Objectives You may wish to call students' attention to the objectives in the Section Preview. The objectives are reflected in the main headings of the section.

Bellringer Have students name some basic human rights and freedoms. Then ask them where they got their ideas about what their rights and freedoms are. Explain that in this section, they will learn where colonial Americans got their ideas about people's political rights and freedoms.

Vocabulary Builder Have students examine each term in the Political Dictionary for any word parts that might be helpful in remembering the term's meaning. Ask them to write a possible meaning and then check their results in a dictionary.

Lesson Plan

Teaching the Main Ideas L3

H–SS 12.3.3

1. Focus Tell students that every nation's government can trace its roots to influential political ideas, traditions, and documents. Ask students to discuss what they know about the roots of American government.

2. Instruct Ask students to name the historical English documents that embody the basic concepts of American government. Then lead a discussion on those documents and how well the ideas they contained were applied in the three types of American colonies. How did religion help shape our political beginnings?

3. Close/Reteach Remind students of the three basic ideas of government and the three types of colonies. Then have them list the types and describe how well each one exemplified the three basic ideas of government.

Point-of-Use Resources

Block Scheduling with Lesson Strategies Activities for Chapter 2 are presented on p. 20.

1 Our Political Beginnings

Section Preview

Objectives

1. **Identify** the three basic concepts of government that influenced government in the English colonies.
2. **Explain** the significance of the following landmark English documents: the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the English Bill of Rights.
3. **Describe** the three types of colonies that the English established in North America.

Why It Matters

Our system of government has its origins in the concepts and political ideas that English colonists brought with them when they settled North America. The colonies served as a school for learning about government.

Political Dictionary

- ★ **limited government**
- ★ **representative government**
- ★ **Magna Carta**
- ★ **Petition of Right**
- ★ **English Bill of Rights**
- ★ **charter**
- ★ **bicameral**
- ★ **proprietary**
- ★ **unicameral**

The American system of government did not suddenly spring into being with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Nor was it suddenly created by the Framers of the Constitution in 1787.

The beginnings of what was to become the United States can be found in the mid-sixteenth century when explorers, traders, and settlers first made their way to North America. The French, Dutch, Spanish, Swedes, and others contributed to the European domination of this continent—and to the domination of those Native Americans who were here for centuries before the first Europeans arrived. It was the English, however, who came in the largest numbers. And it was the English who soon controlled the 13 colonies that stretched for some 1,300 miles along the Atlantic coast.

◀ English settlers brought to North America a political system as well as the skills needed to create household items, such as this carved Hadley chest.

Basic Concepts of Government

The earliest English settlers brought with them knowledge of a political system—established laws, customs, practices, and institutions—that had been developing for centuries.

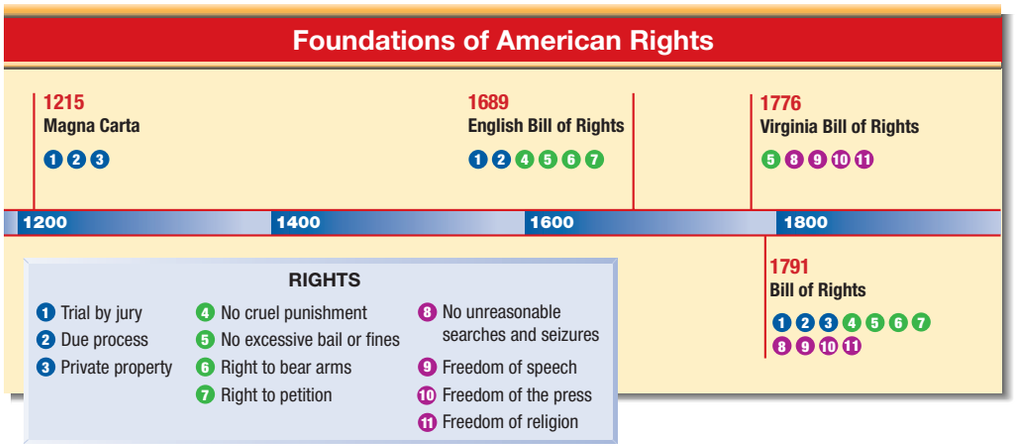
The political system they knew was that of England, of course. But some aspects of that structure had come to England from other times and places. For example, the concept of the rule of law that influenced English political ideas had roots in the early river civilizations of Africa and Asia.[1] More directly, the ancient Romans who occupied much of England from A.D. 43 to 410 left behind a legacy of law, religion, and custom to the people. From this rich political history, the English colonists brought to North America three ideas that were to loom large in the shaping of government in the United States.

[1]For example, King Hammurabi of Babylonia developed a codified system of laws known as Hammurabi's Code around 1750 B.C. Its 282 laws covered real estate, trade, and business transactions, as well as criminal law. The code distinguished between major and minor offenses, established the state as the authority that would enforce the law, and tried to guarantee social justice. Because of the Babylonians' close contact with the Hebrews, many of their laws became part of the Hebrew law and thus later a part of the Old Testament of the Bible—for example, "An eye for an eye." The English and the English colonists were familiar with and devoutly attracted to this Biblical concept of the rule of law.

Block Scheduling Strategies

Consider these suggestions to manage extended class time:

- Organize the class into three groups, assigning each group one of the following documents: the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, or the English Bill of Rights. Have each group research its assigned document to determine how it helped shape the ideas of ordered government, limited government, and representative government. Finally, have groups present their information to the class.
- Have students create maps of colonial America identifying each colony as royal, proprietary, or charter. Then ask students to create summaries of the types of colonies, identifying the similarities and differences between them. Have volunteers share their summaries with the class. Afterwards, lead a discussion on the three types of colonies.



Interpreting Charts The rights established in these landmark documents were revolutionary in their day. They did not, however, extend to all people when first granted. Over the years, these rights have influenced systems of government in many countries. ***How might the right to petition, first granted in the English Bill of Rights, prevent abuse of power by a monarch?*** **H-SS 12.1.1**

Ordered Government

Those first English colonists saw the need for an orderly regulation of their relationships with one another—that is, for government. They created local governments, based on those they had known in England. Many of the offices and units of government they established are still with us today: the offices of sheriff, coroner, assessor, and justice of the peace, the grand jury, counties, townships, and several others.

Limited Government

The colonists also brought with them the idea that government is not all-powerful. That is, government is restricted in what it may do, and each individual has certain rights that government cannot take away.

This concept is called **limited government,** and it was deeply rooted in English belief and practice by the time the first English ships reached the Americas. It had been planted in England centuries earlier, and it had been developing there for nearly 400 years before Jamestown was settled in 1607.

Representative Government

The early English settlers also carried another important concept to America: **representative government.** This idea that government should serve the will of the people had also been developing in England for centuries. With it had come a growing insistence that the people should have a voice in deciding what government should and should not do. As with the concept of limited government, this notion of "government of, by, and for the people" found fertile soil in America, and it flourished here.

Landmark English Documents

These basic notions of ordered government, of limited government, and of representative government can be traced to several landmark documents in English history.

The Magna Carta

A group of determined barons forced King John to sign the **Magna Carta**—the Great Charter—at Runnymede in 1215. Weary of John's military campaigns and heavy taxes, the

▶ King John's conflicts with English nobles led to the signing of the Magna Carta. ***Critical Thinking*** ***Could the basic notions of ordered, limited, and representative government have developed without the signing of the Magna Carta? Explain your answer.*** **H-SS 12.1.1**

Reading Strategy

Getting the Main Idea

Discuss with students whether ancient ideas can still be valid in the modern world. Ask them how far back in history we might go and still find political ideas that are basic to our system of government today. Have students look for answers to this question as they read.

Background Note

Common Misconceptions

King John's signing of the Magna Carta at the meadow Runnymede in 1215 ranks as one of the most famous events in the history of government. But King John never really did sign the document. The reason? He didn't know how to write his own name. Instead, the monarch signaled his acceptance of the Magna Carta by placing his seal on it.

Point-of-Use Resources

Guided Reading and Review Unit 1 booklet, p. 8 provides students with practice identifying the main ideas and key terms of this section.

Lesson Planner For complete lesson planning suggestions, see the Lesson Planner booklet, section 1.

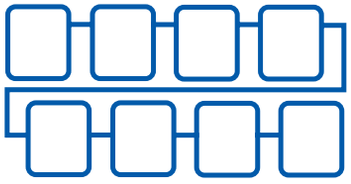
Political Cartoons See p. 7 of the Political Cartoons booklet for a cartoon relevant to this section.

Organizing Information

To make sure students understand the main points of this section, you may wish to use the flowchart graphic organizer to the right.

Tell students that a flowchart shows a sequence of events. Ask students to use the flowchart to record the sequence of English and colonial political ideas that shaped early American government.

Teaching Tip A template for this graphic organizer can be found in the Section Support Transparencies, Transparency 4.



Answers to . . .

Interpreting Charts Possible answer: Through petitioning, people would always have the ability to question the monarch's actions.

Critical Thinking Answers will vary; students might suggest that without the basic rights established by the Magna Carta, the idea of restricted government could not evolve.

Make It Relevant

Students Make a Difference

Stanford Pugsley discovered that it pays to know the way your government works. The 16-year-old student from Salt Lake City, Utah, found a little known 1986 law and used it to become a member of his local board of education.

Stan wanted to get involved. He thought that "once kids start getting interested and not just worrying about their own lives, they'll get the whole view and make a difference in the world."

To get *his* start on making a difference, Stan collected 500 signatures of his peers, and requested appointment to the board as a nonvoting member. That's what the law required—and that's how Stanford Pugsley became the first student on the Salt Lake City Board of Education.

Universal Access L2

Have students create crossword puzzles using the vocabulary terms of this section. Using definitions from the text, students will create a puzzle that they can exchange with a classmate. Students should complete a puzzle and return it to the original creator for grading.

ELL

Point-of-Use Resources

Close Up on Primary Sources
English Petition of Right (1628), p. 55

barons who developed the Magna Carta were seeking protection against heavy-handed and arbitrary acts by the king.

The Magna Carta included such fundamental rights as trial by jury and due process of law—protection against the arbitrary taking of life, liberty, or property. These protections against the absolute power of the king were originally intended only for the privileged classes. Over time, they became the rights of all English people and were incorporated into other documents. The Magna Carta established the principle that the power of the monarchy was not absolute.

The Petition of Right

The Magna Carta was respected by some monarchs and ignored by others for 400 years. During this time, England's Parliament, a representative body with the power to make laws, slowly grew in influence. In 1628, when Charles I asked Parliament for more money in taxes, Parliament refused until he signed the **Petition of Right.**

The Petition of Right limited the king's power in several ways. Most importantly, the document demanded that the king no longer imprison or otherwise punish any person but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. It also insisted that the king not impose martial law (rule by the military) in time of peace, or require homeowners to shelter the king's troops without their consent. In addition, the Petition stated that no man should be:

PRIMARY Sources

> *"compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament."*
>
> —X, Petition of Right

The Petition challenged the idea of the divine right of kings, declaring that even a monarch must obey the law of the land.

The Bill of Rights

In 1688, after years of revolt and turmoil, Parliament offered the crown to William and Mary of Orange. The events surrounding their ascent to the throne are known in English history as the Glorious Revolution. To prevent abuse of power by William and Mary and all future monarchs, Parliament, in 1689, drew up a list of provisions to which William and Mary had to agree.

This document, the **English Bill of Rights,** prohibited a standing army in peacetime, except with the consent of Parliament, and required that all parliamentary elections be free. In addition, the document declared

PRIMARY Sources

> *"that the pretended power of suspending the laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament is illegal . . . .*
>
> *that levying money for or to the use of the Crown . . . without grant of Parliament . . . is illegal . . .*
>
> *that it is the right of the subjects to petition the king . . . and that prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal . . ."*
>
> —English Bill of Rights

The English Bill of Rights also included such guarantees as the right to a fair trial, and freedom from excessive bail and from cruel and unusual punishment.

Our nation has built on, changed, and added to those ideas and institutions that settlers brought here from England. Still, much in American government and politics today is based on these early English ideas.

The English Colonies

England's colonies in North America have been described as "13 schools of government." The colonies were the settings in which Americans first began to learn the difficult art of government.[2]

The 13 colonies were established separately, over a span of some 125 years. During that long period, outlying trading posts and isolated farm settlements developed into organized

[2]The Europeans who came to the Americas brought with them their own views of government, but this does not mean that they brought the idea of government to the Americas. Native Americans had governments. They had political institutions that worked to accomplish the goals of the state; they had political leaders; and they had policies toward other states.

Some Native American political organizations were very complex. For example, five Native American tribes in present-day New York State—the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and Mohawk—formed a confederation known as the Iroquois League. The League was set up to end conflicts among the tribes, but it was so successful as a form of government that it lasted for over 200 years.

Preparing for Standardized Tests

Have students read the Primary Sources passages from the English Bill of Rights on this page and then answer the question below.

