

CHAPTER 2

ORIGINS OF U.S. GOVERNMENT

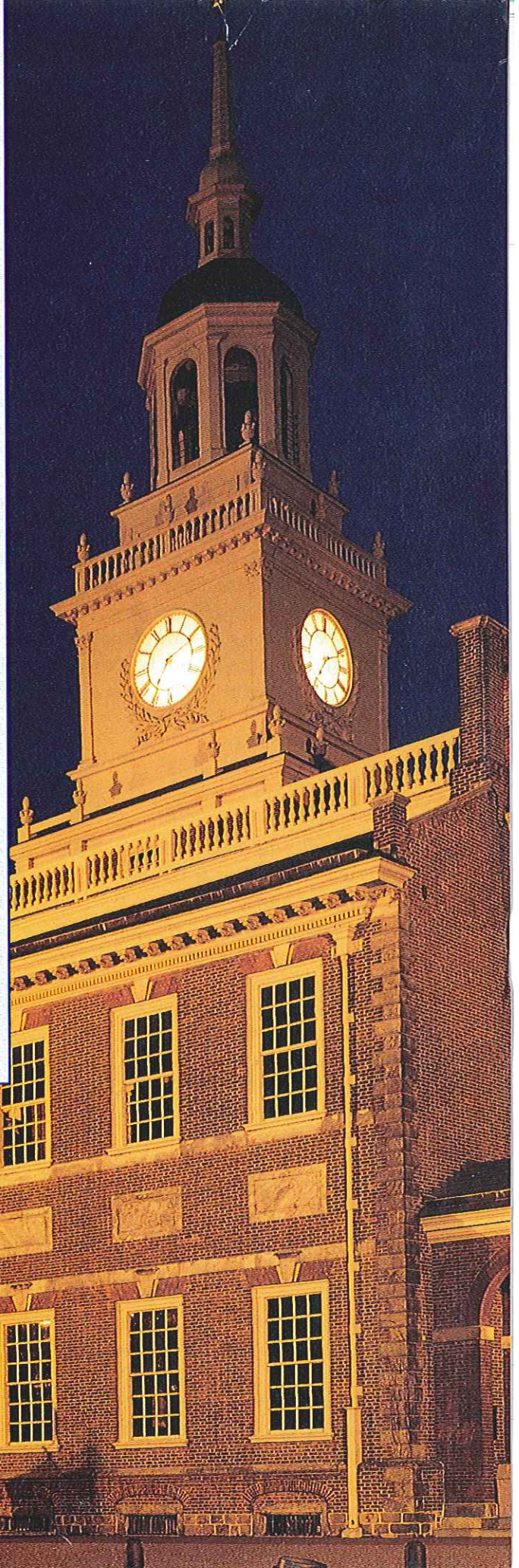
You are part of one of the most important experiments in the world—the U.S. government. You may not think of your country as an experiment in popular government, but that is exactly how many other nations and peoples view the United States. This means that others have looked to the United States to see if government formed by the people—by citizens such as yourself—can keep a country united.

As you can imagine, the task of forging one nation out of 13 independent states was no small achievement. When the framers of the Constitution transformed a loose confederation of colonies into a federal union, they created a new form of government that has survived, and succeeded, for more than 200 years.



Government Notebook

In your Government Notebook, create a list of the rights and freedoms you have as a U.S. citizen. Where do you think these rights and freedoms originated?



SECTION 1

EARLY INFLUENCES

Political Dictionary



constitution
Magna Carta
rule of law
bicameral
Petition of Right
English Bill of Rights
charter

Objectives

- ★ What political ideals did English colonists bring with them to North America?
- ★ What major documents limited the power of English monarchs?
- ★ How were the ideals of limited and representative government evident in colonial governments?

When English colonists came to North America, they brought with them more than just tools needed to survive, such as hoes and axes for building homes and farms. They also brought the tools for creating a government—important ideals that had formed the basis of government in England.

An English Heritage

The ideals the English colonists brought to North America can still be found in British government today. Although Great Britain does not have a written **constitution**—a basic set of laws and principles establishing the nation's government—it has laws, historical documents, and judicial decisions dating back hundreds of years.

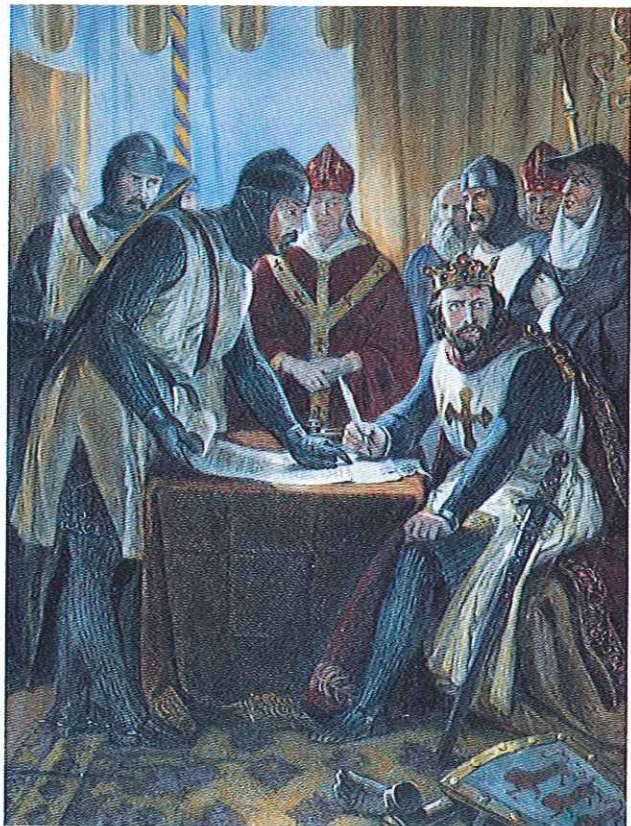
Two important British ideals strongly influenced the colonists in North America: limited government and representative government. These ideals helped shape government in the colonies—and later in the United States—in a way that serves the public good.

Limited Government Before the 1200s there were few limits on government in England. For example, monarchs could tax people or seize property at will, as well as give land to people who were loyal to them.

Consider what it would be like if student-body presidents had such power. They might reserve part of the gym for use only by their close friends. They might even decide to charge students a fee to pay for student government.

Of course, student-body presidents do not have such power. A president must act within the rules set by the school administration and an elected student council. In short, these forces limit what student government can do without the consent of the governed—the students.

The English nobles—the wealthy landowners who enjoyed certain social and legal privileges—were no happier with their monarch's unlimited power than you would be with an all-powerful student-body president. In 1215 these nobles forced King John to sign **Magna Carta**, or “Great Charter.” This



The Granger Collection, New York

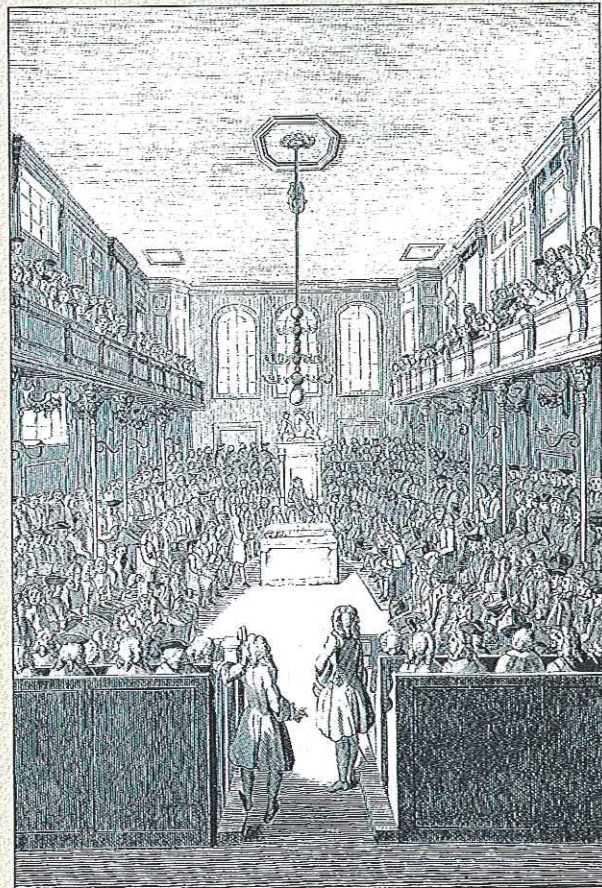
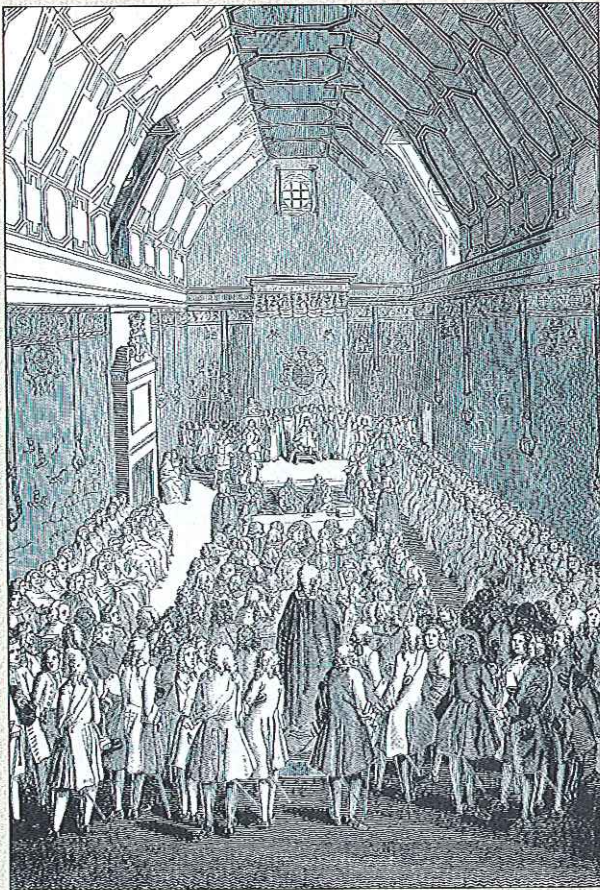
POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS This engraving created in the 1800s shows King John signing Magna Carta in 1215. How did Magna Carta help to limit the monarch's power?

document limited the monarchy's power by helping establish the **rule of law**, under which government leaders, even monarchs, must act according to set laws. For example, monarchs could no longer levy taxes without the nobles' approval. The charter also gave people accused of crimes the right to a trial by their peers, or equals. This right prevented a monarch from imprisoning people or taking away their property on his or her sole authority. Although Magna Carta was meant only for the nobility, in time its protections applied to all English citizens.

