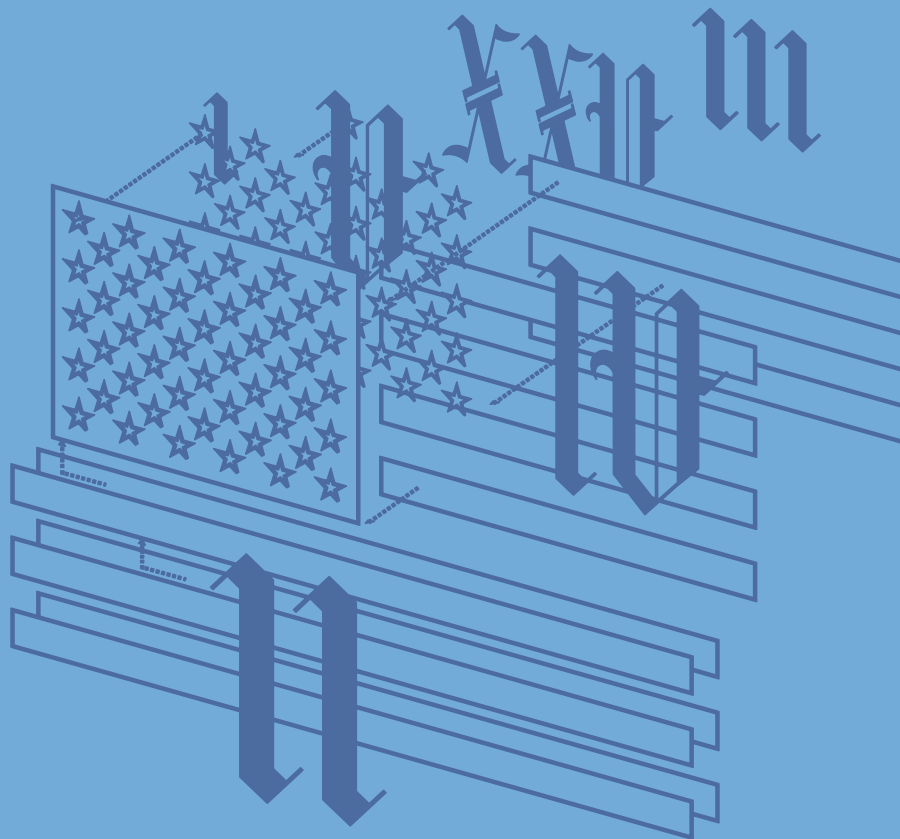


CONSTITUTION

MODULE 15

ARTICLE V AND THE 27 AMENDMENTS



CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: Article V and the 27 Amendments Lesson Plan

ARTICLE V AND THE 27 AMENDMENTS

With the Constitution, the Founding generation created the greatest charter of freedom in the history of the world. However, the Founding generation did not believe that it had a monopoly on constitutional wisdom. Therefore, the founders set out a formal amendment process that allowed later generations to revise our nation's charter and "form a more perfect Union." They wrote this process into Article V of the Constitution. Over time, the American people have used this amendment process to transform the Constitution by adding a Bill of Rights, abolishing slavery, promising freedom and equality, and extending the right to vote to women and African Americans. All told, we have ratified 27 constitutional amendments across American history.

Learning Objectives

At the conclusion of this module, you should be able to:

1. Describe the reasons that the Founding generation included a formal process for amending the Constitution.
2. Explain how the Constitution's amendment process works, and why the founders made it so hard to amend the Constitution.
3. Identify the key periods of constitutional change in American history and outline factors that drive successful pushes to amend the Constitution.
4. Describe all 27 amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

15.1 Activity: The Article V Amendment Process

Purpose

It isn't easy to amend the Constitution. This was by design. The Founding generation wanted constitutional change to be possible, but they wanted to force reformers to secure broad support before altering our nation's charter. In this activity, you will learn about the process for amending the Constitution, written into Article V.

Process

As a class, discuss the following questions:

- Which is your favorite amendment to the Constitution, and why?
- What is the process for changing the Constitution?
- Is it easy or hard to amend the Constitution?

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: Article V and the 27 Amendments Lesson Plan

- Why do you think that the Founding generation designed the amendment process that way?

Next, read [Article V of the Constitution](#) and discuss the amendment process as a class.

Finally, read the [Article V Common Interpretation Essay](#) and design a flowchart of the process for your classroom. To that end, complete the [Activity Guide: The Article V Amendment Process](#) worksheet to illustrate the steps needed to amend the Constitution.

As a class, return to one of the framing questions asked at the beginning of the activity:

- Why did the Founding generation design the amendment process this way?

Activity 15.1 Notes & Teachers Comments

Launch

Before the activity begins, have a brief conversation with the entire class about the constitutional amendment process. Here are a few discussion prompts to follow:

- Which is your favorite amendment to the Constitution, and why?
- What is the process for changing the Constitution?
- Is it easy or hard to amend the Constitution?
- Why do you think that the Founding generation designed the amendment process that way?

Next, present the text of [Article V of the Constitution](#) to all students. Have them read it and then discuss the following questions:

- Is this a complicated process, or is it pretty straightforward?
- Why do you think the Founding generation provided for more than one path for amending the Constitution?
- Are there other ways to change the Constitution?

Finally, have students read the [Article V Common Interpretation Essay](#) and diagram the process on the Activity Guide: The Article V Amendment Process worksheet.

Activity Synthesis

Have students answer the following questions and then discuss as a class:

- How did the Founding generation limit the power of Congress in the Article V amendment process?
- Why did the Founding generation decide to make the amendment process so difficult? Hint: Think about the Articles of Confederation and striking the right balance.
- What are the pros and cons of making the Constitution easier to amend?

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: Article V and the 27 Amendments Lesson Plan

- What limits, if any, did the Founding generation place on the power of the amendment process?

15.2 Video Activity: 27 Amendments Walkthrough

Purpose

In this activity, you will explore the mechanics of the Article V amendment process, explore four different periods of constitutional reform, and walk through all 27 amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

Process

Watch the [Amendments Walkthrough video](#).

Then, complete the [Video Reflection: 27 Amendments Walkthrough](#) worksheet.

Identify any areas that are unclear to you or where you would like further explanation. Be prepared to discuss your answers in a group and to ask your teacher any remaining questions.

Activity 15.2 Notes & Teachers Comments

Launch

Give students time to watch the video and answer the questions in the worksheet.

Activity Synthesis

Have the students share their responses in small groups and then discuss as a class.

- Which amendment(s) did you learn the most about today?
- Now that you've walked through all 27 amendments, which is your favorite amendment, and why? Did your answer change at all from when we asked this question at the beginning of the module?

15.3 Activity: 27 Amendments to the United States Constitution

Purpose

Throughout American history, “We the People” have amended our Constitution 27 times—transforming it in important ways. Through the Article V amendment process, we often make it a “more perfect” document. In this activity, you will learn more about key periods of constitutional change and explore the 27 amendments to the Constitution.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: Article V and the 27 Amendments Lesson Plan

Process

Read the [Info Brief: Periods of Constitutional Change and the 27 Amendments](#). Then, explore the various amendments to the Constitution by completing the [Activity Guide: The 27 Amendments to the United States Constitution](#) worksheet in groups.

