



JAMESTOWN - JOURNEY OF DEMOCRACY
WWW.JAMESTOWNJOURNEY.ORG

OFFICIAL CURRICULUM OF AMERICA'S 400TH ANNIVERSARY
SPONSORED BY THE FEDERAL
JAMESTOWN 400TH COMMEMORATION COMMISSION



Democracy and Pluralism: Influence on Democracy
Prepared by the University of Virginia Center for Politics

Purpose: Students will investigate the challenges and rewards of living in a pluralistic society. By examining historical documents, students will identify how our nation and its government are different from its European predecessors. Students will compare and contrast historical documents, the Iroquois Great Law of Peace, the Magna Carta and the Virginia Declaration of Rights, to the United States Constitution to evaluate the influence of other forms of government on our own.

Objectives:

1. Students will examine artifacts from Jamestown in order to describe the culture of the early settlers.
2. Students will define cultural diffusion in order to determine the extent to which multiculturalism has influenced the development of American democracy.
3. Students will compare and contrast American founding documents to evaluate the influence of pluralism on the creation of the United States Constitution.

Key Words:

Cultural diffusion	Pluralism	Multiculturalism
Great Law of Peace	League of the Iroquois	Confederacy

Materials:

1. Teacher Transparency, *Population Changes*
2. Teacher Transparency, *Melting Pot*
3. Article, *One Nation, Indivisible: Is It History?* (Booth, William. Washington Post, February 22, 1998.)
4. Student Resource, *Views of Pluralism*
5. Teacher Transparency, *H.Con.Res. 331*
6. Student Resource, *The Great Law, Versions A and B*
7. Student Assessment, *The Constitution and Cultural Diffusion*

Additional Resources:

1. *Virginia Declaration of Rights*

1. **Warm Up/Motivation.** Ask the students to imagine a Thanksgiving celebration. What foods are generally served at a Thanksgiving celebration? Answers might include turkey, stuffing, gravy, sweet potatoes, etc.

- What makes these foods American?
- Where did these foods originate?
- Why might some foods at a Thanksgiving celebration differ from region to region?
- What makes a Thanksgiving celebration unique to the United States?

Discuss the uniqueness of American culture by asking the students to define culture in their own words. Review their definitions and clarify their responses by presenting one of the following definitions of **culture**.

- The patterns, traits and products considered the expression of a particular community or population.
- The way of life of a specific group of people.

Have the students examine the culture of the settlers at Jamestown by visiting the APVA website and visiting the Jamestown Rediscovery Exhibits. From the artifacts and descriptions found there the students should be able to make hypotheses about the culture of the early settlers at Jamestown.

www.apva.org/exhibit/index.html

- What was life like for the early settlers? How do we know this?
- If an archaeologist was to find remnants of your bedroom, what would it say about you?

Working in small groups, ask the students to create culture capsules. Using chart paper and markers, ask them to create a list of 10-15 items or ideas that would describe American culture today to someone visiting twenty years from now. Tape the lists to the board and come to a class consensus about American culture today.

- What makes American culture unique? (Students should respond that our culture is unique because so many different people have made America home).

Display the teacher transparency, *Population Changes 1960-2025*. Ask students how American culture may change to reflect the population patterns presented on the transparency.

2. Place the definition of **cultural diffusion** on the board or overhead and direct the students to copy it into their notebooks.

Cultural diffusion -the process by which a cultural trait, material object, idea, or behavior pattern is spread from one society to another.

Working in small groups, have the students identify other examples of **cultural diffusion** in modern American society. In the same groups have them discuss the following questions:

- What are the advantages of living in a country with people of many cultures?
 - What are the challenges of life in a **multicultural** or culturally diverse society?
3. Place the term **pluralism** on the board or overhead. Have the students hypothesize as to the meaning of the term. Present the definition of **pluralism** and ask the students to create an illustrated version of **pluralism**. Ask several students to share their definitions to check for comprehension.

Pluralism- A condition in which numerous distinct ethnic, religious, or cultural groups are present and tolerated within a society. The belief that such a condition is desirable or socially beneficial.

- Why is the idea of **pluralism** important to Americans?
4. Either show the DVD of Schoolhouse Rock's *Melting Pot* or project the lyrics contained on the teacher transparency, *Melting Pot*. After reading or viewing, discuss the theme of the song.
- What is the song saying about pluralism?
 - How would you describe the term melting pot?

Distribute the student resource, *Views of Pluralism*. Students should identify the key characteristics of the concepts of **melting pot**, **salad bowl**, and **mosaic**. After understanding the terms, students are asked to identify examples of pluralism and support or refute their identification with one of the concepts.

5. Display the teacher transparency *H.Con. Res.331*. This is a copy of the Senate resolution that recognized the Iroquois contribution to the Constitution. Ask the students if they have ever heard of the Great Law. Inform them that it was just one of many ideas that may have influenced the writers of our Constitution. Discuss the importance of cultural diffusion on the creation of America's Constitution by allowing students to read the article *The Great Law*. Two versions (A and B) are provided to differentiate for reading ability. Students will be asked to analyze the Great Law of the Iroquois, the Virginia Declaration of Rights, and the Magna Carta in an effort to identify the influence of Native Americans and Europeans on the development of the Constitution. A copy of the Virginia Declaration of Rights is included as an additional resource to provide students the option of reading the original document.
- Teachers may also want to discuss the European thinkers of the enlightenment and offer their ideas as influences on the Constitution. Free lesson plans on Locke, Rousseau, Hobbes, and Montesquieu can be found by visiting www.youthleadership.net.
6. After reading divide the students into groups. In their groups students should analyze and discuss the following question:

- Is the Constitution an example of a melting pot, salad bowl or a mosaic?
7. As a summary activity ask the students to respond to the following questions:
- Do you agree or disagree that America is a melting pot?
 - How is the idea of pluralistic society reflected in the Founding Documents?
 - How has the United States lived up to or not lived up to the ideal of a pluralistic society?
 - To what extent has cultural diffusion influenced the development of American democracy?

Students can demonstrate an understanding of the objectives by creating a song (similar to the Schoolhouse Rock segment from the beginning of class), poem, essay or illustration. The student handout, *The Constitution and Cultural Diffusion* outlines the expectations and criteria for the assignment. Upon completion students can display their work by completing a gallery walk or performing their pieces.

8. Discuss the challenges of pluralism by examining the process of creating a government in Iraq. Using the websites below, have the students research the challenges facing the people of Iraq as they try to create a constitution.
- <http://www.cpa-iraq.org>
 - <http://www.iraqfoundation.org/>
 - http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/791014.stm
 - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/worldlatest/story/0,1280,-5129989,00.html>
 - <http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusRel.asp?infocusID=50&Body=Iraq&Body1=inspect>

As a concluding discussion topic, pose the following question to the students and review their responses.

- Do you think the inclusion of diverse cultural groups within Iraq will create a strong, stable government? Why or why not?

Extension Activity:

1. Examine other founding documents such as the Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, and Virginia Plan, etc. Ask the students to discern the origin of specific ideas within these documents and determine whether or not they are examples of cultural diffusion. What makes these documents unique to America?
2. Analyze the extent to which other nations have adapted the United States Constitution to meet the needs of their societies. The following web sites provide links to constitutions across the globe:

University of Michigan Documents Center- There is a link to the Constitution Finder.

