

A Virtuous Republic

Creating a Workable Government, 1783–1789

“We may look up to Armies for our Defense, but Virtue is our best Security. It is not possible that any State should long remain free, where Virtue is not supremely honored.”

SAMUEL ADAMS 1775

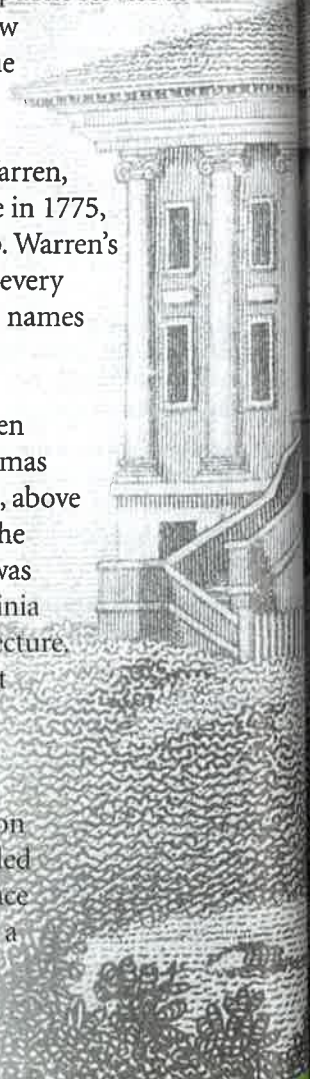
In 1776 patriot leader John Adams wrote that “public virtue is the only foundation of Republics. There must be a positive passion for the public good, the public interest.” Adams echoed many Americans’ views when he wrote that republican government depended on the concept of public virtue, which meant pursuing the public good and placing it ahead of personal interest or local attachments. Men were expected to serve in the militia, sit on juries, and, if they were truly virtuous and wise, take on the burden of public service as

elected representatives. Women, too, were expected to play a major role in the political life of the new republic, assuming the role of republican mothers and wives who would instill patriotism and virtue in their children and spouses.

Americans of the revolutionary generation took their cues from the lessons of history, particularly the example of the Roman Republic and its ideal of public virtue. When Dr. Joseph Warren, physician and Patriot leader, addressed Bostonians on the fifth anniversary of the Boston Massacre in 1775, he literally donned a Roman toga, the long flowing gown that symbolized freedom and citizenship. Warren’s dramatic gesture, linking himself with Roman republicanism, was mirrored in the pages of nearly every American newspaper of the day, where letters and essays on political matters were signed with pen names drawn from Roman history, such as the politicians Brutus and Cato, and the great Roman general Cincinnatus.

To mold a new generation of virtuous citizens, Americans looked to education, religion, and even architecture. No American was more enthusiastic about architecture’s capacity to instruct than Thomas Jefferson. Public buildings, Jefferson wrote, “should be more than things of beauty and convenience, above all they should state a creed.” Rather than emulate contemporary Georgian-style buildings such as the Pennsylvania State House (see Chapter 3), the building in which the Declaration of Independence was drafted, Jefferson argued for a return to the purity of Roman architecture. In his design for the Virginia State Capitol (pictured here), Jefferson succeeded in re-creating the simple beauty of Roman architecture. He believed that the Virginia State Capitol would inspire citizens to emulate the ideals of the ancient Roman Republic, which included an emphasis on civic participation and public virtue.

In the decade following independence, Americans’ faith in their ability to create a virtuous republic was severely challenged. An aborted coup led by disgruntled Continental Army officers, conflicts between debtors and creditors, and an uprising in western Massachusetts drove the nation to a political crisis. The events of the postwar period tested America’s faith in republicanism and led some leaders to abandon traditional republican theory, with its emphasis on virtue, and to embrace a new approach to constitutional government that relied on a balance of conflicting interests and a system of checks and balances. The culmination of this struggle between the two competing visions of constitutional government was the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights.





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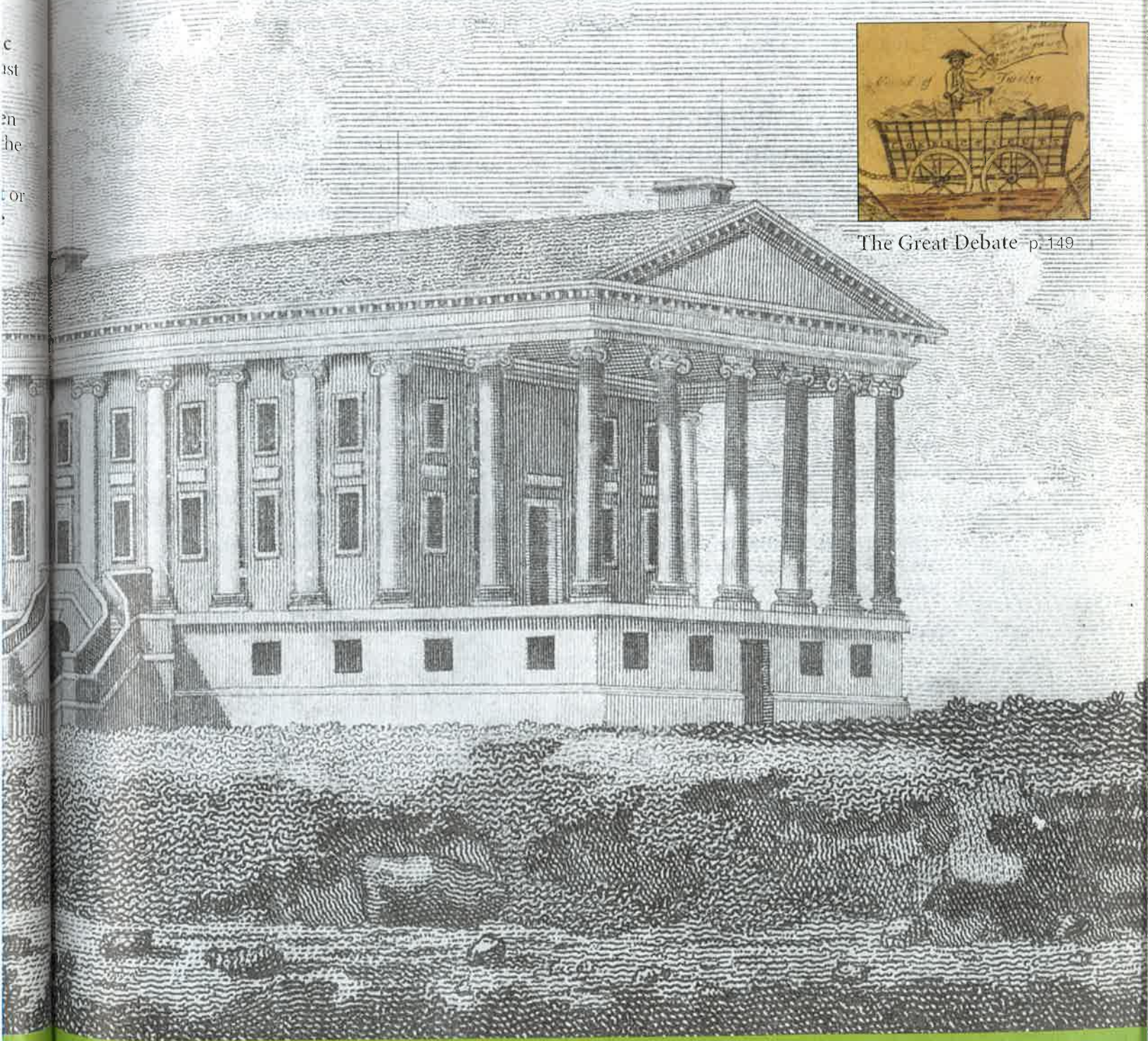
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Republicanism and the Politics of Virtue



The American Revolution marked a decisive break from many ideas and values that had defined British culture for centuries. Monarchy and aristocracy were swept away by the Revolution. America was now a republic. Republicanism placed a premium on the ideal of virtue. As the poet, playwright, and historian Mercy Otis Warren observed, Americans needed “to cherish true, genuine republican virtue.” The events of the postwar period would test this commitment in a host of ways.

George Washington: The American Cincinnatus

No individual in America was more closely identified with the ideal of virtue than George Washington. A symbol of the virtuous citizen—soldier, responding to the summons of his nation and retiring to private life once his service was no longer needed—Washington was a model of civic virtue. Washington’s reputation for public virtue and his ability to command the respect of his troops had helped the beleaguered Continental Army during some of its more dire campaigns. In 1783 Washington faced a different sort of challenge. This time it was not the threat of enemy troops he faced, but the rumors of a military coup by the Continental Army’s officers’ corps. Washington wielded his personal authority to win over disgruntled members of the corps and made an impassioned appeal to “reason and virtue,” thus crushing the revolt without firing a shot.

Washington had learned of rumors that the army’s leadership would no longer tolerate Congress’s failure to deal with complaints about their pay and the issue of their pensions. An anonymous essay had circulated among officers suggesting that the time might soon come when it would be necessary to turn their arms against Congress itself. The officers’ anger had been simmering for some time. Frustration with the Confederation Congress was widespread among officers; Washington was well aware of the officers’ grievances. He had complained about the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of Congress on many occasions. With no power to tax, Congress had to depend on voluntary contributions from the states. Without a reliable source of revenue, it was difficult to wage war or conduct the routine business of governing. Faced

with the possibility of a rebellion by his own officers, Washington resolved to address his men in person and persuade them of the folly of their plan.

On a dark wintry day in March 1783, Washington traveled to Newburgh, New York, to address the officers’ corps. The assembled officers met in a makeshift building that some of them had dubbed the “Temple of Virtue.” Washington prepared to read a letter that he hoped would persuade the officers that their demands would be met. Fumbling to find a pair of glasses he had recently acquired, he paused, and then addressed the hushed crowd: “Gentlemen, you must pardon me. I have grown grey in your service, and now find myself growing blind.” The impact on his audience was dramatic. “There was something so natural, so unaffected in his appeal,” Major Samuel Shaw later wrote, “as rendered it superior to the most studied oratory, and you might see sensibility moisten every eye.” Washington’s own wartime sacrifices had already provided a powerful role model for the officers’ corps. Now the figure of their beloved commander growing gray and blind in the service of his country struck a resonant chord. He exhorted his men to give posterity “proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue.” Civic virtue had triumphed over corruption, and the Newburgh conspiracy was effectively crushed without a single shot being fired.

Another important event that helped spread Washington’s reputation as the embodiment of republican virtue was the highly public ceremonial occasion of turning over his military commission to Congress after the war. In Annapolis, Maryland, where Congress was convened, Washington addressed a room crowded with congressional delegates and a gallery packed with well-wishers. “Having now finished the work assigned me,” he

informed his audience, many of whom were brought to tears, "I here offer my commission, and take my leave" of "the employments of public life." By abandoning public life and returning to his plow, Washington was seen as placing the good of the nation ahead of personal glory. In the public's view, Washington had transformed himself into the modern Cincinnatus, an allusion to the ancient world's great symbol of public virtue, the Roman general Cincinnatus. After serving the Roman Republic as a soldier, Cincinnatus returned to life as a farmer.

