

Ratifying the U.S. Constitution

Lesson Question

Should we ratify the Constitution?

Lesson Task

After reading primary and secondary source documents on specific issues related to the debate over ratification, students write a five-paragraph argumentative essay in which they take a position on whether the delegates should or should not ratify the Constitution. Students must support their position with claims using evidence from the historical documents.

NAEP Era: 3. Revolution and New Nation (1763 to 1815)

Focal Skill: Writing argument essays

Number of Documents: 6 or 9

Number of Days: 8–14

Common Core Standards

- CC reading standard (primary): RHSS.6-8.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary sources
- CC reading standard (secondary): RHSS.6-8.9 Analyze the relationship between a primary and secondary source on the same topic
- CC writing standard: WHSS.6-8.1 Write argumentative texts

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[Suggested time: 1 session]

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[Suggested time: 4–6 sessions]

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[Suggested time: 1/2 session]

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 - Compare big ideas and details across documents
 - Help students articulate own thinking

[Suggested time: 1–2 sessions]

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OVERVIEW

[Suggested time: 5 minutes]

Content Objectives

Students will understand why a new Constitution was necessary, who drafted it, and three of the debates surrounding its ratification:

Representation: How many elected representatives should there be? What kind of people should they be?

Taxation: How much power should the new government have to impose taxes? What kinds of taxes should they be allowed to impose?

Separation of Powers: How can we make sure no one branch of government will be too strong? Too weak?

Historical Thinking Objectives

- To help students understand that a large debate took place in every state to decide whether or not to ratify the Constitution

Skill Objectives

- Reading:* Identifying claims authors make to support a position
- Reading:* Using a secondary source to understand primary source texts
- Writing:* Supporting a position with claims using evidence from historical texts

Instructional Sequence

Before you begin the lesson you should share a brief agenda with students:

HOOK	Together, we will read a scenario that describes two different approaches to organizing a team sport, and think about the pros and cons of each.
CONTEXT	We'll then review some background context about why the Constitution was necessary and how it was created.
DOCUMENTS	On your own, you will read documents that represent both sides of the ratification debate. As a class, we will read a set of documents that focuses on the issue of representation. Then, you will read a set of documents on the issue of taxation. (There is an optional third set on the separation of powers.)
CONNECT	We'll compare the claims each side made on the issues, and discuss how they connected to peoples' vision of a central government.
WRITE	You'll write a five-paragraph argument essay, from the point of view of a delegate to your state ratifying convention, to convince your fellow delegates to vote to either ratify or not ratify the Constitution, using the claims in the documents you read.

Lesson Background

After the Constitutional Convention adjourned in Philadelphia on September 17, 1787, debates over the Constitution took place throughout American society. State ratifying conventions were organized so that each state could officially vote to approve or reject this blueprint for a new federal government. While the debates focused on a variety of details about how the Constitution would organize and authorize the government, all revolved around the fundamental question of how much power this new federal government should have. This lesson provides students with the opportunity to analyze ratifying debates over three Constitutional issues: how elected representation in the legislative branch would be organized, the taxation authority of the federal government, and the separation of powers among the branches of the government.

It's important to note that this lesson does not cover the compromises made during the drafting of the Constitution (such as those over the issues of small state representation and slavery) nor does it cover all of the issues debated during the ratifying process. A key concern at many of the state ratifying conventions was that the proposed Constitution lacked explicit guarantees of individual rights. As a result, some states approved the Constitution only provisionally, contingent on the addition of those guarantees in the form of what became known as the Bill of Rights amendments.

Student Background Knowledge

Students should understand that:

- In American society at this time, only white men who owned property could vote or be chosen as a delegate to a state ratifying convention.

THE HOOK

[Suggested time: 10 minutes]

Organizing a Game

Purpose

To introduce students to the idea that those who opposed ratification were in large part reacting against the Constitution's framing of a more powerful central government.

- The hook is intended to show both the pros and cons of a more structured and organized approach to a “team activity” (the soccer team is a stand-in for the organization of the states into one country).
- The scenarios hold some parallels to the debate (for example, league dues can represent the issue of taxation), but they are not intended to exactly replicate the historical issues. The main goal is for students to wrestle with the pros and cons of each side as preparation for thinking about taking a position on the debate over ratification.

Pick-Up Vs. League Soccer



Process

- **Read** the **Think About It** question: What are the pros and cons of each type of game?
- **Read** aloud or have students read the two scenarios.
- **Ask** students in table groups or partnership discussions to make two t-charts that list pros and cons of each scenario.
 - Possible pros and cons students might identify include:

Pick-Up Soccer	
PROS	CONS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Play is flexible and can be exciting • The players can agree on their own set of rules • No one is “in charge,” so there’s no one to boss players around or set limits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The team doesn’t have any money, so they can’t buy proper equipment, etc. • No one in charge means there is no one to settle arguments or enforce the rules • If people don’t “play fair” the whole game can fall apart

League Soccer	
PROS	CONS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Team is funded by league dues so there is proper equipment and uniforms • Referee consistently enforces rules • Coaches lead the team, make decisions, and teach kids how to play 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It might be hard for some kids to join the league because their families have to pay dues • The ref and coach are always “in charge,” so players have less say in how the game is run • Sometimes decisions are made that individual players don’t like, but they have to go along with them

- Allow groups to **share out** their ideas and collectively build on each other’s thinking.
- Questions to **ask** during the whole group discussion include:
 - Which group would you most want to play with? Why?
 - What are the pros and cons of more structure and control by a smaller group vs. less structure and less “centralized” control?
 - Can you think of other situations where this question applies?
- **Transition** to the lesson question and Context-setting. **Say** to students:
 - In this lesson we’ll think about some of these same issues as they connect to the debate happening in 1787, and you’ll each answer the lesson question: **Should we ratify the Constitution?**

TRANSITION TO CONTEXT-SETTING

Transition students to the Context slides by letting them know that they are now going to learn more about what was happening in the U.S. in the 1780s.

Context slides are intended to serve as a support for a relatively quick “interactive lecture” with students. The goal is to both provide essential background information and engage students’ prior knowledge and thinking.

While you can certainly slow the process down according to your students’ needs, Context is not intended to be a “deep dive” into slide images. Documents in the Context slides serve the role of illustrating content, sparking quick observations and reactions, and making abstract ideas more concrete.

CONTEXT

[Suggested time: 25–30 minutes—to be completed in the first session]

Context Overview

The purpose of these slides is to provide the background information that students need in order to fully understand the issues at stake in the writing—and ratification—of the U.S. Constitution in the late 1780s.

The six Context slides focus on these ideas:

Fixing the Articles of Confederation—Why the Articles of Confederation failed

Who Drafted the Constitution?—General background information on the Convention’s 55 delegates

Social Class in Revolutionary America—The breakdown of social class in revolutionary America: Who were the “elite” framers of the Constitution, and who belonged to the larger public involved in the debates surrounding the Constitution?

Thirteen Different States Try to Come Together—The need for compromise driven by the different interests of the 13 states

Debating and Ratifying the Constitution—Each state holds its own convention to ratify the Constitution

Three Big Issues Debated at the Ratifying Conventions—Representation, taxation and separation of powers

Slide 1: FIXING THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Purpose

To summarize why the Articles of Confederation had failed.

- They did not give the central government enough power to make decisions or collect taxes.

Suggested Process

- **Read** through the slide title, introduction and text with students.
- **Ask** students:
 - Why would the 13 states need a central government?
- As students discuss this question, you may need to **provide** some **background information**.
 - The Second Continental Congress began drafting the Articles of Confederation on July 12, 1776; all 13 states finally ratified it by early 1781.
 - To fight the Revolutionary War against the British effectively, the colonists needed some kind of central government that could direct the war, conduct diplomacy with European nations, and deal with territorial issues and Native American relations.
 - The loose, confederation-style government reflected Americans' fear of a central government that would have too much power over the states (as they believed the British crown had exercised over them).
 - After the war, the Articles of Confederation government became increasingly unworkable. The federal government could ask the states for contributions to pay off war debts or fund continuing government needs, but couldn't force the states to pay (and most didn't).
- **Ask** students the **Think About It** question: In what way did the Articles of Confederation limit the power of the central government?
- **Look** at the bullet points on the slide and **discuss** with students the ways in which these structures made it hard for the government to make decisions and new laws, raise money for the country, etc.
- You can **ask** follow-up questions such as:
 - Why would it have been difficult to form a national army in this system?
 - What kinds of laws do you think a country might need that would be national (as opposed to local)?
 - What else might have been difficult for the country under this system?

Problems with the Articles of Confederation

Under the Articles of Confederation

- * most power remained with the states
- * the majority of states had to agree to any new laws
- * all states had to agree to any changes to the Articles
- * there was no president, nor were there courts
- * the government could not tax people directly
- * the government didn't have enough money to pay its debts

Slide 2: WHO DRAFTED THE CONSTITUTION?

Purpose

To provide background information on the men who drafted the Constitution.

- The delegates were uniquely qualified to write the Constitution (they were educated, had experience in government, and had fought for independence in the Revolutionary War).
- But, these same qualifications—and the fact that they were wealthy—made them dissimilar to the vast majority of citizens.

About the 55 Delegates



George Washington, presiding officer of the Convention, addresses the other delegates in Philadelphia in 1787.

