

Shays' Rebellion and the Constitution

AUTHORS

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PART ONE: LESSON PLAN FOR TEACHERS

Cross-reference to Volume One:

Topic Eight: Revolution Two
Topic Nine: The Ambiguous Revolution
Topic Ten: The Constitutional Convention

Chronological Era

The Post-Revolutionary War period prior to the ratification of the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights

Governance/Constitutional Issue

1. How can citizens legitimately protest their dissatisfaction with government laws and practices?
2. What police powers are necessary to provide order within our society?
3. What are the limits of acceptable protest?
4. How did Shays' Rebellion expose weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation?
5. What provisions in the new Constitution were directly linked to issues raised in Shays' Rebellion?

Introduction

This series of lessons centers on the reasons that angry rebel independent farmers in New England, led by Revolutionary War hero Daniel Shays, caused a crisis in the Massachusetts state government; a crisis that the national Confederation government seemed powerless to resolve. Many ordinary Americans, hearing of the rebellion, worried that their recently won freedoms would be compromised unless the central government could restore order and respect for the law. National leaders such as James Madison, Samuel Adams and George Washington feared the worst. If such an uprising against a state government could not be put down effectively, could the United States survive as a nation? What was to be done?

Historical Content Objectives for Students

Students will increase their knowledge of:

1. The economically volatile post-revolutionary period and how economic hardship can lead to protest against the government.
2. The role of the Massachusetts state government in precipitating Shays' Rebellion.
3. The role of the national Confederation government in responding to the Rebellion.
4. The roles of various groups and individuals who participated in Shays' Rebellion.
5. The significance of Shays' Rebellion in shaping the future of the United States government.

Historical Thinking Objectives

Students will be able to:

1. Describe the causes of Shays' Rebellion.
2. Analyze and interpret primary source documents that are part of the Shays' Rebellion.
3. Evaluate the effectiveness of the insurgents' actions in their struggle for change.
4. Analyze the actions of the government and its supporters in the methods they used in handling the threat to law and order.
5. Use a Massachusetts map to locate various places where important events took place, and infer how the winter climate and topographical conditions may have affected the outcome.

6. Develop persuasive writing skills as students seek to justify either side in the conflict.
7. Use critical thinking and reading comprehension skills to apply the content to modern economic and social issues (public order v. personal freedom).
8. Compare the principles and framework of the 1780 Massachusetts constitution with the one developed at the Constitutional Convention seven years later.

Curriculum Alignment

National Standards: Era 3, Standard 2; Content Standards 1, 2, 3, 5

State Standards: 1, 3, 4, 6, 7

Local Standards: USI 6.1

Student Audience

This lesson is intended for high school students of low, average or advanced abilities.

Time Required for this Lesson

Three to five class periods of 40 to 50 minutes each

Materials Required for the Lessons

Map of New England

- Map of Massachusetts
- American History textbook
- Paper and pens
- All of the instructional readings and handouts are included in the Case Study for Students
- Computer with Internet access for further research on various web sites (optional)

Case Studies Included with this Lesson

1. Shays' Attack on the Springfield Arsenal
2. Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts (1786-87), Causes and Effects
3. Letter from George Washington to Henry Lee (1787)
4. Constitution of Massachusetts
5. Gallery of Images

Activity Sheets Included with This Lesson

1. Reading: "No Way Out For the Farmers?"
2. Role Playing
3. Shays' Rebellion Timeline 1
4. Shays' Rebellion Timeline 2
5. Massachusetts Political Map and Questions
6. Analysis of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780
7. Analysis of Images

Additional Resources for Teachers and Students

Books:

Gross, Robert A. editor. *In Debt to Shays: The Bicentennial of an Agrarian Revolution*.

Charlottesville: Virginia University Press, 1986

Hull, Mary. *Shays' Rebellion and the Constitution*. Berkley Heights, New Jersey: Enslow, 2000

Richards, Leonard L. *Shays' Rebellion: The American Revolution's Final Battle*. Philadelphia: University of Penn Press, 2002

Starkey, Marion. *A Little Rebellion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955

Szatmary, David P. *Shays' Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection*. Amherst: University of Mass Press, 1980

Internet Sources:

Two excellent Shays' Rebellion sites with readings, documents and lesson suggestions:

- (1) www.calliope.org/shays/shays2.html.
- (2) www.memorialhall.mass.edu/classroom/index.html. Once at the site click on "Classroom Activities" then from the menu select "US History," "high school," "New Nation 1750-1800" and click "go." Scroll down the right margin and click on "Researching Shays' Rebellion" for a sample three-day lesson with documents.

Video Sources:

- (1) "A Little Rebellion Now and Then: Prologue to the Constitution" produced by Churchill Films, 1986. 30 minutes. Color, with teacher's guide. Order through SVE/Churchill Media (1-800-1900)
- (2) "10 Days that Unexpectedly Changed America," by Steven M. Gillon. Book and DVD set, available through A&E Home Video, produced by the History Channel. Shays' Rebellion is one of several thirty-minute segments. The DVD also features the 1637 Massacre at Mystic CT, and the Battle of Antietam during the Civil War. (<http://store.aetv.com/html>)

Instructional Strategies

Introduction

The Activities and Case Studies below are listed in order of presentation. However, a teacher with limited class time available can select from the Student Activities in Part Three as they seem most helpful to meet the teacher's curriculum needs.

Lesson One: Introduction of the Performance Task to Create Interest in the Subject

Give each student the introductory reading, [Activity Sheet One, "No Way Out for the Farmers](#). The purpose of this fictional dialogue among Massachusetts farmers is to introduce students to the causes of conflict between debtor farmers and their creditors and possible courses of action open to the farmers.

The purpose of the assessment questions that follow the reading is to emphasize key vocabulary words basic to the entire set of lessons, and to test student reading comprehension and interpretation of what they have read.

Lesson Two: Historical Debate: Defining and Defending a Point of View from History

Hand out [Activity Sheet Two: Role Playing](#). This Activity is designed to engage students in a simulation that mirrors the attitudes of the principal players involved in the changing economic, and social and ethical issues confronting the citizens of Massachusetts during the time of Shays' Rebellion.

The different points of view that students will be expected to simulate include farmers, merchants, townspeople, bankers and government officials. Prior to breaking into groups the teacher should choose a MODERATOR who will keep order and keep the discussion moving.

Instructions: Each student will be assigned to a small group. They will read together the ROLE CARD that gives them background information and a lengthy quotation. After 5 to 10 minutes each group will report back to the rest of the class, explaining the reasons for their problems.