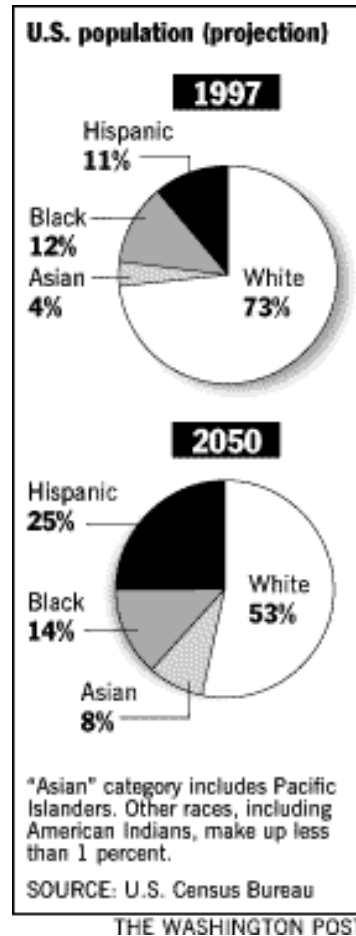
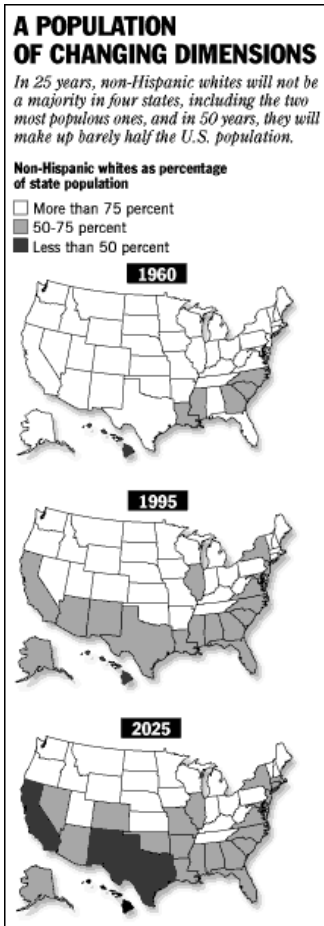
www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/forcons.html

Political Studies Association

www.psa.ac.uk/www/constitutions.htm

- Students could create a map that details those nations where the ideas presented in the United States Constitution have had influence.

Population Changes 1960-2025 (Washington Post, 1998)



ONE IN 10 U.S. RESIDENTS WAS BORN ABROAD

In 1960, foreign-born Americans were mostly from Europe. Now most come from Asia and Latin America.

Foreign-born, by country of origin

1960		1996	
Germany	990,000	Mexico	6,679,000
Canada	963,000	Philippines	1,164,000
Poland	748,000	China	801,000
Soviet Union	691,000	Cuba	772,000
Mexico	576,000	India	757,000
England	528,000	Vietnam	740,000
Ireland	339,000	El Salvador	701,000
Austria	305,000	Canada	660,000
Hungary	245,000	Korea	550,000
Czechoslovakia	228,000	Germany	523,000

SOURCES: U.S. Census Bureau, World Bank. Foreign-born data for other nations from 1994; other current data are for 1996.

THE WASHINGTON POST

“The Great Melting Pot”
Schoolhouse Rock

You simply melt right in,
It doesn't matter what your skin.
It doesn't matter where you're from,
Or your religion,
You jump right in
To the great American meltin' pot.
Great American meltin' pot

Ooh what a stew,
Red white and blue.

America was the new world,
And Europe was the old.
America was the land of hope,
Or so the legend told.
On steamboats by the millions,
In search of honest pay,
Those 19th-century immigrants sailed
To reach the U.S.A.

Lovely Lady Liberty
With her book of recipes
And the finest one she's got
Is the great American melting pot.
The great American melting pot.

What good ingredients:
Liberty and immigrants.

They brought their countries' customs,
Their language and their ways.
They filled the factories,
Tilled the soil,
Helped build the U.S.A.

Go on and ask your Grandma,
Hear what she has to tell,
How great to be an American
And something else as well.

Lovely Lady Liberty
With her book of recipes
And the finest one she's got
Is the great American meltin' pot.
The great American meltin' pot.

One Nation, Indivisible: Is It History?

First in a series of occasional articles

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, February 22, 1998; Page A1

At the beginning of this century, as steamers poured into American ports, their steerages filled with European immigrants, a Jew from England named Israel Zangwill penned a play whose story line has long been forgotten, but whose central theme has not. His production was entitled "The Melting Pot" and its message still holds a tremendous power on the national imagination – the promise that all immigrants can be transformed into Americans, a new alloy forged in a crucible of democracy, freedom and civic responsibility.

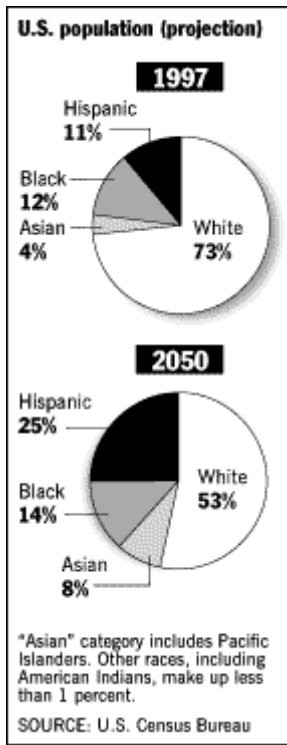


In Los Angeles, demographers see "white flight" beyond the suburbs and into rural areas.
(By Todd Bigelow for The Washington Post)

In 1908, when the play opened in Washington, the United States was in the middle of absorbing the largest influx of immigrants in its history – Irish and Germans, followed by Italians and East Europeans, Catholics and Jews – some 18 million new citizens between 1890 and 1920.

Today, the United States is experiencing its second great wave of immigration, a movement of people that has profound implications for a society that by tradition pays homage to its immigrant roots at the same time it confronts complex and deeply ingrained ethnic and racial divisions.

The immigrants of today come not from Europe but overwhelmingly from the still developing world of Asia and Latin America. They are driving a demographic shift so rapid that within the lifetimes of today's teenagers, no one ethnic group – including whites of European descent – will comprise a majority of the nation's population.



THE WASHINGTON POST

This shift, according to social historians, demographers and others studying the trends, will severely test the premise of the fabled melting pot, the idea, so central to national identity, that this country can transform people of every color and background into "one America."

Just as possible, they say, is that the nation will continue to fracture into many separate, disconnected communities with no shared sense of commonality or purpose. Or perhaps it will evolve into something in between, a pluralistic society that will hold on to some core ideas about citizenship and capitalism, but with little meaningful interaction among groups.

The demographic changes raise other questions about political and economic power. Will that power, now held disproportionately by whites, be shared in the new America? What will happen when Hispanics overtake blacks as the nation's single largest minority?

"I do not think that most Americans really understand the historic changes happening before their very eyes," said Peter Salins, an immigration scholar who is provost of the State Universities of New York. "What are we going to become? Who are we? How do the newcomers fit in – and how do the natives handle it – this is the great unknown."

This is the first of a series of articles examining the effects of the new demographics on American life. Over the next few months, other reports will focus on the impact on politics, jobs, and social institutions.

Fear of strangers, of course, is nothing new in American history. The last great immigration wave produced a bitter backlash, epitomized by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the return, in the 1920s, of the Ku Klux Klan, which not only targeted blacks, but Catholics, Jews and immigrants as well.

But despite this strife, many historians argue that there was a greater consensus in the past on what it meant to be an American, a yearning for a common language and culture, and a desire – encouraged, if not coerced by members of the dominant white Protestant culture – to assimilate. Today, they say, there is more emphasis on preserving one's ethnic identity, of finding ways to highlight and defend one's cultural roots.

Difficult to Measure

More often than not, the neighborhoods where Americans live, the politicians and propositions they vote for, the cultures they immerse themselves in, the friends and spouses they have, the churches and schools they attend, and the way they view

themselves are defined by ethnicity. The question is whether, in the midst of such change, there is also enough glue to hold Americans together.

"As we become more and more diverse, there is all this potential to make that reality work for us," said Angela Oh, a Korean American activist who emerged as a powerful voice for Asian immigrants after the Los Angeles riots in 1992. "But yet, you witness this persistence of segregation, the fragmentation, all these fights over resources, this finger-pointing. You would have to be blind not to see it."



Black community activist Nathaniel J. Wilcox in Miami says, "Hispanics don't want some of the power, they want all the power."

