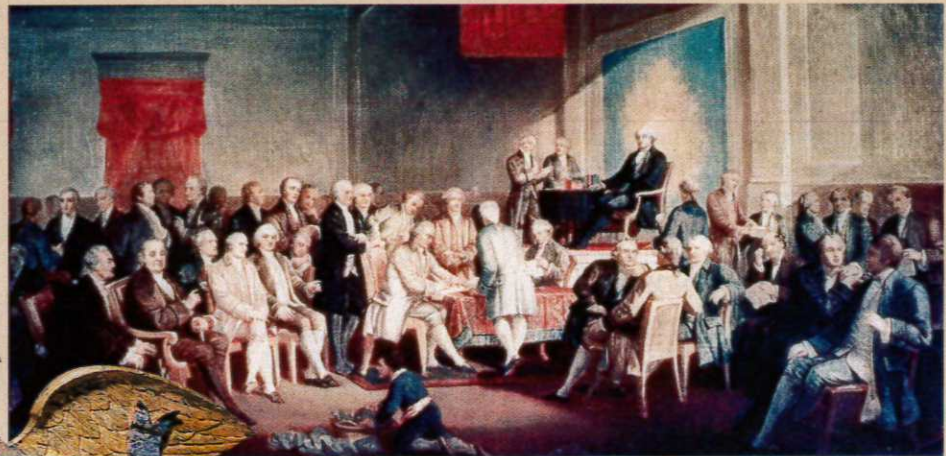


# The Constitution of the United States

(1776–1800)

- SECTION 1 Government by the States
- SECTION 2 The Constitutional Convention
- SECTION 3 Ratifying the Constitution
- SECTION 4 The New Government

*E pluribus unum*—"from many, one" was chosen as the nation's motto in 1776.



**1787**

The Constitutional Convention creates a new plan of government, the Constitution of the United States.

**1777**

The Continental Congress adopts the Articles of Confederation, which established a limited national government in 1781.

**1783**

George Washington retires from the Continental Army.

**1786**

Shays' Rebellion breaks out, convincing many Americans of the need for a stronger national government.

## American Events

### Presidential Terms:

1775

1780

1785

## World Events

Pitt's India Act brings the East India Company under British government control.

**1784**

# Original States and Ratification of the Constitution



Original 13 states  
 United States territory  
 United States claim  
 June 25, 1788 Date of ratification  
 1790 borders



**1788**  
The required number of states ratify the Constitution.

**1791**  
Ten amendments are added to the Constitution and will become known as the Bill of Rights.

**1792**  
President Washington unanimously wins reelection.

**1800**  
The federal government moves from Philadelphia to the new capital, Washington, D.C.

George Washington 1789–1797

John Adams 1797–1801

**1789**  
Citizens storm the Paris Bastille during the French Revolution.

**1790**  
France declares war on Britain and Spain.

**1795**  
Russia, Prussia, and Austria divide Poland.

**1799**  
Napoleon seizes control of France.

# Government by the States

## READING FOCUS

- Describe the early government of the United States.
- What were some reasons for opposition to the Articles of Confederation?
- What were the causes and effects of Shays' Rebellion?

## MAIN IDEA

The national government under the Articles of Confederation was weak, and political power rested mostly with the states.

## KEY TERMS

Articles of Confederation  
legislative branch  
executive branch  
judicial branch  
constitution  
democracy  
republic  
Shays' Rebellion  
specie

## TAKING NOTES

Copy the chart below. As you read, fill in arguments for and against the Articles of Confederation.

The Articles of Confederation	
Arguments For	Arguments Against
Most political power belonged to the states.	Congress could not collect taxes.



**VIEWING HISTORY** This painting shows George Washington saying farewell to his officers after resigning his commission. **Drawing Inferences** Why did Washington's resignation come as a surprise?

**Setting the Scene** On December 23, 1783, a month after watching the British army leave New York, George Washington performed perhaps the most important act of his life. In an address before the Continental Congress, he voluntarily gave up power:

“Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of Action—and bidding an Affectionate farewell to this August body under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my Commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

—George Washington

The triumphant general was easily the country's most popular and best-known figure. Many people expected him to move into a new role as head of the new nation, maybe even as its king. But Washington had other plans.

Having helped Americans win their freedom from a king, he believed that the nation did not need another supreme ruler. In an act that stunned the world, he gave up his commission as commander of the American army and headed home to Mount Vernon to retire.

## Early Government

Americans now faced a new challenge. Could they enjoy their hard-won freedoms without a strong, unified national government? Could they keep their new liberty and maintain order at the same time? In short, what kind of government should a free people have?

The Continental Congress that had approved the Declaration of Independence in 1776 was simply a loose collection of delegates from 13 separate states. Almost no one wanted a powerful national government. Most people regarded the Congress as only a wartime necessity.

Americans at that time generally thought of themselves as citizens of individual states, not of a nation. In fact, when referring to the United States, most

Americans wrote “the United States *are*” (plural) rather than “the United States *is*” (singular), as people do today. They believed that the country as a whole was less important than its 13 parts. It was not a nation as much as it was a confederation, an alliance of separate governments that work together.

**The Articles of Confederation** In 1777, the Continental Congress adopted a set of laws to govern the United States. These laws were called the **Articles of Confederation**. Approved in 1781, the Articles established a limited national government. Most of the political power lay with the states:

**KEY DOCUMENTS**

“The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense [reason] whatever.”

—Article III, Articles of Confederation

The national government created by the Articles had only one branch: a legislature, or Congress, made up of delegates from the states. Today, Congress is one of the three separate branches of the American government. The **legislative branch**, or Congress, is the part of the government that is responsible for making laws. The **executive branch**, headed by the President, executes, or puts into action, the laws passed by the Congress. The third part of the government is the **judicial branch**, made up of the courts and judges who interpret and apply the laws in cases brought before them.

By contrast, under the Articles of Confederation, the Congress carried out the duties of both the legislative and executive branches. The Articles did not create a judicial branch. Each state maintained its own court system.

The Congress set up by the Articles differed in several ways from today’s Congress. For example, although it could declare war and borrow money, it lacked the power to tax. To carry out its tasks, Congress had to petition the states for money. It had no power to force the states to provide money.

The Articles of Confederation allowed states to send as many representatives to Congress as they wished. However, each of the 13 states had only one vote in Congress. Passage of any measure involving money required 9 votes out of the 13, not just a simple majority of 7. Changes in the Articles themselves could be made only if all 13 states agreed. These provisions made it difficult for the national government to get things done. However, some legislative progress was made under the Articles, notably by establishing a way for settled lands in the West to achieve statehood.

**State Constitutions** Far more important in the country’s early years were the individual state **constitutions**. A constitution is a plan of government that describes the different parts of the government and their duties and powers. During the Revolution and immediately afterward, state governments had more power than the national government of the United States. The individual state constitutions, which created and described the



The Articles of Confederation established a limited national government.

## Focus on GOVERNMENT

**Three Branches of Government** The legislative branch makes the laws; the executive branch enacts the laws; and the judicial branch interprets the laws.

**The Historical Context** The national government created by the Articles of Confederation did not include an executive or a judicial branch. This omission, which reflected Americans’ fear of a strong central government, made it difficult for the national government to operate effectively.

**The Concept Today** The Constitution of the United States, which replaced the Articles, did provide for three separate branches of government. All three branches remain strong and vital parts of the federal government.

## Criticisms of the Articles of Confederation

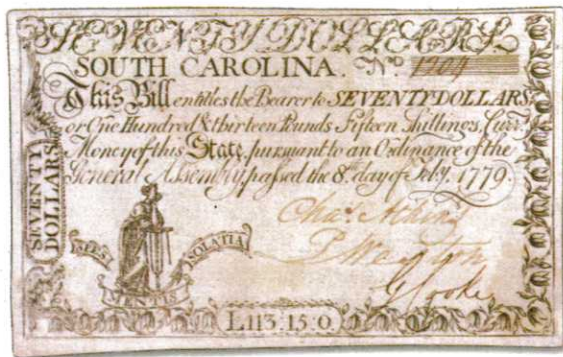
- One vote for each state, regardless of size
- Congress cannot collect taxes to raise money
- Congress powerless to regulate foreign and interstate commerce
- No separate executive branch to enforce acts of Congress
- No national court system to interpret laws
- Amendment only with consent of all the states
- A 9/13 majority required to pass laws
- Articles only a "firm league of friendship"

**INTERPRETING CHARTS** The confederation entered into by the 13 states gave little real power to the national government. **Drawing Conclusions** How did the Articles limit the power of Congress?

### READING CHECK

Why was the economy in trouble after the American Revolution?

Many states printed money during and after the War for Independence.



state governments, were thus the primary forms of government in the new nation. Most of these constitutions were established during the Revolution, well before the United States adopted the federal Constitution. State constitutions were also important as models and inspiration for the later national documents.

In its constitution, the state of Pennsylvania introduced bold new ideas about government. Written in 1776, the Pennsylvania constitution gave voting rights to all white men 21 years of age or older who paid taxes. Thus, that state became the first to open the voting process to ordinary people, not just wealthy gentlemen.

The Pennsylvania constitution also created a state legislature that was unicameral. That is, it had just one house, or body of representatives. Today, most state legislatures, as well as the United States Congress, are bicameral, having two houses. Congress, for example, has a House of Representatives and a Senate. Nebraska is currently the only state whose legislature is unicameral.

Finally, representatives in Pennsylvania's legislature had to run for election every year. This provision made state lawmakers very responsive to the people's wishes.

## Opposition to the Articles

After fighting a war to gain independence from what they regarded as a tyrannical king and Parliament, Americans generally agreed that their new nation should be a **democracy**, or a government by the people. Specifically, they favored the creation of a **republic**, a government run by the people through their elected representatives. Yet people held widely differing views on how much influence ordinary citizens should have in the governing of the republic. This division became clear as objections to the Articles began to surface.

**Economic Problems** Wealthy, educated men worried that the Articles had given too much power to ordinary citizens, who were generally less educated. These educated men were more interested in preserving order than expanding freedom, and they had a great deal of disorder to be concerned about.

By 1786, three years after the American Revolution, the nation still had a debt of about \$50 million, an unthinkable large sum at that time. State governments and the national government had borrowed money from foreign countries and from their own citizens to pay for the war.

Public and private debt was such a problem that some state governments, lacking gold or silver, printed cheap paper money to help their citizens pay off their loans. This created economic chaos. Desperate for money, states with good seaports put heavy taxes on goods destined for neighboring states, stirring up hostilities and upsetting interstate commerce.

