Publius

How a New York Newspaper War Became America's Civic Scripture

Michael Gannotti

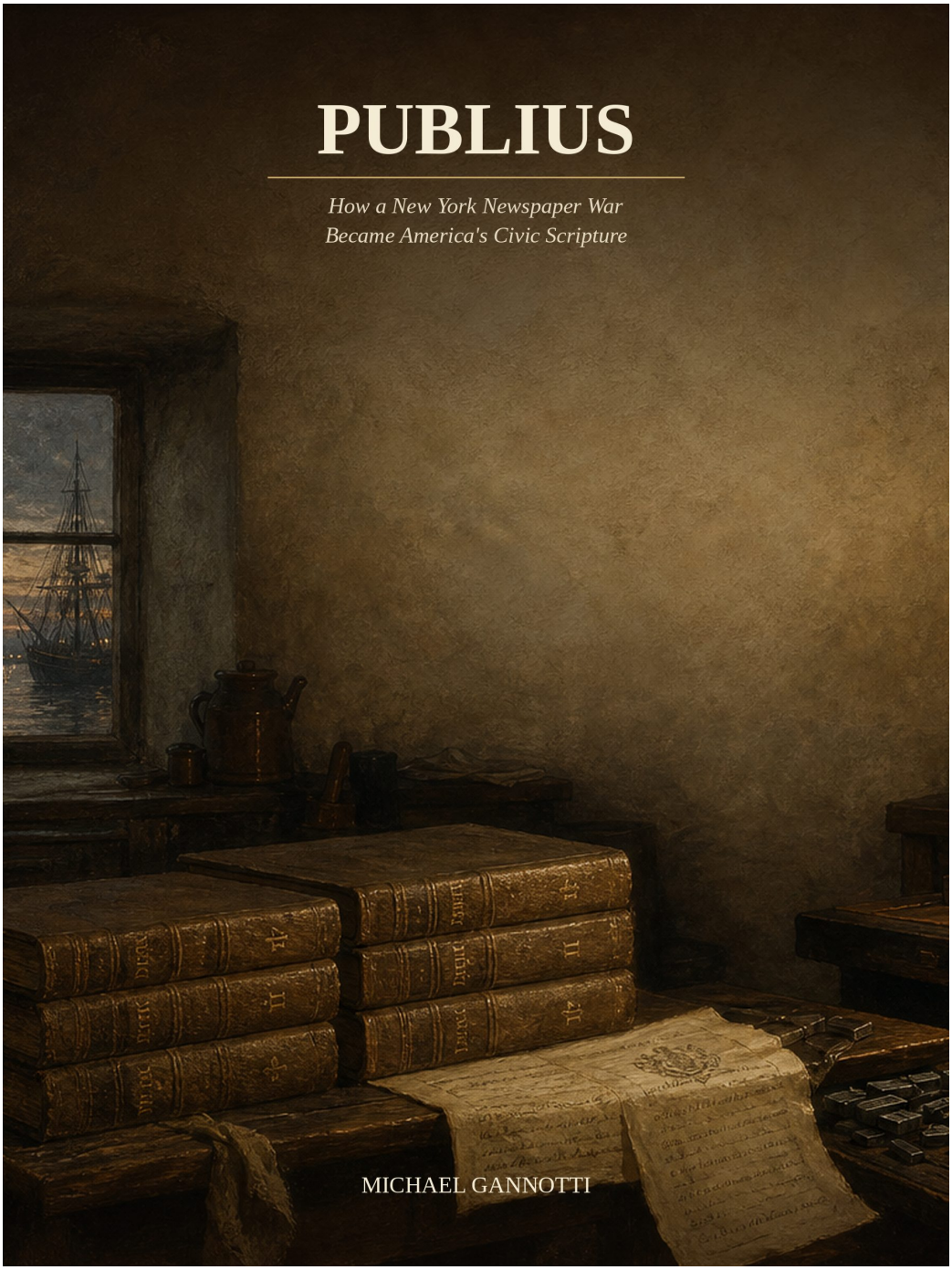

Figure 1: Cover

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This illustrated edition is the teaching-manual of 30 August 2026. Endnotes run in one series. Chapter-opening images are original still-lifes, not portraits of historical persons. Documents still constrain the facts.

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Welcome

This book exists because the civics hour at your table is the whole program. There is no department down the hall and no specialist waiting after lunch. There is you, a student, and this week's essay. That is enough, if you know what to do with the hour.

I wrote this for a capable, busy, willing parent. You may be teaching two ages at once. You may be fitting a Federalist essay between a job, a younger sibling, and a grocery run. You may have loved high-school civics, or you may remember *The Federalist* as a stack of numbers you were told to revere. Many adults feel rusty when they sit down with No. 1. That feeling is common. It is not a verdict. We will move on from it. This book will make you fluent enough in this week's idea to notice a wrong turn and ask a good question — without taking over the reading.

You do not need to be a constitutional historian. You do need to understand this week's idea well enough to hear "the Federalist Papers explained the Constitution to the nation" as a size mistake, not a cute slip. You need a session shape you can run on a Tuesday. You need a few sentences that actually help. That is the job. A path through *The Federalist* — from one newspaper letter in October 1787 through three pens, eighty-five numbers, a New York vote, and a later civic afterlife — is possible at a kitchen table. The path is not a personality trait and it is not an AP score. It is a sequence of ideas, practiced until they hold, with you in the chair.

The 1788 object most Americans think they know is smaller than the legend. John and Archibald McLean printed five hundred copies of each of two volumes. Elaine F. Crane, searching surviving issues, found that newspapers and one magazine outside New York City reprinted only twenty-four of the essays. Madison later said the immediate object was to recommend the new Constitution to New York,

whose ratification was "doubtful, as well as important."[1] Those three facts are the size of the thing. They are not a sneer. They are why this book exists: so a family can read Publius at the size he actually was, and still use him well.

What a good reading hour looks like

You sit down already knowing today's idea. The student warms up on a fact they can already get right — the address line, the date of No. 1, who wrote under the mask. You model one paragraph out loud, short. Then they try, and you wait. You ask one good question — not "did you get it?" but "what is this sentence doing?" Practice mixes the new move with last week's. The hour ends with one or two questions they answer alone, book closed, no hints. You stop talking sooner than feels polite. The student holds the essay. You hold the key. That is the hour. The next long piece of this front matter, *The Reading Hour*, will teach it in full. Later chapters will not reinvent it.

What you will actually get

Each teaching chapter does eight jobs, always in the same order, so you are never hunting for the move.

You will learn why this week's idea is worth the struggle — what it unlocks later. You will understand the idea yourself, in plain language, with one everyday picture and one precise picture, and with the wrong answers you should be able to hear. You will get a session you can run this week, including exact wording. You will get practice that builds learning, not a pile of the same summary. Your student will get a short section of their own. If it isn't clicking, you will get three diagnostics and a next move for each, with no shame in the room. Tools, including AI, stay

[1] Madison to James K. Paulding, 23 July 1818, in Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison*, vol. 8 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 410, as quoted in Gregory E. Maggs, "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution," *Boston University Law Review* 87 (2007): 807 n.18. Five hundred copies of each volume: John P. Kaminski et al., eds., "An Introduction to *The Federalist*," in *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. 13, digital extract, https://archive.csac.history.wisc.edu/An_Introduction_to_The_Federalist(1).pdf. Elaine F. Crane, "Publius in the Provinces: Where Was *The Federalist* Reprinted Outside New York City?," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 21, no. 4 (October 1964): 589–92, as reported in Maggs, "Concise Guide," 815–16. Access date for URLs in these notes: 30 August 2026.

optional and adult-side. And you will get a plain checklist for “done enough,” so you can place by skill rather than by birthday.

This week you can learn the session shape and today’s idea well enough to hear a wrong answer. Today the student can try one paragraph without you holding the pencil.

What this book will not do

This book will not hand you eighty-five worksheets. A year of photocopies is not a teaching method, and I will not pretend it is.

It will not sell you a curriculum. Later, a short resources chapter names common editions by fit — Cooke, a classroom paperback, Avalon and Founders Online — so you can choose. None of them is this book, and this book is not a catalog in disguise.

It will not promise a score. There is no guaranteed AP number, no guaranteed SAT civics band, and no guaranteed college letter inside these pages. What this book can promise is a path: the ideas in order, at the skill the student actually has, until they can read the next essay unaided.

It is not an originalist brief, and it is not an Anti-Federalist brief either. Chief Justice John Marshall, using the work in 1819, already had the formula this book will keep: great respect, and a right to judge of its correctness.[2] A publisher’s “grade 11” civics book is a scope, not a legal grade. *The Federalist* is a body of skill, not an eleventh-birthday present.

And this is not a book that lectures your child about you, or you about your character. The student is a person, not a percentile. When this book speaks to them, it speaks with respect. No baby-talk. No research sermon.

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[2] *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 17 U.S. (4 Wheat.) 316 (1819), https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/17/316/: the authors “have been justly supposed to be entitled to great respect in expounding the Constitution,” but “a right to judge of their correctness must be retained.”

The promise

If you only remember one sentence, remember this: a New York campaign, then civic scripture. Keep both in view.

The work is to take this student through the essays — the newspaper war, how to read one number, the three men under one name, the run of eighty-five, New York's 30–27 vote, the afterlife, what Publius would not say, a term you can actually finish — without skipping the 1788 size because the paperback looks national, and without parking them in a summary because a catalog printed "Founding Fathers" on the cover. You will sometimes slow down. You will sometimes skip ahead. Both are teaching. Birthday is not placement.

You can do this. You do not have to know next year's idea today. You have to know this week's idea well enough to sit still while they struggle, then ask one good question. Start here. Read *How to Use This Book This Week*, then the one-page list of five things, then *The Reading Hour*. After that, open the chapter that matches the skill in front of you. You will know more after one chapter than you know this morning. Your student will have something to try today. We can do this.

How to Use This Book This Week

Start at the skill in front of you, not on page one of a civics catalog because a birthday, a well-meant relative, or a paperback spine said so.

This book is a path, not a calendar. The teaching chapters run: the New York newspaper war; how to read one essay this week; the three men under one name; the run of eighty-five numbers; New York's 30–27 vote; how a campaign became civic scripture; what Publius would not say; then a term plan. Records and resources come last. Chapter labels here are sequence anchors. They tell you where an idea usually sits. They do not tell you where *this* student sits.

Pick the chapter by skill, not by birthday

Open the chapter you think is right. Skip to **What "done enough" looks like** at the end of the *previous* chapter, or to **If it isn't clicking** in the one you opened. If the student can already do those checks unaided, you are too early. If the checks from two chapters back are still failing, drop back. "Pushing through No. 51" with a hole in the address line is how *The Federalist* becomes a fog.

If they cannot yet say, unaided, that these essays were written to New Yorkers, in newspapers, to urge ratification — if "the Federalist Papers explained the Constitution to the nation" still looks reasonable — stay in Chapter 1, even if they are seventeen. The New York campaign is the elementary gate to later chapters. Skipping it because a student is "good at history" is the expensive shortcut.

If they can name the address line, the 1788 title (*The Federalist*, not "Papers"), the five-hundred-copy run, and the 51 / 29 / 5 split, and they are still doing Chapter 1 only because the cover says Grade 11, skip ahead. What a student of a given age can learn is mostly what they have already had a chance to learn, not a lock on a

birthday. Homeschool tables already stretch. A fifteen-year-old can sit in Chapter 4. A nineteen-year-old still catching the size of 1788 can sit in Chapter 1. Both can be right. Neither is a law about your kitchen.

A publisher's "grade 11" civics book is a scope, not a legal grade.[3] A sixteen-year-old can sit in three different "grades" in three programs on the same morning. Use this book's checklists, or a placement check from the program you own, and then teach.

Two students may need two chapters. That is ordinary. The session shape in *The Reading Hour* still holds; the idea on the table changes.

How you use the parent half

Most of each teaching chapter is for you. Read it *before* the lesson, not over the student's shoulder.

Why this matters tells you what this idea unlocks. You will teach with more patience when you can see the later door.

For the parent: understand it yourself gives one everyday picture, one precise picture, and three to five wrong answers you should be able to hear. Sit with those. If "Publius converted New York" still looks like common sense, that is the campaign-size idea, and it is worth five quiet minutes now.

How to teach it this week assumes the session shape from *The Reading Hour*. It will not rebuild the hour. It will give you the first problem, the wording for *this* idea, and how to fade your help.

Practice that actually builds learning is what goes on the page after the model: a short blocked set of the new move, then mixed problems so the student has to choose, plus a little retrieval of facts they already know. Kitchen-table talk, a map

[3]The 1788 title was *The Federalist*. "The Federalist Papers" is twentieth-century packaging, popularized by Clinton Rossiter, ed., *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library / Mentor, 1961). Maggs, "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution," *Boston University Law Review* 87 (2007): 802. Library of Congress, "Federalist Papers: Primary Documents in American History," https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers. Access date for URLs in these notes: 30 August 2026. Grade labels in this book are sequence anchors, not prison bars.

of New York, a newspaper facsimile can motivate or give a second picture. They do not replace the essay, the written sentence, or the unaided problem.

Tools, including AI is optional, short, and for the adult. The rules live once in *The Reading Hour*.

What "done enough" looks like is how you leave. You are looking for unaided work, not a perfect Tuesday.

You do not have to read the whole chapter tonight. You do have to read the parent half of *this week's* idea before you sit down with the student.

The five-minute parent warm-up

Make this a habit.

Five minutes. Student not yet in the chair. Phone face down.

1. Read today's idea until you can say it in one sentence.
2. Read two short stretches of the essay yourself, on paper, without a summary until you finish.
3. Glance at the "wrong answers you should be able to hear." Name the one you would have given at seventeen.
4. Write one sentence you will actually say. Not a speech. Example: "Every essay is addressed to the people of the State of New York." Or: "Show me the sentence that does the work."
5. Close the book to the student page. You are ready.

That five minutes is how you stay out of their working memory. If you are learning the idea *while* they are stuck, you will talk too much or take the essay. Prepare first. Then sit still. You need today's sentence, not a seminar.

How the student uses "For the student"

Every teaching chapter includes a short section written to the student, not about them. One or two pages. Warmer. Direct. What the idea is, a tiny worked example, two tries, an "explain it back" prompt, and one challenge problem.

Hand them that section when it is time for their attempt — after your short model, not instead of it. They may read it silently or out loud. You stay in the room. You

do not add a lecture about high school.

The two tries are theirs. “Explain it back” checks that they have a picture, not only a copied summary. The challenge is optional that day; it is there so a ready student does not sit in busywork.

The student page is not something to send off with an unsupervised chatbot. The attempt is still theirs. You still hold the key. The student reads the essay first.

When to skip ahead

Skip ahead when this chapter’s “done enough” checklist is already true *unaided*. Lingering past that is not thoroughness. It is boredom wearing a virtue.

Slow down when the same wrong answer repeats after a clear model and a real attempt. **If it isn’t clicking** will give you three likely causes and a next move: a missing prerequisite, a picture that never got drawn, or a summary with no “why.” Missing facts are a fluency problem, not a character problem. Ten minutes of struggle on a well-posed new idea is ordinary work.

Diagnose the New York address line, the 1788 size, and the three-pen split before you buy a tour of all eighty-five. Accelerate a student who has the prerequisites. Hold still for a student who does not. Both are the same kindness.

If you need a human tutor, that is a normal high-school plan, not a failure of the kitchen.

For this week: pick the chapter by skill. Do the five-minute warm-up. Run the hour as *The Reading Hour* describes it. Let the student page be theirs. Stop talking sooner than you want to. That is how you use the book.

If You Only Remember Five Things

Keep this page. The chapters will add wording, pictures, and practice. They will not replace these.

1. It was a New York campaign, not a national treatise. Every essay is addressed "To the People of the State of New York." Madison later said the immediate object was to recommend the new Constitution to that state, whose ratification was "doubtful, as well as important."[4] Teach the address line first. A national explainer is a later use. The 1788 job was local.

2. The 1788 object was small. Five hundred copies of each of two volumes. Elaine F. Crane found that publications outside New York City reprinted only twenty-four numbers. Nos. 78 through 85, including the judiciary and the bill of rights, were book-first on 28 May 1788, after eight states had already ratified.[5] Stay here until the size is real. The afterlife will wait. The afterlife will not work around a missing gate.

3. Three pens, one name: Hamilton 51, Madison 29, Jay 5. They signed Publius. They are not one mind. Madison told Jefferson they were not "mutually answerable" for all the ideas of each other. Hamilton's own later list over-claimed

[4]Madison to James K. Paulding, 23 July 1818, in Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison*, vol. 8 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 410, as quoted in Gregory E. Maggs, "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution," *Boston University Law Review* 87 (2007): 807 n.18. Access date for URLs in these notes: 30 August 2026.

[5]John P. Kaminski et al., eds., "An Introduction to *The Federalist*," in *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. 13, digital extract, https://archive.csac.history.wisc.edu/An_Introduction_to_The_Federalist(1).pdf: five hundred copies of each volume. Elaine F. Crane, "Publius in the Provinces," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 21, no. 4 (October 1964): 589–92, via Maggs, "Concise Guide," 815–16. Book-first Nos. 78–85, Volume II, 28 May 1788: Maggs, "Concise Guide," 815 and Table 2.

the papers. Print 51 / 29 / 5. Footnote 18–20 and 55 if you need to. Catch the "one founder, one theory" error before you tour the famous numbers.[6]

4. Struggle before rescue. Don't grab the essay. Ask. Wait. Hint. Then model. Ten minutes of honest work on a paragraph they have the pieces for is the lesson. Taking the page feels kind. It teaches them to watch. If they are missing facts — the date, the address line, who wrote No. 1 — that is a hole, and you fill the hole. If they have the pieces, sit on your hands.

5. The student reads the essay first. You hold the key. AI is optional for the adult. The student meets Publius on the page. You keep the answers. A tool may explain today's idea *to you*, write extra practice with the key hidden, draft a hint script, or help you diagnose work already done. It may not sit in the chair during the attempt, and it may not paste the essay for a summary. The full rules are in *The Reading Hour*, once. Later chapters will point back rather than preach.

If this week needs a compass, this is it. Five things. Then sit down and teach.

[6]Maggs, "Concise Guide," 812 n.54: Hamilton 51, Madison 29, Jay 5, following Douglass Adair (1944) and Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace (1963–64). Madison to Jefferson, 10 August 1788, Founders Online, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-13-02-0378: "the writers are not mutually answerable for all the ideas of each other."

The Reading Hour

The hour has a shape. Learn it once. Later chapters will give you today's idea, today's first problem, and today's sentence. They will not rebuild this hour. When a chapter says "run the session," it means this.

You do not need a school bell. You need a beginning, a short model, a real attempt, one good question, mixed practice, and an unaided check. A younger high-schooler may finish in thirty minutes. An older student may need forty-five. The shape does not change. The idea on the table does.

Sit down having already done the five-minute parent warm-up from *How to Use This Book This Week*. You know today's sentence. The student has the essay. You have the key.

1. Warm-up

Three to five minutes. Facts and moves they can already get right. Mixed, not a page of the same item. This is retrieval, not a test of character.

Say:

"We're going to start with things you already know."

"Who is the letter addressed to?"

"What was the 1788 title of the book?"

If they already get these right untimed, you may use a brief timer. Say:

"We'll time this only because you already get these right. Ready?"

If they do not already get them right, skip the timer. Time only what they can already produce. Fluency is quick, flexible, accurate recall — not a race and not optional. You are building retrieval, not an identity.

Keep this short. The warm-up is not the lesson. When you feel yourself teaching a new idea here, stop. That idea belongs in the model.

2. Short model

Five to eight minutes. One fully worked paragraph, out loud. Then a second stretch with holes they fill. Then you stop.

New, dense material — first meeting with No. 1, first pass at faction in No. 10, first look at a book-first essay — is where a short model earns its keep. A novice staring at a blank page spends working memory searching, not learning. Show the move. Then fade.[7]

Say:

“Watch this one. I’ll say every step out loud.”

“Every essay is addressed to the people of the State of New York. That’s why I start with the heading, not with a famous sentence in the middle.”

“What is this paragraph doing — introducing, answering, or closing?”

Then, on the second stretch:

“Your turn to tell me what I mark next. I’ll hold the pencil this time. You do the thinking.”

“I’m leaving the last sentence unmarked. You name what it does.”

Include one incorrect example when the idea is new, and ask:

“What did they think this essay was for?”

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[7] John Sweller and Graham Cooper, “The Use of Worked Examples as a Substitute for Problem Solving in Learning Algebra,” *Cognition and Instruction* 2, no. 1 (1985): 59–89: for novices, a worked solution outperforms unguided search. Alexander Renkl and Richard K. Atkinson developed guidance fading (full example, then completion problems, then conventional problems). Once the learner can execute the procedure, extra full examples become redundant. The method is borrowed for a paragraph, not claimed as a Federalist trial. Access date for URLs in these notes: 30 August 2026.

That question is worth more than another correct copy.

When they can already execute the move, stop showing full examples. Extra modeling after they can do it is noise. Fade: full example, completion problem, conventional problem. Then they work.

The model is short on purpose. If you are still talking at minute twelve, you are giving a lecture. Close the model. Hand them the first problem.

3. Student attempt

This is the center of the hour. Eight to twelve minutes. Maybe longer for a full essay. The first problem is theirs.

Hand them “For the student” if the chapter has it, or the first problem from **How to teach it this week**. Then you talk less than you want to.

Say:

“This one is yours. I’ll be quiet.”

Then be quiet.

If they stall, use this order: ask, wait, hint, then model. Not the reverse.

Ask:

“Show me what you tried.”

“What do you already know about this number?”

“Is this a campaign sentence or a commentary sentence — or both?”

Wait. Count a slow ten in your head. The silence is the work. If you fill it, you took the problem back.

Hint, one hint:

“Look at the address line first.”

“Look only at this paragraph first.”

“You already know a fact that would help. Which one?”

Then, if they are still stuck after a real try:

“I’m going to show you this one step. Then you take it from here.”

Show the step. Return the pencil.

If they are missing a fact — they cannot name the address line, they cannot date No. 1 — that is a hole, not useful struggle. Fill the hole with a short retrieval or a picture, then return to the problem. Struggle on a well-posed new idea, with the pieces in place, is the lesson. Struggle on missing prerequisites is just being lost.

Keep your hands off their pencil. Taking it feels kind. It teaches them to watch. If you feel the urge, put your hands in your lap and say the ask-sentence again.

4. One good question

Two or three minutes. Not “did you get it?” They will say yes. You will learn nothing.

A good question makes them generate the idea again, in words or in a second representation.

Say:

“How did you know?”

“Can you show me a second sentence that does the same job?”

“What would change if this were addressed to the people of the United States?”

“Explain it so I could do the next one.”

“Where does this sentence live — in the campaign, or in the afterlife?”

One question. Maybe a follow-up. Then stop. This is not a seminar. You are checking that they have a picture, not collecting a speech.

If they cannot explain it back, they copied a step. Return to a picture — the address line, the date, the printed heading — and give one more attempt. Copying is what a stuck novice does when the model was too fast or the attempt was too short. Slow the model tomorrow. Keep today’s pencil theirs.

5. Mixed practice

Ten to fifteen minutes. First a short blocked set of the new move — four to six problems that use today's idea — so they learn to execute. Then mix. Yesterday's type. Last month's type. A short Anti-Federalist sentence of a known kind. The new move sitting next to an old one so they have to choose.

Blocked practice teaches execution. Mixed practice teaches *when* to use the move. A page of twenty identical summary questions feels like mastery at 9 p.m. It often is not still there in two weeks.[8]

Say:

"These first few are today's move. Get the feel of it."

Then:

"These are mixed on purpose. First decide what kind of problem it is. Then choose."

"You already know this type from last week. Find it among the new ones."

Word problems in civics are types — purpose, authorship, chronology, argument, afterlife — not magic words. "Founders" does not mean "one mind." Teach the structure. Vary the cover story so they match the type, not the noun.

A map of New York, a facsimile heading, a printer's bill can motivate, or give a second picture of a size they are already placing on the page. They do not replace the essay, the written sentence, or this page. A student who can recite "extend the sphere" and cannot name the address line has performed, not learned.

Keep practice short enough that attention holds. More pages are not more learning if the last ten are sloppy. Stop while they can still think.

6. Unaided exit ticket

Three to five minutes. One or two problems. Book closed. No hints. No "For the student." No chatbot. No looking at the worked example.

[8] Doug Rohrer, Robert F. Dedrick, and Kaleena Burgess, "The Benefit of Interleaved Mathematics Practice Is Not Limited to Superficially Similar Kinds of Problems," *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 21 (2014): 1323–30. After a short blocked introduction of a new skill, mix yesterday's and last month's types. This book borrows the *practice* of mixing, not those classroom coefficients.

This is the check. Tonight's helped practice, with you in the chair and a tool in reach, is not this check.[9]

Say:

"Two problems. Book closed. I won't help. That's the point."

"Wrong is useful. We'll look after."

"You don't need a perfect score. I need to see what you can do alone."

Then you are quiet again. When they finish, you look. If both are right, you are done enough for today. If one is wrong, you diagnose — which wrong answer from the parent section is this? — and you note tomorrow's first move. You do not redo the whole hour. You do not punish. You find the picture that was missing.

An exit ticket that always needs you is not an exit ticket. Fade until it doesn't.

When to stop talking

After you ask, wait. If you fill the silence, you took the problem back.

During the attempt, your job is almost nothing. Presence, not narration. If you hear yourself explaining while they write, you have moved back into the model. Stop. Let them write.

Instead of "this is the hard part" or "I was never good at this," say today's sentence: "Let's look at the address line." The first sentence fills their working memory with your feeling. The second sentence teaches.

Praise a clear picture, a second method, a catch of their own error — not speed.

"You noticed the heading names New York, not America. That's the size I want."

Stop talking when the next sentence would be a rescue. Hands in your lap. Count ten. Then one hint, or one step, and the pencil goes back.

If you remember only one move from this page, remember that one.

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[9] Nicholas C. Soderstrom and Robert A. Bjork, "Learning Versus Performance: An Integrative Review," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 10, no. 2 (2015): 176–99: current performance is "often an unreliable index" of learning. The unaided exit ticket is the check this hour trusts.

The AI rules, once

Later chapters will point here in one sentence. They will not reprint this box.

> **Student first. You hold the key. AI is optional for the adult.**
>
> The student reads the essay, and attempts the problem, before any tool is in the room. You keep the answer key — on paper, in a closed tab, in your head after the warm-up. A chatbot does not sit beside them during the attempt.
>
> Use a tool, if you use one at all, for four jobs: explain today's idea *to you* before the lesson; make extra practice with the answers hidden from the student; write a hint script you can read from; diagnose work they already produced.
>
> Never paste the essay for a summary during the attempt, ask "what's the answer," photograph the page for a key, or leave an unsupervised chatbot in their hands during the attempt. A tool that raises assisted practice and then cuts the unaided check is a crutch. The student still has to meet Publius on the page.[10]
>
> Facts are not a language-model job. Dates, press runs, authorship counts, and quotations come from the notes in this book, from Avalon, from Founders Online, or from the edition on the table. Use a tool to generate a short oral list or a practice deck. The student retrieves the fact.
>
> You can teach this entire book with no AI. Many families will. The hour still has the same shape.

If a product claims it "does 100 percent of the teaching," treat that as advertising. You still need to hear a wrong answer. You still hold the key.

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[10] Hamsa Bastani, Osbert Bastani, Alp Sungu, Haosen Ge, Özge Kabakcı, and Rei Mariman, "Generative AI without guardrails can harm learning: Evidence from high school mathematics," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 122, no. 26 (2025): e2422633122. In a field experiment, a ChatGPT-like tool raised assisted practice grades 48 percent relative to control, then cut unaided exam grades 17 percent. Not a civics study; the transferable caution is the crutch. The student still reads the essay first.

A Tuesday, said plainly

Here is an illustration, not a reported family. A parent has spent five minutes reading the heading of No. 1 and writing the sentence “every essay is addressed to New York.” The student warms up on “what was the 1788 title?” The parent models one paragraph out loud, then leaves the last sentence unmarked. The student marks what the paragraph is doing, slowly. The parent asks, “How did you know it was a campaign opening, not a treatise?” Mixed practice: two headings, one date they already know, one comparison with a later famous sentence. Exit ticket: “Who is No. 1 for? I won’t help.” Right or wrong, the hour had a shape. Tomorrow’s first move is already visible.

You can run that hour. You do not need a degree. You need today’s sentence, a pencil you refuse to take, and the willingness to stop talking.

Later chapters will say: run the session as in *The Reading Hour*. That sentence is this page. The idea will change. The hour will not.

Chapter 1

A New York newspaper war

Figure 2: A storm window and a desk of unpaid requisitions.

Why this matters

This year is not a tour of famous quotations you wait out until “real civics” begins. The work of this chapter is one idea, and it is the gate to everything that follows:

The Federalist was a New York campaign, not a national treatise.

That last sentence is the one that surprises people. The paperback on the shelf looks national. The title most Americans use — *The Federalist Papers* — sounds like a complete commentary written to the country. Clinton Rossiter's 1961 Mentor edition put that later name into American English.[11] The 1788 title was *The Federalist*. The heading on every number was "To the People of the State of New York." Madison, writing James K. Paulding on 23 July 1818, gave the cleanest one-line purpose we have: "The immediate object of them was to vindicate & recommend the new Constitution to the State of [New York] whose ratification of the instrument, was doubtful, as well as important."[12] If the student treats the essays as a seminar that happened to use a newspaper, they have already missed the hour. Hearing that this week is worth the struggle.

What you are teaching, as civics, is the 1788 object. A Constitution printed in New York on 27 September 1787. Cato in Thomas Greenleaf's *New-York Journal* the same day. Brutus on 18 October. Federal Farmer's letters dated from 8 October. *The Federalist* No. 1 in John and Archibald McLean's *Independent Journal* on 27 October, signed Publius.[13] Four of the city's about seven newspapers printing some or all of the series. Five hundred copies of each of two bound volumes. Elaine F. Crane, searching surviving issues of eighty-nine newspapers and three magazines published in the United States between 27 October 1787 and 31 August 1788, found that sixteen newspapers and one magazine outside New York City reprinted any of the essays, and that those publications printed only twenty-four numbers.[14] That is the size. Later chapters will add three pens, eighty-five

[11]Clinton Rossiter, ed., *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library / Mentor, 1961). Gregory E. Maggs, "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution," *Boston University Law Review* 87 (2007): 802. Access date for URLs in these notes: 30 August 2026.

[12]Madison to James K. Paulding, 23 July 1818, in Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison*, vol. 8 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 410, as quoted in Maggs, "Concise Guide," 807 n.18.

[13]*The Federalist* No. 1, *Independent Journal*, 27 October 1787; Avalon Project, Yale Law School, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed01.asp. Cato, 27 September 1787, Greenleaf's *New-York Journal*; Brutus I, 18 October 1787; Federal Farmer I, letters dated from 8 October 1787. Library of Congress, "Federalist Essays in Historic Newspapers: Introduction," https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-essays-in-historic-newspapers/introduction.

[14]Elaine F. Crane, "Publius in the Provinces: Where Was *The Federalist* Reprinted Outside New York City?," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 21, no. 4 (October 1964): 589–92, as reported in Maggs, "Concise Guide," 815–16. Collectively those publications printed only twenty-four numbers: 1 through 21, 23, 38, and 69. Crane's conclusion: the essays "did not reach an audience

numbers, a 30–27 vote, and an afterlife. This chapter teaches the campaign.

Grade labels in this book are sequence anchors, not birthdays. A fifteen-year-old or an eighteen-year-old may sit here. A student of twenty who never quite got "who was this for," or who still hears "the Federalist Papers" as a national explainer, may sit here too. Move a student who has the prerequisites. Hold the work for a student who does not.

Treat the Library of Congress guide as a map, not a homeschool mandate. The guide states the 1788 purpose cleanly: the essays "were written and published to urge New Yorkers to ratify the proposed United States Constitution," and they "explain particular provisions of the Constitution in detail." The same guide then makes the jump later civic religion requires: because Hamilton and Madison had sat in Philadelphia, later readers treat the essays as a window on the intentions of the drafters.[15] The first half of that sentence is a fact of 1788. The second half is the afterlife, and it does not follow. This book will not dump 180 days of worksheets, and it will not sell you a franchise.

What this chapter unlocks is every later door. How to read No. 1. How three men signed one name. Why Nos. 78–85 arriving in a book on 28 May 1788 cannot be spring campaign literature in Virginia or New Hampshire. Why New York's 30–27 vote is not a conversion story. Skip the address line, and later pages arrive as scripture soup. Skip the five-hundred-copy run, and the afterlife looks like 1788.

You do not need to be a historian. You do need to understand today's idea well enough to hear "they explained the Constitution to the nation" as a size mistake, not a cute slip, and "Publius converted New York" as a later legend, not a vote count.

For the parent: understand it yourself

Many adults feel rusty. That is ordinary. Five minutes of this section, then the warm-up at the end, is enough for tomorrow.

Everyday picture. A town is about to vote on a new charter. The local papers fill with letters. One side writes four times a week. The other side is already in type. A printer later binds the letters into two volumes and prints five hundred of

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of any significant size in 1787-88."

[15] Library of Congress, "Federalist Papers: Primary Documents in American History," https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers.

each. Several hundred still sit unsold after the vote. Years later, people treat those leftover volumes as the country's instruction manual. The leftover volumes are real. The instruction-manual use is later. Both can be true. They are not the same object.

Precise picture. Write the heading: *To the People of the State of New York.* Write the 1788 title: *The Federalist: A Collection of Essays Written in Favour of the New Constitution, as Agreed upon by the Federal Convention September 17, 1787.* Two volumes. New-York: J. and A. McLean, No. 41 Hanover Square. Five hundred of each.[16] Write Crane's count beside it: twenty-four numbers reprinted outside the city. Write Madison's sentence: immediate object, New York, doubtful as well as important. The Center for the Study of the American Constitution, drawing on the *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, states the instrumental purpose without ornament: the essays "were political documents intended to convince the people of New York of the absolute necessity of ratifying the Constitution."[17] That is not a national treatise that happened to be printed in New York. That is a New York brief.

New York was the emergency for structural reasons, not because the country was waiting for a series. The state sat between New England and the rest of the Union; non-ratification would leave a hole in the map even after nine states had formed a government. The Port of New York's impost was a pillar of state revenue under Governor George Clinton; a national impost threatened that independence. Clinton's network, Greenleaf's *Journal*, and a revived Sons of Liberty apparatus under John Lamb and Marinus Willett gave Anti-Federalists county-level organization before Publius had written a line. Robert Yates and John Lansing Jr. had walked out of Philadelphia about 10 July, objecting that the Convention had exceeded a mandate to revise the Articles; Hamilton was New York's sole signer.[18] The

[16]Maggs, "Concise Guide," 803 n.2, recording the M'Lean title. John P. Kaminski et al., eds., "An Introduction to *The Federalist*," in *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. 13, digital extract, https://archive.csac.history.wisc.edu/An_Introduction_to_The_Federalist(1).pdf: five hundred copies of each volume.

[17]Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*."

[18]Yates and Lansing to George Clinton, 21 December 1787, Center for the Study of the American Constitution / *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, https://csac.history.wisc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/281/2024/04/DC2-04-02-04_Yates-Lansing-to-Clinton_21Dec87.pdf. Walkout about 10 July; Hamilton New York's sole signer: National Archives FAQ / Sol Bloom, "Constitution Questions and Answers," https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-q-and-a.

legislature delayed a convention call until 31 January and 1 February 1788. The incoming convention split, when it was elected, would be 19 Federalist to 46 Anti-Federalist.[19] Madison's "doubtful, as well as important" was not a flourish. It was arithmetic.

The audience implied by the address line was not "the people" as later civics uses the word. It was free, voting, newspaper-reading men: the politically literate freeholder, lawyer, or merchant who took papers at a coffee house or tavern. Archibald Maclaine of North Carolina, ordering copies, thought Publius "not well calculated for the common people." Louis-Guillaume Otto, the French chargé in New York, judged them "not at all useful to educated men and it is too scholarly and too long for the ignorant." "Twenty-seven Subscribers" asked that Publius be stopped; they had found him nauseous.[20] The series was written in a high register, at speed, for a fight in one state. Later use of it as the American political philosophy conceals that class and that geography.

