES OF VIRGINIA AND NEW YORK WERE STILL HOLDING OUT. THERE COULD BE NO LASTING UNION WITHOUT THEM.

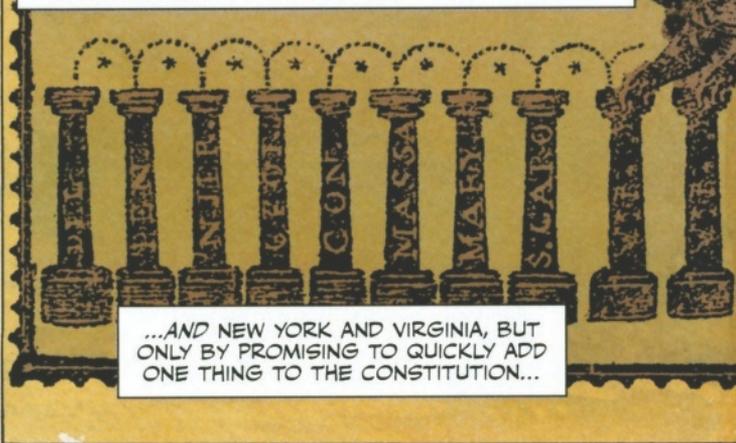


YET TOO MANY PEOPLE HAD TOO MUCH FEAR...

...THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD SIMPLY BE TOO POWERFUL.

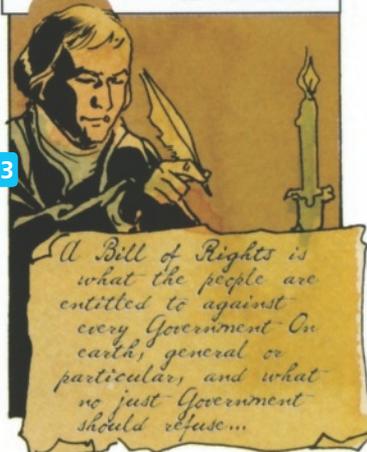


WITH THREATS OF A NEW CONVENTION BEING CALLED, FEDERALISTS WON THEIR LINCHPIN NINTH STATE...



...AND NEW YORK AND VIRGINIA, BUT ONLY BY PROMISING TO QUICKLY ADD ONE THING TO THE CONSTITUTION...

...SOMETHING ECHOED IN THE WORDS OF FUTURE PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON.

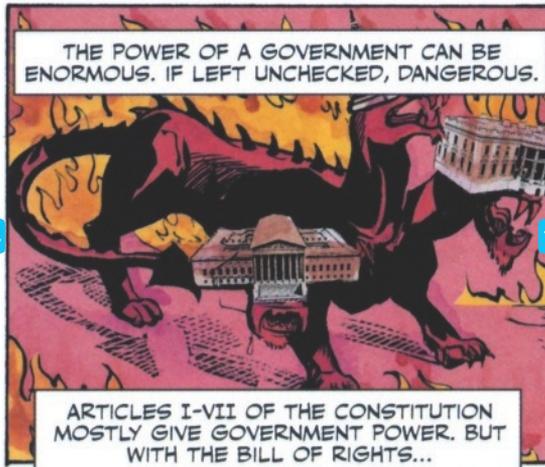


*A Bill of Rights is what the people are entitled to against every Government on earth, general or particular; and what no just Government should refuse...*

# The Bill of Rights: AMENDMENTS 1-10

14

THE POWER OF A GOVERNMENT CAN BE ENORMOUS. IF LEFT UNCHECKED, DANGEROUS.



ARTICLES I-VII OF THE CONSTITUTION MOSTLY GIVE GOVERNMENT POWER. BUT WITH THE BILL OF RIGHTS...

15

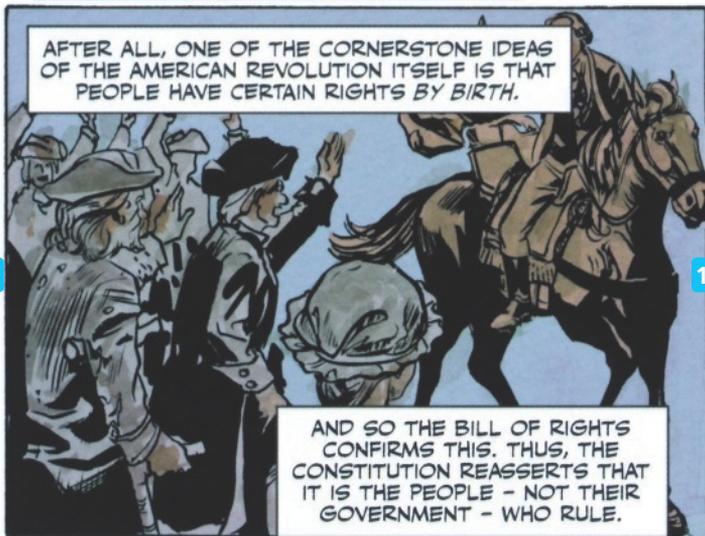
...PROPOSED BY THE FIRST CONGRESS, DRAFTED BY MADISON, AND SWIFTLY RATIFIED IN 1791...



...GOVERNMENT VOLUNTARILY GIVES UP POWER. IT RESTRAINS ITSELF.

16

AFTER ALL, ONE OF THE CORNERSTONE IDEAS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ITSELF IS THAT PEOPLE HAVE CERTAIN RIGHTS BY BIRTH.



AND SO THE BILL OF RIGHTS CONFIRMS THIS. THUS, THE CONSTITUTION REASSERTS THAT IT IS THE PEOPLE - NOT THEIR GOVERNMENT - WHO RULE.

17

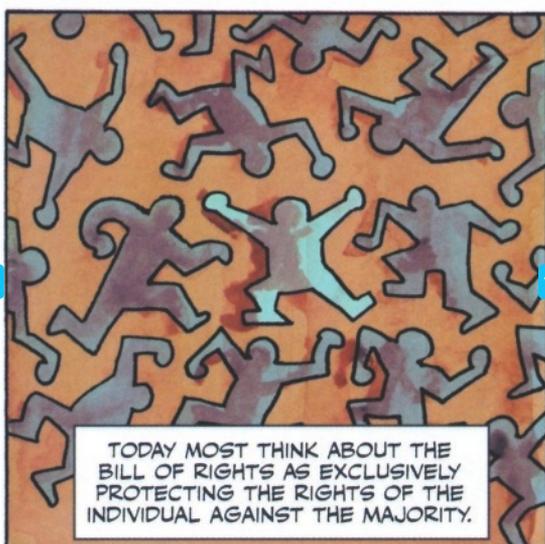
THE RIGHT TO TRIAL BY JURY?

THANKS... I ALREADY HAVE ONE.



THE BILL OF RIGHTS SPELLS OUT WHAT FREEDOMS THE GOVERNMENT MAY NOT TAKE AWAY. IT IS THERE TO PROTECT YOUR RIGHTS, NOT TO GIVE THEM TO YOU.

18



TODAY MOST THINK ABOUT THE BILL OF RIGHTS AS EXCLUSIVELY PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AGAINST THE MAJORITY.

19

BUT THE ANTI-FEDERALISTS WERE EQUALLY CONCERNED ABOUT PROTECTING THE MAJORITY.

...THAT IS, THE PEOPLE, OR GROUPS OF PEOPLE-FROM GOVERNMENT.

FROM *THE FEDERALIST, NO. 51*:  
"IT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN A REPUBLIC...TO GUARD THE SOCIETY AGAINST THE OPPRESSION OF ITS RULERS."

## Comprehension Check

Complete the following items after you finish your first review. Review and clarify details with your group.

1. As the fight for ratification began, how did the meaning of the word *federalist* change? Refer to panels 1–4.
2. How does the artist visually depict the three branches of government? Refer to panels 4 and 11.
3. Identify three reasons “Publius” gave in support of a strong federal government. Refer to panels 5–7.
4. According to the author, what assumption about human rights does the Bill of Rights reflect?
5.  **Notebook** Write a summary to confirm your understanding of the ratification of the Constitution, as presented in the graphic adaptation.

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## RESEARCH

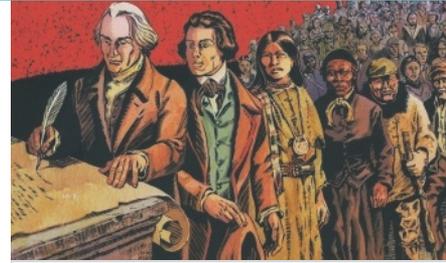
**Research to Clarify** Choose at least one unfamiliar detail from the graphic adaptation. Briefly research that detail. In what way does the information you found shed light on your understanding of the Constitution or the Bill of Rights?

**Research to Explore** Choose something that interested you from the graphic adaptation, and formulate a research question about it.



## Close Review

With your group, review your notes and, if necessary, revisit the graphic adaptation. Record any new observations that seem important. What **questions** do you have? What can you **conclude**?



THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION: A GRAPHIC ADAPTATION

## Analyze the Media

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE** to support your answers.

Complete the activities.

- 1. Present and Discuss** Choose the part of the graphic adaptation you find most interesting or powerful. Share your choice with the group and discuss why you chose it. Explain what you noticed about that part, what questions it raised for you, and what conclusions you reached about it.
- 2. Synthesize** With your group, review the entire graphic adaptation. How do the images, speech balloons, and captions work together to reveal the difficult moments in this part of the Constitution’s “story”? Do they inform, entertain, or both? Explain.
- 3. Notebook** **Essential Question:** *What is the meaning of freedom?* How did the Constitution and the Bill of Rights clarify the meaning of freedom for Americans? Support your response with evidence from the graphic adaptation.

## LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

### Media Vocabulary

layout      speech balloon      caption

Use these vocabulary words in your responses to the following questions.

- 1. (a)** Which panel presents a caption with no image? **(b)** What do readers learn from that panel? **(c)** How does the arrangement of the caption text reflect its content?
- 2. (a)** Which appears more often in this excerpt—speech balloons or captions? **(b)** Why do you think that Hennessey and McConnell chose to present so much information in one way instead of the other?
- 3.** Choose the series of panels that you think most clearly conveys a large amount of information. Explain the visual choices that make those panels effective.

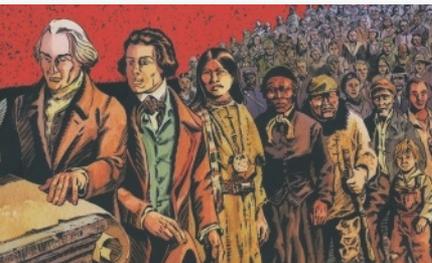
### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.3** Analyze a complex set of ideas or sequence of events and explain how specific individuals, ideas, or events interact and develop over the course of the text.

**RI.11–12.5** Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her exposition or argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging.



AMERICA'S CONSTITUTION:  
A BIOGRAPHY



THE UNITED STATES  
CONSTITUTION: A GRAPHIC  
ADAPTATION

## Writing to Compare

You have read two works that provide historical information about the ratification of the U.S. Constitution. Now, deepen your understanding by comparing and writing about the two works.

### Assignment

An informative text explains how or why something is true. Write an **informative essay** in which you explain how reading both *America's Constitution: A Biography* and *The United States Constitution: A Graphic Adaptation* helps a person more fully understand the ratification of the U.S. Constitution. Your essay should address these questions:

- What are the strengths of each medium?
- What unique kinds of information does each text present, and how?

To support your central idea, cite evidence from both texts. Support may take the form of quotations, paraphrases, summaries, or descriptions.

### Planning and Prewriting

**Analyze the Texts** With your group, discuss how each text presents different types of information about the Constitution. Use the chart to gather your notes. Generate your own topic for the last row.

TOPIC	AMERICA'S CONSTITUTION: A BIOGRAPHY	THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION: A GRAPHIC ADAPTATION
the need for a Constitution		
objections to the Constitution		
the ratification process		

#### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.7** Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.

**W.11–12.2** Write informative/explanatory texts to examine and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection, organization, and analysis of content.

**W.11–12.9.b** Apply *grades 11–12 Reading standards* to literary nonfiction.

### Notebook Respond to these questions.

1. What strategies or techniques are used to communicate key ideas in each text?
2. Which gives a more thorough account of the Constitution's origins? How?
3. Which gives a more memorable account? How so?

## Drafting

**Develop a Main Idea** Review your Prewriting notes. With your group, draw some conclusions about the main strengths of each text. Then, work independently to draft a main idea for your essay by completing the following frame.

**Main Idea:** Reading both the historical narrative and the graphic novel can help a person better understand the origins of the Constitution. This is because the historical narrative \_\_\_\_\_, whereas the graphic novel \_\_\_\_\_.

Take turns sharing your completed main idea with the group. Discuss which versions are stronger, and why. Use group members' feedback to revise your main idea.

**Choose Evidence** Your main idea contains a general statement about each text. In your essay, you must support each general statement with evidence—quotations, descriptions, summaries, or paraphrases. One possible general statement and two pieces of supporting evidence are shown here.

### EXAMPLE

**General Statement:** The graphic novel communicates key ideas in memorable ways.

- **Evidence:** Panel 8 showing shaded stamps of states that had ratified the Constitution and unshaded stamps of those that had not
- **Evidence:** vivid image in panel 5 of the U.S. flag being sliced like a cake

Work with your group to identify strong pieces of evidence for each of your general statements. Take notes in a chart like this one.

GENERAL STATEMENT	EVIDENCE	PAGE/PANEL NUMBER

**Write a Draft** Draft your essay independently. Include your main idea in the introduction. Include each general statement and your evidence for it in a separate body section. In your conclusion, make an observation about one or both texts that leaves your reader with some food for thought.

## Review, Revise, and Edit

When you are finished drafting, exchange papers with a group member. Ask your peer to comment on both the content and organization of your essay. Use the feedback to guide your revisions. Finally, edit and proofread your work. Replace vague language with more specific words and phrases. Correct any errors in grammar, spelling, or punctuation that you discover.

### EVIDENCE LOG

Before moving on to a new selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from the excerpts from *America's Constitution: A Biography* and *The United States Constitution: A Graphic Adaptation*.



About the Author



The son of a West African tribal elder, **Olaudah Equiano** (1745–1797) might have followed in his father’s footsteps had he not been sold into slavery. He was taken first to the West Indies and later brought to Virginia, where he was purchased by a British captain and employed at sea. Renamed Gustavus Vassa, Equiano was enslaved for nearly ten years. After managing his master’s finances and making his own money in the process, he amassed enough to buy his own freedom. In later years, he settled in England and devoted himself to the abolition of slavery. In addition to writing his two-volume autobiography to publicize the plight of slaves, he lectured and rallied public sympathy against the cruelties of slavery.

STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

**L.11–12.4** Determine or clarify the meaning of unknown and multiple-meaning words and phrases based on *grades 11–12 reading and content*, choosing flexibly from a range of strategies.

# from The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano

## Concept Vocabulary

As you perform your first read of this excerpt from *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, you will encounter these words.

loathsome      wretched      dejected

**Base Words** Words that seem unfamiliar may actually contain words you know. Try looking for such familiar base words “inside” unfamiliar words. The word *insupportable*, for example, contains the base word *support*. You know that *support* means “to bear” or “to hold up.” In this word, the prefix *in-* means “not,” and the suffix *-able* means “capable of being.” *Insupportable* means “not capable of being borne or held up.”

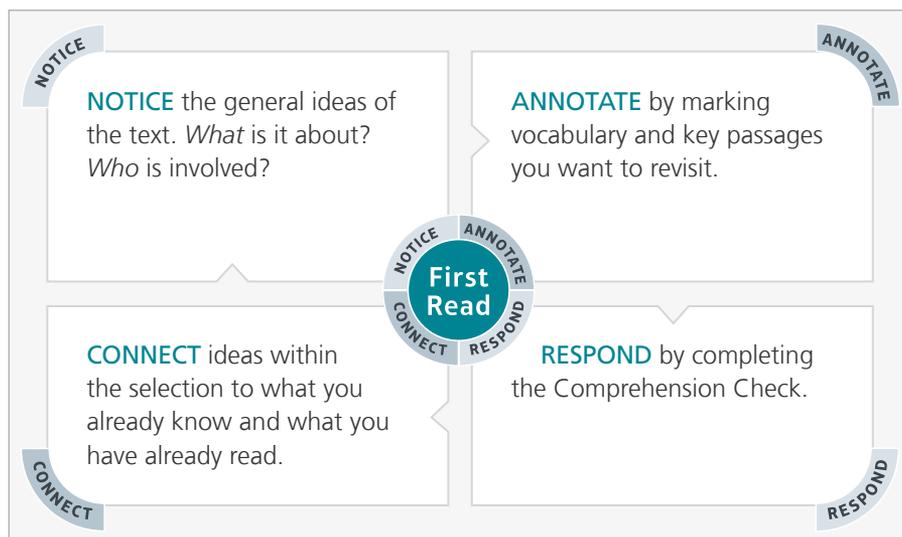
Note how the addition of prefixes or suffixes affects the meaning of the base word in these words.

- unmercifully      in a manner without mercy
- heightened      made higher or more intense
- mariners      sailors

Apply your knowledge of base words and other vocabulary strategies to determine the meanings of unfamiliar words you encounter during your first read.

## First Read NONFICTION

Apply these strategies as you conduct your first read. You will have an opportunity to complete a close read after your first read.



from  
**The Interesting  
 Narrative of the Life of  
 Olaudah Equiano**

Olaudah Equiano

### BACKGROUND

In the first several chapters of his autobiography, Olaudah Equiano describes how slave traders kidnapped him and his sister from their home in West Africa and transported them to the African coast. During this six- or seven-month journey, Equiano was separated from his sister and held at a series of way stations. After reaching the coast, Equiano was shipped with other captives to North America. The following account describes this horrifying journey.

SCAN FOR  
 MULTIMEDIA 

- 1 **A**t last when the ship we were in, had got in all her cargo, they made ready with many fearful noises, and we were all put under deck, so that we could not see how they managed the vessel. But this disappointment was the least of my sorrow. The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably **loathsome**, that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us.

### NOTES

Mark base words or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**loathsome** (LOHTH suhm) *adj.*

MEANING:

## NOTES

Mark base words or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**wretched** (REHCH ihd) *adj.*

MEANING:

Mark base words or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**dejected** (dee JEHK tihd) *adj.*

MEANING:

- 2 This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died—thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This **wretched** situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable, and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps, for myself, I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters.<sup>1</sup> In this situation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought upon deck at the point of death, which I began to hope would soon put an end to my miseries. Often did I think many of the inhabitants of the deep much more happy than myself.
- 3 I envied them the freedom they enjoyed, and as often wished I could change my condition for theirs. Every circumstance I met with, served only to render my state more painful, and heightened my apprehensions, and my opinion of the cruelty of the whites.
- 4 One day they had taken a number of fishes; and when they had killed and satisfied themselves with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat, as we expected, they tossed the remaining fish into the sea again, although we begged and prayed for some as well as we could, but in vain; and some of my countrymen, being pressed by hunger, took an opportunity, when they thought no one saw them, of trying to get a little privately; but they were discovered, and the attempt procured them some very severe floggings. One day, when we had a smooth sea and moderate wind, two of my wearied countrymen who were chained together (I was near them at the time), preferring death to such a life of misery, somehow made through the nettings and jumped into the sea; immediately, another quite **dejected** fellow, who, on account of his illness, was suffered to be out of irons, also followed their example; and I believe many more would very soon have done the same, if they had not been prevented by the ship's crew, who were instantly alarmed. Those of us that were the most active, were in a moment put down under the deck; and there was such a noise and confusion amongst the people of the ship as I never heard before, to stop her, and get the boat out to go after the slaves. However, two of the wretches were drowned, but they got the other, and afterwards flogged him unmercifully, for thus attempting to prefer death to slavery. In this manner we continued to undergo more hardships than I can now relate, hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade. Many a time we were near suffocation from the want of fresh

1. **fetters** (FEHT uhrz) *n.* chains.

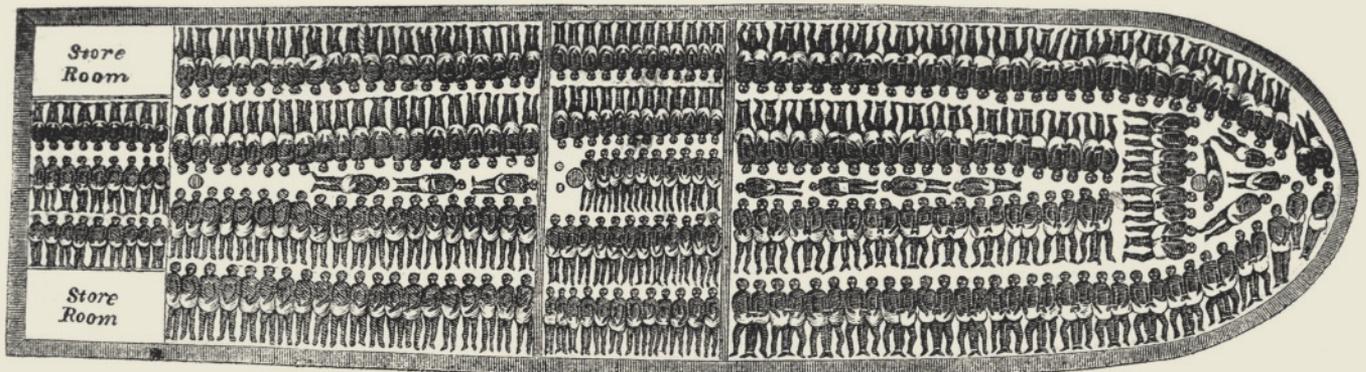
air, which we were often without for whole days together. This, and the stench of the necessary tubs, carried off many.