Upper-class critics of the Articles believed that these troubles had arisen because citizens had too much power in their state legislatures. They feared that this was not the best way to run a government.

**Concerns About Weak Government** By the early 1780s, a group called the Nationalists sought to strengthen the national government. They wanted to restrain what they saw as the unpredictable behavior of the states. The Nationalists included several former military officers, many members of Congress, merchants, planters, and lawyers, and some whose

names are now familiar: George Washington, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton.

In newspaper articles and private letters, Nationalists expressed their views about the dangers of a weak national government. They pointed out that Congress sometimes was unable to act because so many lawmakers failed to attend the sessions. They predicted that the lack of a national court system and national economic policies would create chaos. They feared that the United States would not command respect from the rest of the world.

Most of all, they worried that Americans' fondness for challenging authority and for demanding individual rights was getting out of hand. Nationalists saw this period, from 1781 to 1787, as a dangerous time of indecision about how to govern the new nation.

*“Every man of sense must be convinced that our disturbances have arisen more from the want [lack] of [government] power than the abuse of it.”*

—Fisher Ames, a Nationalist from Massachusetts

Most Americans did not agree with this view. They reasoned that the state constitutions and the Articles of Confederation were doing exactly what they were supposed to do: maintain a democratic republic. If the resulting government was disorderly and more likely to make mistakes, then so be it. Most Americans thought it was better to have mistakes under a government of the people than to have order under the rule of tyrants. They argued that the government established by the Articles had won independence from Britain. This feat alone showed that the government was strong enough.

**Learning From History** The Nationalists were well educated in European history. They knew that in Europe, attempts to establish republican governments had failed, dissolving into chaos and then tyranny. Nationalists pointed out that this had happened to the Roman republic more than 1,800 years earlier, and it could happen to the United States as well.

The Nationalists said that history had shown that people were not naturally wise enough to have so much power over their own affairs. George Washington expressed it this way: “We have . . . had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation.”

**America as a Model** Finally, the Nationalists agreed with Thomas Paine that America was a model for the world. It would be irresponsible, they believed, to allow the nation to fall into political violence. One Englishman commented that if this happened:

*“The fairest experiment ever tried in human affairs will miscarry; and . . . a REVOLUTION which had revived the hopes of good men and promised an opening to better times, will become a discouragement to all future efforts in favor of liberty, and prove only an opening to a new scene of human degeneracy and misery.”*

—Richard Price, 1785

In fact, it was General Washington's understanding of history and his respect for this greater cause that had led him to give up his command to the

## Focus on GEOGRAPHY

**Who Owns the West?** Although the Articles of Confederation were signed in 1777, they were not ratified until 1781 because of a disagreement among the states over western lands. Seven of the 13 states had claims to land west of the Appalachian Mountains. Most of these claims rested on states' colonial charters, some of which had granted states ownership of lands westward to the “South Sea.”

The six states without western land claims argued that all such lands should become the property of the entire nation. The states with claims wrote their response into the Articles of Confederation, which declared that no state should be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States. Furious, one state without a claim—Maryland—refused to ratify the Articles until 1781. Finally, though, the states with western claims gave them up, and the Articles were ratified.



The drawing shows the Great Seal of the United States, adopted by the Continental Congress in 1782.

## COMPARING PRIMARY SOURCES

### The Strength of a New Nation

Amid the social and political upheaval of the 1770s and 1780s, observers differed on whether the United States would survive as a nation.

**Analyzing Viewpoints** Compare the main arguments made by the two writers. Is there any way in which both writers could be considered correct? Explain your answer.

#### Unfavorable Opinion

"America is formed for happiness, but not for empire. . . . I [see] insurmountable causes for weakness that will prevent America from being a powerful state. . . . In short, such is the difference of character, manners, religion and interest of the different colonies that if they were left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to another."

—British clergyman Andrew Burnaby,  
Burnaby's Travels Through North America, 1775

#### Favorable Opinion

"Let us view [America] as it now is—an independent state that has taken an equal station amid the nations of the earth. . . . It is a vitality [living thing], liable, indeed, to many disorders, many dangerous diseases; but it is young and strong, and will struggle . . . against those evils and surmount them. . . . Its strength will grow with its years."

—Former Massachusetts Governor Thomas Pownall,  
A Memorial Most Humbly Addressed to the Sovereigns  
of Europe on the Present State of Affairs, Between the  
Old and New World, 1780

Liberty and order clashed in Shays' Rebellion, as protesters—shown here blocking a courthouse—refused to pay taxes, and the government insisted that laws be obeyed.



civilian government so promptly. He did not want to play the role of Julius Caesar of ancient Rome, a general who became a symbol of tyranny by replacing a republican government with a dictatorship.

**The Annapolis Convention** In 1786, Nationalists held a convention in Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss economic problems that could not be solved under the limits of the Articles. The Annapolis Convention grew out of a previous convention that had been held at Washington's home at Mount Vernon. There, Maryland and Virginia had met to resolve their trade disputes. In Annapolis, a federal plan for regulating interstate and foreign trade was sought. However, the convention failed to rally interest in dealing with the weaknesses in the Articles. Only 12 delegates from five states attended the convention. Those who came took only one step, but it would be an important one: they agreed to call another convention in Philadelphia in 1787 to try to fix the government.

### Shays' Rebellion

Meanwhile, a crisis occurred in Massachusetts that would boost support for the Nationalists' cause: **Shays' Rebellion**.

**The Causes of the Rebellion** In the years following the war, merchants and wealthy people who had loaned money to the states started to demand their money back. They pressed the impoverished states to pass high taxes in order to collect the money to pay off the debts.

In Massachusetts, legislators passed the heaviest direct tax ever. The tax was to be paid in **specie**—gold or silver coin—rather than in paper money. Compared to paper money, specie was far more scarce, and worth much more.

The lawmakers and merchants who supported the tax generally lived in eastern coastal regions of the state. Opposition came from farmers in the western part of the state, the area most hard-hit by the new tax. To these citizens the situation brought back memories of the British taxes that had helped spark the American Revolution.

Farmers complained bitterly to the state legislature to take back the tax. The state refused. Overloaded with debt, farmers grew desperate as the courts seized their possessions.

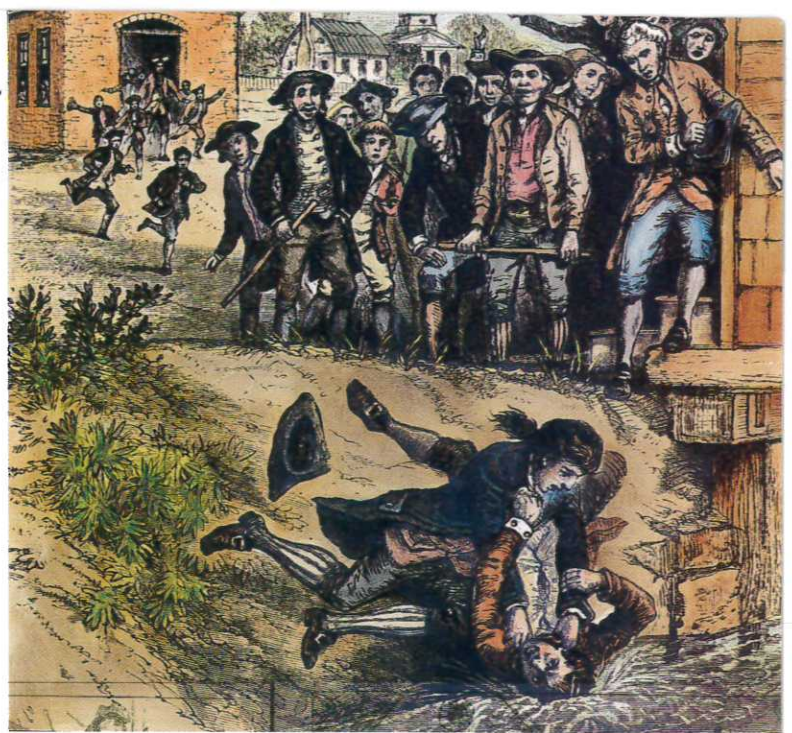
Like many farmers in the region, Daniel Shays was a war veteran who now found himself facing the possibility of being jailed for his debts. In 1786, he led a rebellion that quickly spread through the local area. Citizens drove off tax collectors and protested the new taxes with petitions and public meetings. When the state courts rejected their petitions, the rebels forced the courts to close.

Angry crowds rioted. Shays and a small army marched to the city of Springfield, where guns were stored at an arsenal. As open conflict raged, Congress could only look on helplessly. It had no money to raise an army and no way to force states to pay for one. Finally, the state government gathered an army and sent it to the western part of Massachusetts, where it quieted the rebellion in January 1787.

Many rebels and their families left Massachusetts for Vermont or New York, states with lower taxes. Shays and a few others were arrested and sentenced to death. Shays appealed the sentence and eventually regained his freedom.

**Effects of the Rebellion** For the rebels themselves, Shays' Rebellion demonstrated their determination to defy the authority of any government when it acted against the people's wishes. Far more important, the rebellion demonstrated to many prominent Americans that steps had to be taken to strengthen the national government and avoid civil unrest.

In May 1787, the convention called by the delegates at Annapolis opened in the city of Philadelphia. This time, convinced of the urgent need for government reform, 12 states (all but Rhode Island) sent delegates. The business at hand, wrote key delegate James Madison, was to "decide forever the fate of republican government."



**VIEWING HISTORY** Though the Revolution was over, many Americans were still challenging authority. In this engraving, an angry crowd puts an end to a county meeting by throwing a government official into a brook.

**Drawing Conclusions** How did incidents such as this one bolster the arguments of the Nationalists?

## Section

# 1

## Assessment

### READING COMPREHENSION

1. What was the purpose of the **Articles of Confederation**?
2. What are the responsibilities of the **legislative branch**, the **executive branch**, and the **judicial branch**?
3. What were some provisions of the Pennsylvania **constitution**?
4. What is a **democracy**? What is a **republic**?
5. Why did Massachusetts require taxes be paid in **specie**?

### CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

6. **Recognizing Cause and Effect**  
Create a chart listing the causes and effects of Shays' Rebellion.
7. **Writing an Opinion** If you had lived at the time of Shays' Rebellion, would you have supported it or opposed it? Write a list of reasons you would use as the basis for an essay that might appear in a newspaper of the time.