What was Parliament's primary concern in writing the English Bill of Rights?

A To limit the power of the monarchy.

B To keep the king from pretending things.

C To transfer all power from the monarchy to Parliament.

D To make petitioning illegal.

communities. The first colony, Virginia, was founded with the first permanent English settlement in North America at Jamestown in 1607.[3] Georgia was the last to be formed, with the settlement of Savannah in 1733.

Each of the colonies was born out of a particular set of circumstances, and so each had its own character. Virginia was originally organized as a commercial venture. Its first colonists were employees of the Virginia Company, a private trading corporation. Massachusetts was first settled by people who came to North America in search of greater personal and religious freedom. Georgia was founded largely as a haven for debtors, a refuge for the victims of England's harsh poor laws.

But the differences between and among the colonies are really of little importance. Of much greater significance is the fact that all of them were shaped by their English origins. The many similarities among all 13 colonies far outweighed the differences.

Each colony was established on the basis of a **charter,** a written grant of authority from the king. Over time, these instruments of government led to the development of three different kinds of colonies: royal, proprietary, and charter.

Interpreting Maps Despite the different circumstances surrounding the settlement of each colony, they all shared a common English background. ***How were royal colonies governed?***

Royal Colonies

The royal colonies were subject to the direct control of the Crown. On the eve of the American Revolution in 1775, there were eight: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The Virginia colony did not enjoy the quick success its sponsors had promised. So, in 1624, the king revoked the London Company's charter, and Virginia became the first royal colony. Later, as the original charters of other colonies were canceled or withdrawn for a variety of reasons, they became royal colonies.

A pattern of government gradually emerged for each of the royal colonies. The king named a governor to serve as the colony's chief executive. A council, also named by the king, served as an advisory body to the royal governor. In time, the governor's council became the upper house of the colonial legislature. It also became the highest court in the colony. The lower house of a **bicameral** (two-house) legislature was elected by those property owners qualified to vote.[4] It

[3]St. Augustine, Florida, is the oldest continuously populated European settlement in what is now the United States. St. Augustine was founded by Pedro Menéndez in 1565 to establish Spanish authority in the region.

[4]The Virginia legislature held its first meeting in the church at Jamestown on July 30, 1619, and was the first representative body to meet in the North American English colonies. It was made up of burgesses—that is, representatives—elected from each settlement in the colony. Virginia called the lower house of its colonial legislature the House of Burgesses; South Carolina, the House of Commons; Massachusetts, the House of Representatives.

Universal Access L2

Have students review the first section by creating an outline representing the important ideas in the section. You may want to provide them with the beginning of the outline:

Our Political Beginnings
- I. Basic concepts of government
  - A. Ordered government
  - B. Limited government
  - C. Representative government

LPR

Background Note

A Diverse Nation

In 1619, a year before the *Mayflower* reached Plymouth, the first Africans in English North America reached Jamestown. They were indentured servants, not slaves, and they numbered about twenty. At the time, African slavery was common in the American colonies settled by Portugal and Spain, but the practice did not become widespread in the English colonies until after the establishment of the Royal African Company in 1672. After that, the number of Africans who were brought to the colonies—now as slaves, not indentured servants—rose sharply.

Point-of-Use Resources

Close Up on Primary Sources
Maryland Toleration Act (1649), p. 28; English Bill of Rights (1689), p. 56

Section Support Transparencies
Transparency 10, *Visual Learning;* Transparency 109, *Political Cartoon*

Answer to . . .

Interpreting Maps By a governor appointed by the king; a bicameral legislature made the laws, but the governor and Crown had to approve them.

owed much of its influence to the fact that it shared with the governor and his council the power of the purse—that is, the power to tax and spend. The governor, advised by the council, appointed the judges for the colony's courts.

The laws passed by the legislature had to be approved by the governor and the Crown. Royal governors often ruled with a stern hand, following instructions from London. Much of the resentment that finally flared into revolution was fanned by their actions.

The Proprietary Colonies

By 1775, there were three **proprietary** colonies: Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.[5] These colonies were organized by a proprietor, a person to whom the king had made a grant of land. By charter, that land could be settled and governed much as the proprietor (owner) chose. In 1632 the king had granted Maryland to Lord Baltimore and in 1681, Pennsylvania to William Penn. In 1682 Penn also acquired Delaware.

The governments of these three colonies were much like those in the royal colonies. The governor, however, was appointed by the proprietor. In Maryland and Delaware, the legislatures were bicameral. In Pennsylvania, the legislature was a **unicameral** (one-house) body. There, the governor's council did not act as one house of the legislature. As in the royal colonies, appeals from the decisions of the proprietary colonies could be carried to the king in London.

The Charter Colonies

Connecticut and Rhode Island were charter colonies. They were based on charters granted in 1662 and 1663, respectively, to the colonists themselves.[6] They were largely self-governing.

The governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island were elected each year by the white, male property owners in each colony. Although the king's approval was required before the governor could take office, it was not often asked. Laws made by their bicameral legislatures were not subject to the governor's veto nor was the Crown's approval needed. Judges in charter colonies were appointed by the legislature, but appeals could be taken from the colonial courts to the king.

The Connecticut and the Rhode Island charters were so liberal for their time that, with independence, they were kept with only minor changes as State constitutions—until 1818 and 1843, respectively. In fact, many historians say that had Britain allowed the other colonies the same freedoms and self-government, the Revolution might never have occurred.

[5] New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia also began as proprietary colonies. Each later became a royal colony.

[6] The Massachusetts Bay Colony was established as the first charter colony in 1629. Its charter was later revoked and Massachusetts became a royal colony in 1691. Religious dissidents from Massachusetts founded Connecticut in 1633 and Rhode Island in 1636.

Section 1 Assessment

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. Explain the concepts of ordered government, **limited government,** and **representative government.**
2. What were some of the fundamental rights and principles established in the **Magna Carta,** the **Petition of Right,** and the **English Bill of Rights?**
3. Identify and describe the three types of government in the English colonies.
4. Explain the difference between a **bicameral** and a **unicameral** legislative body.

Critical Thinking

5. **Testing Conclusions** "Had Britain given each colony the degree of self-government found in Connecticut and Rhode Island, the Revolution might never have occurred." Do you agree or disagree? Explain.
6. **Making Comparisons** In what ways were the colonial governments similar? How did they differ?

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For: Self-Quiz and vocabulary practice
Web Code: mqa-1021

Go Online PHSchool.com
For: An activity on colonial charters
Web Code: mqd-1021

Point-of-Use Resources

Guide to the Essentials Chapter 2, Section 1, p. 18 provides support for students who need additional review of section content. Spanish support is available in the Spanish edition of the Guide on p. 11.

Quiz Unit 1 booklet, p. 9 includes matching and multiple-choice questions to check students' understanding of Section 1 content.

Presentation Pro CD-ROM Quizzes and multiple-choice questions check students' understanding of Section 1 content.

Answers to . . .

Section 1 Assessment

1. Refer to the explanations of ordered government, limited government, and representative government on p. 29.
2. The Magna Carta introduced the rights of trial by jury and due process of law—protection against the arbitrary taking of life, liberty, or property. The Petition of Right limited the king's powers and declared that monarchs must obey laws. The English Bill of Rights prohibited standing armies in peacetime, required that parliamentary elections be free, and guaranteed fair trails and freedom from excessive punishment.
3. Royal colonies: under direct control of Crown; Proprietary colonies: governed by the owner; Charter colonies: enjoyed large degree of self-government.
4. A bicameral legislative body has two houses, while a unicameral legislative body has just one.
5. Students should recognize that had the other colonists been allowed reasonable control over their local affairs, they would have had much less cause for discontent and rebellion.
6. Similar: all started with charters and were based on English government. Different: all had varying degrees of self-government.

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For additional assessment, have students access **Standards Monitoring Online** at **Web Code:** mqa-1021

Go Online PHSchool.com Typing in the Web Code when prompted will bring students directly to detailed instructions for this activity.

Objectives You may wish to call students' attention to the objectives in the Section Preview. The objectives are reflected in the main headings of the section.

Bellringer Ask students what problems a basketball team with five star players might have. Elicit that individual brilliance without teamwork does not win championships. Explain that in this section, they will learn how 13 individual colonies learned to work together.

Vocabulary Builder Have students study the terms in the Political Dictionary to find three terms that are directly related to the idea of colonies working together. As students read the section, have them use the text to tie all of the terms to the development of a unified American government.

Lesson Plan

Teaching the Main Ideas L3

H–SS 12.1.3

1. Focus Tell students that a spirit of cooperation developed slowly among the American colonies as they responded to increasingly harsh British actions. Ask students to discuss what they know about early attempts at cooperation.

2. Instruct Tell students that the unity reflected in the Declaration of Independence did not come easily. Lead a discussion of how unity developed over time and what pushed the colonies to join together. Conclude by asking whether State constitutions added to that unity.

3. Close/Reteach Remind students that colonial unity developed over time in response to specific events. Have students make a chart showing each colonial attempt at promoting cooperation and the reason behind it.

2 The Coming of Independence

Section Preview

Objectives

1. **Explain** how Britain's colonial policies contributed to the growth of self-government in the colonies.
2. **Identify** some of the steps that led to growing feelings of colonial unity.
3. **Compare** the outcomes of the First and Second Continental Congresses.
4. **Analyze** the ideas in the Declaration of Independence.
5. **Describe** the drafting of the first State constitutions and summarize the constitutions' common features.

Why It Matters

Changes in British colonial policies led to resentment in the colonies and eventually to the American Revolution. Ideas expressed in the early State constitutions influenced the development of the governmental system under which we live today.

Political Dictionary

- ★ **confederation**
- ★ **Albany Plan of Union**
- ★ **delegate**
- ★ **boycott**
- ★ **repeal**
- ★ **popular sovereignty**

"We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately." Benjamin Franklin is said to have spoken these words on July 4, 1776, as he and the other members of the Second Continental Congress approved the Declaration of Independence. Those who heard him may have chuckled. But they also may have felt a shiver, for Franklin's humor carried a deadly serious message.

▲ Colonists who made their tea in this pot voiced their opposition to the Stamp Act.

In this section, you will follow the events that led to the momentous decision to break with Great Britain.[7] You will also consider the new State governments that were established with the coming of Independence.

Britain's Colonial Policies

The 13 colonies, which had been separately established, were separately controlled under the king, largely through the Privy Council and the Board of Trade in London. Parliament took little part in the management of the colonies. Although it did become more and more interested in matters of trade, it left matters of colonial administration almost entirely to the Crown.[8]

Over the century and a half that followed the first settlement at Jamestown, the colonies developed within that framework of royal control. In theory, they were governed in all important matters from London. But London was more than 3,000 miles away, and it took nearly two months to sail that distance across a peril-filled Atlantic. So, in practice, the colonists became used to a large measure of self-government.

Each colonial legislature began to assume broad lawmaking powers. Many found the power of the purse to be very effective. They often bent a royal governor to their will by not voting the money for his salary until he came to terms with them. As one member of New Jersey's Assembly put it: "Let us keep the dogges poore, and we'll make them do as we please."

[7] England became Great Britain by the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707.

[8] Much of English political history can be told in terms of the centuries-long struggle for supremacy between monarch and Parliament. That conflict was largely settled by England's Glorious Revolution of 1688, but it did continue through the American colonial period and into the nineteenth century. However, Parliament paid little attention to the American colonies until very late in the colonial period.

Block Scheduling Strategies

Consider these suggestions to manage extended class time:

- Ask students to assume the roles of members of the Second Continental Congress who are writing their memoirs. Have each student write a description based on how Britain's colonial policies contributed to self-government in the colonies as well as what caused feelings of colonial unity to grow. Have students read their memoirs to a partner or share with the class.
- To extend the Constitutional Principles activity on page 38, ask students to continue examining the Declaration of Independence to determine if violations of any other constitutional principles were used as justification for independence. Have students identify any references to these principles and explain how they were used to justify independence.

By the mid-1700s, the relationship between Britain and the colonies had become, in fact if not in form, federal. This meant that the central government in London was responsible for colonial defense and for foreign affairs. It also provided a uniform system of money and credit and a common market for colonial trade. Beyond that, the colonies were allowed a fairly wide amount of self-rule. Little was taken from them in direct taxes to pay for the central government. The few regulations set by Parliament, mostly about trade, were largely ignored.

This was soon to change. Shortly after George III came to the throne in 1760, Britain began to deal more firmly with the colonies. Restrictive trading acts were expanded and enforced. New taxes were imposed, mostly to support British troops in North America.

