

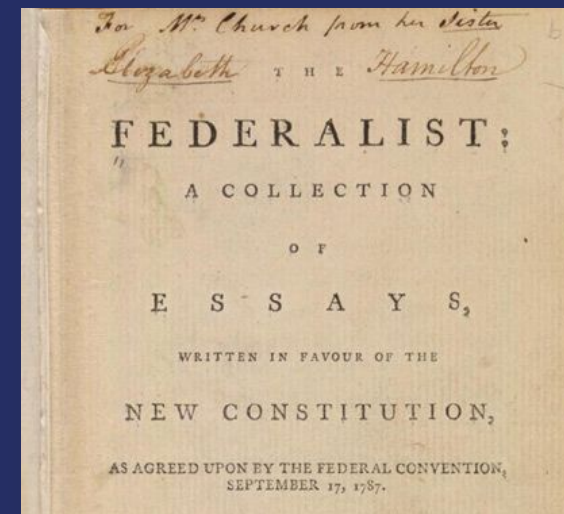
# RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



A large graphic illustration of the words "We the People" in a stylized font. "We" is in a white serif font inside a dark blue square. "the" is in a small dark blue circle. "People" is in a large, dark blue, cursive script. The background is light blue with various icons: a document, a play button, a plus sign, the Statue of Liberty, and the US Capitol dome. There are also stars and a banner at the bottom that says "E PLURIBUS UNUM".

# FRAMING QUESTIONS

- When was the Constitution completed and signed, and what was the process for deciding whether to adopt it?
- What is ratification?
- Who were the Federalists, and what were some of the key arguments in favor of the new Constitution?
- Who were the Anti-Federalists, and what were some of the key arguments against the new Constitution?
- What were *The Federalist Papers*, who wrote them, and what did they say?
- How did the ratification process play out at the state level, and how did the supporters of the new Constitution win the battle?
- What role did compromise play in the ratification of the U.S. Constitution?
- What is the relationship between the ratification process and key constitutional principles like popular sovereignty and federalism?

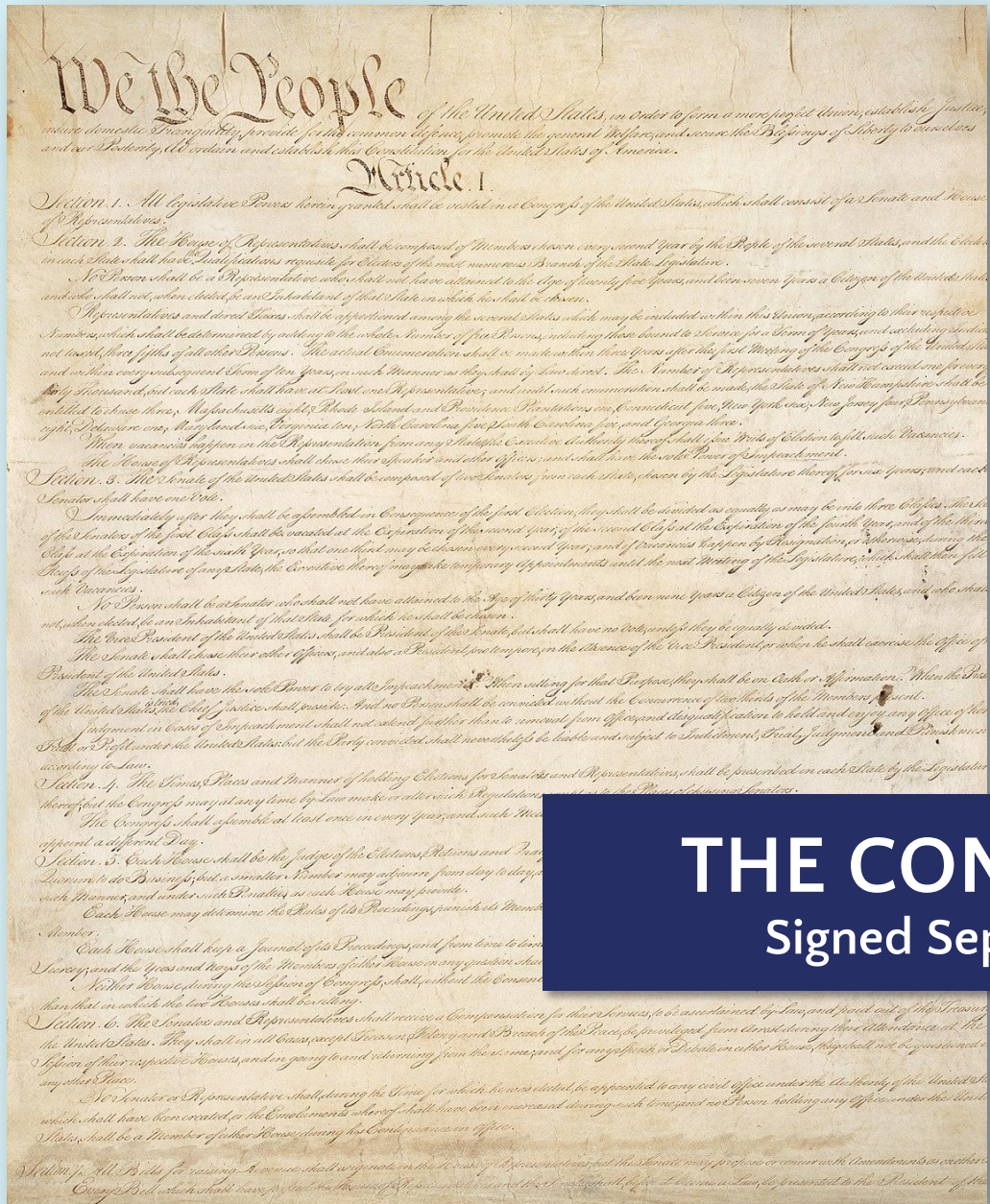


## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

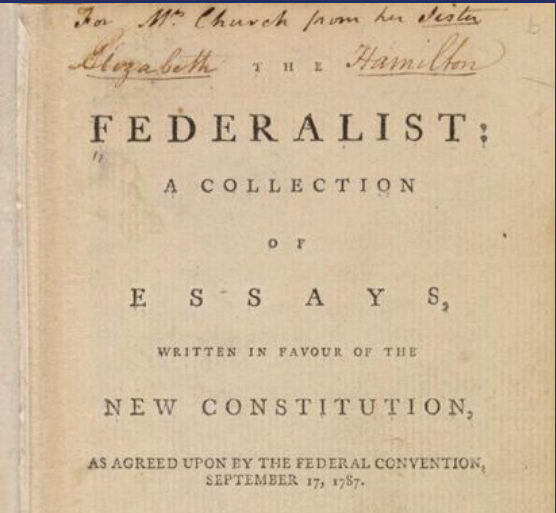
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**THE CONSTITUTION**  
Signed September 17, 1787

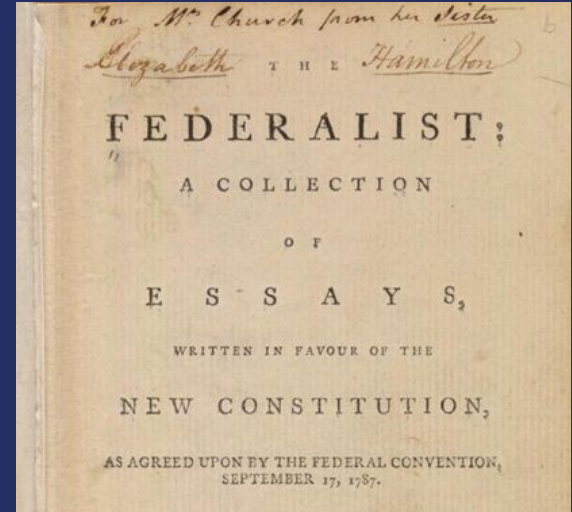


# RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



# RATIFICATION

The battle over whether to say “yes” or “no” to the new Constitution.



RATIFICATION AND  
THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

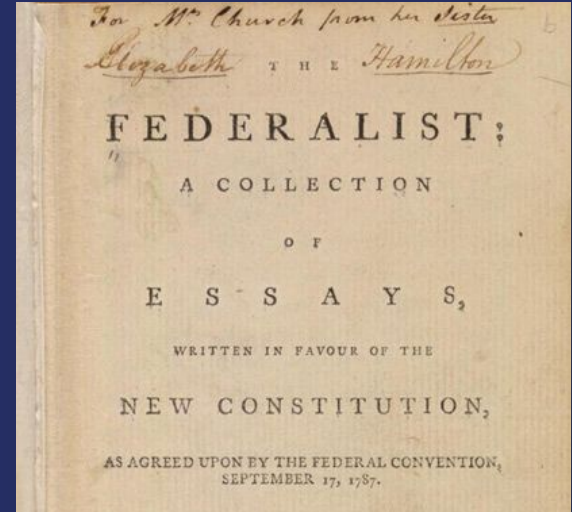
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# BATTLE OVER RATIFICATION

**Federalists:** Supporters of the  
Constitution

**Anti-Federalists:** Opposed the  
Constitution



**RATIFICATION AND  
THE FEDERALIST PAPERS**

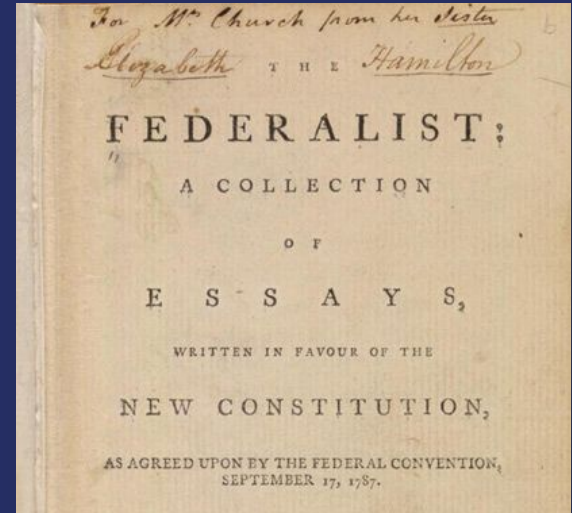
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# WHO WERE THE FEDERALISTS

- Two of America's most beloved figures: **George Washington** and **Benjamin Franklin**. And some of the nation's most gifted political leaders (and thinkers), including **James Madison**, **Alexander Hamilton**, **John Jay**, **John Dickinson**, **James Wilson**, and **Gouverneur Morris**.
- Overall, they tended to be better educated than the Anti-Federalists.
- And they were more likely to be wealthy and to live in cities.



## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

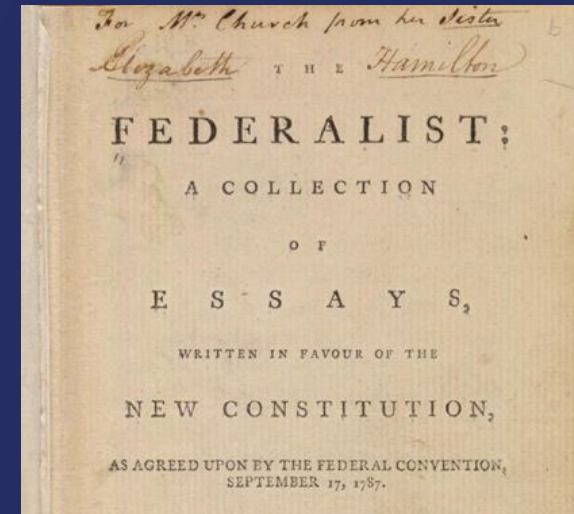
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## THE FEDERALISTS' PERSPECTIVE

Federalists generally wanted a stronger national government

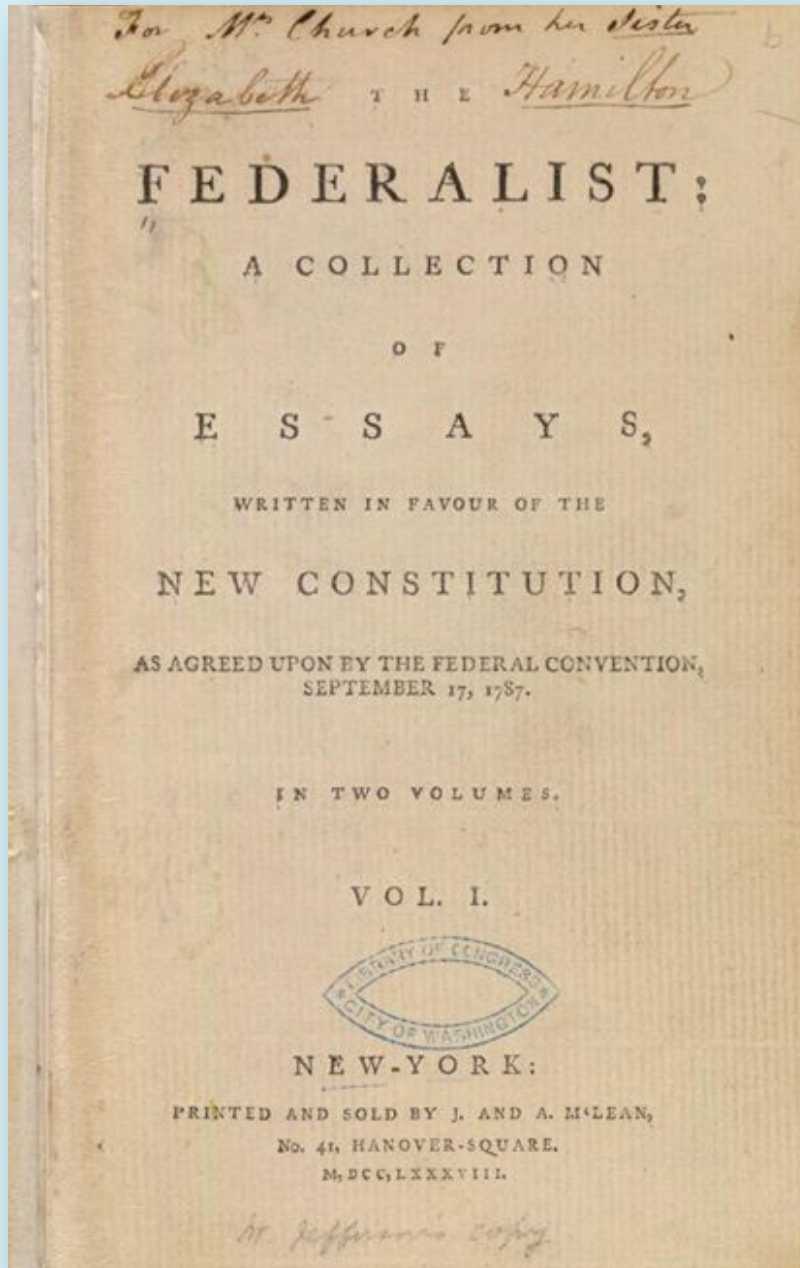
In the Federalists' view, America's national government must have the sorts of powers that national governments—for instance, those in Europe—usually had: The power to raise an army, tax, regulate commerce and trade with other nations and between the American states, shape the nation's foreign policy, and the power to declare war.



## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

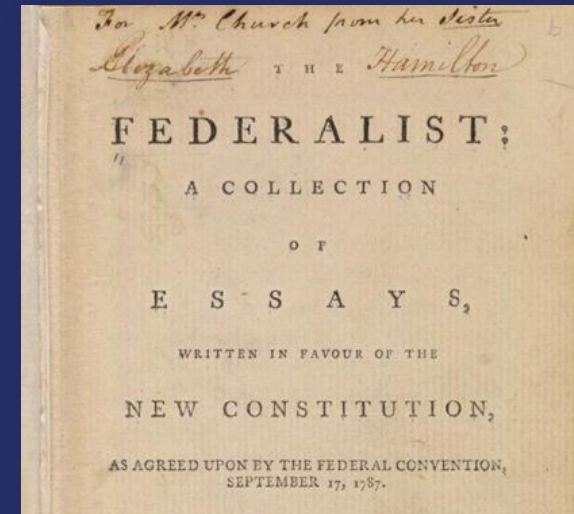
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## THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

The Federalist Papers were a series of 85 essays printed in newspapers to persuade critics of the Constitution and those on the fence to support ratification.



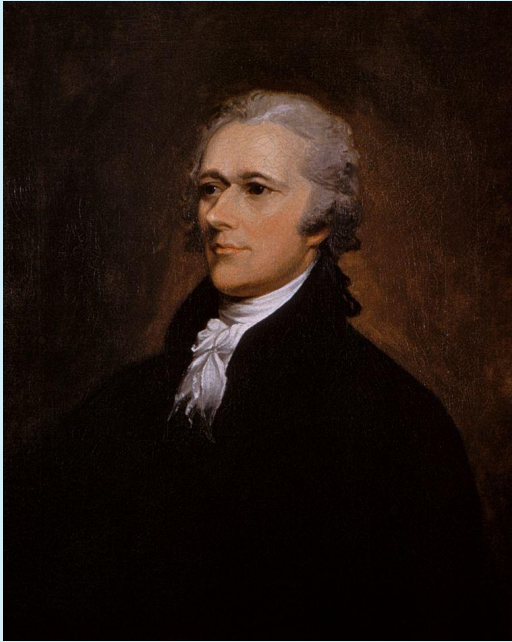
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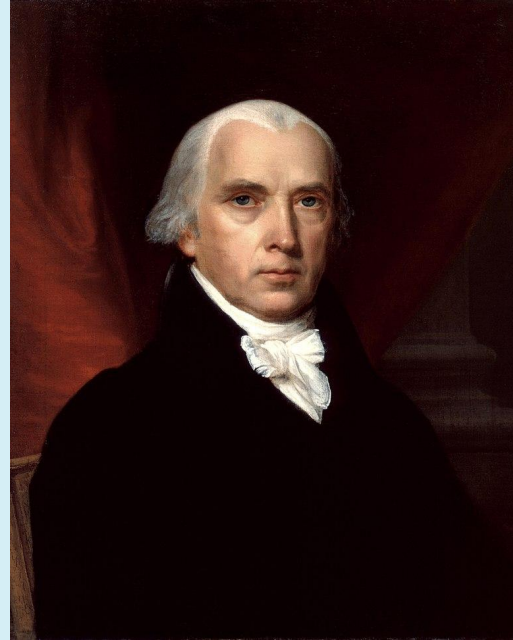




# THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



Alexander Hamilton

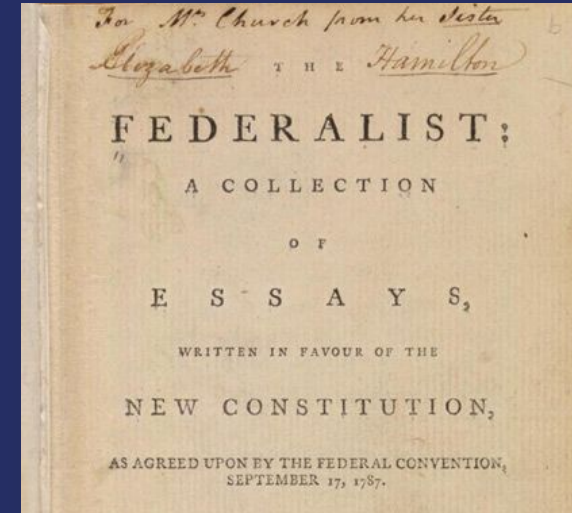


James Madison



John Jay

All three authors wrote under the same famous pen name—“**Publius.**”



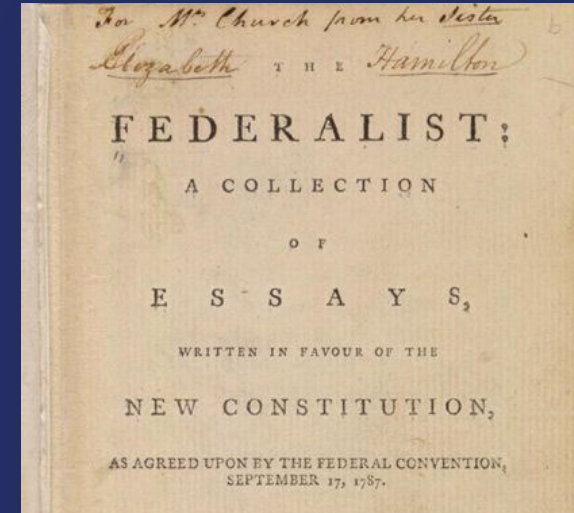
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# WHO WERE THE ANTI-FEDERALISTS

- The Anti-Federalist camp included its own list of Founding-era heavyweights—including: Virginia’s George Mason, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee; Massachusetts’s Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, and Mercy Otis Warren; and New York’s powerful Governor George Clinton.
- Generally speaking, Anti-Federalists were more likely to be small farmers than lawyers or merchants.
- In addition, Anti-Federalist support was stronger: out West rather than in the East, in rural areas rather than in the cities, and in large states rather than in small states



## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

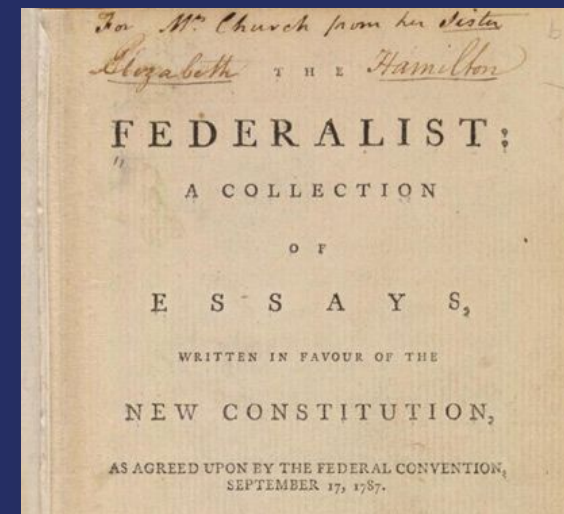
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## THE ANTI-FEDERALISTS' PERSPECTIVE

While the Federalists argued for a stronger national government, the Anti-Federalists defended a vision of America rooted in powerful states. The Anti-Federalists feared that the new Constitution gave the new national government too much power.

And that this new government—led by a new group of distant, out-of-touch political elites—would: seize all political power, swallow up the states—the governments that were closest to the people themselves, and abuse the rights of the American people.



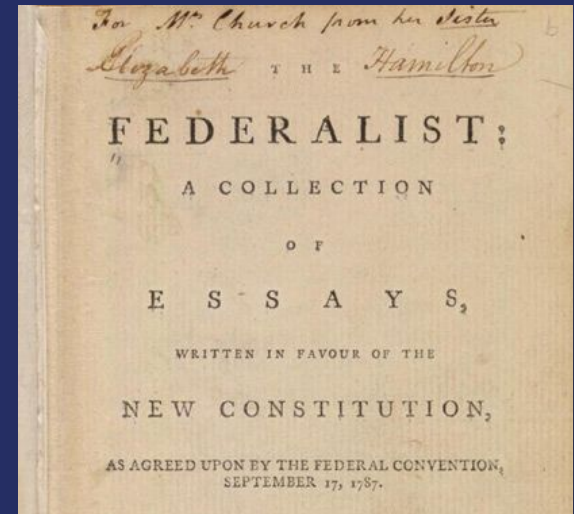
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## BIG IDEA

When the Constitution was signed by the Framers at the Constitutional Convention on September 17, 1787, it was a mere proposal. The Framers understood that the people themselves still had to accept this new Constitution. Acting through their state ratifying conventions, the American people had to decide whether to give the Constitution life—whether to say “yes” or “no.”