The MODERATOR will ask each group to report to the class. After a short break, each group is expected to argue the points that other groups have proposed that are unacceptable to them. Finally each group must propose a PLAN to solve this crisis in order to avoid a full-scale rebellion.

There is one final ROLE CARD expressing the opinion of George Washington at the time of Shays' Rebellion. The teacher should pick a student to read Washington's words to the group for their reaction. (Case Study Three for the full text of Washington's remarks and Assessment questions)

Lesson Three: Use of a Primary Source: Reading for Information

Distribute copies of Case Study One: Shays' Attack on the Springfield Arsenal to the class.

Students will read a firsthand account of Daniel Shays' invasion of the federal armory at Springfield and the disastrous results. Students will attempt to evaluate the document in light of the author's lack of objectivity in his opinion of the rebel farmers' actions.

Lesson Four: Chronological Thinking: Creating a Timeline

Divide the class into groups prior to handing out Activity Sheet Three: Shays' Rebellion Timeline 1 to students. The purpose of this activity is to have students use logic and reasoning skills to place random events into the correct chronological order. Procedures: Hand out a blank 1780 to 1791 timeline to students. Arrange students into groups of four or five. Give each group a stack of eight to ten "Events Cards"* (see below) or a list of random events taken from the *Shays' Rebellion Timeline*. Direct students to arrange the cards into chronological order. Have each group report to the class and attempt to arrive at consensus among the groups of students. Hand out the *Shays' Rebellion Timeline 1* included in the Lesson to confirm the actual order of events. Have students adjust their list of events on their group timelines if necessary.

*Note: *Events Cards taken from Timeline 1: (one event per card)*

"A court orders Daniel Shays' to pay the debt he owes a Massachusetts merchant in hard currency."

"The Massachusetts Governor persuades Boston bankers to contribute money to form a large army to fight the rebel-farmers."

"The Massachusetts Governor orders 5 farmers arrested for blocking judges who tried to enter a court house."

"Daniel Shays assembles an army of farmers to attack the federal arsenal and capture weapons and ammunition."

"Debts pile up for farmers; one court processes 4,000 debtor lawsuits in one year."

Lesson Five: Chronological Thinking: Identify and use Vocabulary Terms from a Timeline

Hand out Activity Sheet Four: Timeline 2. Have students define the following terms from the *Shays' Rebellion Timelines 1 & 2*:

Timeline (1) Vocabulary Terms:

State constitution (1780)	merchant
Legislature (1780)	lawsuit
judicial branch (1780)	convention
Articles of Confederation (1781)	insurgents
central government (1781)	arrest warrants
regulate	"Regulators"
sedition	treason
hard currency	federal arsenal

Timeline (2) Vocabulary Terms:

Constitutional Convention Bill of Rights
pardons obscurity
ratify

Lesson Six: Historical Knowing. Identifying Underlying Causes and Results

After examining *Timeline 1*, Students should be able to make an accurate list of the causes of Shays' Rebellion and explain their significance. Using *Shays' Rebellion Timeline 2*, ask students to name one lasting result of Shays' Rebellion and suggest possible long-term solutions for the farmers' economic problems.

Lesson Seven: Historical Thinking: Cause and Effect

Hand out Case Study Two: Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts. Have students read this three-page summary reading of the events leading up to and following Shays' Rebellion. Review with students the timeline of events and reasons for the rebellion.

Extended Activity: Ask students to analyze the reasons for the farmers' defeat. Was this defeat inevitable? What if the farmers had captured the cannon, artillery and ammunition that was stored at the Springfield arsenal? How might the events have played out differently? Do you approve or disapprove of how the government handled the situation by pardoning most of the rebel farmers? Explain.

Lesson Eight: Use of a Primary Source: Reading for Information

As students read Case Study Three: Letter from George Washington, they will become aware of the widespread alarm among American leaders such as Washington of the events in Massachusetts in 1785-1786 and his view of crisis.

Lesson Nine: Reading Graphic Materials

Hand out Case Study Five: Graphic Images of Shays' Rebellion. Ask students to spend a minute looking closely at each of the three images. Then, in a class discussion, guide students in close analysis of the images:

1. What is the content of each image? What is the purpose of each image?
2. In Image One, is there evidence that this is an "official government document?"
3. Today, each person's taxes are dependent on a number of factors. Does that seem to be the case in this tax bill?
4. In Image Two, what does the text say? Why do you think it was important to state that this image is "An Authentic Portrait of the Insurgent?" Today, who do we consider to be insurgents?
5. In Image Three, compare the conduct of the opposing combatants. Who appears to be winning? How does the artist show this? Do you think it is true that one side suffered many casualties and the other side suffered none? Why would the artist want to exaggerate?

Lesson Nine: Evaluation of an Historical Document: The Constitution of Massachusetts of 1780. Compare to a Similar Document (The Constitution of the United States)

Download the 1780 Constitution of Massachusetts from the Internet. This final activity is designed to help students realize that *the United States Constitution* was not created in a vacuum, but relied on previous documents for its philosophy and structure.

Step 1. Using Activity Sheet Six as they read selected portions of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, students will analyze the document for its ideas and recurring themes.

Step 2: Using a copy of the *United States Constitution* in their textbook, students will compare the preambles, structure, philosophy and language of the two documents

Step 3: With the use of a copy of the *Bill of Rights* in their textbook, students will evaluate the two constitutions from the point of view of the necessary preservation of the rights, freedoms, responsibilities and liberties of the people.

Extended Assessment Activity A: The Constitution: A Larger Philosophical Picture

Students should be able to write a persuasive letter to their delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, taking a position on one of the key elements of the new proposed Constitution, based on their knowledge of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 (Case Study Four).

1. What should be included in the Preamble?
2. What basic rights, responsibilities and privileges should be protected?
3. How should the new government be structured and powers distributed?

Extended Activity: If you were a farmer in Massachusetts following Shays' Rebellion, would you have opposed a stronger federal constitution that gave the states less power, and the federal executive branch equal power to the legislative and judicial branches? Explain your position.

Extended Assessment Activity B: The Constitution, Law and Order

Once the Constitution was ratified, there were further crises that tested the limits of the federal government's power to effectively deal with domestic insurrection and eventually the right of states to secede from the union. Have students research which clauses in the Constitution pertained to the actions taken by the legislative and executive branches to put down the so-called Whiskey Rebellion in 1794, in which then-President George Washington played a prominent role. Also, students could research the states' rights issues during the Nullification Crisis of the 1830's and the philosophical arguments that eventually led to the secession of South Carolina in 1860 and the establishment of the Confederate States of America in 1861. Just how far did federal power extend, and when was force necessary to resolve issues that could not be settled in court or congress?