When you have completed this worksheet, play the [27 Amendments Matching Game](#) with your group.

Activity 15.3 Notes & Teachers Comments

Launch

Before the activity begins, see if students can remember some of the amendments from the video. Project all 27 amendments on the board for students to see main groupings.

Then, have students read the [Info Brief: Periods of Constitutional Change and the 27 Amendments](#).

Activity Synthesis

As a class, have students share some of the most interesting facts about America's 27 amendments. Then, ask students to explore any big themes or patterns that they see across the various amendments. Share with students the groupings of amendments from the previous worksheet as a visual. Ask students to group the amendments in the category provided.

Activity Extension (Optional)

After you review all 27 amendments, ask the students whether they see any other patterns or groupings other than by ratification year. Reshuffle to align under these groupings:

1. Historical events
2. Social movements
3. Critics of the Constitution
4. Controversial Supreme Court decisions
5. Lessons learned over time
6. Any others?

15.4 Activity: Changing the Constitution

Purpose

Now that you have learned about the mechanics of the Article V amendment process and about how reformers have used this process to change the Constitution, you will now get the opportunity to experience the process of pushing for a new amendment.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: Article V and the 27 Amendments Lesson Plan

Process

Watch [the video](#) Amending the Constitution featuring Justice Neil M. Gorsuch.

Answer the following questions and be prepared to discuss with your class:

- One final time: Which is your favorite amendment, and why? Has your answer changed during the course of the module?
- What made it possible to ratify this amendment? What factor(s) drove the push for reform?
- If you were to introduce a new amendment—the 28th Amendment—what would you propose?

Next, in small groups, draft a proposed 28th Amendment to the Constitution using the [Activity Guide: Amending the Constitution](#) worksheet.

Activity 15.4 Notes & Teachers Comments

Launch

Give students time to discuss the following questions and add to their worksheet. Next, brainstorm ideas for a 28th Amendment. Give them examples of ideas that have been proposed before.

- One final time: Which is your favorite amendment, and why? Has your answer changed during the course of the module?
- What made it possible to ratify this amendment? What factor(s) drove the push for reform?
- If you were to introduce a new amendment—the 28th Amendment—what would you propose?

Activity Synthesis

Have students present their proposed 28th Amendment to the Constitution and as class vote on the one they want to present to Congress. As a final class assignment, write a letter and send a short video to the Congressperson who your class hopes to be your amendment champion.

Activity Extension (Optional)

In a short paragraph, have students share how their thinking about the amendment process has changed: I used to think _____, but now I think _____.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: Article V and the 27 Amendments
Lesson Plan

15.5 Test Your Knowledge

Purpose

Congratulations for completing the activities in this module! Now it's time to apply what you have learned about the basic ideas and concepts covered.

Process

Complete the questions in the following quiz to test your knowledge.

- [Test Your Knowledge: Article V and the 27 Amendments](#)

15.6 Activity: Final Reflection

Purpose

The Constitution begins with three powerful words: “We the People.” These words have inspired generations of Americans. Take a moment to reflect on what you learned in this course and what you will do to ensure that we continue to work toward “a more perfect Union.”

Process

In order to complete this course, you must answer the following question and be prepared to share it in class.

How does understanding the Constitution, building your skills as a constitutional lawyer-in-training, and committing to civil dialogue work together to enrich our democracy and ensure that our republic endures? Remember Dr. Franklin’s prophetic words: It’s a republic, if we can keep it.

Share with education@constitutioncenter.org—we would love to hear your thoughts!

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.1 Activity Guide

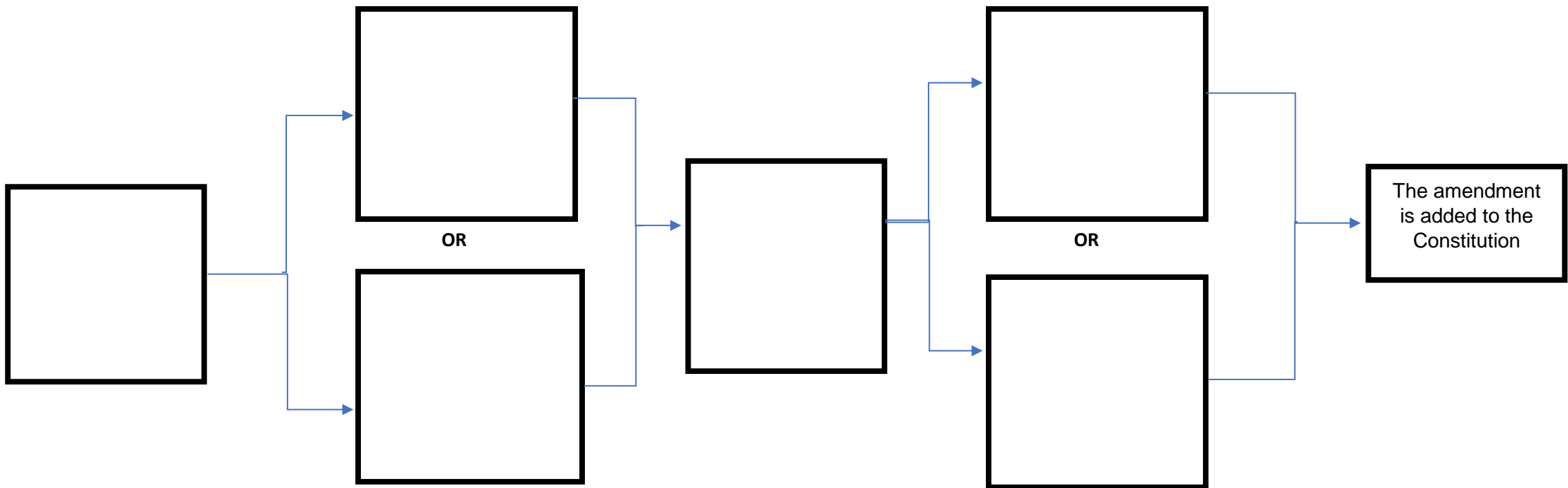
THE ARTICLE V AMENDMENT PROCESS

It isn't easy to amend the Constitution. This was by design. The Founding generation wanted constitutional change to be possible, but they wanted to force reformers to secure broad support before altering our nation's charter. In this activity, you will learn about the process for amending the Constitution, written into Article V.

Read [Article V of the Constitution](#), then create a flowchart that illustrates the amendment processes using the template below.

Phase One: The _____ Phase

Phase Two: The _____ Phase



CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.2 Video Reflection

27 AMENDMENTS WALKTHROUGH

In this activity, you will explore the mechanics of the Article V amendment process, explore four different periods of constitutional reform, and walk through all 27 amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

Watch the [video](#) and answer the following questions.