About the 55 Delegates

- * They came from 12 of the 13 states
- * 62% of them attended college or received a formal education
- * 50% served in the Revolutionary War
- * 75% had previously served in Congress, and almost all had prior political experience
- * 39 signed the Constitution on September 17, 1787

Suggested Process

- **Read** through the slide title, introduction, image and caption, and slide text with students.
- **Ask** students the **Think About It** question: Do you think the delegates were typical colonists? Why or why not?
- **Look** at the bullet points on the slide and **ask**: What do you notice?
- **Ask** follow-up questions such as:
 - What made these men qualified to draft the Constitution?
 - > Educated
 - > Represented 12 of the 13 states
 - > Had fought for the country's independence and served in government
 - What made these men different from the average colonist?
 - > Most people at that time had very little formal schooling and owned little to no property.
 - > Many citizens had fought in the Revolutionary War, but had never been involved in the decision-making and governing processes during or after that time.
- As you discuss the slide, you may want to **provide additional background information**.
 - Rhode Island did not send any delegates to the Convention. Nonetheless, the presence of delegates from 12/13 states ensured that the interests of the various states (large vs. small, slave vs. free) would be represented.
 - “75% had previously served in Congress” includes the Continental Congress and the Confederation Congress.
 - 39 of the 55 delegates signed the final document. Some delegates were simply unable to stay for the duration of the Convention; others left early (or refused to sign) in protest because they had major issues with the Constitution that had been written. (Many of these people went on to lead the Anti-ratification side in debates in their home states).

Slide 3: SOCIAL CLASS IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

Purpose

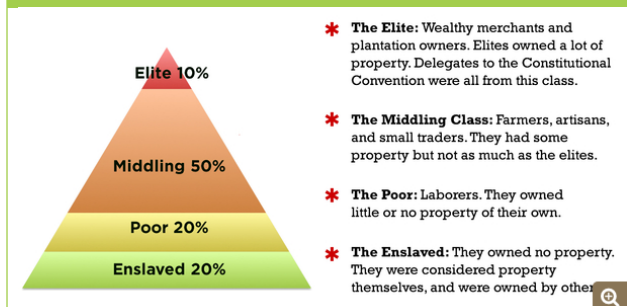
To introduce students to the structure of social class in the early United States.

- The lesson documents on representation use the terms ‘middling’ and ‘aristocracy’ to debate who should and will be elected to Congress under the Constitution. The other two anti-ratification documents also draw on social class to bolster their arguments.

Suggested Process

- **Read** through the slide title, introduction, graphic, and slide text with students.
- You may need to **provide** some **additional background information**.
 - At this time only white men who owned property could vote.
 - In the 1780s, the ‘elite’ were often referred to as the ‘aristocracy’ (usually meant disparagingly).
 - For the middling class, artisans (e.g. Silversmiths) and small traders usually lived in urban areas.
 - Slaves made up 20% of the country’s population, but were not divided evenly throughout the U.S.
- **Ask** students the **Think About It** question: How do you think social class might have influenced debates over a new Constitution?
 - Prompt students to consider how the Constitution’s framers differed from the “Middling Class.”
- **Ask** a follow-up question: Who do you think participated in these debates? Who did not have an opportunity to participate? Why?

U.S. Social Class Structure: 1780s



Slide 4: THIRTEEN DIFFERENT STATES TRY TO COME TOGETHER

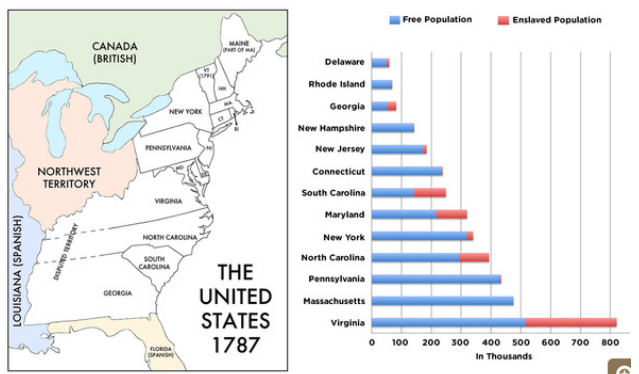
Purpose

To illustrate the need for compromise given the different needs of the states.

To provide additional context for the debate over representation in the new government.

- This slide provides an opportunity to discuss the Three-Fifths Compromise. While none of the lesson documents directly addresses this issue, the content helps explain why the issue of representation was so controversial.

U.S. Map & State Populations (Free & Enslaved), 1787



Suggested Process

- **Read** through the slide title with students.
- **Ask:** What's the focus of this slide?
 - The ways in which the states were different from each other.
- **Say:** Examining the map and the bar graph will help us learn more about these differences.
- Let's start with **the map**. **Ask** students:
 - What does this map show? What do you see?
 - > The thirteen states as well as the territories bordering the states.
 - Just from looking at this map, what are some of the differences we see?
 - > Sizes of states
 - > Geographical location of states
 - > Some border territories, some don't
 - > Northern and southern
 - Why are these differences important?
- Now let's look at the **bar graph**. **Ask** students:
 - How should we read this bar graph? What do we need to look at first?
 - > Prompt students to read the title of the graph and to identify the x and y-axes.
 - What information can we learn from this graph?
 - What do you notice? What can we conclude?
 - > Prompt students to notice both the differences in population in the various states as well as the proportion of enslaved to free residents in each state.
- **Ask** these follow-up questions:
 - Which states had the largest enslaved populations?
 - Which had the smallest?
 - How does the graph connect to the map?
 - > Students may notice the location of the states with larger populations of enslaved people.
 - > They may also notice that the physical size of the state does not always correlate with the population (for example, Georgia and Maryland).
 - Did anything surprise you about the graph?
- **Ask** the **Think About It** question: Why was compromise so important to the writing of the U.S. Constitution?
- As students discuss, you may want to **provide additional background information**.
 - **Economy**
 - > The Northern economy relied on commerce. The shipping and trade industry and manufacturing produced much of the northern states' wealth.
 - > Southern wealth came from slaves and agricultural production.

– Slavery

- > MA abolished slavery in 1783; all slaves were immediately freed.
- > By 1787, CT, NH and RI had instituted gradual abolition, which meant that they still had slaves, but had undertaken a (slow) process of freeing them.
- > In the North, slaves worked on small farms, did skilled and unskilled work in cities (at ports, etc.) and worked as servants in people's homes.
- > In the South, the majority of slaves worked on farms. Some labored on smaller farms, but wealthy plantation owners employed hundreds of slaves to work on vast tobacco, rice and sugar fields. (Cotton became a major cash crop in the early 1800s).

– Representation & Three-Fifths Compromise

- > At the time, delegates were wrestling with a big question: Should slaves be counted in a state's population?
- > $\frac{3}{5}$ Compromise: Delegates decided that the amount of taxes to be paid by each state and the number of representatives each state would have in Congress would be determined by:
 - Total number of free white people + $\frac{3}{5}$ of all enslaved people.
- > Reason for the compromise: Slaves could not vote, but by counting $\frac{3}{5}$ of the enslaved population, the South was given greater political representation in Congress, and thus was able to wield more influence than if slaves were not counted at all.
- > Because the North had almost no slaves, counting only $\frac{3}{5}$ of a state's enslaved population kept the South from having too much power in Congress.
- > The North and South had different economic interests, so the balance of power in Congress was very important to each region. E.g.,
 - *Northern interests:* reduce trade barriers; regulate interstate and foreign commerce
 - *Southern interests:* protect the slave trade

Slide 5: DEBATING AND RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION

Purpose

To introduce students to the concept of ratification and give them basic information about the ratification process.

- Before reading the documents, students should understand that the state ratifying conventions were structured around debate. Each of the primary source documents that they will read takes a position on the debate and was intended to influence the votes of state delegates.

The States Ratify the Constitution



A Massachusetts newspaper printed this illustration showing a hand lifting North Carolina into line with the other states that had already ratified the Constitution. The states were represented as pillars because they were the foundation of the new government. Rhode Island (far right) would be the last state to ratify.

Suggested Process

- **Read** through the slide title and introduction with students.
- **Ask** students:
 - What does it mean to ratify something?
 - What was the process for ratification decided at the Constitutional Convention?
- During discussion, **provide background information**, if necessary.
 - Although only 9/13 states needed to ratify the Constitution, supporters thought the new government would have more legitimacy if all states chose to ratify it.
 - In most states, state assemblies set up elections for citizens to vote for men to be delegates to the state ratifying conventions.
- **Ask** students to examine the slide image. This is a complex image and students may need some support (and background information) to “decode” it.
 - The upright columns are states that had voted to ratify the Constitution as of August 2, 1788. (On December 7, 1787, Delaware became the first state to ratify.)
 - The Constitution officially went into effect on June 21, 1788 when New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify.
 - Rhode Island (the broken column) was the last state to ratify, and did not do so until May 29, 1790.
 - The image depicts the columns rising one by one (not falling over). You can point students to the hand “lifting” North Carolina and **ask** them, “What is the hand doing?”
- **Ask** students: What does this image symbolize? What does the creator mean by depicting the creation of a “foundation” of the “federal edifice”?
- **Ask** students: Is this image in favor of or against ratification?
- After examining the image, **ask** the **Think About It** question: Why were the state ratifying conventions important?
- Allow students to have a few minutes of open discussion about this. Responses they might generate include:
 - They allowed public debate
 - They allowed each state to have a voice in the process
 - Without consensus there might not be as much faith in the central government
- You may want to **tell** students:
 - When large states such as MA, VA, and NY—which all had strong anti-ratification voices—voted to ratify it showed other states that a unified nation operating under a central government was possible.

Slide 6: THREE BIG ISSUES DEBATED AT THE RATIFYING CONVENTIONS

Purpose

To introduce the central issues that students will read about in the documents.

- Representation, Taxation, Separation of Powers

This slide does not provide historical context. It is simply an opportunity to state explicitly the themes of the lesson documents.

Suggested Process

- **Read** the **Think About It** question (What kinds of issues were Americans debating at the ratifying conventions?) and slide text.
 - Remind students of the lesson Hook and the ways in which the debate over types of soccer games raised several issues (e.g., rules, money, organization, etc.).
- **Tell** students that the six (or nine) documents in this lesson are divided into sets.
 - Each set starts with a secondary source document that provides more information on the topic.
 - And is followed by two primary source documents that each take a different position on the topic and represent the two sides of the debate over ratification.