After resigning, Washington went on a triumphal tour of the nation. As he entered Philadelphia, he was saluted by cannons and a chorus of bells from the city's steeples. He sat for portraits by America's leading painters and enjoyed listening to commemorative verses that compared him to Cincinnatus. Well schooled in the history of the ancient Roman Republic, Americans understood that a popular military leader's decision

to emulate Rome's dictatorial general Julius Caesar rather than Cincinnatus would lead to despotism. Several years later the Virginia legislature commissioned the eminent French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon to create a life-sized statue of Washington as the modern Cincinnatus (5.1). Washington stands before a plow, the symbol of the virtuous farmer, the ideal embodied by Cincinnatus.

**"No free Government, or
the blessing of liberty, can
be preserved to any people but
by a firm adherence to
justice, moderation,
temperance, frugality,
and virtue . . .**

Virginia Declaration of Rights, 1776

The Politics of Virtue: Views from the States

The republican emphasis on virtue suffused American culture. The first state constitutions drafted after independence used their declarations of rights to outline the basic rights of citizens and also instructed citizens in the basic premises of republican government. In these declarations of rights, the ideal of virtue was literally written into American law. The Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776) asserted that free government could not survive without a virtuous citizenry, a point echoed by the Massachusetts Constitution drafted four years later. Educating citizens in the importance of republican ideals became a high priority for the new nation.

Art, architecture, and even fashion were pressed into service to mold the character of a new generation of citizens. Jefferson's design for the new Virginia Capitol was the most ambitious visible symbol of the way one might instill republican values by reforming architecture. (See the chapter opening image, p. 129). The impact of the Revolution was even seen in home furnishings. Before the Revolution, decorative elements on American furniture copied British fashions, including fanciful designs such as the scrolled

5.1 George Washington as the Modern Cincinnatus

George Washington is literally cast as the modern Cincinnatus in this sculpture. He stands in front of the plow and beside the Roman "fasces," a bundle of rods that symbolized the rule of law.





5.2 Chippendale High Chest

This pre-revolutionary chest reflected British styles, including the floral decorative patterns in the fancy broken pediment on top of the chest. [Courtesy, Winterthur Museum]

5.3 Samuel McIntire Carving

This piece of furniture, produced after the Revolution, uses simple classical lines. Symbols of republicanism, such as the goddess of liberty, were carved at the center of the broken pediment. [Source: Samuel McIntire, "Chest-on-chest (detail)"; Mahogany, mahogany veneer, ebony and satin-wood inlay, pine; Eighteenth-century American Arts No. 4; the M. and M. Karolik Collection of Eighteenth-Century American Arts, 41.580, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (41.58). Photograph © 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]



pediment with rosettes on this chest of drawers (5.2). After the Revolution some of these purely decorative elements were replaced with symbols that represented the republican values of the new nation. A beautifully crafted example of this adorns a chest of drawers made in Salem, Massachusetts (5.3). The broken pediment is a simple classical design. Gone is the fancy carving in the pediment of the late colonial chest (5.2). In its place is the goddess of liberty herself. To reinforce the ideal of Roman republicanism, the chest has two classical columns, another symbol of this ideal. These flank another set of carvings that illustrate the prosperity that republicanism will bring to the new nation.

Education was another important means for inculcating virtue. The Massachusetts Constitution expressly linked republicanism, virtue, and education. The state achieved this by providing public primary education for boys and girls. Several of the larger towns also provided secondary education for boys. Thomas Jefferson framed the most ambitious proposal to create a public system of

education in 1778. In "A Bill for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge," Jefferson proposed that Virginia adopt a publicly funded system of education. White children, including boys and girls, would be educated at public expense for three years. The best male students would then be selected for secondary education, and a small select group from among this cohort would later attend the College of William and Mary. Jefferson introduced his bill in the state legislature several times, although it never passed.

Jefferson's faith in education reflected his debt to the ideals of the Enlightenment, the international philosophical movement based on the notion that reason and science provided the means to improve humanity. (See discussion in Chapter 3) Following the lead of the English philosopher John Locke, Enlightenment thinkers believed that people were born a blank slate upon which society could write its own moral code. Many American Founders, including Jefferson, were also strongly influenced by other ideas drawn from the Enlightenment. Philosophers of the Enlightenment believed that humans had an innate moral sense, akin to the other five senses. In the same way that people see different shades of the color spectrum, so the moral sense helped people see the difference between right and wrong. One need only cultivate this inborn sense to produce an enlightened body of citizens. Taken together, Lockean psychology and Enlightenment moral theory led many Americans to put enormous faith in education's ability to shape morality and mold character.

Inspired by Enlightenment ideals about education and the American Revolution's faith in representative government, Americans founded new educational institutions to help create an enlightened citizenry. Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale University at the time, wrote in 1786 that "the spirit for Academy making is vigorous." The charter for one of these new academies in North Carolina declared that "the good education of youth has the most direct tendency to promote the virtue, increase the wealth and extend the fame of any people." North Carolina was one of the states that founded a university. Georgia and Vermont also founded public institutions of higher education. Among the private colleges established were Williams (Massachusetts), Transylvania (Kentucky), College of Charleston (South Carolina), and Bowdoin (Maine).

Educators also published new republican materials to instruct children in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Spellers and readers included patriotic lessons with illustrations that reinforced

their republican message. In a book of alphabet rhymes, for example, the bald eagle from the Great Seal of America, the new nation's official symbol, represented the letter "E" (5.4). The design of the great seal had gone through many versions before Congress finally approved one that included an American eagle clutching an olive branch and thirteen arrows, symbolizing the new government's power to make war and to negotiate peace. The thirteen states are represented by the same number of stars, stripes, and arrows. Charles Thomson, the secretary of Congress, observed that the eagle bore a shield to symbolize that "the United States ought to rely on their own Virtue."

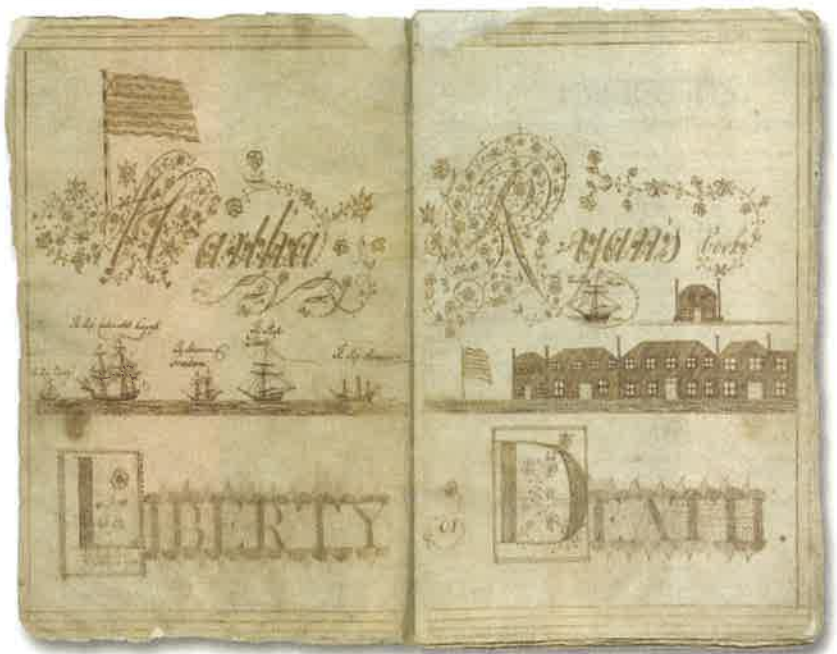
The expansion of education opened up new possibilities for white women. While Jefferson's plan for educational reform called for basic education for women, other reformers recommended more ambitious plans to educate the nation's female population. Jefferson's friend, the eminent Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush, offered a robust statement of the importance of education in a republic in general, but also framed a bold call to educate women for their role as republican citizens. Women needed to be familiar with the political ideas of republicanism. As the mothers of future citizens of the republic, women had a special role to play. Rush was not alone in championing female education. The Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy (1787) was typical of these new institutions. In addition to teaching music, dance, and needlework, these new schools taught girls a variety of subjects, such as rhetoric, oratory, and history, once exclusively taught to boys. Martha Ryan, a student at one of the new schools in North Carolina, inscribed the phrase "Liberty or Death" in her cipher book (5.5). Although clearly influenced by republican ideas, her book also revealed the continuing importance of traditional ideas about women's roles. Bound into the book was a series of penmanship exercises that intoned such traditional moral injunctions as "Honour Father and Mother." *Images as History: Women's Roles: Tradition and Change* explores women's roles and the effects of republican ideas on those roles (page 134).

Supporters of Enlightenment ideas such as Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson believed that education would help nurture the virtue necessary for the survival of republicanism. Other Americans, however, looked to religion to foster virtue. One minister reminded his parishioners that while the "civil authority have no right to establish religion," it was still true that "religion is connected with the



5.4 Book of Children's Verses

This book of children's verse uses America's new national symbol, the bald eagle, taken from the Great Seal of the United States. Educational materials such as this one included republican and patriotic themes.



5.5 Martha Ryan's Cipher Book

The cover of Martha Ryan's cipher book proclaims liberty. Yet, the book included penmanship exercises with such traditional precepts as "Honour Father and Mother ... A good girl will mind."

Images as History

WOMEN'S ROLES: TRADITION AND CHANGE

Although republicanism did allow some women to transform the roles assigned to them, it retained the traditional view that a woman's primary duties were to her family. In the engraving *Keep Within the Compass*, the woman who stays within the compass enjoys a life of harmony and prosperity. Stepping outside of the compass carried grave consequences.

Republican ideals of womanhood were stitched into a needlework sampler prepared by a school girl, Nabby Martin of Providence, Rhode Island. Samplers were a traditional form of needlework, a standard part of a young woman's education. Nabby included images of young couples, flowers, and domestic animals, common to pre-Revolution samplers, but republican themes show through. The home, the symbol of

domesticity, traditionally the heart and center image of a young girl's sampler, has been replaced by the Rhode Island state house. Politics, not home, is the center of this piece. Nabby also showed her respect for the republican emphasis on education by including the College of Rhode Island.

As a female, Nabby Martin was barred from the world of the state house and the College of Rhode Island, but the inclusion of their images in her sampler is significant. Although working with an art form closely tied to women's roles, Martin turned her gaze to the wider world both buildings represented. The republican message of the sampler is clear: Let Virtue be a Guide to Thee. How is virtue represented visually in Martin's needlework?

The text that accompanied this image advised: "Keep within the Compass and You shall be sure to avoid many troubles which others endure."



Keep Within the Compass, 1784
[Courtesy, Winterthur Museum]

When a woman steps outside the compass, she faces arrest and imprisonment.

The building pictured is The College of Rhode Island, the forerunner of Brown University.



The message of the sampler is announced in the central text: Let Virtue be a Guide to Thee

Instead of a home, the Rhode Island state house is the central image.

Nabby Martin, Sampler, 1786

morals of the people." Another minister noted that by "instilling good sentiments into the tender minds of children and youth, you will teach them to stand fast in their liberty." Post-revolutionary America remained a predominantly Protestant culture in which religious dissent was tolerated only within limits. Some states continued to bar Catholics and Jews from holding public office. The assumption behind such laws was that only Protestants could be counted on to have the necessary virtue to seek the public good.

Although excluded from the full benefits of citizenship, religious dissenters were still allowed to worship according to the dictates of conscience. Most state bills of rights and constitutions guaranteed the free exercise of religion. Revolutionary ideas of liberty and equality slowly led states to abandon the notion that only Protestants could be trusted to hold public office. Religious tests requiring potential office holders to swear a belief in the divinity of Jesus as a requirement for public office holding were abolished in Virginia (1785), Georgia (1789), Pennsylvania (1790), South Carolina (1790), Delaware (1792), and Vermont (1793).