List the different periods of constitutional reform, and then identify the amendments that were ratified during that period.

Era	Years	Amendments
(Timestamp 2:15)		1 through 12
(Timestamp 12:15)		
(Timestamp 14:45)	1913 to 1920	
The Modern Era (Timestamp 17:05)		

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.2 Video Reflection

Pick three amendments that you learned about, and describe what they do in your own words:

The _____ Amendment

The _____ Amendment

The _____ Amendment

Why is the 18th Amendment distinctive?

Why is the 27th Amendment distinctive?

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Amendments to the Constitution

The Founding Era

1791 – 1804

First Amendment
Second Amendment
Third Amendment
Fourth Amendment
Fifth Amendment
Sixth Amendment
Seventh Amendment
Eighth Amendment
Ninth Amendment
Tenth Amendment
Eleventh Amendment
Twelfth Amendment

The Reconstruction Era

1865 – 1870

Thirteenth Amendment
Fourteenth Amendment
Fifteenth Amendment

The Progressive Era

1913 – 1920

Sixteenth Amendment
Seventeenth Amendment
Eighteenth Amendment
Nineteenth Amendment

The Modern Era

1933 – 1992

Twentieth Amendment
Twenty-first Amendment
Twenty-second Amendment
Twenty-third Amendment
Twenty-fourth Amendment
Twenty-fifth Amendment
Twenty-sixth Amendment
Twenty-seventh Amendment



CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

THE 27 AMENDMENTS TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

With the Constitution, the Founding generation created the greatest charter of freedom in the history of the world.

However, the founders also left future generations a procedure for continuing to improve it—the Article V amendment process. Over time, the American people have used this amendment process to transform the Constitution by adding a Bill of Rights, abolishing slavery, promising freedom and equality, and extending the right to vote to women and African Americans.

All told, we have ratified 27 constitutional amendments across American history. We can divide these amendments into four different periods of constitutional reform:

- **The Founding era**
1791 – 1804
Gave us our first 12 amendments, including the Bill of Rights.
- **The Reconstruction era**
1865 – 1870
Gave us three transformational amendments that many scholars refer to as our nation's "Second Founding." These are the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments.
(Notice the 60-year gap between the 12th and 13th Amendments—a reminder that constitutional amendments often come in waves.)
- **The Progressive era**
1913 – 1920
Gave us the 16th through the 19th Amendments.
(Again, notice the 40-plus-year gap between the 15th and 16th Amendments.)
- **The Modern era**
1933 – 1992
Added the remaining eight amendments, little by little, between 1933 and 1992.

And now it's been over three decades since our last constitutional amendment.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

THE FOUNDING ERA AMENDMENTS

The Founding generation used the new Constitution's amendment power almost immediately—adding 12 amendments in less than two decades!

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The first 10 amendments—authored primarily by James Madison—were proposed by the First Congress and ratified shortly thereafter. Of course, this is our [Bill of Rights](#).

These amendments protect some of our most cherished liberties, including free speech, a free press, religious freedom, and the right to a jury trial—among many others. The Bill of Rights was drafted in response to the concerns of the Anti-Federalists—the group of Americans who opposed the Constitution—who demanded key liberties be protected against too large a national government.

These amendments originally applied only to the national government—*not* the states.

(The 14th Amendment would later extend many of these rights to protect us against state abuses. Scholars call this process “incorporation.”)

THE FIRST AMENDMENT

We begin with the [First Amendment](#), which is its own bundle of rights—including rights associated with religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition.

- *Religion:* The First Amendment protects religious liberty in two ways. First, it guards against government establishment of religion. Second, it protects the free exercise of religion. Together, these constitutional promises are at the core of our freedom of conscience—the right to freely believe (or not) as we wish.
- *Speech/Press:* Generally speaking, the government may not jail, fine, or punish people or organizations based on what they say or write, and the Court protects speech unless it is directed to (and likely to) cause immediate lawless action. Today, the Supreme Court protects free speech rights more strongly than at any time in our nation's history—and American free speech protections are among the strongest in the world. At the same time, there *are* certain contexts when the government has more leeway to regulate speech—for instance, with low-value speech like defamation or when speakers (like public school students) have a special relationship with the government.
- *Assembly/Petition:* Throughout American history, minorities and those without power have used assembly and petition rights to find voice and power in their quest for greater

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

freedom and equality. The list includes African Americans, women, unpopular political groups (e.g., abolitionists in the early 1800s), and many others.

THE SECOND AMENDMENT

For the Founding generation, the [Second Amendment](#) went to early concerns about standing armies and the value of rooting the community's (and nation's) safety in a "well-regulated," citizen-led (and -filled) militia.

Consistent with the Supreme Court's recent decisions in [Heller](#) and [McDonald](#), the Second Amendment grants an individual the right to keep and bear arms—including personal handguns in the home—for self-defense. The Supreme Court extended these protections outside of the home in *New York State Rifle & Pistol Association v. Bruen*.

But the Court has left many Second Amendment issues open for future cases. (This includes issues like assault weapon bans and "Red Flag" laws.)

THE THIRD AMENDMENT

The [Third Amendment](#) protects us from being forced by the government to house soldiers in our homes in times of peace. This grows out of the American colonial experience of the British Quartering Act of 1774. The Founding generation saw these British abuses as tyrannical and viewed this act as invading the sanctity of private property and the home.

THE FOURTH AMENDMENT

The [Fourth Amendment](#) can be broken down into a few parts.

Which things are protected? Persons, houses, papers, and effects. Against what?

Unreasonable searches and seizures by government officials.

The bottom line is that before the government can search your home or seize your property, it needs a good reason. This is a core civil liberty.

This is the big idea behind the Fourth Amendment's warrant requirement.

The government needs particularized suspicion—a reason that's specific to each suspect—before it can get a warrant. Broadly speaking, our Constitution says that the police should only be able to invade a person's rights to privacy, property, or liberty if they have a specific reason to think that the suspect has done something wrong.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT

The [Fifth Amendment](#)'s Takings Clause is connected to the Founding generation's commitment to property rights. It protects private property from being taken by the government for public use without just compensation. It means that if the government wants to take your property, it has to be for public use and the government has to pay you a fair price for it.

The Fifth Amendment also grants certain rights to criminal defendants: the "right to remain silent"/against self-incrimination (e.g., "you have the right to remain silent" and "I plead the Fifth!"), double jeopardy, a right to a grand jury for capital crimes, and a right to the due process of law—a fair process—before the government may deprive anyone of life, liberty, or property.

THE SIXTH AMENDMENT

The [Sixth Amendment](#) grants even more rights to criminal defendants, including the right to:

- A jury trial in criminal cases.
- A right to counsel. (So, to a lawyer.)
- A speedy and public trial.
- An impartial jury.
- "Be informed" of what crime the government is charging against you.
- Cross-examine witnesses against you in person. (Known as the Confrontation Clause.)
- Compulsory process for witnesses—basically, the power of the court to order someone to appear in court as a witness for the defense. (Subpoena power.)