Final Student Assessment

Overall, the student was able to:

1. Understand the vocabulary and concepts used in the Activities and Case Studies and was able to use them correctly.
2. Determine a logical sequence of events for Shays' Rebellion, being able to describe causal factors and results.
3. Identify points of view held by people from different economic and social groups at the time of Shays' Rebellion and be able to defend the validity of at least two of these positions.
4. Analyze and interpret primary source documents that relate to Shays' Rebellion.
5. Compare a state constitution to our federal constitution for their similarities and differences
6. Take a position and write persuasively that the causes of Shays' Rebellion justified a farmers' rebellion or that the state acted within its powers to deal harshly with the rebels.

PART TWO: CASE STUDIES

Case Study One: Shays' Attack On The Federal Springfield Arsenal

Written by George R. Minot (1788)

Questions to Consider as you read this eyewitness account:

- Does the author seem more sympathetic to the rebels or to the soldiers defending the arsenal?
- What can you point to in the story that tells you he is not totally objective?

"The insurgents having collected their forces, which were respectable from their numbers, and from the large proportion of old continental [Revolutionary War] soldiers which they contained, Shays, on the 24th of the month, sent a message to [Luke] Day, informing him that he proposed to attack the post at Springfield the next day, on the east side; and desiring that Day's forces might cooperate with him on the other [west side of the arsenal]. Whether Day found it really inconvenient to join in the attack on the 25th, or whether he was desirous of having the whole honor of General Shepard's surrender, which was anxiously expected by the insurgents, he was induced to delay the projected plan; and his reply to Shays' letter was that he could not assist in the attack on the day proposed, but would do it on the 26th. This answer [from Luke Day to Shays] however, was luckily intercepted by General Shepard, and Shays took it for granted that Day would cooperate with him at their time he had mentioned [the 25th]. But instead of this, Day only sent in an insolent summons [letter] to General Shepard, acquainting him that the body of the people assembled in arms, adhering to the first principles in nature, self preservation, did in the most peremptory manner, demand

'1st. That the troops in Springfield should lay down their arms [weapons].

'2^d. That their arms should be deposited in the publick stores [storage facilities], under the care of the proper officers, to be returned to the owners at the termination [end] of the contest.

'3^d. That the troops should return to their several homes upon parole [leaving].'

"On the same day [the 24th], Shays sent a petition, as it was termed, from Wilbraham [10 miles west of Springfield] to General Lincoln [approaching from Boston], in which he observed, that from his unwillingness to be accessory to the shedding of blood, and from his desire of promoting peace, he was led to propose, that all the insurgents should be indemnified [temporarily excused], until the next sitting of the General Court, and until an opportunity could be had for a hearing of their complaints; that the persons who had been taken [jailed] by the government should be released, without punishment; that these conditions should be made sure by proclamation by the Governor: On which the insurgents should return to their homes, and wait for constitutional relief from the insupportable burdens [of debt] under which they laboured. When this petition was written General Lincoln was two days march from Springfield; and if the object of it had been really pacific [peaceful] some time would have been allowed for an answer.

"The situation of General Shepard and his party [militia], whom no one doubted the insurgents intended to attack with all their force, was truly alarming. His troops were decidedly inferiour in numbers to those of the enemy; and though he was possessed of artillery, yet he could derive little advantage from works thrown up on such a sudden emergency. So doubtful was the issue of an attack upon him, in the mind of General Lincoln, and so great was the chance of Shays gaining importance and numbers from success, that on the 25th, General Brooks was called upon to march with the Middlesex militia to Springfield as early as possible.

"While affairs were in this critical state, General Shepard, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, perceived Shays advancing on the Boston road, towards the

arsenal where the militia were posted, with his troops in open column [facing the enemy]. Possessed of the importance of that moment, in which the first blood should be drawn in the contest, the General sent one of his aids with two other gentlemen, several times, to know the intention of the enemy, and to warn them of their danger. The purport [purpose] of their answer was, that they would have possession of the barracks; and they immediately marched onwards to within 250 yards of the arsenal. A message was again sent to inform them, that the militia was posted there by order of the Governour, and of Congress, and that if they approached nearer, they would be fired upon. To this, one of their leaders replied, that that was all they wanted; and they advanced one hundred yards further [closer to the arsenal]. Necessity now compelled General Shepard to fire, but his humanity did not desert him. He ordered the first shot to be directed over their heads; this however, instead of retarding, quickened their approach; and the artillery was at last, pointed at the center of their column. This measure was not without its effect. A cry of murder arose from the rear of the insurgents, and their whole body [column] was thrown into the utmost confusion. Shays attempted to display [regroup] his column, but it was in vain. His troops retreated with precipitation [hastily] to Ludlow, about ten miles [east] from the place of action, leaving three of their men dead, and one wounded in the field.

“The advantages which the militia had in their power, both from the disorder of this retreat, which was as injudicious [foolish] as the mode of attack, and from the nature of the ground, would have enabled them to have killed the greater part of the insurgents, had a pursuit taken place. But the object of the commander [Shepard] was rather to terrify, than to destroy the deluded fugitives.”

*Minot’s history was titled The History of the Insurrections, in Massachusetts, in the year 1786, and the Rebellion Consequent Thereon (1788), pp. 108-112. Quoted in Hofstadter, Richard and Michael Wallace, eds. American Violence, A Documentary History. New York: Vintage Books, 1971, pages 119-121.

Case Study Two: Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts (1786-87), Causes and Effects

Introduction

Shays' Rebellion in Western Massachusetts was a farmers' insurrection that challenged the strength and authority of the state and national government at the time. If Shays' Rebellion could not be dealt with quickly and decisively, many people wondered if the national Confederation government could defend and protect the nation's courts and banks from attack from within.

Daniel Shays

Captain Daniel Shays, a Revolutionary War hero, was the man for whom the rebellion was named. He was an ordinary farmer like most Americans who fought in the Revolution. He had been present at the very first encounter between the Americans and the British, the famous "shot heard round the world" at Lexington on April 19, 1775. Two months later Shays fought courageously at the Battle of Bunker Hill, a battle that helped to convince the British to eventually leave the city of Boston. He also participated in the crucial battle of Saratoga (NY) in 1777, often called the "turning point" of the Revolution, since it convinced France to join the war on the American side. Shays was decorated war hero; a man who had fought bravely in the fight for freedom against the British.

Once the Revolution was over and independence from England was won, Shays and other Massachusetts farmers returned home only to learn that new laws passed in their own state of Massachusetts threatened to take away their farms. Eventually the name of **Captain Daniel Shays** became a battle cry for as many as nine thousand rebellious farmers throughout the New England states and New York. What had happened to make patriotic farmers threaten to fight against the government that once they had risked their lives for?