Three Big Issues During Ratification Debates

THE BIG ISSUES

As the states met to debate and ratify the Constitution, these were three of the many issues they discussed:

REPRESENTATION

- * How many elected representatives should there be?
- * What kind of people should be representatives?

TAXATION

- * How much power should the new government have to impose taxes?
- * What kinds of taxes should the new government be allowed to impose?

SEPARATION OF POWERS

- * How can we make sure one part of the government won't be too strong and other parts too weak?

People who wanted to ratify the Constitution were known as **Federalists**
People who opposed ratification were known as **Anti-Federalists**

Slide 7: CONTEXT REVIEW: THE CONSTITUTION

Purpose

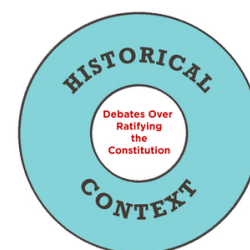
To summarize the essential information that students will need to understand the larger context in which the debates over ratification occurred.

To take notes on the Context to be used when writing essays.

Suggested Process

- **Look** at the image on this slide.
 - Remind students that they will need some of the Context information when they read lesson documents and write their essays.
- Guide students in remembering the most important information from the slides that helps to answer the two **Take Notes on Context** questions:
 - In what ways did the Articles of Confederation limit the power of the central government?
 - In what ways did the new central government have to represent the needs and interests of a wide range of people and states?
- Allow students to **discuss** their answers at table groups or with a partner, but each student should **record** his/her own notes.

Context Review



TRANSITION TO DOCUMENTS

After reviewing the Context slides say to students:

The context information we just discussed will be important for you to keep in mind as we read more about the debate over ratification and the issues of representation, taxation, and separation of powers. Why weren't the Articles of Confederation working? How did the Constitution plan to change the way the federal government was organized, and why were some people so opposed to these proposed changes? You will need to use information from the Context slides when you write your essay on the question: **Should we ratify the Constitution?** Remember, when you write, you are going to put yourself in the position of one of the delegates to a ratifying convention.

DOCUMENTS

[Suggested time: 4–6 sessions]

Students read three sets of documents, each based on a different debate, to find evidence for and against ratification of the Constitution.

The focal reading skill is to identify claims authors make to support positions.

A secondary reading skill is to use a secondary source to better understand a primary source.

- This lesson has three sets of documents focused on the issues of:
 - Representation
 - Taxation
 - Separation of powers
- Each set contains:
 - A secondary source document that provides essential background content on the topic
 - A primary source document about the topic that argues against ratification of the Constitution
 - A primary source document about the topic that argues in favor of the Constitution
- Reading the documents:
 - We strongly recommend that you work through the first document set with your students.
 - Students will then be better prepared to work through the second document set independently.
 - The third document set is an optional set. This is a conceptually challenging topic, and students can successfully complete the essay without reading these documents.

You may want your whole class to stop at set two, read all three sets, or you may choose to differentiate for the different needs of your learners.

Documents: Overview

Below, the individual documents in each set are listed, along with their **Big Ideas**.

Document Set 1: Representation

Secondary Source: The Constitution established a Congress with two parts, each with a different system of representation. This system was intended to balance the power of small and large states.

Anti Ratification: Melancton Smith Objects to the Number of Representatives Required by the Constitution

Big Idea: The Constitution did not establish a system that allowed for enough representation. This led to a concern that a small number of wealthy elites would gain control of the federal government.

Pro Ratification: Alexander Hamilton Argues for the Constitution

Big Idea: Through democratic processes, the Constitution creates a fair and equitable system of representation.

Document Set 2: Taxation

Secondary Source: Under the Articles of Confederation, the government had no power to impose taxes. As a result, the country was failing to pay its debts. To fix this issue, the Constitution gave the Congress the right to impose both direct and impost taxes.

Anti Ratification: Amos Singletary Worries About Taxes

Big Idea: The Constitution would allow the government to tax people in unfair and burdensome ways.

Pro Ratification: James Wilson Defends the Constitution's Plan for Taxes

Big Idea: The federal government must have the right to issue taxes to support the nation's needs.

Document Set 3: Separation of Powers

Secondary Source: There was a weak system of centralized power under the Articles of Confederation. The Constitution strengthened the central government, divided it into three branches, and created a system of checks and balances.

Anti Ratification: An Anonymous Writer Opposes the Constitution

Big Idea: The Constitution would give too much power to Congress and the President, who would act together like a monarchy.

Pro Ratification: James Madison Explains the Constitution's Separation of Powers

Big Idea: The Constitution provides adequate checks and balances to prevent one branch of government from becoming too powerful.

Note: Students can work on these documents independently while you circulate and support their work. (See PD Doc on supporting students during document work.)

Document Set 1: REPRESENTATION

Representation is a complex concept and reading these documents with your class will allow you to scaffold understanding and model skills such as:

- How to use a secondary source to better understand a primary source
- How to read for meaning and Big Ideas
- How to identify claims that authors make

Suggested Strategy—Teacher Guided Reading

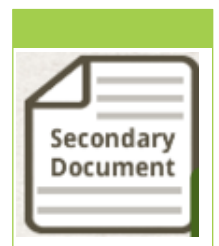
Below is the suggested strategy for reading each document in Set 1 with your students. It is critical to discuss each document directly after reading it, and before moving on to the next document in the set.

- Read the document title and headnote with students.
- Discuss and respond to the Source It questions before reading the document.
- As you read the document aloud with students, use the document questions to guide you in discussion.
- Start by asking questions and talking aloud the strategies you use for deeper comprehension, before asking for students' ideas.
- When students get stuck, talk *aloud the strategies you use* for deeper comprehension.
- Give students time throughout and after discussion to write in *Zoom In* in response to the questions.
- **FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT.** Use your Teacher Dashboard to scan and assess student responses to specific Document questions (such as the Big Idea question), once a majority of students have finished reading a document. This will prepare you for the class discussion.

Document 1: RATIFICATION ISSUE: REPRESENTATION

Purpose

To provide students with contextual information that will help them understand the claims made in the primary source documents on each side of the ratification debate about representation.



Key Reading Challenges

There is a lot of technical and somewhat abstract detail in this reading. Students unfamiliar with the two parts of Congress may need some added support in understanding the structure described here. Students might benefit from constructing a visual representation of the information in this text.

Students will also need to draw on prior knowledge to understand that federal decision-making was nearly impossible under the Articles of Confederation.

Notes on Suggested Strategy

There are no Gathering Evidence questions for this document because students will not need to cite it in their essays; however, their notes may be helpful as they identify the topic of each body paragraph.

Document 1: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.



Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the central information—i.e., To balance power of large and small states, Congress has two parts. Each part has a different form of representation.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- *Zoom In* provides Source It and Read Closely questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

Discuss the Source It Questions

Before launching into the document, remind students that this is the first reading in the three-document set about the issue of representation.

Support students' understanding that this is a secondary source document written by historians to *inform* the reader about how the Constitution established and structured a Congress made up of two houses.

- **Ask** students:
 - Why do you think we are reading a secondary source document first, before looking at what people at the time were saying about representation?
 - > To understand the debate over representation, it is helpful to get a little more background information.

Discuss the Read Closely Questions

Discuss students' responses to the Read Closely questions.

- Under the Constitution, how would states be represented in the House and Senate?
 - In the House, states would be represented proportionally according to the population of the state.
 - In the Senate, each state would have two appointed representatives. [Historical note: The 17th Amendment changed this structure by requiring Senators be elected, but in 1787 the Constitution stipulated that state legislatures would choose them. Students knowledgeable about the current structure of Congress may be confused and require some brief clarification on this point].

- How did the Constitution create fair representation for large vs. small states?
 - Large states would have a larger voice in the House, but in the Senate each state had the same power. This structure was intended to create a balance between the power of large and small states.
- **Press for Evidence:** To ground students' thinking in the text **ask** questions, such as:
 - Where does it say that?
 - What other detail here is important?
 - What can we infer from that statement?

As students are discussing their responses, we recommend creating a simple visual to represent the House and Senate as the two parts of Congress, each with a different system of representation.

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion.

Document 2: MELANCTON SMITH OBJECTS TO THE NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES REQUIRED BY THE CONSTITUTION

Purpose

To uncover the anti-ratification side of the debate on the issue of representation.

Key Reading Challenge

An argument about class underpins Smith's position on representation. Students have to understand who the "middling" and "wealthy" classes were at this time (as well as who was not represented in government, which Smith leaves out of his argument altogether). You may want to support students by revisiting the Context slide "Social Class in Revolutionary America."

Melancton Smith



Document 2: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.

Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the "Big Idea," i.e., The Constitution did not establish a system that allowed for enough representation; thus, a small number of wealthy elites would probably control the federal government.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- Zoom In provides Source It, Gather Evidence and Big Idea questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT STRATEGY

Select student responses to the “Big Idea” question, and use them to guide discussion.

- Ahead of time, use the Teacher Dashboard to quickly scan your students' responses to the “Big Idea” question:
 - What is one claim Smith made about elected representatives?
 - What is strong evidence in the document to support your answer?
- Identify student responses that reflect understanding of the Big Idea, and good use of supporting evidence, and those that reflect confusion or misunderstanding.
- Select and project a range of student responses to the Big Idea questions. You can choose model responses as well as responses that need development as a way to spark student discussion. (See the PD document and video on “Discussion Phase 1: Formative Assessment of Student Comprehension of Individual Documents” for more support on using students' responses to analyze their reading strengths and needs.)

Discuss the Source It Questions

Before launching into the document, remind students that this is the second reading in the three-document set about the issue of representation.