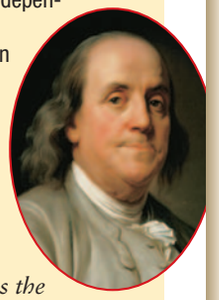
Many colonists took strong exception to these moves. They objected to taxes imposed on them from afar. This arrangement, they claimed, was "taxation without representation." They saw little need for the costly presence of British troops on North American soil, since the French had been defeated and their power broken in the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

The colonists considered themselves British subjects loyal to the Crown. They refused, however, to accept Parliament's claim that it had a right to control their local affairs.

The king's ministers were poorly informed and stubborn. They pushed ahead with their policies, despite the resentments they stirred in America. Within a few years, the colonists faced a fateful choice: to submit or to revolt.

Voices on Government

Benjamin Franklin dedicated years to public service, including time as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, a commissioner to France during the War for Independence, and a member of the Constitutional Convention. Franklin proposed the Albany Plan of Union to provide for the defense of the American colonies. In his autobiography, he spoke of its defeat and defended his plan:



"The different and contrary Reasons of dislike to my Plan, makes me suspect that it was really the true Medium; and I am still of Opinion it would have been happy for both Sides the Water if it had been adopted. The Colonies so united would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of Troops from England; of course the subsequent Pretence for Taxing America, and the bloody Contest it occasioned, would have been avoided."

Evaluating the Quotation

What did Franklin see as the ultimate result of the failure to adopt the Albany Plan of Union? Do you think this was a reasonable conclusion?

Growing Colonial Unity

A decision to revolt was not one to be taken lightly—or alone. The colonies would need to learn to work together if they wanted to succeed. Indeed long before the 1770s, several attempts had been made to promote cooperation among the colonies.

Early Attempts

In 1643 the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut settlements formed the New England Confederation. A **confederation** is a joining of several groups for a common purpose. In the New England Confederation, the settlements formed a "league of friendship" for defense against the Native Americans. As the danger from Native Americans passed and friction among the settlements grew, the confederation lost importance and finally dissolved in 1684.

In 1696 William Penn offered an elaborate plan for intercolonial cooperation, largely in trade, defense, and criminal matters. It received little attention and was soon forgotten.

The Albany Plan

In 1754 the British Board of Trade called a meeting of seven of the northern colonies at Albany: Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. The main purpose of the meeting was to discuss the problems of colonial trade and the danger of attacks by the French and their Native American allies. Here, Benjamin Franklin offered what came to be known as the **Albany Plan of Union.**

Reading Strategy

Predicting Content

Before they read the section, have students read all the headings. Ask them to use those headings to write a prediction about the content of the section in one or two sentences. Tell students to read the section to test their predictions.

Point-of-Use Resources

Guided Reading and Review Unit 1 booklet, p. 10 provides students with practice identifying the main ideas and key terms of this section.

Lesson Planner For complete lesson planning suggestions, see the Lesson Planner booklet, section 2.

Political Cartoons See p. 8 of the Political Cartoons booklet for a cartoon relevant to this section.

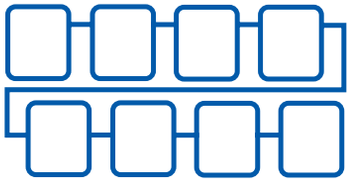
Section Support Transparencies Transparency 11, *Visual Learning;* Transparency 110, *Political Cartoon*

Organizing Information

To make sure students understand the main points of this section, you may wish to use the flowchart graphic organizer to the right.

Tell students that a flowchart shows a sequence of events. Ask students to use the flowchart to record the sequence of events that led to the forming of the first State constitutions.

Teaching Tip A template for this graphic organizer can be found in the Section Support Transparencies, Transparency 4.



Answer to . . .

Evaluating the Quotation Franklin thought the ultimate result was the War for Independence. Students' answers will vary on the reasonableness of that conclusion; some may suggest that since the differences between the colonies and England were so great, war was inevitable.

Universal Access L3

Remind students of key historical events that led to the colonies' decision to break away from Britain. Based on this discussion and what they have learned in class, have students write their own Declaration of Rights and Grievances to the king. Encourage them to include in the letter of protest those acts and policies the colonists strongly denounced.

Background Note

Political Talk

While angry colonists did indeed boycott British goods in the 1760s and '70s, that is not what they would have called it—the word *boycott* had not been invented yet. The term comes from the name of Captain C. C. Boycott, an unfortunate English landlord. Boycott was the first among a number of absentee landlords against whom the Irish Land League protested in the 1870s. The word *boycott*, originally written with a capital "B," gained wide popularity in the United Kingdom in the 1880s, and was subsequently adopted into American usage.

Point-of-Use Resources

Close Up on Primary Sources
Patrick Henry, Speech to the Virginia Provincial Convention (1775), p. 29; Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776), p. 57

In his plan, Franklin proposed the formation of an annual congress of **delegates** (representatives) from each of the 13 colonies. That body would have the power to raise military and naval forces, make war and peace with the Native Americans, regulate trade with them, tax, and collect customs duties.

Franklin's plan was ahead of its time. It was agreed to by the representatives attending the Albany meeting, but it was turned down by the colonies and by the Crown. Franklin's plan was to be remembered later.

The Stamp Act Congress

Britain's harsh tax and trade policies of the 1760s fanned resentment in the colonies. Parliament had passed a number of new laws, among them the Stamp Act of 1765. That law required the use of tax stamps on all legal documents, on certain business agreements, and on newspapers.

The new taxes were widely denounced, in part because the rates were perceived as severe, but largely because they amounted to "taxation without representation." In October of 1765, nine colonies—all except Georgia, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Virginia—sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York. They prepared a strong protest, called the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, against the new British policies and sent it to the king. These actions marked the first time a significant number of the colonies had joined to oppose the British government.

Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, but frictions mounted. New laws were passed and new policies were made to tie the colonies more closely to London. Colonists showed their resentment and anger in wholesale evasion of the laws. Mob violence erupted at several ports, and many colonists supported a **boycott** of English goods. A boycott is a refusal to buy or sell certain products or services. On March 5, 1770, British troops in Boston fired on a jeering crowd, killing five, in what came to be known as the Boston Massacre.

Organized resistance was carried on through Committees of Correspondence, which had grown out of a group formed by Samuel Adams in Boston in 1772. These committees soon spread throughout the colonies, providing a network for cooperation and the exchange of information among the patriots.

Protests multiplied. The famous Boston Tea Party took place on December 16, 1773. A group of men, disguised as Native Americans, boarded three tea ships in Boston harbor and dumped the cargo into the sea to protest British control of the tea trade.

The First Continental Congress

In the spring of 1774, Parliament passed yet another set of laws, this time to punish the colonists for the troubles in Boston and elsewhere. These new laws, denounced in America as the Intolerable Acts, prompted widespread calls for a meeting of all the colonies.

Delegates from every colony except Georgia met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. Many of the ablest men of the day were there: Samuel Adams and John Adams of Massachusetts; Roger Sherman of Connecticut; Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island; John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania; John Jay and Philip Livingston of New York; George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry of Virginia; and John Rutledge of South Carolina.

For nearly two months the members of that First Continental

▲ This colored engraving, printed in 1793, is the earliest known American depiction of the Boston Tea Party. ***Critical Thinking*** ***What did the colonists hope to accomplish by destroying the cargo of tea?*** **H-SS 12.10**

Preparing for Standardized Tests

Have students read the passages under *Growing Colonial Unity* on pp. 35–36 and then answer the following question.

What is the best explanation for why early attempts at colonial cooperation failed?

A No one put forth a formal plan.

B The British Board of Trade prevented colonists from proposing plans.

C Colonists were content with the government as it was.

D Colonists still considered themselves British subjects, and did not feel particular loyalty to the other colonies.

Answer to . . .

Critical Thinking They wanted to demonstrate their resolve to prevent the sale of British goods in the colonies.

▲ Washington once complained that his soldiers were forced to "eat every kind of horse food but hay." He won the respect of the men who served under his command when he demanded that Congress provide better treatment for the army. ***Critical Thinking*** ***How does this nineteenth-century engraving of Washington and his troops welcoming a train of supplies reinforce Washington's image as a strong leader?***

Congress discussed the worsening situation and debated plans for action. They sent a Declaration of Rights, protesting Britain's colonial policies, to King George III. The delegates urged each of the colonies to refuse all trade with England until the hated taxes and trade regulations were **repealed** (withdrawn, cancelled). The delegates also called for the creation of local committees to enforce that boycott.

The meeting adjourned on October 26, with a call for a second congress to be convened the following May. Over the next several months, all the colonial legislatures, including Georgia's, gave their support to the actions of the First Continental Congress.

The Second Continental Congress

During the fall and winter of 1774–1775, the British government continued to refuse to compromise, let alone reverse, its colonial policies. It reacted to the Declaration of Rights as it had to other expressions of colonial discontent—with even stricter and more repressive measures.

The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. By then, the Revolution had begun. The "shot heard 'round the world" had been fired. The battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought three weeks earlier, on April 19.

Representatives

Each of the 13 colonies sent representatives to the Congress. Most of those who had attended the First Continental Congress were again present. Most notable among the newcomers were Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania and John Hancock of Massachusetts.

Hancock was chosen president of the Congress.[9] Almost at once, a continental army was created, and George Washington was appointed its commander in chief. Thomas Jefferson then took Washington's place in the Virginia delegation.

Our First National Government

The Second Continental Congress became, by force of circumstance, the nation's first national government. However, it rested on no constitutional base. It was condemned by the British as an unlawful assembly and a den of traitors. But it was supported by the force of public opinion and practical necessity.

The Second Continental Congress served as the first government of the United States for five fateful years, from the formal adoption of the

[9]Peyton Randolph, who had also served as president of the First Continental Congress, was originally chosen for the office. He resigned on May 24, however, because the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which he was the speaker, had been called into session. Hancock was then elected to succeed him.

Background Note

Economics

The Second Continental Congress had not only to invent a new system of government during a war, but it also had to cope with the worst period of inflation in U.S. history. Between 1775 and 1779, the value of the $191 million in Continental bills the Congress printed to finance the war sank dramatically. In 1777, it took $3 in bills to purchase goods worth $1 in gold or silver. By 1779, the ratio had shot up to 42 to 1, skyrocketed to 100 to 1 in 1780, and then to 146 to 1 in 1781. In 1781, the Congress offered to buy back the bills at a rate of 40 to 1—an inglorious end for the first national currency.

Answer to . . .

Critical Thinking Sample answer: Washington is at the center of the engraving, and the other people are clearly paying deference to him.

Universal Access L2

Time 90 minutes.
Purpose Paraphrase the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence.
Grouping Three to four students.
Activity Have group members discuss the meaning of the opening paragraph of the Declaration. Then have students work together to rewrite the paragraph to express their understanding of its meaning.
Roles Discussion leader, recorder, and spokesperson.
Close When the recorder has prepared the final draft, ask the spokesperson to read the group's paragraph to the class. Then have the class discuss the group's interpretation. LPR
H–SS 12.1.3

Point-of-Use Resources

Government Assessment Rubrics Analyzing a Primary Source, p. 14

Block Scheduling with Lesson Strategies Additional activities for Chapter 2 appear on p. 20.

The Enduring Constitution Popular Sovereignty, p. 3

Close Up on Primary Sources Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), p. 30; Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (1776), p. 31

Basic Principles of the Constitution Transparencies Transparencies 9–15, *Popular Sovereignty*

Declaration of Independence in July 1776 until the Articles of Confederation went into effect on March 1, 1781. During that time the Second Continental Congress fought a war, raised armies and a navy, borrowed funds, bought supplies, created a money system, made treaties with foreign powers, and did those other things that any government would have had to do in the circumstances.

The unicameral Congress exercised both legislative and executive powers. In legislative matters, each colony—later, State—had one vote. Executive functions were handled by committees of delegates.

The Declaration of Independence

Slightly more than a year after the Revolution began, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia proposed to the Congress:

PRIMARY Sources "Resolved, *That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.*"

—Resolution of June 7, 1776

Congress named a committee of five—Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson—to prepare a proclamation of independence. Their momentous product, the Declaration of Independence, was very largely the work of Jefferson.

On July 2, the final break came. The delegates agreed to Lee's resolution—but only after spirited debate, for many of the delegates had serious doubts about the wisdom of a complete separation from England. Two days later, on July 4, 1776, they adopted the Declaration of Independence, proclaiming the existence of the new nation.

The Declaration announces the independence of the United States in its first paragraph. Much of the balance of the document—nearly two thirds of it—speaks of "the repeated injuries and usurpations" that led the colonists to revolt. At its heart, the Declaration proclaims:

PRIMARY Sources "*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.*"

—The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America

With these brave words, the United States of America was born. The 13 colonies became free and independent States. The 56 men who signed the Declaration sealed it with this final sentence:

"*And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.*"

The First State Constitutions

In January 1776, New Hampshire adopted a constitution to replace its royal charter. Less than three months later, South Carolina followed suit. Then, on May 10, nearly two months before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the Congress urged each of the colonies to adopt: "such governments as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents."

