

UNIT 2

The American Founding

1763–1789

30-40-minute classes | 35-39 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

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Why Teach the American Founding

The beginning is the most important part of any endeavor, for a small change at the beginning will result in a very different end. How much truer this is of the most expansive of human endeavors: founding and sustaining a free country. The United States of America has achieved the greatest degree of freedom and prosperity for the greatest proportion of any country's population in the history of humankind. How is it that the common American's pursuit of happiness has resulted in such exceptional outcomes over time? This phenomenon compels mindful young Americans to seek to understand how their nation has achieved such results. And America's youth could find no greater source of understanding than the history of their country's founding, starting with their forefathers' ideas, words, and deeds.

Enduring Ideas from this Unit

1. The United States is unprecedented in establishing its existence not on grounds of racial origin nor family privilege but on ideas asserted to be true of all people at all times: namely, on the equal human dignity of each person.
2. America was founded on the view that government should be controlled by the people themselves and limited to the purpose of protecting each person's natural rights and fostering the common good.
3. Regular, ordinary Americans of everyday means sacrificed their security and very lives to defend these truths about human beings and civic life against a tyranny of the most powerful nation of its day.
4. The United States Constitution's chief quality is that it allows the people to govern themselves with respect for the dignity of each person while both channeling and restraining the natural ambition of human beings to gain power and recognition.
5. The Constitution is a carefully wrought and considered document, and its original intent and structure should be honored both for the sake of our forebears, to whom we and the world owe our freedom and prosperity, and because the events of the last two hundred years have proven the Constitution's remarkable achievements time and time again.

What Teachers Should Consider

The United States of America is unprecedented in many ways in the course of human history, but most significantly in the opportunity all its citizens have to pursue unmatched conditions of freedom, security, and prosperity. The country owes its unprecedented success to an unprecedented founding, a beginning forged and canonized in the Declaration of Independence, the War of Independence, and the U.S. Constitution.

And yet, never have so many Americans known so little about this founding. As for love of country, one cannot love (or even consider loving) what one does not know.

The teaching of the American founding is perhaps the most necessary series of lessons a teacher can share with his or her students if those students intend to enjoy the benefits of living in America for the duration of their lives.

With this in mind, a teacher ought to take special care to learn the history and ideas of the American founding. Ambiguity in the teacher's own understanding, or assumptions derived from anywhere but careful scholarship and a deep reading of America's founding documents, will leave him or her unprepared to help students understand this history accurately.

The teacher might best open the unit with lessons aimed at understanding why the colonists declared independence in the first place. It was not to avoid paying taxes or about wanting to preserve slavery. (These are misconceptions at best, distortions at worst.) It was to choose—between liberty under self-government and servitude under tyranny. Class may proceed at a brisk pace through the years 1763–1776, touching on the many acts of the British and respective colonial responses to those acts. Spend time on the conflicts and battles; students should chart the gradual shift in public sentiment toward independence.

The Declaration of Independence itself deserves careful study. Such lessons may begin with stories of the writing of the Declaration. Students should read parts of the document aloud together in class, and teachers can foster extensive conversations about what it says, what it means, and why it says it. The majority of the conversation should dwell on the first, second, and final paragraphs of the Declaration. Understanding what is meant by those words is pivotal to understanding American history, what makes America an exceptional nation, and the responsibilities every American citizen has. The list of grievances should be discussed in light of the previous history that led to the Declaration.

The American War of Independence should be taught so as to fill the moral imaginations of students with images of the heroic characters and actions of its American participants. Strategy, battles, and the general arc of the war should be taught in detail, punctuated with accounts of the key moments and figures who contributed to America's ultimate victory. The ideas for which the War of Independence was fought are matched in the American memory only by the stories of those who fought for them.

When teaching the aftermath of the War of Independence up to the Constitutional Convention, teachers should make clear that America's foray into governing itself entirely independent of Great Britain initially trended toward abject failure. The Articles of Confederation ordered public affairs in a reactionary rather than prudent manner. Students should understand that the Constitutional Convention, in many respects, saved the country from another sort of tyranny: majority tyranny.

Finally, the Constitutional Convention and the Constitution itself should be studied in tandem and in detail. Students should consider carefully the Framers' intentions in how they constructed the Constitution. Students should understand that nothing in the Constitution was haphazardly decided. Given the unprecedented long-term success of the Constitution, students should appreciate that any changes to the Constitution warrant careful and complete understanding of why the Framers crafted it the way they did, as explained in their own words.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay
A Short History of the American Revolution, James Stokesbury
The Glorious Cause, Robert Middlekauff
We Still Hold These Truths, Matthew Spalding

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Civil Rights in American History
Introduction to the Constitution
Constitution 101

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Wilfred McClay
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic, H.A. Guerber
The American Revolution and Constitution, Anne Goudvis and Stephanie Harvey

STUDENT RESOURCES

Liberty!, Lucille Recht Penner
Meet George Washington, Joan Heilbroner
The Declaration of Independence, Elizabeth Raum
Meet Thomas Jefferson, Marvin Barrett
The American Revolution, Bruce Bliven, Jr.
The United States Constitution, Liz Sonneborn

TRADE BOOKS AND NOVELS

Liberty or Death, Betsy Maestro
Give Me Liberty!, Russell Freedman
Guns for General Washington, Seymour Reit
Johnny Tremain, Esther Hoskins Forbes
A New Nation, Betsy Maestro
A More Perfect Union, Betsy Maestro
We The People, Lynne Cheney

PRIMARY SOURCES

"Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!," Patrick Henry
Common Sense, Thomas Paine
Declaration of Independence
Resignation Speech, George Washington
"Liberty and Peace," Phillis Wheatley
The United States Constitution
The Bill of Rights

**LESSON PLANS,
ACTIVITIES AND ASSIGNMENTS,
AND FORMATIVE QUIZZES**

Lesson 1 — Self-Government or Tyranny

1763–1776

9-10 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how new British exertions of authority over the colonists led to the Declaration of Independence.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Liberty!

Pages 6–17, 26–31, 35

Meet George Washington

Pages 1–35

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition

Chapter 5

The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic

Pages 68–80

The American Revolution and Constitution

Pages 12–28, 34–50

Trade Books

Liberty or Death

Give Me Liberty!

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students look at the painting *Spirit of '76* and describe what the “spirit of 1776” was in a few sentences.

Assignment 2: Students pre-read *Liberty!*, pages 6–17, 26–31, and 35 (based on grade level reading ability).

Assignment 3: Students pre-read *Meet George Washington*, pages 1–35 (based on grade level reading ability).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Boston
Philadelphia
Independence Hall

Lexington and Concord
Ticonderoga

Persons

George III
George Washington
Crispus Attucks
Paul Revere
Samuel Adams
Benjamin Franklin

Patrick Henry
John Adams
Abigail Adams
Ethan Allen
Thomas Paine
Thomas Jefferson

Terms and Topics

self-government
representation
consent
French and Indian War
Proclamation of 1763
Sons of Liberty
Declaratory Act
Boston Massacre
Boston Tea Party

Intolerable Acts
First Continental Congress
Minutemen
Battles of Lexington & Concord
Siege of Fort Ticonderoga
Second Continental Congress
Continental Army
Battle of Bunker Hill
Liberation of Boston

Primary Sources

“Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!” Patrick Henry
Common Sense, Thomas Paine

To Know by Heart

“Appeal to Heaven”
“Don’t Tread On Me”
“Give me liberty or give me death!” — Patrick Henry
“I am no more a Virginian, but an American!” — Patrick Henry
“Paul Revere’s Ride,” Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
“One if by land, two if by sea.”
“The shot heard round the world.”
“Concord Hymn” — Ralph Waldo Emerson
“Don’t fire till you see the whites of their eyes!” — Israel Putnam, William Prescott, or legend

Timeline

1754–1763	French and Indian War
1770	Boston Massacre
1773	Boston Tea Party
1775	Lexington and Concord
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

Images

Historical figures and events
Revolutionary era flags
Paul Revere's Engraving of Boston Harbor under occupation
Paul Revere's Engraving of the Boston Massacre
Independence Hall (exterior and interior)
Battle maps and battle scene depictions
Uniforms and arms of the Minutemen, the Continental Army soldiers, and the Redcoats
Medical equipment
Spirit of '76 painting by Archibald Willard

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson up through 1776
- Boston Massacre
- John Adams's heroic defense of the redcoats
- Boston Tea Party
- Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death!" speech
- Paul Revere's Ride
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Letters of John and Abigail Adams
- John Adams's nomination of George Washington to command the Continental Army
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston
- John Adams's nomination of Thomas Jefferson to draft the Declaration of Independence

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- Why was it good that the colonists had been allowed so much freedom to govern themselves?
- What is self-government? How was the colonists' freedom to govern themselves limited by the British?
- What was the Proclamation Line of 1763? Why were the colonists upset about it?
- What is a tax? What is it used for?
- Why were the colonists upset about new taxes?
- What were the two types of patriots? How did they resist the British differently?
- How was a boycott used by the Sons of Liberty to repeal the Stamp Act?
- How did the British try to trick the colonists into buying tea with the Tea Act?
- What did the colonists have to do for British soldiers in the colonies?
- What happened in the Boston Massacre and why?
- Why was John Adams's defense of the redcoats after the Boston Massacre heroic?
- What happened at the Boston Tea Party and why?
- What were the Intolerable Acts and why were they called such by the colonists?

