

UNIT 2

The American Founding

1763–1789

40-50-minute classes | 32-36 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 the whole document, 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. A major aid in doing so is to read selections of the *Federalist Papers*. Students should consider carefully both the structure of the Constitution and the Framers' intentions in so constructing it. 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

The Glorious Cause, Robert Middlekauff

We Still Hold These Truths, Matthew Spalding

The Political Theory of the American Founding, Thomas West

The Constitutional Convention, James Madison

African Founders, David Hackett Fischer

No Property in Man, Sean Wilentz

The American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

The U.S. Constitution: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (ConstitutionReader.com)

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

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

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic, H.A. Guerber
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Short History of the American Revolution, James Stokesbury

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

“Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!,” Patrick Henry
Common Sense, Thomas Paine
Declaration of Independence, Draft
Declaration of Independence
Resignation Speech, George Washington
The United States Constitution
The Bill of Rights

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND 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

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1
Primary Sources

Chapter 5
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 42–48
Pages 68–80
Pages 29–43

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, chapter 5, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate excerpts from Paine's *Common Sense* and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Boston
Philadelphia
Independence Hall

Lexington and Concord
Fort Ticonderoga

Persons

George III
Charles Townshend
George Washington
John Hancock

Crispus Attucks
Paul Revere
Samuel Adams
Benjamin Franklin

Patrick Henry
John Adams
Abigail Adams

Ethan Allen
Thomas Paine
Thomas Jefferson

Terms and Topics

salutary neglect
self-government
representation
consent
French and Indian War
Proclamation of 1763
Stamp Act
Sons of Liberty
mob
tar and feather
Declaratory Act
Townshend Acts
non-importation agreements

Boston Massacre
Committees of Correspondence
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
Olive Branch Petition
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”
“Join or Die”
“Give me liberty or give me death!” — Patrick Henry
“The shot heard round the world.”
“Don’t fire till you see the whites of their eyes!” — Israel Putnam, William Prescott, or legend

Timeline

1754–1763	French and Indian War
1763	Proclamation Line
1770	Boston Massacre
1773	Boston Tea Party
1774	Intolerable Acts
1775	Lexington and Concord, Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

Images

Historical figures and events
Revolutionary era flags
Non-importation agreement example
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

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson up through 1776
- Boston Massacre
- John Adams fairly representing the British soldiers after the Boston Massacre Boston Tea Party
- 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 had the colonies been mostly left to their own devices? Why was this "neglect" "salutary"?
- How did the British situation following the French and Indian War lead the British to exert more authority over the colonists?
- In what ways did the British begin to exert control over the colonists without their consent?
- What did the Proclamation Act of 1763 attempt to do? What change did it reveal in the relationship between Parliament and the colonists? How did the colonists respond?
- To what extent were Americans justified in claiming the rights of Englishmen?
- What did the Stamp Act do? Why did this act in particular undermine the principle of self-government and consent? How did the colonists respond?
- What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists' freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
- What is the relationship between this question of representative self-government and that of liberty and tyranny?
- What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament's actions?
- How did the Boston Massacre change public opinion among the colonists? How did John Adams successfully preserve the rule of law?
- Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do (5 actions)?
- How did the Continental Congress respond to the Coercive (Intolerable) Acts?

- Was war inevitable? Was independence?
- In what ways did Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
- What actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?
- To what extent was the American Revolution not made but prevented? To what extent was it revolutionary?
- 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:

- 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 each of the British acts: what they were, why they were passed, how the colonists resisted, and what happened next as a consequence.
- Consider at length 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.
- Read aloud with students Patrick Henry's "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!" Speech.
- 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.
- Have students read as a preparatory homework assignment excerpts from Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. In class, have a seminar conversation on the text. Target questions at helping students to see how and why Paine's pamphlet proved decisive in shifting public opinion at the start of 1776. Questions on pages 42–43 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- 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 ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the key questions and moments between 1763 and 1776 that led the colonists to declare independence (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain how the Americans believed they were preserving self-government against British tyranny (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 2.1

The American Founding | Lesson 1
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Chapter 5

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What mountain range did the Royal Proclamation of 1763 attempt to prevent the colonists from crossing?
2. To whom did the Quartering Act force the colonial legislatures to provide lodging and food?
3. What did the Declaratory Act declare about Parliament's authority over the colonists?
4. What did a group of colonists dump into Boston Harbor in 1773 that resulted in a tyrannical retaliation by the British?
5. Name one of the battles you read about that occurred prior to the Declaration of Independence?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 2 — Formative Quiz 1

Covering Lesson 1
10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. Why had the colonies been mostly left to their own devices? Why was this “neglect” “salutary”?
2. What did the Stamp Act do? Why did this act in particular undermine the principle of self-government and consent?
3. Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do?
4. In which ways did Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
5. Which actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?

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

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 48–51

The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic

Pages 81–82

A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 36–37, 44–55

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The Great American Story

Lecture 3

Introduction to the Constitution

Lectures 1, 2, 3

Constitution 101

Lecture 2

Civil Rights in American History

Lectures 1, 2, 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read and annotate the Declaration of Independence and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Philadelphia

Independence Hall

Persons

Benjamin Franklin

Thomas Jefferson

John Adams

Terms and Topics

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

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

Primary Sources

Declaration of Independence, First Draft
 Declaration of Independence

To Know by Heart

First two paragraphs 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

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

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the various audiences that the Declaration of Independence sought to address?
- In its opening lines, what is the Declaration claiming to be doing and what does it want its audience to do in response?
- What are “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God”?
- What is a “self-evident” truth?
- What does it mean that “all men are created equal”?
- What is a right?