### Take It to the NET

#### Activity: Writing a Newspaper Article

Research either Shays' Rebellion or the Annapolis Convention. Write a newspaper article on the event you selected. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

[www.phschool.com](http://www.phschool.com)



# The Constitutional Convention

## READING FOCUS

- What did the Founding Fathers hope to achieve as they assembled for the Constitutional Convention?
- What issues divided the convention?
- What did the convention do to reach agreement?
- What qualities have made the Constitution a lasting document?
- How does the structure of the government under the Constitution divide power?

## MAIN IDEA

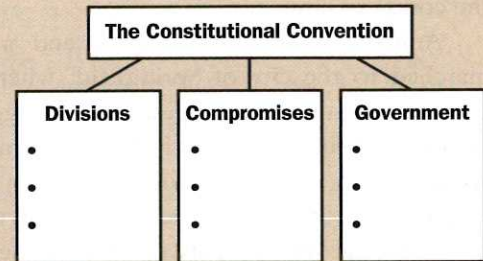
In 1787, delegates to a convention in Philadelphia created a new plan of government, the Constitution of the United States.

## KEY TERMS

Constitutional Convention  
 United States Constitution  
 amend  
 veto  
 Great Compromise  
 Three-Fifths Compromise  
 federal system of government  
 separation of powers  
 checks and balances  
 electoral college

## TAKING NOTES

Copy the chart below. As you read, fill in details on divisions at the Constitutional Convention, compromises made at the Convention, and government structure under the Constitution.



**Setting the Scene** The air outside the Pennsylvania State House was hot and sticky, smelling of animals and rotten garbage. Around the modest brick building, which is now called Independence Hall, soldiers kept curious onlookers at a distance. Despite the heat, the windows of one room were closed so that no one could overhear the voices within. James Madison, recognizing the importance of this meeting, compiled a report of the proceedings, which was published as *Journal of the Federal Convention* after his death. In his will, Madison noted the following:



As they signed the Constitution at Philadelphia's Independence Hall on September 17, 1787, the delegates finally agreed on a framework for the nation's government.

“Considering the peculiarity and magnitude of the occasion which produced the Convention at Philadelphia, in 1787, the characters who composed it, the Constitution which resulted from their deliberations, . . . and the interest it has inspired among the friends of free government, it is not an unreasonable inference that a careful and extended report of the proceedings . . . will be particularly gratifying to the people of the United States, and to all who take an interest in the progress of political science and the cause of true liberty.”

—James Madison

## The Convention Assembles

This historic meeting is known as the **Constitutional Convention**. In only four months, the Philadelphia convention produced the document that has governed the United States for more than 200 years, the **United States Constitution**. (See the complete text of the Constitution following this chapter.)

The Constitutional Convention grew out of an unsuccessful meeting in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1786. Having failed to stir up support for addressing the problems of the Articles of Confederation, the Annapolis delegates had decided to

tackle the issue again the next year. They called for a convention in Philadelphia to begin in May 1787 and invited states to send delegates.

During the passing months, disputes among states and violent outbreaks such as Shays' Rebellion raised fears that the fragile nation might collapse. This time, states responded to the call to fix the national government.

The Constitutional Convention drew 55 delegates from all the states except Rhode Island, which chose not to attend. The youngest delegate of all was 27, and the oldest was 81; the majority of delegates, however, were in their 30s and 40s. A few were very rich, but some had no more than a comfortable living. Many were well educated and familiar with the political theories of European philosophers of the Enlightenment which you read about in the previous chapter.

## “The Father of the Constitution”

One delegate made it his business to attend every meeting of the convention. During these sessions, he could be seen busily taking the notes that later would become our best record of the proceedings. His name was James Madison. Later generations would call him “the father of the Constitution.”

Madison was a quiet 36-year-old bachelor when he arrived in Philadelphia to help rescue the struggling government. Yet few men came better prepared for the task. In his home at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, Madison had spent evenings poring over books of history, government, and law. By the time of the Constitutional Convention, he had invested a year thinking specifically about how to craft a new government.

Despite his shyness and dislike for public speaking, Madison had been an early leader in the independence movement. He had served in the Continental Congress in 1780, and in the Virginia legislature, where he was influential in bringing about the Annapolis Convention.

Madison's studies of philosophy had led him to believe that people are naturally selfish creatures driven by powerful emotions and personal interests. That did not mean there was no hope for order in society, however. Madison drew from the writings of Enlightenment philosophers who argued that, through proper government, humans could take control of themselves and their world and improve the condition of both.

Madison believed that constitutions could establish political institutions that encouraged the best in people while restraining the worst. A dream of devising just such a constitution was exactly what brought James Madison to the Philadelphia convention. The business at hand, wrote Madison, was to “decide forever the fate of republican government.”

## Divisions at the Convention

The first act of the Constitutional Convention in 1787 was to elect George Washington as its president in a unanimous vote, that is, a vote in which everyone agrees. Other business proved far more difficult.

The major division was between those who wanted to **amend**, or revise, the Articles of Confederation and those who wanted to abandon them altogether. Nearly everyone agreed on the need for a stronger national government, but some saw no need to start from scratch. In fact, the Philadelphia convention had been empowered only to amend the Articles. In order to replace them, the convention would have to overstep its authority. That is what it did.

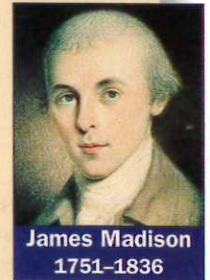
## American BIOGRAPHY

The son of a wealthy landowner, Madison grew up on a plantation in Orange County, Virginia. There he studied European political thought under a Scottish tutor. In 1769, he left home for the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), finishing the four-year program in two years.

Education, talent, and hard work made Madison the “best-informed Man of any point in debate,” as a fellow delegate noted. Yet the Virginian remained “a Gentleman of great modesty—with a remarkable sweet temper.”

Madison was shy and polite, a man with a weak voice and sometimes frail health. He did not marry until he was 43, but found a good match in the lively and sociable Dolley Payne Todd, a 26-year-old widow. They were happily married for 42 years.

After his work on the Constitution, Madison served in the new House of Representatives and held other key positions in the early government. Madison became President in 1809 and served until 1817. He remained active in politics well into his eighties.



**INTERPRETING CHARTS** The Constitution borrows ideas about state representation from both the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan. **Making Comparisons** Evaluate the impact of both plans on the Constitution's provisions for determining representation.

Comparing Plans for State Representation			
	Virginia Plan	New Jersey Plan	Constitution's Provisions
Number of houses in legislature	2 Bicameral	1 Unicameral	2 Bicameral
How representation is determined	By each state's population OR by the financial support each state gives to the central government	Equal representation for each state	Equal representation for each state in the upper house; representation by each state's population in the lower house
How representatives are chosen	Elected by popular vote for the lower house; for the upper house, state legislators nominate representatives, who are then chosen by the lower house	Elected by state legislatures	Elected to the lower house by popular vote in each state; representatives are chosen by state legislatures for the upper house*
* 17th Amendment provided for popular election of senators			

In the end, Madison and others who wanted a new government managed to dominate the meetings by bringing a plan with them. Their Virginia Plan became the focus of discussion against which all other ideas were weighed.

**The Virginia Plan** Submitted by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, the Virginia Plan called for the creation of a bicameral, or two-house, national legislature. Each state would send representatives in proportion to the number of its citizens. A state with a large population thus would have more representatives, and greater voting power, than a state with a small population.

- The Virginia Plan addressed the shortcomings of the Articles in several ways:
1. The new legislature would have added powers, including the right to tax and to regulate foreign and interstate commerce.
  2. The national legislature would have the power to **veto**, or prohibit from becoming law, any act of a state legislature. Should a state defy national authority, the national government would have the power to use force against the state. Such proposals frightened some people because they would give the national government greater power than the states.
  3. In addition to the legislative branch, the proposed government would have an executive branch and a judicial branch.

States with large populations stood to benefit from the Virginia Plan because they would gain the most representatives in the legislature. Thus the larger states championed the Virginia Plan.

**The New Jersey Plan** Opposition to the Virginia Plan came from small states, which feared they would have little power in the new government. They proposed an alternative, the New Jersey Plan. Proposed by New Jersey's William Paterson, the New Jersey Plan had these key features:

1. It would give Congress the power to tax and to regulate foreign and interstate commerce.
2. It would create executive and judicial branches.
3. It would give every state an equal vote in a unicameral Congress. Smaller states thus would have the same voting power as larger states.

Like the Articles of Confederation, the New Jersey Plan aimed to keep state governments more powerful than the national government. The plan also ensured that heavily populated states would not overpower the smaller states.

## Reaching Agreements

A central difference between the Virginia and New Jersey plans was representation in the legislature. To put it simply, should states with more people have more representatives in Congress? On July 2, the convention voted on this issue. The vote was split and the convention deadlocked. For a while, matters seemed hopeless.

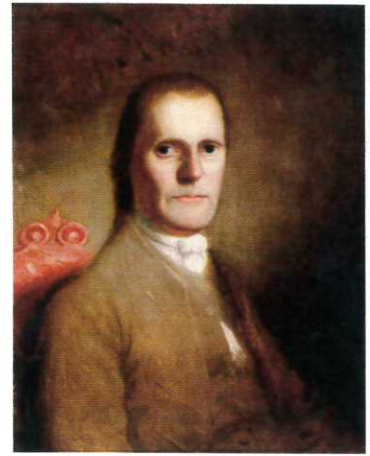
**The Great Compromise** Within several days, a solution—introduced by Connecticut delegates Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth—finally emerged. It is called the **Great Compromise**. It created a legislative branch made up of two houses, as called for in the Virginia Plan. In one house—the Senate—each state, regardless of its size, would have the same number of representatives. (That number is now two per state.) This pleased the small states. However, in the House of Representatives, the number of seats allowed per state would be based on each state's population. This won the support of the large states. The Great Compromise was approved on July 16, 1787.

**The Three-Fifths Compromise** Another difficult issue remained: When calculating a state's population, should enslaved people be included? Many of the Framers (creators) of the Constitution, including James Madison, owned slaves. Madison and others considered slavery immoral. Yet they were unable to bring themselves to do anything about this contradiction.

If slaves were to be included in a state's population count, the southern states, with their many slaves, would gain great power in the House of Representatives. If slaves were not counted, southern states would be weak in the House. Once again the delegates compromised, adopting a formula that became known as the **Three-Fifths Compromise**. Under this plan, three fifths of a state's slave population would be counted when determining representation.

The Three-Fifths Compromise did not mean that enslaved African Americans would be allowed to vote or that their interests would be represented in Congress. They, like Native Americans, were excluded from participating in the government, although in this early period certain free African Americans in some states could vote.