What conditions existed in 1786 to cause a crisis among the farmers of Massachusetts?

Right after the American Revolution ended, there was a lot of debt among farmers and merchants. Aggravating the farmers' economic situation was a shortage of hard money (coins) to pay off taxes and debts. Most came home from the war with nothing to show for it since the government paid them in worthless government certificates. The Massachusetts government needed hard currency and raised taxes on land that the farmers could not pay. Often the government brought people to debtors' court that forced people to sell furniture, livestock and even land at reduced prices in order to pay their taxes. There was very little sympathy for the farmers among eastern Massachusetts merchants. Among the Massachusetts merchants at the time was **John Hancock**, the Governor, and a signer of the *Declaration of Independence*. The bottom line for farmers was they feared that they would lose their land or be thrown into prison for a situation they were helpless to change.

The Boston merchants did not want the government to print paper currency because it would cause inflation and lessen the value of the money already in circulation. If the farmers were not forced to pay their property taxes, the wealthy men who had loaned large sums of money to the state and national governments might go bankrupt. The state would go into a severe recession or depression. The logical solution was to force the farmers to pay or put them in jail.

Actions by the Farmers

At first, the Massachusetts farmers tried to work within the framework of government and suggested new laws such as the printing of paper currency so that they could pay their taxes with cheaper money. The legislature decided to side with the merchants against the farmers. By the end of summer 1786, the farmers were desperate. Many western Massachusetts farmers became convinced that in order to save their farms and their independence, they had to act to close the civil courts that were threatening to take away their land and give it to their creditors. If the courts could not meet, the judges could not rule in favor of the merchant-creditors and the farmers would keep their land, at least temporarily.

During the autumn of 1786, Revolutionary army veterans like Shays organized groups of armed farmers into squads and companies in order to march upon the local debtors' courts and force the courts to stop their business. For a while the state government seemed helpless to do anything about the farmers' uprising.

What action was taken to stop the Rebellion?

Merchants and lawmakers in the eastern part of the state were alarmed. They called on the national Congress of the Confederation government in New York City to call up federal troops to combat the Massachusetts rebels, but the national government could not raise enough money to pay soldiers to go to western Massachusetts. What was to be done to stop the insurgency?

The Events of Shays' Rebellion

*In Eastern Massachusetts, political leaders including **Samuel Adams**, believed that the gains of the Revolution were being destroyed by "knaves and thieves" who "intended tyranny." Massachusetts Governor **James Bowdoin** warned that any interference with the legal system would "frustrate the great end of government – the security of life, liberty and property." Finally, out of desperation, the Massachusetts governor and some Boston merchants used their own personal money to raise an army against Shays and the farmer-insurgents.*

The final battle of the rebellion was Shays' attack on the federal arsenal at Springfield in January 1787. The capture of guns and ammunition were necessary for the rebels in order for them to be able to hold off the state troops who were advancing from Boston under the command of General **Benjamin Lincoln**. As Shays and his men advanced on the Springfield arsenal, the local militia, commanded by General William Shepard, suddenly and unexpectedly fired their cannons, killing four and wounding twenty.

Shays' men, confused and angry, quickly retreated, crying "Murder!" They never expected their own countrymen and fellow soldiers to fire on them. For the next several months into 1787, there were a number of isolated armed confrontations, but the back of the rebellion was broken. Shays escaped to Vermont, followed by several others of his men.

What happened to the Rebels?

The Shays farmer-soldiers never imagined their actions in defense of their land and property would lead to charges of "treason" against the government. Just the opposite was the case. One farmer-insurgent leader wrote, "I earnestly stepped in for the defense of this country, and liberty is still the object I have in view."

Once Shays' Rebellion was over the Massachusetts' courts brought over 200 rebels to trial. In April 1787, five Shays men charged with treason were condemned to hang. The new Governor, **John Hancock**, wanted to send a message to future rebels, but did not wish to further divide the state. **General Lincoln**, who had defeated the rebellion, asked the Governor to pardon the men. Hancock's solution: In order to show the justice and mercy of government, the five guilty men were marched to the gallows on June 21, 1787. As the large crowd watched and waited, they cheered as the rebels were issued pardons by the Governor at the very last minute. The government gave **Daniel Shays** a full pardon in 1788; as were all the other members of the rebellion and allowed to return to their homes.

Epilogue: Massachusetts after the Rebellion

In May, the newly elected Massachusetts legislature acted quickly to reduce land taxes and suspend all debts. In a show of mercy and healing, they acted to pardon the rebel farmers. The year after the rebellion was ended, economic prosperity returned to the state of Massachusetts and the lives of farmers, along with most ordinary citizens began to improve. Historian Samuel Eliot Morrison wrote that this economic upturn "did more to salve (soothe) the wounds of Shays' Rebellion than all the measures passed by the General Court (the Massachusetts legislature)."

Case Study Three: Letter from George Washington to Henry Lee (1787)

Introduction.

The radical movement of farmers was seen as a threat to the stability of the Massachusetts state government and demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the central government to act quickly and decisively in a crisis. The following passage is from a letter written by George Washington to fellow Virginian, Henry Lee, in which he shows great concern for the future if the uprising in Massachusetts cannot be resolved quickly. Taken from John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, XXIX, pp. 33-34.

“The picture which you have exhibited [in your letter] ... of the commotions and temper of numerous bodies in the eastern States, are equally to be lamented and deprecated. They [the incidents] exhibit a melancholy proof of what our transatlantic foe [England] has predicted; and of another thing perhaps, which is still more to be regretted, and is yet more unaccountable, that mankind, when left to themselves, are unfit for their own government. I am mortified beyond expression when I view the clouds that have spread over the brightest morn that ever dawned upon any country. In a word, I am lost in amazement when I behold what intrigue, the interested views of desperate characters, ignorance, and jealousy of the minor part [the rebels], are capable of effecting, as a scourge on the major part of our fellow citizens of the union; for it is hardly to be supposed, that the great body of the people [the majority], though they will not act, can be so sort-sighted or enveloped in darkness, as not to see rays of distant sun through all this mist of intoxication and folly.