The calendar is the other half of the picture. 27 September: Constitution in the city; Cato in Greenleaf. 8 October: Federal Farmer's letters dated. 18 October: Brutus I, "the most important question that was ever proposed to your decision." 27 October: Publius No. 1. Alarm went first. Defense went second. That order is the argument of this chapter. Publius was a counter-battery, not a seminar that opened the year.

Ray Raphael's comparison, drawn from the reprint tables of the *Documentary History*, is the right size check. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* had many print runs totaling tens of thousands of copies. *The Federalist* had a first impression of five hundred a volume, more than six hundred pages in two, and many of those unsold when ratification ended. James Wilson's State House Yard speech of 6 October 1787, Raphael reports, was reprinted in twelve of thirteen states and in thirty-four newspapers — the circulation profile Publius never had. Jay's later *Address to the People of the State of New-York* was reprinted in full in seven out-of-state newspapers, a mark no group of Publius's essays ever achieved.[21] Treating Publius as

[19]Teaching American History, "New York Ratifying Convention," https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/new-york-ratifying-convention/; Maggs, "Concise Guide," 809 (19 of 65, including Hamilton and Jay). Convention call 31 January / 1 February 1788: Kaminski et al., CSAC New York page.

[20]Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell, 4 March 1788; Louis-Guillaume Otto; "Twenty-seven Subscribers," *New-York Journal*, 1 January 1788: all as quoted in Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*."

[21]Ray Raphael, "The Federalist (Papers): Then and Now," *Journal of the American Revolution*,

the ratification argument is, in Raphael's diagnosis, a classic example of reading history backwards. That is the first finding of this book, not a gotcha at the end of it.

On 14 October 1788 Archibald McLean sent a bill. Paper, wages, and binding had run "upwards of two hundred and seventy Pounds." He charged Hamilton 144 pounds — "which is not three shillings per Vol" — and wrote the sentence that should sit next to every later cover: "I have several hundred Copies remaining on hand."[22] New York had already ratified, 30–27, on 26 July. The emergency for which the volumes had been printed was over. The copies remained. A remainder is not a moral failure. It is a fact of demand.

Wrong answers you should be able to hear

1. "*The Federalist Papers explained the Constitution to the nation.*" The student has taken the afterlife for 1788. The address line is New York. The 1788 title is *The Federalist*. "Papers" is 1961 packaging. Ask them to point to the heading.

2. "*Publius persuaded New York to ratify.*" The incoming split was 19 to 46. The final vote was 30 to 27, with a declaration of rights and recommended amendments. What moved the last votes is a later chapter: news that New Hampshire and Virginia had already ratified, the threat that New York City might secede, floor compromise, leadership by Hamilton, Jay, and Chancellor Robert R. Livingston. The essays armed a minority of speakers. They did not swing the convention. Gregory Maggs, searching Elliot's *Debates*, found no mention by any recorded delegate of "Federalist" or "Publius." Strong, not conclusive: it proves the recorded debates do not name him, not that no delegate had read him.[23]

3. "*They wrote a treatise for posterity.*" Washington, on 28 August 1788, already predicted that when the "transient circumstances & fugitive performances" of the crisis had disappeared, the work would "merit the notice of

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18 April 2013, https://allthingsliberty.com/2013/04/the-federalist-papers-then-and-now/. Reprint counts are Raphael's, from the DHRC tables; they were not re-counted for the source book.

[22]Archibald McLean, bill to the New York committee, 14 October 1788, quoted in Kaminski et al., "Publication and Sale of *The Federalist*, Volume I, 22 March 1788," https://csac.history.wisc.edu/2022/03/22/publication-and-sale-of-the-federalist-volume-i/.

[23]Maggs, "Concise Guide," 816–17, searching Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions*. "New York Ratifies the Constitution, 26 July 1788," in Kaminski et al., eds., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. 18, 294–97.

Posterity." He was an already-Federalist reader with a library. He was not reporting a conversion of New York. The October object was four numbers a week in a city war. Posterity is the August letter. Keep both.

4. "*Everyone read them — they were like* Common Sense." Five hundred copies a volume. Crane: twenty-four numbers outside the city, and no essay, on her count, in Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, or Georgia. Average circulation of a late-eighteenth-century daily or semi-weekly was, Maggs notes from Frank Luther Mott, "probably at most about 600 to 700 copies." Tavern sharing multiplied readers. Exact figures for the *Independent Journal* were not verified in the research behind this book and are not offered here.[24] The order of magnitude is enough. This was not *Common Sense*.

5. "*Anti-Federalists just didn't understand.*" Yates and Lansing had a mandate problem that was real under the Convention's call: "sole and express purpose of revising the Articles." Clinton's New York had reasons — port revenue, state autonomy, fear of a southern- and eastern-dominated Congress. Brutus, Cato, and Federal Farmer were theorists and organizers. Traditional attributions (Clinton for Cato, Yates for Brutus, Richard Henry Lee for Federal Farmer) remain textbook names. They are not closed. What is closed is the argument: consolidation, extent of territory, the judiciary, a bill of rights. Fairness is not charity. It is accuracy.

A sixth you will also hear: "Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote as one mind." That is next week's idea, planted here so you can hear it. One mask. Three pens. Chapter 3 will take the mask off. Today you only need the student to stop flattening the *campaign* into a *commentary*.

Five-minute parent warm-up

Do this before the lesson, on a scrap of paper, no student in the room.

Minute 1. Write "To the People of the State of New York." Say out loud: "Every essay is addressed to one state." Write the 1788 title. Circle the word *Federalist*. There is no *Papers* on that page.

Minute 2. True or false, said aloud: Publius was written to the nation. Five hundred copies of each volume. Crane found twenty-four numbers outside the city.

[24] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 159, via Maggs, "Concise Guide," 815.

New York's incoming split was 19 to 46. You are practicing the hearing, not racing.

Minute 3. Sketch a crude map: New England, New York, the rest of the Union. Mark the Hudson. Mark the port. Write "hole in the map" on one side and "impost" on the other. That geography is why a local war was a national emergency without being a national readership.

Minute 4. Look at the sentence "The Federalist Papers explained the Constitution to the nation." Decide, without answering a quiz, what that sentence gets right (later use; detailed exposition) and what it gets wrong (1788 audience; title; purpose). You are not taking a test. You are installing the error so you can hear it tomorrow.

Minute 5. Write one sentence you will actually say: "Every essay is addressed to the people of the State of New York." Put the pencil down. That sentence is the lesson.

If you can do those five minutes, you are ready to sit down. The student generates. You hear.

How to teach it this week

A good reading hour this week has a shape. *The Reading Hour* is the full version, including the AI rules. Here is the shape scaled to this idea.

Warm-up (3–5 minutes, unaided). Two facts the student already knows, if any: the date of the Constitution's signing, what ratification means. One heading to copy: "To the People of the State of New York." Paper. No device.

Short model (5 minutes). One new idea, one picture, one written sentence. The heading next to the 1788 title, or the calendar from Cato to Publius. You talk for a few minutes. Then you stop.

Student attempt (10–15 minutes). Three to five items. The student writes. You wait. Struggle before rescue: ask, wait, hint, then model. Leave the pencil in the student's hand.

One good question. Not "what's the answer?" A question that names the idea: "Who is this letter for?" "Show me the heading." "What was already in the papers before 27 October?"

Mixed practice (5–10 minutes). Yesterday's type next to today's. A date they already know next to Crane's twenty-four. If the book in front of you is almost entirely a greatest-hits tour — most are — you pull the address line onto the page.

Exit ticket (5 minutes, unaided). Two items isomorphic to what you taught. Phone in another room. You grade against a key you hold.

That shape is a practice you impose on whatever edition is on the table. It is not a 180-day plan.

Exact wording you can say

On the address line:

"Every essay is addressed to the people of the State of New York."

"Point to the heading. Who is the letter for?"

"What would change if this said 'To the People of the United States'?"

On the 1788 object:

"The 1788 title was *The Federalist*. 'Papers' is a later name."

"Five hundred copies of each volume. That is a press run, not a metaphor."

"Crane found twenty-four numbers reprinted outside New York City. That is the national life of 1788."

On the calendar:

"The Constitution was printed in New York on 27 September. Cato was in Greenleaf the same day."

"Brutus was 18 October. Publius was 27 October. Alarm went first."

"Publius was a counter-battery, not the opening gun."

On a stuck student:

"Look only at the heading first."

"You already know a fact that would help. Which one — title, address, or press run?"

On a wrong national story:

"That sentence is how later Americans used the book. What was the 1788 job?"

When you are about to take over:

“Your pencil. I’ll ask a question.”

Then wait. Ten seconds of silence is teaching.

First problem for the student

Write this on a small card or the top of the page, exactly:

Here is a heading from 1787: “To the People of the State of New York.” Who is this letter for? What job is it trying to do?

Say: “The heading is doing work. What work?”

Wait. If the student writes “the American people” or “posterity,” they have taken the afterlife for the heading. If they write “New Yorkers, to urge ratification,” they heard the relation. If they stare, show a fully worked different item — the McLean title page, said as “a collection of essays written in favour of the new Constitution, sold in New York” — then a true/false (“Publius was written as a national textbook”), then return to the heading. That is fading: full example, then a completion, then the item.

Later the same week, the diagnostic item:

A classmate says, “The Federalist Papers explained the Constitution to the nation, and New York was persuaded.” What two facts would you put next to that sentence?

Hear “nation” without the address line. Hear “persuaded” without 19–46 and 30–27. Hear a student who can name both the later use and the 1788 size. After the student has attempted, you may show a worked *incorrect* example that wrote “national treatise” and ask what that person thought the heading meant. Generation first, then the named error. The student names the error. You do not narrate it as a verdict on talent.

How to fade help

Day of a new move: you model one fully. The student explains a second. A third is missing only the last written step. A fourth is conventional. When the student is accurate, stop showing full examples. Bring the heading back when a famous quotation arrives, or when No. 10 shows up as if it had been written to a later classroom. Fading is for accuracy, not for a calendar date.

When to stop talking

After the question. After the hint. After the model of a *different* item. If you hear yourself explaining the student's current problem in real time while their pencil is idle, you have started doing the work. Stop. Point to the heading. Point to the five hundred. Wait.

The intended cadence was four numbers a week: Tuesday in the *Packet*, Wednesday in the *Independent Journal*, Thursday in the *Daily Advertiser*, Saturday again in the *Journal*.[25] Madison later remembered that while type was being set on one part of a number, the next parts were still under the pen. Speed was the tactic. So was the mask. You do not need to reconstruct a shop. You need the student to feel a deadline, not a seminar.

Hamilton had already tried a harsher register, in October, as "Caesar." Publius, on the twenty-seventh, was a change of tactics — measured, systematic, ostensibly candid. The name was a Roman founder's: Publius Valerius Publicola, "friend of the people," a cut above the Caesars, Brutuses, and Catos already crowding the columns. Later accounts have Hamilton wearing it in 1778 against Samuel Chase; that prior use was not re-fetched for the source book behind this chapter and is treated as reported, not as a locked scene.[26] One mask, one address line, one outline. That is how the series began.

Outside the city the series almost vanished. Crane's twenty-four numbers were 1 through 21, 23, 38, and 69. Reprinting occurred only in New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. A city list derived from the Center's reprint tables has sometimes placed No. 1 in Charleston. Crane, the systematic search, says no essay in South Carolina. This book prefers Crane.[27] Upstate reprinting was thin: the Albany *Gazette*, the Lansingburgh *Northern Centinel*, the Hudson *Weekly Gazette*, and, for a few numbers, the Poughkeepsie *Country Journal* carrying early essays. They did not carry the series. The convention town itself saw only a handful of numbers.

Volume I, Nos. 1–36, appeared 22 March 1788. Volume II, Nos. 37–85, appeared

[25] Library of Congress, "Federalist Essays in Historic Newspapers: Introduction."

[26] Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*"; Albert Furtwangler, *The Authority of Publius: A Reading of the Federalist Papers* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984). The 1778 Chase use is reported in the secondary literature.

[27] Crane via Maggs, 816 (no essay in South Carolina). CSAC reprint tables have sometimes listed Charleston among No. 1 reprint cities. This book prefers Crane.

28 May 1788 — twenty days before the Poughkeepsie convention opened on 17 June. Nos. 78 through 85 were book-first. Newspaper reprints of those last eight dribbled through New York papers from 14 June to 16 August, during and after the convention. Delegates who did not buy the book would not have seen Hamilton on the courts or on a bill of rights in time. That fact belongs fully to Chapter 4. Keep it here as a size: even inside New York, the most famous later essays were late.

Six states had already ratified before Volume I appeared in March: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts. By 28 May, Maryland and South Carolina had ratified; eight states. New Hampshire became the ninth on 21 June.[28] The essays later Americans treat as canonical were not campaign literature in those elections. A book that presents them as the Federalist case that won America is reading a May bound volume back into a winter campaign.

Say, if the student is ready:

"Six states had already said yes before Volume I. The book was a New York tool, not the country's conversion machine."

If they are not ready, hold that sentence for Chapter 4. Today's sentence is still the heading.

Practice that actually builds learning

Understanding and practice grow together. Wait weeks to practice a new move and the idea stays a speech. Drill a new slogan — "New York campaign" — with no heading and no "why" and you get a chant.

Blocked, for a new move. The day you introduce the address line, give a short set that is only that: copy the heading from No. 1, from No. 10, from No. 51. Same words every time. The day you introduce the 1788 title, a short set of title versus later name. The day you introduce Crane, three questions that are only size: copies, reprints, where the essays did not appear.

Mixed, for when to use it. Later the same week, the new move reappears between unlike problems: a heading, a date they already know, a famous sentence from No. 1 ("reflection and choice"), a remainder fact. Mixing types is the practice of

[28] Maggs, "Concise Guide," Table 2; National Archives, "A More Perfect Union," https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/more-perfect-union.

choosing a strategy. A purchased civics book that is almost entirely a greatest-hits tour can still be interleaved by you pulling the address line onto the same page as "extend the sphere."

Brief retrieval of facts already known. Two or three minutes, mixed, after the student can produce those facts correctly untimed. Cover the answers. You listen. Overlearning — cramming a fact sheet until tonight's score is 100 percent — has limited additional benefit compared with meeting those facts again next week. Meet the heading again on Thursday. Meet five hundred again next week.

One incorrect example to diagnose. After the student has attempted the classmate sentence, show a worked solution that wrote "national treatise that converted New York." Ask: "What did this person think the heading meant?" After a title error, show *The Federalist Papers* labelled "1788" and ask which word does not belong. The student names the error. You do not announce a talent verdict.

Kitchen, money, and making. A map of New York. A facsimile heading from Avalon or the Library of Congress. A sketch of two volumes and the number 500. Those can motivate, or give a second picture of a size they are already being taught. They do not replace the heading written in the student's hand. Cooking a "constitutional dinner" does not place the address line on the page. A field trip to a historic site is a useful second picture of 1788 New York. It is not the first picture.

Opponents this year. Cato, 27 September. Brutus, 18 October. Federal Farmer, letters dated from 8 October. You are not locking their identities. You are planting the fact that Publius was answering someone. Skip this seed and Chapter 2's No. 1 arrives as a speech into empty air.

Remainder as a number. McLean's leftover stock is not a morality play. It is a count. Several hundred remaining in October. Still advertised in 1789. In 1799 John Tiebout would reissue leftover sheets with new title pages.[29] A student who can recite Washington's posterity sentence and cannot name leftover copies has performed, not learned. Put the bill next to the prophecy. Both are 1788.

A weekly shape: day of a new fact, a short blocked set. Same week: mixed retrieval of older facts. Later this week and next: the new fact between unlike problems. Monthly: an unannounced mixed quiz without notes. You impose that shape

[29]Remainders still advertised 22 May and 14 August 1789; John Tiebout reissued remaining copies with new title pages in 1799. Kaminski et al., "Publication and Sale of *The Federalist*, Volume I."

on the edition you already have.

Exact practice items you can copy

Blocked set, day one:

1. Copy the heading of No. 1. Who is the letter for?
2. Copy the heading of No. 10. Same or different?
3. Write the 1788 title. Circle any word that is *not* on that title.
4. Five hundred copies of each volume. What kind of number is that — a metaphor, or a press run?

Mixed set, later the same week:

1. Date of No. 1.
2. Who was already in Greenleaf on 27 September?
3. A classmate says the essays are like *Common Sense*. Name one number that answers that.
4. Washington, 28 August 1788, said the work would merit the notice of posterity. Was he describing the campaign, or predicting an afterlife?
5. Incoming Poughkeepsie split. Final vote. Which of those is “persuaded”?

Incorrect example, after an attempt:

A paragraph that begins, “In 1787 three founders wrote *The Federalist Papers* to explain the Constitution to America. New York read them and ratified.” Ask: “Mark every word that is a later story. Leave the 1788 facts alone.”

For the student

You are learning what *The Federalist* was in 1788, before it became the book people quote in court and in class.

Every number is a letter. The heading says who it is for: **the people of the State of New York.** Not the people of the United States. Not a later Supreme Court. Not you, yet. You get to read it. You were not the first audience.

The 1788 title was *The Federalist.* “The Federalist Papers” is a later name, popularized by a 1961 paperback. Names matter. This one hid a campaign inside a monument.

Tiny worked example

Look at this heading:

To the People of the State of New York.

The letter is for New Yorkers. The job, as Madison later said, was to recommend the new Constitution to a state whose ratification was doubtful, as well as important. Doubtful: Federalists would be outnumbered 19 to 46 when the convention sat. Important: New York sat between New England and the rest of the Union, and the port's impost funded the state.

Check: if the heading had said "To the People of the United States," the job would be different. It does not say that. Same heading, eighty-five times.

Two tries

1. Write the heading from memory. Then write, in one sentence, who the letter is for and what it is trying to do.
2. A friend says, "Everyone in America read the Federalist Papers, like *Common Sense*." Name two facts you would put next to that sentence. (Hint: one is a press run. One is a reprint count outside New York City.)

Write your answers. Check each one by saying "1788 size" about both.

Explain it back

Tell someone at the table, in your own words, what *The Federalist* was in 1788. Then point to the heading and say why it is doing work. Then say whether "Publius converted New York" is true, false, or too big, and why.

Challenge

On 14 October 1788 the printer still had several hundred copies remaining. Six weeks earlier, Washington had written that the work would merit the notice of posterity. How can both of those be true? What is the campaign, and what is the afterlife?

You are allowed to struggle. You may use a map or a facsimile heading. You write. If you get stuck, ask for a hint — not the answer. Then try again.

Cato was in the papers the day the Constitution was printed in New York. Brutus was nine days before Publius. Alarm went first. A letter that answers other letters is a campaign. A book that later classrooms treat as scripture is an afterlife. You can hold both. That is the skill.

If it isn't clicking

Three diagnostics. Each one has a next move. None of them is a verdict on talent, and none of them is a reason to wait for a birthday.

1. The student keeps saying "the nation" after a clear model of the heading.

The picture never got drawn. The word *nation* is doing extra work because later books use it. Next move: write the heading ten times, from ten different numbers if you have them, or ten times from No. 1. Then ask, "Who would have to be named for this to be a national treatise?" Slow down. Do not skip to No. 10. The heading is the gate.

2. The student can recite five hundred and Crane's twenty-four, and still says Publius converted New York.

Two facts are sitting next to a third story they already liked. The missing piece is the vote. Next move: write 19–46 on the left and 30–27 on the right. Ask what would have to be true for "converted" to fit. If they do not yet have the later chapter's causes (New Hampshire, Virginia, the city, the floor), it is enough this week to say: the essays were a brief for a side that won by other means. Clinton Rossiter's useful phrase, which this book will keep and limit, is that their chief usefulness in 1788 was as a kind of debater's handbook in Virginia and New York.[30] Yes as a brief. No as mass persuasion, and not as the swing.

3. The student treats Anti-Federalists as fools or villains.

A procedure with no "why." Next move: read three dated facts — Cato 27 September, Brutus 18 October, Yates and Lansing's walkout — and ask what problem those people thought they were naming. Consolidation. Mandate. Port. Extent of territory. You do not need to lock who wrote Cato. You need the student to hear a real opponent. If the same flattening repeats after that, get a human — a co-op tutor, a knowledgeable relative, a teacher who will read Brutus I with them. That is a normal high-school plan, not a failure of the kitchen.

When to go ahead: the heading, the 1788 title, the five-hundred-copy run, and Crane's twenty-four are unaided, and the student can explain why "converted New York" is too big. When to slow down: "nation," "Papers," and "everyone read them" keep returning as if they were 1788. Ten minutes of struggle on a well-posed

[30] Rossiter "debater's handbook" as later accounts of his introduction report it (John E. Douglass; Raphael). Mentor text not in hand for the source book.

new idea is ordinary work. Missing the heading after a week of clear models is a hole. Fill the hole.

Tools, including AI

Optional. Adult-side. The rules live in *The Reading Hour*. One reminder: the student reads the heading, and a stretch of No. 1 if you have reached it, before any tool is in the room.

If you use a tool this week, four jobs only: explain the 1788 New York campaign *to you* before the lesson; make extra heading-and-size practice with the answers hidden; write a hint script you can read from ("Look at the first line, not the famous sentence"); diagnose a paragraph the student already wrote.

Dates, press runs, and Crane's twenty-four are not a language-model job. Take them from this chapter's notes, from Maggs, from the Library of Congress guide, or from the edition on the table.

You can teach this entire chapter with no AI. Many families will.

What "done enough" looks like

You are looking for unaided work, not a perfect Tuesday. A publisher's "grade 11" civics book is a scope, not a legal grade. Place by skill.

Before you leave this chapter, the student can, without notes and without you:

- Write the heading and say, in one sentence, who the letter is for.
- Give the 1788 title and name "Papers" as a later label.
- State the press run: five hundred copies of each volume.
- State Crane's finding: twenty-four numbers reprinted outside New York City.
- Date No. 1 (27 October 1787) and name one opponent already in type (Cato, Brutus, or Federal Farmer).
- Explain why "Publius converted New York" is too big, using 19–46 or 30–27 or both.
- Explain, in one breath, the difference between the 1788 campaign and the later civic use.

If those are true unaided, you are done enough. Skip ahead. Chapter 2 will spend

a week inside No. 1. Chapter 3 will take the mask off. Chapter 4 will run the eighty-five. None of those chapters will work if the heading is still a decoration.

If two or more of those checks fail, stay. Another week on the address line is teaching. Birthday is not placement.

A path, not a percentile. The path this week is one state’s newspaper war. You can do this.

Chapter 2

How to read one essay this week

Figure 3: A New York print shop in the newspaper war of 1787.

Why this matters

This week is not a summary of all eighty-five numbers. The work is one skill, and it is the gate to every later essay: how to read No. 1 as a campaign letter, then know

what to do when Nos. 10, 51, and 78 arrive.

That last sentence is the one that surprises people. Classrooms often begin at No. 10 on faction, or at No. 51 on ambition, or at No. 78 on the courts. Those are great essays. They are not the first job. No. 1, in the McLeans' *Independent Journal* on 27 October 1787, told New Yorkers what the series would try to be. It named the stake. It laid out six heads. It promised to answer objections. It admitted the writer had already decided. If the student can do that letter, they can do the later famous numbers without turning them into posters. If they cannot, Nos. 10, 51, and 78 will float.

What you are teaching, as civics, is a reading move. Heading first. Date second. What this paragraph is doing third. One sentence in the student's own words last. Hamilton wrote No. 1 on a Hudson River boat between Albany and New York. That is a composition fact, attested in later biographical accounts; it is not an invitation to invent a crossing, a mist, or a conversation at the rail.[31] He wrote it. The McLeans printed it. New Yorkers who took the *Independent Journal* on Saturday, 27 October, could read a signed argument that the American choice was a lesson for mankind, and a promise that the argument would be systematic.

Grade labels in this book are sequence anchors, not birthdays. A student who already owns the address line from Chapter 1 sits here. A student who still hears "the nation" when they see the heading goes back. Both are teaching.

Treat Avalon, the Library of Congress full text, or the paperback on the table as a text, not a homeschool mandate. You need No. 1 in front of you. You do not need a scholarly apparatus this week. Jacob E. Cooke's 1961 edition is the historians' text of record, newspapers for Nos. 1–76 and McLean for 77–85. Henry B. Dawson's historicist case — that the newspaper text and numbering are what New Yorkers actually read — still has force for a ratification-focused book. It will be noted. This chapter is not rebuilt on it. Modern citation uses the book numbers. New Yorkers in the winter of 1787–88 read a series that had not yet become that book.[32] The

[31] PBS *American Experience*, "Creating the U.S. Constitution," https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/hamilton-creating-us-constitution/; Ashbrook Center, "Alexander Hamilton and *The Federalist*," 22 October 2025, https://ashbrook.org/viewpoint/alexander-hamilton-and-the-federalist/. Composition fact, not a reconstructed crossing. Access date for URLs in these notes: 30 August 2026.

[32] Gregory E. Maggs, "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution," *Boston University Law Review* 87 (2007): 812–14, following Jacob E. Cooke, ed., *The Federalist* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press,

distinction is not pedantry. It is the difference between a campaign and a canon.

What this chapter unlocks is Chapter 3's three pens and Chapter 4's eighty-five numbers. Skip the reading move, and those chapters arrive as a list. Skip No. 1's six heads, and the student will not see that the fourth heading swallowed the work. Skip the special instructions for 10, 51, and 78, and the famous essays will erase the campaign that produced them.

You do not need to be a close reader by training. You do need to understand today's idea well enough to hear a summary with no sentence underneath it as a skip, not a cute slip, and "we can just do 10, 51, and 78" as a greatest-hits shortcut that will cost you later.

For the parent: understand it yourself

Many adults feel rusty in front of eighteenth-century prose. That is ordinary. Five minutes of this section, then the warm-up at the end, is enough for tomorrow.

Everyday picture. Someone writes you a long letter asking for your vote. The first page says who it is for, what is at stake, what the writer will cover, and that the writer has already chosen a side. You do not start on page forty. You do not quote the most beautiful sentence and close the envelope. You read the first page as a first page.

Precise picture. Open No. 1. The heading: The Federalist No. I. The address: To the People of the State of New York. The signature: Publius. Then the opening, as the Avalon Project prints it:

"AFTER an unequivocal experience of the inefficiency of the subsisting federal government, you are called upon to deliberate on a new Constitution for the United States of America. The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences nothing less than the existence of the UNION…"[33]

Then the stake later classrooms would memorize:

"it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really

1961). Henry B. Dawson, ed., *The Fœderalist* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1863), introduction, for the historicist case.

[33] *The Federalist* No. 1, *Independent Journal*, 27 October 1787; Avalon Project, Yale Law School, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed01.asp.

capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force."

Reflection and choice, or accident and force. Washington's storm, restated as a civics exam for mankind, addressed to the people of one state. Both halves sit in the same paragraph. The campaign is the address line. The commentary is the stake. This book exists so a family can keep both.

He would not, he said, amuse readers with an appearance of deliberation when he had decided. He distinguished honest error from the interested officeholder and the ambitious disunionist. He warned that both sides would be moved by ambition, avarice, personal animosity, party opposition. He claimed that energy in government was essential to liberty. And he laid out six heads, in capitals, as if a newspaper series could be a treatise:

THE UTILITY OF THE UNION TO YOUR POLITICAL PROSPERITY

THE INSUFFICIENCY OF THE PRESENT CONFEDERATION TO PRESERVE THAT UNION

THE NECESSITY OF A GOVERNMENT AT LEAST EQUALLY ENERGETIC WITH THE ONE PROPOSED, TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS OBJECT

THE CONFORMITY OF THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION TO THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

ITS ANALOGY TO YOUR OWN STATE CONSTITUTION

and lastly, THE ADDITIONAL SECURITY WHICH ITS ADOPTION WILL AFFORD TO THE PRESERVATION OF THAT SPECIES OF GOVERNMENT, TO LIBERTY, AND TO PROPERTY.

"In the progress of this discussion," he promised, "I shall endeavor to give a satisfactory answer to all the objections which shall have made their appearance, that may seem to have any claim to your attention."[34]

He did not know, that Saturday, that the series would run to eighty-five numbers. The fourth heading would swallow the work. Headings five and six would never receive discrete essays; Hamilton would admit as much, months later, in the last number, when he said those heads had been "so fully anticipated and exhausted"

[34] *Federalist* No. 1 (Avalon). The six heads are printed in capitals in the newspaper text.

that it would scarcely be possible to do more than repeat.[35] The authors did not set out to write a book of more than six hundred pages. They set out to answer objections in a city already at war in type.

He also planted a charge that would not go uncontested. "We already hear it whispered in the private circles of those who oppose the new Constitution, that the thirteen States are of too great extent for any general system, and that we must of necessity resort to separate confederacies." "An Observer," in the *New-York Journal* on 19 November, and Centinel XI would call this a misrepresentation. Centinel's word: "hobgoblin."[36] The charge stays contested. What matters this week is that No. 1 picked a target: disunion, named as a whisper. A counter-battery picks its targets.

What to do with Nos. 10, 51, and 78 — a parent map, not this week's reading

You will be tempted to skip to the famous three. Here is how this book will use them, so you can hear a wrong turn now and not take it.

No. 10, Madison's first, 22 November 1787 in the *Daily Advertiser*, 23 November in the *Packet*. Faction: a number of citizens united by passion or interest against the rights of others or the permanent interests of the community. Liberty is to faction what air is to fire. You cannot remove the causes without destroying liberty. You control the effects by a republic, representation, and extent of territory. "Extend the sphere." Almost invisible in 1788 newspapers outside New York. After Charles Beard in 1913, the most taught essay in political science. Madison thought factions bad and hoped an extended sphere would make a just majority more likely. Robert Dahl's No. 10 is a twentieth-century essay. Madison's is not.[37] This week: know where it sits. Next chapters: read it after Union and before you treat it as the whole series.

No. 51, 6 February 1788 — McLean No. 51, newspaper No. 50. Avalon still heads

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[35] *Federalist* No. 85 (Avalon), https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed85.asp: headings 5 and 6 "so fully anticipated and exhausted in the progress of the work."

[36] "An Observer," *New-York Journal*, 19 November 1787; Centinel XI, Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 January 1788, in John P. Kaminski et al., eds., "An Introduction to *The Federalist*," in *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. 13.

[37] *Federalist* No. 10 (Avalon). First appearance: Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*" (Childs's *Daily Advertiser*, 22 November 1787). Charles Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1913); Robert A. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956). Ira C. Lupu later noted that No. 10's fame is "a creature of twentieth century thought."

it "HAMILTON OR MADISON." Consensus is Madison. "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition." "If men were angels, no government would be necessary." Double security: federalism plus separation of powers. The same logic as No. 10, restated as institutional design.[38] This week: know that it is a February essay, not an October one, and that it sits on Nos. 15–36, the Confederation and energy sequence. Without that sequence, the angels sentence is a proverb.

No. 78, book-first: McLean Volume II, 28 May 1788. Newspaper reprint beginning 14 June. After eight states had ratified. Twenty days before Poughkeepsie opened. The judiciary as the least dangerous branch: neither force nor will, but merely judgment. Courts to declare acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the Constitution void. Delegates who did not buy the book would not have seen it in time. Its influence is almost entirely post-ratification. It was not spring-1788 campaign literature in Virginia or New Hampshire.[39] This week: know that the most famous court essay arrived in a book. Chapter 4 will date the whole run.

The reading rule for all three, and for No. 1: pair the essay with someone on the other side of the page. Brutus on the size of a republic before No. 10. Brutus on the judiciary before No. 78. Federal Farmer on consolidation before No. 51's compound-republic half. Publius almost never named opponents. A family that wants to be honest has to.

Wrong answers you should be able to hear

1. *A summary with no sentence underneath it.* "It's about why we need the Constitution." The student skipped the page. The move is: point to a sentence. "Which line did that come from?"

2. *Starting at a famous quotation.* "Reflection and choice" without the address line, or "if men were angels" without February 1788. The student has taken the afterlife's highlighter for a reading method. Ask them to begin at the heading.

3. *Treating the six heads as a finished treatise.* Hamilton offered a prospectus. The fourth heading grew. Five and six never got their own essays. The outline is a campaign document's table of contents, already being broken.

[38] *Federalist* No. 51 (Avalon). Consensus Madison: Douglass Adair; E. G. Bourne; Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace.

[39] Maggs, "Concise Guide," 815 and Table 2. Volume II, 28 May 1788, eight essays new. Eight states had ratified by then.

4. *Reading No. 78 as if it were a winter newspaper essay that voters had been seeing all season.* Book-first, 28 May. After eight states. Say the date.

5. "*We can just do 10, 51, and 78."* Greatest hits. Those three do not float. No. 10 sits on Union. No. 51 sits on energy. No. 78 sits on a May book. Chapter 1's size still holds: Crane's twenty-four did not include 10, 51, or 78. Crane's out-of-city list was 1 through 21, 23, 38, and 69.[40]

A sixth you will also hear: "He sounds like he's being fair, so he hasn't chosen a side." No. 1 refuses an appearance of deliberation when the writer has decided. Candor about partisanship is still a tactic. It is a better tactic, for a long series, than Caesar's. Name it kindly. The student who heard the fairness is not wrong about the tone. They are early on the job.

Five-minute parent warm-up

Do this before the lesson, No. 1 in front of you, no student in the room.

Minute 1. Read the heading, the address, the signature. Say out loud: "Letter. New York. One name."

Minute 2. Read the reflection-and-choice sentence. Then read the six heads. Say: "Stake, then outline."

Minute 3. Mark one sentence that is campaign (the address, the promise to answer objections) and one that is commentary (reflection and choice; energy essential to liberty). Both can live in No. 1.

Minute 4. Look at a student summary: "This essay explains the Constitution." Decide what that summary skipped — heading, date, six heads, the admission of having decided. You are installing the skip so you can hear it tomorrow.

Minute 5. Write one sentence you will actually say: "Show me the sentence that does the work." Put the pencil down. That sentence is the lesson.

If you can do those five minutes, you are ready to sit down. The student generates. You hear.

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[40] Elaine F. Crane, "Publius in the Provinces," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 21, no. 4 (October 1964): 589–92, via Maggs, "Concise Guide," 816.

How to teach it this week

A good reading hour this week has a shape. Run the session as in *The Reading Hour*. Here is the shape scaled to No. 1.

Warm-up (3–5 minutes, unaided). Heading from Chapter 1. Date of No. 1. 1788 title. Paper. No device.

Short model (5–8 minutes). You read the first paragraph out loud. You say what it is doing. You mark the address, the stake, the promise. Then you stop.

Student attempt (10–15 minutes). The student reads the next stretch — the six heads, or the paragraph on opponents — and writes what it is doing. You wait.

One good question. "What is this paragraph doing — introducing, outlining, targeting, or closing?" Not "did you get it?"

Mixed practice (10 minutes). A heading. A date. One sentence from No. 1. One fact about No. 10, 51, or 78 from the parent map — date only, not a full reading.

Exit ticket (5 minutes, unaided). Two items. Book closed. You hold the key.

Exact wording you can say

On the move:

"Show me the sentence that does the work."

"What is this paragraph doing — introducing, outlining, answering, or closing?"

"Heading first. Date second. Your sentence last."

On No. 1:

"He says he will not pretend to be undecided. That is candor, and it is still a side."

"These six heads are a plan. They are not yet eighty-five essays."

"Which heading is the longest one going to be? We will find out. Today, just copy the six."

On the famous three, this week only:

"No. 10 is November, Madison, faction. We are not reading it today. We are parking it on the map."

“No. 51 is February, ambition, angels. It sits on the energy essays. It does not replace them.”

“No. 78 is a May book. Least dangerous branch. Not a winter newspaper in Virginia.”

On a stuck student:

“Look only at this paragraph first.”

“You already know the heading. Use it.”

“Point to one sentence. Just one.”

When you are about to take over:

“Your pencil. I’ll ask a question.”

Then wait. Ten seconds of silence is teaching.

