

The background of the cover features a close-up, high-angle shot of a rolled-up parchment document. A quill pen is tucked into the top of the scroll, and a glass inkwell is partially visible in the upper left corner. The parchment is aged and yellowed, with the words "We the People" clearly visible in cursive script. The overall lighting is warm and golden, creating a sense of historical significance and scholarly depth.

THE FEDERALIST COMPANION

A GUIDE TO
UNDERSTANDING
THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

EDWARD D. DUVALL

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A Guide to Understanding *The Federalist Papers*

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EDWARD D. DUVALL

 Fremont Valley Books LLC

The Federalist Companion:
A Guide to Understanding *The Federalist Papers*

Edward D. Duvall

Fremont Valley Books, LLC
Gilbert, AZ

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*To my parents,
Edward C. and Frances M. Duvall*

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1

Introduction

The Articles of Confederation constituted a loose union of the thirteen English colonies to manage the War for Independence. But the thirteen newly independent American states nearly descended into political anarchy in the five years following the conclusion of the war. Left unchecked, it appeared to the careful observers of the time that the states had two choices: either to establish a more workable union to supplant the failing Confederacy, or to degenerate into squabbling petty states ripe for civil war or conquest by still-hostile foreign powers.

Delegates from twelve of the states met to either revise the terms of the Confederacy or develop a new system. The delegates realized early on in the debate that the Confederacy probably could not be modified into a suitable form and instead came up with a system of political compromises that we know as the United States Constitution. Unlike the Confederacy, which was a union of the states, the Constitution sought to establish a union of the people while preserving the traditional powers of the familiar state governments. It became necessary, therefore, to gain the ratification of the Constitution by representatives of the people of each state.

Such ratifications were not sure things. The public was not so willing to create a strong central government on the grounds that they had just fought a war against a centralized government; there was a general suspicion that the new

one would become as tyrannical as the old one. There were some who believed the states could fend for themselves without surrendering any powers to a central government; there was even a minority of people willing to explore a reunification with Great Britain. New York was controlled by men, led by Governor George Clinton, who had successfully pursued a policy of deliberate conflict with the other states as a means to increase the wealth and influence of the state. It was against this type of opposition that Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay argued in *The Federalist Papers* the need for a union.

The Federalist Papers may be thought of as “the Constitution explained” in the hand of three founders. It remains the most lucid explanation of why the Constitution ended up the way it did. All three writers relied on their earlier work: Madison as a legislator in Virginia and in Congress, Hamilton as an officer in the army, and Jay as a diplomat. Combined, these three writers were able to explain the philosophical underpinning of the Constitution from the civil, military, and foreign policy viewpoints, although there is a great deal of overlap in their expertise.

On 17 Sep 1787, the Constitutional Convention completed its work, and submitted it to the states for ratification. *The Federalist Papers* were a series of 85 essays published from 27 Oct 1787 to 28 May 1788 as a series of newspaper articles. Their intent was to explain to the public the underlying philosophy and contents of the newly-drafted U. S. Constitution and to encourage the people to support ratification in the state of New York. New York was the 11th state to ratify the Constitution on 26 Jul 1788. Philosophically, they discussed at length the need for a firm union in order to assure national defense, a stable economy, general political stability, and a more energetic system to overcome the weaknesses of the Confederacy. Secondly, they presented a general survey of the content of the Constitution, including the structure, allocated powers, and limits of the proposed federal government.

The various essays were authored as follows. Hamilton wrote 1, 6 through 9, 11 through 13, 15 through 17, 21 through 36, 59 through 61, and 65 through 85. Jay wrote 2 through 5 and 64. Madison wrote 10, 14, and 37 through 48. Hamilton and Madison collaborated on 18 through 20. The authorship of the remaining ones (49–58, 62, and 63) was disputed for many years, but recent analysis indicates they were probably written by Madison.

Chapter 2 provides a summary of important events and trends that occurred during and after the Revolution that served to underscore why a federal government was essential to the survival of the thirteen newly independent states. It includes an assessment of the attitudes of the people about government in general, a chronological survey of the period from 1761 to 1787, and a general summary of the condition of America leading up to the adoption of the Constitution.

Chapter 3 contains the original Articles of Confederation, essentially an alliance between the thirteen colonies in the war for independence against Great Britain. It is shown here for reference, so that the deficiencies mentioned by the authors of *The Federalist Papers* may be examined directly. The Articles were adopted by the Continental Congress on 15 Nov 1777 and sent to the states on 17 Nov 1777. Maryland was the last state to ratify them (1 Mar 1781).

Chapter 4 contains the proposed Constitution as developed by the attendees at the Convention, and is the one defended by Jay, Hamilton, and Madison in *The Federalist Papers*. Some sections are shown here in italics; those are the sections that have been replaced or modified by subsequent amendments to the Constitution. At the end of italicized sections is a number to indicate which Amendment modified the provision.

Chapter 5 contains an extended outline of *The Federalist Papers*, not the essays themselves, which are readily available from a wide variety of sources. Although an outline such as this is no substitute for reading the original work, I have devised it as an aid to understanding the context of the original. By reading through the outline, the reader should be able to understand the approach taken by the authors and should get a general sense of their arguments for the union. It is evident that the authors saw the union as essential for performing the necessary functions of good government. They explained why good government must be one whose powers were limited and showed how those limitations were imposed. Also, the government is structured to be divided against itself as a further protection against encroachment upon the states.

Chapter 6 contains the 27 subsequent amendments to the Constitution that have been ratified. They are shown here only for completeness. Again, italicized sections indicate those provisions that were modified by a later Amendment.

Chapter 7 contains a topical index to *The Federalist Papers* and a cross-reference to provisions in the Constitution. Many of the entries pertain to

the justification for the union, and thus do not cross-reference directly to the Constitution. But in many cases, such as topics concerning a standing army, the reader will be able to quickly point to passages in *The Federalist Papers* that explain provisions in the Constitution.

Chapter 8 is a cross-reference from the Constitution to passages in *The Federalist Papers* which provide some background material on the Constitutional provisions, or an explanation of the provisions themselves. It should allow the reader to take any clause in the Constitution and point to relevant portions of *The Federalist Papers*, both for the underlying justification and an exposition of the particular clause.

2

Historical Context of *The Federalist Papers*

In order to appreciate the difficulties faced by the newly independent states after the Revolution, it is necessary to examine the events dating back prior to the Revolution. This section describes briefly the general attitudes of the Americans during this period along with a chronology to illustrate the overall ineffectiveness of Congress in the management of both the war and the peace.

2.1 General Attitudes of the People in the Colonial Era

The American colonists had endured plenty of abuse from the English crown and were reluctant to convey powers to a government beyond that of their own state. It was obvious that some sort of central direction of the war was necessary, and the states consented to the operation of Congress under the Articles of Confederation, but gave it very few powers. Even these powers were mostly dependent on the goodwill of individual states for their operation.

The people were not particularly enamored of the prospect of a union. First, they retained intense local and state loyalties since the familiar state governments generally operated in accordance with local needs. Secondly, the people did not perceive a need for a union, especially since the apparent danger from England had passed. Third, many people harbored a fear that any central government would become as tyrannical as had the British Crown.

The people did not appreciate the benefits of trade; mostly they adhered to the old mercantile concept, in which it was believed one party gained at the expense of the other in every transaction. In modern times, common experience dictates that both parties gain in most transactions, otherwise transactions would simply stop. But this was a new concept in colonial times, having just been explained by Adam Smith in his 1776 *Wealth of Nations*. The state governments therefore took the narrow-minded view that restrictions on trade, if properly managed, would accrue advantages to each state. This attitude was no doubt an outgrowth of how England had treated the colonies: as captive customers for the produce of England. English policy had been to prohibit the colonies from trading elsewhere. In effect, the colonies were required to buy from manufacturers in England while selling raw materials to the English at fixed prices. It was implemented partly through the activities of authorized monopolies. In other words, the colonists paid enough to ensure a profit for the English, but sold to the English at just above subsistence prices. These policies had another pernicious effect, which was to inhibit commercial development in the colonies, since the total market was more or less fixed. The only antidote for this situation was smuggling. Although the Revolution was partly over unfair trade restrictions imposed by England, most people in the states did not perceive the big picture after the peace, namely that internecine economic warfare between the states would have the same negative effects on the newly independent states as had existed while they had been English colonies.

But America also had several advantages. First, the institutions of all thirteen states were more or less homogeneous, either being English in character or heavily influenced by English practices. Secondly, they had been successful against a common enemy and had maintained friendly relations before the Revolution. Third, the numerous immigrants had assimilated English customs and the English language.

The population of the thirteen colonies prior to the war was about 2,750,000, of which about 395,000 were slaves; and by the end of the war, had increased to about 3,250,000, of which about 465,000 were slaves. The 1790 census totaled 3,929,214, but that figure included the new state of Kentucky. Vermont had also become a state by that time, but its population would have been included under either New York or New Hampshire during the war period.

2.2 Prominent Persons

Adams, John, early patriot in Massachusetts; envoy to France, Great Britain, and Holland; later second President of the United States

Adams, Samuel, early patriot instigator in Massachusetts

Alexander, William, American general, also known as Lord Stirling, from his claim to an expired Scottish earldom

Arnold, Benedict, American general until his betrayal in 1780; thereafter a British officer

Bernard, Sir Francis, royal governor of Massachusetts, Aug 1760–Jul 1769

Botetourt, Lord, (Norborne Berkeley), royal governor of Virginia, 1769–1770

Bourbon, King Louis XVI, king of France

Burgoyne, John, British general

Burke, Edmund, member of House of Lords, generally sympathetic to America

Bute, Lord (John Stuart), Prime Minister of Great Britain, May 1762–Apr 1763

Camden, Lord (Charles Pratt), British cabinet officer, generally sympathetic to America

Carleton, Sir Guy, royal governor of Canada, Nov 1768–Jun 1778, became a British general and commander of all British forces Nov 1781

Clinton, George, American general (from New York), later governor of New York

Clinton, Henry, British general, commander of all British forces May 1778–Nov 1781

Conway, Henry Seymour, British cabinet officer, generally sympathetic to America

Cornwallis, Lord Charles, British general

Dartmouth, Lord (William Legge), British cabinet officer, hostile to America

de Grasse, Count de Francois Joseph Paul, French admiral

Dickinson, John, legislator from New Jersey, probable author of the Articles of Confederation

Donop, Count Carl von, Hessian general fighting on British side

Dunmore, Lord, (John Murray), royal governor of Virginia, Sep 1771–Dec 1776

Fox, Charles, British cabinet member, generally sympathetic to America

Franklin, Benjamin, American scientist and diplomat

Fraser, Simon, British general, killed at Freeman's Farm

Gage, Thomas, British general, commander of all British forces until Dec 1774

Gates, Horatio, American general (a retired English officer)

Germain, Lord George Sackville, Secretary for American affairs, Nov 1775–Nov 1781; hostile to America; was the British civilian in overall charge of the conduct of the war

Grant, James, British general

Grafton, Duke of, (Augustus FitzRoy), nominal leader of ministry during Pitt's illness, Jul 1766–Jan 1770

Greene, Nathanael, American general (from Rhode Island)

Grenville, George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, May 1763–Jul 1765

Hamilton, Alexander, Washington's military aide and later colonel; wrote some of *The Federalist Papers*, afterward became first Secretary of the Treasury

Hancock, John, early patriot instigator in Massachusetts, later governor of Massachusetts

Hanover, King George III, king of Great Britain

Henry, Patrick, preacher and patriot in Virginia, later governor of Virginia

Hillsborough, Lord (Wills Hill), British cabinet officer, hostile to America

Howe, Lord Richard, British admiral

Howe, Robert, American general

Howe, Sir William, British general, commander of all British forces, Oct 1774–May 1778

Hutchinson, Thomas, royal governor of Massachusetts, Jul 1769–Apr 1774

Jay, John, American diplomat, wrote part of *The Federalist Papers*

Jefferson, Thomas, American legislator and diplomat, governor of Virginia; later third President of the United States

Johnson, Sir John, British general

Johnson, Sir William, British general and leader of Britain's Indian allies

de Kalb, Baron Johann, German general fighting on American side, killed at Camden

Knox, Henry, American general

von Knyphausen, Baron Wilhelm, Hessian general fighting on British side

de Lafayette, Marquis, (Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier), French adventurer, general on American side

Lee, Charles, American general (an Englishman by birth); traitor to both sides

Lee, Henry "Lighthorse Harry", American cavalry officer

Lee, Richard Henry, legislator from Virginia

Lincoln, Benjamin, American general
de la Luzerne, Chevalier, French diplomat in America
Madison, James, American legislator, a driving force behind the Constitution,
wrote some of *The Federalist Papers*, fourth President of the United States
Marion, Francis, American militia leader
Maxwell, William, American general
Mercer, Hugh, American general, killed at Princeton
Montgomery, Richard, American general (from New York), killed at Quebec
Morgan, Daniel, American general (from Virginia, although a native of New Jersey)
Morris, Gouverneur, American legislator and finance officer
Morris, Robert, American financier; instrumental in keeping forces in the field
North, Lord Frederick, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Jan 1770–Mar 1782
Otis, James, early patriot and legislator in Massachusetts assembly
Paine, Thomas, American pamphleteer
Parker, Sir Peter, British admiral
Percy, Lord Hugh, British general
Phillips, William, British general
Pitt, Sr., William (Earl of Chatham), Prime Minister of Great Britain, Jul
1766–Jul 1769
Pitt, Jr., William, Prime Minister of Great Britain, May 1784–Mar 1801
Prevost, Augustine, British general
Pulaski, Count Casimir, Polish engineer on the American side, killed at Savannah
Putman, Israel, American general
von Riedesel, Baron Friedrich Adolf, Hessian general fighting on the British side
Rochambeau, Count de, (Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur), French general,
fighting on the American side
Rodney, Sir George, British admiral
Rockingham, Marquis of, (Charles Watson-Wentworth), Prime Minister of Great
Britain, Jul 1765–Jul 1766
St. Clair, Arthur, American general
Sandwich, Earl of, (John Montagu), British cabinet officer, hostile to America
Shelburne, Earl of, (William Petty), British cabinet officer, generally sympathetic
to America
Schuyler, Philip, American general (from New York)

Stark, John, American general (from New Hampshire)

Stephen, Adam, American general

von Steuben, Baron Friedrich, German general aiding the American side

Stevens, Edward, American general

Stirling, Lord, American general (see William Alexander)

Sullivan, John, American general (from New Hampshire)

Sumter, Thomas, American general

Tarleton, Banastre, British general, conducted the reign of terror in the southern states

Thomas, John, American general, died of smallpox in Quebec

Townshend, Charles, chancellor of the exchequer 1766–1767; author of the “Intolerable Acts”

Tryon, William, royal governor of North Carolina and New York, later a British general

de Vergennes, Count, (Charles Gravier), foreign minister of France

Warren, Joseph, early patriot in Massachusetts and American general, killed at Bunker Hill

Wayne, Anthony, American general

Washington, George, American general (from Virginia), commander of the Continental Army, Jun 1775–Dec 1783; later first President of the United States

Weymouth, Lord, (Thomas Thynne), British cabinet officer, hostile to America

Whately, Thomas, private secretary to George Grenville

Wooster, David, American general, killed at Ridgefield

2.3 Coinage and Money

The British pound sterling was originally defined in the early medieval era under King Alfred as one pound of pure silver, which contains 5760 troy grains. Thus a shilling (20 to a pound) was 288 grains, and a penny (12 to a shilling) was 24 grains of silver. The penny was the standard coinage, and was improved under Henry II, who introduced a sterling standard of 0.925 pure, making the coins more durable. The actual silver content was reduced over the centuries (debased) until it stabilized in 1601 under Elizabeth I, with the silver content of the penny fixed at 7 and 23/31 grains pure silver. The physical coinage contained

about two-thirds copper for weight and durability. At 7.74193 grains of silver per penny (abbreviated as d.), the shilling (abbreviated as s.) contained 92.9031 grains of silver, and the British pound sterling therefore contained 1858.0632 grains of silver. By this convention a physical pound of silver (5760 grains) yielded 62 shillings of coin. A later act of George III in 1816 reduced the silver content in a penny to 7 and $\frac{3}{11}$ grains, which remained in effect until the twentieth century, but such does not concern us here. It should be noted however, that the formal exchange rate with London during this period was 4.44 Spanish milled dollars per pound sterling, a ratio often quoted when discussing conversion rates of this era. This exchange rate was fixed by statute of Parliament, and does not correlate with the ratio of actual silver content of the coinage.

The Spanish milled dollar (also known as a “piece of 8,” meaning 8 *reales*) was defined as 550.209 Spanish grains of silver at 0.93055 fine, which is equivalent to 423.9 troy grains at 0.93055 fine. This equates to 394.46 grains of pure silver. However, the Spanish mint had occasionally altered the standard and some of the coins were of inferior quality; therefore, people in the colonies were accustomed to evaluating the Spanish milled dollar as a certain quantity of shillings and pence in their currency, which turned out to be only an approximation of the true weight value of the Spanish milled dollar. In other words, the Spanish milled dollar was reckoned in terms of the local currency and was, therefore, reckoned as having a different weight than the Spanish mint had decreed. This ratio, on average, resulted in the Spanish milled dollar being commonly reckoned at the equivalent of 386.7 grains of pure silver by the various colonies during the course of the Revolution and afterward.

There were two standards of coinage used in every colony: the colony pound and the Spanish milled dollar. But the colonies had adopted different standards for their own pound; none of them were equivalent to the British pound sterling. The colony pounds were subdivided into 20 shillings and 240 pence, just as in Great Britain. In Georgia and South Carolina, the pound was defined as 1547 grains of silver; in Virginia, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire as 1289 grains; in New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland as 1031.25 grains; and in New York and North Carolina as 966 grains. Therefore, the Spanish milled dollar, reckoned at 386.7 grains of silver, was worth different amounts of local currency in the various colonies and was

a source of great confusion in trade. For example, in Virginia, a Spanish milled dollar was reckoned at 6 s., but was 8 s. in North Carolina, 5 s. in Georgia, and 7 s. 6 d. in New Jersey. Conversion of currency from state to state was likewise inconvenient owing to a lack of a fixed standard.

The French *livre tournois*, hereafter called simply a *livre*, consisted of 20 *sous*, each *sou* consisting of 12 *deniers*. In 1726, the French government fixed the denomination at 740 *livres*, 9 *sous* per 8 troy ounces (1 mark) of pure gold, or 92.5562 *livres* per troy ounce of gold. Also, eight troy ounces of silver contained 51 *livres*, 2 *sous* and 3 *deniers*, or 6.389 *livres* per troy ounce of silver. A troy ounce consists of 480 grains, so one *livre* equaled 5.186 grains of gold or 75.129 grains of silver. The ratio of gold to silver in French coinage was therefore one to 14.487. Using the 386.7 grains of silver as the nominal reckoned value of a Spanish milled dollar, the French *livre* was worth 0.194 Spanish milled dollars. But compared to the official Spanish standard, in which the milled dollar contained 394.46 grains of silver, the French *livre* was worth 0.190 Spanish milled dollars. In the following, the former (reckoned) values are used for conversion.

The Dutch *guilder*, or *gulder*, also called a *florin*, consisted of 0.60561 grams of fine gold, or 9.615 grams of fine silver. There are 15.4323 grains per gram (31.103 grams per troy ounce), so the gold *guilder* contained 9.345 grains of fine gold or 148.38 grains of fine silver. Using the reckoned value of the Spanish milled dollar of 386.7 grains of silver, the *guilder* was worth 0.38 milled dollars. The *guilder* was thus worth 1.97 French *livres* at 75.129 grains of silver. However, the French typically valued the Dutch *guilder* at twice the value of a French *livre*¹, and that conversion is used here (*guilder* = 0.388 Spanish milled dollar).

Under the Confederation, the United States in 1786 adopted a silver coinage system in which the dollar was defined to contain 375.64 grains of pure silver, but dividing it into 100 pennies. In 1792, Congress altered the definition of a U.S. dollar to 371.245 grains of pure silver, which is 24.1 grams pure, or 416 grains (27 grams) of standard silver at 0.89259 pure. This later revision was based on an estimate the average content of Spanish coins then in circulation.

In the narrative that follows, the colony currency amounts are given in their native pounds, followed by the equivalent in Spanish milled dollars. Conversion to U.S. dollars per the 1792 standard is accomplished by multiplying the number

of reckoned Spanish milled dollars by 1.0416; for the 1786 standard, multiply by 1.0294. Many of the older authors used the 1792 dollar for these conversions. Continental currency is called out per its face value in dollars (\$), and afterward summarized as to its true reckoned value in Spanish milled dollars (SM\$) after depreciation.

Converting all the various coinages to Spanish milled dollars as a common reference leads to the following ratios. The British pound sterling by weight was equal to 4.71 SM\$ per the Spanish mint definition. But by the reckoned value of 386.7 grains per SM\$, the pound sterling was equivalent to 4.80 SM\$. However, the official exchange rate with England was fixed by Parliament at 4.44 SM\$. Based on the definition of the colonial pounds in grains of silver, the pound of Georgia and South Carolina were reckoned as worth 4.0 SM\$; that of Virginia, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire reckoned as 3.333 SM\$; that of New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland reckoned as 2.666 SM\$, and that of North Carolina and New York reckoned as 2.5 SM\$. The French *livre* equated to 0.194 SM\$, and the Dutch *guilder* equated to 0.388 SM\$.

One-sixth of a Spanish milled dollar was called a *picayune* in the Spanish-controlled Louisiana territory. There was also a common gold coin called a *Johanes*, or *joe*; it was worth 16 Spanish milled dollars.

Most of the paper currency issued by the states and by Congress was in the form of “bills of credit,” which circulated like money. The two terms are used interchangeably in the following narrative.

2.4 Chronology of Events in America from 1761 to 1787

1761

Feb 1761: The British decided to enforce the Navigation Acts, which required all trade with the colonies to be conducted on British ships. In order to suppress smuggling, a revenue agent in Boston could request a general search warrant, known as a “writ of assistance,” which would allow him to conduct an arbitrary search of any warehouse or private home without having to give a justification, or to announce what he was searching for. These were a bad idea, held over from the reign of Charles II and were used from time to time

in Britain. They were, however, unknown in the colonies, and were contrary to the established constitutions. James Otis, John Adams, and Oxenbridge Thatcher argued against them. The writs were granted by Chief Justice Hutchinson of Boston, the king's highest-ranking judicial officer in the colony, after he had traded messages with legal experts back in Great Britain.

May 1761: The legislature of Virginia voted to gradually reduce slavery in Virginia by imposing a tax on it, but was vetoed by Parliament.

9 Dec 1761: The chief justice of the colony of New York had always been removable by the colonial assembly. But on 9 Dec 1761, continuation in office was made dependent only on the wishes of the king, thus removing popular control over the highest judicial officer. The net effect was to make the local judiciary subservient directly to the king.

1762

Jun 1762: The New York assembly responded to the edict regarding judges by refusing to vote a salary for the chief justice, but that action was nullified when the king directed that the salaries of all judges in the colonies would be paid directly from royal revenue. Now the people of the colonies had no control over the judiciary.

Sep 1762: The royal governor of Massachusetts, Sir Francis Bernard, sent an expedition against the French to protect some fishing rights, for which he presented a bill to the assembly for payment of 400 pounds (\$1332). The assembly refused to pay it on the grounds that the expense had been incurred without their authorization. James Otis led the movement to refuse payment, writing in his "Vindication" that colonial assemblies had the same power over expenses as Parliament did in England.

3 Nov 1762: Preliminary articles of peace were signed between France (allied with Spain) and Great Britain (allied with Portugal), ending the Seven Years War (called the French and Indian War in North America). Under the terms: a) Spain ceded the Florida territories to Great Britain; b) France ceded Canada, Acadia, Cape Breton, and all the islands in the West Indies except St. Pierre and Miquelon to Great Britain; c) France and Great Britain to share the fisheries off Newfoundland; d) France ceded New Orleans and territory west of the Mississippi to Spain; e) Great Britain received Senegal in Africa and

all of the slave trade; e) France ceded Minorca to Great Britain; f) France retained the islands in the East Indies that it had held in 1749. During the negotiations, the French foreign minister predicted that ceding Canada to Great Britain would lead to independence of colonies in North America.

1763

Jan 1763: The king issued an edict in which a standing army of 20 battalions were to be retained in the colonies after the return of peace, which were to be paid by the colonies.

10 Feb 1763: The peace treaty ending the Seven Years War was ratified by Parliament.

Mar 1763: Parliament passed an act in which the British navy was authorized to search and seize any ship in the Atlantic traveling to the colonies. The intent of the law was to enlist the aid of the navy in enforcing the customs duties, and naval officers were awarded part of the proceeds in the case of confiscations. The navy was thus directed to act as spies, informers, and agents for the customs house.

May–Sep 1763: Pontiac's War: The Indians in the west (what is now western New York, western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois) conducted a series of attacks and massacres upon English settlements in those areas. The Indians did not harm any of the French settlers.

1764

17 Mar 1764: Parliament passed the Declaratory Resolves, promoted by George Grenville, Prime Minister of Great Britain, which announced that Parliament intended to impose taxes on the American colonies through a tax on newspapers and legal documents. The revenue was to be collected by requiring the affected documents to bear a stamp, which could be purchased only from the local British revenue officer. The tax was to take effect in 1765. The Americans were opposed to it because the notion that a tax could be imposed without their consent was contrary to established custom in the colonies.

Apr 1764: France transferred New Orleans and all of Louisiana to Spain per the treaty with Great Britain, fearing that it would cost too much to maintain those territories.

