

FEDERALISM		Student/Class Goal In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, students had questions about whether the state or federal government should manage disaster relief. They wondered how the two governments work together and when this was decided.
Outcome <i>(lesson objective)</i> Compare the differences and similarities between state and federal governments. Explain the basic positions of the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.		Time Frame An extended project based over several class periods.
Standard <i>Read with Understanding</i>		NRS EFL 4-6
COPS Determine the reading purpose.	Activity Addresses Components of Performance Students will have an understanding of a federal government. They will also know the purpose of the Federalist Papers.	
Select reading strategies appropriate to the purpose.	Students will use graphic organizers and charts to summarize and compare information they have read. Questioning also focuses learning and aids in summarizing.	
Monitor comprehension and adjust reading strategies.	Working in pairs or groups, students will check their own comprehension of materials against others.	
Analyze the information and reflect on its underlying meaning.	After the initial reading of the factual material the class will discuss the importance of their understanding of the make-up of the federal government and the Federalist Papers. They will discern fact from bias/propaganda in the writings.	
Integrate it (i.e. new information) with prior knowledge to address the reading purpose.	Students can provide information that they have concerning the purpose of the federal government and its conception.	
Materials <i>Four-Two-One</i> Graphic Organizer Articles of Confederation Constitution <i>Federal Government</i> T-Chart Federalism Teacher Resource		
Learner Prior Knowledge General understanding of the time period in American history before the Revolutionary War.		
Instructional Activities Step 1 - Start a discussion with the students about the end of the Revolutionary War. How do they believe our government came about? Make notes on board or chart paper. Ask students to read a brief overview of the period of American history between the Articles of Confederation (drafted in 1776 and approved in 1781) and the Constitution (drafted in 1787 and ratified in 1788), which replaced the original Articles with a stronger federal government after much debate. Depending on students' reading levels, the following documents might serve as a good overview and can be broken down into sections before being assigned to groups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Federalist Paper (1787-1789) www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist • To Form a More Perfect Union (all pages) http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/continental/intro01.html • <i>The Federalist Papers in Modern Language: Indexed for Today's Political Issues</i> edited by Mary E. Webster and published by Merrill Press Using the <i>Four-Two-One</i> graphic organizer, students should generate four sentences that capture the most important aspects of the reading. Share with a partner or small group, their four sentences and compile a list they have in common. From this list, determine two sentences they agree capture the most important aspects. Determine the 1 big idea that best represents the most important learning from the reading. In order for the whole group to make learning connections, each group shares their		

lists.

Step 2 - Next, students should read and compare the Articles of Confederation (the first plan for American government) with the U.S. Constitution (the final plan for American government). Print the [Articles of Confederation](#) and the original [U.S. Constitution](#) and distribute.

Divide the class into an even number of small groups of 3-4 students. Half of the groups should get a copy of the Articles of Confederation, and half should get a copy of the Constitution. They should divide the pages among themselves so that each student reads different articles or sections. Each article should be summarized in one sentence and compiled into a group summary. Then, an "Articles" group should join with a "Constitution" group. Each combined group should now discuss the following questions using their article summaries and the original documents for reference.

1. What is a democracy? How is it different from other forms of government?
2. What were the *Articles of Confederation* and why were they created?
3. What were the primary concerns with the *Articles of Confederation* once they were enacted?
4. What is the *U.S. Constitution*? When, where, why, and how was it created?
5. What were some of the major issues of debate while the Constitution was being developed?
6. List three similarities between the contents of the two documents. Use at least one quotation from each document.
7. List three differences between the contents of the two documents. Use at least one quotation from each document.
8. Explain one weakness in the Articles of Confederation and how it was addressed through the Constitution.

Return to the large group to summarize the discussions. Chart paper can be used by each group to debrief and share their findings with everyone or each group can be asked to report on 1 or 2 questions.

Step 3 - This discussion should lead into the advantages and/or disadvantages of creating a federal government. The key issues or guiding questions should focus on: *How should power be distributed between states and the federal government for a successful democracy? What are the pros and cons of state sovereignty vs. federalism, as argued by the Founding Fathers?*

Using the resources mentioned previously or any other classroom resources, students can complete the *Federal Government T-Chart* on the benefits and limitations of having a central or federal government.

TEACHER NOTE At this point, students could be divided into Federalists (pro central) and Anti-Federalists (pro state). They could present their findings as if they were a group of politicians on "Meet the Press" with the instructor serving as the moderator.

Step 4 - What did students find as the rationale for the Federalist Papers? What significance did they play during this time? What was the theme of the Papers and their intent?

Select several excerpts from the Federalist Papers that illustrate the positions of these founding fathers. GED-type questions can be written for each excerpt so students can apply their new understanding of federalism and the federalist papers.

Assessment/Evidence *(based on outcome)*

Four-Two-One graphic organizer
Federalism T-chart
GED questions

Teacher Reflection/Lesson Evaluation

Not yet completed.

Next Steps

Continue with studying the federal government by doing *How Government Works* with the group.

Technology Integration

The Federalist Paper www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist
To Form a More Perfect Union <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/continental/intro01.html>
Articles of Confederation <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/artconf.htm>
U.S. Constitution http://www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/constitution_transcript.html

Purposeful/Transparent

Knowing how local, state and national governments work together is part of student's cultural literacy.

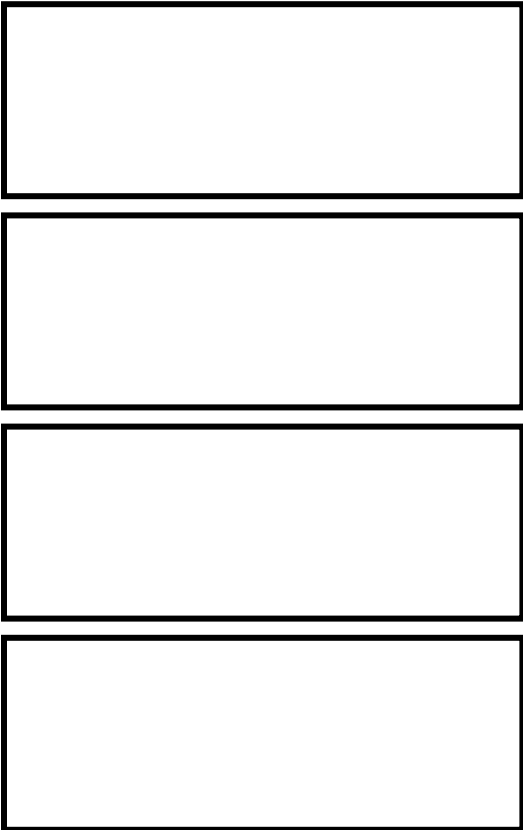
Contextual

All Americans should have some knowledge of what a federal government is. Learning about the Federalist Papers will not only help them get more questions correct on the GED, it will for a short time make them feel they know something the majority of us don't.