THE SEVENTH AMENDMENT

The [Seventh Amendment](#) protects the right to a jury trial in civil (so, noncriminal) cases. This responded to a key concern of the Anti-Federalists that the original Constitution in Article III only protected the right to trial by jury, considered a fundamental liberty, in criminal cases and many states did not protect them for civil cases.

THE EIGHTH AMENDMENT

The [Eighth Amendment](#) protects the right against cruel and unusual punishment, excessive bail, and excessive fines. It's rooted in the English Bill of Rights and the Virginia Declaration of Rights.

It reflected concerns of Anti-Federalists like Patrick Henry, who worried that a new (and powerful) national government would simply invent new crimes to oppress the American people.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

THE NINTH AMENDMENT

The [Ninth Amendment](#) is interpreted by many scholars to write certain natural rights into the Constitution—a cautionary note that the American people have even more rights than are written clearly into the Constitution itself.

It reflected widespread concerns that the Bill of Rights might not list all of the most important rights/liberties and might not limit the national government's power enough.

THE 10TH AMENDMENT

The 10th [Amendment](#) reflects the Constitution's commitment to federalism—the traditional balance of power between the national government and the states.

It was meant to protect the “reserved powers” of the states—meaning the powers that the states held before the Constitution was ratified (the “police power”), while also reminding those in government that power originates with the American people (popular sovereignty).

So, that's the Bill of Rights.

THE 11TH AMENDMENT

Four years after the ratification of the Bill of Rights, the American people ratified a *new* amendment—the 11th [Amendment](#) (1795).

This amendment bans the national courts from hearing certain lawsuits against states. (Scholars often refer to this as protecting a state's “sovereign immunity.”)

Under the original Constitution, the national courts were granted power under Article III to decide cases “between” a state and citizens of another state or nation.

Anti-Federalists feared that this would allow ordinary people to sue a state in a national court. Some key Federalists (who supported the Constitution) argued that the Constitution wouldn't allow national courts to hear cases against states unless the states themselves gave their approval.

However, other Federalists disagreed—arguing that the Constitution allowed for lawsuits against states as a way to hold them accountable for abuses against ordinary people.

In 1793, the Supreme Court decided a case called [Chisholm v. Georgia](#)—which involved a citizen of South Carolina suing the State of Georgia. Georgia argued that a national court didn't have the power to hear this lawsuit. But in a 4-1 vote, the Supreme Court sided with Chisholm, arguing that national courts *did* have the power to hear this case.

The Anti-Federalists' fears came true.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

The *Chisholm* decision proved quite controversial, and the 11th Amendment was proposed and ratified shortly thereafter—as a way of reversing the Supreme Court's decision. (It was ratified in less than a year.)

THE 12TH AMENDMENT

Following the Election of 1800, the American people ratified the 12th [Amendment](#), altering the Electoral College and addressing problems that emerged in some of our nation's earliest presidential elections.

Under the original Constitution, electors cast ballots not for one presidential candidate, but for two of them, with the second-place finisher becoming the vice president.

The framers didn't expect that there would be national parties that nominated candidates (and offered their own tickets for president and vice president). However, political parties quickly emerged, and the strange two-vote system led almost immediately to a serious political crisis.

In 1796, Vice President Adams faced off against former Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson.

Even as early as 1796, political parties had already begun to emerge. And Adams (a Federalist) and Jefferson (a Democratic-Republican) were already associated with opposing political parties. In the end, Adams won 71 electoral votes to Thomas Jefferson's 69. But the electors' second votes were scattered.

As a result, none of the Federalist candidates for vice president received more total votes than Jefferson, so he became Adams's—his opponent's—vice president.

Adams and Jefferson squared off again in the Election of 1800, but this time Jefferson defeated Adams by a vote of 73 to 65 in the Electoral College. This election marked the arrival of the two-party system and was a bitterly contested election.

Even as Jefferson outpaced Adams in the Electoral College, he actually *tied* his fellow party member—and nominal running mate—Aaron Burr 73 to 73 in the Electoral College. Even though everyone knew that Jefferson was really at the top of the ticket, Burr tried to game the system and refused to stand aside. Under the Constitution, this threw the process into the U.S. House of Representatives.

The resulting House process took place in the lame-duck, Federalist-controlled Congress—the one that the voters just voted out of office.

It lasted for six days and 36 ballots before the House chose Jefferson.

In the end, the Federalists—including key party members outside of Congress like Alexander Hamilton—concluded that Jefferson was the lesser of two evils, and Jefferson was peacefully inaugurated—setting an important precedent for the peaceful transfer of power in early America.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

Following the Election of 1800, we moved quickly to reform the Electoral College. The result? The 12th Amendment. This amendment ironed out some of the most glaring bugs in the original system. With the 12th Amendment, electors in the future would still cast two votes, but one of the two votes would be for president and the other would be for vice president.

The 12th Amendment was proposed by Congress on December 9, 1803, and sent to the states three days later for ratification. The amendment was ratified in 1804, and all future elections were carried out under its rules.

THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA AMENDMENTS

For the next constitutional amendment, we must fast-forward 60 years to the period after the Civil War known as Reconstruction. Following the Civil War, our nation confronted a series of vexing questions.

During this period, we ratified a series of *three* amendments—the 13th, 14th, and 15th—that transformed the Constitution forever.

- [The 13th Amendment](#) (1865) abolished slavery.
- [The 14th Amendment](#) (1868) wrote the Declaration of Independence's promise of freedom and equality into the Constitution.
- [The 15th Amendment](#) (1870) promised to end racial discrimination in voting.

It's little wonder that many scholars refer to these transformational amendments as our nation's "Second Founding."

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA AMENDMENTS

For the next constitutional amendment, we must fast-forward another 40 years to the Progressive era—one of the most active eras of constitutional reform in American history.

Between 1870 (and the ratification of the 15th Amendment, banning racial discrimination in voting) and 1913, the American people didn't amend the Constitution a single time. But between 1913 and 1920, the American people amended the Constitution *four* times.

The Progressive era emerged in the early 1900s.

Progressive reformers pursued amendments that unified *two* key ideas: an expanded role for the government in public life (e.g., granting the national government the power to tax income and using the powers of the government to advance the cause of Prohibition) *and* a commitment to institutional reforms often with a vision of improving American democracy (e.g., the direct election of senators and women's suffrage).

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

THE 16TH AMENDMENT

The 16th [Amendment](#)—ratified in 1913—gave Congress the power to pass an income tax.

Congress had already passed an income tax during the Civil War. However, the Supreme Court challenged this power in the late 1800s.

The 16th Amendment responded to decades of activism and legal action following the Supreme Court's 1895 decision in [Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.](#), which curbed Congress's power to pass an income tax.

The *Pollock* decision divided the justices themselves and spurred decades of political activism by populists and progressives to reverse the decision and grant Congress the power to enact an income tax.

Finally, in 1913, these reform efforts succeeded—with the ratification of the 16th Amendment.

So, reformers once again used the Article V amendment process to reverse a controversial Supreme Court decision.