(By Todd Bigelow for The Washington Post)

It is a phenomenon sometimes difficult to measure, but not observe. Houses of worship remain, as the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. described it three decades ago, among the most segregated institutions in America, not just by race but also ethnicity. At high school cafeterias, the second and third generation children of immigrants clump together in cliques defined by where their parents or grandparents were born. There are television sitcoms, talk shows and movies that are considered black or white, Latino or Asian. At a place like the law school of the University of California at Los Angeles, which has about 1,000 students, there are separate student associations for blacks, Latinos and Asians with their own law review journals.

It almost goes without saying that today's new arrivals are a source of vitality and energy, especially in the big cities to which many are attracted. Diversity, almost everyone agrees, is good; choice is good; exposure to different cultures and ideas is good.

But many scholars worry about the loss of community and shared sense of reality among Americans, what Todd Gitlin, a professor of culture and communications at New York University, calls "the twilight of common dreams." The concern is echoed by many on both the left and right, and of all ethnicities, but no one seems to know exactly what to do about it.

Academics who examine the census data and probe for meaning in the numbers already speak of a new "demographic balkanization," not only of residential segregation, forced or chosen but also a powerful preference to see ourselves through a racial prism, wary of others, and, in many instances, hostile.

At a recent school board meeting in East Palo Alto, Calif., police had to break up a fight between Latinos and blacks, who were arguing over the merits and expense of bilingual education in a school district that has shifted over the last few years from majority African American to majority Hispanic. One parent told reporters that if the Hispanics wanted to learn Spanish they should stay in Mexico.

The demographic shifts are smudging the old lines demarcating two historical, often distinct societies, one black and one white. Reshaped by three decades of rapidly rising immigration, the national story is now far more complicated.

Whites currently account for 74 percent of the population, blacks 12 percent, Hispanics 10 percent and Asians 3 percent. Yet according to data and predictions generated by the U.S. Census Bureau and social scientists poring over the numbers, Hispanics will likely surpass blacks early in the next century. And by the year 2050, demographers predict, Hispanics will account for 25 percent of the population, blacks 14 percent, Asians 8 percent, with whites hovering somewhere around 53 percent.

As early as next year, whites no longer will be the majority in California; in Hawaii and New Mexico this is already the case. Soon after, Nevada, Texas, Maryland and New Jersey are also predicted to become "majority minority" states, entities where no one ethnic group remains the majority.



Korean American activist Angela Oh says, "This persistence of segregation ... you would have to be blind not to see it."

(By Todd Bigelow
for The Washington Post)

Effects of 1965 Law

The overwhelming majority of immigrants come from Asia and Latin America – Mexico, the Central American countries, the Philippines, Korea, and Southeast Asia.

What triggered this great transformation was a change to immigration law in 1965, when Congress made family reunification the primary criteria for admittance. That new policy, a response to charges that the law favored white Europeans, allowed immigrants already in the United States to bring over their relatives, who in turn could bring over more relatives. As a result, America has been absorbing as many as 1 million newcomers a year, to the point that now almost 1 in every 10 residents is foreign born.

These numbers, relative to the overall population, were slightly higher at the beginning of this century, but the current immigration wave is in many ways very different, and its context inexorably altered, from the last great wave.

This time around tensions are sharpened by the changing profile of those who are entering America's borders. Not only are their racial and ethnic backgrounds more varied than in decades past, their place in a modern postindustrial economy has also been recast.

The newly arrived today can be roughly divided into two camps: those with college degrees and highly specialized skills, and those with almost no education or job training. Some 12 percent of immigrants have graduate degrees, compared to 8 percent of Native Americans. But more than one-third of the immigrants have no high school diploma, double the rate for those born in the United States.

Before 1970, immigrants were actually doing better than natives overall, as measured by education, rate of homeownership and average incomes. But those arriving after 1970,

are younger, more likely to be underemployed and live below the poverty level. As a group, they are doing worse than natives.

About 6 percent of new arrivals receive some form of welfare, double the rate for U.S.-born citizens. Among some newcomers – Cambodians and Salvadorans, for example – the numbers are even higher.

With large numbers of immigrants arriving from Latin America, and segregating in barrios, there is also evidence of lingering language problems. Consider that in Miami, three-quarters of residents speak a language other than English at home and 67 percent of those say they are not fluent in English. In New York City, 4 of every 10 residents speak a language other than English at home, and of these, half said they do not speak English well.

It is clear that not all of America is experiencing the impact of immigration equally. Although even small Midwestern cities have seen sharp changes in their racial and ethnic mix in the past two decades, most immigrants continue to cluster into a handful of large, mostly coastal metropolitan areas: Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Miami, Washington, D.C., and Houston. They are home to more than a quarter of the total U.S. population and more than 60 percent of all foreign-born residents.

But as the immigrants arrive, many American-born citizens pour out of these cities in search of new homes in more homogeneous locales. New York and Los Angeles each lost more than 1 million native-born residents between 1990 and 1995, even as their populations increased by roughly the same numbers with immigrants. To oversimplify, said University of Michigan demographer William Frey, "For every Mexican who comes to Los Angeles, a white native-born leaves."

Most of the people leaving the big cities are white and they tend to working class. This is an entirely new kind of "white flight," whereby whites are not just fleeing the city centers for the suburbs but also are leaving the region, and often the state.

"The Ozzies and Harriets of the 1990s are skipping the suburbs of the big cities and moving to more homogeneous, mostly white smaller towns and smaller cities and rural areas," Frey said.

They're headed to Atlanta, Las Vegas, Phoenix, Portland, Denver, Austin and Orlando, as well as smaller cities in Nevada, Idaho, Colorado and Washington. Frey and other demographers believe the domestic migrants – black and white – are being "pushed" out, at least in part, by competition with immigrants for jobs and neighborhoods, political clout and lifestyle.

Frey sees in this pattern "the emergence of separate Americas, one white and middle-aged, less urban and another intensely urban, young, multicultural and multiethnic. One America will care deeply about English as the official language and about preserving

Social Security. The other will care about things like retaining affirmative action and bilingual education."

Ethnic Segregation

Even within gateway cities that give the outward appearance of being multicultural, there are sharp lines of ethnic segregation. When describing the ethnic diversity of a bellwether megacity such as Los Angeles, many residents speak soaringly of the great mosaic of many peoples. But the social scientists that look at the hard census data see something more complex.

James P. Allen, a cultural geographer at California State University-Northridge, suggests that while Los Angeles, as seen from an airplane, is a tremendously mixed society, on the ground, racial homogeneity and segregation are common.

This is not a new phenomenon; there have always been immigrant neighborhoods. Ben Franklin, an early proponent of making English the "official language," worried about close-knit German communities. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y) described the lingering clannishness of Irish and other immigrant populations in New York in "Beyond the Melting Pot," a benchmark work from the 1960s that he wrote with Nathan Glazer.

But the persistence of ethnic enclaves and identification does not appear to be going away, and may not in a country that is now home to not a few distinct ethnic groups, but to dozens. Hispanics in Los Angeles, to take the dominant group in the nation's second largest city, are more segregated residentially in 1990 than they were 10 or 20 years ago, the census tracts show. Moreover, it is possible that what mixing of groups that does occur is only a temporary phenomenon as one ethnic group supplants another in the neighborhood.

If there is deep-seated ethnic segregation, it clearly extends to the American workplace. In many cities, researchers find sustained "ethnic niches" in the labor market. Because jobs are often a matter of whom one knows, the niches were enduring and remarkably resistant to outsiders.

In California, for example, Mexican immigrants are employed overwhelmingly as gardeners and domestics, in apparel and furniture manufacturing, and as cooks and food preparers. Koreans open small businesses. Filipinos become nurses and medical technicians. African Americans work in government jobs, an important niche that is increasingly being challenged by Hispanics who want in.

UCLA's Roger Waldinger and others have pointed to the creation, in cities of high immigration, of "dual economies."



This century's huge wave of immigrants is attracted to large metropolitan areas like Los Angeles, above.