Before the Revolution, many colonies provided direct government support to religion or followed the English practice of having an official state church. But the Revolution gave impetus to the notion of separation of church and state. The post-revolutionary era witnessed a widespread move to disestablish the Anglican Church in those places where it enjoyed public funding. Two different justifications for the separation of church and state emerged in post-revolutionary America. For champions of the Enlightenment, such as Jefferson, separation of church and state was inspired by the fear that religion might use the power of government to oppress citizens of different religious views. Enlightenment champions of religious freedom also feared that religion might corrupt government. Dissenting Protestant sects, notably the Baptists and Methodists, opposed state support for religion for a different reason. These groups had long felt oppressed by the state-supported Anglican Church, particularly by taxation to support that church. For Virginia's Baptist community, the ideal of separation of church and state was as much a means to protect the purity of religion from corruption by government as it was a means to protect government from religious tyranny.

Evangelicals and supporters of the Enlightenment came together in Virginia in 1785 when the state legislature considered a bill for nonpreferential aid for ministers of the Christian religion. Since

the scheme was nonpreferential, it would not establish an official state church but rather provide funds to all Protestant churches in a nondiscriminatory fashion. Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, two of the state's leading politicians, campaigned in favor of the bill. Leading the opposition was an equally impressive duo, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, champions of Enlightenment values.

Madison and Jefferson outlined their case against state support for religion in "The Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments" (1785). This essay not only was instrumental in defeating the bill but also became a landmark in the history of American church-state relations.

Democracy Triumphant?

According to traditional republican theory, citizens were expected to defer to their betters, who were assumed to be the most virtuous members of society. Before the American Revolution, the state legislatures were dominated by men of wealth. As one legislator noted, "it is right that men of birth and fortune, in every government that is free, should be invested with power, and enjoy higher honours than the people." Virtue, according to this view, required one to have the wealth supposedly necessary to cultivate wisdom and knowledge. One newspaper writer captured this traditional conception of virtue when he wrote that representatives "should be ABLE in ESTATE, ABLE in KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING."

The Revolution, however, challenged this ideal, substituting a more democratic theory of virtue. A writer calling himself "Democritus" captured the essence of this new theory when he urged that citizens only vote for "a man of middling circumstances" and "common understanding," not members of a wealthy or educated elite. In nearly every state a new type of politician emerged who embodied the more democratic version of republicanism: men such as New York's Abraham Yates, a shoemaker from Albany, and Pennsylvania's William Findley, a weaver from western Pennsylvania.

Supporters of the traditional elitist republican view of politics mocked the humble origins of the new politicians and questioned their ability to function as effective legislators. One contemporary political satirist took aim at Findley, whose humble origins as a weaver prompted this sarcastic comment: "It will be more honourable for such men to stay at

their looms and knot threads, than to come forward in a legislative capacity.”

The post-revolutionary debate over the meaning of virtue and democracy shaped the tone of political debate. When William Smith, a prosperous Baltimore flour merchant, ran for office in 1789 his enemies attacked him by claiming that “Mr. Smith has distilled RICHES from the tears of the POOR; and grown FAT upon their curses.” Smith’s supporters viewed his independence as one of his main qualifications for office. In their view Smith was

“a Man of great commercial Knowledge, of known integrity, and possessed of a Character and independent Fortune which place him above Temptation.” Smith’s support for this traditional idea of virtue was reflected in this portrait (5.6) painted by artist Charles Wilson Peale. Rather than include symbols that reflected Smith’s life as a prosperous city merchant, Peale depicted Smith as a simply dressed country gentleman. The books that the artist included, poetical works on rural life, reinforce the notion that Smith was a virtuous country gentleman. Peale also placed Smith in front of a Roman column, another visual cue designed to symbolize his virtue.

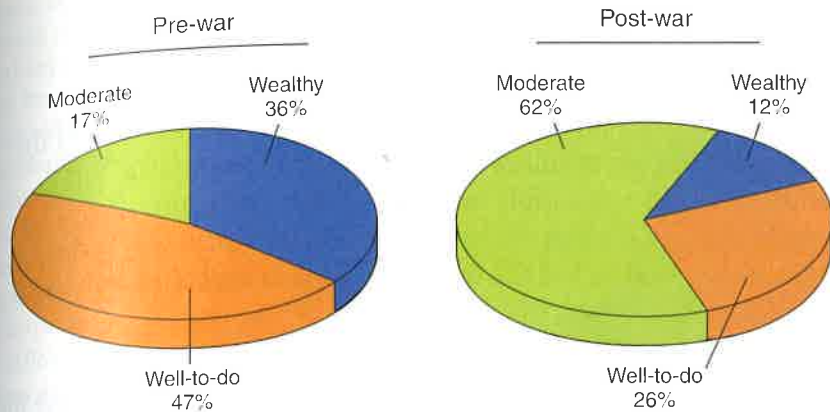
The debate over what qualities made a good representative in part reflected a larger process of democratization in American culture. The Revolution greatly expanded the number of white male voters eligible to participate in the political process. Most states lowered property requirements for voting, and Pennsylvania abandoned such requirements entirely. Taken together, the expansion of democratic ideas and changes in suffrage requirements changed the character of politics in America. As this graph (5.7) reveals, the impact on the composition of state legislatures was profound. After the American Revolution the percentage of wealthy citizens elected to the legislature dropped significantly, and the numbers of elected citizens drawn from the ranks of the “middling sort,” or middling classes, increased dramatically. One Boston newspaper writer complained that “since the war, blustering ignorant men” had unfortunately pushed “themselves into office.” Not everyone saw the rise of these



5.6 William Smith and his Grandson

In this portrait of William Smith, the artist conjures up an image of a country gentleman who devoted himself to thought and contemplation. All references to Smith’s life as a prosperous Baltimore merchant are deliberately excluded from the painting. [Source: Charles Wilson Peale (American 1741–1827), “William Smith and his Grandson”, 1788, Oil on Canvas, 51 1/4" X 40 3/8" (130.2 X 102.5 cm). Signed and dated lower right C W Peale painted 1788. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Museum Purchase with Funds provided by The Robert G. Cabell III and Maude Morgan Cabell Foundation, and The Arthur and Margarel Glasgow Fund. Photo: Katherine Wetzel G Virginia Museum of Fine Arts]

Economic Status of Legislators in New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey



5.7 The Democratization of the State Legislatures

The number of wealthy legislators decreased and the number of men of moderate wealth increased. These changes were pronounced in parts of the mid-Atlantic and New England, and are reflected in the data regarding property holdings of legislators elected in New York, New Jersey, and New Hampshire.

new politicians in negative terms. For those who believed in democracy, these trends were a positive development. Now government included “a class of citizens who hitherto have thought it more for their interest to be contented with a humbler walk in life.”

The new democratic politicians favored policies designed to make it easier for ordinary citizens to participate in government. They introduced, for example, higher salaries for elected representatives, encouraging ordinary people to serve in government. They also made efforts to relocate state capitals inland so that travel to them would be easier for backcountry farmers.

Debtors versus Creditors

Economic issues proved particularly contentious in post-revolutionary America. On economic matters, spokesmen for these new politicians favored policies designed to ease the burdens of farmers and artisans. Some legislatures passed “stay laws,” which created generous grace periods for the recovery of debts and protected farmers from having their farms seized for nonpayment of debts. States also enacted “tender laws,” which allowed farmers to pay debts with goods rather than hard currency. Merchants generally opposed these policies.

The lack of specie, currency backed by silver and gold, hindered economic exchange. Spokesmen for debtors argued that government had an obligation to use paper money to ease the **shortage** of currency. By expanding the money supply, **printing** more paper currency, government adopted a policy that encouraged inflation. Increasing the amount of money in circulation facilitated commerce. When

done cautiously, this type of inflationary economic policy provided a means of pumping up the economy. As long as the government did not flood the market with paper, driving down its price, debtors and creditors could each adjust their behavior to take into account the effects of modest inflation in prices for various commodities. By encouraging economic activity, paper money could provide an important tool for economic growth. Farmers were especially fond of this system because they could repay their debts with depreciated currency—money that was worth less than the amount of the original debt. This system, however, could function only if merchants did not dramatically raise prices to compensate for the declining value of paper money. A rapid rise in prices could lead inflation to spiral out of control. Most merchants, however, viewed paper money as a bad policy that hurt their economic interests.

No state was more aggressive in using paper money to solve its financial problems than Rhode Island. Unfortunately, however, the decision to print large amounts of paper money never won the support of that state’s merchants in Providence and Newport. When presented with paper money, merchants responded by dramatically increasing prices and eventually refused to accept any depreciated paper currency. Angered by the actions of merchants, the debtor interest in the state legislature responded with laws that imposed a steep fine on any merchant who refused to accept paper currency. One writer lampooned the situation of “Rogue Island” in verse: “*Hail! realm of rogues, renow’d for fraud and guile All hail, ye knav’ries of yon little isle.*”

Life under the Articles of Confederation



From the outset, the Articles of Confederation, America's first federal constitution, faced serious problems. Without the power to tax, lacking the power to coerce states even to follow the treaties it had negotiated, the Confederation Congress was simply unable to deal with the pressing economic problems and diplomatic issues the nation confronted. Some leaders also worried that the Confederation lacked the military power to deal effectively with internal rebellions or external foes.

No Taxation with Representation

Americans deeply resented British efforts to tax them prior to the Revolution. Given their fears of strong government and hostility to taxation, the Articles of Confederation, the constitution created by the Confederation Congress, did not empower the new central government to tax Americans. Rather than provide such a power, the Articles of Confederation relied on requisitions made to the states to fund the war effort and other government business. Few states bothered to comply with these requisitions in a timely manner, and the new government of the United States was plagued by shortages of funds.

Although it lacked the power to tax, Congress had to fund the war. To help pay for the war effort, Congress printed almost \$250 million in paper

currency. This paper money was not backed by gold or silver.

Congress's use of paper money led to staggering inflation. By 1781 the value of this money had plunged: In that year it took more than 150 continental dollars to purchase what had taken one dollar to buy in 1777. This dramatic drop in the value of continental currency led some to the phrase "As worthless as a Continental" to describe something with no value. As 5.8 illustrates, it would literally take a pile of continentals to purchase what a single dollar might have paid for less than five years before.

The Treaty of Paris (1783) formally ended hostilities between Britain and the new United

States of America. Peace did not, however, solve the economic problems that the new nation faced. Indeed, the end of the war ushered in new economic problems. Patriot boycotts of British goods and the disruption of normal trade patterns during wartime meant that consumers had been denied access to luxury items, including china, textiles, and a host of other goods. Demand for British goods increased dramatically after the war, and soon the new nation was flooded with imports. British merchants encouraged Americans to buy goods on credit. Few American goods went to Britain to offset the huge increase in imports. America's trade deficit with Britain caused a serious drain on what little gold and silver reserves were available to the new nation. With little hard currency, American banks had to curtail loans. When merchants were forced to call in debts to satisfy their British suppliers, they in turn called in the debts owed them by individuals. Taken together this constriction of credit sent the American economy into a depression. Prices for agricultural products plummeted, and wages fell abruptly. The result: the nation's first economic depression.