- 5 Apr 1764: Parliament passed a series of trade restrictions and taxes on the colonies: a) import duties on wines; b) a new duty on molasses; c) increased duty on sugar; d) some protection measures to benefit English manufacturers; e) a prohibition on trade between the colonies and the West Indies islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; and f) expanded means to enforce the trade regulations.
- 25 Jun 1764: Town hall meetings were held in Boston throughout June to discuss the proposed revenue measure. Samuel Adams led the opposition, issuing a series of resolutions in which he declared that Parliament had no legitimate power to impose a tax on the colonists unless the colony were represented in Parliament. A circular letter was sent on 25 Jun 1764 to all the other colonies, asking them to take a stand on the issue.
- Aug 1764: In July, militias from New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut, organized by General Gage and commanded by Colonel John Bradstreet, had advanced to central New York to deal with the marauding Indian tribes. In August, the Indians settled on peaceable terms at a meeting at Niagara, knowing their villages would all be destroyed if they didn't.
- Sep 1764: King George III had issued an edict in which the western half of New Hampshire (the present-day state of Vermont) was to be annexed to New York. It was done because the royal officers of New York, greedy to obtain a profit on the sale of a land grant, managed to mislead the king about the state of the territory. The king made a new grant of land that he had already been paid for; and the current owners under the old grant had to either buy it again from the new grantees, or be evicted. The notices arrived in the colonies throughout September.
- Sep 1764: The assemblies in New York, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut passed resolutions agreeing with the resolution from Massachusetts opposing the new taxes and duties; Connecticut, South Carolina, and New York sent petitions to Parliament.
- 7 Sep 1764: Bradstreet concluded a peace treaty with the Indians of Michigan and the Ohio Valley at a meeting in Detroit; these territories came under British rule, and the British promised to protect the Indians from their enemies.
- 12 Oct 1764: The governor of Rhode Island, popularly elected by the people, declared that Parliament had no power to regulate trade in the colonies. On 12 Oct 1764, a committee of correspondence issued a circular letter to

- the other colonies asking for their opinion on the trade acts. It also sent a petition to Parliament asking for reconsideration.
- 26 Oct 1764: The colonists sent a notice to Parliament through their agent in London, Benjamin Franklin, that they would contribute to the royal treasury if asked, but did not support a general tax imposed by Parliament.
- 31 Oct 1764: The legislature of North Carolina rejected the principle of taxation by Parliament.
- 3 Nov 1764: The Massachusetts assembly issued a petition to Parliament opposing the revenue acts of 5 Apr 1764 on the grounds that their implementation would ruin commerce in the colony. They also complained about the lack of money in the colony owing to the constant drainage of it by the monopoly position of Great Britain with respect to the colony.
- 14 Nov 1764: The legislature in Virginia issued a document called a Remonstrance, outlining the history of the colonies, the relations between them and Great Britain, and rejecting Parliament's power to enact a tax on them without their consent. It also warned Britain that the colonies may decide to stop importing from Britain and begin to do its own manufacturing. It was sent to the House of Commons along with a petition against the new taxes.
- 11 Dec 1764: The British board of trade wrote to the king that the resolutions of Massachusetts and New York had shown disrespect to Parliament, and urged the king to take some action to restrain the colonies.
- 18 Dec 1764: The Virginia House of Burgesses wrote a petition to Parliament opposing the Declaratory Resolves of 17 Mar 1764 on the grounds that a stamp act amounted to taxation without representation, unknown in the colonies up to that time.

1765

- 10 Jan 1765: King George III opened Parliament with a statement that the central question regarding the colonies was their "obedience to the laws and respect for the legislative authority of the kingdom."
- 15 Feb 1765: Parliament rejected the petitions that had been sent from Rhode Island, New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, South Carolina, and Connecticut. Parliament had decided that it had a right to tax the colonies.

22 Mar 1765: Parliament passed the Stamp Act, requiring stamps on marriage certificates, loan documents, lawsuits, real estate sales, wills, and newspapers. Legal documents without the required stamp would be regarded as null and void. It was widely denounced in the colonies. It was to go into effect on 1 Nov 1765.

24 Mar 1765: Parliament extended the Mutiny Act to the colonies: a) soldiers could be quartered in inns, taverns, barns, and empty houses at the colonist's expense; and b) people were required to provide some items upon demand from the military. It also modified some trade regulations, under which colonies were allowed to export lumber, iron, and rice to England. But the colonies were still constrained to export their most valuable products, namely sugar, indigo, tobacco, cotton, pelts, tar, turpentine, copper, pitch, molasses, ships rigging, silk, or hides only to ports in Great Britain. The colonists were also prohibited from carrying wool or hats across colonial boundaries; wool had to be imported from Great Britain. Bibles could not be printed in the colonies; foundries, forges, and steel-making were prohibited.

30 May 1765: Patrick Henry of Virginia introduced a resolution in the Virginia assembly condemning the Stamp Act on several grounds: a) colonists had the same rights as the king's subjects in Britain; b) taxes could only be imposed by the consent of the people or of people representing them; c) that any attempt by Parliament to impose a tax on the colonists threatened the liberty of the colonists and the people in Britain alike; d) the people of Virginia were not obligated to obey the Stamp Act since it violated these principles, and e) those who did obey it should be considered public enemies. The royal governor of Virginia dissolved the assembly before a vote could be taken on it; but the resolution was published throughout the colonies and met with widespread approval.

Summer 1765: The colonists staged a general rejection of the Stamp Act throughout the colonies: a) boxes of stamps were seized and tossed overboard from the ships; b) stamp officers were forced to resign; and c) merchants reduced or stopped importation of British products. It became clear to Parliament, once it heard of these, that enforcement of the Stamp Act would likely prove impossible.

- 6 Jun 1765: The assembly in Massachusetts, on a recommendation by James Otis, sent a circular letter to the assemblies in the other colonies, calling for a general meeting to discuss how to respond to the Stamp Act.
- 25 Jul 1765: The assembly of South Carolina became the first colony to endorse a general meeting, per the recommendation from Massachusetts.
- 14 Aug 1765: Throughout the summer, men in Massachusetts had formed themselves into small groups calling themselves “Sons of Liberty” which were devoted to resisting the Stamp Act. On 14 Aug 1765, the Sons of Liberty burned effigies of the stamp-officer Oliver and the former Prime Minister Lord Bute, and destroyed the stamp house (still under construction).
- 26 Aug 1765: The Sons of Liberty invaded and ruined the home of Chief Justice Hutchinson. This invasion did not make much sense, since Hutchinson had done his best to prevent the imposition of the Stamp Act.
- 28 Aug 1765: Patriots in Providence, Rhode Island, ruined the houses of two people who had written in support of the Stamp Act, and forced the stamp officer to resign his commission.
- Sep 1765: The assemblies of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Delaware, Maryland, and Connecticut agreed to send delegates to a general meeting of the colonies.
- 2 Sep 1765: The assembly of Georgia agreed to send delegates to a general meeting of the colonies.
- 2 Sep 1765: The stamp officer in Maryland, afraid for his life due to the unrest, fled to New York.
- 3 Sep 1765: The stamp officer for New Jersey resigned.
- 9 Sep 1765: The stamp officer for New Hampshire, arriving by sea at Boston, resigned his commission before leaving the ship.
- 20 Sep 1765: The stamp officer in Connecticut was forced to resign by a large number of men who followed him on a trip to Wethersfield.
- 21 Sep 1765: The Pennsylvania assembly issued a resolution opposing the Stamp Act: a) the colony had always supported the king’s requests for money and men; b) money is to be raised in a constitutional way; c) the only constitutional way is taxation with representation; and d) since the colonists were not represented in Parliament, the Stamp Act was destructive to happiness.
- 3 Oct 1765: The stamp officer in Pennsylvania resigned his office.

- 5 Oct 1765: The Massachusetts assembly passed a resolution against the Stamp Act, authored by Samuel Adams. It declared that the Stamp Act was contrary to long-standing traditions, would serve to reduce confidence in the royal government, and was viewed in America as a revision of the fundamental rules by which the colonies had always been governed.
- 7 Oct–25 Oct 1765: The first meeting of delegates from the colonies met as a congress at New York. Only nine colonies were represented: Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Georgia, and South Carolina. Virginia could not send delegates because the governor dissolved the assembly before delegates could be chosen. On 19 Oct, the congress issued a letter to the king and Parliament expressing their common sentiments: a) opposition to the Stamp Act; b) that trial by the admiralty in cases of suspected smuggling was contrary to their rights as Englishmen; c) that the colonies could only be taxed by colonial legislatures; d) colonies could not be represented in Parliament due to local circumstances; e) all revenues from the colonies to the crown were to be regarded as gifts; and f) Parliament's alleged power to take property from any colonist was contrary to established constitutional principles.
- 31 Oct 1765: About 200 merchants of New York pledged to each other not to buy anything from British merchants in response to the Stamp Act. They pledged: a) not to import anything from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed; b) cancellation of existing orders at the earliest opportunity; and c) products received from Great Britain after 1 Jan 1766 would not be sold. It is known as the New York Non-Importation Agreement.
- 1 Nov 1765: On the day the Stamp Act was to take effect, many people in all the colonies staged public demonstrations against it, vowing they would never buy a stamp. Newspapers were published without the required stamp, and many contained editorials denouncing it.
- 1–2 Nov 1765: Several men staged a riot in New York over the Stamp Act. A group of men, intent on seizing the stamps, broke into the governor's stable, stole one of his carriages, rode it around town, and then burned it. Lieutenant-Governor Colden threatened to set the army on the mob, but he was warned that he would be hanged if he did so. General Gage, commander of the royal army in the colonies, did not interfere, as he did not have sufficient troops

to deal with the situation. The stamps were handed over by Colden to the New York common council, and secured.

1766

Jan–May 1766: The colonies were united in opposition to the Stamp Act; no one bought them, people refused to buy imports from Great Britain, and women took to spinning their own cloth. Several of the legislatures declared that the Stamp Act was null and void in the colonies.

8 Jan 1766: The Sons of Liberty in New York searched an incoming ship from Great Britain, and found ten packages of stamps intended for New York and Connecticut. The stamps were removed and burned.

13 Feb 1766: George Grenville and Charles Townshend had an interview with Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania’s agent in London. They asked him if the Americans would ever submit to the Stamp Act, or any other internal tax or any tax levied without their consent, and how the colonists would behave if an army were sent to enforce it. Franklin replied that the Americans would never submit to any internal taxes; and, if an army were sent, they would find nothing to do because the Americans would do for themselves, make all their own manufactures, and find a way to peacefully avoid the taxes. Franklin warned them that the colonists may start to believe that Parliament had no right to levy external taxes either. In this context, an “internal tax” is any type of tax that is not in the form of an import duty. Import duties were popularly known as “external taxes,” and the Americans had not objected to them.

18 Mar 1766: Parliament repealed the Stamp Act and the authorization for general search warrants. But Parliament also passed a Declaratory Act in which it asserted arbitrary power to pass any laws for the colonies. The repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated in the colonies. The Declaratory Act was ignored; it was regarded as little more than a means for Parliament to save face.

Jul 1766: A significant political change occurred in Great Britain. William Pitt Sr. succeeded Rockingham as Prime Minister. But Pitt was in poor health, so he took a position in the House of Lords as the Earl of Chatham, and the office of Prime Minister passed to the Duke of Grafton. His cabinet consisted of Conway, Camden, Shelburne, and Townshend. The first three were

sympathetic to America's views on the power of Parliament; but Townshend, as Chancellor of the Exchequer (finance officer), was hostile to America. Townshend would become the most powerful person in the cabinet.

1767

29 Jun 1767: Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, a series of measures for obtaining revenue from the American colonies through port duties. Townshend was attempting to capitalize on the sentiment expressed previously by the Americans, namely that they were amenable to "external" taxation, but opposed to "internal" taxation. In this they were referring to direct taxes as internal, and taxes related to trade as external. Therefore, the revenue portion of the Townshend Acts contained only import duties. The Townshend Acts consisted of: a) import duties on wine, oil, fruits, glass, paper, lead, paints, and tea; b) establishment of a central board of commissioners at Boston charged with administration of the duties for all the colonies; c) powers of writs of assistance for enforcement; d) power given to the crown to appoint all civil offices in all the colonies and to pay their salaries; and e) annulment of the New York assembly until it agreed to fund the royal army at New York. The duty revenue was to be used to pay salaries and pensions to the royal administrators and civil servants in the colonies. These acts were denounced in the colonies because they meant a removal of all political freedom. King George III was in a peculiar position: if he conceded the colonists the notion of "no taxation without representation," he would be adopting in the colonies the opposite of what prevailed in Britain itself. It would mean unrelenting calls for Parliament to be reformed such that every part of Britain was represented. If that happened, the king would lose the ability to buy and sell seats in Parliament from which much of his power derived. So, George III believed it necessary to impose arbitrary rule on the colonies in order to consolidate and continue to legitimize his manner of ruling in Britain.

4 Sep 1767: Chancellor of Exchequer Townshend died, and was succeeded by Lord North, who was competent but indolent, devoted to the king, and opposed to popular government. This was accompanied by a general change in the ministry by replacement of Shelburne, Conway, and Camden with

Lord Hillsborough, Lord Weymouth, and the Earl of Sandwich, all of whom were hostile to the Americans.

Oct 1767: John Dickinson, writing under the pen name of The Farmer, issued a series of essays showing that the recent laws by Parliament were a “dangerous innovation”; especially those that prohibited manufacturing in the colonies, since a duty on items the colonists were prohibited to manufacture would spell the end of liberty. He urged the colonists to attempt to find some peaceful way to obtain redress; otherwise, he reminded his readers, that English history had shown the way to resist intrusions upon liberty were by force. “The Farmer’s Letters” were widely distributed in the colonies, and kept the issue in the forefront of political debate.

28 Oct 1767: A town meeting was held in Boston, and the people resolved to not buy or use any of the items that were subject to an import duty; they also sent a circular letter to the other towns in Massachusetts and the other colonies. This was the colonists’ method of depriving the Townshend Acts of any benefit to the crown or to the local royal officers.

1768

11 Feb 1768: Samuel Adams and the Massachusetts assembly wrote a series of letters to the ministry, the king, and a circular letter to all the other colonies. He outlined his opposition to the Townshend Acts on the grounds they were unconstitutional: a) legislatures have limited powers derived from the constitution; b) allegiance to government is forfeited if the government oversteps its powers; c) colonists had the right of property by natural law regardless of the interpretation of colonial charters; d) Parliament had no constitutional authority to tax the colonists, since the colonists were not represented; e) there was no practical method for the colonists to be represented in Parliament (because it could not be done proportional to population, and it was common knowledge that seats were bought and sold in Parliament); f) there was no means to appeal Parliament’s taxes; g) the colonists had equal rights with all Englishmen; h) the colonists could not be prohibited from manufacturing because people in Britain were not so prohibited; i) using duty revenues to pay royal officers would lead to a corrupt government because it was outside the control of the people; j) Parliament had no power to suspend the legislature

of New York; and k) Parliament had no power to impose quartering on the people. He urged that they be repealed, and relations restored as before. Meanwhile, the general public refused to buy British goods as a means of protesting the import duties.

Spring 1768: Impressments of citizens as seamen on the frigate *Romney* in Boston caused popular resentment, but no violence.

21 Apr 1768: Lord Hillsborough ordered the assembly at Massachusetts to rescind the circular letter of 11 Feb 1768, and ordered all the other colonial legislatures to ignore it. The penalty for refusing was that the legislature would be dissolved. This was a case of a royal officer promoting himself to dictatorial powers over all the legislatures in all the colonies. The letter arrived in Boston on 18 Jun 1768.

8 Jun 1768: Hillsborough ordered General Gage to send troops and five ships to Boston as a show of force, although no violence had occurred there.

10 Jun 1768: A ship owned by John Hancock was seized in Boston harbor on suspicion of violating the customs laws, and was searched without a warrant. It led to a small riot on the waterfront in Boston. A few days later, assurance was given by Governor Bernard that there would be no further impressments of citizens, but he refused to order the removal of the frigate *Romney*.

21 Jun 1768: The Massachusetts assembly refused to rescind its circular letter of 11 Feb 1768, and was dissolved by Governor Bernard. The legislatures of the other colonies followed suit, and they were also dissolved. The colonists now began to believe that a break with Great Britain was both desirable and likely.

27 Jul 1768: Parliament restored the “Treason Abroad” statutes of Henry VIII in response to the disturbances in Boston. Under that statute, a person accused of treason while in a foreign country was to be brought back to England for trial before the King’s Bench. It had not been used for several centuries. In reality, the riots in Boston had been minor affairs, but the reports of the governor contained such exaggerations that the people in Britain began to believe that the people of Boston were pirates, mobsters, and traitors, and that only recourse to martial law could restore order. Hillsborough ordered two regiments of 500 men each to Boston to keep order, and adopted measures to outlaw the town hall meeting.

- 1 Aug 1768: The merchants of Boston pledged to each other not to buy anything from British merchants except for a few necessities, and not to import any items upon which there was an import duty (tea, glass, paper, painter's colors). It is known as the Boston Non-Importation Agreement.
- 28 Sep 1768: The British forces landed at Boston, but could not be stationed in Boston owing to a previous act that required the troops to fully occupy the barracks at Castle William before they could be quartered in Boston. Bernard refused to convene the assembly to decide how to allocate the military. The people used their own initiative to send delegates to Boston to decide in their place. Bernard ordered the delegates to disperse, but the delegates simply voted that the existing law had to be observed. The British initially stayed in tents on the common, and then moved into old warehouses, which had to be rented at high rates. The interaction between the people and the military was tense, as the soldiers liked to get drunk and fight, and to antagonize the people.
- 6 Dec 1768: Parliament resolved to isolate the people of Boston for their rejection of Parliament's authority, and make it an example such that the other colonies would not imitate their actions.

1769

- 26 Jan 1769: Parliament passed a set of resolutions which condemned the assembly at Massachusetts and approved the sending of a military force to bring the colony under military rule. It authorized the governor of Massachusetts to obtain evidence and order arrests for treason, which were to be prosecuted by trial in England under the statute of Henry VIII. The objective was to try and hang the ringleaders in Boston, especially Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and James Otis.
- Apr 1779: The American tactic of boycotting British goods began to affect British merchants. Under pressure from London businessmen, Parliament debated repeal of the Townshend Acts.
- 2 May 1769: The Virginia House of Burgesses, whose members included George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson, met at Williamsburg. It passed a series of resolutions condemning the Townshend Acts on the

following grounds: a) people of Virginia could only be taxed by their own representatives; b) it was the duty of all Americans to defend the rights of the colonists (thus supporting Massachusetts); and c) warned the king of the high risk he was taking if any Americans were sent to England for trial. Lord Botetourt, royal governor of Virginia, dissolved the House for passing them. But they were circulated a few days later to the other legislatures as the “Virginia Resolutions” and were endorsed by all the legislatures of the southern colonies.

22 Jul 1769: The assembly at Charleston, SC passed a non-importation agreement in response to the Townshend Acts: a) to promote manufactures in the colony; b) no importation of slaves after 1 Jan 1770; and c) agreed not to import anything from Great Britain, except coal and salt. It is known as the Charleston Non-Importation Agreement.

31 Jul 1769: The ministry replaced Massachusetts royal Governor Sir Francis Bernard with Thomas Hutchinson, a native of Massachusetts. Bernard was known to be corrupt, greedy, and conniving; he had engaged in smuggling when profitable, but aggressively enforced the Navigation Acts and obtained large revenues from fines and forfeitures. He had exaggerated the discontent in Boston, portraying minor disturbances as riots, revolution, and treason. He was regarded by the British military as a coward and a liar.

Aug 1769 ff: There was a great deal of tension between the people of Boston and the soldiers; the men of the 29th regiment were very rowdy, and routinely insulted the women and children. The soldiers were anxious for a chance to attack the people, but the people were careful not to provoke them. The soldiers frequently broke the law, and the people made many complaints to the local judges.

Sep 1769: James Otis of Boston, who had been in declining mental health, was attacked by a British customs officer, and suffered permanent injury.

17 Oct 1769: The people of Boston agreed to extend the voluntary refusal to import any British goods after being requested to do so by the assembly of New York.

18 Oct 1769: The town assembly of Boston, led by Samuel Adams, issued an “Appeal to the World,” ridiculing General Gage, Governor Hutchinson, and the revenue collectors. The appeal informed the British that: a) the

removal of the duties on tea, glass, and paper alone would not be sufficient to bring the people back into the British fold; and b) because Parliament had violated their rights, it would be necessary for the duties to be repealed and the military evacuated before the people would consider their complaints to have been addressed.

Nov 1769: The legislature of Virginia passed a bill to end the traditional higher taxes imposed on black people; Jefferson added to it a section that would emancipate all the slaves in the colony, with a prohibition on further importation. It was sent to Parliament for approval.

1770

31 Jan 1770: Lord North became the Prime Minister of Great Britain. He was generally sympathetic to the colonies, but was weak, and easily dominated by the king, who wanted above all to establish an autocratic personal government in both the colonies and Great Britain.

22 Feb 1770: A British informer in Boston, harassed by rock-throwing boys, opened fire into a crowd from his house, killing a boy. He was convicted of murder, but was pardoned by the governor.

5–6 Mar 1770: A confrontation between some Boston men and the British soldiers ended when the soldiers fired on the crowd on 5 Mar 1770. Five people were killed, including Crispus Attucks, a black freeman who was one of the first to respond to insults and provocations by the soldiers upon some boys in the square. This became known as the “Boston Massacre.” The people armed themselves, but did not fight the soldiers; they demanded justice from the governor. The governor ordered the commanding officer, Captain Preston, and several of his men arrested. But Samuel Adams and the rest of the assembly, backed by about three thousand people, intimidated the royal officers into removing the soldiers from Boston on 6 Mar 1770.

7 Apr 1770: Parliament voted on a resolution to repeal the Townshend Acts, except for the duty on tea. The other duties were repealed because of complaints from London merchants about the loss of business owing to the boycott by the colonists. The duty on tea remained as a matter of principle; by leaving the tea duty intact, Parliament asserted it had a legitimate power to levy it. Tea thus became the central issue between Great Britain and

the colonies; it was the symbol by which the king and Parliament claimed arbitrary power. It put Great Britain in a good position, since trade would resume on all the other articles, and the duty on tea was so small that a continued boycott would not affect the financial condition of the colonists.

Jul 1770: New York merchants broke the non-importation agreement by ordering a large amount of merchandise from Britain. This angered some of the other colonies, since holding together on the non-importation policy had been the driving force that got the Townshend Acts repealed. New York had been most steadfast in adhering to the agreement. Some of the other colonies (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia) had been slowly increasing their imports, mostly out of necessity.

6 Jul 1770: King George III violated the Massachusetts charter by issuing an order imposing martial law in Massachusetts. The military was concentrated in Boston, commanded by General Gage. Hutchinson handed power to Gage, and went to the fortress at Castle William for his safety.

Oct 1770: Governor Hutchinson proposed a series of measures designed to bring the people into line: a) abolish the assembly altogether, and make all offices dependent on the king; b) impose greater restrictions on commerce and fishing; and c) permit the military to act on its own without oversight by civilians. These were sent as recommendations to Parliament.

10 Dec 1770: King George III rejected the Nov 1769 Virginia bill to reduce taxation on free black people and the emancipation of slaves; there was too much profit in the slave trade for officers commissioned by the government. George III issued an order to the governor of Virginia prohibiting him from concurring with any of the numerous bills passed against slavery in Virginia.

1771

Mar 1771: The people of western North Carolina had suffered for several years under corrupt local government: a) farmers could not obtain land titles; b) tax revenues were routinely stolen by the officials, who then attempted to extort the amount missing from the people; c) very high expenses for lawsuits and official clerical services; d) refusal of the judges to hear their cases or to decide them fairly; and e) arbitrary confiscations of property and some executions on false charges against those who opposed the government.

The rural people of North Carolina had relied on local posses, known as “Regulators” to maintain nominal law and order. On 11 Mar 1771, royal Governor Tryon fraudulently obtained felony indictments against several leaders of the Regulators. Under another of the corrupt laws, a person who did not answer an indictment in 60 days, regardless of how far he had to travel, was judged guilty, his property confiscated, and he was sentenced to death. Tryon led a force of 1,800 men to Orange County, burning homes and farms on the way, to catch the Regulators. He met the Regulators on 16 Mar 1771 at Great Alamance, and told them to surrender. The Regulators refused, and Tryon attacked and defeated them. About one hundred of the Regulators were killed or wounded, and seven survivors were hanged for treason. Tryon then confiscated most of the lands held by the Regulators.

Jul 1771: The customs officers in Boston had demanded to be made exempt from income taxes, which the ministry had approved, and ordered the Massachusetts assembly to comply with it. But the assembly passed a tax law in July that required all to pay, same as usual. Samuel Adams led the opposition to the exemption, writing that selective taxation was a symptom of tyranny. The assembly’s refusal to exempt the customs officers led to increased scrutiny of Boston by the military.

1772

Jan–Jun 1772: The British schooner *Gaspee*, under command of Lieutenant Duddington, enforced the customs duty arbitrarily all along the Rhode Island coastline, searching and seizing whatever he chose without regard to the actual law. He also made a habit of landing troops and harassing local farmers. The people complained in Mar 1772, but were told that Lieutenant Duddington was only doing his duty. On 9 Jun 1772, the *Gaspee* ran aground, and was subsequently attacked by a band of men. The ship was burned and the crew placed on shore. A large reward was offered for information leading to the arrest of the attackers, but no one came forward.