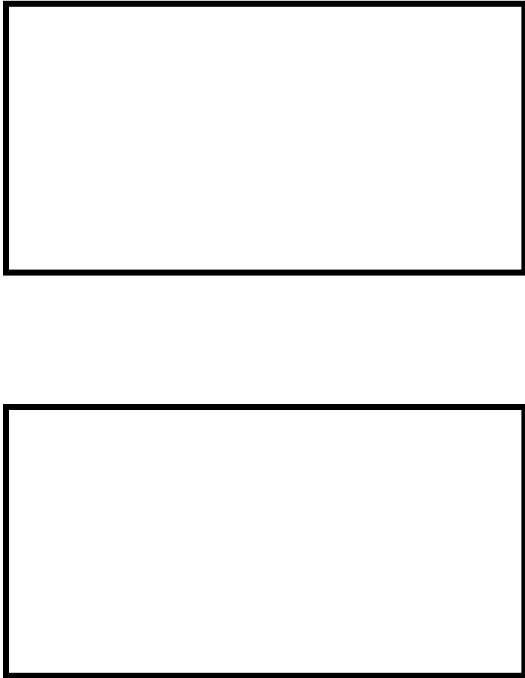
Building Expertise

During the lesson the students are aware of the importance of understanding vocabulary. Reading and discussing in groups aids comprehension. The teacher provides graphic organizers to help students support their learning of difficult reading passages.

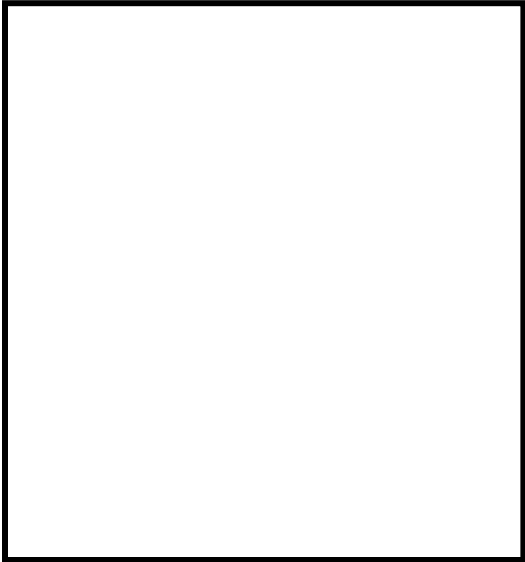
Four



Two



One



Federalism Teacher Resources--

Teaching this lesson requires a basic understanding of the period of history during which the U.S. government was established (roughly between 1776 and 1791).

For further background on the Founding Fathers, Founding Documents, and establishment of a new democratic nation, you may consult the following resources:

- To Form a More Perfect Union (all pages) <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/continental/intro01.html>
- The U.S. Constitution http://www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/constitution_transcript.html
- The Articles of Confederation <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/artconf.htm>
- The Federalist Paper (1787-1789) <http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist>
- A Chronology of US Historical Documents <http://www.law.ou.edu/ushistory>
- Federalist Papers <http://www.foundingfathers.info/federalistpapers/fedi.htm>
- Federalist Papers Wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federalist_Papers

You will need to choose which resources to use and how to teach the activities based on the particulars of your situation, including access to computers/Internet as well as the reading/writing levels and background knowledge that your students bring to the lesson.

Background Information

At the same time the thirteen original colonies drafted the Declaration of Independence to announce their intended separation from England; they also wrote the Articles of Confederation to define their relationship with each other as a joint entity. The Articles served to unify the colonies through the Revolution, but as the new states tried to recover from the war and move ahead as a nation, the Articles of Confederation proved too weak to be effective. As the Library of Congress article *To Form a More Perfect Union* explains, "With the passage of time, weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation became apparent; Congress commanded little respect and no support from state governments anxious to maintain their power. Congress could not raise funds, regulate trade, or conduct foreign policy without the voluntary agreement of the states. Recognizing the need to improve the government, Congress tried to strengthen the Articles, but problems persisted."

Essentially, the Congress could not raise money from the states, and there was no budget for the collective governing body. Thus, the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was convened. *To Form a More Perfect Union* summarizes the cause and result of this convention: "The Constitutional Convention of 1787 was called to revise the ailing Articles of Confederation. However, the Convention soon abandoned the Articles, drafting a new Constitution with a much stronger national government. Nine states had to approve the Constitution before it could go into effect. After a long and often bitter debate, eleven states ratified the Constitution, which instituted a new form of government for the United States."

The debate was lively and heated and largely centered around how much power the federal government should have. Two Founding Fathers who represented opposing sides were Alexander Hamilton, who argued for a strong national government with James Madison and John Jay in the seminal *Federalist Papers*, and Thomas Jefferson, who favored a weaker central government and more power resting with individual states. Behind their philosophies were their different perspectives on human nature: Jefferson was an idealist who believed in the inherent good of humanity, and Hamilton was a pragmatist who was more cynical about trusting people to do the right thing. These men and others spent months deliberating about how much centralized government was the right amount for a functioning democracy. The issue was particularly salient because the states had just won independence from a government they considered too controlling, in which decisions were made about the colonists' lives and finances without involving those affected. Thus, there was a strong reaction against a government far removed from those being governed and their concerns, which differed significantly among the colonies. Nonetheless, a government that could not even raise enough money to support its own work could do little good for its people.

Eventually, the Constitution was developed through much deliberation, compromise, and commitment to democratic ideals. The Congress approved the Constitution in 1787, and it was ratified in 1788 by the ninth state (New Hampshire), the final approval needed to put it into effect. This document established the structure of our democratic government as it still stands today. The first ten amendments, known as the *Bill of Rights*, were proposed in 1789 and ratified in 1791.

The Federalist Papers (1787-1789) THE FOUNDING FATHERS

<http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist/>

Summary

<http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist/summary.html>

This document (*the Federalist*) will provide all the reasons to support the new plan of government described in the *U.S. Constitution*, and responses to each of the criticisms of the plan.

Opponents to the new plan criticize it most on it creating a strong central government that will be abusive to individual liberty. However, an energetic government is crucial to the protection of individual liberty. The plan of government under the *Articles of Confederation* was unable to effectively protect individual liberties because it did not act directly upon the people, and had no authority to enforce its laws.

One of the biggest problems resulting from the *Articles of Confederation* was that there was no means to enforce unity amongst the states. This led to competition between the states over land, commerce, and repayment of public debt. Over time, this would naturally lead to further competition, and an inability to provide for the common defense. Additionally, individual states would seek to increase their own military strength to defend themselves against foreign invasions and invasions by their neighbors, leading to more wars, and to the suppression of civil liberties by military despotism.