(By Todd Bigelow for The Washington Post)

For the affluent, which includes a disproportionate number of whites, the large labor pool provides them with a ready supply of gardeners, maids and nannies. For businesses in need of cheap manpower, the same is true. Yet there are fewer "transitional" jobs – the blue-collar work that helped Italian and Irish immigrants move up the economic ladder – to help newcomers or their children on their way to the jobs requiring advanced technical or professional skills that now dominate the upper tier of the economy.

A Rung at a Time

Traditionally, immigration scholars have seen the phenomenon of assimilation as a relentless economic progression. The hard-working new arrivals struggle along with a new language and at low-paying jobs in order for their sons and daughters to climb the economic ladder, each generation advancing a rung. There are many cases where this is true.

More recently, there is evidence to suggest that economic movement is erratic and that some groups – particularly in high immigration cities – can get "stuck."

Among African Americans, for instance, there emerges two distinct patterns. The black middle class is doing demonstrably better – in income, home ownership rates, education – than it was when the demographic transformation (and the civil rights movement) began three decades ago.

But for African Americans at the bottom, research indicates that immigration, particularly of Latinos with limited education, has increased joblessness, and frustration.

In Miami, where Cuban immigrants dominate the political landscape, tensions are high between Hispanics and blacks, said Nathaniel J. Wilcox, a community activist there. "The perception in the black community, the reality, is that Hispanics don't want some of the power, they want all the power," Wilcox said. "At least when we were going through this with the whites during the Jim Crow era, at least they'd hire us. But Hispanics won't allow African Americans to even compete. They have this feeling that their community is the only community that counts."

Yet many Hispanics too find themselves in an economic "mobility trap." While the new immigrants are willing to work in low-end jobs, their sons and daughters, growing up in the barrios but exposed to the relentless consumerism of popular culture, have greater expectations, but are disadvantaged because of their impoverished settings, particularly the overwhelmed inner-city schools most immigrant children attend.

"One doubts that a truck-driving future will satisfy today's servants and assemblers. And this scenario gets a good deal more pessimistic if the region's economy fails to deliver or simply throws up more bad jobs," writes Waldinger, a professor of sociology and director of center for regional policy studies at the University of California-Los Angeles.

Though there are calls to revive efforts to encourage "Americanization" of the newcomers, many researchers now express doubt that the old assimilation model works. For one thing, there is less of a dominant mainstream to enter. Instead, there are a dozen streams, despite the best efforts by the dominant white society to lump groups together by ethnicity.

It is a particularly American phenomenon, many say, to label citizens by their ethnicity. When a person lived in El Salvador, for example, he or she saw themselves as a nationality. When they arrive in the United States, they become Hispanic or Latino. So too with Asians. Koreans and Cambodians find little in common, but when they arrive here they become "Asian," and are counted and courted, encouraged or discriminated against as such.

"My family has had trouble understanding that we are now Asians, and not Koreans, or people from Korea or Korean Americans, or just plain Americans," said Arthur Lee, who owns a dry cleaning store in Los Angeles. "Sometimes, we laugh about it. Oh, the Asian students are so smart! The Asians have no interest in politics! Whatever. But we don't know what people are talking about. Who are the Asians?"

Many immigrant parents say that while they want their children to advance economically in their new country, they do not want them to become "too American." A common concern among Haitians in South Florida is that their children will adopt the attitudes of the inner city's underclass. Vietnamese parents in New Orleans often try to keep their children immersed in their ethnic enclave and try not to let them assimilate too fast.

Hyphenated Americans

One study of the children of immigrants, conducted six years ago among young Haitians, Cubans, West Indians, Mexican and Vietnamese in South Florida and Southern California, suggests the parents are not alone in their concerns.

Asked by researchers Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut how they identified themselves, most chose categories of hyphenated Americans. Few choose "American" as their identity.

Then there was this – asked if they believe the United States is the best country in the world, most of the youngsters answered: no.

Views of Pluralism

Is America the great melting pot?

1. Over the years, America has been described as a melting pot.
 - Based on the Schoolhouse Rock song, “The Great Melting Pot”, what do you think is meant by the term “melting pot”?
 - Provide one example from American culture that supports the idea that America is a melting pot.
 - Do you think that the song uses “melting pot” in a positive or negative manner? Do you think “melting pot” is a positive or negative concept? Why?

2. Some people say that America is not a melting pot at all, but that it is more like a salad, where each separate ingredient is covered with a heavy dressing.
 - Think about the description of America as a salad. What happens to the taste of the individual ingredients in a salad with a lot of dressing?
 - Describe an example from American culture that supports the idea that America is a salad.

3. Still others say that America is more like a mosaic, where many small pieces form one picture, but the pieces do not touch.
 - How does your view of a mosaic change as you move closer? Farther away? What happens to the individual pieces?
 - Describe an example from American culture that supports the idea that America is a mosaic.

Views of Pluralism

Is America the great melting pot?

4. Over the years, America has been described as a melting pot.
 - Based on the Schoolhouse Rock song, “The Great Melting Pot”, what do you think is meant by the term “melting pot”?
Immigrants came and brought their traditions and culture and they blended together to create a unique American culture.
 - Provide one example from American culture that supports the idea that America is a melting pot.
 - Do you think that the song uses “melting pot” in a positive or negative manner? Do you think “melting pot” is a positive or negative concept? Why?
Positive- creates a unique culture, all groups are accepted and can become a part of the new culture.
Negative- dominant culture tends to overpower others.
5. Some people say that America is not a melting pot at all, but that it is more like a salad, where each separate ingredient is covered with a heavy dressing.
 - Think about the description of America as a salad. What happens to the taste of the individual ingredients in a salad with a lot of dressing?
All of the ingredients taste the same, they lose their uniqueness.
 - Describe an example from American culture that supports the idea that America is a salad.
6. Still others say that America is more like a mosaic, where many small pieces form one picture, but the pieces do not touch.
 - How does your view of a mosaic change as you move closer? Farther away? What happens to the individual pieces?
From far away it provides a cohesive and unified picture, the closer you get the more you are able to see the unique pieces that make up the mosaic. The individual pieces take on more meaning.
 - Describe an example from American culture that supports the idea that America is a mosaic.

100TH CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 331

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 5 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 26), 1988

Received and referred to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs

OCTOBER 21 (legislative day, OCTOBER 18), 1988

Committee discharged

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

To acknowledge the contribution of the Iroquois Confederacy of Nations to the development of the United States Constitution and to reaffirm the continuing government-to-government relationship between Indian tribes and the United States established in the Constitution.

Whereas the original framers of the Constitution, including, most notably, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, are known to have greatly admired the concepts of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy;

Whereas the confederation of the original Thirteen Colonies into one republic was influenced by the political system developed by the Iroquois Confederacy as were many of the democratic principles which were incorporated into the Constitution itself; and

Whereas, since the formation of the United States, the Congress has recognized the sovereign status of Indian tribes and has, through the exercise of powers reserved to the Federal Government in the Commerce Clause of the Constitution (art. I, s.2, cl. 3), dealt with Indian tribes on a government-to-government basis and has, through the treaty clause (art. II, s.2, cl. 2) entered into three hundred and seventy treaties with Indian tribal Nations;

Whereas, from the first treaty entered into with an Indian Nation, the treaty with the Delaware Indians of September 17, 1778, the Congress has assumed a trust responsibility and obligation to Indian tribes and their members;

Whereas this trust responsibility calls for Congress to “exercise the utmost good faith in dealings with Indians” as provided for in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, (1 Stat. 50);

Whereas the judicial system of the United States has consistently recognized and reaffirmed this special relationship: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring), That—*

3 (1) the Congress, on the occasion of the two hun-
4 dredth anniversary of the signing of the United States
5 Constitution, acknowledges the contribution made by
6 the Iroquois Confederacy and other Indian Nations to
7 the formation and development of the United States;

8 (2) the Congress also hereby reaffirms the consti-
9 tutionally recognized government-to-government rela-
10 tionship with Indian tribes which has been the corner-
11 stone of this Nation’s official Indian policy;

The Great Law

Emory Dean Keoke and Kay Marie Porterfield

The U.S. Constitution, a document that outlines the organization of the three branches of government, defines the powers of the government in relation to that of individual states. It was framed in 1787 and was adopted in 1789. One of the most significant influences on this document was the Iroquois Constitution, also called the Great Law of Peace.