First problem for the student

Write this on a small card or the top of the page, exactly:

Read the first two paragraphs of No. 1. Who is the letter for? What question does it say Americans must decide?

Say: “Heading first. Then the question in the text. Your words after that.”

Wait. If the student writes a general civics slogan with no heading, they skipped the page. If they write New York plus reflection-and-choice versus accident-and-force, they heard the letter. If they stare, show a fully worked different stretch — the six heads, said as “this is the table of contents of a campaign” — then a true/false (“No. 1 is a complete commentary on the courts”), then return to the opening. Fade: full example, completion, conventional.

Later the same week, the diagnostic item:

A classmate says, “We should just read 10, 51, and 78. That’s the Federalist.” What would you need to know about each number before you agreed?

Hear “just.” Hear a student who can date all three and still wants only the posters. After the student has attempted, show a worked *incorrect* example that treated No. 78 as October 1787 newspaper reading and ask what that person thought a “book-first” essay was. The student names the error.

How to fade help

Day of a new move: you model one paragraph fully. The student explains a second. A third is missing only the last marked job. A fourth is conventional — a new paragraph, no marks. When the student is accurate, stop showing full examples. Bring the heading back when a famous sentence arrives. Fading is for accuracy, not for a calendar date.

When to stop talking

After the question. After the hint. After the model of a *different* paragraph. If you hear yourself paraphrasing the student's current paragraph in real time while their pencil is idle, you have started doing the work. Stop. Point to the line. Wait.

Prose of this density is slow on purpose. Madison later said the essays were written in great haste, and that while the printer was putting into type the parts of a number, the following parts were under the pen.[41] Haste on their side does not mean haste on yours. A novice staring at a blank page spends working memory searching, not learning. Show the move. Then fade. You stop talking sooner than feels polite. The student holds the essay.

The implied reader of No. 1 was a politically literate freeholder, lawyer, or merchant who took newspapers at a coffee house or tavern — a register Archibald Maclaine judged "not well calculated for the common people."[42] Your student is a high-school civics reader, not that freeholder. You will slow the sentences. You will not baby-talk the ideas. Respect looks like waiting, then asking for a line.

He sent No. 1 to Washington. The sending is a composition fact, not a scene of a disciple at a general's feet. Washington was already a Federalist. He did not need converting. He needed, as August 1788 would show, a commentary he could put in a library when the fugitive performances had disappeared.[43] Hamilton, on the boat and in the *Journal*, was still trying to convert New York. The two uses — campaign and commentary — are both in the first number if you know how to

[41] James Madison, Detached Memoranda, in Elizabeth Fleet, ed., "Madison's 'Detached Memoranda,' " *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 3, no. 4 (October 1946): 534–68, quoted in Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*."

[42] Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell, 4 March 1788, as quoted in Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*."

[43] Washington to Hamilton, 28 August 1788, Founders Online, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-05-02-0025. Hamilton sending No. 1 to Washington: composition fact as reported in the source book.

look. Today the student learns to look.

Say, if they are ready:

"Reflection and choice is commentary talk. To the People of the State of New York is campaign talk. Both are on page one."

If they are not ready, the heading and the six heads are enough. The Washington letter can wait for Chapter 6.

Practice that actually builds learning

Understanding and practice grow together. Wait weeks to practice the reading move and the idea stays a speech. Drill a new summary with no line underneath it and you get a chant.

Blocked, for a new move. The day you introduce "what is this paragraph doing," give a short set that is only that: three stretches of No. 1, job-labels only. The day you introduce the six heads, copy them, then say which one will later swallow the work (the fourth). The day you introduce the famous-three map, three date-and-job items, no full reading.

Mixed, for when to use it. Later the same week: a heading from Chapter 1, a paragraph-job from No. 1, a date for No. 78, a Crane fact they already own. Mixing types is the practice of choosing a strategy. A purchased book of excerpts that jumps to No. 10 can still be interleaved by you opening with No. 1 on the same day.

Brief retrieval of facts already known. Two or three minutes. Address line. 27 October 1787. Five hundred copies. Cover the answers. You listen. Meet them again next week.

One incorrect example to diagnose. After the student has attempted a paragraph-job, show a worked solution that wrote "this is about the Supreme Court" on No. 1's opening. Ask: "What did this person think the opening was doing?" After a greatest-hits skip, show a reading list that is only 10, 51, 78 and ask what is missing from the front of the series. The student names the error.

Kitchen, money, and making. Reading No. 1 aloud at the table is the work. A facsimile of the *Independent Journal* heading can motivate, or give a second picture of a letter they are already reading. It does not replace the unaided sentence.

A film clip of a later classroom quoting “if men were angels” is a useful second picture of the afterlife. It is not this week’s first picture.

Pairing, this year. You do not need a full Anti-Federalist anthology. You need one dated fact next to No. 1: Brutus I, 18 October, “the most important question that was ever proposed to your decision.”[44] Publius nine days later, reflection and choice. Two openings. Same week. Same city. The student who can only quote Publius has performed a side.

A weekly shape: day of the opening, a short blocked set. Same week: six heads. Later this week: famous-three map as dates only. Next week: mix with Chapter 1’s size. You impose that shape on the edition you already have.

Exact practice items you can copy

Blocked set, day one (No. 1 open):

1. Heading, address, signature. Copy them.
2. In one sentence, the question Americans must decide, in the essay’s terms.
3. Name one thing the writer says he will *not* do (pretend to be undecided).
4. Copy the six heads. Star the fourth.

Mixed set, later the same week:

1. Who is the letter for? (Chapter 1 retrieval.)
2. Date of No. 1.
3. Date of No. 10. Who writes it? (Map only.)
4. Date Volume II appears. What numbers are book-first?
5. A paragraph from No. 1: introducing, outlining, targeting, or closing? Mark it.

Incorrect example, after an attempt:

A paragraph that begins, “Federalist 1 is the essay on the courts, where Hamilton explains judicial review to the nation in October 1787.” Ask: “Mark every confusion — number, topic, audience, date.”

For the student

You are learning how to read one of these letters, not how to recite a famous line.

[44] Brutus I, *New-York Journal*, 18 October 1787; Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/brutus-i/.

A *Federalist* essay is a newspaper letter. You start at the top. Heading. Address. Date. Then you ask what the first paragraph is doing. Then you write one sentence of your own. You are allowed to go slowly. The sentences are long on purpose. Haste was their problem. It does not have to be yours.

No. 1 is the first letter. Hamilton wrote it. It ran on 27 October 1787. It tells New Yorkers that the choice in front of them is reflection and choice versus accident and force, and it lays out six topics the series will cover. It also says the writer has already decided. That is not a trick. It is a campaign letter being honest about being a campaign letter.

Tiny worked example

Look at this, from the top of No. 1:

To the People of the State of New York.

Then the question whether societies can establish good government from reflection and choice, or must depend on accident and force.

The heading names the audience: New York. The question names the stake: can people choose a government on purpose. Both are on the first page. A reading that keeps only the question has dropped the audience. A reading that keeps only the heading has dropped the stake. You keep both.

Two tries

1. Read the six heads in No. 1. In your own words, what is head one asking? What is head two asking? You do not need to answer them today. You need to see them.

2. A friend wants to skip No. 1 and read only No. 10 (faction), No. 51 (ambition), and No. 78 (courts). Give one good reason to read No. 1 first, and one fact about No. 78's date that should change how that friend uses it.

Write your answers. Check each one by pointing at a line in No. 1, or at a date from this chapter.

Explain it back

Tell someone at the table how you read a *Federalist* essay. Then point to the six heads and say what an outline is, and what it is not. Then say whether the writer of No. 1 claims to be undecided, and how you know.

Challenge

No. 1 promises to answer “all the objections which shall have made their appearance, that may seem to have any claim to your attention.” What work are those two qualifiers doing — “shall have made their appearance,” and “any claim to your attention”? Who gets to decide which objections count?

You are allowed to struggle. You may mark the page. You write. If you get stuck, ask for a hint — not the answer. Then try again.

Nos. 10, 51, and 78 will wait. You will read them. They are better if you can already do this: heading, date, job of the paragraph, one sentence of your own. That is the skill. It will still be the skill in May 1788, when the courts arrive in a book.

If it isn’t clicking

Three diagnostics. Each one has a next move. None of them is a verdict on talent, and none of them is a reason to wait for a birthday.

1. The student summarizes without pointing at a sentence.

The move never got practiced. Next move: close the summary. Open No. 1. “Finger on one sentence. Read it aloud. Then your words.” If they cannot find the reflection-and-choice sentence after a hunt, the prose is still too fast. Slow the model. One paragraph a day is enough. Do not skip to No. 10 to make it more interesting. Interesting without a line is a poster.

2. The student can do the heading and still wants only 10, 51, and 78.

The greatest-hits story is sitting on top of a new skill. Next move: a three-row table. Number. Date. What you would miss if you started there. No. 10 without Union. No. 51 without energy. No. 78 without “book-first.” If the table is unaided and they still prefer the posters, let them read one famous paragraph *after* they have dated it. The date is the gate, not the prize.

3. Eighteenth-century sentences shut the hour down.

A missing prerequisite, not a character problem. Next move: you read a sentence aloud, they repeat the job-label only — introducing, outlining, targeting. Then they try a shorter stretch. If the same freeze repeats after three clear models and a real attempt, get a human — a co-op, a tutor who will read eighteenth-century

prose with them, a teacher who will not replace the essay with a video. That is a normal high-school plan, not a failure of the kitchen.

When to go ahead: the student can, unaided, start No. 1 at the heading, name the stake, copy the six heads, and say why 10, 51, and 78 do not replace that work. When to slow down: summaries with no line, or a plan to skip No. 1, keep returning. Ten minutes of struggle on a well-posed paragraph is ordinary work. Missing the heading after a week of Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 is a hole. Fill the hole.

Tools, including AI

Optional. Adult-side. The rules live in *The Reading Hour*. One reminder: the student reads No. 1 first, on paper or a clean screen, before any tool is in the room.

If you use a tool this week, four jobs only: explain the six heads *to you* before the lesson; make extra paragraph-job practice with the answers hidden; write a hint script ("Heading first. Then one sentence."); diagnose a summary the student already wrote.

Quotations from No. 1 are not a language-model job. Take them from Avalon, from the Library of Congress full text, or from the edition on the table.[45] A tool that summarizes the essay *for the student* during the attempt is the crutch this hour refuses.

You can teach this entire chapter with no AI. Many families will.

What "done enough" looks like

You are looking for unaided work, not a perfect Tuesday. A publisher's "grade 11" civics book is a scope, not a legal grade. Place by skill.

Before you leave this chapter, the student can, without notes and without you:

- Open No. 1 at the heading, not at a famous line.
- Say who the letter is for and what question it poses, in the essay's terms.
- Copy the six heads and say that they are a plan, not yet the book.

[45] Library of Congress, "Full Text of *The Federalist Papers*," https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/full-text.

- Name the reading move: heading, date, job of the paragraph, one sentence of their own.
- Date No. 10 (November 1787), No. 51 (February 1788), and No. 78 (book-first, 28 May 1788) well enough to refuse a greatest-hits skip.
- Explain why a summary with no sentence underneath it is not yet reading.

If those are true unaided, you are done enough. Skip ahead. Chapter 3 will take the mask off: Hamilton 51, Madison 29, Jay 5. Chapter 4 will run the eighty-five and spend the book-first last eight. None of those chapters will work if No. 1 is still a poster.

If two or more of those checks fail, stay. Another week inside one letter is teaching. Birthday is not placement.

A path, not a percentile. The path this week is one Saturday paper. You can do this.

Chapter 3

Three men, one name

Figure 4: Three quills, one civic mask.

Why this matters

This week is not a trivia contest about who wrote which number. The work is one idea, and it is the gate to reading the series without flattening it: three men signed

Publius. They are not one mind. The count historians now print is Hamilton 51, Madison 29, Jay 5.[46]

That last sentence is the one that surprises people. The mask did its work. A reader of those autumn numbers met a single civic voice: a New Yorker, a friend of the people, a Roman founder rather than a Caesar or a Brutus or a Cato. What the reader did not meet, and was not meant to meet, were the three men. If the student treats Publius as a committee report, they will later force Hamilton's energy and Madison's compound republic into one theory. If they treat Hamilton's own later list as a count, they will give him almost three-quarters of the series. Both errors are expensive. Hearing the split this week is worth the struggle.

What you are teaching, as civics, is a working rule. Print 51 / 29 / 5. Footnote 18–20 as Madison's text with Hamilton's assistance, and 55 as the residual stylometric wobble. Never treat Hamilton's own count as a count. Madison, in cipher to Jefferson on 10 August 1788, after New York had ratified, wrote the collaboration fact this book will keep: the writers are not "mutually answerable for all the ideas of each other," there being seldom time for even a perusal of the pieces by any but the writer before they were wanted at the press, and sometimes hardly by the writer himself.[47] That paragraph is worth more than a celebrity biography.

Grade labels in this book are sequence anchors, not birthdays. A student who can already read No. 1 as a letter sits here. A student who still cannot find the heading goes back to Chapter 2. Both are teaching.

Treat popular biography as a tool, not a homeschool mandate. Ron Chernow's Hamilton is the right popular life for the outsider who became a staff officer. It is not a substitute for the essays. Walter Stahr's line of Jay biography is useful for the office and the stone. It is not five extra Federalist numbers. This book will not dump three life stories onto the table, and it will not sell you a founding-fathers

[46]Gregory E. Maggs, "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution," *Boston University Law Review* 87 (2007): 812 n.54: Hamilton 1, 6–9, 11–13, 15–17, 21–36, 59–61, 65–85; Madison 10, 14, 18–20, 37–58, 62–63; Jay 2–5, 64. Douglass Adair, "The Authorship of the Disputed Federalist Papers," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 1, no. 2 (April 1944): 97–122, and Part II, 1, no. 3 (July 1944): 235–64; Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace, "Inference in an Authorship Problem," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 58, no. 302 (June 1963): 275–309. Access date for URLs in these notes: 30 August 2026.

[47]Madison to Jefferson, 10 August 1788, Founders Online, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-13-02-0378. Italics originally in code decoded by Jefferson.

franchise.

What this chapter unlocks is Chapter 4's run of eighty-five. You cannot see that the fourth heading swallowed the work if you think one brain designed the book. You cannot date Nos. 78–85 as Hamilton's book-first close if you think Jay wrote the courts. You cannot teach No. 84's losing brief on a bill of rights next to Madison's 8 June 1789 speech if you think Publius was a committee. Skip the split, and later pages arrive as a single oracle.

You do not need to be a stylometrist. You do need to understand today's idea well enough to hear "Hamilton wrote almost all of them" as a list error, not a cute slip, and "they were one mind" as a mask taken for a fact.

For the parent: understand it yourself

Many adults feel rusty on the three lives. That is ordinary. You do not need three biographies this week. You need three temperaments, one count, and one paragraph in cipher. Five minutes of this section, then the warm-up at the end, is enough for tomorrow.

Everyday picture. Three people share one byline in a newspaper. At first they show each other drafts. Then they stop, because there is no time, and because they do not want to endorse everything the other believes. The column still looks like one writer. It is not. Years later, after two of them have become political enemies, one of them leaves a list that gives himself most of the columns. The list is a fact about that man. It is not a table of contents.

Precise picture. Write three rows.

Hamilton, 51: Nos. 1, 6–9, 11–13, 15–17, 21–36, 59–61, 65–85. Energy, money, the presidency, the courts. Forensic, cumulative: a maxim, historical examples, a practical conclusion.

Madison, 29: Nos. 10, 14, 18–20, 37–58, 62–63. Faction, failed confederacies, the anatomy of the signed text. A hinge, then a compound republic. Nos. 18–20 are his text with Hamilton's assistance: Madison's pre-Convention notes on ancient and modern confederacies supply most of the paragraphs; Hamilton left material; the published essays are Madison's.

Jay, 5: Nos. 2–5 and 64. Union, foreign danger, then the treaty power. Moderate, Ciceronian. The only Federalist holographs that survive are his.

No. 55 is the one paper among the formerly disputed twelve on which later studies still sometimes hesitate. Gideon still claims it for Madison. This book does not move it.[48]

The working count was settled by historical argument and then by statistics. Douglass Adair's two-part *William and Mary Quarterly* essay of 1944 assigned the twelve disputed essays — 49–58, 62–63 — to Madison. Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace's function-word analysis of 1963–64 mostly confirmed him. Hamilton's list, left near the duel with Aaron Burr in 1804 in the tradition that comes down through Egbert Benson and the *Port Folio*, gave him 63 solely, plus three marked joint. The memorandum vanished. The tradition remains. It overclaimed the papers. Madison's Gideon edition of 1818, prepared from his marked copy, was the first to print a name on each essay and gave the split that Adair and the statisticians later confirmed.[49] Hamilton had been the organizer, the majority writer, the liaison with printers, and, probably as a member of a committee, the man charged for more than half the book. He was not three-quarters of Publius.

Three temperaments, short

Hamilton was born on 11 January, in 1755 or 1757 — the year is unsettled — on Nevis in the British West Indies. Illegitimacy, a counting-house, King's College, Washington's staff, a Congress that could not supply an army. At Philadelphia he was one of three New York delegates and the only one who wanted a strong new federal government. Outvoted by Yates and Lansing, he could not cast New York's vote after they left about 10 July. On 18 June he sketched senators and a "national governor" during good behavior, and called Britain's government "the best in the world." The plan attracted almost no support. On 17 September, signing, he asked whether it was possible to deliberate "between anarchy, and convulsion, on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan, on the other." No man's ideas, he said, were more remote from the plan than his own were known to be. He signed anyway.[50] Publius, when he comes, is an advocate of the signed

[48]Maggs, "Concise Guide," 812; Jacob E. Cooke on 18–20 as Madison with Hamilton's assistance; Mosteller and Wallace on No. 55 as residual wobble.

[49][Hamilton, Madison, and Jay], *The Federalist, on the New Constitution … The numbers written by Mr. Madison corrected by himself* (City of Washington: Jacob Gideon, Jun., 1818). Benson memorandum as printed in Dawson: Jay 2–5 and 54 (a slip for 64); Madison 10, 14, 37–48; 18–19–20 joint; "All the others by H." That is 63 solely Hamilton, plus three joint. John P. Kaminski et al., eds., "An Introduction to *The Federalist*," in *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. 13.

[50]Madison's notes, 17 September 1787, Teaching American History / Elliot. National Archives,

text. The unused June plan is the man. It is not the Constitution.

Madison was born on 16 March 1751 in Virginia. Princeton, Witherspoon, Jefferson's books, two failed imposts. In April 1787 he sat down to *Vices of the Political System of the United States*. The seventh vice, in capitals: WANT OF SANCTION TO THE LAWS, AND OF COERCION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CONFEDERACY. A treaty of amity, not a government. The faction paragraph in that memorandum is the seed of No. 10, and not yet No. 10.[51] He arrived in Philadelphia days before the scheduled opening, forced the Convention onto a national track, kept the notes, won a proportional House, and lost the Senate, the council of revision, and the federal negative. In October 1787 he wrote Jefferson that he doubted the new government could succeed. The honorific "Father of the Constitution" is an old National Archives convenience. It is not a fact this book will print as a fact. Madison himself later refused it. The Constitution, he said, was the work of many heads and many hands.[52]

Jay was born on 12 December 1745 in New York. Secretary for Foreign Affairs of a government that could not make a treaty stick. To Jefferson in 1786, as the Jay literature reports it: to be respectable abroad it was necessary to be so at home. He did not attend Philadelphia. Hamilton tried to enlarge New York's delegation to include him; the legislature sent Yates and Lansing instead. After No. 5, on 10 November 1787, he was painfully crippled by rheumatoid arthritis. He published No. 64, on the treaty power, in early March 1788 — his most important Federalist essay, the only one on the constitutional text, a holograph extant. In mid-April, during the Doctors' Riot, he was struck in the forehead with a stone; a family letter of 17 April describes him carried home unconscious and bleeding.[53] That ended further Federalist work. A later anecdote that he quit because his style was too mild is uncorroborated; his own letters document the illness. Contemporaries

"A More Perfect Union," on "the best in the world" and that the 18 June speech found almost no following. Hamilton itinerary: Maggs, "Concise Guide," 835 n.169, citing Farrand.

[51]James Madison, *Vices of the Political System of the United States*, April 1787, Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/vices-of-the-political-system/.

[52]Harold S. Schultz, "James Madison: Father of the Constitution?," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 37, no. 2 (Spring 1980): 215–22. Sol Bloom FAQ, National Archives reprint. The Cogswell letter of 10 March 1834 was not re-fetched; "many heads and many hands" is treated as the honorific literature reports it.

[53]Richard B. Morris and staff, "John Jay and the Constitution," Papers of John Jay, Columbia University Libraries, https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/jay/jay_constitution. Sarah Livingston Jay, 17 April 1788, as reported in Morris. No. 64: *Packet*, Friday 7 March 1788 (Library of Congress newspaper table).

would treat his separate *Address to the People of the State of New-York*, not the five essays, as his most persuasive New York intervention. Hamilton, in No. 85, would point readers to "an excellent little pamphlet lately published in this city" and refuse to repeat it.[54]

Whether Hamilton or Jay first proposed the series is not settled. Madison later said "the proposal came from the two former." The Center for the Study of the American Constitution refuses to decide, and so does this book.[55] Gouverneur Morris was warmly pressed and declined. William Duer wrote two or more pieces Hamilton did not use, and later wrote as "Philo-Publius." Madison, in New York as a Virginia delegate to Congress, accepted. He told Washington on 18 November 1787 that he was likely to have "a degree of connection with the publication," and that there were "three in the whole"; Washington would "recognize one of the pens." He suggested another Convention member — the scratched name is probably Rufus King — and Hamilton "spoke respectfully" of the talents but did not think them "of the sort required."[56] The trio is a residue, not a carefully balanced cabinet.

They signed Publius and they stopped editing each other. At first Hamilton and Madison exchanged drafts. They stopped, for two reasons Madison named in the Detached Memoranda. Time. And they did not want to "give a positive sanction to all the doctrines and sentiments of the other; there being a known difference in the general complexion of their political theories."[57] No Hamilton or Madison drafts survive. The surviving drafts that have been identified are Jay's. Why the other papers disappeared is an open question: deliberate anonymity, or printer's copy discarded. Richard B. Morris thought the disappearance, given both men's archival habits, itself proved how badly they wanted anonymity; the inference is a scholar's, and it is not proved.[58] This chapter will not reconstruct lost drafts.

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[54] *Federalist* No. 85 (Avalon), n. 1, naming Jay's *Address*.

[55] Madison to Jefferson, 10 August 1788; Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*" ("Whether or not Alexander Hamilton or John Jay originated the idea for the series is uncertain").

[56] Madison to Washington, 18 November 1787, in Robert A. Rutland et al., eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 10 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 254, quoted in Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*." King snub: Detached Memoranda, via CSAC. Morris and Duer: Madison, Detached Memoranda, via Kaminski et al.

[57] Madison, Detached Memoranda, in Elizabeth Fleet, ed., "Madison's 'Detached Memoranda,' " *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 3, no. 4 (October 1946): 534–68, quoted in Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*."

[58] Morris, "John Jay and the Constitution." Surviving drafts identified as Jay's; Hamilton and Madison drafts not extant.

There is no three-man writing room to reconstruct.

The name was a Roman founder's: Publius Valerius Publicola, "friend of the people." Albert Furtwangler argued that it sat "a cut above" Caesar, Brutus, or Cato because it named a founder. The early numbers were voiced as from "a Citizen of N. Y." When reprints spread, that limited persona was dropped; Madison later told Paulding that one reason was that one of the writers was not a citizen of that state.[59] Secrecy was tactical. It was also porous among elites. Private letters guessed Hamilton most often, then Hamilton-and-Madison, rarely Jay. A tavern reader had Publius. That was the point.

Jefferson, reading from Paris on 18 November 1788, already saw the split on the page: "in some parts it is discoverable that the author means only to say what may be best said in defence of opinions in which he did not concur." He also called the work "the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written."[60] Both sentences are Jefferson's. A later Court would admit, in a footnote to *Printz v. United States* (1997), that *The Federalist* reads with a split personality on federalism.[61] The 1790s fight over the Bank and over neutrality did not create the split from nothing. It made public a wartime alliance of nationalists who had refused, in 1787–88, to endorse one another's doctrines.

Wrong answers you should be able to hear

1. "*Hamilton wrote almost all of them.*" The student has taken the Benson-list tradition for a count. Hamilton 51. Majority, not three-quarters. Ask for 51 / 29 / 5.

2. "*They were one mind / a committee.*" The student has taken the mask for a process. Not mutually answerable. Seldom time for a perusal. Known difference in theories. Ask for Madison's cipher paragraph, in paraphrase if not in quotation.

3. "*Madison is the Father of the Constitution, so his essays are the Constitution.*" Honorific, not a fact. Many heads and many hands. He is defending

[59] Albert Furtwangler, *The Authority of Publius: A Reading of the Federalist Papers* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984). Madison to James K. Paulding, 23 July 1818, via Maggs / Hunt.

[60] Jefferson to Madison, 18 November 1788, Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/letter-to-james-madison-18/.

[61] *Printz v. United States*, 521 U.S. 898 (1997), n. 9, quoting Alpheus Thomas Mason, "The Federalist—A Split Personality," *American Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (April 1952): 625–43; Maggs, "Concise Guide," 833.

a compromised text, including an equal Senate he had fought and, in No. 54, a three-fifths clause. The advocate of 1788 is not a window onto the theorist of 1787.

4. "*Jay wrote a large share / Jay dropped out because he was too mild.*" Five numbers. Illness, then a stone. The mild-style anecdote is uncorroborated. His *Address* was the more persuasive New York intervention. Proportion is the lesson.

5. "*They sat in a room and edited every essay together.*" No three-man writing room. Early exchange of drafts, then parallel production under a printer's slot of four a week. No Hamilton or Madison drafts survive.

A sixth you will also hear: "Who cares who wrote which? It's all Publius." The mask is real. The split is also real. Energy and the compound republic can live in one series without being the same theory. Caring is how you keep both.

Five-minute parent warm-up

Do this before the lesson, on a scrap of paper, no student in the room.

Minute 1. Write 51 / 29 / 5. Say out loud: "Hamilton, Madison, Jay. One name."

Minute 2. True or false: Hamilton's list is the count we use. Madison is factually the Father of the Constitution. Jay wrote five. They endorsed all of one another's doctrines. You are practicing the hearing.

Minute 3. Sketch three desks, not one table. Boat / sickbed / Virginian in New York. No shared writing room. That picture is enough.

Minute 4. Look at "Publius was a committee of three founders with one theory." Decide what that sentence gets right (three men; a shared signature) and what it gets wrong (committee; one theory; mutual endorsement). You are installing the error.

Minute 5. Write one sentence you will actually say: "Three pens. One name. Not one mind." Put the pencil down. That sentence is the lesson.

If you can do those five minutes, you are ready to sit down. The student generates. You hear.

How to teach it this week

A good reading hour this week has a shape. Run the session as in *The Reading Hour*. Here is the shape scaled to the three pens.

Warm-up (3–5 minutes, unaided). Heading. Date of No. 1. Six heads, named as a plan. Paper. No device.

Short model (5–8 minutes). Three rows on a page: Hamilton 51, Madison 29, Jay 5. One sentence of temperament each. Then you stop.

Student attempt (10–15 minutes). The student places Nos. 1, 10, and 64 in the right row, and writes why the mask is not a committee. You wait.

One good question. "What would change if we put Hamilton's 63 on the table as the count?" Not "did you get it?"

Mixed practice (10 minutes). A heading from Chapter 1. A paragraph-job from Chapter 2. An authorship item from today. A date for No. 78.

Exit ticket (5 minutes, unaided). Two items. Book closed. You hold the key.

Exact wording you can say

On the count:

"Hamilton 51, Madison 29, Jay 5. That is the working count."

"Hamilton's own list over-claimed. It is a fact about Hamilton. It is not our table of contents."

"Nos. 18–20 are Madison's, with Hamilton assisting. No. 55 is the wobble. We still give 55 to Madison."

On the mask:

"They signed one name. They are not mutually answerable."

"At first they showed drafts. Then they stopped — time, and a known difference in theories."

"We have a boat, a sickbed, a Virginian's desk. We do not have a shared writing room."

On the three:

“Hamilton sounds like a lawyer and a staff officer: energy, failure modes, examples.”

“Madison sounds like a man with notes: faction, compound republic, the inside of the signed text.”

“Jay sounds like a diplomat: union, foreign danger, treaties. Five numbers, then illness, then a stone.”

On a stuck student:

“Look only at the count first.”

“You already know who wrote No. 1. Use it.”

“Three rows. Place this number.”

When you are about to take over:

“Your pencil. I’ll ask a question.”

Then wait. Ten seconds of silence is teaching.

First problem for the student

Write this on a small card or the top of the page, exactly:

Three names. One signature: Publius. Who wrote the most numbers? Who wrote No. 10? Who wrote five? Why is that not the same thing as one mind?

Say: “Count first. Then the mask.”

Wait. If the student writes “Hamilton wrote them” or “the Founders,” they have flattened the split. If they write 51 / 29 / 5 and “not mutually answerable,” they heard the relation. If they stare, show a fully worked different item — No. 1 Hamilton, No. 10 Madison, No. 64 Jay, said as three rows — then a true/false (“Madison factually fathered the Constitution”), then return to the card. Fade: full example, completion, conventional.

Later the same week, the diagnostic item:

A classmate says, “Hamilton’s list says he wrote 63, so Madison is padding his résumé.” What two facts would you put next to that sentence?

Hear the Benson-list tradition treated as an affidavit. Hear Gideon, Adair, Mosteller and Wallace as “padding.” After the student has attempted, show a

worked *incorrect* example that used 63 as the count and ask what that person thought a vanished memorandum was. The student names the error.

How to fade help

Day of a new move: you model the three rows fully. The student explains a second number. A third is missing only the last placement. A fourth is conventional. When the student is accurate, stop showing full examples. Bring the cipher paragraph back when “one mind” arrives. Fading is for accuracy, not for a calendar date.

When to stop talking

After the question. After the hint. After the model of a *different* number. If you hear yourself narrating Hamilton’s childhood while their pencil is idle, you have started doing the work. Stop. Point to the row. Wait.

You do not need Nevis this week unless it helps the temperament: outsider, staff officer, impatience with parchment. You do not need Montpelier unless it helps the workshop: *Vices*, notes, lost negative. You do not need the Doctors’ Riot as melodrama. Sarah Livingston Jay’s letter is the document: carried home unconscious and bleeding. He recovered enough to sit at Poughkeepsie. He did not write more Federalist numbers. Those are the facts to keep.

The partnership of 1787–88 did not survive the first administration. Washington made Hamilton first Secretary of the Treasury. Madison opposed the Bank as unconstitutional. In 1793 Hamilton wrote as “Pacificus” for neutrality; Madison answered as “Helvidius.”[62] That later break can wait for Chapter 6. Name it here as a limit: a wartime alliance of nationalists, not a single constitutional theory. The student who wants to rush into the 1790s is early. The count and the cipher paragraph are enough.

Say, if they are ready:

“Jefferson saw the split in November 1788. Madison had already named it. A later Court would admit it. We do not have to pretend they were a cabinet.”

If they are not ready, 51 / 29 / 5 and “not one mind” are enough. Jefferson’s double verdict can wait.

[62] Partnership break as standard account in the source book: Bank; Pacificus / Helvidius, 1793.

Practice that actually builds learning

Understanding and practice grow together. Wait weeks to practice the split and the idea stays a speech. Drill 51 / 29 / 5 with no temperament and no "why" and you get a chant.

Blocked, for a new move. The day you introduce the count, a short set that is only placement: No. 1, No. 10, No. 51, No. 64, No. 78. The day you introduce "not mutually answerable," two paraphrase items and one true/false. The day you introduce Hamilton's list, one item: fact about Hamilton, not a count.

Mixed, for when to use it. Later the same week: a heading, a paragraph-job from No. 1, an authorship placement, a book-first date. Mixing types is the practice of choosing a strategy. A purchased poster of "the three authors of the Federalist Papers" can still be interleaved by you writing 51 / 29 / 5 on the same page.

Brief retrieval of facts already known. Two or three minutes. Address line. Six heads. 27 October 1787. Cover the answers. You listen.

One incorrect example to diagnose. After the student has attempted the classmate sentence, show a worked solution that wrote "Hamilton 63, Madison a handful, Jay almost none, one theory." Ask: "What did this person think the Gideon edition was for?" The student names the error.

Kitchen, money, and making. Three index cards on the table, one name each, numbers on the back. That can motivate, or give a second picture of a split they are already writing. It does not replace the unaided count. A musical or a film is a useful second picture of Hamilton's life. It is not the first picture of Publius, and it is not a count.

Silence, named. All three were anti-slavery on paper in some register: Hamilton and Jay in the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves; Madison privately uneasy, still a slaveholder. None of that enters Publius except Madison's strained No. 54. Chapter 7 will spend the silence. This chapter names it so the men are not cleaned up for civic use. A short blocked item is enough: "Which number in Madison's 29 is the three-fifths essay?" (54.) "Does the rest of the series discuss slavery at length?" (No.)

A weekly shape: day of the count, a short blocked set. Same week: temperaments as three sentences. Later this week: Hamilton's list as a diagnostic. Next week: mix with No. 1's outline. You impose that shape on the edition you already have.

Exact practice items you can copy

Blocked set, day one:

1. Write 51 / 29 / 5. Label the names.
2. Place No. 1, No. 10, No. 64.
3. Place No. 78. (Hamilton, and book-first — two facts.)
4. In one sentence, what "not mutually answerable" means.

Mixed set, later the same week:

1. Who is the letter for?
2. Copy head four of No. 1. Who will write most of that anatomy? (Madison 37–58, 62–63; then Hamilton on executive, judiciary, 84.)
3. Hamilton's list: usable count, or a fact about Hamilton?
4. Jay's five, then what took him out?
5. True or false: Madison is factually the Father of the Constitution.

Incorrect example, after an attempt:

A paragraph that begins, "Publius was a three-man committee that met nightly, edited every line, and spoke with one theory of federalism, mostly Hamilton's 63 essays." Ask: "Mark every invention and every count error."

For the student

You are learning who is under the name Publius, and why that is not the same thing as one writer.

Three men signed one name. **Hamilton wrote 51 numbers. Madison wrote 29. Jay wrote 5.** That is the count this book uses. Hamilton's own later list gave him more. That list is about Hamilton — pride, haste, and the value of being Publius after he and Madison had become enemies. It is not our arithmetic.

They are not a committee. Madison told Jefferson they were not mutually answerable for all of each other's ideas. Sometimes there was barely time for the writer himself to read the piece before it went to the printer. One mask. Real split.

Tiny worked example

Look at three numbers:

No. 1 — 27 October 1787 — Hamilton. Outline of a New York campaign.

No. 10 — 22 November 1787 — Madison. Faction, extend the sphere.

No. 64 — March 1788 — Jay. Treaty power. Holograph extant.

Same signature. Three jobs. Three temperaments. If you read all three as "what the Founders thought," you have dropped the pens.

Two tries

1. Write 51 / 29 / 5 from memory. Place No. 51 (ambition, angels) and No. 78 (least dangerous branch). Who wrote each, on the working count?
2. A friend says the three men sat in a room and agreed on every doctrine. What two facts would you put next to that sentence? (Hint: one is about drafts. One is a sentence Madison sent in cipher.)

Write your answers. Check each one against the three rows.

Explain it back

Tell someone at the table who Publius is. Then say why "one name" is not "one mind." Then say what we do with Hamilton's list of 63.

Challenge

Jefferson called the essays the best commentary on government he had seen, and also said that in some parts the author means only to say what may be best said in defense of opinions in which he did not concur. How can both be true? Use 51 / 29 / 5, or the unused June plan, or Madison defending the Senate he had fought.

You are allowed to struggle. You may use the three rows. You write. If you get stuck, ask for a hint — not the answer. Then try again.

Jay wrote five, not because he was mild, but because of illness and then a riot injury. Madison wrote the theory because he had the notes. Hamilton wrote the majority because he would not stop. The mask hid that. You are taking the mask off without pretending they were a cabinet. That is the skill.