- According to the Declaration of Independence, from where do natural rights come?
- What does it mean to say that men are “endowed by their creator” with the rights?
- What does “unalienable” mean?
- What is liberty according to the Founders? How is it distinct from license?
- Why did Jefferson use “the pursuit of happiness” instead of “property”?
- What is the purpose of government?
- From where does government derive its just powers?
- What are the people free—and even obligated—to do if the government fails or violates its purpose?
- Ought it to be easy or frequent for a people to overthrow and replace its government? If not, under which circumstances may they do so?
- In which ways did Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and the Second Continental Congress alter Thomas Jefferson’s first draft of the Declaration of Independence? What were the reasons for these various changes?
- Why did Thomas Jefferson’s first draft of the Declaration of Independence include condemnations of King George for perpetuating the Atlantic slave trade?
- Why did northern delegates, who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished, believe that compromising with southern delegates by omitting the issue of slavery from the Declaration’s list of grievances would be more likely to lead to the abolition of slavery than splitting with the southern colonies over the issue in 1776?
- How does the fact that America was founded with the words of the Declaration of Independence make America the exception in the history of nations, even exceptional?
- America is a country whose existence and purpose for existing rests on belief in and commitment to certain ideas its Founders asserted to be objectively true. What are these truths?
- 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 seriously about how the American founding—and the continuation of the American experiment—has succeeded or failed against its stated objectives.

Students should take it upon themselves to study and consider seriously 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 a separate government class, including consideration of the thinkers who influenced the Founders, the historical treatment of the American Revolution deserves several class periods of conversation on the text of the Declaration.

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

- 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 a complete reading of the Declaration of Independence in the course of a seminar conversation. Pause frequently to ask students questions on the various parts of the text, especially the first two paragraphs. Questions on pages 47–52 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.

- 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.
- Note that for the Founders, the “Laws...of Nature’s God” implied that this understanding of nature was consistent with the Christian tradition within which the American founding occurred. Other references to divine sources of truth in the Declaration include that men are “endowed by their Creator” and its appeals to “the Supreme Judge of the world” and to “the protection of divine Providence.”
- 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 each grievance to the 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.
- Provide students with a copy of the first draft of the Declaration of Independence that tracks the edits made by the Second Continental Congress. Ask students why specific changes were made. Spend time especially with the sections that addressed slavery and were removed.
- 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 ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the meaning of key lines, phrases, and ideas in the first two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Recite by heart the first two paragraphs and the final paragraph of the Declaration of Independence.

Assignment 3: Explain why the Americans believed they had more than “light and transient” causes to justify their revolution (1–2 paragraphs).

Lesson 3 — The War of Independence

1776–1783

6-7 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 Text

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1
Primary Sources

Chapter 6
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Short History of the American Revolution
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 52–58
Pages 83–102
As helpful
Pages 63–68

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 4

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, chapter 6, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Delaware River
Saratoga
Fort West Point

Valley Forge
Yorktown

Persons

George Washington
Phillis Wheatley
John Adams
Abigail Adams
Ethan Allen

Henry Knox
John Paul Jones
Horatio Gates
Marquis de Lafayette
Tadeusz Kościuszko

Baron von Steuben
 Nathanael Greene
 Benedict Arnold

John Burgoyne
 Charles Cornwallis
 Alexander Hamilton

Terms and Topics

Patriot/Revolutionary
 Tory/Loyalist
 Articles of Confederation
 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
 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

Timeline

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

Images

Historical figures
 Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
 Depictions of figures at various scenes, 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)

Images and uniforms of British and American officers and soldiers

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- The fates of the signers of the Declaration of Independence
- David Bushnell's submarine attack
- Maryland 400 and the Battle of Brooklyn
- Retreat from Manhattan
- 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 on horseback at the Battle of Monmouth
- The playing of the "World Turned Upside Down" after Yorktown (possibly legend)
- Washington's dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- George III's comments on Washington resigning his command (possibly legend)
- Washington's resignation

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the war?
- What was the style of warfare in the War of Independence, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- What were the major contributions and moments in George Washington's generalship during the war?
- How did each of the following battles begin, what happened in them, and what was their significance: Bunker Hill, Trenton, and Yorktown?
- Why was the situation so dire in winter 1776?
- Why was the Battle of Saratoga so significant? What did the Americans gain from its newfound ally?
- What happened at Valley Forge over the winter of 1777-78?
- What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
- What were the most significant moments in the War of Independence?
- What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?
- 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 moto was “E Pluribus Unum.” What does that mean?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The American Revolution was truly a “David and Goliath” clash: a fledging 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:

- Discuss how the new states organized themselves in the Articles of Confederation. Students do not need to know the inner workings of this first constitution, as they will learn more about it in the next lesson. Students should understand, however, the general contours of power and how it operated. They should also understand the ways in which many of its weaknesses were intentional, weaknesses that would manifest themselves as serious problems at various points during the war.
- 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 shot or hanged 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 each side’s strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles.
- Teach major battles in detail. 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 often. *A Short History of the American Revolution* is a great aid for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of these battles from this work, too.
- 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.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the reasons why the Americans won the War of Independence (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the history of the War of Independence (2–3 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 2.2

The American Founding | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Chapter 6

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one disadvantage that the United States had in the Revolutionary War?
2. What was one advantage that the United States had in the Revolutionary War?
3. Who was the general of the Continental Army?
4. Which country allied with the Americans following the Battle of Saratoga?
5. What was the final major battle of the war in which the Americans defeated the British and General Charles Cornwallis surrendered?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 2 — Formative Quiz 2

Covering Lesson 3
10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
2. Why was the situation so dire in winter 1776?
3. What happened at Valley Forge over the winter of 1777–78?
4. What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
5. What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris?