5 During our passage, I first saw flying fishes, which surprised me very much; they used frequently to fly across the ship, and many of them fell on the deck. I also now first saw the use of the quadrant;<sup>2</sup> I had often with astonishment seen the mariners make observations with it, and I could not think what it meant. They at last took notice of my surprise; and one of them, willing to increase it, as well as to gratify my curiosity, made me one day look through it. The clouds appeared to me to be land, which disappeared as they passed along. This heightened my wonder; and I was now more persuaded than ever, that I was in another world, and that every thing about me was magic. At last, we came in sight of the island of Barbados, at which the whites on board gave a great shout, and made many signs of joy to us. We did not know what to think of this; but as the vessel drew nearer, we plainly saw the harbor, and other ships of different kinds and sizes, and we soon anchored amongst them, off Bridgetown.<sup>3</sup> Many merchants and planters now came on board, though it was in the evening. They put us in separate parcels,<sup>4</sup> and examined us attentively. They also made us jump, and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there.

2. **quadrant** (KWOD ruhnt) *n.* instrument used by navigators to determine the position of a ship.

3. **Bridgetown** capital of Barbados.

4. **parcels** (PAHR suhlz) *n.* groups.



This portion of a 1788 British abolitionist poster depicts the *Brookes*, a slave ship, and the maximum number of slaves that it could transport legally. Slave traders carried as many slaves as the law allowed, knowing that many would die during the journey.

- 6 We thought by this, we should be eaten by these ugly men, as they appeared to us; and, when soon after we were all put down under the deck again, there was much dread and trembling among us, and nothing but bitter cries to be heard all the night from these apprehensions, insomuch, that at last the white people got some old slaves from the land to pacify us. They told us we were not to be eaten, but to work, and were soon to go on land, where we should see many of our country people. This report eased us much. And sure enough, soon after we were landed, there came to us Africans of all languages.
- 7 We were conducted immediately to the merchant's yard, where we were all pent up together, like so many sheep in a fold, without regard to sex or age. . . . We were not many days in the merchant's custody, before we were sold after their usual manner, which is this: On a signal given (as the beat of a drum), the buyers rush at once into the yard where the slaves are confined, and make choice of that parcel they like best. . . .

## Comprehension Check

Complete the following items after you finish your first read. Review and clarify details with your group.

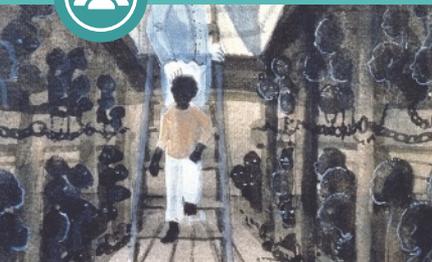
1. According to Equiano, what physical hardships do the captives suffer during their passage across the Atlantic Ocean?
2. What do some captives do to escape the misery of the Atlantic crossing?
3. Why does Equiano blame the illness aboard ship on the “improvident avarice” of the slave traders?
4. How does Equiano’s youth affect his treatment during the voyage?
5. What happens to the captives when the ship reaches Barbados?
6.  **Notebook** Confirm your understanding of the text by creating a timeline of the narrative’s events.

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## RESEARCH

**Research to Clarify** Choose at least one unfamiliar detail from the text. Briefly research that detail. In what way does the information you learned shed light on an aspect of the narrative?

**Research to Explore** This autobiographical account may spark your curiosity to learn more about the author, the era, or the topic. You may want to share what you discover with your group.



THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF OLAUDAH EQUIANO

TIP

GROUP DISCUSSION

In order to have a successful discussion, everyone should participate. Encourage group members to take turns offering their ideas and opinions.

WORD NETWORK

Add words related to freedom from the text to your Word Network.

STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.6** Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

**L.11–12.4.c** Consult general and specialized reference materials, both print and digital, to find the pronunciation of a word or determine or clarify its precise meaning, its part of speech, its etymology, or its standard usage.

## Close Read the Text

With your group, revisit sections of the text you marked during your first read. **Annotate** details that you notice. What **questions** do you have? What can you **conclude**?



## Analyze the Text

CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE to support your answers.

Complete the activities.

- 1. Review and Clarify** With your group, reread paragraph 1 of the selection. Discuss the conditions that the African captives endured aboard the ship. Why were so many people crowded below deck?
- 2. Present and Discuss** Now, work with your group to share the passages from the selection that you found especially important. Take turns presenting your passages. Discuss what you noticed in the selection, what questions you asked, and what conclusions you reached.
- 3. Essential Question: *What is the meaning of freedom?*** What have you learned about American freedoms from reading this text? Discuss with your group.

## LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

### Concept Vocabulary

loathsome      wretched      dejected

**Why These Words?** The three concept vocabulary words from the text are related. With your group, discuss the words and determine what they have in common. How do these word choices enhance the impact of the text?

**Practice**

**Notebook** Confirm your understanding of these words from the text by using them in sentences. Be sure to include context clues that hint at each word’s meaning.

### Word Study

**Notebook** **Latin Root: -ject-** The Latin root *-ject-* means “to throw.” It contributes to the meaning of the concept vocabulary word *dejected*, as well as many other words in English.

1. Explain how the meaning of the root *-ject-* is evident in the meaning of the word *dejected*.
2. Look up each of these words in a dictionary: *conjecture*, *trajectory*, and *projection*. Explain how the root *-ject-* contributes to the meaning of each of the words.

## Analyze Craft and Structure

**Literary Nonfiction: Persuasive Purpose** *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* is an example of a **slave narrative**, or an autobiographical account of a person’s life as a slave. Most slave narratives, written when slavery was a legal practice, have an implicit, or unstated, persuasive purpose: to expose the evils of slavery and, in so doing, turn the public against the practice. Equiano’s account combines factual details and personal reflections with powerful descriptive language that constitute **emotional appeals** to his readers. Notice, for example, how words such as *shrieks* and *groans* evoke readers’ sympathy and outrage in this depiction of the ship that brought Equiano from Africa:

The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable.

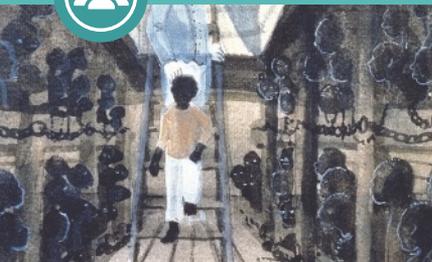
The abolitionist movement in the United States owed much to the revelations of former slaves. Only the hardest of hearts could fail to be moved by Equiano’s narrative.

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**  
to support your answers.

### Practice

As a group, complete this chart. Identify passages from the autobiography that give factual details, passages that convey personal reflections, and passages that feature strong descriptive language. Then, explain the persuasive impact of each passage.

ELEMENT OF SLAVE NARRATIVE	EXAMPLES FROM TEXT	PERSUASIVE IMPACT
Factual details		
Personal reflections		
Strong descriptive language		



THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF OLAUDAH EQUIANO

## Conventions and Style

**Eighteenth-Century Narrative Style** Equiano's account is an example of eighteenth-century narrative style. The formal language of the period has several characteristics that distinguish it from modern style.

CHARACTERISTIC	EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STYLE	MODERN STYLE
<b>Sentence Length:</b> the number of words, phrases, and clauses in a sentence	Sentences are long and contain multiple clauses and phrases.	Sentences vary in length, and most have fewer than three clauses.
<b>Usage:</b> the ways in which words are commonly used	Word meanings change over time, as do word forms, including formation of singular and plural nouns. Modern readers may contest usage or need to confirm archaic meanings.	Word meanings and forms continue to change over time. In addition, new words continue to enter the English language from other languages or are coined to refer to new situations, ideas, or objects.
<b>Mechanics:</b> punctuation and spelling	Eighteenth-century writers punctuated text however they chose.	Punctuation marks are used according to established conventions.

### Read It

 **Notebook** Work individually. Read the passage from Equiano's narrative carefully, and then answer the questions that follow.

One day they had taken a number of fishes; and when they had killed and satisfied themselves with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat, as we expected, they tossed the remaining fish into the sea again, although we begged and prayed for some as well as we could, but in vain; and some of my countrymen, being pressed by hunger, took an opportunity, when they thought no one saw them, of trying to get a little privately; but they were discovered, and the attempt procured them some very severe floggings.

- How many sentences does the passage contain?
- Identify an example of eighteenth-century usage.
- What punctuation marks does the author use to separate details regarding the plight of the captives?

### Write It

 **Notebook** Rewrite the passage in modern style. Then, share passages with your group and discuss whether or not the change in style lessened the persuasive impact of the original passage.

#### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1.f** Use specific rhetorical devices to support assertions.

**L.11–12.1** Demonstrate command of the conventions of standard English grammar and usage when writing or speaking.

**L.11–12.1.a** Apply the understanding that usage is a matter of convention, can change over time, and is sometimes contested.



## Writing to Sources

### Assignment

With your group, prepare an **argument** related to the abolitionist cause. Choose from the following options.

- a **literary review** of Equiano’s autobiography, arguing that the events he describes, and the manner in which he describes them, provide powerful support for the abolitionist movement
- a **letter** to the British Parliament, using evidence from the selection to urge its members to abolish the slave trade
- an **advertisement** for the British abolitionist movement that uses graphics and text, inspired by specific details from the autobiography, to make a strong point about the need for change

**Project Plan** Work with your group to divide the option that you chose into manageable sections or parts. Discuss your ideas and consider the types of supporting evidence you will use, including those that appeal to readers’ emotions. Then, assign each member one part of the writing.

Working Title: \_\_\_\_\_

### TIP

#### COLLABORATION

Group members responsible for preparing the reasons that support the claim should work together to decide the order in which to list the reasons.

#### EVIDENCE LOG

Before moving on to a new selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*.

SECTION OR PART	ASSIGNED GROUP MEMBER
Claim	
Reason 1	
Supporting details from the selection	
Reason 2	
Supporting details from the selection	
Reason 3	
Supporting details from the selection	

**Tying It Together** Work together to draft an introduction that touches on all the sections that you plan to write. Once everyone has written his or her section, work together to draft a logical and memorable conclusion.



LETTER | BIOGRAPHY

## Letter to John Adams

### from Dear Abigail: The Intimate Lives and Revolutionary Ideas of Abigail Adams and Her Two Remarkable Sisters

#### Concept Vocabulary

As you perform your first read of these two texts, you will encounter the following words.

vassals      foment      dissented

**Context Clues** When you come to an unfamiliar word in a text, you can often determine its meaning by using **context clues**—nearby words and phrases that provide hints to a word’s meaning. Such hints may come in the form of descriptions.

**Description as Context Clue:**

**Passage:** “Others have committed abominable **ravages** . . . both the house and furniture of the Solicitor General have fallen prey to their own merciless party.”

**Explanation:** The description of a person’s house and furniture as “prey” to a “merciless party” suggests that ravages means something like “destruction.”

Apply your knowledge of context clues and other vocabulary strategies to determine the meanings of unfamiliar words you encounter during your first read.

#### First Read NONFICTION

Apply these strategies as you conduct your first read. You will have an opportunity to complete a close read after your first read.



STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

**L.11–12.4.a** Use context as a clue to the meaning of a word or phrase.

## About the Authors



**Abigail Adams** (1744–1818) was the wife of John Adams, the second president of the United States, and the mother of John Quincy Adams, the sixth president. She was also one of the most important and influential women of her time. A dedicated supporter of women’s rights and the American Revolutionary movement, Adams

wrote many letters to her husband and others expressing her opinions. In these letters, she included vivid descriptions that capture the essence of life in early America.

Adams was born Abigail Smith in Weymouth, Massachusetts. At the age of nineteen, she married John Adams. The couple had three sons and two daughters. Abigail, who had not been educated as a child, made sure all of her children—including a daughter—received a thorough education. This was something few American girls enjoyed at the time.

Abigail died in 1818, after spending the last seventeen years of her life at the Adams family home in Massachusetts. In 1840, a first volume of her letters was published. In the ensuing decades, other collections, biographies, and histories have followed. Today, Abigail Adams is widely recognized as a writer and a pioneer of the American women’s movement.

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**Diane Jacobs**, who lives in New York City, is the author of several acclaimed biographies. In addition to *Dear Abigail*, Jacobs has written about the contemporary filmmaker Woody Allen and about Mary Wollstonecraft, the eighteenth-century British author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.

## Backgrounds

### Letter to John Adams

Throughout their courtship and marriage, John and Abigail Adams wrote more than one thousand letters to one another. Although their letters are often affectionate and even playful, they also reflect the couple’s underlying awareness that they were key players in the unfolding of history. Abigail wrote this and several other letters to her husband while he attended the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

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### *From Dear Abigail: The Intimate Lives and Revolutionary Ideas of Abigail Adams and Her Two Remarkable Sisters*

The correspondence between Abigail and John Adams sheds light on Revolutionary-era America. This selection by a modern historian sets their letters within the context of the work of the Continental Congress and the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

# Letter to John Adams

Abigail Adams



SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA

## NOTES

Mark context clues or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**vassals** (VAS uhlz) *n.*

MEANING:

### *Braintree<sup>1</sup> March 31, 1776*

- 1 I wish you would ever write me a letter half as long as I write you; and tell me if you may where your fleet are gone? What sort of defense Virginia can make against our common enemy? Whether it is so situated as to make an able defense? Are not the gentry<sup>2</sup> lords and the common people **vassals**, are they not like the uncivilized natives Britain represents us to be? I hope their rifle men who have shown themselves very savage and even blood thirsty; are not a specimen of the generality of the people.
- 2 I am willing to allow the Colony great merit for having produced a Washington but they have been shamefully duped by a Dunmore.<sup>3</sup>
- 3 I have sometimes been ready to think that the passion for liberty cannot be equally strong in the breasts of those who have been accustomed to deprive their fellow creatures of theirs. Of this I am certain that it is not founded upon that generous and Christian principal of doing to others as we would that others should do unto us.
- 4 Do not you want to see Boston; I am fearful of the small pox, or I should have been in before this time. I got Mr. Crane to go to our

1. **Braintree** town in eastern Massachusetts that was the home of John and Abigail Adams.  
 2. **gentry** (JEHN tree) *n.* people of high social standing.  
 3. **Dunmore** John Murray, 4th earl of Dunmore, was the British colonial governor of Virginia. He provoked strong feelings among Virginians when he dissolved the legislature and later used troops loyal to the British throne to attack the colony's troops in late 1775 and early 1776.

house and see what state it was in. I find it has been occupied by one of the doctors of a regiment, very dirty, but no other damage has been done to it. The few things which were left in it are all gone. Cranch has the key which he never delivered up. I have wrote to him for it and am determined to get it cleaned as soon as possible and shut it up. I look upon it a new acquisition of property, a property which one month ago I did not value at a single shilling,<sup>4</sup> and could with pleasure have seen it in flames.

5 The town in general is left in a better state than we expected, more owing to a percipitate<sup>5</sup> flight than any regard to the inhabitants, though some individuals discovered a sense of honor and justice and have left the rent of the houses in which they were, for the owners and the furniture unhurt, or if damaged sufficient to make it good.

6 Others have committed abominable ravages. The mansion house of your President [John Hancock] is safe and the furniture unhurt whilst both the house and furniture of the Solicitor General [Samuel Quincy] have fallen a prey to their own merciless party. Surely the very fiends feel a reverential awe for virtue and patriotism, whilst they detest the paricide<sup>6</sup> and traitor.

7 I feel very differently at the approach of spring to what I did a month ago. We knew not then whether we could plant or sow with safety, whether when we had toiled we could reap the fruits of our own industry, whether we could rest in our own cottages, or whether we should not be driven from the sea coasts to seek shelter in the wilderness, but now we feel as if we might sit under our own vine and eat the good of the land.

8 I feel a gaieti de Coar<sup>7</sup> to which before I was a stranger. I think the sun looks brighter, the birds sing more melodiously, and nature puts on a more cheerful countenance. We feel a temporary peace, and the poor fugitives are returning to their deserted habitations.

9 Though we felicitate<sup>8</sup> ourselves, we sympathize with those who are trembling least the lot of Boston should be theirs. But they cannot be in similar circumstances unless pusillanimity and cowardice should take possession of them. They have time and warning given them to see the evil and shun it.—I long to hear that you have declared an independency—and by the way in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would remember the ladies, and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particuliar care and attention is not paid

*I desire you would  
remember the ladies,  
and be more generous  
and favourable to them  
than your ancestors.*

4. **shilling** *n.* former British coin worth one twentieth of a pound.

5. **percipitate** *adj.* precipitate; done very hastily or rashly.

6. **paricide** *n.* parricide; person who kills a parent or other relative.

7. **gaieti de Coar** *gaieté de coeur*; French for "joy of heart."

8. **felicitate** *v.* wish happiness; to congratulate.

## NOTES

Mark context clues or indicate another strategy that you used helped you determine meaning.

**foment** (foh MEHNT) v.

MEANING:

to the ladies we are determined to **foment** a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice, or representation.

- 10 That your sex are naturally tyrannical is a truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of master for the more tender and endearing one of friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of sense in all ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your sex. Regard us then as beings placed by providence under your protection and in imitation of the supreme being make use of that power only for our happiness.

### *April 5*

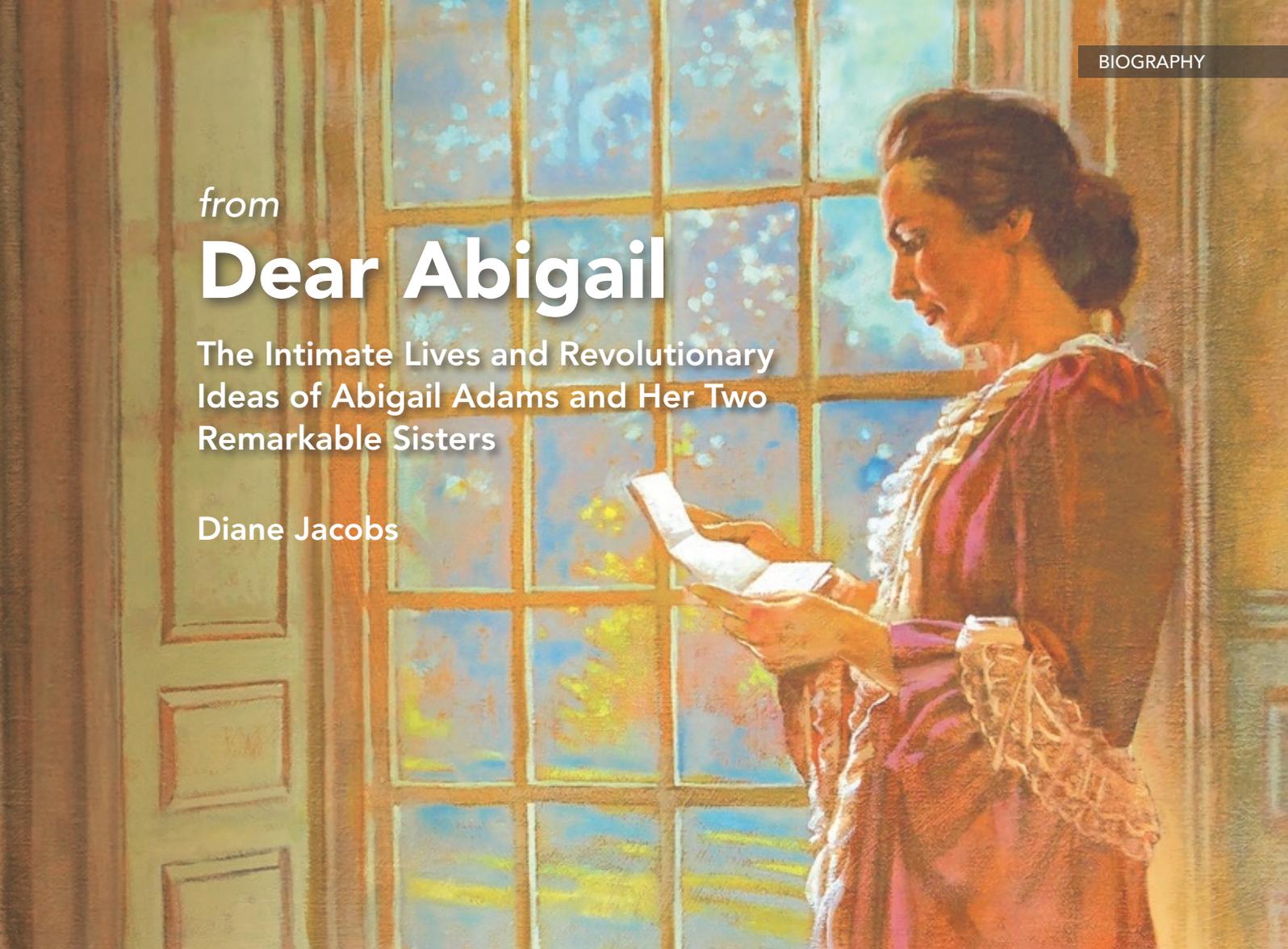
- 11 Not having an opportunity of sending this I shall add a few lines more; though not with a heart so gay. I have been attending the sick chamber of our neighbor Trot whose affliction I most sensibly feel but cannot describe, stripped of two lovely children in one week. George the eldest died on Wednesday and Billy the youngest on Friday, with the canker fever, a terrible disorder so much like the throat distemper, that it differs but little from it. Betsy Cranch has been very bad, but upon the recovery. Becky Peck they do not expect will live out the day. Many grown persons, are now sick with it, in this street. It rages much in other towns. The mumps too are very frequent. Isaac is now confined with it. Our own little flock are yet well. My heart trembles with anxiety for them. God preserve them.
- 12 I want to hear much oftener from you than I do. March 8 was the last date of any that I have yet had.—You inquire of whether I am making salt peter.<sup>9</sup> I have not yet attempted it, but after soap making believe I shall make the experiment. I find as much as I can do to manufacture clothing for my family which would otherwise be naked. I know of but one person in this part of the town who has made any, that is Mr. Tertias Bass as he is called who has got very near a hundred weight which has been found to be very good. I have heard of some others in the other parishes. Mr. Reed of Weymouth has been applied to, to go to Andover to the mills which are now at work, and has gone. I have lately seen a small manuscript describing the proportions for the various sorts of powder, fit for cannon, small arms and pistols. If it would be of any service your way I will get it transcribed and send it to you.—Every one of your friends send their regards, and all the little ones. Your brother's youngest child lies bad with convulsion fits. Adieu. I need not say how much I am your ever faithful friend.

9. **salt peter** *n.* saltpeter; a form of potassium nitrate used to make gunpowder.

from  
**Dear Abigail**

The Intimate Lives and Revolutionary Ideas of Abigail Adams and Her Two Remarkable Sisters

Diane Jacobs



1 **W**riting to Abigail about the fierce effort it took him to compose *Thoughts on Government*<sup>1</sup> at the same time that he was working day and night at Congress, John lamented that none of his present endeavors would bring them an easier life. “I shall get nothing [for writing this pamphlet], I believe, because I never get any thing by any thing that I do,” he complained, while assuring her he was not above commiserating her lack of help on the farm or writing paper for all his preoccupation with posterity and the greater good. Strawberries and an early spring in the dirty city did little to console him. He longed, he said, to walk in their garden and to the cornfields, the orchards, and the Common.<sup>2</sup> “Instead of domestic felicity, I am destined to public contentions,” he brooded. “Instead of rural felicity, I must reconcile myself to the smoke and noise of a city.”

2 So he wished to be home. And yet his overriding desire at the moment was for Congress to make a declaration of independence

SCAN FOR  
 MULTIMEDIA 

NOTES

1. **Thoughts on Government** document written by John Adams in 1776, notable for proposing the three branches of American government, including a system of checks and balances.

2. **the Common** large public park in Boston, Massachusetts.

from Great Britain. It had to be sooner rather than later because without it there was no hope for the foreign assistance—from France in particular—which was crucial to winning the war. On June 7, the Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee of Virginia raised a motion for independence in Congress; it was supported by Massachusetts and six other colonies, while another six—Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, New Jersey, and New York—remained unsure.

- 3 With everyone hoping for a unanimous verdict, the vote was set three weeks in the future, while a committee to consider the tone and nature of the prospective document immediately convened. It consisted of five members: the most prominent being John, Benjamin Franklin, and the redheaded Virginian who shared Thomas Paine’s<sup>3</sup> veneration for the passions: Thomas Jefferson. Considered to be even more eloquent than the far better-known authors of *Poor Richard* and *Thoughts on Government*, 33-year-old Jefferson was chosen to write the text.
- 4 Like Franklin, Jefferson was a scientist and inventor. He had created a retractable bed and a tilt-top table as well as an indoor weather vane and his own Palladian estate, Monticello. Educated at William and Mary, he was as steeped in history and philosophy as Adams and also adored his wife, a wealthy widow, who was currently pregnant and in poor health. He was a slaveholder who professed to dislike slavery, a statesman ambitious to succeed on the large stage who hated leaving home. As he began drafting the American declaration—in the middle state of Pennsylvania, on a desk of his own design—he longed for southern Monticello as Adams longed for northern Braintree. Though Jefferson was a deist, rejecting Christ and original sin, he shared Adams’s obsession with goodness. “Everything is useful which contributes to fix in the mind principles and practices of virtue,” he believed.
- 5 Jefferson was gangly, fidgety, six-foot-two-and-a-half, and as quiet as Franklin in Congress. But he rode his horse elegantly, spoke up regularly in committees, and, despite his aversion to arguing, proved impregnable to opposing views. For better and for worse, no one and nothing swayed him. He had little use for either the vagaries<sup>4</sup> of individuals or venerated ideals.
- 6 “We are hastening rapidly to great events,” John had written Abigail at the end of April, adding that “It requires . . . serenity of temper, a deep . . . understanding and . . . courage . . . to ride in this whirlwind” of Congressional discord. By the end of May, he was telling her that affairs were in a critical state. Then, in the middle of June, exultant after Henry Lee raised a motion for separation from England, he wrote, “These throes will usher in the birth of a fine boy.”

3. **Thomas Paine’s** Thomas Paine was a highly influential writer who argued passionately for American independence from England.

4. **vagaries** (VAY guh reez) *n.* unpredictable actions or ideas.

7 On July 1, twenty days after that initial motion, Congress resumed its debate on independence with John Dickinson of Pennsylvania arguing against and John Adams for an immediate break from both Parliament and King George III. John spoke fervidly for two hours to a rapt audience. A clear majority of nine colonies sided with him, but in a preliminary vote the delegates from Pennsylvania (out of respect for Dickinson, though most of its citizens favored independence), South Carolina, and Delaware **dissented**, while New York, with its high percentage of loyalists, abstained. Still hoping for unanimity, Congress agreed to delay the formal vote until the following morning.

8 That night word arrived that a flotilla of British boats had sailed into New York Harbor, panicking George Washington's unprepared Army and adding pressure for some buoying news. The next day John Dickinson, for the sake of unity, announced he would abstain from the voting, throwing Pennsylvania to the majority. South Carolina and Delaware joined Pennsylvania, while New York continued to abstain. The motion was called to the floor and carried.

9 July 3 was spent amending Jefferson's declaration—much to the proprietary writer's chagrin. The most significant change, insisted on by South Carolina and Georgia, was the elimination of a passage implicitly condemning slavery. Jefferson had accused the King of waging "cruel war against human nature" by capturing and transporting innocent Africans "into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither." This was a daring, if bewildering, opinion from a southern slaveholder. Jefferson claimed to be proud of it and to rue its loss. Other of his favorite passages were also cut or tightened during the nearly twelve-hour debate over wording, but Jefferson's voice remained, and on the afternoon of July 4, all of Congress endorsed it.

10 John Adams could hardly contain his exuberance. "Yesterday the greatest question was decided, which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was or will be decided among men," he wrote Abigail. What felt hopelessly slow just a month ago now seemed remarkably expeditious. Looking back to the first arguments with England in the early 1760s, "and recollect[ing] the series of political events, the chain of causes and effects, I am surprised at the suddenness as well as the greatness of this Revolution," he exulted. And, of course, "calamities" and "distresses" might lie in the future; surely the threat of tyranny by the majority, which he had warned against in *Thoughts on Government*, would pose a threat in the coming years. And, yes, it would be far better for the war if independence had been declared seven months before and foreign alliances were set in place. And yet: "July [of] 1776, will be the most memorable

## NOTES

Mark context clues or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**dissented** (dih SEHNT ihd) *v.*

MEANING:

*"We are hastening rapidly to great events"*



**Drafting the Declaration of Independence in 1776** This 1859 painting by Alonzo Chappel depicts the work of the “Committee of Five”: (right to left) Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin.

epocha,<sup>5</sup> in the history of America.—I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated, by succeeding generations, as the great anniversary.” It ought, John declared, to be commemorated and “solemnized with pomp and parade, with shews,<sup>6</sup> sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other from this time forward forever.”

- 11 On July 18, a week after they were inoculated for smallpox, and with no one yet showing symptoms of the disease, Mary and Richard, Abigail, and Betsy joined masses of patriots lining King Street in front of the Boston State House, the seat of the first elected legislature in the New World. The ragtag troops who had chased the British out of Boston four months earlier stood before them, respectably armed at least for the moment. An officer, Colonel Crafts, appeared on the balcony and began to read:

5. **epocha** (EHP uh kuh) *n.* archaic form of “epoch,” a distinct and significant era in history.

6. **shews** *n.* archaic form of “shows.”

- 12 When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth a separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
- 13 The Smith sisters<sup>7</sup> lives spoke volumes on the causes for separation, and the spirit of the declaration was familiar, for they had avidly read the great thinkers of the Enlightenment<sup>8</sup> who so informed Jefferson's view. Yet, if his concepts were not original, the occasion was a first in history, and Richard Cranch as well as Mary, Abigail, and Betsy stood spellbound at the beautiful expression of what they felt and knew. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." And on it went.
- 14 "God Save the King" was already a memory. When Colonel Crafts finished reading the Declaration of Independence, he shouted, "God Save our American States." The people picked up this chant and ran with it, as Richard Cranch reported to John in a letter the following week. There were three cheers that "rended the air," Abigail wrote in her own description, and they were followed by an elated ringing of bells; the cannons roared, and rifles' shots rang in the air. "After dinner the king's arms were taken down from the State House and every vestige of him from every place in which it appeared and burnt in King Street. Thus ends royal authority in this State," she concluded, "and all the people shall say Amen."
- 15 By July 22, Abigail was ill with the "excruciating pain in my head and every limb" that was said to "portend<sup>9</sup> a speedy eruption," which occurred a few days later, and though she produced only one pox, her symptoms were sufficiently grueling for the doctor to declare her immune. John Quincy's case too was mild but conclusive, while Mary's eldest daughter, Betsy Cranch, the frailest of them all, fainted and lay listless in bed. Her mother and brothers, on the other hand, produced no symptoms. By the end of July, Mary had been inoculated four times and was still healthy as the day she left Braintree, as were Charles and Tommy Adams, who had been inoculated twice. It seemed fitting when Nabby, the calmest of them all, came through with almost no suffering. The doctor, however, insisted that she be inoculated a second time, on the odd chance that her symptoms were "false."
- 16 Even after her single pox dissipated, Abigail felt light-headed from the disease. "The smallpox is a great confuser of the mind, I am really

7. **Smith sisters** Abigail Adams and her sisters; Smith was their family surname.

8. **the Enlightenment** European intellectual movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that emphasized the power of reason.

9. **portend** (pawr TEHND) v. foreshadow; indicate.

put to it to spell the commonest word," she told John. Yet when John gave her an opening, she had no trouble expounding on her favorite topic of women in the new nation. "If you complain of neglect of education in sons, What shall I say with regard to daughters, who every day experience the want of it," she began. And continued:

- 17 I most sincerely wish that some more liberal plan might be laid and executed for the benefit of the rising generation, and that our new constitution may be distinguished for learning and virtue. If we mean to have heroes, statesmen, and philosophers, we should have learned women. The world perhaps will laugh at me, and accuse me of vanity, but you know I have a mind too enlarged and liberal [to be vain]. If much depends as is allowed upon the early education of youth and the first principals which are instilled take deepest root, great benefit must arise from literary accomplishments in women.
- 18 This time John assured Abigail "Your sentiments of the importance of education in women are exactly agreeable to my own," though women who displayed their wits were contemptible, he felt impelled to add. 🗨️

## Comprehension Check

Complete the following items after you finish your first read. Review and clarify details with your group.

### LETTER TO JOHN ADAMS

1. In her letter of March 31, 1776, what does Abigail Adams ask that John provide?
2. What does Abigail report to John about the state of homes in Boston?
3. What advice does Abigail Adams give her husband regarding women's rights?
4.  **Notebook** Confirm your understanding of the text by writing a summary.

### from DEAR ABIGAIL

1. Cite two reasons for John Adams's unhappiness in the late spring of 1776.
2. Name two contradictions regarding Thomas Jefferson that the text explores.
3. What document does Colonel Crafts, an army officer, read to a crowd assembled in front of the Boston State House?
4.  **Notebook** Confirm your understanding of the text by drawing a storyboard of events.

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## RESEARCH

**Research to Clarify** Choose at least one unfamiliar detail from one of the texts. Briefly research that detail. In what way does the information you found shed light on an aspect of that text?



LETTER TO JOHN ADAMS

from DEAR ABIGAIL

**TIP**

**GROUP DISCUSSION**

Encourage group members to be positive, encouraging, and open to divergent viewpoints and opinions.

**WORD NETWORK**

Add words related to freedom from the text to your Word Network.

**STANDARDS**

**RI.11–12.9** Analyze seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century foundational U.S. documents of historical and literary significance for their themes, purposes, and rhetorical features.

**L.11–12.4.b** Identify and correctly use patterns of word changes that indicate different meanings or parts of speech. Apply knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon roots and affixes to draw inferences concerning the meaning of scientific and mathematical terminology.

## Close Read the Text

With your group, revisit sections of the text you marked during your first read. **Annotate** details that you notice. What **questions** do you have? What can you **conclude**?



## Analyze the Text

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE** to support your answers.

Complete the activities.

- 1. Review and Clarify** With your group, reread paragraph 14 from *Dear Abigail*, in which the author discusses the public reading of the Declaration of Independence. Why do you think the Bostonians reacted as they did?
- 2. Present and Discuss** Now, work with your group to share the passages from the two selections that you found especially important. Take turns presenting your passages. Discuss what you noticed in the selections, what questions you asked, and what conclusions you reached.
- 3. Essential Question: *What is the meaning of freedom?*** What have you learned about American freedoms from reading these texts? Discuss with your group.

## LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

### Concept Vocabulary

vassals      foment      dissented

**Why These Words?** The three concept words from the texts are related. With your group, discuss the words and determine what they have in common. How do these word choices enhance the impact of the texts?

**Practice**

**Notebook** Confirm your understanding of these words by using each one in a sentence. Include context clues that help readers figure out what each word means.

### Word Study

**Notebook Word Families** Groups of words that share a common base but have different prefixes, suffixes, or both, are called **word families**. The concept word *dissented*, for instance, is built upon the base word *dissent*.

Complete the following activities.

- Use an online dictionary or other source to identify other members of the word family that includes *dissented*. Write three of those related words, and identify their parts of speech.
- Choose a word from one of these texts that you think is part of a word family. Research the word and verify your choice. Write the original word and two related words. Identify each word's part of speech.

## Analyze Craft and Structure

**Primary and Secondary Sources** Research sources can be classified into one of two categories—primary sources or secondary sources.

- **Primary sources**, created by people who directly participated in or observed an event, give readers first-hand information about a topic. They include diaries, journals, letters, newspaper articles, and speeches. They may also include functional texts, such as government forms, schedules, or blueprints.
- **Secondary sources**, written by people with indirect knowledge, rely on primary sources or other secondary sources for information. Secondary sources include biographies, encyclopedias, and book reviews.

These classifications into primary and secondary categories are not absolutely set, but depend largely on how a text is used by a researcher.

**TIP**

**CLARIFICATION**

Original drawings, paintings, news footage, pottery, and photographs are some non-text items that are categorized as primary sources. These can be excellent research sources, and they should be documented with citations.

### Practice

Analyze and evaluate how Jacobs uses primary sources to add interest, clarity, and legitimacy to the points she is making. For example, ask: “What does this quotation from a primary source do? Does it make the point clearer?” Work individually to gather your notes in this chart. Then, share your observations with your group.

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**  
to support your answers.

DEAR ABIGAIL	PRIMARY SOURCE INFORMATION	EFFECT
Paragraph 1		
Paragraph 6		
Paragraph 10		
Paragraph 17		

 **Notebook** Respond to these questions.

1. Which use of a primary source in the excerpt from *Dear Abigail* did you find most effective? Why?
2. Review or scan the two secondary sources related to Abigail Adams in this text—the brief biography and the excerpt from *Dear Abigail*. Identify one trait each secondary source attributes to Abigail Adams. Then, cite a passage from Adams’s letter that either supports that interpretation of her character or challenges it. Explain your choices.



LETTER TO JOHN ADAMS  
from DEAR ABIGAIL

## Author's Style

**Voice** A writer's **voice** is the way in which his or her personality is revealed on the page. It is the sense the reader gains of the person behind the words. Voice is created through a combination of elements:

- **diction:** the types of words a writer uses
- **syntax:** the types of sentences a writer uses, including structure, length, and variety
- **tone:** the writer's attitude toward the topic or audience

Voice is also influenced by the writer's consideration of his or her **audience**, or readers, and **purpose**, or reason for writing. Since writers adapt their diction, syntax, and tone to suit specific audiences and purposes, a writer's voice can vary from one text to another. For example, John Adams's voice is warm and personal in letters to his wife, but impersonal and formal in public documents.

### Read It

Work individually. Use this chart to explore aspects of Abigail Adams's voice as a writer. Cite examples from both texts, and briefly explain how her combination of diction, syntax, and tone creates a sense of her personal qualities. Discuss your findings with your group.

PASSAGES FROM LETTER TO JOHN ADAMS	TYPE(S) OF DICTION, SYNTAX, AND TONE	PERSONALITY TRAIT(S) OF ADAMS
PASSAGES QUOTED IN DEAR ABIGAIL		

### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.6** Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

### Write It

**Notebook** Review your notes from the chart. Then, write a paragraph in which you describe Abigail Adams's voice as a writer. Use textual examples to support your view. Share your paragraph with your group, and discuss.



## Speaking and Listening

### Assignment

Create an **oral presentation** based on the selections and present it to the whole class. Choose from the following options.

- Dialogue** Write and present a dramatization of a conversation between John and Abigail Adams in which the two discuss the colonies' struggle for freedom from Great Britain. Base the conversation on the information provided in the texts. Strive to capture each speaker's unique opinions and point of view.
- Dramatic Reading** Present a reading of the March 31st portion of Abigail Adams's letter to John Adams. Decide how you will divide the text among members of your group so that everyone participates. Then, discuss your interpretation of the text, and consider how you will use your voices and gestures to capture its distinct qualities.
- Public Announcement** Both Abigail Adams's letter and the excerpt from *Dear Abigail* mention the threat that smallpox posed in Revolutionary-era America. Research the symptoms of smallpox; the types of people who are especially vulnerable; its progression, treatment, and potential outcomes. Then, write and deliver the announcement that might have been read to citizens of Boston in 1776 warning them of the presence of the disease in their community. Refer to Adams's letter for ideas about diction and tone.

**Project Plan** First, identify the information, details, or passages you will use from the texts. Use the chart to determine which details you will include, why they are important, and how you will use them in the presentation. If you feel that you need additional material, decide which group members will do the research.

Detail from Text(s)	Reason to Use Detail	How Group Will Present Detail

**Presentation Plan** Decide which members of the group will produce the writing required for the assignment, and which members will deliver the presentation. Make sure that all members have an equal role, and allow all members to contribute their ideas before finalizing the presentation.

### EVIDENCE LOG

Before moving on to the next selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from Abigail Adams's letter to John Adams and the excerpt from *Dear Abigail*.

### STANDARDS

**SL.11–12.4** Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective and a logical argument, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks. Use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation.



# Gettysburg Address

## Concept Vocabulary

As you perform your first read of the Gettysburg Address, you will encounter these words.

dedicated      consecrate      hallow

**Familiar Word Parts** When determining the meaning of an unfamiliar word, look for word parts, such as roots or affixes, that you know. Doing so may help you unlock word meanings.

**Unfamiliar Word:** *prologue*

**Familiar Word Parts:** You may recognize the prefix *pro-*, which means “forward” or “forth.” Likewise, you may recognize the root *-log-*, which means “word” or “reason” and appears in the words *dialogue*, *logic*, and *eulogy*.

**Possible Meaning:** When you combine your knowledge of the two word parts, you can figure out that *prologue* means something like “words that come first.”

**Confirm Meaning:** Use a dictionary or other language resource to check your analysis of a word’s meaning. One dictionary definition of *prologue* is “an introductory part of a text; a preface.”

Apply your knowledge of familiar word parts and other vocabulary strategies to determine the meanings of unfamiliar words you encounter during your first read.