The confederate republic form of government is ideal for the United States because it extends the advantages of popular government, in the form of the central government, without reducing the compactness, in the form of the state governments that retain much of their sovereignty. Factions are less likely in this form of government because the base of representation is spread over a much larger population.

The proposed plan of government will also improve commerce and the wealth of the nation because European nations will be compelled to follow uniform trade regulations enforced by a single navy. They will become inclined to negotiate for more mutually beneficial trade. The wealth of the nation will improve and the government's revenue will increase, thereby reducing the likelihood for property taxes.

The most important function of the government is to provide for the common defense, and the central government should be given as much power as necessary to match the responsibility of providing for the common defense. The confederacy failed to effectively provide for the common defense because the responsibility fell upon the central government, while the power rested with the states.

The central government must be able to maintain standing armies, provide for a national militia, and be able to levy direct taxes to support its common defense and provide for national prosperity. Fears about the central government becoming too powerful and abusing its military authority or right to tax should be soothed by understanding the role of legislature, or the representatives of the people, in determining the central government's authority to raise an army and levy taxes.

Allowing both the federal and state government to levy taxes will ensure that they both have enough funds to effectively plan to meet their different needs

Critics claim that the Constitutional Convention¹ was not authorized to remove the *Articles of Confederation*. In fact, resolutions of both the Annapolis Convention² and the Confederation Congress³ allowed for any changes consistent with the needs of the nation. It contains many of the same powers, only strengthened, and differs only in the number of states required to ratify⁴ the changes, requiring only 9 instead of the formerly required 13.

Furthermore, the Constitution⁵ requires that the people, not the states, are needed to ratify the document and decide whether they will take the advice of the framers or not. The framers did the best within their abilities to provide a plan that would best ensure the happiness of the American people. Even if the convention was unauthorized, that does not mean that the states should not take the good advice of the delegates to the convention.

Each of the powers delegated to congress under the *U.S. Constitution* originate with the people themselves, are checked by the authority of other branches of government, or can be checked by the state governments. The powers delegated to the central government will best maintain the individual liberty of the citizens by providing for unified and enforced regulations and guidelines.

Plus, the state governments retain a large portion of their sovereignty under the new form of government, which is dependent on the state governments for its elections and its membership in the Senate. The state governments will always collectively overpower the central government due to the sheer number of state officials, and to the close connection of the people to their local governments.

The state and federal governments are not competing for power, but designed to effectively work together in protecting the common good. The state governments are responsible for internal affairs, and the federal for external affairs. They have the mutual authority to check the power of the other, through the power of the people.

This will especially protect the state governments from usurpations of power by the federal government.

The division of the federal government into three distinct branches, each with the authority to effectively check the power of the others will also ensure the best protection of individual liberty. Although critics claim that a mixing of powers will potentially lead to all the powers amassed in one branch, the subdivision of authority on two levels, state and federal, provides a double protection for the rights of the people.

The unique characteristics of the American people make it perfect for self- government. The form of an extended republican⁶ government described by the *U.S. Constitution* will offer the best protection for the individual rights of citizens while having the power to work towards the common good.

¹**Constitutional Convention** - Scheduled to begin on May 14, 1787 in Philadelphia PA, the Constitutional Convention progressed through the summer to establish a new form of government as described by the *U.S. Constitution*. Although the convention was called for the purpose of revising the *Articles of Confederation*, delegates from 12 of the 13 states (Rhode Island was absent) expressed an overwhelming interest in a totally new, and stronger, form of central government. Upon ratification of the *U.S. Constitution* in 1789, this agreed upon form of government was put into effect and has operated as the government of the United States ever since.

²**Annapolis Convention** - Held in September 1786 at the request of Virginia, this meeting of the states aimed to improve the uniformity of commerce. Only 12 delegates participated, including Alexander Hamilton and James Madison. Sensing a statewide agreement on the importance of revising the *Articles of Confederation*, this convention resolved to call another statewide convention in May of 1787. This convention would become known as the Constitutional Convention.

³**Confederacy** - A confederacy is a form of government in which independent states are loosely joined, typically for common defense. Each independent state maintains power over the majority of its own affairs.

⁴**Ratification** - To approve or accept an official or legal document. Article VII of the *U.S. Constitution* states that 9 states must ratify the document before it became the official law of the land.

⁵**U.S. Constitution** - The official document that is the basis of the U.S. Government. The *U.S. Constitution* was officially put into effect on March 4, 1789 and has been in effect, with some amendments, ever since.

⁶**Republicans** - Republicans centered their political ideology on the states' rights doctrine. They believed in distributing governmental power to the states rather than concentrating it in the hands of the central government. The Republican Party became a political force in the later years of the Washington presidency, and was a constant thorn in Adams' side. In 1800, Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson, took control of the national government and would maintain that control for decades.

The Federalist Papers (1787-1789) THE FOUNDING FATHERS

<http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist/>

Context

<http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist/context.html>

The first Federalist essay appeared in *The Independent Journal* in October 1787, just 4 weeks after the Constitutional Convention presented the *U.S. Constitution* to the states for ratification. It was one of an eventual 85 such essays, which argued in strong support of the Constitution, and which were published serially in New York newspapers during the next 6 months. Later compiled into a single volume entitled *The Federalist*, the collection of essays is considered to be one of the most important articulations of American political philosophy to this date.

The political philosophy contained in *The Federalist* is based on the theories of the European *philosophers* of the Enlightenment, historical examples, and the experience of the United States under the *Articles of Confederation*. The essays not only provided historical arguments and philosophical theories about the nature of individuals and government, but also strong criticisms of the weaknesses inherent in the *Articles of Confederation*. The overall purpose of the essays was to convince the people that a more energetic and stronger centralized government would be more protective of their liberty.

The European philosophers influencing the statement of political philosophy in *The Federalist* included John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Thomas Hobbes. These *philosophers* thought in terms of natural rights, and described the forms of government best suited to protect these rights. They acknowledged that an individual's impulse towards self-preservation, liberty, and self-interest would fundamentally come into conflict with the competing needs of other individuals. Therefore, the best form of government balanced the selfish needs of the individual with the need to protect the whole community.

The theoretical idea that too much liberty can be bad for an orderly society was evidenced by the U.S government during the years of the *Articles of Confederation*. The *Articles* provided for only a loose confederation of independent states, and the national government rested in a single legislative body called Congress that was vested only with the authority to legislate on matters related to mutual defense. Fearful of creating a strong central government similar to Great Britain, delegates placed significant power with the state governments and greatly restricted the powers of the national government. Congress was hampered by its own lack of power to enforce its laws, collect funds, regulate trade, or to provide uniform and binding judgment upon each of the member states.