Apr 1772: Parliament passed an act by which any destruction of property belonging to the British navy, no matter how trivial, was to be punished with death, and that any accused in the colonies were to be transported to Great Britain for trial.

7 Aug 1772: King George III issued a decree in which all judges in Massachusetts would hold their offices at the king's pleasure, and that their salaries would be paid out of royal revenues. This was regarded by the people of Massachusetts as an attack on the independence of the judicial system. It provoked the prominent people of Massachusetts to set up local delegations known as Committees of Correspondence to discuss what action should be taken.

Oct–Dec 1772: Lord North, Prime Minister of Great Britain, conceived a plan to aid the East India Tea Company. The Company had incurred large debts, and had warehouses full of tea in England, but could not find a market for them. It could not pay its debts or dividends, and its stock price had fallen by 50%. It also could not pay the 400,000 pounds sterling due annually to the government. North's plan was to refund the entire import duty imposed at British ports (instead of the usual 60%), and permit the Company to re-export to America on its own. This was known as a drawback of the duties. By eliminating the duty on tea for re-export in Britain, the East India Company would be able to afford to export a great amount of tea to the colonies, and the colonists would be able to buy it cheaper than before the present colonial duty had been enacted. Politically, tempting the Americans to buy the English tea would amount to an admission on their part that Parliament did in fact have a power to impose the import duties in America, and by extension, to pass any other law for the colonies. The amount of duty on tea was not the real issue in America (the 3d. per pound was not considered unreasonable); the main issue was the principle of taxation. North's plan was intended to solve both problems: the financial problem of the East India Company, and the political problem of the boycott in the colonies over a tax question. There was a suggestion of repealing the tea duty in America altogether, as it would also solve the problem, but North would not consider it.

28 Oct–2 Nov 1772: The people of Massachusetts desired to know if the order on judges was to be carried out. They appointed a committee to pose this question, and presented a petition to allow a public debate in assembly. Governor Hutchinson told the committee to stay out of the government's affairs and denied the petition for the Massachusetts assembly to meet.

3 Nov–Dec 1772: The Committees of Correspondence organized assemblies in most of the towns in Massachusetts to debate political conditions and to

correspond with the people of other colonies. They became informal legislatures, and although they had no real power, were also outside the power of the governor to dissolve or abolish them.

20 Nov 1772: A town meeting in Boston reviewed and endorsed a report by its Committee of Correspondence, which claimed that people: a) have natural rights to life, liberty, and property; b) are free to alter their allegiance to oppressive government; and c) have a right to preserve their liberties by force if necessary. It set out the various complaints against the British government: a) it's claim of absolute power on all topics; b) raising of taxes without the consent of the people; c) grants of arbitrary power to people tasked with collecting the revenue; d) maintaining an occupying army in peacetime; e) maintaining the civil service by the unconstitutional revenue, thus bypassing the local assembly; f) extension of the power of the admiralty courts; g) prohibitions and restrictions on manufacturing, which affected their livelihoods; h) allowing people to be sent to Great Britain for trial; i) alteration of the boundaries of colonies and re-granting of lands, which required people to purchase their property again from royal officers; and j) Parliament's claim that it could establish bishoprics and religious courts without consent of the people. It was sent to all the towns in Massachusetts.

Dec 1772: Several town meetings were held in Massachusetts, and all of them came to the conclusion that the situation with Great Britain was becoming intolerable. The towns concluded that there should be a union of the colonies to defend their rights against the king and Parliament, by force if necessary.

31 Dec 1772: An accounting of the finances of the colonies showed that the expenses and salaries for collection of the stamp office while the Stamp Act was in force were 12,000 pounds sterling, but the revenue collected was about 1,500 pounds, mostly from Canada and the West Indies. For 1772, the total revenues from the import duties on tea, wine, and paper amounted to 85 pounds, whereas the cost of collection and the army to assist them was 100,000 pounds. Meanwhile, the East India Company had lost sales revenue of about 550,000 pounds sterling annually due to the boycott by the colonists.

1773

6–8 Jan 1773: Governor Hutchinson convened the Massachusetts assembly, and gave a speech in which he ordered them either to concede to or to disprove the supremacy of Parliament. His objective was either: a) to get the assembly sitting at Boston to endorse the legitimacy of Parliament in all cases, which would contradict the opinions lately expressed by the other towns; or b) to get the assembly to deny Parliament's powers, in which case he would have the excuse he needed to impose an autocratic regime and prosecute the leaders for treason. But Samuel Adams, in his reply, noted that if the supreme authority of Parliament and independence of the colonies were mutually exclusive, then the compact establishing the colonies must have intended independence, since the colonists would not have entered an agreement contrary to their interests. Therefore, either the colonies are independent from Parliament, or Parliament has only limited powers.

Jan–Mar 1773: Local assemblies of the people grew to importance in Virginia as they had in Massachusetts.

Feb 1773: There had been some correspondence between Thomas Hutchinson, royal governor of Massachusetts, his Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, and Thomas Whately, who had been Prime Minister George Grenville's private secretary. These letters openly discussed negative opinions about the liberties of the colonists, and laid out a conspiracy by which the colonies may be brought under total subjection. When Whately died in Dec 1772, his letters were stolen and were shown to Benjamin Franklin by a member of Parliament. Franklin was at this time the agent for Massachusetts in London. Franklin sent the letters to the Massachusetts assembly, ostensibly for secret discussion as requested by the person who had obtained the letters. They were received in April.

12 Mar 1773: The assembly in Virginia sent out a circular letter to all the other colonies urging them to establish committees of correspondence in order to debate political issues outside the control of the royal colonial governments. It also recommended the establishment of a union of the councils throughout the colonies. These were received favorably in all the colonies, but especially in Massachusetts, where the worst problems had been festering.

10 May 1773: Parliament passed the Tea Act, which implemented Lord North's plan to aid the East India Tea Company, while offering tea for sale in the colonies at a cheaper price than before. It retained the import duty on tea in the colonies.

2–9 Jun 1773: In a secret session of the Massachusetts assembly, Samuel Adams read the letters between Hutchinson, Oliver, and Whately that Franklin had sent. They had been circulating secretly for about two months at this time. The letters revealed a conspiracy between the governor, the military, and the customs officers to remove all the liberties of the colony by essentially abolishing the traditional constitution: a) imposition of martial law; b) restrictions on commerce and fishing; and c) abolition of the charter of Rhode Island. The assembly asked Hutchinson for copies of the letters of certain dates (which they already had in their possession), along with any others he might think appropriate, which he refused. On 9 Jun 1773, the assembly then published the letters they had received.

Summer–Fall 1773: The letters between Whately and Hutchinson were denounced throughout the colonies as evidence of a conspiracy to deprive the colonies of all their liberties as Englishmen. The dissemination of the letters, combined with the tea tax, provoked widespread animosity in the colonies, and the anger was directed at the most available target, the incoming ships of tea.

23 Jun 1773: The assembly at Massachusetts drew up a petition and forwarded it to the king's Privy Council, demanding the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver based on the contents of their letters.

16 Oct 1773: The assembly of Philadelphia passed resolutions condemning the tea duty, rejected Parliament's right to tax the colonists at all, and requested the local agents for the East India Company to resign.

2–29 Nov 1773: On 2, 5, and 18 Nov 1773, attempts were made in Boston to intimidate the tea agents to resign, but they refused, and Boston then became the central point in the contest over the tea duty. Governor Hutchinson and his two sons were among the local tea agents. The local committees of correspondence around Boston passed resolutions: a) emulating the one at Philadelphia, and b) that the tea should not be landed. It was endorsed by the other towns. The first tea ship arrived in Boston on 28 Nov, but they

- obtained an assurance from the owner that he would stay outside the customs house until 30 Nov. A public meeting was held in Boston on 29 Nov 1773, in which delegates representing many surrounding towns voted to have the tea sent back to England, despite Hutchinson's order that the meeting be dispersed. A resolution was passed proclaiming anyone who imported tea to be an enemy of the country. The committees of correspondence organized patrols to keep a watch on the ships to make sure none were unloaded; volunteers armed themselves and communicated the status every half-hour.
- 5–8 Nov 1773: The people of New York resolved not to allow the tea from Great Britain to be landed. On the 8th, the commissioners and agents for the Tea Company resigned. The local Sons of Liberty maintained a watch on the harbor to ensure the tea remained on the ships.
- 26 Nov 1773: The local assembly at Charleston, SC, resolved that the tea should not be landed.
- 16 Dec 1773: In order to prevent the Boston revenue officers from unloading the tea, about 200 men, some disguised as Indians, boarded the ships in Boston harbor on 16 Dec 1773 and tossed the cargo of 340 chests of tea overboard; the loss was calculated at 18,000 pounds sterling. This became known as the Boston Tea Party. The news was sent the next day to Philadelphia and New York by Paul Revere.
- 22 Dec 1773: In Charleston, the tea was unloaded, but was not received because the local brokers were intimidated by the people. The tea ended up in unsuitable warehouses, where it spoiled due to dampness.
- 25–28 Dec 1773: A ship of tea arrived in Philadelphia on 25 Dec. But the agent for it, who was a passenger on the ship, was forced to resign on 27 Dec by a group of 5,000 men assembled in opposition to the tea, and the ship's captain set sail back to Great Britain on 28 Dec.

1774

- 29 Jan–7 Feb 1774: The king's Privy Council heard the 23 Jun 1773 petition from Massachusetts on 29 Jan, brought to the Council by Benjamin Franklin, the agent for Massachusetts in Great Britain. Franklin pointed out that the petition to have Hutchinson removed was political in nature, and was not asking for a criminal indictment. But Wedderburn, representing Hutchinson,

delivered an attack upon Franklin's reputation and honor. On 7 Feb, the Privy Council rejected the petition, claiming that it was "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous."

Feb–Mar 1774: At this point, the king decided that he was going to resolve the American issue first by imposing more severe restrictions until the Americans capitulated, and secondly by force if necessary. The consensus in Parliament was that the colonies must be convinced that Parliament had legitimate power to pass any laws it desired. Because of exaggerated claims made by royal officials, the people in England believed that the colonists were a crazed mob, and that it was necessary for Parliament to establish its supremacy. At the same time, the colonies were united in the attitude that they must resist tyranny now or never. Although the colonies were still willing to remain part of Great Britain, they would require a repeal of all the unconstitutional measures taken by Parliament.

31 Mar–22 Jun 1774: Parliament debated the conditions in the colonies, and passed five acts in response to the Boston Tea Party as a general display of policy. The British were confident both that the Americans would not be willing to fight it out, and that Massachusetts would not be supported by the other colonies.

31 Mar 1774: Parliament passed the first of the five acts, called the Boston Port Act: a) the port of Boston would be closed until the towns had compensated the East India Tea Company for the losses incurred in the Tea Party; b) all commerce was to pass through the port at Marblehead; and c) the seat of government was moved from Boston to Salem. The Boston Port Act was to be enforced starting on 1 Jun 1774.

12 May 1774: News of the Boston Port Act had reached Boston on 10 May 1774. The committees of correspondence met in Boston on 12 May, and issued a circular letter to all the other colonies asking their assistance in opposing it. The other colonies responded by sending supplies to Boston.

16 May–1 Jun 1774: Within a few weeks, most of the colonies endorsed the idea of a united congress: New York (16 May), Connecticut, (17 May), Rhode Island (17 May), Pennsylvania (21 May), Virginia (24 May), Maryland (~ 25 May), New Hampshire (28 May), New Jersey (31 May), and South Carolina (~ 1 Jun).

20 May 1774: Parliament passed the second and third of the five acts. The second was called the Regulating Act: a) the Massachusetts charter was revoked; b) the assembly was abolished, to be replaced by a council appointed by the king; c) the governor obtained power to appoint all judges and court officers; d) all officers were to serve at the pleasure of the king; e) town hall meetings were outlawed except for the election of local town offices; and f) sheriffs acquired the sole power to select jurors. Its effect was to destroy popular government and transfer all the power into the hands of the governor. In retrospect, the Regulating Act, which abolished free government in Massachusetts, was the underlying cause of the Revolution. It was insisted upon by George III, and passed through Parliament by votes from seats that were bought and paid for by the king (known as “rotten boroughs”). The third act was the Administrative Justice Act, by which any charge of murder against any royal officer was to be tried in England, not in Massachusetts. Its effect, although unintentional, was to make the British soldiers less cautious about killing colonists.

1 Jun 1774: The port of Boston was closed, putting many men out of work. It was enforced very strictly: even small boats from local areas were not allowed to dock at Boston. Fishermen were required to unload their catch at Marblehead and transport it from there to Boston by wagon.

2 Jun 1774: Parliament passed the fourth of the five acts, called the Quartering Act, which required residents of all the towns in Massachusetts to quarter British troops when demanded.

14–15 Jun 1774: Boston was occupied by two regiments and two artillery companies; these were supplemented by more troops in the next few weeks.

17 Jun 1774: The Massachusetts assembly was convened by the new governor of Massachusetts, General Gage, on 7 Jun 1774. Samuel Adams desired to have a regular bill passed in the assembly calling for a convention of the colonies, but he knew full well that Gage would dissolve the assembly if such a subject were brought up. Adams arranged to have the door locked on 17 Jun by prior coordination with some members, then brought up a resolution to call for a congress of the colonies. Some of the members managed to leave, and notified Gage, who promptly issued a writ to dissolve the assembly. But the messenger was unable to obtain entry into the assembly

hall, and the resolution was passed with a large majority. It elected Thomas Cushing, Robert T. Paine, Samuel Adams, and John Adams to be delegates to a convention at Philadelphia in Sep 1774. A circular letter was authorized to be sent to all the other colonies to join in the meeting.

22 Jun 1774: Parliament passed the fifth act, called the Quebec Act: it a) permitted the Roman Catholic religion to be practiced in Quebec, b) extended the boundary of Canada as far south as the Ohio River, contradicting the claims of some colonies, especially Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut; and c) directed that this entire region, including the Ohio Valley, be ruled solely by the king's officers.

Summer 1774: All the other colonies except Georgia accepted the invitation to a congress in Philadelphia. Also, the towns in Massachusetts organized their men into fighting units, just in case hostilities broke out over enforcement of the acts against Boston.

18 Jul 1774: A convention of people of Fairfax County, VA, led by George Washington, met to discuss the relations with Great Britain. It issued their sentiments in the Fairfax County Resolves, which concluded in part: a) the most important part of the British constitution was representation of the people; b) people of the colonies are not and cannot be represented in Parliament; c) without representation, Parliament has no power to levy taxes in the colonies; d) the recent acts of Parliament are proof of tyranny against the colonies; and e) a congress should be assembled to discuss a union of the colonies to defend their rights and liberties.

6 Aug 1774: General Gage received the Regulating and Quartering Acts at Boston and immediately started to enforce them.

16–26 Aug 1774: The court established to enforce the Regulating Act was scheduled to convene in Great Barrington, but on 16 Aug 1774 a large number of people surrounded the court and prevented it from conducting any business. Similar disruptions occurred at Worcester and Springfield on 26 Aug, and later in Plymouth, where court officers were intimidated into resigning their seats. In Boston, jurors refused to serve on the grounds that the court itself was illegal. Town meetings met as usual and were better attended than before, despite General Gage's threat to arrest any attendees.

- 1 Sep 1774: Colonists had been withdrawing gunpowder from the central storage point at Quarry Hill, according to the proportion they had contributed. On 1 Sep 1774, a British detachment from Boston seized all the powder that still remained, about 125 barrels, and transferred it to the garrison at Castle William. This caused many of the local militia to begin a march on Boston, but they were intercepted and turned back by riders from Boston, informing them that this was not the proper time for engaging the British.
- 2 Sep 1774: General Gage decided to enlist the aid of the Indians against the colonists, contrary to all previous policy of the British. During the French and Indian War, the British paid the Indians to remain neutral, not as actual fighting forces. He sent orders to begin negotiations with the Cherokee, Choctaws, and Mohawks for their services. Carleton, governor of Canada, tried to dissuade Gage from this policy, but was unsuccessful.
- 5 Sep–26 Oct 1774: The First Continental Congress met at Carpenter’s Hall in Philadelphia. Twelve colonies (all except Georgia) sent delegates to debate the political situation between England and the colonies.
- 6 Sep 1774: A convention of the towns in Suffolk County, Massachusetts convened to debate resolutions on the five acts of Parliament. They issued a resolution: a) they owed no allegiance to the king on the grounds that he had violated their rights; b) the Regulating Act was declared null and void; c) they urged all the court officers appointed by the king to resign within 11 days; d) they ordered tax collectors to refuse to remit revenue to the colony’s treasury; e) they advised each town to organize a militia; and f) they warned the governor that they would take royal officers as hostages if the governor attempted to arrest anyone on political charges. It put the people of Suffolk County in actual rebellion against the crown. This document, known as the Suffolk County Resolution, was sent to the Continental Congress on 9 Sep 1774.
- Oct 1774: The rural towns of Massachusetts formed all males between ages of 16 and 70 into their militia, drilled them at least weekly, and segregated one-third of them into “minute-men,” to be ready for action at immediate notice.
- Oct–Nov 1774: The Indians in the western part of Virginia and along the Ohio River had made several raids on the western settlers, starting in Feb 1774. There had been a few reprisal killings by white people in the summer. Lord

Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia, called out a large group of backwoodsmen from the western part of Virginia to advance along the Ohio River to suppress the Indians. They defeated the Shawnees, most warlike of the Indians, in a battle at Point Pleasant on 10 Oct 1774. They advanced further to Pickaway and Camp Charlotte, where they negotiated a peace settlement with the Indians on 24 Oct. By conquering the Ohio Valley, the backwoodsmen nullified the Quebec Act by gaining control of the Ohio Valley before the British could organize it. Among the fighters were: Daniel Morgan, Evan Shelby, James Robertson, Valentine Sevier, Andrew Lewis, Charles Lewis, William Fleming, Isaac Shelby, William Campbell, George Matthews, and Andrew Moore. This action became known as Lord Dunmore's War.

- 5 Oct 1774: The people organized their own government in Massachusetts, convening a convention at Salem, and created a committee of safety charged with ensuring that the colonists had adequate supplies for defense if required. It was adjourned in Dec 1774.
- 10 Oct 1774: William Howe was appointed to replace General Gage as commander of the British army at Boston. He arrived in Boston in May 1775.
- 11 Oct 1774: The First Continental Congress passed an endorsement of the Suffolk County Resolution.
- 14 Oct 1774: The First Continental Congress passed a Declaration of Rights. First, it summarized individual rights: a) to life, liberty, and property; b) to no forfeiture of rights as English subjects; c) to trial before their peers; d) to the privileges of English statutes that existed at the time of colonization and the colonial charters; and e) to assemble peacefully and petition for redress of grievances. Secondly, it declared that: a) maintaining standing armies in the colonies is against the constitution; and b) the colonists have an exclusive power to legislate for themselves. Thirdly, it called for repeal of eleven acts of Parliament that contradicted these rights. The Declaration was addressed not only to the king and Parliament, but also to the people of Great Britain and Canada.
- 20 Oct 1774: The First Continental Congress passed a resolution that recommended: a) a boycott of British imports; and b) a prohibition of exports to England, Ireland, or the West Indies.

1775

Early 1775: The closure of the port of Boston caused great hardship in Boston, high unemployment, and shortages of food and supplies. But there was no violence.

1 Feb 1775: Another congress in Massachusetts convened in Cambridge, and established a scheme to organize the militia and staff it with officers. Part of the militia were designated “Minutemen,” who were to be prepared for immediate callout if Gage attempted to enforce the Regulating Act. Throughout Massachusetts, people began drilling on the village greens; many men of this district were veterans of the French and Indian War.

6 Feb–21 Mar 1775: At the opening of Parliament on 30 Nov 1774, King George III had declared the colonies in open revolt, and Parliament passed a resolution concurring with his opinion. On 6 Feb 1775, Parliament passed an act closing all the ports in New England; on the 20th it passed an act increasing the size of the army at Boston; on 6 Mar it passed an act prohibiting fishing along the coast of Newfoundland; and on 21 Mar it extended the fishing prohibitions to all colonies except New York. Benjamin Franklin had been in contact with both Lord North and Lord Richard Howe, advising them on the conditions in the colonies, and what it would take to reconcile the colonies to Great Britain. His consistent theme was: only recognition of the limited power of Parliament, repeal of all the acts complained of, and recognition of the colonist’s right to legislate for themselves would do. On 17 Feb 1775 he advised the two lords: “They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety. Massachusetts must suffer all the hazards and mischief’s of war, rather than admit the alteration of their charter and laws by Parliament.”

20–24 Mar 1775: The assembly at Virginia adopted the Fairfax Resolves of 18 Jul 1774. They then developed a plan for putting it into operation, including establishing militias in every county and promoting manufactures of military items.

15 Apr 1775: Lord Dartmouth issued an order to General Gage: a) take possession of all forts in the colonies; b) arrest anyone who could be charged with treason; c) secure all the military stores in the colonies; and d) suppress the rebellion by force if necessary. Dartmouth’s orders were not received until

May 1775, well after the battles of Lexington and Concord. The seizure of arms at these two places was done on Gage's own initiative.

18–19 Apr 1775: Battles of Lexington and Concord, MA: General Gage, commander of British forces at Boston, sent a contingent of troops to accomplish two missions: a) arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock for treason while they were staying at a friend's house in Lexington; and b) proceed to Concord and seize the arms being stored up by the colonists. The troops left Boston on the evening of 18 Apr, but Joseph Warren, a leading patriot in Boston, suspecting such an action, sent Paul Revere through Charlestown and William Dawes and Samuel Prescott through Roxbury to warn the rural areas. Revere and Dawes were captured at Lincoln, but Prescott jumped over a wall and rode to Concord. The British troops under Major Pitcairn were met by about 50 militiamen at Lexington on 19 Apr, where a skirmish ensued, in which several colonists were killed. The British force moved on to Concord and managed to destroy some of the arms. However, the surrounding areas got word of the engagements, organized themselves, and proceeded to attack the British at Concord, and forced them back across the bridge. The British retreated back toward Charlestown, but were ambushed at every turn by the local militias until they were rescued by a force under Lord Percy. The British endured heavy casualties, and the militia was dispersed only through reinforcements sent by Gage. This was the engagement the Americans had been waiting for: they knew that the British would have to fire the first shot if the colonies were to be united against the crown. The engagement at Lexington has since become known as “the shot heard around the world,” since it marked the beginning of the shooting war that would deprive Great Britain of the colonies with the greatest potential. News of the engagement was sent by fast riders throughout the colonies.

20–21 Apr 1775: Men from towns in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire converged on Boston upon hearing of the battles at Lexington and Concord. On the evening of 21 Apr, they had cornered the British garrison at Boston under General Gage.

21–29 Apr 1775: The governor of Virginia sent a force on 21 Apr to secure all the gunpowder being stored at Williamsburg. This aroused the militia in

- Virginia, and they began to march on 29 Apr from Fredericksburg, but George Washington and Peyton Randolph convinced them to disperse.
- 10 May 1775: A large number of militia from Massachusetts (under Benedict Arnold), Connecticut (under Ethan Allen), and the Vermont portion of New York (under Seth Warner) had set out in early April to the northeastern section of New York. On 10 May 1775, they captured the British forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
- 10 May 1775–1 Aug 1775: The Second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia, with delegates including Washington, Franklin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, George Clinton, John Jay, and Robert Livingston. With the recent disturbances at Lexington and Concord, the colonists decided to develop appropriate responses to the actions of the British. The situation was very unfavorable to the colonies. First, colonial policies during that era were based on the notion that the colony existed for the economic benefit of the mother country. Since the greatest wealth accrues from manufacturing, the British policy had been to ensure the colonies were dependent on England, and to suppress the widespread growth of manufacturing capabilities in the colonies. The colonies did not have the facilities or the tools necessary to establish a viable industrial base. Secondly, with the British monopoly on trade, the colonies had little credit with other foreign nations.
- 10 May 1775: The Second Continental Congress authorized the issue of Continental currency. The amount of money in circulation at this time in the 13 colonies was estimated to be equivalent to about SM\$12,000,000; about \$10,000,000 of it in convertible hard money; about \$4,000,000 in actual specie. The Continental currency, to be issued as bills of credit on Congress, was not actually issued until 22 Jun 1775.
- 17 May 1775: The Second Continental Congress resolved that: a) exports to Nova Scotia, Quebec, St. Johns, Newfoundland, East and West Florida, and Georgia (except St. John's) are to be prohibited; and b) provisions to British fisheries on the coasts are to be prohibited.
- 25 May 1775: The British force at Boston was reinforced by Admiral Richard Howe, General Henry Clinton, and General John Burgoyne, bringing General Howe's forces to 10,000 men.