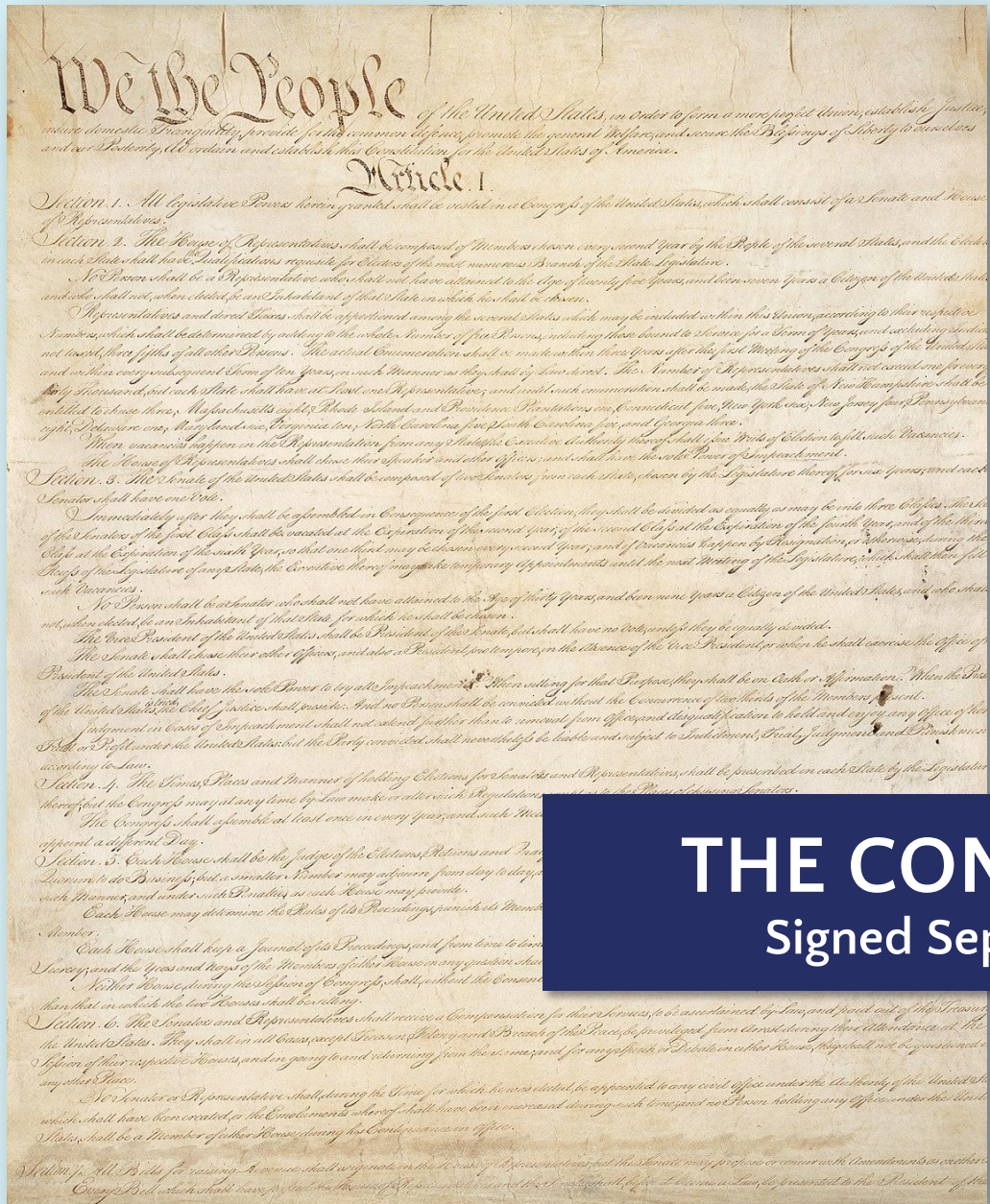


## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

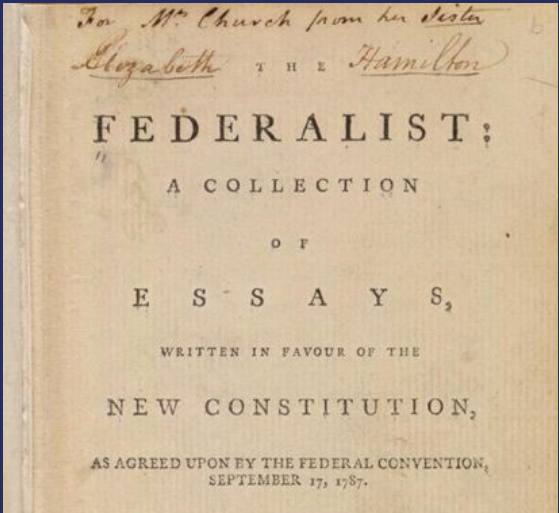
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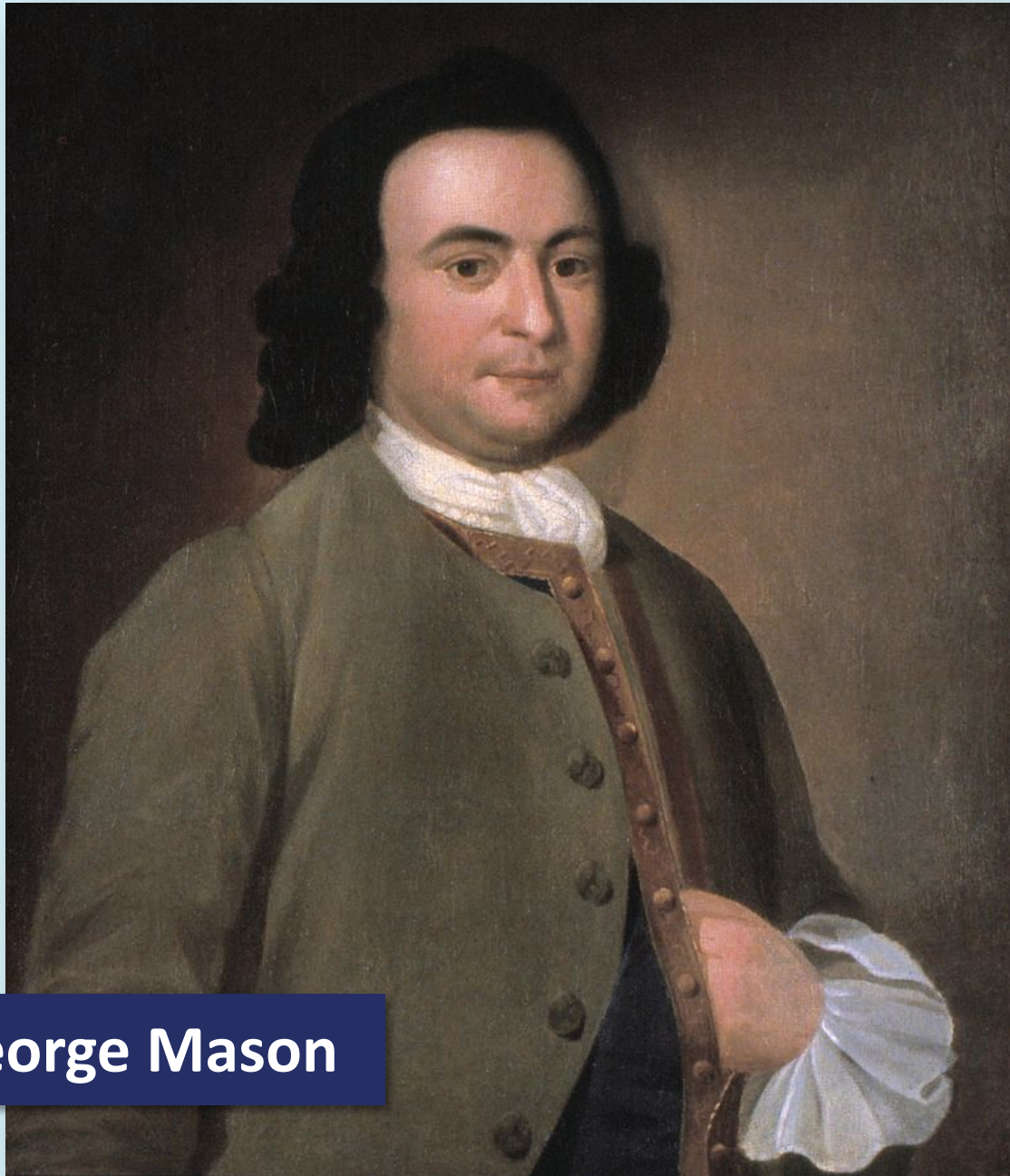
**THE CONSTITUTION**  
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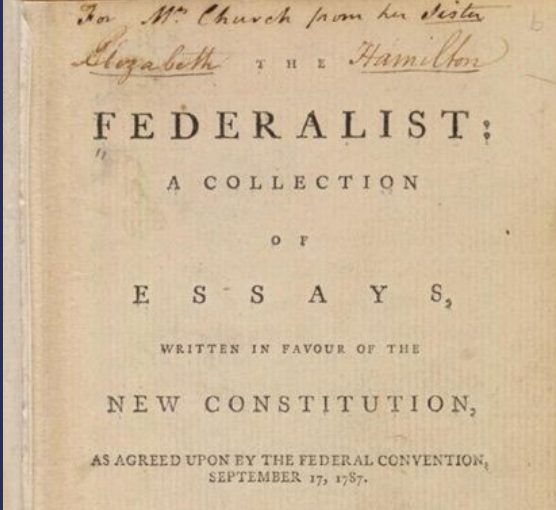
# RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS







**George Mason**



**RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS**





(Copy of the first Draught by G. M.)

A Declaration of Rights made by the Representatives of the good People of Virginia, assembled in full and free Convention; which Rights do pertain to them and their Posterity, as the Basis and Foundation of Government.

1. That all men are created equally free & independent, & have certain inherent natural Rights, of which they can not, by any compact, deprive or divest their Posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life & Liberty, with the Means of acquiring & possessing Property, & pursuing & obtaining Happiness & Safety.
2. That all Power is by God & Nature vested in, & consequently derived from the People; That Magistrates are their Trustees & Servants, and at all Times amenable to them.
3. That Government is or ought to be, instituted for the common Benefit, Protection & Security of the People, Nation or Community. Of all the various Modes & Forms of Government, that which shall best conduce to these Ends, is in every Nation, to be chosen by the People, or their Representatives, in such Manner as they shall judge most proper, & in such Manner as shall best secure the Liberty, & the greatest Safety, & the greatest Happiness of the People. That the People have a Right to alter, or to abolish it, whensoever they shall judge it necessary, & to institute a new Government, in such Manner as they shall think proper, & to secure the Liberty, & the greatest Safety, & the greatest Happiness of the People.

# THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

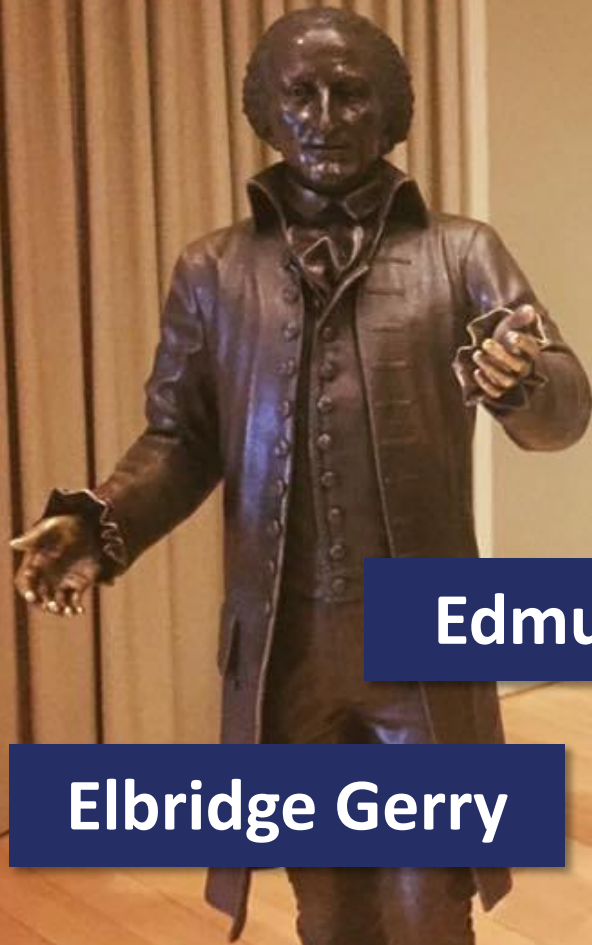
For M<sup>r</sup>. Church from his Sister  
Elizabeth THE Hamilton

FEDERALIST;  
A COLLECTION  
OF  
ESSAYS,  
WRITTEN IN FAVOUR OF THE  
NEW CONSTITUTION,  
AS AGREED UPON BY THE FEDERAL CONVENTION,  
SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

# RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



## THE DISSENTERS

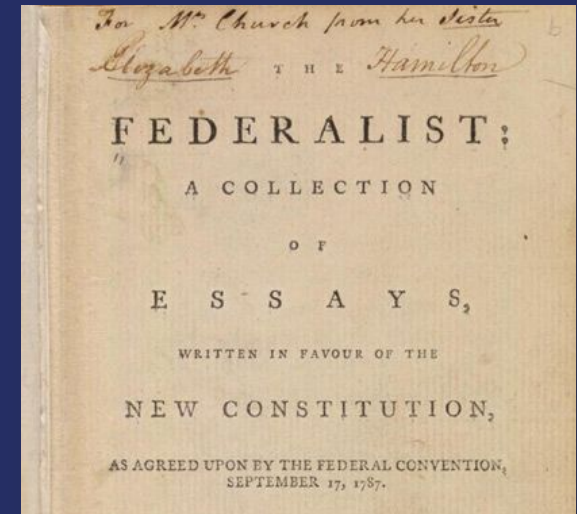
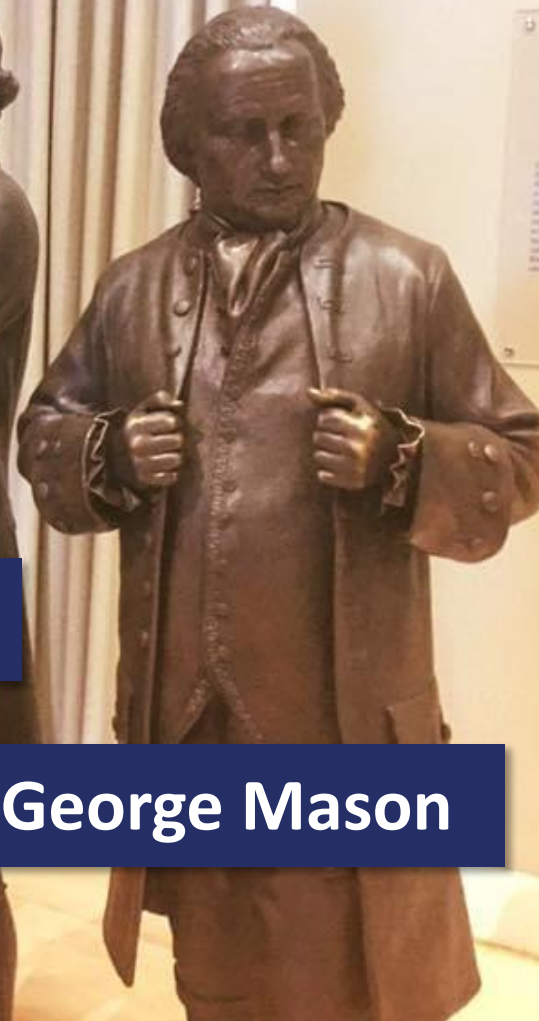


Elbridge Gerry

Edmund Randolph



George Mason



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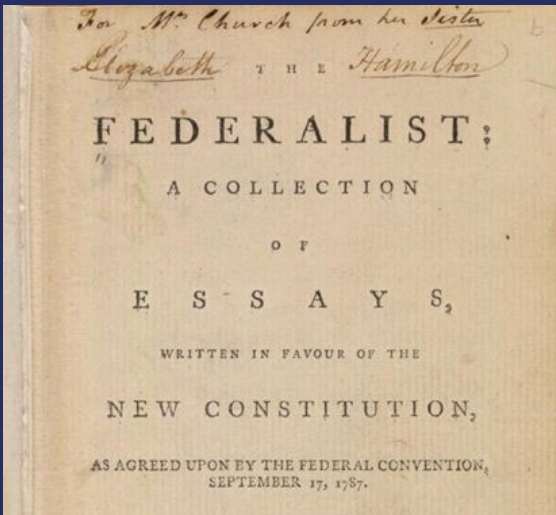
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# STATE CONVENTIONS



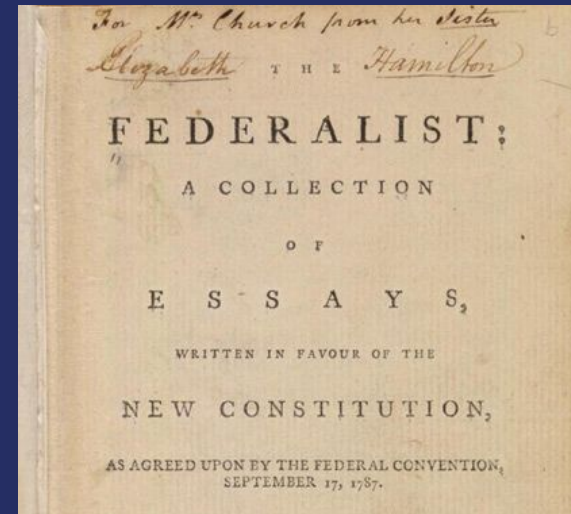
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## EARLY RATIFICATIONS

The first state to ratify the Constitution was Delaware on December 7, 1787 (unanimous).

- Pennsylvania: December 12, 1787 (46-23—which was a bitter fight)
- New Jersey: December 18, 1787 (unanimous)
- Georgia: January 2, 1788 (unanimous)
- Connecticut: January 9, 1788 (128-40)



## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

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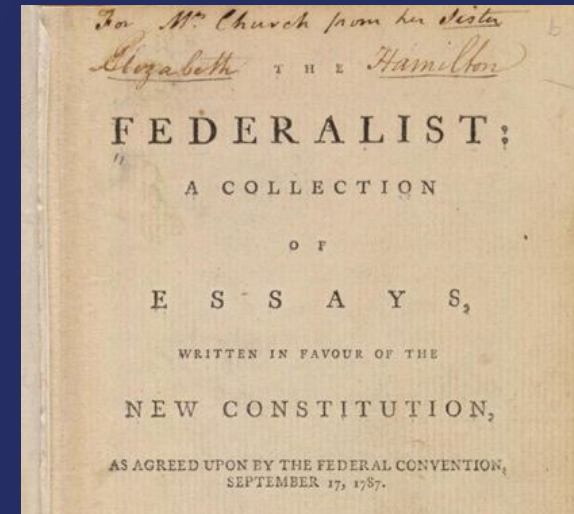


## MASSACHUSETTS COMPROMISE

Under this “Massachusetts Compromise,” a majority of delegates agreed to ratify the new Constitution, but only if the Convention agreed to recommend a set of amendments to the new Congress following ratification.

The Massachusetts Convention finally voted in favor of ratification on February 6, 1788.

This Massachusetts Compromise paved the way for the Constitution’s ratification—every remaining state convention—except for Maryland’s—recommended amendments as part of their decision to ratify.



## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

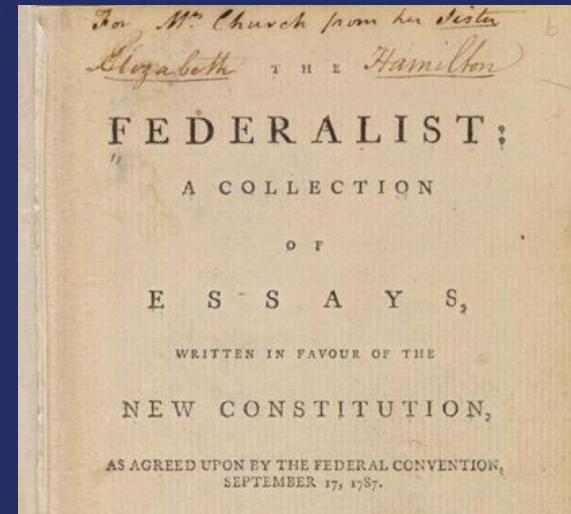
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## MORE RATIFICATIONS

- Maryland: April 28, 1788 (63-11).
- South Carolina: May 23, 1788 (149-73).
- New Hampshire: June 21, 1788 (57-47).
- Virginia: June 25, 1788 (89-79—in a close fight)
- New York: July 26, 1788 (30-27—in another bitterly close fight).

The final two states—North Carolina and Rhode Island—wouldn't ratify the Constitution until after the new government was already established.