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

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1
Primary Sources

Chapters 7 and 8
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 58–78
Pages 103–108
Pages 56–89

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Constitution 101
Civil Rights in American History
The Federalist Papers

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

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, chapter 7, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, chapter 8, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Northwest Territory
Philadelphia

Independence Hall

Persons

James Madison
 Gouverneur Morris
 James Wilson
 George Washington

Alexander Hamilton
 John Jay
 Publius
 Benjamin Banneker

Terms and Topics

Articles of Confederation
 Land Ordinance of 1785
 township
 debt cancellation laws
 Shays' Rebellion
 Northwest Ordinance
 Constitutional Convention
 Father of the Constitution
 Constitution
 natural rights
 equality
 consent of the governed
 self-government
 faction
 majority tyranny
 ambition
 representation
 republicanism
 extended sphere
 federalism
 limited government
 enumerated powers
 separation of powers
 checks and balances
 Virginia Plan
 New Jersey Plan
 Great Compromise
 Three-Fifths Clause
 legislative power
 Congress

bicameralism
 House of Representatives
 Senate
 budget
 impeachment
 executive powers
 Electoral College
 cabinet
 Commander-in-Chief
 veto power
 judicial powers
Marbury v. Madison
 judicial review
 Article IV, Section 2
 amendment
The Federalist
 Anti-Federalists
 Article I, Section 9
 ratifying conventions
 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
 due process

Primary Sources

The United States Constitution
 The Bill of Rights

To Know by Heart

“Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”

— Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article 3

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

Second Amendment

Timeline

1781	Articles of Confederation take effect
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, Northwest Ordinance, Constitution, *The Federalist Papers*, 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

- Delegates meeting in City Tavern in Philadelphia to discuss the Constitution–in–making “after hours”
- 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
- The correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Banneker

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What did the Land Ordinance of 1785 do, especially with respect to public vs. private ownership of land and public education?
- What did the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 do, especially with respect to the future of western lands, public education, and preventing the expansion of slavery?
- What were the specific problems of the Articles of Confederation? What issues did they permit to arise and fester?
- Which event especially impressed on the Founders, particularly James Madison and George Washington, the need to revisit the Articles of Confederation?
- Who was the intellectual leader among the many very talented men at the Philadelphia convention, known as the “Father of the Constitution”?
- What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?
- What was *The Federalist*, what was its purpose, and why do we still read it?

- What did *The Federalist* argue about each of the following:
 - human nature
 - faction
 - majority tyranny
 - republicanism
- What were the major disagreements at the Constitutional Convention?
- What are the various ways that the Constitution addresses the issue of faction?
- What is federalism? Why is it important?
- What is separation of powers? Why is it a principle for the arrangement of government power, and how does the Constitution achieve this?
- What are the offices and main powers of each branch of government?
- What are checks and balances how can each branch check the power of the others?
- Contrast the character of the House of Representatives to that of the Senate, explaining the purpose for these differences and how their features (method of selection, qualifications, term lengths, percentage of each house up for election at a given time, etc.) contribute to their respective purposes.
- How does a bill become a law?
- What is the Electoral College, how did it originally work, and what is its purpose?
- What was the nature of the Founders' compromise with slavery at the time of the founding for the sake of the union? Would it have been possible to abolish slavery in the southern colonies without union?
- Why did many in the founding generation expect that slavery would eventually die out so long as it was not allowed to expand?
- What efforts did some founders make to abolish slavery?
- What are the three clauses related to slavery in the Constitution? Explain each.
- How was the Three-Fifth Compromise a partial victory for slaveholders and a partial victory for abolitionists?
- Why does the Constitution make it so hard for it to be amended?
- What were the different views towards the Constitution during the ratification debate?
- What do each of the following amendments in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why: 1st, 2nd, 9th, and 10th?
- What is due process? Why is it such an important legal guarantor of freedom?
- To whom are elected officials and the Constitution itself ultimately subject?
- 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 need not study all of the political philosophy that undergirded the Constitutional Convention and the Constitution itself, nor need they understand all the details of the function of government; they will study these facets to the Constitution extensively in separate American Civics lessons. They should, however, understand the main principles and structure of the Constitution and the government it established, and know the stories from the Constitutional Convention and the ratification debates. Selections from *The Federalist* for the teacher as well as the Bill of Rights for the students will be helpful to accomplish these purposes.

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. As mentioned, the vast majority of the political philosophy and mechanics of the Constitution are reserved for separate civics lessons.

- Consider the two major legislative achievements under the Articles of Confederation, the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Students should understand the historic emphasis the Founders placed on public education, private land ownership, and preventing the spread of slavery, as evident in these laws.
- Revisit the structure of the Articles of Confederation and the issues that emerged under such a structure during the War of Independence, namely: 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.
- Share with students the main arguments in *Federalist* 9, 10, and 51. These key documents should afford the teacher a review of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the problems of the Articles of Confederation and also illustrate the purposes of the Constitution. The form of the Constitution follows its function with respect to human nature and the purposes for which governments are established, per the Declaration of Independence. *The Federalist* explains both of these functions and the nature of men.
- Read, annotate, and discuss the Constitution with particular attention to the Preamble, the structure of government that the Constitution establishes, and the reasons for this structure. Questions on pages 56–62 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- 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.

- Distinguish the focus of the federal government compared to the state governments.
- Teach the structure, makeup, and powers of each branch of government and explain why the Founders made them so. Students should understand how each branch works, how they work together, and how the branches check and balance one another.
- Clarify how the Electoral College works and why the Founders chose this process for electing the president. One of the original reasons was to provide a way for the people's representatives, the electors, to prevent a tyrannical or fraudulent choice, but most states abandoned this purpose when they enacted laws binding electors to the state's popular vote. Another reason was to ensure that presidential candidates would pay attention to the interests of those to whom it was harder or less politically efficient to travel geographically. This has forced presidential candidates to address the concerns not merely of large population centers like cities but also of rural and more remote populations. Together with equal representation among states in the Senate, the Electoral College has discouraged a majority tyranny of urban interests.
- Take the time to consider, read, and 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.”