Drafting State Constitutions

In 1776 and 1777, most of the States adopted written constitutions—bodies of fundamental laws setting out the principles, structures, and processes of their governments. Assemblies or conventions were commonly used to draft and then adopt these new documents.

Massachusetts set a lasting example in the constitution-making process. There, a convention

Constitutional Principles

Popular Sovereignty

The Declaration of Independence clearly points to Great Britain's failure to honor the popular sovereignty of the colonies as a reason for their declaring independence. Much of the declaration is spent listing specific grievances that highlight ways that King George III failed to honor the colonies' popular sovereignty.

Activity

Have students view excerpts from the Declaration of Independence on this page or the entire document found on pages 40–43 to find specific examples of how it uses popular sovereignty as a basis for declaring independence. Have students share their examples with the class, then lead a discussion on the significance of popular sovereignty to the Declaration of Independence.

submitted its work to the voters for ratification. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 is the oldest of the present-day State constitutions. In fact, it is the oldest written constitution in force anywhere in the world today.[10]

Common Features

The first State constitutions differed, sometimes widely, in detail. Yet they shared many similar features. The most common features were the principles of **popular sovereignty** (government can exist only with the consent of the governed), limited government, civil rights and liberties, and separation of powers and checks and balances. These principles are outlined in detail in the table at right.

The new State constitutions were rather brief documents. For the most part, they were declarations of principle and statements of limitation on governmental power. Memories of the royal governors were fresh, and the new State governors were given little real power. Most of the authority that was granted to State government was placed in the legislature. Elective terms of office were made purposely short, seldom more than one or two years. The right to vote was limited to those adult white males who could meet rigid qualifications, including property ownership.

[10]From independence until that constitution became effective in 1780, Massachusetts relied on its colonial charter, in force prior to 1691, as its fundamental law.

Common Features of State Constitutions

Popular Sovereignty	The principle of popular sovereignty was the basis for every new State constitution. That principle says that government can exist and function only with the consent of the governed. The people hold power and the people are sovereign.
Limited Government	The concept of limited government was a major feature of each State constitution. The powers delegated to government were granted reluctantly and hedged with many restrictions.
Civil Rights and Liberties	In every State it was made clear that the sovereign people held certain rights that the government must respect at all times. Seven of the new constitutions contained a bill of rights, setting out the "unalienable rights" held by the people.
Separation of Powers and Checks and Balances	The powers granted to the new State governments were purposely divided among three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. Each branch was given powers with which to check (restrain the actions of) the other branches of the government.

Interpreting Tables Most of the newly created States adopted written constitutions in the two years following the Declaration of Independence. ***Why did the first State constitutions share several common features?*** **H-SS 12.10**

We shall return to the subject of State constitutions later, in Chapter 24. For now, note this very important point: The earliest of these documents were, within a very few years, to have a marked impact on the drafting of the Constitution of the United States.

Section 2 Assessment

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For: Self-Quiz and vocabulary practice
Web Code: mqa-1022

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. Why did some colonists support a **boycott** of English goods?
2. What was the **Albany Plan of Union** and how was it received by the colonies and by the Crown?
3. Explain the concept of **popular sovereignty.**
4. What was the outcome of the First Continental Congress?
5. In what ways did the Second Continental Congress serve as the first national government?

Critical Thinking

6. **Distinguishing Fact from Opinion** The Declaration of Independence states that all men are endowed "with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Is this statement a fact or opinion? Explain your answer.
7. **Expressing Problems Clearly** What problems arose from changes in British policy toward the colonies in the 1760s?

Go Online PHSchool.com
For: An activity on the Albany Plan
Web Code: mqd-1022

Point-of-Use Resources

Guide to the Essentials Chapter 2, Section 2, p. 19 provides support for students who need additional review of section content. Spanish support is available in the Spanish edition of the Guide on p. 12.

Quiz Unit 1 booklet, p. 11 includes matching and multiple-choice questions to check students' understanding of Section 2 content.

Presentation Pro CD-ROM Quizzes and multiple-choice questions check students' understanding of Section 2 content.

Answers to . . .

Section 2 Assessment

1. Many colonists supported a boycott of English goods as an act of protest against Britain's taxes.
2. The Albany Plan of Union was a plan for the 13 colonies to form a congress which would have the power to raise armies, make war and peace, establish trade, and impose taxes. The colonies and the Crown rejected the plan.
3. Popular sovereignty is the idea that a government can only exist if it has the consent of those it governs.
4. The First Continental Congress resulted in all colonial legislatures giving their support to several plans of action, including formalized boycotts. The Congress also produced a document of protest—the Declaration of Rights—which was sent to the king.
5. The Second Continental Congress directed the war effort, borrowed money to finance the war, coined money, bought supplies, and made treaties with other governments.
6. Some students might suggest that as the Framers' wrote the document, it was an opinion; others may say that as our government is based on this statement, it is now commonly held to be fact.
7. Answers will vary, but should reflect an understanding that the new policies made colonists re-evaluate their relationship to Britain and eventually led to war.

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For additional assessment, have students access **Standards Monitoring Online** at **Web Code:** mqa-1022

Go Online PHSchool.com Typing in the Web Code when prompted will bring students directly to detailed instructions for this activity.

Answer to . . .

Interpreting Tables They were all based on the ideals that had united the States in their fight for independence.

Objectives You may wish to call students' attention to the objectives in the Section Preview. The objectives are reflected in the main headings of the section.

Bellringer Ask students whether they would expect a revolutionary new computer software program to run free of glitches. Lead them to see that the first version of nearly anything is likely to have problems. Explain that in this section, they will learn about problems within the first government of the United States.

Vocabulary Builder Have students create a sentence that uses all three terms in the Political Dictionary. As students read the section, have them determine how sensible their sentences are, based on the actual definition of each term.

Lesson Plan

Teaching the Main Ideas L3

H–SS 12.7.1, 12.10

1. Focus Tell students that for a national government to work properly, it must have certain powers. Ask students to discuss the kinds of powers that make a national government strong.

2. Instruct Ask students to list the main weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, focusing on the distribution of power between Congress and the States. Then lead a discussion on how the States undermined the limited powers given to Congress.

3. Close/Reteach Remind students that the weakness of the Articles led to a critical period in which States began to recognize the need for a stronger central government. Have students, as they read, list events that particularly pointed out this need.

3 The Critical Period

Section Preview

Objectives

1. **Describe** the structure of the government set up under the Articles of Confederation.
2. **Explain** why the weaknesses of the Articles led to a critical period for the government in the 1780s.
3. **Describe** how a growing need for a stronger national government led to plans for a Constitutional Convention.

Why It Matters

The Articles of Confederation established a fairly weak central government, which led to conflicts among the States. The turmoil of the Critical Period of the 1780s led to the creation of a stronger National Government.

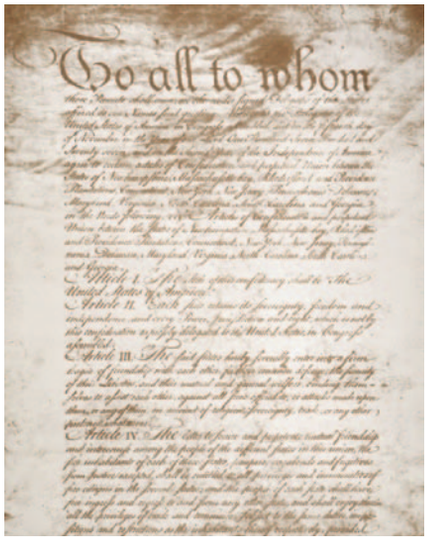
Political Dictionary

- ★ **Articles of Confederation**
- ★ **ratification**
- ★ **presiding officer**

The First and Second Continental Congresses rested on no legal base. They were called in haste to meet an emergency, and they were intended to be temporary. Something more regular and permanent was clearly needed. In this section, you will look at the first attempt to establish a lasting government for the new nation.

The Articles of Confederation

Richard Henry Lee's resolution leading to the Declaration of Independence also called on the Second Continental Congress to propose "a plan of confederation" to the States. Off and on, for 17 months, Congress considered the problem of uniting the former colonies. Finally, on November 15, 1777, the **Articles of Confederation** were approved.



▶ Articles of Confederation

The Articles of Confederation established "a firm league of friendship" among the States. Each State kept "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every Power, Jurisdiction, and right . . . not . . . expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled." The States came together "for their common defense, the security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare. . . ."

The Articles did not go into effect immediately, however. The **ratification,** or formal approval, of each of the 13 States was needed first. Eleven States agreed to the document within a year. Delaware added its approval in February 1779. But Maryland did not ratify until March 1, 1781, and the Second Continental Congress declared the Articles effective on that date.

Governmental Structure

The government set up by the Articles was simple indeed. A Congress was the sole body created. It was unicameral, made up of delegates chosen yearly by the States in whatever way their legislatures might direct. Each State had one vote in the Congress, whatever its population or wealth.

The Articles established no executive or judicial branch. These functions were to be handled by committees of the Congress. Each year the

Block Scheduling Strategies

Consider these suggestions to manage extended class time:

- Ask students to suppose that they are living during the critical period of the 1780s. They have realized that the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation are creating difficult times for the government. Have each student write an editorial to a local newspaper identifying the problems of the Articles, explaining how these problems are affecting the nation's government, and offering suggestions for change.
- Explain to students that Shays' Rebellion was an event that sharply divided American opinions on government. Have students research the rebellion to answer these questions: Which group supported the rebels? Did this group embrace or fear a strong national government? What were the long-term effects of the rebellion? How did it shape the Framers' debate on revising the Articles? Students may present their findings in graphic organizers or time lines.

Congress would choose one of its members as its president. That person would be its **presiding officer** (chair), but not the president of the United States. Civil officers such as postmasters were to be appointed by the Congress.

Powers of Congress

Several important powers were given to the Congress. It could make war and peace; send and receive ambassadors; make treaties; borrow money; set up a money system; establish post offices; build a navy; raise an army by asking the States for troops; fix uniform standards of weights and measures; and settle disputes among the States.

State Obligations

By agreeing to the Articles, the States pledged to obey the Articles and acts of the Congress. They would provide the funds and troops requested by the Congress; treat citizens of other States fairly and equally with their own; and give full faith and credit to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. In addition, the States agreed to surrender fugitives from justice to one another; submit their disputes to Congress for settlement; and allow open travel and trade between and among the States.

Beyond these few obligations, the States retained those powers not explicitly given to the Congress. They, not the Congress, were primarily responsible for protecting life and property. States were also accountable for promoting the general welfare of the people.

Weaknesses

The powers of the Congress appear, at first glance, to have been considerable. Several important powers were missing, however. Their omission, together with other weaknesses, soon proved the Articles inadequate to the needs of the time.

The Congress did not have the power to tax. It could raise money only by borrowing and by asking the States for funds. Borrowing was, at best, a poor source. The Second Continental Congress had borrowed heavily to support the costs of fighting the Revolution, and many of those debts had not been paid. And, while the Articles remained in force, not one State came close to meeting the financial requests made by the Congress.

Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

- One vote for each State, regardless of size.
- Congress powerless to lay and collect taxes or duties.
- Congress powerless to regulate foreign and interstate commerce.
- No executive to enforce acts of Congress.
- No national court system.
- Amendment only with consent of all States.
- A 9/13 majority required to pass laws.
- Articles only a "firm league of friendship."

Interpreting Tables The thirst for independence made the new States wary of strong central government. ***How is this caution reflected in the weaknesses built into the Articles of Confederation?***

Nor did the Congress have the power to regulate trade between the States. This lack of a central mechanism to regulate the young nation's commerce was one of the major factors that led to the adoption of the Constitution.

The Congress was further limited by a lack of power to make the States obey the Articles of Confederation or the laws it made. Congress could exercise the powers it did have only with the consent of 9 of the 13 State delegations. Finally, the Articles themselves could be changed only with the consent of all 13 of the State legislatures. This procedure proved an impossible task; not one amendment was ever added to the Articles of Confederation.

The Critical Period, the 1780s

The long Revolutionary War finally ended on October 19, 1781. America's victory was confirmed by the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Peace, however, brought the new nation's economic and political problems into sharp focus. Problems, caused by the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, soon surfaced.

With a central government unable to act, the States bickered among themselves and grew increasingly jealous and suspicious of one another. They often refused to support the new central government, financially and in almost every other way. Several of them made agreements with foreign governments without the approval of the

Reading Strategy

Questioning

Ask students to read the section's main headings and subheadings and write a question about each. Have them look for answers to their questions as they read.

Universal Access L1

Have students create a time line of the events discussed in Section 3 that led to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. If you wish, you may distribute cards on which each event is written, and have students put them in order. SN H–SS 12.7.1

Point-of-Use Resources

Guided Reading and Review Unit 1 booklet, p. 12 provides students with practice identifying the key terms and main ideas of this section.

Lesson Planner For complete lesson planning suggestions, see the Lesson Planner booklet, section 3.

