I. The End of the Constitutional Convention (September 17, 1789)
   A. Benjamin Franklin’s closing address: http://www.pbs.org/benfranklin/pop_finalspeech.html
   B. The three dissenters
   C. Washington’s concern: House of Representatives is too small

II. Article VII of the Constitution
   A. Ratification by the people (not the states or Congress)
      1. Popular sovereignty in action
      2. Gave the Constitution supremacy and legitimacy
   B. State conventions (liberal voting rules and liberal eligibility rules)
   C. Nine states needed to ratify
   D. Only ratifying states are part of the new country

III. Doubts at the end of the Convention (No Bill of Rights?)

IV. First Step: Consideration by the Confederation Congress
   B. No changes allowed?
   C. A “unanimous” decision?

V. The Opposition
   A. George Mason’s objections: http://www.gunstonhall.org/library/archives/manuscripts/objections.html
   B. Other opponents
   C. Federalists v. Anti-Federalists
   D. 18th century trash talk
VI. First set of state conventions
   A. Federalists steamroll Anti-Federalists in Pennsylvania -- a big mistake
   B. Recurrent theme: historical exceptionalism
   C. Small states (Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia and Connecticut) ratify quickly

VII. Mount Vernon: Central Command

VIII. Class warfare at the Massachusetts convention
   A. What’s up with Sam Adams and John Hancock?
   B. Suspicious farmers (except for Jonathan Smith)
   C. Recommended (but not mandatory) amendments
   D. John Hancock’s interesting role
   E. Massachusetts ratifies – narrowly

IX. Setbacks in New Hampshire and Rhode Island; Wins in Maryland and South Carolina (Eight states have now ratified)

X. Epic battle in Virginia
   A. The key players
      1. The indispensable James Madison
      2. The fiery Patrick Henry
   B. Patrick Henry’s concern: loss of liberty
   C. Edmund Randolph switches sides
   D. Passionate debate
   E. Thomas Jefferson appears (indirectly)
   F. Key Issue: No Bill of Rights
   G. Meanwhile, New Hampshire ratifies – we have a new country!
   H. Amendments surface again
   I. Henry’s thunderstorm speech
   J. Closing arguments
   K. Virginia ratifies (narrowly), but with many recommendations

XI. New York’s late convention
   A. Controlled by Anti-Federalists
   B. Anti-Federalist and Federalist Papers
   C. Secession?
   D. New York’s dilemma: stay out or come in?
E. New York decides to join (but wants another Constitutional Convention)

XII. North Carolina says: “NO”

XIII. Ratification Lessons
A. Popular sovereignty can work
B. Improved our understanding of the Constitution
C. Paved the way for the Bill of Rights

XIV. Challenges for the new government
A. A second Constitutional Convention?
B. Dealing with all those requested amendments

XV. James Madison: Unquestionably the “Father of the Bill of Rights”
A. Cultivating Washington’s support for amendments
B. Madison’s June 8, 1789, speech
   2. A new Preamble?
   3. Recommendations for constitutional fine-tuning
   4. Recommendations for a Bill of Rights
C. Madison’s calculations
   1. Political considerations
   2. Value of a Bill of Rights

XVI. Congress deals with Madison’s recommendations
A. Combination of indifference and strong resistance
B. Where to put Amendments: interspersed or at the end?
C. Congress agrees on 12 Amendments
D. But, States ratify only 10; all remaining amendments get “promoted”

XVII. An Anti-Climatic Ending