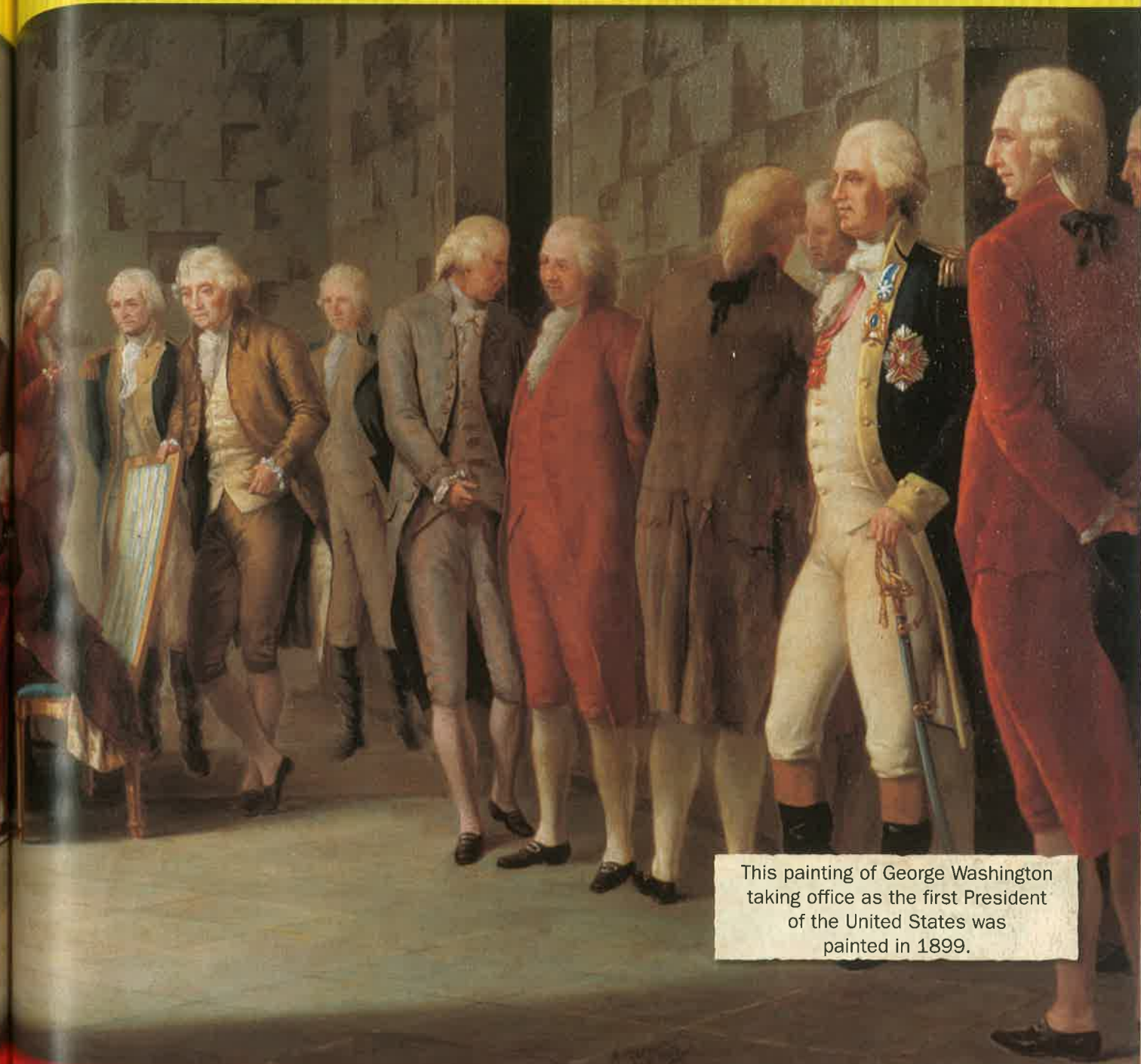
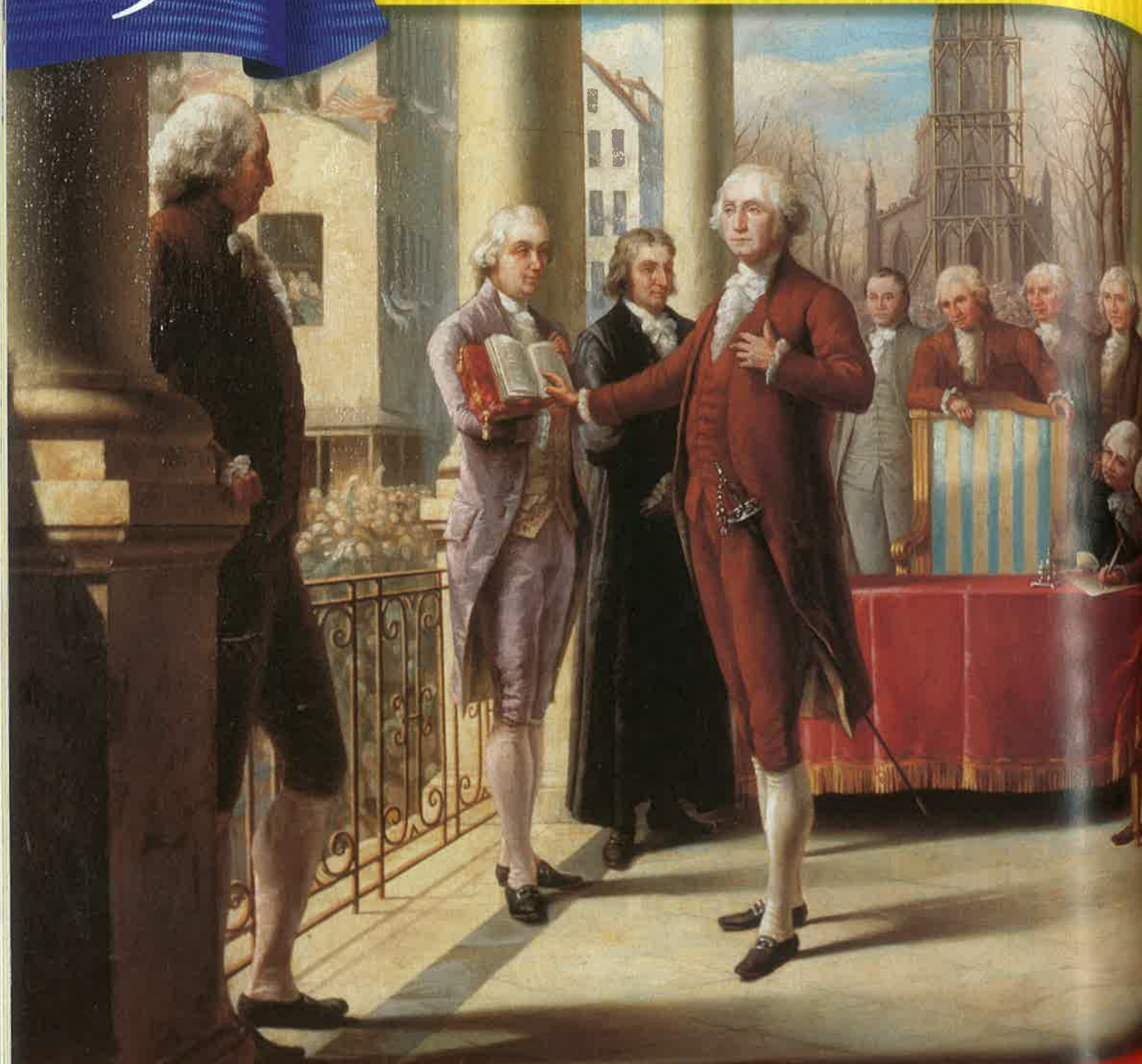


UNIT 5

Begin with a Primary Source

"...in order to form a more perfect Union..."

—From the Preamble to the United States Constitution



This painting of George Washington taking office as the first President of the United States was painted in 1899.