If it isn't clicking

Three diagnostics. Each one has a next move. None of them is a verdict on talent, and none of them is a reason to wait for a birthday.

1. The student keeps saying "the Founders" or "Hamilton" for every number.

The picture never got drawn. Next move: three rows, physical cards if you have them. Place five numbers. Slow down. Do not skip to No. 51's angels sentence to make it more fun. Fun without a count is a poster.

2. The student can recite 51 / 29 / 5 and still says they were one mind.

Two facts are sitting next to a third story they already liked. Next move: paraphrase "not mutually answerable" in their own words. Then ask what Hamilton's No. 84 (bill of rights unnecessary and dangerous) and Madison's later introduction of amendments do to "one mind." If Chapter 7 is too far, it is enough this week to say: known difference in theories; they stopped exchanging drafts. The 1789 irony can wait. The refusal to endorse cannot.

3. The biographies swallow the hour.

Nevis, whiskey, the duel — interesting, and not this week's move. Next move: close the life story. Open the three rows. Temperament in one sentence each. If the same wander repeats after a clear model, get a human who will keep the essays at the center — a co-op tutor, a teacher who will not replace Publius with a musical. That is a normal high-school plan, not a failure of the kitchen.

When to go ahead: 51 / 29 / 5 unaided, three temperaments in one sentence each, Hamilton's list named as a fact about Hamilton, "not mutually answerable" in the student's own words. When to slow down: "one mind," "Father of the Constitution" as fact, and "Hamilton wrote 63" keep returning. Ten minutes of struggle on a well-posed placement is ordinary work. Missing the count after a week of clear models is a hole. Fill the hole.

Tools, including AI

Optional. Adult-side. The rules live in *The Reading Hour*. One reminder: the student places numbers, and rereads a stretch of No. 1 or No. 10 if you use one, before any tool is in the room.

If you use a tool this week, four jobs only: explain the 51 / 29 / 5 split *to you* before the lesson; make extra placement practice with the answers hidden; write a hint script ("Three rows. Where does this number sit?"); diagnose a paragraph the student already wrote.

Authorship counts are not a language-model job. Take them from Maggs, from this chapter's notes, or from a modern edition that follows Adair and Mosteller–

Wallace. A tool that "decides" No. 55 during the attempt is a sideshow. Gideon claims it. We leave it with Madison.

You can teach this entire chapter with no AI. Many families will.

What "done enough" looks like

You are looking for unaided work, not a perfect Tuesday. A publisher's "grade 11" civics book is a scope, not a legal grade. Place by skill.

Before you leave this chapter, the student can, without notes and without you:

- Write Hamilton 51, Madison 29, Jay 5, and name that as the working count.
- Place No. 1, No. 10, No. 64, and No. 78 in the right row.
- Explain, in their own words, "not mutually answerable."
- Say what we do with Hamilton's list of 63: a fact about Hamilton, not a table of contents.
- Refuse "Father of the Constitution" as a fact, and give Madison's own limit: many heads and many hands.
- Name Jay's five without inflating them, and without the uncorroborated "too mild" story.
- Explain why one name is not one mind, in one breath.

If those are true unaided, you are done enough. Skip ahead. Chapter 4 will run the eighty-five: the six heads as executed, Crane's twenty-four, book-first 78–85 on 28 May 1788, five hundred copies a volume. None of that will work if the three pens are still a blur.

If two or more of those checks fail, stay. Another week on three rows is teaching. Birthday is not placement.

A path, not a percentile. The path this week is a mask taken off without a writing room invented to replace it. You can do this.

Chapter 4

Eighty-five numbers

Figure 5: Eighty-five numbers, still a newspaper series.

Why this matters

This week is not a tour of all eighty-five essays. The work is one map, and it is the gate to using the famous numbers without letting them float: how the series

is built, which rooms a family actually enters, and why Nos. 78–85 arriving in a book on 28 May 1788 cannot be winter campaign literature.

That last sentence is the one that surprises people. No. 1 promised six heads. The fourth heading swallowed the work. Headings five and six never received discrete essays; Hamilton admitted as much in No. 85.[63] A student who jumps from No. 10 to No. 51 has skipped the Confederation and energy sequence, Nos. 15–22 and 23–36, without which faction and ambition float free of the emergency that produced them. A student who reads No. 78 as if New Yorkers had been seeing it in the papers all spring has skipped the book. Hearing the run this week is worth the struggle.

What you are teaching, as civics, is a structure. As executed, in the numbering the McLeans fixed and later editors kept: No. 1 the introduction; Nos. 2–14 the Union; Nos. 15–22 the Confederation; Nos. 23–36 energy — defense, militia, taxation; Nos. 37–84 the anatomy of the Constitution; No. 85 the leftover headings and the close.[64] Five hundred copies of each volume. Volume I, Nos. 1–36, 22 March 1788. Volume II, Nos. 37–85, 28 May 1788, eight of them never yet seen in a newspaper. Elaine F. Crane's out-of-city reprint count remains twenty-four numbers.[65] Those three facts — the executed map, the press run, the reprint count — are the week's load. Later chapters will ask whether anyone who still had a vote was listening. This chapter gets the numbers on the table.

Grade labels in this book are sequence anchors, not birthdays. A student who owns the address line, the reading move, and 51 / 29 / 5 sits here. A student who still cannot date No. 1 goes back. Both are teaching.

Treat a greatest-hits paperback as a tool, not a homeschool mandate. Rossiter

[63] *The Federalist* No. 1 (Avalon, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed01.asp), six heads in capitals; No. 85 (Avalon, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed85.asp), headings 5 and 6 "so fully anticipated and exhausted." Access date for URLs in these notes: 30 August 2026.

[64] Gregory E. Maggs, "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution," *Boston University Law Review* 87 (2007): 812–15 and Table 1; Jacob E. Cooke, ed., *The Federalist* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961); John P. Kaminski et al., eds., "An Introduction to *The Federalist*," in *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. 13, digital extract, https://archive.csac.history.wisc.edu/An_Introduction_to_The_Federalist(1).pdf.

[65] Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*": five hundred copies of each volume; Volume I, 22 March 1788 (Nos. 1–36); Volume II, 28 May 1788 (Nos. 37–85, eight new). Elaine F. Crane, "Publius in the Provinces," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 21, no. 4 (October 1964): 589–92, via Maggs, "Concise Guide," 815–16.

prints McLean text throughout. Cooke prints newspaper text for the newspaper-first essays and McLean for 78–85. You may use either. You need the map. You do not need every variant comma. Any collational claim about a specific verbal change between newspaper and McLean is a specialist's job.[66] This book will not dump eighty-five summaries onto the table, and it will not sell you an edition.

What this chapter unlocks is Chapter 5's 30–27 vote and Chapter 6's afterlife. Skip the book-first last eight, and the least-dangerous-branch essay looks like the Federalist case that won the spring. Skip Crane's twenty-four, and the afterlife looks like 1788. Skip 15–36, and Nos. 10 and 51 become posters.

You do not need to memorize eighty-five titles. You do need to understand today's idea well enough to hear "just read 10 and 51" as a skip, not a cute shortcut, and "No. 78 was in the winter papers" as a date mistake.

For the parent: understand it yourself

Many adults feel rusty in front of a table of eighty-five. That is ordinary. You do not need all eighty-five this week. You need the executed map, three size facts, and six rooms a general reader actually enters. Five minutes of this section, then the warm-up at the end, is enough for tomorrow.

Everyday picture. Someone promises a six-part series in the local paper. Part four grows and grows, because the charter has to be explained clause by clause against daily objections. The last two promised parts never get their own essays. The last eight pieces skip the paper and appear in a bound book in May, after eight states have already said yes. Five hundred copies. Outside the city, only twenty-four of the numbers are reprinted at all. That is not a failure of ambition. It is what a newspaper war, a printer's slot, and a fight required.

Precise picture. Write the executed map:

1 — introduction (Hamilton).

2–14 — utility of Union (Jay 2–5; Hamilton 6–9, 11–13; Madison 10 and 14).

15–22 — insufficiency of the Confederation (Hamilton; Madison plus Hamilton's notes on 18–20).

[66] Maggs, "Concise Guide," 814–15, on Cooke versus Rossiter. Cooke's apparatus was not inspected, page by page, for the source book. Numbering facts are solid. Variant words are a specialist's job.

23–36 — energy, all Hamilton: common defense, militia (No. 29), taxation (30–36).

37–84 — anatomy of the Constitution, the long fourth heading (Madison 37–58, 62–63; Jay 64; Hamilton 59–61, 65–84).

85 — leftover headings and peroration (Hamilton).

Teaching rooms inside that long fourth heading, if they are not allowed to erase the prospectus: 37–51 general republican theory, federalism, checks; 52–66 the legislative; 67–77 the executive; 78–83 the judiciary, book-first; 84–85 leftovers and close.[67]

McLean numbering — the modern 1–85 — diverges from newspaper numbering. Newspaper No. 35, the militia essay, was moved back and became McLean No. 29. Newspaper No. 31 was split into McLean 32 and 33. Thereafter McLean runs one number ahead of the newspapers through newspaper 76, which is McLean 77. The pre-book newspaper series therefore runs 1–76. There was no original newspaper essay numbered 77. McLean 78–85 exist as such only in the book: they were written for Volume II and printed there first.[68] Modern citation uses McLean numbers. This book does too, unless first appearance is the point.

Volume I appeared 22 March 1788, thirty-six numbers, unsigned preface by Hamilton. Volume II appeared 28 May 1788, forty-nine numbers, eight of them new, twenty days before Poughkeepsie opened on 17 June. Five hundred copies of each. Hamilton, probably as a member of a committee which had commissioned the volumes, paid for more than half the printing cost. Archibald McLean would still have several hundred remaining in October.[69] The book was a second campaign, a portable handbook, and a bid to outlive the newspaper moment. It was not saturation of America.

Crane, searching surviving issues of eighty-nine newspapers and three magazines

[67]Teaching groupings of heading four are orientation only.

[68]Maggs, "Concise Guide," Table 1. Newspaper 35 (militia) became McLean 29; newspaper 31 split into McLean 32 and 33; pre-book series newspaper 1–76; McLean 78–85 book-first. The *Independent Journal* reprint of McLean 78 on 14 June 1788 numbered it 77; the *Packet* numbered it 78. Maggs's sentence that "no essay numbered 77 ever appeared in the newspapers" is right about the pre-book series and too clean about the reprints.

[69]Kaminski et al., "Introduction to *The Federalist*"; Archibald McLean, bill to the New York committee, 14 October 1788, in Kaminski et al., "Publication and Sale of *The Federalist*, Volume I," https://csac.history.wisc.edu/2022/03/22/publication-and-sale-of-the-federalist-volume-i/.

from 27 October 1787 to 31 August 1788, found sixteen newspapers and one magazine outside New York City reprinting any essay, collectively only twenty-four essays: 1 through 21, 23, 38, and 69. Only in New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. Her conclusion: the essays "did not reach an audience of any significant size in 1787-88." No essay appeared in print, on her count, in Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, or Georgia.[70] A CSAC-derived list of No. 1 reprint cities includes Charleston; Crane says no essay in South Carolina. Prefer Crane. Nos. 10, 51, 70, 78, and 84 are not on that twenty-four. The essays later classrooms love were not the essays later states reprinted.

Six states had already ratified before Volume I: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts. By 28 May, Maryland and South Carolina had ratified — eight states. New Hampshire became the ninth on 21 June.[71] Nos. 78 and 84 could not have swayed the spring. Their influence is almost entirely post-ratification.

Six rooms a family actually enters

You will not tour all eighty-five. You will know where these six sit, and what they answer.

No. 10, 22 November 1787, Madison. Faction as a dangerous vice. Liberty is to faction what air is to fire. Causes cannot be removed. Control the effects: a republic, representation, extent of territory. "Extend the sphere." Brutus had already denied that a free republic could live over so vast a territory. Madison's answer is that the miles are the cure. Almost invisible outside New York in 1788. After Beard, the most taught essay in political science. Madison thought factions bad and hoped an extended sphere would make a just majority more likely. Dahl's No. 10 is a twentieth-century essay.[72]

No. 15, Hamilton, opens the insufficiency heading. "The great and radical vice in the construction of the existing Confederation is in the principle of

[70] Crane via Maggs, 816. This book prefers Crane to a CSAC-derived Charleston listing for No. 1.

[71] Maggs, "Concise Guide," Table 2; National Archives, "A More Perfect Union," https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/more-perfect-union. Six states before Volume I; eight by 28 May; New Hampshire ninth on 21 June. Poughkeepsie opened 17 June 1788.

[72] *Federalist* No. 10 (Avalon). Brutus I, 18 October 1787. Charles Beard (1913); Robert A. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (1956); Ira C. Lupu on No. 10's fame as "a creature of twentieth century thought."

LEGISLATION for STATES or GOVERNMENTS, in their CORPORATE or COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES, and as contradistinguished from the INDIVIDUALS of which they consist."[73] A league that cannot coerce is the argument's floor. This is Madison's seventh vice in forensic English. A family that skips 15–22 to stay with faction has skipped the emergency.

No. 39, 16 January 1788, Madison. The compound republic. Neither wholly federal nor wholly national. Foundation federal; House national, Senate federal, presidency mixed; operation national (the cure for No. 15's vice); extent federal (enumerated powers; residuary state sovereignty); amendments mixed. Federal Farmer had asked whether the plan was partly federal but principally calculated to make the states one consolidated government. No. 39 is the designed reply. It is the best single text for why Americans have never agreed what "federalism" means. Publius wrote the ambiguity into the theory because the Convention had written it into the text.[74]

No. 51, 6 February 1788, Madison. Ambition against ambition. If men were angels, no government would be necessary. Double security: two governments, then departments inside each. Multiplicity of interests is to civil rights what multiplicity of sects is to religious rights. Without 15–36, the angels sentence is a proverb. With them, it is a design requirement for a government Hamilton has just insisted must tax and raise armies.[75]

No. 70, 15 March 1788, Hamilton. Energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. Unity, duration, adequate support, competent powers; safety in dependence on the people and responsibility. "Decision, activity, secrecy, and despatch" belong to one man. Crane's out-of-state list includes 69, not 70. Central to later presidency studies. Hamilton's 1788 energy was sold against fear of monarchy, with a four-year term and impeachment in reserve. Later uses sometimes strip the limits.[76]

No. 78, book-first, 28 May 1788, Hamilton. The judiciary the least dangerous branch: neither force nor will, but merely judgment. Duty to declare acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the Constitution void. Brutus had already predicted judicial supremacy. No. 78 authorizes courts to refuse unconstitutional statutes as a consequence of a written constitution. It does not, by itself, settle judicial exclu-

[73] *Federalist* No. 15 (Avalon).
[74] *Federalist* No. 39 (Avalon). Federal Farmer, letters dated from 8 October 1787.
[75] *Federalist* No. 51 (Avalon). Consensus Madison.
[76] *Federalist* No. 70 (Avalon). Crane via Maggs: out-of-city reprints 1–21, 23, 38, 69 — not 70.

sivity or the modern Court's role as national arbiter of social conflict.[77] Delegates who did not buy the book would not have seen it in time.

No. 84, book-first, 28 May 1788; newspapers during and after the Poughkeepsie vote. Hamilton: bills of rights "are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution, but would even be dangerous." "The Constitution is itself, in every rational sense, and to every useful purpose, A BILL OF RIGHTS."[78] He lost that political argument within three years. Madison, who had not written a Federalist number against a bill of rights, introduced the amendments on 8 June 1789. That irony belongs fully to a later chapter. This week's job is to date the losing brief: May book, after eight states, not a winter newspaper.

No. 85 closes. A nation without a national government is an awful spectacle. The establishment of a Constitution in time of profound peace by the voluntary consent of a whole people is a prodigy, to the completion of which he looks forward with trembling anxiety.[79] Subsequent amendments are easier than prior ones. That is the Federalist floor position at Poughkeepsie: ratify, then amend. The last number is a campaign close, not a founding hymn.

Wrong answers you should be able to hear

1. "*Just read 10 and 51.*" The student has taken the afterlife's highlighter for a map. 10 and 51 sit on 15–36. Ask what a league that cannot coerce has to do with angels.

2. "*No. 78 was in the papers all winter.*" Book-first, 28 May 1788. After eight states. Twenty days before Poughkeepsie. Say the date.

3. "*The whole country was reading them.*" Crane: twenty-four numbers outside the city. Five hundred copies a volume. Nos. 10, 51, 70, 78, 84 are not on Crane's twenty-four.

4. "*They planned eighty-five from the start.*" No. 1 is a prospectus. Four num-

[77] *Federalist* No. 78 (Avalon). Maggs, "Concise Guide," 815. Larry Kramer, *The People Themselves* (2004); Akhil Reed Amar, *The Bill of Rights* (1998): Kramer is right that the afterlife exceeded the 1788 claim; Amar is right that judicial review was not a later invention.

[78] *Federalist* No. 84 (Avalon). Madison introduced the amendments in the House on 8 June 1789.

[79] *Federalist* No. 85 (Avalon): "A nation, without a national government, is, in my view, an awful spectacle. The establishment of a Constitution, in time of profound peace, by the voluntary consent of a whole people, is a prodigy, to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety."

bers a week was a printer's slot. Heading four grew. Five and six never got discrete essays.

5. "*The newspaper numbers are the same as the book numbers.*" Militia essay moved. Newspaper 31 split. No original newspaper 77. McLean 78–85 book-first. Cite McLean unless first appearance is the point.

A sixth you will also hear: "No. 84 is the Federalist case that blocked a bill of rights in 1788." Late, book-first, a losing brief. Virginia and New York extracted amendments as the price of ratification. Date it before you use it.

Five-minute parent warm-up

Do this before the lesson, on a scrap of paper, no student in the room.

Minute 1. Write the executed map in six lines: 1; 2–14; 15–22; 23–36; 37–84; 85. Say out loud: "The fourth heading is the book."

Minute 2. True or false: Volume II is 28 May 1788. Nos. 78–85 were newspaper-first. Crane found twenty-four out of city. Five hundred copies of each volume. You are practicing the hearing.

Minute 3. Write 10, 51, 78, 84. Date each in one phrase: November; February; May book; May book. Circle the two that could not have been winter reading.

Minute 4. Look at "just read 10 and 51." Decide what that skip drops — Union's opponents, the radical vice, taxes, armies. You are installing the skip.

Minute 5. Write one sentence you will actually say: "Where does this number sit on the map?" Put the pencil down. That sentence is the lesson.

If you can do those five minutes, you are ready to sit down. The student generates. You hear.

How to teach it this week

A good reading hour this week has a shape. Run the session as in *The Reading Hour*. Here is the shape scaled to the run.

Warm-up (3–5 minutes, unaided). 51 / 29 / 5. Heading. Date of No. 1. Paper. No device.

Short model (5–8 minutes). The executed map on one page. Volume I and Volume II dates. Book-first marked on 78–85. Then you stop.

Student attempt (10–15 minutes). The student places Nos. 10, 15, 51, and 78 on the map, and dates 78. You wait.

One good question. "What would you miss if you jumped from 10 to 51?" Not "did you get it?"

Mixed practice (10 minutes). A heading. An authorship placement. A map placement. Crane's twenty-four. A book-first date.

Exit ticket (5 minutes, unaided). Two items. Book closed. You hold the key.

Exact wording you can say

On the map:

"Where does this number sit on the map?"

"No. 1 promised six heads. The fourth heading became the book."

"Copy 15–22 and 23–36. That is the floor under 10 and 51."

On size:

"Five hundred copies of each volume. That is a press run."

"Crane found twenty-four numbers outside New York City. Is 78 one of them?"

"Volume II, 28 May 1788. Twenty days before Poughkeepsie. Eight numbers the newspapers had not yet carried."

On the famous rooms:

"No. 10 is faction. Brutus had already said a large republic cannot be free. Madison says the miles are the cure."

"No. 15 is the radical vice: legislation on states, not persons."

"No. 78 is a May book. Least dangerous branch. Not a winter paper."

"No. 84 is a May book. Unnecessary and dangerous — and a losing brief."

On a stuck student:

"Look only at the map first."

"You already know who wrote No. 1. Now place No. 15."

"Book-first means the book saw it before the newspaper did."

When you are about to take over:

“Your pencil. I’ll ask a question.”

Then wait. Ten seconds of silence is teaching.

First problem for the student

Write this on a small card or the top of the page, exactly:

Place these four on the executed map: No. 10, No. 15, No. 51, No. 78. Which one could a New Yorker *not* have been reading in the papers all winter, and why?

Say: “Map first. Then the date.”

Wait. If the student puts 78 in the winter newspapers, they have missed book-first. If they skip 15 because it is not famous, they have taken the highlighter for a map. If they place all four and date 78 as 28 May 1788, they heard the relation. If they stare, show a fully worked different set — 1, 39, 70, 84 — then a true/false (“No. 84 ran in October 1787”), then return to the card. Fade: full example, completion, conventional.

Later the same week, the diagnostic item:

A classmate says, “The Federalist is Nos. 10 and 51. The courts essay convinced the country in the spring of 1788.” What three facts would you put next to that sentence?

Hear the skip of 15–36. Hear 78 as spring campaign. Hear “the country.” After the student has attempted, show a worked *incorrect* example that treated 78–85 as newspaper-first winter reading and ask what that person thought 28 May was. The student names the error.

How to fade help

Day of a new move: you model the map fully. The student places a second set. A third is missing only the last date. A fourth is conventional. When the student is accurate, stop showing full examples. Bring book-first back when a court quotation arrives. Fading is for accuracy, not for a calendar date.

When to stop talking

After the question. After the hint. After the model of a *different* number. If you hear yourself touring No. 10’s entire argument while their pencil is idle, you have started doing the work. Stop. Point to the map. Wait.

You do not need every number in 23–36. You need the student to know that energy means armies, militias, and taxes, not a mood. Brutus VI–VII had attacked Publius on finance, military power, and federal-state relations. This sequence is the structured answer. A Constitution that cannot fund itself is the Confederation again. Civic canons skip it because civic scripture likes faction and angels. The 1788 reader, if the 1788 reader got this far, was being asked to ratify a government that could reach his person and his purse. That is the emergency.

Say, if they are ready:

"Nos. 10 and 51 are the theory of how such a government can still be republican. They are not a substitute for the government."

If they are not ready, the map and the book-first date are enough. The tax essays can remain a labeled room.

Newspaper reprints of 78–85 dribbled through New York papers from 14 June to 16 August, during and after the convention. The *Independent Journal*, on 14 June, reprinted McLean 78 and numbered it 77. The *Packet* numbered the same essay 78.[80] A chapter on the war should remember that the soldiers were not yet numbered as the monument is numbered. For this week, McLean numbers are enough. First appearance is the point only when the student claims a winter public for a May book.

Practice that actually builds learning

Understanding and practice grow together. Wait weeks to practice the map and the idea stays a speech. Drill "eighty-five essays" with no rooms and no dates and you get a chant.

Blocked, for a new move. The day you introduce the executed map, a short set that is only placement: 1, 10, 15, 39, 51, 70, 78, 84, 85. The day you introduce book-first, four items that are only 78–85 and 28 May. The day you introduce Crane, three items: twenty-four; which famous numbers are missing; where no essay appeared.

Mixed, for when to use it. Later the same week: a heading, 51 / 29 / 5, a map placement, a press run, a book-first date. Mixing types is the practice of choos-

[80] Founders Online / Syrett headnote on No. 78, as reported in the source book; Maggs, "Concise Guide," 814–15.

ing a strategy. A purchased excerpt book that is only 10, 51, and 78 can still be interleaved by you writing 15–36 on the same page.

Brief retrieval of facts already known. Two or three minutes. Address line. Six heads as a plan. Hamilton 51 / Madison 29 / Jay 5. Cover the answers. You listen.

One incorrect example to diagnose. After the student has attempted the classmate sentence, show a worked solution that wrote "78 ran all winter and converted the nation." Ask: "What did this person think Volume II was?" The student names the error.

Kitchen, money, and making. A one-page map on the fridge. Two boxes drawn as Volume I and Volume II, 500 on each. That can motivate, or give a second picture of a run they are already placing. It does not replace the unaided date. A visit to a historic print shop is a useful second picture of type. It is not the first picture of book-first.

Pairing, this year. Brutus I next to No. 10. Brutus on the judiciary next to No. 78. Federal Farmer on consolidation next to No. 39. You do not need full texts of every opponent. You need one dated sentence on the other side of the page. Publius almost never named them. A family that wants the answers to be answers has to.

A weekly shape: day of the map, a short blocked set. Same week: book-first and Crane. Later this week: the six rooms as dates and jobs, not full readings. Next week: mix with the three pens. You impose that shape on the edition you already have.

Exact practice items you can copy

Blocked set, day one:

1. Write the executed map in six lines.
2. Place No. 15. What vice does it name?
3. Place No. 78. Newspaper-first or book-first?
4. Volume I date. Volume II date. Copies of each.

Mixed set, later the same week:

1. Who is the letter for?
2. Who wrote No. 51, on the working count?
3. Crane's twenty-four: name two numbers that are *not* on it among 10, 51, 69, 78.
4. What did headings five and six of No. 1 never get?

5. No. 84: unnecessary and dangerous — and when did it first appear?

Incorrect example, after an attempt:

A paragraph that begins, “In the winter of 1787 Hamilton’s No. 78 explained the Supreme Court to the whole country, in the newspapers, as the eighty-five-essay plan had intended from October.” Ask: “Mark date, channel, audience, and plan — each error.”

For the student

You are learning how eighty-five numbers are built, so the famous ones have somewhere to sit.

No. 1 promised six topics. The series did not stay six. **The fourth topic — how the Constitution is built — became most of the book.** The last two promised topics never got their own essays. The last eight numbers, including the courts and the bill of rights, appeared first in a book on 28 May 1788, after eight states had already ratified. Five hundred copies of each volume. Outside New York City, only twenty-four numbers were reprinted at all.

That is the run. It is smaller than a monument. It is larger than two famous quotations.

Tiny worked example

Look at four numbers:

No. 10 — November 1787 — Union series — faction.

No. 15 — Confederation series — the radical vice: laws for states, not for persons.

No. 51 — February 1788 — anatomy — ambition against ambition.

No. 78 — 28 May 1788 — book first — least dangerous branch.

If you read only 10 and 51, you never meet the vice that made energy feel necessary, and you never see that the court essay missed the winter papers. The map is the skill. The quotations will still be there tomorrow.

Two tries

1. Write the executed map in six lines (1; 2–14; 15–22; 23–36; 37–84; 85). Place No. 39 (compound republic) and No. 84 (bill of rights).

2. A friend says No. 78 convinced Americans in the spring, because everyone was reading the Federalist in the papers. Name two facts that do not fit that sentence. (Hint: one is a date. One is Crane's count, or the five hundred.)

Write your answers. Check each one against the map.

Explain it back

Tell someone at the table how the eighty-five are grouped. Then say why Nos. 10 and 51 should not skip 15–36. Then say what "book-first" means for 78–85.

Challenge

Hamilton closed No. 85 by looking forward with trembling anxiety to a Constitution established in time of peace by the voluntary consent of a whole people. Volume II still had leftover copies in October. How can a close like that, and leftover stock, both be 1788? What is the campaign doing in the last number, and what is already waiting to become scripture?

You are allowed to struggle. You may use the map. You write. If you get stuck, ask for a hint — not the answer. Then try again.

You do not have to read all eighty-five. You do have to know where the ones you read sit, who was on the other side of the page, and which ones a May book carried that a winter newspaper did not. That is the skill. Chapter 5 will ask what New York's convention actually did. You will be ready if the map is real.

If it isn't clicking

Three diagnostics. Each one has a next move. None of them is a verdict on talent, and none of them is a reason to wait for a birthday.

1. The student can name 10 and 51 and cannot place 15–36.

The map never got drawn. Next move: six lines, copied daily, then four placements. Slow down. Hold the angels sentence until 15 is a room they can point to. The proverb will wait. The vice will not work around a missing floor.

2. The student dates 78 as "during ratification" and treats that as winter 1787.

"During ratification" is doing extra work. Next move: a timeline. 27 October No. 1. 22 March Volume I. 28 May Volume II, 78–85 book-first. 17 June Poughkeepsie opens. 21 June New Hampshire ninth. 26 July New York 30–27. If 78 still sits in

October on their page, the picture is a highlighter. Draw the May book. Stay until the date is unaided.

3. Eighty-five feels like a wall, and the hour shuts down.

A missing prerequisite, not a character problem. Next move: you do not read eighty-five. You read a map of six lines and four numbers. If the same freeze repeats after that, get a human who will keep the map small — a co-op tutor, a teacher who will not assign all eighty-five as a weekend. That is a normal high-school plan, not a failure of the kitchen.

When to go ahead: executed map unaided; 78–85 dated book-first, 28 May 1788; five hundred copies; Crane's twenty-four; 15–36 named as the floor under 10 and 51. When to slow down: greatest-hits skips and winter-78 keep returning. Ten minutes of struggle on a well-posed placement is ordinary work. Missing the map after a week of clear models is a hole. Fill the hole.

Tools, including AI

Optional. Adult-side. The rules live in *The Reading Hour*. One reminder: the student places numbers on the map, and reads a stretch of No. 15 or No. 78 if you use one, before any tool is in the room.

If you use a tool this week, four jobs only: explain the executed map *to you* before the lesson; make extra placement practice with the answers hidden; write a hint script ("Six lines. Where does 78 sit? When did the book appear?"); diagnose a timeline the student already wrote.

Dates, press runs, Crane's twenty-four, and quotations are not a language-model job. Take them from Maggs, from Avalon, from this chapter's notes, or from the edition on the table. A tool that summarizes all eighty-five *for the student* during the attempt is the crutch this hour refuses.

You can teach this entire chapter with no AI. Many families will.

What "done enough" looks like

You are looking for unaided work, not a perfect Tuesday. A publisher's "grade 11" civics book is a scope, not a legal grade. Place by skill.

Before you leave this chapter, the student can, without notes and without you:

- Write the executed map in six lines (1; 2–14; 15–22; 23–36; 37–84; 85).
- Say that the fourth heading swallowed the work, and that heads five and six never got discrete essays.
- Date Volume I (22 March 1788) and Volume II (28 May 1788), and state five hundred copies of each.
- Date Nos. 78–85 as book-first, 28 May 1788, after eight states had ratified.
- State Crane's finding: twenty-four numbers reprinted outside New York City, and that several famous numbers are not on that list.
- Explain why Nos. 10 and 51 should not skip 15–36.
- Place No. 84 as a May losing brief, not a winter newspaper victory.

If those are true unaided, you are done enough. Skip ahead. Chapter 5 will spend New York's 30–27 vote on 26 July 1788, and the finding that Publius did not convert the convention. You will hear that chapter if the 1788 object is already small in the student's hands.

If two or more of those checks fail, stay. Another week on six lines is teaching. Birthday is not placement.

A path, not a percentile. The path this week is eighty-five numbers at the size they actually were. You can do this.

Chapter 5

Thirty to Twenty-Seven

Figure 6: An empty convention hall and a close tally.

Why this matters

A family that finishes this chapter can name the New York vote, the date it happened, and the three political facts that moved the last yeses. That is a civic skill,

not a trivia win. It is the skill that keeps a later Supreme Court quotation from sounding like 1788 itself.

On 26 July 1788 the New York convention at Poughkeepsie accepted a form of ratification, 30–27, with a declaration of rights, recommendatory amendments, and a circular letter urging a general convention. The incoming arithmetic had been nineteen Federalists to forty-six Anti-Federalists. Those two pairs of numbers are the whole plot.[81] Nineteen walked in. Thirty walked out. Eleven men had moved, and some had abstained rather than moved. The essays signed Publius did not produce that change as mass persuasion. News, geography, a floor compromise over two words, and a promise of amendments did.

This is worth the struggle because later Americans meet *The Federalist* as a bound classic and want it to have done the work of a bound classic: persuade a people, settle a meaning, win a state. 1788 was not that kind of year. Eight states were already in when the convention opened on 17 June. Volume II of the McLean book was twenty days old. The judiciary essays were just beginning to appear in two city papers. The counties that had sent the forty-six had not been reading Nos. 39, 51, and 78 over the winter, because those numbers had not been on their tables.

The idea this week unlocks is simple and adult. A campaign can fail at its immediate object and still, later, merit the notice of posterity. New York's ratification is the immediate object. The notice of posterity is next week's chapter. If you mix the two, you will hear a wrong answer and think it is wisdom.

What you can learn this week, as the adult at the table, is the 19–46 / 30–27 arithmetic, the 26 July date, and a short list of what actually moved votes. What the

[81] Facts in this chapter rest on the research already done for *Publius: How a New York Newspaper War Became America's Civic Scripture* (Michael Gannotti). Load-bearing items: New York's incoming 19–46; the 30–27 of 26 July 1788; Hamilton's "confound, but do not convince"; Smith's "like Publius" jab as reported by Robin Brooks (1967); Crane via Maggs on twenty-four essays outside the city; McLean's 500-copy run and October remainder; Jay's *Address* reprinted in full in seven out-of-state papers; Wilson's speech in twelve of thirteen states and thirty-four newspapers; Maggs's search of Elliot; De Pauw, Kaminski, and Maier as aligned judgments on propaganda value. Pauline Maier's *Ratification*, Linda Grant De Pauw's *The Eleventh Pillar*, and Albert Furtwangler's *The Authority of Publius* are books a family can seek. They were not re-read cover to cover for this teaching chapter; their judgments enter through the research file and through later syntheses. One-number disagreements left standing: *Daily Advertiser* last number 50 vs. 51; Greenleaf through 38 vs. 39. Teaching American History's 25 July is not used as the date of the instrument. No reconstructed hall. No invented Lincoln quotation belongs in this book at all; none is used here.

student can try today is to tell the story of Poughkeepsie in six sentences without making Publius the hero of the count.

For the parent: understand it yourself

Here is the everyday picture. Imagine a student-council election in a large school. One hallway has a dense, brilliant newspaper. Four issues a week. The writers are the three sharpest seniors in the building. The rest of the school takes a weekly, or takes nothing. When the votes are counted, the newspaper's hallway still loses the rooms. The school joins a league anyway because two neighboring schools have already joined, the cafeteria threatens to peel off, and the losing side extracts a written promise of new rules. The newspaper did not flip the rooms. The league, the threat, and the promise did. That is Poughkeepsie, scaled to a cafeteria. It is not the documents. It is a picture to hold while you read them.

Here is the precise picture. A convention of the people of New York assembled at Poughkeepsie on 17 June 1788. Sixty-five delegates. Governor George Clinton in the chair as president. Eight states had already ratified. The incoming split was nineteen Federalists to forty-six Anti-Federalists. Poughkeepsie sat eighty-four miles north of the city that printed Publius. The convention had not been called in that city. After Federalist No. 21, Publius had almost vanished from the state's papers north of New York. The men who walked in on 17 June were not a city audience that had been reading four numbers a week since October.

They agreed to debate the Constitution paragraph by paragraph in Committee of the Whole, with amendments in order at any time. That procedure was the Federalists' first move. They wanted delay. They had organized expresses from New Hampshire and from Virginia. They were waiting for a ninth state, because a ninth state would change the question from whether New York would join a proposed Union to whether New York would stay out of a Union already formed. Until that news arrived, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and Chancellor Robert R. Livingston would talk. Melancton Smith, John Lansing Jr., and Clinton would answer.

News of New Hampshire's ninth ratification arrived 24 June. News of Virginia's arrived 2 July. Those two events virtually assured adoption by New York. The remaining fight was over form. Federalists united in supporting unconditional ratification, and were willing to accept recommendatory amendments in order to secure adoption. Anti-Federalists were less united. Outright rejection was no longer

viable. Most of the opposition favored some form of conditional ratification, and even there they split.

On 23 July, Anti-Federalist Samuel Jones, supported by Smith, moved that the words "upon condition" be struck and the words "in full confidence" substituted. The motion carried 31–29. Two words. A majority of two. Jones, not Hamilton, put the language on the table. On 26 July the Convention accepted the Committee report, 30–27. New York became the eleventh state. Teaching American History's introduction once says 25 July. The instrument itself is dated "the twenty sixth day of July." This book uses 26 July 1788 as the official date.

