

# Creating a Constitution

1781–1789

## Why It Matters

After the American Revolution, the new nation struggled to draw up a plan for government. Americans wanted to make sure the government did not have too much power. Eventually they came up with a way to balance federal and state power and to divide federal power into three branches. Promising to add a bill of rights helped win approval for the Constitution.

## The Impact Today

The Constitution is central to American life and ideals.

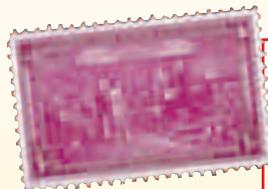
- The Constitution continually defines the rights of citizens and the limits of governmental power.
- The Constitution remains a model for representative government.



**The American Vision Video** The Chapter 5 video, "The Power of the Constitution," discusses one of the nation's most important documents.



- 1781**
- The United States's first formal constitution, the Articles of Confederation, ratified by the states



- 1787**
- Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia writes the Constitution of the United States

- 1786**
- Shays's Rebellion begins in western Massachusetts

- 1789**
- George Washington elected president of the United States

Washington  
1789–1797

United States  
PRESIDENTS

1780

1785

1790



World

**1778**

- James Cook lands on Hawaii

**1783**

- Latin American soldier and statesman Simón Bolívar born

**1787**

- Sierra Leone founded by freed Africans

**1789**

- French Revolution begins

**1790**

- Lavoisier's *Table of Thirty-One Chemical Elements* published



“Ship of State” float parading through New York City during the 1788 ratification celebration

**1791**

- Bill of Rights added to Constitution



**1798**

- Eli Whitney introduces idea of interchangeable parts in manufacturing

J. Adams  
1797–1801



1795

1800



**HISTORY**  
*Online*

**Chapter Overview**

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 5** to preview chapter information.

**1798**

- Thomas Malthus publishes essay on population explosion

**CLICK HERE**

**CONTENTS**

# SECTION 1 The Confederation

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

The 13 states ratified the Articles of Confederation, which created a national government for the new nation.

### Key Terms and Names

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, Northwest Ordinance, duty, recession, Shays's Rebellion

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about the new government created by the Articles of Confederation, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the achievements of the Confederation Congress.



### Reading Objectives

- **List** the achievements of the newly formed Confederation Congress.
- **Summarize** the weaknesses of the Confederation Congress.

### Section Theme

**Government and Democracy** The Articles of Confederation provided a workable but faulty national government.

### Preview of Events



George Washington

## ★ An American Story ★

On March 15, 1783, General George Washington arrived in Newburgh, New York. He had come to convince his officers—members of the so-called Newburgh conspiracy—not to rebel against the government.

Many officers were deeply in debt and angry with Congress for not giving them their back pay and pensions. Several had sent an angry letter to other officers arguing that the time had come to take action. When Washington read a copy of the letter, he called a meeting of all high-ranking officers at Newburgh and criticized their “insidious purposes” that threatened the separation between “military and civil” affairs.

Washington then said that he wished to read a different letter, and he pulled out a pair of reading glasses. No one had ever seen him wear them before. “Gentlemen,” Washington began, “you must pardon me. I have grown gray in the service of my country and now feel myself growing blind.” This simple statement drained the tension from the room. Some officers wept. Shortly afterward, the officers pledged their loyalty to Congress. Washington’s integrity had preserved a basic principle—that the army should not interfere in politics.

—adapted from *The Forging of the Union*

## The Achievements of the Confederation Congress

Even before independence was declared, Patriot leaders at the Continental Congress realized that the colonies needed to be united under some type of central government. In November 1777, the Continental Congress adopted the **Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union**—a plan for a loose union of the states under the authority of the Congress.

**The Articles of Confederation** The Articles of Confederation established a very weak central government. The states had spent several years fighting for independence from Britain. They did not want to give up that independence to a new central government that might become tyrannical.

Under the Articles, once a year, each state would select a delegation to send to the capital city. This group, generally referred to as the Confederation Congress, was the entire government. There were no separate executive and judicial branches.

The Confederation Congress had the right to declare war, raise armies, and sign treaties. Although these powers were significant, the Congress was not given the power to impose taxes, and it was explicitly denied the power to regulate trade.

### **GEOGRAPHY**

**Western Policies** Lacking the power to tax or regulate trade, the only way for the Confederation Congress to raise money to pay its debts and finance its operations was to sell the land it controlled west of the Appalachian Mountains. To get people to buy the land and settle in the region, the Congress had to establish an orderly system for dividing and selling the land and governing the new settlements. The Land Ordinance of 1785 established a method for surveying the western lands. It arranged the land into townships six miles square. Each township was divided into 36 sections, one mile square.

Two years later, the Congress passed the **Northwest Ordinance**, which provided the basis for governing much of the western territory. The law created a new territory north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi, which could eventually be divided into three to five states. Initially the Congress would choose a governor, a secretary, and three judges for the territory. When 5,000 adult male citizens had settled in a territory, they could elect a territorial legislature. When the population of a territory reached 60,000, the territory could apply to become a state “on an equal footing with the original states.”

The Northwest Ordinance also guaranteed certain rights to people living in the territory. This included freedom of religion, property rights, and the right to trial by jury. The ordinance also stated that “there [would] be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory.” The exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory meant that as the United States expanded in future years, it would be divided between Southern slaveholding states and Northern free states.

**Success in Trade** In addition to organizing western settlement, the Confederation Congress tried to promote trade with other nations. After the Revolutionary War ended, the British government imposed sharp restrictions on American access to British markets. The British insisted that American goods sold to British colonies in the Caribbean had to be carried on British ships. American ships could still carry goods to Britain, but only goods from their respective states. A ship from Massachusetts, for example, could not carry goods from New York.

To overcome these problems, representatives from the Congress negotiated several trade treaties with other countries, including Holland, Prussia, and Sweden. A previous commercial treaty with France also permitted American merchants to sell goods to French colonies in the Caribbean. By 1790 the trade of the United States was greater than the trade of the American colonies before the Revolution.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What were the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787?

## **The Congress Falters**

The Confederation Congress’s commercial treaties and its system of settling the west were two of its major achievements. Other problems facing the new nation were not so easily solved.

**Problems With Trade** During the boycotts of the 1760s and the Revolutionary War, American artisans and manufacturers had prospered by making goods that people had previously bought from the British. After the war ended, British merchants flooded the United States with inexpensive British goods, driving many American artisans out of business.

The problems facing artisans and merchants convinced many American states to fight back by restricting British imports. Unfortunately, the states did not all impose the same **duties**, or taxes on imported goods. The British would then land their goods at the states that had the lowest taxes or fewest restrictions. Once the British goods were in the United States, they moved overland into the states that had tried to keep them out.

Because the Confederation Congress was not allowed to regulate commerce, the states began setting up customs posts on their borders to prevent the British from exploiting the different trade laws. They also levied taxes on each other’s goods to raise revenue. New York, for example, taxed firewood from Connecticut and cabbage from New Jersey.

New Jersey retaliated by charging New York for a harbor lighthouse on the New Jersey side of the Hudson River. Each state was beginning to act as an independent country, and this behavior threatened the unity of the new United States.

**Problems With Diplomacy** The Confederation Congress also had problems in other areas of foreign policy. The first problems surfaced immediately after the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Revolutionary War, was signed.

Before the war, many American merchants and planters had borrowed money from British lenders. In the peace treaty, the United States had agreed that the states should allow these lenders to recover their prewar debts by suing in American courts. The Congress had no power to compel the states to do this, however, and many states restricted Britain's ability to collect its debts. The United States also had agreed that the states should return the property that had been confiscated from Loyalists during the war. Again, the Congress could not compel the states to do this, which further angered the British.

In retaliation, the British refused to evacuate American soil as specified in the treaty. They continued to occupy a string of frontier posts south of the Great Lakes inside American territory. Congress had no way to resolve these problems. It did not have the power to impose taxes, so it could not raise the money to pay a financial settlement to Britain for the debts and Loyalist property. Since it could not regulate trade, it also had no way to pressure the British into a settlement.

American dealings with Spain also showed the weaknesses of the Confederation Congress. The major dispute with Spain involved the border between Spanish territory and the state of Georgia. The Spanish stopped Americans from depositing their goods on Spanish territory at the mouth of the Mississippi River. This effectively closed the river to American farmers who used it to ship their goods to market.

Again, the Confederation Congress had no leverage to pressure the Spanish, and the dispute over Georgia's border and navigation on the Mississippi remained unresolved. Once more, the limited powers of the Confederation Congress had prevented any diplomatic solution from being worked out.

**The Economic Crisis** While the Confederation Congress struggled with diplomatic issues, many other Americans were struggling economically. The end of the Revolutionary War and the reining in of economic activity with Britain plunged the new United States into a severe **recession**, or economic slowdown.

Farmers were among those most affected by the recession. Although they were not earning as much money as they once did, they had to keep borrowing to get their next crop in the ground. Many also had mortgages to pay. At the same time, the Revolutionary War had left both the Confederation Congress and many states in debt. To pay for the war, many states had issued bonds as a way to borrow money from wealthy merchants and planters. With the war over, the people holding those bonds wanted to redeem them for gold or silver.

To pay off their debts, the states could raise taxes, but farmers and other people in debt urged the state governments to issue paper money instead. They also wanted the states to make the paper money available to farmers through government loans on farm mortgages.

Since paper money would not be backed up by gold and silver, and people would not trust it, inflation—a decline in the value of money—would begin. Debtors would be able to pay their debts using paper money that was worth less than the value printed on it. This would let them pay off their debts more easily. Lenders, on the other hand, including many merchants

## Why It Matters

### The Northwest Ordinance

One of the major challenges facing the Confederation Congress was formulating a plan for dealing with the territory west of the Appalachian Mountains. Formerly claimed by individual states, these vast lands were now the territory of the entire United States. The Northwest Ordinance that the Congress adopted stands as one of the few successes of the Confederation.

The Ordinance provided for the survey of land west of the Appalachian Mountains, including the present-day states of Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana. It also set up a clear and orderly process by which new states were admitted on an equal basis to the Union.

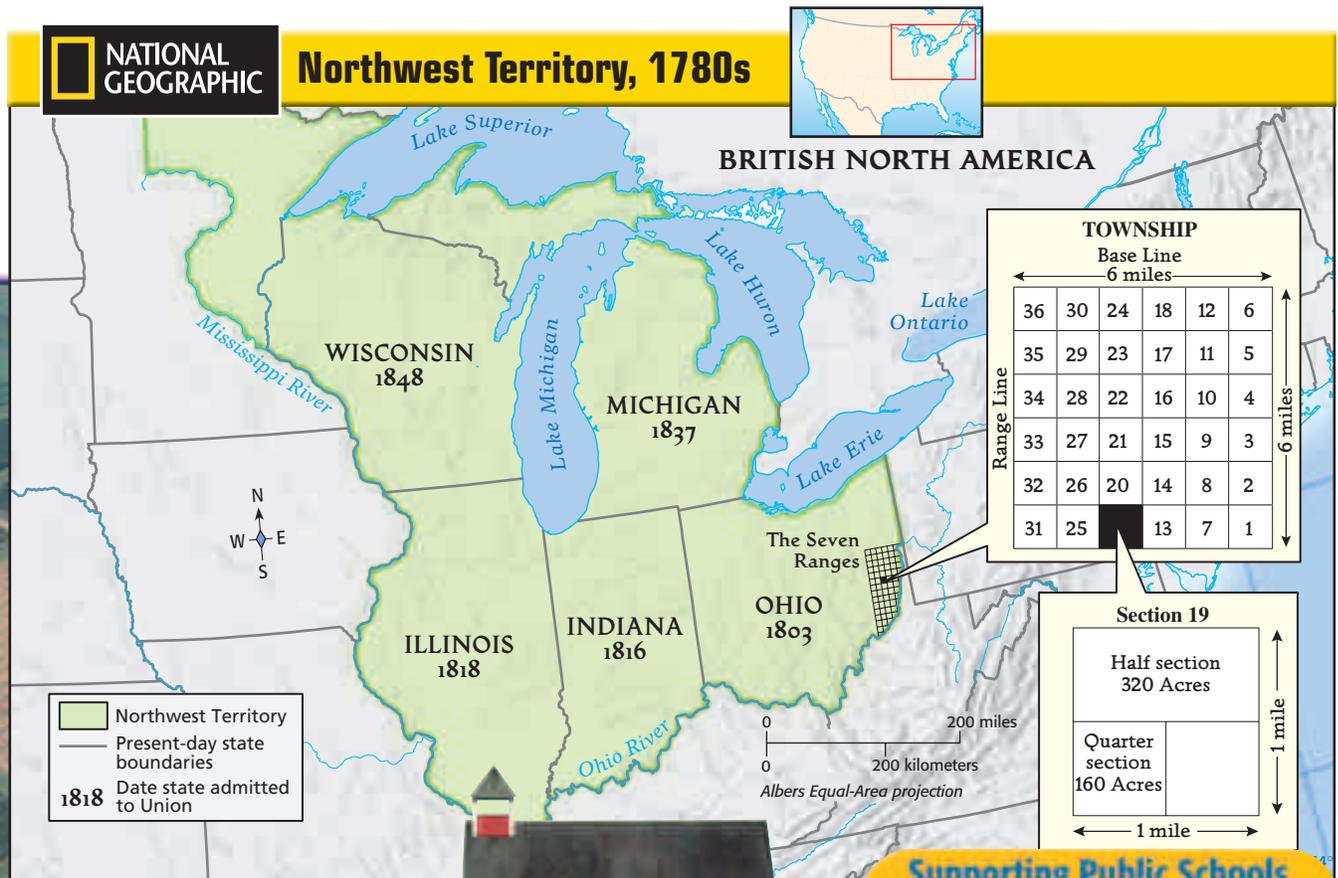
and importers, strongly opposed paper money because they would not be receiving the true amount they were owed. Beginning in 1785, seven states began issuing paper money.

In Rhode Island, the paper money eventually became so worthless that merchants refused to accept it in payment for debts. After an angry mob rioted against the merchants, Rhode Island's assembly passed a law forcing people to accept paper money at its stated value. Those who refused could be arrested and fined.

To people with property, this signaled danger. If states were passing such laws, it was because poorer, debt-ridden citizens controlled them. With the spread of democratic ideals and a lowering of property qualifications for voting, many states had begun electing such citizens to office.

**Shays's Rebellion** The property owners' fears seemed justified when a full-scale rebellion, known as **Shays's Rebellion**, erupted in Massachusetts in 1786. The rebellion started when the government of Massachusetts decided to raise taxes instead of issuing paper money to pay off its debts. The taxes fell most heavily on farmers, particularly poor farmers in the western part of the state. As the recession grew worse, many found it impossible to pay their taxes as well as their mortgages and other debts. Those who could not pay often faced the loss of their farms.

Angry at the legislature's indifference to their plight, in late August 1786, farmers in western Massachusetts rebelled. They closed down several county courthouses to prevent farm foreclosures,



**Townships**  
In many parts of the nation, roads follow the grids originally set up by the Land Ordinance of 1785. These patchwork grids are easily visible from the air.

**Supporting Public Schools**  
As the nation added territory over the years, the township system of rectangular grids provided the basis for surveying. In providing for the layout of townships, the Land Ordinance of 1785 reserved the income from the 16th section for the support of public schools. This helped promote public education early in the nation's history.

## Some Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

Provision	Problem Created
Congress has no power to tax	Weak currency and growing debt Inability to pay army leads to threats of mutiny
Congress has no power to enforce treaties	Foreign countries angry when treaties are not honored; for example, Britain keeps troops on American soil
Every state, despite size, has one vote	Populous states not equally represented
Congress has no power to regulate commerce	Trade hindered by states imposing high tariffs on each other
Amendment requires unanimous vote of states	Difficult to adapt articles to changing needs

### Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** What was the problem with requiring a unanimous vote of the states to create changes in the Articles of Confederation?
- Understanding Cause and Effect** Why do you think the states approved a government with so many weaknesses?

and then marched on the state supreme court. At this point, Daniel Shays, a former captain in the Continental Army who was now a bankrupt farmer, emerged as one of the rebellion's leaders.

In January 1787, Shays and about 1,200 farmers headed to a state arsenal intending to seize weapons before marching on Boston. In response, the governor sent more than 4,000 volunteers under the command of General Benjamin Lincoln to defend the arsenal. Before they arrived, Shays attacked, and the militia defending the arsenal opened fire. Four farmers died in the fighting. The rest scattered. The next day Lincoln's troops arrived and ended the rebellion. The fears the rebellion had raised, however, were harder to disperse.

**A Call for Change** People with greater income and social status tended to see the rebellion, as well as inflation and an unstable currency, as signs that the republic itself was at risk. They feared that as state legislatures became more democratic and responsive to poor people, they would weaken property rights and vote to take property from the wealthy. As General Henry Knox, a close aide to George Washington, concluded: "What is to afford our security against the violence of lawless men? Our government must be braced, changed, or altered to secure our lives and property."

These concerns were an important reason why many people, including merchants, artisans, and creditors, began to argue for a stronger central government, and several members of the Confederation Congress called on the states to correct "such defects as may be discovered to exist" in the present government. The Confederation's failure to deal with conditions that might lead to rebellion, as well as the problems with trade and diplomacy, only added fuel to their argument.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** What caused Shays's Rebellion?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *duty, recession.*
- Identify:** Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, Northwest Ordinance, Shays's Rebellion.
- Describe** the conditions that led to Shays's Rebellion.

### Reviewing Themes

- Government and Democracy** What do you think was the most serious flaw of the Articles of Confederation? Why do you think so?

### Critical Thinking

- Comparing** How are the issues faced by the federal government today similar to those that were faced by the Confederation Congress?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the weaknesses of the Confederation Congress.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Maps** Study the map of the Northwest Ordinance on page 161. What significant provision of this law would contribute to dividing the nation into competing regions?

### Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of a journalist during the time of the Confederation Congress. Write an editorial expressing your opinion of Shays's Rebellion, and suggest how the government might handle such situations better in the future.

# Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

## Making Comparisons

### Why Learn This Skill?

Suppose you want to buy a portable compact disc (CD) player, and you must choose among three models. You would probably compare characteristics of the three models, such as price, sound quality, and size to figure out which model is best for you. In the study of American history, you often compare people or events from one time period with those from a different time period.

### Learning the Skill

When making comparisons, you examine two or more groups, situations, events, or documents. Then you identify any similarities and differences. For example, the chart on this page compares two documents with regard to the powers they gave the central government. The Articles of Confederation were passed and implemented before the United States Constitution, which took their place. The chart includes a check mark in each column that applies. For example, the entry *Protect copyrights* does not have a check under *Articles of Confederation*. This shows that the government under the Articles lacked that power. The entry is checked under *United States Constitution*, showing that the government under the Constitution does have that power.

When making comparisons, you first decide what items will be compared and determine which characteristics you will use to compare them. Then you identify similarities and differences in these characteristics.

### Practicing the Skill

Analyze the information on the chart on this page. Then answer the questions.

- 1 What items are being compared? How are they being compared?
- 2 What are the similarities and differences of the documents?
- 3 Which document had the most power regarding legal matters? How can you tell?

### The Articles of Confederation and the United States Constitution

Powers of the Central Government	Articles of Confederation	United States Constitution
Declare war; make peace	✓	✓
Coin money	✓	✓
Manage foreign affairs	✓	✓
Establish a postal system	✓	✓
Impose taxes		✓
Regulate trade		✓
Organize a court system		✓
Call state militia for service		✓
Protect copyrights		✓
Take other necessary actions to run the federal government		✓

- 4 Which document had the most power in dealing with other nations? How can you tell?

### Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 177 and the Chapter 5 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

### Applying the Skill

**Making Comparisons** On the editorial page of your local newspaper, read two columns that express different viewpoints on the same issue. Identify the similarities and differences between the two points of view.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

## Guide to Reading

**Main Idea**

In 1787 the Constitutional Convention set up a new government.

**Key Terms and Names**

Virginia Plan, New Jersey Plan, Great Compromise, Three-Fifths Compromise, popular sovereignty, federalism, separation of powers, legislative branch, executive branch, judicial branch, checks and balances, veto, impeach, amendment

## Preview of Events

◆ April 1787

**May 14**  
Constitutional Convention opens in Philadelphia

◆ June 1787

**May 29**  
Virginia Plan introduced

**June 15**  
New Jersey Plan introduced

◆ August 1787

**July 2**  
Ben Franklin's committee begins seeking a compromise

◆ October 1787

**September 17**  
Final draft of Constitution signed

**Reading Strategy**

**Taking Notes** As you read about the new government that the Constitution created, use the major headings of the section to fill in an outline similar to the one below.

A New Constitution  
I. The Constitutional Convention  
A.  
B.  
II.  
A.  
B.

**Reading Objectives**

- **Describe** the issues at stake during the Constitutional Convention.
- **Discuss** the compromises reached during the convention.

**Section Theme**

**Culture and Traditions** The new Constitution tried to uphold the principle of state authority while providing needed national authority.



Washington's chair at Constitutional Convention

★ *An American Story* ★

As Benjamin Franklin arrived at the Pennsylvania statehouse on September 17, 1787, he rejoiced with his colleagues about the freshness of the morning air. For 16 weeks, the 81-year-old Franklin had made the short journey from his home just off Market Street to the statehouse. There, delegates to the Constitutional Convention had exhaustively debated the future of the nation. Today, they would have a chance to sign a draft plan for the nation's new constitution.

When it came Franklin's turn to sign, the elderly leader had to be helped forward in order to write his name on the parchment. Tears streamed down his face as he signed. When the remaining delegates had finished signing, a solemn silence enveloped the hall. Franklin relieved the tension with a few well-chosen words. Pointing to the half-sun painted in gold on the back of George Washington's chair, he observed:

“I have often . . . looked at that [sun] behind the President [of the Convention] without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know it is a rising, and not a setting, Sun.”

—quoted in *An Outline of American History*

**The Constitutional Convention**

The weakness of the Confederation Congress worried many American leaders, who believed that the United States would not survive without a strong central government. People who supported a stronger central government became known as “nationalists.”