1780

1781
Articles of
Confederation
approved by states

330

1790

1788
Constitution
is ratified

1789
George Washington
becomes the first president

1791
Bill of Rights
ratified

1800

1800
Federal government
moves to
Washington, D.C.

1810

1803
Louisiana Purchase
expands the size of
the country

1812
War of 1812
begins

1820

1815
War of 1812
ends

331



For more information, go online to Meet the People at www.sfsocialstudies.com.



Benjamin Banneker

1731–1806

Birthplace: Ellicott's Mills, Maryland
Inventor, mathematician, astronomer

- Served on the committee to plan the United States capital
- Helped survey the land that became Washington, D.C.
- Built a working clock entirely out of wood



Abigail Adams

1744–1818

Birthplace: Weymouth, Massachusetts
First Lady

- Wrote letters that have helped historians learn about United States history
- Strong supporter of independence from England
- Advocated women's rights and the abolition of slavery



Benjamin Rush

1746–1813

Birthplace: Byberry, Pennsylvania

Doctor, political leader

- Signer of the Declaration of Independence
- Led Pennsylvania in ratifying the United States Constitution
- Helped write the Pennsylvania State Constitution



James Madison

1751–1836

Birthplace: Port Conway, Virginia

Political leader

- Kept a written record of the Constitutional Convention
- A leader of the drive to approve the Constitution
- Elected fourth President of the United States in 1808



Alexander Hamilton

1755?–1804

Birthplace: Nevis, British West Indies

Lawyer

- Appointed by George Washington to serve as his aide in the American Revolution
- A leader of the drive to ratify the Constitution
- First secretary of the treasury of the United States



Tecumseh

1768–1813

Birthplace: Present-day Clark County, Ohio

Shawnee leader

- Persuasive speaker and leader
- Unified many Native Americans to resist American settlement
- Joined forces with British during the War of 1812



Meriwether Lewis

1774–1809

Birthplace: near Charlottesville, Virginia

Army captain, explorer

- Teamed with William Clark to explore the Louisiana Territory
- Kept detailed records of his explorations
- Named governor of the Louisiana Territory



Sacagawea

about 1786–1812?

Birthplace: near present-day Lemhi, Idaho

Interpreter, guide

- Shoshone who accompanied Lewis and Clark on their expedition
- Helped the explorers communicate with Native Americans
- Saved important journals and other valuable items when an expedition boat tipped over

1730 1740 1750 1760 1770 1780

1731 • Benjamin Banneker

1744 • Abigail Adams

1746 • Benjamin Rush

1751 • James Madison

1755? • Alexander Hamilton

1768 • Tecumseh

1774

1790 1800 1810 1820 1830

1806

1818

1813

1836

1804

1813

• Meriwether Lewis

1809

about 1786 • Sacagawea

1812?



PREVIEW

Focus on the Main Idea

The new nation struggled to govern itself under the Articles of Confederation.

PLACES

Springfield, Massachusetts
Northwest Territory

PEOPLE

Daniel Shays

VOCABULARY

Articles of Confederation
ratify
legislative branch
executive branch
judicial branch
inflation
Shays' Rebellion
Northwest Ordinance of 1787

1780

1781
Articles of Confederation ratified by states

1786-1787
Shays' Rebellion is fought in western Massachusetts

1790

1787
Northwest Ordinance organizes the Northwest Territory

A Weak Government



You are tucked in bed, but voices coming from downstairs keep you awake. The Declaration of

Independence has just been proclaimed. The adults in your family are excitedly discussing it and what it means.

“At last,” says one, “we will be free of tyranny from the British government.”

“But,” says another, “what kind of government will we create to take its place? Will we simply replace British tyranny with American tyranny?”

Like many other Americans, members of your family have a deep distrust of government. They don't want a repeat of powerful governors and unfair laws. What they want is a government that is strong enough to protect citizens' rights. But they fear that government can just as easily threaten citizens' freedoms. How can a balance be found?



Draw Conclusions As you read, decide how successful the Articles of Confederation were in setting up a strong government.

1800

The Articles of Confederation

With British rule removed, Americans had to create new plans of government for themselves. Leaders knew that they wanted their new nation to be a republic. But they did not want this government to have too much power over the people. Shortly after the members of the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence in 1776, they began debating a new plan for a national government. The plan was called the Articles of Confederation. A confederation is a group or league.

The **Articles of Confederation** stated that the states would keep their “freedom and independence.” States would be joined in “a firm league of friendship,” not a strong central government. The plan could not take effect until all 13 states ratified it. To **ratify** is to approve something. The Articles of Confederation were ratified in 1781.

► **Robert Livingston helped write the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation.**



Painting by John Trumbull

1810

Under the Articles of Confederation, Congress was the main governing body. It would make the laws for the new nation. But it could not pass laws to collect taxes to run the government. Congress could only ask each state to give taxes to pay for the expenses of Congress. However, it was difficult for Congress to collect enough money this way. Each state had one vote in Congress. To pass a law, at least 9 of the 13 states had to vote for it.

The Articles set up a central government with only one branch—a legislature, called Congress. A **legislative branch** is the part of government that passes laws. There was no executive branch to carry out the laws. An **executive branch** of government is headed by a leader such as a President. There was also no **judicial branch**, or court system, to interpret the laws.

REVIEW Why did the writers of the Articles of Confederation purposely create a weak central government? **Draw Conclusions**

1820

A Government in Trouble

The weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation meant trouble for the new nation. Think about how difficult it would be for a government to operate without being able to pass laws to collect taxes. For example, Congress had to borrow large amounts of money to fight the American Revolution. It borrowed from both private people and foreign countries. Without the ability to collect taxes, it could not repay these debts. It also could not pay its soldiers.

The new nation also had other money problems. Today, we have coins and paper money that have the same value across the country. But then, both the Congress and the different states could make their own money. And each kind of money might have a different value. If you were alive then, you would have carried a jumble of money—paper bills printed by Congress, called “continentals,” and perhaps some paper money printed by Vermont or by Pennsylvania. You might even have had a few foreign coins.



► Congress and the states printed paper money during and after the Revolution.

People had a hard time figuring out the value of these different kinds of money. Congress's paper money became almost worthless. This happened because of inflation that took place during the American Revolution. **Inflation** happens when prices rise very quickly. When this happens, money does not buy as much as it used to. The saying “not worth a continental” came to describe something of little or no value. How could businesses run well with such a jumble of money?

Under the Articles of Confederation, the national government was not only weak at home. It was also powerless in dealings with other countries. The new nation needed to develop strong trade with the nations of Europe. But because Congress could not pass laws making rules for such trade, some governments had little respect for the United States. Many of them hoped the new nation would fail.

By the middle 1780s, some Americans became alarmed about the nation's weakness.

A group called the nationalists began arguing for a newer, stronger form of national government. The nationalists included leaders of the Revolution, such as George Washington and Ben Franklin. George Washington made this plea for change: “If the powers of Congress are inadequate [not strong enough], amend or alter [change] them.”

REVIEW What conclusions did the nationalists draw about the Articles of Confederation? **Draw Conclusions**

Shays' Rebellion

An uprising of farmers in western Massachusetts in 1786 alarmed the nationalists even more than the nation's weakness. Like the other states, Massachusetts had borrowed money to fight the Revolutionary War. And like other states, it had the power to tax its citizens. One way to pay off its debt was to tax property. These taxes hit the farmers of the state especially hard.

Farmers found it harder and harder to pay property taxes and other debts. When they could not pay, state courts seized their farms. The courts also threw farmers who owed money into jail. The anger of the farmers grew.

Daniel Shays was one of the angry farmers. A Revolutionary War veteran, he had fought at the battles of Bunker Hill, Ticonderoga, and Saratoga, rising to the rank of captain. The Marquis de Lafayette had presented Shays with a ceremonial sword to

honor his service. But debts had forced Shays to sell this prized sword.