Congress then passed a nationwide income tax in 1913, and we've had one ever since.

THE 17TH AMENDMENT

The 17th [Amendment](#) altered an important structural feature of the original Constitution.

The original Constitution placed the power to elect U.S. senators in the hands of state legislatures. The 17th Amendment gave this power directly to the voters in each state.

Some reformers argued that the 17th Amendment was essential to America's commitment to popular sovereignty and was faithful to our system's push toward a more democratic system over time.

Other reformers argued that state legislatures were overrun by parties, machines, and special interests and that the popular election of senators was a simple way to limit that corrupt influence. (For instance, some supporters argued that Senate seats could often be bought and sold in smoke-filled rooms under the original system.)

Still other reformers were concerned that state legislative elections were often dominated by who the legislators would select to the U.S. Senate rather than the candidates' positions on the many important issues facing their states.

Finally, some Senate seats remained open for years as state legislatures deadlocked over who to select.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

The 17th Amendment gives us the system we have today—with voters in each state selecting their senators through a popular vote.

THE 18TH AMENDMENT

The 18th [Amendment](#)—the Prohibition amendment—banned “the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors.”

The American people ratified this amendment in 1919. And the Prohibition amendment would eventually become the only example of “We the People” repealing a previous amendment in its entirety.

Our nation’s experience with Prohibition reminds us that even constitutional reformers sometimes make mistakes—or at least that’s what the American people themselves concluded just over a decade after writing Prohibition into the Constitution.

While it’s easy to criticize Prohibition in retrospect, it grew out of decades of social movement activism and what many identified as a genuine problem. The problem? Americans drank a lot of alcohol. And this could give rise to all sorts of social problems—wages spent at the saloon, abuse at home, difficulty holding down a job, and so on.

And the social movement? A combination of five (sometimes overlapping) groups consist of the progressives, suffragists, populists, nativists, and white Southerners groups. Some of these reformers were driven by a public-minded concern for the societal problems brought about by excessive drinking: violence, accidental deaths (and injuries), unemployment, poverty, parenting issues, abandoning your family, personal illness, and so forth.

Some of them were driven by bigotry against certain groups—whether white Southerners against African Americans, nativist Americans against immigrants (like Irish Catholics), or World War I-era Americans against beer-producing (and -drinking) German-Americans.

Some of them were driven by long-standing political alliances between prohibitionists and suffragists—part principle, part political expediency.

This collective movement worked for decades to push for Prohibition—culminating in the ratification of the 18th Amendment. (The Temperance Movement itself went all the way back to 1828—so this was a *long* push for reform.)

And the 18th Amendment remained a live part of the Constitution for 13 years.

But problems soon arose—and many Americans had second thoughts.

Before turning to the 19th Amendment, let’s complete the Prohibition story—and fast-forward to 1933 and the 21st Amendment.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

THE 21ST AMENDMENT

The 21st [Amendment](#) is the only example in American history of a constitutional amendment repealing another one in its entirety.

Here's the key language from Section 1 of the amendment: "The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed."

So, pretty direct.

The amendment was ratified in 1933. Why did public opinion turn against Prohibition so quickly?

The simplest answer is that the American people wanted easy access to beer, wine, liquor, and so forth. And they were willing to pay the potential societal costs associated with it.

But as our *Interactive Constitution* scholars—Robert George and David Richards—explained it, many Americans concluded that "Prohibition had been a failed, if noble, experiment."

Despite its flaws, Prohibition *did* succeed in lower alcohol consumption in the United States—and with it, some of the societal ills linked to drunkenness and alcohol abuse.

However, Prohibition also had many failures. It was easy to defy and difficult to enforce. There was a massive black market for alcohol. This spurred the rise of organized crime and law enforcement did little to stop it.

So, there was still plenty of illegal alcohol produced and sold. (Enter the (in)famous speakeasy.) But it was also linked with crime and violence. (Think Al Capone.)

And the rampant illegality—with many Americans consuming illegally produced and sold alcohol—made a mockery of the Constitution and the rule of law.

This mix of organized crime, police corruption, and consumption of illegally produced and sold alcohol outraged many Americans.

THE 19TH AMENDMENT

Finally, the 19th [Amendment](#)—ratified in 1920—protected the right to vote free of sex discrimination.

Remember: The original Constitution left voting issues largely to the states. But over time, we have added a series of constitutional amendments that extended voting rights protections to new groups.

The 19th Amendment is a key part of that story—extending voting rights protections based on sex.

With the 19th Amendment, women won the vote.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

This amendment grew out of decades of advocacy by the suffragists and their allies. Women's suffrage began out West in the late 1800s and eventually spread to the rest of the nation—culminating in the ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920.

So, the amendment itself followed decades of widespread experimentation in the states—with many states extending the vote to women before the ratification of the 19th Amendment.

Even so, it would take many more years—and the hard work of the civil rights movement—to extend voting rights, in practice, to *all* women, including women of color.

THE MODERN ERA AMENDMENTS

In the Modern era, the American people added the remaining eight amendments—little by little, between 1933 and 1992.

THE 20TH AMENDMENT

Ratified in 1933, the 20th [Amendment](#) reduced the length of time between the most recent set of national elections and when a new Congress and president took office.

Prior to the 20th Amendment, a new president and a new Congress took office in the March following the most recent election.

The 20th Amendment shifted that start date to January—limiting the length of (what's known as) the “lame duck” (in other words, the *old*) president and Congress. (And under the old rules, Congress often didn't meet until the following *December*—so, 13 months after the most recent election.)

THE 22ND AMENDMENT

Ratified in 1951, the 22nd [Amendment](#) limited a president to two terms in office.

As our nation's first president, George Washington set an important precedent—serving for only two terms in office before retiring from public life.

This precedent held for 150 years—until Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was elected *four* times in a row. His final victory was in the 1944 election. Republicans began pushing as early as 1941 for an amendment that restored the Washington precedent—coupled with criticisms of FDR for breaking it.

With the 22nd Amendment, the American people looked to reestablish the Washington precedent and write it into the Constitution.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

THE 23RD AMENDMENT

Ratified in 1961, the 23rd [Amendment](#) granted the District of Columbia three electoral votes—adding their voters' voices to the presidential selection process.

Prior to the amendment, D.C. residents couldn't vote for president or vice president.

With this amendment—ratified in *nine* months—D.C. voters began to participate in presidential elections. Practically speaking, this had the potential to enfranchise a large African American population in our nation's capital—a move consistent with the goals of the civil rights movement.

THE 24TH AMENDMENT

Ratified in 1964, the 24th [Amendment](#) banned poll taxes in national elections. It also granted Congress the power to enforce this new amendment through “appropriate legislation.”

White Southerners had long used state laws—like poll taxes—to keep African Americans from voting. (These laws were often reinforced by intimidation and violence.)

When the 24th Amendment was ratified, *five* states still had poll taxes on the books—Mississippi, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, and Alabama. In addition, the Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of these laws as recently as 1937—in [Breedlove v. Suttles](#).