- 27 May 1775: A skirmish occurred between British forces and colonists on the islands around Boston; the colonists took control of the islands, and carried off all the livestock.
- 31 May 1775: A committee from Mecklenburg County, North Carolina passed a resolution, announcing: a) that the local legislatures of each colony had all the executive and legislative powers; b) that such power was to operate independently of Parliament; c) tenure of offices was now by the colonists themselves; and d) all rents and taxes due to the crown were invalid. This became known as the Mecklenburg Resolve.
- 2 Jun 1775: The Second Continental Congress agreed to several provisions regarding the British in the colonies: a) no bill of exchange presented by any British officer was to be honored; b) no money was to be supplied to any officer or agent of the British army or navy; c) no provisions of any kind were to be furnished for the British army or navy in Massachusetts; and d) no ships carrying British war supplies were to be fitted or freighted.
- 9 Jun 1775: Governor Carleton of Canada issued a proclamation declaring the colonies bordering Canada to be in open rebellion. He established martial law in Canada and enlisted the French settlers as well as the local Indian tribes to invade New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York. The northern colonies had no choice but to organize against Canada.
- 12 Jun 1775: General Gage imposed martial law on Boston, and outlawed John Hancock and Samuel Adams as traitors, liable for arrest and punishment for treason.
- 12 Jun 1775: The Virginia House of Burgesses issued a response to an offer by Lord North to repeal the taxes levied by Parliament. Authored by Jefferson, it recounted all the reasons why a simple repeal of taxes would be insufficient: a) eliminating the tea duty did not solve the problem of Parliament claiming arbitrary power; b) Parliament had no right to interfere with the constitutions of the colonies; c) Parliament had no power to appoint local officers; d) the colonists alone were to vote their own taxes; e) Parliament had not redressed its other acts, namely, abolishing trial by jury, changing the government in Quebec, keeping standing armies, and restricting trade by the colonies; and f) that since the colonies were united, they would no longer bother the king with petitions.

- 15 Jun 1775: The Second Continental Congress appointed George Washington to become the commander of the army at Boston, now called the Continental Army. He was formally commissioned 19 Jun 1775 and left for Boston on 21 Jun 1775. The appointment had been prompted by a letter from Joseph Warren, noting that the militia in Massachusetts was in disarray, and it was necessary for the Congress to take responsibility for the army, and appoint a commander.
- 17 Jun 1775: Battles of Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill: The Americans under Colonel Prescott, Colonel Stark, and General Warren occupied the two hills northeast of Charlestown with the idea of using them as high ground to siege Boston. But the British under Generals Gage, Pigot, and Howe launched several attacks and defeated the Americans, albeit with heavy losses. The American forces retreated across Charlestown Neck toward Mystic, and the British took both hills, thus negating any threat to Boston. This battle demonstrated that the Americans were a match for the British in pitched battles. The British casualties amounted to about a third of its force (1,054); the American casualties were about one-fourth (449).
- 17 Jun 1775: The Second Continental Congress selected four major-generals to serve under Washington: a) Artemas Ward; b) Charles Lee, a former English officer and adventurer who cared nothing for the cause of the colonists; c) Philip Schuyler of New York; and d) Horatio Gates, a retired English officer from Virginia.
- 22 Jun 1775: The Second Continental Congress issued bills of credit for SM\$2,000,000 upon the credit of the twelve colonies (i.e., all except Georgia). This was the beginning of the Continental paper currency. The Continental currency was in addition to a fair amount of paper currency already issued by the colonies.
- 22 Jun 1775: The Second Continental Congress appointed eight brigadier generals: a) Seth Pomeroy, b) Richard Montgomery; c) David Wooster; d) William Heath; e) Joseph Spencer; f) John Thomas; g) John Sullivan; and h) Nathanael Greene.
- 3 Jul 1775: George Washington arrived in Cambridge, MA and took command of the Continental Army. At this time it consisted of 11,500 militiamen

from Massachusetts, 2,300 from Connecticut, 1,200 from New Hampshire, and 1,000 from Rhode Island. It was augmented with 3,000 regulars from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia during the next month. The British forces consisted of 6,500 men, mostly deployed on Bunker Hill, Breed's Hill, and Roxbury Neck.

6 Jul 1775: The legislature of Georgia passed a resolution prohibiting the sale of slaves or any employment of slaves.

8 Jul 1775: The Second Continental Congress released the "Olive Branch" petition to King George III, claiming their loyalty to the British Empire, and offering reconciliation if some of the abuses were corrected. The petition specifically called for a repeal of the new administrative system whereby government officials were both appointed by and paid by the crown, and a promise that it would never be attempted again. But it admitted that the colonists were obligated to obey all the acts of Parliament prior to 1763. The petition was written by John Dickinson, and Richard Penn was sent to London to present it to the king.

19 Jul 1775: The assembly of Massachusetts formed a new government by simply declaring the office of governor vacant, and appointed the local council to replace him.

21 Jul 1775: A new government was set up in Massachusetts, with James Bowdoin as President, and John Adams as chief justice.

25 Jul 1775: Congress emitted \$1,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency). It was to be redeemable in gold or silver in three years.

Aug 1775: Rhode Island became the first state to make the Continental currency full legal tender. Counterfeiting the Continentals was regarded the same as counterfeiting Rhode Island's own currency. All the other states eventually followed suit.

21 Aug 1775: The king refused to accept the "Olive Branch" petition on the grounds that doing so would be an implicit recognition of an unauthorized legislative assembly who had also aided an armed revolt against him.

23 Aug 1775: King George III issued a proclamation in which he declared that his subjects in the colonies had engaged in treason by rebelling against his government, and promised to suppress the rebellion by force. At this point,

- there was no turning back from war for either the king or the colonists. It arrived in America on 1 Nov 1775.
- 26 Aug 1775: The Americans invaded Canada, concerned that Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, would try to recover Ticonderoga. The American force consisted of three units: a) under General Montgomery, starting from Ticonderoga, b) under Colonel Arnold, to advance from Cambridge to Montreal via Maine on 19 Sep; c) under General Schuyler, to start from Albany. Schuyler gave up his part of the campaign due to illness on 7 Sep 1775.
- 13 Sep 1775: The Second Continental Congress re-convened, but it is now referred to formally as the Continental Congress.
- Mid-Sep 1775: Washington wrote to Congress about the desperate condition of the army: no supplies, gunpowder, fuel, tents, or pay, and that most of the enlistments were to expire in December. Congress responded by sending a committee at the end of September to study the situation.
- 16 Oct 1775: British Captain Mowatt sailed into Falmouth, MA (now Portland, ME) with four ships and burned nearly the entire town by shelling it. About a thousand people, many of them women and children, were turned out into the wilderness.
- 26 Oct 1775: King George III opened Parliament with a speech denouncing the activities of the colonists in America, and announced his determination to suppress the rebellion by force. The king's speech arrived in America on 8 Jan 1776.
- 26–28 Oct 1775: Battle of Hampton Roads, VA: A British force under Lord Dunmore attempted to enter and burn the village of Hampton Roads, but was defeated by a combination of regular army and militia commanded by George Nicholas.
- Nov 1775: American General Knox secured 43 cannons at Ticonderoga, and carried them on sleds to Boston, arriving there in Feb 1776.
- 1 Nov 1775: Lord George Sackville Germain became the secretary for American affairs in the British government. He would be in charge of conducting the war against the colonies, although he was not competent for the office.
- 3 Nov 1775: American General Montgomery forced the surrender of St. John's after a 50-day siege.

- 12 Nov 1775: Surrender of Montreal, Canada: American General Montgomery entered Montreal without a fight. He afterward proceeded to Quebec to aid Colonel Arnold.
- 16 Nov 1775: The British government sent requisitions to the German principalities of Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick for men to fight against the colonies as mercenaries. It was the first time the British had proposed the use of foreign troops against their own people, and was considered dishonorable by many of the royal courts in Europe.
- 19 Nov 1775: Colonel Arnold arrived at Quebec after a 60 day march through snowstorms and flooded creeks, during which many men froze. But he did not have enough men left to lay siege to Quebec, and the British, commanded by Cramahe', refused to surrender. Arnold retreated to Point aux Trembles to wait for Montgomery.
- 29 Nov 1775: The Continental Congress issued \$3,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).
- 1 Dec 1775: Parliament passed the American Act containing the following provisions: a) repeal of the charter of Massachusetts; b) seizure of the port of Boston; c) prohibition of commerce with American colonies as long as the rebellion continued; and d) authorized capture of American ships, confiscation of cargoes, and impressments of American crews to fight against the colonists.
- 9 Dec 1775: Battle at Great Bridge, VA: Lord Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia built a fort at Great Bridge, Virginia, hoping to intercept an American force supposed to be coming up from North Carolina to take Norfolk. On 9 Dec 1775, a group of Americans under Colonel Woodford and Lieutenant John Marshall repelled an attack from the fort, defeated the British, and caused them to retreat onto a British ship that had just sailed into Norfolk. The Americans then took Norfolk.
- 31 Dec 1775: Battle of Quebec: Americans under General Montgomery, Colonel Arnold, and Colonel Morgan laid siege to Quebec in a blinding snowstorm; the British in Quebec were commanded by General Guy Carleton. Montgomery was killed, Arnold was wounded, and Morgan's force was captured. The Americans occupied the areas around Quebec.

1776

- 1 Jan 1776: Battle of Norfolk, VA: The British under Lord Dunmore burned Norfolk, VA through a naval bombardment, after losing it to the Americans the month before.
- 5 Jan 1776: The assembly in New Hampshire formed a new government, nearly identical with the colonial charter.
- 8 Jan 1776: Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" was published, which laid out a rationale for independence, concluding that reconciliation with Great Britain was impossible now that the British had responded with armies to the colonists' rightful petitions. It was widely read in all of the colonies and helped to coalesce them into common cause against the crown. Paine had been solicited to write it in Nov 1775 by Benjamin Franklin.
- 11 Jan 1776: Congress passed a resolution in which all persons refusing to accept the Continental currency as legal tender "shall be deemed, published, and treated as an enemy of his country and precluded from all trade or intercourse with the inhabitants of these Colonies."
- 20–22 Jan 1776: Generals Schuyler and Herkimer with militia succeeded in surrounding Sir John Johnson and his Indian and Highlander allies at Johnstown, NY, and forced them to disarm.
- 5 Feb 1776: Sir James Wright, royal governor of Georgia, fled by sea, writing to the king that Georgia was under the control of the Carolina rebels. The people of Georgia set up their own government, with a constitution established 15 Apr 1776.
- 27 Feb 1776: Battle of Moore's Creek, NC: A large group of Scottish loyalists from North Carolina under Donald Macdonald fought against about 1,000 militia under Colonel Richard Caswell. The Americans defeated Macdonald and captured him along with 900 other prisoners and 15,000 pounds in gold. British General Henry Clinton was at this time on his way from Boston. By the time he arrived at Cape Fear River by sea, he found 10,000 militiamen ready to oppose him. He decided to remain on the ships and wait for a fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker to join him from Ireland. The next objective of this portion of the British forces was to attack South Carolina.
- 1 Mar 1776: The Continental Congress issued \$4,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency), having been authorized 17 Feb 1776. It was about this time that

depreciation of the Continental currency began, since the amount issued all total thus far had become a significant fraction of the hard money in circulation at the start of the war.

- 4–17 Mar 1776: Battle of Boston: Americans under Washington laid siege to Boston from Dorchester Heights, aided by a large number of cannons that had been removed from Ticonderoga. With the British forces surrounded, and the memory of the large losses incurred at Bunker Hill, General Howe decided to evacuate, but made it known he would burn the town if his forces were fired upon. Washington allowed the British to evacuate on 17 Mar 1776, taking with them about 900 loyalist citizens. The Americans secured 200 cannon, a large quantity of powder, and other military stores that the British left behind.
- 23 Mar 1776: Congress responded to the impressment edict of 1 Dec 1775 by: a) issuing letters of marque authorizing privateers to attack and seize ships and cargo belonging to any British subject except those living in Ireland or the West Indies; and b) recommending that all the colonies take steps to disarm the loyalists.
- 26 Mar 1776: An independent American government was established by a constitution in South Carolina; it instructed its delegates in Congress to assist the other colonies in any action they deem necessary regarding relations with Great Britain.
- 6 Apr 1776: Congress passed a resolution opening all ports in the colonies to ships of all nations, in direct contradiction to the traditional Navigation Acts.
- 12 Apr 1776: The legislature of North Carolina instructed its delegates in Congress to advocate for independence from Great Britain.
- May 1776: Widespread town hall meetings were held in Massachusetts, and all of them voted to encourage Congress to declare independence from Great Britain.
- 1 May 1776: The Massachusetts legislature abolished the royal style, and began to claim authority by “the government and people.” This was an implicit declaration of independence.
- 1 May 1776: Archibald Bulloch, president of the newly-formed government of Georgia, was ordered by the council of safety to cooperate with all the resolutions of Congress.

4 May 1776: The assembly of Rhode Island rejected the notion of any lingering allegiance to King George III, eliminated the references to the king in its official documents, and instructed its delegates to go along with whatever resolutions Congress might adopt with regard to Great Britain. Rhode Island was already republican, so this amounted to forming a new government.

6 May 1776: An American army had been sent to Canada in April, but had been decimated by smallpox. The units had been ordered to Canada by Congress, thus reducing Washington's forces at New York. On 1 May 1776, General John Thomas took command, but he immediately recognized that he could not take Canada: a) he was outnumbered 3 to 1; b) his army had no supplies and no money; c) the Americans were rejected by the Canadian people; and d) the army was suffering from widespread sickness. On 6 May 1776, while the Americans were attempting to retreat, they were attacked by the British at St. John's and St. Louis; many of the Americans were captured and treated in British hospitals. The rest of the Americans retreated to Deschambault, leaving most of their supplies behind.

-7 May 1776: The king of France authorized a loan to the American colonies, to be sent secretly through a commercial firm, of 1,000,000 *livres* (SM\$194,000).

9 May 1776: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).

15 May 1776: A convention in Virginia voted to a) instruct the delegation to the Continental Congress to advocate for independence from Great Britain; and b) to form a new government for Virginia. The resolution was sent to the other colonies in a circular letter. This resolution was partially motivated by the burning of Norfolk.

15 May 1776: Congress passed a resolution recommending all the colonies form independent governments on the ground that no allegiance to the crown could be justified because the king had failed to protect the colonists.

22 May 1776: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).

-25 May 1776: The king of Spain authorized a loan of 1,000,000 *livres* (SM\$194,000) to the Americans, which was secretly funneled through France.

4 Jun 1776: The state of Virginia appointed a commission to investigate why the Continental currency was beginning to depreciate.

5–14 Jun 1776: The American army in Canada had spent the past few weeks retreating, and was now at Sorel. Its commander, General Thomas, had died of smallpox on 2 Jun, and was replaced by General John Sullivan on 5 Jun when he arrived at Sorel with his force. Sullivan decided to halt the retreat, and ordered part of his force to advance to Three Rivers, where they were defeated by the British under Carleton and Burgoyne. The Americans then continued the retreat, including General Arnold's force from Montreal. The Americans finally arrived at Crown Point, NY in early July. This was the last attempt to bring Canada into the war.

11 Jun 1776: A committee was set up by the Continental Congress to devise a plan to unite the colonies in the expected contest against Great Britain.

11 Jun 1776: The local assembly at New York passed a resolution by which the delegates that were about to be elected to Congress were to have the powers of establishing a new constitution and deciding on the issue of independence. This was a political maneuver by John Jay to ensure that the issue of independence was to be decided by those who were authorized to do so.

12 Jun 1776: The legislature of Virginia adopted a resolution known as the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," written mostly by George Mason, and modified by James Madison. It proposed that all men are free by nature and have the inherent general right to: a) enjoyment of life and liberty; b) acquire and possess property; and c) pursue happiness and safety. Secondly, governments are to be regulated: a) all governmental power is derived from the people; b) governments exist for the common benefit and security of the people, and are answerable to them; c) people have a legitimate right to abolish or modify any government inadequate or deficient in its duties; d) that offices should not be hereditary; e) that the military power is subordinate to the civil power; and f) that governments should have its powers divided into executive, legislative, and judicial branches. It also listed specific rights of individuals: a) no excessive bail; b) no general warrants; c) punishment only by conviction under law; d) trial by jury; e) freedom of the press;

- f) to possess arms, as the militia is the natural defense of a free state; and
- g) freedom of religion.

14 Jun 1776: The Connecticut legislature endorsed independence. It ended the use of the king's name, and since it was already republican, was a change of government. It was confirmed on 10 Oct 1776 and made permanent.

14 Jun 1776: The Delaware legislature endorsed independence.

15 Jun 1776: The legislature of New Hampshire endorsed independence.

21–22 Jun 1776: The New Jersey legislature established a new government on 21 Jun, after the royal governor had been arrested on the 15th, and on 22 Jun 1776, endorsed independence.

24 Jun 1776: The Pennsylvania legislature endorsed independence, having declared on 19 Jun that the old royal government was incompetent, and that a new one was necessary.

24 Jun 1776: Congress passed a resolution proclaiming anyone who lived in the colonies and continued to be loyal to King George III was a traitor.

28 Jun 1776: The Maryland legislature endorsed independence out of sympathy for the other colonies, and in a spirit of unity; Maryland had not experienced any harm by the British. Maryland thus became the twelfth colony to vote for independence. New York was now the only holdout, since there were many loyalists there.

28 Jun 1776: Lord Howe landed the British troops at New York without opposition from General Washington. Washington only had 8,000 men under his command, which was not enough to contest the landing.

28 Jun 1776: Battle of Sullivan's Island (Fort Moultrie), SC: The British force under General H. Clinton that had intended to land at Moore's Creek was joined by a fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, who had sailed from Ireland, and had brought with him Lord Cornwallis. They met in May 1776. Their plan was to take Charleston, since they believed there were a large number of loyalists there. In fact, most of the people there wanted independence. Meanwhile, American Colonel Moultrie had constructed a fort on Sullivan's Island, although the method of construction was denigrated by General C. Lee. On 28 Jun 1776, the British landed the infantry, but were prevented from attacking the fort by the high water across the estuary, even at low tide. The battle then became a ship-to-shore bombardment; the British

aimed poorly and generally missed the fort, but the Americans successfully damaged most of the British fleet. The British then sailed for New York, and South Carolina was not visited by the British for two more years.

29 Jun 1776: Virginia established a new constitution, with a bill of rights, and a declaration of independence.

1 Jul 1776: Congress received a letter from General Washington outlining the situation of his forces in New York: he had a total of 7,754 men, 2,200 of which either had defective firelocks or none at all; about 4,000 had no bayonets; of the 6,000 militia ordered by Congress, only 1,000 had shown up. Meanwhile, the British were expected to land about 30,000 troops in New York.

1–15 Jul 1776: Indians invaded the rural areas and massacred many settlers in western South Carolina. The settlers retreated to forts or to Charleston.

2 Jul 1776: New Jersey modified its charter and established a new government.

2 Jul 1776: A declaration of independence was unanimously approved in Congress by twelve colonies. It read in part, “That these colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved.” The delegates from New York did not vote because they were not authorized to vote for independence. A committee was appointed to determine how it would be announced.

3 Jul 1776: The legislature of Maryland established a new government.

4 Jul 1776: A formal Declaration of Independence, as written by Jefferson with some alterations by Franklin and Adams, was reviewed and approved by members of the Continental Congress from twelve of the colonies, and signed by John Hancock and a few other members (according to Jefferson). From this day forward, the colonies were each independent of Great Britain, but united together in a common cause to exercise the necessary sovereign powers to conduct the war against Great Britain. Several copies were made, and these were signed by the members of Congress over the next few weeks. The delegates from New York were not authorized to sign it until 9 Jul.

12 Jul 1776: A committee in the Continental Congress issued a report proposing the terms of a confederation. It is supposed to have been written by John Dickinson, but the authorship is uncertain since no formal notes were ever

published. The Continental Congress debated these throughout 1776 and most of 1777.

20 Jul 1776: Battle of Island Flats, NC (now TN): Settlers in western North Carolina, now part of Tennessee, defeated a large group of Cherokee Indians enlisted by the British. This was followed by a series of skirmishes at Fort Watauga and other places along the Tennessee River, until the Cherokees agreed to a peace.

Aug–Sep 1776: South Carolina militia under Williamson invaded western South Carolina and defeated the Cherokee Indians on the Keowee, Seneca, Tugaloo, Whitewater, Toxaway, and Estatoe Rivers. He was joined in September by North Carolina fighters under Rutherford, and destroyed 36 Indian settlements on the western side of the Alleghany Mountains. The Cherokees made peace, and this territory came firmly under control of the Americans.

27–29 Aug 1776: Battle of Long Island, NY: The British force numbering 25,000 defeated the Americans numbering about 18,000 at Long Island, New York. The British were commanded by Generals Howe, Clinton, Grant, Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, with their Hessian allies commanded by von Heister. The Americans were commanded by Putnam, W. Alexander (a.k.a. Lord Stirling), and Sullivan. The Americans retreated north across the western edge of Long Island to Brooklyn Heights on the 27th. Sullivan was captured by the British. On the 29th, Washington arrived from his headquarters and engineered a retreat across the East River to Manhattan. The Americans were aided by a dense fog that covered their movements across the East River.

The British had the advantages of numerical superiority and of secrecy because many people in the area were loyalists. This was the best opportunity the British ever had to inflict a decisive defeat on the Americans.

15–16 Sep 1776: Battle of Manhattan, NY: The British had no trouble taking Manhattan after the victory at Long Island. Two brigades under General Washington came to assist General Putnam, but exhibited poor discipline, and retreated almost as soon as they were fired upon. Fortunately, General Howe was delayed for two hours because he accepted an invitation to tea by Mrs. Lindley Murray; this allowed Putnam to retreat to Harlem Heights. The

British attempted to dislodge the Americans at Harlem, but were repulsed; meanwhile, the British controlled Manhattan.

- 21 Sep 1776: Delaware formed a new government by completing a new constitution, including a bill of rights. It included a prohibition on the importation and sale of slaves.
- 24 Sep 1776: Five hundred American prisoners of war taken in the invasion of Canada arrived at Elizabeth Point, NJ, having been paroled by Governor Carleton of Canada. Among those released was Daniel Morgan.
- 28 Sep 1776: Pennsylvania established a new constitution, but it disenfranchised the Quakers, and so its ratification was delayed until Feb 1777.
- 11–13 Oct 1776: Battle of Valcour Island (Lake Champlain), NY: Sir Guy Carleton had spent the summer constructing a fleet on Lake Champlain by which he hoped to recapture Ticonderoga. The basis of his fleet had sailed from England to the St. Lawrence, then carried overland in pieces and reconstructed on the lake. General Benedict Arnold had assembled a small fleet from scratch, and sailed it to Valcour Island. The two fleets engaged in a naval battle 11–13 Oct, in which the British totally destroyed the American fleet, but sustained considerable damage itself. Arnold and his men escaped on 13 Oct and marched to safety at Fort Ticonderoga; Carleton decided not to attack it, but instead retreated back to Canada on 3 Nov, content with controlling Lake Champlain. Carleton's retreat did not make sense from a military standpoint, and he was later criticized for it by the other British generals. General Gates was in command at Ticonderoga, and took credit for the stalling of Carleton.
- 12–18 Oct 1776: General Washington evaded the British under General Howe, and successfully retreated from Harlem Heights to White Plains. He was joined by Morgan (having been released by Carleton), Alexander, Sullivan (who had been released by the British) and C. Lee, who had returned from South Carolina. The Americans had thus evacuated all of Manhattan except Fort Washington.
- 17 Oct 1776: Washington ordered General C. Lee to bring the army from New Castle over to New Jersey to join up with the rest of the Americans. Lee pretended not to understand, or made excuses why he couldn't cross over in an

attempt to undermine Washington. Lee claimed to engage in “brave, virtuous treason” in order to save the state. His goal was to show that Washington was incompetent, and thus get himself promoted to commander. It was not until 2 Dec 1776 that Lee crossed into New Jersey.

28 Oct 1776: Battle of White Plains, NY: The British advanced to Chatterton Hill, but were fought to a draw by the Americans under Macdougall. Washington, then at White Plains, withdrew his forces to New Castle and placed them under General C. Lee, who occupied a very strong position. Washington went to West Point to survey that area. Howe then decided to move back south along the Hudson in order to attack Fort Washington, or invade New Jersey, or march on Philadelphia. The main British objective was to lure the Americans out of their stronghold.

9 Nov 1776: Maryland established a new government by ratifying a constitution written in Aug.

16 Nov 1776: Battle of Fort Washington, NY: The British under General Howe attacked and took Fort Washington, commanded by Colonel Magaw. More than 2,600 Americans were captured, and many were murdered by Hessians after they had surrendered. The battle occurred partly because Congress interfered in the military chain of command: Washington had ordered Greene to evacuate Fort Washington, but Greene had also received an order from Congress that it should not be abandoned except under most dire circumstances. Greene misjudged the British, and opted to reinforce the fort and be attacked.

18 Nov 1776: Congress authorized a lottery to raise money. The idea was to take in hard money in return for paper bills of credit to be redeemed in a few years at 5% interest. But people were not enticed to give ready money now in return for a paper promise.

20 Nov 1776: Evacuation of Fort Lee, NY: American General Greene failed to post lookouts at Fort Lee. The British under General Howe surprised the Americans and Greene evacuated 2,000 men without a fight. The British took the fort and all the supplies left behind. Greene retreated to Hackensack, NJ to join with the main force.

28 Nov 1776: The new government of Pennsylvania was in turmoil as Washington was retreating through New Jersey, as Howe was offering amnesty and

pardons to anyone who would abandon the rebellion. Several prominent people in Pennsylvania accepted it: Colonel Reed of the militia, Samuel Tucker, chairman of the committee of safety, Joseph Galloway, and Andrew Allen, who had been a member of the Continental Congress.