Ask students:

- What kind of document is this?
 - Primary document, speech
- Who gave this speech? When? Where? And why?
 - Melancton Smith was a delegate from New York who delivered this speech in 1788 at that state's ratifying convention.
- What was a ratifying convention? Who would have been there and what would they do there?
 - Help students think about the meaning of the words “ratifying” and “convention.”
 - In most states, state assemblies set up elections for citizens to vote for men to be delegates to the state ratifying conventions. The conventions served as an opportunity for debate leading up to each state's vote on ratification. The audience for this speech would have been other delegates.
- Given what we know about this document, what do you think its purpose was?
 - The purpose of this speech could most accurately be described as “persuade” or “inform.” Let students discuss this question openly.
 - If they are stuck, let them know that they can revisit the question after they have discussed the text of the document.

Discuss the Gather Evidence Questions

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the first **Gathering Evidence** question: Why did Smith think the Constitution should require a larger number of representatives?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- Could 1 man for 30,000 be chosen in this manner? Would the representative have the necessary information to serve the great number of people that were spread over this extensive area?
- If the workings of government were trusted to only a few men, each man would have a lot of power and would be more likely to become corrupt.
- I believe that the Constitution should have a larger number of representatives so that it can include members of the wealthy class and a sufficient number of the middling class to control them.

Ask these questions to **deepen students' thinking** as they find quotes:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the speech where Smith discussed the numbers of representatives?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- What was Smith worried would happen under the Constitution?
- How is what he was saying in each of these quotes similar and different?
 - Each quote focuses on the need for more representatives, but uses several different reasons.

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the second **Gathering Evidence** question: Who did Smith feel would make the most effective representatives?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- Representatives should resemble those they represent; they should be a true picture of the people and understand how the people live and what they need.
- Representatives should be well-educated. They should also be familiar with the common concerns and occupations of most people.
- Men of the middling class are in general much more able to understand such concerns than men of a higher class.
- Therefore, representatives from the middling class, from their frugal habits, will be careful how they increase taxes.

Ask these questions to **deepen students' thinking** as they find quotes:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?

- Is there another place in the speech where Smith discussed the qualities that would make a good representative?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- What can we infer Smith worried would happen under the Constitution?
- How does this connect to what we learned about social class at this time?
- Who was Smith not including in this speech?
 - The uneducated, poor, enslaved, and women, all of whom did not have the right to vote.

Discuss the Big Idea Questions

Students move at this stage from connecting the specific details in the text to claims Smith made about representation. Smith's claims include:

- A small number of representatives, as outlined in the Constitution, will lead to a smaller number of men assuming greater power.
- When a small number of men represent larger numbers of people they are less likely to be able to represent the needs of those people and more likely to become corrupt.
- For government to work well, representatives should resemble the people that elect them, which is the educated middle class.
- A larger number of representatives will ensure that more people from the middle class will be able to hold elected office.
- The middle class will be less likely to impose harsh taxes because they feel the impact of those taxes.
- If there are enough middle class representatives they will be able to hold the power of the wealthy class in check.

Anticipate these difficulties that students will have getting to the Big Ideas:

- In their responses, students may focus on smaller details and have a harder time articulating these as larger claims (for example: *Smith claims that 1 man for every 30,000 is not enough*).
- Or, conversely, they may articulate their ideas quite generally, without staying connected enough to the document details (for example: *Smith claims that the Constitution will lead to corruption*).

Ask these questions to help students more clearly **identify and articulate the Big Ideas**:

- Let's think back to the quotes we identified. What were the Big Ideas?
- Can you make that idea more specific?
- What's the Big Idea behind that detail?
- What were the different reasons Smith gave for wanting more representatives?
- How did Smith's ideas about the number of representatives connect to his ideas about who a representative should be?
 - More representatives mean a better chance that the middle class will be elected.
- Did anyone see a different claim? Why? What evidence do you see in the document for that claim?

Don't push towards a "right" answer, as there are many possible ways to articulate the Big Idea, but support students in **engaging in a rich text-based discussion**. Students will only have written about one claim, so it is important to help them see the range of claims Smith made.

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion. In particular, students may need to be prompted to revise how they have articulated document claims.

Document 3: ALEXANDER HAMILTON ARGUES FOR THE CONSTITUTION

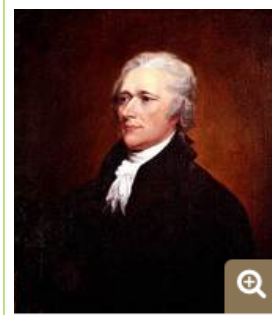
Purpose

To uncover the pro-ratification side of the debate over the Constitution on the issue of representation.

Key Reading Challenge

Hamilton makes certain assumptions about class in his rebuttal to anti-federalist claims that under the Constitution an elite class would gain control of the federal government. Hamilton questions the existence of an American aristocracy, making the argument that an aristocratic class cannot truly exist within a representative democracy. This is a complex idea and students may need support grappling with it.

Alexander Hamilton



Document 3: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.



Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the "Big Idea," i.e., Through democratic processes, the Constitution creates a fair and equitable system of representation.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- *Zoom In* provides Source It, Gather Evidence, Big Idea and Think About It questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- The Think About It question addresses *all three documents in this set*.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT STRATEGY

Select student responses to the “Big Idea” question, and use them to guide discussion.

- Ahead of time, use the Teacher Dashboard to quickly scan your students’ responses to the “Big Idea” question:
 - What was one claim Hamilton made about elected representation?
 - What is strong evidence in the document to support your answer?

Discuss the Source It Questions

Before launching into the document, remind students that this is the last reading in the three-document set about the issue of representation.

Ask students:

- What kind of document is this?
 - Primary document, speech
- Who gave this speech? When? Where? And why?
 - Hamilton was a delegate from New York who delivered this speech in 1788 at the New York ratifying convention. It was given in response to the claims being made by Smith and others.
- Given what we know about this document (and what we remember about the ratifying conventions), what do you think its purpose was?
 - Again, while the purpose of this speech could most accurately be described as “persuade” or “inform,” let students discuss this question openly. Press them to support their thinking with specific details from what they know about the document.
 - If they are stuck, you can revisit the question after they have discussed the text of the document.

Discuss the Gather Evidence Questions

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the first **Gathering Evidence** question: According to Hamilton, what will ensure that the government will represent the needs of the people?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- In free republics, the will of the people is the essential principle of the government, and the laws that control the community are shaped by the public wishes.
- It is fortunate that the people of this country are very intelligent, because we may expect the laws to be well-made and just.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering?
- Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the speech where Hamilton discusses how the government will represent the needs of the people?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*.

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?

- What did Hamilton mean by phrases like “will of the people” and “public wishes”?
- According to Hamilton, how would ordinary people have power under the Constitution?

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the second **Gathering Evidence** question: Why did Hamilton think the number of representatives outlined in the Constitution would be effective?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- I contend that sixty-five [Congressmen] and twenty-six [Senators] in two bodies provide Americans with perfect security, and that the gradual increase in representatives, which the framers of the Constitution made possible, will put everybody at ease. Each representative has to return to the community; he is dependent on the will of the people, and it is not in his interest to oppose their wishes.
- The information necessary to understand the obligations of government is open to every intelligent person and five men may know as much as fifty.
- If the general voice of the people wants an increase in representatives, it undoubtedly will take place.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the speech where Hamilton discusses the number of representatives?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- What can we infer Hamilton thinks would happen if a representative “opposed” the people’s wishes?
- What did Hamilton believe would be the relationship between representatives and the voters?
- What was Hamilton saying about people’s ability to change the government?

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the third **Gathering Evidence** question: Why does Hamilton feel the government won’t become an aristocracy?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- Who are the aristocracy among us? Where do we find men elevated to a perpetual rank above their fellow citizens?
- Does the new government make a rich man more eligible for public office than a poor one? No. It requires no such qualification. The tendency of the people will be to elect the most qualified man, even if he is poor or unknown.

Prompt students to articulate quotes *in their own words*.

Discuss the Big Idea Questions

Students move at this stage from connecting the specific details in the text to claims Hamilton made about representation. Hamilton's claims include:

- Representatives will do what the people want them to do in order to be re-elected.
- A small number of people can represent the public as well as a large number of people because even a small number will have access to all the information it needs to make fair decisions.
- We do not have to worry about an elite class taking all the power because the very nature of our democracy will prevent an aristocracy from forming.
- People will always choose the most qualified people, not just the wealthy and powerful, to represent them in government.

Anticipate these difficulties that students will have getting to the Big Ideas:

- Students may focus on smaller details and have a harder time articulating these as larger claims (for example: *Hamilton claims that 65 Congressmen is enough*).
- Or, conversely, they may articulate their ideas quite generally, without staying connected enough to the document details (for example: *Hamilton claims that the Constitution is a good thing*).

Ask these questions to help students more clearly **identify and articulate the Big Ideas**:

- Let's think back to the quotes we identified. What were the Big Ideas?
- Can you make that idea more specific?
- What's the Big Idea behind that detail?
- What were the different reasons Hamilton gave for why the system of representation under the Constitution would work?
- Did anyone see a different claim? Why? What evidence do you see in the document for that claim?
- How did Hamilton refute Smith's claims?

Don't push towards a "right" answer, as there are many possible ways to articulate the Big Idea, but support students in **engaging in a rich text-based discussion**. Students will only have written about one claim, so it is important to help them see the range of claims Hamilton made.

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion. In particular, students may need to be prompted to revise how they have articulated document claims.

Discuss All Set 1 Documents: The Think About It Question

Finally, support students in discussing all the documents in this set through the Think About It question.

Ask students: How did Smith and Hamilton disagree about representation?

As students discuss, **ask** follow-up questions such as:

- Which sides of the ratification debate were Smith and Hamilton on?
- How did they each use social class in their arguments?
- What did each man believe about the power of the federal government?

Document Set 2: TAXATION

Students should be prepared to read this set of documents independently.