Prominent nationalists included George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and the financier Robert Morris.

One of the most influential nationalists was **James Madison**, a member of the Virginia Assembly and head of its commerce committee. As head of the commerce committee, Madison was well aware of Virginia's trade problems with the other American states and with Britain. He firmly believed that a stronger national government was needed.

In 1786 Madison convinced Virginia's assembly to call a convention of all the states to discuss trade and taxation problems. Representatives from the states were to meet in Annapolis, Maryland, but when the convention began, delegates from only five states were present, too few to reach a final decision on the problems facing the states. Many of the delegates did discuss the weakness of the Articles of Confederation and expressed interest in modifying them.

New York delegate **Alexander Hamilton** recommended that the Congress itself call for another convention to be held in Philadelphia in May 1787. At first, the Congress was divided over whether or not to call a convention. News of Shays's Rebellion, however, and reports of unrest elsewhere convinced the Congress to call for a convention of the states "for the sole purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

Every state except Rhode Island sent delegates to what became known as the Constitutional Convention. In May 1787 the delegates took their places in the Pennsylvania statehouse in Philadelphia. They knew they faced a daunting task: to balance the rights and aspirations of the states with the need for a stronger national government.

**The Founders** The 55 delegates who attended the convention in Philadelphia included some of the shrewdest and most distinguished leaders in the United States. The majority were lawyers, and most of the others were planters and merchants. Most had experience in colonial, state, or national government. Seven had served as state governors. Thirty-nine had been members of the Confederation Congress. Eight had signed the Declaration of

Independence. In the words of Thomas Jefferson, who was unable to attend the convention because he was serving as American minister to France, the convention in Philadelphia was no less than "an assembly of demigods."

The delegates chose stern and proper George Washington of Virginia, hero of the American Revolution, as presiding officer. Benjamin Franklin was a delegate from Pennsylvania. Now 81 years old, he tired easily and had other state delegates read his speeches for him. He provided assistance to many of his younger colleagues, and his experience and good humor helped smooth the debates.

Other notable delegates included New York's Alexander Hamilton and Connecticut's Roger Sherman. Virginia sent a well-prepared delegation, including the scholarly James Madison, who kept a record of the debates. Madison's records provide the best source of information about what went on in the sessions. The meetings were closed to the public to help ensure honest and open discussion free from outside political pressures.

## Profiles IN HISTORY

### James Madison 1751–1836

Although many individuals contributed to the framing of the United States Constitution, the master builder was James Madison. An avid reader, the 36-year-old Virginia planter spent the better part of the year preceding the Philadelphia Convention with his nose in books. Madison read volume after volume on governments throughout history. He scoured the records of ancient Greece and Rome and delved into the administrations of Italian city-states such as Florence and Venice. He even looked at the systems used by federal alliances like Switzerland and the Netherlands. "From a spirit of industry and application," said one colleague, Madison was "the best-informed man on any point in debate."

Bringing together his research and his experience in helping to draft Virginia's constitution, Madison created the Virginia Plan. His proposal strongly influenced the final document. Perhaps Madison's greatest achievement was in defining the true source of political



power. He argued that all power, at all levels of government, flowed ultimately from the people.

At the Constitutional Convention, Madison served his nation well. The ordeal, he later said, "almost killed" him. In the years to come, though, the nation would call on him again. In 1801 he became President Thomas Jefferson's secretary of state. In 1808 he was elected the fourth president of the United States.

**The Virginia and New Jersey Plans** The Virginia delegation arrived at the convention with a detailed plan—mostly the work of James Madison—for a new national government. A few days after the proceedings began, the governor of Virginia, **Edmund Randolph**, introduced the plan. “A national government,” declared Randolph, “ought to be established, consisting of a supreme Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary.” The **Virginia Plan**, as it came to be called, proposed scrapping the Articles of Confederation entirely and creating a new national government with the power to make laws binding upon the states and to raise its own money through taxes.

The Virginia Plan proposed that the legislature be divided into two houses. The voters in each state would elect members of the first house. Members of the second house would be nominated by the state governments but actually elected by the first house. In both houses, the number of representatives for each state would reflect that state’s population. The Virginia Plan, therefore, would benefit large states like Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts, which had more votes than the smaller states.

The Virginia Plan drew sharp reactions. The delegates accepted the idea of dividing the government

into executive, legislative, and judicial branches, but the smaller states strongly opposed any changes that would decrease their influence by basing representation on population. They feared that the larger states would outvote them. **William Paterson**, a delegate from New Jersey, offered a counterproposal that came to be called the **New Jersey Plan**.

The New Jersey Plan did not abandon the Articles of Confederation. Instead it modified them to make the central government stronger. Under the plan, Congress would have a single house in which each state was equally represented, but it would also have the power to raise taxes and regulate trade.

If progress was to be made, the delegates had to choose one plan for further negotiation. After debating on June 19, the convention voted to proceed with the Virginia Plan. With this vote, the convention delegates decided to go beyond their original purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. Instead, they began work on a new constitution for the United States.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did small states oppose the Virginia Plan?

### **History Through Art**

**A New Government** *Signing the Constitution of the United States* by Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, 1867, depicts the members of the Constitutional Convention formally endorsing their new plan of government. This silver inkwell (right) was used to sign both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. [What were the most common professions of the Convention delegates?](#)



*“ . . . to form a more perfect union . . . ”*

*—Preamble to the Constitution*



## A Union Built on Compromise

As the convention hammered out the details of the new constitution, the delegates found themselves divided geographically. The small states demanded changes that would protect them against the voting power of the big states. At the same time, Northern and Southern states were divided over how to treat slavery in the new constitution. The only way to resolve these differences was through compromise.

### TURNING POINT

**The Connecticut Compromise** After the convention voted to proceed with the Virginia Plan, tempers flared as delegates from the small states insisted that each state had to have an equal vote in Congress. The hot Philadelphia summer offered no relief, and angry delegates from the larger states threatened to walk out. By early July 1787, the convention had reached a turning point. As a delegate from North Carolina warned, “If we do not concede on both sides, our business must soon end.”

In an attempt to find a solution, the convention appointed a special committee to resolve the differences between the large and small states. Delegates who were strongly committed to one side or the other were left off the committee, leaving only those who were undecided or willing to change their minds. Ben Franklin was chosen to chair the proceedings.

Throughout the proceedings, Franklin remained a calm voice of conciliation. Here, he warns the delegates about what would happen if they failed to agree:

“[You will] become a reproach and by-word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.”

—quoted in *Benjamin Franklin: A Biography*

The compromise that the committee worked out was based on an idea Roger Sherman of Connecticut proposed, which is why it is sometimes known as the **Connecticut Compromise**. Other historians refer to it as the **Great Compromise**.

## Profiles IN HISTORY

### Roger Sherman 1721–1793

Roger Sherman was born in Newton, Massachusetts, where he worked as a shoemaker as a young man. In 1743 he moved to Connecticut, where he studied law. He served in the Connecticut legislature before being appointed a superior court judge. Sherman was enormously respected for his knowledge, judgment, and integrity. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress, and he served on the special Committee of Five that drafted the Declaration of Independence. He also helped write the Articles of Confederation.

A skilled legislator and master of political compromise, Sherman was a logical choice to serve as one of Connecticut’s delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. There, he ably defended the interests of the smaller states, and he developed the famous compromise that saved the convention from breaking up. Following the ratification of the Constitution, Sherman was elected to the House of Representatives, where he helped prepare the Bill of



Rights. He was the only person to sign the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution—and he played an important role in drafting all three documents. Thomas Jefferson described Roger Sherman as “a man who never said a foolish thing in his life.” Nathaniel Macon, a member of Congress from North Carolina, declared that Sherman “had more common sense than any man I have ever known.”