28 Nov–12 Dec 1776: The main American army under Washington retreated through New Jersey, being chased by the British under Cornwallis. Lee finally crossed the remainder of his force across the Hudson on 4 Dec, but not to reinforce Washington. Lee's objective was to intimidate the militias into providing their best men, and to intercept the reinforcements sent by Schuyler to Washington, put them under his command, and fight the British on his own to recover New Jersey. On 8 Dec, Washington retreated across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania, just north of Trenton. Lee and Sullivan's force marched to Vealtown on 12 Dec 1776, and then Lee himself went to Baskingridge to spend the night at White's tavern. Meanwhile there was considerable confusion among the Americans: General Schuyler, coming from New York, joined with Lee's army, and General Gates was elsewhere in New Jersey, trying to locate Washington. British troops under Cornwallis arrived at Trenton on the 8th and just missed the Americans. But Washington had secured every boat for a distance of 70 miles, and the British were unable to cross the river.

The Americans were in a bad position, having lost New York and now holed up in Pennsylvania with a small army whose enlistments were to expire on 1 Jan 1777. The rest of the army was scattered across New Jersey.

Dec 1776: Hessians in New Jersey were allowed to steal anything they could, as plunder was the only way to prevent their desertion. They had been told while still in Europe that their deployment would pave the way for private fortune.

7 Dec 1776: The British captured the island of Rhode Island, and used it as a base for several years to conduct raids on the coast of Connecticut and Massachusetts.

9 Dec 1776: Franklin received assurances from the Spanish that American privateers would be sheltered in Spanish ports.

12 Dec 1776: With the British fleet closing in on Philadelphia, Congress adjourned to Baltimore. Putnam was left in command of the small American garrison in Philadelphia.

- 13 Dec 1776: General C. Lee was captured by the British at Baskingridge and held as a deserter, clearly the best thing that happened for the American side in recent months. But Lee was popular in the states, and his capture served to lower morale. Lee tried to convince the British that he was the American commander.
- 18 Dec 1776: North Carolina ratified its constitution and established a new government.
- 20 Dec 1776: Washington's force was joined south of the Delaware in Pennsylvania by Americans under Generals Sullivan (who had succeeded Lee), Gates, and Stark.
- 25 Dec 1776: A convention met in Providence, RI, consisting of representatives of the New England states, to discuss the problem of finances. They issued a recommendation that prices be fixed, loans regulated, and that the individual states stop issuing their own paper money.
- 26–29 Dec 1776: Battle of Trenton, NJ: General Washington, knowing that some kind of victory was necessary to keep the army from dissolving, made a daring midnight crossing of the Delaware River at Mackonkey's Ferry, and attacked the Hessians under Colonel Rahl at Trenton, capturing 1,000 Hessians. The Americans were also led by Generals Greene, Mercer, Alexander, Sullivan, Stark, Hand, Glover, Knox, Webb, Scott, and Captains William Washington, James Monroe, and Alexander Hamilton. General Gates was supposed to have attacked from Bristol, and Putnam from Philadelphia, but neither did so. Griffin was supposed to harass the Hessians at Mt. Holly, but retreated instead. Cadwalader could not make the crossing at Dunk's Ferry. General Grant had warned General Donop and Colonel Rahl that Washington was likely to try such a move, but they rejected Grant's suspicion. Washington recrossed the river afterward, but then returned and occupied Trenton on 29 Dec.
- 27 Dec 1776: Congress issued a grant of nearly dictatorial powers to Washington for six months, authorizing him: a) to raise 16 battalions of infantry, 3 regiments of artillery, 3,000 light cavalry and engineering corps; b) to appoint all officers up to and including full colonel; c) to seize private property as necessary to conduct the war, with compensation to the owners; and d) to arrest anyone who refused to accept the Continental currency, or

demonstrated sympathy with the British. However, these offenses were to be tried in civil courts.

28 Dec 1776: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency), having been authorized 2 Nov 1776.

28 Dec 1776: Franklin received assurances from the French foreign minister Vergennes that American privateers would be sheltered in French ports.

1777

1 Jan 1777: Their enlistments had run out, but the American militia chose to remain in the field; Washington, Stark, and other officers pledged their own fortunes to pay them. On 1 Jan 1777, Robert Morris went house to house in Philadelphia borrowing money from whomever he could; he raised \$50,000 and sent it to General Washington.

1 Jan 1777: The Continental dollar was valued at SM\$0.80.

3 Jan 1777: Battle of Princeton, NJ: Americans under Generals Washington and Mercer evaded Cornwallis at Trenton, and advanced to Princeton, where they defeated British forces under Colonel Mawhood. The British retreated toward New Brunswick and Trenton, while the American main force moved to Morristown, as General Putnam came in from Philadelphia to occupy Princeton. Mercer was killed in action.

5 Jan 1777: Americans under General G. Clinton forced the British to evacuate Hackensack, NJ, and took possession of the town. Meanwhile, some Hessians were defeated at Springfield, NJ, by local militia.

7 Jan 1777: Americans under General Maxwell defeated the British at Elizabethtown, NJ, and occupied Newark, NJ.

13 Jan 1777: Franklin and his associates had requested direct military aid from the king of France on 5 Jan 1777, including provision of eight warships. On the 13th, the king replied that he would not be able to provide military supplies directly because of treaty obligations with Great Britain, but did agree to secretly provide financing to the Americans. Louis XVI agreed to loan the Americans 500,000 *livres* (SM\$97,000) quarterly, with the first installment to be issued 16 Jan 1777. France also advanced 1,000,000 *livres* (SM\$194,000) on a consignment of tobacco. American privateers were

allowed to be outfitted in French ports to prey on the British. The French were not yet ready to commit troops, especially since King Louis XVI was somewhat sympathetic to King George III; French society was occupied with popular government and there was considerable agitation against the monarchy in France.

14 Jan 1777: Congress imitated the example set in the 25 Dec 1776 convention at Providence, RI and adopted a resolution asking the other states to: a) abolish state issues of paper money, and b) give Congress sole authority to issue currency.

14 Jan 1777: The depreciation of the Continental currency had advanced so far that Congress issued a resolution asking all the states to pass legislation that would make the Continental legal tender for all debts, and secondly, that any refusal to accept them would nullify the debt. Congress itself declared that anyone who failed to receive them at par was a public enemy, and his goods were liable to forfeit. The Continental at this time had depreciated to about 2:1 in some places. The states were obligated to redeem the Continental in proportion to their respective populations, so most of the states complied with this resolution.

15 Jan 1777: The people of several counties in the territory disputed by New York and New Hampshire declared independence from both states, and set up a new state which they called “New Connecticut” (changed to “Vermont” on 8 Jul 1777). New Hampshire recognized its independence early on. The secession led to a low-level civil war in this area between forces from New York and the settlers in the region, which earned some New York men the enmity of members of Congress from the New England states. The New Connecticut legislature petitioned Congress to be recognized as one of the states in the war against Britain. However, the New York delegation succeeded in pre-empting a vote, and it was not recognized as a state until after the war. The constitution of New Connecticut prohibited slavery.

20 Jan 1777: British now controlled only Brunswick, Amboy, and Paulus Hook (Jersey City) in New Jersey.

25 Jan 1777: General Washington issued a proclamation in which he declared that anyone who had accepted an amnesty offered by the British had two

choices: either move to places held by the British for protection, or come forward and take an oath of allegiance to the United States. Many in New Jersey came forward and took the oath, after having had their property destroyed by the British and Hessians.

5 Feb 1777: Georgia ratified a new constitution and established a new government.

19 Feb 1777: Congress promoted five from Brigadier General to Major General: Alexander, Mifflin, St. Clair, Stephen, and Lincoln, passing over Arnold. Washington talked Arnold out of resigning, since he had proven to be one of his best generals. Congress passed over Arnold because two men from Connecticut already held the rank of Major General, and it was thought unfair to promote Arnold.

26 Feb 1777: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).

30 Mar 1777: The American General Charles Lee had been confined in New York since his capture the previous December. Since he was a former Lieutenant Colonel in the British army, he was liable to be executed for treason. However, General Washington sent a note to General W. Howe that he was in possession of five Hessian officers, and offered to trade them for Lee if and when the time arose. Howe did not have authority to make that decision, so some delay was incurred obtaining permission from the king. Meanwhile, Lee, in an attempt to show himself useful to the British and save himself if Washington's offer was refused, wrote out a detailed plan by which the British could win the war, which he provided to Howe on 30 Mar 1777. Lee's plan was to take Philadelphia with the main army, and send another contingent to take Annapolis and Alexandria. By doing so, Howe could then enlist the aid of a large number of loyalists in Pennsylvania and Maryland, paralyze the actions of Congress at Philadelphia, and separate New England from the southern states. Lee's plan had several flaws regarding the value of Philadelphia, but Howe decided to pursue it.

20 Apr 1777: New York, last of the thirteen, established a new constitution and government.

27 Apr 1777: Battle of Ridgefield, CT: A British force under Tryon, former royal governor of North Carolina, destroyed American supplies at Danbury, CT on

26 Apr 1777 and burned most of the town. American militia under General Wooster responded, but Wooster was killed. General Arnold, who was nearby visiting his children, took command of the militia, and defeated the British at Ridgefield, CT, forcing them to retreat by sea. Arnold afterward received a promotion to Major General for this action.

20 May 1777: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).

Summer 1777: The British began execution of their complicated plan to take central New York, and thus cut the American territory in two. The plan was that General Howe was to advance to Albany via the Hudson from New York. He was to be met there by an army from Canada commanded by General Burgoyne, which was to travel from Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga, take it, and then sail down the Hudson to Albany. Burgoyne's command also included Generals Phillips, Fraser, and Riedesel. A third force under Colonel St. Leger was to start on the St. Lawrence, march to Oswego, then come down the Mohawk Valley and take Fort Stanwix. St. Leger was to be aided by Sir John Johnson and his Indian force. During this time, Canada would be secured by Carleton's army in Quebec. This complex plan was made worse because Howe decided to take (American) General Lee's advice and attack Philadelphia first, then advance up to Albany.

Jun 1777: The Continental dollar was valued at SM\$0.40.

12–30 Jun 1777: In Jun 1777, General Howe attempted to pass through New Jersey to attack Philadelphia, but was outmaneuvered by Washington, who kept a step ahead of the British, and always occupied strong locations. There was a skirmish between Morgan and Cornwallis at Piscataway on 22 Jun, and the British defeated Alexander at Machoutin on 24 Jun 1777, but there were no large scale battles. Howe was unwilling to take a risk on an open battle, so he took his army back to Staten Island at the end of June. This delay would turn out to be costly for the British in the wilderness up north. Howe spent the next few weeks sailing his men around New York, trying to confuse the Americans as to what his real destination was. Some thought he would go to Philadelphia, some to Boston, some to Charleston, but all on the American side agreed that he should proceed to assist Burgoyne by

going up the Hudson. However, Howe's real objective was to take the long way around and attack Philadelphia.

4–7 Jul 1777: Battle of Hubbardton, NY: British under General Phillips seized Mount Defiance, which overlooked Fort Ticonderoga. With the high ground, bombarding Fort Ticonderoga would be an easy victory, but American General St. Clair evacuated the fort on 5 Jul 1777 and retreated toward the Green Mountains. The British under Fraser pursued them, and caught up to the Americans at Hubbardton on 7 Jul; Fraser was defeated by militia under Colonels Warner and Francis. St. Clair was able to continue the retreat to Fort Edward, where he joined with General Schuyler. Schuyler received the blame for the defeat, mostly out of hostility on the part of New England men in Congress. The failure to secure Mount Defiance was actually due to St. Clair, and to General Gates, who had commanded Ticonderoga on and off between the fall of 1776 and Jun 1777.

10 Jul 1777: William Barton, Lieutenant Colonel of the Rhode Island militia, made a daring raid and kidnapped General Prescott, commander of the British in Rhode Island, from his headquarters near Newport. Prescott was quickly transported to Providence, and was later exchanged for General C. Lee.

30 Jul 1777: Burgoyne reached Fort Edward, only to find that the Americans under General Schuyler had evacuated over the Hudson to Stillwater. The British occupied Fort Edward.

1 Aug 1777: The Continental Congress issued \$1,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).

1–4 Aug 1777: General Schuyler was relieved of command of the northern department on 1 Aug 1777. He was replaced on 4 Aug by General Gates. This was a very bad decision on the part of Congress, as Gates' only talent was to take credit for other people's efforts. Schuyler was replaced mostly because he was hated by the New Englanders, and Congress was afraid that an insufficient number of men would re-enlist if he continued in command.

6 Aug 1777: Battle of Oriskany, NY: The British force commanded by Colonel St. Leger arrived at Fort Stanwix early in the month. The commander of the American-held fort, Colonel Peter Gansevoort, rejected St. Leger's demand to surrender. A local militia of Tryon County, commanded by General

Nicholas Herkimer, attempted to aid Gansevoort by mounting a rear attack against St. Leger. At the same time, the personnel in the fort were to come out and attack St. Leger in front. Unfortunately, the arranged timing was poorly executed, and a British force, assisted by their Indian allies under John Johnson, trapped Herkimer's militia in a ravine two miles west of Oriskany, NY, about six miles east of Fort Stanwix. The British and Indians were forced to retreat after a fierce battle, although the Americans were unable to pursue them. The Americans retreated back to Oriskany. Afterward, a sortie from the fort under Colonel Willett defeated Johnson, and the British retreated back over the Mohawk River. This turned out to be a nominal victory for the Americans, but did not affect St. Leger's general plan, as he was still able to lay siege to Fort Stanwix.

15 Aug 1777: The Continental Congress issued \$1,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).

16 Aug 1777: Battle of Bennington, NY: Hessians under Lieutenant Colonel Baum (of Burgoyne's army) advanced to Bennington, New York (now Vermont) to seize American stores; he was defeated there by American militia under General Stark, Ethan Allen (civilian), and Colonel Seth Warner. A relieving force under Breymann was defeated the same day by militia under Warner and Stark. Nearly all of Baum's force was killed or captured, but a small remnant escaped back to Fort Edward.

22 Aug 1777: Retreat of St. Leger from Fort Stanwix, NY. General Arnold had volunteered on 1 Aug 1777 to lead an expedition to relieve the siege of Fort Stanwix by the British under St. Leger. He did so through a brilliant deception, after a difficult advance to German Flats, about 20 miles from Fort Stanwix. Having caught several loyalist spies and sentenced them to death, he chose one of them, a slightly crazy man named Yan Yost Cuyler to spread panic in the British camp. His fidelity to the mission was secured by holding his brother hostage. Cuyler went through the forest, making contact with St. Leger's scouts, and passed the word that Burgoyne had been defeated, and that a large American force was advancing to Fort Stanwix. On the evening of 21 Aug, Cuyler came running into the British camp with fake bullet holes in his coat, claiming he had just narrowly escaped the Americans. Because Cuyler was a known loyalist and spy, the British believed him, and

this caused a panic. The Indian allies deserted St. Leger, and spent the night getting drunk. The next day, the British main force abandoned the siege of Fort Stanwix. As they were leaving, the Americans at the fort made another sortie, and pursued the British for a short distance. But St. Leger's former Indian allies pursued him all the way to Oswego.

25 Aug–8 Sep 1777: Howe finally managed to arrive by sea at Elkton, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, to attack Philadelphia on 25 Aug 1777. He advanced to Kennett Square by early September. Meanwhile, Washington had determined Howe's objective, and deployed his forces at Brandywine Creek.

11 Sep 1777: Battle of Brandywine Creek, PA: The British under General Howe, General Agnew, General Knyphausen, and Lord Cornwallis defeated Americans under Washington, Sullivan, Greene, Wayne, Stephen, and Armstrong at Brandywine Creek, southwest of Philadelphia. The British capitalized on their numerical superiority and training; Cornwallis executed a flawless maneuver on the Lancaster Road; Sullivan failed to ford the creek to cut off Howe and Cornwallis, and the Americans suffered from poor intelligence on British actions. Washington's objective was to detain Howe as long as possible so that he would not be able to aid Burgoyne. By delaying tactics and maneuvers, he managed to prevent Howe from occupying Philadelphia for two weeks.

18 Sep 1777: Congress fled from Philadelphia to Lancaster after the loss at Brandywine Creek.

19 Sep 1777: First Battle at Freeman's Farm, NY: British General Burgoyne, after the retreat of St. Leger and the defeat of Baum, did not have any good options. The American militia was now infesting the area making a retreat to Ticonderoga dangerous, and he risked being cut off entirely if he went to Albany. Believing General Howe was still coming up the Hudson, he decided to engage the Americans directly to buy time for the rendezvous with Howe; failing that, a retreat to Canada. On 13 Sep 1777, Burgoyne, Fraser, Phillips, and Riedesel crossed the Hudson River from Bennington to Schuylerville and proceeded to Bemis Heights. They were intercepted at Freeman's farm, just north of Bemis Heights, by Generals Arnold, Morgan, and Lincoln, after General Gates (in command) reluctantly allowed them to leave their fortified position. This battle was a draw, but Gates took credit for

a victory. In reality, it could have been a decisive victory for the Americans if Gates had provided reinforcements to Arnold when requested.

26 Sep 1777: The British under Lord Cornwallis (part of Howe's army) occupied Philadelphia unopposed.

4 Oct 1777: Battle of Germantown, PA. Americans under Washington, Greene, Sullivan, Maxwell, Wayne, Conway, McDougal, Stephen, and Smallwood attacked the British at Germantown, Pennsylvania, intending to force the British to surrender their entire army if cornered against the Schuylkill River. The British were commanded by Lord Cornwallis, General Knyphausen, General Grant, Sir Charles Grey, and Colonel Musgrave. The Americans were defeated, mostly through the ineptness or drunkenness of Stephen, who had attacked Wayne in the fog, mistaking his troops for the British. Greene also arrived too late.

7 Oct 1777: Second Battle at Freeman's Farm, NY: On 21 Sep 1777, American General Lincoln began an assault on Fort Ticonderoga, and sent his main army down toward Bemis Heights to engage Burgoyne's main army. By this time, the Americans (mostly militia) numbered about 16,000, three times the size of Burgoyne's army. Since General H. Clinton had not arrived with reinforcements, Burgoyne elected to try to escape, which led to the second battle at Freeman's Farm on 7 Oct 1777. The British army, commanded by Generals Burgoyne, Fraser, Philips, Riedesel, Ackland, Colonel Breymann, and Lord Balcarras, were defeated by the Americans under Generals Arnold, Greene, and Morgan. Arnold was wounded in the action; Breymann and Fraser were both killed. The British then retreated to Saratoga, with Gates in pursuit. The retreating British were surrounded south of Fort Edward, but manage to stave off the Americans temporarily.

17 Oct 1777: General H. Clinton was unable to reinforce Burgoyne, who was now surrounded at Saratoga, so Burgoyne entered into negotiations with General Gates on terms of surrender. The terms were concluded on 17 Oct 1777. They included four provisions: a) British were to exit their camp under full honors and pile their weapons in a field; b) the British were to march to Boston and sail for Europe, never to return to America for the duration of the war; c) officers were to keep their private arms; and d) there would be no searches of private luggage. In all, the British surrendered 5,791 men, six of

whom were members of Parliament. The surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga is now regarded as the turning point of the war in favor of the Americans; but it was not perceived that way at the time.

22 Oct 1777: A force of Hessians under General Donop was defeated at their attempt to take Fort Mercer (Red Bank) on the Delaware River, commanded by American colonel Christopher Greene.

7 Nov 1777: The Continental Congress issued \$1,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).

15 Nov 1777: The Continental Congress agreed upon the terms of the Articles of Confederation, and sent a letter on 17 Nov to the state legislatures for review, and asking them to instruct their Congressional delegates to ratify it if they found it acceptable.

16 Nov 1777: British took Fort Mercer (Red Bank) on the Delaware River.

16 Nov 1777: British under both Howe's took Fort Mifflin (Mud Island) on the Delaware River, commanded by Major Simeon Thayer and Major Fleury. The British then controlled the entire river leading into Philadelphia.

22 Nov 1777: Congress issued a recommendation that the states raise \$5,000,000, apportioned according to population, to be paid in quarterly installments starting 1 Jan 1778 to pay the expenses for 1778.

3 Dec 1777: The Continental Congress issued \$1,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).

17 Dec 1777: Louis XVI of France decided to recognize America as independent states. He ordered negotiations for treaties to begin with the American envoys.

17 Dec 1777: Washington moved his army to winter at Valley Forge, arriving there on the 19th. There was great suffering among the troops, and their movements could be traced by following their bloody footprints in the snow. Most of the needs went unfulfilled owing to an inefficient requisition and supply system, run by incompetents appointed by Congress. There was a general lack of food, and the men had to build huts in the forest for shelter. However, the army became well-trained during this period, owing to the training under the German Major General Baron von Steuben, who arrived in camp 23 Feb 1778.

He had been encouraged to come to train the American army by the French.

22–23 Dec 1777: Washington was unable to make a move against General Howe because of a shortage of supplies in the army; two of his brigades bordered

on mutiny because they had not received rations for three days. On 23 Dec, Washington reported he had 8,200 men fit for duty and 2,898 unfit for duty because of lack of shoes or clothing. Washington also responded to the undermining of his command by Gates, Conway, and Mifflin.

31 Dec 1777: The Continental dollar was valued at about SM\$0.25.

1778

Jan 1778: Congress attempted to borrow \$10,000,000, but found it had no credit.

Jan 1778: Louis XVI of France promised a loan of 3,000,000 *livres* (SM\$582,000), with an equal amount to be secretly loaned by Spain.

3 Jan 1778: Burgoyne's army had marched from Saratoga to Boston in preparation for the evacuation back to England per the terms of his surrender. General Howe proposed that they leave from Newport, but Washington refused to allow any deviation from the surrender. Congress used Howe's request to falsely accuse Howe of attempting to divert the British troops to New York, to be re-employed in the war. Congress heard that Burgoyne had protested an order to list the names of all his men, and concluded that Burgoyne was accusing the Americans of bad faith. On 3 Jan 1778, Congress directed that the departure of the British was to be delayed until a British delegation ratified the terms of surrender. Burgoyne's troops were marched from Boston to Charlottesville, Virginia in the fall of 1778, where most of them remained until 1780, when they were transferred to Winchester, VA, then to Frederick, MD, and finally to Lancaster, PA. Eventually those who wished to go back to Europe did so, but most of the Germans settled in America after the war. Burgoyne himself returned to England in the spring of 1778, where he took his seat in Parliament and ironically defended the American cause. Overall, the action by Congress regarding the disposition of Burgoyne's army was without excuse; it was Congress who demonstrated bad faith.

8 Jan 1778: Congress issued \$1,000,000 in Continental currency.

22 Jan 1778: Congress issued \$2,000,000 in Continental currency.

6 Feb 1778: Treaties of alliance and commerce were concluded between the American states and France. For its part, France agreed: a) to recognize the independence of the American states from Great Britain; and b) to provide military support. The Americans agreed: a) not to ratify a peace treaty

with Great Britain unless recognition of independence was included; and b) to conclude peace with Great Britain only if France was a party to the treaty. Both nations extended most-favored trading rights to the other. The Americans recognized French rights to fish along the Newfoundland coast. France also promised to use its influence with the Barbary principalities of the Mediterranean. A secret provision invited Spain into the treaty. The treaty was not entirely popular in America, since the people of New England were irritated by an association with a Catholic power. Meanwhile, the British ministry through their spies found out about the treaty less than two days after it was signed, but kept it secret.

16 Feb 1778: Congress issued \$2,000,000 in Continental currency.

17 Feb–11 Mar 1778: British Prime Minister Lord North introduced a bill on 17 Feb designed to achieve reconciliation with the Americans. It would: a) repeal the Tea Act; b) repeal the Regulating Act of 20 May 1774 that changed the charter of Massachusetts; c) eliminate Parliament's power to raise revenue in America; and d) appoint commissioners to order a truce, grant pardons, and negotiate a peace settlement. The commissioners would also have the power to suspend any act of Parliament active in America since 1763 and to issue amnesty for all political offenses. It was everything Samuel Adams had demanded four years earlier; but it was now far too late, especially after the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga. It was initially poorly received in Parliament, but passed in Commons on 17 Feb, later in the House of Lords, and was signed by King George III on 11 Mar. It became known as the Reconciliation Act.

19 Feb 1778: Captain James Willing and a group of about 100 American regulars captured Natchez on the Mississippi River, evicting the British who had been instigating the Indians to attack the settlements in western Georgia and South Carolina.

26 Feb 1778: Congress authorized a draft to obtain soldiers; but it was imposed at the state level as militia, with terms of enlistment to be 9 months. The states were to provide in total 79 battalions, apportioned according to state population. This system worked well enough to maintain the army, albeit at levels below what General Washington desired. In Rhode Island, enlisted slaves were emancipated, and their masters compensated.

- 13 Mar 1778: The French envoy to England announced the treaties between America and France that had been concluded in Feb 1778. Parliament declared war against France.
- 19 Mar 1778: The legislature of South Carolina approved a new constitution, which was to go into effect 29 Nov 1778. It required everyone above the age of 16 to take an oath against the King of England, or be exiled.
- Apr 1778: Congress permitted checks to be drawn for SM\$6,000,000 (31,500,000 *livres*) on accounts in France; Franklin was informed that he would have to find the money in France to make good on the notes.
- 4 Apr 1778: Congress issued \$1,000,000 in Continental currency.
- 11 Apr 1778: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency). The total amount in circulation at this time was about \$55,500,000, and had depreciated to 6:1.
- 18 Apr 1778: Congress issued \$500,000 in Continental currency.
- 22 Apr 1778: Congress rejected the Reconciliation Act, issuing a resolution that said in part, that it would “hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the states.”
- May 1778: The news of the alliance with France became public, and the Continental dollar appreciated from 6:1 to 4:1.
- 4 May 1778: Congress ratified the treaties with France.
- 15 May 1778: Congress agreed to give officers who serve to the end of the war half-pay for seven years, and common soldiers to receive \$80.
- 22 May 1778: Congress issued \$5,000,000 in Continental currency.
- 24 May 1778: Sir William Howe resigned as commander of the British forces, and was replaced by Sir Henry Clinton.
- Jun 1778: The Continental dollar was valued at SM\$0.25.
- 6 Jun 1778–3 Oct 1778: Commissioners from Great Britain attempted to promote the virtues and benefits of the Reconciliation Act passed by Parliament, but were unsuccessful. One of the objectives of the Reconciliation Act was to allow events to develop such that the North ministry could plausibly convince the English people back home of the necessity of continuing the war. On the other hand, there was growing sentiment among the members

of Parliament that the states could not be brought under Great Britain by force. Congress would agree to nothing until independence was first acknowledged by the British. General Clinton was under orders, that if the Reconciliation Act were not accepted by the Americans, to adopt the following strategy: a) retain New York and Rhode Island; b) destroy the coastal towns of Virginia by naval bombardment; c) destroy all the ports north of New York to Nova Scotia; d) support the Indians in their marauding and massacres in the west; and e) occupy the western territories to prevent the states from expanding westward.