Diplomacy: Frustration and Stalemate

The new nation was faced with a host of military challenges. British troops remained garrisoned in parts of the Ohio Valley. Relations with many of the Indian tribes along the frontier also remained tense. Farther from the nation's borders, Americans faced a different set of problems. Without a powerful navy to protect American commerce on the high seas, American ships were easy prey for pirates. Piracy was a particularly serious problem for merchants who wished to trade in the Mediterranean. State-sanctioned piracy was rampant among the North

5.8 Continental Paper Currency

The value of Continental paper currency dropped precipitously as Congress printed more money, and faith in the value of the currency dwindled.



African states of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, known as the Barbary States. The Barbary pirates extorted money from merchant vessels in exchange for safe passage in the Mediterranean. Failure to pay resulted in the seizure of ships and imprisonment of sailors. American sailors taken as captives by Barbary pirates languished in North African prisons or were sold into slavery in North Africa. In July 1785, when pirates captured two American ships, Algiers demanded nearly \$60,000 in ransom to release the vessels and their crews. The American navy was too weak to challenge these pirate fleets. While the loss of trade burdened the nation's fledgling economy, the sad fate of American captives became a source of national humiliation.

Frustration with the inability to defend America's interests on the high seas grew, but America faced even more serious problems closer to its borders. Defending the nation's interests in the Mediterranean would have to wait while America dealt with the threats posed by Indians and by the continuing presence of the British and Spanish in North America. The map (5.9) shows the continuing British and Spanish presence along America's borders, a fact that increased American anxiety.

Congress had little power to compel the states to live up to its treaty obligations, including provisions requiring Americans to pay prewar debts and compensate Loyalists for property confiscated during the war. Britain used America's failure to comply with these provisions as a pretext for retaining control of their forts in the Ohio Territory of



5.9 Border Disputes in Old Northwest and Southwest

The British refused to abandon their forts in the Old Northwest until Congress complied with all the provisions of the Treaty of Paris. In the Old Southwest, Spain frustrated America's efforts to secure the rights to navigate the Mississippi River.

the **Old Northwest**, the region of the new nation bordering on the Great Lakes (5.9). These outposts allowed the British to continue their lucrative fur trade with the Indians.

The war against Britain had strained relations between America and its Indian neighbors. Many Indian peoples, such as the Iroquois in New York and the Creek in Georgia, sided with the British against America. While British peace negotiators had made a concerted effort to protect the interests of Loyalists, they expended no effort to secure a just and fair peace for their Indian allies. The leader of the Mohawks, another Indian nation that had sided with the British, forcefully stated the point of view of his people when he observed that the government of George III had “no right whatever to grant away to the States of America their rights or properties without a manifest breach of all justice and equity.”

Given the absence of Indian representation in the treaty that ended hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, it is hardly surprising that the interests of Indian peoples were not reflected in the final terms agreed upon. The Treaty of Paris ceded the entire Old Northwest territory to the United States. American diplomatic envoys were not particularly sympathetic to the claims of Indians. Operating under a theory of conquest in which Indians were “a subdued people,” American negotiators assumed that defeated tribes had to relinquish all claims to Western lands. Rejecting this view, Indians organized themselves to resist further incursions onto their lands. Rather than mark the start of an era of peace, the period after the Revolution was one of continued conflict between Indians and Americans. Those tribes that were best organized politically and militarily were better able to defend their interests against American expansionism.

The Indian population east of the Mississippi numbered between 150,000 and 200,000 and was divided into eighty-five different nations. The white population of the new United States of America was approximately 2.4 million. Growing pressure to open up Indian lands for white settlement created conflict. Indians had no illusions about the long-term goal of American policy. The insatiable desire for Indian land led the Creek Indians to bestow the name “Ecunnaunuxulgee” on Georgians. Translated into English, the name meant “people greedily grasping after the lands of red people.”

When confronted with the continuing determination of Indians to defend their lands with their lives, Americans were forced to abandon their conquest theory and negotiate more fairly with Indians. American leaders soon realized that missionary work and trade with the Indians were more likely to secure harmonious relations than

conquest and military confrontation would. By 1789 Congress had shifted both its tone and strategy for dealing with Indian policy. In place of their theory of conquest, Congress recommended “the utmost good faith” in dealing with the Indians.

The Spanish presence in the Old Southwest represented another threat to the new United States. Navigation of the Mississippi River was crucial to the economic development of this region. Goods traveling down the Mississippi needed to be unloaded at New Orleans and placed on ocean-bound vessels. Spain denied Americans free access to the Mississippi River and the Port of New Orleans. Eager to solve their problems in the Southwest, Congress authorized Secretary of Foreign Affairs John Jay to negotiate with the Spanish. Spain proposed opening up trade with their empire if the United States renounced its rights to navigate the Mississippi. The terms set by the Spanish would have been a boon to New England merchants, who would have benefited from new trade opportunities with Spanish America but alienated Southerners, particularly those in the West, who viewed the Mississippi as their pipeline to world markets.

Settling the Old Northwest

The most important achievement of the Confederation period was the plan Congress devised for Western settlement. A committee chaired by Thomas Jefferson devised the initial plan for settling the West (5.10). This proposal imagined a rational mathematical scheme for carving out as many as sixteen new states from the Northwest Territory. In fashioning his plan, Jefferson combined republican theories of self-government with Enlightenment ideas about geography. Boundaries would be drawn along an orderly grid after being carefully surveyed. Reflecting his debt to classical republicanism, Jefferson’s chosen names for the new territories such as Polyptamia, “land of many rivers.” Republicanism guided Jefferson’s plan in other ways. In his Ordinance of 1784, Jefferson proposed that new territories be incorporated into the union as states on equal footing to the original thirteen. Jefferson sought local self-government for settlers almost immediately. When the population reached twenty thousand free inhabitants, a constitutional convention would set up a permanent state government. The plan banned hereditary titles and slavery after the year 1800. Jefferson’s 1784 plan recommended that land be made available in parcels small enough

for average Americans to purchase. He envisioned the Northwest Territory as an area populated by white yeoman farmers and their families.

The Land Ordinance of 1785 adopted by Congress departed from Jefferson's original proposal in a number of crucial areas. The 1785 plan called for the creation of townships containing 36 square miles. Land was to be sold for a sum of no less than a dollar an acre, payment to be made in hard currency. Ordinary citizens would have had trouble raising this amount of cash and therefore had little chance to purchase land directly from the government. Jefferson's hope that the Western land could be sold directly to citizens and promote his vision of a republic of small independent farmers was jettisoned in favor of a plan that favored speculators.

In 1787 Congress passed another piece of legislation dealing with Western lands, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. The final plan for the governance of the new territories the act created was considerably less democratic than Jefferson's original proposal, but maintained his orderly model for dividing up the territory. According to Congress's plan, the Northwest Territories would be ruled by powerful governors appointed by Congress. When the population reached five thousand adult male inhabitants, settlers would be allowed to elect their own territorial legislatures. When the population reached sixty thousand free inhabitants, a figure that included women as well as men, the territories could seek admission to the Confederation. The language of the Northwest Ordinance echoed the republican ideals of the Revolution. Congress proclaimed that "fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty" were the foundation for the new states to be created from the territories. In keeping with the republican ideas about virtue and the need for public education, the



Northwest Ordinance made provision for government funding of elementary education through the sale of land. Most important for the future of the territories, the ordinance rejected slavery in the new states to be carved out of the Northwest Territories.

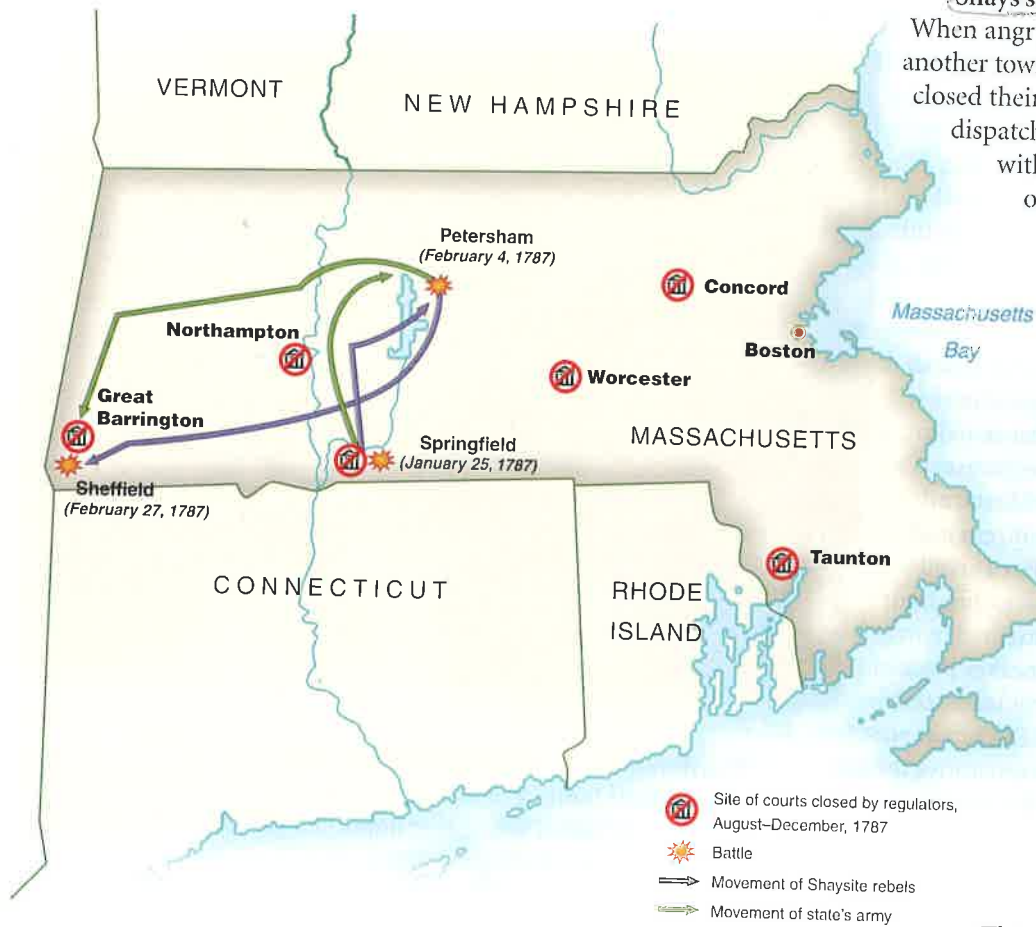
Shays's Rebellion

The postwar economic downturn hit farmers in Massachusetts particularly hard. As the number of farm foreclosures rose, and family after family saw their farms seized by their creditors, popular frustration mounted. Events took a dramatic turn when a contingent of ex-Revolutionary War veterans marched on the town of Northampton to shut down the local courts and prevent further foreclosures. The armed crowd prevented the judges of the court, dressed in formal judicial attire, long black robes and

5.10 Jefferson's Plan for the West Jefferson's gridlike map of his plan for the settlement of the West was influenced by the ideas of Enlightenment thinkers. The names that Jefferson proposed for these territories were inspired by the language of classical antiquity. Thus, one potential state was named Sylvania, for "a forested region."