Franklin’s committee proposed that in one house of Congress—the House of Representatives—the states would be represented according to the size of their populations. In the other house—the Senate—each state would have equal representation. The eligible voters in each state would elect the House of Representatives, but the state legislatures would choose senators.

**Compromise Over Slavery** Franklin’s committee also proposed that each state could elect one member to the House of Representatives for every 40,000 people in the state. This proposal caused a split between Northern and Southern delegates. Southern delegates wanted to count enslaved people when determining how many representatives they could elect. Northern delegates objected, pointing out that enslaved people could not vote.

Northern delegates also suggested that if slaves were going to be counted for representation, they should be counted for purposes of taxation as well. In the end, a solution, referred to as the **Three-Fifths Compromise**, was worked out. Every five enslaved



## Picturing History

**Historic Landmark** The Philadelphia Statehouse, the site of the Constitutional Convention, was later renamed Independence Hall. **What compromises were necessary to complete the Constitution?**

people in a state would count as three free persons for determining both representation and taxes.

The dispute over how to count enslaved people was not the only issue dividing the delegates. Southerners feared that a strong national government with the power to regulate trade might impose taxes on the export of farm products or ban the import of enslaved Africans. These Southern delegates insisted that the new constitution forbid interference with the slave trade and limit Congress's power to regulate trade. Northern delegates, on the other hand, knew that Northern merchants and artisans needed a government capable of controlling foreign imports into the United States.

Eventually, another compromise was worked out. The delegates agreed that the new Congress could not tax exports. They also agreed that it could not ban the slave trade until 1808 or impose high taxes on the import of enslaved persons.

The Great Compromise and the compromises between Northern and Southern delegates ended most of the major disputes between the state delegations. This enabled the convention to focus on the

details of how the new government would operate.

By mid-September, the delegates had completed their task. Although everyone had had to compromise, the 39 delegates who signed the new Constitution believed it was a vast improvement over the Articles of Confederation. On September 20, they sent it to the Confederation Congress for approval. Eight days later, the Congress

voted to submit the Constitution to the states for approval. The struggle for the Constitution now moved into a new phase. Nine of the thirteen states had to ratify the Constitution for it to take effect.

**Reading Check** **Describing** How did the South want to count enslaved persons when counting the population of the states?

## A Framework for Limited Government

The new constitution that the states were considering was based on the principle of **popular sovereignty**, (SAH·vuhnr·tee) or rule by the people. Rather than a direct democracy, it created a representative system of government in which elected officials represented the voice of the people. The Constitution also created a system of government known as **federalism**. It divided government power between the federal, or national, government and the state governments.

The Constitution provided for a **separation of powers** among the three branches of the federal government. The two houses of Congress made up the **legislative branch** of the government. They would make the laws. The **executive branch**, headed by a president, would implement and enforce the laws passed by Congress. The **judicial branch**—a system of federal courts—would interpret federal laws and render judgment in cases involving those laws. No one serving in one branch could serve in either of the other branches at the same time.

**Checks and Balances** In addition to separating the powers of the government into three branches, the delegates to the convention created a system of

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HISTORY  
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**Student Web Activity**

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Student Web Activities**—**Chapter 5** for an activity about the Constitution.

**checks and balances** to prevent any one of the three branches from becoming too powerful. Within this system, each branch of government had the ability to limit the power of the other branches.

Under the Constitution, the president—as head of the executive branch—was given far-reaching powers. The president could propose legislation, appoint judges, put down rebellions, and **veto**, or reject, acts of Congress. The president would also be the commander in chief of the armed forces. According to one delegate in Philadelphia, these powers might not have been so great “had not many of the members cast their eyes towards George Washington as president.”

Although the president could veto acts of Congress, the legislature could override the veto with a two-thirds vote in both houses. The Senate also had to approve or reject presidential appointments to the executive branch as well as any treaties the president negotiated. Furthermore, Congress could, if necessary, **impeach**, or formally accuse of misconduct, and then remove the president or any other high official in the executive or judicial branch.

Members of the judicial branch of government could hear all cases arising under federal law and the Constitution. The powers of the judiciary were balanced by the other two branches. The president could nominate members of the judiciary, but the Senate had to confirm or reject such nominations. Once appointed, however, federal judges would serve for life, thus ensuring their independence from both the executive and the legislative branches.

**Amending the Constitution** The delegates in Philadelphia recognized that the Constitution they wrote in the summer of 1787 might need to be

Fact	Fiction	Folklore
<p><b>The Preamble</b> The original draft of the Constitution’s preamble began, “We the undersigned delegates of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay. . . .” Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, a member of Benjamin Franklin’s compromise committee, rewrote it to read, “We, the People of the United States. . . .”</p>		

amended, or changed over time. To ensure this could happen, they created a clear system for making **amendments**, or changes to the Constitution. To prevent the government from being changed constantly, they made it difficult for amendments to be adopted.

The delegates established a two-step process for amending the Constitution—proposal and ratification. An amendment could be proposed by a vote of two-thirds of the members of both houses of Congress. Alternatively, two-thirds of the states could call a constitutional convention to propose new amendments. To become effective, the proposed amendment then had to be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures or by conventions in three-fourths of the states.

The success of the Philadelphia Convention in creating a government that reflected the country’s many different viewpoints was, in Washington’s words, “little short of a miracle.” The convention, John Adams declared, was “the single greatest effort of national deliberation that the world has ever seen.”

**Reading Check Explaining** How is power divided under the system of federalism?

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

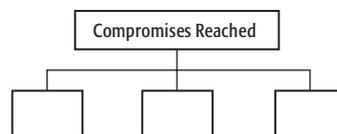
- Define:** popular sovereignty, federalism, separation of powers, legislative branch, executive branch, judicial branch, checks and balances, veto, impeach, amendment.
- Identify:** Virginia Plan, New Jersey Plan, Great Compromise, Three-Fifths Compromise.

### Reviewing Themes

- Culture and Traditions** Were the delegates to the Constitutional Convention representative of the American public? Why or why not?

### Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** Do you think the Founders were right in making the amendment process difficult? Why or why not?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the compromises that the Founders reached in creating the new Constitution.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Art** Study the painting of the members of the Constitutional Convention on page 166. Why did the delegates choose to conduct the convention behind closed doors?

### Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of an observer at the Constitutional Convention. Write a journal entry describing what you witnessed. Be sure to record the arguments you heard from each side of the issues discussed, and relate your own opinion on the issues.



## Profile

**GEORGE WASHINGTON** *At the age of 16, George Washington carefully transcribed in his own hand the Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation. Among the rules our first president lived by:*

- Every action done in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those that are present.
- When in company, put not your hands to any part of the body, not usually [un]covered.
- Put not off your clothes in the presence of others, nor go out your chamber half dressed.
- Sleep not when others speak.
- Spit not in the fire, nor stoop low before it. Neither put your hands into the flames to warm them, nor set your feet upon the fire, especially if there is meat before it.
- Shake not the head, feet or legs. Roll not the eyes. Lift not one eyebrow higher than the other. Wry not the mouth, and bedew no man's face with your spittle, by approaching too near him when you speak.
- Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another though he were your enemy.
- Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.
- Think before you speak.
- Cleanse not your teeth with the Table Cloth.