- How did the First Continental Congress unify the colonies?
- How did the Sons of Liberty alert the colonists that the British were coming before Lexington and Concord?
- What happened at the Battle of Lexington and Concord?
- What was the 'shot heard round the world' and why is it called that?
- What happened at the Siege of Fort Ticonderoga?
- Even though the Patriots lost the Battle of Bunker Hill, why did it strengthen their spirit to fight?
- What happened at the Battle of Bunker Hill?
- What was George Washington like?
- What did Thomas Paine say in his pamphlet *Common Sense*? Did it change people's minds?
- What did the Second Continental Congress do?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 77: Name one reason why the Americans declared independence from Britain.
 - Question 85: Benjamin Franklin is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

For more than 150 years, the British colonists of North America rarely quarreled with their countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic. Then in 1763, the British began to claim new control over the colonists. What followed were thirteen years of increased tension and sometimes violent clashes leading to outright war in 1775 and, in 1776, the declaring of independence by the colonists and the formation of a new country separate from British power. This decade and a half gave birth to the nation each American citizen calls home. It is imperative that American students know the people, actions, and stories that led to the founding of their country. The chief aim of teaching these fourteen years, therefore, is to help students to understand the actions by both Great Britain and the colonists that compelled the Americans to such a separation and to found a new, unprecedented kind of country.

Teachers might best plan and teach Self-Government or Tyranny with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Read aloud together with students in class the book *Liberty!*, asking questions throughout.
- By way of background, discuss with students the significance of rights and freedoms to the colonists, appealing to students' innate sense of justice and fairness. A long English tradition of possessing certain rights or freedoms to act in certain ways had been carried over to the colonies from England. In addition to these traditional guarantees by British government, the colonists had had ample time and space in which to exercise these freedoms, including by actively governing themselves. This was owing in large part to the haphazard way in which the colonies were established and the great distance between them and Great Britain. Setting up these considerations now with students will make the subsequent infringements on the colonists' rights all the more clear.
- Have students consider the issues the British in North America faced following the French and Indian War (in Europe, the Seven Years' War), namely, the risk of further conflict (and associated costs) with Native Americans as colonists moved westward, and the massive debt that Great Britain had accumulated in the late war.

- Show how Great Britain's attempted solutions to these problems (prohibiting colonial expansion and the sudden enforcement of lax tax laws) marked the first shift in the relationship between Great Britain and the colonists and heralded the end of the period of "salutary neglect," during which American colonists had grown accustomed to practicing self-government.
- Help students see the pattern that this initial shift would grow into: attempts by the British (Parliament and, to a certain extent, King George III) to exert more control, alternating with American resistance to what they argued were infringements on their rights as Englishmen.
- Teach about the various British acts: what they were, why they were passed, how the colonists resisted, and what happened next as a consequence.
- Consider with students that self-government, or representative self-government, was at the heart of the issue. Emphasize that this was not merely a nice-sounding phrase. Instead, the colonists gradually came to recognize the following as a question of liberty or tyranny: whether they were self-governed through their elected representatives or were dictated to and controlled by a distant government in which they had no consent. Make clear that this was the question: not merely whether the colonists would have representation in Parliament (it was impractical) nor whether they had to pay taxes, but whether or not people must be controlled by the will of others in government without their free consent.
- Explain how the Americans organized themselves to engage with and resist the British, a capacity born of decades of practice in self-government and a trait of American citizens for subsequent generations. In due course, the Boston Massacre impressed on public opinion the British position's semblance to tyranny.
- Emphasize for students how there were often two competing approaches to responding to British actions: one that attempted deliberation and petition, and another that resorted to destruction of property and even tarring and feathering. In the end, the former approach prevailed, resorting to arms only as necessary to defend their assertion of rights, self-government, and liberty.
- Highlight that it was the Boston Tea Party, however, that brought issues to a head, prompting the British to respond to various actions in Massachusetts with the Intolerable Acts. Help students to consider that in five separate, odious ways, these acts show how preventing a people from governing themselves in even something as simple as a tax on paper and tea can lead to tyranny if not effectively recognized and resisted.
- Spend time illustrating how it was really across 1774–75, in response to the execution of the Intolerable Acts, that specific Founding Fathers marshaled their talents and ideas, eventually leading to declaring independence and forming a new nation by summer 1776.
- Teach in some detail the open armed conflicts at Lexington and Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, and Bunker Hill. Students should learn how these battles bolstered the patriot cause and transformed public opinion in these final two years of British rule.
- Show how and why Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* proved decisive in shifting public opinion at the start of 1776.
- Finally, emphasize how the news in the spring of 1776—that the British had hired German mercenary soldiers to deploy against British-Americans, and were now selectively encouraging slave rebellions in the colonies, while the Continental Congress recommended that the colonies begin forming their own governments—were key factors in moving a majority of the state delegates at the Second Continental Congress to commission a committee to draft a potential declaration of independence.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ACTIVITIES AND ASSIGNMENTS

Activity 1: Assign each student a different event to draw from the years between the French and Indian War through the Battle of Bunker Hill. Then have students arrange themselves in the correct order of events in class and have each present briefly what they drew, the story behind it, its relationship to other scenes, and why they depicted it the way they did.

Activity 2: Have students draw maps of Boston and the surrounding area. Have students trace the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill as well as the route taken by Paul Revere. Ask plenty of questions in the process.

Assignment 1: Have students and parents complete a “Talk about History” assignment in which parents ask their child a series of questions about what they learned in history from a given lesson. Parents record the answers and the student returns to school (provided in appendix).

Assignment 2: How did the British change their treatment of the colonists after the French and Indian War? Why did they do so? (2–4 sentences)

Assignment 3: Why did the colonists argue it was unjust for Parliament to levy taxes against the colonists who had no representation in Parliament? (2–4 sentences)

Assignment 4: Retell the story of the Boston Massacre and John Adams’s role in the trial that followed (2–4 sentences).

Name _____

Date _____

Formative Quiz 1

Covering Lesson 1
10-15 minutes

MATCHING: Write the letter of each definition to the correct word it defines.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| _____ militia | A. a formal written request signed by several people |
| _____ massacre | B. a group that made laws for the colonies |
| _____ petition | C. a violent unjust killing of innocent people |
| _____ Minutemen | D. an armed body of citizens prepared for military service |
| _____ Congress | E. colonists ready to fight at a minute's notice |

SHORT ANSWER: Answer the following in complete sentences.

1. What was being stored in Concord that the British were seeking?

2. Explain the meaning of the colonists crying out “no taxation without representation.”

3. Why did John Adams defend the British soldiers in the trial after the Boston Massacre?

4. Why is the shot fired on the North Bridge in Concord, which killed the first British soldier, referred to as the “shot heard ‘round the world”?

5. Who said this quote: “The distinctions between Virginias, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian but an American”? What does it mean?

Lesson 2 — The Declaration of Independence

1776

4-5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the movement in favor of independence and about the drafting and signing of the Declaration of Independence. They also read the Declaration of Independence and engage in a seminar conversation about its contents and ideas.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

The Declaration of Independence

Meet Thomas Jefferson

Primary Sources

Chapter 5

Pages 1–28

See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition

The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic

The American Revolution and Constitution

Pages 81–82

Pages 155–160, 178–181

Trade Books

Give Me Liberty!

Liberty or Death

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Introduction to the Constitution

Constitution 101

Civil Rights in American History

Lecture 3

Lectures 1, 2, 3

Lecture 2

Lectures 1, 2, 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students pre-read *The Declaration of Independence* (based on grade level reading ability).

Assignment 2: Students pre-read *Meet Thomas Jefferson*, pages 1–28 (based on grade level reading ability).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Philadelphia
Independence Hall

Persons

Benjamin Franklin
John Adams

Thomas Jefferson

Terms and Topics

Laws of Nature and of Nature's
God
self-evident
natural rights
equality
unalienable
liberty

pursuit of happiness
consent of the governed
list of grievances
slavery
self-government
representation
Liberty Bell

Primary Sources

Declaration of Independence

To Know by Heart

“When in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

“We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.” — First two sentences of the Declaration of Independence

“And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.” — Final sentence of the Declaration of Independence

“We must all hang together or else we shall assuredly all hang separately.” — Benjamin Franklin

Timeline

July 2, 1776

Second Continental Congress votes for independence

July 4, 1776

Declaration of Independence signed

Images

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams
 Independence Hall (exterior and interior)
 Photos or facsimiles of original Declaration of Independence
 National Archives Building and Rotunda
 Jefferson Memorial
 Statue of Thomas Jefferson (Hillsdale College campus)

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- The first public reading of the Declaration of Independence at the State House Yard, the tolling of the Liberty Bell, and the removal of the royal coat of arms
- The quiet in Independence Hall when the signers realized they had committed treason in the eyes of the Crown and had started down a road that was to end in death or independence or both.

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What is the Declaration of Independence about?
- Who was the main writer of the Declaration of Independence?
- What did the Declaration of Independence do beyond stating America's independence from Britain?
- What were the consequences for signing the Declaration and why were the men so willing to sign it?
- Why did the colonists argue they were justified in breaking away from Great Britain? What wrong had Britain done to them?
- What is a "self-evident" truth?
- What does it mean that "all men are created equal"?
- What is a natural right?
- What does "unalienable" mean?
- What is liberty (or freedom) according to the founders?
- Is liberty the same thing as doing whatever you want? Why or why not?
- Why do people create government? What is it supposed to do?
- Where does the government's power come from?
- What are the people free to do if the government fails or violates its purpose?
- Why is it special that America was created based on the words of the Declaration of Independence?
- America is a country that believes in certain ideas. What are these ideas?
- On what day do we celebrate our country's independence, its "birthday"?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 8: Why is the Declaration of Independence important?
 - Question 9: What founding document said the American colonies were free from Britain?
 - Question 10: Name two important ideas from the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.
 - Question 11: The words "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" are in what founding document?

- Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?
- Question 77: Name one reason why the Americans declared independence from Britain.
- Question 78: Who wrote the Declaration of Independence?
- Question 79: When was the Declaration of Independence adopted?
- Question 81: There were 13 original states. Name five.
- Question 85: Benjamin Franklin is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 87: Thomas Jefferson is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 125: What is Independence Day?
- Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The Declaration of Independence was not merely a renunciation of dependence on Great Britain. It was, in fact, generative. It created an entity—a nation—that stood on its own, had its own existence, and was independent of other nations. Even today, it offers guiding principles that continue to shape our arguments about the nature and limits of political authority. In brief, the Declaration of Independence created and still defines the United States of America.

Like an organizational mission statement, the Declaration is an indication of the Founders' intention, a guiding star for our political life, and a benchmark for measuring our public institutions. Americans should consider all questions concerning the public sphere in light of the truths asserted in the Declaration. The Declaration of Independence should be both the beginning and end for students' understanding of their country, their citizenship, and the benefits and responsibilities of being an American.

Referring questions of our common life to the Declaration of Independence does not mean that Americans should be forced or manipulated to believe the ideas of the Declaration to be true. But this unit asks students at least to consider *whether* the Declaration's claims are true. Indeed, Thomas Jefferson and the delegates at the Second Continental Congress addressed the Declaration of Independence not only to Americans in 1776 but also to the critical judgment of American students in the 21st Century, for, as they stated, "a decent respect to the *opinions of mankind* requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation" [emphasis added]. The lasting claim of the Declaration is that there are certain *truths* about *all men* having *unalienable* rights. As a historical matter, as well, students should think about how the American founding—and the continuation of the American experiment—has succeeded or failed against its stated objectives.

Students should think about the Declaration of Independence as the foundation and even the heart of their country's existence. While a more extensive study of the Declaration should occur in later grades, including consideration of the thinkers who influenced the Founders, the historical treatment of the American Revolution deserves some conversation on the ideas of the Declaration.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Declaration of Independence with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Read aloud together with students in class the book *The Declaration of Independence*, asking questions throughout.
- Help students to see that the Founders intended to speak to them, to posit truths for their consideration and ultimate judgment. “[A] decent respect to the opinions of mankind” means that the Declaration was not merely intended as an argument about the unique situation of the colonists in 1776; the Founders submitted their claims to the judgment of all people in all times because they were asserting truths about all people in all times. This especially includes future Americans and, in this case, American students.
- Lead students through key phrases from the Declaration of Independence, especially the first and second paragraphs. Pause frequently to ask students questions.
- Help students to consider that the Founders are making assertions of the existence of objective truth by referencing “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God” and by describing the truths as “self-evident.” This abides by the first law of logic, that of contradiction, which is the basis of all reasoning and of our capacity to make sense of reality: i.e., that something cannot both be and not be at the same time in the same way. The use of the words “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God” ties truth to an external reality (nature) with fixed and reliable features (laws). “Self-evident” ties truth to fixed definitions—a “self-evident” claim is one that is true by definition of the idea in question, like the claim that a triangle has three sides. A “self-evident” truth is not merely a matter of perspective; it can be known and understood by anyone at any time.
- Ask students what the Declaration means by “all men are created equal.” For one thing, “men” means human being not males as opposed to females. Based on the totality of their writings available, the principal authors of the Declaration meant that men and women share equally in human dignity and in possession of natural rights or freedoms that are simply part of being human. A consistent application of equality would make slavery impossible—and the Second Continental Congress could scarcely have missed this point. This meaning of equality did not suggest equality in talent, property, or other accidentals to one’s humanity, qualities that are unique to a particular person and circumstance.
- Note that the mere articulation that all men are created equal was revolutionary. Compared to the degree and universality of equality we take for granted today, such a statement and contemporary limits on the principle in practice leave the Founders open to much potential criticism. For example, in general, women, men without land, and African Americans were not able to vote. But the mere fact that most men *were able* to vote was a significant departure from what was normal in the rest of the world. And even though civil equality was not universal, the statement about inherent and equal dignity of all people was unheard of at the time. Many Founders believed (and the centuries since have proven them correct) that this founding principle would allow for ever greater realizations of equality through history. In brief, were it not for the Founders’ assertion of human equality, albeit imperfectly put into practice, the kind of equality we are used to today likely would never have arisen, or certainly not from American shores.
- Ask students what the Declaration states to be the purpose of government. Students should understand the Declaration’s argument that government is created to secure the natural rights of each person.

- Ask students about the source of a government’s power. The Declaration explains that government power comes from the free consent of the people. Students should also consider the Declaration’s argument that people do not receive their rights from government, nor do they surrender their fundamental rights to it. Instead, the rights to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” are natural—they are inherent in being human—and government is delegated power by the sovereign people to secure their rights and pursue the common good. Rather than surrendering their rights to government, people create government to protect their rights. The Declaration describes these rights as “unalienable,” meaning that they cannot be relinquished or taken away, though they may be forfeited when a person violates the rights of another person, (e.g., the penalty for taking someone else’s life or liberty might be to lose your own life or liberty).
- Help students to understand what is meant by self-government: legitimate government exists to secure rights and derives its “just powers from the consent of the governed,” that is, from the citizen body. The fundamental purpose of government is clear and its powers are limited. As a result, and by design, the people have the liberty to govern themselves in most aspects of their daily lives.
- Read the list of grievances and ask students to connect some of the grievances to historical events they studied in the previous lesson. Then ask students to explain how those events violate the statements made in the first two paragraphs of the Declaration.
- Introduce the contradiction between the words of the Declaration of Independence and slavery. Talk with students about what a contradiction is and ways in which they have felt or acted in a contradictory way at home or school. The contradiction is genuine and students should rightly grapple with it. In the Constitution lesson, there will be opportunities to see how slaveholding Founders grappled with this contradiction. Here students should see how contradiction, doing both good and bad, runs through the heart of each person.
- When discussing compromises between the principled claims of the Declaration and the brutal matter of slavery, be mindful of the following:
 - Slavery was one of the few matters of disagreement among the colonial revolutionaries in their otherwise generally united challenge to England. Those who opposed slavery as well as those who favored it agreed about the growing threat of British tyranny.
 - Many of the American Founders, especially those from northern colonies, strongly opposed slavery but nevertheless accepted a temporary compromise on the issue, believing that an independent and united country would provide the best prospect for actually abolishing slavery. Without unity between northern and southern colonies, either the colonists would have lost the war, in which case slavery would simply be continued by Great Britain, or the southern colonies would have formed their own separate country, in which case the North would have no power over the South to abolish slavery. The key for the American Founders, especially those who opposed slavery, would be to continue efforts against slavery as a united country—united around the principles of the Declaration of Independence.
 - The idea that a country can be founded on a principle—rather than merely on claims of territory, tribe, or military power—is uniquely American. America’s founding principle that “all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights” was unprecedented. Almost all recognized that the statement of the principles, despite a compromise that allowed for the pre-existing institution’s continuing existence, undermined the legitimacy of slavery.

- Many northern Founders and even some slaveholding Founders recognized the hypocrisy of claiming the principle of equality in spite of the continuing institution of slavery. Nevertheless, some southern Founders did not believe this phrase to be true for slaves and therefore did not believe it was hypocritical.
- Many have understood the principle of equality as the enduring object or goal of American political life, with each generation seeking further to expand the conditions of political equality. This was the view of many Founders, as well as of Abraham Lincoln, abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, and civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr., who called the Declaration a “promissory note to which every American was to fall heir” in his 1963 “I Have a Dream” speech.
- Slavery and the subsequent inequality and violations of the rights of the descendants of slaves, as well as of women and certain immigrants, are glaring ways in which the country has fallen short of its founding idea.
- The Declaration’s principle of equality—and the persistence and bravery of Americans of all origins to sacrifice and even die insisting that the nation should live up to the principle—has led to unprecedented achievements of human equality and the protection of equal rights.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ACTIVITIES AND ASSIGNMENTS

Activity 1: Reenact with students the votes to declare independence and the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Divide students into thirteen groups representing the thirteen colonies. Have a roll call vote by colony and then invite each student to sign a replica Declaration of Independence. The purpose of this exercise is to help students understand the very real and very personal commitment the delegates made. Over the entire proceeding, remind students of the consequences that each of them would face if the revolution failed, and reinforce with them that it probably would fail and that these things probably would happen to them.