Political Cartoons See p. 9 of the Political Cartoons booklet for a cartoon relevant to this section.

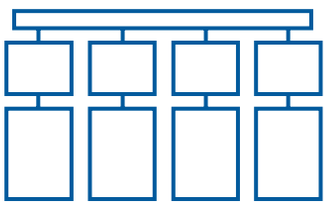
Section Support Transparencies Transparency 12, *Visual Learning*; Transparency 111, *Political Cartoon*

Organizing Information

To make sure students understand the main points of this section, you may wish to use the tree map graphic organizer to the right.

Tell students that a tree map shows a topic, its main ideas and its supporting details. Ask students to use the tree map to outline the strengths, weaknesses, and consequences of the Articles of Confederation.

Teaching Tip A template for this graphic organizer can be found in the Section Support Transparencies, Transparency 3.



Answer to . . .

Interpreting Tables The Articles do not provide for any elements of a strong central government, including an executive, a national court system, or the power to tax or regulate commerce.

Universal Access L3

Have students create a graphic organizer of the information they have received about American government in the late 1770s and 1780s. Ask them to use the following as subject headings or categories: *Articles of Confederation, Critical Period,* and *Calls for a Stronger Government.* Encourage students to list provisions in the Articles of Confederation, problems that arose during the Critical Period, and related reasons why States took the first steps toward change. **H–SS 12.10**

Congress, even though that was forbidden by the Articles. Most even organized their own military forces. George Washington complained, "We are one nation today and 13 tomorrow. Who will treat with us on such terms?"

The States taxed one another's goods and even banned some trade. They printed their own money, often with little backing. Economic chaos spread throughout the colonies as prices soared and sound credit vanished. Debts, public and private, went unpaid. Violence broke out in a number of places as a result of the economic chaos.

The most spectacular of these events played out in western Massachusetts in a series of incidents that came to be known as Shays' Rebellion. As economic conditions worsened, property holders, many of them small farmers, began to lose their land and possessions for lack of payment on taxes and other debts. In the fall of 1786, Daniel Shays, who had served as an officer in the War for Independence, led an armed uprising that forced several State judges to close their courts. Early the next year, Shays mounted an unsuccessful attack on the federal arsenal at Springfield. State forces finally moved to quiet the rebellion and Shays fled to Vermont. In response to the violence, the Massachusetts legislature eventually passed laws to ease the burden of debtors.

▲ ***Shays' Rebellion*** Following the series of incidents known as Shays' Rebellion, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts condemned Daniel Shays and about a dozen others to death. Shays petitioned for and received a pardon in 1788. **H-SS 12.10**

A Need for Stronger Government

The Articles had created a government unable to deal with the nation's troubles. Inevitably, demand grew for a stronger, more effective national government. Those who were most threatened by economic and political instability —large property owners, merchants, traders, and other creditors—soon took the lead in efforts to that end. The movement for change began to take concrete form in 1785.

Mount Vernon

Maryland and Virginia, plagued by bitter trade disputes, took the first step in the movement for change. Ignoring the Congress, the two States agreed to a conference on their trade problems. Representatives from the two States met at Alexandria, Virginia, in March 1785. At George Washington's invitation, they moved their sessions to his home at nearby Mount Vernon.

Their negotiations proved so successful that on January 21, 1786, the Virginia General Assembly called for "a joint meeting of [all of] the States to recommend a federal plan for regulating commerce."

Annapolis

That joint meeting opened at Annapolis, Maryland, on September 11, 1786. Turnout was poor, with representatives from only five of the 13 States attending.[11] Disappointed, but still hopeful, the convention called for yet another meeting of the States

PRIMARY Sources *"at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next, to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as*

[11] New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia. Although New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and North Carolina had appointed delegates, none attended the Annapolis meeting.

▲ ***Mount Vernon*** George Washington's graceful home overlooking the Potomac River served as the location for trade talks between Maryland and Virginia. The success of that meeting caused some to move for further steps toward a stronger federal government.

shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

—Call of the Annapolis Convention

By mid-February of 1787, seven of the States had named delegates to the Philadelphia meeting. These were Delaware, Georgia, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Then on February 21, the Congress, which had been hesitating, also called upon the States to send delegates to Philadelphia

PRIMARY Sources "*for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States render the [Articles] adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union.*"

—The United States in Congress Assembled, February 21, 1787

That Philadelphia meeting became the Constitutional Convention.

Section 3 Assessment

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. What were the **Articles of Confederation** and what powers did they grant to Congress?
2. Before the Articles of Confederation could go into effect, how many States were needed for **ratification?**
3. Identify at least three weaknesses of the government under the Articles of Confederation.
4. What was the result of the meetings at Mount Vernon and Annapolis in 1785 and 1786?

Critical Thinking

5. **Identifying Central Issues** The Articles of Confederation contained several weaknesses. Why would the States purposefully create a weak government under the Articles?
6. **Drawing Conclusions** For what reasons is the period during which the Articles were in force called the Critical Period in American history?

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For: Self-Quiz and vocabulary practice
Web Code: mqa-1023

Go Online PHSchool.com
For: An activity on the origins of the U.S. government
Web Code: mqd-1023

Point-of-Use Resources

Guide to the Essentials Chapter 2, Section 3, p. 20 provides support for students who need additional review of section content. Spanish support is available in the Spanish edition of the Guide on p. 13.

Quiz Unit 1 booklet, p. 13 includes matching and multiple-choice questions to check students' understanding of Section 3 content.

Presentation Pro CD-ROM Quizzes and multiple-choice questions check students' understanding of Section 3 content.

Answers to . . .

Section 3 Assessment

1. The Articles of Confederation were plans for government developed by the delegates to the Second Continental Congress. They gave Congress the power to: make war and peace; send and receive ambassadors; make treaties; borrow money; set up a money system; establish post offices; build a navy and raise armies; fix standards of weights and measures; and settle disputes among the States.
2. All thirteen States were needed for ratification.
3. Congress could not tax or regulate trade; had no power to make the States cooperate; near-unanimous consent was required to pass laws; unanimous consent was required to amend Articles.
4. As a result of the Mount Vernon and Annapolis meetings, a movement for change began which led to the Constitutional Convention.
5. Possible answer: Having just fought a war against a central government that Americans saw as tyrannical, the States were reluctant to give too much power to their own central government.
6. After the Revolution the new nation had to focus on its problems, but the existing government was not up to the task. The new nation seemed to be on the verge of breaking apart.

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For additional assessment, have students access **Standards Monitoring Online** at **Web Code:** mqa-1023

Go Online PHSchool.com Typing in the Web Code when prompted will bring students directly to detailed instructions for this activity.

4 Creating the Constitution

Section Preview

Objectives

1. **Identify** the Framers of the Constitution and discuss how the delegates organized the proceedings at the Philadelphia Convention.
2. **Compare** and contrast the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan for a new constitution.
3. **Summarize** the major compromises that the delegates agreed to make and the effects of those compromises.
4. **Identify** some of the sources from which the Framers of the Constitution drew inspiration.
5. **Describe** the delegates' reactions to the Constitution as they completed their work.

Why It Matters

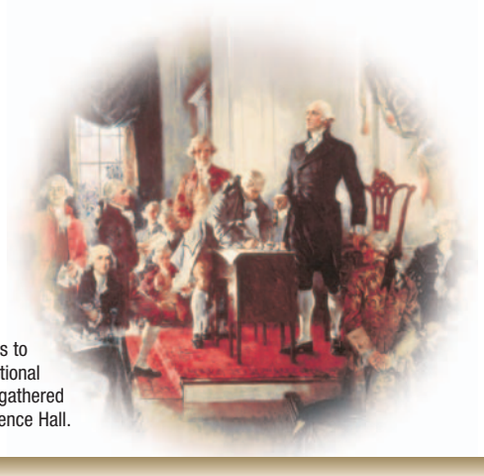
The Framers of the Constitution created a document that addressed the major concerns of the States attending the Philadelphia Convention. By reaching compromise on items about which they disagreed, the Framers created a new National Government capable of handling the nation's problems.

Political Dictionary

- ★ **Framers**
- ★ **Virginia Plan**
- ★ **New Jersey Plan**
- ★ **Connecticut Compromise**
- ★ **Three-Fifths Compromise**
- ★ **Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise**

Picture this scene. It's hot—sweltering, in fact. Yet the windows are all closed to discourage eavesdroppers. Outside, soldiers keep interested onlookers at a distance. Inside, the atmosphere is tense as men exchange their views. Indeed, some become so angry that they threaten to leave the hall. A few carry out their threats.

This was the scene throughout much of the Philadelphia meeting that began on Friday, May 25, 1787.[12] Over the long summer months, the participants labored to build a new government that would best meet the needs of the nation. In this section, you will consider that meeting and its work.



▶ Delegates to the Constitutional Convention gathered in Independence Hall.

The Framers

Twelve of the 13 States, all but Rhode Island, sent delegates to Philadelphia.[13] In total, 74 delegates were chosen by the legislatures in those 12 states. For a number of reasons, however, only 55 of them actually attended the convention.

Of that 55, this much can be said: Never, before or since, has so remarkable a group been brought together in this country. Thomas Jefferson, who was not among them, later called the delegates "an assembly of demi-gods."

The group of delegates who attended the Philadelphia Convention, known as the **Framers** of the Constitution, included many outstanding individuals. These were men of wide knowledge and public experience, of wealth and prestige. Their collective record of public service was truly impressive. Many of them had fought in the Revolution; 39 had been members of the Continental Congress or the Congress of the

[12] Not enough States were represented on the date Congress had set, Monday, May 14, to begin the meeting. The delegates who were present met and adjourned each day until Friday the 25th, when a quorum (in this case, a majority) of the States was on hand.

[13] The Rhode Island legislature was controlled by the soft-money forces, mostly debtors and small farmers who were helped by inflation and so were against a stronger central government. The New Hampshire delegation, delayed mostly by lack of funds, did not reach Philadelphia until late July.

Objectives You may wish to call students' attention to the objectives in the Section Preview. The objectives are reflected in the main headings of the section.

Bellringer Ask students to think of a conflict that they have read about recently involving local or National Government. Have them brainstorm possible compromise solutions to the conflict. Explain that in this section, they will learn how compromises saved the Constitution.

Vocabulary Builder Have students read the terms in the Political Dictionary. Tell them that in 1787 the Constitution was like a house under construction. Ask students to describe the roles that a Framer, a Plan, and a Compromise might have today in the building of a house. Encourage them to recall those images as they read the text.

Lesson Plan

Teaching the Main Ideas L3

H–SS 12.1.1, 12.4.1

1. Focus Tell students that the remarkable character of the delegates had much to do with their success in framing a Constitution. Ask them to discuss what they know about the Framers and their accomplishments at the Constitutional Convention.

2. Instruct Ask students why the Connecticut Compromise is often called the Great Compromise. Lead a discussion of the two competing plans and how the Framers combined their basic features.

3. Close/Reteach Remind students of the hard work that went into framing the Constitution. Have them create a flowchart of the process, beginning with the Framers' sources and ending with the completed Constitution.

Block Scheduling Strategies

Consider these suggestions to manage extended class time:

■ To extend the Universal Access Activity from p. 49, have students use the materials they created to simulate the debate over the Virginia and New Jersey Plans. Have students conclude the debate by identifying and discussing the actual compromises that delegates made at the Convention.

■ Ask students to compare the chart of the Framers on p. 49 with the charts of the members of Congress in Chapter 10 (p. 280). Ask students to identify similarities as well as differences between the two groups. Have students explain how congressional leadership has changed, and whether they feel these changes have been beneficial or detrimental to the United States.

Selected Framers of the Constitution

Name	State	Background
George Washington	Virginia	Planter, commander of the Continental Army
James Madison	Virginia	Legislator, major figure in movement to replace Articles
Edmund Randolph	Virginia	Lawyer, governor of Virginia
George Mason	Virginia	Planter, author of Virginia's Declaration of Rights
Benjamin Franklin	Pennsylvania	Writer, printer, inventor, legislator, diplomat
Gouverneur Morris	Pennsylvania	Lawyer, merchant, legislator
Robert Morris	Pennsylvania	Merchant, major financier of the Revolution
James Wilson	Pennsylvania	Lawyer, legislator, close student of politics, history
Alexander Hamilton	New York	Lawyer, legislator, champion of stronger central government
William Paterson	New Jersey	Lawyer, legislator, attorney general of New Jersey
Elbridge Gerry	Massachusetts	Merchant, legislator, major investor in land, government securities
Rufus King	Massachusetts	Legislator, opponent of extensive changes to Articles
Luther Martin	Maryland	Lawyer, legislator, attorney general of Maryland
Oliver Ellsworth	Connecticut	Lawyer, legislator, judge, theologian
Roger Sherman	Connecticut	Merchant, mayor of New Haven, legislator, judge
John Dickinson	Delaware	Lawyer, historian, major advocate of independence
John Rutledge	South Carolina	Lawyer, legislator, principal author of South Carolina's constitution
Charles Pinckney	South Carolina	Lawyer, legislator, leader in move to replace Articles

Interpreting Tables In reference to creating the Constitution, James Madison noted that considering "the natural diversity of human opinions on all new and complicated subjects, it is impossible to consider the degree of concord which ultimately prevailed as less than a miracle." ***What similarities and differences can you see in the Framers' backgrounds? Do you think their personal experiences helped or hurt their ability to draft the Constitution?*** **H-SS 12.1.4**

Confederation, or both. Eight had served in constitutional conventions in their own States, and seven had been State governors. Eight had signed the Declaration of Independence. Thirty-one of the delegates had attended college in a day when there were but a few colleges in the land, and their number also included two college presidents and three professors. Two were to become Presidents of the United States, and one a Vice President. Seventeen later served in the Senate and eleven in the House of Representatives.