Hamilton wrote Madison during the convention that "our arguments confound, but do not convince." Melancton Smith dismissed Hamilton as having "like Publius much to say not very applicable to the subject." Those two sentences belong together. Confounding is not converting. A treatise can confound. A newspaper series can confound. Neither, in New York, convinced.

The bound volumes were an organizers' handbook, not a mass pamphlet. John and Archibald McLean printed five hundred copies of each volume. Volume I appeared 22 March 1788. Volume II appeared 28 May. Hamilton paid for more than half the cost. Archibald McLean's accounting of 14 October 1788 still had several hundred copies remaining on hand. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* had at least twenty-five print runs totaling tens of thousands of copies. *The Federalist* had a five-hundred-copy first impression, with many unsold when ratification ended.

Elaine F. Crane searched surviving issues of eighty-nine newspapers and three magazines published in the United States between 27 October 1787 and 31 August 1788. Sixteen newspapers and one magazine outside New York City reprinted some of the essays. Collectively those publications printed only twenty-four of the eighty-five: Nos. 1 through 21, 23, 38, and 69. Reprinting occurred only in New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. Crane's conclusion, as later work reports it: the essays "did not reach an audience of any significant size in 1787-88." After about No. 16, out-of-state reprinting collapsed. Nos. 78 through 85 were book-first. They were not a national newspaper event.

John Jay wrote a different pamphlet in the spring of 1788, *An Address to the People of the State of New-York*, over the signature "A Citizen of New-York." It was short. It was timed to the delegate elections. It was reprinted in full in seven out-of-state newspapers — a mark no group of Publius's essays ever achieved. Hamilton

himself, in Federalist No. 85, pointed readers to “an excellent little pamphlet lately published in this city” and declined to repeat it. James Wilson’s State House Yard speech of 6 October 1787 was reprinted in twelve of the thirteen states and in thirty-four newspapers. Those are the things that traveled. Publius armed speakers. He did not convert the yeomanry.

Linda Grant De Pauw’s judgment, as later writers keep quoting it, is that “the Federalist actually had little value as propaganda.” John Kaminski’s judgment is that Publius’s impact on New York citizens was “negligible.” Pauline Maier’s *Ratification* is a book a family can seek for the year as a whole; the alignment of these historians is already on the table. What moved the last votes was not six hundred pages of Publius. It was the fact of a Union already formed without New York; the threat that the city and southern counties might separate from the state; Federalist willingness to accept recommendatory amendments and a circular letter; and the split inside the Anti-Federalist caucus among rejection, previous amendments, and ratification “in full confidence.”

Gregory Maggs searched the Library of Congress’s electronic *Elliot’s Debates* and found no mention by any recorded delegate in any of the recorded debates of the “Federalist” or of “Publius.” That is a strong, if not conclusive, indicator that the essays were not a floor authority in the conventions whose records Elliot printed. It does not prove that no delegate had read Publius. It proves that the recorded debates do not name him.

Clinton Rossiter’s useful phrase is that the chief usefulness of the essays in 1788 was “as a kind of debater’s handbook in Virginia and New York.” A handbook is a tool for people already on a side. It is not a conversion machine.

Virginia ratified on 25 June, 89–79. The decisive forces there were Washington’s prestige, Madison’s floor work, Edmund Randolph’s conversion, and the promise of amendments. Fifty-two volumes went to Richmond. That is a supply line, not a cause. Six states had already ratified before Volume I appeared on 22 March. By 28 May, when Volume II appeared, Maryland and South Carolina had ratified too. Only one more state was needed. The essays later Americans treat as canonical — Nos. 39, 51, 70, 78, 84 — were not campaign literature in those elections.

The circular letter is the document the 30–27 vote actually produced, and it is not a Publius document. It is a unanimous New York request for a general convention on amendments, drafted by a committee of Jay, Lansing, and Smith — Federalist, Anti-Federalist, Anti-Federalist who had just voted to ratify. The coalition

that could not agree on "upon condition" could agree on a letter. Federalists accepted recommendatory amendments they had not wanted as the price of a yes. Anti-Federalists accepted a yes they had not wanted as the price of a living fight for amendments. Clinton told the room that the body of the people who opposed the Constitution would not be satisfied until a convention considered those amendments, and that he would keep the peace. Pleasantness after a vote is not conversion. It is a truce.

The first readers who loved Publius were Federalist insiders. Tench Coxe told Madison the letters were "the most valuable disquisitions of Government." Noah Webster, probably reviewing Volume I, said it would be difficult to find a treatise with so much valuable information in so small a compass. These are real judgments. They are not mass conversion. Praise from the converted is still praise. It is not a vote count. George Washington's 28 August 1788 letter to Hamilton — a distinguished place in a library, the notice of posterity when fugitive performances had disappeared — is the afterlife beginning, written a month after the 30–27, and it does not mention the vote. Spend that letter next week. This week it is a boundary: even the most famous early reader was describing a library, not a people persuaded.

Albert Furtwangler judged that Publius could "hardly rival other major forces" — the personal influence of Hamilton, Jay, and Clinton, and the fact that by the New York vote ten states had already ratified. Put the city-secession threat on that list. Put recommendatory amendments on it. Put Smith's movement from "upon condition" to "in full confidence" on it. Put Jay's *Address* on it. The essays belong on a shorter list: they armed the minority's speakers, they furnished arguments that could confound, and they did not convince the majority that had been elected in the spring.

You now have enough to hear a wrong answer.

Wrong answers you should be able to hear

1. "The Federalist Papers won New York."
   What it usually means: the student has met the essays as a bound classic and has run the fame backward into the vote. The correction is the two pairs of numbers, and Hamilton's own sentence about confounding rather than convincing.

2. "Everyone in America was reading them in 1788."
   What it usually means: the student has confused a later paperback with a

1788 newspaper. Four of New York City's seven papers printed some or all of Publius. Crane's twenty-four essays outside the city are the census. This was not *Common Sense*.

3. "The judiciary essays converted the convention."
   What it usually means: the student has treated Nos. 78–85 as if they had been the spring campaign. They were book-first on 28 May. Newspaper reprints ran from mid-June through mid-August, during and after the vote. No. 84 appeared in newspapers on 16 July, 26 July, and 9 August. The losing brief on a bill of rights arrived as the political price was being paid.

4. "Thirty to twenty-seven means philosophy barely persuaded a people."
   What it usually means: the student has treated a convention majority of three as a public conversion. It was a form of ratification extracted from a majority elected to refuse, after the Union had formed without them, after the city might leave, after Jones and Smith found two words Congress would take.

5. "Virginia proves the book worked nationally."
   What it usually means: the student has seen the Richmond shipment and stopped. Fifty-two volumes are a handbook. The 89–79 was Washington, Madison, Randolph, and amendments. Ray Raphael's line, as the research behind this book uses it, is the one to keep: there is no indication that arguments unique to Publius changed any minds.

Five-minute parent warm-up

Before the student sits down, take a blank card. On one side write:

- In: 19 Federalist, 46 Anti-Federalist. 17 June 1788.
- Out: 30–27. 26 July 1788.

On the other side write three movers, in your own words:

- New Hampshire (21 June) and Virginia (news 2 July).
- The city might leave the state.
- "In full confidence," Jones and Smith, 23 July; amendments and a circular letter.

Say the card aloud once. If you can do that without looking, you are ready to teach. You do not need to be a historian. You need to hear "the essays won New York" as a size mistake, the way a math parent hears 1/2 + 1/3 = 2/5 as a size mistake.

How to teach it this week

One good session is fifty minutes. Two shorter sessions of twenty-five will also work. The shape is the same.

Warm-up (5 minutes). Put two numbers on the table: 19–46 and 30–27. Ask, "What has to have happened between these two pairs?" Wait. The student may say "people changed their minds because they read the essays." That is the wrong answer you are here to hear. Thank it. Leave the rescue for the model.

Exact wording you can say:

"We are going to find out what moved New York, and what did not. I am not going to tell you the whole story first. You are going to try a small version of it."

Short model (8 minutes). You tell the opening of the hall, not a reconstructed scene. No weather. No galleries. No invented seating chart.

Exact wording:

"On 17 June 1788, sixty-five delegates met at Poughkeepsie. Nineteen were Federalists. Forty-six were Anti-Federalists. Governor Clinton sat as president. Eight states had already ratified. The Federalists wanted to debate paragraph by paragraph because they were waiting for news. News of New Hampshire, the ninth state, arrived 24 June. News of Virginia arrived 2 July. After that, the question was no longer whether New York would join a proposed Union. It was whether New York would stay out of a Union that already existed."

Stop talking. That is the whole model. The student now has the hinge.

Student attempt (12 minutes). First problem for the student:

"Write six sentences that get from 17 June to 26 July. You must use these words at least once: New Hampshire, Virginia, 'in full confidence,' amendments, 30–27. You may not use the words *persuaded* or *converted* unless you are saying the essays did not do that."

If the student stalls, offer one hint, then wait.

Hint script: "Who put 'in full confidence' on the table — Hamilton, or an Anti-Federalist named Samuel Jones, with Melancton Smith's support?"

One good question (3 minutes). After the six sentences, ask only this:

"If Hamilton himself said the arguments confound but do not convince, what is the 30–27 actually a count of?"

Wait at least ten seconds. The answer you want is some version of: a form of ratification a majority could bear, after the Union had formed, after the city might leave, after amendments were promised. It is not a count of people talked into Federalism by a treatise.

Mixed practice (12 minutes). Now mix three kinds of evidence so the student has to choose which question each answers.

Give five slips, one fact each:

- Crane: twenty-four essays reprinted outside New York City.
- McLean: five hundred copies a volume; several hundred remaining in October.
- Jay's *Address*: reprinted in full in seven out-of-state papers.
- Wilson's speech: twelve of thirteen states, thirty-four newspapers.
- Jones's motion, 23 July: "upon condition" to "in full confidence," 31–29.

Ask: "Which of these is evidence about circulation? Which is evidence about the floor? Which traveled farther than Publius?" The student sorts. You do not sort for them.

Exit ticket (5 minutes). The student writes, unaided, four lines:

1. The incoming split and the outgoing vote, with dates.
2. One thing that moved votes.
3. One thing the essays did (armed speakers; impressed men already converted).
4. One thing the essays did not do (convert the convention; win the spring elections).

When to stop talking: after the model. The student attempt is the point of the hour. If you hear yourself narrating McLean's bill, Crane's tables, and the circular letter in one breath, you have taken the pencil. Fade help in that order: first stop supplying verbs ("converted," "won," "caused"), then stop supplying the three movers, then stop supplying the date. Leave the student with the two pairs of numbers and the instruction to get from one pair to the other.

If the hour is going well and you still have time, add one sentence of Jay. Not

Publius. The *Address*. "You know the geography of your State." That is the pamphlet that named the port and the neighbors. It is the right size of a popular argument. Publius is a different size.

Practice that actually builds learning

Blocked practice first. The new move this week is telling 1788 as a vote, not as a reputation. For two days, every task is the same kind of task: get the arithmetic and the movers right.

Blocked set (new move)

- Recite 19–46 / 17 June and 30–27 / 26 July until both pairs are automatic. Untimed first. Time only when the student already has them right.
- Name the three movers without looking: ninth-state news, city-secession threat, form ("in full confidence," amendments, circular letter).
- Place Nos. 78–85 on a timeline: book-first 28 May; newspaper reprints 14 June through 16 August; convention 17 June to 26 July. The student should see that the judiciary and bill-of-rights essays overlap the convention rather than preceding the elections.
- Place Volume I (22 March) against the April delegate elections. Volume I existed. The elections still returned forty-six Anti-Federalists. That is De Pauw's "minuscule" in arithmetic form.

Mixed practice (when to use the move)

Now mix with facts the family already knows from earlier chapters, so the student has to decide which story a fact belongs to.

- "Four of seven city papers printed Publius." Is this a fact about New York City circulation, or about national conversion?
- "Madison later said the immediate object was New York, 'doubtful, as well as important.' " Is this purpose, or result?
- "Washington will write, in August, that the work will merit the notice of posterity." Is this 1788 persuasion, or the afterlife beginning? (It is the afterlife beginning. Spend it next week. This week it is a boundary marker.)
- "Jay wrote five Federalist essays, then a short *Address*." Which one did contemporaries credit with converting readers?

Brief retrieval

Two minutes, unaided:

- What was the 1788 title? (*The Federalist.* "The Federalist Papers" is later packaging.)
- What is the authorship count this book uses? (Hamilton 51, Madison 29, Jay 5.)
- Who is Brutus, as a writer rather than as a locked name? (The New York opponent on necessary-and-proper, size of republic, judiciary, and a bill of rights. Traditional attribution Robert Yates; also attributed to Melancton Smith or John Williams; not closed.)

One incorrect example to diagnose

A composite illustration, not a reported family:

> "New York almost rejected the Constitution, but Hamilton's newspaper essays, especially the ones on the courts, flipped the last three votes in July."

Ask the student to mark three errors. Typical marks:

- "Hamilton's newspaper essays" treats a three-man series as one man, and treats a handbook as a conversion machine.
- "Especially the ones on the courts" forgets that Nos. 78–85 were book-first and late.
- "Flipped the last three votes" invents a mechanism the floor record does not give. Smith switched. Clinton and others abstained. Yates, Lansing, and Thomas Tredwell voted no. The last votes were a fight over form.

Kitchen-table comparisons — a school election, a neighborhood petition, a family vote about a move — can motivate the picture. They do not replace the two pairs of numbers, the 26 July instrument, or the unaided six sentences.

For the student

You are going to learn a close vote, and you are going to learn what a close vote is made of.

Here is the idea. In June 1788, New York's ratifying convention met at Poughkeepsie. The Federalists were badly outnumbered: 19 to 46. In July the convention said yes, 30 to 27, with a list of rights and proposed amendments attached. The famous newspaper essays signed Publius were already in print in the city. They did not produce that yes the way a campaign poster produces a hallway win. The Union had already formed without New York. The city might have left the state. Two Anti-Federalists, Samuel Jones and Melancton Smith, helped change the words "upon condition" to "in full confidence." Hamilton, who had written much of Publius, said the arguments "confound, but do not convince." Take him at his word.

Tiny worked example

Question: "Did *The Federalist* win New York?"

A useful answer: "No as mass persuasion, and not as the swing at Poughkeepsie. Yes as a brief Federalist delegates used, and as a text that impressed people who were already on that side. The 30–27 of 26 July 1788 was news, threat, form, and a promise of amendments."

Notice what that answer does not do. It does not sneer at the essays. It does not crown them either.

Try 1. Incoming split, outgoing vote, both dates. Write them without looking.

Try 2. Name two things that traveled farther in 1788 than Publius did. (Jay's short *Address*; Wilson's Philadelphia speech. You may also say early numbers of Publius themselves, before reprinting collapsed.)

Explain it back. In your own words, tell a younger sibling why "in full confidence" is not the same as "upon condition," and why Congress, sitting in New York City, would care. You are allowed to say you are not sure about the legal details. You are not allowed to skip the two phrases.

Challenge. Maggs found no "Federalist" or "Publius" in Elliot's printed convention debates. Write four sentences on what that search can prove and what it cannot. Can-prove: the recorded debates Elliot printed do not name the series. Cannot-prove: that no delegate had read a bound volume, or that Hamilton and Jay, who were in the room and had written the brief, never reused its arguments orally.

You are allowed to struggle. The struggle is the work. A wrong first try that still has 19–46 and 30–27 on the page is a better try than a fluent paragraph that makes Publius the hero of July.

If it isn’t clicking

Three diagnostics. No shame in any of them. A close vote is easy to memorize and hard to explain. Explaining is the skill.

Diagnostic 1 — The dates will not stay put.
The student can say 30–27 but mixes June and July, or uses 25 July because a website did.

Next move: make a four-line timeline on an index card. 17 June, convention opens, 19–46. 24 June, New Hampshire news. 2 July, Virginia news. 23 July, “in full confidence,” 31–29. 26 July, 30–27. Recite the card morning and evening for two days. Untimed. If a printed introduction says 25 July, put a star next to 26 July and say, “We are using the date on the instrument.”

Diagnostic 2 — Fame keeps walking backward into the hall.
The student still says the essays won, even after hearing Hamilton’s sentence.

Next move: separate two columns. Column A, “What the essays did.” Column B, “What moved the last votes.” The student may put only handbook, speakers, and already-converted readers in A. News, city, Jones–Smith, amendments, circular letter go in B. If the student wants to put Publius in B, ask, “Which document on the floor is a Publius document?” The circular letter was drafted by Jay, Lansing, and Smith. Publius did not write it.

Diagnostic 3 — Circulation and the floor have collapsed into one story.
The student can recite Crane’s twenty-four essays and still thinks the convention had been reading them all winter.

Next move: draw New York State as a rough oval. Mark the city at the bottom. Mark Poughkeepsie up the river. Write “four of seven papers” in the city. Write “after No. 21, almost gone” in the upstate. Then write “the forty-six came from here.” The map is the argument. A farmer taking a weekly in Dutchess or Montgomery could not have been reading No. 78.

When to slow down: if the two pairs of numbers are not automatic after two sessions, stay here. Leave Virginia’s 89–79, Wilson’s thirty-four newspapers, and McLean’s remainder for a later hour. When to go ahead: if the student can do the exit ticket unaided and can hear “the essays won New York” as a wrong size. When

to get a human tutor: if the student can memorize the numbers and still cannot sort circulation evidence from floor evidence after a week of mixed practice. A local history teacher, a community-college instructor, or a knowledgeable co-teacher is the right next person. An unsupervised chatbot is not.

Tools, including AI

Optional helpers for the adult. The student attempts first. You hold the answer key — the two pairs of numbers, the 26 July date, the three movers, Crane's twenty-four, the 500-copy run, Jay's seven reprints, Wilson's twelve-of-thirteen.

Use a tool, if you use one at all, to do four jobs:

- Explain the idea to you. "Why would a ninth state change the question inside New York?"
- Make extra practice with answers hidden. Five more sorting slips: circulation or floor.
- Write a hint script. One hint per stuck place, not a paragraph of rescue.
- Diagnose work already done. Paste the student's six sentences, after the attempt, and ask where fame has walked backward into the hall.

Keep this short.

> **Box.** Child attempts first. Parent holds the key. A tool may explain the idea to the parent, make extra practice with answers hidden, write a hint script, or diagnose work already done. During the attempt, the student does not paste the worksheet, does not ask "what's the answer," does not photograph the page for a key, and does not sit with an unsupervised chatbot.

Primary texts for this week live in ordinary places: the Avalon Project for the essays; Teaching American History or the National Archives for the 26 July instrument; Founders Online for letters when the page will load. A summary video can motivate. It does not replace the two pairs of numbers.

What “done enough” looks like

You are ready to leave this chapter when most of this list is true. Skill, not birthday. A “grade 11 civics book” is a publisher’s scope, not a legal grade. A fourteen-year-old who can do the list is done enough. A seventeen-year-old who still makes Publius the swing is not.

Checklist:

- ☐ Names 19–46 on 17 June 1788 and 30–27 on 26 July 1788 without looking.
- ☐ Can say, in one sentence, that Publius did not convert the convention.
- ☐ Can name three movers of the last votes: ninth-state news, city-secession threat, form (Jones–Smith, amendments, circular letter).
- ☐ Places Nos. 78–85 as book-first, 28 May, overlapping the convention rather than the spring elections.
- ☐ Distinguishes a debater’s handbook from a conversion machine.
- ☐ Can sort a mixed set of facts into circulation evidence and floor evidence.
- ☐ Hears “everyone was reading them” and “the courts essays flipped the vote” as wrong answers, and knows what each usually means.
- ☐ Writes the four-line exit ticket unaided.

If three or four boxes are still open, stay. The afterlife in the next chapter will be noisier. It is much harder to learn if this week’s arithmetic is still mush.

What the parent can learn this week, if it is not already solid: the 26 July instrument is the date; 25 July is a Committee date some introductions collapse into the Convention date. What the child can try today, even on a tired afternoon: write the two pairs of numbers on a card and walk them from the kitchen to the front door, saying the movers on the way.

Chapter 6

Afterlife

Figure 7: Bound volumes waiting for posterity.

Why this matters

Last week the family learned a vote. This week the family learns a reputation. They are not the same story. The reputation is an afterlife.

On 28 August 1788, a month after New York's 30–27, George Washington wrote Hamilton that when "the transient circumstances & fugitive performances which attended this crisis shall have disappeared, that work will merit the notice of Posterity." He was already a Federalist. He was filing a library note that became a prophecy. Archibald McLean still had, or would soon report that he had, several hundred copies remaining on hand. Remainder and prophecy, weeks apart.[82] The conversion did not happen. The afterlife did.

This is worth the struggle because living Americans meet *The Federalist* as civic scripture — a paperback, a Court citation, a classroom pair of numbers — and it is easy to think the scripture was always there. It was not. For a century after Chief Justice Marshall called the book a "complete commentary," citation at the Supreme Court stayed low. Ira C. Lupu's 1998 time series is the fact that makes the later boom a boom. Fame first. Routine judicial use much later.

The idea this week unlocks is a reading rule you can actually use. Great respect. Reserved judgment. Marshall wrote both halves in *McCulloch v. Maryland* in 1819. Later originalism often remembers the respect and forgets the reservation. A student who can hold both will not be captured by a quotation.

What you can learn this week, as the adult at the table, is a short chain: Washington's prediction, Jefferson's double verdict, Marshall's two formulas, Story's treatise, Beard's hostile canonization of No. 10, Rossiter's 1961 cover, Lupu's doublings, and *Printz* in 1997 quoting Publius and then admitting a split personality. What the student can try today is to put one document in the "1788 vote" column and one document in the "later reputation" column, and to refuse to let the second column swallow the first.

[82] Afterlife facts rest on the same research file as the narrative book. Washington to Hamilton, 28 August 1788 (Founders Online). Jefferson to Madison, 18 November 1788 (Teaching American History / Founders Online text); a digital CSAC introduction once misdated this 18 November 1787 — the volumes did not exist. Marshall in *McCulloch* (1819) and *Cohens* (1821), as reprinted in *The Founders' Constitution*. Story's 1833 Preface, seen in convenience texts. Lupu 1998 pair (*Constitutional Commentary*; *George Washington Law Review*), ranking and time series as reported by Maggs and abstracts; PDFs not always in hand. *Printz*, 521 U.S. 898 (1997), Legal Information Institute HTML; split-personality footnote quoting Mason 1952. Rossiter's "timeless truths" via Douglass and Raphael; Mentor text not in hand. Cooke 1961 named as the historians' edition; the volume was not re-read cover to cover for this teaching chapter. Chernow's *Alexander Hamilton* and Maier's *Ratification* remain books a family can seek; they are not page-cited here. No verified, fetched Lincoln speech quotes *The Federalist* by name. Wikipedia's "291 by 2000," any Melton grand total, Maggs's *Printz* "35," Maggs's Westlaw saturation counts, and any 2026 Court total are omitted.

For the parent: understand it yourself

Here is the everyday picture. A school paper prints a dense series during a student-council fight. The series does not flip the rooms. Years later, the alumni magazine calls it the school's political bible. Debate teams quote it. A handbook for student officers copies its best paragraphs. New families arrive and assume the paper always had that rank. The rank is real. The original fight is still the original fight. That is the afterlife of Publius, scaled to a yearbook. It is not the letters. It is a picture to hold while you read them.

Here is the precise picture. The afterlife has a birth certificate in two letters.

Washington to Hamilton, 28 August 1788: a most distinguished place in his library; no other performance so well calculated to produce conviction on an unbiased mind; when transient circumstances and fugitive performances disappeared, the work would merit the notice of posterity, because in it were candidly discussed the principles of freedom and the topics of government that would always interest mankind in civil society. He was describing an afterlife, not a mass conversion.

Jefferson to Madison, 18 November 1788 — not 1787; the volumes did not yet exist in November 1787; Edward Carrington sent a volume on 14 May 1788 — is the other half. Jefferson had been told the three names. He read the book "with care, pleasure and improvement." He called it "the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written." He also said that in some parts "the author means only to say what may be best said in defence of opinions in which he did not concur." And: "As to the bill of rights however I still think it should be added." Best commentary. Advocacy visible. Bill of rights still needed. Later Americans would quote the praise and forget the reservation. The reservation is the reason Jefferson is not a disciple.

Madison in old age used the essays as a check on both nullifiers and judicial nationalists. On 15 September 1821 he wrote Thomas Ritchie that "the legitimate meaning of the Instrument must be derived from the text itself; or if a key is to be sought elsewhere, it must be not in the opinions or intentions of the Body which planned & proposed the Constitution, but in the sense attached to it by the people in their respective State Conventions where it recd. all the authority which it possesses." Put that sentence on the family table and do not bury it. The Philadelphia

body planned and proposed. The people in the state conventions gave the instrument the only authority it possesses. Publius is not a substitute for Poughkeepsie.

In 1830, during the Nullification Crisis, Madison wrote Edward Everett that the Constitution was neither a consolidated government nor a confederated government, but a mixture of both. That is Federalist No. 39 without the number in that sentence. He used the compound republic as a bar to single-state nullification. 1798 had not licensed 1832.

The first Supreme Court mention is *Calder v. Bull* (1798). Justice Samuel Chase, defining *ex post facto*, ranked "the author of the Federalist" above Blackstone and Wooddeson for "extensive and accurate knowledge of the true principles of Government." That is praise plus a definitional citation. It is not a theory of original meaning.

Marshall's two great statements set the nineteenth-century judicial tone. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), Maryland attempted to use Hamilton's tax essays as authority for a state power to tax the Bank. Marshall granted the authors "great respect" and then reserved the Court's judgment: "in applying their opinions to the cases which may arise in the progress of our government, a right to judge of their correctness must be retained." In *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821) he elevated the book: "It is a complete commentary on our constitution; and is appealed to by all parties in the questions to which that instrument has given birth." Appealed to by all parties is the clause this chapter is built on. From the start the essays were a shared arsenal, not a Federalist-party monopoly. 1821 is also the year of Madison's Ritchie letter. Marshall ranked a commentary. Madison located authority. They can both be quoted. They cannot be made into the same claim.

Joseph Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States* (1833) is the professional hinge. Civic scripture is first a lawyers' book. In the Preface, Story named two great sources: *The Federalist*, "an incomparable commentary of three of the greatest statesmen of their age," and Marshall's judgments. He "transferred into my own pages all, which seemed to be of permanent importance in that great work." He also noted that the essays, "being written to meet the most prevalent popular objections at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, [have] not attempted to pursue any very exact order." Story knew he was embedding an advocacy brief in a systematic treatise. He did it anyway, and said so. James Kent praised Story for making the Federalist the basis of his Commentary. John Quincy Adams called it a commentary "of scarcely less authority than the Constitution itself." Those are professional and civic elevations. They are fame. They are

not yet a method of decision. Lupu's citation frequency "started very low, held constant for over 100 years (1820–1929)."

John C. Calhoun, no Marshall nationalist, still called *The Federalist* "the fullest and, in many respects, the best" work on American governmental principles. When both Story and Calhoun claim Publius, the book has become a common arsenal. No. 39 has a federal half and a national half. Compact readers can stop at one. Nationalist readers can keep going. Alpheus T. Mason, in 1952, would call it a split personality. Jefferson had already seen the split.

Alexis de Tocqueville, in *Democracy in America*, announced that he would "often have occasion to quote The Federalist" and that it "is an excellent book, which ought to be familiar to the statesmen of all countries, although it especially concerns America." He had read Story and Kent. He is the main verified bridge from the American legal canon to a European and Latin American readership. A family can say that educated constitution-makers knew the U.S. design, and that Publius was one of the texts through which that design was explained. A family need not say that Latin American constitutions are "based on *The Federalist*." Donald L. Horowitz's 2009 survey is the responsible synthesis; the teaching chapter stays inside his limits.

A Lincoln speech that quotes *The Federalist* by name is not in the documents this book uses. Unionism in the First Inaugural and in the 4 July 1861 message to Congress — "more perfect Union," perpetuity carried forward from the Articles, secession as sophism — is philosophically kin to Hamilton's early Union essays and to Madison's No. 39. Kinship is not citation. The Civil War forced a choice among readings that had coexisted since Marshall said all parties appealed. Story's Publius and Calhoun's Publius had shared a language. War does not share. Whether Union pamphleteers and Confederate constitutionalists quoted specific numbers remains an open question. It is not filled with a speech Lincoln did not, in the fetched record, give.

The twentieth century made the scripture civic. Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913) did not discover Federalist No. 10. He made it *the* Federalist essay. Lupu later noted that No. 10's fame is "a creature of twentieth century thought." Beard read the property sentence as a confession. The hostility was a canonization. Once No. 10 was the essay that unmasked the Founding, it had to be answered, taught, and fought over.

Douglass Adair, in 1944, assigned the twelve disputed papers to Madison. Fred-

erick Mosteller and David L. Wallace's Bayesian study of function-word rates (1963–64) corroborated him. The modern count is Hamilton 51 / Madison 29 / Jay 5. Adair also relocated No. 10 among books, especially Hume, rather than among bondholders. Robert E. Brown (1956) and Forrest McDonald (1958) broke Beard's specific securities thesis. What should survive is Beard's insistence that interest and class belong in the story.

In 1961 four editions appeared. Jacob E. Cooke's Wesleyan edition became the scholarly text of record: newspaper texts for Nos. 1–76, McLean book texts for Nos. 77–85. Clinton Rossiter's Mentor paperback put the words "The Federalist Papers" on a mass-market cover and so named, for living Americans, a book whose 1788 title had been *The Federalist*. Rossiter's introduction, as later writers quote it, called the work "the most important work in political science that has ever been written, or is likely ever to be written, in the United States," an evolution from "a clever defense of a particular charter" into "an exposition of certain timeless truths about constitutional government." That sentence did as much as any Court citation to make the essays secular scripture. It is not this book's claim. The essays are the most sustained 1787–88 exposition of the Constitution's structure in American print. That is enough.

Lupu's 1998 papers remain the best description of what the Court actually did. Citation frequency started very low, held constant for over 100 years (1820–1929), doubled in the 1930s, doubled again by the 1960s, and then doubled once more in the 1980s. "More than half of all Supreme Court citations to the Federalist Papers have occurred since 1970." Maggs, summarizing Lupu, reported over 50 citations in the 1980s and over 60 from 1990 to 1998. This book uses Lupu's numbers and only Lupu's numbers for the Supreme Court. A widely circulated running total for the year 2000 was not verified from the Court's own site. Buckner F. Melton Jr.'s Shepard's-style series exists; the full PDFs were not retrieved; no Melton grand total is reported. A cumulative Supreme Court total through 2026 was not found. None is offered here.

Lupu's ranking, through his 1990s cutoff, is not the classroom list. No. 42 (Madison, enumerated powers) stood first: thirty-three decisions. No. 78 (Hamilton, judiciary) second: thirty. No. 81 (Hamilton, jurisdiction) third: twenty-seven. No. 51 (Madison) fourth: twenty-six. No. 32 (Hamilton, concurrent taxation) fifth: twenty-five. Students get Nos. 10, 51, 70, 78, 84. Justices get 42, 78, 81, 51, 32. No. 10 does not rank among Lupu's top eight. Teach the discrepancy.

Printz v. United States, 521 U.S. 898 (1997), is the showcase, not scripture con-

firmed. Justice Antonin Scalia's majority used Madison's "residuary and inviolable sovereignty" from No. 39 and the "double security" of No. 51 to hold that Congress may not commandeer state executive officers. Then a footnote: it is widely recognized that "*The Federalist* reads with a split personality" on federalism, and to prefer Hamilton's most nationalist passages is "to turn a blind eye to the fact that it was Madison's—not Hamilton's—that prevailed." The quoted diagnosis was Alpheus T. Mason's, 1952. Jefferson had seen the split in 1788. A 1997 majority admitted, in the same opinion that used Publius as structure, what the authors and their first great reader had admitted in 1788. The admission licensed a choice among passages.

James G. Wilson, in 1985, gave the civic result its name: "The Most Sacred Text." Gordon S. Wood warned originalists in 1988 that terms like federalism were being worked out *in* the ratification fight, not waiting in 1787 as a fixed code. Jack N. Rakove's *Original Meanings* (1996) pressed the same point: meaning is plural — framers, ratifiers, text — and Publius is one interested voice.

The names came off the mask in public, and the names made the book a possession. A 1792 French edition, *Le Fédéraliste*, named "Mm. Hamilton, Maddisson e Gay." The misspellings are the point: the names were out, and they were not yet a careful roster. American editions naming authors followed in 1802 (Hopkins) and, with a Madison-supplied attribution list, 1818 (Gideon). Gideon was the first edition to print a name on each essay, from Madison's marked Tiebout copy. Tiebout, in 1799, had reissued leftover McLean sheets with new title pages. The remainder became the copy Madison marked. The remainder became Gideon. Gideon became the named text. Hamilton's Benson-list tradition gave him sixty-three. That list is a fact about Hamilton, not a usable count. Adair and the later statistics settled most of the disputed numbers for Madison. A Court that later quotes "Madison" or "Hamilton" as if the name were part of the holding is using that settlement, whether it knows Adair's article or not.

Classroom history between Story and Rossiter remains patchy in the sources behind this book: when exactly the essays entered college curricula, West Point, law-office reading lists, and high-school civics is a question still open. The professional hinge is not patchy. It is 1833. The mass-market hinge is 1961. High-school AP Government later made Nos. 10 and 51 into examination objects. The Library of Congress still tells readers that the essays "are often used today to help interpret the intentions of those drafting the Constitution." That sentence is the civic-religion formula. A campaign brief, written to urge New Yorkers to ratify,

becomes the intention of the drafting. Lin-Manuel Miranda's *Hamilton* gives the writing a showstopper, "Non-Stop." The song is the mass afterlife of Rossiter's sentence, not of Crane's reprint tables. A family can enjoy the number. The family's job is to keep the 30–27 on the other side of the page.

Horowitz's later note, for a paragraph only: after 1945, judicial review became "standard equipment" of new democracies for reasons only partly Madisonian, while federalism is "relatively rarely adopted," and "the rights consciousness associated with the Anti-Federalists has prevailed over Federalist structural engineering in the contemporary period." The export is pieces, not the whole brief. Rights more than structure. That fact belongs beside Rossiter's timeless truths, and it belongs beside next week's chapter, which is about what Publius would not say.

You now have enough to hear a wrong answer.

Wrong answers you should be able to hear

1. "The Supreme Court has always used the Federalist Papers as the key to the Constitution."
   What it usually means: the student has met *Printz* or a civics sentence and run it backward across two centuries. Lupu's plateau, 1820–1929, is the correction. Fame is not method.

2. "Lincoln quoted Publius to save the Union."
   What it usually means: kinship has been mistaken for a citation. A named Lincoln quotation is not in the record this book uses. Leave the scene unwritten.

3. "No. 10 is what justices cite."
   What it usually means: the classroom canon has swallowed the judicial canon. Beard made No. 10 inescapable for political science. Lupu's table leads with No. 42.

4. "The Federalist Papers is the 1788 title, and it was always a national treatise."
   What it usually means: Rossiter's 1961 cover has become origin. The 1788 title was *The Federalist.* The address line was New York.

5. "Because Publius said it, the Constitution means it."
   What it usually means: respect has been mistaken for a trump. Marshall reserved judgment. Madison pointed at the conventions. Scalia admitted a split personality.

Five-minute parent warm-up

Take a blank card. Side A, three names and one formula:

- Washington, 28 August 1788: notice of posterity.
- Jefferson, 18 November 1788: best commentary, *however* a bill of rights.
- Marshall, 1819: great respect, reserved judgment.

Side B, three later facts, in your own words:

- Story, 1833: transferred the permanent parts into a law treatise.
- Lupu: low for a century; more than half of all Supreme Court citations after 1970.
- *Printz*, 1997: quotes structure, then admits a split personality.

Say the card aloud once. If you can do that, you are ready to teach. You do not need to be a constitutional lawyer. You need to hear "the Court has always cited them" as a timing mistake.

How to teach it this week

Fifty minutes, or two twenty-five-minute sittings. Same shape as last week.