"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



5.11 Court Closings and Major Battles in Shays's Rebellion

Shays and his supporters closed courts in several major towns in central and western Massachusetts. Shaysites and forces loyal to the state of Massachusetts fought a decisive battle at the Springfield state armory, where the Shaysites were routed.

gray wigs, from entering the courthouse. The protestors, dubbed Shaysites, after the leader, Daniel Shays, believed that they were protecting the “good of the commonwealth” and opposing the “tyrannical government in the Massachusetts State.” Governor James Bowdoin condemned the court closings as “fraught with the most fatal and pernicious consequences” that “must tend to subvert all law and government.”

Shays's Rebellion had begun.

When angry farmers in Great Barrington, another town in western Massachusetts, closed their local court, the governor dispatched the state militia to deal with the Shaysites. One member of the crowd sympathetic to the Shaysites suggested putting the matter to a vote: Supporters of opening the court stood to one side of the road, while those who opposed crossed the highway. Nearly eight hundred of the thousand members of the militia who had been sent to protect the courts voted with their feet to join the rebels and keep the courts closed.

The towns affected by the court closing are shown in the map (5.11), which also shows the location of the armed confrontations between the Shaysites and government forces. Shays and his followers were defeated in a battle near the state arsenal in Springfield. The failure of Shays's Rebellion, the most serious challenge to government authority in the new nation, gave additional impetus to those eager to reform the structure of the Articles of Confederation and create a more powerful central government. The one figure among the nation's Patriot elite who seemed relatively unfazed by the rebellion in western Massachusetts was Thomas Jefferson. The reactions of Washington and Jefferson reflected their different visions of the Revolution and American politics (see *Competing Visions: Reactions to Shays's Rebellion*).

Competing Visions

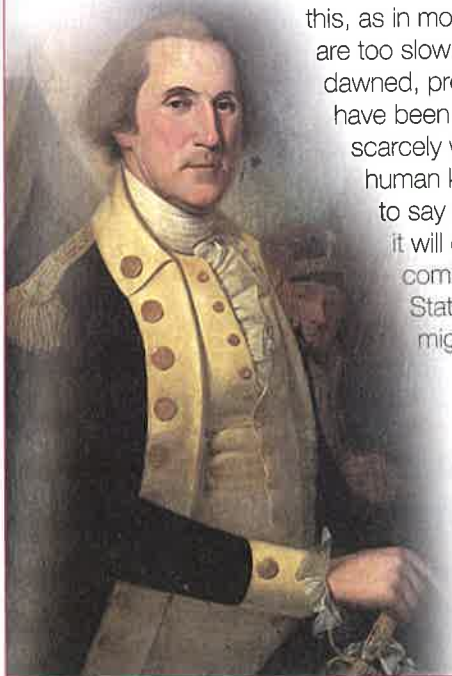
REACTIONS TO SHAYS'S REBELLION

Shays's Rebellion forced Americans to ponder the meaning of the Revolution. Those who opposed the rebellion saw in it the danger of placing too much faith in virtue as a foundation for republican government. But for the farmers who took up arms against government, the rebellion demonstrated the continuing validity of the right of revolution. Shays and his supporters also couched their appeals in terms of republican ideas about the common good. Consider the different reactions of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to the rebellion. Why do you think Washington was so shaken by the rebellion? How do you account for Jefferson's greater sympathy for the rebels?

In this letter to General Henry Knox dated December 26, 1786, Washington expressed his alarm over the uprising in western Massachusetts, lamenting that America's belief that virtue could provide a solid foundation for government may have been excessively naive.

I feel, my dear Genl. Knox, infinitely more than I can express to you, for the disorders which have arisen in these States. Good God! who besides a tory could have foreseen, or a Briton predicted them! were these people wiser than others, or did they judge of us from the corruption, and depravity of their own hearts? The latter I am persuaded was the case, and that notwithstanding the boasted virtue of America, we are far gone in every thing ignoble and bad.

I do assure you, that even at this moment, when I reflect on the present posture of our affairs, it seems to me to be like the vision of a dream. My mind does not know how to realize it, as a thing in actual existence, so strange, so wonderful does it appear to me! In this, as in most other matter, we are too slow. When this spirit first dawned, probably it might easily have been checked; but it is scarcely within the reach of human ken, at this moment, to say when, where, or how it will end. There are combustibles in every State, which a spark might set fire to.



George Washington

From Paris, where he was serving as America's minister, Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison on January 30th, 1787, inquiring about his views of Shays's Rebellion. Jefferson offered his own preliminary assessment in which he expressed guarded support for the rebels.

I am impatient to learn your sentiments on the late troubles in the Eastern states. So far as I have yet seen, they do not appear to threaten serious consequences. . . . I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. Unsuccessful rebellions, indeed, generally establish the encroachments on the rights of the people which have produced them. An observation of this truth should render honest republican governors so mild in their punishment of rebellions as not to discourage them too much. It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government.



Thomas Jefferson

Whose view of Shays's Rebellion was more realistic, Washington's or Jefferson's?

The Movement for Constitutional Reform



The economic, political, and diplomatic problems faced by the Confederation government, including Shays's Rebellion, inspired a small but extremely talented group of politicians to promote their plans for reform of the Articles of Confederation. As nationalists—men who believed in the need for a stronger national government—they regarded constitutional reform as imperative. Rather than continue to put their faith in virtue as a foundation for republican government, nationalists sought to create a powerful central government to protect American interests abroad and deal with internal threats, such as Shays's Rebellion. For the nationalists the postwar era was a time of national crisis that demanded decisive action if America was to survive. Nationalists proposed a new model of government to protect individual liberty and promote the common good. The new Federal Constitution created by this group relied on a system of checks and balances, not virtue, to protect liberty.

The Road to Philadelphia

Delegates from Maryland and Virginia gathered at George Washington's home in Mount Vernon (1785) to discuss economic matters. A year later in Annapolis, Maryland (1786) delegates from five states gathered to discuss the problems of the Confederation. Finally, in 1787 delegates from twelve of the thirteen states gathered in Philadelphia to take up reform of the Articles of Confederation. The fifty-five delegates who gathered in Philadelphia included an impressive cast of characters. Virginia sent James Madison and George Mason, two of the state's most esteemed political figures. Pennsylvania's representatives included the oldest delegate in

A strict rule of secrecy was imposed on the convention's proceedings, a decision that facilitated a more frank debate among the delegates, but only intensified rumors about the activities of the delegates. The rule of secrecy was stringently enforced: The windows of the Pennsylvania State House were nailed shut and a guard posted at the door.

Writing from France, where he was serving as American ambassador, Thomas Jefferson admiringly described the assembly as a meeting of "demigods"—men of such impressive accomplishments that they seemed like the mythical heroes of antiquity, part human and part divine. Some contemporaries, however, were suspicious of the convention's secrecy. One Pennsylvania newspaper warned of the "monster" being fashioned behind a "thick veil of secrecy." Later generations of Americans have tended to echo Jefferson's observations: that the convention was composed of extraordinarily talented politicians, a view beautifully illustrated by this mid-nineteenth-century painting by Thomas Rossiter (5.12). In the Rossiter painting the Founders are portrayed bathed in light, not shrouded in secrecy.

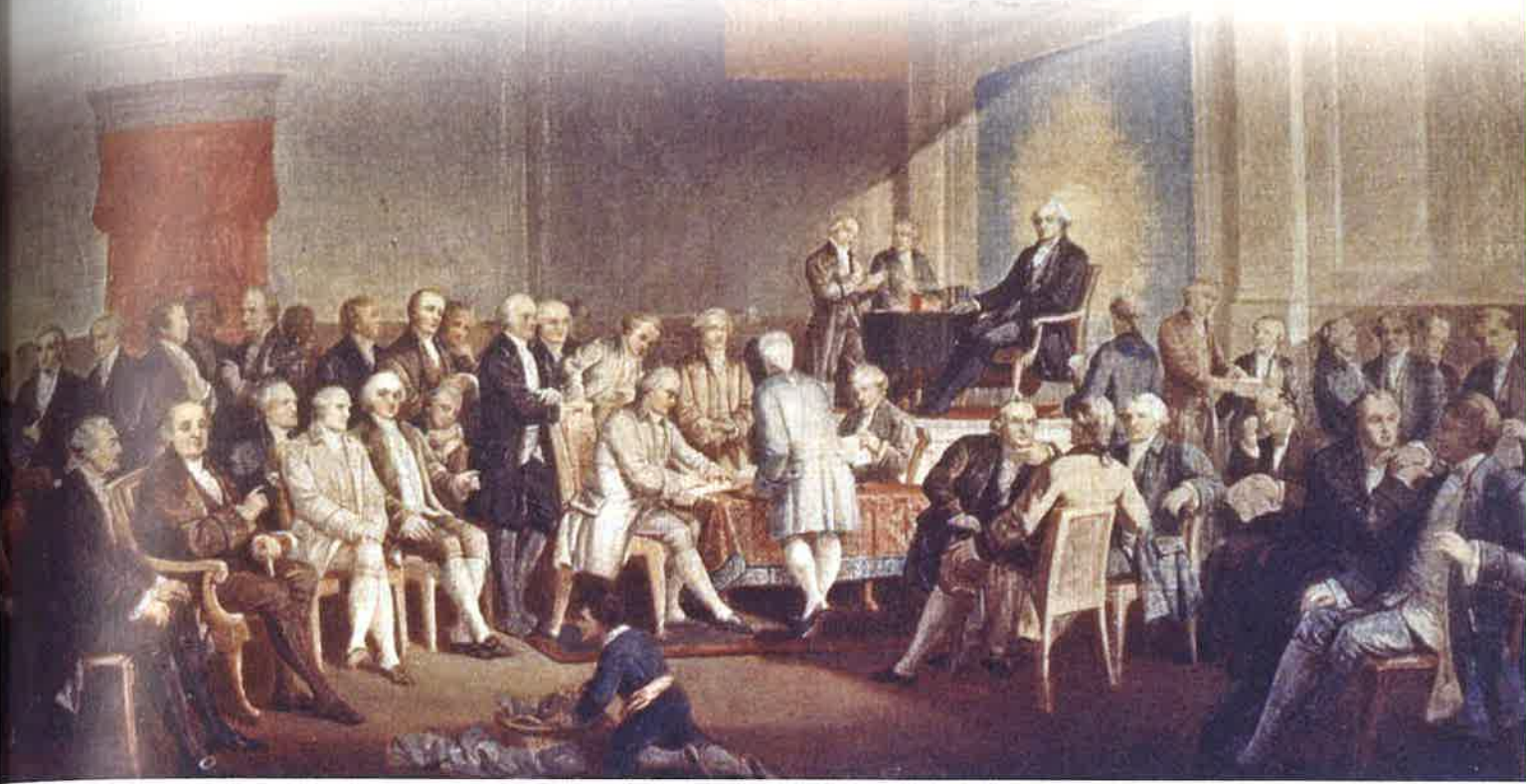
"We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation."

GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1786

attendance, Benjamin Franklin, then aged 81, and James Wilson, the nation's premier legal mind. New York's delegation boasted the brilliant, but brash, Alexander Hamilton. The delegates chose George Washington to preside over the meeting. The convention was dominated by lawyers, and nearly all the delegates were wealthy men.

Large States versus Small States

Instead of arguing over reforming the Articles of Confederation, as originally intended, the Philadelphia Convention took up a bold proposal



5.12 Constitutional Convention

Jefferson's observation that the Framers of the Constitution were an "assembly of demigods" is captured in Thomas Rossiter's nineteenth-century painting of the Philadelphia Convention. Rather than appear as a dark conclave, the members of the convention are bathed in light.

offered by the Virginia delegation. The Virginia Plan, drafted largely by James Madison, abandoned the federal system created by the Articles of Confederation, substituting in its place an entirely new model of government that had some federal features and some national features. The states would retain considerable power, but in those areas in which the new national government was given authority, its power would be supreme.