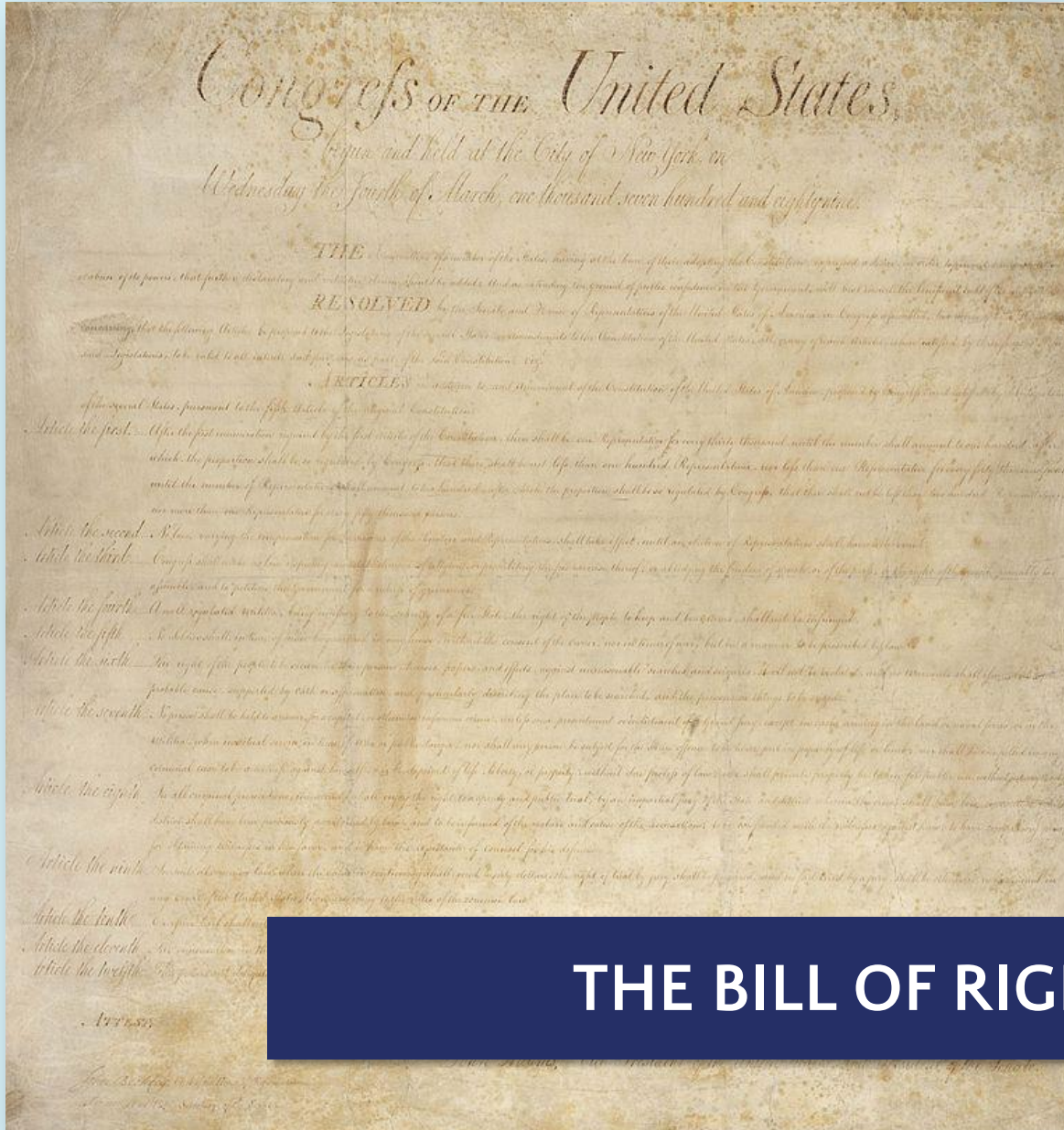


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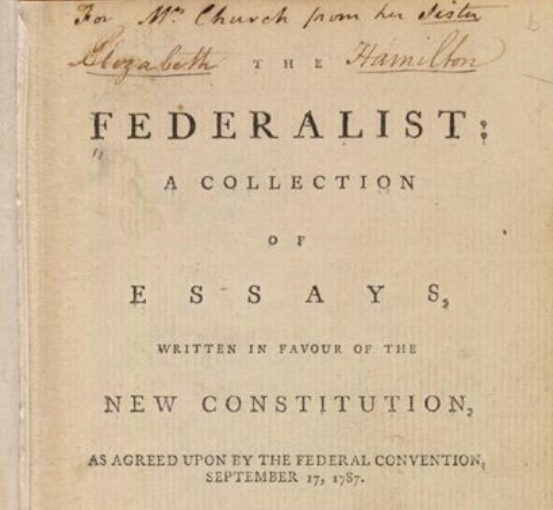






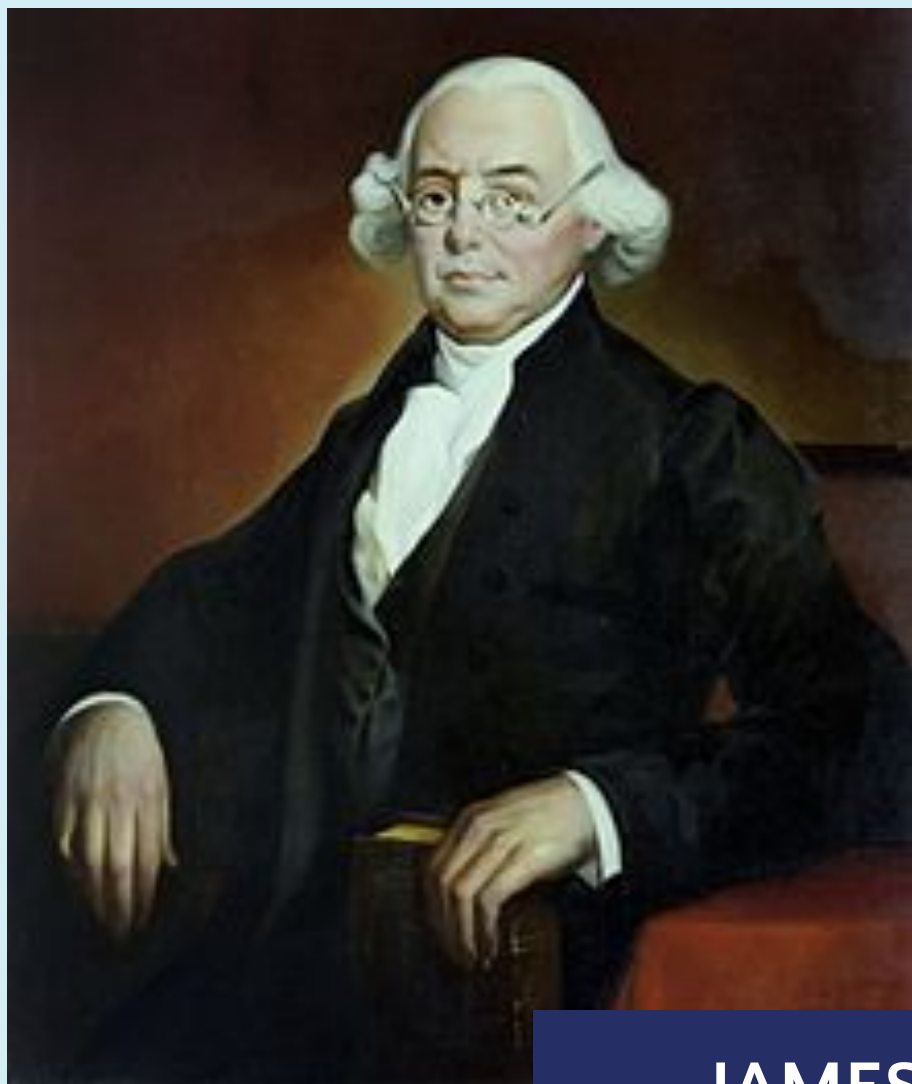
The Bill of Rights was approved by the First Congress and ratified December 15, 1791

# THE BILL OF RIGHTS



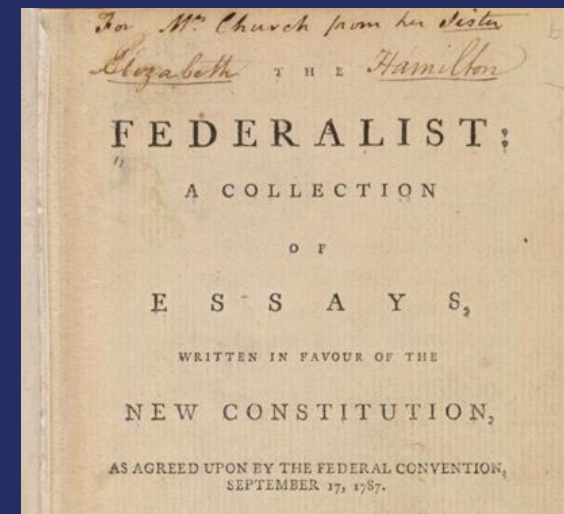
RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS





**JAMES WILSON**

“You have heard of Sparta, of Athens, of Rome; you have heard of their admired constitutions. . . . But did they ever furnish . . . an exhibition similar to that which we now contemplate? Were their constitutions framed by those, who were appointed for that purpose by the people. After they were framed, were they submitted to the consideration of the people?”



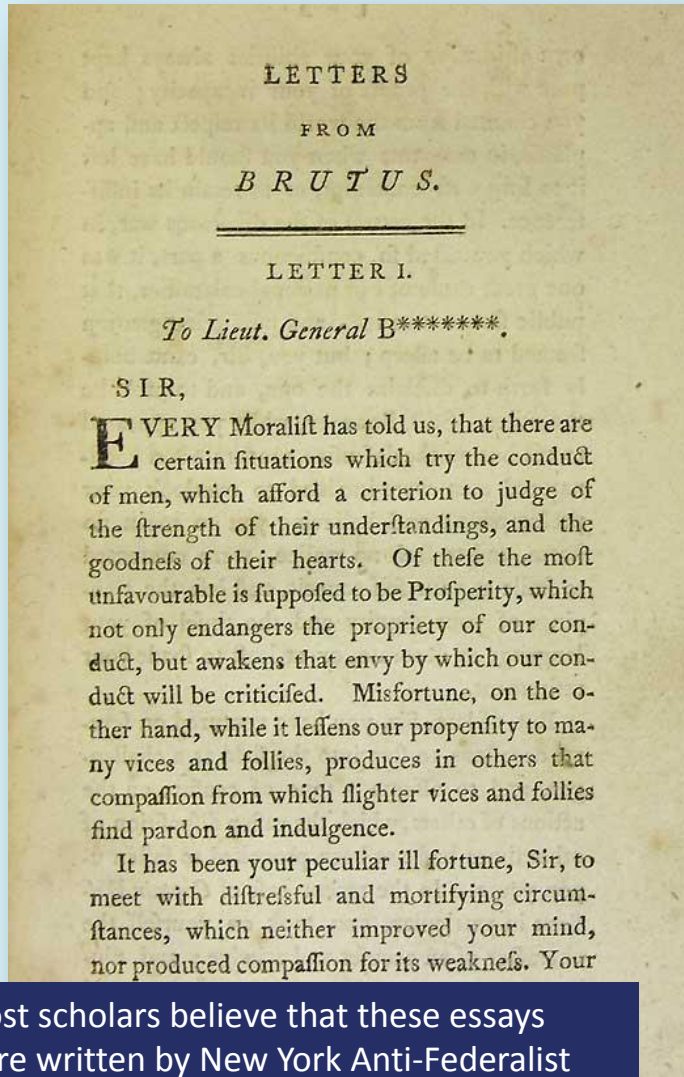
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# BRUTUS



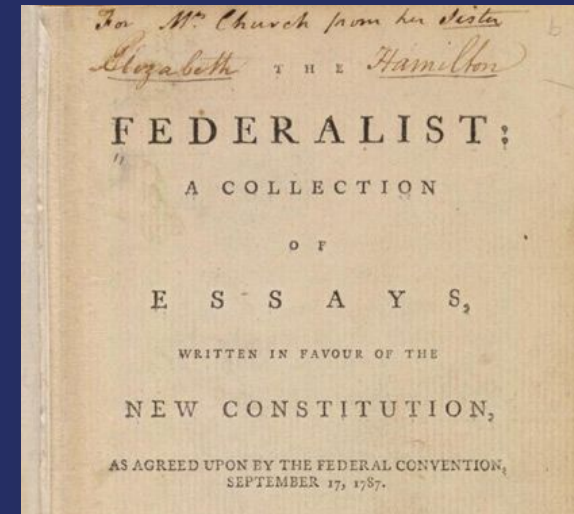
Most scholars believe that these essays were written by New York Anti-Federalist **Robert Yates**.

For Brutus, the ratification debate came down to one key question: *Do we want a system driven by powerful states or one organized around a single grand republic governed by a national legislature, a national executive, and a national court system?*

Brutus—and his Anti-Federalist allies—sided with state and local governments over a powerful national government.

Brutus warned that the new Constitution would end with an all-powerful national government.