Many far-sighted leaders realized that the self-interests of the states would eventually tear the union apart, and that the *Articles of Confederation* provided no legal or political means to stop it. States quarreled with one another over land claims, commerce regulations, and frequently erected imposts against neighboring states. Although strictly forbidden by the *Articles*, states established relations and treaties with foreign nations and refused to send much needed tax money to Congress. Due to the difficult amendment process, attempts to endow congress with greater authority to tax and to regulate commerce could be stopped by the refusal of a single state.

Interested in bringing a degree of unity to at least trade and commerce, the Virginia legislature called a meeting of delegates from states interested in devising uniform trade regulations. Despite the sparse attendance of states at the Annapolis Convention in 1786, this meeting inspired another meeting for the express purpose of revising the *Articles of Confederation*.

Important Terms, People and Events

<http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist/terms.html>

Terms

Anti-Federalists - As opposed to Federalists, people that feared a strong central government, supported states' rights, and opposed ratification of the *U.S. Constitution*. Anti-federalists insisted that a Bill of Rights must be included in the Constitution to protect individual's rights against a powerful central government. Anti-federalists typically were members of the poorer classes, but also included patriots Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, James Monroe, and Richard Henry Lee. Anti-federalists strongly opposed the ratification of the *U.S. Constitution* in Virginia and New York.

Articles of Confederation - The document that served as the first official constitution of the United States from 1781 through 1789. The *Articles of Confederation* dictated a loose organization of 13 independent states, joined together with equal representation in a Congress, in order to provide for the common defense. The Articles proved too weak to effectively govern the young nation, however, and delegates meeting at the Annapolis Convention in 1786 recommended that a new convention be called to discuss revision of the Articles.

Confederacy - A confederacy is a form of government in which independent states are loosely joined, typically for common defense. Each independent state maintains power over the majority of its own affairs.

Federalists - As opposed to anti-Federalists, people that favored a strong central government, feared too much power in the hands of the masses, and strongly supported the *U.S. Constitution*. Federalists were typically members of the cultured and propertied classes, and included Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. The Federalist perspective was codified in the form of 85 essays that appeared in New York newspapers between 1787 and 1788, and later published as *The Federalist*.

Ratification - To approve or accept an official or legal document. Article VII of the *U.S. Constitution* states that 9 states must ratify the document before it became the official law of the land.

U.S. Constitution - The official document that is the basis of the U.S. Government. The *U.S. Constitution* was officially put into effect on March 4, 1789 and has been in effect, with some amendments, ever since.

People

Alexander Hamilton - Beginning his political career through a close military association with George Washington in the Continental Army, Hamilton soon distinguished himself as a strong proponent of federalism. He represented New York at the Annapolis Convention, and participated as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention at which he proposed a tremendously strong centralized government with a president who served for life. When the *U.S. Constitution* was delivered to the states for ratification, Hamilton played an integral role to pass the document in New York State through his joint authorship of a series of persuasive essays called the *Federalist Papers*. He served as Secretary of the Treasury during Washington's presidency and distinguished himself through his strong financial policy and leadership. He died as a result of a duel fought with Aaron Burr in 1804, thus depriving the Federalist Party of its strongest leader.

John Jay - John Jay was the most moderate of the three authors of *The Federalist*, having resisted independence from England until the *Declaration of Independence*. After the formal dedication of war, Jay was a devoted statesman and foreign ambassador, serving in New York State as Chief Justice, as delegate to the Confederation Congress, as one of the negotiators for the Treaty of Paris, and as ambassador to Spain. Although Jay was struck with a bout of rheumatism that prevented him from writing a significant portion of the federalist essays, he worked closely with Alexander Hamilton throughout the ratification process in New York to spread the federalist ideas. He later served as Chief Justice of the United States.

James Madison - James Madison was a delegate from Virginia to both the Annapolis Convention and the Constitutional Convention who strongly clamored for a vigorous and powerful central government. Prior to attending the Constitutional Convention, Madison prepared two papers on government, *A Study of Ancient and Modern Confederacies* and *Vices of the Political System of the United States*, from which he drew most of the ideas for the plan of government that was proposed on May 29th, 1787. Because of his central role in creating the *U.S. Constitution*, and because of the diligence with which he maintained records during the Convention, he is known as "the father of the Constitution." He faced off against Patrick Henry in the Virginia debate over ratification, and contributed his nationalist arguments, along with Hamilton and Jay, to the series of federalist propaganda compiled in *The Federalist*. Later in his political career, he moved away from the federalist political party and became a strong supporter of the Jeffersonian Republicans. Madison followed Jefferson as the fourth president of the United States.

Publius - The name used by all three authors of *The Federalist* to conceal their true identity. Publius referred to the legendary Publius Valerius Puplicolo, the founder of republican government in ancient Rome.

Events

Annapolis Convention - Held in September 1786 at the request of Virginia, this meeting of the states aimed to improve the uniformity of commerce. Only 12 delegates participated, including Alexander Hamilton and James Madison. Sensing a statewide agreement on the importance of revising the *Articles of Confederation*, this convention resolved to call another statewide convention in May of 1787. This convention would become known as the Constitutional Convention.

Constitutional Convention - Scheduled to begin on May 14, 1787 in Philadelphia PA, the Constitutional Convention progressed through the summer to establish a new form of government as described by the *U.S. Constitution*. Although the convention was called for the purpose of revising the *Articles of Confederation*, delegates from 12 of the 13 states (Rhode Island was absent) expressed an overwhelming interest in a totally new, and stronger, form of central government. Upon ratification of the *U.S. Constitution* in 1789, this agreed upon form of government was put into effect and has operated as the government of the United States ever since.

Ratification of the U.S. Constitution - Article VII of the *U.S. Constitution* indicates that the document would officially go into effect upon the ratification of 9 of the 13 state ratifying conventions. When New Hampshire, the 9th state to do so, formally ratified the Constitution, the Constitutional Convention appointed a committee to begin planning the transition to the new government. Planning for the new government was underway even before Virginia, New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island had formally approved of the government plan.

Shays' Rebellion - Daniel Shays organized farmers throughout New England to protest legislation that increased taxes and demanded immediate debt-repayment. When the state legislature refused to respond, Shays and his armed followers closed the courts in Western Massachusetts in protest of foreclosed properties. The rebellion came to a head when Shays was defeated while trying to seize a federal arsenal of weapons in Springfield, MA on January 25, 1787. This rebellion demonstrated the

weaknesses of the *Articles of Confederation*, and convinced many states of the need for a stronger central government.