Shays became a leader in a movement that demanded lower taxes and the closing of courts that punished debtors. A debtor is a person who owes money. In September 1786, Captain Shays led a ragtag “army” of about 700 to close the court at **Springfield, Massachusetts**. Fewer than a quarter of them were armed with anything more than clubs. To keep **Shays' Rebellion** going, the farmers needed better weapons. So in January 1787, Shays led an attack on the federal arsenal at Springfield, where rifles and ammunition were stored.

Shays' attack was unsuccessful, and he fled to Vermont. But his rebellion gave the nationalists more ammunition in their battle to strengthen the national government.

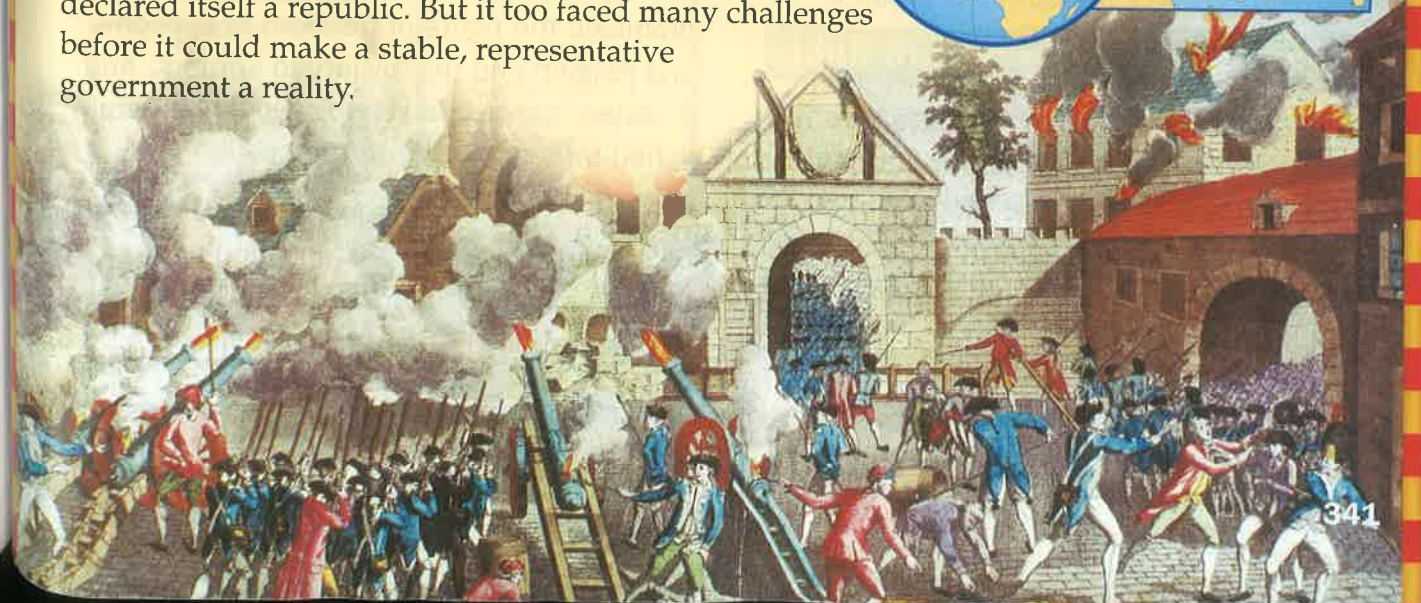
REVIEW Why did Shays' Rebellion frighten the nationalists and other Americans?

Draw Conclusions



Revolution in France

At the Same Time as the United States was struggling to create a government, France was having a revolution of its own. On July 14, 1789 in Paris, an angry crowd rose up against the king of France. Like the American Revolution, the French Revolution aimed at creating a representative government. France soon declared itself a republic. But it too faced many challenges before it could make a stable, representative government a reality.





The Northwest Territory, 1787



► The Northwest Territory was divided into smaller territories that later became states or parts of states.

MAP SKILL Location What rivers bordered the Northwest Territory on the west and the south?

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787

By the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the United States gained vast lands from the British. These new lands stretched to the Mississippi River in the west. How could these lands become states that were the equals of the original 13?

One part of these lands was called the **Northwest Territory**. Congress drew up a plan called the **Northwest Ordinance of 1787**. An ordinance is an official order. This ordinance commanded that the Northwest Territory be divided into smaller territories. The ordinance described the steps that all territories would follow to become states.

First, Congress would name a governor and three judges to govern the territory. Next, when the population of the territory reached

5,000 free adult males, the territory could elect a legislature. Then, when the population reached 60,000 adult males, the territory could petition, or ask, to become a state. Finally, when Congress ratified the territory's petition, the new state would stand "on an equal footing with the original states."

Look at the map on this page. What states were formed from the Northwest Territory?

The Northwest Ordinance prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory. It also promised the rights of freedom of speech and religion and trial by jury to settlers. And it stated that public schools would be established throughout the territory.

REVIEW Why can the Northwest Ordinance be considered a successful action by Congress under the Articles of Confederation? **Draw Conclusions**

Growing Concerns

Despite the success of the Northwest Ordinance, nationalists were still alarmed by the weakness of the central government. Disorders like Shays' Rebellion increased their fears. Once again, George Washington expressed their concern:

"What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our government than these disorders?...Thirteen [states] pulling against each other and all tugging at the...head [central government] will soon bring ruin on the whole."

Congress called on the states to send representatives to a meeting in Philadelphia in

May 1787. This meeting was to be held for "the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

REVIEW Why did George Washington conclude that greater unity among the states was necessary? **Draw Conclusions**

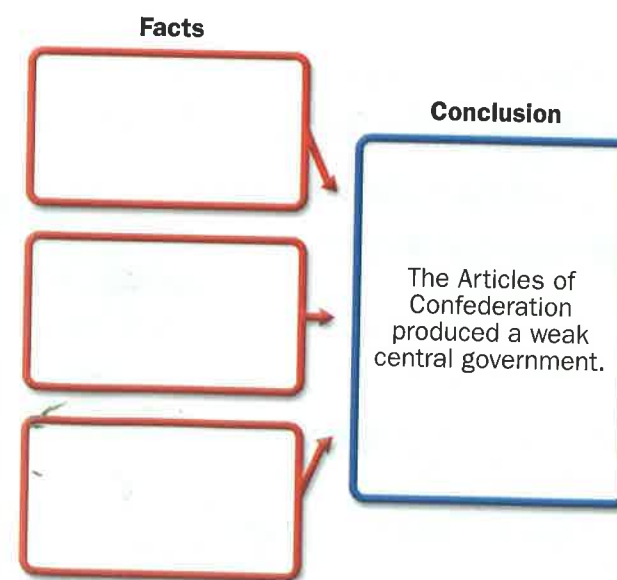
Summarize the Lesson

- 1781 All 13 states ratified the Articles of Confederation, making it the framework for the national government.
- 1786 Western Massachusetts farmers led by Daniel Shays rebelled against taxes.
- 1787 Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, which provided a model for how territories could be turned into new states.

LESSON 1 REVIEW

Check Facts and Main Ideas

- Draw Conclusions** On a separate sheet of paper, fill in the missing facts that lead to the given conclusion.



- What were the goals of the **Articles of Confederation**?
- What caused **Shays' Rebellion**?
- Critical Thinking: Cause and Effect** Identify the events that led to the **Northwest Ordinance** of 1787.
- What led George Washington to say: "What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our government?"

Link to Writing

Write a Letter to the Editor Suppose that you have just read about Shays' Rebellion in your local newspaper. Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper in which you explain why you support or oppose the rebellion.



PREVIEW

Focus on the Main Idea

At the Constitutional Convention, a group of leaders wrote the Constitution, a new plan for a stronger national government.