Assignment 1: Have students and parents complete a “Talk about History” assignment in which parents ask their child a series of questions about what they learned in history from a given lesson. Parents record the answers and the student returns to school (provided in appendix).

Assignment 2: Using the first lines of the Declaration of Independence, highlight with a highlighter certain key phrases and terms and then write explanations of what these phrases mean, why they were important for the colonists’ situation, and why they are important for all people at all times (4–6 sentences).

Assignment 3: Have students learn by heart and recite the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. Some grade levels can learn by heart and recite the second or final paragraph as well.

Lesson 3 — The War of Independence

1776–1783

9-10 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the major figures, common soldiers, strategy, and specific battles of the American War of Independence.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

The American Revolution
Primary Sources

Pages 63–77, 86–104, 131–147
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
The American Revolution and Constitution

Chapter 6
Pages 83–102
Pages 4, 33, 53–104,
112–121, 133–136

Trade Books & Novels

Liberty or Death
Guns for General Washington
Johnny Tremain

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 4

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students pre-read *The American Revolution*, pages 63–77, 86–104, 131–147 (based on grade level reading ability).

Assignment 2: Students pre-read *Meet George Washington*, pages 40–54 (based on grade level reading ability).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Delaware River
Valley Forge

Yorktown

Persons

George Washington
 Phillis Wheatley
 John Adams
 Abigail Adams
 Ethan Allen
 Henry Knox

Marquis de Lafayette
 Baron von Steuben
 Benedict Arnold
 John Burgoyne
 Alexander Hamilton

Terms and Topics

Patriot/Revolutionary
 Tory/Loyalist
 Continental Army
 privateer
 Brown Bess Musket
 volley
 Battle of New York
 mercenary
 Hessians
 Crossing of the Delaware
 Battle of Trenton

Betsy Ross Flag
 Yankee Doodle
 Battle of Saratoga
 guerrilla warfare
 ally
 French Treaty of Alliance
 Battle of Yorktown
 Newburgh Conspiracy
 American Cincinnatus
 Treaty of Paris

Primary Sources

Resignation Speech, George Washington
 “Liberty and Peace,” Phillis Wheatley

To Know by Heart

“These are the times that try men’s souls.” — Thomas Paine, *The Crisis*
 Yankee–Doodle, first stanza
 “George Washington,” Rosemary and Stephen Vincent Benet
 “I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.” — Nathan Hale

Timeline

(1775) 1776–1783	War of Independence
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed
Christmas, 1776	Battle of Trenton
1777–78	Winter Quarters at Valley Forge
1781 (Fall)	Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
1783	Treaty of Paris

Images

Historical figures
 Images and uniforms of British and American officers and soldiers
 Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
 Depictions of figures at various scenes and moments and in battle
 “Washington Crossing the Delaware” painting
 Betsy Ross Flag and other flags
 Maps: overall strategies, specific battles

Relevant forts
 Medical equipment
 Reenactment photos
 Washington Monument
 Statue of George Washington (Hillsdale College campus)

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- The fates of the signers of the Declaration of Independence
- David Bushnell's submarine attack
- Washington's Crossing of the Delaware
- The American farmers joining the Battle of Saratoga
- Washington encouraging his men at Valley Forge
- Stories of Margaret Corbin, Molly Pitcher, Abigail Adams, and Martha Washington during the war
- Washington's camp acting out the *Cato* play by Joseph Addison
- Washington on horseback at the Battle of Monmouth
- Washington's dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- Story of Emily Geiger and Deborah Sampson

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- Who was favored to win the War of Independence?
- What things were helpful to the Americans in the War of Independence?
- What things were helpful to the British in the War of Independence?
- How did the Americans think they could win the war?
- How did the British think they could win the war?
- How did soldiers fight each other?
- What things does an army need to be successful?
- Why were the Americans in trouble in the winter of 1776?
- How did Washington's military strategy build confidence in the Americans?
- What happened at the crossing of the Delaware River and the Battle of Trenton?
- How did the victory at Saratoga invite other countries to take America seriously?
- Why did the French form an alliance with the United States?
- How did the army suffer in the winter of 1777–78 and how did they regain new hope?
- What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
- What is the legacy of Benedict Arnold in light of his actions at West Point?
- How did the Americans defeat the British at Yorktown?
- Why did the Americans win the War of Independence?
- What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris?
- Why were soldiers on the verge of mutiny in 1783? How did George Washington resolve the crisis?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 76: What war did the Americans fight to win independence from Britain?
 - Question 80: The American Revolution had many important events. Name one.
 - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.

- Question 89: Alexander Hamilton is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 121: Why does the flag have 13 stripes?
- Question 122: Why does the flag have 50 stars?
- Question 124: The Nation's first motto was "E Pluribus Unum." What does that mean?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The American Revolution was truly a "David and Goliath" clash: a fledgling strand of remote colonies loosely cooperating as one through a continental, mostly citizen army, fought and won independence from the greatest military power in the world. Students should appreciate this about the war of their forefathers. They should also know key stories of the heroic actions of the leaders and the many common folk in that struggle, understand the strategies employed in general and in specific battles, and consider the key moments and factors that led the Americans to victory.

Teachers might best plan and teach the War of Independence with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Read aloud together with students in class the corresponding pages from *The American Revolution*, asking questions throughout.
- Read selections from *Guns for General Washington* and *Johnny Tremain* aloud to students in class.
- Discuss how the new states organized themselves in the Articles of Confederation. Students should understand generally how it worked and some of its problems.
- Emphasis with students how declaring independence, while no easy task in the first place, was comparatively the easy part. Fighting to prove that the new country could defend its claims to independence was a whole other matter, and one that was very much in doubt.
- Ask students to identify and compare the various advantages and disadvantages of each side at the outset of the war and how these shifted over the years. Having students take simple notes as a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Introduce students to the contemporary style of warfare by using images, maps, and artifacts. This approach will provide a foundation for their subsequent study of battles, help them to understand what happens in battle, and allow them to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Help students to empathize with the common Continental Army soldier and perceive the risk facing all the colonists, especially the leaders. Conditions were truly awful at many points in the war. The prospect of imminent defeat and the dire consequences for all involved weighed heavily upon the colonists throughout the war. The leaders—the men we now consider the American Founders—would most certainly have been killed if they were captured or the war was lost. In spite of the risks, they risked everything and sacrificed much for the cause of freedom and self-government. Students should appreciate the great debt we owe them.
- Explain in general each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in some important battles.
- Teach major battles with some detail, focusing on the story and its drama. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the

battles themselves, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps as appropriate.

- As with any conflict, draw attention to the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war. George Washington should be especially considered, not so much in his battle tactics as in his overall strategy for the war and his stirring leadership of his soldiers. Read aloud Washington's resignation speech, presenting it as vividly as possible and helping students appreciate the significance of Washington's character and example.
- Explain how the principles of the Declaration of Independence were already effecting change among the Americans even prior to the resolution of the war. By the end of the war, every northern state except for New York and New Jersey had explicitly outlawed slavery, and some New England colonies had allowed African Americans to vote. Students should also learn of the outsized contributions of African American soldiers in the war, with five thousand serving in the Continental Army over the course of the war and, by some accounts, African Americans composing nearly a quarter of the American forces at Yorktown.
- Read aloud Phyllis Wheatley's "Liberty and Peace." Consider Wheatley's perspective on the revolution, bearing in mind her status as a former slave.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ACTIVITIES AND ASSIGNMENTS

Activity 1: Assign each student a different event to draw from the War of Independence. Then have students arrange themselves in the correct order of events in class and have each present briefly what they drew, the story behind it, its relationship to other scenes, and why they depicted it the way they did.

Activity 2: Have students draw a map of the thirteen colonies and then draw and label strategy and battle sites of the War of Independence (this assignment can be assigned at the end of the lesson or be an ongoing assignment as battles are taught).

Assignment 1: Have students and parents complete a "Talk about History" assignment in which parents ask their child a series of questions about what they learned in history from a given lesson. Parents record the answers and the student returns to school (provided in appendix).

Assignment 2: Make a T-chart. On one side, list the leadership virtues George Washington exhibited during the war. On the other side, give examples from the war in which that virtue was on display.

Assignment 3: Choose a battle from the War of Independence and retell the story of what happened in the battle (1 paragraph).

Assignment 4: Give three reasons why the Americans won the War of Independence and explain each reason (2–4 sentences).