17 Jun 1778: Congress rejected the Reconciliation Act for a second time.

18 Jun 1778: The British had found that Philadelphia was of little military value, and evacuated it on 18 Jun 1778 along with a large number of loyalists. An American garrison returned the next day, commanded by Arnold.

20 Jun 1778: Congress issued \$5,000,000 in Continental currency.

26 Jun–30 Jul 1778: A large group of backwoodsmen from western Virginia (referred to at this time as the county of Kentucky), led by George Rodgers Clark, William Harrod, Leonard Helm, Joseph Bowman, and John Montgomery, began a campaign to secure the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from the British and their Indian allies. They seized Kaskaskia on 4 Jul, Cahokia later in the month, and obtained the allegiance of the people at Vincennes. They then sent out notices to the Indians that they intended to conquer the entire territory. The British were led by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton of the Detroit territory, who was able to take Vincennes.

28 Jun 1778: Battle of Monmouth, NJ: The Americans, commanded by Washington, C. Lee, Wayne, von Steuben, Greene, Alexander, Morgan, Maxwell, and Lafayette fought to a draw against the British force commanded by H. Clinton, Knyphausen, and Cornwallis. It was in this battle that C. Lee disobeyed Washington's order to attack; instead he ordered a retreat, which put Wayne's and Lafayette's forces in danger. Many of Lee's men got bogged down in the swamp until Washington rallied them personally. Lee was court-martialed for his action, and sentenced to a suspension from service for one year. The battle turned out to be a moral victory for the Americans, as 2,000 Hessians deserted the British in the following weeks. It was in this battle that 700 black men fought on the side of the Americans.

- 3–4 Jul 1778: Massacre at Wyoming Valley, PA: Several British officers (Sir William Johnson, his son Walter Johnson, Colonel John Butler, and his son Walter Butler), had organized the Indian tribes of western and central New York (Iroquois, Mohawk, and the Six Nations except the Oniedas and Tuscaroras) to fight on the British side. They mostly engaged in pillaging the frontier. On this occasion Colonel John Butler, Johnson, and a band of Senecas attacked the Wyoming Valley along the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. The Indians and loyalists massacred nearly everyone in the valley.
- 9 Jul 1778: Eight states (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina) ratified the Articles of Confederation.

Congress was the only instrument of the federation. It was to convene on the first Monday in November and continue for a period not longer than six months. When it adjourned, the government was maintained by an executive committee consisting of one delegate from each state. Congress elected a President, who was only the nominal leader of Congress, and had the same powers as any other delegate. Congress published a monthly journal of its proceedings.

Each state was allowed to send between two and seven delegates, but since it was a confederation of states, each state had a single vote. The delegates were paid by their respective states, not out of a federal treasury. Instead of administrative departments, the various functions were allocated to committees. This proved to be inefficient, and later on some functions were allocated to individuals in the interest of expediency.

Congress was granted the following powers: a) to borrow money; b) to appropriate requisitions of money, men, and equipment from each of the states, but could not raise revenue on its own; c) to resolve issues between the states; d) to enact treaties with foreign powers; e) to establish an army and navy; and f) to issue a currency as an obligation to repay loans. One of the great defects of the Confederation was Congress' inability to raise revenue aside from requesting it from the states. The idea was that Congress would make requisitions from the states based on the proportional value of real estate in each state. The states were then free to raise the requisition by taxing their own citizens. Normally the states levied direct taxes and imposed duties

on both imports and exports, unless they contradicted any treaty provision made by Congress. But states often did not comply with the requisitions, and Congress was powerless to do anything about it. Also, states were allowed to coin money, issue bills of credit, and make their notes legal tender.

Concurrence of two-thirds of the states was required for any of the following actions: a) to engage in war; b) to make treaties; c) to coin money; d) to borrow or appropriate money; e) to assign quotas of revenue to the states; and f) to appoint commanders of the army.

Under the Articles, the states were required to grant every freeman the same rights and privileges. Every state was compelled to recognize the records and acts of every other state. The states were obligated to extradite persons found in their state who were wanted on criminal charges in another state. Otherwise, all the other powers were left to the states with the following prohibitions: a) a state could not maintain an army or a navy, except for the militia; b) a state could not enter into treaties with foreign nations; c) a state could not form alliances with any of the other states without the consent of Congress; and d) each state was prohibited from entering into any other wars except against the Indians.

The Articles could be amended only by concurrence of all member states.
20 Jul 1778: Washington placed the main army at White Plains, New York, while the British under H. Clinton occupied New York City. The two armies now occupied about the same positions as in 1776.

21 Jul 1778: North Carolina (9) ratified the Articles of Confederation (by delegates to the Continental Congress).

24 Jul 1778: Georgia (10) ratified the Articles of Confederation (by delegates to the Continental Congress).

29 Jul–15 Aug 1778: Failed attempt to take Newport, RI: A force of American regulars under Greene, Lafayette, and Sullivan, aided by Massachusetts militia under Hancock and a French naval force under d’Estaing, failed to take Newport, Rhode Island. The land assault was not well-coordinated. A British fleet arrived on the 30th, and both fleets went to sea for a naval battle, but the battle was precluded by a particularly bad storm. In late August, the French fleet sailed for Boston to be refit.

30 Jul 1778: Congress issued \$5,000,000 in Continental currency.

- 29 Aug 1778: Battle of Butts Hill, RI: The Americans under Sullivan had taken up a strong position on Butts Hill (also called Honyman's Hill), Rhode Island; an assault by the British under Pigot failed. However, with British reinforcements on the way, and the American militia already gone, the Americans evacuated and the siege was abandoned.
- 5 Sep 1778: Congress issued \$5,000,000 in Continental currency.
- 5–6 Sep 1778: The British burned the towns of New Bedford and Fair Haven, CT.
- 10–14 Sep 1778: The British pillaged Martha's Vineyard.
- 25 Sep 1778: Congress replaced General Robert Howe with General Benjamin Lincoln as commander of the southern department. He arrived in Charleston in December.
- 26 Sep 1778: The Continental Congress issued \$10,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency).
- 3 Oct 1778: The British commissioners departed for Great Britain, frustrated that the Americans had rejected the Reconciliation Act. They published a "farewell" address, in which they outlined the new British policy, which was to destroy as much of the country as possible in an effort to wear down the desire for independence. But many in Parliament disavowed and denounced the proclamation, including Burke, Rockingham, and Coke. At about the same time, the ministry decided that the focus of the war should be changed to the southern states.
- Nov 1778: A series of skirmishes and protracted guerilla war was fought in southern Georgia and northern Florida (still held by the British). On several occasions, British under General Augustine Prevost ruined plantations in Georgia and kidnapped slaves, which were later re-sold in Europe.
- 4 Nov 1778: The Continental Congress issued \$10,000,100 in bills of credit (paper currency).
- 10 Nov 1778: Massacre at Cherry Valley, NY: Walter Butler and his Indian allies conducted a massacre at the small village of Cherry Valley, New York.
- 26 Nov 1778: New Jersey (11) ratified the Articles of Confederation (by delegates to the Continental Congress).
- Dec 1778: Americans tried to call out the militia of South Carolina, but they did not appear because they were afraid that their slaves would stage a revolt in their absence. Relations between masters and slaves were not as good as they

were elsewhere, and the whites constantly had to suppress minor rebellions and capture and return fugitive slaves.

14 Dec 1778: The Continental Congress issued \$10,000,100 in bills of credit (paper currency).

15 Dec 1778: Maryland's legislature directed its delegates to Congress not to ratify the Articles of Confederation unless all the states ceded their land claims west of the Appalachians to Congress. This was a very wise move on the part of Maryland, because it brought the problem of conflicting land claims by the states into the forefront. At this time, New York claimed all the land north of the Ohio River up to the Miami River, based on the colonial charter and the influence of New York over the Indian tribes in those areas. But Virginia claimed all the land to Lake Superior, based on old colonial charters and the conquests made in Lord Dunmore's war of 1774. Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed all the land at their respective latitudes extending to the Pacific Ocean based on its earliest charters. The Maryland legislature realized early on that these would have to be settled sooner or later, and making the Confederacy dependent on it was a useful expedient to force the issue.

29 Dec 1778: A British force under Colonel Campbell defeated the Americans under General Robert Howe at Savannah; the British took Savannah and all the supplies stored there, but was evacuated by the British a month later.

31 Dec 1778: The Continental dollar was judged to be worth SM\$0.16 in the northern states and SM\$0.12 in the south. The expenses for 1778 were about \$62,166,000 in paper currency and about \$84,000 in hard money.

1779

5 Jan 1779: The Continental Congress issued a requisition to the states for SM\$15,000,000 for 1779. None of it would ever be paid.

9 Jan 1779: British under General Prevost invaded Georgia from Florida and captured Sudbury. The British proceeded to pillage the countryside.

14 Jan 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$50,000,400 in bills of credit (paper currency). The total issue of Continentals to this point amounted to about \$130,000,000.

14 Jan 1779: The French had negotiated an agreement by which one of the articles of the 6 Feb 1778 treaty was clarified in spite of the French treaty with Spain;

namely, that neither France nor the American states would conclude peace with Great Britain without consent of the other party. Congress ratified it based on a report by Jay and Samuel Adams on 14 Jan 1779.

3 Feb 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,160 in bills of credit (paper currency), and authorized that SM\$20,000,000 be borrowed from loan offices on the credit of the United States.

3 Feb 1779: The British under General Prevost attacked Port Royal, but were defeated by American militia under General Moultrie.

14 Feb 1779: Battle of Kettle Creek, GA: A loyalist militia under Boyd was defeated outside of Kettle Creek, GA by militia under Colonel Pickens.

19 Feb 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,160 in bills of credit (paper currency).

24 Feb 1779: Colonel Clark and the Virginians trapped British Lieutenant Governor Hamilton at Vincennes and forced him to surrender. This was followed by the capture of supply boats from Detroit. This ended the war in the northwest, securing to Virginia all the territory as far west as present-day St. Louis, including territory that would eventually become Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.

3 Mar 1779: Battle of Briar Creek, GA: American militia under General Ashe was defeated by the British under Colonel Campbell. The British were later able to maintain their hold on Augusta, and re-established the royal government in Georgia.

Apr 1779: The Continental dollar was valued at about SM\$0.05.

Apr 1779: Backwoodsmen from North Carolina and Virginia attacked the Cherokees in the southwest, ending the attacks upon settlements.

1 Apr 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,160 in bills of credit (paper currency).

12 Apr 1779: France and Spain signed a treaty of mutual assistance against Great Britain: a) France was to invade either Ireland or England; b) if Newfoundland were taken from Great Britain, it was to be shared between France and Spain; c) France was to aid Spain in recovering Minorca, Pensacola, Mobile, and Honduras; and d) neither would accept a truce or peace with Great Britain until Gibraltar was recovered for Spain. There were two underlying motives for this alliance. First, each obtained aid against

their mutual enemy. The second objective was to retard the westward expansion by the Americans by controlling the Mississippi, on the south by Spain, and in the north by France. France was not obligated under its treaty with America to recognize the American claims to the Ohio Valley. This agreement implicitly altered the treaty between America and France: since America was not obligated to continue the war against Great Britain over Gibraltar, America was free to enact a separate peace with Great Britain without France.

28 Apr–11 May 1779: British under General Prevost waged a war of total destruction throughout Georgia as the army advanced from Savannah to Charleston SC. He routinely invaded the plantation homes and carried off everything of value, while burning crops and killing livestock. The British also carried off many of the slaves. He also had some Cherokee allies, who scalped many of the victims. There was a famine in the area, and about 1,000 slaves died of starvation. The British did not attack Charleston, since the locals of Charleston aided by militia under Rutledge and Moultrie had fortified the neck, but did establish a garrison at Beaufort, SC.

5 May 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$10,000,100 in bills of credit (paper currency).

5 May 1779: Delaware (12) ratified the Articles of Confederation (by delegates to the Continental Congress).

10 May 1779: The British under General Matthew pillaged the towns of Portsmouth and Norfolk, VA and burned nearly every house in Suffolk County.

19 May 1779: Congress requisitioned \$45,000,000 from the states; none of it would ever be paid.

31 May–2 Jun 1779: The British captured the fort at Stony Point, NY on 31 May and Verplanck's Point surrendered on 2 Jun 1779. These two controlled King's Ferry, and the Americans could now communicate between New York and New Jersey only by way of the mountains.

Jun 1779: The Continental dollar was valued at SM\$0.05.

4 Jun 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$10,000,100 in bills of credit (paper currency).

15 Jun 1779: France granted a loan of SM\$3,000,000 to Congress, to be repaid with interest after the war.

- 16 Jun 1779: Spain declared war on England, but was done independently of any consideration for the Americans. Spain did not recognize the independence of the American states, and did not enter into any type of alliance. The Spanish had numerous reasons of their own to attack Great Britain: a) revenge for losses suffered in the Seven Years War; b) to prevent the spread of the Protestant religion; and c) attempt to regain Gibraltar or Minorca. But the Spanish also hated the American states for revolting against Great Britain, afraid that her colonies in the Western hemisphere might try to imitate the Americans.
- 21 Jun 1779: King George III gathered the prominent men of Parliament in a private meeting, and explained that he intended to continue the war against the Americans. This was his way of controlling the debate in Parliament, where many of the members were inclined to recognize American independence, owing to the cost of the war and the lack of success prosecuting it.
- 5–11 Jul 1779: British under General Tryon pillaged and burned part of New Haven, CT on 5 Jul, then burned Fairfield and Green Farms on the 7th and 8th, and Norwalk on 11 Jul 1779. The Hessians were allowed to plunder anything they could.
- 16 Jul 1779: Americans under Wayne attacked Stony Point, NY with two simultaneous bayonet charges under Fleury and Stewart, defeated the British garrison, and re-occupied the fort. But it was not regarded as worth defending, and the Americans destroyed and evacuated it on the 19th.
- 17 Jul 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$10,000,000 in bills of credit (paper currency), and an additional \$5,000,180 in Continental paper dollars.
- 18 Aug 1779: Americans under Major Henry Lee made a daring raid and captured a British fort at Paulus Hook (now Jersey City, NJ).
- 29 Aug 1779: Battle of Newtown, NY: An American force under Generals Sullivan and James Clinton had advanced up the Susquehanna and Mohawk Rivers to find and destroy the Indians who had been conducting raids on the frontier, and especially in revenge for the massacres at Cherry Valley and Wyoming Valley. The Americans caught up to the Indians under both Butlers and Sir John Johnson at Newtown (now Elmira, New York), and defeated them. Afterward, the Americans destroyed 40 villages and fields belonging

to the Seneca and Cayuga tribes; many of them later died of exposure and hunger during the very cold winter of 1779–1780. For the next two years, the towns of central New York were preyed upon by the Indians; some counties were nearly decimated by the constant Indian attacks.

3 Sep 1779: Congress calculated that the outstanding issues of Continentals amounted to \$159,948,880. It passed a resolution limiting the amount in circulation at any one time to be \$200,000,000.

17 Sep 1779: Congress issued \$5,000,180 in Continental paper dollars and an additional \$10,000,080 in bills of credit (paper currency).

21 Sep 1779: The Spanish under Governor Galvez forced the British at Baton Rouge to surrender the fort.

Oct 1779: The British evacuated Newport, RI; they did not have enough forces in the north to keep both Newport and New York. Washington, meanwhile, did not have enough forces to do much except monitor Clinton's army at New York City. The two northern armies settled into a stalemate while the focus of the war now shifted to the southern states.

Oct 1779: Congress appointed Henry Laurens to go to the Netherlands and obtain a loan of SM\$10,000,000. Laurens would not be successful.

7 Oct 1779: Congress asked the states once again to pay the SM\$15,000,000 requisitioned on 5 Jan 1779. None of it would ever be paid.

9 Oct 1779: Battle of Savannah, GA: An American force under General Lincoln and Count Pulaski, assisted by a French naval force under d'Estaing failed to recapture Savannah from the British. The French fleet returned to the West Indies. Lincoln moved his army to Charleston while the militiamen went home. The British sold all the captured slaves into slavery again in the West Indies. Also, the British and their Indian allies continued to rob and pillage anything they could find in Georgia and South Carolina, including turning people out into the wilderness after burning their homes.

14 Oct 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,180 in Continental paper dollars.

17 Nov 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$5,000,040 in bills of credit (paper currency), and an additional \$5,050,500 in Continental paper dollars.

Nov 1779: Congress authorized a draft of SM\$10,000,000 on account of Henry Laurens, although he had not secured a loan from the Netherlands. They also

authorized a draft for the same amount on account from Spain, although John Jay had been unsuccessful in obtaining a loan there.

29 Nov 1779: The Continental Congress issued \$10,000,140 in bills of credit (paper currency). This completed the \$200,000,000 target for bills of credit.

Dec 1779: Congress was unable to obtain any money. There was so much depreciated paper currency in circulation that no one would loan hard money in return for a promise to repay in paper. The large issues of paper Continentals had ruined both commerce and the nation's credit. Congress had tried many methods to sustain the value of the paper, including the legal tender acts and price controls, but in the end the people simply lost confidence in the promises of Congress.

26 Dec 1779: A large British force under General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis left New York by sea to capitalize on the recent successes in the south. The British remaining at New York were commanded by Knyphausen. Washington accordingly sent some of his forces south to reinforce General Lincoln, and was therefore still too weak to attack New York. But the British fleet encountered several storms, some of which carried the ships to England. The British finally arrived in Georgia at the end of January 1780.

1780

Jan 1780: The Continental dollar was valued at between SM\$0.02 and 0.03 at this time.

Jan 1780 ff: From this point on, there was a large influx of hard money into the states. There were three main sources of the coin: a) English procurement of supplies for men and ships; b) French payments for its men and ships (totaling about SM\$3,000,000); and c) loans from other foreign nations.

9 Feb 1780: Congress passed a resolution authorizing 35,211 men for the army, to be obtained by requisitions from the states. It also directed the states to forward money to pay and supply the army at SM\$1,250,000 in hard money every month, or in paper currency at 40:1. All old paper currency brought in was to be destroyed and new currency was to be issued at a ratio of 1 new for every 20 old. Congress was now deferring everything to the states, having insufficient means to do for itself.

- 26 Feb–12 May 1780: British forces under General Clinton began the siege of Charleston, SC, on 26 Feb 1780. General Lincoln should have evacuated it as soon as the superior British force arrived, but decided to fight it out. By early May the British had surrounded Charleston, and were able to sail past Fort Moultrie without resistance.
- 29 Feb 1780: Pennsylvania passed a law that children of slaves were to be free; this was a means to gradually abolish slavery.
- 8 Mar–25 Apr 1780: Russia issued a declaration of neutrality on the seas on 8 Mar 1780, in which neutral ships were to enjoy free navigation to and from all ports; the only contraband were arms and ammunition. This was directed at England and Spain, whose navies had been attacking ships of all powers in the Atlantic, especially those of the Netherlands. Russian policy then dictated that all of its merchant ships would be escorted by warships. Spain agreed with this approach on 18 Apr, and France joined on 25 Apr. This agreement became known as the Armed Neutrality Treaty. To the British, this indicated that the other nations intended to reduce British supremacy on the seas, and Parliament resolved to attack ships from any nations that supported it.
- 18 Mar 1780: The Continental Congress issued a report acknowledging that the Continental currency and bills of credit had depreciated to 1/40th (0.025) of their face value, and urged the states to pay the \$15,000,000 requisitioned on 5 Jan 1779, which had been repeated on 7 Oct 1779.
- 10 Apr 1780: The army had not been paid for about 5 months. Congress issued a resolution assuring the army that it would be paid in full, but in fact did not have the resources to do so. The men did not believe the promise anyway.
- 14 Apr 1780: British under Colonel Tarleton defeated American cavalry at Cooper River, SC, which cut off Charleston from the north.
- 19 Apr 1780: The legislature of New York authorized Congress to determine the western boundaries of New York, which would supersede the original grants from Charles II. This is the first in a series of territorial questions that the states allowed to be settled by Congress, which greatly aided the union.
- 12 May 1780: Surrender of Charleston, SC: General Lincoln, American commander at Charleston, surrendered to the British. The British had surrounded

the city and controlled the outlying districts, and fighting a battle here was useless to the Americans. All of the American regulars became prisoners of war, but members of the militia were allowed to leave and return home on good behavior. The British confiscated everything of value in the city.

22 May 1780: British General H. Clinton issued a proclamation requiring every person in South Carolina to declare for or against the British; those who did not take an oath of allegiance were to be treated as traitors. Many people were inclined to accept neutrality, but would not go over to the British. This order had the effect of starting many small skirmishes and gang warfare on both sides. Clinton then sailed back to New York, having transferred to Lord Cornwallis command of British forces in the south. Cornwallis was able to raise some loyalist militia. Meanwhile, he persecuted many who refused to take an oath of loyalty to the king.

29 May 1780: Battle of Waxhaws, SC. British under General Tarleton defeated Americans under Colonel Buford at Waxhaws, SC. Some of the Americans escaped, but about 250 were massacred after they surrendered. There was now no regular American force left in South Carolina.

Jun 1780: The Continental dollar was valued at between SM\$0.01 and 0.02 at this time.

Jun 1780: Maryland issued 30,000 pounds (SM\$79,800) in paper currency (bills of credit), and required it to be regarded as legal tender.

Jun–Oct 1780: The Americans waged a guerrilla war in South Carolina, led by James Williams, Thomas Sumter, Andrew Pickens, and Francis Marion. They commanded very small forces, but were skilled backwoodsmen, maintained excellent secrecy of their operations, and were successful at making raids on the British patrols whenever they could.

Jun 1780–Jun 1782: The British under Tarleton waged a reign of terror in the Carolinas, believing that ruining the south would bring the Americans back into the empire. There were random killings, burning of homes and farms, turning women and children out, etc. The actions were far worse in the rural areas, where local British agents could do as they pleased without supervision by Cornwallis. Many of the prisoners taken at Charleston were put on prison ships and either died from disease or were impressed into the British navy. This continued for two years.

- 1 Jun 1780: Washington's army consisted of 3,760 men who were fit for duty, but Congress was unable to raise enough money to pay them or provide adequate rations.
- 6–7 Jun 1780: Battle of Elizabethtown, NJ: Three divisions of British troops under Knyphausen, Robertson, Tryon, Stachenberg, and Matthews advanced from New York City to attack the Americans at Morristown. They were defeated by regulars under General Maxwell and militia under Colonel Dayton at Elizabethtown and along the road to Connecticut Farms. Regulars under Washington repelled the British attack on Springfield. There were members of Congress with Washington's army, and he explained to them the difficulty of maintaining the war by relying on militia.
- 13 Jun 1780: Congress appointed General Gates as commander over the forces in the south, over the objections of Washington, who wanted Greene instead. Gates had been in retirement on his plantation in Virginia; he arrived 19 Jul 1780 at Hillsborough, NC to take command.
- 19 Jun 1780: General Clinton had arrived back in New York on 17 Jun. Although his force outnumbered Washington's army by four to one, he declined to attack, contenting himself with a few minor skirmishes at Elizabeth Point and Springfield, after which the British burned Springfield. Clinton thought it an inopportune time to attack the Americans, and situated his army on Staten Island.
- 8 Jul 1780: Denmark joined the Armed Neutrality Alliance.
- 10 Jul 1780: The first contingent of a French army arrived in Newport, RI, in a fleet commanded by Admiral Ternay, with 6,000 men under Count Rochambeau, Duke de Lauzon-Biron, and Marquis de Chastellux. The French put themselves under Washington's command, and American officers of rank equal to the French took precedence. French ground forces were well-trained and well-commanded, and were exactly what the American cause needed at this point in the war. A second contingent was scheduled to arrive later, but was blockaded by the British navy in Brest, France.
- 11 Jul 1780: Congress fixed the redemption schedule of Continental currency and bills of credit at 40 to 1. Its reckoned value was about 65 to 1 at this time.
- 12 Jul 1780: American militia under General Sumter defeated a British force under Captain Huck at Cross Roads, SC.

21 Jul 1780: Sweden joined the Armed Neutrality Alliance.

30 Jul 1780: Americans under Sumter failed to take Rocky Mount, NC.

6 Aug 1780: Americans under Sumter attacked and defeated the British at Hanging Rock, NC.

15 Aug 1780: Americans under General Sumter attacked a British supply convoy along a road leading to Charleston, SC, capturing all the provisions and 100 prisoners.