## First Read NONFICTION

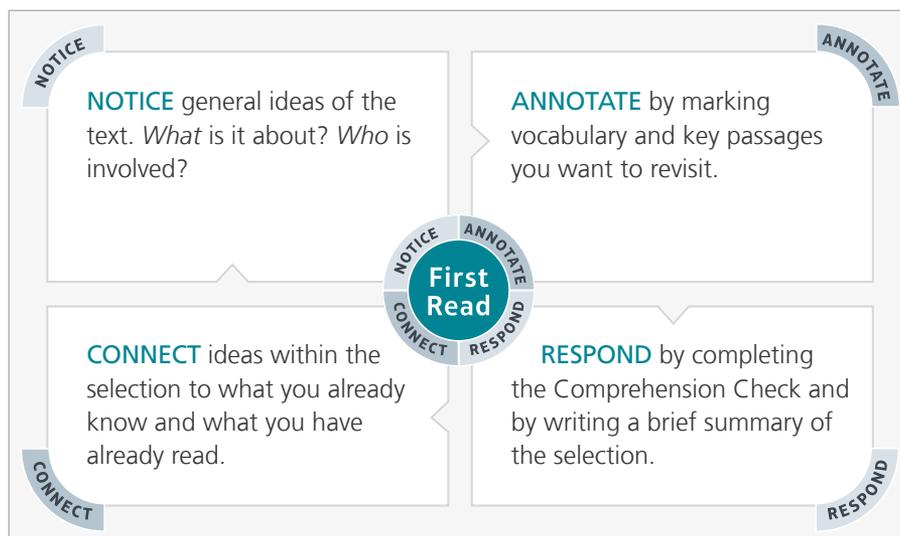
Apply these strategies as you conduct your first read. You will have an opportunity to complete a close read after your first read.

### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.10** By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

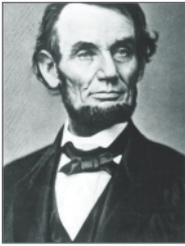
**L.11–12.4** Determine or clarify the meaning of unknown and multiple meaning words and phrases based on *grades 11–12 reading and content*, choosing flexibly from a range of strategies.

**L.11–12.4.d** Verify the preliminary determination of the meaning of a word or phrase.



## About the Author

## Abraham Lincoln



Serving as president during one of the most tragic periods in American history, Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) fought to reunite a nation torn apart by war. His courage, strength, and dedication in the face of an overwhelming national crisis made him one of the most admired and respected American presidents.

Lincoln was born into a family of humble means. As a child, his duties on his parents' farm limited his opportunities to receive a formal education. Still, he was an avid reader and developed an early interest in politics. He served in the Illinois state legislature and ran for the United States Senate against Stephen Douglas. Lincoln lost the election, but his heated debates with Douglas brought him national recognition and helped him win the presidency in 1860.

**Troubled Times** Shortly after his election, the Civil War erupted. Throughout the war, Lincoln showed great strength and courage. He also demonstrated his gift for oratory. He was invited to make “a few

appropriate remarks” in November 1863 for a dedication of the Gettysburg battlefield as a national cemetery. The world has long remembered what he said there.

Lincoln's great care as a writer shows in the Gettysburg Address, as it does in many of his other speeches. He worked diligently and thoughtfully to prepare messages that would have the effect he desired. Two important aspects of the Gettysburg speech are its brevity—just 272 words—and its reaffirmation of the democratic principles at the heart of American government.

Stories abound regarding Lincoln's drafting of the speech: He wrote it the week before; he wrote it the night before; he wrote it on the train while traveling to the event; he wrote it on a scrap of paper. Certainly, he was still revising as he spoke, adding key words, such as “under God,” that he knew would stir his listeners.

**A Life Cut Short** While the Civil War continued to rage, Lincoln was elected to a second term as President. He was killed by an assassin's bullet in 1865 while attending the theater with his wife.

# Gettysburg Address

Abraham Lincoln



SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA

## BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln gave this speech to 15,000 people at the consecration of a new military cemetery in the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania—the site of the bloodiest battle ever fought on American soil, and the turning point of the Civil War. At the time of this speech, the war had been raging for more than two years. Lincoln needed to gain continuing support for a bloody conflict that was far from over.

## NOTES

Mark familiar word parts or indicate another strategy you used that helped you determine meaning.

**dedicated** (DEHD uh kayt ihd)  
*adj.*

MEANING:

**consecrate** (KON suh krayt) *v.*

MEANING:

**hallow** (HAL oh) *v.*

MEANING:

## November 19, 1863

- 1 **F**our score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and **dedicated** to the proposition that all men are created equal.
- 2 Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.
- 3 But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot **consecrate**—we cannot **hallow**—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

## Comprehension Check

Complete the following items after you finish your first read. Review and clarify details with your group.

1. According to Lincoln, what did “our fathers” create eighty-seven years ago?
2. According to Lincoln, the Civil War is a test of what idea?
3. Why have the speaker and the audience met on the battlefield at Gettysburg?
4. According to Lincoln, why are they unable to “dedicate,” “consecrate,” or “hallow” the battlefield?
5. At the end of the speech, how does Lincoln characterize the American system of government?
6.  **Notebook** Confirm your understanding of the text by writing a summary.

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## RESEARCH

**Research to Clarify** Choose at least one unfamiliar detail from the text. Briefly research that detail. In what way does the information you learned shed light on an aspect of the speech?

**Research to Explore** Ask one focused question you would like answered about the Battle of Gettysburg. Then, do some research to find the answer.



GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

**TIP**

**CLARIFICATION**

The Gettysburg Address is short, but it is by no means a group of random comments. As a group, discuss the purpose of each paragraph and the main idea it expresses. How would an outline of the speech look?

**WORD NETWORK**

Add words related to freedom from the text to your Word Network.

**STANDARDS**

**RI.11–12.6** Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

**RI.11–12.9** Analyze seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century foundational U.S. documents of historical and literary significance for their themes, purposes, and rhetorical features.

**L.11–12.5.b** Analyze nuances in the meaning of words with similar denotations.

## Close Read the Text

With your group, revisit sections of the text you marked during your first read. **Annotate** details that you notice. What **questions** do you have? What can you **conclude**?



## Analyze the Text

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE** to support your answers.

Complete the activities.

- 1. Review and Clarify** With your group, reread paragraph 2. How does Lincoln build upon his introduction and prepare the audience for his main points in paragraph 3?
- 2. Present and Discuss** Now, work with your group to share the passages from the selection that you found especially important. Take turns presenting your passages. Discuss what you noticed in the selection, what questions you asked, and what conclusions you reached.
- 3. Essential Question: *What is the meaning of freedom?*** What has this text revealed about American freedoms? Discuss with your group.

## LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

### Concept Vocabulary

dedicate      consecrate      hallow

**Why These Words?** The three concept vocabulary words are related. With your group, discuss the words and determine what they have in common. How do these word choices enhance the impact of the text?

**Practice**

**Notebook** Confirm your understanding of the vocabulary words by using them in sentences. Use context clues that hint at each word’s meaning.

### Word Study

**Notebook Denotation and Connotation** In his address, Lincoln says that he cannot *dedicate*, *consecrate*, or *hallow* the battlefield ground. The three concept vocabulary words have similar **denotations**, or definitions, but different **connotations**, or nuances in meaning.

- Write the denotations of the three words. Then, explain the connotations each one conveys. Note that connotations may involve slightly different meanings, or simply intensity of meaning.
- Use a thesaurus to find two other words that share denotations with *dedicate*. Then, explain how their connotations differ.

## Analyze Craft and Structure

**Author’s Choices: Diction** A writer’s choice and arrangement of words, known as **diction**, helps to express the writer’s ideas clearly and precisely and to give the writing a unique quality. Diction may be formal or informal, technical or plain, elevated or simple. A speaker’s choice of diction is intimately connected to his or her purpose for writing, as well as to considerations of the audience and the occasion.

Consider the solemn, serious formality of Lincoln’s diction at the beginning of his address at Gettysburg—and imagine how he might have expressed the same ideas more informally.

**FORMAL:** Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation. . . .

**INFORMAL:** Eighty-seven years ago, our early leaders created a new nation, right here. . . .

**CITE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**  
to support your answers.

### Practice

Identify passages in the Gettysburg Address that include diction you find powerful or beautiful. Consider how the passage might sound with less formality by rewriting it. Then, explain the impact of Lincoln’s diction. One example has been done for you. Complete the chart independently, and then share with your group.

PASSAGE WITH POWERFUL DICTION	REWRITTEN PASSAGE	IMPACT OF LINCOLN’S DICTION
Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation.	Eighty-seven years ago, our early leaders created a new nation, right here.	adds power, grandeur to the speech



GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

## Author's Style

**Rhetorical Devices: Antithesis** Lincoln was both a master writer and a master orator. In the Gettysburg Address, he makes insightful use of **contrast**, or the juxtaposition of opposing ideas. In some cases, he uses the rhetorical device of **antithesis**, which is a type of parallelism. Antithesis presents contrasting ideas in similar grammatical structures, such as the same types of phrases or clauses. Thus, antithesis allows a speaker to make use of the rhythmic effects of parallelism, while drawing readers' or listeners' attention to powerful oppositions.

### EXAMPLES

**Parallelism:** I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. —Barack Obama

**Antithesis:** My fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country. —John F. Kennedy

### Read It

Mark the contrasting or opposing elements in each passage from the address. Then, note whether or not each is an example of formal antithesis. Share your work with your group, and discuss and clarify any points of confusion.

1. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that the nation might live.
2. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here...
3. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.
4. ...we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom...

### Write It

Write a paragraph in which you describe a speech, performance, artwork, concert, or other cultural work that you saw live, on television, or online. Use at least two examples of antithesis in your paragraph.

### STANDARDS

**RI.11–12.6** Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

**SL.11–12.3** Evaluate a speaker's point of view, reasoning, and use of evidence and rhetoric, assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used.



## Research

### Assignment

With your group, prepare a **research report** that focuses on an aspect of Lincoln’s speech. Choose from the following options.

- a **comparison-and-contrast presentation** about the five different known versions of the Gettysburg Address, showing the changes that Lincoln made each time and evaluating their effectiveness
- a **review** of three eyewitness accounts of the ceremony at Gettysburg that day, summarizing each account and noting details that shed light upon the address itself
- an **analysis of the historical context** of the address, sharing information about the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1863) and considering how that context shaped the content of Lincoln’s address

**Project Plan** Before you begin, identify the tasks you will need to accomplish in order to complete your report. Start with the tasks noted in the chart, and add others that you consider important. Then, assign individual group members to each task. Finally, determine how you will present the report. For example, will you include historical images—and, if so, where will you find them, and how will you show them?

Working Title: \_\_\_\_\_

TASK	ASSIGNED TO
researching texts for factual information	
researching images (if used)	

**Tying It Together** Work together to organize the information all group members collect. Write paragraphs incorporating this information. Then, write an introduction and a conclusion for the report. Read the report aloud within the group, and decide together on revisions. Then, share your finished product with the whole class.

### EVIDENCE LOG

Before moving on to a new selection, go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from the Gettysburg Address.

### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.2** Write informative/explanatory texts to examine and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection, organization, and analysis of content.

**W.11–12.7** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.



SOURCES

- from AMERICA'S CONSTITUTION: A BIOGRAPHY
- from THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION: A GRAPHIC ADAPTATION
- from THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF OLAUDAH EQUIANO
- LETTER TO JOHN ADAMS
- from DEAR ABIGAIL: THE INTIMATE LIVES AND REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS OF ABIGAIL ADAMS AND HER TWO REMARKABLE SISTERS
- GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

# Present an Argument

### Assignment

You have read a variety of texts, both historic and contemporary, in a range of different genres. Several of these texts are narratives that the writers use to support or imply positions on questions of American freedom. Work with your group to present a **panel discussion** that addresses this question:

**Do narratives provide strong evidence to support arguments about American freedoms?**

Use examples from the texts in this section to support your positions.

## Plan With Your Group

**Analyze the Texts** With your group, identify the texts in this section that are either fully narratives or include narrative elements. Consider the arguments about freedom that are either directly stated or that readers can infer from the narrative details. Use the chart to gather your observations.

NARRATIVE DETAILS	RELATED ARGUMENT

**Make a Generalization** Using your analysis, write a generalization about the use of narrative as evidence to support an argument.

**Generalization:** Narratives do/do not provide strong evidence to support an argument because \_\_\_\_\_

**Gather Evidence** Prepare for the discussion by identifying additional examples from the texts that you might use to illustrate your ideas during the panel discussion.

**STANDARDS**

**SL.11–12.1.b** Work with peers to promote civil, democratic discussions and decision-making, set clear goals and deadlines, and establish individual roles as needed.

**Organize Your Discussion** Assign roles, including a role for a moderator who will keep panelists on point and ask questions if there is a lull in the conversation. Have each person in your group use the evidence you gathered to write his or her own talking points for the presentation. Then, meet to decide how you will begin the discussion, the amount of time each speaker will talk, how you will deal with follow-up questions, and how you will end the discussion.

## Rehearse With Your Group

**Practice With Your Group** Once you have established the rules for your discussion, try a run-through. Use this checklist to evaluate how well your process works and whether your ideas and evidence are sound. Then, use your evaluation and these instructions to make changes before you present your discussion to the class.

CONTENT	COLLABORATION	PRESENTATION TECHNIQUES
<input type="checkbox"/> The discussion responds to the question in the assignment.	<input type="checkbox"/> The discussion flows smoothly and seems well-planned.	<input type="checkbox"/> Panelists have equal opportunities to speak, and respond appropriately to one another's insights or questions.
<input type="checkbox"/> Speakers present a position and supporting evidence.	<input type="checkbox"/> Speakers interact with each other naturally.	<input type="checkbox"/> Speakers speak clearly and at an appropriate volume.
<input type="checkbox"/> Speakers support their observations with evidence from the texts.	<input type="checkbox"/> The moderator introduces the speakers and keeps the conversation on track.	<input type="checkbox"/> Speakers use gestures and eye contact effectively.

**Fine-Tune the Content** Does one panelist dominate the conversation? Make sure that every group member has a chance to present his or her views. If necessary, go back to the texts to gather additional details that will help balance the presentation.

**Brush Up on Your Presentation Techniques** Remember that you are holding a conversation that is also, to some extent, a performance. Modify your tone and volume so that your audience understands your ideas and evidence. Explain your observations clearly, using language that is appropriate for an academic setting.

## Present and Evaluate

As you present your panel discussion, consider your audience's response. Do listeners seem convinced by your argument? Are they interested in the ideas? Watch the presentations by other groups and discuss how yours is similar to or different from theirs.

### STANDARDS

**SL.11–12.4** Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective and a logical argument, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks. Use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation.



ESSENTIAL QUESTION:

# What is the meaning of freedom?

Ideas about what freedom means, and who is or is not free, may depend on time, place, and the person telling the story. In this section, you will complete your study of writings about American freedom by exploring an additional selection related to the topic. You'll then share what you learn with classmates. To choose a text, follow these steps.

**Look Back** Think about the selections you have already studied. Which aspects of the meaning of freedom do you wish to explore further?

**Look Ahead** Preview the texts by reading the descriptions. Which one seems most interesting and appealing to you?

**Look Inside** Take a few minutes to scan the text you chose. Choose a different one if this text doesn't meet your needs.

## Independent Learning Strategies

Throughout your life, in school, in your community, and in your career, you will need to rely on yourself to learn and work on your own. Review these strategies and the actions you can take to practice them during Independent Learning. Add ideas of your own for each category.

STRATEGY	ACTION PLAN
Create a schedule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understand your goals and deadlines.</li> <li>• Make a plan for what to do each day.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
Practice what you have learned	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use first-read and close-read strategies to deepen your understanding.</li> <li>• After reading, evaluate the usefulness of the evidence to help you understand the topic.</li> <li>• After reading, consult reference sources for background information that can help you clarify meaning.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
Take notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Record important ideas and information.</li> <li>• Review your notes before preparing to share with a group.</li> <li>•</li> </ul>

Choose one selection. Selections are available online only.

ESSAY

*from* **Democracy Is Not a Spectator Sport**

Arthur Blaustein with Helen Matatov

How much does freedom depend on civic engagement?



SPEECH

**Reflections on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution**

Thurgood Marshall

Supreme Court Justice Marshall observes that the U.S. Constitution is a living document.



POETRY

**Speech to the Young**  
**Speech to the Progress-Toward** Gwendolyn Brooks

**The Fish** Elizabeth Bishop

Is freedom physical, psychological, or perhaps both?



SHORT STORY

**The Pedestrian** Ray Bradbury

In a highly restrictive society, what acts of freedom become acts of crime?

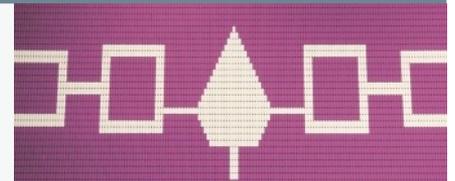


POLITICAL DOCUMENT

*from the* **Iroquois Constitution**

Dekanawidah, translated by Arthur C. Parker

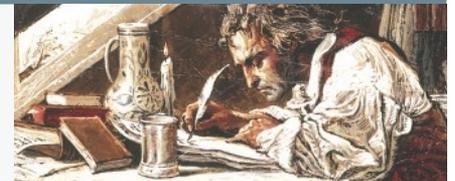
Before the arrival of Europeans, the Iroquois Nations developed a constitution of their own.



ARGUMENT

*from* **Common Sense** Thomas Paine

British-born American patriot Thomas Paine wrote that “the sun never shined on a cause of greater worth” than America’s independence.



PERFORMANCE-BASED ASSESSMENT PREP

**Review Evidence for an Argument**

Complete your Evidence Log for the unit by evaluating what you’ve learned and synthesizing the information you have recorded.



# First-Read Guide



**Tool Kit**  
First-Read Guide and  
Model Annotation

Use this page to record your first-read ideas.

Selection Title: \_\_\_\_\_

NOTICE

**NOTICE** new information or ideas you learned about the unit topic as you first read this text.

ANNOTATE

**ANNOTATE** by marking vocabulary and key passages you want to revisit.



**CONNECT** ideas within the selection to other knowledge and the selections you have read.

**RESPOND** by writing a brief summary of the selection.

CONNECT

RESPOND

**STANDARD**

**Anchor Standards Reading 10** Read and comprehend complex literary and informational texts independently and proficiently.

# Close-Read Guide

 **Tool Kit**  
Close-Read Guide and  
Model Annotation

Use this page to record your close-read ideas.

Selection Title: \_\_\_\_\_

## Close Read the Text

Revisit sections of the text you marked during your first read. Read these sections closely and **annotate** what you notice. Ask yourself **questions** about the text. What can you **conclude**? Write down your ideas.



## Analyze the Text

Think about the author's choices of patterns, structure, techniques, and ideas included in the text. Select one and record your thoughts about what this choice conveys.

## QuickWrite

Pick a paragraph from the text that grabbed your interest. Explain the power of this passage.

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 STANDARD

**Anchor Standards Reading 10** Read and comprehend complex literary and informational texts independently and proficiently.

# from *Democracy Is Not a Spectator Sport*

Arthur Blaustein with Helen Matatov



SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA

## About the Author

A Professor of Community and Economic Development at University of California, Berkeley, **Arthur Blaustein** has had a long career in advocacy. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter appointed him Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity. He has also served in many anti-poverty and social development organizations and advisory groups.

## BACKGROUND

Arthur Blaustein and Helen Matatov wrote *Democracy Is a Not Spectator Sport* in 2011 during a weak economic recovery. The book is a collection of community service opportunities and anecdotes. In this excerpt, they cite Alexis de Tocqueville, a French writer whose observations of America in the 1800s provide insight into our nation's character.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER 2

### American Values, Citizenship, and Civic Engagement

#### The Dilemma

- 1 As the new decade began, it became clear that a substantial majority of Americans believed our society to be in serious trouble. Most Americans today think their future will be worse, not better, than their past. Most Americans think their children's prospects are worse, not better, than their own.
- 2 Though this new pessimism has many sources, the most prominent cause is certainly anxiety about the economy. Public opinion surveys indicate that economic issues are dominating public consciousness. There is concern about the recession and

unemployment, particularly among youth, minorities, and blue-collar workers.<sup>1</sup> There is concern about energy. But above all, there is genuine fear over unchecked deficits, debt, and deflation. They undermine security about the future, create doubt and suspicion of our fellow citizens, and undercut the commitments that make democracy possible.