The 24th Amendment reversed *Breedlove* for national elections. And two years later (in 1966), the Supreme Court ruled in *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections* that *all* poll taxes—in national, state, *and* local elections—were unconstitutional.

THE 25TH AMENDMENT

Ratified in 1967, the 25th [Amendment](#) covers the issue of presidential succession and incapacity.

The 25th Amendment tried to address several issues left open by the original Constitution. And the amendment itself emerged, in part, as a response to renewed concerns about issues of succession and presidential incapacity after JFK's assassination in November 1963. (President Truman also pushed for an amendment like this even earlier—back in 1948.)

Section 1 says that when the president dies, resigns, or is removed from office, the vice president becomes president. (So, when President Nixon resigned, his vice president—Gerald Ford—became president under the 25th Amendment.)

Section 2 sets out the process for filling an open seat for vice president. The president nominates a new vice president, and *both* the House *and* the Senate must approve of the pick by majority vote in each House. (So, when Vice President Spiro Agnew resigned in 1973,

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

President Nixon selected Gerald Ford as vice president, and the House and Senate confirmed the pick.)

Section 3 permits the president to temporarily transfer power by a written statement that he is “unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.” The president can then resume his responsibility with a second written statement saying that he’s ready for duty. (So, President Reagan transferred his authority to Vice President Bush for a few hours while he had a planned surgery.)

Section 4 addresses the situation where a president refuses to transfer his duties when others might conclude that he is unable to fulfill them. It’s a pretty complicated process.

Today, it requires the vice president and a majority of the president’s Cabinet to conclude that the president is “unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.”

The vice president then becomes acting president. But the president can disagree—giving the vice president and the Cabinet four days to respond.

If they side with the president, he resumes his duties as president. If they still conclude that the president is unable to carry out his duties as president, the vice president remains acting president, and Congress must meet quickly and weigh in.

The president retakes office unless *both* Houses of Congress vote by a two-thirds majority that the president is unable to carry out his duties.

THE 26TH AMENDMENT

The 26th [Amendment](#) was ratified in 1971.

This amendment set a national floor for the voting age at 18. Prior to the 26th Amendment, most states still limited voting to those 21 and older.

The 26th Amendment was, in part, a response to the Vietnam War. Many young people who were drafted for the war were still unable to vote.

In 1970, Congress passed a new Voting Rights Act, which lowered the voting age to 18. But in [Oregon v. Mitchell](#) (1970), the Supreme Court ruled that Congress could only lower the voting age for *national* elections—*not* state and local elections.

To set a national age for those elections, the American people would have to ratify a new constitutional amendment. And so they did.

In response to *Mitchell*, Congress proposed the 26th Amendment.

And in March 1971, the states ratified the amendment—less than *four* months after it was initially sent to the states for ratification. This was the shortest ratification process ever.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

THE 27TH AMENDMENT

Finally, the 27th [Amendment](#)—our *final* amendment—is a weird one, written by James Madison and taken to the finish line *over 200 years later* by a passionate student angry about a bad grade on his homework.

This amendment prevents members of Congress from raising their own salaries until there has been a new election. So, a pay increase wouldn't take effect until the beginning of the new Congress.

Basically, it limits Congress's power to give itself a raise.

At the Constitutional Convention, the delegates spent several days discussing congressional pay. But the delegates decided to leave congressional salaries to ordinary laws passed by Congress.

This feature of the Constitution came under fire during the ratification debates. And James Madison himself became concerned, as well. These critics—echoing arguments advanced by Benjamin Franklin at the Constitutional Convention—feared that members of Congress would choose to pay themselves too much.

Enter (what would eventually become) the 27th Amendment. The 27th Amendment was first written in 1789—that's right, *1789*—and proposed as part of the original Bill of Rights.

James Madison and the First Congress wrote it and approved it with a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress. Madison and his colleagues wanted to set some sort of limit on Congress's power to raise congressional salaries. So, Madison proposed the (eventual) 27th Amendment—requiring a new election to take place before a congressional pay increase would take effect.

They sent this proposal along to the states for ratification.

Within a few years, six states voted to ratify it—short of the three-quarters of the states necessary to ratify a new amendment. So, while the American people went on to ratify our current First through 10th Amendments, this other proposal did *not* become part of the Constitution.

The states then ignored it for decades. Every now and again, another state would vote to ratify it. But no one thought that the amendment would ever be ratified (or even thought about the proposal at all).

Let's fast-forward to 1982.

The proposed amendment looked dead. Very few states had ratified it. Then, Gregory Watson—a sophomore at the University of Texas—was given a homework assignment. He had to write a paper on some sort of government process. While doing his research, he found a chapter in a

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Info Brief

book that listed amendments that had *not* been ratified and he chose to write his paper about the (eventual) 27th Amendment.

His central argument?

The proposal had no time limit on it. Article V didn't set any deadline either. So, the amendment could *still* be ratified—nearly 200 years later.

How did Gregory Watson do on the paper? He got a "C." Watson was angry. He thought that it was a good paper.

So, he appealed his grade. His professor wouldn't change it. But then, Watson decided to appeal to his fellow citizens. So, Watson wrote letters to legislators across the country. Most of them ignored him. But one powerful senator loved the idea—Senator William Cohen of Maine.

Cohen pushed for its ratification in Maine. He succeeded in 1983.

This inspired Watson to keep pushing. From there, his amendment push gained momentum. Watson's effort went hand in hand with broader public dissatisfaction with Congress in the 1980s. Voters thought that Congress wasn't doing enough to help the American people. They thought that members of Congress were paid too much and enjoyed too many perks while in office.

And Watson pushed to build on the ratifications from earlier years to build up to the three-quarters of the states necessary to ratify the amendment.

In 1985, five more states ratified the amendment. Finally, in 1992, over two centuries after the First Congress proposed the amendment to the states, three-quarters of the states (38 of 50) ratified it. The 27th Amendment became part of the Constitution. It only took a little over 202 years to get it done.

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments


15.3 Activity Guide

THE 27 AMENDMENTS TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Throughout American history, “We the People” have amended our Constitution 27 times—transforming it in important ways. Through the Article V amendment process, we often make it a “more perfect” document. In this activity, you will learn more about key periods of constitutional change and explore the 27 amendments to the Constitution.

The Founding era amendments: 1791 – 1804

Gave us our first 12 amendments, including the Bill of Rights!