Although many features of Madison's Virginia Plan survived these compromises, the delegates never went as far in strengthening the national government



Connecticut delegate Roger Sherman helped introduce the Great Compromise at the Constitutional Convention.

The most important words of the Constitution, “We the People,” are also the most visible on the document.

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

### Article I

Section 1. 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.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by all the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch in that State.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, and two Senators from each State shall hold their Offices for six Years, and shall be chosen in the following Manner:—

Section 4. The Times, Places, and Manner of holding the Elections of Senators and Representatives, shall be fixed by Law, but the Time of holding the Elections of Senators and Representatives shall not exceed one Year, and the Time of holding the Elections of Representatives shall not exceed two Years.

Section 5. The House of Representatives shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 6. The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments, when sitting for that Purpose, and shall have the Authority to demand the Attendance of Witnesses in any Part of the United States, and to swear them to testify truthfully.

Section 7. The President and Vice President shall hold their Offices for four Years, and shall be chosen in the following Manner:—

Section 8. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 9. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation with any other State, or with any foreign Power, or send Ambassadors, or Consuls, or other public Ministers, or receive Ambassadors, or Consuls, or other public Ministers from any other State, or with any foreign Power, or enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation with any other State, or with any foreign Power, or send Ambassadors, or Consuls, or other public Ministers, or receive Ambassadors, or Consuls, or other public Ministers from any other State, or with any foreign Power.

Section 11. The President shall have the Power to nominate, and, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to appoint and recess, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 12. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 13. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 14. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 15. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 16. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 17. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 18. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 19. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 20. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 21. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

### Article II

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold the Office during the Term of four Years, and shall be eligible for Re-election to that Office.

Section 2. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 3. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 4. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 5. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 6. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

Section 7. The President shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for all Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

Section 8. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

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Section 10. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

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Section 12. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.

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Section 20. The President shall have the Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during his Office, by appointing and recessing, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, such Persons as he may think proper to nominate.



### Sounds of an Era

Listen to a reading of a speech written by Benjamin Franklin, and other readings from the Constitutional era.

as Madison would have liked. For example, they refused to give Congress the right to veto laws passed by the states. Yet the plan did create a stronger central government.

## A Lasting Document

After further debate over the various provisions, the convention approved the final draft of the United States Constitution on September 17, 1787. Remarkably, this written plan of government has remained basically the same for over two hundred years.

The Constitution has many strengths that have helped it to endure. On certain issues it is specific enough not to be misinterpreted by later generations. Yet it has been flexible enough to adapt to social, economic, political, and technological changes that its creators could scarcely have imagined. Perhaps the best proof of this flexibility is the fact that the Constitution has been amended just 27 times in this nation's history.

The United States Constitution continues to inspire people around the world. Many nations have modeled their own governments after it, borrowing ideas not only about the structure of government but also about its goals. The Constitution's goals are set forth in its introduction, called the Preamble:



“ We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common 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. ”

—Preamble to the Constitution, 1787

Over the years, Americans have come to see the first three words of the Constitution, “We the People,” as the most important. Everything else in the document follows the basic idea that in the United States it is the people who govern.

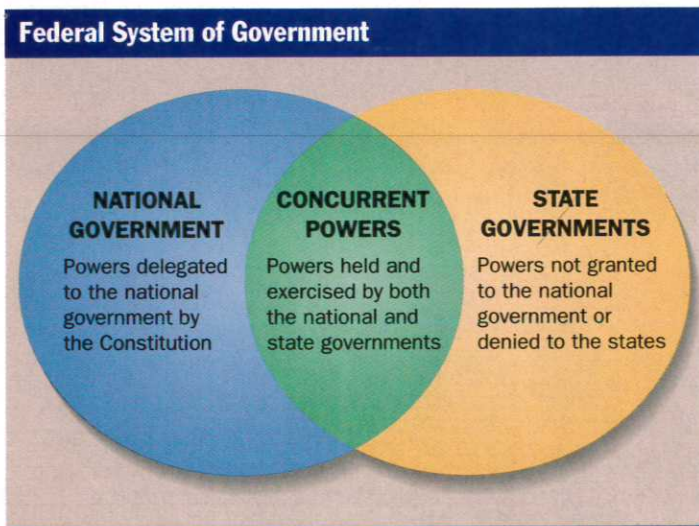
## Government Structure

The Framers of the Constitution knew that while government needed power in order to be effective, too much power could lead to abuses. So they kept government under control by dividing power, in two ways.

### INTERPRETING DIAGRAMS

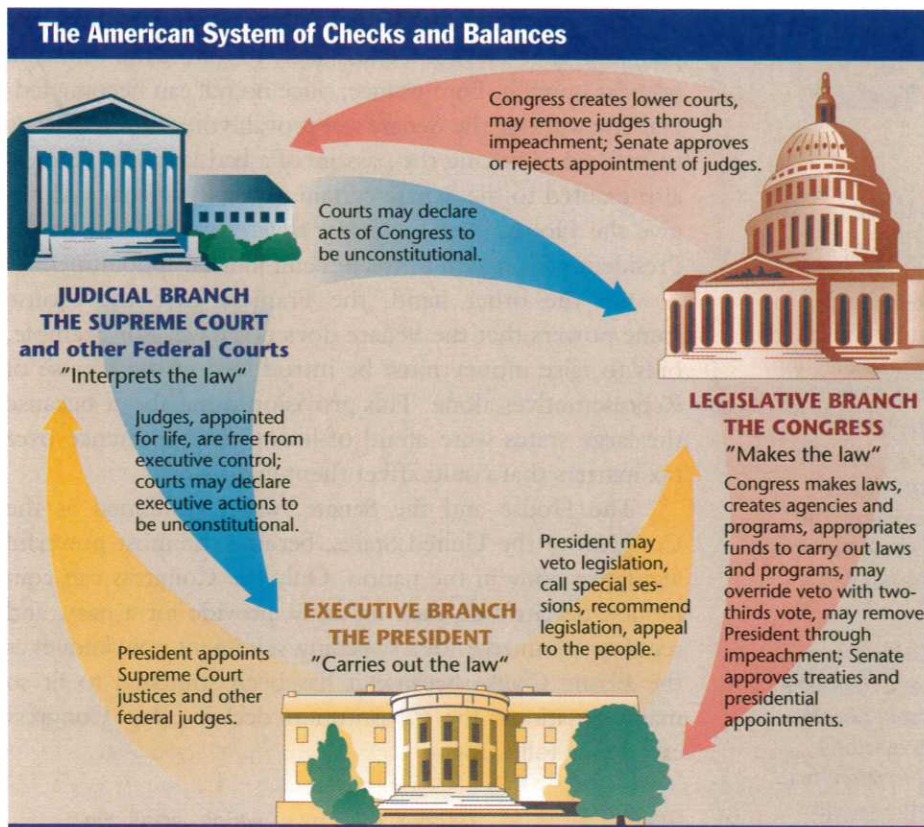
The federal system divides government powers into three categories.

**Analyzing Information** Which powers are shared by both the federal and state governments? Name two of these powers.



**Federal and State Powers** The Constitution created what some leaders began to call a **federal system of government**, a system in which power is shared among state and national authorities. Some powers, such as establishing an educational system, are called reserved powers because they are reserved for the states. Others, such as declaring war, are called delegated powers because they are delegated to the federal government. Still other powers, such as collecting taxes, borrowing money, and establishing courts, are called concurrent powers because the federal and state governments hold them at the same time, or concurrently.

**Separation of Federal Powers** To keep power under control within the national government, the



#### INTERPRETING DIAGRAMS

"You must first enable the government to control the governed," wrote Madison, "and in the next place, oblige it to control itself." This control is found in the Constitution's system of checks and balances. **Analyzing Information** How does the legislature check the executive branch?

Constitution created what is called a **separation of powers** among the three branches of government—the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. That is, each branch has its own area of authority, but no one branch has complete power over the government.

In addition, the Constitution set up a system of **checks and balances**. This system gives each branch the power to check, or stop, the other branches in certain ways. For instance, the President, as the head of the executive branch, can veto acts of Congress. This executive power is balanced, however, by Congress's power to overturn the veto with a two-thirds vote of each house. (See the chart above.) The federal system of checks and balances prevents tyranny, or misuse of power, by any one branch of government.

**Congress** By creating a federal system with a separation of powers, the Framers both preserved and limited the people's control over the government. A comparison of the House of Representatives and the Senate demonstrates this effort at balance.

According to the Constitution, population size determines the number of seats that each state receives in the House of Representatives. This provision makes the House directly responsible to the people. Its members serve two-year terms so that voters have the opportunity to change the membership of the House relatively quickly if they wish to.

Members of the Senate were originally elected by the state legislatures, not by the voters. (In 1913, the Seventeenth Amendment changed this procedure, establishing direct election of senators by the people.) Furthermore, unlike representatives in the House, senators serve six-year terms. Every two years, only one third of the Senate comes up for reelection. Thus it is harder for voters to have a direct and sudden impact on the membership of the Senate.

#### READING CHECK

What are some differences between the House of Representatives and the Senate?

## Presidential Electors

The Framers of the Constitution provided that presidential electors were to be chosen in whatever manner each state legislature directed. In several states, the legislatures themselves chose the electors in the first several elections. By 1832, however, electors were chosen by popular election in most states. Because the Framers did not anticipate political parties nominating a “ticket” for President and Vice President, their plan also provided that every elector would cast two votes—each for a different candidate for President. The candidate with the majority of votes would become President; the second-place candidate would become Vice President.

**Today** Presidential electors are now chosen by popular vote in all states. Except in Maine and Nebraska, the presidential candidate with the largest popular vote in the state wins all of the state’s electoral votes. Electors now cast one vote for President and one for Vice President, as required by the Twelfth Amendment. Chosen by the parties, electors are expected—but usually not required by law—to vote for their party’s candidates.

**?** From time to time throughout the nation’s history, there have been calls to eliminate the electoral college and to choose the President by direct, popular vote. Do you favor this position? Why or why not?

The Framers made the Senate more removed from the people so that it would be less likely to follow the whims of popular opinion. For instance, since no bill can become federal law without the Senate’s approval, voters are less likely to succeed in forcing the passage of a bad law. The Framers also granted to the Senate certain powers that they did not give the House, such as giving advice and consent to the President with regard to treaties and judicial appointments.

On the other hand, the Framers gave the House some powers that the Senate does not have. For example, bills to raise money must be introduced in the House of Representatives alone. This provision came about because the large states were afraid of losing their influence over tax matters that could affect them greatly.