By requiring English monarchs to consider how their decisions would affect the people they governed, Magna Carta laid the foundation for government that promotes the public good. As noted in Chapter 1, government promotes the public good when it reflects the interests of society as a whole instead of the narrow interests of the few or of one individual, such as a monarch.

Representative Government The English ideal of representative government is even older than the ideal of limited government. Representative government has its roots in a council of nobles and high religious officials that advised monarchs even before the signing of Magna Carta. This council gradually grew in importance. Eventually, representatives of local towns and villages became part of the council.

Over time the advisory council evolved into a **bicameral**, or two-chamber, legislature called Parliament. Nobles composed the upper house, or the House of Lords. The lower house, or the House of Commons, included lesser officials and local representatives. As representatives of the people, members of Parliament worked to limit the power of English monarchs. Two important documents—the Petition of Right and the English Bill of Rights—helped Parliament do this.



PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY England's bicameral Parliament is illustrated in these drawings of the House of Lords (left) and the House of Commons (right). Which house was made up of lesser officials and local representatives?

Parliament forced Charles I to sign the **Petition of Right** in 1628. Like Magna Carta, the Petition of Right limited the ability of the monarch to act on his or her sole authority. The Petition of Right said that monarchs could not imprison people illegally, force citizens to house soldiers in their homes, or establish military rule during times of peace. It also required monarchs to obtain Parliament's approval, rather than simply the nobles' approval, before levying taxes.

Like Magna Carta, the Petition of Right was crucial to the development of government that promotes the public good. In forcing Charles to sign the Petition of Right, a representative body had placed restrictions on the monarch's power. It gave the people, through their representatives, a voice in government and made sure that the many opinions in a society would be heard.

The Petition of Right was part of an extended conflict between Charles and Parliament. That conflict eventually erupted into a civil war in which the army of Parliament defeated Charles's supporters. Charles was beheaded in 1649, and England did not have another king until 1660, when Charles II assumed the throne. James II, Charles's brother, succeeded him in 1685.

Parliamentary leaders who disagreed with James and his policies forced him from the throne by encouraging William of Orange, the husband of James's daughter, Mary, to invade England. In the Glorious Revolution of 1688, William arrived with his troops, and James fled the country. Parliament then asked William and Mary to serve as king and queen of England. Before they took the throne, however, Parliament forced them to accept the English Bill of Rights.

The **English Bill of Rights** clearly established that the monarchy could not rule without consent of Parliament. The document included many protections, such as the right to petition the king without fear of punishment and free parliamentary elections. It also forbade the monarch from maintaining an army without parliamentary consent and

said that Parliament should operate without royal interference.

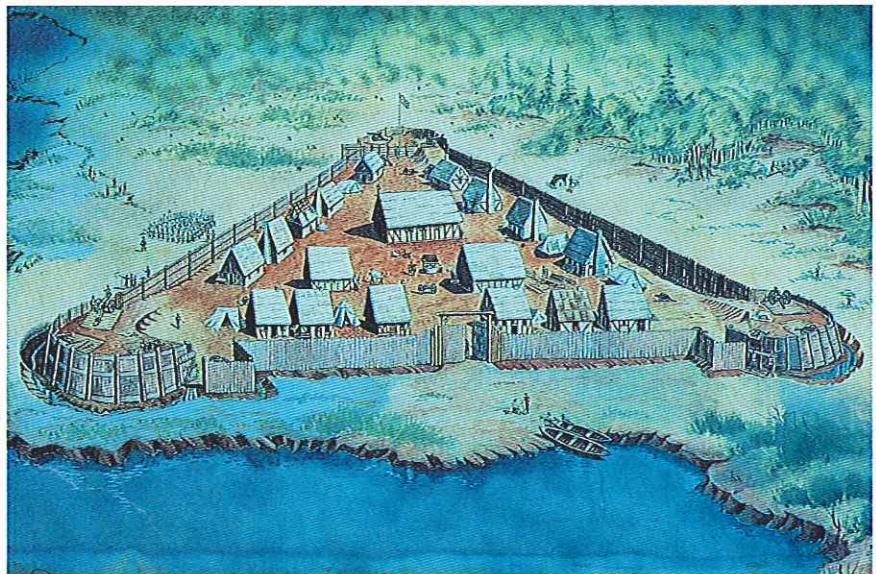
Along with Magna Carta and the Petition of Right, the English Bill of Rights helped protect citizens' rights from government violation. The government could not violate or deny these rights and could rule only with the consent of the people it governed. This idea remains fundamental to ensuring that government serves and protects the public's best interests.

Colonial Development

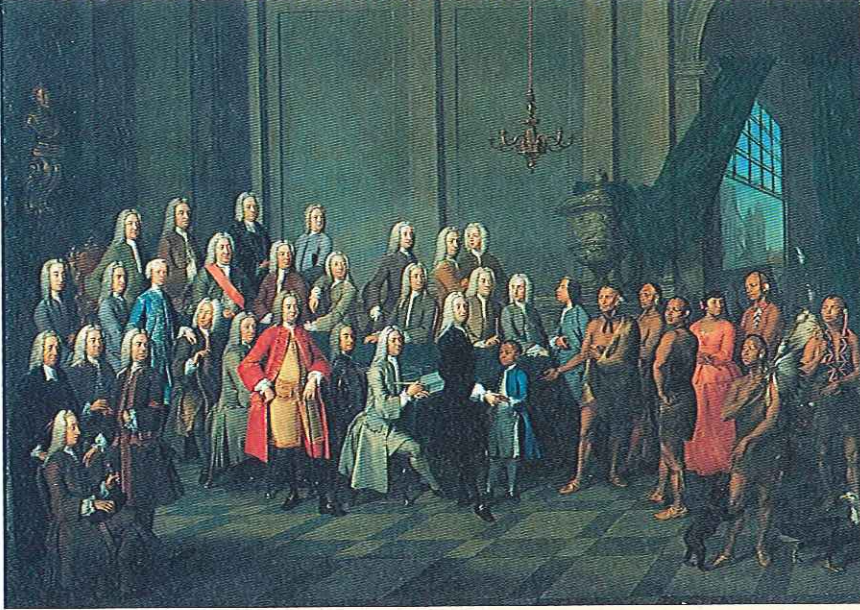
By the time the Petition of Right and the English Bill of Rights were passed, English colonists had begun to settle parts of North America. The first permanent English colony was established at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The organization of Jamestown and of later settlements clearly showed the influence of the basic principles of English government.

Charters The Jamestown colony was the first of several permanent colonies established by charter. A **charter** was an agreement whereby the English monarch gave settlers the right to establish a colony.

The efforts to limit government in the colonies were evident in most charters. The Massachusetts charter, for example, guaranteed elections.



POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS This painting of Jamestown, Virginia, by Francis Dayton illustrates the first permanent English colony in North America. What was the purpose of charters during English colonization?



PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY This portrait of the trustees of Georgia, the ruling body of the colony of Georgia, is believed to have been painted in the 1700s. How did colonial governments reflect the ideals of limited and representative government?

Officers were chosen from among the male settlers who were given the charter. The charter also gave these men the power and authority to establish an assembly that would make laws, elect officers, and govern the colony.

Governments With the addition of Georgia in 1733, the number of colonies grew to 13. Each colony had a system that reflected the ideals of limited and representative government. For example, each colony's governor served as the government's executive. Some governors were appointed and others were elected. Most governors, however, were

advised by a council, which also served as the highest court in the colony and, in some cases, had as much power as the governor. The councils generally were made up of 12 male property owners who acted as advisers to the governor. In some colonies the council served as the upper house of the colony's assembly. Most colonies also had an assembly made up of the colonists' elected representatives. These councils and representative assemblies served to limit the governors' power.

There were three types of colonies—royal, proprietary, and corporate. Royal colonies—the most common type—

belonged directly to the crown. Virginia was a royal colony. Proprietary colonies were those whose territory was granted by the king to an individual (or small group of individuals), called a proprietor, and put under the proprietor's personal control. Pennsylvania and Maryland were proprietary colonies. Corporate colonies were founded without any authorization from the English government. Although England controlled military affairs and trade in the corporate colonies, the Crown exercised such control on an irregular basis. Connecticut and Rhode Island were corporate colonies.

SECTION 1

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: constitution, Magna Carta, rule of law, bicameral, Petition of Right, English Bill of Rights, charter.
2. Describe the political ideals the colonists brought from England to North America.
3. In what ways are Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the English Bill of Rights related? What role did Parliament play in limiting royal power in England?
4. How was the power of colonial governors limited?

5. Thinking and Writing Critically

The English people worked to limit what they believed was the unjust exercise of authority over them. They were not, however, trying to eliminate all authority over their lives. Why should authority, when it is exercised fairly, be respected? Why is it important?

6. Applying **POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS**



Conduct an Internet search for the English Bill of Rights. List the fundamental freedoms that it guaranteed. Which freedoms do you think are more important?

SECTION 2

INDEPENDENCE

Political Dictionary



New England
Confederation
Albany Plan of Union
Stamp Act
tyranny
boycott
delegate
unicameral

Objectives

- ★ What were two early attempts at unity among the colonies?
- ★ What British policies pushed the colonies to cooperate with one another?
- ★ What were some of the ideals that influenced the writing of the Declaration of Independence?
- ★ How were the governments of the newly independent states similar?