The Great Law of Peace was created by the Iroquois to stop neighboring tribes from fighting. The document, recorded on wampum belts, formed a confederacy among the Iroquois tribes; the Oneida, Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, the Seneca, and later the Tuscarora. The Iroquois place its creation between A.D. 1000 and 1400. Contemporary historians date the document at about A.D. 1450. It was conceived by Deganwidah, a man believed to be of non-Iroquoian ancestry, who traveled the southern shores of Lake Erie and Ontario in an attempt to bring peace to the warring tribes in the area. Hiawatha served as Deganwidah's spokesperson.

Colonial leaders became aware of the Iroquois Constitution during the French and Indian War from treaty and council meetings they attended with Iroquois tribes that had allied themselves with the British colonists, rather than the French. Many scholars believe the Great Law was the longest international constitution until that time. The only possible exception to this was the unwritten English Constitution, which had its origins in the English Magna Charta. Certainly in fifteenth century Europe nothing existed to rival this American Indian constitution.

In July 1744, at a meeting between Indians and British in Pennsylvania, the Onondaga chief Canassatego aired a concern that his people had about the colonial system of government. He complained that it was virtually impossible for his Iroquois Confederacy to deal with the colonies. Each one had its own policy, administration, and way of doing things. He encouraged the colonies to form their own union, which would be stronger than the existing confederacy. He suggested that the colonists who drafted the document use the constitution of the Iroquois as an example.

The Iroquois Constitution prevented government interference in everyone's daily lives and enhanced individual freedom. It also separated the civilian government from military and religious affairs; allowed many different religions and faiths to coexist; and recognized the importance of one's religious belief, no matter what its content or origin. Section 99 of the Iroquois Constitution stated outright the guarantee of religious freedom: "The rites and festivals, religious practices of each nation shall remain undisturbed and shall continue as before because they were given by the people of old times as useful and necessary for the good of men."

Benjamin Franklin became familiar with the Iroquois political system and its leaders as the official Pennsylvania colony printer. In that capacity he printed the minutes of their

meetings. As a result of this, he began to develop an interest in Indians. The Pennsylvania colony asked him to be their first Indian commissioner. This became Franklin's first diplomatic job, a position he held through the 1750's. From that time he became a staunch advocate of the Iroquois Constitution. In 1754 he asked colonial delegates at the Albany Congress to follow the example of the Iroquois and their constitution. They ignored his advice for some 30 years.

As his contact with the League of the Iroquois continued, Franklin became convinced of the uniqueness and genius of their government compared to those of Europe. He recognized that the Iroquois Constitution contained many features absent in other governments at the time, including a ban on the forced entry by the government into citizen's homes, the freedom of political and religious expression, recall and impeachments of corrupt leaders, and the insurance that elected officials were never masters but remained servants of their constituents. Impressed by the Iroquois model, he publicly advocated that a federal union of the colonies be based on the principles of their constitution. Thomas Jefferson also acknowledged that he preferred the American Indian concept of liberty over the European monarchy system. (However, the colonial leaders did not completely agree with the Iroquois provisions for the fair distribution of wealth or participation of women in politics, concepts that would later be adopted by Fredrick Engels in his blueprint for communism and socialism.)

At the Albany convention that convened in 1754, the colonists were faced with the task of forging an agreement that would help them to retain their individuality and at the same time operate as a unified whole. James de Lancy, the acting governor of New York, invited Tiyanoga, an Iroquois leader, to inform the delegates about the structure of the Iroquois Confederacy. At the two-week convention's end Benjamin Franklin was requested to write a formal plan based on the discussion that had occurred there.

When he presented his plan, which would form the basis for the Articles of Confederation, he expressed admiration for the Iroquois form of government, pointing out "the strength of the League which has bound our Friends the Iroquois together in a common tie which no crisis, however grave, since its foundation has managed to disrupt."

In fact, Franklin's plan contained many of the core concepts in the Iroquois Constitution, including how power would be wielded and ceded and how each colony would maintain sovereignty and at the same time retain an equitable federal union that would operate in a just manner for all parties involved. The influence of the Iroquois was evident in the Articles of Confederation that were ratified in 1781 and later the U.S. Constitution, which grew out of these articles.

The story of the influence of the Iroquois Constitution on the founding fathers and the United States Constitution is one that is still not generally known. On September 16, 1987, the United States Senate passed a resolution officially stating the U.S. Constitution was modeled after the Iroquois Constitution, the Great Law of Peace. In truth, without the Iroquois, the U.S. government might be far different.

The Great Law

Version A

**Magna Carta
English Constitution**
European

Great Law of Peace
Iroquois Confederacy

**United States
Constitution**

Concept #1
**Constitution as
the Supreme Law
of the Land**

“TO ALL FREE MEN OF OUR KINGDOM we have also granted, for us and our heirs for ever, all the liberties written out below, to have and to keep for them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.” (P. 4)

“Before the real people united their nations, each nation had its own council fires... The five Council Fires shall continue to burn as before and they are not quenched. The Lords of each nation in the future shall settle their nation’s affairs at this council fire governed always by the laws and rules of the council of the Confederacy and by the Great Peace.” (Art. 25)

“The ratification of the Conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.” (Art. 7)

Concept #2
**Establishing the
Authority of the
Federal Government**

“Five arrows shall be bound together very strong and each arrow shall represent one nation. As the five arrows are strongly bound this shall symbolize the complete union of the nations. Thus are the Five united completely and enfolded together, united into one head, one body and one mind. Therefore they shall labor, legislate and council together for the interest of future generations.” (Art. 57)

“This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any state to the Contrary notwithstanding.” (Art. 6)

The Great Law

Version A Continued

Magna Carta
English Constitution
European

Great Law of Peace
Iroquois Confederacy

United States
Constitution

Concept #3
Creating the
House and Senate

“The barons shall elect twenty-five of their number to keep, and cause to be observed with all their might, the peace and liberties granted and confirmed to them by this charter... In the event of disagreement among the twenty-five barons on any matter referred to them for decision, the verdict of the majority present shall have the same validity as a unanimous verdict of the whole twenty-five, whether these were all present or some of those summoned were unwilling or unable to appear.” (Art. 61)

“All the business of the Five Nations Confederate Council shall be conducted by the two combined bodies of Confederacy Lords. First the question shall be passed upon by the Mohawk and Seneca Lords, then it shall be discussed and passed by the Oneida and Cayuga Lords, Their decisions shall then be referred to the Onondaga Lords, for final judgment.” (Art. 9)

“All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.” (Art. 1, sec. 1)

The Great Law

Version A Continued

**Magna Carta
English Constitution**
European

Great Law of Peace
Iroquois Confederacy

**Virginia Declaration
of Rights**

**United States
Constitution**

Concept #4
**Freedom
of
Religion,
Speech,
and Press**

"...by this present charter (we) have confirmed for us and our heirs in perpetuity, that the English Church shall be free, and shall have its rights undiminished, and its liberties unimpaired... granted and confirmed by charter the freedom of the Church's elections - a right reckoned to be of the greatest necessity and importance to it - and confirmed by Pope Innocent III. This freedom we shall observe ourselves, and desire to be observed in good faith by our heirs in perpetuity." (Art. 1)

"The rites and festivals of each nation shall remain undisturbed and shall continue as before because they were given by the people of old times as useful and necessary for the good of men." (Art. 99)

"That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." (Art. 1)

"That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotick governments." (Art. 12)

"That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity, towards each other." (Art. 16)