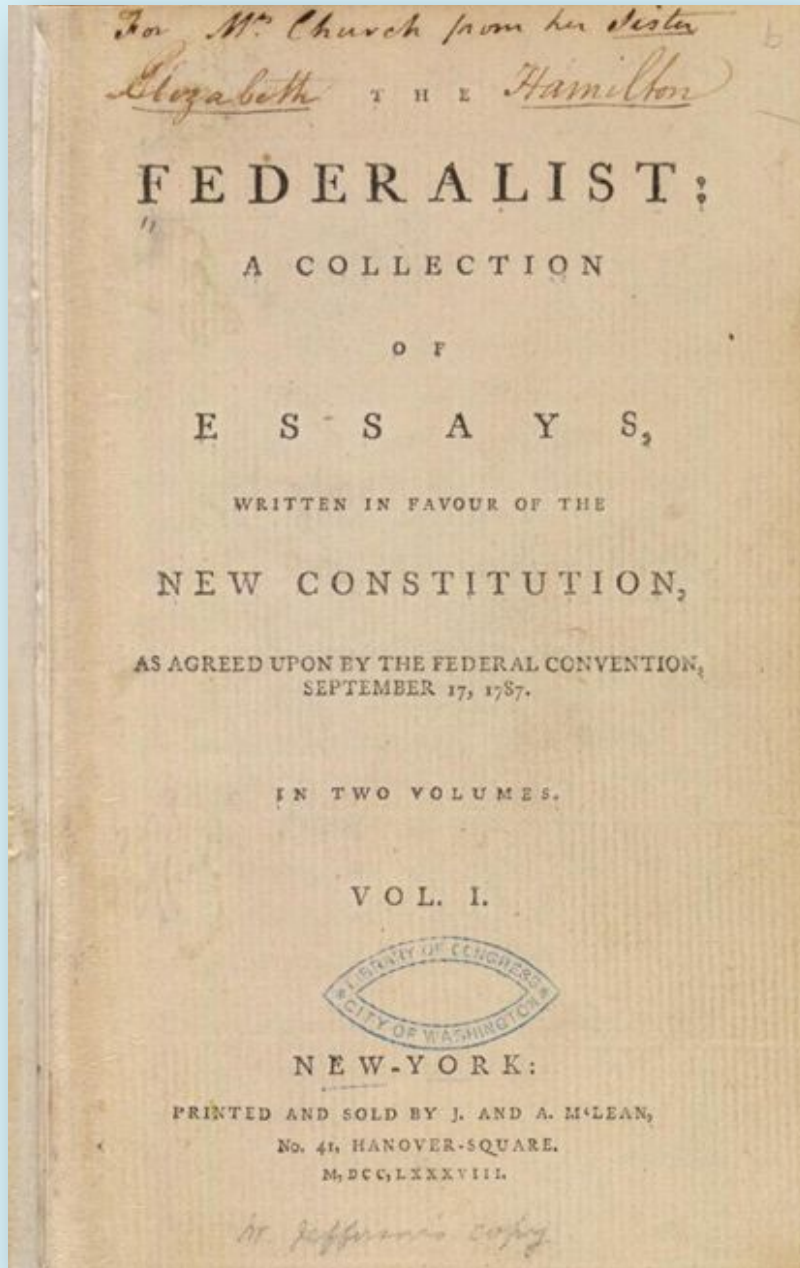
Finally, Brutus feared that a republican form of government—one rooted in elections and popular self-governance—couldn't succeed in a large nation like America.



## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

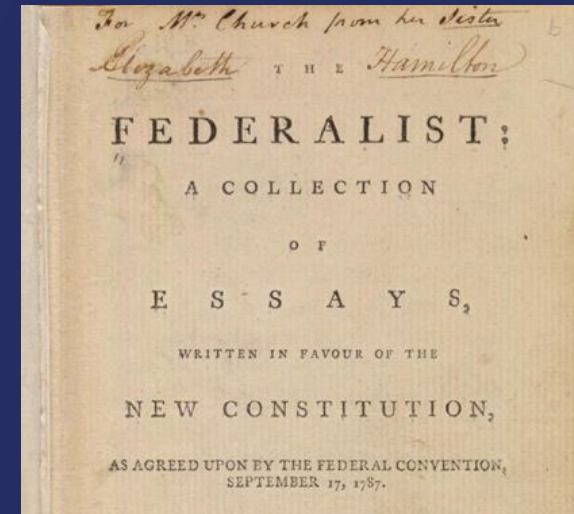
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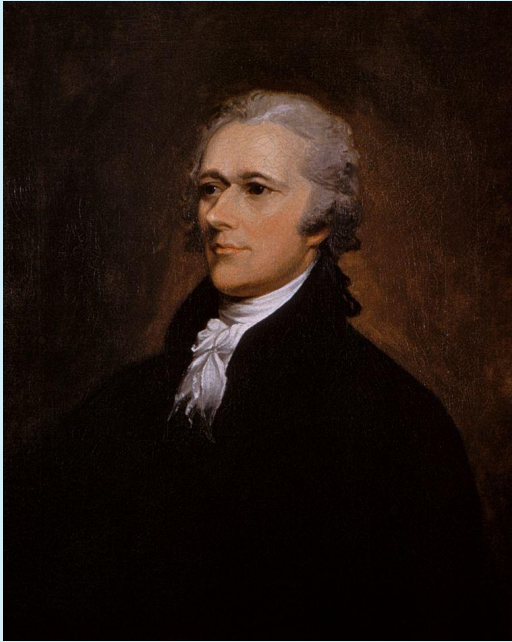
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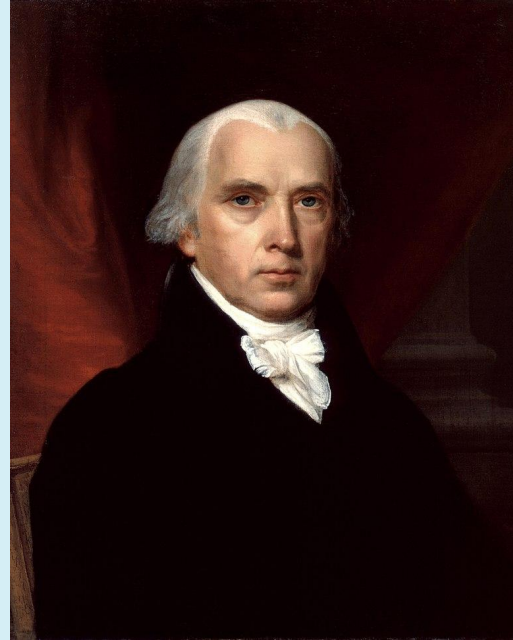




# THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



Alexander Hamilton

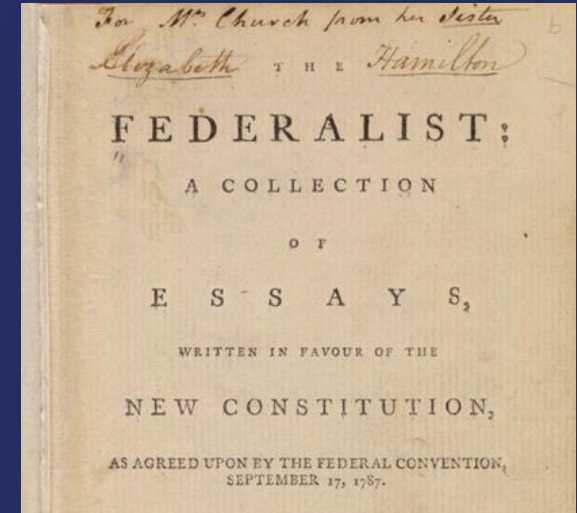


James Madison



John Jay

All three authors wrote under the same famous pen name—“**Publius.**”

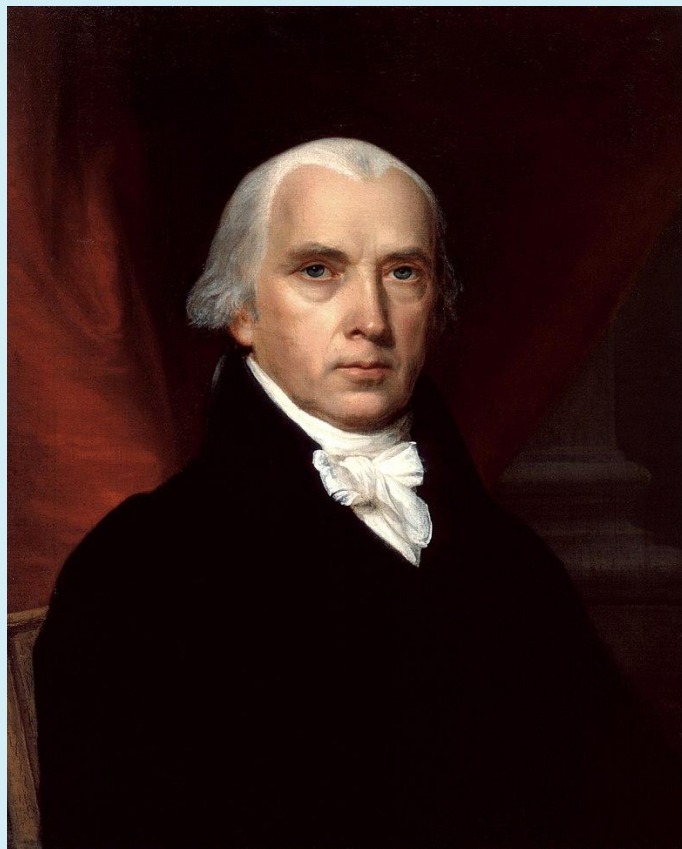


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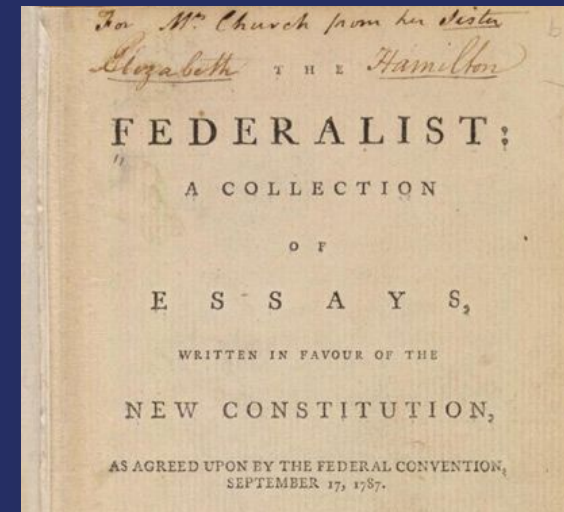


James Madison

## Federalist No. 10

“The Utility of the Union as a  
Safeguard Against Domestic Faction  
and Insurrection”

Written by James Madison  
Published on November 22, 1787

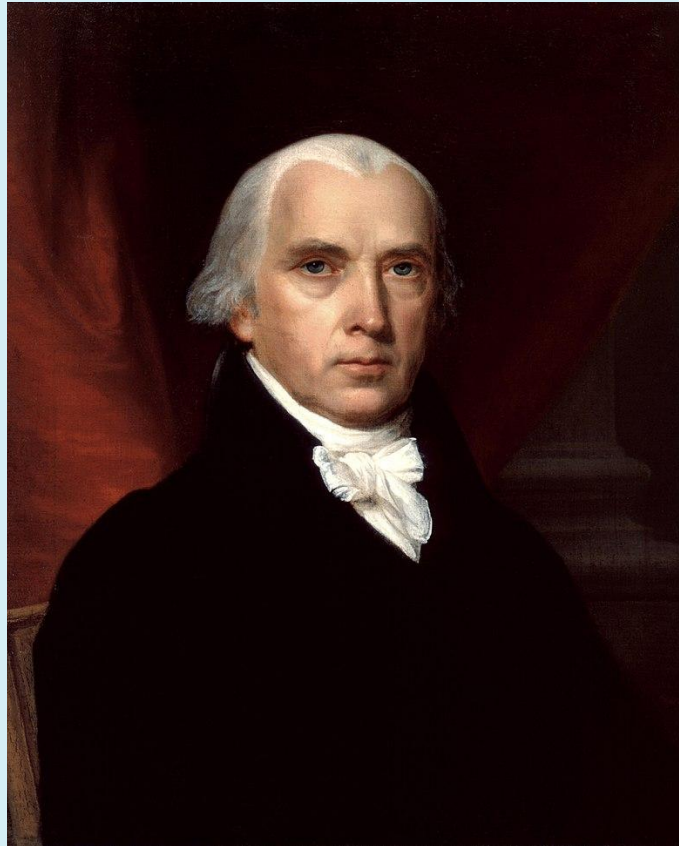


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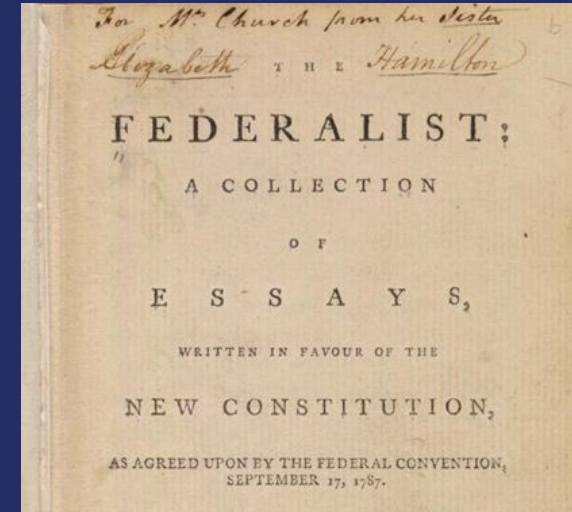
# THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