PLACES

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

PEOPLE

James Madison
Alexander Hamilton

VOCABULARY

delegate
Constitutional Convention
Virginia Plan
New Jersey Plan
compromise
Great Compromise
Three-Fifths Compromise
Preamble
reserved powers
separation of powers
checks and balances
veto

May 1787
Constitutional
Convention
begins

September 1787
Delegates to Constitutional
Convention approve Constitution

Debate in Philadelphia

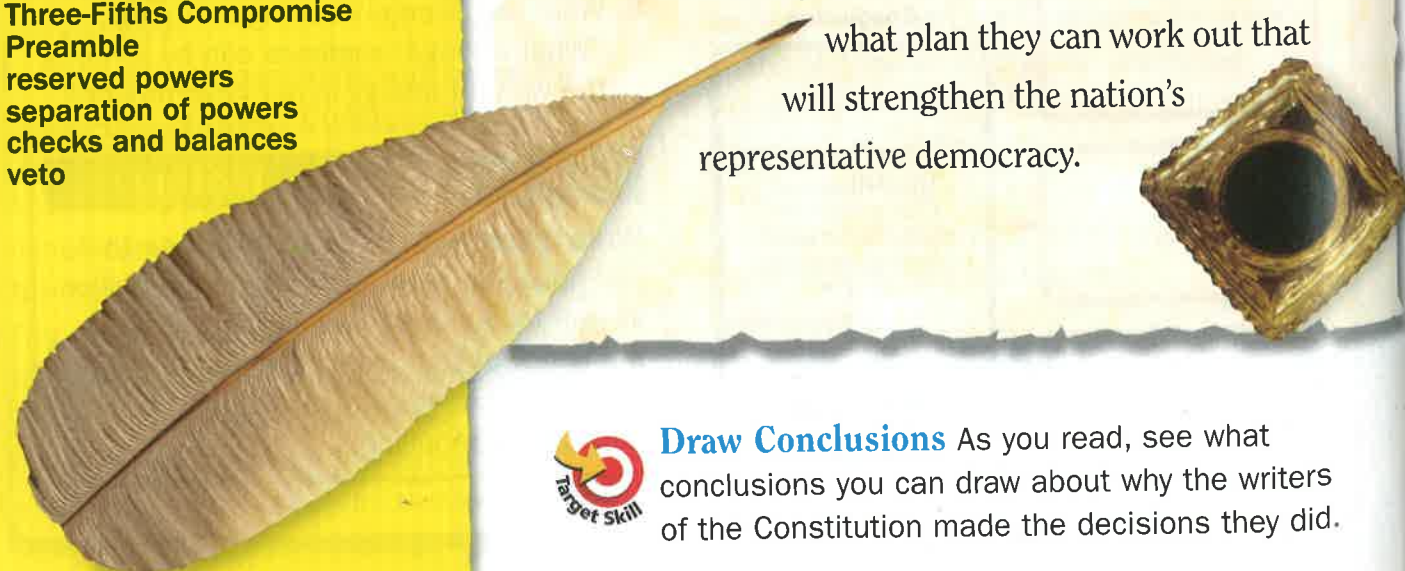


You are a reporter for a Philadelphia newspaper in 1787. You are about to cover your first big story.

Representatives from around the country are meeting in your city. The goal of the representatives? To strengthen the shaky national government.

Among the representatives is the beloved George Washington. On his arrival, he is greeted with an artillery salute and chiming bells. Hosting the convention is Pennsylvania's Benjamin Franklin. At 81, he is the oldest to take part.

Will the assembly succeed in its goal? You wonder what plan they can work out that will strengthen the nation's representative democracy.



Draw Conclusions As you read, see what conclusions you can draw about why the writers of the Constitution made the decisions they did.

The Constitutional Convention

In late May 1787, 55 representatives, or **delegates**, began filing into the State House in **Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**. Some of them had been here many times before, as members of the Second Continental Congress. In this same hall, some had heard the Declaration of Independence proclaimed. Here some had faced the challenge of fighting the Revolution. Now they faced the challenge of strengthening the government in the new republic. The original goal of the delegates was to revise the Articles of Confederation. However, they would end up replacing the Articles with a new Constitution. Their meeting would become known as the **Constitutional Convention**.

One of the first delegates to arrive was **James Madison** of Virginia. Madison had been one of the youngest members of the Continental Congress. A leading nationalist, his day-to-day notes are the most complete record of the Constitutional Convention. The effort, he later admitted, "nearly killed me."

► **James Madison (right)** was one of the leaders of the Constitutional Convention. Today the State House where the delegates met is called Independence Hall.

You will read more about Madison in the Biography on page 351.

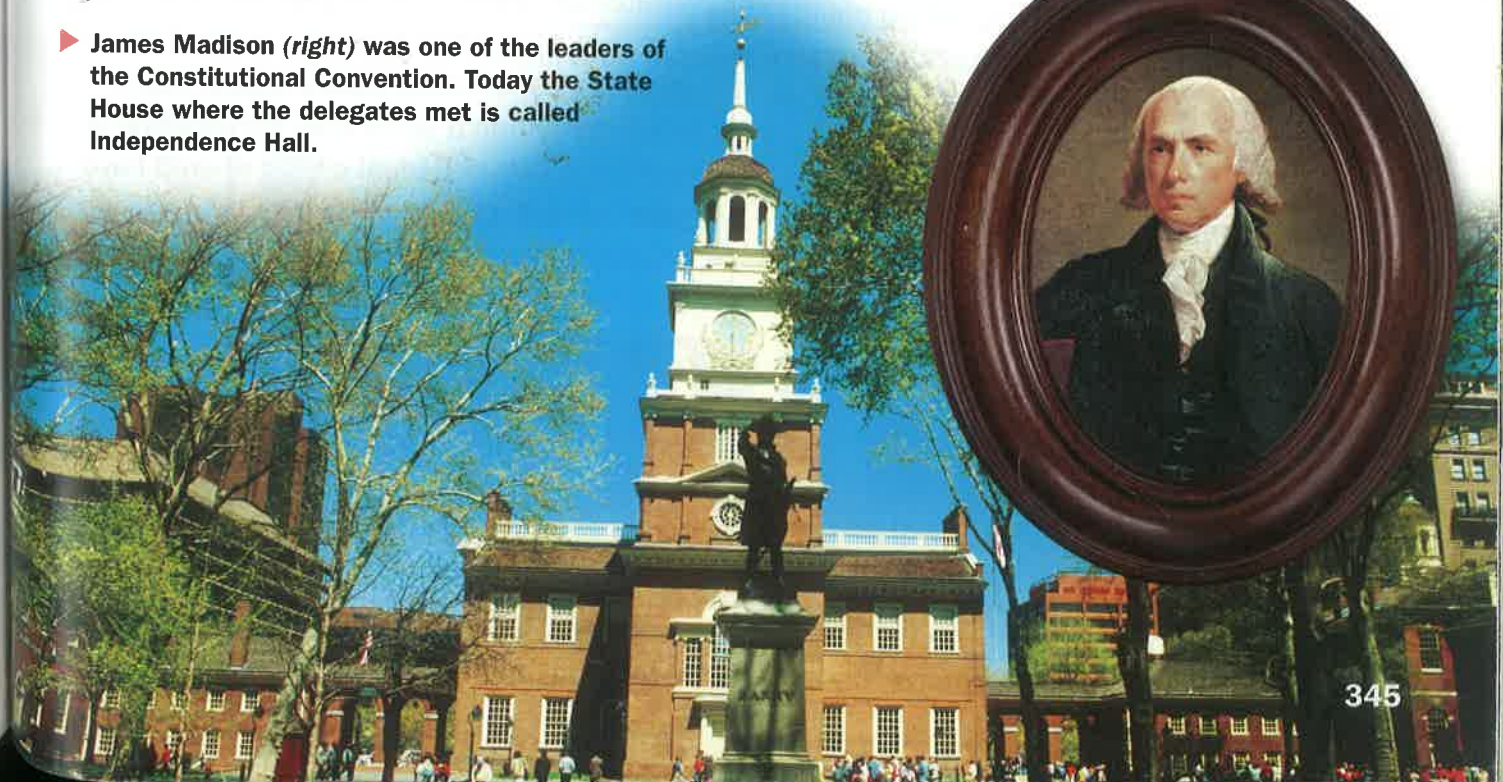
From New York came **Alexander Hamilton**. He was barely out of his teens when he had become military aide to General Washington during the Revolutionary War. By now, he was a well-known lawyer and he had strong opinions of how government can and should work.