- Point out for students that clauses that were not about slavery but which slaveholding interests could use to their benefit were not therefore deliberately pro-slavery clauses. Such a logical fallacy would implicate as morally evil anything hijacked for use in committing a wrong act, for example, a road used by bank robbers in their getaway would be “pro-robbery.”
- 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.
- Ask students how to judge the Founders who owned slaves and yet supported the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. Students should consider their public and private lives as well as their words and deeds. Taken altogether, students should recognize the difficulty in assigning an absolute moral judgment that a person is entirely bad or entirely good while still being able to pass judgment on specific actions.
- Have students also consider the distinction between judging character absolutely versus judging individual actions. When they do, students will encounter figures who did both much that was good and also some that was bad, and that this contradiction runs through the heart of every person.
- Be careful with the phrase “consider the times,” as this phrase can easily give the impression that truth and morality (good and evil) are merely relative to one’s viewpoint or historical time period. Instead, help students understand that “to consider the times” in which the American colonists and Founders lived is not to excuse moral injustices or to justify relativism. We should consider the circumstances at the time and weigh them against principles that transcend time. It is not whitewashing or rewriting history. It is recognizing the reality of history and honestly assessing how figures at the time acted within their circumstances in light of the truth.
- 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).
- Read aloud with students the Bill of Rights. Pause frequently to ask students questions on various parts of the text. Questions on pages 79–84 of *A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.

- 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.
- Explain that the Founders did not believe the Bill of Rights encompassed all the rights of men in society, nor that these rights came from government. Some of the rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights are natural rights. Many are derivative civil rights through which the constitutional process abides by and secures underlying natural rights. Between the Bill of Rights, the limited purposes of government, and the enumerated powers, emphasize for students how America has a *limited* government.
- Finally, tell about the first elections, meetings of the Electoral College, and George Washington's inauguration in 1789. If students have already studied the French Revolution, remind them that just a few short months later the French Revolution would commence, leading to a far different outcome than the American Revolution and Constitution.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how the Constitution distributes power among the three branches of government (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain what separation of powers and federalism each are and how they guard against the tendency governments to use power to become tyrannical (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 3: Explain why the Framers believed it should be relatively difficult to change the Constitution. Explain why they made an exception by including the Bill of Rights as the first ten amendments (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 2.3

The American Founding | Lesson 4
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Chapter 7

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Are we sure that the band at Yorktown played “The World Turned Upside Down”?
2. What was the name of the first constitution and government under which the United States attempted to govern itself?
3. The Northwest Ordinance prohibited what from the territories of what is now much of the Great Lakes region of the Midwest?
4. What did the farmer and war veteran Daniel Shays do?
5. In which city did delegates meet to draft a new Constitution?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 2.4

The American Founding | Lesson 4
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Chapter 8

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who presided over the Constitutional Convention?
2. Who was known as “the Father of the Constitution”?
3. Although the convention was held in secrecy, how do we know so much about what happened?
4. Which powerful new office was created in the Constitution?
5. The compromise between representation by population or representation by state that decided to do both through a two-house Congress is known as the _____ Compromise.

APPENDIX A

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

Unit 2 | Test 1 — Study Guide

Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

1754–1763	French & Indian War
1763	Proclamation Line
1770	Boston Massacre
1773	Boston Tea Party
1774	Intolerable Acts
1775	Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Boston	Independence Hall	Ticonderoga
Philadelphia	Lexington and Concord	

PERSONS

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

George III	Samuel Adams	Ethan Allen
George Washington	Benjamin Franklin	Thomas Paine
John Hancock	Patrick Henry	Thomas Jefferson
Crispus Attucks	John Adams	Henry Knox
Paul Revere	Abigail Adams	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

salutary neglect	Sons of Liberty	Intolerable Acts
self-government	mob	Minutemen
representation	tar and feather	Second Continental Congress
French and Indian War	Declaratory Act	Continental Army
Proclamation of 1763	Boston Massacre	Olive Branch Petition
Stamp Act	Boston Tea Party	

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

equality
unalienable
liberty
pursuit of happiness

consent of the governed
slavery
Patriot/Revolutionary
Tory/Loyalist

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

French and Indian War
Lexington & Concord

Fort Ticonderoga
Bunker Hill

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.

Common Sense, Thomas Paine
Declaration of Independence

TO KNOW BY HEART

Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“Give me liberty or give me death!” — Patrick Henry
First two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson up through 1776
- Boston Massacre
- Boston Tea Party
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

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

Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

- Why had the colonies been mostly left to their own devices? Why was this “neglect” “salutary”?
- How did the British situation following the French and Indian War lead the British to exert more authority over the colonists?
- In what ways did the British begin to exert control over the colonists without their consent?
- What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists’ freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
- What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament’s actions?
- How did the Boston Massacre change public opinion among the colonists?
- Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do (five actions)?
- In what ways did Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
- What actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

- What are “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God”?
- What is a “self-evident” truth?
- What does it mean that “all men are created equal”?
- What is a *right*?
- According to the Declaration of Independence, from where do natural rights come?
- What does “unalienable” mean?
- What is liberty according to the Founders?
- Why did Jefferson use “the pursuit of happiness” instead “of property”?
- What is the purpose of government?
- From where does a government derive its just powers?
- What are the people free—and even obligated—to do if the government fails or violates its purpose?
- Why did northern delegates, who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished, believe that compromising with southern delegates by omitting the issue of slavery from the Declaration’s list of grievances would be more likely to lead to the abolition of slavery than splitting with the southern colonies over the issue in 1776?
- How does the fact that America was founded with the words of the Declaration of Independence make America the exception in the history of nations, even exceptional?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 2 | Test 1 — The American Founding

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.

1754–63	_____	A. Battles of Lexington & Concord and Bunker Hill
1763	_____	B. Boston Massacre
1770	_____	C. Boston Tea Party
1773	_____	D. Declaration of Independence signed
1774	_____	E. French and Indian War
1775	_____	F. Intolerable Acts
July 4, 1776	_____	G. Proclamation Line

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Draw a line indicating the border that the Proclamation of 1763 attempted to establish.
2. Label with dots the locations of Lexington & Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, and Philadelphia.