Leaders' worries about the chaos that results from too much liberty came to fruition with Shays' Rebellion in the winter of 1787. A disgruntled farmer named Daniel Shays demonstrated the inability of a weak central government to stand in the way of personal liberty and self-interest. When he staged a rebellion against unfair tax laws in Massachusetts, he provided all the incentive needed for 12 of the 13 states to attend the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia that following May. The state could barely stop the rebellion, and the national government had no power to do so.

The experience during the *Articles of Confederation* led delegates to believe that a weak central government did not have enough authority to provide order and security or to protect the rights of individuals. They agreed to do away with the old system completely, and at the end of the summer of 1787, the convention presented a new plan of government entitled the *U.S. Constitution*. This document called for a strong central government, one that would be the authority over all the state governments and that would provide a unified authority on legislating, enforcing and judging laws. The Federalists applauded the document for bringing such energy to a centralized body. The Anti-federalists feared what the new plan would do to encroach upon individual rights and liberty.

The federalist papers provided strong and rational justifications for each choice made by the Constitutional Convention, and also persuaded citizens that by placing less power in the hands of the people, the government could provide greater protection for the people. The authors of the federalist essays, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, sought to explain the superiority of the new plan through the use of historical examples, references to the natural rights and behaviors of man, and by appealing to the reader's sense of patriotism.

Although the document originated with Alexander Hamilton's concern about ratification of the *U.S. Constitution* in the state of New York, leaders in many states used the arguments constructed in the essays to support ratification of the Constitution. Since both Hamilton and Madison had served as delegates to the Constitutional Convention, the essays were all published under the name Publius. They felt their arguments would be criticized as subjective because they took a large part in crafting the very document they defended. The struggle for ratification in New York and Virginia, two of the most powerful states, continued even after the Constitution received the required 9 of 13 state approvals. Technically, the Constitution would have gone into effect whether New York or Virginia ratified or not. But the composing of the federalist essays was not a pointless exercise, despite the fact that the Constitution became effective without New York's support. In attempting to convince the American audience that they had the unique opportunity to be a part of the first experiment with a federal republic, Publius succeeded in articulating a uniquely American political philosophy, practical in nature, yet founded on solid historical examples, philosophical theories, and most importantly on the experience of a nation that had actually struggled to achieve the much theorized balance between liberty and order.

The Federalist Papers (1787-1789) THE FOUNDING FATHERS

<http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist/>

Timeline

<http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/federalist/timeline.html>

July 4, 1776: U.S. declares independence from Great Britain Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence is published to the world, marking the official start of the American Revolution.

November 15, 1777: Congress⁷ completes the *Articles of Confederation* The final version of the *Articles of Confederation* is adopted by Congress and submitted to the states for ratification.

March 1, 1781: Establishment of the U.S. Government Maryland ratifies the *Articles of Confederation*, formally establishing a confederacy as the first government of the United States.

September 3, 1783: Signing of Treaty of Paris The Treaty of Paris officially ends the American Revolution and establishes the terms of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

March 25, 1785: Meeting of Mount Vernon Conference Representatives of Maryland and Virginia meet at George Washington⁸'s plantation to resolve conflicts over the navigation of the Potomac and Pocomoke Rivers.

September 11, 1786: Meeting of the Annapolis Convention New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, meet to discuss uniform trade regulations, but agree to appeal to all states to meet again to discuss broader reforms.

January 25, 1787: Shays' Rebellion Daniel Shays and other armed farmers from western Massachusetts attempt to conquer an arsenal of weapons in Springfield, MA in response to taxes levied by the Massachusetts Legislature.

May 25, 1787: First meeting of the Constitutional Convention Delegates from all states except Rhode Island meet in Philadelphia for the purpose of revising the *Articles of Confederation*. They end up drafting a new document, the *U.S. Constitution*, instead

September 17, 1787: Delegates sign *U.S. Constitution* All delegates to the Constitutional Convention, except 3, sign the *U.S. Constitution*.

September 19, 1787: First publication of the *U.S. Constitution* The *Pennsylvania Packet* prints the first public copy of the Constitution.

September 28, 1787: Congress formally submits Constitution to the states Congress sends a copy of the *U.S. Constitution* to the state legislatures with instructions about ratification.

October 27, 1787: First Federalist⁹ propaganda published in New York City *Federalist No. 1* published anonymously under the name Publius¹⁰ in *The Independent Journal*.

January 1, 1788: J. & A. McLean announce plans to publish *The Federalist* McLean publishers announce plans to compile a published volume of the first thirty-six Federalist essays.

March 2, 1788: *The Federalist, A Collection of Essays* is published The first 36 Federalist essays are published in a single volume with its preface written and corrections made by the author, later revealed to be Alexander Hamilton¹¹.

April 2, 1788: *Federalist No. 77* published in *The Independent Journal*. Federalist Essay No. 77 is the final essay to be published in the New York serial newspapers. The remaining essays are published in a second compilation volume.

May 28, 1788: *The Federalist, Volume Second* is published Federalist essays numbered 37 to 77 are published, with an additional 8 new essays that had not yet been printed in a New York newspaper.

June 14, 1788: The final eight Federalist essays appear in the newspapers Between June and August, the final eight essays, originally published as part of the McLean Volume Second, are printed in *The Independent Journal* and *The New York Packet*.

July 2, 1788: official ratification of the *U.S. Constitution* With New Hampshire's ratification, the *U.S. Constitution* becomes formally accepted and a committee is appointed to plan the transition to the new government.

July 26, 1788: New York is the eleventh state to ratify New York ratifies the *U.S. Constitution* by a vote of 30-27 with recommended amendments.

March 4, 1789: Effective Date of the *U.S. Constitution* The new U.S. Government under the *U.S. Constitution* formally goes into effect.

March 1, 1792: Ratification of Bill of Rights¹² Thomas Jefferson¹³ announces the ratification of the Bill of Rights, and they go into effect.

January 13, 1802: George Hopkins announces his publication of a second edition of *The Federalist* George Hopkins not only announces his forthcoming publication of the *Federalist*, but also reveals Alexander Hamilton, James Madison¹⁴, and John Jay¹⁵ as the anonymous authors of the essays.

December 8, 1802: The Hopkins edition of *The Federalist* is published The Hopkins edition is published and thought to contain the final revisions approved by Hamilton.

August 1818: Jacob Gideon published the third edition of *The Federalist* Jacob Gideon published a version of *The Federalist*, undertaken with approval by James Madison and including the first publication of Madison's corrections and his listing of authors.

July 1804: Death of Alexander Hamilton Alexander Hamilton dies as a result of a duel with Aaron Burr.

March 4, 1809: James Madison sworn in as President James Madison, now a solid member of the Jeffersonian Republicans, is sworn in as the fourth President of the United States.