“You talk, my good Sir, of employing [using] influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. *Influence is no government.* Let us have one [a government] in which our loves, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once. Under these impressions, my humble opinion is, that there is a call for decision. Know precisely what the insurgents [rebel farmers] aim at. If they have *real* grievances, redress [take care of] them if possible; or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it in the present moment. If they have not [real grievances], employ [use] the force of government against them at once. If this is inadequate, *all* will be convinced that the superstructure is bad, or wants support. To be more exposed in the eyes of the world, and more contemptible than we already are, is hardly possible. To delay one or the other of these is to exasperate ... or to give confidence, and will add to their [the rebels] numbers; for, like snow-balls, such bodies increase by every moment unless there is something in the way to obstruct and crumble them before the weight is too great and irresistible....”

As you read, consider the following questions:

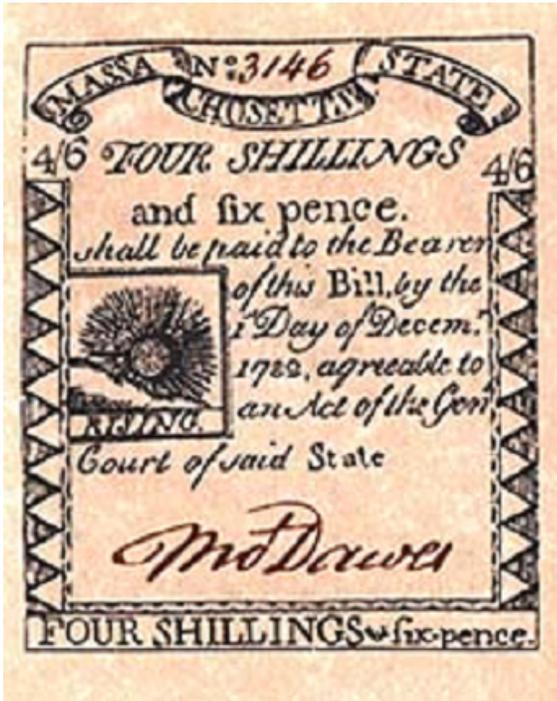
1. Who is Washington specifically addressing in his letter? Does he have a wider audience in mind? Explain.
2. According to Washington, what is at risk if the rebels are not dealt with?
3. In your opinion, what does he mean by “Influence is no government.”
4. Evaluate the two pieces of advice that Washington gives to the Massachusetts government in dealing with the insurgent farmers.
5. Why is he concerned with the “eyes of the world?” Should he be? Give reasons.

Case Study Four: Constitution of Massachusetts 1780

Source: www.nhinet.org/ccs/docs/ma-1780.htm.

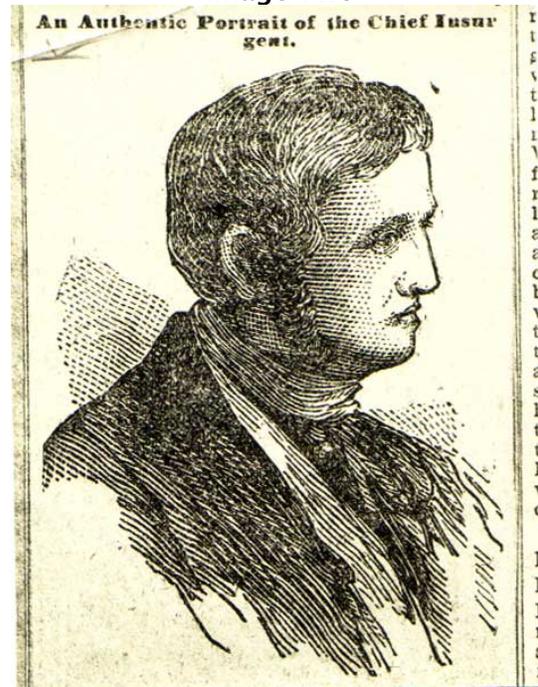
Case Study Five: Shays' Rebellion Gallery of Images

Image One



http://www.unyahea.org/shays_rebellion.shtml

Image Two



Jones Library Special Collections

<http://www.arp.org/amhersthistory/Shays%20Pages/People/dan%20shays.htm>

Image Three



Shays failed attempt to capture an arsenal ends in bloodshed. Although it was put down, Shays' Rebellion convinced many throughout the states that the new nation, under the weak Articles of Confederation, may not be capable of calm self governance. Image courtesy of [Library of Congress. http://www.us-coin-values-advisor.com/we-the-people.html](http://www.us-coin-values-advisor.com/we-the-people.html)

PART THREE: STUDENT ACTIVITY AND ASSESSMENT SHEETS

Activity Sheet One: Reading: “No Way Out For the Farmers?”

Introduction.

The following Episodes are fictional accounts that help explain events that were taking place in Western Massachusetts during the years after the American Revolution. As you read, try to understand the reasons for the actions taking place and why farmers were angry.

Episode One: Peter and the Sheriff, spring, 1786.

Peter reached out, grabbed the sheriff’s forearm, and squeezed it. “Mattoon sent you.”

The sheriff looked back at Peter, pretty calm. “Never mind Mattoon,” he said. “I have a legal order to take these oxen.”

“Signed by Mattoon.”

“He’s a justice of the peace. It’s legal.”

“It may be legal, but it’s not right. How am I going to plow without oxen?” ...

The sheriff stopped typing the rope and stared at Peter. “Look,” he said, “I don’t like this either. It’s the law. You borrowed money from Mattoon and you didn’t pay him. He’s got a legal right to take the oxen.”

“As the law he signs the order; as my *creditor* he takes my oxen.” Peter shouted. “How can I pay anybody anything when every time I turn around Mattoon and his kind in the *General Court* have plastered on another tax?” ...

“You’re not the only one,” Sheriff Porter said. “Yesterday I took a horse and a plow from James Bacon and the day before, a hundred weight of *flax* from Hezakah White. And last week we had to *foreclose* on a farm down in Amherst. I didn’t like any of it, either, Peter, but that’s the law.”

“Mattoon’s law,” Peter shouted. “How come the high and mighty have got the laws on their side and the plain man hasn’t got any on his? Who makes the laws?”

“*The General Court*”

“The General Robbers. The General Lawyers. The General Liars and Cheaters.” He spit. “No, sir, Porter, you’re not taking my oxen. I’m warning you. Untie them and get off my farm.” ...

“Now Peter,” the sheriff said calmly, “you prevent me today, and they’ll just send four of us up here tomorrow to pick up the oxen and maybe take you along as well for interfering with the law. There’s no use to it.”

Episode Two: Conversation between Peter’s nephew Justin and Molly, Peter’s wife.

“Everybody owes money. Everybody throughout this whole part of the state owes money.”

It seemed like that was true. For the past few years, ever since the war stopped, all you ever heard about was *debts* and taxes and people going to court and paying huge lawyer fees. “Well, I don’t understand it,” [Justin] said.