The House and the Senate, when combined as the Congress of the United States, became the most powerful legislative body in the nation. Only the Congress can coin money, declare war, raise an army, provide for a navy, and regulate commerce. In a sweeping statement now known as the Elastic Clause because it has been stretched to fit so many situations, the Constitution declares that Congress can do the following:

**KEY DOCUMENTS**

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

—United States Constitution, Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18, 1787

In other words, Congress has the authority to pass any laws reasonably necessary to carry out its duties. The Elastic Clause gives Congress great power, especially compared to its earlier role under the Articles of Confederation.

**The President** The Constitution created a strong executive officer, the President of the United States. The President’s term was set at four years, but Presidents could be reelected as many times as the people wished. (Today the President is limited to two terms in office, a change made by the Twenty-second Amendment in 1951.)

Once again, the Framers placed a shield between the government and the people by making the election of the President indirect. The President is chosen by a vote of electors from each state. Each state gets as many electors as it has members of Congress. The candidate with the majority of the votes in the **electoral college**, or group of electors, becomes President.

The Framers knew that George Washington was likely to be the nation’s first President. Washington, however, was unique in having support across the country. Later candidates for President, the Framers believed, would have difficulty winning the required majority of electoral votes.

Thus the Constitution provided for the House of Representatives to be the final decision maker in the presidential election. If the electoral college fails to produce a clear majority for one candidate, the election moves to the House. In

the House of Representatives, each state has one vote, and the representatives continue voting until one of the candidates receives a majority. As it has turned out, only twice in American history has the House needed to vote to break a deadlock of the electors, in the elections of 1800 and 1824.

The Constitution gives the President enormous powers. It assigns to the President the role of commander in chief of the armed forces, thus establishing the important principle of civilian control of the military. In the system of checks and balances, the President also has the power to veto acts of Congress. And, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the President chooses judges for the national courts.

**Federal Courts** The Constitution calls for a national court system. Because the Framers wanted to ensure an independent judiciary, they made the choice of judges two steps removed from the people—the President, indirectly chosen by the people, chooses the judges, but only with consent of the Senate. In addition, the Constitution makes the removal of judges difficult so that the people cannot directly control them. Federal judges hold office for life, as long as they do not act dishonorably.

Although the Constitution calls for one Supreme Court and several lesser ones, the details of the federal court system were left intentionally vague. Congress later developed the federal court system to fit the needs of the growing nation.

**The Road Ahead** This, then, was the outline of the new government as set forth in the Constitution, completed by the delegates in months of intense work during the summer of 1787. In order to take effect, however, the Constitution required the approval of 9 of the 13 states. Supporters of the new Constitution knew that winning approval for it would not be easy.



## Focus on GOVERNMENT

**Behind the Scenes at the Convention** The delegates assembled at the convention had many ideas on how the new nation should be governed. Several ideas were discussed that never made their way into the United States Constitution. For

instance, Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania thought that Presidents should have the power to appoint senators for office, and that the President should hold office for life. John Rutledge of South Carolina recommended that society be divided into classes for legislative representation. Alexander Hamilton favored a strong national government with unlimited power over the states. And Benjamin Franklin supported an executive governing committee in place of a President. Above is a detail from the chair Washington used at the convention. Franklin wondered if the decoration represented a sun setting or rising on America.

## Section

## 2

## Assessment

### READING COMPREHENSION

1. What was produced at the **Constitutional Convention**?
2. What does it mean to **amend**? What does it mean to **veto**?
3. How did the **Great Compromise** and the **Three-Fifths Compromise** help the convention reach agreements?
4. How is the power within the **federal system of government** divided under the **separation of powers**? What **checks and balances** are provided by the Constitution?
5. What is the **electoral college**, and why was it established?

### CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

6. **Synthesizing Information** How did the Constitutional Convention address the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation?
7. **Distinguishing Fact From Opinion** Write two major facts about the kind of government set up by the Constitution. Then write an opinion about each of those facts.
8. **Writing to Describe** Explain the meaning of the Preamble to the Constitution by rewriting it in your own words. Feel free to use a writing style less formal than the original.



### Take It to the NET

#### Activity: Writing a Diary Entry

Research the lives of the delegates at the Constitutional Convention. Based on what you have learned, write a diary entry for one of the delegates that describes a day at the convention. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

[www.phschool.com](http://www.phschool.com)



# Ratifying the Constitution

## READING FOCUS

- How did the position of the Federalists differ from that of the anti-Federalists?
- Why did the Federalists win approval of the Constitution?
- What were the arguments for and against a Bill of Rights?

## MAIN IDEA

The states debated and then approved the new Constitution, and a Bill of Rights soon was added to protect individual liberties.

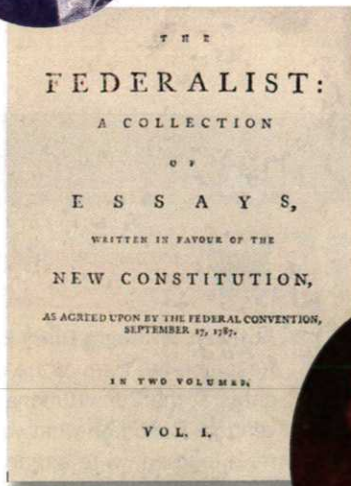
## KEY TERMS

ratify  
Federalist  
faction  
anti-Federalist  
Bill of Rights

## TAKING NOTES

Copy the chart below. As you read, list information about the Federalists and anti-Federalists.

The Constitution	
Federalists	Anti-Federalists
In favor of the Constitution	Opposed to the Constitution
In favor of a strong national government	



John Jay (top), Alexander Hamilton (bottom), and James Madison made their case for approval of the Constitution in a collection of essays entitled *The Federalist*.

**Setting the Scene** As the ink was still drying on the final draft of the new Constitution, its proponents and opponents were busy trying to line up support for their positions. After all, the Constitution had yet to be accepted by the American people.

Thomas Jefferson had not been a delegate at the Constitutional Convention. He was in Paris, serving as United States ambassador to France. In a letter to Madison, Jefferson expressed his view of the proposed Constitution:

“After all, it is my principle that the will of the Majority should prevail. If they approve the proposed Convention [Constitution] in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they shall find it work[s] wrong.”

—Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to James Madison, December 20, 1787

## The Federalist View

For the Constitution to become law, 9 of the 13 states had to **ratify**, or approve, it. Ratification votes would be cast not by state legislatures but by special conventions called in each state. The Framers of the Constitution bypassed the state legislatures because they feared the legislatures would never approve a document that reduced their powers.



Those who favored the Constitution were called **Federalists**. They wanted the strong national government the Constitution provided. The Federalists included many Nationalists, such as George Washington, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. They argued that even if there were problems with the document, it had to be approved. To make their case for the Constitution, several supporters wrote a series of 85 essays, or papers, called *The Federalist*. These articles appeared in New York City newspapers between October 1787 and August 1788. The authors were Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay, a Nationalist from New York. (See the feature on page 159.)

Written to win approval of the Constitution in New York, the *Federalist* essays are today recognized as perhaps the most sophisticated explanation of the new American political system ever written. Hamilton and Madison offered a defense of the Constitution that was also a commentary on human nature and the role of government.

For example, in *The Federalist*, No. 10, Madison answered those who feared that a federal government could come under the control of one powerful **faction**, a group that is concerned only with its own interests. Because the United States was so large, Madison wrote, no single faction would be able to control the government. Factions based on regional or economic or other interests would struggle with each other within the federal government, but no single faction would be able to dominate the others for long. As Madison reasoned:

**KEY DOCUMENTS**

“Extend the sphere [that is, enlarge the territory of the nation], and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of a whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other.”

—*The Federalist*, No. 10

Madison and Hamilton also answered those who feared the power of the federal government over the states. They agreed that the federal government was supreme over the states only in the exercise of its exclusively delegated powers. The states were supreme over the federal government in exercise of their constitutionally reserved powers.

## The Anti-Federalist View

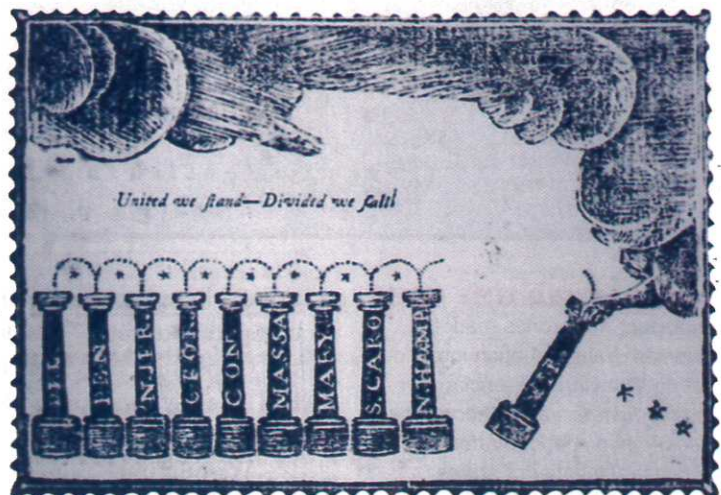
Those who opposed the Constitution were called the **anti-Federalists**. They believed that the Federalists’ plan posed a threat to state governments and to the rights of individuals. The anti-Federalists rallied behind the leadership of older Revolutionary figures, such as Patrick Henry of Virginia. This group gained support in more isolated regions where protecting commerce was not a major concern. People in these areas had less need for the leadership and laws of a strong national government. The anti-Federalists also included some former Nationalists who still wanted a national government but were unhappy with the Constitution as written.

Most anti-Federalists saw the Constitution as a betrayal of the American Revolution. A President would be nothing but a king, they warned. Had American patriots fought and died to create yet another government to tax them and tell them what to do?

While the Federalists feared the people more than government, the anti-Federalists feared government more than the people. Many anti-Federalists objected not only to the presidency but to the new federal court system. They also worried that those governments closest to the people, the local and state authorities, would be crushed by this new federal monster. Finally, they feared

## Focus on CITIZENSHIP

**Public Debate** Much debate over the proposed Constitution took place in New York publications, at a time when it was customary to print political arguments under pseudonyms, or pen names. For example, essays from *The Federalist* appeared in newspapers under the pseudonym *Publius*, a reference to Publius Valerius Publicola, a defender of the ancient Republic of Rome. Newspapers also ran a series of anti-Federalist essays arguing against the proposed Constitution. One anti-Federalist signed his essay *Brutus*, and another, *Cato*, names also borrowed from defenders of the Roman republic. Another anti-Federalist anonymously argued his position in “Letters from a Federal Farmer.”



**INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS** This cartoon shows the states as pillars. Nine states had to approve the new Constitution before it became law. **Synthesizing Information** What is the meaning of the statement that appears above the pillars?