⁷**Congress** - The bicameral legislative body set up by the Connecticut Compromise. The two houses of Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, accorded to both the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan, in that membership numbers in the House were determined by state population, and representatives in the Senate were fixed at two per state.

⁸**George Washington** - Washington, as the general of the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, was the obvious choice to be the first President of the United States. Washington took on the task of defining the presidency, attempting to establish the role through precedent. He intervened little in legislative affairs, and concentrated mostly on diplomacy and finance. A Federalist, he granted Alexander Hamilton a great deal of support, despite frequent misgivings.

9Federalists - As opposed to anti-Federalists, people that favored a strong central government, feared too much power in the hands of the masses, and strongly supported the *U.S. Constitution*. Federalists were typically members of the cultured and propertied classes, and included Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. The Federalist perspective was codified in the form of 85 essays that appeared in New York newspapers between 1787 and 1788, and later published as *The Federalist*.

10Publius - The name used by all three authors of *The Federalist* to conceal their true identity. Publius referred to the legendary Publius Valerius Puplicolo, the founder of republican government in ancient Rome.

11Alexander Hamilton - The outspoken leader of the Federalists, Hamilton emerged as a major political figure during the Constitutional Convention, and during the period of ratification, as one of the authors of *The Federalist Papers*. As Secretary of Treasury under Washington, Alexander Hamilton spearheaded the government's Federalist initiatives, most notably through his proposals on the subject of public credit and the creation of the Bank of the United States.

12Bill of Rights - Though the Anti-federalists were not able to block the ratification of the Constitution, they did make progress in ensuring that the Bill of Rights would be created. The Bill of Rights, drafted by a group led by James Madison, was the collection of the first ten amendments to the Constitution, which guaranteed the civil rights of American citizens.

13Thomas Jefferson - Jefferson attained political fame originally as the author of the Declaration of Independence. A prominent statesman from Virginia, Jefferson became Washington's first Secretary of State. However, in 1793, Jefferson resigned from that post in opposition to Alexander Hamilton's continued efforts to garner power for the national government. With James Madison, Jefferson took up the cause of the strict constructionists and the Republican Party, advocating the limitation of the national government.

14James Madison - James Madison was a delegate from Virginia to both the Annapolis Convention and the Constitutional Convention who strongly clamored for a vigorous and powerful central government. Prior to attending the Constitutional Convention, Madison prepared two papers on government, *A Study of Ancient and Modern Confederacies* and *Vices of the Political System of the United States*, from which he drew most of the ideas for the plan of government that was proposed on May 29th, 1787. Because of his central role in creating the *U.S. Constitution*, and because of the diligence with which he maintained records during the Convention, he is known as "the father of the Constitution." He faced off against Patrick Henry in the Virginia debate over ratification, and contributed his nationalist arguments, along with Hamilton and Jay, to the series of federalist propaganda compiled in *The Federalist*. Later in his political career, he moved away from the federalist political party and became a strong supporter of the Jeffersonian Republicans. Madison followed Jefferson as the fourth president of the United States.

15John Jay - John Jay was the most moderate of the three authors of *The Federalist*, having resisted independence from England until the *Declaration of Independence*. After the formal dedication of war, Jay was a devoted statesman and foreign ambassador, serving in New York State as Chief Justice, as delegate to the Confederation Congress, as one of the negotiators for the Treaty of Paris, and as ambassador to Spain. Although Jay was struck with a bout of rheumatism that prevented him from writing a significant portion of the federalist essays, he worked closely with Alexander Hamilton throughout the ratification process in New York to spread the federalist ideas. He later served as Chief Justice of the United States.

Federalist Essays No.1 - No.5

Summary

Because of the failures of the current federal government, you are being asked to consider a new system of government. There are reasons both philanthropic and patriotic that should cause you to support it, but I know that support will not come easily. As in all prior cases of great national discussion, the different opinions and angry passions will get loose.

The supporters of the new document will be accused of favoring despotism and being hostile to liberty. It will be forgotten that the energy of the government is crucial to the security of liberty. You should be on guard, my fellow countrymen, for citizens that try to persuade you in your decision in any way other than through the evidence of truth. I will provide for you in these essays the reasons to support the new constitution, and will attempt to give you responses to all the objections to the new government.

It is worth mentioning that the importance of the union is being questioned. There are critics that believe no single system can manage all 13 states. The only alternative to adopting this Constitution is to disband the union.

Nothing is more agreed upon than the importance of government, and the necessity of giving up personal liberty to sustain that government. The question is will the people be willing to give up some of their liberty for a federal government or insist upon a government of separate confederacies?

The success and happiness of the American people up until this point has depended on unity, and luck has provided Americans with a unified country to inhabit. Before European settlement, America was one wide and connected country- -different in soil and climate, but connected by waterways to bind it together. The people in this country are descended from a single set of ancestors; share a single language, religion, and customs. The success of the American Revolution stems from this unity, and fate seems to indicate a future in which American brothers continue to join together.

This sense of unity made the colonists join together to fight a war and establish their first American government, but that plan was not done in calm times. It has been found to be greatly deficient, and the same intelligent people have called for a change. The most respected men have come together and out of a love for their country to develop this new plan. As they have the most experience and have been involved in decisions about the nation before, their work should be trusted. They share with all citizens a belief in the importance of the union.

There are many reasons that Americans remain true to the idea that unity is important, but safety and security has always been the most important reason. Let us analyze the assumption of whether unity provides the best safety against external and internal threats.

The number of wars is proportional to the number of causes of wars. One united nation would be therefore be involved in fewer wars than many states or confederacies. Trade agreements and treaties need to be honored and followed consistently to avoid war. The inconsistent actions of many different states are more likely to instigate war, than the consistent actions of one. Individual states may act on their own selfish interests for gain or in reaction to loss. This will hurt the relationship of the whole with foreign nations. A united nation is more powerful to settle dispute and negotiate terms. It will be taken more seriously in world affairs than a confederation.

The safety of a nation also relies on not inviting hostility or insult from other nations. There are rivalries with France and Britain over trade routes, fisheries and navigation. The economic progress of the United States will not make these rivals happy for us, but eager to see us weakened.

There is territorial conflict with Spain and England over the navigation of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence Rivers. These tensions could lead to war. A united national government provides the best possible state of defense and will not invite war. A united national government does this by combining

the talents of the best men, acting on a uniform policy towards foreign nations, protecting several parts at once, and having an interest in the advantages of the whole when devising treaties.

A divided nation does not have the same capacity for a united army and navy to act on its defense. Lacking a unified military, will each section always come to the aid of the others? How would a uniform policy be decided? Foreign nations will view the disorganization and military weakness of a divided nation and act accordingly on its own interest. Foreign nations will view a strong and unified nation as one to cultivate a friendship with.