"It's hard to understand," [Molly] said. "It's hard to understand why we have to struggle so, and lose our oxen, and those like Mattoon have all the money and great houses and don't have to dirty their hands working from one year to the next."

"With all he's got, why would he want to take Peter's oxen? What can it mean to him?" [Justin asked.]

"That's the way these people think," she said. "They think they're lords and masters of everything. They think they're the high and mighty and we're nothing. They don't care about people at all, it seems, only about things. Having more and more things, getting richer and richer."

"I felt pretty sunk," [Justin complained]. "It was hard enough running the farm as it was. Peter had only thirty *acres*. That was a pretty small farm, so we had to use every inch of it. That meant plowing some awfully stony fields. Without oxen there was no way to do it. Even if we could borrow a team of oxen from somebody for the plowing, that was only the beginning. What about hauling firewood up from the woodlot? We'd have to carry that on our backs, tons and tons of it...."

"Peter," I said, "I don't see how we can run the farm without the oxen."

"I know," he said. "We're going to get them back."

"How?"

"We're going over to see Daniel Shays," he said.

Source: Scholastic Magazine, Winter Hero, written by James Lincoln Collier and Christopher Collier (1978, pp. 2-4; 10-11) See: <http://www.calliope.org/shays/shays3.html>.

Student Assessment for "No Way Out for the Farmers?"

Part One. Basic Vocabulary Skills. Use the italicized words from the story in a sentence:

1. Creditor

2. General Court

3. Flax

4. Foreclose

5. Debts

Part Two. Reading Comprehension Questions. Answer in complete sentences.

Episode One.

1. Describe the conflict between Peter and the sheriff.

Activity Sheet Two: Shays' Rebellion Role Play

The Situation.

It is September, 1786. In late August, over one thousand farmers from Western Massachusetts formed a protest march outside the Northampton courthouse to call attention to their grievances. When the judges arrived at the courthouse, the protesters refused to let them enter the court. These actions prevented more debtor-farmers being thrown in jail. Other court closings followed in Worcester, Great Barrington and Concord. The Massachusetts legislature has been meeting in emergency session and is considering passing a series of strict laws that will restrict the civil liberties of citizens. The Governor wants to arrest several of the rebels as an example to the others.

Student Instructions.

Each student will be assigned to a small group. You will read together the ROLE CARD for your group and prepare to report back to the rest of the class. You may read aloud quotations from the ROLE CARD as part of your presentation. You may also include other facts you have learned from studying the causes of Shays' Rebellion. Your group must propose a PLAN to solve this crisis in order to avoid a full-scale rebellion. As you listen to the other groups, prepare to argue against the parts of their PLANS that your group will not accept.

Note: There is one final ROLE CARD expressing the opinion of George Washington at the time of Shays' Rebellion. The teacher should pick a student to read Washington's words to the group.

Your teacher or a designated group of students will moderate the discussion.

ROLE CARD: YEOMAN FARMERS

You have strong feelings about the way the government is handling the present situation. You and all the families you know are loyal citizens. Many of the men are veterans of the American Revolution and fought with distinction. Daniel Shays even received a ceremonial sword from George Washington's second in command, the Marquis de Lafayette, for his bravery and leadership. You feel that the present situation is an impossible one for farmers who have no way to get hold of hard currency in order to pay their taxes and pay back their creditors.

“The legislature seems to be listening only to the merchants. Merchants and creditors demand that debts be paid in silver and gold hard money, when all the farmers have is crops and cattle for payment. We’ve all had to borrow because of the war. We figured that we would have more time to pay or that the state would start printing cheaper paper money. The government is not listening to us. We are the backbone of this state’s economy and way of life. Our families are starving. If they take our land, we will have nothing. If we are put in jail, we will have no way to earn money to pay off the debts we owe. We need more time. Things will eventually improve. We want to pay our debts. Right now, times are hard and we need help. All we want is to be treated fairly. This Boston government is 100 miles away. They might as well be England for all the sympathy we are getting. Is this what we risked our lives for in the Revolution? To be thrown in jail because the merchants and the lawyers are so greedy they don’t even care about their own people? We’re beginning to lose our patience with this whole system! We must protect our homes, our families and our way of life. We fought once for our freedom, and we’ll do it again if necessary!”

ROLE CARD: BOSTON MERCHANTS

You and your fellow city merchants are under a lot of pressure to pay back your creditors in England. During the Revolution, English merchants and bankers loaned you money so that you could continue to ship products to the Islands in the West Indies and even England. Money was in short supply, so you only had to pay back the interest, and pay it in silver and gold. Now that the War is over, the English banks are calling for repayment in gold.

“If we don’t repay, we will go bankrupt, our ships will be repossessed and the entire Massachusetts economy will probably collapse. We have spent years building up a successful business. The port of Boston has always been very busy with ships from all over Europe. During the War, we were able to give credit to the farmers, since many of them were fighting and could not always keep up their farms. We even bought up the bonds they were paid for their army service. Of course we paid less than the full market value for the bonds and made profits on the transactions, but that’s how businessmen make money. Take risks, and if the risks pay off, then we make a profit. Our situation is that we need money—hard money—to pay back the English merchants and bankers. We are owed money from the townspeople and the farmers. If we have to we’ll bring them to court and make them pay. It’s only right. If they can’t pay us, they’ll have to pay the legal consequences. Jail. Fines. Or give up their lands. It’s simple business. If they don’t like it, they never should have borrowed in the first place!”

ROLE CARD: SKILLED ARTISANS (TOWNSPEOPLE)

You and your group live in towns. You own small businesses, and your main customers are other townspeople and nearby farmers. The farmers buy your products such as cloth, nails, iron tools, leather goods, and supplies they can't raise on their farms or make themselves. You have been generous to the farmers in the past and have extended credit for many items, accepting crops and chickens or meat as payment. Now times are hard. The large merchants who supply your products from Boston and England are demanding you pay them with hard money.

"We're really stuck between our creditors, the city merchants, our suppliers, and the farmers who owe us for things we have sold them on credit. We don't want to lose our local customers, but if we don't call in our loans, the bankers will shut us down. It's hard to know what to do. We sympathize with the farmers. They are having a hard time making ends meet. But if we're going to be able to get more products to sell, we need money to pay our suppliers. I wish the legislature in Boston would do something to solve this huge crisis. How about loan the store owners some money or print up some paper money? The paper money wouldn't be worth as much as silver and gold coins, but at least we could keep our stores open and the farmers would stay out of jail. How does someone pay off their debts while they are in jail? We liked being able to run our own lives out here. Now it seems the state wants to take control of everything. I don't like the ways things are going. The way the farmers around here talk, there could be a rebellion!"