Name_____

Date_____

Formative Quiz 2

Covering Lesson 3
10-15 minutes

MULTIPLE CHOICE: *Circle the option that best answers each question.*

1. What is an alliance?
 - a. an agreement between two countries to stop fighting
 - b. a nation neighboring a country at war
 - c. a nation that has promised to help another nation in wartime
 - d. a non-professional soldier
2. What is guerrilla warfare?
 - a. a type of irregular hit-and-run military activity
 - b. training animals to fight with your army
 - c. a children's game based on real warfare
 - d. attacking an enemy army from the side
3. Who physically wrote or penned the Declaration of Independence?
 - a. Thomas Jefferson
 - b. George Washington
 - c. Paul Revere
 - d. John Adams
4. What river did Washington and his men cross to fight in the Battle of Trenton?
 - a. Potomac River
 - b. Delaware River
 - c. Charles River
 - d. York River
5. Who was the main ally to the Americans during the war?
 - a. The French
 - b. The Dutch
 - c. The Germans
 - d. The British

SHORT ANSWER: *Answer the following in complete sentences.*

6. How did the Americans think they could win the War of Independence?

7. Why did the French form an alliance with the United States?

8. Who was Benedict Arnold and why is he well known?

9. The colonial army suffered greatly at Valley Forge, but regained their hope at the end of the winter. Name one specific hardship the army faced and one way they regained hope.

10. What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?

Lesson 4 — The United States Constitution

1783–1789

9-10 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the drafting of the Constitution, the debates within the Constitutional Convention and its ratification by the states, the political thought undergirding the Constitution, and the basic structure and powers of the federal government.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

The United States Constitution
Primary Sources

All
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
The American Revolution and Constitution

Chapters 7 and 8
Pages 103–108
Pages 105–108,
145–149, 161–167, 183

Trade Books

A New Nation
A More Perfect Union
We The People

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Constitution 101
Civil Rights in American History

Lectures 4 and 5
Lectures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Lectures 1, 2, 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students pre-read *The United States Constitution* (based on grade level reading ability).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Philadelphia
Independence Hall

Persons

James Madison
Gouverneur Morris
James Wilson

George Washington
Alexander Hamilton
Publius

Terms and Topics

Articles of Confederation
Shays' Rebellion
Constitutional Convention
Father of the Constitution
Constitution
natural rights
equality
consent of the governed
self-government
faction
majority tyranny
representation
republicanism
federalism
limited government
enumerated powers
separation of powers
checks and balances
Great Compromise
Three-Fifths Clause
legislative power
Congress

bicameralism
House of Representatives
Senate
impeachment
executive powers
Electoral College
Commander-in-Chief
veto power
judicial powers
judicial review
amendment
The Federalist
Anti-Federalists
Bill of Rights
freedom of religion
free exercise
establishment clause
freedom of speech
freedom of the press
right to assembly
right to keep and bear arms

Primary Sources

The United States Constitution
The Bill of Rights

To Know by Heart

Preamble to the U.S. Constitution
“A republic, if you can keep it.” — Benjamin Franklin
“If men were angels, no government would be necessary.” — *Federalist* 10
First Amendment

Timeline

September 17, 1787	Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
1789	Constitution takes effect; George Washington elected president

Images

Paintings of historical figures and events
Depictions of scenes from the Constitutional Convention
Photographs of Independence hall (exterior and interior)
Photos or facsimiles of the original Articles of Confederation, Constitution, *Federalist*, and Bill of Rights
The Signing of the American Constitution painting, Samuel Knecht
Statue of James Madison (Hillsdale College campus)
National Archives Building and the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom
Paintings by Barry Faulkner in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Benjamin Franklin's story about the sun on George Washington's chair being a sunrise for the country
- Benjamin Franklin's reply to a woman's question about what the Constitutional Convention had created: "A republic, if you can keep it," and what this means

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What is government and what is its purpose?
- Why were the Articles of Confederation not able to protect the rights of Americans?
- What was Shays' Rebellion and why did it worry the founders?
- What is a constitution and what does it do?
- Who was the main thinker behind the Constitution, known as the "Father of the Constitution"?
- How are the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution connected?
- What was *The Federalist*, what was its purpose, and why do we still read it?
- Did the founders think the way people are changes over time or that it doesn't change? (talking about people in general, not necessarily in each person's own life)
- How did the founders think people tended to be: good, bad, smart, mistaken, a mixture of all of the above?
- Why were the founders worried about people who have power over others?
- Why did the founders believe it was so important to make sure people agreed to rules and laws that government made?
- Why were the founders so worried about people becoming angry with each other and dividing into groups or factions?
- What were the founders so worried that a group of most people would do to a group of few people (majority tyranny)?
- Why did the founders believe that having a big country with many different views would help make sure that one group would not make laws to hurt another group?
- What were some things that the delegates at the Constitutional Convention disagreed about?
- Why did the founders think it was important to make sure that power in the government, or control over others, was divided among different groups instead of all held by one person or group?
- What is a representative democracy (or a democratic republic, or constitutional republic)?
- What is federalism and how does it divide power?

- What are the levels of government? How is each organized?
- What is the separation of powers and how does it divide power?
- What does the legislative power allow Congress to do?
- What does the executive power allow the President to do?
- What does the judicial power allow the Supreme Court to do?
- How are members of Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court each chosen?
- How does a bill become a law?
- Why does the Constitution make it so hard for it to be changed?
- Did everyone think the Constitution was a good idea? Why not?
- What does the Bill of Rights do and why?
- What is freedom of religion and why is it important?
- What is freedom of speech and why is it important?
- What is the right to assembly and why is it important?
- What is the right to bear arms and why is it important?
- What is due process and why is it important?
- What does each elected or appointed person swear to do for the Constitution?
- Who controls the Constitution?
- What are the various responsibilities of U.S. citizens?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 1: What is the form of government of the United States?
 - Question 2: What is the supreme law of the land?
 - Question 3: Name one thing the U.S. Constitution does.
 - Question 4: The U.S. Constitution starts with the words “We the People.” What does “We the People” mean?
 - Question 6: What does the Bill of Rights protect?
 - Question 10: Name two important ideas from the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.
 - Question 13: What is the rule of law?
 - Question 14: Many documents influenced the U.S. Constitution. Name one.
 - Question 82: What founding document was written in 1787?
 - Question 83: The Federalist Papers supported the passage of the U.S. Constitution. Name one of the writers.
 - Question 84: Why were the Federalist Papers important?
 - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 88: James Madison is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 89: Alexander Hamilton is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

“[I]t seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.” Thus wrote Alexander Hamilton in the opening paragraph of *Federalist* 1 in support of the newly proposed United States Constitution. Indeed, it is the Constitution that gives institutional form to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It is, as Abraham Lincoln would

later express it, the “frame of silver” meant to adorn and, most importantly, to protect the “apple of gold” that is the Declaration of Independence and the truths it asserts. The Constitution is the vehicle for the American experiment in self-government.

Study of the Constitution and of the history of its creation shows students *how* and *that* human beings are able to govern themselves in freedom, securing the equal protection of rights and the dignity of each person through reflection, deliberation, and choice. This is a significant thing for students to grasp, for if a constitution cannot achieve these ends, then force and violence are the only alternatives left to mankind.

Students should understand the main ideas and the basic structure of the Constitution and the government it established, and know the stories from the Constitutional Convention and the ratification debates.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Constitution with emphasis on the following approaches. While the length of this advice is larger than advice for other lessons, it is owing to the ease with which so many features of the Constitution can be taught incorrectly, with significant consequences. Therefore, this advice includes many corrections to common misconceptions that can be quickly addressed in class.

- Read aloud together with students in class the book *The United States Constitution*, asking questions throughout.
- Review briefly the structure of the Articles of Confederation and the issues that emerged under such a structure during the War of Independence, especially the debt cancellation laws by states (a clear example of majority tyranny), varieties of currencies, interstate trade barriers, separate agreements between states and foreign powers, the inability to enforce the Treaty of Paris against the British with respect to western territories, and Shays’ Rebellion.
- Lead students through the process of the Constitutional Convention. Help them see that the Convention was arranged to ensure that all the states were able to speak and be represented. Through stories of the various debates and compromises, explain the difficulty of establishing a government that would satisfy all parties.
- Describe the environment and people of the Constitutional Convention, as well as the history and tone of the ratification debate that followed.
- Read and talk about certain key phrases from the Constitution with particular attention to the Preamble and the structure of government that the Constitution establishes.
- Clarify that the Constitution establishes a republic, not a democracy. In a pure democracy the people make all legislative decisions by direct majority vote; in a republic, the people elect certain individuals to represent their interests in deliberating and voting. The deliberations and voting record of representatives should usually reflect but should also be more refined than that of the entire people voting directly. Sometimes this distinction is described in terms of direct democracy vs. representative democracy.
- Explain the importance of the principles of separation of powers and federalism, and why these ideas are central to the Constitution’s safeguards against the corrupting tendency of power.
- Consider how the Constitution repeatedly structures federal institutions to refine and enlarge the will of the people.
- Explain how the House of Representatives is meant to be a more dynamic and immediate expression of the people’s will, while the Senate is meant to be more deliberative and circumspect.