Warm-up (5 minutes). Write two column headers: "1788 vote" and "later reputation." Ask the student to place last week's 30–27 in the first column. Then ask, "Where does Washington's August letter go?" Wait. If the student puts it in the vote column, thank the try. The letter is dated a month after the vote and does not mention the vote. It mentions a library.

Exact wording you can say:

"Last week we learned what moved New York. This week we learn how a remaindered campaign became a book later Americans reach for. Those are two stories. We are going to keep them on two sides of the page."

Short model (8 minutes). You read, or closely paraphrase, three sentences only. Washington's posterity line. Jefferson's "best commentary" plus the "however." Marshall's respect-and-reservation. Stop talking.

Exact wording after the three sentences:

"Notice what none of those sentences is. None of them is 'the essays won New York.' Washington predicts. Jefferson praises and reserves. Marshall respects and reserves. That is how an afterlife begins."

Student attempt (12 minutes). First problem for the student:

"Make a six-step ladder from remainder to scripture. You must use these rungs, in an order you can defend: Washington's letter; Jefferson's letter; Marshall in *McCulloch* or *Cohens*; Story's *Commentaries*; Beard on No. 10; Rossiter's 1961 paperback *or* Lupu's post-1970 finding *or Printz*. One sentence per rung. No rung may say the essays converted New York."

If the student stalls, one hint: "Which of these is a library note, which is a lawyers' transfer, and which is a classroom cover?"

One good question (3 minutes). Ask only this:

"If Marshall called the book a complete commentary, appealed to by all parties, and in the same era Madison told Ritchie that meaning lives in the ratifying conventions, how can both sentences be true?"

Wait. The answer you want is some version of: one sentence is a rank; the other is a locus of authority. A commentary can be complete and still not be where the instrument received its authority.

Mixed practice (12 minutes). Five slips:

- McLean still had several hundred copies in October 1788.
- Chase in *Calder v. Bull*, 1798, compliments Publius on a definition.
- Story transfers "permanent" parts into the 1833 treatise.
- Lupu: citation doubled in the 1930s, the 1960s, and the 1980s; more than half since 1970.
- Scalia's *Printz* footnote on split personality.

Ask: "Which of these is commercial 1788? Which is fame without method? Which is method arriving late? Which is a later Court choosing among Publii?" The student sorts.

Exit ticket (5 minutes). Four lines, unaided:

1. One 1788 document that predicts posterity (Washington) or praises-and-reserves (Jefferson).
2. Marshall's two-part formula.

3. One sentence on Lupu: low for a century, then doublings, more than half after 1970.
4. One sentence on what *Printz* admits in the footnote.

When to stop talking: after the three-sentence model. Fade help in this order: first stop supplying the word "afterlife," then stop supplying Lupu's dates, then stop supplying the *Printz* footnote. Leave the student with two columns and the instruction to keep a document on the correct side.

Practice that actually builds learning

Blocked practice first. The new move is telling reputation as a chain of later needs, not as 1788 destiny.

Blocked set (new move)

- Recite the two 1788 letters by date and one-line cargo: 28 August, posterity; 18 November, best commentary however rights.
- Recite Marshall 1819 in six words: great respect, reserved judgment.
- Place Story 1833 as the professional hinge. Fame at the bar. Not yet a citation boom at the Court.
- Place Beard 1913 as the academic hinge for No. 10. Hostile, and a canonization.
- Place 1961 as Cooke (scholars) and Rossiter (citizens, and the cover title "The Federalist Papers").
- Place Lupu's plateau and Lupu's doublings. No grand total past his cutoff.

Mixed practice (when to use the move)

Mix last week's vote facts with this week's reputation facts so the student has to choose the column.

- "30–27, 26 July 1788." Vote or reputation?
- "Complete commentary, appealed to by all parties." Rank or vote?
- "Crane's twenty-four essays outside the city." 1788 circulation or later scripture?
- "No. 42 leads Lupu's Court list." Classroom canon or judicial canon?
- "Rossiter's timeless truths." 1788 intention or later need?

Brief retrieval

Two minutes, unaided:

- Incoming and outgoing New York arithmetic, with dates.
- Authorship count this book uses.
- 1788 title versus 1961 cover title.

One incorrect example to diagnose

A composite illustration, not a reported family:

> "From the beginning, Lincoln and the Supreme Court used the Federalist Papers, especially No. 10, as the official guide to original intent, which is why the Court had already cited them hundreds of times by the Civil War, and thousands more by 2026."

Ask the student to mark the errors. Typical marks:

- A named Lincoln quotation is not in this book's record. Kinship is not citation.
- No. 10 is a twentieth-century academic creature, not Lupu's judicial leader.
- Lupu's century of quiet forbids a Civil War-era boom at the Court.
- A 2026 grand total is not offered here, because none was found in a form that could be checked.
- "Official guide to original intent" forgets Marshall's reservation, Madison's Ritchie letter, and Scalia's footnote.

A family dinner conversation about "what the Founders meant" can motivate the picture. It does not replace the two letters, Marshall's formula, Lupu's time series, or the unaided ladder.

For the student

You are going to learn how a leftover book became a famous book, and you are going to learn that fame is not the same thing as a 1788 win.

Here is the idea. In October 1788 the printer still had several hundred unsold copies. In August, Washington had already said the work would merit the notice of posterity. In November, Jefferson called it the best commentary on government he had ever read — and still wanted a bill of rights. Those letters are the birth certificate of the afterlife. Later, Marshall told the Court to treat the authors

with great respect and to keep the right to judge whether they were correct. Story copied the lasting parts into a law book. Beard, much later, made No. 10 the essay everyone had to fight about. In 1961 a paperback put "The Federalist Papers" on the cover. After 1970, more than half of all Supreme Court citations Lupu counted had occurred. In 1997 a majority quoted Publius as structure and then admitted, in a footnote, that the book has a split personality on federalism.

Tiny worked example

Question: "Did the essays become important because they won New York?"

A useful answer: "No. They became important because later Americans needed a detailed, high-status commentary written near the Founding, and because the small 1788 record was easy to forget. Washington predicted notice. Story made a lawyers' book. Rossiter made a citizens' book. The Court, after a quiet century, began to quote in earnest. That is an afterlife."

Try 1. Dates of Washington's letter and Jefferson's letter, plus one cargo each.

Try 2. Marshall's formula in your own words. Then one sentence on what Madison told Ritchie in 1821.

Explain it back. Tell a parent why students are assigned No. 10 and justices, in Lupu's ranking, reach first for No. 42. You may say you have not read No. 42 yet. You may not say the two lists are the same.

Challenge. Scalia's footnote says *The Federalist* reads with a split personality on federalism. Write five sentences: what the majority used from Nos. 39 and 51; what the footnote admits; why a choice among passages is not a window onto a single original intent. You are allowed to be unsure about commandeering. You are not allowed to skip the footnote.

You are allowed to struggle. A short ladder with the right rungs is better than a long paragraph that makes 1788 look like 1997.

If it isn't clicking

Diagnostic 1 — The two stories keep collapsing.
The student can recite Washington's line and still says the essays won.

Next move: two physical columns on paper. Every fact from last week goes left. Every fact from this week goes right. If a fact wants to jump, the student must argue the jump. Washington's letter is dated after the vote and silent about the vote. It stays right.

Diagnostic 2 — Court time will not stay put.
The student thinks Marshall's "complete commentary" means daily citation from 1821 on.

Next move: a three-box timeline. Box 1: Chase 1798, Marshall 1819 and 1821, Story 1833 — fame. Box 2: Lupu's 1820–1929 plateau — quiet. Box 3: doublings in the 1930s, 1960s, 1980s; more than half after 1970 — method. Recite the boxes. The middle box is the one people skip.

Diagnostic 3 — A number is being reached for that this book will not give.
The student wants a running total through last year, or a Lincoln quote, or "how many times *Printz* quoted them."

Next move: write the honest sentence on a card and keep it. "This family uses Lupu 1998 for the Court. A 2026 total was not found. A named Lincoln quotation was not found. Density in *Printz* is visible; a recounted total is not used." Then return to the ladder. The ladder is the skill. The missing grand total is not a hole in the student's work.

When to slow down: if the student cannot yet separate vote from reputation after two sessions. Stay. When to go ahead: if the exit ticket is unaided and the incorrect example can be marked. When to get a human tutor: if the two canons — classroom 10/51/70/78/84 versus Lupu's 42/78/81/51/32 — will not separate after a week. A government teacher who will sit with Lupu's table is the right next person.

Tools, including AI

Optional helpers for the adult. The student attempts first. You hold the key: the two 1788 letters, Marshall's formula, the Ritchie limit, Story 1833, Beard 1913, Cooke and Rossiter 1961, Lupu's time series and ranking, *Printz* plus the footnote. You also hold the absences: no named Lincoln quotation, no 2026 Court total.

Use a tool, if you use one at all, to explain the idea to you ("Why would citation

stay low for a century if the book was already famous?"), to make extra sorting slips with answers hidden, to write a hint script, or to diagnose a ladder the student has already written.

> **Box.** Child attempts first. Parent holds the key. A tool may explain the idea to the parent, make extra practice with answers hidden, write a hint script, or diagnose work already done. During the attempt, the student does not paste the worksheet, does not ask "what's the answer," does not photograph the page for a key, and does not sit with an unsupervised chatbot.

Founders Online holds Washington's August letter and, when the page will load, Jefferson's November letter. The Legal Information Institute holds *McCulloch*, *Cohens*, and *Printz*. Avalon holds the essays. A documentary clip can motivate. It does not replace the two columns.

If a tool offers a running Supreme Court total through the present year, set it aside. This family stays with Lupu.

What "done enough" looks like

Skill, not birthday. A publisher's "AP" label is a scope, not a transcript title. Done enough is the list, not the brand.

Checklist:

- ☐ Places Washington (28 August 1788) and Jefferson (18 November 1788) as the afterlife's birth certificate, with Jefferson's reservation attached.
- ☐ Can say Marshall's formula: great respect, reserved judgment.
- ☐ Can say Madison's Ritchie limit in one sentence: conventions, not the planning body, when a key besides the text is wanted.
- ☐ Names Story 1833 as the lawyers' hinge, not as a Court-citation boom.
- ☐ Knows No. 10's modern fame is a twentieth-century creature (Beard), and that Lupu's judicial list leads elsewhere.
- ☐ Distinguishes the 1788 title *The Federalist* from Rossiter's 1961 "Papers."
- ☐ Recites Lupu's shape: low 1820–1929; doublings; more than half of citations after 1970 — without inventing a later grand total.
- ☐ Can describe *Printz* as quotation plus a split-personality footnote.
- ☐ Leaves a Lincoln-reads-Publius scene unwritten.

- ☐ Still keeps last week's 30–27 on the vote side of the page.

If the last box is open, return to Chapter 5 for one session. The afterlife is unintelligible if Poughkeepsie has been forgotten.

What the parent can learn this week: Marshall's reservation is as important as Marshall's tribute. What the child can try today: two columns, four facts each, no fact allowed to switch sides without a reason.

Chapter 7

What He Would Not Say

Figure 8: A later courtroom treats a campaign as scripture.

Why this matters

A family that can recite Nos. 10 and 51 still does not know Publius if it has never sat with No. 54 and No. 84. This week is the sitting.

Federalist No. 54 explains the three-fifths clause in the mouth of "one of our Southern brethren." Enslaved people, the brother says, "partake of both these qualities: being considered by our laws, in some respects, as persons, and in other respects as property." The compromise "regards the SLAVE as divested of two fifths of the MAN." The capitals are in the 1788 book. The rest of the eighty-five numbers are nearly silent. Teach No. 54 next to No. 10. The extended-republic theory changes temperature.

Federalist No. 84 is Hamilton's fullest case against a bill of rights. It was book-first on 28 May 1788. Newspaper printings followed on 16 July, 26 July, and 9 August: during and after the Poughkeepsie vote. On 8 June 1789, in the House, Madison introduced amendments and answered Hamilton's "most plausible" objection with what became the Ninth Amendment. He had not written No. 84. He kept the 1787 structure and paid the promise Virginia and New York had extracted. The irony is structural, not a story of hypocrisy.[83]

This is worth the struggle because civic catechism prints the first ten amendments as if they had always been there, and prints *The Federalist* as if it had always approved them. That country did not exist in May 1788. A student who can hold No. 84 and 8 June 1789 on the same page will not be captured by either half alone.

What you can learn this week, as the adult at the table, is the adjacency of 10 and 54; the four claims of No. 84; Madison's 8 June answers, especially the Ninth; and who "the people" in the address line were. What the student can try today is to read one cold paragraph of No. 54 aloud, then one hopeful paragraph of No. 10, and to say what changed in the room.

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[83] No. 54 and No. 84 quoted from the Avalon Project. Madison's 8 June 1789 House speech from Teaching American History's *Annals* text; the citable print is *Papers of James Madison* 12:196–209, not collated here. Jefferson's 18 November 1788 reservation as in the previous chapter. Wilson's 6 October 1787 circulation from Raphael / DHRC as used in the research file. Maclaine to Iredell, 4 March 1788, via Raphael. Otto via De Pauw. Amar's Federalist-completion account of 1789–91 is named as a position a family can seek in *The Bill of Rights* (1998); that monograph was sampled, not read cover to cover for this teaching chapter. Klarman, Kramer, and Bilder are named in the narrative research as critical cautions; they are not assigned as required student reading this week. No invented Lincoln quotation. A running Supreme Court total through the present year is not used. Cooke, Maier, and Chernow remain books a family can seek; they are not treated here as desk copies already digested.

For the parent: understand it yourself

Here is the everyday picture. A club writes a brilliant charter about how members will not tyrannize one another. In the same packet, a paragraph explains how some people who live in the building will be counted as fractions for representation and will not vote. Later, the club's publicity says a list of member rights is unnecessary, even dangerous. The neighboring houses refuse to join without a written list. A different officer, who did not write the "dangerous" paragraph, drafts the list in a form that keeps the original charter intact. That is this week, scaled to a clubhouse. It is not the speeches. It is a picture to hold while you read them.

Here is the precise picture.

No. 10 ran on 22 November 1787. Faction is "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole." The whole is the community whose "permanent and aggregate interests" faction threatens. Representation refines. Extent takes in "a greater variety of parties and interests." The people in this theory are the political class whose factions Madison had watched. They are not, in the theory, enslaved.

No. 54 then counts, for the House, a population that includes people who are not in that class at all. The three-fifths clause did not give enslaved people three-fifths of a vote. It gave slaveholding states three-fifths of a person in the apportionment of representatives and direct taxes. Madison, writing as Publius, does not speak in his own voice. He puts the argument in the mouth of a southern brother. The Constitution's slavery clauses are three: three-fifths in Article I, section 2; the slave-trade delay until 1808 in Article I, section 9; the fugitive-slave clause in Article IV. Publius faces one. Union-is-necessary covers a great deal in Hamilton's early numbers. It is not asked to cover why a person may be recaptured across a state line.

Hamilton and Jay sat in the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves; Hamilton had helped to found it on 4 February 1785. Madison was a slaveholder who, while the Philadelphia Convention sat, was searching for a runaway. None of that enters Publius except the strained No. 54. The three men were not interchangeable on slavery in their lives. As Publius they were interchangeable in their refusal.

Every essay is addressed "To the People of the State of New York." In 1787–88 that was a newspaper address. It meant free, voting, newspaper-reading men. Women

are not in the implied audience. Native nations are not. Free Black citizens are not. The propertyless poor are not, except as a problem of faction. Contemporaries already noticed the register. Archibald Maclaine of North Carolina called Publius "a judicious and ingenious writer, though not well calculated for the common people." Louis-Guillaume Otto, via later historians, judged the essays too learned and too long for the ignorant, and of no use to the well-informed. "Twenty-seven Subscribers" found the series nauseous. Federal Farmer dismissed Publius as having "but little relation to the great question, whether the constitution is fitted to the condition and character of the people or not."

The essays *are* written in a high register. They *were* not calculated for the common people. They *do* fear majority faction. They also defend popular ratification, frequent elections, and a republic against monarchy. The elitism is real and partial. Jay's No. 2 overstates American homogeneity — ancestry, language, religion — as rhetorical unification, not as a census. Native nations and enslaved Africans are off that map.

Hamilton's No. 84 should be heard before it is answered, because the claims are not foolish.

Bills of rights are historically "stipulations between kings and their subjects." In a popular constitution "the people surrender nothing; and as they retain every thing they have no need of particular reservations."

The Constitution already contains rights-protecting clauses: habeas corpus, no bill of attainder or ex post facto, no titles of nobility, jury trial in crimes, a narrow treason definition.

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

And the capital-letter close: "The Constitution is itself, in every rational sense, and to every useful purpose, A BILL OF RIGHTS."

James Wilson's State House Yard speech of 6 October 1787 had already made the argument to a Philadelphia crowd and then to twelve of the thirteen states. No. 84 is the theoretical statement of a position many Federalists already held. It is also

late. It cannot have been the essay that prevented a bill of rights during the spring campaigns. It is the losing brief in the most important American constitutional revision, written as a book essay after six states had ratified.

Madison in 1787–88 was not Hamilton on this question. He had not written a Federalist number against a bill of rights. Jefferson, on 18 November 1788, after the "best commentary" praise, added: "As to the bill of rights however I still think it should be added." Virginia ratified on 25 June with recommendatory amendments. New York ratified on 26 July "in full confidence," with a declaration of rights, recommendatory amendments, and a circular letter. North Carolina and Rhode Island stayed out until amendments were in motion. Madison, running for the First Congress against James Monroe in a district drawn by Patrick Henry, pledged to work for amendments.

On 8 June 1789 he introduced them and answered Hamilton without naming him. He "never considered this provision so essential to the federal constitution, as to make it improper to ratify it, until such an amendment was added," yet "always conceived, that in a certain form and to a certain extent, such a provision was neither improper nor altogether useless." He named the cluster: some respectable friends of the government had thought a provision "not only unnecessary, but even improper, nay … even dangerous."

British analogies fail. Magna Carta limits the Crown, not Parliament. American bills of rights limit legislatures.

Enumerated powers are not a sufficient security, because of the Necessary and Proper Clause and discretionary means. His example is concrete: general warrants in revenue collection. A government that may tax may search. Hamilton's "why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do?" assumes that means are tightly bound to enumerated ends. Madison, who had written No. 44 on necessary and proper, knew they were not.

State bills of rights are uneven, and some states have none. A federal bill would be a national floor.

Then "the most plausible" objection — the one in No. 84 — that enumeration will disparage omitted rights. Madison answered with what became the Ninth Amendment. In the speech, the draft is fuller: exceptions in favor of particular rights "shall not be so construed as to diminish the just importance of other rights retained by the people; or as to enlarge the powers delegated." The Ninth, as sent, says that the enumeration of certain rights "shall not be construed to deny or

disparage others retained by the people." The Tenth says that powers not delegated are reserved to the states or the people. The Tenth as sent does *not* say "expressly" delegated. Article II of the Articles of Confederation had said "expressly." That word was the Confederation's shackle. Anti-Federalists wanted it back. They did not get it.

Paper barriers, Madison said, can "impress some degree of respect," "establish the public opinion in their favor, and rouse the attention of the whole community." "Independent tribunals of justice will consider themselves in a peculiar manner the guardians of those rights." Hamilton had given the courts judicial review without a bill of rights, in No. 78. Madison now gave them a bill of rights to review.

What he would not give: a second convention, and structural gutting of implied powers. Akhil Reed Amar has argued that the 1789–91 amendments are in that sense a *Federalist* bill of rights: they protect rights without undoing the 1787 structure. The argument is right as a description of Madison's project. Without Anti-Federalist pressure there is no completion. Without Madison's drafting there is a different completion. Both halves are the history.

A second irony arrived in the 1790s. The Federalist Party lived uneasily with the First Amendment when the Sedition Act came. The party of No. 84 became the party that most needed a bill of rights and least wanted to honor one. Madison drafted the Virginia Resolutions. Jefferson drafted the Kentucky Resolutions. This is not a deathbed recantation by Hamilton, and it is not proof that 1788 was a lie. It is what happened when No. 84's side governed.

Three cautions belong on this week's table, because they are this book's reading rule. Jefferson, 1788: in places the writer says what may best be said in defense of opinions he did not share. Madison to Ritchie, 1821: ratifiers, not the planning body, when a key besides the text is wanted. Scalia, *Printz*: split personality on federalism. Publius is one sophisticated Federalist public construction of the Constitution, written in haste, theoretically dense, and not a trump. Pair him with Anti-Federalist writing, the convention debates, and the amendments of 1789–91. Great respect. Reserved judgment.

Mason had left Philadelphia as a famous objector, and his objections, circulating as a manuscript and then in print, were a bill of rights by another name. Gerry had refused to sign and had taken his reasons home to Massachusetts. Randolph had refused to sign and then, in Virginia, converted to ratification with amendments — a conversion that mattered more to the 89–79 vote than any McLean volume on a

Richmond desk. The three refusals are not a single ideology. They are evidence that the demand Publius treated as a conceptual mistake was, among men who had been in the room, a reason not to put a name on the parchment. Hamilton's No. 84 is a theory of why those men were wrong. The ratifying conventions are a record of why the theory did not suffice.

Brutus belongs on this week's table as the theorist Publius was built to answer. Sixteen essays, from 18 October 1787 to 10 April 1788, in Greenleaf's *New-York Journal*. Traditionally Robert Yates; also attributed to Melancton Smith or to John Williams; not closed here. Brutus argued necessary-and-proper and supremacy swallowing the states; a large republic's impossibility of true representation; a judiciary that will consolidate; a bill of rights required because structure will not suffice. Hamilton's Nos. 78–84, and Madison's Nos. 39–46, are the structured reply. Brutus on the courts is the most prophetic writing of 1787–88 on the judiciary. He did not need No. 78 to imagine judicial power. He imagined it as supremacy; Hamilton answered with "least dangerous." A family that reads No. 84 without Brutus hears only the winner's brief.

The 8 June speech is not a conversion experience. It is a craftsman's document. Every move keeps something from the 1788 case and pays something to the 1789 demand. British analogies, the ones No. 84 had used, are distinguished rather than mocked. Enumerated powers, Wilson's and Hamilton's security, are conceded as a theory and then pierced with general warrants. Parchment is given a public-opinion job that No. 48 had denied it as a mechanical job. Courts are given a guardianship that No. 78 had described as judgment, not will. The same man can write No. 10 and No. 54, can think a bill of rights inessential to ratification and introduce one in June 1789, without being a hypocrite and without being a saint. He can be a nationalist under constraint, paying for Union in the coin the conventions had named.

You now have enough to hear a wrong answer.

Wrong answers you should be able to hear

1. "The Founders always wanted a Bill of Rights. It is in the Federalist Papers."
   What it usually means: 1791 has been run backward into May 1788. No. 84 called a bill of rights unnecessary and dangerous. Madison paid the promise later, in a Federalist form.

2. "Madison contradicted himself because he was a hypocrite."
   What it usually means: sequence has been mistaken for a character play.

He had not written No. 84. He had not thought amendments essential to ratification. Virginia politics and the conventions required payment. He kept the structure.

3. "No. 10 is a theory of everybody."
   What it usually means: "the people" in later civics has swallowed the address line. Teach 54 next to 10 until the temperature change is felt.

4. "Hamilton recanted No. 84."
   What it usually means: the Sedition Act irony has been turned into a conversion scene. He did not recant. The party that had sold the sufficiency of structure discovered that critics needed the amendments.

5. "The Ninth Amendment is a trivia extra."
   What it usually means: the family has learned "ten amendments" as a list of clauses without the objection they answer. The Ninth is the answer to "dangerous."

Five-minute parent warm-up

Side A of a card, two numbers:

- No. 10: faction among citizens; extended sphere.
- No. 54: three-fifths, in another man's mouth; "two fifths of the MAN."

Side B, two dates:

- No. 84, book-first 28 May 1788: unnecessary and dangerous.
- 8 June 1789: Madison answers "most plausible" with what becomes the Ninth; Tenth without "expressly."

Say the card aloud once. You do not need to be a rights lawyer. You need to hear "the Federalist Papers include the Bill of Rights" as a timeline mistake.

How to teach it this week

Fifty minutes. If the family is tired, split: one sitting for 10/54, one sitting for 84/1789. Slavery and the Ninth can wait for separate breaths if either one is still mush.

Warm-up (5 minutes). Put No. 10 and No. 54 on the table, physically, if you have a printout. Ask, “Are these about the same ‘people’?” Wait. The student may say yes because both are Publius. That is the wrong answer you are here to hear.

Exact wording you can say:

“We are going to read what the mask would not say, and what it said only once, cold. Then we are going to watch Madison pay a promise Hamilton’s number had called dangerous. Two jobs. Same week.”

Short model (8 minutes). Read, aloud, the “two fifths of the MAN” sentence and Hamilton’s “unnecessary” and “dangerous” sentence. Then one sentence of 8 June: Madison answers the most plausible objection with rights retained by the people. Stop talking.

Exact wording after the readings:

“No. 54 is confession and evasion both. It faces the clause as a logic of representation, not as a moral fact, and the rest of the series looks away. No. 84 is a logic of enumerated powers. 8 June 1789 is the payment. The Ninth is the scar of ‘dangerous.’ ”

Student attempt (12 minutes). First problem for the student:

“Write a two-column page. Left column: what No. 84 claims, in four bullets you can defend from the text. Right column: what Madison does on 8 June 1789 with each claim. The fourth right-hand bullet must be the Ninth. You may use the Tenth without ‘expressly’ as a fifth line if you have room.”

If the student stalls, one hint: “Which objection does Madison call ‘the most plausible’? That is the Ninth’s job.”

One good question (3 minutes). Ask only this:

“If the irony is structural rather than a hypocrisy story, what is the sequence you have to keep in order?”

Wait. The answer you want: Hamilton writes the fullest Federalist case against a bill of rights, late. Madison has not written that case. The conventions extract a promise. Madison pays it in a form that preserves implied powers and refuses a second convention.

Mixed practice (12 minutes). Five slips:

- "To the People of the State of New York."
- No. 54's southern brother.
- Wilson, 6 October 1787, twelve of thirteen states.
- No. 84, newspapers 16 July, 26 July, 9 August 1788.
- Tenth Amendment, no "expressly."

Ask: "Which of these is audience? Which is silence and confession? Which traveled as the rights argument in 1787? Which arrived too late to prevent the price of ratification? Which is Madison refusing to go all the way back to the Articles?"

Exit ticket (5 minutes). Four lines, unaided:

1. Why teach No. 54 next to No. 10.
2. One claim of No. 84, in ordinary words.
3. What Madison did on 8 June 1789 about the "most plausible" objection.
4. Who "the people" in the address line were, and who they were not.

When to stop talking: after the two readings and the one 8 June sentence. Fade help in this order: first stop supplying "structural irony," then stop supplying the Ninth's job, then stop supplying the address-line limit. Leave the student with two columns and the instruction to fill them from the texts.

Practice that actually builds learning

Blocked practice first. Two new moves: the adjacency of 10 and 54, and the sequence 84 → conventions → 8 June 1789.

Blocked set (new move)

- Read No. 54's person-and-property paragraph. Then read No. 10's definition of faction. Write one sentence on who is in "the whole" in No. 10 and who is being counted in No. 54.
- Recite No. 84's four claims until they are automatic: kings-and-subjects history; rights already in the Constitution; unnecessary and dangerous; the Constitution itself a bill of rights.
- Recite 8 June in four moves: British analogies distinguished; enumerated powers pierced with general warrants; state bills uneven; most plausible objection answered by the Ninth.

- Write the Tenth without "expressly," then write Article II of the Articles with "expressly." See the missing word.

Mixed practice (when to use the move)

- "30–27 with a declaration of rights." Is this Publius winning on rights, or New York extracting a price?
- "Jefferson's 'however.' " Afterlife praise, or a rights reservation sitting inside the praise?
- "No. 78, least dangerous branch." Courts without a bill of rights, or courts later given amendments to guard?
- "Maclaine: not well calculated for the common people." Style complaint, or a clue about audience?
- "Sedition Act." Proof that 1788 was a lie, or a second irony when No. 84's side governed?

Brief retrieval

- 19–46 / 30–27, with dates.
- Marshall's formula.
- Lupu's shape in one line (low for a century; more than half after 1970).
- 1788 title versus 1961 cover.

One incorrect example to diagnose

A composite illustration, not a reported family:

> "Publius taught America to love the Bill of Rights. Madison had always been the amendments man, and Hamilton agreed once New York was safely in. Slavery is not in the Federalist Papers, which were written to 'the people' in our modern sense."

Ask the student to mark the errors. Typical marks:

- No. 84 is the losing brief, not a love letter to amendments.
- Madison had not written No. 84 and had not thought amendments essential to ratification; he paid a promise.
- Hamilton did not lead the amendment fight.
- No. 54 is in the series. Silence elsewhere is also in the series.
- The address line is narrower than later civics.

Kitchen conversations about "our rights" can motivate. They do not replace No. 84, the 8 June speech, No. 54, or the unaided two-column page.

For the student

You are going to read a cold paragraph and a losing brief, and you are going to watch a different man pay a promise.

Here is the idea. Publius is a mask. The mask will not say that a bill of rights is needed. Hamilton's No. 84 says a list of rights is unnecessary and even dangerous, because it might imply powers never granted. "Why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do?" The mask will barely say slavery's name. In No. 54 it does, in another man's mouth, and it counts an enslaved person as three-fifths of a person for the House. No. 10, a few dozen pages away in the bound volumes, is a theory of how citizens will not oppress one another. The citizens in that theory are not the people being fractioned.

In June 1789 Madison, who had not written No. 84, stood in the House and introduced amendments. He answered the "most plausible" objection — Hamilton's danger point — with what became the Ninth Amendment: listing some rights does not deny or disparage others the people keep. He would not call a second convention. He would not put "expressly" into the Tenth. He kept 1787 and paid 1788's political price.

Tiny worked example

Question: "Did Publius support the Bill of Rights?"

A useful answer: "Hamilton's No. 84 argued against a separate bill of rights. Madison had not written that essay. Virginia and New York extracted a promise. On 8 June 1789 Madison paid the promise and kept the original structure. The Ninth Amendment is the answer to 'dangerous.' That is a sequence, not a simple yes."

Try 1. In ordinary words, two claims from No. 84.

Try 2. What the Ninth Amendment does to No. 84's "most plausible" objection.

Explain it back. Tell someone why No. 54 next to No. 10 is an assignment, not extra credit. Use the word "citizens" from No. 10 and the word "slave" from No. 54. You are allowed to say the paragraph is hard to read aloud. You are not allowed to skip it.

Challenge. The Tenth Amendment as sent does not say "expressly." Write six

sentences on why that missing word is a Federalist victory and why the amendments still exist because Anti-Federalists demanded them. You may name Amar as a historian who calls this a Federalist bill of rights. You may also say the Anti-Federalists were not bystanders.

You are allowed to struggle. Coldness in a primary source is part of the work. You do not have to write a sermon. You do have to keep 54 on the same week's page as 10.

If it isn't clicking

Diagnostic 1 — The temperature change will not happen.
The student can paraphrase No. 10 and still talks as if "the people" included everyone living in 1788.

Next move: two highlighter colors. Color the citizens of No. 10. Color the persons-and-property of No. 54. Then write the address line at the top of the page. Who can read the newspaper? Who can vote? Who is being counted for someone else's representation? Stay on this map until the three groups will not collapse.

Diagnostic 2 — Hypocrisy is doing all the work.
The student hears 84 and 1789 and says Madison was two-faced.

Next move: a timeline with four points only. (1) No. 84, late May 1788, Hamilton. (2) Virginia 25 June, New York 26 July, promises extracted. (3) Madison's House race against Monroe, pledge. (4) 8 June 1789, payment, structure kept. Ask, "Which of these four did Madison write as Publius?" The answer is none of the anti-bill-of-rights essay. Sequence first. Character talk later, if at all.

Diagnostic 3 — The Ninth will not attach to No. 84.
The student can list "freedom of speech" and cannot say what problem the Ninth was built to solve.

Next move: write Hamilton's question on a card — "For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do?" Under it, write Madison's answer: enumeration shall not deny or disparage other rights retained by the people. Recite the pair. The Ninth is not a leftover. It is a reply.

When to slow down: if 10/54 is still mush, leave 84 for the next sitting. When to go ahead: if the two-column page and the adjacency sentence are unaided. When to

get a human tutor: if the student can memorize the Ninth's words and still cannot attach them to Hamilton's danger point after a week. A government teacher who will sit with the 8 June speech is the right next person.

Tools, including AI

Optional helpers for the adult. The student attempts first. You hold the key: Avalon texts of Nos. 10, 54, and 84; the 8 June 1789 speech (Teaching American History / *Annals*); the Ninth and Tenth as sent; the address line; Maclaine's "not well calculated"; Wilson's earlier, more widely traveled rights argument.

Use a tool, if you use one, to explain the idea to you ("Why would listing a right be called dangerous?"), to make extra two-column practice with answers hidden, to write a hint script, or to diagnose a two-column page already written.

> **Box.** Child attempts first. Parent holds the key. A tool may explain the idea to the parent, make extra practice with answers hidden, write a hint script, or diagnose work already done. During the attempt, the student does not paste the worksheet, does not ask "what's the answer," does not photograph the page for a key, and does not sit with an unsupervised chatbot.

A summary of "the Bill of Rights" that starts in 1791 and never reaches No. 84 will undo this week. If a tool writes that summary, set it aside and return to the two columns.

What "done enough" looks like

Skill, not birthday. "AP Government" on a cover is a publisher's scope. The skill is the sequence and the adjacency.

Checklist:

- ☐ Can say, in one sentence, why No. 54 sits next to No. 10 this week.
- ☐ Can name who "the people" in the address line were, and name at least two groups they were not.

- ☐ Recites No. 84's core claim: a bill of rights unnecessary and dangerous, Constitution already a bill of rights.
- ☐ Knows No. 84 was book-first, 28 May 1788, and in newspapers during and after Poughkeepsie.
- ☐ Places Madison's 8 June 1789 speech as payment, not as recantation of an essay he had not written.
- ☐ Attaches the Ninth Amendment to Hamilton's "most plausible" / "dangerous" objection.
- ☐ Knows the Tenth as sent does not say "expressly."
- ☐ Can tell the structural-irony sequence without a hypocrisy sermon.
- ☐ Leaves a Hamilton deathbed recantation unwritten.
- ☐ Still keeps 26 July 1788 and Marshall's formula on the table from prior weeks.

If the first two boxes are open, stay with 10/54. The Ninth will not mean enough if the address line is still a timeless category.

What the parent can learn this week: the Ninth is an answer, not an extra. What the child can try today: read the "two fifths of the MAN" sentence aloud, then the faction sentence from No. 10, and say who is missing.

Chapter 8

A Term with Publius

Figure 9: What the essays would not say.

Why this matters

A family can now tell two stories: the newspaper war, and the scripture. The remaining job is to read some of the eighty-five numbers in an order that keeps

both stories in view. Not all of them. A reader who tries to take the series as a textbook will drown, and will drown in the wrong place. Hamilton admitted in No. 85 that two of No. 1's promised heads were never given discrete essays. Story already noticed that the essays, written to meet popular objections, had not pursued any very exact order.

This chapter is a term plan. Which essays. In what order. How to pair each one with an opponent or a later document. What to put on a transcript a stranger can read.

The transcript line is Civics, or Government, or U.S. History. Those are titles a registrar, a college, or a future employer can parse. "The Federalist Papers" is twentieth-century packaging, popularized by a 1961 paperback. It is a unit you may teach. It is not the course name. "Publius" is this book's title and a Roman mask. It is not a transcript title.[84] "AP Government" is a College Board product and a publisher's scope. Use it only if the student is actually sitting that exam. Otherwise write Civics, Government, or U.S. History, and put the essays in the description.

This is worth the struggle because a term without a path becomes a greatest-hits sampler: 10, 51, a little 78, and a fog of respect. Those three numbers are brilliant. They are also the civic liturgy. A family that adds 15–22, No. 39, No. 54, No. 84, Brutus, and Madison's 8 June 1789 speech will have a term, not a poster.