Suggested Process for Each Document

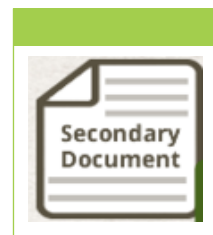
Note: It is critical that there is a class discussion after each document, i.e. Students should not begin the second document in the set until the whole class has discussed the first document.

- As students independently read and answer the document questions, move around the room to diagnose difficulties and offer coaching. When you note several students struggling with particular passages or questions bring them to the attention of the class as appropriate.
- Use the document questions to guide you in this discussion. Start by asking questions aloud to students and supporting their responses.
- **FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT.** Use your Teacher Dashboard to scan and assess student responses to specific Document questions (such as the Big Idea question), once a majority of students have finished reading the document. This will prepare you for the class discussion.

Document 4: RATIFICATION ISSUE: TAXATION

Purpose

To provide students with contextual information that will help them understand the claims made in the primary source documents on each side of the ratification debate about taxation.



Key Reading Challenges

Taxation is an abstract concept for this age group. It might be helpful to tap into some prior knowledge about taxes. For example, where do we see taxes now? What are taxes used for?

Notes on Suggested Process

There are no Gathering Evidence questions for this document because students will not need to cite it in their essays; however, their notes may be helpful as they identify the topic of each body paragraph.

Document 4: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.



Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the central information, i.e., Under the Articles of Confederation, the government had no power to impose taxes; thus, the country could not pay its debts. The Constitution gave Congress the power to tax.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- *Zoom In* provides Source It and Read Closely questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

Discuss the Source It Questions

Remind students that this is the start of the second document set.

- **Ask:** What kind of document is this?
 - Secondary
- **Ask:** What is the purpose of this document?
 - To inform readers about taxation under the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.
- **Review** with students: Why do you think we are reading a secondary source document first, before looking at what people at the time were saying about taxation?
 - To understand the debate over taxation, it is helpful to get a little more background information.

Discuss the Read Closely Questions

- **Discuss** students' responses to the Read Closely questions.
- **Ask:** Why did the Constitution need to establish the right of the federal government to impose taxes?
 - Under the Articles of Confederation, states could not be required to pay taxes (and as a result many did not).
 - The country could not collect enough money to pay off its debts from the American Revolution.
- **Ask:** What powers of taxation did the Constitution give to Congress?
 - The right to set taxes:
 - > Direct taxes: Taxing people's income and property
 - > Impost taxes: Taxing imported goods
 - The right to decide the budget of the country (which would dictate how much money the country would need to raise through taxes).
- *Press for Evidence:* To ground students' thinking in the text, **ask** questions such as:
 - Where does it say that?
 - What other detail here is important?
 - What can we infer from that statement?

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion.

Document 5: AMOS SINGLETARY WORRIES ABOUT TAXES

Purpose

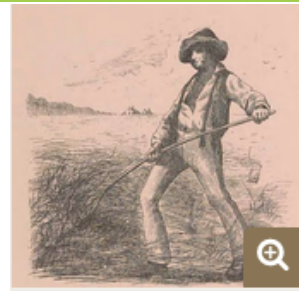
To uncover the anti-federalist side of the argument over taxation that occurred during the ratification debates.

Key Reading Challenge

The difference between impost and direct taxes can be tricky. It is important for students to understand this difference, and why there was great concern about the government's ability to impose direct taxation.

The secondary source document in this set explains this difference, and will help students to comprehend this document.

18th Century Farmer



Document 5: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.



Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the "Big Idea," i.e., The Constitution would allow the government to tax people in unfair and burdensome ways.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- *Zoom In* provides Source It, Read Closely, Gather Evidence, and Big Idea questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT STRATEGY

Select student responses to the "Big Idea" question, and use them to guide discussion.

- Ahead of time, use the Teacher Dashboard to quickly scan your students' responses to the "Big Idea" question:
 - What was one claim Singletary made about taxation?
 - What is strong evidence in the document for your answer?

Discuss the Source It Questions

Before launching into the document, remind students that this is the second reading in the three-document set about the issue of taxation.

- **Ask** students: What kind of document is this?
 - Primary document, speech
- Who gave this speech? When? Where?
 - Singletary was a farmer and delegate from MA who delivered this speech in 1788 at the Massachusetts ratifying convention.
- What important information do we learn about Singletary's perspective from reading the headnote?
 - He was a farmer, concerned that farmers would not be able to afford taxes the new government might impose.
- Given what we know about this document (and what we remember about the ratifying conventions), what do you think its purpose was?
 - Inform/persuade

Discuss the Gather Evidence Questions

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the first **Gathering Evidence** question: Why did Singletary fear Congress' power to tax?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- Does it not take away all we have—all our property? Does it not lay all taxes, duties, imposts, and excises? And what more have we to give?
- They won't be able to raise money enough by impost, and then they will tax the land and take all we have got.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the speech where Singletary discussed his concerns over Congress' power to tax?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- As a farmer, why would Singletary have been so concerned with Congress' power to tax property?

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the second **Gathering Evidence** question: What were Singletary's concerns about the wealthy?

Focus on these key quotes:

- These lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, they expect to get into Congress themselves.
- They expect to be the managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands. And then they will swallow up all of us little folks.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the speech where Singletary discussed concerns about the wealthy?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- What is “the pill” Singletary is referring to?
- How do Singletary’s ideas connect to Smith?

Discuss the Big Idea Questions

Students move at this stage from connecting the specific details in the text to claims Singletary made about taxation. Singletary’s claims include:

- The Constitution will give Congress the right to impose taxes that will take the wealth and property of the people.
- Congress will issue direct taxes on people’s land, which will leave people with nothing.
- The Constitution will lead to the wealthy being in control of all the power and the money, and ordinary workingmen will be ruined.

Anticipate that students will have difficulty articulating Singletary’s claims.

Ask these questions to help students more *clearly identify and articulate Singletary’s claims*:

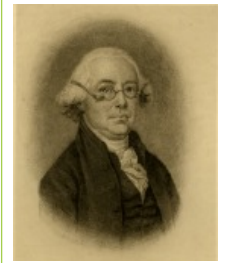
- Let’s think back to the quotes we identified. What were the Big Ideas?
- Can you make that idea more specific?
- What’s the Big Idea behind that detail?
- What were Singletary’s fears about taxes?
- How did his claims connect to the issue of social class?
- Did anyone see a different claim? Why? What evidence do you see in the document for that claim?

The idea here is not to push students towards the “right” answer, but to help them **engage in a rich text-based discussion** with one another. Students will only have written about one claim, so it is important to help them see the range of claims Singletary made.

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion. In particular, students may need to revise how they have articulated document Big Ideas.

Document 6: JAMES WILSON DEFENDS THE CONSTITUTION'S PLAN FOR TAXES

James Wilson



Purpose

To uncover the federalist side of the argument over taxation that occurred during the ratification debates.

Key Reading Challenge

Again, students need to understand the difference between impost and direct taxes, and why these two forms of taxations were central to the debate.

Document 6: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.



Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the "Big idea," i.e., The federal government must have the right to issue taxes in order to support the needs of the nation.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- *Zoom In* provides Source It, Read Closely, Gather Evidence, Big Idea and Think About It questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- The Think About It question addresses *all three documents in this set*.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT STRATEGY

Select student responses to the "Big Idea" question, and use them to guide discussion.

- Ahead of time, use the Teacher Dashboard to quickly scan your students' responses to the "Big Idea" question:
 - What was one claim Wilson made about taxation?
 - What evidence in the document supports your answer?

Discuss the Source It Questions

Before launching into the document, remind students that this is the last reading in the three-document set about the issue of taxation.

Ask students:

- What kind of document is this?
 - Primary document, a speech that was published as a newspaper article
- Who gave this speech? Where? When? And why? Who would have seen the article? What do we know about the intended audience?
 - Who: Wilson helped to write the new Constitution.
 - Where/When: This speech was from a public meeting in Philadelphia in 1787.
 - Why: He gave the speech to defend the Constitution against criticism that had been made of it.
 - Audience: Both the speech and article were intended for a broad public audience (of men who could vote). The newspaper article was also published in states outside of PA.
- Given what we know about this document, what do you think its purpose was?
 - While the purpose of this speech could most accurately be described as “persuade” or “inform,” let students discuss this question openly. Press them to support their thinking with specific details from what they know about the document.
 - If they are stuck, you can revisit the question after they have discussed the text of the document.

Discuss the Gather Evidence Questions

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the first **Gathering Evidence** question: Why did Wilson think the federal government needed the ability to tax?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- It is the federal government’s duty to provide for the national safety, to support the dignity of the union, and to pay the country’s debts.
- Still, the government should have the power of direct taxation in case of emergency.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the speech where Wilson discussed why the federal government needed the ability to tax?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- What did Wilson mean by “national safety”? And “The dignity of the union”?
- What debts did the country have at this time?
- What do you think he imagined national “emergencies” might be?

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the second **Gathering Evidence** question: What kinds of taxes did Wilson think the government was likely to impose?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- I predict that the great revenue of the United States must, and always will, be raised by impost, which is easier to raise and will be less bothersome to the American people.
- Still, the government should have the power of direct taxation in case of emergency, and people should not feel oppressed by how the government will collect taxes if they agree that the government has the power to collect them.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the speech where Wilson discussed the kinds of taxes the government was likely to impose?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- Why do you think Wilson uses the language “I predict”? How is he using language to persuade his audience?
- Why does he argue that people should “not feel oppressed” by the method of taxation the government chooses? According to Wilson, why does the government need this choice?

Discuss the Big Idea Questions

Students move at this stage to connecting the specific details in the text to claims Wilson made about representation. Wilson’s claims include:

- The federal government must have the power to tax in order to meet the needs of the country, including paying off the country’s debts and providing for the protection of the country.
- If the people decide that the government should have the right to tax, then they should allow the government to tax in whatever ways it needs, including direct taxation in the case of national emergencies.