When the first English colonists arrived in North America, they found that the land presented them with dangers as well as opportunities. These common dangers pushed the 13 colonies toward unity. Although early attempts at unity failed, the British government's actions eventually united the colonists in a common cause: independence.

Searching for Unity

Uniting the 13 colonies was a difficult task that presented several obstacles. What were the sources of differences among the colonies?

Obstacles One obstacle to colonial unity stemmed from the colonists' having come to North America for different reasons. Early colonists who settled in Virginia, for example, were sent by a company that wanted to make money from the region's natural resources. In contrast, the Puritans

of the Massachusetts Bay Colony came to establish an ideal society in which they could freely practice their religion. The colony of Georgia, meanwhile, was created as a refuge for debtors who would otherwise have been put in jail. It also attracted people fleeing from religious persecution.

Varying economies and geography also led to differences among the colonies. The New England colonies developed fishing, lumber, and crafts industries. In contrast, South Carolina's colonists grew crops that thrived in a warm, moist climate. (See "Linking Government and Geography," page 27.)

Attempts at Unity Despite their differences, the English colonists did face some of the same dangers, such as the possibility of conflict with neighboring American Indians and non-English colonists. The need for defense produced two important, though unsuccessful, attempts at unity.

The first attempt was the **New England Confederation** of 1643. The colonies in this confederation agreed to work together to defend against attacks by American Indians or by settlers of nearby Dutch colonies. The confederation had few powers, however. The objection of just one colony could keep the confederation from taking



The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Jacob Rupert, 1939 (39.65.53)

POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS *The bronze statue The Puritan, made by American artist Augustus Saint-Gaudens in the 1800s, symbolically portrays Puritan life. Why did many Puritans leave England to live in North America?*

action. As a result, disagreements often prevented cooperation. The lack of cooperation, as well as an easing of the threat of attack by unfriendly neighbors, led to the end of the confederation in 1684.

Conflict between Britain and France brought a new effort at unity 70 years later. France controlled a part of present-day Canada and other land to the west of the British colonies. To plan for a defense against possible attacks by the French and their American Indian allies, the British government called a meeting of colonial representatives in 1754. Representatives of seven British colonies met with the Iroquois in Albany, New York, to form an alliance and develop a plan of action.

At the meeting, colonial representatives adopted the **Albany Plan of Union**, proposed by Benjamin Franklin. The plan called for a council of colony representatives that could levy taxes and raise an army. The council also would regulate trade with American Indians. The individual colonial and British governments rejected the plan, however, so it was never put into effect.

An Ocean Apart

Although the need for common defense did not unify the colonies, other developments brought the

colonies closer together. At the same time, however, these developments strained the relationship between the colonies and Great Britain.

Political Distance Most of the colonies shared a growing political distance from Britain. The colonists had long been allowed to handle many of their internal affairs. In the more than 150 years since the first permanent settlement was established, elected assemblies in the colonies had gradually increased their authority.

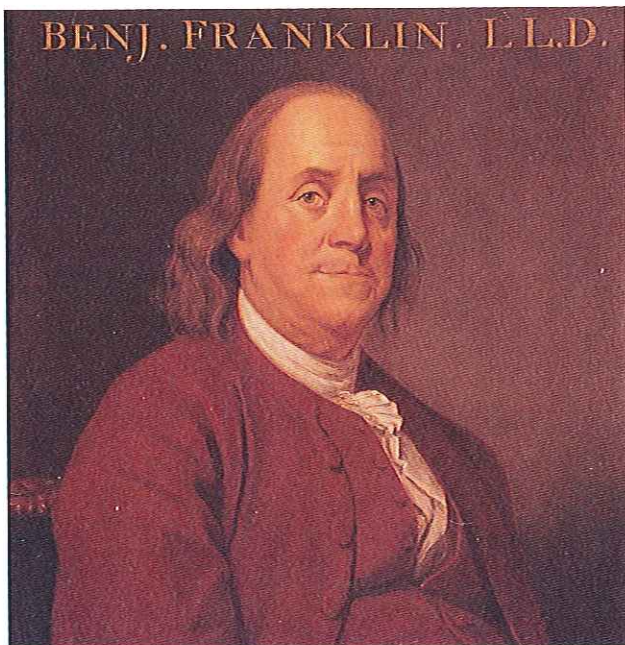
In turn, the power of governors and their advisory councils began to weaken. Governors often felt more pressure from local colonial interests than from the far-away British government. In addition, the governors' salaries were controlled by the elected colonial assemblies.

British Policies The political distance between the colonies and Great Britain widened further after 1760, when the British throne passed to George III. There was a growing attitude among members of Parliament that the colonies had become too independent. The real spark to tensions, however, was the Seven Years' War, a global struggle that involved several European countries, including Great Britain.

The Seven Years' War had plunged Britain deep into debt. Because part of the conflict—known as the French and Indian War—was fought on North American soil, the British government believed the colonists should help pay off the debt. Many members of Parliament also thought that it was time for the colonists to help pay for their own future defense against hostile forces.

To help raise money, the government under George III began to enforce a number of trade restrictions and taxes. In 1765, for example, Parliament passed the **Stamp Act**, which required colonists to pay a tax on many paper goods. A tax stamp on a newspaper, contract, or deck of playing cards showed that the tax had been paid.

In addition to raising money, the Stamp Act and other policies also served to protect British businesses. By forcing colonists to pay taxes on goods purchased from other countries, the government gave British businesses an advantage—the taxes made non-British foreign goods more expensive than those from Britain. The high prices caused by the policies angered colonial businesspeople who made money by importing non-British goods to sell in the colonies.



POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS Benjamin Franklin, shown in this portrait painted by Joseph Wright, proposed the Albany Plan of Union. What did the plan propose?

Government and History

Geographic Differences Among the Colonies

Before the colonists declared their independence from Great Britain, few common ties unified the American colonies. The colonies had been founded at different times and for different reasons. In addition, geographic factors such as climate and soil quality caused the northern, middle, and southern colonies to develop economies that were distinct from one another. These factors also created political divisions among colonies, particularly the northern and southern colonies.

In the northern colonies, short growing seasons; thin, rocky soil; and frigid, hostile winters made farming difficult. Land was divided into small farms owned by individual families. Each of these farms usually produced only enough crops to feed the family that operated it. Poor agricultural conditions led many New Englanders to find work in other occupations. Many colonists fished full-time to earn their living, which helped spur economic growth in coastal port cities.

The settlement of the middle colonies was similar to that of the northern colonies, with land divided into individual family farms. However, the region's geography—rich soil, good water resources, and a moderate climate—made agriculture more profitable in this region. Farmers were able to raise crops for export to domestic and foreign markets.

In contrast, the warm, wet climate and an extended growing season of the southern colonies allowed southern planters to raise more crops in a year than farmers in the middle and northern colonies. Property in this region was divided into large plantations that produced export crops. Plantations were often built along large rivers and had their own docks, so ships could load crops and head directly for major trade destinations. This reduced the need for coastal port cities in the South.



Early colonists produced a variety of goods and services. Each region's geographic features helped to shape its economy.

Although the northern, middle, and southern colonists lived in different geographic regions, they all faced the challenges of settling and clearing land. Transporting goods to colonial markets also was difficult for farmers and planters throughout the colonies.

Eventually, the colonies achieved the unity needed to launch a new nation. Common goals, such as the desire for independence from Great Britain, forced them to unite in spite of geographic and economic differences.

What Do You Think?

1. Do you think that citizens of the United States still identify with the geographic regions in which they live? Give examples to support your answer.
2. How has technology eliminated some of the physical barriers among the colonies?

Colonial Reaction

Many colonists were outraged. They not only saw the policies as unfair to colonial businesses but also objected to being taxed when the British Parliament had no colonial representatives. Colonists argued that such taxation without representation was **tyranny**—absolute rule by a government that ignores the rights and welfare of the people.

Protests In October 1765, representatives from nine colonies met in New York at the Stamp Act Congress. They wrote a Declaration of Rights and Grievances to protest the Stamp Act and other British policies. Colonists also boycotted some British goods. A **boycott** is an agreement to stop buying or using a good or service.

Although Parliament eventually repealed the Stamp Act, it passed additional taxes and laws. Protests against such actions continued in the colonies. In 1770 these tensions erupted when British soldiers fired into a crowd of angry colonial protesters in Boston. Five people were killed in what became known as the Boston Massacre.

In 1772 colonial activist Samuel Adams formed a group in Boston to help with the growing colonial resistance. The group developed as part of a network of patriotic groups called the Committees of Correspondence, which had been established in 1763. The network allowed colonists to communicate with each other about British policies.

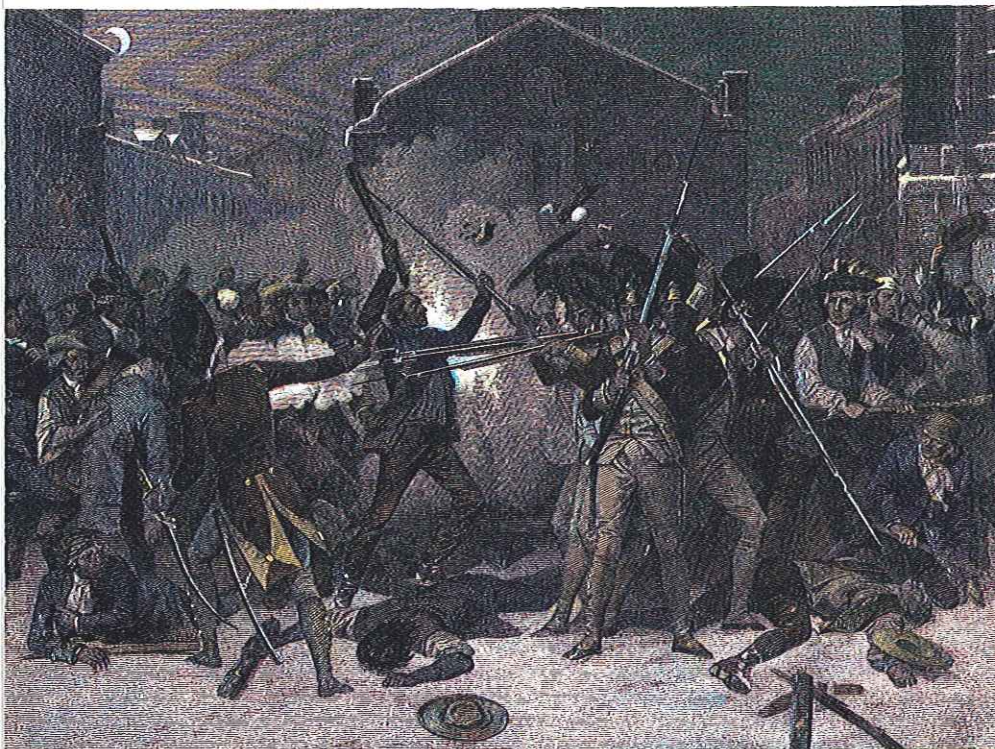
In 1773 violence again broke out when Adams and other angry colonists, dressed as American Indians, boarded ships in Boston Harbor and dumped British tea overboard. This event, known as the Boston Tea Party, was a protest against a decision by Parliament to give a company outside of North America all rights to the tea trade in the colonies.