- Emphasize that the Framers of the Constitution were chiefly concerned with allowing the will of the majority to rule—thereby guaranteeing the consent of the governed—while still preserving the rights of the minority and thereby securing justice.
- Describe the American Founders' understanding of human nature. They understood human nature to be fixed and unchanging, good but also flawed and tending toward corrupting power. In response to human nature, government must guard against the opposite dangers of lawlessness and tyranny, accounting for the realities of human nature and rejecting the possibility of utopia.
- Show how the Constitution does not deny, demonize, or elevate human nature, but rather seeks to channel the powers of human beings into constructive institutions while mitigating man's baser tendencies. In brief, the Constitution is constructed on a deep and accurate understanding of fixed human nature born of the Founders' knowledge of history, their own experience, and their prudence.
- Ask about the source and purpose of a government's power. Review how the Declaration of Independence claims that government power comes from the free consent of the people, and ask students to identify whether and how the Constitution accomplishes that goal.
- Teach in general terms the structure, makeup, and powers of each branch of government and explain why the Founders made them so. Students should understand the basics of how each branch works, how they work together, and how the branches check and balance one another.
- Take the time to discuss the ways in which slavery was addressed in the Constitution, including the extents to which the Constitution both left slavery in place and also placed new national limits on it. As Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln would later acknowledge, the Declaration's principle of equality and the Constitution's arrangements gave the Founders the belief that they had placed slavery on the path to eventual extinction. This of course does not excuse the fact that many of these founders still held African Americans in slavery during their lifetimes.
- Clarify for students the arguments of northerners and southerners concerning the Three-Fifths Clause. The clause was not about the humanity of slaves; it was strictly about how much representation slave-owning states would receive in Congress and the Electoral College. The great hypocrisy of the slaveholders was that while they refused to call a slave a human being, they insisted that each slave be counted as a whole person for purposes of representation. In fact, it was the anti-slavery Founders who did not want slaves counted at all in the Constitution for the purposes of representation. The fact that slaves were only counted as three-fifths for the purposes of representation was a disappointment for southern states, as they had demanded they be counted as a whole person. It was a partial victory for northern opponents to slavery, as it would give the slaveholding states less influence in lawmaking than they wished. Additionally, students should understand that in the mind of those opposed to slavery, this compromise was the only politically viable route if they were to secure southern support for the Constitution, without which the country would become disunited, with the South able to perpetuate slavery indefinitely as their own country without northern abolitionists. Students need not agree with the tenets of the compromise, but they must understand it as the founders themselves understood it.
- Remind students that the slave trade was not formally limited in the states (the Continental Congress had temporarily banned the practice in 1774) until the passage of the Constitution, which allowed for it to be outlawed nationwide in 1808 (which it was) and for Congress to discourage it by imposing tariffs on the slave trade in the meantime. Students should understand that without the compromise that allowed this twenty-year delay, the power to abolish the slave trade would not have been granted by the slaveholding interest in the first place.

- Consider with students the significance of the Constitution not using the word “slave” and instead using “person.” Refusing to use the word “slave” avoided giving legal legitimacy to slavery. Even Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3 emphasizes that slavery was legal based on certain state, not federal, laws. The use of the word “person” forced even slaveholders to recognize the humanity of the slave: that he or she was in fact a human person, not property. There would be no federally-recognized “property in man.”
- Consider with students the sectional nature of views on slavery during the founding. The majority of northerners and northern founders (e.g., John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, Gouverneur Morris, and John Jay) spoke and wrote extensively on the immorality of slavery and its need to be abolished. Some northern founders, such as John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin, founded or served in abolitionist societies.
- Consider also that even among the southern founders who supported slavery or held slaves, several leading founders expressed regret and fear of divine retribution for slavery in America, such as Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington. Some freed their slaves as well, such as George Washington, who by the end of his life freed the slaves in his family estate. And many, like Thomas Jefferson, nevertheless maintained that slaves were men in full possession of the natural rights of all men. Making these observations does not diminish the inhumaneness of slavery or dismiss the wrong of racism by certain colonists or other individual Americans living in other generations.
- Note the belief of many Founders, based on the evidence at the time, that slavery was naturally on the way to extinction. Public opinion had steadily grown against it; the principles of the Declaration of Independence and Revolution would continue to be a force toward realizing equality; and the Constitution had further restricted slavery, permitted further restrictions by holding the union together, and kept slavery on its path to extinction.
- Teach students about the Anti-Federalists’ concerns with the Constitution, the arguments for and against a Bill of Rights, and how the Federalists ultimately convinced states to ratify the Constitution (provided that a Bill of Rights was included).
- Help students understand why each of the rights found in the Bill of Rights corresponds to the preservation of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and how these rights answer some of the grievances in the Declaration of Independence as well as the problems under the Articles of Confederation. Especially consider the 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 10th Amendments.
- Finally, tell about the first elections, meetings of the Electoral College, and George Washington’s inauguration in 1789.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ACTIVITIES AND ASSIGNMENTS

Activity 1: Divide students into a large group (the people), a medium-sized group (the House of Representatives), and a small group (the Senate). Have the people come up with a policy idea and propose it to the House of Representatives and the Senate. Then have each group discuss their idea one group at a time while everyone else listens. Students should understand how the size and talents of the students in each group changes the nature of the discussions. Students should see how representation in general allows for a more refined and broader consensus on ideas while the Senate provides the greatest opportunity for reflection and careful conversation. These are the virtues of representation and the democratic republican form of government the Constitution establishes.

Assignment 1: Have students and parents complete a “Talk about History” assignment in which parents ask their child a series of questions about what they learned in history from a given lesson. Parents record the answers and the student returns to school (provided in appendix).

Assignment 2: Explain to someone who argues that the government should be more active and powerful what the founders would have said in response and why (2–4 sentences).

Assignment 3: The writers of the Constitution wanted all American citizens to be self-governed. What does it mean to self-govern yourself? (2–4 sentences)

Assignment 4: Have students learn by heart and recite the Preamble to the Constitution.

Assignment 5: Explain why each of the five rights outlined in the First Amendment are important (5–6 sentences).

APPENDIX A

Talk about History

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

TALK ABOUT HISTORY

Student Name: _____

Due: _____

Story/Lesson from History: _____

1. Who/what did you learn about in history class today?

Student Answer: _____

2. Who were the most important characters in the story?

Student Answer: _____

3. Tell me more about one of those characters.

Student Answer: _____

4. Tell me about the most exciting/interesting part of the story today.

Student Answer: _____

Parent Signature: _____

Date: _____

TALK ABOUT HISTORY

Student Name: _____

Due: _____

Story/Lesson from History: _____

1. Who/what did you learn about in history class today?

Student Answer: _____

2. Who were the most important characters in the story?

Student Answer: _____

3. Tell me more about one of those characters.

Student Answer: _____

4. Tell me about the most exciting/interesting part of the story today.

Student Answer: _____

Parent Signature: _____

Date: _____

Study Guide — Unit 2, Test 1

Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given dates in order, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1770	Boston Massacre
1773	Boston Tea Party
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

George III	Paul Revere	Thomas Paine
George Washington	Benjamin Franklin	Thomas Jefferson
Patrick Henry	John Adams	
Crispus Attucks	Abigail Adams	

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

self-government	Sons of Liberty	<i>Common Sense</i>
representation	Boston Tea Party	Bunker Hill
petition	Intolerable Acts	self-evident
militia	Committee of	natural rights
mercenary	Correspondence	equality
boycott	Continental Army	unalienable
treason	Minutemen	pursuit of happiness
Proclamation Line	Redcoats	Patriot/Revolutionary
Stamp Act	Lexington & Concord	Tory/Loyalist

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

Be familiar with each of the following stories.

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson up through 1776
- Boston Massacre
- Boston Tea Party
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Battle of Bunker Hill

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and conversations, answer each of the following.

- ☐ Why was it good that the colonists had been allowed so much freedom to govern themselves?
- ☐ Why were the colonists upset about new taxes?
- ☐ What were the two types of patriots? How did they resist the British differently?
- ☐ Why was John Adams's defense of the redcoats after the Boston Massacre heroic?
- ☐ What were the Intolerable Acts and why were they called such by the colonists?
- ☐ How did the Sons of Liberty alert the colonists that the British were coming before Lexington and Concord?
- ☐ What was the 'shot heard round the world' and why is it called that?
- ☐ Even though the Patriots lost the Battle of Bunker Hill, why did it strengthen their spirit to fight?
- ☐ What did the Second Continental Congress do?
- ☐ What is the Declaration of Independence about?
- ☐ Who was the main writer of the Declaration of Independence?
- ☐ What were the consequences for signing the Declaration and why were the men so willing to sign it?
- ☐ What is a "self-evident" truth?
- ☐ What does it mean that "all men are created equal"?
- ☐ What is a natural right?
- ☐ Why do people create government? What is it supposed to do?

Name_____

Date_____

The American Founding — Test 1

Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

TIMELINE: Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

1770 _____

A. Boston Massacre

1773 _____

B. Boston Tea Party

July 4, 1776 _____

C. Declaration of Independence signed

MATCHING: Write the letter of each definition to the correct word it defines.