Map courtesy of *A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| A. Benjamin Franklin | E. First Continental Congress | J. salutary neglect |
| B. Boston Massacre | F. Intolerable Acts | K. Sons of Liberty |
| C. Boston Tea Party | G. Lexington and Concord | L. Thomas Jefferson |
| D. Declaration of Independence | H. Patrick Henry | M. Thomas Paine |
| | I. Proclamation Line | |
3. After acquiring lands from France following the French and Indian War, many British colonists hoped they would finally be able to settle further westward. In order to avoid additional conflict with the Native Americans and the related expenses of defense, the British enacted the _____ which declared that no American was allowed to move west of the Appalachians, and those already there must move back east.
 4. This action by the British signaled the end of _____, or the tradition of allowing the colonists to govern themselves largely independent of Parliament that had made the colonists practiced in self-government.
 5. In 1774, Parliament passed the Sugar Act. It did not create a new tax; rather it halved the previous sugar tax but, for the first time, actually tried to enforce it. No group found these new taxes so disagreeable as the _____ led by Samuel Adams in Boston.
 6. In 1770, British redcoats, abused and provoked by a mob, fired on a crowd of civilians. Though judged in court to be innocent of any wrong-doing, the event known as the _____ changed public opinion and increased the tension between the British and the British colonists.
 7. Tensions had seemed to ease by late 1773. But by then the British Parliament had granted the East India Trading Company a monopoly for selling tea in the American colonies. In response to yet another piece of British legislation not consented to by the colonial assemblies, colonists threw three shiploads of tea into Boston harbor in an event today known as the _____.
 8. Parliament responded to this event by passing a series of acts known as the _____ Acts. These acts included closing Boston harbor and, perhaps most alarmingly, disbanding the colonial government in Massachusetts. These actions, moreover, were to be enforced by sending more armed soldiers and the British navy to the colonies.
 9. Delegates from twelve colonies assembled at the _____ in response to these extraordinary acts of Parliament.
 10. The final push for Revolution came in the years of 1775 and 1776. In April of 1775, the first shots of the war were fired in the battles of _____ when British soldiers attempted to seize a colonial armory, officially beginning a revolution many were still trying to avoid.

11. Following these battles, _____ gave a rousing speech in the Virginia House of Burgesses crying the words, “Give me liberty! Or give me death!”
12. Public opinion shifted sharply against the British in early 1776 when _____ published *Common Sense* in January of that year.
13. The rejection of offers of conciliation and the news that the British had hired Hessian mercenaries against their own people led delegates to the Second Continental Congress to vote for and sign the _____ to dissolve the “political bands” connecting the American states with Great Britain.
14. This document was written by a committee composed of _____, John Adams, and its main author, _____.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle’s outcome.

15. Bunker Hill

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words using the correct letters and identify the source.

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| A. abolish | E. governments | I. secure |
| B. destructive | F. happiness | J. self-evident |
| C. equal | G. liberty | K. truths |
| D. governed | H. life | L. unalienable rights |

16. “We hold these _____ to be _____, that all men are _____, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain _____, that among these are _____, _____ and the pursuit of _____.—That to _____ these rights, _____ are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the _____,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes _____ of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to _____ 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.”

Source: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

17. Tell the story of the Boston Massacre.
18. Tell the story of the battles of Lexington and Concord.

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed and responses must fully answer each question.

19. What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists' freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?

20. What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament's actions?

21. What are "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God"?

22. What is a "self-evident" truth?

23. What does it mean that "all men are created equal"?

24. What is the purpose of government?

25. Why did northern delegates, who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished, believe that compromising with southern delegates by omitting the issue of slavery from the Declaration's list of grievances would be more likely to lead to the abolition of slavery than splitting with the southern colonies over the issue in 1776?

Unit 2 | Test 2 — Study Guide

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) 1776–1783	War of Independence
1775	Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed
1776 (Christmas)	Battle of Trenton
1777	Battle of Saratoga
1777–78	Winter Quarters at Valley Forge
1781	Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
1783	Treaty of Paris
September 17, 1787	Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
1789	Constitution takes effect; George Washington elected president

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Boston	Fort Ticonderoga	Yorktown
Philadelphia	Delaware River	Northwest Territory
Independence Hall	Saratoga	
Lexington and Concord	Valley Forge	

PERSONS

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

George III	Horatio Gates	Charles Cornwallis
George Washington	George Rogers Clark	Alexander Hamilton
Benjamin Franklin	Marquis de Lafayette	James Madison
John Adams	Baron von Steuben	John Jay
Ethan Allen	Nathanael Greene	Publius
Henry Knox	Benedict Arnold	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

Patriot/Revolutionary	Father of the Constitution	executive powers
Tory/Loyalist	Constitution	Electoral College
Articles of Confederation	faction	Commander-in-Chief
Continental Army	majority tyranny	veto power
privateer	republicanism	judicial powers
Brown Bess Musket	extended sphere	judicial review
volley	federalism	amendment
mercenary	limited government	<i>The Federalist</i>
Hessians	enumerated powers	Anti-Federalists
Betsy Ross Flag	separation of powers	Bill of Rights
Yankee Doodle	checks and balances	freedom of religion
guerilla warfare	Virginia Plan	free exercise
French Treaty of Alliance	New Jersey Plan	establishment clause
Newburgh Conspiracy	Great Compromise	freedom of speech
American Cincinnatus	Three-Fifths Compromise	freedom of the press
Treaty of Paris	legislative power	right to assembly
debt cancellation laws	Congress	right to bear arms
Shays' Rebellion	bicameralism	due process
Northwest Ordinance	House of Representatives	
Constitutional Convention	Senate	

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

Lexington & Concord	New York	Yorktown
Fort Ticonderoga	Trenton	
Bunker Hill	Saratoga	

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.