## VERBATIM

### WAR'S END

**“I hope you will not consider yourself as commander-in-chief of your own house, but be convinced, that there is such a thing as equal command.”**

LUCY FLUCKER KNOX,  
*to her husband Henry Knox, upon his return as a hero from the Revolutionary War*

**“The American war is over, but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. Nothing but the first act of the drama is closed.”**

BENJAMIN RUSH,  
*signer of the Declaration of Independence and member of the Constitutional Convention*

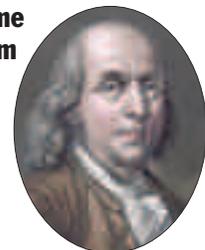
**“You could not have found a person to whom your schemes were more disagreeable.”**

GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
*to Colonel Lewis Nicola, in response to his letter urging Washington to seize power and proclaim himself king*

**“It appears to me, then, little short of a miracle that the delegates from so many states . . . should unite in forming a system of national government.”**

GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
*in a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette at the close of the Constitutional Convention*

**“It astonishes me to find this system approaching to near perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies.”**



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
*remarking on the structure of the new United States government*

## Annual Salaries

*Annual federal employee salaries, 1789*

<b>President</b> (he refused it) .....	\$25,000
<b>Vice President</b> .....	\$5,000
<b>Secretary of State</b> .....	\$3,500
<b>Chief Justice</b> .....	\$4,000
<b>Senator</b> .....	\$6 per day
<b>Representative</b> .....	\$6 per day
<b>Army Captain</b> .....	\$420
<b>Army Private</b> .....	\$48



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## Milestones

**SETTLED, 1781. LOS ANGELES**, by a group of 46 men and women, most of whom are of Native American and African descent.

**CALLED, 1785. LEMUEL HAYNES**, as minister to a church in Torrington, Connecticut. Haynes, a veteran of the Revolutionary War who fought in Lexington, is the first African American to minister to a white congregation. A parishioner insulted Haynes by refusing to remove his hat in church, but minutes into the sermon, the parishioner was so moved that the hat came off. He is now a prayerful and loyal member of the congregation.



BETTMANN/CORBIS

**PUBLISHED, 1788. THE ELEMENTARY SPELLING BOOK**, by Noah Webster, a 25-year-old teacher from Goshen, N.Y. The book standardizes American spelling and usage that differs from the British.

## NUMBERS

**5** Number of years younger in age of average American brides compared to their European counterparts

**6** Average number of children per family to survive to adulthood

**7** Average number of children born per family

**8** Number of Daniel Boone's surviving children

**68** Number of Daniel Boone's grandchildren

**\$5** Average monthly wage for male agricultural laborer, 1784

**\$3** Average monthly wage for female agricultural laborer, 1784



PIX/PG

### 1780s WORD PLAY

## Dressing the “Little Pudding Heads”

*Can you match these common items of Early American clothing with their descriptions?*

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>1.</b> clout       | <b>a.</b> a band of strong fabric wrapped around a baby to suppress the navel                           |
| <b>2.</b> stays       | <b>b.</b> a diaper  |
| <b>3.</b> surcingle   | <b>c.</b> the wool cover worn over a diaper   |
| <b>4.</b> pilch       | <b>d.</b> a head covering for a child learning to walk to protect its brain from falls                  |
| <b>5.</b> pudding cap | <b>e.</b> a garment worn by children to foster good posture, made from linen and wood or baleen splints |

ANSWERS: 1. b; 2. e; 3. a; 4. c; 5. d

# SECTION 3 Ratification

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

Ratification of the Constitution moved to the individual states, where Federalists and Antifederalists argued their opposing views.

### Key Terms and Names

Federalist, Antifederalist, John Hancock, Patrick Henry

### Reading Strategy

**Categorizing** As you read about the efforts to ratify the Constitution, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the supporters and goals of the Federalists and the Antifederalists.

	Federalists	Antifederalists
Source of Support		
Goals		

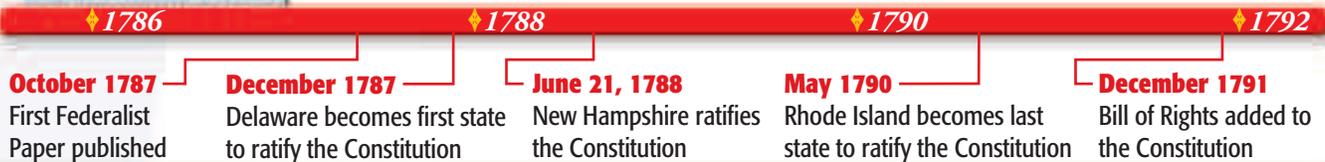
### Reading Objectives

- **Summarize** the main points in the debate between the Federalists and Antifederalists.
- **Explain** how the Constitution was finally ratified.

### Section Theme

**Government and Democracy** The state governments approved the Constitution through individual conventions.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



Patrick Henry

The windows of Virginia’s statehouse stood open as Patrick Henry rose to speak. The man who had once declared, “Give me liberty, or give me death!” was fearful for the future of the United States. For most of June 1788, he had argued against accepting the new federal Constitution drawn up in Philadelphia the previous summer.

The afternoon of June 25 marked the final day of debate in Richmond. Henry immediately took aim at the framers of the Constitution. “What right had they to say ‘We, the People?’” he demanded. “Who authorized them to speak the language of We, the People, instead of We, the States?” The future of liberty around the world was at stake, he declared. “We have it in our power to secure the happiness of one half the human race.” In his closing remarks, Henry announced he would accept the will of his colleagues:

“If I shall be in the minority, I shall have those powerful sensations which arise from a conviction of being overpowered in a good cause. Yet I will be a peaceable citizen. My head, my hand, and my heart, shall be at liberty to retrieve the loss of liberty, and remove the defects of that system in a constitutional way.”

—quoted in *Patrick Henry: A Biography*

## A Great Debate

As soon as the Philadelphia Convention closed its doors, delegates had rushed home to begin the campaign for ratification. Each state would elect a convention to vote on the new Constitution. Nine states had to vote in favor of the Constitution to put it into effect. As soon as Americans learned about the new Constitution, they began to argue over



whether it should be ratified. The debate took place in state legislatures, in mass meetings, in the columns of newspapers, and in everyday conversations.

**Federalists and Antifederalists** Supporters of the Constitution called themselves **Federalists**. The name was chosen with care. It emphasized that the Constitution would create a federal system. Power would be divided between a central government and regional governments. They hoped the name would remind those Americans who feared a central government that the states would retain many of their powers.

Supporters of the Federalists and the new Constitution included large landowners who wanted the property protection a strong central government could provide. Supporters also included merchants and artisans living in large coastal cities. The inability of the Confederation Congress to regulate trade had hit these citizens hard. They believed that an effective federal government that could impose taxes on foreign goods would help their businesses.

Many farmers who lived near the coast or along rivers that led to the coast also supported the Constitution, as did farmers who shipped goods across state borders. These farmers depended on trade for their livelihood and had been frustrated by the different tariffs and duties the states imposed. They wanted a strong central government that could regulate trade consistently.

Opponents to the Constitution were called **Antifederalists**, a somewhat misleading name, as they were not truly against federalism. They accepted the need for a national government. The real issue, as far as they were concerned, was whether the national government or the state governments would be supreme. Prominent Antifederalists included **John Hancock**, **Patrick Henry**, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, and George Clinton, governor of New York. Two members of the Constitutional Convention, Edmund Randolph and George Mason, became Antifederalists because they believed the new Constitution should have included a bill of rights. Sam Adams agreed. He opposed the Constitution because he believed it endangered the independence of the states.