Like these men, the other delegates were among the smartest leaders in the country. More than half of them had fought in the Revolutionary War, and many had helped write their state constitutions.

To no one's surprise, the delegates unanimously elected George Washington to be the leader of the convention. They also decided that they must work in secret. In his writings, Madison explained why. The delegates had to be able to speak freely and to change their minds. So guards were placed at the doors. Windows were nailed shut. Gravel was spread on the street outside to quiet street noises.

REVIEW Why did the delegates maintain secrecy about their work?

Draw Conclusions





The Granger Collection

► The 55 delegates to the Constitutional Convention included many of the country's most important men. They elected George Washington as leader of the convention.

Competing Plans

Delegate George Mason of Virginia set the tone for the Constitutional Convention:

“The eyes of the United States are turned upon this assembly... God grant that we may be able to satisfy them by establishing a wise and just government.”

Just about all the delegates agreed that the national government must be made stronger. Many believed that with a few changes the Articles of Confederation could do this. But James Madison and some other delegates thought differently. They wanted to throw out the Articles entirely and write a new constitution. So they made up their own plan. Virginia delegate Edmund Randolph presented it to the Convention.

The **Virginia Plan** proposed that Congress be given much greater power over the states. It also stated that the national government should have an executive branch to carry out laws created by Congress. In addition, the Virginia Plan stated that the national government should have a judicial branch to interpret

the laws passed by Congress. This plan also said that states with larger populations, like Virginia, should have more representatives in Congress than should smaller states.

Smaller states had one major objection to the Virginia Plan. They did not believe that larger states should have more power than smaller states. So New Jersey delegate William Paterson proposed the **New Jersey Plan**. It stated that each state, large or small, would have the same number of representatives in Congress. In this way, all the states would have equal power.

Paterson argued for his plan this way: “There is no more reason that a great individual state, contributing much, should have more votes than a small one, contributing little, than a rich individual citizen should have more votes than a [poor] one.”

Debate over the two competing plans continued into the hot summer.

REVIEW How would you compare and contrast the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan? **Compare and Contrast**

A Compromise Plan

The only thing that could save the Convention from failure was compromise. In a **compromise**, each side gives up something to reach an agreement. Roger Sherman of Connecticut suggested that Congress should be made up of not just one part but of two parts, called houses. One of the houses would be a Senate and the other a House of Representatives. In the Senate, each and every state would be represented by two senators. The states would be equal in power in the Senate. But in the House of Representatives, population would determine the number of representatives each state had. Large states would have more representatives than small states.

After a month's discussion, the Convention finally agreed to Sherman's compromise. It came to be known as the **Great Compromise**.

At the same time, the delegates faced another difficult problem. States where slavery was practiced widely—Southern states—wanted enslaved people counted as part of their populations. This would give them more representation in Congress. But they did not want slaves counted when it came to being

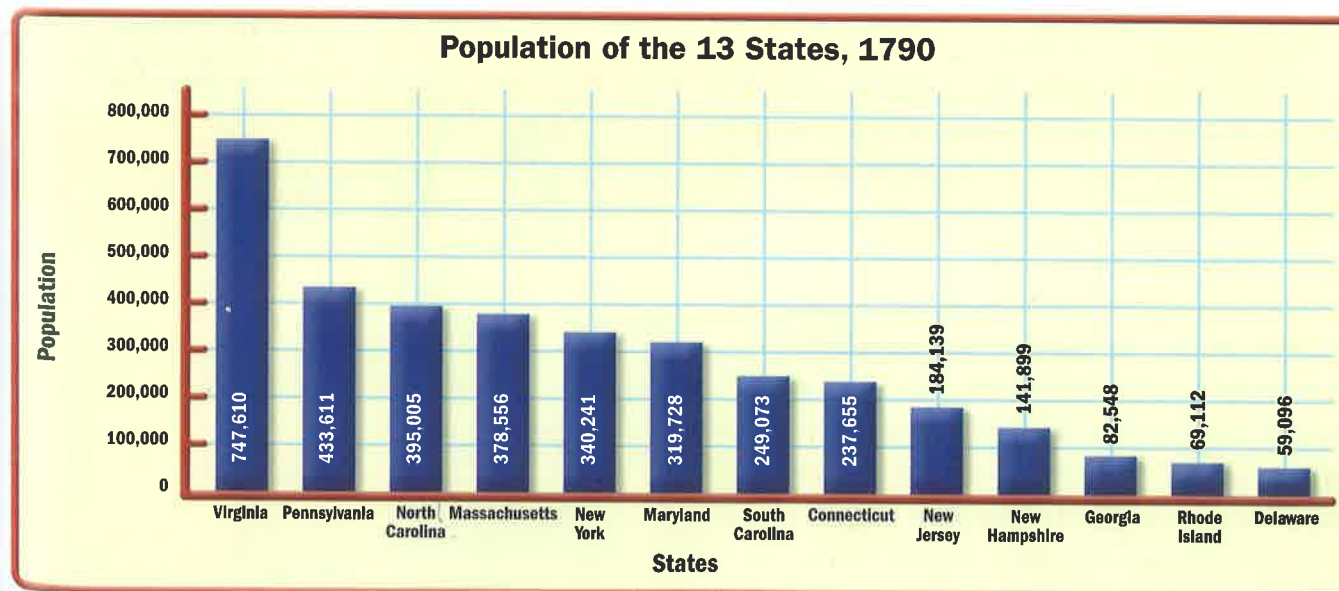
taxed. States without widespread slavery—Northern states—objected.

Finally the **Three-Fifths Compromise** was worked out. Enslaved people would be counted as part of a state's population for both representation in Congress and for taxes. However, only three-fifths of their number would count. This meant that only three out of every five slaves would be counted. If a state had 50,000 slaves, only 30,000 people would be added to the count of its population.

Northern and Southern states also compromised about the slave trade. Northern delegates agreed that Congress would take no action against importing slaves for 20 years. Twenty years later, in 1808, Congress did outlaw the importing of enslaved people into the United States.

By September, the long, hot summer of debate finally ended in Philadelphia. Little did the delegates know that this Constitution would one day make the United States the world's oldest continuous republic.

REVIEW Explain how Roger Sherman helped the Constitutional Convention succeed. **Summarize**



► The population of the states varied greatly in 1790.

GRAPH SKILL Which states had the largest and smallest populations in 1790?

Our Constitution

The Constitution begins with a **Preamble**, or introduction. It includes these ringing words:

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

The Preamble clearly set out the Constitution’s major goals: to establish justice, to ensure peace, to defend the nation, and to protect the people’s well-being and liberty.

The Constitution then spelled out those powers that only the national government will have. For example, only the national government can make laws about trade with other countries. Only the national government may produce coins and paper money. The Constitution leaves many other powers strictly to state governments. These are called **reserved powers**, because they are “reserved,” or left, for the states. Reserved powers include managing education and elections. The two levels of government share certain other powers, like passing tax laws and managing roads.

The Constitution divides the national government into three branches. Congress makes up the Legislative Branch, which is charged with making laws. The job of putting the laws into practice and making sure they are obeyed falls to the Executive Branch,

headed by the President. The Judicial Branch, headed by the Supreme Court, sees that the laws are interpreted according to the Constitution. Look at the chart on the next page to study the powers of the three branches. This three-part government provides a **separation of powers**. In other words, each branch has different and separate powers.

To guard against any one branch becoming too powerful, the Constitution provides a system of **checks and balances**. As the chart shows, Congress has the right to pass laws. But the President can **veto**, or refuse to sign into law, an act that Congress wants. This is a check, or limit, that the President has on Congress. But Congress can overturn this veto if two-thirds of its members still want the law. This is a check Congress has on the President. Finally, the courts, or the Judicial Branch, can overturn what the Legislative or Executive Branch does if the courts find the actions to be against the Constitution.

One branch can check the power of another. So all branches can maintain a balance of power among them. Find more examples of checks and balances on the chart.

REVIEW Identify the role of each of the three branches of government.

Main Idea and Details

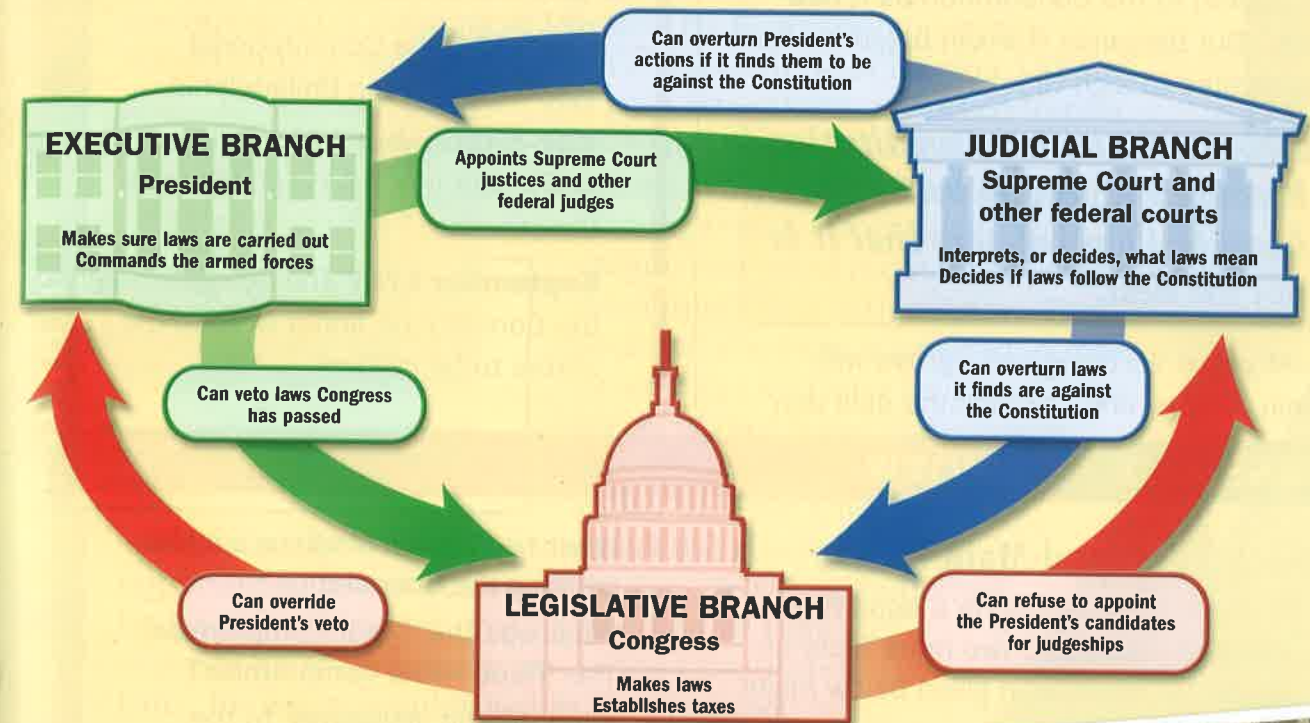
- ▶ The Preamble states the goals of the Constitution.

We the People

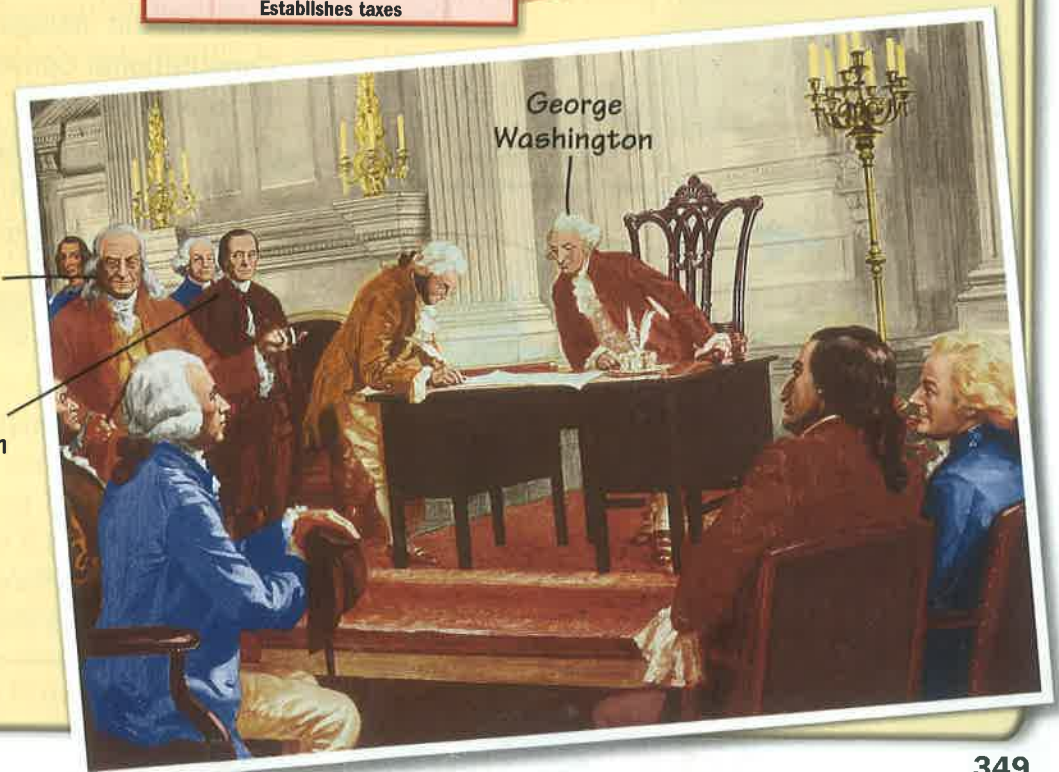
FACT FILE

The Three Branches of Government

The writers of the Constitution believed that government’s powers should be limited. They created three separate branches with a system of checks and balances to limit the power of each branch. The people provide the final check over all three branches.



- ▶ Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and other delegates signed the new Constitution.



The Work Still Ahead

September 17, 1787, dawned as a cool, clear Monday. The time had come for the delegates to the Constitutional Convention to vote on the document they had created.

Weary of four months of disagreement and compromise, many had doubts about what they had created. One had even said, "I would sooner chop off my right hand than put it [agree] to the Constitution as it now stands." But Benjamin Franklin urged his fellow delegates to sign with him:

"I consent...to this Constitution because I expect no better and because I am not sure that it is not the best."

Most of the 55 delegates agreed with Franklin. One by one, 39 took the quill pen

LESSON 2 REVIEW

Check Facts and Main Ideas

- 1. Draw Conclusions** On a separate sheet of paper, add two more facts on which the conclusion given below might be based.

Facts

A legislative branch can concentrate on the work of making laws.

Conclusion

A separation of powers is a good way to divide the work of governing.

and signed. But the work had just begun. Nine of the states had to ratify the Constitution before it could become the supreme law of the land. And convincing them would not be easy.

REVIEW What was the sequence of events that had to take place for the Constitution to become the supreme law of the land? **Sequence**

Summarize the Lesson

- May 1787** The Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia.
- May–September 1787** Delegates spent nearly four months creating a new Constitution.
- September 1787** The delegates signed the Constitution and it went to the states to be ratified.

2. What was James Madison's role in creating the Constitution?
3. What was the **Great Compromise**? The **Three-Fifths Compromise**?
4. What did the **delegates** to the **Constitutional Convention** expect to accomplish?
5. **Critical Thinking: Evaluate** Why did the writers of the Constitution create a system of **checks and balances**?