In response to the Boston Tea Party, the British government passed another set of laws in 1774. Called the Intolerable Acts by the colonists, the new laws tightened British control over the colonies even further and inspired the colonists to greater action.

Continental Congresses In 1774 delegates from all the colonies except Georgia met in Philadelphia at the First Continental Congress. A **delegate** is someone who officially represents the interests of other people or of a government. The Congress protested British policies and sent George III the Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress. It also called for a boycott of British goods until British colonial policies were changed. The delegates planned for a second congress to meet the following May if need arose.

Officials in the British government responded by passing even stricter measures to tighten control over the colonies. The growing tensions finally led to battles between British troops and Massachusetts colonial militia at Lexington and Concord, on April 19, 1775.

Less than a month after the battles at Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental



PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY *The Boston Massacre of 1770 is portrayed in this engraving of a painting by Alonzo Chappel. How did the British government spark the rebellion that erupted into the Boston Massacre?*

Comparing

.....▶ Governments

Canada's Independence from Great Britain

When America's 13 colonies declared their independence from Great Britain in 1776, a new, completely independent nation was born. In 1867 Canada also gained independence from Britain. However, by signing the British North America Act, Canada did not make a complete break with Great Britain. Instead, the new Dominion of Canada became a self-governing nation with control over only its domestic policies. Great Britain continued to govern Canada's foreign affairs until 1931. Eventually, Canada gained complete independence with the passing of the Constitution Act in 1982.

Today Canada is a federation with a parliamentary democracy. It is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, an association of nations and territories that were once part of the former British Empire. The Canadian prime minister is the nation's leader, while the British monarch functions as Canada's symbolic head of government. The national parliament features a 104-member Senate and a 295-member House of Commons. Each of Canada's 10 provinces—which are similar to U.S. states—and 2 territories has a parliament headed by a provincial prime minister.

Congress met in Philadelphia. Again, representatives from 12 of the 13 colonies attended. This time, however, they met to discuss a plan of action, for the war had already begun. The road to independence lay ahead.

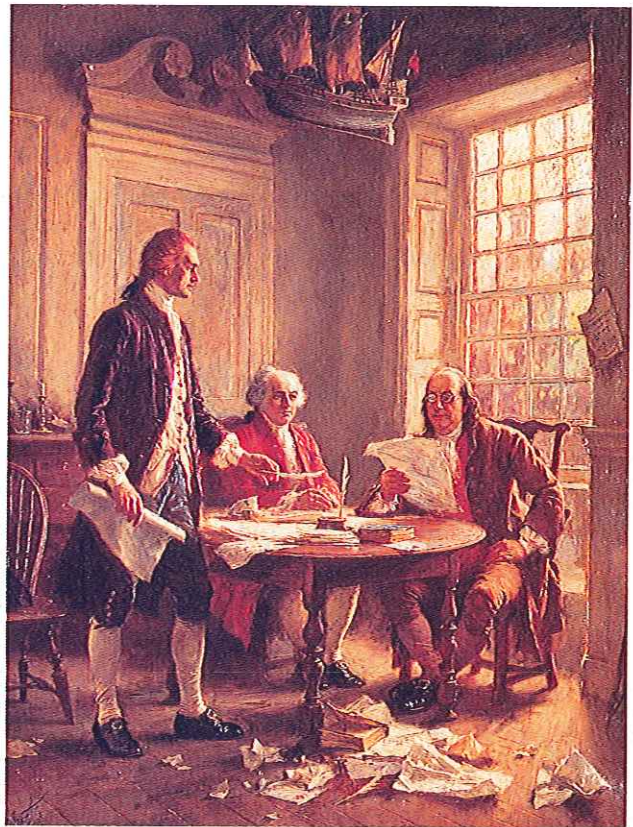
Declaration of Independence

By June 1776 nearly all delegates to the Second Continental Congress favored independence. They appointed several people to a committee to write a document explaining why they believed that independence was necessary. The Second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. (See pages 562–64.)

The Declaration of Independence was written by a committee of five men: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman. Jefferson, however, wrote most of the document.

Jefferson wrote about the “unalienable rights” of human beings—rights that cannot be taken away—including “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Recalling the arguments of philosopher John Locke, Jefferson also wrote that governments receive “their just powers from the consent of the governed.” When a government fails to protect citizens' natural rights, the people have the right “to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government.” The Declaration also criticized George III's refusal to support actions that were “wholesome and necessary for the public good.”

In many ways the Declaration of Independence mapped out the kind of government that Jefferson and his fellow delegates wanted for the colonies.



POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS This painting by American artist Jean Leon Gerome Ferris shows Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin drafting the Declaration of Independence. How did the Declaration of Independence outline the basic rights and liberties of citizens?

Such a government was one that would include protections for basic rights and liberties. It also was one that would rely on the consent of the governed for authority and consider their broader interests. In short, this government would be more likely than other forms of government to act in ways that promote the public good.

State Governments

The individual governments of the colonies changed with independence. In early 1776, even before independence, some colonies had adopted new constitutions. Following the Declaration of Independence, the other colonies also adopted new constitutions. The new constitutions were similar in a number of ways.

Structure Not surprisingly, the constitutions reflected a desire for limited government. Legislatures elected by the people dominated the state governments, and legislative elections were held each year in all but one state. Colonists' belief in the importance of regular elections could be seen in a statement by John Adams: "When annual elections end, there slavery [of the people] begins."

All the legislatures were bicameral with the exception of Pennsylvania's **unicameral**, or one-chamber, legislature. (In their first constitutions,

Georgia and Vermont also had unicameral legislatures. Later, they adopted bicameral legislatures, as did Pennsylvania.) Most new state constitutions gave few powers to the states' governors, because people associated a strong executive with the abuses of monarchy. They feared that a strong executive might eventually destroy representative government. Nine of the constitutions even limited a governor's term to one year.

Rights The new state constitutions also showed the influence of earlier efforts to protect individual rights. For example, most constitutions listed the rights that belonged to the people. Many of these rights were the same as those outlined in the English Bill of Rights and in colonial charters.

In addition, some states expanded voting rights. Although the colonial assemblies were elected bodies, not everyone had been able to vote in the elections. Depending on the colony, as much as 50 percent of free males could not vote, because many of the colonies had property qualifications for voting. In the new state constitutions, some of these restrictions were removed or lessened. By 1790 five states allowed all adult white male taxpayers to vote. Restrictions based on race and gender generally prohibited most American Indians, free and enslaved blacks, and women from voting, however.

SECTION 2

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: New England Confederation, Albany Plan of Union, Stamp Act, tyranny, boycott, delegate, unicameral.
2. What were the purposes of the New England Confederation and the Albany Plan of Union? Why were they unsuccessful?
3. How did British colonial policy change after 1760? How did colonists react?
4. Why did the authors of the Declaration of Independence believe that British colonial policies violated the ideals of limited and representative government?
5. Why did early state governments have weak governors?

6. Thinking and Writing Critically

How do you think history might have been different had the Albany Plan of Union been approved by the British and colonial governments? Do you think that America still would have become an independent nation?

7. Applying **POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS**



The Stamp Act of 1765 created conflict between the colonists and the British government. Conduct an Internet search for other acts established by the British government to tax the colonists. Name one of these acts and briefly describe the products it taxed. Does the site you found describe colonial reaction to the act?

SECTION 3

THE FIRST NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Political Dictionary



Articles of Confederation
ratification
Northwest Ordinance

Objectives

- ★ What were the powers of the national government under the Articles of Confederation?
- ★ How did limits on its power weaken the national government under the Articles?
- ★ How did the states continue to struggle with unity after independence?
- ★ How did Shays's Rebellion highlight the need for a stronger national government?

Most of the fighting in the Revolutionary War ended with a U.S. victory at the Battle of Yorktown in 1781. A new challenge now lay before the 13 independent states—that of forming a new government. In the same year the war ended, the states created a confederation, or what they called a “league of friendship.” The weaknesses of this confederation, however, made unity among the states difficult and created pressure for a stronger national government.

Articles of Confederation

The Second Continental Congress had held the 13 states together during the war. It had run the affairs of the new nation during much of the fighting and had appointed George Washington as commander in chief of the army in 1775. The Congress also had negotiated treaties with foreign powers, created a national currency, borrowed money, and established

a postal service. There was, however, no constitution or other legal document giving Congress the authority to take these actions.

To remedy this, in 1777 the Second Continental Congress created a document to form a single national government. This document, the **Articles of Confederation**, loosely tied together the 13 independent states and gave a new national Congress the authority to act that the Second Continental Congress had lacked. Before it could go into effect, however, the Articles required the **ratification**, or formal approval, of all 13 states. Maryland, the last state to ratify the Articles, did so in 1781.