The United States Constitution
The Bill of Rights

TO KNOW BY HEART

Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“These are times that try men’s souls.” — Thomas Paine, *The Crisis*

“Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.” — Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article 3

Preamble to the U.S. Constitution

“A republic, if you can keep it.” — Benjamin Franklin

First Amendment

Second Amendment

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- Biography of George Washington between 1776 and 1789
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston
- 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 dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- Washington’s resignation
- 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 seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

- What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the war?
- What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- What were the major contributions and moments in George Washington’s generalship during the war?
- Why was the Battle of Saratoga so significant? What did the Americans gain from their newfound ally?
- What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?

- What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?
- Why were soldiers on the verge of mutiny in 1783? How did George Washington resolve the crisis?

Lesson 4 | The U.S. Constitution

- What did the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 do, especially with respect to the future of western lands, public education, and preventing the expansion of slavery?
- What were the specific problems of the Articles of Confederation? What issues did they permit to arise and fester?
- What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?
- What did *The Federalist* argue about each of the following:
 - human nature
 - faction
 - majority tyranny
 - morality
- What were the major disagreements at the Constitutional Convention?
- What was the great issue regarding representation? How was it resolved?
- What are the various ways that the Constitution addresses the issue of faction?
- What is federalism? Why is it important?
- What is separation of powers, why is it a principle for the arrangement of government power, and how does the Constitution achieve this?
- Contrast the character of the House of Representatives to that of the Senate, explaining the purpose for these differences and how their features (method of selection, qualifications, term lengths, percentage of each house up for election at a given time, etc.) contribute to their respective purposes.
- What is the Electoral College, how did it originally work, and what is its purpose?
- What was the nature of the Founders' compromise with slavery at the time of the founding for the sake of the union? Would it have been possible to abolish slavery in the southern colonies without union?
- Why did many in the founding generation expect that slavery would eventually die out so long as it was not allowed to expand?
- What efforts did some founders make to abolish slavery?
- How was the Three-Fifth Compromise a partial victory for slaveholders and a partial victory for abolitionists?
- Why does the Constitution make it so hard for it to be amended?
- What do each of the following amendments in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why: 1st, 2nd, 9th, and 10th?
- To whom are elected officials and the Constitution itself ultimately subject?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 2 | Test 2 — The American Founding

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) 1776–83 War of Independence

1775 _____

July 4, 1776 _____

1776 (Christmas) _____

1777 _____

1777–78 _____

1781 _____

1783 _____

Sept. 17, 1787 _____

1789 _____

- A. Battle of Saratoga
- B. Battle of Trenton
- C. Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
- D. Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
- E. Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
- F. Constitution takes effect; Washington inaugurated
- G. Declaration of Independence signed
- H. Treaty of Paris
- I. Winter quarters at Valley Forge

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

- Label with dots the locations of Trenton, Saratoga, Valley Forge, and Yorktown.



Map courtesy of *A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| A. Articles of Confederation | G. federalism | M. separation of powers |
| B. Baron von Steuben | H. Federalists | N. Shays' Rebellion |
| C. bicameral | I. Newburgh Conspiracy | O. slavery |
| D. Bill of Rights | J. Northwest Ordinance | P. Yorktown |
| E. Constitutional Convention | K. Patriots | |
| F. Continental Army | L. Presidency | |
2. The United States of America at the beginning of the War for Independence were far from a united people. Two groups existed in the country: Tories who remained loyal to the King, and _____ who fought for the cause of independence.
 3. The American forces, known as the _____, consisted of a variety of militia and other enlistments who were often poorly supplied and rarely paid. Due to the miserable conditions, it was no surprise that 20% of the men deserted the army each winter and went home.
 4. Throughout the course of the war, the Americans were aided by a number of persons. Among these pro-American Europeans was the Prussian drill officer, the _____ who provided the American army with professional training at Valley Forge.
 5. In October of 1781, the British General Cornwallis found himself surrounded by the French Navy on the waters and 17,000 French and American troops on land in the Battle of _____. The surrender of 8,000 British troops convinced the British to make peace.
 6. After the final battle of the war but prior to formal peace being arranged, unrest in the Continental Army almost led to an overthrow of the Congress. This movement towards overthrow was called the _____, and was only ended by a dramatic officer's meeting called by George Washington.
 7. One of the greatest acts passed in America's first government was the _____ which banned slavery in the territories and promoted religion and knowledge through a system of public supported schools.
 8. Amidst the war, the founders had formed the _____ which established the first American government. It lacked, however, any real executive power and thus floundered throughout its ten years of existence.
 9. In 1786, an American Revolution veteran led an uprising of farmers against banks which were foreclosing homes and imprisoning debtors. The initial inability of the government to put down what was known as _____ led many founders to believe the government needed serious revisions.

10. In 1787, delegates appointed by state legislatures met in Philadelphia at the _____ to revise the existing government. The delegates opted instead to begin from scratch and worked to draft a new Constitution.
11. An important principle of the Constitution was the _____ where power is divided between three branches of government that then have the ability to check and balance each other, thus preventing the accumulation of power in one person or branch, what some founders called the very definition of tyranny.
12. Power was also divided between national, state, and local governments, a system known as _____, which again prevented power from being dangerously centralized.
13. At this convention, delegates had to compromise on several points. One of which, known as the Great Compromise, created a _____ legislature, one house of which determined representation by state population while the other gave each state equal representation.
14. Major additions to the government formed by the Constitution was a united and energetic executive branch called the _____ and an independent judiciary called the Supreme Court.
15. While the Constitution compromised on the issue of _____ in the Constitution, the Constitution place new national restrictions on slavery while still preserving the Union, which many abolitionists believed would be the only way to end the institution.
16. Those who supported the ratification of the Constitution were called _____ while those who were opposed were known as Anti-Federalists.
17. Although the Founders included many measures intended to prevent national government tyranny, many states demanded the first Congress pass a _____ which explicitly lists the rights belonging to citizens that government may not infringe upon.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

18. Saratoga

19. Yorktown

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words using the correct letters and identify the source.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| A. assemble | D. Justice | G. press |
| B. Blessings of Liberty | E. more perfect Union | H. religion |
| C. Constitution | F. People | I. speech |

20. “We the _____ of the United States, in Order to form a _____, establish _____, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the _____ to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this _____ for the United States of America.”