- 3 In these conditions the economic sector becomes a microcosm<sup>2</sup> of the whole society. Doubts and anxieties about our institutions have been fed by global-warming, environmental degradation, and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, and are deepened by our apparent inability to deal with severe economic difficulties. The “moral malaise”<sup>3</sup> to which President Carter pointed back in 1980 is perhaps more evident in our economic institutions than anywhere else in our public life.
- 4 Moreover, in our present state of economic uncertainty, there has been a tendency for public action to degenerate into the narrowest pursuit of private interest. The more affluent seek to ease the strain by redistributing income from the middle class to themselves through their ability to dominate the political system and curry favor with huge campaign contributions on the federal and state levels. Economic stringency<sup>4</sup> and rising rates of unemployment for those below the median income are defended as “acceptable costs” that will, among other things, “improve labor discipline.” There are those who would use our present economic troubles to institutionalize a kind of socioeconomic triage.<sup>5</sup>
- 5 Meanwhile, 44 million Americans are poor and another 55 million are near-poor, so almost one-third of our citizens are materially deprived. Those least able to defend themselves economically suffer the most from the maldistribution of wealth. The cost is high not only in material deprivation but also in political withdrawal, for poverty is not a condition for effective citizenship.
- 6 Historian Sam Bass Warner Jr. wrote that we are on “the eve of the collapse of the national private economy.” In the winter of 2008–09 we came close to that collapse. Indeed, much of the private economy survives only because of direct or indirect subsidization (contracts, tariffs, investment, protectionist trade agreements, and tax benefits) by the federal government, that most ironic form of “welfare.” It was the federal government that rescued major banks, AIG, and GM, among others.

1. **blue-collar workers** people in jobs that require manual labor.  
 2. **microcosm** (MY kruh koz uhm) *n.* smaller representation of a larger model.  
 3. **malaise** (ma LAYZ) *n.* vague feeling of uneasiness.  
 4. **stringency** (STRIHN juhn see) *n.* strictness; severity.  
 5. **triage** (TREE ahzh) *n.* system for assigning priorities when there are limited resources.

- 7 The economy is a central sector of our social fabric, closely bound up with all of our other institutions. It is not working very well, and it is working less well for some than for others. Thus, we must also ask what kinds of social and political problems the economy gives rise to, and how they can be dealt with.
- 8 In addition, we must pose the question: how can America, in the economic arena, enhance democratic citizenship? The best way to begin seeking answers to these crucial problems is to look at our present in the context of our past—to seriously consider the history of our nation, and to seek out what the American democratic tradition has to say about economic institutions and how that tradition can be adapted to our present needs.

### The Economy in a Democracy

- 9 In *Democracy in America*, perhaps the wisest book ever written about America, Alexis de Tocqueville argued 180 years ago that although the physical circumstances of our country contribute to our public happiness, the laws contribute more than the physical circumstances, and the social mores more than the laws. We were fortunate indeed to inherit from the founders of our republic a constitutional and legal order that has proven sound and flexible. But the origin, interpretation, and perpetuation of that order are dependent on the mores embedded in society.
- 10 A society with different mores would have long since eroded and subverted our constitutional and legal order. De Tocqueville defines “mores” as “habits of the heart,” “the sum of moral and intellectual dispositions of men in society.” The mores include the opinions and practices that create the moral fabric of a society. They are rooted in our religious tradition, our long experience of political participation, and our economic life. If we are to better understand the appropriate role of economic institutions in the American tradition, then we must consider relationships of economic, political, and religious ideas and practices, as well as the tensions that have developed among them.
- 11 Since colonial times, Americans have had a genuine desire to create a decent society for all. That concern was expressed in the idea of a covenant, so important to our Puritan ancestors, and reaffirmed in the Declaration of Independence, with its pledge of “our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor” for the common good. But we have also shown a vigorous individualism. The individual, with his needs, desires, and interests, particularly economic interests, was seen as almost the only good, and whatever social arrangements were necessary were to be worked out by contracts that maximized the interests of individuals. Our covenant heritage provided the context within which a contract could work, for only with the fundamental trust that the covenant fosters will contracts be honored. The American Constitution was

hammered out in major part as an instrument that could balance the various conflicting interests threatening the stability of the nation, and use the energy of those interests to offset and check one another.

- 12 The idea was that an approximate equality of economic conditions was essential to the operation of free institutions, because economic equality—and also, economic independence—is necessary for the creation of enlightened citizens. Alexander Hamilton expressed the commonly held view when he said, “In the general course of human nature, a power over man’s subsistence amounts to a power over his will.” Concentration of economic power, therefore, would create a degree of dependence for many that would be incompatible with their role as free citizens. Hamilton felt pessimistic that such concentrations of wealth could be avoided, and so predicted the republican institutions in America would survive but briefly: “As riches increase and accumulate in few hands; as luxury prevails in society; virtue will be in a greater degree considered as only a graceful appendage of wealth, and the tendency of things will be to depart from the republican standard.”
- 13 Thomas Jefferson, characteristically, was more optimistic about the possible social and economic basis for American free institutions. For all the differences between them, the founders of the republic had a fairly clear understanding of the interaction of economics, politics, and religion in a republic. Great wealth and extreme poverty alike were to be avoided. They undermined morality and piety, so important for the social climate of free institutions, and they produced tyrannical attitudes on the one hand, and subservient ones on the other, that were equally incompatible with active citizenship.
- 14 De Tocqueville, writing about America in the 1830s, continued to raise the social and political issues that were of such concern to our founders. He worried lest too great a concern with economic prosperity undermine our free institutions by drawing men’s attention too exclusively to their private and selfish interests. Like Jefferson, he thought public participation was the best school of democratic citizenship. Like our founders, he believed that economic independence and social cooperation could go hand in hand in America. As De Tocqueville wrote:
- 15 The free institutions of the United States and the political rights enjoyed there provide a thousand continual reminders to every citizen that he lives in society. At first it is of necessity that men attend to the public interest, afterwards by choice. What had become calculation becomes instinct. By dint of working for the good of his fellow citizens, he in the end acquires a habit and taste for serving them.

## Citizen Participation

- 16 De Tocqueville, then, in ways consistent with the beliefs of Jefferson and John Adams, argued that the key to American democracy was active civic associations. He observed that only through active involvement in common concerns could the citizen overcome the sense of relative isolation and powerlessness that was a part of the insecurity of life in an increasingly commercial society. Associations, along with decentralized, local administration, were to mediate between the individual and the centralized state, providing forums in which opinion could be publicly and intelligently discussed and the subtle habits of public initiative and responsibility learned and passed on. Associational life, in de Tocqueville's thinking, was the best bulwark against the condition he feared most: the mass society of mutually antagonistic individuals who, once alienated, became prey to despotism.<sup>6</sup>
- 17 What de Tocqueville sought, then, was a modern version of classic political democracy. He thought social differentiation inescapable, since the division of labor creates differences among groups in the goals they seek to attain. Democratic politics must seek to coordinate—and adjust—these differentiations in the interest of equity and concern for the liberty of all.
- 18 A vital democracy, then, requires a complex effort to achieve a political community through balancing the relationships among the administrative organization of the state, the individual citizen, and the associations that come between individual and state. By association, individuals become citizens and thereby acquire a sense of personal connection and significance that is unavailable to the depoliticized, purely private person. Through mutual deliberation and joint initiative, moral relationships of trust and mutual aid are established and come to embody the meaning of citizenship for the individual.
- 19 Politics in the genuinely associational sense is substantially more than the pursuit of self-interest, since it involves sharing responsibility for acts that create a quality of life quite different from the mere sum of individual satisfactions. De Tocqueville hoped that civic participation could make the individual an active, politically aware subject rather than a passive object of state control. For De Tocqueville, lack of participation, no matter what its material effects, was humanly degrading and finally a manifestation of despotism. In this he was restating the traditional, and basic, civic republican notion that human dignity requires the freedom that exists and grows only in a context of active civic community.

6. **despotism** (DEHS puh tihz uhm) *n.* tyranny.

### The Individual and the Community

- 20 In de Tocqueville's America, as for most Americans throughout the nineteenth century, the basic unit of association and the practical foundation of both individual dignity and participation was the local community. There a civic culture of individual initiative was nurtured through custom and personal ties inculcated by widely shared religious and moral values. Concern for economic betterment was strong, but it operated within the context of a still-functional covenant concern for the welfare of the neighbor. In the town the competitive individualism stirred by commerce was balanced and humanized through the restraining influences of a fundamentally egalitarian ethic of community responsibility. These autonomous small-scale communities were dominated by an active middle class, the traditional citizens of a free republic, whose members shared similar economic and social positions and whose ranks the less-affluent segments of the population aspired to enter, and often succeeded. Most men were self-employed, and many who worked for others were saving capital to launch themselves on enterprises of their own. Westward expansion, as de Tocqueville noted, reproduced this pattern of a decentralized, egalitarian democracy across our continent. American citizenship was anchored in the institutions of the face-to-face community—the neighborliness—of the town. Such communities provided the social basis of the new Republican Party in the 1850s, and Abraham Lincoln was perhaps their noblest representative.

### Undemocratic America

- 21 De Tocqueville carefully noted two forms of socioeconomic organization that differed profoundly from this form of civilization—which he considered basic to American democracy—and threatened its continued existence. One was the slave society of the South, which not only treated blacks inhumanly but also, as de Tocqueville in ways quite similar to Jefferson noted, degraded whites as well, reducing them to something considerably less than autonomous, responsible citizens.
- 22 The second ominous social form was the industrial factories, evident at first in the Northeast, which concentrated great numbers of poor and dependent workers in the burgeoning mill towns. Here De Tocqueville feared a new form of authoritarianism was arising that made petty despots out of owners and managers and reduced workers to substandard conditions incompatible with full democratic citizenship. Ironically, the traumatic civil war that destroyed slavery enormously furthered the growth of the industrial structures that so profoundly threatened the original American pattern of decentralized democratic communities.

## A National Economy

- 23 By the end of the nineteenth century the new economic conditions fatally unbalanced the community pattern of American life. New technologies, particularly in transportation, communications, and manufacturing, pulled the many quasi-autonomous local societies into a vast national market. Problems arising in this increasingly centralized and economically integrated society required the growth of the structures of central government, and steadily sapped the ability of local associations to deal with local problems. Under these conditions the very meaning of the traditional idea of American citizenship was called into question.
- 24 This shift in emphasis had a profound effect on the role of the individual in society. One response was to adapt to the new structures of centralized economic power by choosing a career whose rewards are wealth and power rather than a calling that provided status and meaning within a community of complementary callings. This shift was becoming evident by the mid-nineteenth century but has progressed enormously in the twentieth, and is now dominant. Virtually all Americans depend directly or indirectly for livelihood, information, and, often, ideas and opinions, on great centralized and technologized organizations, and they identify themselves more by professional prestige and privilege than by community ties. The increasing uniformity of national life has developed concomitantly with the rise of a national pattern of social inequality that has replaced the more immediately perceived differentiations of local community.
- 25 In modern American experience, constraints and social discipline such as tax paying, company loyalties, and professional commonality have been increasingly justified because they are instrumental to individual security and advancement. Some measure of equality of opportunity seemed the appropriate and “American” way to democratize this new national society, but the focus has been on private, economic betterment, not on the quality of shared, public life.
- 26 These tendencies—which bear an all-too-close resemblance to De Tocqueville’s fear that an exclusive concern with material betterment would lead America away from free citizenship and toward a form of what he called “soft despotism”—have not gone unopposed. Some forms of opposition, like the efforts of the late nineteenth-century Populists and, later, the Progressives, to defend the integrity of the local community, have failed, though even in failure they have presented examples of a citizenry that will not passively accept its fate.

## Democracy at Work

- 27 Other efforts to control the most exploitative tendencies of the industrial sector, such as the enactment of health and safety laws and the regulation of working hours and minimum wages, have been more successful. The growth of labor unions has brought some sense of citizenship rights into the workplace. The tendencies toward despotism inherent in profit-oriented bureaucratic corporations have been muted at the bargaining table where wages, hours, and working conditions, as well as grievance procedures, have all become subject to quasi-political negotiation. This has not, with minor exceptions, given the worker a say in the direction of the corporation that employs him, but it has given him some sense of active participation in the conditions of his employment, and some protection against any tendency of his employers to disregard his needs.
- 28 In our recent history, significant social movements such as the civil rights movement or the movement to oppose the Vietnam War have continued to have an impact on public policy. Such movements have mobilized large coalitions of people, motivated by a combination of self-interest and a great deal of disinterested civic concern, to a degree of participation in the political process not common in day-to-day political life. That such movements can still make a difference in our society, even though not as quickly or as completely as some would desire, is evidence that the civic republican spirit is still present among us.

## Diluted Principles

- 29 Although the spirit of republican citizenship and the social conditions that support it are by no means gone from American life, alarming danger signals are visible. The belief in the individual as a self-interested “economic animal” is certainly not new in our history, but it is less and less tempered by the covenant values based in local communities and religious mores. Now, shorn of many of the nurturant values of traditional civic association, the ethos of self-advancement as an exclusive strategy has been able to run rampant with fewer constraints. The result has been a definition of personal worth almost exclusively in terms of competitive success, measured by status and advancement in large organizations. The ideals of loyalty and service based on personal trust and commitment have faltered in this atmosphere.
- 30 Even when the national economy was rapidly expanding and the hope of significant self-advancement was realistic, the social consequences were often what we have recently heard described as “moral malaise.” Inability to commit oneself to or believe in anything that transcends one’s private interests leads to a less positive commitment to family and community and a negative

self-absorption and greed. These very same traits put the nation at the edge of financial bankruptcy in 2008–2009.

- 31 Unfortunately, the difficulties arising from too exclusive a concern with self-betterment have of late been enormously compounded by the gradually dawning knowledge that the cup of plenty is not inexhaustible. Material blessings were never shared equitably in America, but while the economy was growing everyone could look forward to more. However, if wealth is not going to grow, or is going to grow much more slowly, and our values have become focused on self-interest, then we are on the verge of the war of all against all, as each interest group strives to get to the well first before it dries up.

### The Role of Government

- 32 We have for a long time turned, not unwisely, to government to regulate the quest for economic aggrandizement. The ideology of radical individualism, with its notion that the pursuit of self-interest is the best incentive for a free society, has always required a mediator who will guarantee at least minimal conditions of fairness in the race for material goods. Government has been that mediator and has become increasingly active in that role in recent decades. While privileged individuals and groups have often viewed the role of government as intrusive and even destructive, less-privileged groups have found in government a protector against the worst consequences of being crushed by the inequities of our competitive economy. Social programs, with all their inadequacies, and affirmative action have brought a measure of justice to people (women and minorities) who have been deprived and/or handicapped by poverty and prejudice. Perhaps it is a sign of the times that such minimal and basic human programs are viewed by the privileged as programs designed to victimize *them*.
- 33 Our present danger doesn't come from government as such, or from self-seeking individuals either, for that matter. The danger to our democratic institutions comes rather from the declining effectiveness of the intervening structures—the variety of civic associations—that serve to mediate between individual and state. It is those intermediate structures that encourage citizenship and provide the best defense against despotism, soft or hard. Without them, the government, even when acting benevolently, may encourage a dependence and a lack of civic concern that play into the hands of authoritarianism. The danger increases when the economic pie is shrinking or growing slowly and erratically, when the privileged are talking about “social discipline” while the deprived feel existent inequalities more keenly.
- 34 In the meantime, public cynicism about the modern American notion of pursuit of economic self-interest in the context of free

enterprise, tempered by a degree of expert bureaucratic fine-tuning by the federal government, is growing. The failures of conventional economics (particularly in the past decade) to meet certain problems—unemployment, underemployment, slow economic growth, and national concern about the energy crisis—have engendered widespread public disillusionment in government and business corporations alike. One form of this disillusionment is a growing cynicism and a tendency to “look out for number one,” together with a deepening fear of one’s fellow citizens. Such sentiments as these, republican theorists warn, are the preconditions of despotism.



### Volunteerism and Civic Engagement

- 35 But another response to the failures of the recent pattern of American political and economic life is to look to the possibility of the revival of our democratic civic culture and social structures, and above all, the intermediate local and neighborhood associations that nurture them. There are many who view the present necessity—to rethink the notion that quantitative, undifferentiated economic development is the answer to all our problems—as a genuine opportunity to recover aspects of our public life that could never be fully absorbed into that pattern. They view the present challenge not with dismay but rather as a stimulus to become our true selves as a democratic society.
- 36 On both the right and left of the political spectrum there is much talk of intermediate structures. Some use the language of participatory public life simply as a means to attack the growth of “big government” without a reasonable assessment of the social benefits government confers—one that *no other structure* in our society can presently provide. For such critics the ideal intermediate structure is the business corporation, which they believe should be freed from “government interference.” (This seems to be the role of the Tea Party, which has been co-opted by corporate America to blame government for our problems.)
- 37 Others who talk about intermediate structures view business corporations as massive structures of bureaucratic power, largely unresponsive to citizen needs, and certainly not forums for civic

participation and democratic debate. Or else they see business corporations as needing drastic reform before they can function as truly representative intermediate structures. At any rate, however important it may be to nurture religious, ethnic, neighborhood, and other forms of civic association, it is the economic institutions that are the key to present difficulties, and it is a new way of linking our economic life with our democratic values that is the key to their solution.

- 38 Let us consider the relevance of the early American pattern to our present situation. The founders saw occupation and economic condition as closely linked to the religious, social, and political bases of a free society. They feared excessive wealth, excessive poverty, and lack of independence in one's occupation. They thought self-employment the best guarantee of good citizenship, which would then lead to civic cooperation in the local community, particularly when nurtured by the religious and moral ideal of the covenant.
- 39 Our present circumstances—massive economic interdependence, employment mostly in large organizations, and the near disappearance of the self-employed farmer, merchant, and artisan—would seem so far from the vision of the founders as to have no connection with it. But if we consider the intentions and purposes of the founders, and not the economic conditions they found close at hand, then we might understand how their vision and wisdom could apply to our present situation.
- 40 If the intention of the founders was to create independent citizens who could then cooperate together in civic associations so as to produce a democratic society conducive to the dignity of all, we must consider how we might attain the same ends under conditions of our present political economy. A renewed citizenship must build upon our still-living traditions of volunteerism, civic engagement, and cooperation wherever they may be found, but it cannot take the older forms and resources for granted. Contemporary citizenship requires a moral commitment as well as an institutional basis appropriate to our interdependent, occupationally segmented national society. And because professionalism and occupational identification have become so crucial to contemporary society and personal identity, a renewed civic identity must be institutionalized in the workplace as well as the community at large if we want to avoid the classic war of “all against all.”

### **Private/Public Enterprise**

- 41 If we would recover again the social and personal commitment to free institutions that is the lifeblood of a democratic society, then we must bring the public democratic ethos into the sphere of economic life. To view economic institutions as “private” made

sense when most Americans spent their lives on family farms or in family firms. But today, when most American men, and a rapidly increasing proportion of American women, spend much of their lives in large economic structures that are for most purposes “public” except that the profits they make go to institutional and individual “private” stockholders, it becomes imperative to bring the forms of citizenship and of civic association more centrally into the economic sphere. There is no simple formula for achieving that end; it certainly does not require “nationalization,” which, by bringing vast economic bureaucracies under the domination of the federal government, would make the democratization of economic life even more difficult. What we need is a series of experiments with new forms of autonomous or semiautonomous “public enterprise” as well as reformed versions of “private enterprise” as we pursue, with circumspection,<sup>7</sup> our aim of a healthy economy that is responsive to democratic values.

- 42 If the profit imperative creates problems even under “normal” conditions of economic growth, its consequences become severe under conditions of economic stringency. The experimentation and freewheeling nature of a period of growth begins to close down because everything must be justified in terms of the bottom line. Social purposes and human needs—perhaps even the survival of some individuals—that cannot be translated into a short-term prospect of profitability are necessarily ignored. This is especially true if we analyze the impact of past inflations<sup>8</sup> on wage-earners in the basic necessities: health, energy, housing, and food. It is under these conditions that a new, more public and more civic purpose must be injected into the economy, and the language of “economic democracy” comes into play.

### The Dynamics of Bureaucracy

- 43 The profit imperative and the bureaucratic form of social organization often combine in an unfortunate way. The profit imperative itself can become a kind of tyrannical command that limits the options even of top management. Concerns for the humanization of the work process or more vigorous corporate social responsibility may have to be shelved under pressure to show profitability. Unfortunately, it is not true that all good things are “good business.” If they were, our economy and our society would not be suffering their present difficulties. In any case, it seems clear that a broadening of the purposes of economic organization to include a greater range of social responsibilities rather than the obligation to show a profit goes hand in hand with a concern to make the internal operation of economic organization more genuinely responsive to human needs.

7. **circumspection** *n.* quality of being careful and prudent.

8. **inflation** *n.* increases in the price level of goods and services in an economy.