Is it any wonder that the product of such a gathering was described by the English statesman William E. Gladstone, nearly a century later, as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man"?

Remarkably, the average age of the delegates was only 42, and nearly half were only in their 30s. Indeed, most of the real leaders were in that age group—James Madison was 36, Gouverneur Morris 35, Edmund Randolph 34, and Alexander Hamilton 32. At 81, Benjamin Franklin was the oldest. His health was failing, however, and he was not able to attend many of the meetings. George Washington, at 55, was one of the few older members who played a key role in the making of the Constitution.

By and large, the Framers of the Constitution were of a new generation in American politics. Several of the better-known leaders of the Revolutionary period were not in Philadelphia. Patrick Henry said he "smelt a rat" and refused to attend. Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Richard Henry Lee were not selected as delegates by their States. Thomas Paine was in Paris. So, too, was Thomas Jefferson, as American minister to France. John Adams was our envoy to England and Holland at the time.

Organization and Procedure

The Framers met that summer in Philadelphia's Independence Hall, probably in the same room in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed 11 years earlier.

Reading Strategy

Organizing Information/ Graphic Organizer

Have students create a web diagram with *Constitution* in the center circle. Before they read, students should use the main headings in the text to begin their diagrams. As they read, they should complete the web.

Universal Access L4

Tell students to suppose that they are delegates at the Constitutional Convention. Assign half of the class to hold the viewpoint of the smaller States, backing the New Jersey Plan. The other half should support the Virginia Plan of the larger States. Ask each group to create a newspaper editorial, billboard advertisement, or other item that will persuade others to support their side. Encourage students to illustrate how their plan will benefit the people.
GT **H–SS 12.4.1**

Point-of-Use Resources

Guided Reading and Review Unit 1 booklet, p. 14 provides students with practice identifying the main ideas and key terms of this section.

Lesson Planner For complete lesson planning suggestions, see the Lesson Planner booklet, section 4.

Political Cartoons See p. 10 of the Political Cartoons booklet for a cartoon relevant to this section.

Section Support Transparencies Transparency 13, *Visual Learning*; Transparency 112, *Political Cartoon*

Answer to . . .

Interpreting Tables Most had legal and/or political experience. Some students might see such a similar background as helpful in creating an authoritative document; others might suggest that it could promote self-interest.

Background Note

Common Misconceptions

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention weren't "delegates" at all—at least, that's not what they called themselves. At the convention, they used the term *deputies* instead. (In fact, George Washington wrote the phrase "deputy from Virginia" after his signature on the Constitution.) Moreover, the states gave the men they sent to the convention different titles, including "representatives" and "commissioners." It was historians who first applied the term *delegates,* and the name stuck.

Universal Access L3

1. Have students write each of the following on one side of an index card: Magna Carta, Petition of Right, Bill of Rights, Albany Plan of Union, Stamp Act Congress, First Continental Congress, Second Continental Congress, Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, the Virginia Plan, and the New Jersey Plan.
2. Then have students write dates and important facts about each item on the reverse side of each card. Encourage students to organize the cards chronologically, thus creating a time line of key events in the creation of American government. Suggest that students use the cards to review the key points of the chapter.

Point-of-Use Resources

The Enduring Constitution
Separation of Powers, p. 5

Basic Principles of the Constitution
Transparencies Transparencies 23-29, *Separation of Powers*

Answer to . . .

Critical Thinking Possible answer: that it was an orderly, solemn occasion.

▶ This nineteenth-century engraving shows George Washington presiding over the Constitutional Convention in 1787. ***Critical Thinking*** ***What impressions did the artist try to convey about this historic gathering?*** **H-SS 12.1.4**

They organized immediately on May 25, unanimously electing George Washington president of the convention.[14] Then, and at the second session on Monday, May 28, they adopted several rules of procedure. A majority of the States would be needed to conduct business. Each State delegation was to have one vote on all matters, and a majority of the votes cast would carry any proposal.

Working in Secrecy

The delegates also decided to keep their deliberations secret. The convention had drawn much public attention and speculation. So, to protect themselves from outside pressures, the delegates adopted a rule of secrecy. On the whole, the rule was well kept.

A secretary, William Jackson, and other minor, nonmember officials were appointed. Jackson kept the convention's *Journal.* That official record, however, was quite sketchy. It was mostly a listing of members present, motions put forth, and votes taken; and it was not always accurate at that.

Fortunately, several delegates kept their own accounts of the proceedings. Most of what is known of the work of the convention comes from James Madison's voluminous *Notes.* His brilliance and depth of knowledge led his colleagues to hold him in great respect. Quickly, he became the convention's floor leader. Madison contributed more to the Constitution than did any of the others, and still he was able to keep a close record of its work. Certainly, he deserves the title "Father of the Constitution."

The Framers met on 89 of the 116 days from May 25 through their final meeting on September 17. They did most of their work on the floor of the convention. They handled some matters in committees, but the full body ultimately settled all questions.

A Momentous Decision

The Philadelphia Convention was called to recommend revisions in the Articles of Confederation. However, almost at once the delegates agreed that they were, in fact, meeting to create a *new* government for the United States. On May 30 they adopted this proposal:

PRIMARY Sources *"Resolved, . . . that a national Government ought to be established consisting of a supreme Legislative, Executive and Judiciary."*
–Edmund Randolph, Delegate from Virginia

With this momentous decision, the Framers redefined the purpose of the convention. From that point on, they set about the writing of a new constitution. This new constitution was intended to replace the Articles of Confederation. Their debates were spirited, even bitter. At times the convention seemed near collapse. Once they had passed Randolph's resolution, however, the goal of a majority of the convention never changed.

[14] Twenty-nine delegates from seven States were present on that first day. The full number of 55 was not reached until August 6, when John Francis Mercer of Maryland arrived. In the meantime, some delegates had departed, and others were absent from time to time. Some 40 members attended most of the daily sessions of the convention.

Constitutional Principles

Separation of Powers

Although the Virginia and New Jersey Plans were very different from each other, both plans proposed a government that separated powers among various government branches. Each plan included legislative, judicial, and executive elements for the National Government, yet had different ideas about how each of these elements would function.

Activity

Have students review material about the Virginia and New Jersey Plans found in this section. Then ask each student to create a Venn diagram highlighting similarities of and differences between each plan's proposed role for its legislative, judicial, and executive elements. Have students include differences in the outer circles and similarities in the overlapping circle.

The Virginia Plan

No State had more to do with the calling of the convention than Virginia did. It was not surprising, then, that its delegates should offer the first plan for a new constitution. On May 29 the **Virginia Plan,** largely the work of Madison, was presented by Randolph.

The Virginia Plan called for a new government with three separate branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislature—Congress—would be bicameral. Representation in each house was to be based either upon each State's population or upon the amount of money it gave for the support of the central government. The members of the lower house, the House of Representatives, were to be popularly elected in each State. Those of the upper house, the Senate, were to be chosen by the House from lists of persons nominated by the State legislatures.

Congress was to be given all of the powers it held under the Articles. In addition, it was to have the power "to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent" to act, to veto any State law in conflict with national law, and to use force if necessary to make a State obey national law.

Under the proposed Virginia Plan, Congress would choose a "National Executive" and a "National Judiciary." Together, these two branches would form a "Council of revision." They could veto acts passed by Congress, but a veto could be overridden by the two houses. The executive would have "a general authority to execute the National laws." The judiciary would "consist of one or more supreme tribunals [courts], and of inferior tribunals."

The Virginia Plan also provided that all State officers should take an oath to support the Union, and that each State be guaranteed a republican form of government. Under the plan, Congress would have the exclusive power to admit new States to the Union.

The Virginia Plan, then, would create a new constitution by thoroughly revising the Articles. Its goal was the creation of a truly national government with greatly expanded powers and, importantly, the power to enforce its decisions.

The Virginia Plan set the agenda for much of the convention's work. But some delegates—especially those from the smaller States of Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey, and from New York—found it too radical.[15] Soon they developed their counterproposals. On June 15 William Paterson of New Jersey presented the position of the small States.

The New Jersey Plan

Paterson and his colleagues offered several amendments to the Articles, but not nearly so thorough a revision as that proposed by the Virginia Plan. The **New Jersey Plan** retained the unicameral Congress of the Confederation, with each of the States equally represented. To those powers Congress already had, would be added closely limited powers to tax and to regulate trade between the States.

The New Jersey Plan also called for a "federal executive" of more than one person. This plural executive would be chosen by Congress and could be removed by it at the request of a majority of the States' governors. The "federal judiciary" would be composed of a single "supreme Tribunal," appointed by the executive.

Among their several differences, the major point of disagreement between the two plans centered on this question: How should the States be represented in Congress? Would it be on the basis of their populations or financial contributions, as in the Virginia Plan? Or would it be on the basis of State equality, as in the Articles and the New Jersey Plan?

For weeks the delegates returned to this conflict, debating the matter again and again. The lines were sharply drawn. Several delegates, on both sides of the issue, threatened to withdraw. Finally, the dispute was settled by one of the key compromises the Framers were to make as they built the Constitution.

Compromises

The disagreement over representation in Congress was critical. The large States expected to dominate the new government. The small

[15]The Virginia Plan's major support came from the three largest States: Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. New York was then only the fifth largest State. Alexander Hamilton, the convention's most outspoken champion of a stronger central government, was regularly outvoted by his fellow delegates from New York.

Universal Access L3

Enrichment Tell students to suppose that they have boarded a time capsule and traveled back to the year 1787. Assign students the role of a journalist covering the story of the Philadelphia Convention. Encourage them to focus on the grueling task of the delegates to develop a new, workable Constitution. Encourage students to report about this historic meeting in a way that they feel will best capture the event. **H–SS 12.1.4**

Background Note

Recent Scholarship

A subject of serious debate in politics today is whether current interpretations of the Constitution should be based on the Framers' original intent. Originalists argue that the best way to interpret the Constitution is to determine how the Framers intended it to be interpreted. In *Original Arguments: Constitutional Interpretation, Textual Meaning, Original Intent and Judicial Review,* Keith E. Whittington buttresses the originalists' argument by making the case that originalism, or original intent, should be the preferred method of constitutional interpretation, as it is the method best suited for a democratic government. On the opposite side of the spectrum, in *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution,* Jack Rakove argues that there was no single "original intent" among the Framers. Rakove analyzes the sharply different perspectives of the Framers and points to how those differences led to dynamic debate and compromise.

Preparing for Standardized Tests

Have students read the passages under *The Virginia Plan* and then answer the question below.

From the passages, you can infer that smaller States might have found the Virginia Plan too radical because

A it thoroughly rejected the Articles.

B by basing representation in the houses on population or monetary support, it favored the larger States.

C it did not call for an executive branch.

D it did not provide for a national judiciary.

Universal Access L3

Share the following quotation with students:

You see, the men that laid out our Constitution in the first place looked far enough ahead to see, in fact they must have had a premonition that at some time in the distant future there would be a bunch of men in there that didn't know any more about Government than I know about Einstein's theory.

Well, those old fellows in those days almost made it foolproof, so due to their farsightedness no one we put in can do us a whole lot of damage.

The old founders of the Constitution made it so it didn't matter who was in office, things would drag along about the same.

—Will Rogers

Discussion Ask students to describe Rogers's attitude toward the Framers, toward the Constitution, and toward modern politicians.

H–SS 12.1.4

Point-of-Use Resources

Simulations and Data Graphing CD-ROM offers data graphing tools that give students practice with creating and interpreting graphs.