"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 to peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." (Amend. 1)

The Great Law

Version A Continued

**Magna Carta
English Constitution**
European

Great Law of Peace
Iroquois Confederacy

**The Virginia
Declaration of Rights**

**United States
Constitution**

Concept #5
**The
Passage
of Laws**

“In the event of disagreement among the twenty-five barons on any matter referred to them for decision, the verdict of the majority present shall have the same validity as a unanimous verdict of the whole twenty-five, whether these were all present or some of those summoned were unwilling or unable to appear.” (Art. 61)

“In all cases the procedure must be as follows: When the Mohawk and Seneca Lords have unanimously agreed upon a question they shall report their decision to the Mohawk Lords. The Mohawk Lords will then report the standing of the case to the Fire Keepers, who shall render a decision as they see fit in case of a disagreement by the two bodies, or confirm decisions of the two bodies if they are identical. The Fire Keepers shall then report their decision to the Mohawk Lords who shall announce it to the open council.” (Art. 11)

“If through any misunderstanding or obstinacy on the part of the Fire Keepers, they render a decision at variance with that of the Two Sides, the Two Sides shall reconsider the matter and if their decisions are jointly the same as before they shall report to the Fire Keepers who are then compelled to confirm their joint decision.”

“That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority without consent of the representatives of the people, in injurious to their rights, and out not to be exercised.”
(Art. 7)

“Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States. If he approves he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law... If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law... unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be Law... ”
(Art. 1, Sec.7)

The Great Law

Version A Continued

**Magna Carta
English Constitution**
European

Great Law of Peace
Iroquois Confederacy

**The Virginia
Declaration of Rights**

**United States
Constitution**

Concept #6
**Rights
Granted
to the
States**

“If we, our chief justice, our officials, or any of our servants offend in any respect against any man, or transgress any of the articles of the peace or of this security, and the offence is made known to four of the said twenty-five barons, they shall come to us - or to the chief justice - to declare it and claim immediate redress... If we make no redress within forty days, the four barons shall refer the matter to the rest of the twenty-five barons, who... Having secured the redress, may then resume their normal obedience to us.” (Art. 61)

“Whenever a specially important matter or a great emergency is presented before the Confederate Council and the nature of the matter affects the entire body of the Five nations, threatening their utter ruin, then the Lords of the Confederacy must submit the matter to the decision of their people and the decision of the people shall affect the decision of the Confederate Council. This decision shall be a confirmation of the voice of the people.” (Art. 20)

“...A majority of the community heath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right, to reform, alter, or abolish [the government], in such a manner as shall be judged conducive to the publick weal.” (Art. 3)
“That a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state; that standing armies, in time of peace, should be avoided...” (Art. 13)

“The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several states.”
(Art. 4, Sec.2)

Concept #7
**Powers of
the Union
versus the
States**

“If a Lord of the Confederacy should seek to establish any authority independent of the jurisdiction of the Confederacy of the Great Peace, which is the Five Nations, he shall be warned three times in open council... If the offending Lord is still obdurate he shall be dismissed by the War Chief of his nation for refusing to conform to the laws of the Great Peace. (Art. 25)

“No state shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.”
(Art. 1, Sec. 10)

The Great Law Version B

Comparison to the US Constitution

By Emory Dean Keoke and Kay Marie Porterfield

- ☆ The **United States Constitution**, adopted in the year 1789, is a document that serves two basic purposes:
 - To outline the organization of the three branches of government, and
 - To define the powers of the federal and state governments, to ensure checks and balances on governmental powers.

- ☆ **The Great Law of Peace** was a unifying document that brought fighting tribes together. It was created by the Iroquois Indians and is believed to be written around the year A.D. 1450.
 - The Great Law, recorded on *wampum belts*, formed a confederacy among the 6 Iroquois tribes – the Oneida, Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, the Seneca, and the Tuscarora – to halt tribal fighting.
 - British colonial leaders learned of the Iroquois Constitution during treaty and council meetings with the Iroquois in the mid-1700's just before the beginning of the French and Indian Wars. Scholars believe The Great Law was the longest international written constitution until this time.
 - Onondaga Chief Canassatego encouraged colonial leaders to form their own constitution, saying it was impossible for his Iroquois Confederacy to deal with individual colonies because each had its own policy, administration, and way of doing business.

- ☆ There were many features in The Great Law that were absent in other governments at the time:
 - Acknowledgment of individual freedom, preventing government interference in people's daily lives.
 - Granted religious freedom and allowed many different religions and faiths to coexist.
 - Separated religion from military affairs and civilian government.
 - A ban on forced entry into citizen's homes
 - Freedom of political and religious expression
 - Recall and impeachments of corrupt leaders
 - Leaders were always servants of the people (consent of the governed)

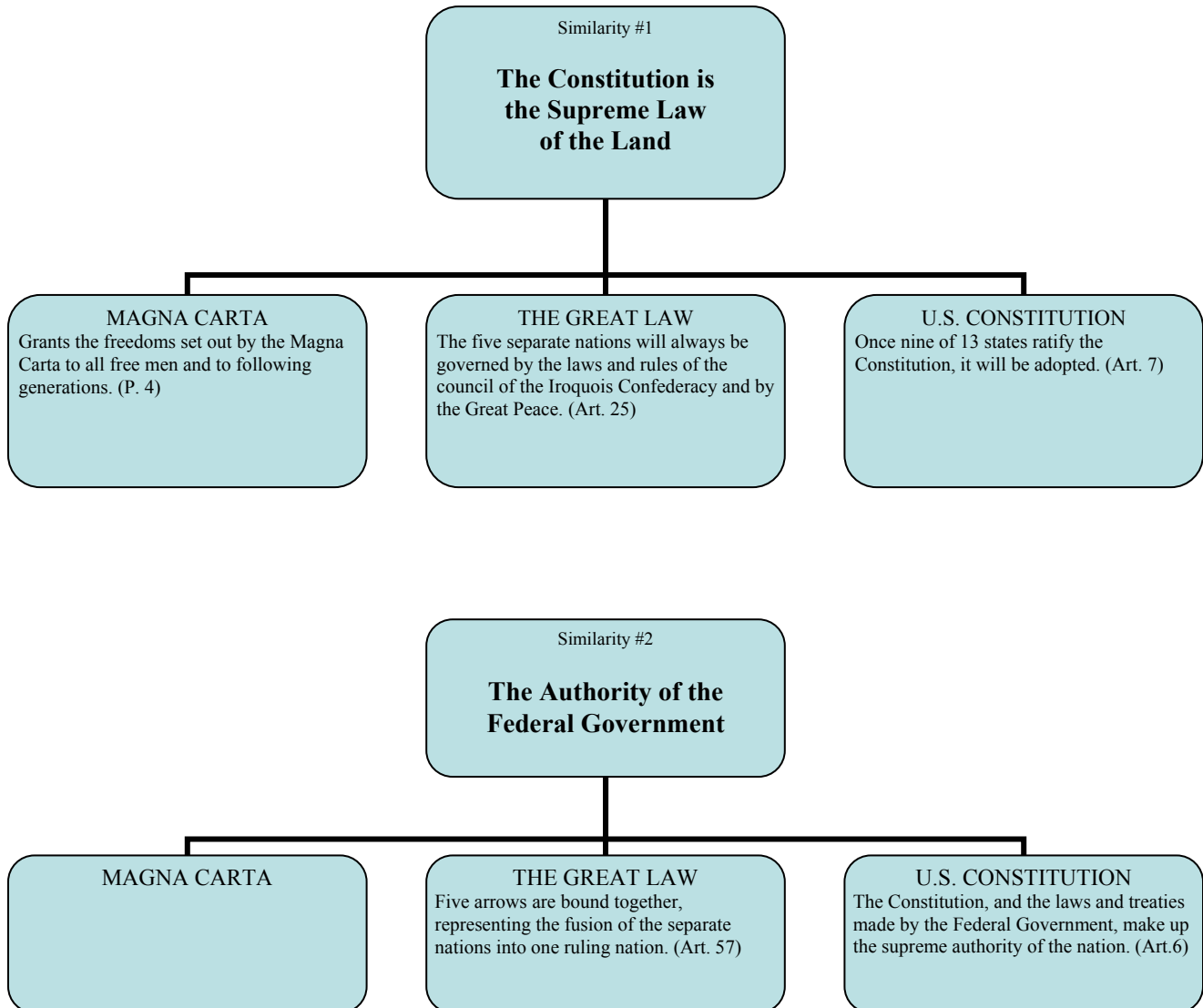
- ☆ The Great Law defined the intelligence and uniqueness of the Iroquois government. Colonial diplomat **Benjamin Franklin** was the Iroquois' first Indian commissioner in the mid-1750s. Both he and **Thomas Jefferson** encouraged colonial delegates at the Albany Congress to follow the Iroquois example.
 - Members at the Albany Convention used advice from an Iroquois leader named Tiyanoga to come up with a plan of government that allowed the states to retain their individuality while at the same time operating as a union.
 - The result was the **Articles of Confederation**, the first colonial constitution.