16 Aug 1780: Battle of Camden, SC: The British under Lord Cornwallis, Lord Rawdon, General Tarleton, and Colonel Webster, defeated the Americans under Generals Gates, Kalb, Stevens, Caswell, Gist, Gregory, and Colonel Porterfield at Camden, SC. The Americans, mostly raw militia, were routed, and lost nearly all of their supplies. It was the culmination of several errors by Gates, including: a) taking a shorter but more dangerous road from Hillsborough (in which the men suffered from hunger on the march), b) incorrect application of intelligence on the British activities, c) needless delays in attacking the British when opportunities arose; and d) sending his most experienced troops under Sumter to fight a skirmish between Camden and Charleston. Porterfield and Kalb were both killed in action; Gates fled back to Hillsborough. This was the worst defeat of the war for the Americans. With the American army virtually destroyed in the south, this victory made an attack on North Carolina attractive to the British.

18 Aug 1780: British under General Tarleton defeated Americans under General Sumter at Fishing Creek, SC, and freed all the British prisoners Sumter had taken on the 15th.

18–20 Aug 1780: American raiders under Colonel Williams defeated British and loyalists at Musgrove's Mills, SC on 18 Aug. Another group of raiders under Marion defeated a British contingent at Nelson's Ferry on 20 Aug. But these relatively minor battles only showed that there was some resistance left in South Carolina; after the defeat of Gates at Camden, the British controlled the entire state.

3 Sep 1780: An English ship captured an American ship off Newfoundland. Upon searching it, the English discovered Henry Laurens, who had been President of Congress from 1 Nov 1777 to 9 Dec 1778. Laurens' papers showed that he had been involved in negotiations between the United States

and Holland. This caused a major diplomatic incident between England and Holland; England demanded a declaration from Holland that the negotiations were not aimed at assisting the Americans, which Holland refused to give. The respective ambassadors were recalled.

22–25 Sep 1780: Discovery of General Arnold's treason: Arnold had been unfairly charged with abuse of authority as commander in Philadelphia, and had gotten into many arguments with Congress. He was acquitted of the serious charges brought in Jan 1779 by Congress, but others were referred to a court martial on 3 Apr 1779. The Council of Pennsylvania delayed the court martial by asking for more time to gather evidence against Arnold. The court martial finally began on 19 Dec 1779 and delivered its verdict on 26 Jan 1780, convicting him of two minor charges for which Washington was required to reprimand him. Arnold had also married into a family of loyalists in Philadelphia, and was accused of associating with the enemy. He gave lavish parties, which irritated the people of Philadelphia, and incurred enormous debts. Arnold was probably being paid by General H. Clinton, and providing the British with intelligence since early 1779. Whether he was influenced by the loyalists, or whether he actually came to believe that the American cause was lost is unknown, but he did want revenge against Congress. He accordingly decided to go over to the British in a big way: by securing a command of an important location, and handing it with all the men over to the British. In Jul 1780, he obtained the command of West Point, NY from his friend Washington. Meanwhile he secretly conspired with Major Andre, assistant to Clinton, to give the fort to the British at a time when Washington was expected to be nearby. The idea was that Clinton would have a large enough force close at hand to defeat and capture Washington if he attempted to regain West Point. The plot was discovered when Andre was captured on his way back to New York by three patriots named John Paulding, David Williams, and Issac van Wart who kept watch on the road. They discovered papers in his stockings, realized he was a spy and handed him over to the American garrison at North Castle. Andre was allowed to inform Arnold of his capture. Arnold fled West Point on the 25th when he received Andre's letter. Fortunately, Hamilton was in Arnold's house at the time of Arnold's escape, and Lafayette, Washington, and Knox were nearby,

returning from a visit to Hartford to meet Rochambeau for the first time. The actual transfer to the British was never accomplished. Andre was hanged as a spy; Arnold became a Brigadier General in the British army.

28 Sep 1780: American militia under Marion defeated British and loyalist militia at Black Mingo, SC.

Oct 1780: Connecticut ceded all its claims to western lands to Congress, except it reserved some land on the southern shore of Lake Erie. This was eventually worked out in 1786.

Oct 1780: Connecticut issued regulations distinguishing between contracts payable in specie vs. those payable in paper currency, and established equitable rules for depreciation of the paper currency. Disputes were to be handled by the courts of equity. These provisions maintained equity between debtors and creditors, and prevented the problems experienced in other states regarding the enforcement of contracts. Connecticut also returned to a coin system in 1780, which avoided the rampant inflation experienced elsewhere.

5 Oct 1780: Congress adopted “armed neutrality” as a maritime code. It was later referenced in treaties with Prussia, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

5 Oct 1780: With the defeats in the south because of Gates’ incompetence, Congress finally got out of the way and deferred to Washington regarding Gates’ successor; Washington chose Greene on 14 Oct, whom he had wanted all along. Greene took command at Charlotte, NC on 2 Dec 1780.

7 Oct 1780: Battle of King’s Mountain, SC: A British force under Major Patrick Ferguson was attacked and defeated at King’s Mountain, SC by a collection of militia groups from North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, commanded by William Campbell, James Williams, Benjamin Cleveland, Charles MacDowell, Isaac Shelby, and John Sevier. Ferguson’s entire force was either killed or captured. Ferguson and Williams were killed in battle. Ferguson’s main mission had been to travel through the back country and assemble an army of loyalists, which were to join Cornwallis’ main army at Charlotte, NC. The militiamen all went back home after the battle, which gave Cornwallis enough time to concentrate his army at Winnsboro, SC. Meanwhile, this victory inspired the patriots of North Carolina to organize, while suppressing the desire of the loyalists.

- 10 Oct 1780: Congress agreed to a method of establishing new states out of the Northwest Territories (Ohio Valley) if those lands were to be ceded by the states currently claiming them. The provisions of this resolution were: a) territory was to be divided into several republican states to be admitted into the Confederacy; b) new states shall have the same rights of freedom, independence, and sovereignty; c) each state shall be not less than 100 miles or more than 150 miles square; and d) each state shall be reimbursed for any expenses incurred fighting the British.
- 21 Oct 1780: In order to stabilize the command structure of the army, Congress passed a resolution promising officers half-pay for life. However, Congress did not actually have the money to pay them. There was great concern that many of the officers would leave.
- 25 Oct 1780: A new constitution for Massachusetts went into effect, which included a prohibition on slavery.
- Nov 1780: As the British under Cornwallis retreated from Charlotte, NC to Winnsborough, SC; Gates' army moved in from Hillsborough and occupied Charlotte. Gates was joined by reinforcements under General Morgan.
- 4 Nov 1780: Congress requisitioned SM\$6,000,000 in silver from the states. None of it would ever be paid.
- 9 Nov 1780: Americans under General Sumter defeated a British force under Major Wemyss at Fishdam, SC.
- 20 Nov 1780: Battle of Blackstock Hill, SC: American militia under Sumter defeated the British under General Tarleton at Blackstock Hill, SC.
- 10 Dec 1780: Holland joined the Armed Neutrality Alliance. This was the last stage in a European alliance against Great Britain, which had the effect of diverting resources away from the war against the Americans.
- 14 Dec 1780: England declared war on Holland in revenge for Holland's joining the Armed Neutrality Alliance and the incident involving Henry Laurens gave the British the immediate excuse they were looking for. War against Holland was a matter of convenience, since Holland was wealthy, but weak militarily. Although Holland had been Great Britain's ally for a century, the British simply took advantage of the fact that Holland's carrying trade was easy prey.

30 Dec 1780: American militia under Colonels W. Washington and McCall attacked and defeated loyalists at Fair Forest, GA.

31 Dec 1780: The Continental dollar was valued at about SM\$0.01.

1781

1–7 Jan 1781: About 1,300 troops stationed at Morristown, NJ under General Wayne mutinied, and marched to Princeton to protest the poor provisions, lack of clothing, and lack of pay. They demanded to be discharged on the grounds they had served their three years under their contracts. President Reed of Pennsylvania went to their camp on 7 Jan 1781, and made a proposition that was immediately accepted: a) those that had served for three years were to be discharged; b) the men would be provided with proper clothing; and c) the men were issued certificates for back pay. This ended the mutiny.

2 Jan 1781: Virginia ceded its claims to western lands to Congress on the condition that Virginia could keep what is now Kentucky. This requirement was later dropped in 1786.

5–6 Jan 1781: British under General Benedict Arnold (now fighting for the British) burned Richmond, VA.

17 Jan 1781: Battle of The Cowpens, SC: American regulars under General Morgan and militia under Colonels Pickens, Washington, and Howard defeated the British under General Tarleton at The Cowpens, SC (about 16 miles from Spartanburg, and about 5 miles from the state line with North Carolina). Nearly the entire British force was killed or captured.

20 Jan 1781: Some soldiers staged a mutiny at Pompton, NJ, and intended to march on Philadelphia. But Washington sent a force down to suppress the men, which was ended without violence, although two of the mutiny leaders were executed.

30 Jan 1781: Maryland authorized its delegates to the Continental Congress to ratify the Articles of Confederation because the other states except Massachusetts (whose claim was weak) had fulfilled the demand of ceding land in the west to Congress.

3 Feb 1781: Congress passed a resolution urging the states to grant Congress a power to impose a 5% duty on all imports from foreign countries except: a) arms and ammunition; b) clothing; c) items imported by the United States

or any of them; d) wool and cotton cards; and e) salt. The revenue was to be used to discharge the debts contracted in the prosecution of the war. No immediate action was taken by the states.

3 Feb 1781: A British fleet took the Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies without firing a shot, as the Dutch were not aware of a state of war. The British confiscated everything on the island, including the private property of British citizens. But the British continued to fly the Dutch flag as a ruse, and in the next few months, 50 American ships were seized and confiscated. The unjustified British war against Holland caused all the other powers in Europe to oppose Britain.

1 Mar 1781: Maryland (13) became the final state to ratify the Articles of Confederation.

2 Mar 1781: Congress convened under the powers of the Articles of Confederation.

15 Mar 1781: Battle of Guilford, NC: British under Lord Cornwallis defeated a combined force of regulars and militia under General Greene and Colonels Campbell, Lee, Lawson, Butler, Eaton, and Washington. General Morgan had resigned on 9 Feb due to rheumatism and fever. But the British had gone too far from their supply lines and could not remain in north-central North Carolina; Cornwallis accordingly retreated a few days later to Wilmington, NC in order to be resupplied by sea. Cornwallis soon realized that North Carolina was lost, and decided to advance into Virginia.

Apr 1781: Henry Laurens arrived at Versailles to ask for a loan of 25,000,000 *livres*; he was supported by letters previously sent by Rochambeau, Lafayette, and Franklin. The king of France agreed to a gift of 6,000,000 *livres* (SM\$1,164,000), a loan of 14,000,000 *livres* (SM\$2,716,000) from France, and also agreed to guarantee a future loan of 10,000,000 *livres* (SM\$1,940,000) from Holland.

23 Apr 1781: Surrender of Fort Watson, SC: An American force under H. Lee and Marion cut down trees in a pine forest, and dragged the timber to a spot in front of Fort Watson, SC; the British in the fort surrendered since they had no cannon to fight with. This was an important event, as Fort Watson lay on the communications line between Camden and Charleston, SC.

25 Apr 1781: Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, SC: The British under Lord Rawdon defeated the Americans under General Greene at Hobkirk's Hill, SC, just

north of Camden. Greene retreated to Clermont. However, with the loss of Fort Watson, Rawdon realized Camden was too isolated to hold.

- 1 May 1781: General Washington assessed the situation: a) the army only had small provisions, which were scattered throughout the states; b) the arsenals were poorly provided, and the workmen were about to leave; c) there was no money to pay for equipment or transportation; d) the states had supplied less than one-eighth of their requisition in men; and e) there was no hope of an offensive campaign without aid from France, especially a navy that could counteract Britain's command of the sea lanes.
- 7 May 1781: Prussia joined the Armed Neutrality Alliance.
- 9 May 1781: The Spanish army conquered Pensacola, Florida, stripping the British of their last stronghold in Florida.
- 10–15 May 1781: With supply lines cut off, the British realized they could not hold Camden, SC, so they burned it and evacuated it on 10 May. The British garrison on Orangeburg surrendered 11 May; Fort Motte surrendered 12 May; the British gave up Nelson's ferry on 14 May, and surrendered Fort Granby on 15 May.
- 14 May 1781: Robert Morris was appointed superintendent of finance. It was the genius of Morris that allowed the Americans to continue the war after the collapse of the Continental currency.
- 22 May 1781: Americans under Greene failed to take Ninety-Six, SC.
- 31 May 1781: The Continental currency was abolished as circulating money. It was exchanged at between 200:1 and 500:1 relative to silver (Continental dollar equal to between SM\$0.002 and 0.005).
- 5 Jun 1781: Surrender of Augusta, GA: British surrendered Augusta to Americans under H. Lee.
- 29 Jun 1781: The British abandoned Ninety-Six, SC; this was the last inland post occupied by the British. It was made necessary by the loss of all the other inland posts, since the British were too far from the sea to keep a force at Ninety-Six.
- 6 Jul 1781: Battle of Green Springs, VA: British under Cornwallis and Tarleton defeated an American force under Lafayette, Wayne, and von Steuben at Green Spring, VA. It was the culmination of a series of marches and counter-moves by both armies. The British ruined many plantations in the

area, plundering as they pleased, and carried off slaves to be re-sold in the West Indies. Lafayette did not have sufficient resources to attack Cornwallis directly, and Cornwallis was unable to attack any significant points in the interior of the state. Afterward, Cornwallis moved his army to Yorktown, and Lafayette moved his to Malvern Hill.

- 13 Jul 1781: Robert Morris appealed to John Jay, ambassador at Madrid, to try to get a loan from Spain in order to fund a national bank. But Jay was unable to obtain a loan, given the poor credit standing of the United States.
- 14 Aug 1781: Washington, still at White Plains, had been considering whether to attack the British at New York or assist Greene in the south. He received news on 14 Aug that Cornwallis, confident that the British would continue to have unfettered control of the seacoast, had deployed his army on the peninsula at Yorktown, VA. At the same time, he received news from French Admiral de Grasse that the French fleet had left the West Indies and was available for action in the north, but only until Oct 1781. Washington then decided to capitalize on the availability of the French fleet to block Cornwallis' escape by sea while trapping him with a large enough force to prevent him from fighting his way off the peninsula. To do so meant he would have to march most of his army from New York to Virginia.
- 19 Aug–21 Sep 1781: Washington left General Alexander and General Heath with small garrisons at Saratoga and West Point, respectively, while his main army, now combined with Rochambeau's French army from Rhode Island, marched from New York to Virginia. They crossed the Hudson River on 23 and 24 Aug. General Clinton was expecting to be attacked at New York, so Washington arranged his movements to be consistent with Clinton's expectation. Although the Hessian Colonel Wurmb continued to warn Clinton that Washington was moving south, Clinton did not accept that possibility until 2 Sep. Washington's force consisted of 2,000 American regulars, and Rochambeau's army consisted of 4,000 French troops. Meanwhile, the French fleet under de Grasse arrived outside of Yorktown on 31 Aug.
- 5–7 Sep 1781: A British fleet under Sir Samuel Hood and Admiral Graves (19 ships, about 2,500 men) and a French fleet under de Grasse (28 ships, about 4,000 men) fought a naval battle at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. The engagement itself was indecisive. After a few days of maneuvering, the British

fleet sailed to New York, and the French sailed to the York River between Yorktown and Gloucester and landed 3,000 troops under Marquis de Saint-Simon. Lafayette and de Saint-Simon occupied Williamsburg, VA on 7 Sep, cutting off Cornwallis' ability to retreat into North Carolina. Cornwallis delayed attacking Lafayette, who was still camped at Malvern Hill.

6 Sep 1781: General H. Clinton had received intelligence on the American movements that revealed Washington's plan. He decided to launch a counterstrike in the north to bait the Americans to return north. On 6 Sep 1781, British under General Arnold attacked and captured Fort Griswold, CT, and then massacred nearly the entire American garrison. New London, CT was then burned to the ground.

8 Sep 1781: Battle of Eutaw Springs, SC: The British under Colonel Stewart (who had succeeded Lord Rawdon) defeated Americans under Greene, Sumter, Marion, Pickens, Campbell, Williams, and H. Lee at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina. Although the British retained control of the battlefield, they were compelled to retreat to Charleston Neck, South Carolina. It turned out to be a strategic victory for the Americans.

18–26 Sep 1781: Washington and Rochambeau arrived with the army from the north at Williamsburg, VA. Their forces combined with Lafayette and de Saint-Simon amounted to 16,000 men, and had Cornwallis trapped at Yorktown.

6–19 Oct 1781: Battle of Yorktown, VA. Lord Cornwallis with 7,000 men was positioned at Yorktown, and was attacked by the Americans under Washington, von Steuben, Lincoln, and Colonel Hamilton, along with the French army under de Viomenil, Rochambeau, and Lafayette. The American force consisted of about 3,500 militia and 5,500 regular army; the French army consisted of about 7,000 men. Meanwhile, the French fleet of 36 ships under de Grasse blockaded the harbor to preclude Cornwallis from escaping by sea. Cornwallis surrendered on 19 Oct 1781. This victory by the Americans ended the war for practical purposes. The British regulars became prisoners of war, and the Americans allowed Cornwallis to send American loyalists in his army on a ship to New York, without having to give any details about them. Afterward, Washington took his army back to New York, Wayne aided Greene in the south, and the French fleet sailed to the West Indies.

23 Oct 1781: General H. Clinton arrived by sea at the mouth of the Chesapeake from New York with 35 ships and 7,000 men, but he discovered he was too late. The war was over, except for a few minor skirmishes.

30 Oct 1781: Congress issued its first requisition under the Confederation from the states for an amount of SM\$8,000,000. By the end of 1783, only SM\$1,486,511 will be paid²; by the end of 1785, a total of SM\$1,600,000 would be paid.

Winter 1781–Spring 1782: American forces under General Wayne defeated the remaining British forces in Georgia and forced them to evacuate the state, except for the city of Savannah.

Nov 1781: Virginia passed a law abolishing its paper currency: a) it proclaimed that Virginia's paper currency was no longer legal tender for debts, but was accepted for taxes; b) it stated that paper currency became redeemable at loan offices at a ratio of 1,000 to 1; and c) it returned to coinage system. By this means, Virginia succeeded in taking the paper out of circulation, and relied on coinage afterward. Virginia had issued the most paper currency of any state during the Revolution.

25 Nov 1781: The news of Cornwallis' surrender reached London. It was now only a matter of time before Lord North's government would fall. Several English statesmen, including the Duke of Richmond, Charles Fox, and William Pitt Jr. were happy about the defeat, having always believed that Britain's policy was unjustified. King George III was not ready to give up yet; he replaced Clinton with Sir Guy Carleton, and instructed him to do what he could to retain Georgia, Charleston, SC, and New York City.

31 Dec 1781: Congress established the Bank of North America, chartered with SM\$400,000 in capital.

1782

1 Jan 1782: The expected expenses of the nation for 1782 totaled SM\$9,000,000 but only SM\$422,000 would be collected from the states; Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Delaware made no contributions at all. From Jan–May 1782, only SM\$20,000 was collected.

7 Jan 1782: The Bank of North America began operations in Philadelphia with SM\$70,000 in hard money from individuals, and SM\$254,000 from

Congress, using money left over from a foreign loan. The bank played no part in the prosecution of the war since hostilities had ceased, but it did facilitate commerce.

Feb 1782: South Carolina repealed its legal tender law on its paper currency.

27 Feb 1782: The British House of Commons passed a resolution declaring that the war in America was over, and informed King George III that Parliament would regard anyone who advised him to continue the war as an enemy of Great Britain.

12 Apr 1782: A British fleet under Admiral Rodney defeated the French fleet under de Grasse near Sainte-Marie-Galante, an island in the French West Indies. The French naval influence in the western hemisphere was eliminated, and Britain maintained control of the ocean in the Caribbean. The British, now confident of having regained control of the seas, became more comfortable about settling a peace treaty with the Americans.

19 Apr 1782: The Netherlands recognized the independence of the United States.

5 May 1782: Sir Guy Carleton succeeded General Henry Clinton as commander of British forces in America.

22 May 1782: Congress' inability to pay the Army had reached a critical stage. The officers who were promised half-pay for life in 1780 still had not received anything. Many of the officers openly doubted that they would ever be paid, especially since the promise had been made before the Articles had been ratified by all the states, and there would likely be a challenge made to the payments. This was further aggravated by the fact that the general public opposed the payment provision.

Colonel Louis Nicola of Pennsylvania reasoned that these financial difficulties could be solved if the nation had a strong leader to inspire the people and put pressure on Congress to do its duty. Nicola was seeking a means to resolve the morale issues. He wrote a long letter dated 22 May 1782 to Washington in which he reviewed the difficulties of the soldiers, their hardships, lack of pay, etc., and laying out the case for monarchy, ostensibly on behalf of some officers (although to what extent is unknown), and implying support for Washington if he would assume a crown. His letter reads in part, "This war must have shown to all, but to military men in particular the weakness of republics.... Some people have so connected the ideas of

tyranny and monarchy as to find it very difficult to separate them, it may be therefore requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose, some title more moderate, but if all other things are once adjusted I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of king, which I conceive would be attended with some material advantage.”

Washington replied with a scathing rebuke. It is worth quoting in full, dated also 22 May 1782, from Newburgh³: “Sir: With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured Sir, no occurrence in the course of the war, has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the Army as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence, and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter, shall make a disclosure necessary.

“I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable; at the same time in justice to my own feelings I must add, that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the Army than I do, and as far as my powers and influence, in a constitutional way extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to affect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself, or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature. With esteem I am.”

Nicola wrote again three more times on 23, 24, and 28 May, apologizing for his original letter.

11 Jul 1782: Americans under General Wayne forced the British to surrender Savannah, GA. The regular British army marched to Charleston, SC while the loyalists fled to Florida.

16 Jul 1782: A contract was drawn up between the French government and America, negotiated by Benjamin Franklin, summarizing the loans that had been made or guaranteed by France to America, with a repayment schedule.

From the initial treaty in 1778, the king of France had loaned Congress a total of 18,000,000 *livres* (SM\$3,492,000) at 5 percent interest between 28 Feb 1778 and 5 Jul 1782: a) in 1778: 750,000 each on 28 Feb, 19 May, 3 Aug, and 1 Nov; b) in 1779: 250,000 each on 10 Jun, 16 Sep, 4 Oct, and 21 Dec; c) in 1780: 750,000 each on 29 Feb, 23 May, 21 Jun, and 5 Oct plus 1,000,000 on 27 Nov; d) in 1781: 750,000 each on 15 Feb, 15 May, 15 Aug, and 15 Nov with an additional loan of 1,000,000 on 1 Aug; e) in 1782: 1,500,000 each on 10 Apr and 1 Jul, plus another 3,000,000 on 5 Jul. The king of France had also guaranteed the 5,000,000 *florin* (10,000,000 *livre*) loan made by the Netherlands on 5 Nov 1781. It was ratified by Congress on 22 Jan 1783. The king of France also waived all interest due until the conclusion of the peace treaty with Great Britain⁴.

31 Jul 1782: Robert Morris provided to Congress his estimate of expenses for 1783 totaling SM\$9,000,000. He did not have any idea how to raise this much; he recommended borrowing SM\$4,000,000 and requisitioning SM\$5,000,000 from the states.

4 Sep 1782: Congress requisitioned SM\$1,200,000 from the states, but did not require it be paid directly to Congress. The states were to use the revenue to pay down interest in their own states.⁵

3 Oct 1782: Congress agreed on the terms it would demand in the peace with Great Britain: a) states would retain territory claimed; b) states would have full access to fisheries; c) states would have free navigation of the Mississippi River; and d) states would pay no compensation to loyalists who had fled with the British.

8 Oct 1782: John Adams negotiated a treaty of “amity and commerce” with the Netherlands; it was ratified in Congress on 23 Jan 1783.

16 Oct 1782: Congress requisitioned another SM\$2,000,000 from the states. None of this would ever be paid.⁶

30 Nov 1782: Preliminary articles of peace were signed in Paris between Britain and America. The British were anxious for a settlement of some kind, since a continuation of the war only aided the French and the Spanish against Britain. The existing treaty between France and America, however, stipulated that America and France could establish peace with Britain only by joint agreement (no separate peace). The terms of the preliminary articles

included: a) Britain would recognize the independence of the American states; b) there was agreement on fishing rights off Newfoundland; c) Britain would indemnify American loyalists for their losses during the war (estimated at 10,000,000 pounds sterling); d) Congress would recommend to the states to enact compensation to loyalists for losses incurred to their professions or businesses during the war; and e) no persecutions of loyalists and all current prosecutions to be terminated. Negotiations between France, Britain, and Spain began soon afterward, which resulted in the agreement of 20 Jan 1783.

30 Nov 1782: Rhode Island notified Congress that it had passed a resolution 1 Nov 1782 rejecting the system of import duties proposed by Congress on 3 Feb 1781. The state legislature cited three reasons for opposing it: a) an import duty as proposed would impose financial hardships on the commercial states; b) concern that the revenue officers would be persons unknown to and not answerable to officials of Rhode Island; and c) Congress would not be adequately accountable for how the revenue would be spent; i.e., Congress, having a funding source separate from the states, would be able to act independently of the states. Because the Articles of Confederation required unanimity for amendments, this refusal by Rhode Island doomed this attempt to give Congress power to raise money independently.

7 Dec 1782: Virginia withdrew its earlier consent to amend the Articles of Confederation in order to give Congress a power to impose import duties. The withdrawal resolution was led by Richard Henry Lee and others who were concerned that such an import duty would weaken the sovereignty of the individual states, and could be indirectly injurious to individuals. This action was indicative of the debate between those who favored a loose coalition of states and those who favored some sort of central union.