ROLE CARD: LABORER-WORKERS (TOWNSPEOPLE)

You and your people live in towns, but also work on the nearby farms when there is work. You don't make a lot of money, but you are willing to work hard and know the value of getting paid for a full day of labor. To you, the government seems very far away. You don't own land, so you don't pay many taxes. You are not supposed to be allowed to vote, but usually the towns don't enforce that particular law.

“We used to like it here in a small town. It used to be simple. People knew each other and helped each other out. Since the War, things have changed. Everyone seems to be more greedy and thinking only of themselves. It used to be if you needed to buy something, stores would give you credit. And people always managed to pay. Lots of people let us work off our debt with labor. If I owed one of the farmers, I would pay him back with my labor. If I owed a store owner, they would let me work off the debt. But things have changed. Rich merchants and bankers have been coming in and setting up bigger stores and charging more money. They want “Cash Only.” It’s been harder and harder to find work. Lots of people are tired of the way things are being run. It’s like all of a sudden we need money for everything. It’s not good. People don’t trust each other any more. I’m thinking I’ll probably move somewhere else where there are more jobs and people aren’t so worried about money!”

ROLE CARD: STORE RETAILERS (TOWNSPEOPLE)

You feel that it is time for change. You are part of the new middle class. You like being able to acquire money and the things that money can buy. For you, “money commands respect.” You like being able to walk down the street and be noticed for the way you dress. You see no reason why your business can’t grow. Growth is good for towns. Money brings opportunities. You like the idea of being able to buy land and build a house and fill it with nice furniture. You like making friends with other business people, bankers, lawyers and government officials. You are a little suspicious of farmers, with their less refined ways. Besides they don’t have much money and usually ask for credit.

“The way of business is the way of the future. Competition in business is good for everyone. It keeps prices low and quality high. Those who can’t compete, unfortunately don’t always stay in business. If you work hard and know your way around you will become successful and make money. If you show too much sympathy for someone down on their luck, you won’t be successful. Follow the saying, “business comes before friendships.” It may sound hard but it’s the only way to succeed. We buy goods like rum or glass or clothing in large quantities wholesale from the city merchants in Boston for a low price, then add the costs of shipping and labor and charge a higher price here in town. That’s how it’s done. We also will buy from farmers who can sell us high quality livestock and crops at a low price and then we sell them for a higher price in the larger cities. That’s how you run successful businesses. What’s bad for business is too much debt. People who owe must pay. With interest added. Any person who can’t pay for any reason must be brought to court and made to pay. If they can’t pay, then they will lose what they have of value. Their furniture, their animals or even their land. Nothing can stop the accumulation of wealth. And debtors must not stand in our way if this country is to move forward and be a great nation!”

ROLE CARD: BANKER-GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN BOSTON

You feel that the farmers are not being realistic in demanding that the state print paper money and temporarily suspending the courts. Just in the past year, creditors' lawyers have filed over 4,000 lawsuits in our courts to try to collect back taxes and debts. Most of the debtors are farmers, of course. And many fought in the Revolution. They were foolish to sell their government bonds to speculators. They lost a lot of money doing that. And now they have almost nothing to pay off their creditors with. They have to get used to a more modern way of life. They are stuck back in the seventeenth century. These are modern times and they need to get used to the idea that profits run business and business runs the way we live.

“This movement by the farmers to shut down our courts has gotten out of hand! We live in a country where laws must be obeyed, not ignored or violated. The courts are an essential part of our government. Without courts to judge people accused of crimes or settle legal disputes we would have no rule of law. We would have everyone making their own laws and no respect for law and order. What kind of example are these people setting for the rest of us? And what about their children? What kind of parents refuse to pay their debts and then try to shut down the courts so that their cases can’t come to trial? The rule of law must be maintained! If we have to call out the army to round them up, then that’s what we’ll have to do. Our government cannot maintain order when our citizens refuse to obey its laws. We just finished fighting a Revolution to win our independence from England. In order to fight the war, we borrowed money from European governments. The national government needs each state to contribute to that war debt. Our Massachusetts government borrowed from our wealthy merchants in order to pay our expenses. We had to tax our people in order to raise the money. Now we are in a situation where we must raise taxes again. And people like the farmers who can’t pay will have to suffer the consequences and have their land taken away. The government can’t let one group get away with not paying taxes, and enforce taxes on all the others. It’s a question of fairness. Remember the saying, “Real liberty consists in being good subjects of your government!”

ROLE CARD: GEORGE WASHINGTON, REVOLUTIONARY WAR GENERAL

The radical movement of farmers was seen as a threat to the stability of the Massachusetts state government and demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the central government to act quickly and decisively in a crisis. The following quotation is from a letter written by George Washington to fellow Virginian, Henry Lee, in which he shows great concern for the future of the United States, if the situation in Massachusetts cannot be resolved quickly. Taken from John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, XXIS, 33-34.

“They [the incidents] exhibit a melancholy [sad] proof of what our transatlantic foe [England] has predicted; and of another thing perhaps, which is still more to be regretted, and is yet more unaccountable, that mankind, when left to themselves, are unfit for their own government. I am mortified beyond expression when I view the clouds that have spread over the brightest morn that ever dawned upon any country.

“You talk, my good Sir, of employing [using] influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. Influence is no government. Let us have one [a government] in which our loves, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once. Under these impressions, my humble opinion is, that there is a call for decision. Know precisely what the insurgents [rebel farmers] aim at. If they have real grievances, redress [take care of] them if possible; or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it in the present moment. If they have not [real grievances], employ [use] the force of government against them at once. If this is inadequate, all will be convinced, that the superstructure is bad, or wants support. To be more exposed in the eyes of the world, and more contemptible than we already are, is hardly possible. To delay one or the other... will add to their [the rebels] numbers; for, like snow-balls, such bodies increase by every moment unless there is something in the way to obstruct and crumble them before the weight is too great and irresistible....”

Sources: Gross, Robert, *In Debt to Shays*, pp. 7-21; Richards, Leonard, *Shays' Rebellion: The American Revolution's Final Battle*, pp. 1-40; Szatmary, David, *Shays' Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection*, pp. 1-20.