## From Colonies to United States

1765	Stamp Act Congress	
1770s	Committees of Correspondence	
1774	First Continental Congress	
1775–81	Second Continental Congress	
1776	Declaration of Independence	1775–1783 War for Independence
1777	Articles of Confederation adopted	
1783	Treaty of Paris	
1785	Mount Vernon Convention	
1786	Annapolis Convention	
1787	Constitutional Convention	
1788	Ninth State (New Hampshire) ratifies the Constitution	
1789	Constitution goes into effect	
1790	Thirteenth state (Rhode Island) ratifies the Constitution	



### INTERPRETING TIME LINES

Important milestones mark the colonies' transformation into a new nation. **Drawing Inferences** Why did the fight for ratification of the Constitution continue after the necessary number of states approved the document?

done," he warned his countrymen, "or the fabric [the Union] must fall, for it is certainly tottering." The following year, 1787, Washington had served as head of the Constitutional Convention. Federalists could point out that the Constitution had been crafted under the leadership of the nation's greatest hero and most respected public figure.

Washington's support was crucial for another reason. Everyone expected Washington to be the first President. That made people more willing to accept the idea of a stronger government and a powerful executive. During the war, Washington had proved his ability to lead in spite of defeat and discouragement. More significant, instead of using the military to secure his position as ruler of the new nation, he had voluntarily given up his power over the army at the end of the war. Washington's conduct was seen as a sign of his commitment to act within the law.

Delaware, New Jersey, and Connecticut ratified quickly. They were relatively small states whose citizens could benefit from being part of a large federal structure. Georgia ratified quickly as well. Georgians feared a war with Native

for Americans' individual liberties. Two New York anti-Federalists argued:

### KEY DOCUMENTS

“ A general government, however guarded by declarations of rights, . . . must unavoidably, in a short time, be productive of the destruction of the civil liberty of such citizens who could be effectively coerced [dominated] by it.”

—Robert Yates and John Lansing, in a letter to the governor of New York, 1787

## Why the Federalists Won

The Constitution was officially submitted to the states for approval on September 28, 1787. From the start, the Federalists had several advantages in their campaign to promote it.

1. The Federalists drew on the widespread feeling that the Articles of Confederation had serious flaws. The young nation's economic problems and Shays' Rebellion convinced many Americans that something had to be done.
2. The Federalists were united around a specific plan—the Constitution. The anti-Federalists, in contrast, were united only in their opposition to the Constitution. They had no constructive plan of their own to offer.
3. The Federalists were a well-organized national group in regular contact with one another. The anti-Federalists tended to consist of local and state politicians who did not coordinate their activities on the national level.
4. Finally, the Federalists had George Washington's support. In 1786, Washington had foreseen the type of chaos that would erupt from Shays' Rebellion. "Something must be

Americans and wanted a national government for support. In Pennsylvania, Federalists had come to power, and they readily agreed to the new Constitution. All these states acted in December 1787 and January 1788.

Then Massachusetts narrowly voted to ratify. Maryland and South Carolina soon fell into line. New Hampshire Federalists managed to delay the vote in their state until they had a majority. In June 1788, New Hampshire had the honor of being the ninth and final state needed to ratify the Constitution.

Yet everyone knew the new nation would not succeed without the backing of the highly populated states of Virginia and New York. Loud debates and quiet maneuvers during the summer of 1788 produced narrow Federalist victories in both of these states. North Carolina at first rejected the Constitution but reversed its decision and voted in favor in November 1789. In May 1790, Rhode Island similarly reversed its position and became the last of the original thirteen states to approve the new government.

## The Bill of Rights

The states did adopt the Constitution. Yet the voting was close, and they might easily have rejected it. What turned the tide in close states like Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York? The skills of men such as Madison and Hamilton certainly had an impact. The most important factor, however, was the Federalists' offer to support several amendments to the Constitution.

**Protecting Individual Rights** Many Americans believed that a constitution should include a clear declaration of the rights of the people. Most state constitutions included such declarations. The Virginia Declaration of Rights, written by George Mason, was adopted by the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1776. This document contained many of the rights that were added to the United States Constitution. It declared that all men are free and independent, possessing inherent rights, such as the right to enjoy life and liberty, the right

### READING CHECK

Describe the advantages held by the Federalists in their campaign to win approval of the Constitution.

The Bill of Rights	
1st Amendment	Guarantees freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition
2nd Amendment	Guarantees the right to bear arms
3rd Amendment	Restricts the manner in which the federal government may house troops in the homes of citizens
4th Amendment	Protects individuals against unreasonable searches and seizures
5th Amendment	Provides that a person must be accused by a grand jury before being tried for a serious federal crime; protects individuals against self-incrimination and against being tried twice for the same crime; prohibits unfair actions by the federal government; prohibits the government from taking private property for public use without paying a fair price for it
6th Amendment	Guarantees persons accused of a crime the right to a swift and fair trial
7th Amendment	Guarantees the right to a jury trial in civil cases tried in federal courts
8th Amendment	Protects against cruel and unusual punishment and excessive bail
9th Amendment	Establishes that the people have rights beyond those stated in the Constitution
10th Amendment	Establishes that all powers not guaranteed to the federal government and not withheld from the state are held by each of the states, or their citizens

### INTERPRETING CHARTS

The Bill of Rights was intended to protect Americans from the strong national government the Constitution created. **Synthesizing Information** Which amendment protects people's right to express their views?

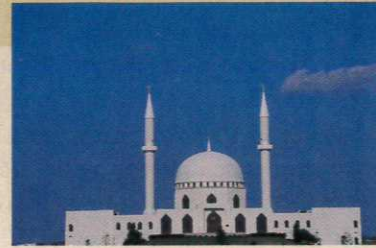
## The Bill of Rights Protects You

The Bill of Rights has endured for more than 200 years, guaranteeing individual freedoms to Americans. It speaks mainly in general principles. For example, the Eighth Amendment forbids but does not define “cruel and unusual punishment.”

Because the Bill of Rights is open to interpretation, Americans sometimes disagree about what the amendments mean. In recent years, for example, controversy has arisen over religious freedom, particularly on the matter of school prayer. The Supreme Court has ruled that students cannot be compelled to participate in prayer. Those who support the rulings claim they uphold what Thomas Jefferson saw as the high

wall needed to separate church and state.

On the other hand, some people contend that their right to worship freely is infringed upon, or violated, by such restrictions, and that the First Amendment protects students’ right to pray individually or in groups, on a voluntary basis. As provided by the First Amendment, freedom of religion—exercised in the Michigan mosque above—includes religious choice.



**? The general language sometimes used in the Bill of Rights has left it open to interpretation. Is this an advantage or a disadvantage? Explain.**

to own property, and the right to pursue and obtain happiness and safety. It also detailed the rights of the criminally accused:

**KEY DOCUMENTS**

“That in all capital or criminal prosecutions a man has 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 favor, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of twelve men of his vicinage [vicinity], without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself. . . .”

—The Virginia Declaration of Rights, Section 8

The Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, drafted by Thomas Jefferson and adopted in 1786, also influenced changes to the Constitution:

**KEY DOCUMENTS**

“That no man shall be compelled to frequent [attend] or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever . . . but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise [way] diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.”

—Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty

In September 1789, Congress proposed twelve constitutional amendments, largely drafted by James Madison and designed to protect citizens’ rights. The states ratified ten of the amendments, and they took effect on December 15, 1791. These first ten amendments to the Constitution are known today as the **Bill of Rights**. (See the chart on page 161.)

**Against the Bill of Rights** Most Federalists saw no need for these amendments. Members of the Constitutional Convention had talked about protecting freedom of speech, the press, and religion. But they decided such measures were unnecessary. They were building a government of, for, and by the people. Under

**READING CHECK**

Why was the Bill of Rights added to the Constitution?

the Constitution, the people and the government were the same. Why, then, did the people need to protect their rights from themselves?

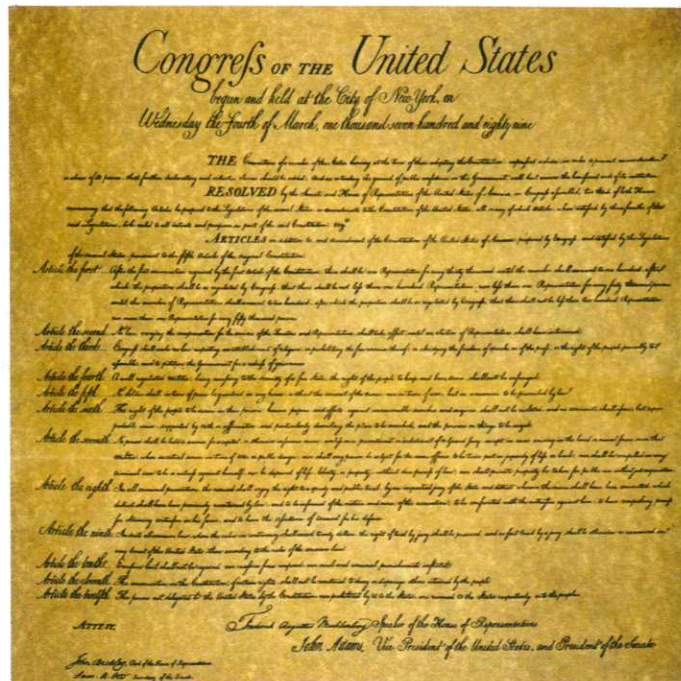
In *The Federalist*, No. 84, Hamilton quoted the Preamble of the Constitution to claim that “the people surrender nothing” under the new system. That is, they keep all the power. “Here is a better recognition of popular rights” than any added list of rights, he argued.

**For the Bill of Rights** Many Americans did not accept Hamilton’s reasoning. Anti-Federalists warned that if the rights of the people were not spelled out in the Constitution, these rights would be considered unenumerated powers of government. They believed that the Constitution needed a bill of rights to restrain the federal government.

Thomas Jefferson favored the Constitution but insisted that it include a bill of rights. He wanted the “unalienable rights” he wrote of in the Declaration of Independence to be guaranteed in the Constitution. In a letter to Madison, he urged him to agree to specific protections for freedom of religion and of the press as well as protections from armies and unjust courts. “A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth,” the ambassador wrote.

Jefferson unsuccessfully pushed for clearer, more detailed language in the Bill of Rights. For instance, he wanted it to specify the number of days a person could be held under arrest without a trial. He also believed it was important to ensure that the army would disband immediately after its service. Yet, upon returning home from France at the end of 1789, he threw his full support behind the Bill of Rights as written.