In the absence of unity amongst the states, the states would become competitive with each other resulting in a number of distinct nations, each competing for different commercial concerns, operating under different political attachments and cultivating different foreign relations. The competitive states would most likely form alliances with foreign countries in order to defend itself against its neighbors. Foreign wars would be fought in this continent, and there would be a great disruption to security and safety.

Commentary

The first few federalist essays establish this document firmly in the American tradition of persuasive pamphleteering characteristic of the Revolutionary Period, and provide the historical context for the necessity of maintaining the union.

The most significant persuasive statements made during the American Revolution focused on the need of the colonies to break from Great Britain. Both Thomas Jefferson's *Declaration of Independence* and Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* established strong arguments in favor of independence and significantly contributed to the swaying of public opinion in favor of independence.

However, the pamphleteers were noticeably quiet during the thirteen year period between the declaration of war and the publication of the *U.S. Constitution*. In particular, commentary and opinions about the passage of the *Articles of Confederation* are not a significant part of the series of American historical documents. While this could be the result of a consensus that the Articles were a failed experiment and one that need not be memorialized through the study of arguments in their favor, it could also be reflective of the political haste with which the Articles were designed and put into effect.

In contrast to the Articles, which basically codified what the Second Continental Congress was already doing, the Constitution provides a plan for an ideal form of government that can anticipate future changes and growth. Additionally, the Articles were not presented to the people for ratification, so no public justification was required to persuade them in favor of the document. The Articles were approved by the Congress that designed them and then sent to state legislatures for ratification. The public opinion, outside of the delegates to state legislatures, did not engage in the debate over acceptance of the Articles.

The Federalist sets out to persuade readers about the importance of their voice in ratifying the Constitution by appealing to their sense of patriotism and by reminding them of their own powers to judge upon the validity of the arguments. The authors do so by providing logical arguments based on historical evidence, the lived experience of Americans and by references to political philosophers.

The first few federalist essays lay the foundation for the rest of the argument by reminding the reader how important unity had been to the American people throughout all stages of its early history. The idea of a union formed for mutual defense began in 1643 with the founding of the first colonial union, called the New England Confederation, created to defend the New England colonies against the threat of Indian attacks and French invasion.

The number of colonies protected by a union expanded during the French and Indian War through the Albany Congress, which was formed for the purpose of a uniform colonial defense strategy against the French and Indians.

The American colonies united to protect themselves from the usurpations of Parliament and the King, first in the form of boycotts and petitions and then in a concerted military effort. The strength of that union succeeded in winning the War for Independence and in establishing the first American government under the *Articles of Confederation*. The federalist essays seek to remind the reader of the importance of the union because they contend that anything other than a strong central government will mean the end of the union.

The Federalist is full of examples of the ways in which the union has already begun to crumble and of the detrimental outcome of trying to prosper without a union. In particular, tensions with the European nations of Spain and England are escalating over the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Rivers. This tension has been accelerated because of the interests of individual states in violating the treaties arranged between the United States and the European countries. A strong union would have prevented individual states from seeking their own best interest. Furthermore, a strong union has the best chance of defending the United States in case the tensions escalated to war.

By reminding the reader both of the historical reasons for creating a union, as well as the alarming outcome of disbanding the union, Publius presents the foundation upon which the rest of the argument in favor of the Constitution will be built.

Central or Federal Government

Benefits

Limitations

Federal Government T-Chart

FEDERALIST PAPERS

Author: **Alexander Hamilton**

Federalist No. 1

General Introduction

For the Independent Journal.

To the People of the State of New York:

AFTER an unequivocal experience of the inefficiency of the subsisting federal government, you are called upon to deliberate on a new Constitution for the United States of America. The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences nothing less than the existence of the UNION, the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed, the fate of an empire in many respects the most interesting in the world. It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force. If there be any truth in the remark, the crisis at which we are arrived may with propriety be regarded as the era in which that decision is to be made; and a wrong election of the part we shall act may, in this view, deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

This idea will add the inducements of philanthropy to those of patriotism, to heighten the solicitude which all considerate and good men must feel for the event. Happy will it be if our choice should be directed by a judicious estimate of our true interests, unperplexed and unbiased by considerations not connected with the public good. But this is a thing more ardently to be wished than seriously to be expected. The plan offered to our deliberations affects too many particular interests, innovates upon too many local institutions, not to involve in its discussion a variety of objects foreign to its merits, and of views, passions and prejudices little favorable to the discovery of truth.

Among the most formidable of the obstacles which the new Constitution will have to encounter may readily be distinguished the obvious interest of a certain class of men in every State to resist all changes which may hazard a diminution of the power, emolument, and consequence of the offices they hold under the State establishments; and the perverted ambition of another class of men, who will either hope to aggrandize themselves by the confusions of their country, or will flatter themselves with fairer prospects of elevation from the subdivision of the empire into several partial confederacies than from its union under one government.

It is not, however, my design to dwell upon observations of this nature. I am well aware that it would be disingenuous to resolve indiscriminately the opposition of any set of men (merely because their situations might subject them to suspicion) into interested or ambitious views. Candor will oblige us to admit that even such men may be actuated by upright intentions; and it cannot be doubted that much of the opposition which has made its appearance, or may hereafter make its appearance, will spring from sources, blameless at least, if not respectable--the honest errors of minds led astray by preconceived jealousies and fears. So numerous indeed and so powerful are the causes which serve to give a false bias to the judgment, that we, upon many occasions, see wise and good men on the wrong as well as on the right side of questions of the first magnitude to society. This circumstance, if duly attended to, would furnish a lesson of moderation to those who are ever so much persuaded of their being in the right in any controversy. And a further reason for caution, in this respect, might be drawn from the reflection that we are not always sure that those who advocate the truth are influenced by purer principles than their antagonists. Ambition, avarice, personal animosity, party opposition, and many other motives not more laudable than these, are apt to operate as well upon those who support as those who oppose the right side of a question. Were there not even these inducements to moderation, nothing could be more ill-judged than that intolerant spirit which has, at all times, characterized political parties. For in politics, as in religion, it is equally absurd to aim at making proselytes by fire and sword. Heresies in either can rarely be cured by persecution.