What you can learn this week, as the adult at the table, is a twelve-week core, a sixteen-week expansion, and a six-week compression, plus the transcript rule. What the student can try today is to choose the next three essays after No. 1 and say why those three, not a random "famous" three.

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[84]The reading path follows the coda of *Publius: How a New York Newspaper War Became America's Civic Scripture*: Nos. 10, 39, 51, 70, 78, 84, plus 15–22 and 23–36, plus No. 54, plus Brutus and Federal Farmer, plus the 8 June 1789 speech. Lupu 1998 ranking as in Chapter 6. Crane's reprint list as in Chapter 5. Cooke 1961 is named as the historians' edition, a book a family can seek; it was not re-read cover to cover for this teaching chapter. Rossiter 1961 is named as the mass-market hinge and the source of the cover title "The Federalist Papers." Maier's *Ratification* and Chernow's *Alexander Hamilton* are optional lives and year-narratives a family may add around the essays; they are not required and were not digested as desk copies here. Anti-Federalist identities remain unlocked. No Lincoln quotation by name. No 2026 Court total. Transcript titles restricted to Civics, Government, and U.S. History so a stranger can read the record; the paperback nickname stays out of the course-title line.

For the parent: understand it yourself

Here is the everyday picture. You would not teach a year of biology by reading only the three chapters that appear on a quiz-bowl list. You would pick a path: cells, then systems, then one hard chapter the quiz-bowl list skips. Publius needs the same kindness. The civic quiz-bowl list is 10, 51, 70, 78, 84. The lawyer's list, in Lupu's ranking, leads with 42, 78, 81, 51, 32. The 1788 reprint list is almost the union and Confederation sequence. A term that pretends those three lists are one list will confuse the student. A term that names the lists, then chooses a path, will not.

Here is the precise picture. The path this book recommends is the one the coda already named, stretched across a term.

Start with No. 1 so the student hears the address line, the reflection-and-choice sentence, and the promise to answer objections. Then read enough of the Confederation and energy sequence — Nos. 15–22 and 23–36, in selections — that Nos. 10 and 51 cannot float free of the emergency that produced them. The "great radical vice" of the old league, in No. 15, is legislation on states rather than on individuals. The tax numbers exist because a government that cannot tax is the Confederation. Then No. 10 for faction and the extended sphere, with No. 54 in the same week. Then No. 39 for the compound republic, the reason Americans have never agreed what federalism means. Then No. 51 for ambition, angels, and double security — the overlap of the classroom canon and the judicial canon. Then No. 70 for energy, with the four-year term and impeachment still attached. Then No. 78 for judicial review as a consequence of written law, paired with Brutus on the courts, and with the reminder that 78 was a May 1788 book essay. Then No. 84 as the losing brief, paired with Madison's speech of 8 June 1789. Keep Federal Farmer on consolidation in the same stretch as Nos. 39–46. Cooke is the historians' text of record, a book a family can seek. Rossiter is how living Americans often met the book. The *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* is what 1788 was. Avalon will carry the weekly reading.

Twelve weeks is enough for a high-school term if each week has one essay (or a paired opponent) at the center, plus a short document from the afterlife or from the convention. Sixteen weeks lets you add No. 2 (Jay's unification rhetoric), No. 44 (necessary and proper), No. 69 (the presidency distinguished from a monarch), and a closing week on Marshall's *McCulloch* formula. Six weeks is a compression for a busy season: 1; 15 plus a sample from 23–36; 10 with 54; 39 with 51; 78 with

Brutus; 84 with 8 June 1789. The compression still keeps 54 and 84. A greatest-hits six that drops those two is a different course.

Hours. A serious week is two or three sittings of forty to fifty minutes, plus silent reading. That is enough for one essay and one pairing. It is not enough for five numbers. The session shape you already have — warm-up, short model, student attempt, one good question, mixed practice, exit ticket — is the weekly engine. This chapter does not replace it. It sequences it.

Authorship, as you go: print 51 / 29 / 5 on the syllabus once. Footnote 18–20 as Madison with Hamilton's assistance. Footnote 55 as the residual stylometric wobble. Hamilton's 63 stays off the count. Avalon still heads No. 51 "HAMILTON OR MADISON." Consensus since Adair is Madison. Tell the student the heading is a fossil.

Opponents stay on the syllabus as real writers. Brutus on the judiciary next to No. 78. Federal Farmer on consolidation next to No. 39. Cato as the New York opening gun, without locking the name behind the mask. Traditional attributions — Clinton, Yates, Richard Henry Lee — remain textbook names. They are not closed. A 2025 blog assertion that a name is "confirmed" is not treated as established.

Afterlife documents belong in the last third, not as a substitute for the essays. Washington, 28 August 1788. Jefferson, 18 November 1788, whole letter, reservation included. Marshall in *McCulloch*. Madison to Ritchie, 1821. Lupu's table, as a table, not as a running total you do not have. *Printz*'s footnote, if the student is ready. No invented Lincoln quotation. No 2026 Court total.

The transcript rule, said once so the rest of the chapter can use it. A stranger reading a homeschool record should see:

- Course title: Civics. Or Government. Or U.S. History.
- Year or term.
- A one-line description that may name *The Federalist* (1788), ratification, and the Bill of Rights.
- Hours and, if you wish, a short reading list.

The stranger should not have to decode a publisher nickname, a musical, or this book's title. Chapter 9 will show the forms. This chapter decides the work that the forms will describe.

Wrong answers you should be able to hear

1. “We should just read all eighty-five, in order, out loud.”
   What it usually means: respect has been mistaken for a plan. The newspaper order is not a textbook order. The fourth heading swallowed the work. Select, then go deep.

2. “We only need 10 and 51. That is what AP wants.”
   What it usually means: an exam’s sample has become the Constitution. 10 and 51 are the overlap with liturgy. Without 15–22 they float. Without 54 they flatter. Without 84 they imply a bill of rights Publius refused.

3. “The course is called The Federalist Papers.”
   What it usually means: Rossiter’s cover has become a transcript line. Write Civics, Government, or U.S. History.

4. “We can skip the Anti-Federalists because we are studying Publius.”
   What it usually means: the winner’s brief has become the only brief. Brutus and Federal Farmer are the designed opponents. The term is a fight, not a shrine.

5. “If we finish the paperback, we have done U.S. History.”
   What it usually means: a unit has been mistaken for a year. This term is a unit inside Civics, Government, or U.S. History. It is not a substitute for the rest of the country’s story.

Five-minute parent warm-up

Side A: the core six, in order, with one job each.

- 1: address line and stakes.
- 15 (and a tax or energy sample): emergency.
- 10 + 54: faction, then temperature.
- 39 + 51: compound republic, ambition, double security.
- 78 + Brutus: courts, two briefs.
- 84 + 8 June 1789: losing brief, then payment.

Side B: three transcript words — Civics, Government, U.S. History — and one sentence: the 1961 cover is not the course name.

Say the card aloud once. You are ready to lay out a term.

How to teach it this week

This week's "lesson" is a planning session with the student, not a new essay. Fifty minutes. The student helps choose the path. You hold the constraints.

Warm-up (5 minutes). Put three lists on the table.

List A, civic liturgy: 10, 51, 70, 78, 84.
List B, Lupu's top five: 42, 78, 81, 51, 32.
List C, 1788 reprints outside the city: 1–21, 23, 38, 69.

Ask, "What do you notice?" Wait. The student should see that the lists barely overlap. No. 51 and No. 78 are the meeting ground. No. 10 is almost absent from B and was not a national 1788 event.

Exact wording you can say:

"We are going to pick a term that is honest about all three lists. We will not pretend they are the same list. You will help choose the pace. I will keep 54 and 84 on the calendar even if we compress."

Short model (8 minutes). Sketch the twelve-week core on a single page, week titles only. Read it once. Stop talking.

Student attempt (12 minutes). First problem for the student:

"Choose 12-week, 16-week, or 6-week. Copy the week titles. Then add, for each week, one pairing: an Anti-Federalist, a convention fact, or an afterlife document. You may not drop No. 54 or No. 84. You may not title the course 'The Federalist Papers.' "

If the student stalls, one hint: "Which week is the emergency, which week is the temperature change, which week is the payment for rights?"

One good question (3 minutes). Ask only this:

"If a future registrar sees only the course title, will that person know this was civics, government, or U.S. history — or will that person have to guess at a paperback?"

Wait. The answer you want is the three words, used as titles.

Mixed practice (12 minutes). Give five proposed week plans, some sound, some not.

- "Week 3: No. 10 only, because it is famous." (Missing 54.)

- "Week 5: No. 78, then Brutus on the courts." (Sound.)
- "Week 6: skip 84; we already know the Bill of Rights." (Drops the losing brief.)
- "Week 2: Nos. 15 and 21, Confederation vice and a sample of energy." (Sound.)
- "Course title: Publius / AP Gov / Hamilton." (Transcript problem.)

The student marks keep or return, and says why.

Exit ticket (5 minutes). Four lines, unaided:

1. The path in six titles, or twelve if the student chose twelve.
2. Two pairings that must stay (54 with 10; 84 with 8 June).
3. The transcript course title this family will use.
4. One essay the family will *not* pretend to have finished if time collapses.

When to stop talking: after the one-page model. Fade help in this order: first stop supplying week numbers, then stop supplying pairings, then stop supplying the transcript words. Leave the student with three lists and the instruction to build a calendar that keeps 54 and 84.

The twelve-week core, for you to copy

Week 1. No. 1. Address line. Reflection and choice. Promise. How to read one essay this week (the session shape you already have).

Week 2. Confederation emergency. No. 15, the "great radical vice." Sample one number from 21–22 or from the tax series 30–36 so energy and revenue are not rumors.

Week 3. No. 10 and No. 54 in the same week. Faction among citizens; three-fifths in another man's mouth.

Week 4. Compound republic. No. 39. Pair Federal Farmer on consolidation. "Neither a national nor a federal Constitution, but a composition of both."

Week 5. No. 51. Ambition, angels, double security. The overlap essay. Avalon's "Hamilton or Madison" heading as a fossil; consensus Madison.

Week 6. Presidency. No. 70, energy, with term and impeachment still attached. Optional: a look at No. 69's distinctions from a monarch, if the week has room.

Week 7. Judiciary. No. 78, book-first 28 May 1788. Pair Brutus on the courts. Least dangerous, and the fear it answers. *Marbury* tracks the logic and does not

cite Publius; say so if the student has heard otherwise.

Week 8. The losing brief. No. 84. Wilson's earlier speech as the argument that traveled. Poughkeepsie 30–27 still on the wall.

Week 9. Payment. Madison, 8 June 1789. Ninth as answer to "dangerous." Tenth without "expressly."

Week 10. New York as a vote, not as a legend. 19–46 / 30–27. Crane's twenty-four. Jay's *Address*. Handbook, not conversion.

Week 11. Afterlife. Washington, Jefferson's whole letter, Marshall's formula, Story as hinge. Lupu's shape. No grand total.

Week 12. How to use Publius now. Ritchie letter. Split personality. A short paper: great respect, reserved judgment, applied to one essay the student actually read.

Sixteen-week expansion. Add, after Week 2, a week on Jay's No. 2 and No. 64 (union rhetoric; treaty power). Add No. 44 after No. 39. Add No. 81 after No. 78, so the lawyer's companion to 78 is not a rumor. Add a week on No. 32 or No. 42 so Lupu's table has been tasted, not only named. The closing week can then take *Printz*'s footnote without letting *Printz* become the course.

Six-week compression. Weeks: (1) No. 1 plus how to read. (2) No. 15 and one energy or tax sample. (3) Nos. 10 and 54. (4) Nos. 39 and 51. (5) No. 78 and Brutus. (6) No. 84 and 8 June 1789, with the 30–27 stated in the same week so reputation cannot swallow the vote. Optional afterlife documents as short readings inside weeks 5 and 6 rather than as their own week.

A sample week, in the sentences you can say. Week 3, 10 and 54, is the week families skip. Here is the hour.

Warm-up: "Last week we read why the old league could not coerce. This week we read a theory of faction among citizens, and then a paragraph that counts some people as three-fifths of a person for the House. Same author, same series, same bound book. Two temperatures."

Short model: read No. 10's definition of faction. Then read No. 54's person-and-property sentence. Stop talking.

Student attempt: "Write who is in 'the whole' in No. 10, and who is being counted in No. 54. Then one sentence on whether those groups are the same."

Good question: "If we assigned only No. 10 this week, what would go missing?"

Exit ticket: the adjacency in four lines.

Week 8, No. 84, uses the same shape. Warm-up: “New York has already extracted a declaration of rights. Hamilton’s number against a bill of rights is late. We are going to hear it fairly, then we are going to date it.” Short model: the four claims. Student attempt: the four bullets. Good question: “Can this essay have prevented a bill of rights in the spring campaigns?” The answer is no; it is book-first, 28 May, newspapers in July and August. Next week is 8 June 1789.

Hours and credit, in ordinary language. Two sittings a week, forty to fifty minutes, plus a silent reading of the week’s essay, is a serious high-school unit. Over twelve weeks that is roughly forty to sixty hours of contact and reading, which is a term inside Civics, Government, or U.S. History, not a full-year course by itself. If your state or a college asks for a Carnegie-style count, report the hours you actually sat, not a number copied from a publisher. Placement is by skill. A fourteen-year-old who can do the Chapter 5 exit ticket and read No. 1 unaided is ready for this term. A seventeen-year-old who still makes Publius the swing at Poughkeepsie is not ready to call the term finished, whatever the birthday says.

How help fades across the term. Early weeks, you read the first paragraph aloud. Middle weeks, the student reads first and you ask the one good question. Late weeks, the student brings the pairing already named — Brutus next to 78, 8 June next to 84 — and you only check that the pairing is on the page. If you are still supplying the pairing in Week 12, the calendar has slipped back into a lecture. Return to the slips.

What to write down each week, besides the essay. One sentence of 1788 fact (circulation, date, or vote). One sentence of argument. One sentence of limit (advocacy, silence, lateness, split mind). Those three sentences become the term paper in Week 12 without a new research project. They also become the evidence Chapter 9 will file under Civics, Government, or U.S. History.

A short paper, not a shrine. Week 12’s paper is four to six pages, or a recorded talk of eight to ten minutes, on one essay the student actually read, using Marshall’s formula. Great respect: what the number argues, in the student’s own words, with two short quotations. Reserved judgment: one limit from this book’s table — advocacy Jefferson already saw, a split Scalia admitted, a silence No. 54 names, a lateness Nos. 78–85 have, a vote Publius did not convert. Pair one opponent or one later document. The paper is done enough when a stranger can tell which essay was read and which limit was kept. It is not done enough when it announces

timeless truths and never dates New York.

Mixed retrieval across the term. Once a week, two minutes, unaided, recycle old facts so they do not die when a new essay arrives. Rotate: 19–46 / 30–27; Crane's twenty-four; book-first 28 May; Jefferson's "however"; Marshall's reservation; the Ninth as answer to "dangerous"; 51 / 29 / 5; 1788 title versus 1961 cover. Retrieval is not a test for a grade. It is how a term becomes memory rather than a stack of unmarked printouts.

If the student is younger, or older. A strong middle-school reader can do the six-week compression with more reading aloud and with No. 15 sampled rather than entire. A college-bound senior can do the sixteen-week expansion and add No. 42 or No. 32 so Lupu's table is tasted. Neither choice is a legal grade. Both choices still keep 54 and 84. A family teaching this unit inside a broader U.S. History year can park it after the Constitutional Convention and before the First Congress, which is where it lived. A family teaching it inside Civics can park it after a week on the Articles and before a week on the amendments. The parking is history. The path is the same.

What this term will not do. It will not finish every number. It will not settle Cato, Brutus, or Federal Farmer. It will not update Lupu from the *U.S. Reports*. It will not invent a Lincoln quotation. It will not sell a curriculum. It will put a student in a room with a handful of dense 1788 essays, a real opponent, a vote, a losing brief, and a later reputation, and it will ask the student to hold them without kneeling. That is a term's work.

Practice that actually builds learning

Blocked practice first. The new move is building a path, not summarizing an essay.

Blocked set (new move)

- Write the twelve week titles from memory. Check against the model.
- For each of the core six essays, write one job in six words or fewer.
- Pair each of 10, 39, 78, and 84 with its opponent or later document: 54; Federal Farmer; Brutus; 8 June 1789.
- Write three acceptable transcript titles. Write three titles this family will not use as the course of record.

Mixed practice (when to use the move)

Now mix path choices with facts from earlier chapters so the student has to protect the path.

- "We have only two weeks." Which two pairings still cannot drop?
- "The student loves the musical." Where does the musical go? (Afterlife, week 11 or a Friday; not week 1 as origin.)
- "A cousin says No. 10 is what the Court cites." Which table answers the cousin?
- "A website dates New York 25 July." Which instrument date does the term use?
- "Someone wants a 2026 citation total for the final paper." What does the term use instead?

Brief retrieval

- 19–46 / 30–27 / 26 July 1788.
- Marshall's formula.
- Ninth as answer to "dangerous."
- 51 / 29 / 5.

One incorrect example to diagnose

A composite illustration, not a reported family:

> "Course: The Federalist Papers (AP). We will read all 85 in newspaper order, skip the Anti-Federalists to save time, treat No. 10 as original intent, and finish with Lincoln's famous Federalist speech and the Court's 2026 citation total."

Ask the student to mark the errors. Typical marks:

- Course title is a publisher nickname plus an exam brand.
- All 85 in newspaper order is not a term; it is a drowning.
- Skipping opponents makes a shrine.
- No. 10 as original intent forgets Kramer's caution, Crane's reprints, and Madison's Ritchie letter.
- Lincoln speech and 2026 total are not in this family's record.

A kitchen calendar or a whiteboard in the hallway can motivate. They do not replace the twelve titles, the pairings, or the unaided transcript line.

For the student

You are going to help design the term you will actually work. That is a sign of respect, not a trick.

Here is the idea. Nobody who is not writing a dissertation needs all eighty-five numbers in newspaper order. You do need a path that includes the emergency (why a government that can tax and act on people, not on states), the famous theory (faction, compound republic, ambition), the cold number (54), the courts (78 and Brutus), and the rights fight (84 and 8 June 1789). You also need the New York vote, so you never say the essays won the convention. And you need a course title a stranger can read: Civics, or Government, or U.S. History.

Tiny worked example

Question: “What should we read after No. 1?”

A useful answer: “Something from the Confederation or energy numbers, so No. 10 does not float. Then No. 10 with No. 54 in the same week. Then 39 and 51. Then 78 with Brutus. Then 84 with Madison’s House speech. If we are short on time, we compress; we do not drop 54 or 84.”

Try 1. Write the six core titles without looking.

Try 2. Write this family’s transcript course title, and one sentence of description that names *The Federalist* (1788) without making that name the title.

Explain it back. Tell a parent why Brutus belongs next to No. 78. You may say you have not read Brutus yet. You may not say Publius is the only brief on the courts.

Challenge. Build a six-week compression that still includes 54, 84, Brutus, and the 30–27. Then write three sentences on what you are sad to leave out, and why those omissions are omissions rather than “not important.”

You are allowed to struggle. A calendar with two honest pairings is better than a list of eighty-five numbers you will not read.

If it isn't clicking

Diagnostic 1 — The path keeps collapsing into 10 and 51.
The student can talk faction and angels and cannot remember why 15 or 54 is on the page.

Next move: print the twelve titles. Cut them into slips. Rebuild the order on the table. The emergency week has to come before 10. 54 has to sit on 10's week. 84 cannot be replaced by "we already know the first ten amendments."

Diagnostic 2 — The transcript line keeps dressing up.
The student (or the parent) wants the record to say "The Federalist Papers," "Publius," or "AP Gov."

Next move: write the stranger test. Hand the title to someone who did not sit the term. If that person cannot tell it is civics, government, or U.S. history, rename it. Put the paperback name in the description, in parentheses, with the 1788 title first: *The Federalist* (1788; later called "the Federalist Papers").

Diagnostic 3 — Pace shame.
The family chose twelve weeks, missed two, and now thinks the term has failed.

Next move: switch to the six-week compression for the remaining time. Keep 54 and 84. The term is a path, not a percentile. A finished compression with pairings is more finished than an abandoned twelve.

When to slow down: if Weeks 1–3 are still mush, stay there. When to go ahead: if the calendar exists, the transcript title is one of the three words, and the student can name the pairings. When to get a human tutor: if the student can copy the twelve titles and still cannot explain why 15 comes before 10, or why 84 is not optional, after a week of rebuilding the slips. A local civics teacher who will look at the calendar with you is the right next person.

Tools, including AI

Optional helpers for the adult. The student attempts the calendar first. You hold the key: the twelve-week core, the pairings that cannot drop, the three transcript titles, Cooke as a text to seek, Avalon as the weekly source, Lupu as the Court table, the absences (Lincoln quotation, 2026 total).

Use a tool, if you use one, to explain the idea to you ("Why read a Confederation essay before No. 10?"), to generate extra keep-or-return week plans with answers hidden, to write a hint script for a stuck calendar, or to diagnose a syllabus the student has already drafted.

> **Box.** Child attempts first. Parent holds the key. A tool may explain the idea to the parent, make extra practice with answers hidden, write a hint script, or diagnose work already done. During the attempt, the student does not paste the worksheet, does not ask "what's the answer," does not photograph the page for a key, and does not sit with an unsupervised chatbot.

A tool that offers a ready-made "AP Federalist Papers unit" with only 10 and 51, or that titles a transcript for you with a paperback name, is offering a different course. Return to the twelve titles.

Avalon, the National Archives, Teaching American History, Founders Online, and the Legal Information Institute will carry almost every primary text in this term. Library of Congress research guides are useful and sometimes repeat the civic-religion formula (essays as the drafters' intentions). Keep last week's cautions next to that formula.

What "done enough" looks like

Skill, not birthday. A "grade 10 civics" label is a publisher's scope. Done enough is a calendar the family can work and a transcript line a stranger can read.

Checklist:

- ☐ A written 12-week, 16-week, or 6-week calendar exists, with week titles.
- ☐ No. 54 is on the same week as No. 10, or immediately beside it.
- ☐ No. 84 is paired with 8 June 1789.
- ☐ Brutus (courts) and Federal Farmer (consolidation) are on the calendar, not "if we have time" in the air.
- ☐ The Confederation / energy sample comes before 10 and 51, so those essays do not float.
- ☐ The 30–27 of 26 July 1788 is on the calendar as a vote week or as a standing wall fact.
- ☐ Afterlife documents are labeled afterlife.

- ☐ Course title on the planned record is Civics, Government, or U.S. History.
- ☐ The family can name one essay it will not fake-finish if time collapses.
- ☐ The student can explain, in four sentences, why the civic list, the Court list, and the 1788 reprint list are not the same list.

If the transcript box is open, fix it before you start Week 1. Names are easier to change now than in June.

What the parent can learn this week: a term is a path with pairings, not a dare to finish a paperback. What the child can try today: choose 12, 16, or 6, copy the titles, and write the course name a stranger will see.

Chapter 9

Records

A record is a kindness to the student's future self. It is also a kindness to a stranger. The stranger may be a college admissions officer, a registrar, a state reviewer, a grandparent keeping a file, or the student at twenty-two who no longer remembers which spring the essays were read. That person should be able to tell, in one look, what was studied, at what level, for how long, and with what evidence.

This chapter is the file. It is not a second argument about Publius. The arguments are in Chapters 5 through 8. Here you write titles a stranger can read, keep hours honestly, save a small stack of work, and know what "next" looks like when the term ends.

The title a stranger can read

Use one of these three course titles on the transcript line:

- Civics
- Government
- U.S. History

Those words travel.[85] They match how schools and colleges already sort work.

[85]Transcript practice in this chapter follows the teaching-manual rule that a stranger must be able to read the title. Course names limited to Civics, Government, and U.S. History. 1788 title *The Federalist* distinguished from Rossiter 1961 packaging. New York vote 26 July 1788, 30–27, as in Chapter 5. Madison 8 June 1789 as in Chapter 7. Hours are illustrative ranges from the Chapter 8 session shape, not a legal credit statute. Maier named as a next book a family can seek, not as a desk copy already read cover to cover. No ranking of programs for sale. No invented Lincoln quotation. No 2026 Court total. Evaluation language is skill-based, placement by skill, not birthday.

They do not require the reader to know a 1961 paperback, a Broadway lyric, or this book's name.

If the term sat inside a larger year, keep the year's title and put the essays in the description. A full-year U.S. History course can list, under description, a unit on ratification and *The Federalist* (1788). A full-year Civics or Government course can do the same. The transcript line stays the year title. The unit does not hijack the line.

If the term stood alone, pick the one word that fits the work you actually did.

- Choose **Civics** if the center was how a republic is supposed to work: faction, compound republic, ambition, energy, courts, rights.
- Choose **Government** if the center was institutions and powers: Confederation vice, tax and executive numbers, judiciary, amendments, later Court use.
- Choose **U.S. History** if the center was 1787–91 as a year: newspaper war, Poughkeepsie 30–27, the promise of amendments, Madison on 8 June 1789, then a short afterlife.

Many families did all three. That is fine. Pick the best fit, not a blend. "Civics / Government / U.S. History / The Federalist Papers" is four titles. The stranger will not know which one to enter. Pick one.

What stays off the transcript line:

- "The Federalist Papers." That is later packaging, popularized by Clinton Rossiter's 1961 Mentor paperback. The 1788 title was *The Federalist.* Put *The Federalist* (1788) in the description if you wish. Leave the paperback nickname off the course name.
- "Publius." That is a Roman mask and the title of the book in your hands. It is a fine unit name on a family syllabus. It is a puzzle on a transcript.
- "AP Government," "AP Gov," or "AP U.S. Government and Politics," unless the student actually sat that College Board exam or completed a course you are honestly aligning to its current course framework. An exam brand is not a homeschool default.
- Publisher series names, packaged curriculum names, and musical titles.

A description line the stranger can use, under whichever title you chose:

> Unit on the U.S. Constitution's ratification, 1787–88, with primary reading in *The Federalist* (1788) and Anti-Federalist replies; New

> York convention 26 July 1788 (30–27); Madison's House speech of 8 June 1789; later uses of the essays distinguished from 1788 impact.

You may shorten that. You may not replace it with "read the Federalist Papers." The short version hides the vote, the opponents, and the amendments.

Level, in plain words. "High school" is enough for most records. If you need a number for a state form, write the grade the student is working at in skill, not the birthday. A fourteen-year-old who completed the twelve-week core with unaided exit tickets is doing high-school Civics. A seventeen-year-old who completed the six-week compression with heavy reading-aloud is still doing high-school Civics; say "introductory" in the notes if you want the pace visible. A legal grade is not a publisher's table of contents.

Hours, credit, and what you actually sat

Write the hours you sat. Two sittings a week, forty to fifty minutes, plus silent reading, over twelve weeks, is commonly forty to sixty hours of work. That is a term inside a year-long course, or a stand-alone semester unit, depending on how your year is built. Sixteen weeks with the expansion is more. Six weeks is less, and should be described as a concentrated unit rather than as a full term.

If a form asks for "one credit," look at how you count other high-school courses in your house. Keep a Publius credit in line with your Algebra credit and your Biology credit, unless you have a reason to count this unit differently. Consistency is the stranger's friend. A year of U.S. History that included this unit is still one credit of U.S. History. A stand-alone twelve-week Government term might be a half-credit if that is how you count other terms. The honest move is to match your own ledger.

What to count: reading the week's essay; the teaching hour; the pairing (Brutus, Federal Farmer, 8 June speech, Washington's letter); the short weekly sentences; the closing paper or talk. What not to count: a documentary playing in the next room while no one takes notes; a chatbot session that answered the essay for the student; a reread of a musical lyric.

If you missed two weeks and compressed, write the hours of the compression. A finished six-week unit with pairings is a better record than an abandoned twelve with a title that still says twelve.

What to keep in the folder

A small stack beats a crate. The stranger will not read eighty-five numbers. The stranger might look at four things.

1. **The syllabus.** The twelve-week, sixteen-week, or six-week calendar from Chapter 8, with week titles and pairings. Date it. Put the course title at the top — Civics, Government, or U.S. History.
2. **A reading log.** Date, essay or document, pages or URL, minutes. One line a week is enough. The log is how you defend the hours.
3. **Four samples of student work.** Pick work that shows skill, not only effort. Good samples: the six sentences from 17 June to 26 July; the two-column page of No. 84 and 8 June 1789; the adjacency paragraph on Nos. 10 and 54; the Week 12 paper or talk notes using Marshall's formula. Label each sample with the date and the prompt. A composite "we discussed a lot" paragraph is not a sample.
4. **The closing paper or talk.** Four to six pages, or eight to ten minutes, on one essay actually read, with great respect and reserved judgment. Keep the prompt with the paper.

Optional fifth: a list of primary sources with stable names — Avalon for the essays, Teaching American History or National Archives for the 26 July instrument, Founders Online for Washington 28 August 1788 and Jefferson 18 November 1788, Legal Information Institute for *McCulloch* and, if used, *Printz*. URLs rot. The names of the documents do not.

What can stay out of the folder: printouts of all eighty-five numbers; AI chat transcripts; unmarked quizzes; a copy of this teaching manual unless you want it for your own teaching notes. The record is the student's work, not the parent's library.

Privacy. The folder is a school file. It does not need a photograph of the child. It does not need a story about the family's politics. Composite illustrations in this book were labeled as illustrations; student work in the folder is the opposite — it is this student's, dated.

A one-page transcript entry

You can copy this and fill the blanks. Keep the course title as one of the three words.

> **Course:** Government
> **Year:** 2026–27, fall term
> **Level:** High school
> **Hours:** 48 (two sittings weekly, twelve weeks, plus reading)
> **Description:** Ratification of the U.S. Constitution, with primary reading in *The Federalist* (1788) Nos. 1, 15, 10, 54, 39, 51, 70, 78, 84; Anti-Federalist pairings (Brutus on the judiciary; Federal Farmer on consolidation); New York convention vote 26 July 1788 (30–27); Madison, House, 8 June 1789; later reputation distinguished from 1788 impact.
> **Evidence:** syllabus, reading log, four writing samples, closing paper on Federalist No. 78 with Brutus.
> **Evaluation:** completed unaided exit tickets for the vote, the afterlife chain, and the rights sequence; closing paper met the Marshall standard (respect plus a named limit).

Swap "Government" for "Civics" or "U.S. History" as needed. Swap the essay list for the list you actually read. If you used the six-week compression, say so in the hours line and in the description. If the student did not finish No. 70, take it off the list. A short true list is a stronger record than a long hoped-for list.

Evaluation language that travels: completed, with samples; completed with support, with samples; incomplete, with what was finished named. Rubric poetry ("demonstrates civic excellence in a college-ready manner") does not travel as well as a named skill: can date the 30–27; can attach the Ninth to No. 84; can separate 1788 circulation from later Court use.

If you grade, use the same scale you use for other high-school courses. If you do not grade, say "completed" and point to the samples. Either is readable. A unique Publius grading scale invented for this unit is less readable.

Next steps, when the term is done

The term is a unit. The country's story continues. Three honest next steps, depending on appetite.

If the student is hungry for more 1788: read one more opponent in full — Brutus I through the judiciary numbers, or Federal Farmer on consolidation — and one more Federalist number from Lupu's table, No. 42 or No. 32, so the judicial canon is not only a list. Pauline Maier's *Ratification* is a book a family can seek for the year as a narrative. It is a next book, not a requirement, and it is not a book this teaching chapter pretends to have sat with page by page.

If the student is hungry for government: move to the First Congress and the amendments as ratified, then to a later case the family will actually read, *McCulloch* or *Printz*, using Marshall's formula on the case as well as on Publius. Keep Lupu's 1998 shape on the table. Leave a running total through the present year unwritten unless you count from the *U.S. Reports* yourself.

If the student is hungry for U.S. History: continue into the 1790s without flattening them into a Publius sequel. The Bank, neutrality, the Sedition Act, and Madison's later use of No. 39 against nullifiers are the sequel, and they are a different fight. A Lincoln-reads-Publius scene is still not in this family's record. Kinship between unionism and the early Union essays can be named as kinship.

If the student is tired: stop. File the folder. Read something else. A finished six-week unit with a readable transcript line is a completed piece of high-school work. Fatigue is not a moral fact about the Constitution.

Labels on the samples, so the stranger does not have to guess the prompt. Copy this header onto each piece of work:

> Student name. Course: Government (or Civics, or U.S. History). Date. Prompt: "Write six sentences from 17 June to 26 July 1788 without making the essays the swing." Unaided / with one hint / with the model in view. Time: 20 minutes.

Honesty in the unaided line is the whole value of the sample. A paper written with the chapter open can still be kept; mark it "with the model in view." A paper written after a tool supplied the sentences is not a sample of the student's skill. It may be a sample of a drafting stage. Put it in a process folder, not in the four-sample stack.

If someone asks for a GPA or a rank. Use the same policy you use for the rest of the high-school record. This unit does not need its own valedictory language. If you do not calculate GPA, write "not graded; see samples." If you do, a letter grade plus the one-page entry is enough. Percentiles, badges, and "college-level" as a self-awarded rank do not help the stranger. "High school Government, term

unit, samples attached” does.

Dual enrollment and outside classes. If the student also sits a community-college U.S. History or American Government course, list the same hours only once. Two titles for one stack of work will confuse the stranger. List the college course under its college title. List this home unit only if it was additional work, and say so. If the college course already assigned Nos. 10 and 51, this family’s pairings (54, Brutus, 84 with 8 June, the 30–27) are still worth doing; they are then a supplement. Name them as a supplement on the home record, not as a second full course.

Activity lists and applications. If a form has a slot for “activities” rather than courses, this term still belongs with coursework. It was school. A sentence under coursework is clearer than a sentence under clubs. If the student wrote the Week 12 paper on No. 78 and Brutus, that paper can be a writing sample; the course title on the sample should still be Civics, Government, or U.S. History.

A second year. Some students will want another term: more Anti-Federalists, more of Lupu’s judicial list, a slow read of Nos. 37–51. That is a second unit, not a retitle of the first. Call it Government II or U.S. History (constitutional development), still a stranger’s words. Keep a new syllabus. Leave the unfinished eighty-five off the first transcript line.

What the parent can finish this week: the one-page entry, the syllabus dated, four samples chosen and labeled. What the student can do today: write the course title at the top of the syllabus and check that it is one of the three words.

If the record is not yet readable

Three common snags, with the next move for each.

The title is still a nickname. Next move: rename the line now. Put the paperback name, if you need it, in the description in parentheses after *The Federalist* (1788).

The hours are a guess. Next move: rebuild from the reading log. If there is no log, estimate from sittings you can actually remember, then start a log for whatever remains. A modest true number is better than a round number that looks like a catalog credit.

The folder is all printouts and no student writing. Next move: assign one of the four samples this week, even if the term is over. The six sentences from June to

July, unaided, will do. Date them. One sample is a record. Zero samples is a claim.

When to get a human helper: if a college, an umbrella school, or a state form has rules you cannot parse from this chapter. A local registrar, an experienced homeschool co-op recorder, or a counselor who has filed transcripts before is the right next person. A chatbot that invents course codes is not.

Chapter 10

Resources

This chapter names places and books a family can seek. It does not rank them. It does not sell them. It does not pretend that every title was read cover to cover in the research behind this teaching manual. Where a book was sampled rather than sat with page by page, the note says so. Wikipedia was a finder in the research file. It is not a source of record, and it is not assigned.[86]

Fit, in this chapter, means three ordinary questions. How much work lands on the parent. What the prose feels like. Where the student is in skill, not in birthday. A "grade 11" on a cover remains a publisher's scope.

Primary texts, free on the open web

These will carry almost every week of the term. Parent load is low once the bookmarks exist. Style is eighteenth-century; the student will need the session shape in Chapters 2 and 8, not a modern paraphrase as a substitute.