Slavery in the United States, 1790

State	Total Population	Slave Population	Percent Slave Population
Connecticut	238,000	2,648	1.11
Delaware	59,000	8,887	15.06
Georgia	83,000	29,264	35.26
Maryland	320,000	103,036	32.20
Massachusetts	476,000	0	0.0
New Hampshire	142,000	157	0.11
New Jersey	184,000	11,423	6.21
New York	340,000	21,193	6.23
North Carolina	394,000	100,783	25.58
Pennsylvania	434,000	3,707	0.85
Rhode Island	69,000	958	1.39
South Carolina	249,000	107,094	43.01
Virginia	692,000	292,627	42.29

SOURCES: *Historical Statistics of Black America; Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Interpreting Tables The agricultural economy of the southern States relied on slave labor to produce cotton, tobacco, and other crops. ***Why did the southern States want slaves counted in their States' total population?***

States feared that they would not be able to protect their interests. Tempers flared on both sides. The debate became so intense that Benjamin Franklin suggested that "henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven . . . be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business."

The Connecticut Compromise

The conflict was finally settled by a compromise suggested by the Connecticut delegation. Under the **Connecticut Compromise,** it was agreed that Congress should be composed of two houses. In the smaller Senate, the States would be represented equally. In the House, the representation of each State would be based upon its population.

Thus, by combining basic features of the rival Virginia and New Jersey Plans, the convention's most serious dispute was resolved. The agreement satisfied the smaller States in particular, and it made it possible for them to support the creation of a strong central government.

The Connecticut Compromise was so pivotal to the writing of the Constitution that it has often been called the Great Compromise.

The Three-Fifths Compromise

Once it had been agreed to base the seats in the House on each State's population, this question arose: Should slaves be counted in the populations of the southern States?

Again debate was fierce. Most delegates from the southern States argued that slaves should be counted. Most of the northerners took the opposing view. The table on this page shows the significant percentage of slaves among the populations of the southern States.

Finally, the Framers agreed to the **Three-Fifths Compromise.** It provided that all "free persons" should be counted, and so, too, should "three-fifths of all other persons." (Article I, Section 2, Clause 3. For "all other persons" read "slaves.") For the three-fifths won by the southerners, the northerners exacted a price. That formula was also to be used in fixing the amount of money to be raised in each State by any direct tax levied by Congress. In short, the southerners could count their slaves, but they would have to pay for them.

This odd compromise disappeared from the Constitution with the adoption of the 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery, in 1865. For 140 years now, there have been no "all other persons" in this country.

The Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise

The convention agreed that Congress had to have the power to regulate foreign and interstate

Answer to . . .

Interpreting Tables If representation were based on population, then counting slaves would give the southern States greater political power.

Make It Relevant

Careers in Government—Preservationist

The original Constitution is displayed in the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C., where thousands of people from around the world view it each year. Its excellent condition is owed to the work of *preservationists,* so-named because they preserve historical documents. Many preservationists work in American government, at such places as the National Archives and Records Administration, the Library of Congress, and the Smithsonian Institution.

Skills Activity Direct pairs of students to conduct research on how an old book could be repaired. Then have individual students write paragraphs explaining why they would or would not be interested in a career as a preservationist.

trade. To many southerners that power carried a real danger, however. They worried that Congress, likely to be controlled by northern commercial interests, would act against the interests of the agricultural South.

They were particularly fearful that Congress would try to pay for the new government out of export duties, and southern tobacco was the major American export of the time. They also feared that Congress would interfere with the slave trade.

Before they would agree to the commerce power, the southerners insisted on certain protections. So, according to the **Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise,** Congress was forbidden the power to tax the export of goods from any State. It was also forbidden the power to act on the slave trade for a period of at least 20 years. It could not interfere with "the migration or importation of such persons as any State now existing shall think proper to admit," except for a small head tax, at least until the year 1808.[16]

A "Bundle of Compromises"

The convention spent much of its time, said Franklin, "sawing boards to make them fit." The Constitution drafted at Philadelphia has often been called a "bundle of compromises." These descriptions are apt, if they are properly understood.

There were differences of opinion among the delegates, certainly. After all, the delegates came from 12 different States that were widely separated in geographic and economic terms. The delegates often reflected the interests of their States. Bringing these interests together did require compromise. Indeed, final decisions on issues such as selection of the President, the treaty-making process, the structure of the national court system, and the amendment process were reached as a result of compromise.

But by no means did all, or even most, of what shaped the document come from compromises. The Framers agreed on many of the basic issues they faced. Thus, nearly all the delegates were convinced that a new *national* government, a federal government, had to be created, and had to have the powers necessary to deal with the nation's grave social and economic problems. The Framers were also dedicated to the concepts of popular sovereignty and of limited government. None questioned for a moment the wisdom of representative government. The principles of separation of powers and of checks and balances were accepted almost as a matter of course.

Many disputes did occur, and the compromises by which they were resolved came only after hours and days and even weeks of heated debate. The point here, however, is that the differences were not over the most fundamental of questions. They involved, instead, such vital but lesser points as these: the details of the structure of Congress, the method by which the President was to be chosen, and the practical limits that should be put on the several powers to be given to the new central government.

Sources of the Constitution

The Framers were well educated and widely read. They were familiar with the governments of ancient Greece and Rome and those of contemporary Great Britain and Europe. They knew the political writings of their time, of such works as William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* the Baron de Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws,* Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Social Contract,* John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government,* and many others.

More immediately, the Framers drew on their own experiences. Remember, they were familiar with the Second Continental Congress, the Articles of Confederation, and their own State governments. Much that went into the Constitution came directly, sometimes word for word, from the Articles. A number of provisions were drawn from the several State constitutions, as well.

The Convention Completes Its Work

For several weeks, through the hot Philadelphia summer, the delegates took up resolution after resolution. Finally, on September 8, a committee was named "to revise the stile of and arrange the articles which had been agreed to" by the

[16]Article I, Section 9, Clause 1. Congress promptly banned the importation of slaves in 1808, and in 1820 it declared the slave trade to be piracy. The smuggling of the enslaved into this country continued until the outbreak of the Civil War, however.

Universal Access L4

Have students research and write a 2–3 page biography on a Framer of the Constitution whom they choose. Encourage students to focus on their subject's contributions to the creation of the Constitution before and during the Convention. They may also provide important background information, such as education and political experiences.

GT H–SS 12.1.4

Background Note

Global Awareness

Over half of the nations of the world have bicameral legislatures, but only a handful base membership in the upper house on the principle of equal representation for each State, as described in the Connecticut Compromise. Switzerland's Council of States—like the U.S. Senate—provides for two seats from each of the country's 23 cantons (or states). The Argentine Senate, the French Senate, and the German Bundesrat are also set up this way. In other nations with bicameral legislatures, including Italy, India, Canada, and Japan, the number of seats in both houses is based upon population, as prescribed by the Virginia Plan.

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For career-related links and activities, visit the *Magruder's American Government* companion Web site in the Social Studies area at the Prentice Hall School Web site. **PHSchool.com**

Spotlight on Technology

Magruder's American Government Video Collection

The Magruder's Video Collection explores key issues and debates in American government. Each segment examines an issue central to chapter content through use of historical and contemporary footage. Commentary from civic leaders in academics, government, and the media follow each segment. Critical-thinking questions focus students' attention on key issues, and may be used to stimulate discussion.

Use the Chapter 2 video segment to explore the issue of school prayer with your class. (time: about 5 minutes) This segment sets the scene with the 1962 *Engel* v. *Vitale* Supreme Court case on school prayer, then examines current debate on the issue: specifically, student-led prayer at school-sponsored events.

Point-of-Use Resources

Guide to the Essentials Chapter 2, Section 4, p. 21 provides support for students who need additional review of section content. Spanish support is available in the Spanish edition of the Guide on p. 14.

Quiz Unit 1 booklet, p. 15 includes matching and multiple-choice questions to check students' understanding of Section 4 content.

Presentation Pro CD-ROM Quizzes and multiple-choice questions check students' understanding of Section 4 content.

Answers to . . .

Section 4 Assessment

1. The Framers were the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention; most came from wealthy backgrounds, were well educated, and had public experience.
2. To create an entirely new constitution.
3. The Virginia Plan called for representation to be based on a State's population or the amount of money it gave to support the central government. Smaller States would not be given as much representation as larger States in this plan and thus opposed it.
4. That Congress would be composed of two houses—including a Senate with equal representation and a House with representation based on population.
5. Writings by European thinkers, the Framers' own experiences, ideas from the Articles, and State constitutions.
6. The Virginia Plan called for representation based on a State's population or monetary contributions. It also called for one federal executive. The New Jersey Plan called for equal representation, and provided for plural federal executives.
7. Possible answer: Southern States felt that these items were vital to the protection of their commercial interests. In exchange for these concessions, the southern States had to pay extra taxes on slaves.

▲ Detail from Washington's chair at the Constitutional Convention.

convention. That group, the Committee of Stile and Arrangement headed by Gouverneur Morris, put the Constitution in its final form.

Then, on September 17, the convention approved its work and 39 names were placed on the finished document.[17] Perhaps none of the Framers were completely satisfied with their work. Nevertheless, wise old Benjamin Franklin put into words what many of the Framers must have thought on that final day:

PRIMARY Sources *"Sir, I agree with this Constitution to all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general Government necessary for us . . . I doubt . . . whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does . . ."*

—*Notes* of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, James Madison

On Franklin's motion, the Constitution was signed. Madison tells us that

PRIMARY Sources *". . . Doctor Franklin, looking toward the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that Painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. I have, said he, often and often in the course of the Session . . . looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."*

—*Notes* of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, James Madison

[17] Three of the 41 delegates present on that last day refused to sign the proposed Constitution: Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who later did support ratification and served as Attorney General and then Secretary of State under President Washington; Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, who later became Vice President under Madison; and George Mason of Virginia, who continued to oppose the Constitution until his death in 1792. George Read of Delaware signed both for himself and for his absent colleague John Dickinson.

Section 4 Assessment

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For: Self-Quiz and vocabulary practice
Web Code: mqa-1024

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. Identify the **Framers** of the Constitution and describe, in general, their backgrounds and experiences.
2. What momentous decision did the Framers make at the beginning of the Philadelphia Convention?
3. Why did the delegates from the smaller States object to the **Virginia Plan?**
4. What was agreed to under the **Connecticut Compromise?**
5. What sources influenced the Framers in writing the Constitution?

Critical Thinking

6. **Making Comparisons** Compare and contrast the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan.
7. **Determining Relevance** The Three-Fifths Compromise and the Commerce and Slave Trade Compromise were included in the Constitution at the insistence of the southern States. Why did States in the South think these items were important and what price, if any, did southern States pay for their inclusion?
8. **Drawing Conclusions** The Constitution has been called a "bundle of compromises." Is this an accurate description of the document? Explain your answer.

Go Online PHSchool.com
For: An activity on the Framers of the Constitution
Web Code: mqd-1024

8. Possible answer: Yes; it represents a consensus of opinion, which was achieved through numerous compromises.

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For additional assessment, have students access **Standards Monitoring Online** at **Web Code:** mqa-1024

Go Online PHSchool.com Typing in the Web Code when prompted will bring students directly to detailed instructions for this activity.

5 Ratifying the Constitution

Section Preview

Objectives

1. **Identify** the opposing sides in the fight for ratification and describe the major arguments for and against the Constitution.
2. **Describe** the inauguration of the new government of the United States of America.

Why It Matters

The Constitution could not take effect until it had been ratified by nine States. The battle between those who supported and those who opposed the Constitution was hard fought in all the States.

Political Dictionary

- ★ **Federalists**
- ★ **Anti-Federalists**
- ★ **quorum**

Today, the Constitution of the United States is the object of extraordinary respect and admiration, both here and abroad. But in 1787 and 1788, it was widely criticized, and in every State there were many who opposed its adoption. The battle over the ratification of the Constitution was not easily decided.

The Fight for Ratification

Remember, the Articles of Confederation provided that changes could be made to them only if all of the State legislatures agreed. But the new Constitution was intended to replace, not amend, the Articles. The Framers had seen how crippling the unanimity requirement could be. So, the new Constitution provided that

FROM THE Constitution

"The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

—Article VII

The Congress of the Confederation agreed to this irregular procedure. After a short debate, it sent copies of the new document to the States on September 28, 1787.

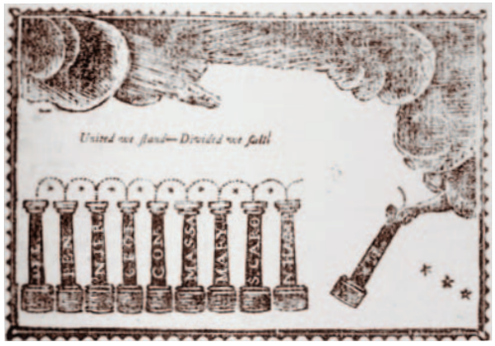
Federalists and Anti-Federalists

The Constitution was printed, circulated, and debated vigorously. Two groups quickly emerged in each of the States: the **Federalists,** who favored ratification, and the **Anti-Federalists,** who opposed it.

The Federalists were led by many of those who had attended the Philadelphia Convention. Among them, the most active and the most effective were James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. Their opposition was headed by such well-known Revolutionary War figures as Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, John Hancock, and Samuel Adams.