## Nonprofit Corporations and Cooperatives

- 44 This is not the place to more than hint at the possibilities for transforming our economy into a more democratic and socially responsible one. Clearly we have only begun to realize the values of consumer, publicly owned, or cooperative forms of economic nonprofit enterprise. Where there is expert assistance and capital available, a variety of small-scale economic nonprofit enterprises can be organized as self-help development efforts. Such ventures make excellent sense in economically depressed areas; they provide multiple opportunities for those otherwise excluded from employment. In addition to fostering the self-respect that comes from steady employment, the owners of a cooperative enterprise receive an education in the democratic process when they choose their board of directors and participate in a variety of functions in running their own business. Further, the cooperative is not tempted to drain the profits away from its own community as a branch of a large firm would do. Profits are plowed back into local expansion, the proliferation of other cooperatives, and, often, some forms of local social services, such as day-care centers, health clinics, and credit unions.
- 45 The nonprofit corporation has already proved its usefulness in the form of Community Development Corporations (CDCs). By combining profitable or at least viable economic undertakings with a variety of community services, the nonprofit corporation has many of the advantages of the cooperative on a larger scale. Undoubtedly, we have only begun to realize the potential in a variety of forms public enterprise can take. The Tennessee Valley Authority, for all the opposition it has generated, stands as a reasonably successful venture in public enterprise. As economic difficulties beset some of our largest corporations, experiments with mixed public/private enterprise might be contemplated.
- 46 Of course, all these forms of experimentation are dependent on a climate of financial and governmental support. There should be ways to make tax savings available to corporations that can show a consistent record of public responsibility at the cost of their own reduced profitability. A program of government grants might be made available to support innovative efforts to create energy-efficient businesses, to democratize the workplace, to humanize work, or to heighten community responsibility. Particularly in a situation of little or no economic growth, the emphasis must shift from quantitative expansion to qualitative improvement.
- 47 Even though the past failure of public courage may be discouraging, there are still some aspects of our present situation that could lead to a reinvigoration of our mores and a new sense of the importance of the covenant model. The greatest opportunity

exists in the growing realization that endless—and mindless—economic growth is not the answer to all of our problems, even if it were possible. And we are only beginning to comprehend some of the inherent brutalities of an overly technologized society. If the rise of industrial capitalism, for all the material benefits it has conferred, also lies at the root of many of our problems, then the faltering of the economy that has become evident since the 1970s, and that shows no early sign of change, may provide an occasion for some profound reflections about the direction of America in the decades ahead. If serious Americans in large numbers realize that the cause of our difficulties is not “big government” but, rather, a way of life that worships wealth and power, that makes economic profit the arbiter of all human values and that delivers us into the tyranny of the bottom line, then it may be possible to reexamine our present institutions and the values they embody.

48 A democratization of our economic institutions, by whatever name, is a key to the revitalization of our mores and our public life. Clearly the fusion of economic and governmental bureaucracies into a kind of superbureaucracy is not the answer, but would only compound the causes of our difficulty. The crisis in confidence that has overtaken our present system of bureaucratic capitalism can lead to a new shared public interest in our economic life.

49 We must develop the conditions for a new, shared public interest through a movement for the reform of economic life. The process needs to invite the enclaves of neighborly cooperation out from their present defensive position on the peripheries of our public life to join in a larger effort to transform mainstream institutions into vehicles for and expressions of citizen concern and positive values. This necessitates a process of moral education at the same time it attempts to restructure institutions. The effects of such a positive movement, already beginning in many areas, would be to revitalize the principle of civic association, to strengthen the intermediate structures that make it possible for individual citizens to maintain their independence and to make their voices heard, and, thus, to reinforce the vitality of our free institutions generally. Moving into a world of little or no economic growth, without such a process of democratic character and values, would only precipitate no-win Hobbesian struggles among groups wanting to profit at one another’s expense—a struggle already too evident in our present politics of special interests.

50 But a healthy shift in the organization of our economic life, with all it would entail in our society, cannot be expected as a result of mere technocratic or organizational manipulation. So great a change—overcoming not only entrenched power, but entrenched ways of thinking—could be brought about only by a change

in social or moral consciousness. We are, like it or not, going to face a world of increasing scarcity and simplicity, voluntary or involuntary. We can enter that world with bitterness and antagonism, with a concern to protect ourselves and our families, no matter the consequences to others—or we can enter with the keen sense of freedom, justice, opportunity, and community bequeathed to us by our founding fathers.

- 51 To come to terms with what has happened to us in the last century in a way that allows us to regain the moral meaning and the public participation that characterized our formative period—that seems the only way to create a livable society in the decades ahead. There are no easy formulas as to how to attain this goal. A great deal of creative experimentation and a variety of types of organization that will explore different possibilities are surely needed. But only the presence of a new sense of moral commitment and human sensibility can provide the time and space for such experimentation.

### Summary

- 52 It would seem clear that although the rise of corporate capitalism has brought Americans many good things, it has also disrupted our traditional social system while creating enormous economic problems that it cannot seem to solve. The national private economy has not only created problems but has, through its enormous political influence, involved government and massive government spending in ways that have been self-serving and thus compounded those problems.
- 53 Ever since World War II, high-technology and service industries have boomed in the “Sun Belt,” with the help of massive military orders and huge federal underwriting for infrastructure. During the same years the industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest have been allowed to deteriorate. The housing bust is yet another example. Profits have been enormous, but the human costs have been very high. It has been suggested that this unbalanced pattern of growth and stagnation will exact enormous sums in taxpayers’ money in the decades ahead. Just reflect on the Wall Street and banking bailouts; these could have been avoided if the public interest had been given greater consideration in the planning of a healthy and balanced national economy, along with providing appropriate regulatory oversight and accountability.
- 54 Another example of the disastrous consequences of economic decisions made solely on the basis of profitability is the proliferation of energy-consuming, pollution-creating automobile and truck transportation at the expense of rapid transit and railroad systems, especially since World War II. Due to the power of automobile and oil lobbies, billions have been spent on federal highway programs, while railroad and mass-transit supports

have been attacked as “wasteful.” Dependence on initially cheap foreign oil, which was part of this transportation package, has proved to be not only an economic time bomb but also an international political disaster that has made our national interest highly vulnerable.

55 Stephen A. Marglin, professor of economics at Harvard University, recently wrote:

56 The real issue of the next decade is not planning, but what kind of planning. If planning is to be democratic in process and end product, the entire structure of the capitalist economy must be overhauled to become significantly more participatory, from the shop floor to the corporate board room.

57 Either our dominant economic institution, the corporation, will come to reflect democratic ideals, or the polity will come increasingly to incorporate the notion of the divine right of capital.

58 My own position is clear. Authoritarian capitalism is no longer a vehicle of human progress, but an obstacle. By contrast, democracy, extended to our economic institutions, has a rich and glorious future.

59 Professor Marglin, as our historical review has shown, sets the issue in terms thoroughly consonant with our American democratic tradition.

60 In dealing with our economic problems, then, we must not be oriented to technical efficiency alone; that could produce an authoritarian solution. The economy is part—a central part—of our entire social system. This means that the criterion of success cannot be cost-accounting alone. The human implications of various forms of organization must always be considered. Above all, the economy must reinforce, not undermine, that structure of intermediate voluntary associations upon which the vitality of our democracy rests. Only an economy that can provide security, dignity, equality of opportunity, and participation to all our citizens will be a democratic economy.

61 We have in America the human and natural resources as well as the cultural and spiritual values to surmount the present challenges, to reinvigorate our democratic life, and to revitalize our communities. That is the challenge of this decade. ❧



prompting proud proclamations of the wisdom, foresight, and sense of justice shared by the Framers<sup>2</sup> and reflected in a written document now yellowed with age. This is unfortunate—not the patriotism itself, but the tendency for the celebration to oversimplify, and overlook the many other events that have been instrumental to our achievements as a nation. The focus of this celebration invites a complacent belief that the vision of those who debated and compromised in Philadelphia yielded the “more perfect Union” it is said we now enjoy.

- 4 I cannot accept this invitation, for I do not believe that the meaning of the Constitution was forever “fixed” at the Philadelphia Convention. Nor do I find the wisdom, foresight, and sense of justice exhibited by the Framers particularly profound. To the contrary, the government they devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war, and momentous social transformation to attain the system of constitutional government, and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights, that we hold as fundamental today. When contemporary Americans cite “The Constitution” they invoke a concept that is vastly different from what the Framers barely began to construct two centuries ago.
- 5 For a sense of the evolving nature of the Constitution we need look no further than the first three words of the document’s preamble: “We the People.” When the Founding Fathers used this phrase in 1787, they did not have in mind the majority of America’s citizens. “We the People” included, in the words of the Fathers, “the whole Number of free Persons.” On a matter so basic as the right to vote, for example, Negro slaves were excluded, although they were counted for representational purpose—at three-fifths each. Women did not gain the right to vote for over a hundred and thirty years.
- 6 These omissions were intentional. The record of the Framers’ debates on the slave question is especially clear: the Southern States acceded to the demands of the New England states for giving Congress broad power to regulate commerce, in exchange for the right to continue the slave trade. The economic interests of the regions coalesced: New Englanders engaged in the “carrying trade” would profit from transporting slaves from Africa as well as goods produced in America by slave labor. The perpetuation of slavery ensured the primary source of wealth in the Southern states.
- 7 Despite this clear understanding of the role slavery would play in the new republic, use of the words “slaves” and “slavery” was carefully avoided in the original document. Political representation in the lower House of Congress was to be based

2. **Framers** authors of the Constitution.

on the population of “free Persons” in each state, plus three-fifths of all “other Persons.” Moral principles against slavery, for those who had them, were compromised, with no explanation of the conflicting principles for which the American Revolutionary War had ostensibly been fought: the self-evident truths “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

- 8 It was not the first such compromise. Even these ringing phrases from the Declaration of Independence are filled with irony, for an early draft of what became that declaration assailed the King of England for suppressing legislative attempts to end the slave trade and for encouraging slave rebellions. The final draft adopted in 1776 did not contain this criticism. And so again at the Constitutional Convention eloquent objections to the institution of slavery went unheeded, and its opponents eventually consented to a document which laid a foundation for the tragic events that were to follow.
- 9 Pennsylvania’s Gouverneur Morris provides an example. He opposed slavery and the counting of slaves in determining the basis for representation in Congress. At the Convention he objected:
  - 10 that the inhabitant of Georgia [or] South Carolina who goes to the coast of Africa, and in defiance of the most sacred laws of humanity tears away his fellow creatures from their dearest connections and damns them to the most cruel bondages, shall have more votes in a Government instituted for protection of the rights of mankind, than the Citizen of Pennsylvania or New Jersey who views with a laudable horror, so nefarious a practice.
  - 11 And yet Gouverneur Morris eventually accepted the three-fifths accommodation. In fact, he wrote the final draft of the Constitution, the very document the bicentennial will commemorate.
  - 12 As a result of compromise, the right of the Southern states to continue importing slaves was extended, officially, at least until 1808. We know that it actually lasted a good deal longer, as the Framers possessed no monopoly on the ability to trade moral principles for self-interest. But they nevertheless set an unfortunate example. Slaves could be imported, if the commercial interests of the North were protected. To make the compromise even more palatable, customs duties would be imposed at up to ten dollars per slave as a means of raising public revenues.
  - 13 No doubt it will be said, when the unpleasant truth of the history of slavery in America is mentioned during this bicentennial year, that the Constitution was a product of its times, and embodied a compromise which, under other circumstances,

would not have been made. But the effects of the Framers' compromise have remained for generations. They arose from the contradiction between guaranteeing liberty and justice to all, and denying both to Negroes.

14 The original intent of the phrase, "We the People," was far too clear for any ameliorating construction. Writing for the Supreme Court in 1857, Chief Justice Taney penned the following passage in the *Dred Scott*<sup>3</sup> case, on the issue of whether, in the eyes of the Framers, slaves were "constituent members of the sovereignty," and were to be included among "We the People":

15 We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included . . .

16 They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race . . .; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit . . .

17 . . . [A]ccordingly, a negro of the African race was regarded . . . as an article of property, and held, and bought and sold as such . . . [N]o one seems to have doubted the correctness of the prevailing opinion of the time.

18 And so, nearly seven decades after the Constitutional Convention, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the prevailing opinion of the Framers regarding the rights of Negroes in America. It took a bloody civil war before the thirteenth amendment could be adopted to abolish slavery, though not the consequences slavery would have for future Americans.

19 While the Union survived the Civil War, the Constitution did not. In its place arose a new, more promising basis for justice and equality, the fourteenth amendment, ensuring protection of the life, liberty, and property of *all* persons against deprivations without due process and guaranteeing equal protection of the laws. And yet almost another century would pass before any significant recognition was obtained of the rights of black Americans to share equally even in such basic opportunities as education, housing, and employment, and to have their votes counted and counted equally. In the meantime, blacks joined America's military to fight its wars and invested untold hours working in its factories and on its farms, contributing to the development of this country's magnificent wealth and waiting to share in its prosperity.

3. **Dred Scott case** Supreme Court case in which the majority opinion declared that African Americans could never be United States citizens and had no rights. This decision is now considered to have led to the Civil War.

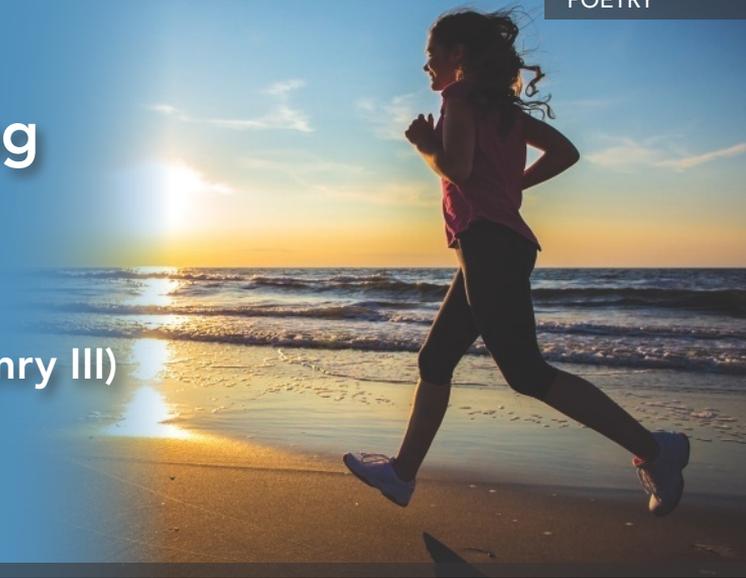
- 20 What is striking is the role legal principles have played throughout America’s history in determining the condition of Negroes. They were enslaved by law, emancipated by law, disenfranchised and segregated by law; and, finally, they have begun to win equality by law. Along the way, new constitutional principles have emerged to meet the challenges of a changing society. The progress has been dramatic, and it will continue.
- 21 The men who gathered in Philadelphia in 1787 could not have envisioned these changes. They could not have imagined, nor would they have accepted, that the document they were drafting would one day be construed by a Supreme Court to which had been appointed a woman and the descendent of an African slave. “We the People” no longer enslave, but the credit does not belong to the Framers. It belongs to those who refused to acquiesce in outdated notions of “liberty,” “justice,” and “equality,” and who strived to better them.
- 22 And so we must be careful, when focusing on the events which took place in Philadelphia two centuries ago, that we not overlook the momentous events which followed, and thereby lose our proper sense of perspective. Otherwise, the odds are that for many Americans the bicentennial celebration will be little more than a blind pilgrimage to the shrine of the original document now stored in a vault in the National Archives. If we seek instead, a sensitive understanding of the Constitution’s inherent defects, and its promising evolution through 200 years of history, the celebration of the “Miracle at Philadelphia” will, in my view, be a far more meaningful and humbling experience. We will see that the true miracle was not the birth of the Constitution, but its life, a life nurtured through two turbulent centuries of our own making, and a life embodying much good fortune that was not.
- 23 Thus, in this bicentennial year, we may not all participate in the festivities with flag-waving fervor. Some may more quietly commemorate the suffering, struggle, and sacrifice that has triumphed over much of what was wrong with the original document, and observe the anniversary with hopes not realized and promises not fulfilled. I plan to celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution as a living document, including the Bill of Rights and the other amendments protecting individual freedoms and human rights. 🍷

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# Speech to the Young Speech to the Progress-Toward

(Among Them Nora and Henry III)

Gwendolyn Brooks



## About the Author



**Gwendolyn Brooks** (1917–2000) began writing at the age of seven and published her first poem, “Eventide,” at age thirteen. As an adult, Brooks wrote hundreds of poems, many of which focus on the African American experience. In 1950, she became the first African American to win a Pulitzer Prize.

SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA



## BACKGROUND

This poem, addressed to Gwendolyn Brooks’s children, Nora Blakely and Henry Lowington Blakely III, was collected in her 1987 anthology, *Blacks*. Brooks’ poetry never flinched from political content, and she wrote much of it, including this poem, as part of the African American civil rights movement of the twentieth century.

- Say to them,  
say to the down-keepers,  
the sun-slappers,  
the self-soilers,  
5 the harmony-hushers,  
“Even if you are not ready for day  
it cannot always be night.”  
You will be right.  
For that is the hard home-run.
- 10 Live not for battles won.  
Live not for the-end-of-the-song.  
Live in the along.

NOTES

# The Fish

Elizabeth Bishop



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## About the Author



In 1945, **Elizabeth Bishop** (1911–1979) won a poetry contest that led to the publication of her first book of poetry, which included “The Fish.” Her work employs wit and precise, unsentimental images. Regarded during her lifetime as a “poet’s poet” without appeal to a large readership, Bishop is now viewed as a major voice in twentieth-century literature.

## BACKGROUND

Bishop wrote this poem while living in Key West, Florida, after a childhood spent in a fishing village in Nova Scotia and in Boston. “The Fish” is one of her best-known poems and describes an actual fish that Bishop caught. It is one of only 101 poems published by Bishop, a perfectionist, in her lifetime.

## NOTES

- I caught a tremendous fish  
and held him beside the boat  
half out of water, with my hook  
fast in a corner of his mouth.
- 5 He didn’t fight.  
He hadn’t fought at all.  
He hung a grunting weight,  
battered and venerable  
and homely. Here and there
- 10 his brown skin hung in strips  
like ancient wallpaper,  
and its pattern of darker brown  
was like wallpaper:  
shapes like full-blown roses
- 15 stained and lost through age.  
He was speckled with barnacles,

fine rosettes of lime,<sup>1</sup>  
 and infested  
 with tiny white sea-lice,  
 20 and underneath two or three  
 rags of green weed hung down.  
 While his gills were breathing in  
 the terrible oxygen  
 — the frightening gills,  
 25 fresh and crisp with blood,  
 that can cut so badly —  
 I thought of the coarse white flesh  
 packed in like feathers,  
 the big bones and the little bones,  
 30 the dramatic reds and blacks  
 of his shiny entrails,  
 and the pink swim-bladder<sup>2</sup>  
 like a big peony.  
 I looked into his eyes  
 35 which were far larger than mine  
 but shallower, and yellowed,  
 the irises backed and packed  
 with tarnished tinfoil  
 seen through the lenses  
 40 of old scratched isinglass.<sup>3</sup>  
 They shifted a little, but not  
 to return my stare.  
 — It was more like the tipping  
 of an object toward the light.  
 45 I admired his sullen face,  
 the mechanism of his jaw,  
 and then I saw  
 that from his lower lip  
 — if you could call it a lip —  
 50 grim, wet, and weaponlike,  
 hung five old pieces of fish-line,  
 or four and a wire leader  
 with the swivel still attached,  
 with all their five big hooks  
 55 grown firmly in his mouth.  
 A green line, frayed at the end  
 where he broke it, two heavier lines,  
 and a fine black thread  
 still crimped from the strain and snap  
 60 when it broke and he got away.  
 Like medals with their ribbons

1. **lime** *n.* calcium oxide, which is chalky and white.

2. **swim-bladder** *n.* gas-filled sac in a fish's body that helps it control its swimming depth.

3. **isinglass** (Y zihn GLAS) *n.* transparent material once used in windows.

frayed and wavering,  
a five-haired beard of wisdom  
trailing from his aching jaw.

- 65 I stared and stared  
and victory filled up  
the little rented boat,  
from the pool of bilge<sup>4</sup>  
where oil had spread a rainbow  
70 around the rusted engine  
to the bailer rusted orange,  
the sun-cracked thwarts,<sup>5</sup>  
the oarlocks on their strings,  
the gunnels<sup>6</sup> — until everything  
75 was rainbow, rainbow, rainbow!  
And I let the fish go.

4. **bilge** (bihlj) *n.* bottommost part inside a boat.

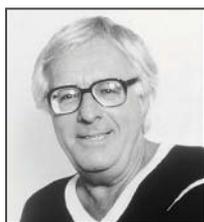
5. **thwarts** (thwawrts) *n.* seats in a boat for rowers.

6. **gunnels** *n.* upper edges of the sides of a ship or boat.

# The Pedestrian

Ray Bradbury

## About the Author



**Ray Bradbury** (1920–2012) was an American author who primarily wrote science fiction and fantasy. After publishing his first story in 1940, he wrote several collections of short stories and a number of novels. For his lifetime's work, the Pulitzer Prize Board awarded Bradbury a Special Citation. He also penned children's stories and crime fiction.

SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA



## BACKGROUND

Ray Bradbury published this science fiction story in 1951. Set in his hometown of Waukegan, Illinois, "The Pedestrian" foreshadows themes in Bradbury's most famous novel, *Fahrenheit 451*, in which a society bans reading and mandates watching TV. Many of his stories blend dark realism with hints of hope.