James Madison

## Federalist No. 10

“Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of **faction.**”



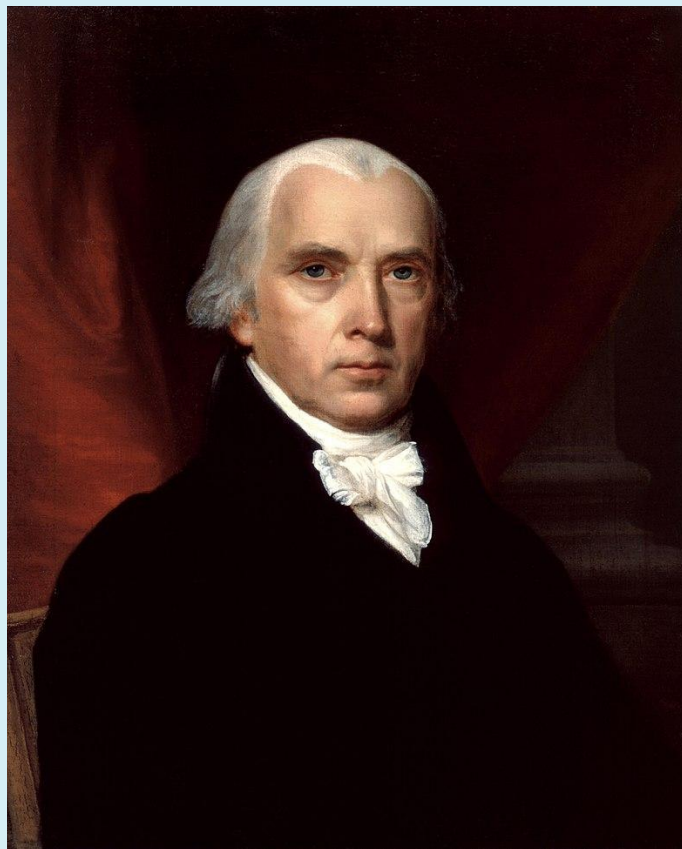
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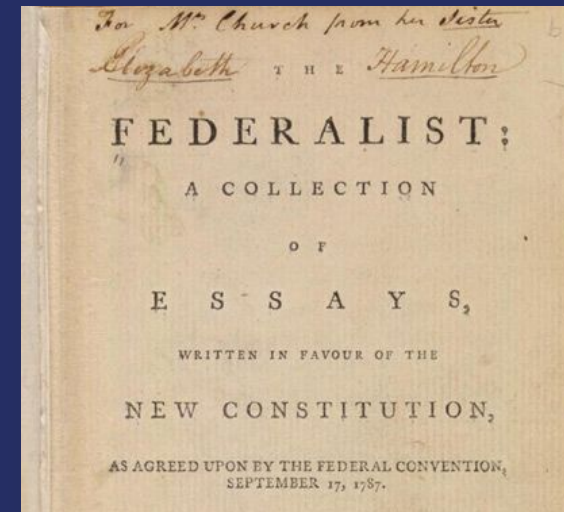
# THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



James Madison

## Federalist No. 10

“By a faction, I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse or passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.”



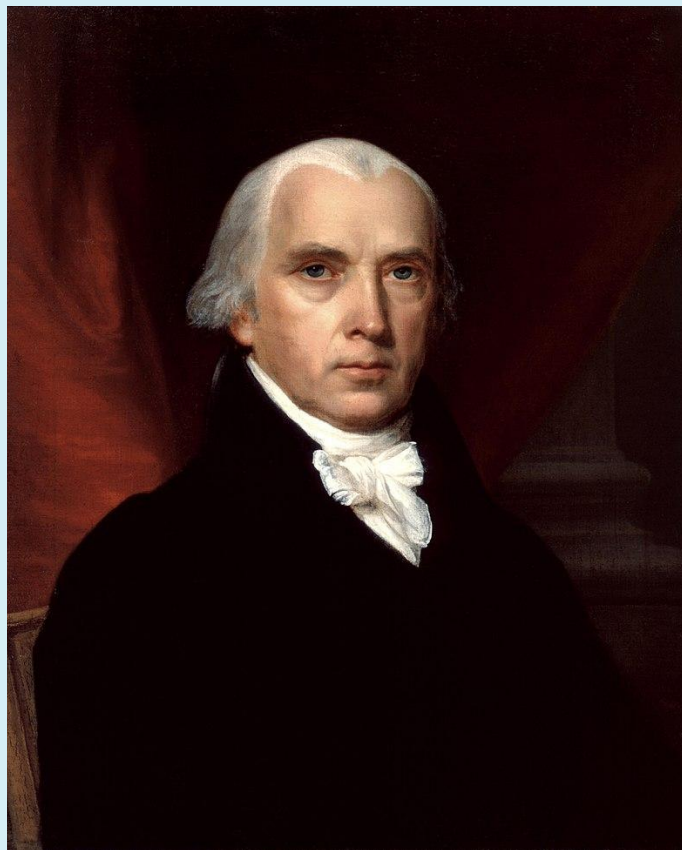
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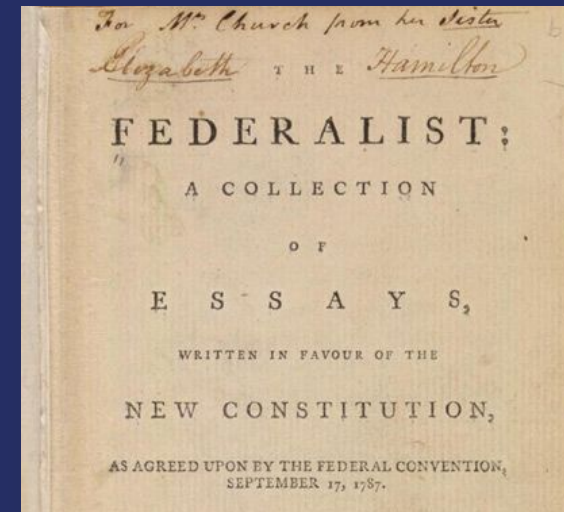
# THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



James Madison

## Federalist No. 10

“Extend the sphere, and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other.”

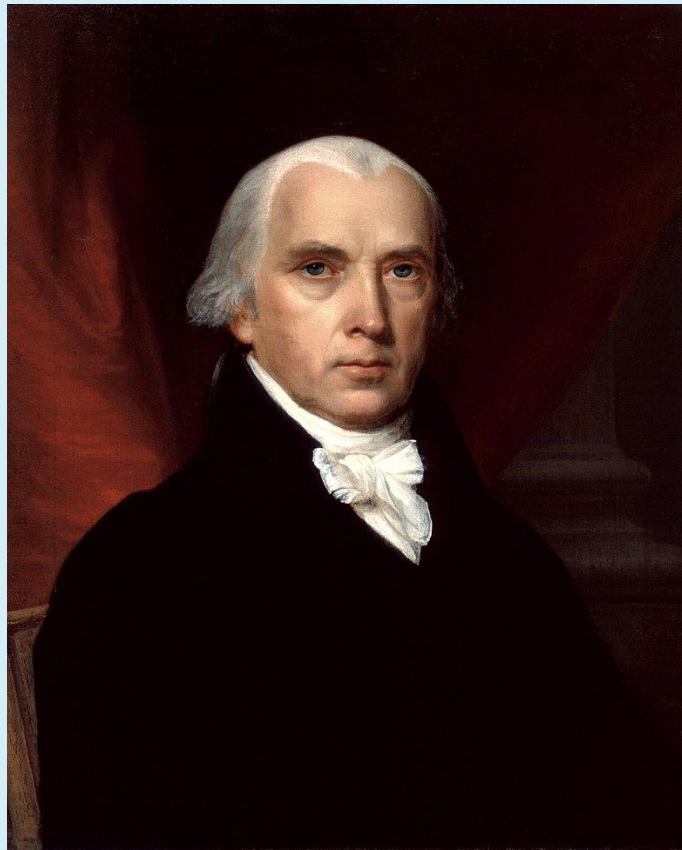


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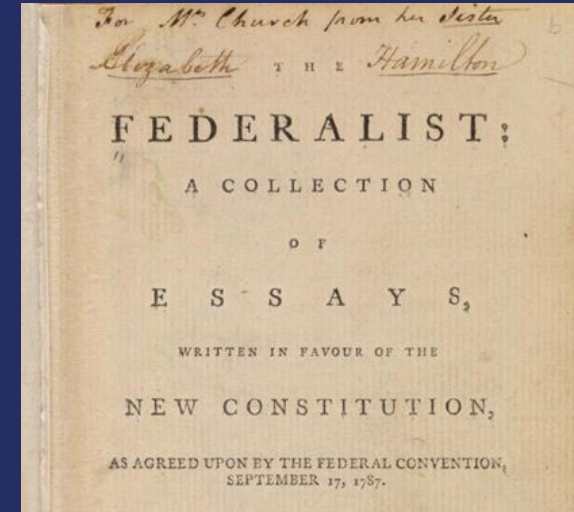


James Madison

## Federalist No. 51

“The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments”

Written by James Madison  
Published on February 8, 1788

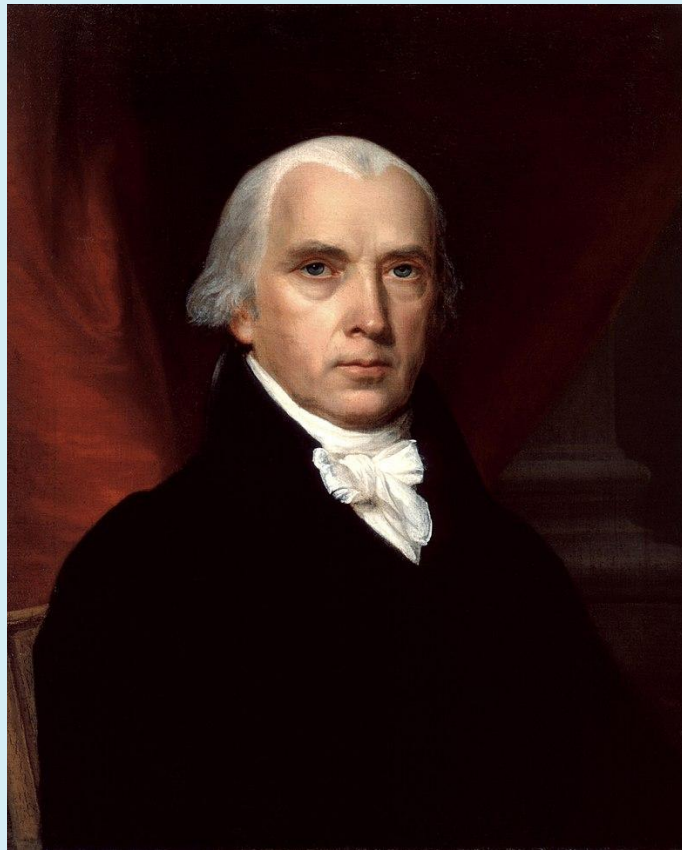


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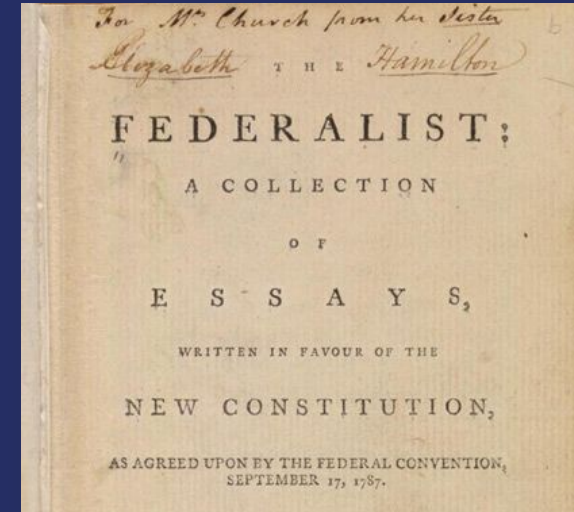


James Madison

## Federalist No. 51

Madison explained how the Constitution's structure checked the powers of the elected branches and protected against possible abuses by political elites.