Many leaders in the former British colonies wanted a loose confederation of states. They feared that creating a strong national government would threaten the power of the states and the freedoms of the people. Therefore, the Articles of Confederation limited the powers of the national government.

Powers The powers of the new government lay in a unicameral legislature: the Congress. Delegates to the Congress were chosen by each state's legislature. Each state delegation had one vote. Majority approval was required to pass most decisions, while nine votes were necessary to make major decisions, such as whether to wage war or to sign a particular treaty. Any amendment to the Articles required the approval



POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS *The Articles of Confederation were ratified by the colonies in 1781. Why did many leaders want the loose confederation of states that was created under the Articles?*

of all 13 states. There was no national executive or judicial branch.

Only Congress, not the individual states, had the power to declare war and to conduct foreign policy. Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin and John Adams as U.S. representatives to France, for example. The Articles also gave Congress the authority to borrow money, establish military forces, settle arguments between states, and manage relations with American Indians.

CASE STUDY

The Northwest Ordinance

POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS The Articles of Confederation also gave Congress the power to admit new states to the Union. This power proved to be critical to the future of the United States.

Through a peace agreement signed after the Revolutionary War, the United States acquired

from Great Britain a large area between the 13 states and the Mississippi River. To manage development of this area, Congress passed the **Northwest Ordinance** of 1787, which set procedures for granting statehood to territories within the region.

The ordinance was one of the most important bills passed by the national government under the Articles of Confederation. Of particular importance was its ban on slavery within the Northwest Territory. The ordinance also served as the model for admitting all other states to the Union. It allowed new states to join the Union as equal partners with the original 13 states. This condition showed the desire of the country's leaders to prevent new states from being unfairly ruled by the original states. They did not want to replace British tyranny with a new tyranny of the original 13 states.

In addition to its rules on statehood, the ordinance included a bill of rights for the territories. These rights guaranteed representative government, religious freedom, and trial by jury, among other freedoms. These rights ensured that new states would have governments whose authority came from the consent of the people.



The Northwest Ordinance was passed by Congress in 1787 to manage the development of the newly acquired Northwest Territory. What were some of the main points of the Northwest Ordinance?

Limits on Power The Articles gave Congress several powers. To keep the national government from becoming stronger than the states, however, those powers were limited. For example, the exclusion of a president and an executive branch meant that there were no officials to carry out Congress's laws.

Congress also had no power to tax. It could ask member states for voluntary contributions, but it could not require that they pay. This meant that it was difficult to raise money for a national army or to repay money that the country had borrowed. In addition, Congress could not prevent the states from issuing their own money.

Furthermore, Congress had no power to regulate trade among states or with foreign countries. The states therefore could tax products coming from other states. For example, Virginia passed a tax law stating that any ship at its ports that failed

Limits on the Power of the National Government Under the Articles of Confederation (1781)

- No president or executive branch
- No national court system
- No officials to enforce laws
- No power to tax
- No power to regulate trade
- No power to establish national armed forces (each state raised its own troops under the direction of Congress)
- Major laws required approval of 9 out of 13 states to pass



The Articles of Confederation, ratified in 1781, limited the power of the national government. How did these limits create obstacles for the national government?

to pay duty could have its cargo legally seized. This law was intended to keep Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts businesses from competing with those in Virginia. Such barriers to trade created major obstacles to economic development in the young country.

The absence of a national court system also added to the weakness of the national government. The lack of national courts meant that the government was forced to rely on state courts to enforce national laws. In addition, Congress had no powers to force states to obey the laws it passed.

Efforts to strengthen Congress's powers to deal with important problems often failed because amendments to the Articles required the approval of all the states. In other words, just one state could block approval of an amendment.

Obstacles to Unity Resurface

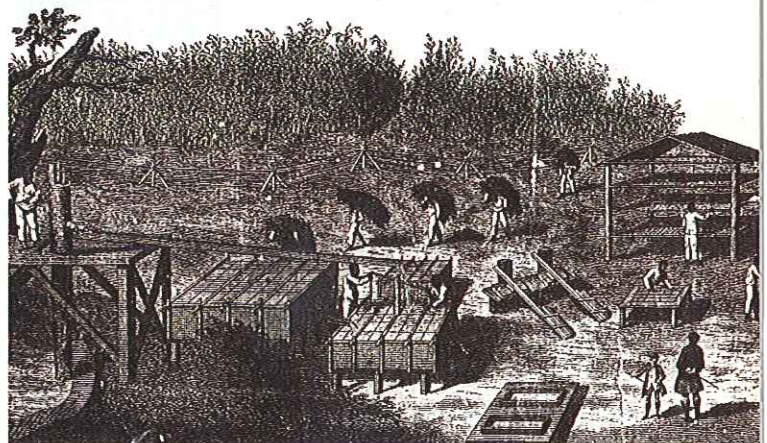
The weaknesses of the Articles made unity among the states difficult. As noted in Section 2, differences among the colonies had been obstacles to unity before the Revolutionary War. Although the colonies had temporarily put aside many of their

differences to unite against Great Britain, these cultural, economic, and geographic obstacles resurfaced after the war.

Cultural Differences Although many citizens of the new nation had a common language and ancestry, their beliefs—particularly religious ones—and ways of life often varied from state to state. Domination by a particular religious group varied from colony to colony. For example, while the Baptist Church was strongest in Rhode Island and North Carolina, the Presbyterian Church had the most members in New Jersey and Delaware. In addition, although around 48 percent of the colonists were from England, settlers had also come from Germany, France, and Sweden. Cultural differences raised concerns about a union that tied states too closely together. Many people feared that a strong unified government might force some groups to give up their beliefs.

Economic Differences Important economic differences from colonial years also were evident in the new nation. States feared that the economic interests of certain regions would win unfair advantages under a strong national government.

Slavery was a divisive economic as well as cultural issue. Southern plantation owners used slaves to work their fields. Many people, particularly in the states where slavery was illegal, opposed this practice. They believed that slavery violated the principles on which the nation was founded, especially the need to protect the natural rights of all



POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS This painting from the 1700s shows slaves bringing indigo in from the fields. Colonists had conflicting views on the practice of slavery. What principle did many people believe slavery violated?

human beings. Southern states thus feared that their economic livelihood would suffer under a strong national government that opposed slavery.

Geographic Isolation The size of the new nation also made it difficult to form ties among the states. Transportation between northern and southern states was not easy or quick. (See “Linking Government and Geography,” page 27.)

Pressure for Stronger Government

The relative independence of the various states posed many problems for the young nation. Some states refused to pay taxes to the national government, obey laws passed by Congress, and respect terms of foreign treaties. In fact, some states negotiated directly with foreign powers. Some states even formed their own armed services. These problems led many people to believe that a strong national government posed far less of a threat to the public good than did a weak government that could not unify the country or enforce the law.

In September 1786, representatives from Virginia organized a convention in Annapolis, Maryland, to try to resolve some of the differences among the states. Only five states—Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—

attended the Annapolis Convention, but the delegates determined that a future meeting should be called to consider changes to the Articles. The convention called for all of the states to send representatives to Philadelphia in May 1787.

An armed rebellion in Massachusetts later in 1786 was further proof that a stronger national government was needed to maintain order and to protect and promote the public good of citizens in all states. The incident involved groups of armed farmers trying to prevent the state from seizing the property of people who could not pay their debts. (The Revolutionary War and economic problems afterward had left many farmers burdened by heavy debt.) The fighting came to be known as Shays’s Rebellion, named after its leader, Daniel Shays. The rebellion eventually was put down by force, but it caused some people, including George Washington, to express frustration that the new nation could win a difficult war but could not keep order in peacetime.

As a result, by early 1787 several states had already chosen delegates for the May meeting. Shays’s Rebellion also had forced the national Congress to officially recognize the need for a meeting among the states. Officials declared, however, that the meeting in Philadelphia was “for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.” No mention was made of writing a new constitution.

SECTION 3

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: Articles of Confederation, ratification, Northwest Ordinance.
2. What powers did the Articles of Confederation give the national government?
3. How did the states limit the powers of the national government under the Articles?
4. How did cultural, economic, and geographic problems make unity among the states difficult after the Revolutionary War?
5. What was Shays’s Rebellion? How did it highlight weaknesses of the national government under the Articles?

6. Thinking and Writing Critically

What do you think would have happened if the Northwest Ordinance had not required that new states be admitted to the Union as equals to the original states? What might it be like today if the original 13 states had more say in how the national government makes decisions than the other states?

7. Applying **POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS**



Conduct an Internet search to find information about colonial settlements in North America. List the reason each was founded, if available. Where was each located? Does the site list resources of each colony?

SECTION 4

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Political Dictionary

Virginia Plan
New Jersey Plan
Great Compromise



Objectives

- ★ Who were the delegates to the Constitutional Convention?
- ★ What major competing plans of government did the convention delegates debate?
- ★ What were some of the compromises reached by the delegates?

On May 25, 1787, delegates met in Philadelphia to consider establishing a stronger national government for the 13 states. As the delegates arrived in the city, Philadelphia newspapers trumpeted their arrival, printing their names and political honors. Many in the city were proud that Philadelphia had been chosen as the site for the meeting, instead of New York City, where Congress met.

At the time, the delegates' home states did not attribute as much significance to the Convention as people would later. For example, the states provided limited financial support. Many delegates ran into debt at the boardinghouses where they were staying. At one difficult point during the Convention, a delegate suggested that his colleagues begin each day with a prayer. Another delegate responded that the Convention lacked the money to pay a minister.

Nonetheless, the Convention proceeded through the hottest Philadelphia summer in 30 years. The windows were kept closed, shutting out swarms of flies and shutting in the Convention's discussions.

Delegates worked in secrecy, hoping to ensure free and open debate without interference from outsiders.

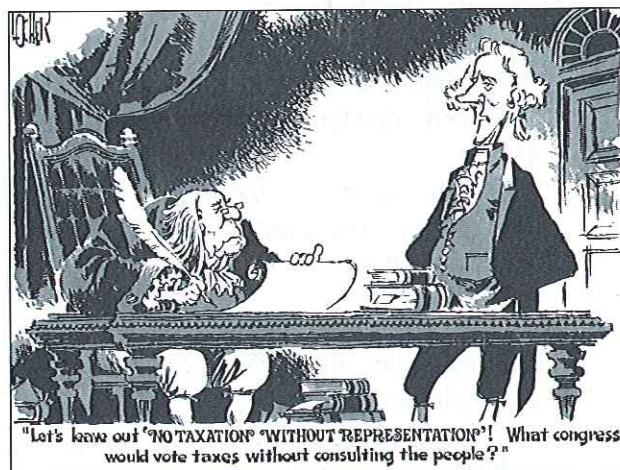
The delegates worked for four months, considering different plans of government. Who were these delegates? How did they finally piece together a plan for a new, stronger national government?

The Delegates

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention included many of the country's most distinguished leaders and political thinkers. Of the 55 delegates, 8 had signed the Declaration of Independence, 7 had been in the First Continental Congress, and 7 had been state governors. Most were wealthy and college-educated. Many would go on to become officials in the national government.

Among the best-known delegates were George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton. Washington was unanimously named chairman of the convention. His participation added a great deal of distinction to the gathering. Franklin was a respected scientist and philosopher. Hamilton had fought in the Revolution and served as a delegate in the Continental Congress.

Some other well-known leaders were absent. Thomas Jefferson was in Europe as a U.S. representative to France. Others, such as Patrick Henry from Virginia, declined to attend the Convention.



CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT *The decisions made by the framers of the Constitution have had a lasting influence on the role of government in this country. What might have happened if some of the key limits placed on government had been left out of the Constitution?*

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They were suspicious that the delegates were plotting to create a powerful central government. Henry, for one, said that he “smelt a rat.”

Perhaps the most important delegate to the convention was James Madison of Virginia. Madison is sometimes called the “father of the Constitution.” The notes he took during the Convention became the main record of what went on during the gathering. Madison prepared himself for the Convention by studying books about history and politics. Jefferson even sent him hundreds of books from Paris.

Rival Plans

Almost as soon as the Convention began, debate moved beyond the original goal of strengthening the Articles of Confederation to one of creating a new government. Indeed, the Convention adopted a resolution calling for a national

government “to consist of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary.” Debate centered around two competing plans for the government.

Virginia Plan Madison and his fellow Virginians proposed what became known as the **Virginia Plan**. This plan called for a strong government with a bicameral legislature, a strong executive, and a judiciary, a significant change from the Articles of Confederation. Membership in the legislature would be based on a state’s population. The largest states, such as Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Maryland, would have a greater number of representatives than the smaller states.

The people would directly elect one legislative house. States would nominate candidates for the second house. The first house would then elect members to the second house from among the state nominees.

Rival Constitutional Plans	
VIRGINIA PLAN	NEW JERSEY PLAN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong executive who is chosen by legislature and carries out laws made by legislature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak executive controlled by legislature
<p style="text-align: center;">EXECUTIVE BRANCH</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bicameral legislature • Membership based on state’s population • First house elected by the people • Second house elected by first house from among candidates nominated by states 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong unicameral legislature • Each state represented equally with one vote apiece • Representatives chosen by state legislatures
<p style="text-align: center;">LEGISLATIVE BRANCH</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A judiciary that includes a supreme court and lower courts and is elected by legislature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A supreme court with justices named by legislature
<p style="text-align: center;">JUDICIAL BRANCH</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To levy taxes • To make national laws • To regulate trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To levy taxes • To regulate trade
<p style="text-align: center;">POWERS OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT</p>	

Two competing plans for a national government emerged from the Constitutional Convention. What are the major differences in the two plans?

Careers in Government



National Park Ranger

When you think of park rangers, you probably envision uniformed men and women patrolling the nation's forests, canyons, and mountainsides and protecting its natural resources. Indeed, this is the role of many park rangers across the country. The National Park System, however, also includes sites of historical importance. National parks are a key part of the effort to preserve the natural and cultural heritage of the United States.

For example, at Philadelphia's Independence National Historical Park, where "the shrines of American liberty" are preserved and showcased, park rangers guide visitors through 24 historic sites daily. The park's centerpiece and most popular attraction is Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776 and the Constitution was written in 1787. Park



A park ranger at the Independence National Historical Park reads the inscription on the Liberty Bell to tourists.

rangers at Independence National Historical Park are responsible for providing visitors with information about the historical significance of the site as well as for keeping visitors safe and preserving the national treasures in the park.

At Independence National Historical Park, approximately 75 park rangers are employed in the area of "interpretive work." Their job is interpreting history, primarily by giving historical tours. These rangers usually bring with them an interest in U.S. history, a college degree in a field such as history, and several years of experience working as a seasonal park employee or a museum guide. Another 25 rangers are responsible for law enforcement in the park. Their job is to protect the park's resources and manage the public's use of the park.

There is a great deal of competition for park ranger jobs. Having knowledge of several different subjects—such as U.S. history, behavioral sciences, botany, geology, and forestry—is a great advantage. Park rangers employed in the area of historical interpretation must have good communication skills, because they spend much of their time providing information.

Rangers must be willing to relocate often and to work at several different parks in order to move to higher-level positions in prime locations. Entry-level positions may involve keeping the park clean, working at an information desk, giving tours, and collecting entrance fees. Higher-level jobs often require giving lectures, setting up exhibits, and managing park resources. If you think this is the career for you, the best way to start is to volunteer at a historic site in your area.

Members of both the executive and judicial branches would be chosen by the legislature. The executive would carry out the laws passed by the legislature. The judiciary would include a national court system. Both branches would check the power of the legislative branch.

The national government would have the power to levy taxes, to make laws for the whole nation, and to regulate trade. The national government could reject state laws that violated national laws.

And, in contrast to Congress under the Articles, the national government could force states to obey national laws.

New Jersey Plan Some delegates who feared that the states would lose too much power under the Virginia Plan presented a counterproposal, the **New Jersey Plan** (although not all its authors were from New Jersey). This plan also called for a national government with legislative, executive, and

judicial branches. (See the chart on page 36.) Also like the Virginia Plan, the New Jersey Plan gave the national government the power to tax and the power to regulate trade across state lines.

The New Jersey Plan, however, called for the states to have a stronger role in the national government. In contrast to the Virginia Plan, the New Jersey Plan called for a unicameral legislature in which each state would be represented equally with one vote apiece. This was similar to the structure of the Congress under the Articles of Confederation. Representatives to the national legislature would be chosen by the state legislatures. There would be no house in which members were elected directly by the people.

On June 19, after only three days of debate over which of the two proposals should serve as the basis for further discussion, the delegates took a vote. Votes were by state delegation, not by individual delegates. Seven state delegations voted for the Virginia Plan, while only three voted for the New Jersey Plan. The other delegations were either split or did not vote.

The Great Compromise

Despite the strong vote for the Virginia Plan, the question of state representation in the new national legislature was not yet resolved. Small states wanted a government that gave them power equal to the large states. Success of the prospective new government depended on reaching a compromise. The delegates therefore debated the issue for another long, hot, and difficult month.

Finally, the delegates hammered out an agreement that borrowed elements from both the Virginia and New Jersey Plans. The agreement, first called the Connecticut Plan, came to be known as the **Great Compromise**. Adopted on July 16, 1787, this compromise called for a bicameral legislature. Representation in one chamber of the legislature, the House of Representatives, would be based on population. States with larger populations

would have more representatives than states with smaller populations. Members would be elected directly by the people. This part of the compromise was borrowed from the Virginia Plan.

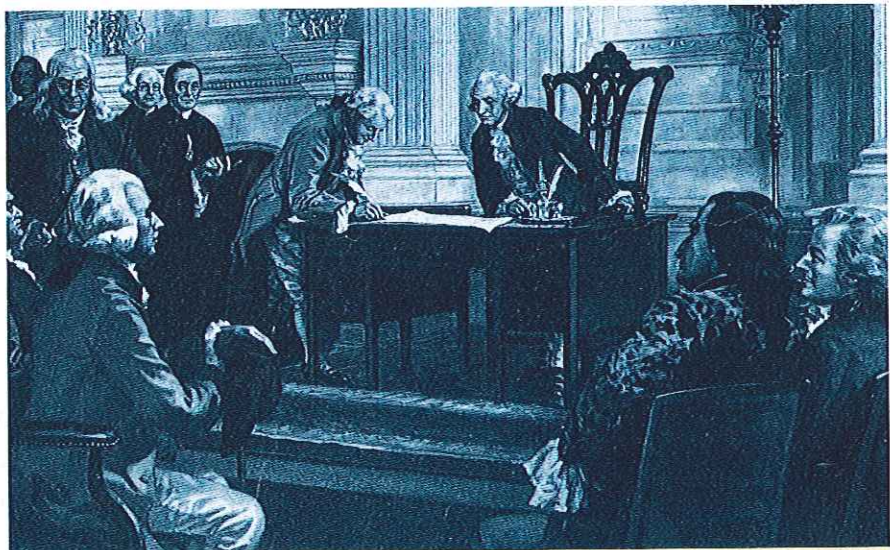
The structure of the second chamber, the Senate, was adapted from the New Jersey Plan. Each state would have two representatives in the Senate. Thus, the small states would have equal footing with the large states in one half of the legislature. Senators were to be elected by state legislatures. Both the House of Representatives and the Senate would have to approve legislation by majority votes for it to become law.

Settling Other Issues

The Great Compromise resolved the major issues dividing the Convention. The delegates then turned to other difficult issues. What emerged from their efforts has been called a “bundle of compromises.”

Slavery Slavery continued to be a divisive issue. Although slavery was banned in some northern states, slaves made up a considerable part of the southern states’ populations. Southern delegates wanted slaves to be counted as part of each state’s population, because doing so would increase their state’s representation in the new House of Representatives.