Activity Sheet Three: Shays' Rebellion Timeline (Part 1): Causes of the Rebellion

- 1780 Massachusetts passes a new state constitution, authored by future President John Adams, that provided for a strong governor, a two-house legislature and a separate judicial branch, but gives voting rights only to land owners, eliminating poor farmers from the democratic process
- 1781 The American victory at Yorktown Virginia ends the American Revolution
- 1781 The nation's first constitution, the Articles of Confederation is passed, giving the central government no power to regulate trade or collect taxes from the states
- 1784 Rev. Samuel Ely organizes Western Massachusetts farmers and tries to shut down the local courthouse; he is arrested for sedition and escapes to Vermont
- 1783 The Treaty of Paris officially gives independence to the United States, resulting in British merchants demanding hard currency from Americans to pay commercial debts
- 1784 A Massachusetts merchant brings Daniel Shays to court to pay a twelve-pound debt; later that same year Shays is sued by a Brookfield retailer for 3 pounds in hard currency
- 1785 A Worcester court processes 4,000 lawsuits for debt, mostly against farmers
- 1786 August 22. Representatives from fifty towns hold a convention in Hartford that adopts 21 articles that recommend changes in the Massachusetts state government
- 1786 August 31. 1,500 insurgent farmers march in formation with drums and flags to block judges from entering the courthouse in Northampton so that the court cannot hand down rulings against farmers who could be thrown in jail for owing back taxes or were in debt to local merchants; a few days later 100 protesters show up in Worcester and block judges from entering the courthouse; similar court closings occur in Concord and Great Barrington
- 1786 September. The Massachusetts legislature passes several harsh laws in an attempt to stop the rebellion; Governor James Bowdoin issues arrest warrants for 5 of the farmer-rebels, capturing 3 and orders them to Springfield for trial
- 1786 September 20. Daniel Shays, dressed in his Revolutionary War uniform, leads a group of 600 "Regulators" to the Springfield supreme court building and forcibly closes it before the judges can rule on whether or not the 3 arrested men are guilty of treason against the state; upon hearing this shocking news Governor Bowdoin is so concerned about the public safety that he quickly persuades a group of Boston bankers to contribute their personal money to form a 4,000-soldier army to defeat the rebel-farmers in Springfield
- 1786 December 7. Daniel Shays, now the head of an army of 1,000 Regulators, issues a proclamation protesting the state government's policy of putting in jail citizens who could not afford to pay their debts
- 1786 December 26. Shays makes plans to assemble an army to seize arms and ammunition from the federal arsenal in Springfield in January
- 1787 January 1. The Governor orders General William Shepard to march from Boston to Springfield with his 1,000 troops to defend the arsenal
- 1787 January 23. Shays changes plans and decides to march toward Springfield a day ahead of schedule; unfortunately for the rebels, his fellow commander Luke Day, with another 400 Regulators, does not receive the message in time to arrive to support Shays

1787 January 25. Shays, with his 1,000 Regulators, approaches the Springfield arsenal from the east. When they are 100 yards away, General Shepard intentionally fires warning cannon shots over the attackers' heads. The Regulators move in closer and Shepard has no choice but to aim his cannons at the center of Shays' army. 4 of Shays' men die on the spot and several are wounded. Quickly the insurgents retreat in horror, apparently not expecting their fellow-citizens to fire on them. General Shepard chooses to avoid more loss of life by ordering his men not to charge after Shays' rebels.

Activity Sheet Four: Shays' Rebellion Timeline (Part 2).

Results of the Rebellion

- 1787 February 3. Government troops plan a surprise attack on Shays' Regulators at Petersham. Shays escapes to Vermont and his men scatter. The short-lived rebellion is over!
- 1787 April. Five of Shays' men are found guilty of treason and sentenced to hang.
- 1787 May. The newly-elected Massachusetts legislature cuts taxes by 90% in the western Massachusetts counties and suspends debt collection, a victory for the farmers.
- 1787 May 25. George Washington comes out of retirement and is elected presiding officer at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, the nation's capital.
- 1787 June 21. John Hancock, the new governor, dramatically pardons the five Shays rebels on the morning of their scheduled execution.
- 1788 February 8. Massachusetts becomes the sixth state to accept the new *Constitution*, replacing the *Articles of Confederation*. Western farmers at the convention oppose the new Constitution, fearing the power of a strong central government would restrict their liberties.
- 1788, June 21. New Hampshire becomes the ninth state to ratify the *Constitution of the United States*, making it the "law of the land."
- 1791 December 15. The *Bill of Rights*, the first 10 amendments, is ratified by the necessary 3/4ths of the states, and are added to the Constitution.
- 1825 September 29. Daniel Shays dies in obscurity in Sparta, New York, after receiving a pardon from the Massachusetts government.
- 1987 January 25. The U. S. Congress declares the 200th anniversary of the attack the Springfield arsenal as "Shays' Rebellion Day" in honor of the "common man" and respect for individual rights.

Source: Ten Days that Unexpectedly Changed America by Steven M. Gillon. New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006. Chapter 2, "Shays' Rebellion: The First American Civil War," pp. 30-54.

Activity Sheet Five: Massachusetts Political Map and Questions



Activity: Trace the events of Shays' Rebellion on the Map

Locate: Boston, Worcester, Concord, Great Barrington, Springfield

Think About: What event(s) happened in each town that relate to the Rebellion?

Activity Sheet Six: Analysis of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780

Instructions. As you read over the various parts and articles of the *Constitution* be aware that the United States *Constitution* of 1787 was in many ways similar to the Massachusetts *Constitution*, with some very important differences as well.

THE PREAMBLE.

THEMES

What terms are repeated? What responsibilities do the people have? What direction has God given them?

ANALYSIS

What do you think the authors' purpose was in writing this constitution?

SUMMARY

What is your own view of this Introduction to the constitution?

COMPARE

How do the words of the Preamble compare to what you know about the Preamble to the United States Constitution and/or the Declaration of Independence?

PART THE FIRST

EQUALITY

Article 1: "All men are born free and equal." Comment

RIGHTS.

Religion is listed first. Give a reason for this.

"The People have certain **natural rights**." What do you think is meant by this?

RESPONSIBILITIES

How is this issue dealt with?

OTHER RIGHTS OF CITIZENS

Make a list of several that are similar to ones you are familiar with.

PART THE SECOND

PURPOSE

What is the reason for this part being included?

CHAPTER I.—THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

THE GENERAL COURT

What 2 Branches of Government are included in the General Court?

What are the powers of the General Court?

CHAPTER II.—EXECUTIVE POWER

SECTION I,--GOVERNOR

What do you think of the title, "His Excellency?" Can you think of an alternative one?

Qualifications. (Art. II). How are these different from the state you live in?

Pardons (Art. VIII). How did this power become important after Shays' Rebellion?

CHAPTER III.—JUDICIARY POWER

What do the members of this branch of government do?

CHAPTER VI.

Read over the oath that a new office holder must repeat. Rewrite it to meet modern requirements.