- ☆ Many people do not know the story of the influence of the Iroquois Constitution on the founding fathers and the U.S. Constitution. On September 16, 1987, the United States Senate passed a resolution officially stating the U.S. Constitution was modeled after the Iroquois Constitution, the Great Law of Peace. Without the Iroquois, the U.S. government might be far different!

The Great Law

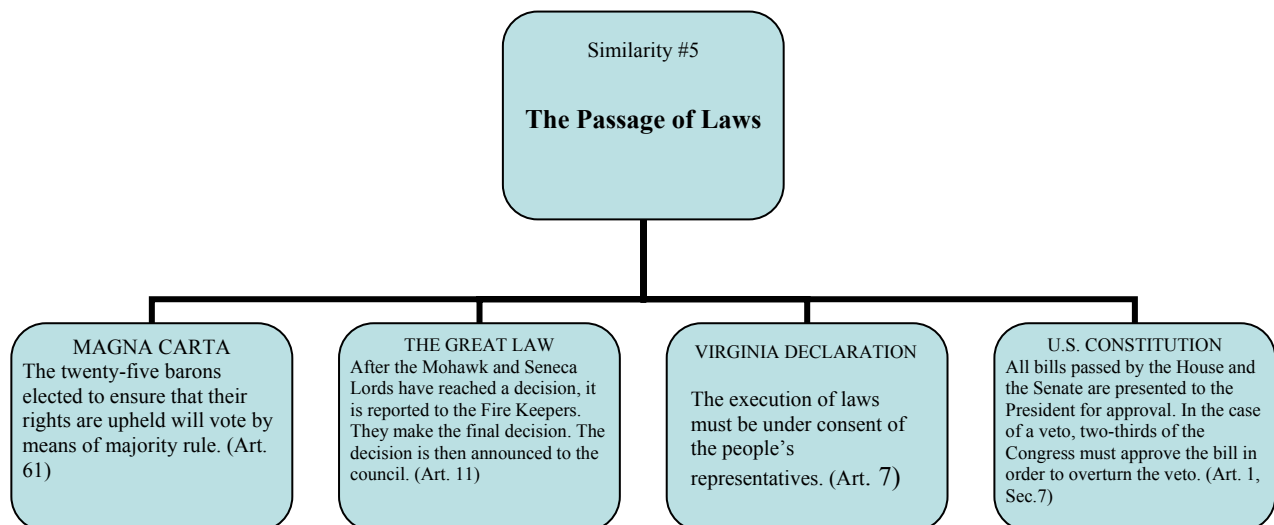
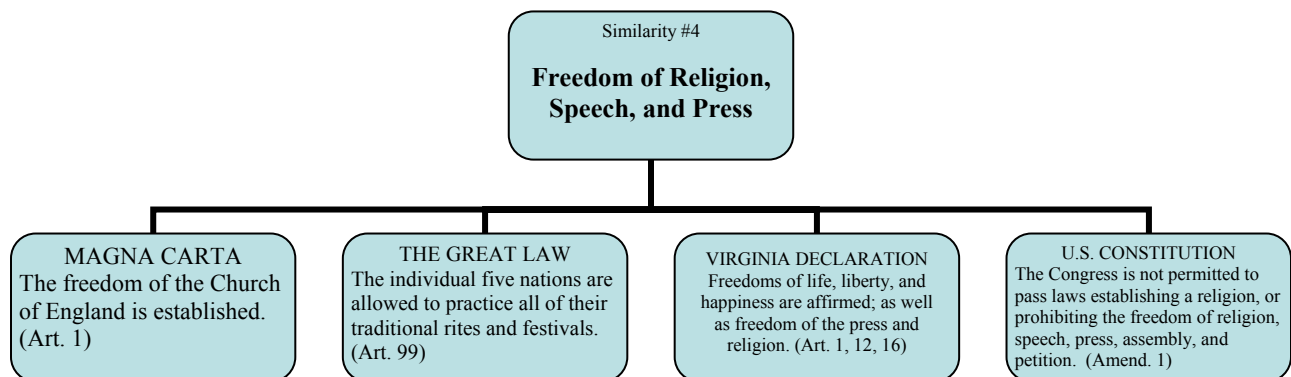
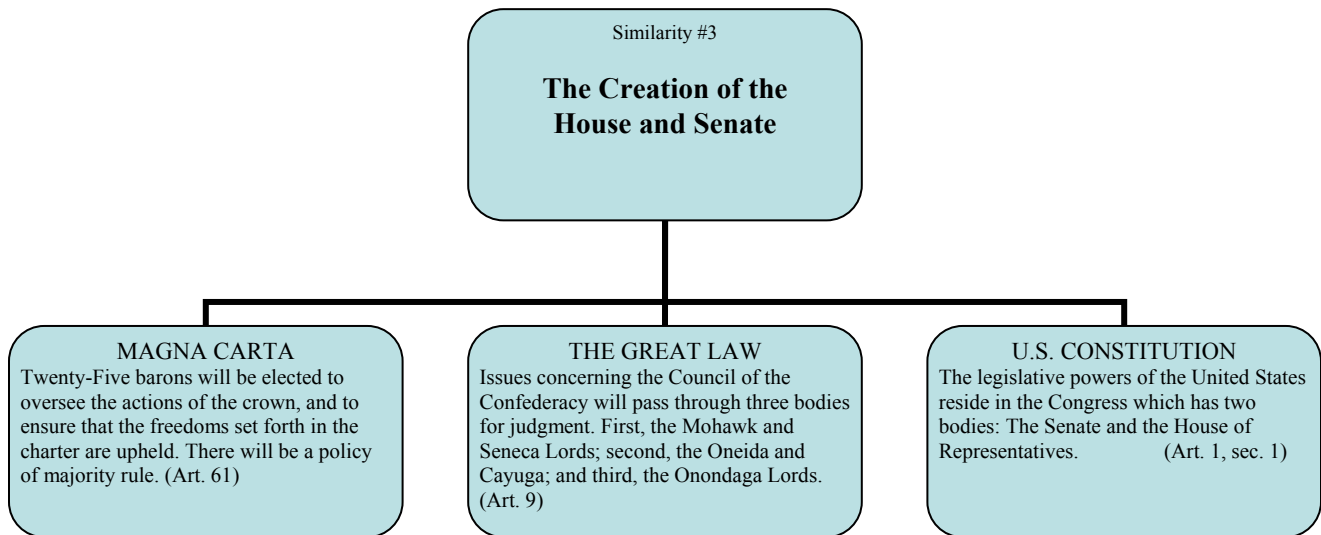
Version B

Virginia Declaration of Rights	The Virginia Declaration of Rights, unanimously adopted by the Virginia Convention on 12 June 1776, was the first statement of individual rights to be adopted by a state government at the beginning of the American Revolution.
The Magna Carta	Signed by King John in 1215, this document guaranteed the English certain political liberties, reformed laws and justice, separated the church from the monarchy, and set limits on the behavior of royal officials.
The Great Law of Peace	An agreement binding the Five Nations of Native Americans together in a democratic form of government. Probably written around 1400 A.D.
United States Constitution	Ratified in 1789, creating a federal system of government based on the idea of separation of powers, including three branches of government and checks and balances to control power.