Some delegates, mostly from the North, believed that slavery was evil and violated the natural rights



CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT *The signing of the Constitution took place after almost four months of discussion and debate among the delegates. What were the major issues on which delegates agreed to compromise?*

of human beings. Many of these delegates argued that because slaves had no legal rights, they should not be counted in a state's population. In addition, many of the northern delegates hoped to limit the size of the South's representation.

Although some other delegates opposed slavery, they realized that a compromise was necessary to win support of southern states for the new Constitution. In fact, some southern delegates made it clear that the resolution of the issue on whether to include slaves in a state's population would be critical in their states' decisions to join the new Union.

The delegates finally agreed to count each slave—for the purpose of determining a state's representation in Congress—as three fifths of a free person. This compromise quieted the debate over slavery—for a time. Over the next several decades, however, the issue of slavery would again challenge the young country's unity and test its citizens' belief in the natural rights of human beings.

Trade Slavery also was part of the debate over trade issues. Southerners feared that Congress would use its legislative powers to make importing slaves into the United States illegal. In addition, southern delegates wanted to prohibit Congress from passing taxes on exports. The agricultural economies of southern states depended heavily on exported goods.

The Convention compromised on the issue of slavery by deciding that Congress could not ban the importation of slaves before 1808. In

addition, Congress could not tax goods that were exported to other countries.

The Presidency The delegates also were split over the issue of the nation's chief executive. Some delegates believed that the president should be elected directly by the people. Other delegates wanted the president to be chosen by the states or by the national legislature.

The delegates decided on a system in which the president would be chosen by state electors. The number of a state's electors would match the number of its representatives in both houses of Congress. Many delegates assumed that state legislatures would choose the electors, but they permitted states to choose electors by popular vote. If no presidential candidate received a majority of electoral votes from the states, the House of Representatives would choose the president.

Finalizing the Constitution

The Convention delegates finished their work on the Constitution in August 1787. On September 17, most of the delegates signed the document. Those who did not sign either had already gone home or else opposed the proposed national government. In his closing remarks to the Convention, Benjamin Franklin noted that George Washington's chair had a sun on its back. Franklin had wondered frequently whether this was a rising or a setting sun. Having seen the Convention's work, he was now convinced it was a rising sun.

SECTION 4

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: Virginia Plan, New Jersey Plan, Great Compromise.
2. Why was George Washington's presence important to the Constitutional Convention? What was James Madison's role in the Convention?
3. How did the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan each propose to structure the new national legislature?
4. How did delegates compromise on the issues of state representation in Congress, slavery, trade, and the presidency?

5. Thinking and Writing Critically

In what ways did the compromises concerning slavery represent a contradiction of the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence?

6. Applying **POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS**

Imagine that you are one of the delegates attending the Constitutional Convention. Write a one-or two-paragraph diary entry regarding the proceedings. Describe the atmosphere of the Convention, your surroundings, and some of your fellow delegates.

SECTION 5

RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION

Political Dictionary



Federalist
Antifederalist

Objectives

- ★ What were the main arguments in the debate over ratification of the Constitution?
- ★ What role did a bill of rights play in the debate?
- ★ Which key states were among the last to ratify the Constitution?

The battle to create a new government did not end with the signing of the Constitution. First, nine states had to ratify the document in special constitutional conventions, and the outcome of the ratification process was by no means certain. Both supporters and opponents of the Constitution prepared for ratification battles in each state.

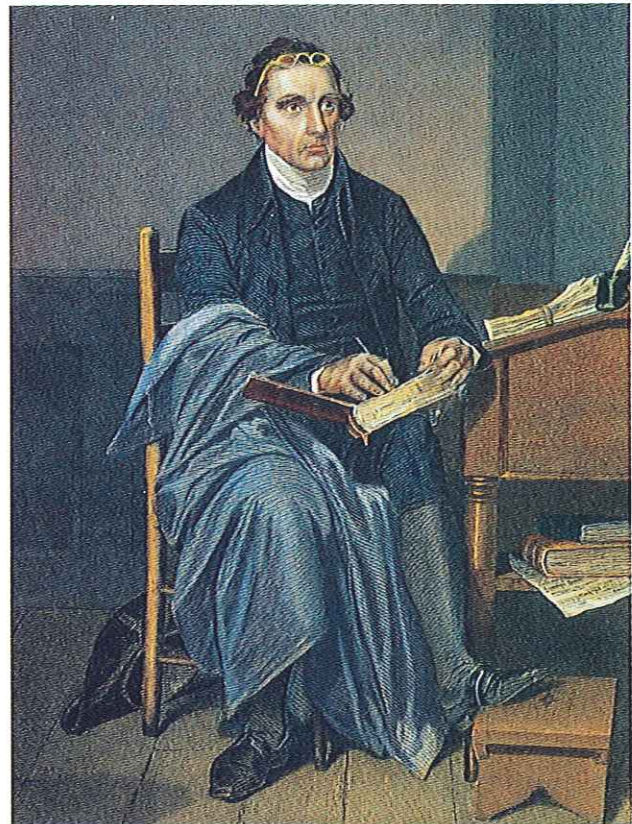
Federalists and Antifederalists

Supporters of the new Constitution were called **Federalists** because they supported a stronger, federal form of government. Opponents of the Constitution were called **Antifederalists**. The Antifederalists were particularly strong in New York and Virginia. Without the support of these two key states, the battle for ratification would be more difficult.

Antifederalists Patrick Henry of Virginia was among the most famous Antifederalists. He and other Antifederalists argued that if the Constitution were ratified the national government would become too powerful. They believed that a popular government could exist only in a small territory. Popular government in a larger territory, such

as the United States, would be too difficult because of the many competing interests. A large territory with a popular government would have to be held together by force, which would restrict people's freedom. In addition, Antifederalists were concerned that a strong executive would be too similar to a monarch. Such a strong executive, they argued, would be a danger to representative government and to individual rights.

One of the Antifederalists' strongest criticisms was that the Constitution lacked something that every state constitution adopted after independence—a bill of rights that proclaimed individual rights that government could not ignore or deny. Antifederalists argued that the absence of a bill of rights from the new Constitution was dangerous. They believed that without such a bill, the document would create a powerful national government that could easily become unjust. Some also stated that adopting the Constitution without a bill of rights would cancel any previously



The Granger Collection, New York

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT Patrick Henry, a famous Antifederalist from Virginia, thought the Constitution would create a national government that was too powerful. Why did the Antifederalists argue against a strong executive?

held laws or customs that protected individual rights. As influential Antifederalist Richard Henry Lee wrote:

“There are certain rights which we have always held sacred in the United States, and recognized in all our constitutions, and which, by the adoption of the new Constitution in its present form, will be left unsecured. . . . It is to be observed that when the people shall adopt the proposed Constitution, it will be their last and supreme act; . . . and wherever this Constitution, or any part of it, shall be incompatible with their ancient customs, rights, the laws or the constitutions heretofore established in the United States, it will entirely abolish them and do them away.”

Federalists The Federalists responded to these charges by arguing that the separate powers belonging to each branch of government would check those of the other branches. In this way, no single part of the government, such as the national legislature, could become too powerful and threaten the rights of the states or of the people.

As for a bill of rights, Federalists also argued that the Constitution limited the powers of the national government to those it listed. Any powers not listed were guaranteed to the states or to the people. For example, the Constitution did not give government the power to restrict freedom of speech. Federalists believed that the people have the right to free speech and that the Constitution did not need to specifically state this.

Ratification

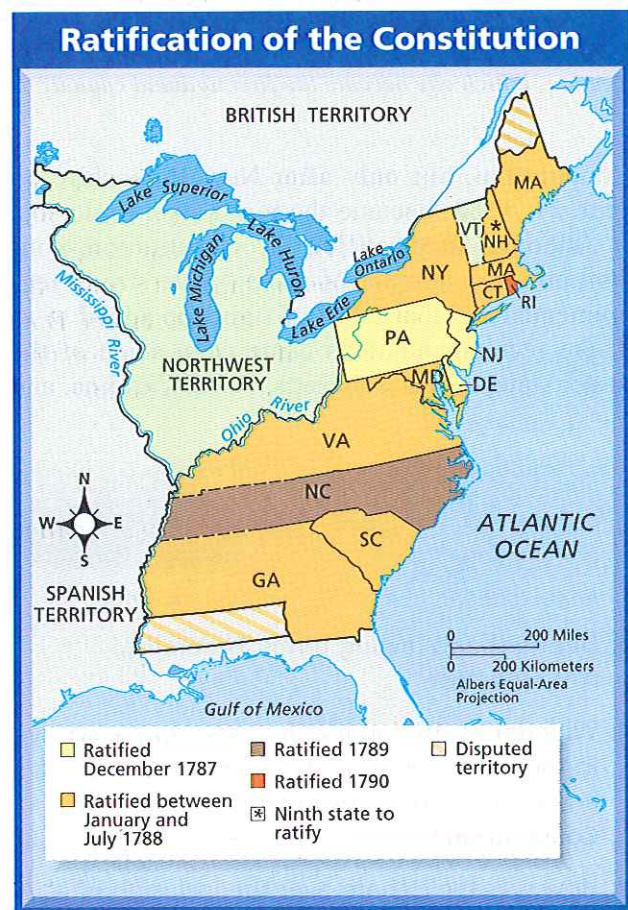
Many opponents to ratification argued that the Constitution favored large states, but a small state was first to ratify it. On December 7, 1787, those attending Delaware’s convention voted unanimously to ratify the Constitution. Many people in Delaware and other small states believed that the Constitution and its call for equal state representation in the Senate would adequately protect their interests against those of larger states.

Virginia and New York, however, were deeply split over ratification. Many people in each state thought that the Constitution gave the national

government too much power. Virginia and New York were important because of their size, location, and population.

Patrick Henry and James Madison, both well-respected leaders, led opposite sides of the debate in Virginia. During the heated ratification process in New York, Alexander Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay wrote 85 newspaper articles supporting the Constitution. The series of articles came to be called the *Federalist Papers*. The articles appeared under the name Publius, one of the founders of the Roman Republic.