Many Antifederalists were western farmers living far from the coast. These people considered themselves self-sufficient and were suspicious of the wealthy and powerful. Many of

them were also deeply in debt and suspected that the new Constitution was simply a way for wealthy creditors to get rid of paper money and foreclose on their farms. One farmer named Amos Singletary wrote to the *Massachusetts Gazette* expressing views that many western farmers shared:

“These lawyers and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor, illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to be managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks, like the great Leviathan, Mr. President; yes, just like the whale swallowed up Jonah.”

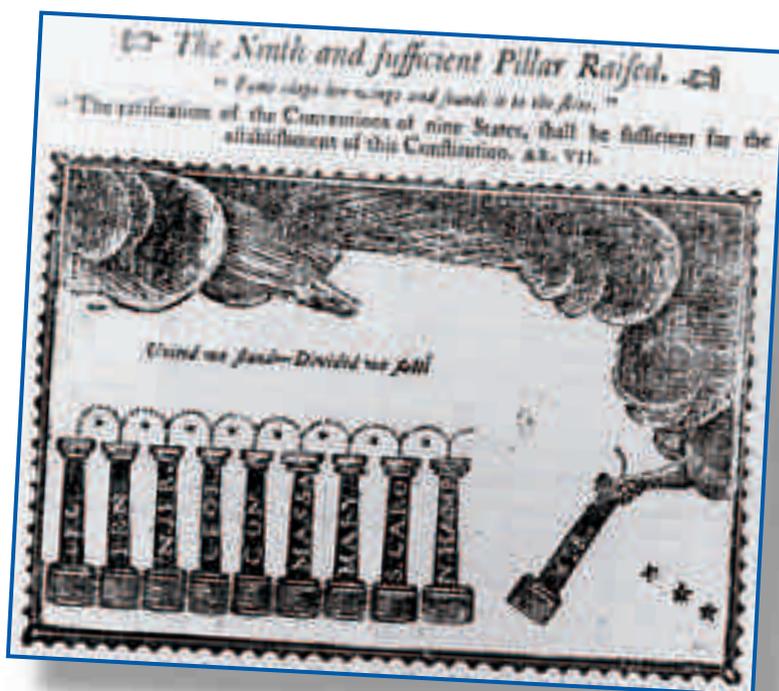
## **GOVERNMENT**

**The Federalist** Although many influential American leaders opposed the new Constitution, several factors worked against the Antifederalists. First of all, their campaign was a negative one. The Federalists presented a definite program to meet the nation’s problems. Although the Antifederalists



### **Analyzing Political Cartoons**

**Support for Ratification** A pro-Federalist cartoon celebrates New Hampshire becoming the ninth state to ratify the Constitution in 1788. **Based on the imagery of the cartoon, which state was the first to ratify the Constitution?**



# Different Viewpoints

## Should the Majority Rule?

James Madison argued persuasively for the Constitution's ratification. In *The Federalist* #10, Madison explained that the Constitution would prevent the effects of *faction*—the self-seeking party spirit of a democracy. In contrast, Thomas Jefferson argued that the will of the majority would thwart the tyranny of oppressive government.

### James Madison opposes majority rule:

"When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government . . . enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens.

. . . [A] pure democracy . . . can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction [and has always] been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property. . . .

A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place . . . promises the cure for which we are seeking. . . .

The effect of [a republic] is, on the one hand, to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations."



### Thomas Jefferson defends majority rule:

"I own I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive. The late rebellion in Massachusetts has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in 13 states in the course of 11 years, is but one for each state in a century & a half. No country should be so long without one.

. . . After all, it is my principle that the will of the Majority should always prevail. If they approve the proposed [Constitution] in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they shall find it works wrong. . . . Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty."



### Learning From History

1. What were the "mischiefs" that Madison believed republican government could prevent?
2. Was Jefferson correct in believing the voice of the common people would preserve liberty? Explain.

complained that the Constitution failed to protect basic rights, they had nothing to offer in its place.

The Federalists were also better organized than their opponents. Most of the nation's newspapers supported them. The Federalists were able to present a very convincing case in their speeches, pamphlets, and debates in state conventions.

The Federalists' arguments for ratification were summarized in *The Federalist*—a collection of 85 essays written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. Under the joint pen name of Publius, the three men published most of the essays in New York newspapers in late 1787 and early 1788 before collecting them in *The Federalist*.  (See pages 1066–1067 for examples of Federalist writings.)

The essays explained how the new Constitution worked and why it was needed. They were very

influential. Even today, judges, lawyers, legislators, and historians rely upon *The Federalist* to help them interpret the Constitution and understand what the original framers intended.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** Which groups of people tended to support the new Constitution?

## The Fight for Ratification

As the ratifying conventions began to gather, the Federalists knew that they had clear majorities in some states but that the vote was going to be much closer in others, including the large and important states of Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York.

The first state conventions took place in December 1787 and January 1788. Although Delaware,

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut all quickly ratified the Constitution, the most important battles still lay ahead.

**Ratification in Massachusetts** In Massachusetts, opponents of the Constitution held a clear majority when the convention met in January 1788. They included the great patriot Samuel Adams. Federalists moved quickly to meet Adams's objections to the Constitution.

They promised to attach a bill of rights to the Constitution once it was ratified. They also agreed to support an amendment that would reserve for the states all powers not specifically granted to the federal government. These concessions, in combination with the fact that most artisans sided with the Federalists, persuaded Adams to vote for ratification. In the final vote, 187 members of the convention voted in favor of the Constitution while 168 voted against it.

By the end of June 1788, Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire had ratified the Constitution. The Federalists had reached the minimum number of states required to put the new Constitution into effect, but Virginia and New York still had not ratified. Without the support of these two large states, many feared the new government would not succeed.

**Virginia and New York** George Washington and James Madison presented strong arguments for ratification to the Virginia convention. Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and other Antifederalists made several strong arguments against it. In the end, Madison's promise to add a bill of rights won the day for the Federalists.

In New York, two-thirds of the members elected to the state convention, including Governor George

Clinton, were Antifederalists. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, managed to delay the final vote until news arrived that New Hampshire and Virginia had both ratified the Constitution and that the new federal government was now in effect. If New York refused to ratify, it would be in a very awkward position. It would have to operate independently of all of the surrounding states. This argument convinced enough Antifederalists to change sides. The vote was very close, 30 to 27, but the Federalists won.

By July 1788, all the states except Rhode Island and North Carolina had ratified the Constitution. Because ratification by nine states was all that the Constitution required, the new government could be launched without them. In mid-September 1788, the Confederation Congress established a timetable for the election of the new government. It chose March 4, 1789, as the date for the first meeting of the new Congress.

The two states that had held out finally ratified the Constitution after the new government was in place. North Carolina waited until a bill of rights had actually been proposed, then voted to ratify the Constitution in November 1789. Rhode Island, still nervous about losing its independence, did not ratify the Constitution until May 1790, and even then the vote was very close—34 to 32.

The United States now had a new government, but no one knew if the new Constitution would work any better than the Articles of Confederation. With both anticipation and nervousness, the American people waited for their new government to begin. Many expressed great confidence, because George Washington had been chosen to become the first president under the new Constitution.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** Why was it important for Virginia and New York to ratify the Constitution, even after the required nine states had done so?

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** **Federalist, Antifederalist.**
2. **Identify:** John Hancock, Patrick Henry.
3. **List** the groups of people who opposed ratification of the Constitution.
4. **Explain** why the Federalists had an advantage over the Antifederalists.