The new government created by the Virginia Plan would be composed of a single executive (the branch of government charged with, among other things, the execution of laws), a two-house legislature (Congress, the lawmaking body), and a separate judiciary (courts). The lower house of Congress would be directly elected by the people, and the upper house would be elected by the lower house from a list provided by the state legislatures. Under the Articles of Confederation, small states such as Maryland had the same vote as large states

such as Virginia. Rather than this one-state one-vote principle, population size would now determine representation in this new Congress.

The Virginia Plan gave considerable power to the new Congress, which had the power "to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent" or "in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual [state] legislation." Although this grant of authority did not explicitly address nettlesome issues such as the power to tax, such powers were clearly within the purview of this broad grant of authority. The authors of the Virginia Plan, especially James Madison, thought that a more general grant of authority, rather than a long list of enumerated powers, would be more politically acceptable to the delegates.

Representatives from the small states opposed the Virginia Plan. Two weeks after the Virginia Plan was introduced, William Patterson of New Jersey made

Don't need to be specific

a counterproposal. This alternative plan, often dubbed the **New Jersey Plan**, called for a modified federal system based on the existing Articles of Confederation. It proposed a single legislature in which each state would have one vote, which would maintain the parity between small states and large states. In contrast to the Articles of Confederation, the new national legislature would be the supreme law of the land and would be binding on the states. The national legislature created by this plan would have the power to tax and to regulate interstate commerce. Although the New Jersey Plan was defeated, it had revealed the difficulty of reaching a consensus without accommodating the concerns of the small states, which feared that the new system would give larger states inordinate influence over the new government.





The following figure (5.13) shows the differences between the Virginia and New Jersey plans and how each differed from the Articles of Confederation. While both of these plans would have given the new central government broad new powers, particularly over economic matters, representatives from the large and small states continued to be divided over how the legislature would be structured. On June 29, 1788, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut reintroduced an earlier compromise that he and Roger Sherman (also of Connecticut) had devised. The plan provided for equal representation for large and small states in the upper house as well as a lower house in which representation would be apportioned on the basis of population. On July 16, 1787, the convention adopted the **Great Compromise** (sometimes known as the **Connecticut Compromise** because of

Ellsworth and Sherman's role in framing it). The Great Compromise solved one of the most difficult issues facing the convention: the struggle over representation based on population versus equal representation among the states.

Conflict over Slavery

While the Connecticut Compromise solved one of the most difficult problems faced by the convention, it also focused attention on another equally contentious issue: whether to count slaves in the apportionment of the new lower house. Representatives from the Southern states, seeking sufficient representation in the new legislature to protect the interests of slavery, were determined that their slaves be counted. Opponents of slavery, by contrast, wished to see slaves taxed as a form of property but did not wish to count them when calculating the population used to determine representation in the new lower house. The convention settled on a solution in which slaves were counted as three-fifths of a person for purposes of taxation and legislative apportionment. (The three-fifths ratio had been worked out by the Confederation Congress several years earlier, when it faced another issue pertaining to slavery.)

Conflict over slavery flared up again over the issue of the slave trade. One of the most intense attacks on the slave trade was voiced by Virginian George Mason, the largest slave owner in the convention, who warned his fellow delegates of the threat to the republic of the institution of slavery. "Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant" and

	Articles of Confederation	Virginia Plan	New Jersey Plan
 Structure of the Legislature	Single house, one state one vote	Two houses, both determined by population	Single house, one state one vote
 Taxation	No power to tax	Power to tax	Power to tax
 Judicial Power	No judicial power apart from courts to hear admiralty cases	Federal judiciary	Federal judiciary
 Executive Power	Plural executive	Single executive chosen by national legislature	Single or plural executive elected by Congress

5.13 Comparison of the Articles of Confederation, Virginia, and New Jersey Plans
Although the Virginia and New Jersey plans differed on the issue of representation, each would have given the new government the vital power of taxation.

How did the conflict over slavery shape the debates of the Constitutional Convention?

“The states were divided into different interests not by their difference of size but by other circumstances; the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but principally from their having or not having slaves.”

JAMES MADISON, 1787

the institution of “slavery discourages arts & manufactures.” Mason recommended ending the slave trade as a first step toward eliminating slavery. Several delegates viewed Mason’s actions cynically. Virginia had an excess of slaves and would profit enormously from an internal trade among slaves if the external trade with Africa were abolished. South Carolinian Charles Pinckney defended slavery, noting that all the great republics of the ancient world had accepted the necessity of this institution. Pinckney’s cousin, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, another delegate from South Carolina, was even blunter, reminding delegates that his state would never accept the Constitution if a ban on the slave trade was enacted. Once again compromise held the convention together. The new Congress was denied the authority to ban the slave trade until the year 1808.

Although the word slavery never appears in the Constitution, several clauses in the document protected slavery. Article IV, Section 2, prevented fugitive slaves, defined as any “person held to service or labour in one state,” from fleeing to another state to seek asylum and freedom. In addition, Article I, Section 8, prohibited the national government from taxing the exports of any state, a provision that prevented the products of slave labor, such as rice, indigo, tobacco, or sugar, from being singled out for economic sanctions by those hostile to slavery. In James Madison’s view, the greatest division in the convention turned out to be not the conflict between large states and small states, but slavery.

Filling out the Constitutional Design

After sorting out the structure of the legislative branch of government, the convention struggled over the executive branch. George Mason argued for

a three-man executive. A plural executive, he argued, could better represent the different regional interests of the nation. Rejecting this proposal, the convention settled on a unitary executive. There was also disagreement over how to choose the executive. James Wilson wanted to see the executive elected by the people, while Mason argued that the people lacked the wisdom to make such an

important decision. Roger Sherman’s plan to have the national legislature pick the executive was challenged as a threat to the ideal of the separation of powers.

Eventually the convention settled on the idea of having an “electoral college” composed of men chosen by each state in a manner to be determined by the individual state legislatures. By giving the states some control over selection of the president, this system provided another way of strengthening the power of the states within the new federal system created by the Constitution. The electoral college also reflected the ideals of republicanism held by the delegates. By creating a filtering mechanism for the selection of the president, the electoral college was designed to help ensure that the men chosen were drawn from the ranks of the nation’s leading citizens.

Delegates also clashed over the term of office that the executive would serve. Alexander Hamilton proposed that the executive have a life term, but this idea was rejected as leaning too close to monarchy. Some delegates favored a single term of as much as seven years, while others argued that a shorter term with the possibility of reelection would provide a greater check on the president. The convention ultimately settled on a four-year term with no limits on the number of terms a president might serve. The final structure of the executive branch was detailed in what became Article II of the Constitution.

Through August the convention continued to sketch the barest outline for the third branch of government, the federal judiciary. A new Supreme Court was created, and Congress was authorized to create such inferior courts as it deemed necessary. The Supreme Court’s authority extended “in all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under the Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made under their authority.” While a

electoral college

republicanism of democracy

number of delegates to the convention assumed that the courts would exercise the power of judicial review, the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional, the Constitution failed to make such power explicit.





Two delegates from New York, Robert Yates and John Lansing, left before the document was completed and therefore did not sign it. Three other delegates—Edmund Randolph, George Mason, and Elbridge Gerry—refused to sign the Constitution because of their reservations about its final draft. Despite the protests of a few delegates, Benjamin Franklin captured the feelings of many delegates when he wrote that despite its faults, it was doubtful “whether any other convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution.” Franklin went on to remark that “it therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching as near to perfection as it does.” After the convention concluded its work and the text of the Constitution were made public, Franklin was approached by a woman who asked the aging patriot, “Well Doctor what have we got a republic or a monarchy?” “A republic,” replied the Doctor, ‘if you can keep it.’”

The Constitution reflected the give and take among the delegates and the spirit of compromise that prevailed at the Convention. The new Constitution was a radical departure from the Articles of Confederation (5.14).

The powerful national legislature created by the Constitution was given authority to enact all laws

“necessary and proper” to carrying out responsibilities delegated by the Constitution. The new national legislature had an upper and a lower house. States were equally represented in the upper house, the Senate. Representation in the lower house, the House of Representatives, was based on population, with slaves counting as three-fifths of a person. Amendments to the Constitution would require the approval of three-quarters of the states, not the unanimous consent required under the Articles. While the executive under the Articles of Confederation had been very weak, the new office of president was powerful. The president could veto legislation, negotiate treaties, and issue pardons. The ill-defined powers of the new Supreme Court left many wondering if the judiciary would be the weakest of the three branches, not co-equal with the legislature and the executive.

The new federal Constitution also broke with several well-established precedents that had shaped the various state constitutions drafted in the years immediately following the Revolution. Unlike the typical state constitution, the federal Constitution did not include a declaration of rights stating the basic rights and liberties retained by the people, nor did it reassert the basic republican principles upon which government rested. Compared with many state constitutions, which directly elected their governors, the indirect method of choosing a national leader through the electoral college might have seemed less democratic.

	Articles of Confederation	Constitution
 Structure of the Legislature	Single house, one state one vote	Two houses, one determined by population, upper house equal state representation
 Taxation	No power to tax	Power to tax
 Judicial Power	No judicial power apart from courts to hear admiralty cases	Federal judiciary
 Executive Power	Plural executive	Executive chosen by electors chosen by state legislators

5.14 Comparison of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution

As this chart shows, the new federal government created by the Constitution was far more powerful than the old government under the Articles of Confederation.

The Great Debate



The publication of the Constitution inaugurated one of the most vigorous political campaigns in American history. In taverns and town squares, Americans argued over the meaning of the new Constitution. As one contemporary commentator remarked, “the plan of a Government proposed to us by the convention—affords matter for conversation to every rank of beings from the Governor to the door keeper.” Soon two sides emerged in the debate over ratification.

Federalists versus Anti-Federalists

In the debate the supporters of the Constitution described themselves as **Federalists**, thus saddling their opponents, who opposed it, with the name **Anti-Federalists**. Never entirely happy with their name, opponents of the Constitution complained that they were the true supporters of federalism and attacked pro-Constitutional forces as “consolidationists” who wished to consolidate the union into a single national government and rob the states of their power. Looking back on the bitter struggle over ratification, one Anti-Federalist quipped that because the issue before the nation was ratification of the Constitution, the two sides were more aptly described as “rats and anti-rats.”

Citizens paraded, raised their glasses to toast, or attacked the new government, in a few instances even rioting to express their sentiments. Anti-Federalists in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, burned an effigy of Federalist James Wilson to express their disapproval of the new Constitution. Wilson, a renowned lawyer and a recent immigrant from Scotland, was one of the most important supporters of the Constitution in Pennsylvania. He was also an easy target for ridicule, since he spoke with a thick Scottish accent that his enemies mocked and lampooned. The supporters of the Constitution also took to the streets to defend the Constitution and occasionally to intimidate their opponents. In one instance a Federalist crowd wrecked the printing presses of Anti-Federalist publishers in New York City. Although these disturbances attracted considerable attention, they were the exception, however, not the rule.