The Avalon Project (Yale Law School). Federalist essays by number, including

[86]Resource notes follow the bibliographic essay in the research file. Cooke, Maier, Chernow, Ketcham, Stahr, De Pauw, Furtwangler, Storing, Amar, Rakove, Wood, Bilder, Klarman, Kramer, Beard, Brown, McDonald, and Story are named as books a family can seek; the teaching chapter does not fake cover-to-cover reading. Maggs 2007 was read end to end in the research project. Lupu 1998 used for Court ranking and time series only. Avalon, Library of Congress, Founders Online, Teaching American History, National Archives, Legal Information Institute, CSAC/DHRC, and the New York Courts Anti-Federalist pages are the open-web load-bearing sites. Rossiter/Kesler named as the mass-market hinge, not as this book's theology. No selling. No ranking of programs for sale. No desk-copy quotation from unread pages. No 2026 Court total. No invented Lincoln quotation. Anti-Federalist authorship left unlocked.

Nos. 1, 10, 51, 54, 70, 84, 85 as used in this book. Avalon's header on No. 51 still reads "HAMILTON OR MADISON." Consensus since Adair is Madison. Tell the student the heading is a fossil. Fit: weekly reading for the twelve-week core.

Library of Congress. Transcriptions and a research guide to the essays in historic newspapers. The guide is useful on printing history. It also repeats a civic-religion sentence: the essays "are often used today to help interpret the intentions of those drafting the Constitution." Keep Chapter 6 next to that sentence. Fit: parent who wants newspaper dates; student who can hear a limit.

Founders Online. Washington to Hamilton, 28 August 1788; Jefferson to Madison, 18 November 1788; other letters as they load. Pages are sometimes blocked or slow. If a native page will not open, Teaching American History reprints several of the same letters. Fit: afterlife week; parent load medium because search takes patience.

Teaching American History. Essays, Anti-Federalist pieces, the New York instrument dated 26 July 1788, Madison's 8 June 1789 House speech. Its introduction to the New York convention has sometimes said 25 July; this family uses the date on the instrument, 26 July. Fit: pairing documents; rights week.

National Archives. Constitution, Articles of Confederation, ratification narratives. Fit: U.S. History placement, before or beside the term.

Legal Information Institute (Cornell). *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821), *Printz v. United States* (1997). Fit: afterlife and Government students who are ready to see Marshall's formula and Scalia's footnote in a case, not in a summary.

Center for the Study of the American Constitution / *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* (DHRC). The 1788 record as documentary editors have assembled it. Digital extracts exist; the printed volumes are a library project. Parent load is high. Fit: the adult who wants Poughkeepsie without a novel; not a first assignment for the student.

Brutus, Federal Farmer, and Cato are on Teaching American History and on the Historical Society of the New York Courts site. Traditional names (Yates, Richard Henry Lee, Clinton) appear there as textbook attributions. This book does not lock them.

Editions of *The Federalist*, as objects a family might hold

A family does not need all of these. One complete text plus Avalon is enough for the term.

Jacob E. Cooke, Wesleyan, 1961. The historians' text of record in the research behind this book: newspaper texts for Nos. 1–76, McLean book texts for Nos. 77–85. Cooke's introduction is the standard printing history; the Library of Congress guide still follows it. The volume was not in hand cover to cover for this teaching chapter. A family can seek it when they want collational notes and a scholarly apparatus. Parent load: higher. Style: edition, not a story. Placement: the adult, or a senior who will write from a cited text.

Clinton Rossiter, Mentor, 1961; later Signet reprints, including the Charles Kesler revision. The mass-market hinge. This is how many living Americans met the book, and how the phrase "The Federalist Papers" became ordinary English. Rossiter's introduction, as later writers quote it, announces "timeless truths." That sentence is not this book's claim. Fit: a complete paperback on the table for students who will actually turn pages. Parent load: low. Style: portable, liturgical introduction. Placement: high-school reader, with Chapter 6 as the caution on the introduction.

Gideon, 1818. First American edition to print a name on each essay, from Madison's marked copy. A library or facsimile object, not a weekly student book. Fit: authorship week for the adult.

Henry B. Dawson, 1863. A historicist edition that leans toward newspaper text and numbering. Named in the research file; the introduction was seen in a public transcription. Fit: the adult curious about 1788 form; not required.

Any complete text you already own — an older Modern Library, a used Signet, a library copy — will serve the weekly readings. The term does not depend on a new purchase. If the family owns nothing, Avalon is the edition of record for the sitting.

Books a family can seek, named without a fake desk copy

The research file sampled these. It did not digest them page by page. They are named here as options, with fit. A family may add one. A family may add none. The term in Chapter 8 still stands on the primary texts.

Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787–1788* (Simon & Schuster, 2010). The best-known recent narrative of the ratification year. Parent load: a full book, high. Style: history for a serious general reader. Placement: the adult who wants Poughkeepsie and the other states as a story; a strong senior who has finished the twelve-week core and wants the year around Publius. This teaching chapter does not quote it from a sitting. The alignment used in Chapter 5 — that the essays did not win New York — entered through the research file and later syntheses.

Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (Penguin Press, 2004). The popular life of the organizer who would not let the Constitution die in New York. Parent load: high (it is a long book). Style: biography. Placement: the reader who wants a person, not a syllabus. Anecdotes in this teaching manual were not taken from Chernow's page numbers. Open the volume before quoting a Chernow sentence. Hamilton's birth year, 1755 or 1757, remains unsettled; say so if you use a life.

Ralph Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography*. Still the standard one-volume life in many bibliographies. Irving Brant's six volumes and Noah Feldman's *The Three Lives of James Madison* belong on the same shelf. None of them was read cover to cover for this chapter. Fit: the adult who wants Madison beyond Publius and 8 June 1789.

Walter Stahr, *John Jay: Founding Father*. The desk biography named in the research file. Jay's five essays and the short *Address* matter more to this term than a full life. Fit: optional, after the student has read Nos. 2–5 or 64, or Jay's *Address*.

Linda Grant De Pauw, *The Eleventh Pillar*. New York's ratification as a monograph. Albert Furtwangler, *The Authority of Publius*. Both are named in Chapter 5 as books whose judgments (little value as propaganda; a debater's handbook; hardly rivaling other forces) entered through later work. Fit: the adult; library, not week one.

Herbert J. Storing, *The Complete Anti-Federalist*. The collected other side. Volumes not in hand here. Fit: a second term, or a library visit, when Brutus and Federal Farmer on the open web are no longer enough.

Akhil Reed Amar, *The Bill of Rights* (1998). Named in Chapter 7 for the claim that 1789–91 is a Federalist completion: rights without undoing 1787 structure. Sampled, not digested. Fit: after 8 June 1789, for a parent or senior who wants the Ninth and Tenth as a project.

Jack N. Rakove, *Original Meanings* (1996). Meaning as plural — framers, ratifiers, text. Publius as one interested voice. Fit: the adult who will teach Week 12.

Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787*. Intellectual shift; No. 10 as a marker in the history of ideas. His 1988 *New York Review* essay warns that terms were still being worked out in the fight. Fit: the adult; not a first student book.

Mary Sarah Bilder, *Madison's Hand*; Michael Klarman, *The Framers' Coup*; Larry Kramer, *The People Themselves* and "Madison's Audience." Critical cautions named in the research file: Notes as constructed text; exclusions; No. 10 not widely grasped by ratifiers; judicial review's afterlife. Sampled. Fit: the parent who wants the other half of incense; not assigned as a stack for the student.

Charles Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913); Robert E. Brown, *Charles Beard and the Constitution* (1956); Forrest McDonald, *We the People* (1958). The academic fight over No. 10. Fit: a political-science-minded senior after Week 3, if curiosity is real. Not required to use No. 10 honestly this term; Chapter 7's adjacency with No. 54 will do more work for most families.

Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution* (1833). The professional hinge of Chapter 6. A treatise, not a homeschool reader. Fit: look at the Preface, if a public transcription is at hand, for the confession that he transferred the "permanent" parts of an advocacy brief.

Court tables, and what this family will not fake

Ira C. Lupu, 1998. "The Most-Cited Federalist Papers" (*Constitutional Commentary*) and "Time, the Supreme Court, and *The Federalist*" (*George Washington Law Review*). The time series and ranking this book uses. PDFs were not always in hand; figures entered through Maggs and abstracts. Fit: Week 11. Parent load: a short academic pair, medium.

Gregory E. Maggs, "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution," *Boston University Law Review* (2007). The one secondary study the research project read end to end. Useful on numbering, Cooke's hybrid, the 500-copy remainder, Elliot's silence, *Calder v. Bull*. His computer counts (law-review and case saturation; a *Printz* quotation total) were not independently recounted and are not used as this family's

totals.

What stays off the table: Wikipedia's "291 by 2000"; a Melton grand total whose PDFs were not retrieved; any cumulative Supreme Court number through 2026; a Lincoln speech quoting *The Federalist* by name. A replicable update from the *U.S. Reports* is a project a later researcher could still own. It is not a fact a family needs in order to finish the term.

How to choose, without a shopping list

If parent time is short: Avalon, Teaching American History, this manual's session shape, the twelve-week core or the six-week compression. No additional monograph.

If the student wants a story of the year: Maier, after the core, as a next book. Seek it. Read it as Maier, not as a substitute for the 26 July instrument.

If the student wants a person: one life, not three. Chernow or Ketcham or Stahr, after the essays by that man have been read. A life before the essays will swallow the essays.

If the adult wants the 1788 record: DHRC extracts and Crane via Maggs, already in Chapter 5. Cooke if a scholarly edition is wanted. Dawson if 1788 form is the curiosity.

If the adult wants to argue with incense: Rakove, Wood's 1988 essay, Kramer on audience and on No. 78's afterlife. Those are parent books.

If someone offers a packaged "Federalist Papers curriculum" with only Nos. 10 and 51, a publisher course title, and a guarantee: that is a different unit. This family's pairings are 54, Brutus, 84 with 8 June, and the 30–27. Fit is the pairings, not the package.

Programs and lives named above differ in parent load, style, and placement. None is crowned. None is required for the transcript line in Chapter 9. Civics, Government, and U.S. History can be finished on the open web plus the student's writing.

A library, if you have one. Cooke, Maier, Chernow, Storing, and the DHRC volumes are often easier to borrow than to buy. A public-library request, a state university guest pass, or an interlibrary loan is the right scale for a homeschool term. If the hold never comes, the term still runs on Avalon. A missing monograph is not a missing course.

Classroom videos and the musical. A short Library of Congress or National Constitution Center explainer can open a week. Lin-Manuel Miranda's *Hamilton*, especially "Non-Stop," is the mass afterlife of Rossiter's sentence. Fit: Friday, after the week's essay, labeled as afterlife. Placement: never as Week 1 origin. Parent load: low. Style: show. The 30–27 stays on the wall while the song plays.

If a site disagrees with this book. Prefer the instrument's 26 July 1788 to an introduction's 25 July. Prefer Crane, as reported by Maggs, on out-of-city reprints, and flag a Charleston listing rather than silently merging it. Prefer Jefferson 18 November 1788 to a misdated 1787. Prefer Lupu 1998 to a running total a search box invents. The student can keep a "disagreements" card. That card is civic work.

What the parent can do this week: bookmark Avalon, Teaching American History, Founders Online, and LII. What the student can try today: open No. 1 at Avalon and read the address line aloud.

A Note on Sources

Letters, essays, votes, and studies named in the chapters are listed in Notes, in one series at the back. That is where the full citations live, so the teaching pages can stay a teaching voice.

The research behind this book is the same file that produced the narrative history of the same title. Gregory E. Maggs's 2007 *Boston University Law Review* article was read end to end. Documentary extracts from the *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, Founders Online, Avalon, and Teaching American History were fetched. Elaine F. Crane's reprint counts enter as Maggs reports them. Ira C. Lupu's 1998 ranking and time series stop the Court story; no 2026 total is offered. Books a family can seek — Cooke, Maier, Chernow, De Pauw, Furtwangler — were sampled rather than sat with page by page; the notes say so.

I did not invent a quotation, a vote, a press run, or a Supreme Court total to fill a hole. If a claim is in the chapter, it is in the notes. Wikipedia was a finder. It is not a source of record.

The bibliography that follows is the working list from that research. Access date 30 August 2026.

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"Proceedings of Commissioners to Remedy Defects of the Federal Government" (Annapolis Convention), 11–14 September 1786. Avalon Project, Yale Law School. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/annapoli.asp. Also Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/annapolis-convention-resolution/ (headnote wrongly says the Constitutional Convention began in July 1787; it opened 25 May — use the 1786 document, not the headnote). CSAC PDF of proceedings: https://csac.history.wisc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/281/2024/04/DC2-01-01-03_Proc.-and-Rept.-of-Commissioners-at-Annapolis_11-14Sep86.pdf. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Cited]

"Resolution of Congress of September 28, 1787, Submitting the Constitution to the

Several States." Avalon Project. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/ressub02.asp. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Cited]

Rutland, Robert A., et al., eds. *The Papers of James Madison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; later Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1962– . See Madison to Washington, 18 November 1787, vol. 10; House speech, 8 June 1789, vol. 12. [Cited]

Syrett, Harold C., ed. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*. 27 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961–87. Vol. 4 (1962) contains the Introductory Note to *The Federalist* and the texts/headnotes of the early numbers. Founders Online URLs used: No. 1, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-04-02-0152; No. 18, …/01-04-02-0175; No. 51, …/01-04-02-0199; No. 57, …/01-04-02-0206. Full HTML often JS-blocked; printed Introductory Note still to be read in full. [Cited as pointer; desk copy of vol. 4 still needed]

Washington, George, to Alexander Hamilton, 28 August 1788. Founders Online. https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-05-02-0025. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Cited]

Washington, George, to James Madison, 5 February 1788 (request for "three or four Copies; one of which to be neatly bound"). Cited from CSAC publication-and-sale note. Founders Online native page not re-fetched as the quotation's home. [Cited via CSAC]

Yates, Robert, and John Lansing Jr., to George Clinton, 21 December 1787. CSAC / DHRC. https://csac.history.wisc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/281/2024/04/DC2-04-02-04_Yates-Lansing-to-Clinton_21Dec87.pdf. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Cited]

Newspapers and 1788 printings

[Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay]. *The Federalist: A Collection of Essays, Written in Favour of the New Constitution, as Agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787*. 2 vols. New-York: J. and A. McLean, 1788. Internet Archive scan: https://archive.org/details/federalistcollec00hami. Accessed 29 August 2026. Title-page wording and physical description (two volumes, "upwards of six hundred Pages") taken from the scan and from CSAC; not

a substitute for Cooke's collated text. Volume I, 22 March 1788 (Nos. 1–36); Volume II, 28 May 1788 (Nos. 37–85, including first printings of 78–85). Commissioned run: 500 copies of each volume. [Cited]

[Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay]. *The Federalist, on the New Constitution*. 2 vols. New-York: George F. Hopkins, 1802. Second American edition; first to name Hamilton, Madison, and Jay on the title page; Hamilton refused to prefix names to individual numbers. [Cited as edition-history fact]

[Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay]. *The Federalist, on the New Constitution … The numbers written by Mr. Madison corrected by himself*. City of Washington: Jacob Gideon, Jun., 1818. First edition to assign each essay to an author; Madison's marked copy is the basis of the modern 51 / 29 / 5 split. Appendix includes Pacificus and Helvidius. [Cited]

[Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay]. Tiebout reissue of leftover McLean sheets with new title pages. New York: John Tiebout, 1799. Cited as the commercial afterlife of the remainder; the volume itself was not opened. [Cited as edition-history fact; desk copy still needed]

Cooke, Jacob E., ed. *The Federalist*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961. Historians' text of record: newspaper texts for Nos. 1–76, McLean texts for Nos. 77–85, with variants. Volume not in hand; printing-history claims taken from the Library of Congress guide and from Maggs's use of Cooke's introduction. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Dawson, Henry B., ed. *The Fœderalist: A Collection of Essays, Written in Favor of the New Constitution … Reprinted from the Original Text*. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner, 1863. Historicist edition privileging newspaper text and numbering. Introduction: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Federalist_%28Dawson%29/Introduction. Accessed 29 August 2026. Only vol. 1 published. Verify any quotation against the printed volume. [Cited]

Fairfield, Roy P., ed. *The Federalist Papers*. New York: Anchor Books / Doubleday, 1961. Abridged classroom edition; one of the four 1961 editions named in the manuscript. [Cited as publishing-history fact; not used as a reading text]

Kesler, Charles R., ed. *The Federalist Papers*. New York: Signet Classics, 2003. Revised Rossiter. Not fetched. [Consulted; desk copy still needed]

Lodge, Henry Cabot, ed. *The Federalist: A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States … Reprinted from the Original Text*. New York and London: G. P.

Putnam's Sons, 1888. Centennial edition; treated disputed essays as a problem of credit. Named in the manuscript's authorship-history paragraph. [Cited as edition-history fact; desk copy still needed]

Rossiter, Clinton, ed. *The Federalist Papers*. New York: New American Library / Mentor, 1961. McLean text; mass-market cover that put "The Federalist Papers" into American English. Introduction ("most important work in political science that has ever been written, or is likely ever to be written, in the United States"; "timeless truths about constitutional government") quoted in the manuscript from secondary reports (Douglass 2008; Raphael 2013); Mentor text not fetched this pass. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Van Doren, Carl, ed. Edition of *The Federalist*, 1945. Named in the manuscript as the first edition since Lodge to give the disputed set to Madison. Publisher not locked in this pass. [Cited as edition-history fact; see GAPS]

Wright, Benjamin Fletcher, ed. *The Federalist*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961. John Harvard Library edition; one of the four 1961 editions. [Cited as publishing-history fact; not used as a reading text]

Newspapers of first publication and reprint (1787–88)

Independent Journal (John and Archibald McLean, New York). First printing of *The Federalist* No. 1, 27 October 1787; the only New York City paper to print all 85 numbers in the book numbering. Prospectus 1 January 1788; Volume I advertisement 22 March; Volume II 28 May. Archibald McLean's bill to the New York committee, 14 October 1788, and McLean to Robert Troup, 11 October 1788. [Cited]

New-York Packet (Samuel and John Loudon). Printed the entire collection, including summer reprints of Nos. 78–85. Dawson (1863) thought the *Packet* never finished after April; the DHRC reprint table shows that it did. Intended Tuesday slot. [Cited]

Daily Advertiser (Francis Childs). Printed through No. 51 (Library of Congress / Maggs) or No. 50 (Dawson / one CSAC presentation). Unresolved at the margin. Dawson notes Childs as a Jay protégé. Intended Thursday slot. [Cited]

New-York Journal (Thomas Greenleaf). Anti-Federalist flagship. Printed Cato (from 27 September 1787) and Brutus (from 18 October). Also printed Publius

Nos. 23 through 38 (Dawson, through 30 January) or 39 (CSAC). Unresolved at the margin. Greenleaf printed Federal Farmer pamphlets. [Cited]

Upstate reprints named from CSAC lists: Albany *Gazette*; Lansingburgh *Northern Centinel*; Hudson *Weekly Gazette*; Poughkeepsie *Country Journal* (a handful of early numbers only). [Cited via CSAC / Raphael]

Government and court

Calder v. Bull, 3 U.S. (3 Dall.) 386 (1798) (Chase, J.). First Supreme Court mention of *The Federalist*, as reported by Maggs 2007: Chase prefers Publius to Blackstone/Wooddeson on ex post facto. Wikisource: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Calder_v._Bull/Opinion_of_the_Court. Direct text not re-fetched this pass. [Cited via Maggs 2007]

Cohens v. Virginia, 19 U.S. (6 Wheat.) 264 (1821) (Marshall, C.J.). "Complete commentary on our constitution," "appealed to by all parties"; quotation of Federalist No. 82 on appeals from state courts. Founders' Constitution reprint: http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/print_documents/amendXIs3.html. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Cited]

Marbury v. Madison, 5 U.S. (1 Cranch) 137 (1803) (Marshall, C.J.). Tracks Federalist No. 78's logic of judicial review and does not cite it. Named in the manuscript; Federal Judicial Center case page used as a pointer, not as the opinion text. [Cited]

McCulloch v. Maryland, 17 U.S. (4 Wheat.) 316 (1819) (Marshall, C.J.). "Great respect in expounding the constitution" and reserved "right to judge of their correctness." Founders' Constitution reprint: http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/a6_2s34.html. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Cited]

New York v. United States, 505 U.S. 144 (1992). Anti-commandeering holding extended from legislatures to executive officers in *Printz*. Named in the manuscript. [Cited]

Printz v. United States, 521 U.S. 898 (1997) (Scalia, J.). Dual sovereignty; Federalist No. 39 "residuary and inviolable sovereignty"; No. 51 "compound republic" / "double security"; No. 70 on executive unity; n. 9 "split personality" on

federalism. Majority also uses Nos. 15, 27, 33, 36, 44, 45. Legal Information Institute: https://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/95-1478.ZO.html. Accessed 29 August 2026. Maggs's "35 quotations" figure was not independently recounted from *U.S. Reports* and is not used as a count. [Cited]

United States. Articles of Confederation (adopted 15 November 1777; in force 1 March 1781). National Archives, Milestone Documents. https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/articles-of-confederation. Accessed 29 August 2026. Used for Articles II, III, V, VIII, IX, XIII. [Cited]

United States. Constitution of the United States (17 September 1787). Slavery clauses in Art. I, § 2 (three-fifths), Art. I, § 9 (slave trade to 1808), Art. IV (fugitives), named in Chapter 8. [Cited]

Primary essays of Publius and Anti-Federalists

Avalon Project, Yale Law School. *The Federalist Papers*. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed01.
(and fed02, fed10, fed51, fed54, fed70, fed84, fed85). Accessed 29 August 2026. Modernized spelling; used for quotations of Nos. 1, 2, 10, 51, 54, 70, 84, 85. Header of No. 51 still reads "Hamilton or Madison"; consensus is Madison. [Cited]

Library of Congress. "Full Text of *The Federalist Papers*" (Gutenberg / McLean transcription, with essay-by-essay publication table). https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/full-text. Nos. 81–85 including No. 84: https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/text-81-85. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Cited]

Brutus. Essays in Greenleaf's *New-York Journal*, 18 October 1787–10 April 1788 (sixteen numbers). Brutus I: "the most important question that was ever proposed to your decision." Traditional attribution Robert Yates; Melancton Smith and John Williams also proposed. Quote from Teaching American History / NY Courts compilations; Storing is the standard collected text (desk copy still needed). [Cited]

Cato. Essays in Greenleaf's *New-York Journal*, beginning 27 September 1787. Traditional attribution George Clinton; Joel A. Johnson (2009) argued for John Williams of Salem, New York. Not closed. [Cited]

[Caesar]. Hamilton's October 1787 essays against Cato, named as the harsher

prelude to Publius. [Cited]

Centinel [Samuel Bryan]. Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, from 5 October 1787; reprinted in New York. Centinel XI supplies “hobgoblin” for Publius’s separate-confederacies charge. [Cited]

Federal Farmer. Letters dated from 8 October 1787; pamphlet *Observations* advertised 8 November; second pamphlet May 1788. Greenleaf printed the pamphlets. Attributions: Richard Henry Lee (older view); Melancton Smith (Kaminski and others); Elbridge Gerry also proposed. Not closed. Teaching American History, “Federal Farmer I”: https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/federal-farmer-i/. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Cited]

“An Observer.” *New-York Journal*, 19 November 1787. Contests Publius’s “separate confederacies” whisper. [Cited]

“A Countryman.” Greenleaf, 1787–88 (DeWitt Clinton among others using the name). “A Countryman” IV: all he had learned was “that it is better to be united than divided.” [Cited]

“Twenty-seven Subscribers.” Request that Publius be stopped; “nauseous” / “voluminous Publius.” Named from the New York newspaper war. [Cited]

Wilson, James. State House Yard speech, Philadelphia, 6 October 1787. Reprinted in twelve of thirteen states and in thirty-four newspapers (Raphael / DHRC tables). The circulation profile Publius never had; also the early Federalist case against a separate bill of rights. [Cited]

Hume, David. “Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth.” In *Political Discourses*. Edinburgh, 1752. Named as Adair’s Humean pedigree for Federalist No. 10. Not quoted from a collated text in this pass. [Cited as intellectual source; desk copy still needed]

Books

Amar, Akhil Reed. *The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Named-historian authority for reading the 1789 amendments as a Federalist-led completion under Anti-Federalist pressure. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Amar, Akhil Reed. *America's Constitution: A Biography*. New York: Random House, 2005. Named for judicial review as expected, not a later invention. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Bailyn, Bernard. *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. Contains "The Federalist Papers" and "A Note on *The Federalist* and the Supreme Court." Cited by Douglass; later-impact material mostly out of the 1788 stream. [Consulted; desk copy still needed]

Beard, Charles A. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1913. Historiographical object: made Federalist No. 10 the academic centerpiece. Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/economicinterpre00bear. [Cited; sampled, not a reliable account of 1787 economics]

Bilder, Mary Sarah. *Madison's Hand: Revising the Constitutional Convention*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Caution that Madison's Notes are a constructed text. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Brant, Irving. *James Madison*. 6 vols. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941–61. Standard multi-volume life; vol. 3 is *Father of the Constitution, 1787–1800* (1941 [sic; subsequent volumes through 1961]). Desk biography, not page-verified for Federalist anecdotes. [Consulted; desk copy still needed]

Brown, Robert E. *Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution."* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956. Attacked Beard's securities-holdings thesis; "little correlation between ratification and personal property." [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Chernow, Ron. *Alexander Hamilton*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004. Standard modern life. Use for biography, not as a substitute for the essays; verify anecdotes before quoting. The manuscript names Chernow's Hamilton ("ambitious, patriotic, and dangerous") as the right popular biography. [Cited; desk copy still needed for any page-level quotation]

Dahl, Robert A. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Recast No. 10 as a "Madisonian" model; the manuscript treats Dahl's No. 10 as a twentieth-century essay, not Madison's. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

De Pauw, Linda Grant. *The Eleventh Pillar: New York State and the Federal Constitution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966. Little value of Publius as

propaganda; source, via later work, of Otto's judgment. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Feldman, Noah. *The Three Lives of James Madison: Genius, Partisan, President*. New York: Random House, 2017. Desk biography. [Consulted; desk copy still needed]

Furtwangler, Albert. *The Authority of Publius: A Reading of the Federalist Papers*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984. Limited 1788 impact; "debater's handbook" at Richmond (the cautious phrase the manuscript keeps and limits). [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Hartz, Louis. *The Liberal Tradition in America*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955. Named as part of the 1950s consensus moment. [Cited as historiographical marker; desk copy still needed]

Jensen, Merrill. *The Articles of Confederation*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. Named for the Progressive view of the Confederation as a workable league. [Cited as historiographical marker; desk copy still needed]

Ketcham, Ralph. *James Madison: A Biography*. New York: Macmillan, 1971. Standard one-volume life (National Book Award finalist, 1972). Later reprint Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990. [Consulted; desk copy still needed]

Klarman, Michael J. *The Framers' Coup: The Making of the United States Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Elite, slavery-compromised, malapportioned Constitution; used for the silences chapter. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Kramer, Larry D. *The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. No. 78's afterlife judicialized a more departmental and popular 1780s practice. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Maier, Pauline. *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787–1788*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010. Best narrative of the ratification year. Judgments used via Wood's *New Republic* review, CSAC, Raphael, and secondary syntheses; volume not fetched cover to cover. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

McDonald, Forrest. *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Multiplied interest groups against Beard's two classes. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Mosteller, Frederick, and David L. Wallace. *Inference and Disputed Authorship: The Federalist*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1964. Bayesian function-word study corroborating Adair. Book not fetched; the 1963 *JASA* article (below) is the published summary. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Rakove, Jack N. *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. Original meaning is plural (framers, ratifiers, text); Publius is one interested voice. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Smith, J. Allen. *The Spirit of American Government*. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Named as the earlier Progressive attack on the Constitution as a conservative coup, in the line Beard joined. [Cited as historiographical marker; desk copy still needed]

Stahr, Walter. *John Jay: Founding Father*. New York: Hambledon and London, 2005. Distributed in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillan. Desk biography. [Consulted; desk copy still needed]

Storing, Herbert J., ed. *The Complete Anti-Federalist*. 7 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. Standard edition of Anti-Federalist texts. Volumes not in hand; Cato / Brutus / Federal Farmer should be quoted from Storing or TAH, not from memory. [Cited as edition of record; desk copy still needed]

Story, Joseph. *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*. 3 vols. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company; Cambridge, Mass.: Brown, Shattuck, and Co., 1833. Preface: "incomparable commentary"; Story transferred "all which seemed to be of permanent importance" of *The Federalist* into the treatise. Lonang Institute text used as a convenience: https://www.lonang.com/wp-content/download/Story-CommentariesUSConstitution.pdf. Wikisource also hosts the work. Verify Preface quotations against the 1833 printing. [Cited]

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969. Republican-to-liberal shift that Publius articulates; political thought among a political class. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992. Named in the impact memo's historian list. [Consulted; desk copy still needed]

Articles and chapters

Adair, Douglass. “The Authorship of the Disputed Federalist Papers.” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 1, no. 2 (April 1944): 97–122; and Part II, 1, no. 3 (July 1944): 235–64. Foundational attribution of Nos. 49–58 and 62–63 to Madison. JSTOR text not fully fetched; cited from CSAC, Maggs, and later work. One catalog entry begins Part I at p. 98 rather than 97; see GAPS. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Adair, Douglass. “The Tenth Federalist Revisited.” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 8, no. 1 (January 1951): 48–67. Relocates No. 10 in the history of ideas; notes nineteenth-century neglect until Beard. [Cited; full text not fetched]

Adair, Douglass. “ ‘That Politics May Be Reduced to a Science’: David Hume, James Madison, and the Tenth Federalist.” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (August 1957): 343–60. (Sometimes cited as 1956–57.) Humean pedigree of the extended republic. PDF fetch timed out; thesis confirmed via abstract and later citations. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Bartrum, Ian. “Constructing the Constitutional Canon: The Metonymic Evolution of Federalist 10.” *Constitutional Commentary* 27 (2010): 9– . Documents that No. 10 had virtually no place in nineteenth-century constitutional argument until Beard. Full PDF fetch blocked on the memo pass; snippets used. [Consulted; not named on the manuscript page]

Brooks, Robin. “Alexander Hamilton, Melancton Smith, and the Ratification of the Constitution in New York.” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 24, no. 3 (July 1967): 339–58. Source of Hamilton’s “our arguments confound but they do not convince” and of Smith’s conversion as the margin. Abstract fetched; full JSTOR PDF not retrieved. [Cited via later work; desk copy still needed]

Carey, George W. “Publius—A Split Personality?” *Review of Politics* 46, no. 1 (January 1984): 5–22. Argues against Adair/Mason “split personality” thesis. Pay-walled; not quoted. The research JSON dated this 1980; the journal issue is 1984. [Consulted]

Coenen, Dan T. “The Rhetoric for Ratification: The Argument of *The Federalist* and Its Impact on Constitutional Interpretation.” *Duke Law Journal* 56 (2006): 469– . Abstract/record fetched; PDF blocked by Cloudflare. Do not quote body text from the memo pass. [Consulted]

Coenen, Dan T. “Fifteen Curious Facts About the Federalist Papers.” *The Georgia Advocate* 42, no. 1 (Fall 2007 / Winter 2008): 2. Popular/alumni piece; PDF not treated as a scholarly source of record. [Consulted]

Corley, Pamela C., Robert M. Howard, and David C. Nixon. “The Supreme Court and Opinion Content: The Use of the Federalist Papers.” *Political Research Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (June 2005): 329–40. 1953–1995 citation study; Federalist cites often function as strategic legitimacy. Abstract and snippets used; full PDF fetch timed out. [Consulted]

Crane, Elaine F. “Publius in the Provinces: Where Was *The Federalist* Reprinted Outside New York City?” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 21, no. 4 (October 1964): 589–92. Foundational census: 16 newspapers + 1 magazine outside NYC; 24 essays only; no print in CT, NJ, DE, MD, NC, SC, GA. “Did not reach an audience of any significant size in 1787-88.” Article not fetched from JSTOR; figures taken from Maggs’s summary. [Cited via Maggs 2007]

Douglass, John E. “Publishing the Federalist Papers: From Text to Ur-Text.” Ohio Academy of History Presidential Address, 2008. https://www.ohioacademyofhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/2008_Douglass-OAH-Presidential-Address.pdf. Accessed 29 August 2026. Useful on later editions (Gideon, Dawson, Lodge, Rossiter) and on treating the essays as a historical document. [Cited]

Durchslag, Melvyn R. “The Supreme Court and the Federalist Papers: Is There Less Here Than Meets the Eye?” *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 14 (2005): 243– . Close reading of *Printz*’s word-by-word Federalist fight (Scalia majority vs. Souter dissent). PDF snippets used. https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/wmborj/vol14/iss1/9. [Consulted]

Goldstone, Lawrence. “Unreliable Narrator: The Federalist Essays.” *Law & History Review* (online). https://lawandhistoryreview.org/article/lawrence-goldstone-unreliable-narrator-the-federalist-essays/. Accessed 29 August 2026. [Consulted]

Horowitz, Donald L. “ ‘The Federalist’ Abroad in the World.” In *The Federalist Papers*, edited by Ian Shapiro, 502–32. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. Abstract fetched 29 August 2026 from Duke Law Scholarship Repository: https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/faculty_scholarship/2268/. Best bounded comparative synthesis. Do not overclaim drafting influence on specific foreign constitutions. [Cited as named authority; full chapter still needed]

Johnson, Joel A. Attribution argument for Cato as John Williams of Salem, New

York (2009). Named in the manuscript as an open alternative to Clinton. Full bibliographic elements (journal/title/pages) not locked this pass. [Cited as a live attribution; see GAPS]

Kenyon, Cecelia M. "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 12, no. 1 (January 1955): 3–43. Recast Anti-Federalists as anxious localists, not simple democrats. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Kramer, Larry D. "Madison's Audience." *Harvard Law Review* 112 (1999): 611–79. No. 10's extended-republic theory was largely Madison's own and not widely grasped by ratifiers — hence a weak original-public-meaning source. Full text not fetched. [Cited; desk copy still needed]

Lupu, Ira C. "The Most-Cited Federalist Papers." *Constitutional Commentary* 15, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 403–10. Gold-standard SCOTUS ranking of *decisions* through the late 1990s: No. 42 (33), 78 (30), 81 (27), 51 (26), 32 (25), 48 and 80 (20 each), 44 (18). PDF fetched 30 August 2026: https://scholarship.law.umn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1428&context=concomm. [Cited]

Lupu, Ira C. "Time, the Supreme Court, and *The Federalist*." *George Washington Law Review* 66 (1998): 1324–35. Time series: citation started very low, held constant 1820–1929, doubled in the 1930s, again by the 1960s, again in the 1980s; more than half of all Supreme Court citations came after 1970. Direct PDF not fetched; figures as quoted by Maggs and as restated in Lupu's companion *Constitutional Commentary* piece. [Cited via Maggs 2007]

Festa, Matthew J. "Dueling Federalists: Supreme Court Decisions with Separate Opinions Citing *The Federalist*, 1986–2005." *Seattle University Law Review* 31 (2007). 112 Rehnquist Court decisions with at least one *Federalist* cite (about 5.9 a year); 21 of 112 "dueling." PDF fetched 30 August 2026: https://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1041&context=sulr. [Cited]

Maggs, Gregory E. "A Concise Guide to the Federalist Papers as a Source of the Original Meaning of the United States Constitution." *Boston University Law Review* 87 (2007): 801–42. Full text fetched 29 August 2026: https://www.bu.edu/law/journals-archive/bulr/documents/maggs.pdf. Best single scholarly guide used in the research: numbering, McLean, Crane reprint study, circulation estimates, Elliot's Debates silence, Madison-to-Paulding purpose

quote, *Calder* as first SCOTUS cite, Lupu ranking. Legal-originalism frame is out of this book's scope; historical sections are usable. Computer counts (Westlaw >9,700 law reviews, >1,700 cases, all courts). Maggs's *Printz* "35" is the same order of magnitude as an independent LII recount (37 "Federalist No." phrases; 42 with *id.*), not reproduced exactly. [Cited; fully read]

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Compiled 30 August 2026 from the three source JSON files, the research brief's working bibliography and source-discipline sections, the outline's bibliographic-essay sketch, memos 01–03, and a skim of the manuscript chapters. Access date for digital primary sources: 29 August 2026.