- T**o enter out into that silence that was the city at eight o'clock of a misty evening in November, to put your feet upon that buckling concrete walk, to step over grassy seams and make your way, hands in pockets, through the silences, that was what Mr. Leonard Mead most dearly loved to do. He would stand upon the corner of an intersection and peer down long moonlit avenues of sidewalk in four directions, deciding which way to go, but it really made no difference; he was alone in this world of A.D. 2053, or as good as alone, and with a final decision made, a path selected, he would stride off, sending patterns of frosty air before him like the smoke of a cigar.
- Sometimes he would walk for hours and miles and return only at midnight to his house. And on his way he would see the cottages and homes with their dark windows, and it was not unequal to walking through a graveyard where only the faintest

NOTES

glimmers of firefly light appeared in flickers behind the windows. Sudden gray phantoms seemed to manifest upon inner room walls where a curtain was still undrawn against the night, or there were whisperings and murmurs where a window in a tomb-like building was still open.

- 3 Mr. Leonard Mead would pause, cock his head, listen, look, and march on, his feet making no noise on the lumpy walk. For long ago he had wisely changed to sneakers when strolling at night, because the dogs in intermittent squads would parallel his journey with barkings if he wore hard heels, and lights might click on and faces appear and an entire street be startled by the passing of a lone figure, himself, in the early November evening.
- 4 On this particular evening he began his journey in a westerly direction, toward the hidden sea. There was a good crystal frost in the air; it cut the nose and made the lungs blaze like a Christmas tree inside; you could feel the cold light going on and off, all the branches filled with invisible snow. He listened to the faint push of his soft shoes through autumn leaves with satisfaction, and whistled a cold quiet whistle between his teeth, occasionally picking up a leaf as he passed, examining its skeletal pattern in the infrequent lamplights as he went on, smelling its rusty smell.
- 5 “Hello, in there,” he whispered to every house on every side as he moved. “What’s up tonight on Channel 4, Channel 7, Channel 9? Where are the cowboys rushing, and do I see the United States Cavalry over the next hill to the rescue?”
- 6 The street was silent and long and empty, with only his shadow moving like the shadow of a hawk in midcountry. If he closed his eyes and stood very still, frozen, he could imagine himself upon the center of a plain, a wintry, windless American desert with no house in a thousand miles, and only dry river beds, the streets, for company.
- 7 “What is it now?” he asked the houses, noticing his wrist watch. “Eight-thirty P.M.? Time for a dozen assorted murders? A quiz? A revue?<sup>1</sup> A comedian falling off the stage?”
- 8 Was that a murmur of laughter from within a moonwhite house? He hesitated, but went on when nothing more happened. He stumbled over a particularly uneven section of sidewalk. The cement was vanishing under flowers and grass. In ten years of walking by night or day, for thousands of miles, he had never met another person walking, not once in all that time.
- 9 He came to a cloverleaf intersection which stood silent where two main highways crossed the town. During the day it was a thunderous surge of cars, the gas stations open, a great insect rustling and a ceaseless jockeying for position as the scarab-beetles, a faint incense pattering from their exhausts,

1. **revue** (rih VYOO) *n.* musical show with skits.

skimmed homeward to the far directions. But now these highways, too, were like streams in a dry season, all stone and bed and moon radiance.

10 He turned back on a side street, circling around toward his home. He was within a block of his destination when the lone car turned a corner quite suddenly and flashed a fierce white cone of light upon him. He stood entranced, not unlike a night moth, stunned by the illumination, and then drawn toward it.

11 A metallic voice called to him:

12 “Stand still. Stay where you are! Don’t move!”

13 He halted.

14 “Put up your hands!”

15 “But—” he said.

16 “Your hands up! Or we’ll shoot!”

17 The police, of course, but what a rare, incredible thing; in a city of three million, there was only *one* police car left, wasn’t that correct? Ever since a year ago, 2052, the election year, the force had been cut, down from three cars to one. Crime was ebbing; there was no need now for the police, save for this one lone car wandering and wandering the empty streets.

18 “Your name?” said the police car in a metallic whisper. He couldn’t see the men in it for the bright light in his eyes.

19 “Leonard Mead,” he said.

20 “Speak up!”

21 “Leonard Mead!”

22 “Business or profession?”

23 “I guess you’d call me a writer.”

24 “No profession,” said the police car, as if talking to itself. The light held him fixed, like a museum specimen, needle thrust through chest.

25 “You might say that,” said Mr. Mead. He hadn’t written in years. Magazines and books didn’t sell any more. Everything went on in the tomblike houses at night now, he thought, continuing his fancy. The tombs, ill-lit by television light, where the people sat like the dead, the gray or multicolored lights touching their faces, but never really touching *them*.

26 “No profession,” said the phonograph voice, hissing. “What are you doing out?”

27 “Walking,” said Leonard Mead.

28 “Walking!”

29 “Just walking,” he said simply, but his face felt cold.

30 “Walking, just walking, walking?”

31 “Yes, sir.”

32 “Walking where? For what?”

33 “Walking for air. Walking to see.”

34 “Your address!”

35 “Eleven South Saint James Street.”

36 “And there is air in your house, you have an *air conditioner*, Mr. Mead?”

37 “Yes.”

38 “And you have a viewing screen in your house to see with?”

39 “No.”

40 “No?” There was a crackling quiet that in itself was an accusation.

41 “Are you married, Mr. Mead?”

42 “No.”

43 “Not married,” said the police voice behind the fiery beam. The moon was high and clear among the stars and the houses were gray and silent.

44 “Nobody wanted me,” said Leonard Mead with a smile.

45 “Don’t speak unless you’re spoken to!”

46 Leonard Mead waited in the cold night.

47 “Just *walking*, Mr. Mead?”

48 “Yes.”

49 “But you haven’t explained for what purpose.”

50 “I explained; for air, and to see, and just to walk.”

51 “Have you done this often?”

52 “Every night for years.”

53 The police car sat in the center of the street with its radio throat faintly humming.

54 “Well, Mr. Mead,” it said.

55 “Is that all?” he asked politely.

56 “Yes,” said the voice. “Here.” There was a sigh, a pop. The back door of the police car sprang wide. “Get in.”

57 “Wait a minute, I haven’t done anything!”

58 “Get in.”

59 “I protest!”

60 “Mr. Mead.”

61 He walked like a man suddenly drunk. As he passed the front window of the car he looked in. As he had expected there was no one in the front seat, no one in the car at all.

62 “Get in.”

63 He put his hand to the door and peered into the back seat, which was a little cell, a little black jail with bars. It smelled of riveted steel. It smelled of harsh antiseptic; it smelled too clean and hard and metallic. There was nothing soft there.

64 “Now if you had a wife to give you an alibi,” said the iron voice. “But—”

65 “Where are you taking me?”

66 The car hesitated, or rather gave a faint whirring click, as if information, somewhere, was dropping card by punch-slotted

card under electric eyes. “To the Psychiatric Center for Research on Regressive Tendencies.”

67 He got in. The door shut with a soft thud. The police car rolled through the night avenues, flashing its dim lights ahead.

68 They passed one house on one street a moment later, one house in an entire city of houses that were dark, but this one particular house had all of its electric lights brightly lit, every window a loud yellow illumination, square and warm in the cool darkness.

69 “That’s *my* house,” said Leonard Mead.

70 No one answered him.

71 The car moved down the empty river-bed streets and off away, leaving the empty streets with the empty sidewalks, and no sound and no motion all the rest of the chill November night. 🚗

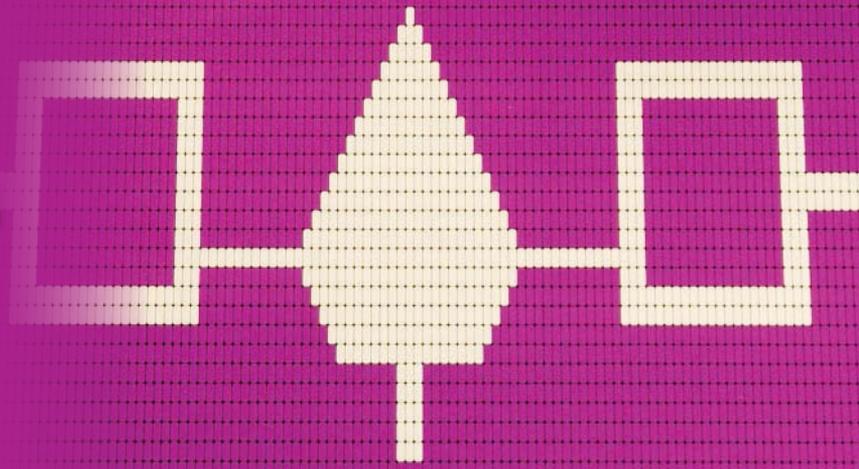
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NOTES

# from The Iroquois Constitution

Dekanawidah

translated by Arthur C. Parker



SCAN FOR  
MULTIMEDIA

## About the Author

**Arthur Caswell Parker** (1881–1955) was a prominent archaeologist who held numerous appointments at various museums, including the Peabody Museum at Harvard and the New York State Museum. He was of Seneca Iroquois and Scottish descent, and most of his work focused on the history and culture of Native American peoples, especially the Iroquois.

## BACKGROUND

The Iroquois Confederacy was a powerful alliance of Native American tribes formed in the late sixteenth century. They created a constitution that established a framework of laws and practices. In this excerpt, Dekanawidah, who was one of the founders of the Iroquois Confederacy and is credited as the author of the Iroquois Constitution, introduces the constitution, also referred to as the Great Law of Peace.

## NOTES

- 1 **I** am Dekanawidah and with the Five Nations<sup>1</sup> confederate lords I plant the Tree of the Great Peace. I name the tree the Tree of the Great Long Leaves. Under the shade of this Tree of the Great Peace we spread the soft white feathery down of the globe thistle as seats for you, Adodarhoh,<sup>2</sup> and your cousin lords.
- 2 We place you upon those seats, spread soft with the feathery down of the globe thistle, there beneath the shade of the spreading branches of the Tree of Peace. There shall you sit and watch the council fire of the confederacy of the Five Nations, and all the affairs of the Five Nations shall be transacted at this place before you.
- 3 Roots have spread out from the Tree of the Great Peace, one to the north, one to the east, one to the south and one to the west.

1. **Five Nations** the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes. Together, these tribes formed the Iroquois Confederacy.

2. **Adodarhoh** name of the office of the Onondaga chief.

The name of these roots is the Great White Roots and their nature is peace and strength.

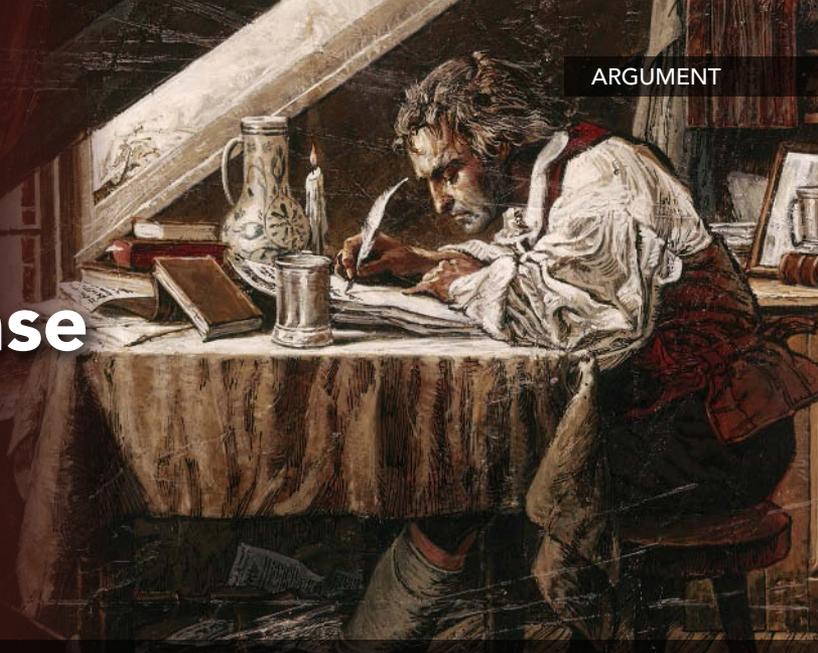
- 4 If any man or any nation outside the Five Nations shall obey the laws of the Great Peace and make known their disposition to the lords of the confederacy, they may trace the roots to the tree and if their minds are clean and they are obedient and promise to obey the wishes of the confederate council, they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.
- 5 We place at the top of the Tree of the Long Leaves an eagle who is able to see afar. If he sees in the distance any evil approaching or any danger threatening he will at once warn the people of the confederacy. . . .
- 6 The smoke of the confederate council fire shall ever ascend and pierce the sky so that other nations who may be allies may see the council fire of the Great Peace . . .
- 7 Whenever the confederate lords shall assemble for the purpose of holding a council, the Onondaga lords shall open it by expressing their gratitude to their cousin lords and greeting them, and they shall make an address and offer thanks to the earth where men dwell, to the streams of water, the pools, the springs and the lakes, to the maize and the fruits, to the medicinal herbs and trees, to the forest trees for their usefulness, to the animals that serve as food and give their pelts for clothing, to the great winds and the lesser winds, to the thunderers, to the sun, the mighty warrior, to the moon, to the messengers of the Creator who reveal his wishes and to the Great Creator who dwells in the heavens above, who gives all the things useful to men, and who is the source and the ruler of health and life.
- 8 Then shall the Onondaga lords declare the council open . . .
- 9 All lords of the Five Nations' Confederacy must be honest in all things . . . It shall be a serious wrong for anyone to lead a lord into trivial affairs, for the people must ever hold their lords high in estimation out of respect to their honorable positions.
- 10 When a candidate lord is to be installed he shall furnish<sup>3</sup> four strings of shells (or wampum) one span in length bound together at one end. Such will constitute the evidence of his pledge to the confederate lords that he will live according to the constitution of the Great Peace and exercise justice in all affairs.
- 11 When the pledge is furnished the speaker of the council must hold the shell strings in his hand and address the opposite side of the council fire and he shall commence his address saying: "Now behold him. He has now become a confederate lord. See how splendid he looks." An address may then follow. At the end of it he shall send the bunch of shell strings to the opposite side and they shall be received as evidence of the pledge. Then shall the opposite side say:

3. **furnish** v. provide.

- 12 “We now do crown you with the sacred emblem of the deer’s antlers, the emblem of your lordship. You shall now become a mentor of the people of the Five Nations. The thickness of your skin shall be seven spans—which is to say that you shall be proof against anger, offensive actions and criticism. Your heart shall be filled with peace and good will and your mind filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people of the confederacy. With endless patience you shall carry out your duty and your firmness shall be tempered with tenderness for your people. Neither anger nor fury shall find lodgement in your mind and all your words and actions shall be marked with calm deliberation. In all of your deliberations in the confederate council, in your efforts at law making, in all your official acts, self-interest shall be cast into oblivion. Cast not over your shoulder behind you the warnings of the nephews and nieces should they chide you for any error or wrong you may do, but return to the way of the Great Law which is just and right. Look and listen for the welfare of the whole people and have always in view not only the present but also the coming generations, even those whose faces are yet beneath the surface of the ground—the unborn of the future nation.”

# from Common Sense

Thomas Paine



## About the Author



**Thomas Paine** (1737–1809) met Benjamin Franklin in London in 1774. With Franklin's help, Paine immigrated to the American colonies from England to begin a career as a journalist. His writing helped spur Americans toward revolution. George Washington had one of Paine's inspirational essays read to his troops before his famous crossing of the Delaware River in 1776.

SCAN FOR  
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## BACKGROUND

Thomas Paine was a powerfully influential writer. In January 1776, he published *Common Sense*, his famous call to arms in which he argued that Americans must fight for independence from England. The pamphlet, distributed widely and read aloud in public places, created a national mood for revolution.

- 1 **I**n the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense; and have no other Preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession,<sup>1</sup> and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves; that he will put ON, or rather that he will not put OFF the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day.
- 2 Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs; but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, decide this contest; the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge.

1. **prepossession** *n.* bias (archaic).

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- 3 It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham<sup>2</sup> (who tho' an able minister was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the house of commons, on the score, that his measures were only of a temporary kind, replied "THEY WILL LAST MY TIME." Should a thought so fatal and unmanly possess the colonies in the present contest, the name of ancestors will be remembered by future generations with detestation.
- 4 The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the seed-time of continental union, faith and honor. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound will enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.
- 5 By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new era for politics is struck; a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, i.e. to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacs of the last year; which, though proper then are superseded<sup>3</sup> and useless now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either side of the question then, terminated in one and the same point, viz.<sup>4</sup> a union with Great Britain: the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it; the one proposing force, the other friendship; but it hath so far happened that the first hath failed, and the second hath withdrawn her influence.
- 6 As much hath been said of the advantages of reconciliation which, like an agreeable dream, hath passed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we should examine the contrary side of the argument, and inquire into some of the many material injuries which these colonies sustain, and always will sustain, by being connected with, and dependent on Great Britain: To examine that connection and dependence, on the principles of nature and common sense, to see what we have to trust to, if separated, and what we are to expect, if dependent.
- 7 I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain that the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thrived upon milk that it is never to have meat, or that

2. **Mr. Pelham** Henry Pelham, the British Prime Minister from 1743 to 1754.

3. **superseded** *v.* set aside or removed.

4. **viz** *abbrev.* namely.

the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her. The commerce, by which she hath enriched herself, are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

- 8 But she has protected us, say some. That she has engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expense as well as her own is admitted, and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz. the sake of trade and dominion.
- 9 Alas, we have been long led away by ancient prejudices, and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was INTEREST not ATTACHMENT; that she did not protect us from OUR ENEMIES on OUR ACCOUNT, but from HER ENEMIES on HER OWN ACCOUNT, from those who had no quarrel with us on any OTHER ACCOUNT, and who will always be our enemies on the SAME ACCOUNT. Let Britain wave her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependence, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover's last war<sup>5</sup> ought to warn us against connections.
- 10 It has lately been asserted in parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, i.e. that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and so on for the rest, are sister colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very roundabout way of proving relationship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enemyship, if I may so call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as AMERICANS, but as our being the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN.
- 11 But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so and the phrase PARENT or MOTHER COUNTRY hath been jesuitically adopted by the king and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from EVERY PART of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same

5. **miseries of Hanover's last war** the Seven Years' War, between Great Britain (the House of Hanover was the British ruling family from 1714 to 1901) and France.

tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still.

- 12 In this extensive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and sixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendship on a larger scale; we claim brotherhood with every European Christian, and triumph in the generosity of the sentiment.
- 13 It is pleasant to observe by what regular gradations we surmount the force of local prejudice, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into parishes, will naturally associate most with his fellow parishioners (because their interests in many cases will be common) and distinguish him by the name of NEIGHBOR; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a street, and salutes him by the name of TOWNSMAN; if he travel out of the county, and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor divisions of street and town, and calls him COUNTRYMAN, i.e. COUNTRYMAN; but if in their foreign excursions they should associate in France or any other part of EUROPE, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of ENGLISHMEN. And by a just parity of reasoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are COUNTRYMEN; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, stand in the same places on the larger scale, which the divisions of street, town, and county do on the smaller ones; distinctions too limited for continental minds. Not one third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of English descent. Wherefore I reprobate<sup>6</sup> the phrase of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being false, selfish, narrow, and ungenerous.
- 14 But admitting, that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name and title: And to say that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The first king of England, of the present line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers<sup>7</sup> of England are descendants from the same country; therefore, by the same method of reasoning, England ought to be governed by France.
- 15 Much hath been said of the united strength of Britain and the colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world. But this is mere presumption; the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expressions mean any thing; for this continent would never suffer itself to be drained of inhabitants, to support the British arms in either Asia, Africa, or Europe.

6. **reprobate** (REHP ruh bayt) v. disapprove of greatly or reject.

7. **Peers** British nobility.

- 16 Besides what have we to do with setting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe; because, it is the interest of all Europe to have America a FREE PORT. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenness of gold and silver secure her from invaders.
- 17 I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation, to shew, a single advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for, buy them where we will.
- 18 But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance: Because, any submission to, or dependence on Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and sets us at variance with nations, who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom, we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while by her dependence on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.
- 19 Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, BECAUSE OF HER CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND. The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be wishing for separation then, because, neutrality in that case, would be a safer convoy<sup>8</sup> than a man of war. Everything that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a strong and natural proof, that the authority of the one, over the other, was never the design of Heaven. The time likewise at which the continent was discovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled increases the force of it. The Reformation<sup>9</sup> was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the Persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety.
- 20 The authority of Great Britain over this continent, is a form of government, which sooner or later must have an end: And

8. **convoy** *n.* protecting escort, as of ships or troops.