The Federalists stressed the weaknesses of the Articles. They argued that the many difficulties facing the Republic could be overcome only by a new government based on the proposed Constitution.

The Anti-Federalists attacked nearly every part of the new document. Many objected to the ratification process, to the absence of any mention of God, to the denial to the States of



▲ ***Interpreting Political Cartoons*** This cartoon, printed in the New Hampshire *Gazette* on June 26, 1788, shows the States as pillars, with nine upright and a tenth being raised. ***What is the message of the words in the cartoon?***

Lesson Plan

Teaching the Main Ideas L3

H–SS 12.1.4

1. Focus Tell students that even though the Framers had eliminated the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, many people opposed the new Constitution. Ask students to discuss what they know about that opposition.

2. Instruct Ask students whether they think the Anti-Federalists would have preferred the Articles of Confederation to the proposed Constitution. Have them identify the Anti-Federalists' main criticisms. Then lead a discussion of the fight for ratification.

3. Close/Reteach Remind students that the fight for ratification of the Constitution was long and hard. Have them summarize that fight by answering three questions: Who were the combatants? What did each side want? How did the fight end?

Objectives You may wish to call students' attention to the objectives in the Section Preview. The objectives are reflected in the main headings of the section.

Bellringer Ask students to think of a time when they have had a heated debate with others over an issue important to both sides. Encourage students to discuss the emotions that can arise in such a situation. Explain that in this section, they will read about a clash of ideas over ratifying the Constitution.

Vocabulary Builder Have students find the two terms in the Political Dictionary that are opposites. Ask them to propose the meanings of both terms, based on their understanding of the word *federal*.

Answer to . . .

Interpreting Political Cartoons That the future of the nation depends on the ratification of the Constitution.

Block Scheduling Strategies

Consider these suggestions to manage extended class time:

■ Have students review the Revolutions Around the World map on p. 57 of the Student Edition. Assign one or two of the revolutions to small groups of students. For each, have students research the causes, ideals, and outcomes of the revolution. Use students' research results to conduct a discussion comparing the American Revolution to other revolutions around the world.

■ Using the graphic organizers students have made for the Organizing Information activity as well as the materials prepared for the Universal Access activity on p. 57, organize a debate in which half the class supports the Federalist position and half the Anti-Federalist position.

a power to print money, and to many other features of the Framers' proposals.

Two major features of the proposed Constitution drew the heaviest fire: (1) the greatly increased powers of the central government and (2) the lack of a bill of rights. The proposed document did not provide for such basic liberties as freedom of speech, press, and religion, nor for the rights of fair trial. At Virginia's ratifying convention, Patrick Henry said of the proposed Constitution, "I look upon that paper as the most fatal plan that could possibly be conceived to enslave a free people."

Nine States Ratify

The contest for ratification was close in several States, but the Federalists finally won in all of them. Delaware was the first State to ratify. On June 21, 1788, New Hampshire brought the number of ratifying States to nine.

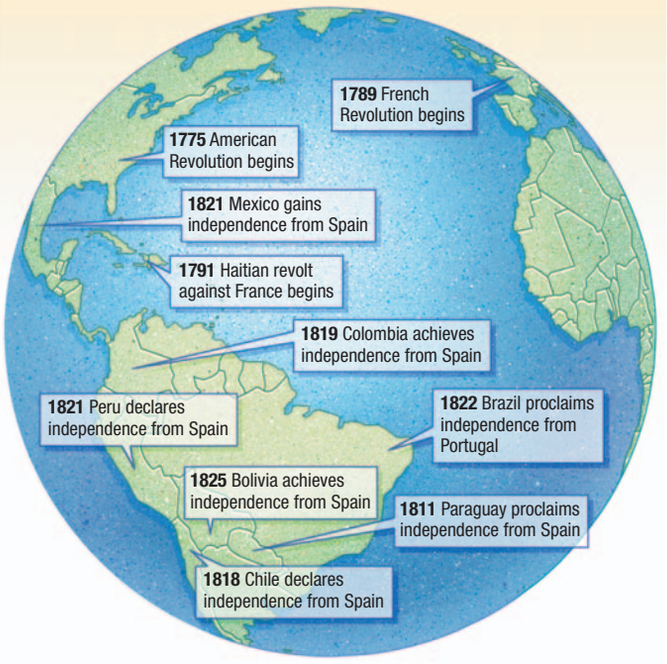
Under Article VII, New Hampshire's ratification should have brought the Constitution into effect, but it did not. Neither Virginia nor New York had yet ratified, and without either of these key States the new government could not hope to succeed.

Virginia's Ratification

Virginia's vote for ratification followed New Hampshire's by just four days. The brilliant debates in its convention were followed closely throughout the State. The Federalists were led by Madison, the young John Marshall, and Governor Edmund Randolph (even though he had refused to sign the Constitution at Philadelphia). Patrick Henry, leading the opposition, was joined by such outstanding Virginians as James Monroe, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason (another of the nonsigners).

Although George Washington was not one of the delegates to Virginia's convention, his strong support for ratification proved vital. With Madison, he was able to get a reluctant Jefferson to support the document. Had Jefferson fought as did other Anti-Federalists, Virginia might never have ratified the Constitution.

An Era of Revolutions



Interpreting Maps The American Revolution was one of many struggles for independence that took place around the world between 1775 and 1825. ***Do you think this global turmoil was coincidence, or were the events in various countries somehow connected?***

Ratification of the Constitution

State	Date	Vote
Delaware	December 7, 1787	30–0
Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	46–23
New Jersey	December 18, 1787	38–0
Georgia	January 2, 1788	26–0
Connecticut	January 9, 1788	128–40
Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	187–168
Maryland	April 28, 1788	63–11
South Carolina	May 23, 1788	149–73
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	57–46
Virginia	June 25, 1788	89–79
New York	July 26, 1788	30–27
North Carolina	November 21, 1789*	195–77
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	34–32

*Second vote; ratification was originally defeated on August 4, 1788, by a vote of 184–84.

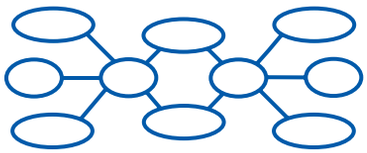
Interpreting Tables Virginia's ratification came only after a long struggle. ***In what other States was ratification won by only a narrow margin?***

Organizing Information

To make sure students understand the main points of this section, you may wish to use the double web graphic organizer to the right.

Tell students that a double web compares and contrasts information about two ideas. Ask students to use the double web to compare the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.

Teaching Tip A template for this graphic organizer can be found in the Section Support Transparencies, Transparency 2.



Reading Strategy

Organizing Information/ Outline

Ask students to copy down the main headings and subheadings in outline form, leaving space for details. Have them fill in the details as they read the section.

Universal Access L3

Time 90 minutes.
Purpose Interpret historical writings.
Grouping Groups of three to four students.
Activity Using copies of several essays from *The Federalist* brought in by the teacher, groups will summarize and interpret the essay they have been assigned and present their work to the class.
Roles Discussion leader, recorder, timekeeper, spokesperson.
Close The teacher will place a copy of each essay on an overhead transparency for the class to view. After groups have recorded their interpretation of the essay, have the spokespersons read the summary to the class, highlighting the most important points of the documents.
H–SS 12.1.4

Point-of-Use Resources

Guided Reading and Review Unit 1 booklet, p. 16 provides students with practice identifying the main ideas and key terms of this section.

Lesson Planner For complete lesson planning suggestions, see the Lesson Planner booklet, section 5.

Political Cartoons See p. 11 of the Political Cartoons booklet for a cartoon relevant to this section.

Answers to . . .

Interpreting Maps Answers will vary, but should be supported with relevant examples.
Interpreting Tables New Hampshire, New York, and Rhode Island.

Point-of-Use Resources

Guide to the Essentials Chapter 2, Section 5, p. 22 provides support for students who need additional review of section content. Spanish support is available in the Spanish edition of the Guide on p. 15.

Quiz Unit 1 booklet, p. 18 includes matching and multiple-choice questions to check students' understanding of Section 5 content.

Presentation Pro CD-ROM Quizzes and multiple-choice questions check students' understanding of Section 5 content.

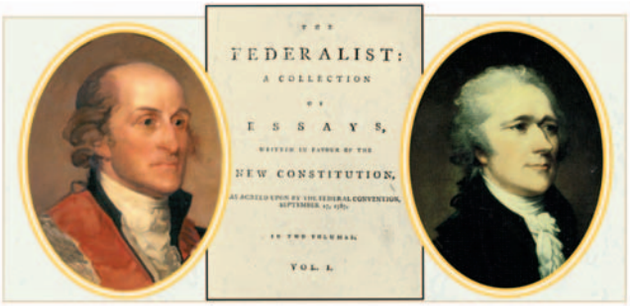
Section Support Transparencies Transparency 14, *Visual Learning;* Transparency 113, *Political Cartoon*

ABC News Civics and Government Videotape Library *The Blessings of Liberty,* Introduction and the 1789–1803 segment (time: about 40 minutes)

Answers to . . .

Section 5 Assessment

1. The Federalists believed that the Constitution should be ratified, because the many problems facing the new Republic could not be solved within the framework of the weak Articles.
2. The Anti-Federalists were well-known Revolutionary War figures who opposed the Constitution. They were particularly opposed to the increased power of the central government and the lack of a bill of rights.
3. The ratification process was unusual because unanimity was not required to ratify. However, the government needed more than nine states to ratify to ensure its survival.
4. They were among the leading States in terms of economics and political leadership.
5. Possible answer: The Anti-Federalists wanted in particular to ensure that the government could not be tyrannical. With a strong central government and no outline of basic rights, they felt individual freedom was threatened.



▲ ***Defending the Constitution*** All the essays in *The Federalist* were signed with the pen name Publius. Modern scholars attribute fifty-one to Hamilton (right), five to Jay (left), and twenty-nine to Madison. **H-SS 12.1.4**

New York, The Last Key State

A narrow vote in the New York convention brought the number of States to 11, on July 26. New York ratified only after a long battle. The Anti-Federalists were led by Governor George Clinton and by two of the State's three delegates to the Philadelphia Convention.[18]

The contest in New York gave rise to a remarkable campaign document: *The Federalist*. It was a collection of 85 essays supporting the Constitution written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. Those essays were first published as letters to the people in various newspapers of the State and soon were collected in book form. Though written in haste, they remain an excellent commentary on the Constitution, and are among the best political writings in the English language.

Inaugurating the Government

On September 13, 1788, with 11 of the 13 States "under the federal roof," the Congress of the Confederation paved the way for its successor.[19] It chose New York as the temporary capital.[20] It set the first Wednesday in January as the date on which the States would choose presidential electors. The first Wednesday in February was set as the date on which those electors would vote, and the first Wednesday in March as the date for the inauguration of the new government.

The new Congress convened on March 4, 1789. It met in Federal Hall, on Wall Street in New York City. But because it lacked a **quorum** (majority), it could not count the electoral votes until April 6. Finally, on that day, it found that George Washington had been elected President by a unanimous vote. John Adams was elected Vice President with a substantial majority.

On April 30, after an historic trip from Mount Vernon to New York, Washington took the oath of office as the first President of the United States.

[18]Robert Yates and John Lansing had quit Philadelphia in July, arguing that the convention had gone beyond its authority. Like many other Anti-Federalist leaders, Governor Clinton later supported the Constitution.
[19]Neither North Carolina nor Rhode Island had ratified the new Constitution before it became effective. As you can see in the table on page 57, the Constitution failed in a first convention in North Carolina and was finally approved by a second one in late November of 1789. Rhode Island did not hold a ratifying convention until May of 1790, more than a year after Washington's inauguration.
[20]The District of Columbia did not become the nation's capital until 1800. Congress moved its sessions from New York to Philadelphia in December 1790. It held its first meeting in the new "federal city," Washington, D.C., on November 17, 1800.

Section 5 Assessment

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For: Self-Quiz and vocabulary practice
Web Code: mqa-1025

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. What was the **Federalist** position on the adoption of the Constitution? Why did they feel that way?
2. Who were the **Anti-Federalists?**
3. What was "irregular" about the ratification of the Constitution?

Critical Thinking

4. **Expressing Problems Clearly** Why might the failure of New York and Virginia to ratify have doomed the Constitution?
5. **Understanding Point of View** The Anti-Federalists were greatly concerned that the proposed Constitution increased the powers of the central government and lacked a bill of rights. Why would these specific issues have been important to them?

Go Online PHSchool.com
For: An activity on the Federalist Papers
Web Code: mqd-1025

Standards Monitoring *Online*
For additional assessment, have students access **Standards Monitoring Online** at **Web Code:** mqa-1025

Go Online PHSchool.com Typing in the Web Code when prompted will bring students directly to detailed instructions for this activity.