Amendment	Read the amendment on the <i>Interactive Constitution</i> .	Summarize the amendment in your own words.	What are three to five key words or terms associated with this amendment?	What were some factors that led to this amendment being added to the Constitution?
First Amendment 1791 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretations: - Establishment Clause - Free Exercise Clause - Free Speech and Press - Assembly and Petition			

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Activity Guide




<p>Second Amendment 1791</p>  The seal of the Second Amendment features a central figure holding a rifle, surrounded by symbols of justice and law, including a scale and a sword.	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>Third Amendment 1791</p>  The seal of the Third Amendment depicts a classical building with columns, representing the location of government.	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>Fourth Amendment 1791</p>  The seal of the Fourth Amendment shows a magnifying glass over an eye, symbolizing surveillance and privacy.	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Activity Guide




<p>Fifth Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Criminal Procedure Clauses- Due Process Clause- Takings Clause			
<p>Sixth Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>Seventh Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Activity Guide



<p>Eighth Amendment 1791</p>  The seal of the Eighth Amendment features the Roman numeral VIII at the top, a pair of scales of justice, and a sword.	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>Ninth Amendment 1791</p>  The seal of the Ninth Amendment features the Roman numeral IX at the top and an eagle with its wings spread.	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>Tenth Amendment 1791</p>  The seal of the Tenth Amendment features the Roman numeral X at the top and several raised fists.	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Activity Guide

<p>11th Amendment 1795</p>  The seal of the 11th Amendment, featuring a circular design with the Roman numeral 'XI' at the top. Inside the circle, there is a gavel, a scroll, and a bundle of documents.	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>12th Amendment 1804</p>  The seal of the 12th Amendment, featuring a circular design with the Roman numeral 'XII' at the top. Inside the circle, there is a ballot box with a keyhole and two eagles at the base.	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			



CONSTITUTION 101




Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Activity Guide

Reconstruction era amendments: 1865 – 1870 (There was a 60+ year gap between the Founding and Reconstruction eras.)

Gave us three transformational amendments that many scholars argue represent our nation's "Second Founding."

Amendment	Read the amendment on the <i>Interactive Constitution</i> .	Summarize the amendment in your own words.	What are three to five key words or terms associated with this amendment?	What were some factors that led to this amendment being added to the Constitution?
12th Amendment 1804 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretation			
14th Amendment 1868 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretations: - Citizenship Clause - Due Process Clause - Equal Protection Clause - Enforcement Clause - Privileges or Immunities Clause			
15th Amendment 1870 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretation			

CONSTITUTION 101




Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Activity Guide

The Progressive era: 1913 – 1920 (There was a 40+ year gap between the Reconstruction and Progressive eras.)

Gave us the 16th–19th Amendments.


Amendment	Read the amendment on the <i>Interactive Constitution</i> .	Summarize the amendment in your own words.	What are three to five key words or terms associated with this amendment?	What were some factors that led to this amendment being added to the Constitution?
16th Amendment 1913 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretation			
17th Amendment 1913 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretation			
18th Amendment 1919 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretation			

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Activity Guide

<p>19th Amendment 1920</p>  <p>The seal of the 19th Amendment features a circular border with the Roman numeral 'XIX' at the top. Inside the circle, two hands are shown holding a document. Below the hands is a ballot box with a slot on top and a keyhole on the side. To the left of the ballot box is a female symbol (♀) and to the right is a male symbol (♂).</p>	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
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CONSTITUTION 101



Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.3 Activity Guide




Modern era: 1933 – 1992 (It's been over 30 years since the last amendment!)

Added the remaining eight amendments, little by little, between 1933 and 1992.

Amendment	Read the amendment on the <i>Interactive Constitution</i> .	Summarize the amendment in your own words.	What are three to five key words or terms associated with this amendment?	What were some factors that led to this amendment being added to the Constitution?
20th Amendment 1933 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretation			
21st Amendment 1933 	Text of the Amendment Common Interpretation			

CONSTITUTION 101




Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>22nd Amendment 1951</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>23rd Amendment 1961</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>24th Amendment 1964</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			



CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>25th Amendment 1967</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>26th Amendment 1971</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			
<p>27th Amendment 1992</p> 	<p>Text of the Amendment</p> <p>Common Interpretation</p>			

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

THE 27 AMENDMENTS TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

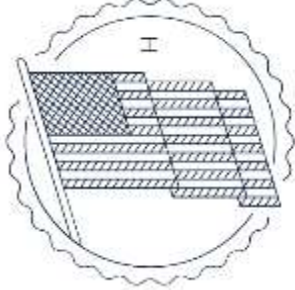



Throughout American history, “We the People” have amended our Constitution 27 times—transforming it in important ways.

Through the Article V amendment process, we often make it a “more perfect” document. In this activity, you will learn more about key periods of constitutional change and explore the 27 amendments to the Constitution.

How well do you remember the 27 amendments? Write the big ideas of each amendment on the corresponding blank cards provided, then cut out the cards, shuffle them, and play a matching game.





CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>First Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Second Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Third Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Fourth Amendment 1791</p> 





CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>Fifth Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Sixth Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Seventh Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>Eighth Amendment 1791</p> 

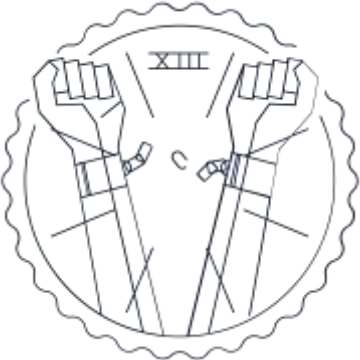



CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>Ninth Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>10th Amendment 1791</p> 	<p>11th Amendment 1795</p> 	<p>12th Amendment 1804</p> 


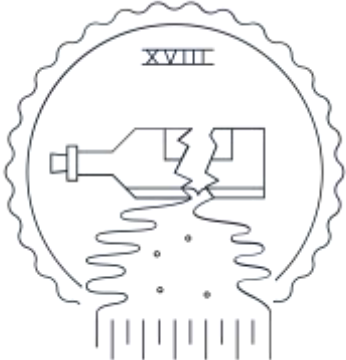
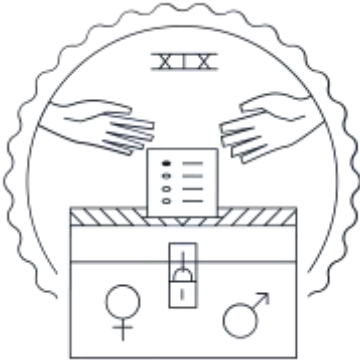

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>13th Amendment 1865</p> 	<p>14th Amendment 1868</p> 	<p>15th Amendment 1870</p> 	<p>16th Amendment 1913</p> 




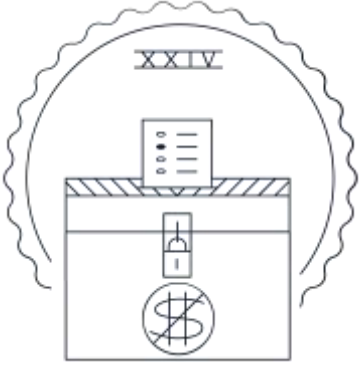
CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>17th Amendment 1913</p> 	<p>18th Amendment 1919</p> 	<p>19th Amendment 1920</p> 	<p>20th Amendment 1933</p> 




CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>21st Amendment 1933</p> 	<p>22nd Amendment 1951</p> 	<p>23rd Amendment 1961</p> 	<p>24th Amendment 1964</p> 

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:
Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments
15.3 Activity Guide

<p>25th Amendment 1967</p> 	<p>26th Amendment 1971</p> 	<p>27th Amendment 1992</p> 

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.4 Activity Guide

CHANGING THE CONSTITUTION

Now that you have learned about the mechanics of the Article V amendment process and about how reformers have used this process to change the Constitution, you will now get the opportunity to experience the process of pushing for a new amendment.