Facing overwhelming pressure for the Bill of Rights, the Federalists gave in. This compromise with the anti-Federalists led them to victory.



The Bill of Rights helps to ensure the protection of individual freedoms.

## Section

# 3

## Assessment

### READING COMPREHENSION

1. Why were special conventions, and not state legislatures, called upon to **ratify** the Constitution?
2. How were the **Federalists** able to win ratification of the Constitution?
3. How did James Madison address fears that any **faction** might be able to control the government?
4. Why did the **anti-Federalists** oppose the Constitution?
5. Why did many Americans want a **Bill of Rights**?

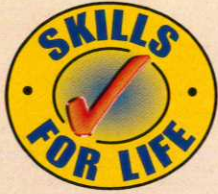
### CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

6. **Predicting Consequences** Would the Federalists have won approval for the Constitution if George Washington had not supported it? Explain your answer.
7. **Writing an Interview** Make a list of questions you would want to ask the Federalists and anti-Federalists if you were trying to decide how to vote on the Constitution.



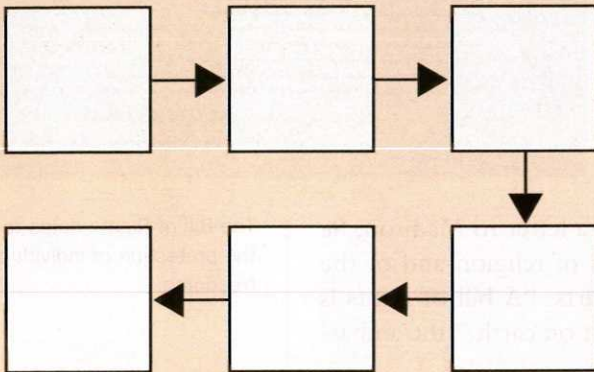
### Take It to the NET

**Activity: Writing an Editorial**  
 Craft a newspaper article that argues either for or against the proposed Constitution; try to write it in the style of the time. Find primary sources on the ratification process and quote them in your editorial. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.  
[www.phschool.com](http://www.phschool.com)



# Building Flowcharts

A flowchart is a useful way to show steps in a sequence. It can help you understand a process, or how one event or action leads to another. In one kind of flowchart, each step in the sequence is shown in a box. An arrow pointing from one box to the next leads you from step to step in the sequence. These kinds of flowcharts may be horizontal (flowing from left to right) or vertical (flowing from top to bottom). When you need to fit many steps in a small space, you can connect one row of boxes to another, as in the example below.



## The Constitution originally provided this process for the election of President and Vice President:

The electors meet in their states, and each elector votes for two of the candidates running for President. (The electors have already been chosen in their states, with each state having a number of electors equal to the sum of its senators and representatives. The Constitution allows state legislatures to decide how their electors are chosen.) After totaling up the votes, the electors send the results to the president of the Senate, and then the votes from all the states are counted. The person with the majority of electoral votes becomes President, and the runner-up (with the next highest number of votes) becomes Vice President. However, if there is a tie vote for President, or if no candidate has a majority, the House of Representatives chooses the President by ballot, with each state having one vote. If there is a tie for Vice President, the Senate chooses the Vice President.

## LEARN THE SKILL

Use the following steps to build a flowchart:

- 1. Give the topic a title and identify the main steps.** Your title will help you pick out the most important pieces of information, which will become your main steps.
- 2. Reword each main step so that it is brief enough to fit in a flowchart box.** This makes it easy to see the process at a glance. You can delete words like *the* and *a* to save space.
- 3. Place the steps in time order.** Look for time words in your source, such as *first*, *second*, *next*, *then*, *later*, and *after*, but do not use these words in your flowchart. The arrows take the place of these transitional words.
- 4. Create and fill in the flowchart.** Choose the kind of flowchart that is best for your topic, draw the boxes and arrows, and write the steps in the boxes.

## PRACTICE THE SKILL

Answer the following questions:

- Suppose you are using a flowchart to show the original Constitutional provision for the election of the President and Vice President. **(a)** What would be a good title for your flowchart? **(b)** What facts in the source (top of next column) do not need to be in the flowchart? **(c)** If you limited your flowchart to five main steps, what would they be?

- (a)** How would you reword the first step described in the source? **(b)** How would you reword the final step in the process?
- (a)** Should the first event mentioned in the source be the first step in the flowchart? Explain. **(b)** What transitional words in the source help you understand the order of the steps? **(c)** In this case, why might you need more than one flowchart to explain the process?
- (a)** Create a flowchart that shows the process when there is no tie for either President or Vice President. **(b)** To explain the process when there is a tie for Vice President, how many boxes would you need? **(c)** Create that flowchart. **(d)** Would a variation of a flowchart that shows all possibilities be useful? Explain.

## APPLY THE SKILL

See the Chapter Review and Assessment for another opportunity to apply this skill.

# The New Government

## READING FOCUS

- Who were the new leaders selected by President Washington?
- What challenges did Washington's government face?
- What details were involved in planning the capital city?

## MAIN IDEA

President Washington led the effort to create an effective federal government that would earn the respect of the American people and of other nations.

## KEY TERMS

inauguration  
Cabinet  
domestic affairs  
administration  
precedent

## TAKING NOTES

Copy the outline below. As you read, add facts and details from this section. Use Roman numerals to indicate the major headings of this section, capital letters for the subheadings, and numbers for the supporting details.

### The New Government

#### I. New Leaders

##### A. John Adams, Vice President

##### 1. Federalist

2. \_\_\_\_\_

B. \_\_\_\_\_

**Setting the Scene** On April 30, 1789, a crowd of thousands surrounded Federal Hall, an elegant building on New York City's Wall Street that served as the temporary home of the new government. From windows and rooftops, people strained to catch a glimpse of the tall figure with freshly powdered hair who now appeared on the front balcony of the building.

Those within earshot listened as George Washington repeated the oath of office of President of the United States and then kissed a Bible. The crowd roared its approval. In attendance for the proceedings was a minister from France, who later reported to his government:

*“Never has [a] sovereign [a ruler] reigned more completely in the hearts of his subjects than did Washington in those of his fellow-citizens. . . . He has the soul, look and figure of a hero united in him.”*

—Le Comte de Moustier

## The New Leaders

Washington took his oath as part of the official swearing-in ceremony, or **inauguration**. He also delivered a speech, in which he described the importance of the new government:

*“ . . . the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.”*

—George Washington, First Inaugural Address, April 30, 1789

Washington had been elected President in early 1789 by the new electoral college in a unanimous vote. Massachusetts patriot John Adams, a leading Federalist, became Vice President. As the nation celebrated this peaceful inauguration of leaders, difficult tasks lay ahead. The infant nation had a huge war debt. It lacked a



This inauguration souvenir proclaims, in part, “dumbness [silence] to the tongue that will utter a calumny [insult] against the immortal Washington.”





This illustration shows the first Cabinet: (left to right) Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph (whose back is turned), and Alexander Hamilton, with George Washington (far right).

permanent capital. It had no federal officers beyond Washington, Adams, and the newly elected Congress.

Immediately, President Washington began selecting officials to head the major departments of the executive branch. This group of federal leaders is called the **Cabinet**. Besides running their own agencies, Cabinet officers advise the President.

President Washington selected prominent Americans to fill these new posts. Edmund Randolph of Virginia was named Attorney General, the nation's chief law officer and legal advisor. Henry Knox, who had been Secretary of War under the Articles of Confederation, continued in this position under Washington.

Washington called on two of the nation's most respected patriots to fill his most crucial Cabinet posts. Thomas Jefferson was named to head the Department of State, which handles relations with foreign countries. Alexander Hamilton accepted the job of Secretary of the Treasury.

**Secretary of State Jefferson** Despite his role as chief author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson had not yet achieved great fame when he became Secretary of State. He had been elected governor of Virginia in 1779, and served as a delegate to the Continental Congress a few years later. Since then, however, he had spent several years out of the spotlight, serving as ambassador to France. While ambassador, Jefferson was able to keep in touch with events in the United States only through correspondence with friends like James Madison.

Upon his return from France in 1789, Jefferson quickly became involved again in **domestic affairs**—that is, the country's internal matters, as opposed to foreign issues. He eventually supported the Federalists' efforts to ratify the Constitution. Yet Jefferson was not a strict Federalist. His passionate concern for individuals' rights led him to press for the Bill of Rights.

Jefferson, later to become the nation's third President, was one of this nation's most gifted public figures. Besides being a planter, lawyer, and diplomat, Jefferson was a writer, inventor, and violinist. He made contributions to philosophy, mathematics, agricultural science, linguistics, and archaeology. Jefferson's love of learning led him to found the University of Virginia. Interested in architecture, Jefferson built several homes for himself. The most famous is Monticello, a gracious house near Charlottesville, Virginia.

A sense of duty made Jefferson a politician, but he much preferred the life of a gentleman farmer. Like many other southern planters of his day, Jefferson relied on slave labor. He knew that slavery was wrong, and he wrote eloquently about it as a moral evil. Yet he could never bring himself to free more than a few of his slaves.

President Washington chose Jefferson to head the Department of State because of his experience in dealing with France, the closest ally of the United States. However, the President also chose a man who never fully trusted the new government. Jefferson later would become one of Washington's harshest critics.

**Treasury Secretary Hamilton** Alexander Hamilton, the new head of the Department of the Treasury, was an intellectually brilliant man. He had attended King's College (now Columbia University) in New York City. He had quickly become involved in politics, supporting the Patriot cause. As an officer in the Continental Army during the Revolution, Hamilton had served as private secretary to General Washington. He carried out important military missions, and led a battalion during the battle at Yorktown.

### READING CHECK

What were Thomas Jefferson's qualifications for Secretary of State?

Now Hamilton headed the government's largest department. In contrast to Jefferson, who never really trusted government, Hamilton believed that governmental power, properly used, could accomplish great things.

Despite the strong contrasts between Jefferson and Hamilton, the first months, even years, of the new government went fairly smoothly. The economic problems brought on by the war eased, and the adoption of the Constitution gave the nation much-needed stability.

## Washington's Government

The largest problems and the smallest details came to Washington's attention during his first **administration**, or term of office. (*Administration* may also refer to the members and agencies of the executive branch as a whole.) With every decision, every action, every inaction, Washington and his officials were establishing **precedents** for how to govern. A precedent is an act or statement that becomes an example, rule, or tradition to be followed.

Many precedents were needed to answer important questions on how the new nation was to be governed. How should Congress and the President interact with each other? What was the role of the Cabinet? Nobody yet knew.