_____ Proclamation Line

_____ representation

_____ Sons of Liberty

_____ boycott

_____ Boston Tea Party

_____ militia

_____ *Common Sense*

_____ Second Continental Congress

_____ mercenary

A. a body of armed citizens prepared for military service at any time

B. a group of colonists who used protest and sometimes violence to resist the British

C. a soldier from another country you can hire to fight

D. an attempt by the British to prevent colonial settlement beyond the Appalachian Mountains to avoid conflict with Native Americans

E. an organized campaign in which people refuse to have any dealings with a particular group or country in order to force a change of policy

F. the ability for people to choose those who make laws for them

G. the group of colonial representatives who voted to declare independence from Great Britain

H. Thomas Paine's influential pamphlet that convinced more Americans to declare independence

I. when colonists destroyed British tea in response to British restrictions and monopolies

MULTIPLE CHOICE: *Circle the option that best answers each question.*

1. What did colonists call the shooting of civilians in Boston by British soldiers after the Redcoats were attacked by the mob?
 - a. The Boston Tea Party
 - b. The Battle of Bunker Hill
 - c. The Olive Branch Petition
 - d. The Boston Massacre
2. On the night of Paul Revere's ride, what were the British soldiers sent to do?
 - a. surrender to the colonists
 - b. arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams and take the Minutemen's supplies
 - c. bomb Boston Harbor
 - d. attack the French
3. Who stated, "I am no longer a Virginian but an American"?
 - a. Benedict Arnold
 - b. General Cornwallis
 - c. George Washington
 - d. Patrick Henry
4. What was the name of the battle outside Boston in which the colonists only retreated because they ran out of ammunition, inflicting heavy losses on the British in the process?
 - a. Bunker Hill
 - b. Lexington
 - c. Concord
 - d. Fort Ticonderoga
5. Who was chosen as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army?
 - a. John Adams
 - b. Benjamin Franklin
 - c. Sam Adams
 - d. George Washington
6. Who physically wrote or penned the Declaration of Independence?
 - a. Thomas Jefferson
 - b. George Washington
 - c. Paul Revere
 - d. John Adams

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART: *Tell me about the battles of Lexington and Concord.*

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND: *Answer the following in complete sentences.*

7. Why were the colonists upset about new taxes?

8. What were the Intolerable Acts and why were they called such by the colonists?

9. What is the Declaration of Independence about?

10. What does it mean that “all men are created equal”?

11. Why do people create government? What is it supposed to do?

Study Guide — Unit 2, Test 2

Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

Lesson 4 | The Constitution

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1775–1783	War of Independence
1776 (Christmas)	Crossing the Delaware/Battle of Trenton
September 17, 1787	Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

George III	Baron von Steuben	James Madison
George Washington	Benedict Arnold	Publius
Ethan Allen	Charles Cornwallis	
Henry Knox	Alexander Hamilton	

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

ally	Shays' Rebellion	executive powers
guerrilla warfare	delegate	President
volley	Constitutional Convention	judicial powers
Hessians	Father of the Constitution	Supreme Court
Betsy Ross Flag	Constitution	amendment
Yankee Doodle	majority tyranny	Three-Fifths Compromise
Trenton	republicanism	<i>The Federalist Papers</i>
Saratoga	limited government	Bill of Rights
France	separation of powers	freedom of religion
Yorktown	checks and balances	freedom of speech
Newburgh Conspiracy	compromise	right to bear arms
American Cincinnatus	legislative power	
Northwest Ordinance	Congress	

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

Be familiar with each of the following stories.

- Washington's Crossing of the Delaware
- The American farmers joining the Battle of Saratoga
- Washington encouraging his men at Valley Forge
- Washington's dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- Benjamin Franklin's reply to a woman's question about what the Constitutional Convention had created: "A republic, if you can keep it," and what this means

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and conversations, answer each of the following.

- ☐ How did soldiers fight each other in the War of Independence?
- ☐ How did Washington's military strategy build confidence in the Americans?
- ☐ What happened at the crossing of the Delaware River and the Battle of Trenton?
- ☐ Why did the French form an alliance with the United States?
- ☐ How did the army suffer in the winter of 1777–78 and how did they regain new hope?
- ☐ What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
- ☐ How did the Americans defeat the British at Yorktown?
- ☐ Why did the Americans win the War of Independence?
- ☐ What is a constitution and what does it do?
- ☐ Why did the founders think it was important to make sure that power in the government, or control over others, was divided among different groups instead of all held by one person or group?
- ☐ What is federalism and how does it divide power?
- ☐ What is the separation of powers and how does it divide power?
- ☐ What does the legislative power allow Congress to do?
- ☐ What does the executive power allow the President to do?
- ☐ What does the judicial power allow the Supreme Court to do?
- ☐ What does the Bill of Rights do and why?
- ☐ What is freedom of speech and why is it important?
- ☐ What is the right to bear arms and why is it important?
- ☐ What is due process and why is it important?

Name_____

Date_____

The American Founding — Test 2

Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

Lesson 4 | The Constitution

TIMELINE: Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

- | | | |
|------------------|-------|--|
| 1775–1783 | _____ | A. Constitutional Convention concludes |
| 1776 (Christmas) | _____ | (Constitution Day) |
| Sept. 17, 1787 | _____ | B. Crossing the Delaware/Battle of Trenton |
| | | C. War of Independence |

MATCHING: Write the letter of each definition to the correct word it defines.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| _____ guerrilla warfare | A. a law that outlawed slavery in the west and established public schools |
| _____ Newburgh Conspiracy | B. a plan to overthrow the new Congress and make George Washington King of America |
| _____ Northwest Ordinance | C. a series of newspaper articles in favor of the Constitution and which explains it |
| _____ Constitutional Convention | D. an agreement in the Constitution where northerners did not allow slaves to count fully for representation in southern states because southerners wouldn't treat them as people |
| _____ majority tyranny | E. fighting by hiding from the enemy and surprising them with an attack when they are unprepared |
| _____ 3/5 Compromise | F. how the Bill of Rights makes sure government does not stop people from defending themselves |
| _____ <i>The Federalist Papers</i> | G. the meeting of colonial leaders to draft a new plan for government |
| _____ right to bear arms | H. when a larger group of people violates the freedom of a smaller group of people |

MULTIPLE CHOICE: *Circle the option that best answers each question.*

1. Which country was so impressed by the American victory in the Battle of Saratoga that they formed an alliance to help the Americans against the British?
 - a. Russia
 - b. Germany
 - c. Italy
 - d. France

2. What was the final battle of the war in which General Cornwallis surrendered to the Americans?
 - a. Yorktown
 - b. Bunker Hill
 - c. Cowpens
 - d. Saratoga

3. Who is known as the “American Cincinnatus” for not using his power to take over America?
 - a. Thomas Jefferson
 - b. John Jay
 - c. George Washington
 - d. John Adams

4. Who is known as the “Father of the Constitution”?
 - a. George Washington
 - b. James Madison
 - c. Benjamin Franklin
 - d. Alexander Hamilton

BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT: *Fill in the boxes below with the name of the correct branch of government.*

Name of Branch	Name of Office/Institution	Responsibilities
	President	Enforces Laws
	Congress	Makes Laws
	Supreme Court	Settles Disputes Over Laws

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART: *Tell me about the* **Winter at Valley Forge.**

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND: *Answer the following in complete sentences.*

5. What happened at the crossing of the Delaware River and the Battle of Trenton?

6. What is a constitution and what does it do?

7. Why did the founders think it was important to make sure that power in the government, or control over others, was divided among different groups instead of all held by one person or group?

8. What is federalism and how does it divide power?

9. What does the Bill of Rights do and why?

Writing Assignment — The American Founding

Unit 2

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

In one paragraph, retell the story of what happened in the American War of Independence. Be sure to explain the key moments that led to American victory.

This image shows a blank sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

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APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Patrick Henry

Thomas Paine

The Second Continental Congress

George Washington

Phillis Wheatley

The American People

PATRICK HENRY, DELEGATE TO THE SECOND VIRGINIA CONVENTION**On the Resolution for a State of Defense****SPEECH EXCERPTS**

March 23, 1775

St. John's Episcopal Church | Richmond, Virginia

Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death

BACKGROUND

Just weeks before the battles of Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts, Patrick Henry delivered this speech in support of raising a company of cavalry or infantry in every Virginian county.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

Mr. President:

- 5 No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony.
- 10 The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense,
- 15 I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings....

Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming

Patrick Henry, "Speech on a Resolution to Put Virginia into a State of Defense," in *American Patriotism*, ed. Sellim Peabody (New York: American Book Exchange, 1880), 108-110.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and
5 we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne!

In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which
10 we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us!...

Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in
15 such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no
20 election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace—but there is no
25 peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?

Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death
Patrick Henry

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

THOMAS PAINE

Common Sense

PAMPHLET EXCERPT

January 10, 1776
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

After outright conflict the previous year at Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill, and with Boston occupied by the British army and navy, Thomas Paine wrote this pamphlet on the relationship between the British and the American colonists.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS****Introduction**

- 5 PERHAPS the sentiments contained in the following pages are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favor. A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defense of custom. But tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

- 10 As a long and violent abuse of power is generally the means of calling the right of it in question (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the sufferers been aggravated into the inquiry), and as the King of England hath undertaken in his own Right to support the Parliament in what he calls Theirs, and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the usurpation of either. . . .