Draft a proposed amendment to the Constitution.
Think of a right or freedom that you think needs to be protected, or a function of the Constitution that needs to be revised, or a new power (or limit on power) that should be written into the Constitution—historically, these are the types of amendments that have been ratified.

Categories of Change

Many previous constitutional amendments made it through the ratification process because one or more of the following factors applied.
Explain how your proposed amendment could connect to the following categories.

Historical events	
Social movements	
Critics of the Constitution	
Controversial Supreme Court Decisions	

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.4 Activity Guide

Lessons learned over time	
Other themes	

Article V sets out several paths for amending the Constitution.
Which path will you prioritize, and why?

Building a Coalition

You will need broad national support to help get your amendment ratified.
List sponsors (possible groups, organizations, constituencies, political leaders,
opinion leaders, movement leaders, broader movements, etc.)
that will help advocate for your amendment.



CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.4 Activity Guide

Now it's time to develop your pitch. Answer the following questions to help build your persuasive argument in favor of your amendment.

The Why

The opening story: Why is the amendment needed?
What issue/problem are you addressing? Why push for this reform through a constitutional amendment rather than a different form of action?

The What

Your solution: What does your amendment do, and how does your amendment address the issue that you first identified?



CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.4 Activity Guide

The Ask

What are you asking for other people, groups, etc., to do?

This could be different depending on who you are targeting. Do you need them to contribute money, volunteer, call their congresspeople, or vote for something themselves?



CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.5 Test Your Knowledge

THE CONSTITUTION AS AMENDED: ARTICLE V AND A WALKING TOUR OF AMERICA'S 27 CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Complete the questions in the following quiz to test your knowledge of basic ideas and concepts covered in this module.

- Which of these advancements has been accomplished by the passage of a constitutional amendment?
 - The abolition of slavery
 - Women's suffrage
 - The banning of poll taxes in national elections
 - All of the above
- What are the two steps required for passing an amendment to the Constitution?
 - Proposal by Congress, signed by the president
 - Proposal by the states, approved by the Supreme Court
 - Proposal by Congress or the states, ratified by state legislatures or state conventions
 - Proposed by the president, voted on by "We the People"
- The process for adding new amendments is outlined by Article V of the Constitution. The Founding generation envisioned this process to be _____.
 - Very quick and easy to do
 - Possible in theory, but impossible in practice
 - Easy for the wealthy, but difficult for the common man
 - Difficult, in order to encourage thoughtful deliberation and require broad support
- Our first 10 amendments, passed during the Founding era, are collectively known as _____.
 - The Articles of Confederation
 - The Reconstruction Amendments
 - The Progressive Amendments
 - The Bill of Rights

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.5 Test Your Knowledge

5. The Third Amendment protects us from being forced by the government to house _____ in private homes in times of peace.
 - a. Politicians
 - b. Soldiers
 - c. Exotic pets
 - d. Undecided voters

6. The Takings Clause, which protects private property from being taken by the government for public use without just compensation, is found in the _____.
 - a. Fourth Amendment
 - b. Fifth Amendment
 - c. 11th Amendment
 - d. 20th Amendment

7. Some amendments to the Constitution protect the rights of those accused of crimes. Those seeking to avoid the possibility of self-incrimination have the option to plead the _____.
 - a. First (Amendment)
 - b. Fourth (Amendment)
 - c. Fifth (Amendment)
 - d. 10th (Amendment)

8. Which amendment recognizes that the American people have even more rights than those that are written into the Constitution?
 - a. First Amendment
 - b. Ninth Amendment
 - c. 18th Amendment
 - d. 25th Amendment

9. The 12th Amendment reformed the Electoral College by taking political parties into account and establishing different ballots for president and vice president after the controversial election of _____.
 - a. 1789
 - b. 1800
 - c. 1860
 - d. 1912

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.5 Test Your Knowledge

10. The transformative 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments are known collectively as _____.
 - a. The Reconstruction Amendments
 - b. The Founding Era Amendments
 - c. The Civil Rights Movement Amendments
 - d. The Turn of the Century Amendments

11. The 17th Amendment to the Constitution changed the process for electing U.S. senators from _____ to _____.
 - a. Direct election, state legislatures
 - b. Presidential appointment, direct election
 - c. State legislatures, direct election
 - d. Presidential appointment, vote in the House of Representatives

12. Which of these was *not* an amendment passed during the Progressive era (1913–1920)?
 - a. Granting Congress the power to establish a federal income tax
 - b. The prohibition of alcohol
 - c. Women's right to vote
 - d. The abolition of slavery

13. The 20th Amendment reduced the lame duck period for outgoing presidents and established that this event will occur on January 20, which is _____.
 - a. Inauguration Day
 - b. Election Day
 - c. Independence Day
 - d. The end of the Supreme Court term

14. This tradition, established by George Washington, was written into the Constitution with the 22nd Amendment in 1951.
 - a. The president must say "So help me God" during the oath of office.
 - b. The president must have lived in Virginia.
 - c. The president can serve no more than two terms.
 - d. The president should not be a supporter of either political party.

15. After the ratification of the 23rd Amendment in 1961, people who lived in this location were granted votes in the Electoral College.
 - a. Cuba
 - b. Washington, D.C.
 - c. Midway Island
 - d. Puerto Rico

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.5 Test Your Knowledge

16. The 26th Amendment, ratified in 1971, established a national voting age of _____.
- 16 years old
 - 18 years old
 - 21 years old
 - 25 years old
17. The 27th Amendment, which was ratified in 1992, was originally drafted by which of the following figures?
- James Madison
 - Richard Nixon
 - Ronald Reagan
 - George H.W. Bush
18. Fill in the blanks with the correct amendments. There has been only one time in our history where an amendment was rescinded. This happened in 1933, when the ____ Amendment repealed the ____ Amendment.
- Fifth, First
 - 15th, 11th
 - 21st, 18th
 - 18th, 16th
19. The most recent amendment to the Constitution was ratified as a result of a movement that began with _____.
- A speech in Congress
 - A protest in Washington, D.C.
 - A poor grade in school
 - A controversial election
20. Finish the quote from George Washington in 1787: "I do not conceive that we are more inspired—have more wisdom—or possess more virtue than those who will come after us. The power under the Constitution will always be with _____."
- The people
 - Those in power
 - Those with wealth and influence
 - Members of Congress

CONSTITUTION 101

Module 15: The Constitution as Amended:

Article V and a Walking Tour of America's 27 Constitutional Amendments

15.5 Test Your Knowledge

Answer Key

1. D
2. C
3. D
4. D
5. B
6. B
7. C
8. B
9. B
10. S
11. C
12. D
13. A
14. C
15. B
16. B
17. A
18. C
19. C
20. A