For Madison, the solution was a combination of both separation of powers and checks and balance.



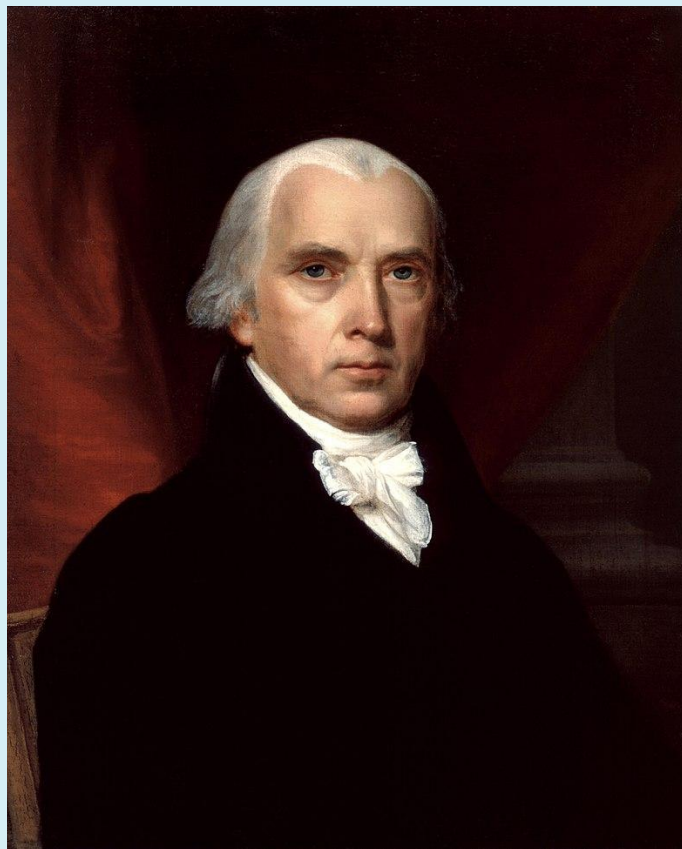
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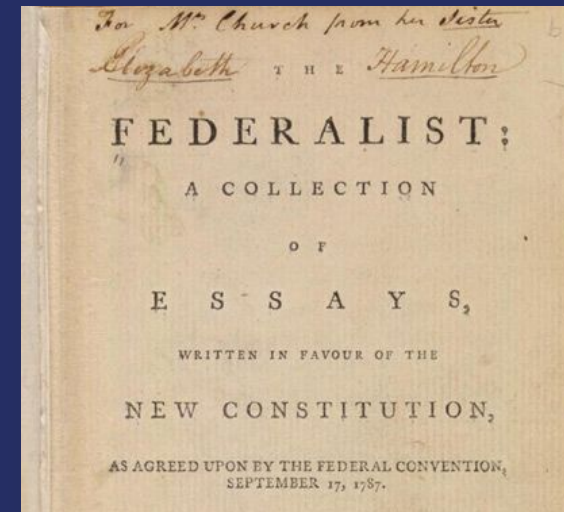
# THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



James Madison

## Federalist No. 51

**“Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?”**

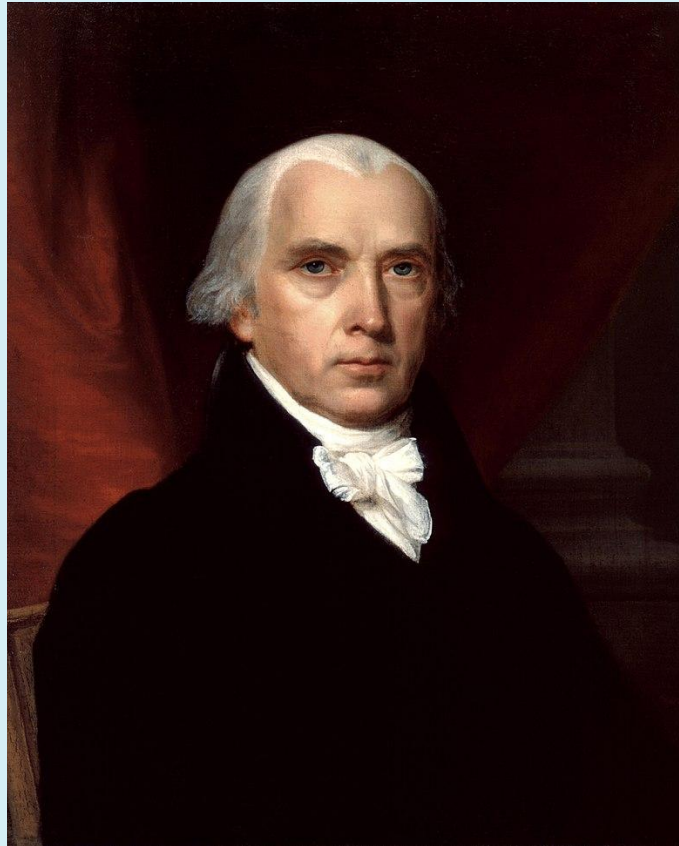


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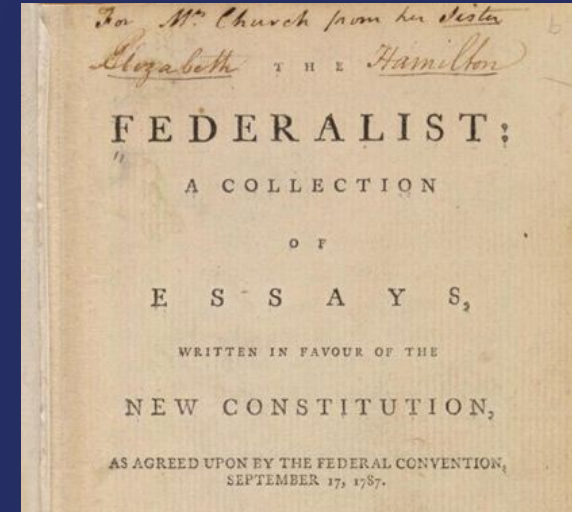
# THE FEDERALIST PAPERS



James Madison

## Federalist No. 51

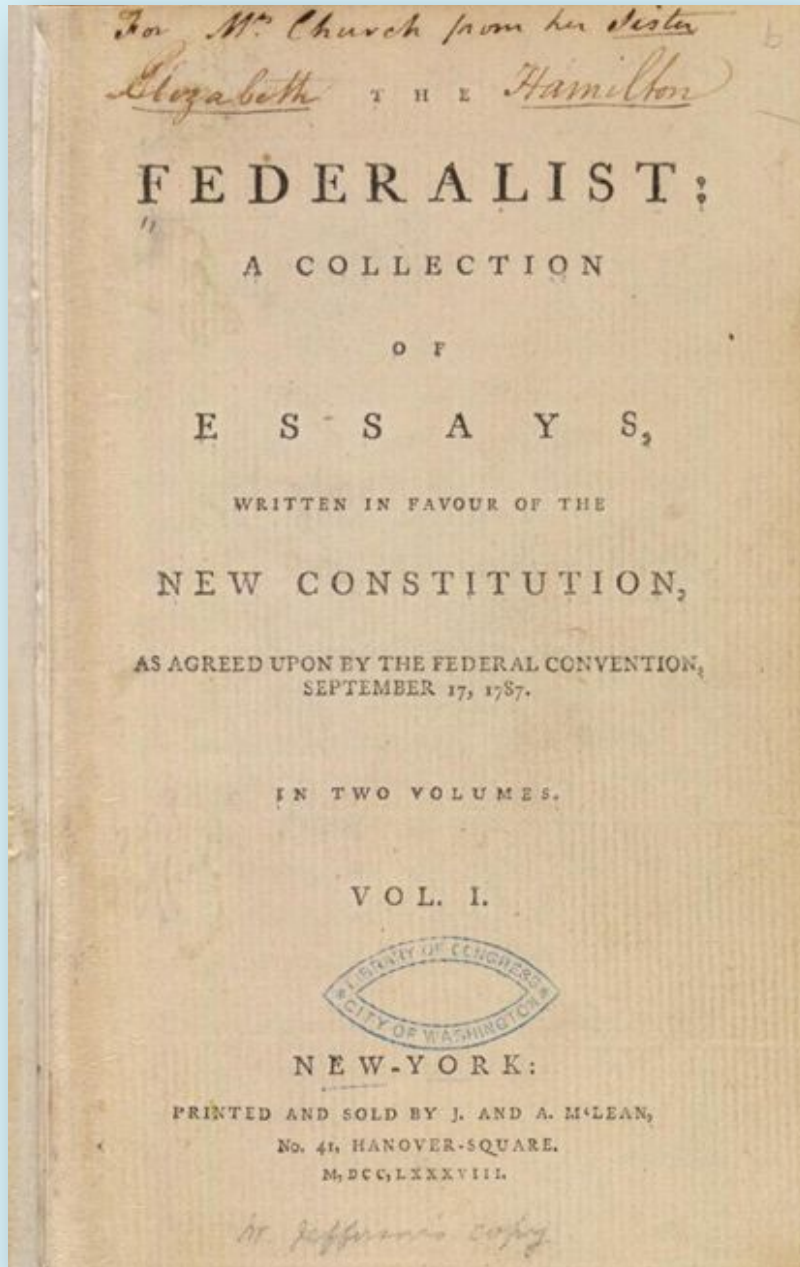
**“If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary.”**



## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

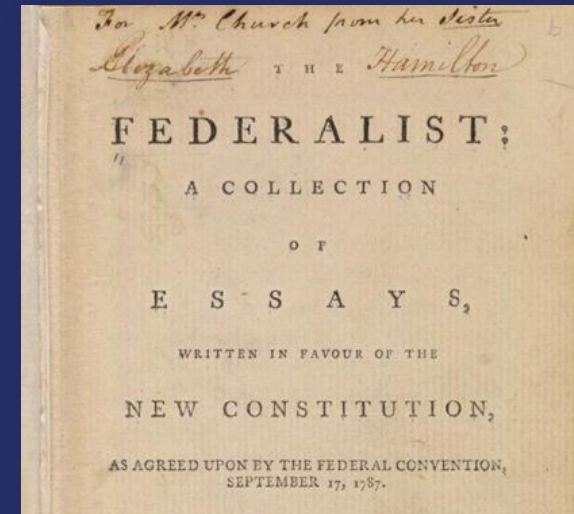
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## THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

In The Federalist Papers, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay envisioned a constitutional system driven by reasoned debate and principled compromise.



## RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

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