Link to Mathematics

Figure Percentage Of the original 55 delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 39 signed the Constitution. What percentage of the original group signed it? Nine of 13 states had to ratify the Constitution before it became law. What percentage is that?

James Madison

BIOGRAPHY

1751–1836

As a child James Madison was small, shy, soft-spoken, and often sick. He did not have all of the obvious qualities of a leader. But he grew up to become the fourth President of the United States. He may have had a quiet voice, but he used it to speak out for what he believed.

One of the things he strongly believed in was religious freedom. In 1776, Madison attended the convention that met to create a constitution for the state of Virginia. He made sure the state's constitution guaranteed a person's "free exercise of religion." About

ten years later Madison worked to pass the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, which was written by his

lifelong friend, Thomas Jefferson. The statute prevented the state government from interfering with religion. This idea had also been supported in many other states and later became the law for all of the United States under an addition to the Constitution called the First Amendment.



Madison and Jefferson wrote to each other in a code to make sure their letters would be secret.

Madison also believed a strong central government was important to the success of the nation. He was an important leader at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and many of his ideas became part of the Constitution. Later, his writings published in *The Federalist* papers helped convince people to ratify the Constitution. Madison became president in 1809. Under his leadership, the country fought another war with Britain. Shortly before his death, Madison expressed the importance of a country united under one central government:

"The advice nearest my heart and deepest in my convictions [belief] is that the Union of the States be cherished and perpetuated [made to last]."

Learn from Biographies

Madison had a very quiet voice, but his ideas were heard and had great influence. How do you think Madison made himself heard?

For more information, go online to Meet the People at www.sfsocialstudies.com.



PREVIEW

Focus on the Main Idea
After a long debate, the states ratified the United States Constitution.

PLACES
New York City, New York

PEOPLE
Benjamin Rush

VOCABULARY
Federalists
federal
Antifederalists
The Federalist
amendment
Bill of Rights

1785

1790

1787
Delaware is first state to ratify the Constitution

1788
Constitution is ratified

1791
Bill of Rights is ratified

Ratifying the Constitution

You Are There

It is June 4, 1788. You have just taken your seat as a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention.

George Mason rises to speak. He is the same man who expressed great hope for the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia a year ago. But now he speaks out against the Constitution:

“The very idea of converting what was once a confederation to a consolidated [central] government is totally [against] every principle which...governed us.... Will the people...submit to be individually taxed by two different and distinct powers? [the states and the national government]... These two...powers cannot exist long together. The one will destroy the other...”

Debates like this one have been raging across the 13 states. In each one, citizens of the state have met to decide whether or not that state will ratify the Constitution. It will be a close fight.



Draw Conclusions As you read, see what conclusions you can draw about why the Constitution was so hotly debated in the state conventions.

1795

1800

1805

The Federalists and Antifederalists

The Constitution gave the nationalists the strong national government they had wanted. Now they became known as the **Federalists**. The word **federal** refers to the national government. But many people, like George Mason, were not happy with the Constitution. These people came to be known as the **Antifederalists**.

Many famous and powerful Americans were Antifederalists. In Virginia, along with Mason, there was Patrick Henry. In Massachusetts, Samuel Adams and John Hancock voiced opposition to the Constitution.

The Antifederalists strongly expressed their fears. One fear was that the Constitution would reduce the powers of the states. Patrick Henry expressed a second fear: “Your President may easily become king.” The Antifederalists worried that the federal government would pass laws that were not suitable for one part of the country or another. It was “impossible,” said some Antifederalists, to please all parts of the country with the same laws.

Antifederalists also argued that the Constitution did not truly protect important rights of Americans from the government. These rights included freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury, and others. Though not an Antifederalist, Thomas Jefferson, who was still in France, supported this argument. Jefferson believed that the people should be guaranteed certain rights. He

► **Alexander Hamilton wrote many of the essays that were printed in *The Federalist*.**

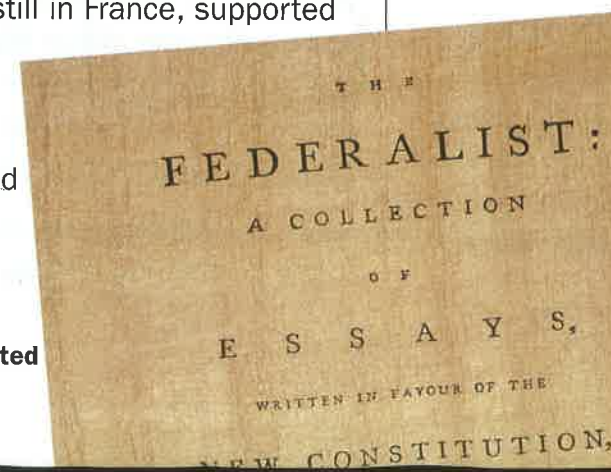
said that these rights could not be taken away by the government. Jefferson said: “A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth.”

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay led the Federalist fight for the Constitution. They organized actions to educate the people about it. Madison, Hamilton, and John Jay of New York wrote a series of essays called **The Federalist**. The essays appeared at first in **New York City, New York** newspapers in 1787 and were read by many people. Each essay explained the weaknesses of an Antifederalist argument.

In *The Federalist: Number 51*, Madison defended the national government that the Constitution had created. Madison wrote:

“If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, [no]... controls on government would be necessary.”

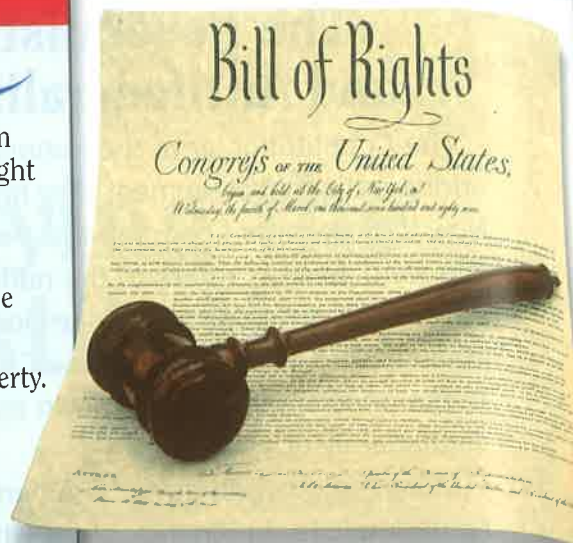
REVIEW How would you summarize arguments made against and for the Constitution?
Summarize



Bill of Rights

Amendment Subject

First	Protects freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right to assemble peacefully, and the right to voice complaints to the government.
Second	Protects the right to own and bear firearms.
Third	States that the government cannot force people to house soldiers during peacetime.
Fourth	Protects people from unfair searches and seizures of property.
Fifth	Guarantees that no one can be deprived of life, liberty, or property without the decision of a court of law.
Sixth	Guarantees the right to a trial by a jury and a lawyer in criminal cases.
Seventh	Guarantees the right to a trial by a jury in most civil cases.
Eighth	Prohibits very high bail, fines, and extreme punishments.
Ninth	Declares that the rights of the people are not limited to those in the Constitution.
Tenth	States that powers not granted to the federal government are left to the states or to the people.



▶ The first 10 amendments to the Constitution are known as the Bill of Rights.

CHART SKILL What does the Ninth Amendment state?

The Bill of Rights

A few states ratified the Constitution quickly. Delaware was the first, on December 7, 1787. Pennsylvania was the second state to ratify the Constitution, thanks in part to the efforts of **Benjamin Rush**. Rush was a prominent doctor and writer who had signed the Declaration of Independence. He wrote articles in Philadelphia newspapers urging Pennsylvania to accept the new Constitution. By January 1788, five of the necessary nine states had ratified the Constitution.