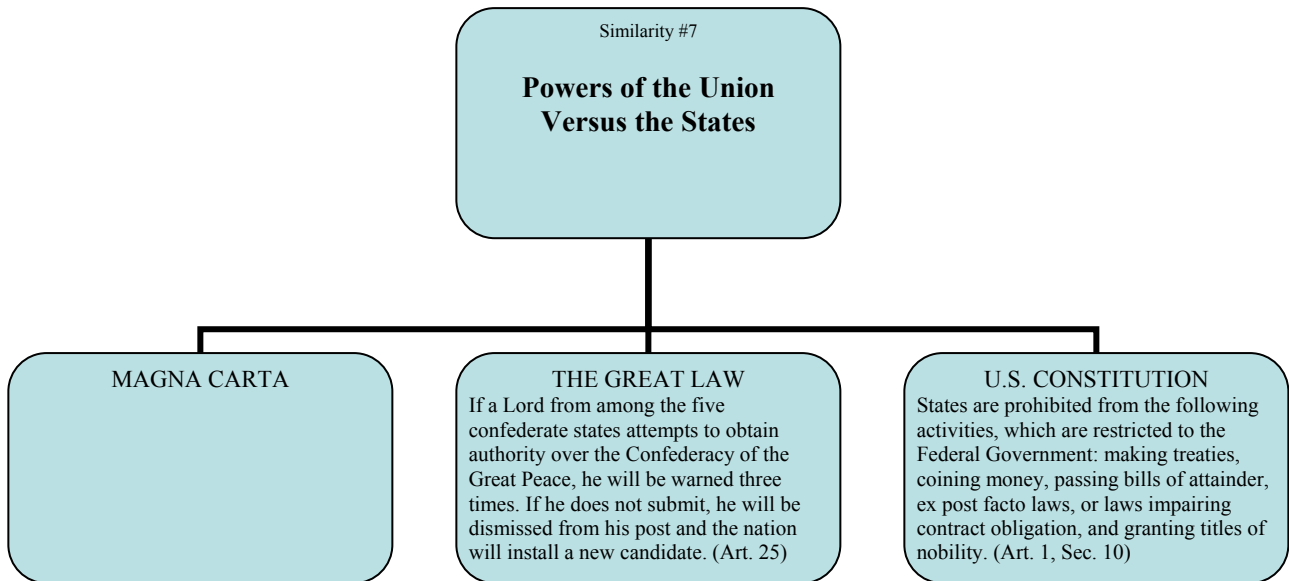
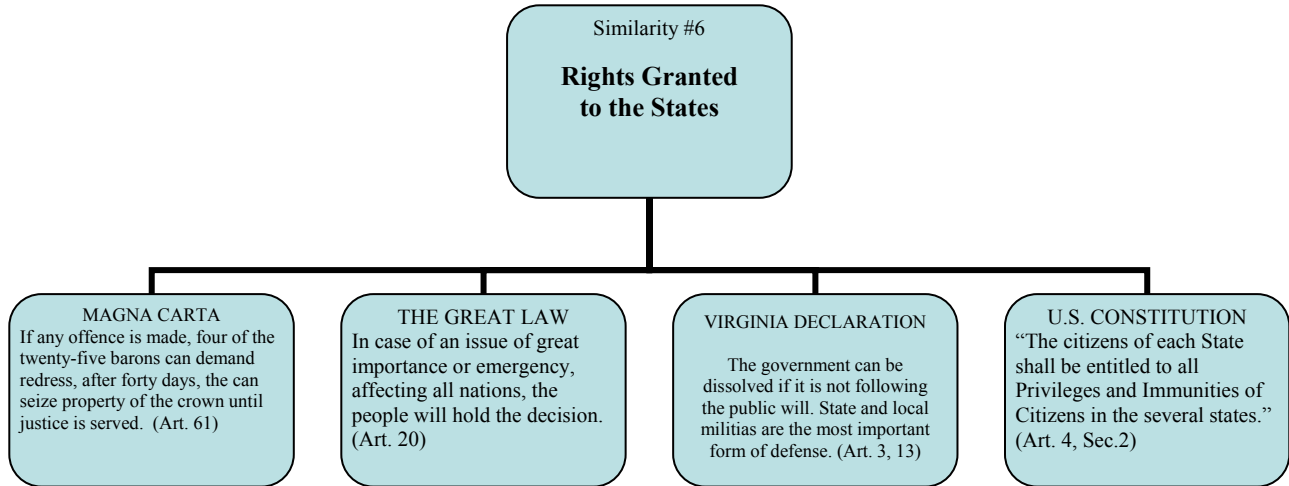
The Great Law

Version B



The Great Law

Version B



The Constitution and Cultural Diffusion

Directions: To what extent has America embraced the idea of Pluralism? Demonstrate your understanding of the concepts presented in this lesson to create a song, poem, essay or illustration that reflects your understanding of American culture. In your project you should address the following:

- Is America a melting pot, a salad bowl, a mosaic or a combination of all three?
- How is the idea of a pluralistic society reflected in the Constitution?
- How has the United States measured up in its attempt to create a pluralistic society?
- To what extent has cultural diffusion influenced the development of American democracy?

Poster Criteria	Possible Points	Points Earned
Described America in terms of pluralism as a melting pot, mosaic, salad bowl or combination of the three.	10	
Clearly demonstrated an understanding of the term pluralism.	10	
Identified the importance of pluralism in the United States Constitution.	15	
Identified examples when the United States has/hasn't been successful in creating a pluralistic society.	15	
Described the level to which cultural diffusion has influenced the development of American democracy.	20	
Organized the material in a way that was easily understood.	15	
Total:	85	
Comments:		

Virginia Declaration of Rights, 12 June 1776

The Virginia Declaration of Rights, unanimously adopted by the Virginia Convention on 12 June 1776, was the first statement of individual rights to be adopted by a state government at the beginning of the American Revolution. It inspired other states to add similar declarations to their state constitutions and eventually became a part of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Drawing in part on the English Bill of Rights of 1689, the Virginia Declaration of Rights was one of the most influential documents that contributed to the evolution of what became the United States Bill of Rights.

Transcript of Virginia Declaration of Rights

A DECLARATION of RIGHTS made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full and free Convention; which rights do pertain to them, and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of government.

1. THAT all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.
2. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived, from the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all time amenable to them.
3. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community, of all the various modes and forms of government that is best, which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of mal-administration; and that whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right, to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged conducive to the publick weal.
4. That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of publick services; which, not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge, to be hereditary.
5. That the legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judiciary; and that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression, by feeling and participating the burthens of the people, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into the body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular elections, in which all, or any part of the former members, to be again eligible, or ineligible, as the laws shall direct.

6. That elections of members to serve as representatives of the people, in assembly, ought to be free; and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, the attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property for publick uses without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not, in like manner, assented, for the public good.
7. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority without consent of the representatives of the people, in injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.
8. That in all capital or criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favour, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; that no man be deprived of his liberty except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.
9. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
10. That general warrants, whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded to search suspected places without evidence of a fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, or whose offence is not particularly described and supported by evidence, are grievous and oppressive, and ought not to be granted.
11. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.
12. That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotick governments.
13. That a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state; that standing armies, in time of peace, should be avoided, as dangerous to liberty: and that, in all cases, the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.
14. That the people have a right to uniform government; and therefore, that no government separate from, or independent of, the government of Virginia, ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof.
15. That no free government, or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.
16. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our CREATOR, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity, towards each other.