Typical of this experimental period was the debate in the Senate over what, if anything, to call the President. "His Excellency" was rejected early in the discussion. A Senate committee later suggested "His Highness the President of the United States of America and Protector of their Liberties." But the House of Representatives rejected that title, and the issue was set aside. (Today we simply use "Mr. President.")

## NOTABLE PRESIDENTS

### George Washington

*"The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government."*

—Farewell Address, 1796

George Washington was not only the nation's first President, he was also the person for whom the office was created. A former Virginia planter and surveyor, he had fought the French and Indian War and had led the Continental Army during the Revolution. His leadership in the fight for independence made him the nation's leading public figure.

Washington was famous, too, for his honesty, dignity, and self-control. In 1787, the Framers of the Constitution were confident that he could be trusted with the enormous powers of the presidency. Washington actively supported ratification of the Constitution, and his dignity and restraint as President eased many people's fears about the new government.

Washington could not, however, make the new government universally popular. Many Americans distrusted strong government, Alexander Hamilton's economic plans, and Washington's pro-British foreign policy. Convinced that Washington was leading the

nation away from the ideals of the Revolution, they rallied behind Thomas Jefferson. Saddened that he could not prevent factions, Washington refused to run for a third term in 1796.

When Washington died, however, Americans joined together to honor his steadfast service to the nation, first as a general fighting a difficult war and later as a President seeking a workable balance between order and liberty.

### Connecting to Today

Do you believe that dignity and restraint are as important for American Presidents today as they were in Washington's era? Explain your answer.



**Take It to the NET Biography** To read more about George Washington, visit the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site. [www.phschool.com](http://www.phschool.com)



1st President  
1789–1797

## Focus on CITIZENSHIP

**Charitable Cause** In her role as the first President's wife, Martha Washington (below) set precedents of her own during her husband's administration. Famous for her support of the American cause in the Revolution, Mrs. Washington—or Lady Washington, as she was often called—rallied behind the veterans of the Revolutionary War and made it her mission to see to their well-being. If veterans came into any trouble with the law, she was known to plead to the President for their pardons. She organized relief drives for veterans, and regularly received them as visitors, handing out small gifts of money to those in need. Martha Washington's goodwill gestures set a precedent for future Presidents' wives to follow: to serve the public need through a particular cause and, by example, encourage other citizens to do the same.



Meanwhile, President Washington, aware of the precedents he was setting, worked to establish a tone of dignity in his administration. His own appearance and personality helped. More than 6 feet tall, Washington cut an impressive figure. By nature he was solemn, reserved, and very formal.

Washington was also intensely private. A man named Gouverneur Morris had found this out the hard way: During the Constitutional Convention, some of Morris's fellow delegates had dared him to put his hand on Washington's shoulder. According to one account of the incident, "Washington withdrew his hand, stepped suddenly back, [and] fixed his eye on Morris for several minutes with an angry frown, until the latter retreated abashed, and sought refuge in the crowd."

Throughout his first term, Washington remained a popular figure, and in 1792 he won unanimous reelection. Reluctantly, he accepted. As you will read in the next chapter, his second administration would prove to be more difficult, marked by criticism and controversy.

During his eight years in the capital, Washington lived in grand style. Soldiers escorted his carriage, which was pulled by a team of six horses. The President and his wife, Martha, held regular Friday receptions to entertain government officials and ambassadors. Every year, government officials celebrated the President's birthday with elaborate ceremonies.

Washington believed that such pomp was necessary to command the respect of the American public and the rest of the world. To some people, however, such activities made Washington seem like a king with a lavish court.

The need to make the government appear both powerful and democratic at the same time presented quite a challenge. Yet such issues were important because they would set precedents for generations to come.

### Planning a Capital City

A new nation needed a new capital, one that could equal the beauty and stature of Europe's grand capital cities. New York City was home to the government during Washington's first year. In 1790, the capital was moved to Philadelphia. There it would remain for a decade, while a brand-new capital could be planned and built.

That effort began with the Residence Act of 1790. It specified that the capital would be a 10-square-mile stretch of land on the Potomac River near Washington's home at Mount Vernon. The city would be located along the Maryland-Virginia border, but it would be governed by federal authorities, not by either state. The new capital was called the District of Columbia, although after President Washington's death in 1799, the city was renamed Washington, District of Columbia.

At the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson, Washington appointed Benjamin Banneker, an African American mathematician and inventor, to the commission formed to survey the city. Pierre-Charles L'Enfant, a French artist and architect who had fought for the United States during the Revolution, developed the city plan.

L'Enfant designed a spacious capital with broad streets laid out in an elegant, European-style pattern. Though the capital would initially serve a nation of only 13 states, L'Enfant planned an expansive city that later proved fit to



**VIEWING HISTORY** This 1792 engraved map is based on Pierre-Charles L'Enfant's plan for Washington, D.C. **Drawing Conclusions** What impressions were the Federalists hoping to make with L'Enfant's design for the new capital?

administer to 50 states. He created plans for the official residence of the President, a mansion now called the White House, as well as Congress's new home, the Capitol. The federal government moved to the new District of Columbia in 1800, decades before the plan was fully realized.

Today, Washington, D.C., with its great boulevards, marble buildings in the Roman style, and public monuments, is the most visible legacy of the Federalists' grand plans for the United States. It was meant to display the power and dignity of the new federal government that they had fought to build. Washington, D.C. was the symbol of the strong national government they had lobbied for throughout the 1780s and outlined in the Constitution.

## Section

## 4

## Assessment

### READING COMPREHENSION

1. What points did Washington make in his **inauguration** speech?
2. Who were the first **Cabinet** officers and what were their jobs?
3. What are **domestic affairs**?
4. What issues did Washington's first **administration** face? What kinds of **precedents** did Washington set?
5. Why did Washington promote formality in his administration?

### CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

6. **Making Comparisons** Compare and contrast Thomas Jefferson's views of government with those of Alexander Hamilton.
7. **Testing Conclusions** Cite evidence to show how Washington succeeded in his effort to create a federal government respected by other nations.
8. **Writing to Inform** Explain how precedents set by George Washington during his presidency still influence our government today.



### Take It to the NET

**Activity: Writing a Progress Report** Read the first four annual messages delivered by George Washington to Congress. Create a list of the topics raised in each message, and then use the list to write a report on the progress Washington made during his first term in office. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

[www.phschool.com](http://www.phschool.com)

## Review and Assessment

## creating a CHAPTER SUMMARY

Copy this chart (right) on a piece of paper and complete it by adding key ideas about the documents listed.



For additional review and enrichment activities, see the interactive version of *America: Pathways to the Present*, available on the Web and on CD-ROM.



Document	Arguments For	Arguments Against
Articles of Confederation		
Constitution		
Bill of Rights		

★ **Reviewing Key Terms**

For each of the terms below, write a sentence explaining how it relates to the Constitution of the United States.

- legislative branch
- executive branch
- judicial branch
- democracy
- republic
- amend
- veto
- federal system of government
- separation of powers
- checks and balances
- electoral college
- ratify
- Bill of Rights
- Cabinet

★ **Reviewing Main Ideas**

- Evaluate the structure of the government under the Articles of Confederation. (Section 1)
- Describe Shays' Rebellion. Identify the reasons the rebellion occurred, and evaluate its impact. (Section 1)
- Who was James Madison, and what was his role at the Constitutional Convention? (Section 2)
- What was the structure of the government created by the Constitution? (Section 2)
- What arguments did the Federalists make to gain approval of the Constitution? (Section 3)
- Why did Federalists think the Bill of Rights was unnecessary? (Section 3)
- Name one supporter of the Bill of Rights. What was his argument for supporting it? (Section 3)
- What roles did Jefferson and Hamilton have in Washington's administration? (Section 4)
- Analyze the importance of setting precedents during Washington's presidency. (Section 4)

★ **Critical Thinking**

- Distinguishing Fact From Opinion** Write two facts and two opinions about the Articles of Confederation.
- Demonstrating Reasoned Judgment** Do you think that Shays' Rebellion was a sign that the nation was slipping into disorder? Explain your answer.
- Drawing Conclusions** Why was the year 1787 a turning point in American history?
- Identifying Assumptions** What did the Three-Fifths Compromise suggest about how the Framers of the Constitution viewed enslaved African Americans?
- Making Comparisons** Evaluate the Constitution from the differing viewpoints of a Federalist and an anti-Federalist.
- Testing Conclusions** Many Americans believed that a Bill of Rights was absolutely crucial to the protection of liberty. Do you think this conclusion has proven to be correct? Use examples from history or from the present to show your reasoning.

## ★ Skills Assessment

### Analyzing Political Cartoons ▶

30. This engraving shows the celebration of New York's ratification of the Constitution. (a) What does the ship represent? (b) How do you know? (c) In this engraving, who is identified with the success of ratification? (d) How do you know?
31. Was the cartoonist a Federalist or an anti-Federalist? Explain your answer.



### Analyzing Primary Sources

Read this excerpt, and then answer the questions that follow.

“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.”

—Preamble to the Constitution, 1787

32. Which document was designed to “secure the Blessings of Liberty”?
- A the Constitution
  - B *The Federalist*, No. 10
  - C the Cabinet
  - D the Eighth Amendment
33. Why were the Framers attempting to “form a more perfect Union”?
- F Under the Articles of Confederation, the national government had little power to resolve problems among states.
  - G Smaller states threatened to leave the Union because they feared a strong national government.
  - H Shays' Rebellion had shown Americans that their national government was too powerful.
  - J The Articles of Confederation did not give people enough say in their government.

### Applying the Chapter Skill: Building Flowcharts

34. Construct a flowchart to show the steps taken from the assembling of the Constitutional Convention to the ratification of the Constitution.

## ACTIVITIES

### Writing to LEARN

#### Writing to Persuade

The Constitution is often referred to as “The Living Constitution.” Write an essay that shows how the Constitution is alive today. Include answers to these questions: (a) What features of the Constitution make it flexible enough to apply to the nation's needs today? (b) What freedoms do you enjoy because of the Constitution?

### Primary Source CD-ROM

**Working With Primary Sources** Find additional information on the Constitution of the United States on the *Exploring Primary Sources in U.S. History CD-ROM* and use the selection(s) provided to complete the Chapter 5 primary source activity located in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site.  
[www.phschool.com](http://www.phschool.com)

### Take It to the NET

**Chapter Self-Test** As a review activity, take the Chapter 5 Self-Test in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area at the Web site listed below. The questions are designed to test your understanding of the chapter content.  
[www.phschool.com](http://www.phschool.com)