The debate could be heated, but Americans typically confined their passions to the printed page. Hundreds of columns of newspaper text were devoted to the debate over the merits of the

Constitution, and dozens of pamphlets were written for and against the new plan of government. *The Federalist*, for example, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison’s sophisticated defense of the Constitution, was first published as a series of newspaper essays in New York. It is now regarded by many scholars as the most important contribution America has made to Western political philosophy. Writing under the pen name **Publius**, a hero of the Roman Republic, the authors hoped to cloak themselves in the toga of Roman virtue. This strategy was designed to focus the public’s attention on the ideas behind, not the men responsible for, the essays. *The Federalist* not only responded to Anti-Federalist criticism but it also provided a sophisticated analysis of republican government and a point-by-point discussion of the merits of the various provisions of the Constitution. Although its influence on the outcome of ratification was modest, *The Federalist* soon became the favorite text of judges, legislators, and others interested in interpreting the meaning of the Constitution. It continues to be the text most often cited by the Supreme Court when trying to identify the original understanding of various provisions of the Constitution.

Anti-Federalists produced no single text comparable to *The Federalist*. However, the writings of Elbridge Gerry and George Mason, prominent Anti-Federalists who had participated in the Philadelphia Convention but had refused to sign the Constitution, were widely reprinted. Sophisticated critiques of the Constitution were framed by authors who adopted the pen names **Brutus** and **Federal Farmer**. Brutus invoked the same ideal of Roman virtue that Publius had appropriated for the supporters of the Constitution. The name Federal Farmer traded on the association of republican ideals of simplicity associated with the ideal of the yeoman farmer. Both texts developed an alternative vision of republican government. Rather than accept

what were the major arguments of the Anti-Federalists & Federalists



5.15 The Looking Glass for 1787

This Federalist political cartoon from Connecticut portrays the state as a cart stuck in the mud and weighed down by paper money and debt. While Federalists proclaim "Comply with Congress" and pull the state toward a bright sun, the Anti-Federalists exclaim "Success to Shays" and drag the cart toward a shadowy future symbolized by the dark clouds.

the need for a powerful central government, Anti-Federalists clung to the idea of a system in which the bulk of governmental functions would continue to reside in the states.

Although the struggle over ratification produced some of the most intellectually sophisticated writings in American history, in other respects it was a textbook example of negative campaigning. If Publius and Brutus provided an example of dispassionate reason, metaphorically invoking Roman ideals of virtue by their pen names, other authors, on both sides, were not above slinging mud when it served their interests. Federalists, for example, denounced their opponents as Shaysites, a charge repeated in the satirical print, *The Looking Glass for 1787* (5.15). In this cartoon, the state of Connecticut appears stuck in the mud, dragged in opposite directions by Federalists and Anti-Federalists. The artist who created this pro-Federalist political cartoon stooped lower than most: One Anti-Federalist character is portrayed with his trousers pulled down around his ankles and his bottom exposed to his Federalist opponents. Anti-Federalists attacked the Federalists, charging that they were part of an aristocratic elite who wished to dominate common folk. Amos Singletary, an Anti-Federalist from Massachusetts, warned his fellow citizens that the lawyers and rich merchants who backed the Constitution favored the interests of the aristocratic few over those of the democratic many. In Singletary's view, the new Constitution would undue the democratic reforms

of the revolution, returning power to powerful economic groups, such as lawyers and merchants.

Although Anti-Federalism attracted supporters of democracy such as Singletary, it also appealed to wealthy planters such as Virginia's George Mason who was less concerned about the Constitution's anti-democratic features and more worried about the centralization of power. Although Anti-Federalists did not agree about everything, there were some important points of commonality among them. The essential points of the Anti-Federalist critique of the constitution emerged early in the public debate. At the top of this list was the fear of consolidation, the concern that the federal government would absorb all power into its orbit. Anti-Federalists believed that the number of representatives was too small to represent the diverse interest of the American people adequately. Representatives would also be far removed from their constituents and lose touch with the feelings and concerns of those they served. The extensive powers of the president and the potentially vast jurisdiction enjoyed by the new Supreme Court also worried Anti-Federalists, who feared that the federal government would become tyrannical.

The absence of a bill of rights proved to be one of the Anti-Federalists' most effective criticisms. In their view history demonstrated that once in power even the most virtuous rulers were tempted to increase their powers at the expense of popular liberty. A written declaration of rights stating clearly the rights and powers retained by the people was therefore an essential safeguard for liberty. Rather than accept that the omission of a bill of rights was a

"These lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves ... and then they will swallow up all us little folks, like the great Leviathan."

AMOS SINGLETARY, 1788

How does *The Looking Glass for 1787* portray the Anti-Federalists?

What are Publius' major arguments?

serious flaw in the Constitution, Federalists argued that a bill of rights was unnecessary. Pennsylvania's James Wilson defended the absence of a bill of rights by noting that the new government was one of delegated power only, and hence all powers not ceded to the new government were retained by the people and the states. "It would have been superfluous and absurd," Wilson observed, to stipulate "that we should enjoy those privileges, of which we are not divested either by the intention or the act that brought that body into existence." In *The Federalist*, Publius adopted a different line of attack. He argued that the inclusion of a bill of rights would be dangerous. By listing exactly which rights were protected, the new government would by implication exclude a host of other important rights that it did not explicitly include among those reserved to the people. Since it would be impossible to create a list of all the rights enjoyed by the people, it was better not to list any. For an overview of the main points of disagreement between Federalists and Anti-Federalists see 5.16.



5.16 Anti-Federalist versus Federalist Ideas
Anti-Federalists and Federalists each believed in republican government, but they disagreed over how to structure such a government.

James Madison Federalists	George Mason Anti-Federalists
Support strong central government	Oppose strong central government
Oppose bill of rights as unnecessary and perhaps even harmful to liberty	Favor inclusion of a bill of rights as necessary to protect liberty
Doubt effectiveness of militia and favor federal standing army	Favor militia and oppose federal standing army
Republicanism can survive only in a large and diverse republic	Republicanism can survive only in a small republic
Virtue is a weak foundation for republicanism; a system of checks and balances is better suited to preserving a republican government against corruption	Republicanism depends on a virtuous population to prevent corruption



The Theory of the Large Republic: The Genius of James Madison

Anti-Federalists charged that the Constitution was a novel form of government. Federalists did not dispute this point. Political philosophers from antiquity up through the great eighteenth-century French philosopher Baron de Montesquieu agreed on one point: Republican governments only thrived in a small territory with a fairly homogeneous population. When republics grew large or their economies became complicated, conflicts intensified and political life became turbulent. These internal divisions would eventually destabilize government. It was only a matter of time before a republic would collapse into anarchy. This social chaos eventually made republics vulnerable to external conquest or internal subversion by unscrupulous leaders who invariably became despots. Although America had been fortunate that men like Washington took their cues from virtuous leaders such as Cincinnatus, others in the future might emulate the despot Caesar. Many Anti-Federalists accepted this theory, arguing that virtue could thrive only in a small republic.

Madison, however, rejected this theory. He argued that only a large and diverse republic could ward off the inevitable corruption and conflicts that destroyed previous republics. Rather than depend on

virtue, Madison placed his faith in the system of checks and balances created by the Constitution, in which the interests of the different branches of government would balance one another. "Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm," wrote Madison, so he sought to create a constitutional system that did not depend on virtuous leaders. According to Madisonian theory the different branches of the new government would be set against one another, producing a system of checks and balances.

Before coming to the Philadelphia Convention, Madison had drafted a short document that analyzed "The Vices of the Political System of the United States." Madison had taken his raw notes on republics and shaped them into a memorandum to be used when he took up his role as a delegate to the convention. "The inconveniences of popular States, contrary to the prevailing Theory, are in proportion not to the extent, but to the narrowness of their limits," he wrote. In other words, small republics, not

large republics, were more prone to factionalism and political unrest.

During ratification, Madison took these theoretical musings and polished them into a formal statement of beliefs. The new theory of the extended republic was most fully elaborated in *The Federalist*. Madison proclaimed that the new Constitution provided “a republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government.” Rather than depend on virtue, Madison’s theory assumed that individuals would pursue their interests. In an expanded republic, the ongoing give and take among a multiplicity of interests would prevent any one interest from becoming oppressive. The best example of this theory was religion in America. Given the multiplicity of different sects, it was impossible for any one group to dominate and impose its will on the others. The other advantage of a large republic was the increased size of electoral districts, which would provide a bigger pool of talent for elections. The dynamics of election in such districts would also likely filter out candidates for office who lacked the requisite wisdom and knowledge for public service.

“If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.”

JAMES MADISON, *The Federalist* 1788

Ratification

Early and decisive Federalist successes in states such as Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut helped establish a powerful momentum that Federalists capitalized on to advance their goal of unconditional ratification. If states with powerful, well-organized Anti-Federalist coalitions, such as

Virginia, had held ratification conventions earlier, the Constitution might have been defeated. Federalists’ willingness to compromise also won over many moderates who might otherwise have opposed the Constitution in important battleground states such as Massachusetts. Had the Federalists maintained a hard-line stance, sticking to the argument advanced by James Wilson that a bill of rights was unnecessary, the Constitution might never have been ratified. New Hampshire’s positive vote on the Constitution in late June of 1788 gave Federalists the nine states needed to ratify the Constitution. Although the Constitution was now the new law of the land, Federalists recognized that it was vital to persuade Anti-Federalists in Virginia and New York to accept the Constitution.

To help persuade their state’s Anti-Federalists, New York Federalists staged a “grand federal procession” in New York City to show that the Constitution enjoyed broad popular support, particularly among the city’s artisans, who saw a strong government as a way of protecting their economic interests from foreign competition. The festive parade drew members from virtually all of the city’s many craft trades, who turned out in style to rally behind the Constitution. The parade included dozens of different floats. Printers, for example, marched alongside a printing press mounted on a horse-drawn cart. Printers even churned out an ode written for the occasion that praised the Constitution. A banner with the name Publius, the author of *The Federalist*, flew proudly above the press, and the printers sported caps with the words “Liberty of Press” written in large letters. Marching behind them, another group of artisans carried this banner, which celebrated their work with pewter, a metal alloy of tin and lead that was widely used to make tableware such as mugs and plates (5.17). Their banner carried the following verses:

The Federal Plan Most Solid And Secure
Americans Their Freedom Will Ensure
All Arts Shall Flourish In Columbia’s Land
And all Her Sons Join as One Social Band

New York Anti-Federalists had a dilemma: Should they continue their opposition to the Constitution or work within the new system of government? To understand how they made their decision, see *Choices and Consequences: To Ratify or Not*.

Choices and Consequences:

TO RATIFY OR NOT

By the time New York's ratification convention met in Poughkeepsie, nine states had already ratified the Constitution, making it the new law of the land. Could Anti-Federalists continue to oppose the Constitution and thereby place New York outside of the new nation? For many Anti-Federalists such a prospect was not realistic, so they turned their attentions to the question of amendments to the Constitution. The outcome of the convention depended on the decisions of a block of moderate Anti-Federalists, led by the merchant Melancton Smith. New York Anti-Federalists faced a momentous decision: to continue their opposition to the Constitution or to work within the new system of government.

Choices

1 Agree to support the Constitution with the promise that the First Congress would take up the issue of amendments.

2 Agree to support the Constitution provisionally until amendments were made, but to consider seceding from the Union if amendments were not made.

3 Block ratification in New York and continue to oppose the Constitution.

Decision

Smith opted for the first possibility, making New York the eleventh state to ratify the Constitution. Smith delivered a powerful speech in the New York convention in which he

reiterated his hope for future amendments but recognized the need to work through the "mode prescribed by the Constitution."