9. **The Reformation** sixteenth-century religious movement to reform the Roman Catholic Church, resulting in the establishment of Protestant churches; the upheaval caused many religious refugees to flee to the New World.

a serious mind can draw no true pleasure by looking forward under the painful and positive conviction, that what he calls “the present constitution” is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that THIS GOVERNMENT is not sufficiently lasting to ensure anything which we may bequeath to posterity: And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwise we use them meanly and pitifully. In order to discover the line of our duty rightly, we should take our children in our hand, and fix our station a few years farther into life; that eminence will present a prospect, which a few present fears and prejudices conceal from our sight.

- 21 Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offense, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse<sup>10</sup> the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following descriptions. Interested men, who are not to be trusted; weak men, who CANNOT see; prejudiced men, who WILL NOT see; and a certain set of moderate men, who think better of the European world than it deserves; and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three.
- 22 It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of sorrow; the evil is not sufficient brought to their doors to make THEM feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us for a few moments to Boston, that seat of wretchedness<sup>11</sup> will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now, no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn and beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it. In their present condition they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be exposed to the fury of both armies. Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offenses of Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, “COME, COME, WE SHALL BE FRIENDS AGAIN, FOR ALL THIS.” But examine the passions and feelings of mankind, bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone<sup>12</sup> of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honor, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? If you cannot do all these, then are you only deceiving yourselves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon

10. **espouse** (ehs POWZ) *v.* take up, support or advocate.

11. **Boston, that seat of wretchedness** Boston, Massachusetts, was the epicenter of much of the British suppression of colonists that was held up as the reason for revolution.

12. **touchstone** *n.* a thing that tests whether another thing has value.

posterity. Your future connection with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honor will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of present convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapse more wretched than the first. But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, Hath your house been burnt? Hath your property been destroyed before your face! Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you lost a parent or a child by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor! If you have not, then are you not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and still can shake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy of the name of husband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant.<sup>13</sup>

- 23 This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by those feelings and affections which nature justifies, and without which, we should be incapable of discharging the social duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpose of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly slumbers, that we may pursue determinately some fixed object. It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if she do not conquer herself by DELAY and TIMIDITY. The present winter is worth an age<sup>14</sup> if rightly employed, but if lost or neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no punishment which that man will not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.
- 24 It is repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose, that this continent can longer remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine<sup>15</sup> in Britain does not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time, compass a plan short of separation, which can promise the continent even a year's security. Reconciliation is NOW a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and Art cannot supply her place. For, as Milton wisely expresses, "never can true reconcilment grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."
- 25 Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and only tended to convince us, that nothing flatters vanity, or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning—and nothing hath

13. **sycophant** (SIHK uh fuhnt) *n.* person who seeks favor by flattering people of wealth or influence.

14. **The present winter is worth an age** *Common Sense* was published in the winter of 1775–76, during the Revolutionary War, and as such Paine urged the Revolutionaries to prepare for further and reinvigorated combat come the spring.

15. **sanguine** (SANG gwihn) *adj.* cheerful and confident.

contributed more than that very measure to make the Kings of Europe absolute: Witness Denmark and Sweden.<sup>16</sup> Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake, let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

- 26 To say, they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary, we thought so at the repeal of the stamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we suppose that nations, which have been once defeated, will never renew the quarrel.
- 27 As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: The business of it will soon be too weighty, and intricate, to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which when obtained requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness—There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.
- 28 Small islands not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd, in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverses the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different systems; England to Europe, America to itself.
- 29 I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independence; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the true interest of this continent to be so; that everything short of THAT is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity, —that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time, when, a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.
- 30 As Britain hath not manifested the least inclination towards a compromise, we may be assured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the continent, or any ways equal to the expense of blood and treasure we have been already put to.
- 31 The object, contended for, ought always to bear some just proportion to the expense. The removal of North,<sup>17</sup> or the whole

16. **Witness Denmark and Sweden** The King of Sweden attempted through most of the seventeenth century to get concessions and territory from Denmark; the Danish government attempted to appease and trade with Sweden, and suffered multiple invasions.

17. **removal of North** Frederick North, the British Prime Minister at the time of the American Revolution, was seen as a major cause of American unrest through his policies.

detestable junto,<sup>18</sup> is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary stoppage of trade, was an inconvenience, which would have sufficiently balanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had such repeals been obtained; but if the whole continent must take up arms, if every man must be a soldier, it is scarcely worth our while to fight against a contemptible ministry only. Dearly, dearly, do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a just estimation, it is as great a folly to pay a Bunker-hill price<sup>19</sup> for law, as for land. As I have always considered the independency of this continent, as an event, which sooner or later must arrive, so from the late rapid progress of the continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hostilities, it was not worthwhile to have disputed a matter, which time would have finally redressed, unless we meant to be in earnest; otherwise, it is like wasting an estate on a suit at law, to regulate the trespasses of a tenant, whose lease is just expiring. No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April 1775,<sup>20</sup> but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh<sup>21</sup> of England forever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

32 But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the continent. And that for several reasons.

33 FIRST. The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this continent. And as he hath shewn himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power; is he, or is he not, a proper man to say to these colonies, "YOU SHALL MAKE NO LAWS BUT WHAT I PLEASE." And is there any inhabitant in America so ignorant as not to know, that according to what is called the PRESENT CONSTITUTION, that this continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to; and is there any man so unwise, as not to see, that (considering what has happened) he will suffer no law to be made here, but such as suit HIS purpose. We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for

18. **junto** *n.* political grouping or faction.

19. **Bunker-hill price** the battle of Bunker Hill in 1775 inflicted over a thousand British casualties and about 500 colonial casualties.

20. **fatal nineteenth of April, 1775** the American Revolution began with the battles of Lexington and Concord on this date.

21. **hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh** in the Biblical story of Exodus, the Pharaoh of Egypt is described as having a 'hardened heart' when he refuses to allow the Jews to leave their slavery.

us in England. After matters are made up (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the crown will be exerted, to keep this continent as low and humble as possible? Instead of going forward we shall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculously petitioning. —WE are already greater than the king wishes us to be, and will he not hereafter endeavor to make us less? To bring the matter to one point. Is the power who is jealous of our prosperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever says No to this question, is an INDEPENDENT, for independency means no more, than, whether we shall make our own laws, or whether the king, the greatest enemy this continent hath, or can have, shall tell us “THERE SHALL BE NO LAWS BUT SUCH AS I LIKE.”

- 34 But the king you will say has a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his consent. In point of right and good order, there is something very ridiculous, that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) shall say to several millions of people, older and wiser than himself, I forbid this or that act of yours to be law. But in this place I decline this sort of reply, though I will never cease to expose the absurdity of it, and only answer, that England being the King’s residence, and America not so, makes quite another case. The king’s negative HERE is ten times more dangerous and fatal than it can be in England, for THERE he will scarcely refuse his consent to a bill for putting England into as strong a state of defense as possible, and in America he would never suffer such a bill to be passed.
- 35 America is only a secondary object in the system of British politics, England consults the good of THIS country, no farther than it answers her OWN purpose. Wherefore, her own interest leads her to suppress the growth of OURS in every case which doth not promote her advantage, or in the least interferes with it. A pretty state we should soon be in under such a secondhand government, considering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: And in order to shew that reconciliation now is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, THAT IT WOULD BE POLICY IN THE KING AT THIS TIME, TO REPEAL THE ACTS FOR THE SAKE OF REINSTATING HIMSELF IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES; in order, that HE MAY ACCOMPLISH BY CRAFT AND SUBTLETY, IN THE LONG RUN, WHAT HE CANNOT DO BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE IN THE SHORT ONE. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related.
- 36 SECONDLY. That as even the best terms, which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no longer than till the colonies come of age, so the general face and

state of things, in the interim, will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would lay hold of the interval, to dispense of their effects, and quit the continent.

37 But the most powerful of all arguments, is, that nothing but independence, i.e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt somewhere or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

38 Thousands are already ruined by British barbarity; (thousands more will probably suffer the same fate.) Those men have other feelings than us who have nothing suffered. All they NOW possess is liberty, what they before enjoyed is sacrificed to its service, and having nothing more to lose, they disdain submission. Besides, the general temper of the colonies, towards a British government, will be like that of a youth, who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her. And a government which cannot preserve the peace, is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation! I have heard some men say, many of whom I believe spoke without thinking, that they dreaded an independence, fearing that it would produce civil wars. It is but seldom that our first thoughts are truly correct, and that is the case here; for there are ten times more to dread from a patched up connection than from independence. I make the sufferer's case my own, and I protest, that were I driven from house and home, my property destroyed, and my circumstances ruined, that as man, sensible of injuries, I could never relish the doctrine of reconciliation, or consider myself bound thereby.

39 The colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every reasonable person easy and happy on that head. No man can assign the least pretense for his fears, on any other grounds, than such as are truly childish and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be striving for superiority over another.

40 Where there are no distinctions there can be no superiority, perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all (and we may say always) in peace. Holland and Switzerland are without wars, foreign or domestic: Monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at rest; the crown itself is a temptation to enterprising ruffians at HOME; and that degree of pride

and insolence ever attendant on regal authority, swells into a rupture with foreign powers, in instances, where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negotiate the mistake.

- 41 If there is any true cause of fear respecting independence, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out—Wherefore, as an opening into that business, I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better. Could the straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter.
- 42 LET the assemblies be annual, with a President only. The representation more equal. Their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress.
- 43 Let each colony be divided into six, eight, or ten, convenient districts, each district to send a proper number of delegates to Congress, so that each colony send at least thirty. The whole number in Congress will be at least 390. Each Congress to sit and to choose a president by the following method. When the delegates are met, let a colony be taken from the whole thirteen colonies by lot, after which, let the whole Congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the delegates of that province. In the next Congress, let a colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that colony from which the president was taken in the former Congress, and so proceeding on till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just, not less than three fifths of the Congress to be called a majority—He that will promote discord, under a government so equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.<sup>22</sup>
- 44 But as there is a peculiar delicacy, from whom, or in what manner, this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent, that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the people, let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held, in the following manner, and for the following purpose.
- 45 A committee of twenty-six members of Congress, viz. two for each colony. Two Members from each House of Assembly, or Provincial Convention; and five representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town of each province, for and in behalf of the whole province, by as many qualified voters

22. **would have joined Lucifer in his revolt** In Christian belief, the archangel Lucifer rose up in revolt against God; in this usage, it depicts the extreme of unmotivated rebellion and lawlessness.

as shall think proper to attend from all parts of the province for that purpose; or, if more convenient, the representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united, the two grand principles of business KNOWLEDGE and POWER. The members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counselors, and the whole, being empowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

46 The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or Charter of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Carta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing members of Congress, members of Assembly, with their date of sitting, and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them: (Always remembering, that our strength is continental, not provincial:) Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; with such other matter as is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said Conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the legislators and governors of this continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness may God preserve, Amen.

47 Should any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or some similar purpose, I offer them the following extracts from that wise observer on governments DRAGONETTI.<sup>23</sup> “The science” says he “of the politician consists in fixing the true point of happiness and freedom. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who should discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of individual happiness, with the least national expense.”

48 But where, says some, is the King of America? I’ll tell you. Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honors, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW IS KING. For as in absolute governments the King is law, so in free countries the law OUGHT to be King; and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown at the conclusion of the ceremony, be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

23. **DRAGONETTI** Giacinto Dragonetti, (1738–1818) an Italian lawyer and legal theorist.

49 A government of our own is our natural right: And when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, some Massanello<sup>24</sup> may hereafter arise, who laying hold of popular disquietudes, may collect together the desperate and the discontented, and by assuming to themselves the powers of government, may sweep away the liberties of the continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering situation of things will be a temptation for some desperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in such a case, what relief can Britain give? Ere she could hear the news, the fatal business might be done; and ourselves suffering like the wretched Britons under the oppression of the Conqueror. Ye that oppose independence now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the seat of government. There are thousands, and tens of thousands, who would think it glorious to expel from the continent that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians and Negroes to destroy us;<sup>25</sup> the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherously by them.

50 To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thousand pores instruct us to detest, is madness and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reason to hope, that as the relationship expires, the affection will increase, or that we shall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

51 Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is past? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken, the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common animals. The social compact would dissolve,

24. **Massanello** Tomasso Aniello (1622–1647), an Italian fisherman who became the head of a popular revolt against the nobility and the rule of Spain in his home city of Naples. However, after taking control of the city, he was perceived to be corrupted by power, and was eventually killed by the same people he led in revolt.

25. **hath stirred up . . . destroy us** the British colonial authorities offered freedom to any African slaves who would enlist against the American revolutionaries, and enlisted the aid of Native American forces.

and justice be extirpated<sup>26</sup> [from] the earth, or have only a casual existence were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber, and the murderer, would often escape unpunished, did not the injuries which our tempers sustain, provoke us into justice.

- 52 O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia, and Africa, have long expelled her—Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind. 📖

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26. **extirpated** v. pulled up by the roots.



## EVIDENCE LOG

Go to your Evidence Log and record what you learned from the text you read.

## Share Your Independent Learning

### Prepare to Share

What is the meaning of freedom?

Even when you read something independently, your understanding continues to grow when you share what you have learned with others. Reflect on the text you explored independently and write notes about its connection to the unit. In your notes, consider why this text belongs in this unit.

### Learn From Your Classmates

 **Discuss It** Share your ideas about the text you explored on your own. As you talk with your classmates, jot down ideas that you learn from them.

### Reflect

Review your notes, and mark the most important insight you gained from these writing and discussion activities. Explain how this idea adds to your understanding of the meaning of freedom.

## STANDARDS

**SL.11–12.1** Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions with diverse partners on *grades 11–12 topics, texts, and issues*, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.



## Review Evidence for an Argument

At the beginning of this unit, you took a position on the following question:

**What are the most effective tools for establishing and preserving freedom?**

### EVIDENCE LOG

Review your Evidence Log and your QuickWrite from the beginning of the unit. Have your ideas changed?

<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
Identify at least three pieces of evidence that have caused you to reevaluate your ideas.	Identify at least three pieces of evidence that have reinforced your initial position.
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

State your position now: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Identify a possible counterclaim: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### **Evaluate the Strength of Your Evidence** Consider your argument.

Do you have enough evidence to support your claim? Do you have enough evidence to refute a counterclaim? If not, make a plan.

- Do online research.
- Reread a selection.
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_
- Skim a textbook.
- Speak with an expert.

### STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1.a** Introduce precise, knowledgeable claim(s), establish the significance of the claim(s), distinguish the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and create an organization that logically sequences claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.



SOURCES

- WHOLE-CLASS SELECTIONS
- SMALL-GROUP SELECTIONS
- INDEPENDENT-LEARNING SELECTION

PART 1

Writing to Sources: Argument

In this unit, you read a variety of texts that considered the meaning of American freedom. You saw the Founders’ concerns about how to establish a nation that offered freedom to at least some of its citizens, and you read other texts that demonstrated how a nation “conceived in liberty” was tested over time.

Assignment

Write an **argumentative essay** in which you respond to this question:

**What are the most effective tools for establishing and preserving freedom?**

Use the Anchor Texts to identify some of the most successful tools (processes, government institutions, value systems, documents, and so on) that the Founders established. Use other texts from the unit to demonstrate how well those tools have stood the test of time. Supplement your ideas with examples from your own research that confirm your argument. Consider and address possible counterclaims.

**Reread the Assignment** Review the assignment to be sure you fully understand it. The task may reference some of the academic words presented at the beginning of the unit. Be sure you understand each of the words given below in order to complete the assignment correctly.

Academic Vocabulary

- |             |            |            |
|-------------|------------|------------|
| confirm     | supplement | conviction |
| demonstrate | establish  |            |

**Review the Elements of Effective Argument** Before you begin writing, read the Argument Rubric. Once you have completed your first draft, check it against the rubric. If one or more of the elements are missing or not as strong as they could be, revise your essay to add or strengthen those components.

WORD NETWORK

As you write and revise your argument, use your Word Network to help vary your word choices.

STANDARDS

**W.11–12.1.a–f** Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

**W.11–12.10** Write routinely over extended time frames and shorter time frames for a range of tasks, purposes, and audiences.

## Argument Rubric

	Focus and Organization	Evidence and Elaboration	Language Conventions
4	<p>The introduction is engaging and establishes the claim in a compelling way.</p> <p>Valid reasons and evidence address and support the claim. Counterclaims are clearly acknowledged.</p> <p>The ideas progress logically, connected by a variety of sentence transitions.</p> <p>The conclusion offers fresh insight into the claim.</p>	<p>The sources of evidence are comprehensive and specific and contain relevant information.</p> <p>The tone of the argument is formal and objective.</p> <p>Vocabulary is used strategically and appropriately for the audience and purpose.</p>	<p>The argument consistently uses standard English conventions of usage and mechanics.</p>
3	<p>The introduction is engaging and establishes the claim in a way that grabs readers' attention.</p> <p>Reasons and evidence address and support the claim. Counterclaims are acknowledged.</p> <p>The ideas progress logically, and sentence transitions connect readers to the argument.</p> <p>The conclusion restates important information.</p>	<p>The sources of evidence contain relevant information.</p> <p>The tone of the argument is mostly formal and objective.</p> <p>Vocabulary is generally appropriate for the audience and purpose.</p>	<p>The argument demonstrates accuracy in standard English conventions of usage and mechanics.</p>
2	<p>The introduction establishes the claim.</p> <p>Some reasons and evidence address and support the claim. Counterclaims are briefly acknowledged.</p> <p>The ideas progress somewhat logically. A few sentence transitions connect readers to the argument.</p> <p>The conclusion offers some insight into the claim and restates information.</p>	<p>The sources of evidence contain some relevant information.</p> <p>The tone of the argument is occasionally formal and objective.</p> <p>Vocabulary is somewhat appropriate for the audience and purpose.</p>	<p>The argument demonstrates some accuracy in standard English conventions of usage and mechanics.</p>
1	<p>The claim is not clearly stated.</p> <p>No reasons or evidence for the claim are included, and counterclaims are not acknowledged.</p> <p>The ideas do not progress logically. The sentences are often short and choppy and do not connect readers to the argument.</p> <p>The conclusion does not restate any information that is important.</p>	<p>No reliable or relevant evidence is included.</p> <p>The tone of the argument is informal.</p> <p>The vocabulary is limited or ineffective.</p>	<p>The argument contains mistakes in standard English conventions of usage and mechanics.</p>



PART 2

## Speaking and Listening: Video Commentary

### Assignment

Imagine that representatives of a television station have called on you to be their expert on the concept of freedom. Present a **video commentary**, based on the final draft of your argument, to be used during coverage of a presidential debate.

Follow these steps to make your presentation lively and engaging.

- Read your text aloud, keeping the television audience in mind. Highlight the material you most want to emphasize for that audience.
- Practice your delivery. Remember to look up at the camera regularly instead of staring down at your paper.
- Have a classmate operate the camera as you deliver your commentary.

**Review the Rubric** The criteria by which your commentary will be evaluated appear in the rubric below. Review the criteria before delivering your commentary to ensure that you are prepared.

	Content	Use of Media	Presentation Techniques
3	<p>The content and delivery are appropriate for a television audience.</p> <p>The commentary is clearly organized and easy to follow.</p>	<p>The voice on the recording is consistent and audible.</p> <p>The camera holds steady, and facial expressions are clearly visible.</p>	<p>Speech is clear and at an appropriate volume.</p> <p>Tone and pace vary to maintain interest.</p> <p>The speaker looks regularly at the camera to engage the audience.</p>
2	<p>The content and delivery are consistent, although some content may not be clearly meant for a television audience.</p> <p>The commentary is organized and fairly easy to follow.</p>	<p>The voice on the recording may vary but is mostly audible.</p> <p>The camera generally holds steady, so most facial expressions are visible.</p>	<p>Speech is clear most of the time and usually has an appropriate volume.</p> <p>Tone and pace are inconsistent.</p> <p>The speaker looks occasionally at the camera.</p>
1	<p>The content and delivery are generic, with no specific audience in mind.</p> <p>The commentary is disorganized and may be difficult to follow.</p>	<p>The voice on the recording sometimes fades in and out.</p> <p>The camera does not hold steady or is not focused on the face, so the expressions are rarely visible.</p>	<p>The speaker mumbles occasionally, speaks too quickly, and/or does not speak loudly enough.</p> <p>The speaker fails to look at the camera.</p>

## Reflect on the Unit

Now that you've completed the unit, take a few moments to reflect on your learning.

### Reflect on the Unit Goals

Look back at the goals at the beginning of the unit. Use a different colored pen to rate yourself again. Think about readings and activities that contributed the most to the growth of your understanding. Record your thoughts.

### Reflect on the Learning Strategies

 **Discuss It** Write a reflection on whether you were able to improve your learning based on your Action Plans. Think about what worked, what didn't, and what you might do to keep working on these strategies. Record your ideas before joining a class discussion.

### Reflect on the Text

Choose a selection that you found challenging, and explain what made it difficult.

Explain something that surprised you about a text in the unit.

Which activity taught you the most about the meaning of American freedoms? What did you learn?