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The Constitution

Before the U. S. Constitution In 1787, a group of exceptional men, called the Framers, met in Philadelphia to propose a framework for a new government. This framework would address the weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation. It required a series of compromises, but in the end, the Framers designed a framework for a government of separated powers and checks and balances.

Realizing that changes would be necessary as the nation grew, they included a process to amend the Constitution. They purposely made this process difficult in order to prevent political factions from making changes that were not carefully thought out.

This chapter is about the constitutional design of the American government, why the Framers fashioned the sort of constitution they did, and how the meaning of the Constitution has evolved to address the problems of a changing nation.

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In the early years of the colonies, Great Britain followed the economic theory of mercantilism, in which it sought to increase its wealth by exporting more goods than it imported. It set strict import/export controls on the colonies. Due to the distances involved, it was difficult for Britain to enforce all of these policies and they were widely ignored by the colonists.

To pay for the French and Indian War, the crown imposed additional taxes on the colonists. The Sugar Act taxed sugar and wine; the Stamp Act required a stamp on all paper items. Angered that the taxes were imposed without the approval of colonial governments, colonists engaged in boycotts and violent protests under the rallying cry "no taxation without representation."

In 1765, Samuel Adams and nine of the thirteen colonies met in New York City to draft a petition to Parliament. In this petition, they listed crown violations of the colonists' fundamental rights. This Stamp Act Congress did not stop the taxes, but Parliament did repeal some taxes in response to colonial boycotts, mainly because merchants complained about the loss of revenue.

Parliament also repealed some taxes in response to colonists' anger over the so-called Boston Massacre.

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What really happened at the Boston Massacre? On a cold snowy night in 1770, colonists taunted British troops who were guarding the Boston Customs House. The troops fired on the colonists, killing five.

Paul Revere made a famous engraving of this event. It was not a massacre, but calling it that stoked anti-British sentiment in the years leading up to the Revolutionary War.

This propaganda played fast and loose with the facts. It did not happen as Revere depicted it. Do you think the British opened fire as shown? Did the colonists bear some responsibility?

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Tensions continued to remain high long after the Boston Massacre. In 1772, at the suggestion of Samuel Adams, colonists created Committees of Correspondence to share with each other news of British actions. These committees also served as powerful molders of public opinion against the British.

In 1773, Parliament passed the Tea Act, granting a monopoly to the East India Company to sell tea imported from Britain. Only the American merchants loyal to the crown were allowed to sell the tea, thereby undercutting dissident colonial merchants. When the next shipment of tea arrived, the colonists responded by throwing it into Boston Harbor.

The enraged king retaliated with the Coercive Acts of 1774, calling for a total blockade of Boston Harbor and giving royal governors the authority to quarter British soldiers in the homes of local citizens, allowing Britain to send an additional 4,000 soldiers to patrol Boston. The colonists were not pleased.

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Protests over taxes led colonists to focus on the extent of British authority over the colonies. The united colonial assemblies sent delegates to the First Continental Congress. Delegates agreed on a series of resolutions to oppose the Coercive Acts and to establish a formal organization to boycott British goods, and further agreed that if the king did not capitulate to its demands, it would meet again in Philadelphia in May 1775.

The king refused to yield and a Second Continental Congress was called. Before it met, fighting broke out between British troops and colonists in Massachusetts. In retrospect, this is seen as the formal beginning of the Revolutionary War. Nevertheless, when the Congress convened, again in Philadelphia, it tried first for reconciliation. But the king responded to the Olive Branch Petition by sending 20,000 more British troops and condemning to death the Congress attendees as traitors.

At this point, independence was increasingly viewed as the only option but many colonists still needed convincing to take this radical step. To galvanize support, in January 1776, Thomas Paine issued *Common Sense*, a pamphlet denouncing the corrupt British monarchy and offering reasons to break with Great Britain. Virginia introduced a resolution calling for independence and the Second Continental Congress was

suspended to allow its delegates to return home for final instructions.

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The Congress set up a committee to work on a Declaration of Independence, chaired by Thomas Jefferson. On July 2, 1776, the Congress voted in favor of independence and, two days later, voted to adopt the Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration set out the reasons for separation of the colonies from Great Britain. Much of its stirring rhetoric drew heavily on the work of political philosopher John Locke. Locke was a proponent of social contract theory, which holds that governments exist based on the consent of the governed. According to Locke, people agree to set up a government largely for the protection of property rights, to preserve life and liberty, and to establish justice. Government exists for the good of its subjects and not for the benefit of those who govern. If a government violates the rights of its citizens, the citizens have the right to alter or abolish the government.

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The Articles created a type of government called a confederation in which the national government derives all its powers directly from the states. This reluctance to give power to a national government proved unworkable shortly after the Revolutionary War ended.

The Articles of Confederation proposed the following: a national government with the power to make peace, coin money, appoint officers for an army, control the post office, and negotiate with Indian tribes; each state's retention of independence and sovereignty; one vote in the legislature, Congress, regardless of state size; the vote of nine states to pass any measure; and selection and payment of delegates by the states.





The Articles of Confederation created a loose confederation of independent states with little power in the central government. Under the Articles, most important decisions were made in state legislatures.

Congress rarely could assemble the required quorum of nine states to conduct business. Even when it did meet, states found it difficult to agree on any policies. Congress had no power to tax, so it could not raise revenue to pay off war debts and run the government. Although the national government could coin money, so could the states, making trade chaotic.

Another weakness was that the Articles did not allow Congress to regulate commerce among the states or with foreign nations. As a result, individual states attempted to enter into agreements with other countries. Fearful of a chief executive who would rule tyrannically, the drafters of the Articles made no provision for an executive that would be responsible for executing laws nor for a judicial system to handle conflicts among the individual states. The Articles' greatest weakness was its failure to provide for a strong central government that could force states to abide by its provisions.

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Unrest broke out in Massachusetts after the state legislature passed laws that favored the interests of the wealthy.

With Daniel Shays in the lead, a group of farmers who had served in the Continental Army marched to Springfield, Massachusetts, to stop the state court from foreclosing on the veterans' farms if taxes hadn't been paid. Armed mobs of protesters stormed the state courts to forcibly prevent foreclosures.

The national government had no resources to help, so private money was raised to form a militia and quell the rebellion. The nation was shocked and worried. The strength of the protesters in Shays's Rebellion terrified political and business leaders. An armed mob had stopped business from going forward and there was no way to disperse them. It was obvious that a stronger national government was needed.

What was the result of Shays's Rebellion?

With Daniel Shays in the lead, a group of farmers who had served in the Continental Army marched to Springfield, Massachusetts, to stop the state court from foreclosing on the veterans' farms. The rebellion illustrated many of the problems of the national government under the Articles of Confederation and is widely thought to have influenced the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention.