



Creating the Constitution (1776–1790)

What You Will Learn

Weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation led to the drafting of a new constitution for the nation. After much debate, the states approved the Constitution, but many insisted that a bill of rights be added.

Focus Question

As you read this chapter, keep this question in mind: **How did the U.S. Constitution overcome the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation and provide for the organization of the new government?**

Section 1

Governing a New Nation

Section 1 Focus Question

What were major successes and failures of the government under the Articles of Confederation? To begin answering this question,

- Learn about the new state constitutions.
- Learn about the Articles of Confederation.
- Find out about laws for settling new lands in the west.
- Understand the problems of the Articles of Confederation.

Section 1 Summary

Americans created new state and national governments based on the principles of the American Revolution. Problems under the Articles of Confederation led to calls for a stronger national government.

Government by the States

Many of the former colonies wrote new state constitutions. A **constitution** is a document stating the rules under which government will operate. Most states minimized the power of state governors because colonial governors had abused their power. Instead, most power was given to the state legislature, the lawmaking body elected by the people.

The new state constitutions allowed more people to vote. In most states, white men 21 years or older could vote if they owned some property, but women and African Americans were not allowed to vote. Virginia was the first state to have a bill of rights, which is a list of essential freedoms that the government is required to respect. ✓

Key Events

1776

Many new American states write constitutions.

1787

Constitutional Convention creates a new plan of government.

1791

After three fourths of states approve it, the Bill of Rights goes into effect.

✓ Checkpoint

List one characteristic of the new state governments.

The Articles of Confederation

The Continental Congress created the Articles of Confederation in 1777. This plan created a new national government for the United States with restricted powers.

The national government had a single branch, a one-house legislature called Congress, which had the power to pass laws, deal with foreign nations and Native Americans, make war and peace, coin or borrow money, and run a post office. Congress was not given the power to collect taxes or to interfere with trade between the states. All states were equal, and most power remained in the hands of the states. ✓

Settling the Western Lands

The Land Ordinance of 1785 created a way for national lands to be sold to the public. It divided public western lands into square townships of six miles on each side. This would result in a grid of squares. Within each township there would also be a grid, one mile on each side. Each township had one section that was set aside to support schools. This reflected the belief of the nation's leaders that democracy depended on education.

A law called the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 applied to the territory north of the Ohio River. It guaranteed basic rights to settlers, outlawed slavery, and established a process for creating new states in the territory. Eventually, five states would be settled in the Northwest Territory. ✓

Growing Problems

Under the Articles of Confederation, the United States won its independence, negotiated a peace treaty with Britain, and created rules for settling new territories. There were also problems: trade rivalries and taxation between states hurt the economy, the national government was too weak to stop public unrest, and it had little money because it could not collect taxes.

During the mid-1780s, economic hard times in Massachusetts caused many farmers to lose their land because they could not pay their taxes. In Shays' Rebellion, a group of Massachusetts farmers rose up against the state in protest. The rebellion failed, but it led to calls for a stronger national government. ✓

Check Your Progress

1. Why were the state and national governments' powers limited?

2. List two problems with the national government under the Articles of Confederation.

✓ Checkpoint

List two powers of the national government created by the Articles of Confederation.

✓ Checkpoint

Name two laws that related to the settling of western lands.

✓ Checkpoint

List two successes of the national government created by the Articles of Confederation.

Section 2

The Constitutional Convention

Focus Question

What role did compromise play in the creation of the U.S. Constitution? To begin answering this question,

- Learn how the Constitutional Convention began.
- Read about the proposals in the Virginia Plan.
- Find out about the terms of the Great Compromise.
- Learn how slavery issues influenced the Constitution.
- Discover the source of the new Constitution's authority.

Summary

By its end, the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had replaced the Articles of Confederation. The new U.S. Constitution created a stronger, more complex national government based on the authority of the people, not the states.

The Constitutional Convention Begins

The Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787. At the start, the delegates agreed to hold discussions in secret so that there would be less public pressure. The convention's initial purpose was to revise the Articles of Confederation, but soon its members agreed that revising the Articles was not enough. The 55 delegates, representing 12 states, included respected leaders of the Revolution. George Washington was quickly voted president of the convention. ✓

The Virginia Plan

From the start, an entirely new framework of government was proposed. **James Madison** wrote the Virginia Plan, which called for a strong central government with three branches instead of one. The **judicial branch** would consist of a system of courts to settle disputes involving national issues, and an executive branch would carry out the laws. It was agreed that the executive branch would have one chief executive, called the President.

Congress would remain the legislative branch. However, the Virginia Plan sought to change Congress. It added a second house and made it so each state would be represented in the two houses based on its population. The more people a state had, the more seats it would have in each house. This idea drew support from big states like Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. ✓

The Great Compromise

States with small populations opposed the changes in the legislative branch and offered their own plan called the New Jersey Plan. It called for a single house of Congress where all the states would have equal representation.

Key Events

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1791

After three fourths of states approve it, the Bill of Rights goes into effect.

✓ Checkpoint

Name the location of the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

✓ Checkpoint

List the three branches of government proposed in the Virginia Plan.

✓ Checkpoint

List the two houses of Congress that the Great Compromise proposed.

✓ Checkpoint

Name two main issues about slavery that divided the northern and southern states during the Constitutional Convention.

✓ Checkpoint

Name the author of the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution.

The Great Compromise settled the disagreement between the large and small states. A **compromise** is an agreement in which each side gives up part of what it wants. To please the large states, the House of Representatives was developed. Each state's representation in the House would be based on population, and its members would serve two-year terms. In the Senate, which was formed to please the small states, each state would have two senators serving six-year terms.

The Great Compromise was a vital step in creating a new Constitution. Now, small-state delegates were willing to support a strong central government. ✓

Debates Over Slavery

Slavery also divided the convention. The southern states, where there were more slaves, wanted slaves to count toward representation in the House. Northerners argued that slaves, who were not allowed to vote, should not be counted. It was agreed that each slave would count as three fifths of a person. This was called the Three-Fifths Compromise.

The Three-Fifths Compromise was a gain for the South, which got more seats in the House. Northern delegates reluctantly agreed in order to keep the South in the Union.

A second dispute arose when northern delegates called for a total ban on the buying and selling of slaves. A compromise was reached whereby the import of slaves from other countries could be banned in 20 years, while there would be no restrictions on the slave trade within the United States. ✓

A New Constitution

After many more weeks of debate, the delegates agreed on all the terms. A "Committee of Style" wrote the Constitution's final wording. **Gouverneur Morris** was largely responsible for writing the Preamble, or introduction. The Preamble highlights a difference between the Constitution and the Articles of Confederation. The Articles were a pact between separate states. By opening with "We the People of the United States," the Constitution made it clear that its authority came from the people, not the states. ✓

Check Your Progress

1. What was the initial purpose of the Constitutional Convention of 1787?

2. What was important about the first words of the Preamble to the new U.S. Constitution?

Section 3

Debating the Constitution

Key Events

1776

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Vocabulary Builder

Federal means “formed by a union of states, in which each gives up power to a central authority.” How does this relate to the goal of the Federalists?

✓ Checkpoint

Name the Federalists' main argument in favor of the Constitution.

Section 3 Focus Question

How did those in favor of the Constitution achieve its ratification? To begin answering this question,

- Read about the arguments for and against the Constitution.
- Learn about the debate over ratification of the Constitution.
- Find out why the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution.

Section 3 Summary

After the 1787 Convention, the Constitution was sent to the states for approval. Its opponents and supporters debated energetically, and after the Bill of Rights was added, all the states approved the Constitution.

Federalists Versus Antifederalists

The Federalists wanted a strong federal, or national, government. Three important Federalist leaders, **Alexander Hamilton**, **John Jay**, and **James Madison**, wrote a series of 85 newspaper essays called the *Federalist Papers* in support of the Constitution.

At the heart of the Federalist position was the need for a stronger central government. The Federalists argued that in order for the Union to last, the national government had to have powers denied it under the Articles of Confederation, including the power to enforce laws.

The opponents of the Constitution were known as Antifederalists. Many Antifederalists, such as **George Mason** and **Patrick Henry**, agreed that the Articles of Confederation were not strong enough. However, they felt that the Constitutional Convention had gone too far.

Antifederalist Arguments Against the Constitution

1	The Constitution weakened the state governments by giving too much power to the national government. Antifederalists feared that a too strong central government would wipe out state power and individual freedom.
2	The Constitution also did not include a bill of rights to protect basic freedoms.
3	The President could become like a king by being repeatedly reelected.



The Ratification Debate

The Constitution was submitted to the states, and each state called a convention to decide whether to ratify, or approve, the Constitution. At least nine states had to ratify the Constitution, or it would not go into effect. Delaware acted first. Its convention approved the Constitution in December 1787. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut followed close behind.

The Federalists' strong efforts in Massachusetts led to approval in that state despite opposition in rural areas from which Shays' Rebellion had drawn its strength. By then, Maryland and South Carolina had ratified, which made a total of eight state ratifications. Then in June 1788, New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, meaning it could now go into effect. The other states eventually approved the Constitution, with Rhode Island being the last of the original 13 states to do so in May 1790. ✓

The Bill of Rights

After nine states had ratified the Constitution, Congress took steps to prepare for a presidential election. George Washington was elected the first President, with John Adams as Vice President.

During the debate on the Constitution, many states had insisted that a bill of rights be added. This became one of the first tasks of the new Congress that met in March 1789.

In 1789, Congress passed a series of amendments, or changes to a document. By December 1791, three fourths of the states had ratified 10 amendments. These amendments are known as the Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights protects citizens against governmental abuses of power. The First Amendment protects freedom of religion, speech, and the press. Recalling the importance of colonial militias, the Second Amendment deals with the right to bear arms. The Third Amendment bars Congress from forcing citizens to keep troops in their homes, as Britain had done. The Fourth Amendment protects citizens from unreasonable searches of their homes or seizure of their property. The Fifth through Eighth Amendments mainly protect those accused of crimes. The last two amendments restricted the powers of the national government to those granted in the Constitution. ✓

Check Your Progress

1. Why did the Antifederalists object to the Constitution?

2. What role does the Bill of Rights play?

✓ Checkpoint

Name the first and last states to ratify the Constitution.

First: _____

Last: _____

✓ Checkpoint

List three freedoms the First Amendment protects.



U.S. HISTORY

The Articles of Confederation *Our FIRST Constitution*

Synopsis: The Continental Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation, the **FIRST** constitution of the United States, on November 15, 1777. However, all thirteen states did not ratify the document until March 1, 1781. The Articles created a loose confederation of sovereign states and a weak central government, leaving most of the power with the state governments. The need for a stronger Federal government soon became apparent and eventually led to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Our current Constitution replaced the Articles of Confederation on March 4, 1789.

November 15, 1777

Preamble: To all to whom these Presents shall come, we the under signed Delegates of the States affixed to our Names, send greeting.

Whereas the Delegates of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, did, on the 15th day of November, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy seven, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America, agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North- Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia in the words following, viz. Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia.

- Article I** The Stile of this confederacy shall be “The United States of America.”
- Article II** Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every Power, Jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.
- Article III** The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.
- Article IV** The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restriction shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state, to any other state, of which the Owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any state, on the property of the United States, or either of them. If any Person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any state, shall flee from Justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or executive power, of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence. Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

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Article V For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each state, to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the Year. No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven Members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind. Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any Court, or place out of Congress, and the members of congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Article VI No state, without the Consent of the United States in congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any King prince or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state; nor shall the United States in congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility. No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue. No state shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in congress assembled, with any king, prince or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by congress, to the courts of France and Spain. No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in congress assembled, for the defense of such state, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state, in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the United States, in congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage. No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in congress assembled can be consulted: nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

Article VII When land-forces are raised by any state for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

Article VIII All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for any Person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

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Article IX

The United States in congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article-of sending and receiving ambassadors-entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities, whatsoever-of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated-of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace-appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts. The United States in congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another shall present a petition to congress stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as congress shall direct, shall in the presence of congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to congress, and lodged among the acts of congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection or hope of reward:" provided also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States. All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands, and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states. The United States in congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states -fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States-regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated-establishing or regulating postoffices from one state to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing thro- the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office- appointing all officers of the

U.S. HISTORY The Articles of Confederation

land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers-appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States-making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations. The United States in congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of congress, to be denominated "A Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction-to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses-to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted,-to build and equip a navy-to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and clothe, arm and equip them in a soldier like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in congress assembled: But if the United States in congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances judge proper that any state should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise officer, clothe, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in congress assembled. The United States in congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in congress assembled. The congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six Months, and shall publish the Journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state on any question shall be entered on the Journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said Journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

Article X The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of congress, such of the powers of congress as the United States in congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine states in the congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

Article XI Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this union: but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

Article XII All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed and debt contracted by, or under the authority of congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

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Article XIII

Every state shall abide by the determinations of the United States in congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state. And Whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual union. Know Ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said confederation are submitted to them. And that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent, and that the union shall be perpetual. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the state of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July, in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and Seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.