The authors hoped that the articles would persuade people to support ratification. In fact, to have more time to win over opponents, Federalists repeatedly delayed a vote in the New York convention. The strategy worked. Opposition to ratification in New York gradually weakened as other state conventions ratified the Constitution. Virginia and New York finally ratified the



Nine states had to ratify the Constitution before it could be adopted. Which state was the ninth to ratify the Constitution?



CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT In this nineteenth-century engraving, New York celebrates the ratification of the Constitution with a parade. New York was an important state in the ratification of the Constitution because of its size and location. Which city became the first national capital?

Constitution, but only after New Hampshire on June 21, 1788, became the ninth state to do so.

Although they ratified the Constitution, conventions in a number of states made strong recommendations that a bill of rights be added to it. These recommendations came from some of the larger states—Massachusetts, North Carolina, and

Virginia—which had been closely divided over whether to ratify. To secure the passage of the Constitution, the Federalists promised that in the first Congress a bill of rights would be passed that covered the concerns of the states.

North Carolina ratified the Constitution in November 1789, while Rhode Island held out until May 1790. Their actions came long after the new government had settled in at the temporary national capital of New York City. The first Congress under the new U.S. Constitution had met in New York on March 4, 1789. George Washington had been sworn in as the nation's first president on April 30, 1789.

Philadelphia held a celebration in honor of the new Constitution on July 4, 1788. A ship called the *Rising Sun*

fired its cannon to salute the occasion. After parading through the city, huge crowds heard convention delegate James Wilson lead 10 toasts. The crowd toasted “the people of the United States” and “the whole family of mankind.” After observing the festivities, Philadelphian Dr. Benjamin Rush wrote, “’Tis done. We have become a nation.”

SECTION 5


REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: Federalist, Antifederalist.
2. Why did Antifederalists fear a strong executive in the new government? How did Federalists answer the arguments against the new Constitution?
3. How was the debate over the inclusion of a bill of rights in the Constitution resolved?
4. Locate New York and Virginia on the map on page 41. Why was their ratification of the Constitution important?

5. Thinking and Writing Critically

Delaware was the first state to ratify the Constitution. What advantages did the Constitution provide to the small states? Do you think Delaware's situation was better under the Articles of Confederation? Why or why not?

6. Applying **CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT**

 Conduct an Internet search to determine the exact date each state ratified the Constitution. Draw a time line showing the order in which the states ratified the Constitution.

SECTION 1

English settlers brought the ideals of limited and representative government with them to the 13 colonies. The ideal of limited government was established by Magna Carta, signed by King John in 1215, which limited the monarch's power and established the rule of law in England. The ideal of representative government was put forth in the bicameral legislature, called Parliament. The Petition of Right and the English Bill of Rights further limited the power. The ideals of limited and representative government were crucial to the development of colonial government and, later, those in the states.

SECTION 2

Although many people in the colonies shared these ideals, early efforts at cooperation among the colonies had limited success. There were several obstacles to unity. Colonies formed for different reasons. In addition, varying economies, climate, and geography led to differences among the colonies. The colonies did make some early attempts at unity, however, through the New England Confederation and the Albany Plan of Union. Eventually, anger over British trade and tax policies helped unite the colonies. Delegates met at the First Continental Congress to protest British policies and send King George III the Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress. The British tightened control over the colonies further, and the colonies declared independence in 1776.

SECTION 3

The newly independent states' desire for a weak national government led to the Articles of Confederation. There were several weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation that caused problems for the new union, however. The national government's powers were extremely limited—there was no executive branch or national court system; there were no officials to enforce laws; and there was no power to tax, to regulate trade, or to establish national armed forces. In addi-

tion, major laws required approval of 9 out of 13 states.

The states also faced cultural, economic, and geographic differences. The beliefs and ways of life varied a great deal from state to state. In addition, the size of the nation made it difficult to form ties among the states.

The many weaknesses of the Articles, as well as the fear that the states would not stay united, led to calls for a stronger national government.

SECTION 4

Delegates from nearly all the states met in Philadelphia in 1787 to revise the Articles of Confederation. Delegates, however, moved quickly toward creating a new, stronger national government. The delegates debated two rival plans—the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan. The Constitutional Convention finally adopted a compromise plan that included a bicameral legislature, a strong executive, and a judiciary.

SECTION 5

The ratification debate divided the public into two camps. Antifederalists argued that the Constitution would create a government that threatened the rights of the states and the people. Federalists countered that the Constitution would protect those rights and was necessary to hold the nation together. All the states eventually ratified the Constitution.

**Government Notebook**

Review the list of rights and freedoms held by U.S. citizens that you wrote in your Government Notebook at the beginning of this chapter. Now that you have studied the chapter, can you identify the origins of these rights and freedoms? Write the sources next to each item on your list.

REVIEW

REVIEWING CONCEPTS

1. How did the need for common defense and anger over British policies affect colonial cooperation?
2. Explain which key documents limited the power of the English monarchs and how they did so.
3. Compare the arguments of Federalists and Antifederalists.
4. How were colonial and state governments influenced by the ideals of limited and representative government?
5. Why was unity among the states difficult under the Articles of Confederation? How did the Constitution address the weaknesses of the Articles?
6. What role did compromise play in the Constitutional Convention?

THINKING AND WRITING CRITICALLY



1. **CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT** What do you think would have happened to the individual states had the Constitution not been ratified? Would they have stayed united? Why?
2. **PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY** What kind of government do you think best protects citizens' natural rights: a stronger one similar to that under the Constitution or a weaker one similar to that under the Articles of Confederation? Explain your answer.
3. **PUBLIC GOOD** Do you think that the Great Compromise made during the Constitutional Convention promoted the public good? Explain your answer.

CITIZENSHIP IN YOUR COMMUNITY



One of the ideals on which the U.S. Constitution is based is federalism, or the distribution of power and responsibility among the federal, state, and local governments. Research how responsibilities, such as funding for public schools, are shared by your state and local governments. Create a chart showing how these responsibilities are distributed. In the first column, list the responsibilities you identified in your research. In the second, indicate which level of government assumes each responsibility. In the third, briefly explain how each responsibility affects you and other members of your community.

INDIVIDUAL PORTFOLIO PROJECT



Imagine that it is 1787 and you have been chosen to organize a debate on ratification of the Constitution. You must invite three of the key leaders at the time—such as James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton—to take part on each side of the issue. Prepare a debate program that lists the time of the debate, the participants, and a short biography of each. The biographies should include the participants' positions on the issue, their professions, and their life accomplishments. Make sure the program is neatly written or typed.

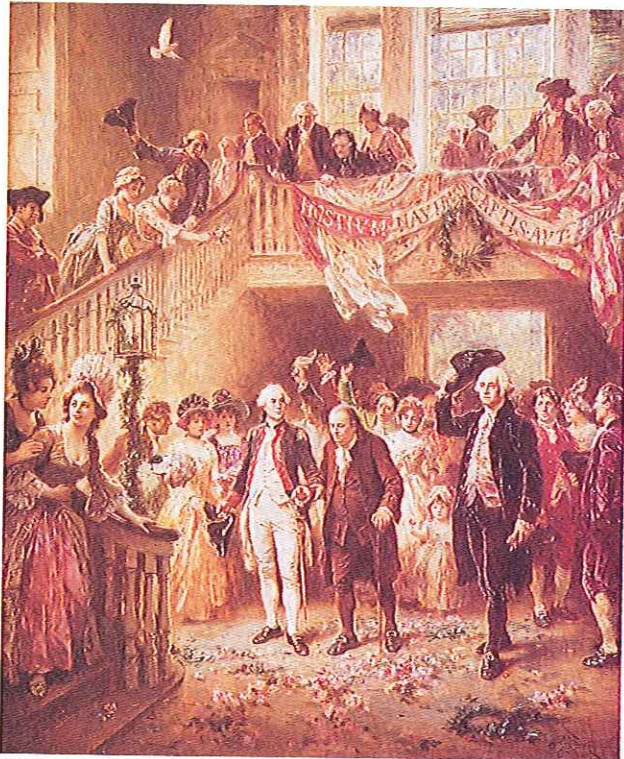
PRACTICING SKILLS: LEARNING FROM PICTURES



Study the details of the painting on the opposite page. Visual evidence is important to understanding both an event and its time period. Determine what the people in the painting are doing and

how they are feeling. Analyze the artist's point of view by determining which details of the event are emphasized or left out.

Write a two- or three-paragraph report describing the events portrayed in the painting. Include answers to the following questions: What details reveal the mood of the people in this painting? Can you identify any of the key leaders at the Constitutional Convention? Do you think that the artist's interpretation is an accurate one? Why or why not?



THE INTERNET: LEARNING ONLINE



Conduct an Internet search for information about the Declaration of Independence, Magna Carta, and other documents that reflect the ideals of limited and representative government. You might start with search words such as *Declaration of Independence*, *Magna Carta*, *democracy*, and *bill of rights*. Web sites for major libraries, such as the Library of Congress, also provide information on these documents. Create a brochure describing how citizens could use the Internet to learn about these documents. Your brochure should include the addresses of sites you find and brief descriptions of the information available at those sites.

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES



THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

As you have read, the *Federalist Papers* is a series of newspaper articles written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. The essays were written in defense of the Constitution to gain support for its ratification. Read the following excerpt from Madison's essay "No. 51" and answer the questions that follow.

“If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige [require] it to control itself. A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary [additional] precautions. . . .

The constant aim is to divide and arrange the several offices in such a manner as that each may be a check on the other. . . . But it is not possible to give to each department an equal power of self-defense. In republican government, the legislative authority necessarily predominates [has the most power]. The remedy for this inconvenience is to divide the legislature into different branches; and to render [make] them, by different modes [methods] of election and different principles of action, as little connected with each other as the nature of their common functions and their common dependence on the society will admit.”

1. According to Madison, where does the “great difficulty” lie when a nation is constructing a government system?
2. What “auxiliary precautions” do you think should be taken to restrict government? Explain your answer.
3. According to Madison, which branch of the government necessarily has the most power in a republican government? Why?