Source: _____

21. “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of _____ or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of _____, or of the _____; or the right of the people peaceably to _____, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

Source: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

22. Tell the story of Washington’s Crossing of the Delaware.

23. Tell the story of the winter quarters at Valley Forge.

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed and responses must fully answer each question.

24. What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the War of Independence?

25. What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?

26. What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?

27. What did *The Federalist* argue about human nature and majority tyranny?

28. Why did the Founders expect that slavery would eventually die out?

29. What does the Second Amendment in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why?

30. What does the Ninth Amendment in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why?

Unit 2 | Writing Assignment — The American Founding

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

How and on what principles was America founded?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Patrick Henry

Thomas Paine

Thomas Jefferson

The Second Continental Congress

George Washington

The American People

PATRICK HENRY, DELEGATE TO THE SECOND VIRGINIA CONVENTION

On the Resolution for a State of Defense

SPEECH

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.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does Patrick Henry think reconciliation with Great Britain is impossible?
2. What are the only alternatives to war with Great Britain?

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

Mr. President:

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.

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, 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.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These
5 are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort.

I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent
10 over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging.

And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we
15 resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer.

Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming 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
20 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 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
25 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 we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

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!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we
5 are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath
10 placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in 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,
15 is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no 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
20 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?

25 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.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What event has convinced Paine of the necessity of independence?
2. Why does Paine criticize the protection that Great Britain provided the American colonies?
3. How does the colonies' connection to Great Britain negatively impact the colonists economically?
4. How does Paine believe the Americans should organize themselves?

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

Introduction

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.

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. . . .

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 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, 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 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....

Now is the seed-time of Continental union, faith and honour. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound would enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.

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By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politics is struck—a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, *i.e.* to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacks of the last year; which tho' proper then, are superceded and useless now....

5 I have heard it asserted by some, that as America has flourished under her former connection with Great-Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next
10 twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true; for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the
15 Continent at our expense as well as her own, is admitted; and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, *viz.* for the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was *interest* not *attachment*; and that she did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our account*; but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from those who had no quarrel with us
20 on any *other account*, and who will always be our enemies on the *same account*. Let Britain waive her pretensions to the Continent, or the Continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain, were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connections....

25 I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge; not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for buy them where we will...

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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 Boston; that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce
5 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 prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief they would
10 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 pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and
15 composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

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.

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
20 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)
25 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

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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 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
5 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 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
10 far more fatal than all the malice of Britain....

Besides, the general temper of the Colonies, towards a British government will be like that of a youth who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her: And a government which cannot preserve the peace is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on
15 paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation?...

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independance, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out. Wherefore, as an opening into that business I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better. Could the
20 straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter.

Let the assemblies be annual, with a president only. The representation more equal, their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress.

Let each Colony be divided into six, eight, or ten, convenient districts, each district to send
25 a proper number of Delegates to Congress, so that each Colony send at least thirty. The whole number in Congress will be at least 390. Each congress to sit and to choose a President by the following method. When the Delegates are met, let a Colony be taken from the

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whole thirteen Colonies by lot, after which let the Congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the Delegates of that Province. In the next Congress, let a Colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that Colony from which the president was taken in the former Congress, and so proceeding on till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just, not less than three fifths of the Congress to be called a majority. He that will promote discord, under a government so equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy from whom, or in what manner, this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the People, let a Continental Conference be held in the following manner, and for the following purpose,

A Committee of twenty six members of congress, *viz.* Two for each Colony. Two Members from each House of Assembly, or Provincial Convention; and five Representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town of each Province, for, and in behalf of the whole Province, by as many qualified voters as shall think proper to attend from all parts of the Province for that purpose; or, if more convenient, the Representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united the two grand principles of business, *knowledge* and *power*. The Members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counsellors, and the whole, being empowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a Continental Charter, or Charter of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing Members of Congress, Members of Assembly, with their date of sitting; and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them: Always remembering, that our strength is Continental, not Provincial. Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according

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to the dictates of conscience; with such other matter as it is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the Legislators and Governors of this Continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness, may GOD preserve. AMEN...

- 5 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 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 ...

10 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 an asylum for mankind.

DELEGATE THOMAS JEFFERSON (VA) OF THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

A Declaration

DRAFT STATEMENT

June 1776
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Draft of the Declaration of Independence

BACKGROUND

Thomas Jefferson drafted and the Committee of Five edited this initial version of what would become the Declaration of Independence. This draft includes the edits that the Second Continental Congress made.

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Key:

~~word~~ = language deleted by Congress from Jefferson's draft

«word» = language added by Congress to Jefferson's draft

A DECLARATION By the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA,
in «GENERAL» CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

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
5 of the Earth the separate & 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 en-
dowed by their Creator with ~~inherent and~~ unalienable Rights, that among these are Life,

"The Declaration of Independence" and "Draft of the Declaration of Independence" in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 5-9, 397-98.

Liberty, & 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 abolish it, & to institute new Government, laying it's Foundation on such Principles, & organizing it's Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety & Happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light & transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shown that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses & Usurpations ~~begun at a distinguished period and~~ 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, & to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; & such is now the Necessity which constrains them to ~~expunge~~ «alter» their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of ~~unremitting~~ «repeated» Injuries & Usurpations, ~~among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest but all have~~ «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 ~~for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.~~

20 He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome & necessary for the public Good.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, & ~~continually~~ 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 meantime exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, & Convulsions within.