And yet, however just these sentiments will be allowed to be, we have already sufficient indications that it will happen in this as in all former cases of great national discussion. A torrent of angry and malignant passions will be let loose. To judge from the conduct of the opposite parties, we shall be led to conclude that they will mutually hope to evince the justness of their opinions, and to increase the number of their converts by the loudness of their declamations and the bitterness of their invectives. An enlightened zeal for the energy and efficiency of government will be stigmatized as the offspring of a temper fond of despotic power and hostile to the principles of liberty. An over-scrupulous jealousy of danger to the rights of the people, which is more commonly the fault of the head than of the heart, will be represented as mere pretense and artifice, the stale bait for popularity at the expense of the public good. It will be forgotten, on the one hand, that jealousy is the usual concomitant of love, and that the noble enthusiasm of liberty is apt to be infected with a spirit of narrow and illiberal distrust. On the other hand, it will be equally forgotten that the vigor of government is essential to the security of liberty; that, in the contemplation of a sound and well-informed judgment, their interest can never be separated; and that a dangerous ambition more often lurks behind the specious mask of zeal for the rights of the people than under the forbidden appearance of zeal for the firmness and efficiency of government. History will teach us that the former has been found a much more certain road to the introduction of despotism than the latter, and that of those men who have overturned the liberties of republics, the greatest number have begun their career by paying an obsequious court to the people; commencing demagogues, and ending tyrants.

In the course of the preceding observations, I have had an eye, my fellow-citizens, to putting you upon your guard against all attempts, from whatever quarter, to influence your decision in a matter of the utmost moment to your welfare, by any impressions other than those which may result from the evidence of truth. You will, no doubt, at the same time, have collected from the general scope of them, that they proceed from a source not unfriendly to the new Constitution. Yes, my countrymen, I own to you that, after having given it an attentive consideration, I am clearly of opinion it is your interest to adopt it. I am convinced that this is the safest course for your liberty, your dignity, and your happiness. I affect not reserves which I do not feel. I will not amuse you with an appearance of deliberation when I have decided. I frankly acknowledge to you my convictions, and I will freely lay before you the reasons on which they are founded. The consciousness of good intentions disdains ambiguity. I shall not, however, multiply professions on this head. My motives must remain in the depository of my own breast. My arguments will be open to all, and may be judged of by all. They shall at least be offered in a spirit which will not disgrace the cause of truth.

I propose, in a series of papers, to discuss the following interesting particulars:

THE UTILITY OF THE UNION TO YOUR POLITICAL PROSPERITY THE INSUFFICIENCY OF THE PRESENT CONFEDERATION TO PRESERVE THAT UNION THE NECESSITY OF A GOVERNMENT AT LEAST EQUALLY ENERGETIC WITH THE ONE PROPOSED, TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS OBJECT THE CONFORMITY OF THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION TO THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT ITS ANALOGY TO YOUR OWN STATE CONSTITUTION and lastly, THE ADDITIONAL SECURITY WHICH ITS ADOPTION WILL AFFORD TO THE PRESERVATION OF THAT SPECIES OF GOVERNMENT, TO LIBERTY, AND TO PROPERTY.

In the progress of this discussion I shall endeavor to give a satisfactory answer to all the objections which shall have made their appearance, that may seem to have any claim to your attention.

It may perhaps be thought superfluous to offer arguments to prove the utility of the UNION, a point, no doubt, deeply engraved on the hearts of the great body of the people in every State, and one, which it may be imagined, has no adversaries. But the fact is, that we already hear it whispered in the private circles of those who oppose the new Constitution, that the thirteen States are of too great extent for any general system, and that we must of necessity resort to separate confederacies of distinct portions of the whole. This doctrine will, in all probability, be gradually propagated, till it has votaries enough to countenance an open avowal of it. For nothing can be more evident, to those who are able to take an enlarged view of the subject, than the alternative of an adoption of the new Constitution or a dismemberment of the Union. It will therefore be of use to begin by examining the advantages of that Union, the certain evils, and the probable dangers, to which every State will be exposed from its dissolution. This shall accordingly constitute the subject of my next address.

PUBLIUS.

Federalist Papers Excerpts

A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution; and a government ill executed, whatever may be its theory, must be, in practice, a bad government.

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 69, March 14, 1788

A government ought to contain in itself every power requisite to the full accomplishment of the objects committed to its care, and to the complete execution of the trusts for which it is responsible, free from every other control but a regard to the public good and to the sense of the people.

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 31, January 1, 1788

But as the plan of the convention aims only at a partial union or consolidation, the State governments would clearly retain all the rights of sovereignty which they before had, and which were not, by that act, EXCLUSIVELY delegated to the United States.

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 32, January 3, 1788

Constitutions of civil government are not to be framed upon a calculation of existing exigencies, but upon a combination of these with the probable exigencies of ages, according to the natural and tried course of human affairs. Nothing, therefore, can be more fallacious than to infer the extent of any power, proper to be lodged in the national government, from an estimate of its immediate necessities.

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 34, January 4, 1788

Energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy.

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 69, March 14, 1788

Government implies the power of making laws. It is essential to the idea of a law, that it be attended with a sanction; or, in other words, a penalty or punishment for disobedience.

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 15, 1787

I go further, and affirm that bills of rights, in the sense and to the extent in which they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted; and on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do?

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 84, 1788

A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.

James Madison, Federalist No. 51, February 8, 1788

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. What is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?

James Madison, Federalist No. 51, February 8, 1788

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.

James Madison, Federalist No. 10, November 23, 1787

An elective despotism was not the government we fought for; but one in which the powers of government should be so divided and balanced among the several bodies of magistracy as that no one could transcend their legal limits without being effectually checked and restrained by the others.

James Madison, Federalist No. 58, 1788

As the cool and deliberate sense of the community ought in all governments, and actually will in all free governments ultimately prevail over the views of its rulers; so there are particular moments in public affairs, when the people stimulated by some irregular passion, or some illicit advantage, or misled by the artful misrepresentations of interested men, may call for measures which they themselves will afterwards be the most ready to lament and condemn. In these critical moments, how salutary will be the interference of some temperate and respectable body of citizens, in order to check the misguided career, and to suspend the blow mediated by the people against themselves, until reason, justice and truth, can regain their authority over the public mind?

James Madison (likely), Federalist No. 63, 1788

As there is a degree of depravity in mankind which requires a certain degree of circumspection and distrust: So there are other qualities in human nature, which justify a certain portion of esteem and confidence. Republican government presupposes the existence of these qualities in a higher degree than any other form. Were the pictures which have been drawn by the political jealousy of some among us, faithful likenesses of the human character, the inference would be that there is not sufficient virtue among men for self-government; and that nothing less than the chains of despotism can restrain them from destroying and devouring one another.

James Madison, Federalist No. 55, February 15, 1788

But the safety of the people of America against dangers from foreign force depends not only on their forbearing to give just causes of war to other nations, but also on their placing and continuing themselves in such a situation as not to invite hostility or insult; for it need not be observed that there are pretended as well as just causes of war.

John Jay, Federalist No. 4