Consequences

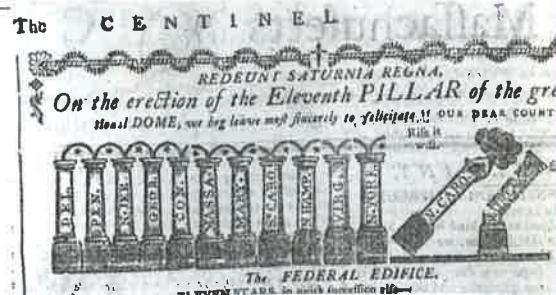
If Smith and other swing Anti-Federalist votes in the Convention had opposed ratification, New York would have remained outside the new Union, and the new nation might have split into separate confederacies. If Smith and other moderates had insisted on prior amendments, Federalists would likely have stood their ground and the convention would possibly have failed to ratify the Constitution. As it was, Smith's decision put more pressure on Rhode Island and North

Carolina to accept the new Constitution. The decision also gave additional impetus to the move to amend the Constitution after ratification. Federalist newspapers seized on the idea of adding a new pillar for each state that voted in favor of the Constitution. The pillars and temple metaphor, like Jefferson's model for the Virginia state capitol, evoked Roman ideals of virtue and liberty.

Continuing Controversies

What forces impelled New York Anti-Federalists to accept the Constitution and wait for subsequent amendments?

Although the Anti-Federalists were defeated in 1788, many of their fears and ideals about government still resonate in American politics. Were the Anti-Federalists backward-looking politicians who failed to grasp the genius of the new Constitution, or visionaries who predicted the growth and centralization of American politics? Americans continue to argue over the legacy of Anti-Federalism.

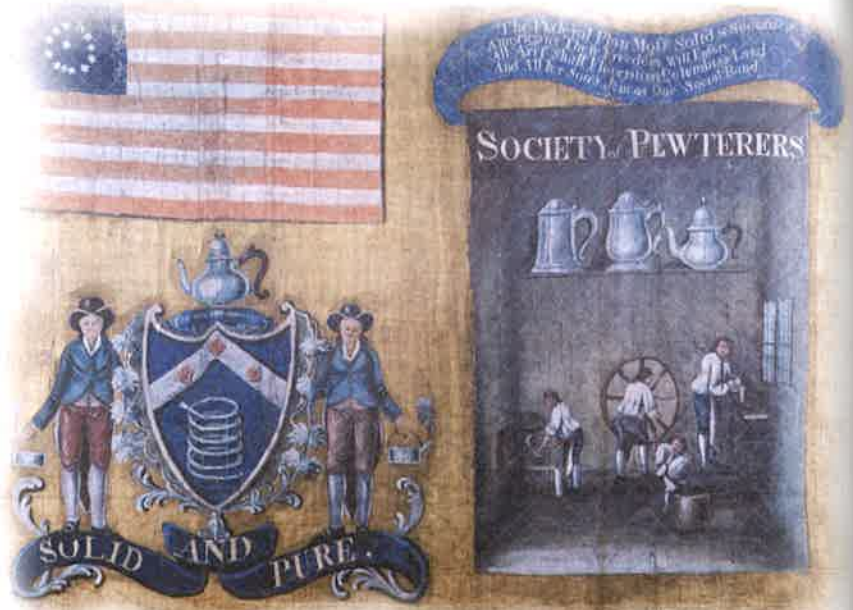


Massachusetts newspaper celebrates New York as "the eleventh pillar."

why were Federalists victorious?

5.17 Pewterers' Banner

In a New York City parade, Federalist artisans carried a banner that included the U.S. flag and depicted artisans crafting objects of pewter. The verse at the top proclaims the bright future for America under the new Constitution. [Source: Collection of The New-York Historical Society, [1903,12]]



5.18 Geographical Distribution of the Vote on Ratification

Support for the Constitution was strongest along coastal regions and frontiers exposed to threats from external enemies and among small states such as Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey. Anti-Federalism was strongest in the backcountry regions of New England, the mid-Atlantic, and the South.

New York's ratification dashed the last hopes of the more resolute opponents of the Constitution. Federalists had waged an effective campaign to secure ratification. The majority of Americans were probably opposed to the Constitution when it was first proposed, and the final vote on ratification was close in many states. Several factors helped account for the Federalists' stunning victory. Supporters of the Constitution benefited from being able to organize themselves around a well-defined goal:

ratification. By contrast, Anti-Federalists were unable to provide a clear alternative. Some opponents favored another convention to draft an entirely new Constitution, others simply favored amending the Constitution, and a few Anti-Federalists still clung to the idea of revising the Articles of Confederation. Finally, Federalists were far more effective at getting their message into print. Many newspaper editors simply refused to print Anti-Federalist materials.



The political dynamics of ratification were complex. No single theory accounts for why some individuals and regions supported the Constitution, but there were certain patterns in voting, shown in the map (5.18). Geography, economics, and the personal experiences of individuals all shaped the vote on the Constitution.

Merchants and artisans living in regions tied to commerce, such as coastal regions and inland areas close to navigable rivers, looked to a stronger union to protect their economic interests and became Federalists. Inhabitants of frontier regions that faced continuing Indian threats also supported the movement for a stronger central government because of these security concerns. With the exception of Rhode Island, small states supported the Constitution. Officers of the Continental Army who had experienced the difficulty of dealing with a

Federalists

Who were the Federalists? The Anti-Federalists?

weak Congress under the Articles also supported the Constitution.

On the other side, Anti-Federalists drew together an equally diverse coalition of groups that opposed any effort to centralize authority and lessen the power of the states. Backcountry farmers across the nation, particularly those less closely connected to major commercial market centers, opposed the Constitution. State politicians, especially the newly empowered men of moderate wealth and more humble origins who dominated politics in states such as Pennsylvania and New York, were strongly Anti-Federalist. Finally, wealthy planters in parts of the South who feared that a distant and powerful government would not faithfully represent their interests became Anti-Federalists.

The Creation of a Loyal Opposition

Despite the intensity of the struggle over ratification, Anti-Federalists did not continue their opposition to the Constitution once the nine states needed to ratify the new Constitution adopted it. Indeed, rather than choose to become an anti-Constitutional party, Anti-Federalists now accepted having to work within the framework provided by the Constitution. Continued opposition to the Constitution would only have led to anarchy, which most Anti-Federalists wished to avoid as much as did their Federalist opponents. Anti-Federalists turned their attentions to campaigning for election to the First Congress and to the project of securing amendments to the Constitution.

Conclusion

The first American constitutions drafted after Independence had literally written virtue into their texts. There was widespread agreement that republicanism could only survive where virtue was encouraged. American art and architecture reinforced these values. Preachers made appeals to virtue from the pulpit, and the idea of virtue filled the pages of newspapers. Every citizen was expected to cultivate virtue; no aspect of American life was exempt from the republican emphasis on the need for a virtuous citizenry.

The creation of a virtuous republic proved far more difficult than many had imagined. America faced many challenges under the Articles of Confederation, America's first national constitution. Without the power to tax, the government of the Articles was at the mercy of the states. The individual states seemed incapable of putting the interests of the nation ahead of local interests. Other events demonstrated the fragility of America's fledgling experiment in republican government. Shays's Rebellion, an uprising of farmers in western Massachusetts, alarmed many notable politicians, who feared that America

was succumbing to anarchy. For nationalists, America's salvation lay in a stronger central government. These supporters of constitutional reform successfully agitated for a convention to reform the structure of the Articles of Confederation.

The new Constitution that Americans adopted created a much more powerful central government. The Constitution was a bold new experiment in republican government. It abandoned the traditional republican emphasis on virtue and substituted in its place a system of checks and balances designed to prevent any branch of government from becoming a threat to liberty. The Constitution did not eliminate the serious divisions within American society, nor did its adoption lay to rest all the Anti-Federalists' fears. The Constitution did, however, set the terms under which subsequent generations would debate important political questions. Although Americans are apt to be forward-looking in many areas, after more than two centuries, most Americans continue to venerate the achievements of the Framers of the Constitution.



CHAPTER REVIEW

1783

Newburgh Conspiracy

Washington prevents coup by Continental army officers

Treaty of Paris

Hostilities between United States and Britain conclude and Britain recognizes American Independence

1784

Land Ordinance of 1784

Thomas Jefferson proposes a model for settling the Old Northwest Territory

1785

Thomas Jefferson Appointed Ambassador to France

Jefferson appointment as French ambassador insulates him from the hysteria surrounding Shays's Rebellion

Review Questions

1. Americans in the post-revolutionary era looked to Rome for inspiration in building a virtuous republic. How were these ideas reflected in American art and architecture in this period?
2. Discuss the most notable policy achievements and failures of the Confederation government.
3. Describe the most divisive issues faced by the Constitutional Convention and the main compromises worked out by the delegates to solve these problems.
4. Which groups in society tended to support the Constitution? Which groups opposed ratification?
5. Anti-Federalists were alarmed by the power of the federal government. Do you think the Anti-Federalist objections to the Constitution have any validity today?



1786

Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom

Madison and Jefferson win approval of bill promoting religious freedom

Shays's Rebellion begins

Farmers in western Massachusetts close courts



1787

Philadelphia Convention Drafts Constitution

Delegates assemble in Philadelphia to revise Articles of Confederation

Hamilton, Madison, and Jay publish the first installment of *The Federalist*

The most sophisticated defense of the Constitution appears in the New York press



1788

New Hampshire becomes ninth state to ratify Constitution

Constitution becomes new law of the land



1789

University of North Carolina chartered

Although the University of Georgia was the first public university chartered in the United States (1785), the University of North Carolina (1789) was the first public institution of higher education to admit students and offer classes

Key Terms

Articles of Confederation America's first constitutional government in effect from 1781–1788. The articles created a weak decentralized form of government that lacked the power to tax and compel state obedience to treaties it negotiated. 138

Treaty of Paris (1783) Treaty between the newly created United States of America and Britain that officially ended the war between the two and formally recognized American independence. 138

Old Northwest The region of the new nation bordering on the Great Lakes. 139

Northwest Ordinance of 1787 One of several laws adopted by the Confederation Congress designed to provide a plan for the orderly settlement of the Northwest Territory (the area north of the Ohio River and west of Pennsylvania). In addition to providing for a plan for self-governance, the Ordinance also prohibited slavery from the Northwest Territory. 141

Shays's Rebellion Uprising in western Massachusetts in which farmers organized themselves as local militia units and closed

down courts to prevent their farms from being seized by creditors. 142

Virginia Plan A plan framed by James Madison and introduced in the Constitution Convention by Edmund Randolph that called on delegations to abandon the government of the Articles and create a new, strong national government. 145

New Jersey Plan Proposal made by William Patterson of New Jersey as an alternative to the more nationalistic Virginia Plan that would have retained the principle of state equality in the legislature embodied in the Articles of Confederation. 146

Great Compromise Compromise plan proposed by Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut that called for equal representation of each state in the upper house and a lower house based on population. 146

Federalists The name adopted by the supporters of the Constitution who favored a stronger centralized government. 149

Anti-Federalists The name reluctantly adopted by opponents of the Constitution who insisted that they, not their opponents, were the true supporters of the ideal of federalism. Anti-Federalists opposed weakening the power of the states and feared that the Constitution yielded too much power to the new central government. 149