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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, & raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

5 He has made ~~our~~ Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, & the Amount & payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a Multitude of new Offices ~~by a self assumed power~~ and sent hither Swarms of new Officers to harass our People and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, ~~and ships of war~~ without the consent of our Legislatures.

10 He has affected to render the Military independent of, & superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, & unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:
For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

15 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:

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 Offences:

20 For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging it's Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these ~~states~~ «Colonies»:

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

For suspending our own Legislatures, & declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

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He has abdicated Government here by ~~withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance & protection~~ «declaring us out of his Protection, and Waging war against us.» He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, & destroyed the Lives of our People.

- 5 He is, at this time Transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of Death, Desolation & Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy «scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, & 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 & Brethren,
- 10 or to fall themselves by their Hands. He has «excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, & 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, & Conditions of existence. He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property. He has waged cruel war
- 15 against human nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold,
- 20 he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of
- 25 one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another. 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 who mean to be free. Future ages will scarcely believe that the hardiness of

~~one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad & so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered & fixed in principles of freedom.~~

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 a «an unwarrantable» jurisdiction over ~~these our states~~ «us». We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our
 5 Emigration & Settlement here, ~~no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league & am-~~
 10 ~~ity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and.~~ We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity ~~as well as to~~ «, and we have conjured them by» the Ties of our common Kin-
 dred to disavow these Usurpations, which ~~were likely to~~«, would inevitably» interrupt our Connection and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice & of
 15 Consanguinity ~~, and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time too they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affec-~~
 20 ~~tion, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness & to glory is open to us too. We will tread it~~
 25 ~~apart from them, and~~ «. We must therefore» acquiesce in the Necessity which denounces our eternal Separation «, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends!»

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, & by the Authority of the good People of these states
reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain and all others
who may hereafter claim by, through or under them; we utterly dissolve all political con-
nection which may heretofore have subsided between us and the people or parliament of
5 Great Britain: and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent
states; «Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and are
of Right 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;» & that as Free & Independent States, they have
10 full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce & to do all
other Acts & 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, & our sacred Honor.

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.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why do the United States believe they need to release a statement about their decision to form a country separate from Great Britain?
2. How are all men equal?
3. From where comes their rights?
4. What is the reason why people create governments?
5. From where comes a government's powers?
6. What may a people do if a government does not fulfill its ends?

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

7. Although governments should not be changed for small reasons, when should the people change them?
8. Against which person does the Declaration of Independence level its charges?
9. To whom do the representatives appeal for the justness of their intentions?
10. By whose authority do the representatives declare independence?
11. What do each of the representatives pledge to one another?

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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 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
20 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
25 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, un-
30 less suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

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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.

5 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.

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

15 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.

20 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.

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

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

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

30 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.

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:

5

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

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

10

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

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

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

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

20 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 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:

25

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

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

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

5 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 scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

10 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.

15 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.

20 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.

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 25 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.

30

ANNOTATIONS

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

5 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

10 on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Georgia

Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton

15

North Carolina

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn

South Carolina

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

Maryland

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

25 Virginia

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

Pennsylvania

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

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Delaware

Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean

New York

5 William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris

New Jersey

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

10 New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts

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

15

Rhode Island

Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery

Connecticut

20 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, increases 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 superintendance 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.

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
10 Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the 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,

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

be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

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
5 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 enu-
10 meration 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
15 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.
20 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
25 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.

10 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
15 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
20 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
25 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;

25 To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the 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:

15 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 Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

20 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 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.

5 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, 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.

20 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 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 notwithstand-
20 ing.

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

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 FitzSimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris

Attest William Jackson Secretary

Amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America

Amendment I

Ratified December 15, 1791

5 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.

Amendment II

Ratified December 15, 1791

10 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

Ratified December 15, 1791

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.

15 **Amendment IV**

Ratified December 15, 1791

20 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

Ratified December 15, 1791

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
5 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 offense 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.

10 Amendment VI

Ratified December 15, 1791

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 na-
15 ture 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 defense.

Amendment VII

Ratified December 15, 1791

20 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.

25

Amendment VIII

Ratified December 15, 1791

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

5 **Amendment IX**

Ratified December 15, 1791

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

Amendment X

10 Ratified December 15, 1791

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.

Amendment XI

Ratified February 7, 1795

15 The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Amendment XII

Ratified June 15, 1804

20 The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all per-

sons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the 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
 5 all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President.
 10 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. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the
 15 Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number
 20 shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Amendment XIII

Ratified December 6, 1865

25 Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV

Ratified July 9, 1868

5 Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

10 Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the
15 United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

20 Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have
25 engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV

10 Ratified February 3, 1870

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

15 **Amendment XVI**

Ratified February 3, 1913

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

20 **Amendment XVII**

Ratified April 8, 1913

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

- 5 This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Amendment XVIII

Ratified January 16, 1919

- 10 Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

- 15 Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XIX

- 20 Ratified August 18, 1920

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XX

Ratified January 23, 1933

Section 1. The terms of the President and the Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of
5 January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President
10 elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein
15 neither a President elect nor a Vice President shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons
20 from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amend-
25 ment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment XXI

Ratified December 5, 1933

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

- 5 Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

- 10 Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXII

Ratified February 27, 1951

- 15 Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term
20 within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

25

Amendment XXIII

Ratified March 29, 1961

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

- 5 A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the
- 10 District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV

Ratified January 23, 1964

- 15 Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXV

- 20 Ratified February 10, 1967

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

- Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote
- 25 of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

25

Amendment XXVI

Ratified July 1, 1971

5 Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXVII

Ratified May 7, 1992

10 No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

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.