- 15 The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances hath and will arise which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of

Thomas Paine, *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 1, ed. Moncure Daniel Conway (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894).

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the event of which their Affections are interested. The laying a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Class,
5 regardless of Party Censure, is the AUTHOR.

Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs.

In the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense: and have no other preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine
10 for themselves: that he will put on, or rather that he will not put off, the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day....

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of present sorrow; the evil is not sufficiently brought to their doors to make them feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us a few moments to
15 Boston; that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it, in their present situation they are
20 prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief they would be exposed to the fury of both armies...

No man was a warmer wisher for a reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen-tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the
25 pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the Continent. And that for several reasons.

5 *First.* The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the King, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this Continent. And as he hath shown himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power, is he, or is he not, a proper person to say to these colonies, *You shall make no laws but what I please!*? And is there any inhabitant of America so ignorant as not to know, that according to what is called the *present constitution*, this Continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to; and is there any man so unwise as not to see, that (considering what has happened)
10 he will suffer no law to be made here but such as suits *his* purpose? We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for us in England....

Secondly. That as even the best terms which we can expect to obtain can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no longer than till the Colonies come of age, so the general face and state of things in the interim will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to
15 a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would lay hold of the interval to dispose of their effects, and quit the Continent.

But the most powerful of all arguments is, that nothing but independance, *i. e.* a Continental form of government, can keep the peace of the Continent and preserve it inviolate from
20 civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable that it will be followed by a revolt some where or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain....

A government of our own is our natural right: and when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and
25 safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance....

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the Globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time
5 an asylum for mankind.

THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Unanimous Declaration

A DECLARATION

July 4, 1776

Pennsylvania State House | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Declaration of Independence

BACKGROUND

The delegates from each colony at the Second Continental Congress announced their votes to form a new country separate from Great Britain in this statement to mankind that expounds both the principles on which this new country would be founded and the reasons they judged themselves justified to separate.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should

5 declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted

10 among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long estab-

15 lished should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to

"The Declaration of Independence," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 5-9.

ANNOTATIONS

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right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

- 5 He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

10

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

- 15 He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

- 20 He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

- 25 For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

- 30 For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an
5 example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

10 For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

15 He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy
20 scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.
25

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.
30

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

5

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

15

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

25

Georgia

Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton

30

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

North Carolina

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn

South Carolina

5 Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton

Maryland

Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton

10 Virginia

George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton

Pennsylvania

15 Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross

Delaware

Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean

20

New York

William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris

New Jersey

25 Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark

New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton

30 Massachusetts

John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Rhode Island

Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery

Connecticut

5 Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY
Address to Congress

SPEECH

December 23, 1783

Old Senate Chamber of the Maryland State House | Annapolis, Maryland

BACKGROUND

George Washington delivered this message to Congress to resign his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place; I have now the honor of offering my sincere Congratulations to Congress and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the Service of my Country.

- 5 Happy in the confirmation of our Independence and Sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable Nation, I resign with satisfaction the Appointment I accepted with diffidence. A diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our Cause, the support of the Supreme Power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.
- 10 The Successful termination of the War has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my Countrymen, encreases with every review of the momentous Contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the Army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar Services and distinguished merits of

George Washington, "Address to Congress on Resigning his Commission," *The Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 27, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1931-44), 284-285.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

the Gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the War. It was impossible the choice of confidential Officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me Sir, to recommend in particular those, who have continued in Service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

- 5 I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my Official life, by commending the Interests of our dearest Country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

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

PHYLLIS WHEATLEY

“Liberty and Peace”

POEM

1784

Boston, Massachusetts

BACKGROUND

Phyllis Wheatley composed this poem after the signing of the Treaty of Paris officially ending the War of Independence.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

- LO! Freedom comes. Th' prescient Muse foretold,
All Eyes th' accomplish'd Prophecy behold:
- 5 Her Port describ'd, "She moves divinely fair,
"Olive and Laurel bind her golden Hair."
She, the bright Progeny of Heaven, descends,
And every Grace her sovereign Step attends;
For now kind Heaven, indulgent to our Prayer,
- 10 In smiling Peace resolves the Din of War.
Fix'd in Columbia her illustrious Line,
And bids in thee her future Councils shine.
To every Realm her Portals open'd wide,
Receives from each the full commercial Tide.
- 15 Each Art and Science now with rising Charms
Th' expanding Heart with Emulation warms.
E'en great Britannia sees with dread Surprise,
And from the dazzling Splendor turns her Eyes!
Britain, whose Navies swept th' Atlantic o'er,

Phyllis Wheatley, *Liberty and Peace* (Boston: Warden and Russell, 1784).

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

- And Thunder sent to every distant Shore;
E'en thou, in Manners cruel as thou art,
The Sword resign'd, resume the friendly Part!
For Galia's Power espous'd Columbia's Cause,
5 And new-born Rome shall give Britannia Law,
Nor unremember'd in the grateful Strain,
Shall princely Louis' friendly Deeds remain;
The generous Prince th' impending Vengeance eye's,
Sees the fierce Wrong, and to the rescue flies.
10 Perish that Thirst of boundless Power, that drew
On Albion's Head the Curse to Tyrants due.
But thou appeas'd submit to Heaven's decree,
That bids this Realm of Freedom rival thee!
Now sheathe the Sword that bade the Brave attone
15 With guiltless Blood for Madness not their own.
Sent from th' Enjoyment of their native Shore
Ill-fated – never to behold her more!
From every Kingdom on Europa's Coast
Throng'd various Troops, their Glory, Strength and Boast.
20 With heart-felt pity fair Hibernia saw
Columbia menac'd by the Tyrant's Law:
On hostile Fields fraternal Arms engage,
And mutual Deaths, all dealt with mutual Rage:
The Muse's Ear hears mother Earth deplore
25 Her ample Surface smok with kindred Gore:
The hostile Field destroys the social Ties,
And every-lasting Slumber seals their Eyes.
Columbia mourns, the haughty Foes deride,
Her Treasures plunder'd, and her Towns destroy'd:
30 Witness how Charlestown's curling Smoaks arise,

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

In sable Columns to the clouded Skies!
The ample Dome, high-wrought with curious Toil,
In one sad Hour the savage Troops despoil.
Descending Peace and Power of War confounds;

5 From every Tongue celestial Peace resounds:
As for the East th' illustrious King of Day,
With rising Radiance drives the Shades away,
So Freedom comes array'd with Charms divine,
And in her Train Commerce and Plenty shine.

10 Britannia owns her Independent Reign,
Hibernia, Scotia, and the Realms of Spain;
And great Germania's ample Coast admires
The generous Spirit that Columbia fires.
Auspicious Heaven shall fill with fav'ring Gales,

15 Where e'er Columbia spreads her swelling Sails:
To every Realm shall Peace her Charms display,
And Heavenly Freedom spread her golden Ray.

THE END

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Constitution

LAW

March 4, 1789
United States of America

BACKGROUND

Delegates to the Constitutional Convention drafted and the states ratified this Constitution, forming the second national government for the United States of America.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS****Preamble**

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

5 establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the

10 Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

"The Constitution of the United States of America," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 47-66.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

5 The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

10 The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

15 Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

20 Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

25 Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall

likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days
 5 (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be pre-
 10 sented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and
 15 Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the
 20 Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bank-
 ruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of
 Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the
 25 United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

5 To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

10 To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

15 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

20 To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

25 To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

- 5 The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

- 10 No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

- 15 No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

- 20 No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

- 25 No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and

the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

5 No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II

10 Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same Term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an
15 Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the
20 United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes,
25 then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for

this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate
5 shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall
10 any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death,
15 Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected,
20 and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the
25 Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of

the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

5 He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as
10 they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the
15 Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed,
20 and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III

25 Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good

Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made,
 5 under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; —to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State,
 10 or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall
 15 make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on
 20 Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of
 25 Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article IV

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labor in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labor, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labor may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either
5 Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth
10 Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Con-
15 federation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.
20

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under
25 the United States.

Article VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

5 Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

10 George Washington—

President and deputy from Virginia

Delaware

George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom

15 **Maryland**

James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll

Virginia

John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina

20 William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson

South Carolina

John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Georgia

William Few, Abraham Baldwin

New Hampshire

John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

5 **Massachusetts**

Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

Connecticut

William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman

New York

10 Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania

15 Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas FitzSimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris

Attest William Jackson Secretary

FIRST CONGRESS

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

JOIN RESOLUTION EXCERPT

September 25, 1789

Federal Hall | City of New-York, New York

Bill of Rights

BACKGROUND

As part of a compromise to secure the ratification of the Constitution, Federalists introduced in the first Congress a Bill of Rights as twelve amendments to the new Constitution. Below are the ten amendments that were ultimately ratified.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS****Amendment I**

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

5 Amendment II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

Amendment III

10 No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

"The Constitution of the United States of America," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 58-60.

Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Amendment VII

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX

- 5 The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