Anticipate these difficulties that students will have getting to the Big Ideas:

- Students may focus on smaller details and have a harder time articulating these as larger claims (for example: *Wilson claims that the government must protect the dignity of the country*).
- Or, conversely, they may articulate their ideas quite generally, without staying connected enough to the document details (for example: *Wilson believes the government should be able to tax the people*).

Ask these questions to help students more clearly *identify and articulate the Big Ideas*:

- Let’s think back to the quotes we identified. What were the Big Ideas?
- Can you make that idea more specific?

- What's the Big Idea behind that detail?
- Did anyone see a different claim? Why? What evidence do you see in the document for that claim?
- It seems like Wilson makes two different kinds of claims [about why to tax and about the powers the people should give the government to tax]. Why do you think he makes these two kinds of claims?
- How did Wilson refute the argument that the Constitution gave too much power to the federal government to impose taxes?

The idea here is not to push students towards the “right” answer, but to **engage them in a rich text-based discussion** with one another in which they have to articulate their ideas and ground their thinking in the document. Students will only have written about one claim, so it is important to help them see the range of claims Wilson made.

Discuss All Set 2 Documents: The Think About It Question

Ask students the **Think About It** question: How did Wilson and Singletary disagree about taxation?

As students discuss, **ask** follow-up questions such as:

- Which sides of the ratification debate were Wilson and Singletary on?
- What did each man believe about the power of the federal government?

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion. In particular, students may need to be prompted to revise how they have articulated document Big Ideas.

[Optional] Document Set 3: SEPARATION OF POWERS

This set of documents is on a challenging topic, and is optional for the lesson. Students can write a successful essay even if they have not read these documents.

Suggested Process for Each Document

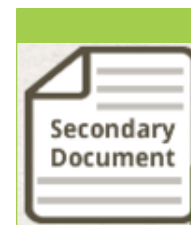
Note: It is critical that there is a class discussion after each document, i.e. Students should not begin the second document in the set until the whole class has discussed the first document.

- As students independently read and answer the document questions, move around the room to diagnose difficulties and offer coaching. When you note several students struggling with particular passages or questions bring them to the attention of the class as appropriate.
- Use the document questions to guide you in this discussion. Start by asking questions aloud to students and supporting their responses.
- **FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT.** Use your Teacher Dashboard to scan and assess student responses to specific Document questions (such as the Big Idea question), once a majority of students have finished reading the document. This will prepare you for the class discussion.

Document 7: RATIFICATION ISSUE: SEPARATION OF POWERS

Purpose

To provide students with contextual information that will help them understand the claims made in the primary source documents on each side of the ratification debate about separation of powers.



Key Reading Challenges

For students unfamiliar with the structure of the federal government, the content in this reading may feel complex. As with the reading on representation, students may benefit from a simple graphic that shows the three branches and some of the checks the Constitution established.

Notes on Suggested Process

There are no Gathering Evidence questions for this document because students will not need to cite it in their essays; however, their notes may be helpful as they identify the topic of each body paragraph.

Document 7: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.



Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the central information, i.e.,
 - Under the Articles of the Confederation, there was a weak system of centralized power.
 - The Constitution strengthened the central government, divided it into three branches, and created a system of checks and balances.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- *Zoom In* provides Source It and Read Closely questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

Discuss the Source It Questions

Remind students that this is the start of the third document set and so is again a secondary source intended to provide some key background information on the separation of powers.

Discuss the Read Closely Questions

Discuss students' responses to the Read Closely questions.

Ask: How did the Articles of the Confederation give more power to the individual states than to the central government?

- The central government did not have one leader.
- There were no federal courts, just state courts.
- To make new laws, the majority of states had to agree, and to change the Articles of Confederation all states had to agree. This gave individual states greater power than the group.

Ask: How did the Constitution build checks and balances into the three branches of government?

- The Constitution divided the government into three branches: The Judicial, Legislative and Executive. Each branch had some power over the others. For example:
 - Congress created and passed laws, but the President could veto them.
 - The courts could decide if the laws were legal.

Press for Evidence: To ground students' thinking in the text, **ask** questions such as:

- Where does it say that?
- What other detail here is important?
- What can we infer from that statement?

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion.

Document 8: AN ANONYMOUS WRITER OPPOSES THE CONSTITUTION

Purpose

To help students uncover the anti-federalist side of the argument over separation of powers that occurred during the ratification debates.

Key Reading Challenges

This is one of the most challenging documents in the lesson. A key reading challenge comes in the first sentence: "The Constitution does not establish (as it ought to) a confederation of states, but a government of individuals." Students are likely to rush past this sentence, but it conveys the key concern that the Constitution gave the central government too much power, enabling it to overstep states' ability to govern themselves. While the author does not speak directly to state's rights, this issue underpins his argument.

A second challenge here is for students to understand the author's concerns with the role of the veto. Students unfamiliar with the concepts of checks and balances, veto, and/or the three branches of government will have difficulty navigating this text.

You may want to check for student understanding of the secondary source as well as prior knowledge of these concepts before students move on to the primary sources.



Document 8: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.



Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the “Big idea,” i.e., The Constitution would give too much power to the Senate and the President, who together would act like a monarchy.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- *Zoom In* provides Source It, Gather Evidence, and Big Idea questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT STRATEGY

Select student responses to the “Big Idea” question, and use them to guide discussion.

- Ahead of time, use the Teacher Dashboard to quickly scan your students' responses to the “Big Idea” question:
 - What was one claim this author made about the separation of powers?
 - What evidence in the document supports your answer?

Discuss the Source It Questions

Before launching into the document, remind students that this is the second reading in the three-document set about the issue of separation of powers.

Ask students:

- What kind of document is this?
 - Primary document, letter to a newspaper
- Who wrote this letter? When? Who read it?
 - The letter was written by “an officer of the late Continental Army” in November 1787; the author was an anonymous person who opposed the Constitution.
 - The audience was newspaper readers in Massachusetts (the Massachusetts Centinel).
- Why might this person have chosen to remain anonymous?
 - There is no “right” answer here.
 - For example, perhaps the writer felt that given his position in the military there would be negative repercussions for being public about his views. (Students may note later that one concern the writer raises is the President's power over the military).

- Given what we know about this document, what do you think its purpose was?
 - Inform/persuade

Discuss the Gather Evidence Questions

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the first **Gathering Evidence** question: What were the author’s concerns about how the Constitution dealt with the separation of power between the executive and legislative branches?

Focus on key quotes such as:

- The legislative and executive powers are not kept separate as every one of the state constitutions declares they ought to be; but they are mixed in a manner entirely novel and unknown even to the constitution of Great Britain.
- By the new constitution, both the president and the Senate have that right to veto, and are intended to support each other in the exercise of it.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the speech where this author discussed his concerns over the separation of power between the executive and legislative branches?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- Why does the author compare the constitutions of the United States and Great Britain? Does this enhance his argument? How?
- How is the author concerned the executive and legislative branches will use the veto power? How does this connect to his idea about the branches being “mixed”?

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the second **Gathering Evidence** question: What were the author’s concerns about how much power the Constitution gave to the executive branch?

Focus on key quotes, such as:

- The most important branches of the executive department are to be put into the hands of one person, who will be in fact an elective king. The military will be entirely at his disposal.
- A government made up of monarchy and aristocracy will be firmly established, and liberty will only be a short page in the history books of the best days of America.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?

- Is there another place in the letter where this author discussed concerns about how much power the Constitution gave to the executive branch?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- Why does this author use language such as “elective king” and “monarchy”? Does this help his argument? If so, how?
- How would you describe the author’s big concern about the Constitution? How does he start his letter? Why is he so upset about a powerful federal government? What can we infer from his use of the language “a confederation of states”?

Discuss the Big Idea Questions

Students move at this stage from connecting the specific details in the text to claims the letter made about taxation. The author’s claims include:

- The Constitution does not give enough power to the states.
- The Constitution does not allow for enough separation of power between the executive and the legislative branches; instead, their power will be consolidated.
- The executive and the legislative branches are likely to work together as one and use their veto power to create a government that will act as a monarchy.
- Under the Constitution, the wealthy elite will control the government.

Anticipate that students will have difficulties getting to these claims.

Ask these questions to help students more clearly *identify and articulate the Big Ideas*:

- Let’s think back to the quotes we identified. What were the Big Ideas?
- Can you make that idea more specific?
- What’s the Big Idea behind that detail?
- What were this author’s fears about how the central government was organized under the Constitution?
- How did his claims connect to the issue of social class? States’ power?
- Did anyone see a different claim? Why? What evidence do you see in the document for that claim?

The idea here is not to push students towards the “right” answer, but to push them to **engage in a rich discussion** with one another in which they have to articulate their ideas and ground their thinking in the document. Students will only have written about one claim, so it is important to help them see the range of claims the author made.

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion. In particular, students may need to be prompted to revise how they have articulated document Big Ideas.

Document 9: JAMES MADISON EXPLAINS THE CONSTITUTION'S SEPARATION OF POWERS

Purpose

To help students uncover the Federalist side of the argument over separation of powers that occurred during the ratification debates.

Key Reading Challenge

Understanding the structure of the three branches and the system of checks and balances outlined in the Constitution is critical in this document.

James Madison



Document 9: Class Discussion

It is critical for students to briefly discuss each document after they have read it.



Purpose

Check for and deepen students'

- comprehension of the document
- grasp of the "Big idea," i.e., The Constitution provided adequate checks and balances to prevent one branch of government from becoming too powerful.

Process

Engage students in discussing one or two key questions they have answered in the tool.

- *Zoom In* provides Source It, Gather Evidence, Big Idea and Think About It questions and prompts alongside this document. Depending on your class's needs, you may choose to focus on certain question types over others.
- The Think About It question helps students to *connect all three documents in the set*.
- We strongly recommend using structures such as turn-and-talk and table group discussions as you engage students in these questions.
- Most important, be sure to follow up on student comments by *pressing for reasons and evidence*, and *for accountable talk*. Use the prompts for the extension questions below.

FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT STRATEGY

Select student responses to the "Big Idea" question, and use them to guide discussion.

- Ahead of time, use the Teacher Dashboard to quickly scan your students' responses to the "Big Idea" question:
 - What was one claim Madison made about the separation of powers?
 - What evidence in the document supports your answer?

Discuss the Source It Questions

Before launching into the document, remind students that this is the last reading in the three-document set about the issue of separation of powers.

Ask students:

- What kind of document is this?
 - Primary document, a pamphlet (part of the Federalist Papers)
- Who wrote this? When? And why? Who would have seen this? What do we know about the intended audience?
 - Who: Madison helped to write the new Constitution.
 - When: This pamphlet was published in 1788.
 - Why: It was intended to persuade delegates to vote in favor of the Constitution. The audience was delegates, but also the general public.
- Why was influencing public opinion important to these debates if only the delegates were going to vote?
 - Madison and others hoped the general public would put pressure on their delegates.
- Given what we know about this document, what do you think its purpose was?
 - Inform/persuade

Discuss the Gather Evidence Questions

Ask students to share the quotes they highlighted for the **Gathering Evidence** prompt: Madison said the Constitution provides checks that would prevent one branch of government holding too much power. Find 2–3 places where he describes these checks.

Focus on key quotes such as:

- The Constitution gives those who administer each branch the necessary methods, and personal motives, to resist efforts by the other branches to gain power. We can depend on the people to vote corrupt officials out of office, but each branch must also have the ability to check the power of the other branches.
- The legislature creates the laws, and so it is the most powerful. The remedy for this is to divide the legislature into different branches.
- The Senate and House of Representatives are elected separately and have separate functions, but they are both dependent on the people.
- An absolute veto power over the legislature appears at first view to be the natural power with which the president should be armed.
- The president might not use the veto power when he should, and on extraordinary occasions he might abuse the power of veto. This is corrected in the Constitution by giving the House of Representatives, the weaker of the two legislative branches, the power to override the president's veto when $\frac{2}{3}$ of its members vote to do so.

As students are finding quotes, **ask** them:

- Why did you choose this quote? How does it connect to the question you are answering? Is there more (or less) of the text we should include here?
- Does anyone else agree? Disagree?
- Is there another place in the pamphlet where Madison discussed checks and balances?

Prompt students to articulate these quotes *in their own words*:

- What does this mean? Can anyone think of another way to explain this quote?
- What are the two Big Ideas Madison is talking about here? (Checks and balances across the three branches of government).
- What are the two main examples he gives for checks? (Separation of the legislature and uses of veto).
- Why would dividing Congress into two houses be a check on the power of the legislature?
- Why does Madison argue that the President should have veto power over Congress?
- Is this absolute veto power? How or how not?
- What is the executive's check on the legislative branch? Does the legislative branch have checks? How so? Where can you find support for this idea in the text?

Discuss the Big Idea Questions

Students move at this stage from connecting the specific details in the text to claims Madison made about separation of powers. Madison's claims include:

- The Constitution creates a system of checks and balances so that the three branches each have power but also can check the power of the other.
- The legislature will not become too powerful because:
 - It is divided into two parts.
 - The President can veto its decisions.
 - The House of Representatives can override the President's veto.

Anticipate that students will have difficulties getting to these claims.

Ask these questions to help students more clearly *identify and articulate the Big Ideas*:

- Let's think back to the quotes we identified. What were the Big Ideas?
- Can you make that idea more specific?
- What's the Big Idea behind that detail?
- Did anyone see a different claim? Why? What evidence do you see in the document for that claim?
- How would Madison refute the argument that the Constitution gave too much power to the president?

The idea here is not to push students towards the "right" answer, but to push them to **engage in a rich text-based discussion** with one another. Students will only have written about one claim, so it is important to help them see the range of claims Madison made.

Discuss All Set 3 Documents: The Think About It Question

Finally, **ask** the **Think About It** question: How did the letter writer and Madison disagree about separation of powers?

As students discuss, **ask** follow-up questions such as:

- Which sides of the ratification debate were Madison and the writer of the newspaper letter on?
- What did each man believe about the power of the federal government?

Have students revise their notes. Allow students time to revise their notes after and/or during the discussion. In particular, students may need to be prompted to revise how they have articulated document Big Ideas.

CONNECT

[Suggested time: ½ session]

Purpose

Before students write in response to a historical question, they need opportunities to talk. They need to clarify their understanding of the documents and how they connect with the larger context and the question they are answering. Your job as a *Zoom In* teacher is to create these discourse opportunities.

Cross-Document Discussion

In this discussion the main goal is to help students to synthesize their learning across documents and connect back to the Context and the larger historical question under investigation. This supports the historical thinking skill of corroboration.

Three major moves should happen here:

- Re-engage students in the historical inquiry
- Support students in comparing Big Ideas and details across documents
- Support students in articulating their own thinking

A) Re-engage students in the historical inquiry

Begin by reminding students of the lesson question and the larger historical context. Do an initial informal assessment of what “big picture” students have walked away with. **Say** to students:

- So who thinks they can summarize some of the main claims about whether or not to ratify the Constitution?
- Before we discuss these documents together, let’s think back to the Context. How did this debate over ratification connect back to what was happening at the time?

Spend just a few minutes having students refresh their memories about the content from the Context slides.

Using turn-and-talk or table groups, have students **discuss** the question: What were some of the things the framers of the Constitution had to keep in mind as they were drafting a new government?

- Prompt groups to look at the Context slides and their notes. Let groups discuss and then share their responses.
- Help students begin to articulate responses to the question by discussing the following:
 - There was general agreement that the Articles of Confederation had failed to create a functioning central government, so the framers knew they had to give the central government some new powers that it had not had before. [It may be important to clarify with students that the anti-federalists were not pro-Articles of Confederation. The debate was whether or not the Constitution represented the right kind of change to the structure of the central government.]
 - Concerns about social class and power: Some people worried the new government would replicate a monarchy.
 - Concerns about balancing state’s rights and addressing the competing needs of states
 - The need for compromise and consensus building

The purpose of this initial phase is to prime students’ thinking and to give you an initial assessment of their general level of understanding. You do not need to spend a long time on these questions because you will dig in deeper in the next phases.

B) Support students in comparing big ideas and details across documents

Display the Connect Tab.

Tell students:

- Let’s look across these documents at the range of claims you’ve identified about representation, taxation [and separation of powers].

The Connect tab will display the key discussion question: Why did some people think the Constitution would work but others didn’t?

Connect will also project a t-chart labeled “In favor of ratification” and “Against ratification” that displays student notes on the Big Idea question, and their supporting evidence from the documents. You can choose one student’s work to project to guide the discussion, or you can project notes you’ve “starred” while using the Teacher Dashboard to review students’ Big Idea notes.

- An example of the t-chart with sample student work is given here:

In favor of ratification	Against ratification
<p>James Wilson Defends the Constitution’s... Big Idea:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To be effective, the federal government needs the power to tax. <p>Evidence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Money raised from taxes will help the U.S. pay its debts and keep people safe. 	<p>Melancton Smith Objects to the Number... Big Idea:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smith argues there needs to be more representatives so that more of them come from the middle class. <p>Evidence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He says middle class men understand the lives and jobs of ordinary people better than the wealthy.

<p>Alexander Hamilton Argues for the...</p> <p>Big Idea:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Constitution makes sure Congress will do what the people want. <p>Evidence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> People elect Congressmen directly, so to stay in office they have to do what the people want. 	<p>Amos Singletary Worries About Taxes</p> <p>Big Idea:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Singletary thinks the power to tax will make the government too powerful. <p>Evidence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> He says direct taxes will hurt poorer people and could cost them their land.
<p>Optional: James Madison Explains the Constitution</p>	<p>Optional: An Anonymous Writer Opposes the Constitution</p>

Engage students in the **Connect** question.

Use turn-and-talk or table group structures for these discussions.

Ask follow-up questions to **deepen students' thinking**:

- How did [Hamilton] support his claim? How did [Singletary] support his claim?
- How did they come to different conclusions about [taxation]?
- What do you think some people's hopes were? Where is there support for this idea?
- What do you think some peoples' fears were? Where is there support for this idea?
- How did the pro-ratification side use these claims to support their position?
- How did the anti-ratification side use these claims to support their position?

Give students time to **edit** their responses in *Zoom In* based on class discussion.

C) Support students in articulating their own thinking

Finally, be sure to allow students time to speak with each other about their own thinking. This can happen at any stage of the discussion through turn-and-talks or small group discussion. Questions to support this type of thinking include:

- What's important here? Anything surprising?
- Why is this debate important? What can we learn from it?
- If you were a delegate at this time, what would you have argued for? Why?

WRITING

[Suggested time: 1–2 sessions]

In this five-paragraph argumentative essay, students take a position on the question “Should we ratify the Constitution?” to present to their fellow state delegates, convincing them to vote in a particular way.

In the essay, students must introduce the debate, provide some background historical information about both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, and take a position. The focal writing skill is to present, and support with evidence from the documents, two claims that support their position. In addition, students must write about one counterclaim and end with a conclusion that summarizes their main ideas and convinces their audience.

Teacher’s Roles During Writing

As students are writing, support them in these key ways according to their needs:

- Circulate and observe students’ progress through the template or outline. Take some notes to help you think about mini-lessons in writing you may want to teach to the whole class.
- Conference individually with students on their writing. Support their development through asking probing questions:
 - You seem stuck; where might you find that information?
 - If you don’t remember what that quote means, where can you go?
 - Tell me why you introduced that evidence that way? What more do you think the reader might want to know?
 - Can you tell out-loud what the Big Idea is here? OK, how could you put that into writing?
- If you see patterns, pull together small groups of students for mini-lessons, or to review instructions.
- Support students in being peer editors.
- Help students move on to polished writing.