### Reviewing Themes

5. **Government and Democracy** Do you think it was important for all the states to ratify the Constitution? Why or why not?

### Critical Thinking

6. **Analyzing** How did the Federalists attempt to assure ratification of the Constitution?
7. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the factors that worked against the Antifederalists.



### Analyzing Visuals

8. **Studying Cartoons** Examine the cartoon on page 173. Why was New Hampshire's ratification of the Constitution important?

### Writing About History

9. **Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of a Federalist or an Antifederalist at a state ratifying convention. Write a speech in which you try to convince your audience to either accept or reject the new Constitution.

**Reviewing Key Terms**

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. duty                 | 8. judicial branch     |
| 2. recession            | 9. checks and balances |
| 3. popular sovereignty  | 10. veto               |
| 4. federalism           | 11. impeach            |
| 5. separation of powers | 12. amendment          |
| 6. legislative branch   | 13. Federalist         |
| 7. executive branch     | 14. Antifederalist     |

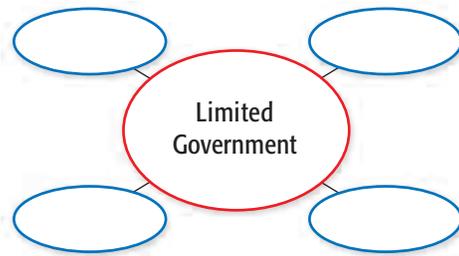
**Reviewing Key Facts**

- Identify:** Northwest Ordinance, Shays’s Rebellion, Three-Fifths Compromise, John Hancock, Patrick Henry.
- How did Shays’s Rebellion indicate the need for a stronger national government?
- How did the Founders provide for a separation of powers in the federal government?
- Why did large landowners and merchants support the Constitution?

19. What was the purpose of *The Federalist*?

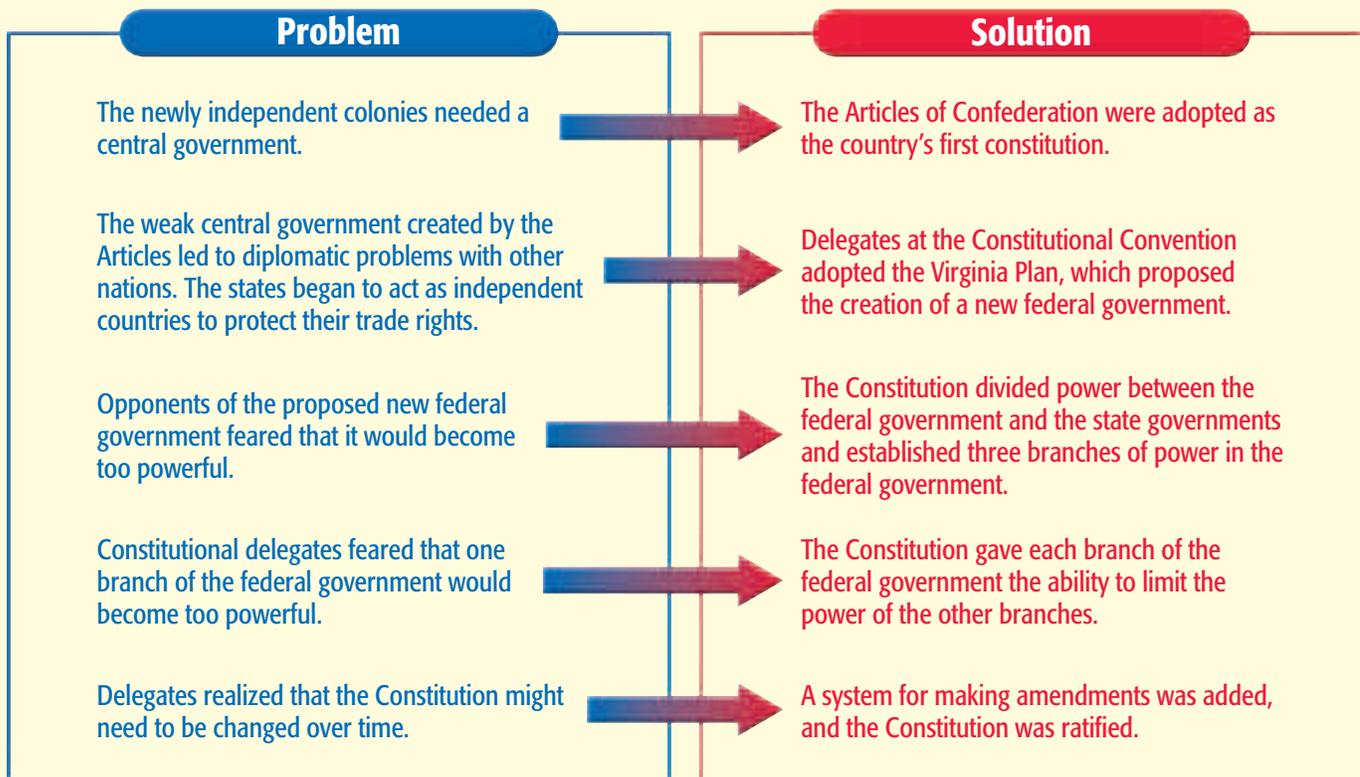
**Critical Thinking**

- Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy** What do you think was the most serious flaw of the Articles of Confederation? Why do you think so?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to indicate what details the Founders included in the Constitution to provide for a limited government.



- Interpreting Primary Sources** In his 1789 textbook *The American Geography*, Reverend Jedidiah Morse discusses the defects of the Articles of Confederation. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

**Chapter Summary**





Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 5** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

“[The Articles of Confederation] were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common safety supplied the place of a coercive power in government. . . .

When resolutions were passed in Congress, there was no power to compel obedience. . . . Had one state been invaded by its neighbour, the union was not constitutionally bound to assist in repelling the invasion. . . .”

—quoted in *Readings in American History*

- a. What defects in the Articles does Morse see?
- b. Why does Morse think the Articles were effective during the American Revolution but not afterward?

Practicing Skills

23. **Making Comparisons** Reread the passage about the Virginia and New Jersey Plans from Chapter 5, Section 2, on page 166. Then answer the following questions.
- a. Which plan gave more power to the states?
  - b. What new power did the New Jersey plan grant to Congress?

Writing Activity

24. **Portfolio Writing** Take on the role of an American living during the Constitution’s ratification. Write a letter to a friend in Britain describing the form of the new government. Explain why you support or oppose ratification and what you think life will be like under the new government.

Chapter Activity

25. **Technology Activity: Sending an E-Mail** Use the Internet to find the latest bills that are pending in Congress. Choose one of these bills or choose an issue that is important to you and your community. Send an e-mail to your senator or representative, persuading him or her how to vote on the issue. Provide reasons for your position.

Geography and History

26. The map on this page shows the western land claims of the original states. Study the map and answer these questions.
- a. **Interpreting Maps** Which state had the largest land claims in the West?



- b. **Applying Geography Skills** Why do you think the states eventually agreed to surrender their land claims to the Confederation Congress?



Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

Which of the following is an *opinion* about the Constitution?

- F By 1790 all states had ratified the Constitution.
- G A major concern in writing the Constitution was how many representatives each state would have.
- H Under the Constitution, the federal government could raise money to operate the government.
- J Because of the Constitution, the United States has a better democracy than other countries.

**Test-Taking Tip:** An *opinion* is not a proven fact (such as answer F). Opinions often contain subjective words, like *best*.