In Massachusetts, the Constitution's lack of a bill of rights helped Antifederalists. But the Federalists pledged that Congress would add a Bill of Rights to the Constitution. An addition, or change, to the constitution is called an **amendment**. The Bill of Rights amendments would guarantee freedoms by placing specific

limits on government. Because of the Federalists' pledge, in February 1788, a constitutional convention in Massachusetts voted for ratification.

This pledge of a Bill of Rights won over other states as well. In June 1788, New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution. Congress set March 4, 1789, as the date for the new government to begin work. By 1790, all 13 states had accepted the Constitution as the supreme law of the land.

When the first Congress under the Constitution met, one of its first acts was to pass the 10 amendments that would come to be called the **Bill of Rights**. The chart on this page summarizes the Bill of Rights. You can find the entire text of the Constitution and its amendments on pages R30–R60.

REVIEW Why was the Bill of Rights added to the Constitution? **Main Idea and Details**

A New Government

It had been about five years since the nationalists began pushing for a stronger central government. Now at last, the Constitution provided a framework for that government. George Washington called the Constitution "that precious depository [safe place] of American happiness."

Benjamin Franklin knew that the battle to create a fair and strong government was not over. According to Maryland delegate James McHenry, Franklin was approached at the end of the Convention and asked what type of government the country had. He replied,

"A republic, if you can keep it."

The American people would have much work ahead of them to keep the republic strong.

REVIEW What do you think Washington meant when he called the Constitution "that precious depository of American happiness?"

Draw Conclusions

Summarize the Lesson

1787 Delaware was the first state to ratify the Constitution.

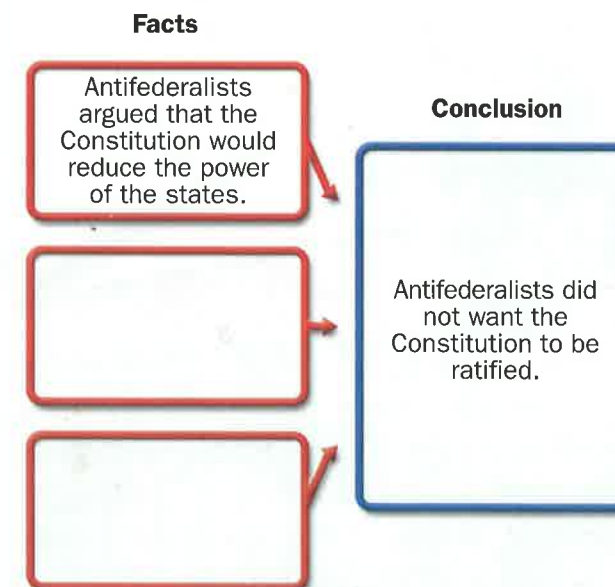
1788 The Constitution was ratified.

1791 The Bill of Rights was ratified.

LESSON 3 REVIEW

Check Facts and Main Ideas

1. Draw Conclusions On a separate sheet of paper, fill in the diagram with two more facts that support the conclusion.



2. Who were the **Federalists**? The **Antifederalists**?

3. What was **The Federalists**?

4. Why is the **Bill of Rights** so important in American government?

5. Critical Thinking: Express Ideas Why do you think the Constitution is called a "living document"?

Link to Art

Create a Poster Using photographs cut out of newspapers or magazines, illustrate several of the first 10 amendments—the Bill of Rights—to the Constitution. Paste or tape the photographs on posterboard to make a poster. Label each photograph, telling which amendment it represents. Give your poster a title.

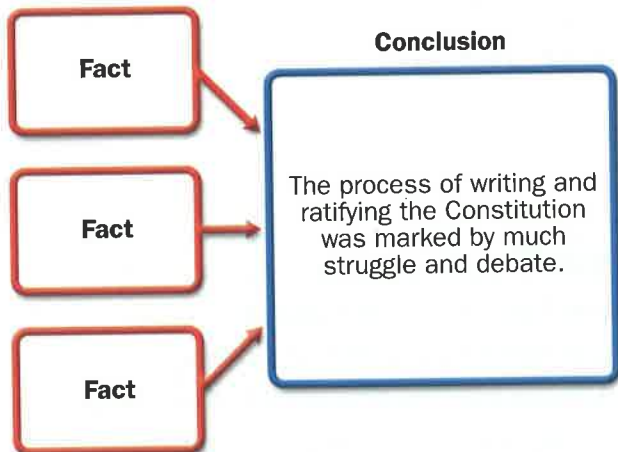
1781
Articles of
Confederation
ratified by states

Chapter Summary



Draw Conclusions

On a separate sheet of paper, fill in the diagram to supply three facts upon which the given conclusion could be based.



Vocabulary

Write a sentence that explains the meaning of each vocabulary word. You may use two or more vocabulary words in a sentence.

- 1 **ratify** (p. 339)
- 2 **amendment** (p. 354)
- 3 **delegate** (p. 345)
- 4 **New Jersey Plan** (p. 346)
- 5 **reserved powers** (p. 348)
- 6 **checks and balances** (p. 348)
- 7 **Antifederalists** (p. 353)
- 8 **Bill of Rights** (p. 354)

People and Places

Fill in the blanks with the person or place that best completes the sentence.

- 1 _____ organized Massachusetts farmers in a rebellion against the state's government. (p. 341)
- 2 The Constitutional Convention took place in _____. (p. 345)
- 3 A record of the debates at the Constitutional Convention was kept by _____. (p. 345)
- 4 One contributor to *The Federalist* papers was _____ of New York. (p. 353)
- 5 In 1787, Congress decided how areas in the _____ could become states. (p. 342)

1786
Shays' Rebellion
begins

1787
Constitutional
Convention begins

1788
Constitution is
ratified

1791
Bill of Rights
is ratified

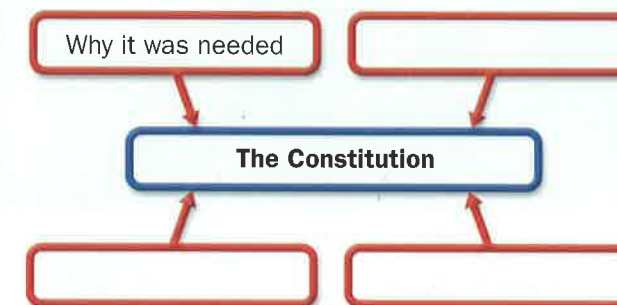
Facts and Main Ideas

- 1 According to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, how could a territory become a state?
- 2 Explain the purpose of each branch of government set up by the Constitution.
- 3 What rights does the First Amendment guarantee?
- 4 **Time Line** How many years were there between the Constitutional Convention and the ratification of the Constitution?
- 5 **Main Idea** Why was the national government so weak under the Articles of Confederation?
- 6 **Main Idea** Why was compromise important to the making of the Constitution? Give an example to support your answer.
- 7 **Main Idea** What two important things did the Federalists do to help get the Constitution passed in the states?
- 8 **Critical Thinking: Compare and Contrast** Compare and contrast the government set up by the Articles of Confederation and the government set up by the Constitution.

Apply Skills

Gather and Report Information

Use the graphic organizer below and the information on pages 356–357 to answer the questions below.



- 1 What steps would you follow to gather information for a report on the Constitution?
- 2 Complete the graphic organizer above with three more subtopics on the Constitution.
- 3 Using what you learned in Chapter 10, begin writing an outline using two of the subtopics from the Constitution graphic organizer.

Write About History

- 1 **Write a pamphlet** as Daniel Shays, explaining the issues that farmers have about actions of the Massachusetts government. Use words and slogans to attract the legislature's attention.
- 2 **Write an editorial** for a newspaper explaining why you think states should or should not ratify the Constitution.
- 3 **Write a biography** on Alexander Hamilton. Use information from the text and from library resources to write a one-page biography. Include an illustration or photograph in your biography.

Internet Activity

To get help with vocabulary, people, and terms, select dictionary or encyclopedia from *Social Studies Library* at www.sfsocialstudies.com.