Preparing Students to Write

Tell students that the next stage of the lesson will be their writing. Remind them they will be writing a five-paragraph argumentative essay. The key elements of historical essay writing you will help them with are:

- Taking a position on the lesson question.
- Integrating context into their introductions.
- Understanding the organizational structure of the essay, particularly the topics of the three body paragraphs.
- Summarizing their main ideas and constructing a conclusion.

It’s important to remind students that while they have been reading like historians looking back in time, they will shift perspectives in their writing. They will be writing to address delegates to their state’s ratifying convention. As such, they have to put themselves in the position of someone alive during 1787 and suspend their own feelings and judgments.

Students may choose to write from a perspective that they do not personally agree with (for example, writing to oppose ratification even if they believe in the Constitution). This is a legitimate choice for this activity, and is important to make clear to students. Students will have to navigate the difference between their thinking as “present day historians” with their thinking as someone living in the past. This is hard for many middle school students to do and therefore warrants some discussion and preparation.

Briefly preview with students some of the ways that their writing might reflect this shift. For example:

- They can use the “I” voice, but they have to be careful that they are not writing their own personal opinions.
- They are writing for an audience of delegates rather than present day readers.

Project the Essay Outline View. Use this to review the writing prompt and preview the essay structure with students. Review explicitly each part of the essay and the role it serves in developing an answer to the historical question. Making these elements of the essay explicit for students will help them to develop the skills to construct essays more independently down the road.

Prompt students to make decisions about which side they plan to argue and what claims (and what counter-claim) they will use in their writing.

Essay Outline View

Prompt: Write a five-paragraph argumentative essay in which you take and support a position on whether the delegates should ratify the Constitution.

Paragraph-by-paragraph guidance. In your essay you must have the following sections:

- **An introduction in which you introduce the question and take a position**
 - Provide a topic sentence(s).
 - Provide historical context about both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.
 - Write a thesis.
- **A first body paragraph in which you provide one claim that supports your position**
 - Provide a topic sentence(s).
 - Provide 1-2 details from a document to support this claim.
 - Introduce your source.
 - Provide evidence from the document.
 - Explain how this evidence connects to the reason you are providing.
- **A second body paragraph in which you provide a second claim that supports your position**
 - Provide a topic sentence(s).
 - Provide 1-2 details from a document to support this claim.
 - Introduce your source.
 - Provide evidence from the document.
 - Explain how this evidence connects to the reason you are providing.

- **A third body paragraph in which you write about one counterclaim**
 - Provide a topic sentence(s).
 - Provide 1-2 details from a document that shows evidence for the counterclaim.
 - Introduce your source.
 - Provide a quote.
 - Explain why you disagree with the position.
- **A conclusion in which you convince your audience**
 - Restate the debate.
 - Summarize your claims.
 - Provide concluding ideas.

Setting the Level of Writing Support

Using the Teacher Dashboard, you can set the level of students' writing support. (Note: do this before they begin drafting their essays, or essay writing will be lost.) *Zoom In* offers two levels of writing support. High Support (the default) gives all students sentence-level tips, optional sentence-starters, and guidance in selecting and using evidence. As students show progress as historical writers—especially in using evidence from documents to support their ideas—teachers can set writing support for individual students to Low Support. The system will provide these students with paragraph-level tips only, meaning students will shape and support their essays substantially on their own.

Preparing Students to Write with Low Supports

If most of your students are writing with Low Supports (meaning with outline only, rather than the detailed Writing Template), you may wish to give them more up-front preparation to write their historical essays. The following outline may help.

Overview

- Let students know that the next stage of the lesson will be their writing.
- Remind them that they will be arguing whether or not we should ratify the Constitution.
- Their final product will be a five-paragraph argumentative essay.

Introduction

- Remember, what is the purpose of your essay? Right, you are going to take a position on whether or not to ratify the Constitution.
- What do the various pieces of this essay need to be? [Review the overarching structure of the paragraphs.]
- What's going to go into this introduction?
- How will you start this essay?
- What background information will you need to provide to support your argument?
- What is the thesis statement in an essay like this? Right, you have to take a position. You'll need to support this position in body paragraphs one and two.

- Strong arguments also acknowledge and refute the other perspective. You'll do that in body paragraph three and in the conclusion.

Body Paragraphs One and Two

- OK, now that we have a sense of what needs to go into the introduction, let's think about the first two body paragraphs.
- How did the authors we read support their position on whether or not to ratify the Constitution? Right, they made claims about why it would or would not work (looking specifically at the areas of representation, taxation and separation of powers).
- You will also need to identify two claims that you want to use to support your position. Before you start your essay, you may want to go back to your "Big Idea" notes and revise what you've written.
- For each claim you will need to find supporting evidence in the documents and explain how that evidence connects to the claim. [Connecting evidence back to the larger historical ideas is typically the hardest move for students to make, and may be worth spending some time discussing and/or modeling.]
- Again, you may find that as you are writing you will need to return to the documents and adjust the text that you have highlighted so the evidence fits with the ideas you want to write about.

Body Paragraph Three

- Remember, every debate has claims and counterclaims. To make a strong argument you can't ignore the counterclaims.
- In this paragraph you'll choose just one counterclaim to address. It is OK here to simply acknowledge one way the other side supports their position (using evidence from a document of course!).

Conclusion

- The conclusion is the place in your essay where you will restate the main question under investigation and your main points, and convince your audience that you have made the strongest argument.

Sample Student Writing

Pro-Ratification Essay

Right now a debate is occurring about whether or not we should ratify the Constitution. This is an important moment in time in our country's history. The Articles of Confederation are not working. They give the states too much power and are too weak. We can't make good decisions as a country and we can't even pay our debts. The proposed Constitution would give us a strong central government so that we can raise money through taxes. It also creates a strong system of representation so that all states can work together to make decisions. For these reasons I believe we should ratify the Constitution.

One reason to ratify the Constitution is that it gives Congress the power to set taxes in a way that is fair and that will help to raise money for the government and to pay our debts. According to a speech given by delegate James Wilson, "It is the federal government's duty to provide for the national safety, to support the dignity of the union, and to pay the country's debts." This means that we need to be able to raise money as a country to be a more powerful and secure country. Wilson also said, "I predict that the great revenue of the United States must, and always will, be raised by impost, which is easier to raise and will be less bothersome to the American people." This means that the government will mostly tax goods that we import from other countries, and that taxes won't be too hard on the American people.

Another reason to ratify the Constitution is that it creates a fair system of representation where the best people will get elected to Congress and will be responsible to the people of their states. According to a speech given by the lawyer Alexander Hamilton, "Each representative has to return to the community; he is dependent on the will of the people, and it is not in his interest to oppose their wishes." This means that representatives won't be able to take too much control because they will have to do what the people who elected them want them to do. Hamilton also said, "The tendency of the people will be to elect the most qualified man, even if he is poor or unknown." This means that we don't have to worry about having the aristocracy be in control because people will get elected because they are best at the job, not because they are the richest.

Some people argue that the Constitution will give the federal government too much power and will turn us into a monarchy again. According to a newspaper article from 1787, "The most important branches of the executive department are to be put into the hands of one person, who will be in fact an elective king." I do not think that this is going to happen because Congress will be able to vote against the president's decisions.

There are many important reasons to ratify the Constitution. Our country needs more money and all the states should contribute. We also need a way to make decisions and to elect representatives in a fair way. While it is true that we do have to make sure that the wealthy don't take over and get too much power, Americans are smart and I don't think we will let that happen. The Constitution is the best way forward for our country because it creates a strong federal government.

Anti-Ratification Essay

Right now a debate is occurring about whether or not we should ratify the Constitution. This is an important moment in time in our country's history. We have the Articles of Confederation, but they are not working. We have called together people from all the states to fix the Articles of Confederation, but instead they wrote a whole new document. The proposed Constitution is a failure because it gives too much power to a small number of people. It also gives the government too much power to tax people. For these reasons I believe we should not ratify the Constitution.

One reason we should not ratify the Constitution is that it does not give states enough representatives, which will give too much power to a small number of wealthy people. According to a speech given by delegate Melancton Smith, "I have another objection to this clause of the Constitution: If the workings of government were trusted to only a few men, each man would have a lot of power and would be more likely to become corrupt." This means that if there are not enough representatives, people in power will take too much power for themselves. Smith also said, "I believe that the Constitution should have a larger number of representatives so that it can include members of the wealthy class and a sufficient number of the middling class to control them." This means that if we have more representatives ordinary people will be able to have some power over rich people.

Another reason not to ratify the Constitution is that it gives the government too much power to tax the people. According to a speech given by the farmer and delegate Amos Singletary, "And does not this Constitution do the same? Does it not take away all we have—all our property? Does it not lay all taxes, duties, imposts, and excises? And what more have we to give?" This means that the government can tax property and tax goods and that people cannot afford to pay all these taxes. Singletary also said, "These lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill." This means that wealthy people are making the Constitution sound good, but really it is going to hurt ordinary people like farmers.

Some people argue that the Constitution will help create a stronger government for this country. According to a pamphlet that James Madison wrote, "We can depend on the people to vote corrupt officials out of office, but each branch must also have the ability to check the power of the other branches." If only the wealthy are in control, then I do not think the people will have the power that they need.

There are many important reasons to not ratify the Constitution. Our government needs to be sure that all the people will be represented. We also need to protect people from having to pay too many taxes. While it is true that we do have to fix the Articles of the Confederation, the Constitution is not the solution. The Constitution is a bad idea because it gives too much power to a small group of people.

Assessing Student Writing with the Essay Rubric

For information on assessing student writing, see these documents:

- "Zoom In Essay Rubric" (PDF)
- "Tracking Students' Progress and Assessing Student Work" (PDF)