24 Dec 1782: French forces left Boston for the West Indies, except for one regiment that was to follow soon after. The French were greatly respected and admired in America for the invaluable aid they had provided during the Revolution.

28 Dec 1782: The state legislature in Virginia passed a resolution informing Congress that Virginia would pay only a fraction of the requisitions imposed on it for 1782.

30 Dec 1782: The special court established by Congress to resolve the Wyoming County dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut announced its verdict. It ruled that Wyoming County (along the Susquehanna River north of present-day Scranton, PA), although settled by people from Connecticut and claimed by Connecticut, should be transferred under the sovereignty of Pennsylvania. This was a sensible decision, since the territory in question was not contiguous with any other portion of Connecticut. The decision was accepted by both sides.

1783

6 Jan 1783–13 Jan 1783: Major General Macdougall, Colonel Brooks, and Colonel Ogden delivered an address to Congress, outlining the situation regarding the army in the field: a) the fact that the army had not been paid; and b) were owed compensation for out-of-pocket expenses; c) that many in the army were getting restless; and d) there was growing dissatisfaction about how Congress was treating them. Although the army had heard complaints from the people about the amount of taxes they were paying to their states, the army had not seen any of it from Congress. One of the recommendations in this address was to exchange the half-pay for life provision to full pay for a fixed number of years, or a lump sum.

A few days later, Robert Morris reported to Congress that there was no money in the treasury, and that he had in fact overdrawn 3,000,000 *livres* (\$M\$582,000) on his foreign accounts. He advised Congress that no promise of payment to the army could be made. He proposed that he be authorized to draw advances on expected loans from Holland and France, which Congress did in a secret resolution of 10 Jan 1783.

General Macdougall and the other two officers met with the finance committee on 13 Jan 1783, and impressed on the members that some payment was necessary, especially since it was well-known in the army that legislatures never adjourned without being paid, and that all the civil servants were being paid; it was manifestly unfair that only the military was forgotten. But Congress simply did not have the means to meet the need; it could only rely on delaying tactics.

14 Jan 1783: Congress began debate on the terms of the treaty with Great Britain. There were widespread objections to the provision calling for return of loyalist refugees and repayment of debts owed to loyalists. The people were strongly divided on the issue of how to deal with loyalists. One faction believed all loyalists should be banished from the thirteen states. Another faction was opposed to banishment but still wary of allowing any loyalists to gain influence in the governments. The provision regarding refugees was rightly regarded as an attempt by the British to tell Americans how to treat their own citizens. The resentment on the part of the patriots was fueled in part by atrocities committed by the Indians during the war as allies of the loyalists. This was especially true in New York and South Carolina. There was some fear that wealthy loyalists would gain control of the government and set up an aristocracy. Many people were resentful toward Congress for even considering a provision that would allow loyalists who had fled to return, or allow them to collect debts they were owed.

20 Jan 1783: Britain, France, Spain, and the U. S. signed the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, which, if ratified, would end the Revolutionary War. The terms regarding America were unchanged from 30 Nov 1782, and the terms between the European powers included: a) Great Britain retained Gibraltar (a concession by Spain); b) Netherlands agreed to an end to hostilities; c) France recovered St. Pierre and Miquelon in the West Indies; d) France received a share in Newfoundland fishing rights; e) Spain retained the island of Minorca; and f) Spain retained both Floridas. It was signed by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin on behalf of America.

Spain had recently incurred a large loss of blood and treasure suppressing the revolt in South America. The wisest in the Spanish government realized the long-term difficulty of maintaining its colonies in the Western Hemisphere, given what had just happened to Britain. The prospect of a unification of the thirteen states alarmed the Spanish, since such a nation could control all the territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, which was the main port of entry for Spanish commerce with the interior. Although Spain retained the Floridas, its long-term prospects for holding it would be reduced by any unification of the states.

24 Jan 1783: Robert Morris sent his letter of resignation, effective the end of May 1783, on the grounds that he would not be a part of injustice toward the nation's creditors, especially the army. By doing so, he attempted to coerce Congress into implementing some means to obtain the required revenues. He correctly pointed out that many members of Congress were reluctant to do what was necessary out of fear of reaction within their states. Congress could do nothing about the money issue. It was clear that if the nation's financial destitution became public, it could serve as a great encouragement to Great Britain to resume the war, may provoke revolts in the army, and could ruin what little foreign credit was available. The members of Congress initially resolved to keep Morris' letter of resignation secret. But Morris obtained permission at the end of February to release his letter, and it was published throughout the country in newspapers. However, he continued in office until Nov 1784.

5 Feb 1783: Congress passed a resolution in which officers received one month's pay in notes; private soldiers received one month's pay which was delivered in weekly installments of 50 cents each. The total for this one month's pay was SM\$256,232.86.

7 Feb–21 Feb 1783: Hamilton wrote to Washington, and Gouverneur Morris wrote to General Knox implying that the army might prove useful for forcing Congress to establish a necessary revenue source. Morris' letter to Knox has been lost, but was intended as a means to address Washington through Knox. Knox replied to Morris on 21 Feb 1783 with Washington's advice, which was that the army was not qualified to participate in political contests, and that the best course of action was for Congress to call a convention to establish a new constitution to address the deficiencies of the Confederation.

12 Feb 1783: Congress passed a resolution, based on a proposal from Madison and Hamilton, in which Congress should have the power to impose a poll tax and land tax. It was affirmed by all seven of the states present, but could not go into effect until all 13 agreed to amend the Articles of Confederation.

21 Feb 1783: Robert Morris had communicated in Dec 1782 to Benjamin Franklin, ambassador to France, the need for a loan from France for 20,000,000 *livres*. But King Louis XVI agreed only to 6,000,000 for 1783,

documented in a contract dated 21 Feb 1783. Franklin received the first 600,000 (SM\$116,400) immediately. The terms for repayment were ratified by Congress on 31 Oct 1783. But Vergennes, the French minister of foreign affairs, informed Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French minister in America, that Louis XVI was unwilling to make any further loans to America because of American inability to establish creditworthiness. Luzerne passed this onto his contacts in America.

Mar 1783: South Carolina published a table of depreciation such that debts denominated in the paper currency could be settled per their real value at the time of the contract.

Mar 1783: Greene had received G. Morris' suggestion that the army might be useful in prodding the states to provide revenue for Congress. Greene wrote a letter to Governor Guerard of South Carolina, implying the army may have to take action, stating in part, "the eyes of the army are turned upon the states, whose measures will determine their conduct." The reading of the letter in the legislature was interrupted by shouts of "No dictation by a Cromwell." To spite Greene, and to demonstrate that it would not be intimidated, the legislature revoked its previous concurrence with the 3 Feb 1781 resolution by Congress asking for power to impose a 5% import duty.

4 Mar 1783: Washington replied to Virginia Governor B. Harrison's letter of 31 Jan 1783. Harrison had asked Washington what his expectations for peace were. Washington's reply was that he did not have good sense of it, but addressed the issues of payment to the army and the inability of Congress to properly manage its affairs: a) asking Harrison what could have possessed Virginia to rescind its concurrence to the proposed import duties; b) rejecting Rhode Island's claim that Congress could not be trusted with revenues from it; and c) stressing that the powers of Congress must be expanded, otherwise the benefits of the Revolution will be lost as the states sink into anarchy.

Washington also wrote to Hamilton the same day expressing similar sentiments, warning him that a political dissolution of the army for lack of pay would probably lead to "civil commotions." He impressed upon Hamilton the just demands of the army for payment; that the army should stay out of the political debate; and that the limitations of the Confederation be placed before the states for their consideration.⁷

11–15 Mar 1783: The army was encamped at Newburgh, NY. General Gates had conspired for some time with Major John Armstrong and assistant adjutant-general Colonel Barber to hold a meeting of officers regarding payment. Their idea was to exploit the doubts among the army officers about getting their rightful pay. They also were attempting to capitalize on the fact that many of Congress' creditors were looking to the army to help resolve the issue of non-payment of debts by Congress. A circular, instigated by Gates, but authored anonymously by Armstrong, was circulated secretly among the officer corps by Barber, implying that Washington had not done enough to force Congress to meet its obligations. Washington obtained a copy of it early 11 Mar. He issued a general order prohibiting the gathering, but offered to meet with the interested parties on 15 Mar and listen to their complaints.

The meeting with Washington convened at Newburgh on the 15th. Washington read the anonymous tract to the entire assembly and issued his analysis of it. In doing so, he pointed out that he had been in the field for nearly all of the war; he was fully aware of their needs; but provoking Congress would not help matters. He expressed his confidence that Congress would make good on their promises if the army demonstrated due patience and allowed Congress to work out the political problems. He warned them not to do anything that would diminish the high esteem they currently enjoyed in the public mind by staging a revolt or taking sides in a political debate; the goal was to continue to show patriotism and virtue. This became known as the "Newburgh Address." The officers came over to Washington's point of view, and issued a resolution asking only that Washington appeal to Congress for relief, but making no other demands. General Gates then asked for a vote to "reject with disdain" the anonymous circular which he himself had helped perpetrate; the officers condemned it unanimously.

17 Mar 1783: The Trespass Act was passed in New York, the main purpose of which was to persecute loyalists living in New York. The law permitted anyone who had left their home in New York at any time during the war because of the presence of the British military to sue the present occupants as having trespassed on the property. The loyalist defendants were not allowed to claim that the change in possession was due to military causes. This law gave rise to a large number of lawsuits against loyalists, as nearly

every house in New York had changed hands at least once during the war. Plaintiffs were demanding exorbitant damages, which continued until several adverse rulings nullified it in 1784. The Trespass Act violated the traditional law of nations (in which property taken in war was retained by the taker so long as he remained in possession of it), and it also violated the peace treaty with Great Britain.

18 Mar 1783: General Washington wrote an appeal to the President of Congress and its members on behalf of the “Patriot Army.” In it he recounted the Newburgh circular, his address on it, and the favorable response he received from the officers; he reiterated the army’s long sufferings; he noted the obligation of Congress to treat the army justly; he reminded them of previous assurances given by Congress; and finally he urged Congress not to leave the army in want and destitution, as it would always be remembered as a sign of Congress’ ingratitude for services rendered by the army.⁸ He also recommended that men who had been promised half pay for life would be better served by full pay for a fixed number of years.

22 Mar 1783: Congress agreed to a resolution per General Washington’s suggestion on payment to the army. It modified the pay provision for soldiers from half-pay for life to full pay for five years at once, known as the commutation. The lump sum was to be paid by issuing certificates bearing 6% interest. This was a good bargain for the government, as it would reduce the total outlay, since most soldiers would likely live more than ten years. It would also benefit the soldiers, who, having left their farms and occupations, would find a lump sum handy in getting back on their feet. But the public was opposed to it, angry that such a large amount was to be paid at once, since their wages were small in comparison. The public had forgotten the sacrifices made by the army, and became occupied with their own problems.

23 Mar 1783: Congress received news that the preliminary articles of peace had been signed on 20 Jan 1783.

31 Mar 1783: General Washington wrote to Hamilton that there was a great need for a union, noting that the history of the war had proven that individual state actions could not be relied upon, that: a) the states were too preoccupied with their prejudices and jealousies; b) unless united, the 13 states would be manipulated individually by the European powers; and c) the

limitations upon Congress had prolonged the war and overall expenses, which in turn had caused morale problems in the army. He concluded with a recommendation that the Confederation be reformed.

Apr 1783: North Carolina issued 100,000 pounds (SM\$250,000) in bills of credit (paper currency).

3 Apr 1783: Benjamin Franklin concluded a treaty with Sweden. The king of Sweden had sent a message to Franklin in May 1782, expressing his desire for a treaty with America; he was the first European power to do so without being solicited by the Americans. The provisions of this treaty included: a) reciprocal most-favored nation status; b) free trade in goods, except for a small number of products that were prohibited; and c) unrestricted passage of persons. It contained an additional provision that if both the U. S. and Sweden were neutral in a state of maritime war, both nations would render mutual assistance and protection to each other's ships. It was ratified by Congress on 29 Jul 1783.

4 Apr 1783: General Washington wrote to Theodorick Bland, a member of the finance committee in Congress, advising him that: a) the army should not be disbanded before each member of the army was advised of the full amount due him; b) all the accounts should be settled with the army as a whole instead of along state lines; and c) informing him that there was a universal expectation in the army of one month's pay in hand, and an absolute assurance of two more months pay to follow soon thereafter.

8 Apr 1783: The Grand Committee of Congress issued its report on the financial condition of the nation: a) foreign debt amounted to SM\$7,885,085; b) domestic debt amounted to SM\$28,615,290; and c) interest due was SM\$2,362,320. The SM\$28,000,000 cited here did not include any funds for the commutation of 22 Mar 1783.

14 Apr 1783: Robert Morris advised Congress that the amount requested by Washington of three months pay for the army was greater than all the revenues received from the states going back to 1781. Congress could only issue paper, and it would be redeemable only if Congress could get a loan.

15 Apr 1783: Congress ratified the peace treaty with Great Britain. The treaty contained nine acknowledged articles plus a "separate" (secret) one. The articles were: 1) the king of Great Britain recognized the independence of the

thirteen states; 2) defined the northern and southern borders between Canada and the territories held by Spain in the west and south; 3) Americans were to have fishing rights off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, except for drying of fish; 4) both sides agreed not to impede creditors in seeking payment for debts; 5) Congress would recommend to the states that British subjects be compensated for property confiscated during the war; 6) no confiscations or persecutions on either side for actions committed during the war; 7) permanent peace, and return of prisoners on both sides; 8) free navigation of the Mississippi River for both British and Americans; and 9) territories conquered before ratifications are exchanged to be returned without compensation. The secret provision stated that if Great Britain were to recover or come into possession of West Florida, the northern boundary between West Florida and the United States shall be a line from the junction of the Yassous (Yazoo) and Mississippi Rivers east to where the Yassous joins the Apalachicola River (from present-day Vicksburg, MS to Columbus, GA).⁹ The secret provision would turn out to be the source of an important diplomatic issue between America and Spain.

18 Apr 1783: Congress passed a resolution to recommend to the states that Congress be given a power to levy duties for a period of 25 years on certain imported items in order to raise revenues to pay the debts of the war. The items on which duties were to be paid amounted to between 1.1% to 26.6% on rum and other liquors, wines, tea, pepper, sugar, molasses, cocoa, and coffee; in addition to a 5% duty on all other items. It was estimated at this time that the import duties would bring about SM\$1,000,000 annually to Congress. The resolution also recommended that a standing annual requisition of SM\$1,500,000 be apportioned to the various states according to population (New Hampshire: SM\$52,708; Massachusetts: SM\$224,427; Delaware: SM\$22,443; Maryland: SM\$141,517; Rhode Island: SM\$32,318; Virginia: SM\$256,487; Connecticut: SM\$132,091; North Carolina: SM\$109,006; New York: SM\$128,243; South Carolina: SM\$96,183; New Jersey: SM\$83,358; Georgia: SM\$16,030; and Pennsylvania: SM\$205,189). It was sent to the states on 26 Apr 1783 with an address by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and Oliver Ellsworth in which they outlined the need for revenue, as the current debt amounted to SM\$42,000,325 (including SM\$5,000,000 for

the commutation) with an annual interest due of SM\$2,415,956. Congress remained helpless in the meantime, since all thirteen states would have to ratify this amendment to the Articles before the revenue could be collected.

There had been considerable debate within Congress on how to count slaves for revenue purposes. The southern states, with large slave populations, made the argument that slaves were an economic burden, and should be counted as only half a person for revenue purposes. Madison and Rutledge proposed a compromise of counting slaves as three-fifths of a freeman for revenue purposes, which was acceptable to all. This provision had no effect on representation in Congress, since each state was represented equally.

19 Apr 1783: The Americans ended formal hostilities against the British. This date was chosen to coincide with the anniversary of the battles at Lexington and Concord in 1775; there had been no action in the war since the American victory in Georgia in 1782.

28 Apr 1783: Congress appointed a committee, led by Ellsworth, to study and make a recommendation on a resolution by New York's assembly of Jul 1782 to hold a general convention on revising the Articles of Confederation. The other members were Carroll, Duane, Gorham, Hamilton, Izard, McHenry, Peters, and Wilson.

6 May 1783: This date marks the culmination of a debate that had raged in British Parliament regarding commercial relations with America. Some members desired entirely free trade with America, but others wanted even greater restrictions to be imposed than had been enacted during the war. Adams and Franklin attempted to negotiate a treaty containing reciprocal terms, but Parliament refused to agree. Finally Parliament decided to repeal some restrictions imposed during the war, but otherwise transferred the power of regulating commerce with America to the king in council. The members of Parliament correctly regarded America as lacking a government competent to negotiate or to abide by any commercial treaty, knowing that Congress lacked the power to do so under the Articles of Confederation. Secondly, it was impractical for the British to attempt to negotiate commercial treaties with thirteen different states, so the British simply took the initiative and decided to allow the king to impose conditions unilaterally.

- 2 Jun 1783: The Continental Army received papers giving immediate furloughs, and which contained on the back a full discharge effective the day of a formal peace treaty with Great Britain. Congress was unable to meet its obligations for the three month's pay that General Washington asked for in Apr 1783. The soldiers received only paper notes, the same as all the other notes issued by Congress, payable in 6 months and bearing 6% interest; their cash value was estimated at 1:10. The soldiers of the Continental Army, who had defeated the British Empire and freed the states from the tyranny of colonialism, dispersed peacefully and went home with no money.
- 5 Jun 1783: Congress received the cession by Virginia of its claims to the Ohio Valley. The resolution directed that the lands be divided into districts of 2 degrees of latitude by 3 degrees of longitude and townships of 6 miles square. Other provisions included: a) when any district attained a population of 20,000 inhabitants, it was to be admitted to the Confederacy; b) soldiers who had served for 3 years were to receive lands plus 30 acres for every dollar owed them by Congress; and c) one-tenth of the land was to be reserved for forts, schools, and the navy.
- 8 Jun 1783: General Washington issued a circular letter to the governors of the 13 states, urging them to support a permanent central government that could adequately pay its debts, conduct foreign affairs, enforce its laws, organize the militia throughout the country, and do what was necessary to preserve peace and unity. He recommended a federal constitution to be endorsed by the general public, and urged the people to set aside their local prejudices and regard themselves as citizens of one nation. It was published in many newspapers throughout Jul 1783.
- 11 Jun 1783: The legislature of Virginia passed a resolution that rejected giving Congress a power to levy an import duty, citing many of the same reasons as had Rhode Island: a) the revenue collectors would not be accountable to the state of Virginia; b) perceived risk of delegating revenue power to Congress; and c) money from Virginia citizens would be transferred directly to Congress (bypassing the state government of Virginia). But, Virginia also agreed to establish its own customs-house, from which Virginia would grant its revenue to Congress for 25 years.

-15 Jun 1783: Delaware's legislature passed a resolution granting Congress the power to impose the import duty (proposed 18 Apr 1783).

-15 Jun 1783: New Jersey's legislature passed a resolution granting power to Congress to levy an import duty, and provided that 90,000 pounds (\$239,400) be raised in taxes to be forwarded to Congress to pay down the war expenses.

19–30 Jun 1783: About 300 soldiers stationed in Philadelphia and Lancaster became angry about not being paid. They formed together, and marched on Philadelphia, got drunk, surrounded Congress, and demanded their pay. They threatened to kidnap members of Congress, and to break into the bank where federal deposits were held. Congress called for aid from the Pennsylvania militia, but the government of Pennsylvania refused on the grounds that the soldiers had not committed any open violence. Congress then fled to Princeton after being forced to walk a gauntlet of the soldiers. The soldiers heard false rumors that General Washington was on his way to deal with the situation and dispersed back to their barracks.

2 Jul 1783: King George III issued an order in council defining the terms of trade between Great Britain and America. It was a return to the Navigation Acts: a) trade between America and the British West Indies to be conducted only in ships built, manned, and navigated by British subjects; b) American ships landing in British ports were permitted to bring in only items produced in states of which the ship's owners were citizens. The first of these had a severe impact on the shipbuilding industry in America, especially in the New England states, and the second one provoked a desire for retaliation. Prior to the war, about a third of colonial-British commerce was conducted in American-built ships; now, very few ships would be built even though they were much cheaper to build in America. Britain imposed these provisions as a means to weaken American commerce as part of its general mercantile policy. The great overriding fear in Britain was that the American traders would supplant Britain in the carrying trade in Western Europe. Afterward, John Jay used this action by Britain to argue that Congress should be given powers to negotiate consistent commercial treaties. But the states at this time were wary of granting any additional power to Congress to formulate a uniform trade policy.

- 29 Jul 1783: Congress ratified the commercial treaty with Sweden of 3 Apr 1783.
- 7 Aug 1783: King George III decided that he would receive ambassadors only from the thirteen American states separately, not from the United States as a whole.
- 13 Aug 1783: The legislature of South Carolina, reflecting on General Washington's circular letter of Jun 1783, passed a resolution authorizing the import duty, but inserted the caveat that the duty could only be collected by officers of the South Carolina government, which would then be forwarded to Congress in fulfillment of the requisitions due from South Carolina.
- Sep–Dec 1783: Many loyalists left New York for the Bahamas, Nova Scotia, or the West Indies in anticipation of persecution or riots in December, when the British army was scheduled to evacuate New York. The ones who emigrated to Nova Scotia later became competitors for fishing rights in Newfoundland. After these loyalists left, many patriots returned to New York from New Jersey, and were instrumental in getting many anti-loyalist laws passed. This effort was led by Governor George Clinton.
- 2 Sep 1783: The Committee of Apr 1783, who had been tasked to consider a suggestion made by New York's delegation that a convention be called to address the deficiencies of the Confederation, issued a report recommending that any convention be postponed until the revenue issue could be resolved. This marked the end of the convention movement for the time being.
- 3 Sep 1783: British negotiators signed the Treaty of Paris, ending the Revolutionary War. The terms of the treaty included the following provisions: a) loyalists were to be compensated for loss of property suffered during the war; b) British creditors holding private debt were to be paid in full; c) there would be no persecution of loyalists; d) opportunity would be provided for loyalists to recover estates lost during the war; e) private debts owed to loyalists would be paid in sterling; and f) Britain would give up forts in the western New York and the Ohio Valley. But Congress had no power to force any of the states to observe any of these provisions.

At the return of peace, trade between the states and England resumed, as there was still considerable demand for English products. However, since the Continental currency had collapsed, the Americans had to pay for imports in hard money. The war had left many areas ruined. In the south, the farms

had not recovered enough to resume trading in indigo, rice or tobacco. The same problem prevailed in the middle states, and they were unable to pay as they normally would, by exporting wheat and furs. The New England states fell on hard times because shipping had become unprofitable owing to the Navigation Acts. Many in the states were living off the land, and resorted to barter to obtain what they needed. Many demagogues claimed that the remedy was cheap paper money, and some states began to issue worthless paper in order to give the illusion of prosperity.

Although not perceived as such at the time, the treaty ending the war began the most crucial period in the history of America. The American states were surrounded on the south and west by Spanish lands, and on the north by Canada, which was still a British colony. The big risk was that the states now had no common enemy, and without some sort of unifying force, would degenerate into thirteen petty republics bickering among themselves. They were also vulnerable to encroachment by the larger and more organized European powers.

16 Oct 1783: The legislature of Massachusetts approved giving Congress the power to levy an import duty.

3 Nov 1783: The Continental Army was formally disbanded, even though the British still occupied New York City. The main problem was that Congress could no longer afford to maintain the army; in fact, it owed considerable back pay to the soldiers. Many soldiers begin to think they would never get paid, and there was widespread dissension and distrust of Congress. Many members of the army from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia had been previously furloughed on 26 May, 11 Jun, 9 Aug, and 26 Sep 1783.

25 Nov 1783: The British army under Sir Guy Carleton left New York City, but Britain retained all its garrisons in the northwest, even though they were obligated by the peace treaty to evacuate them. The British realized correctly that Congress was unable to force Britain to comply with this article. In fact, they left New York only because it had become too expensive to maintain the army there. At the close of the war, Great Britain's national debt was about 270,000,000 pounds sterling, having doubled in the course of the war.

Dec 1783: The New Jersey legislature issued 31,000 pounds (SM\$82,460) in paper currency.

Dec 1783: The financial situation had become so bad that the U. S. government finance directors resorted to underhanded schemes to raise money. One of the means was to create bank drafts on foreign accounts, knowing full well that there was no credit available, and sell these in America for cash. The drafts were then sent to the American envoys in those foreign countries, and they were required to find the money to make good on the notes or else they would go back to America as defaults. Robert Morris wrote checks for 1,000,000 florins [SM\$383,000], but only had 400,000 [SM\$153,200] on account; of the checks outstanding about 200,000 florins [SM\$76,600] had already been cashed. He was able to put off the creditors with excuses, but sent an urgent note to John Adams, the ambassador to Holland, to ask him to obtain a loan to cover the checks.

4 Dec 1783: General Washington gave a farewell address to his officers in New York City.

9 Dec 1783: Virginia's legislature passed a resolution authorizing Congress to develop a response to the British Navigation Acts. Governor Harrison of Virginia also sent a circular letter to all the other states requesting they issue a similar grant of power.

21 Dec 1783: Virginia's legislature confirmed its cession of western lands in the Ohio Valley to Congress.

22 Dec 1783: Congress agreed to a set of principles regarding foreign commerce given as instructions to the ambassadors in France, so long as they were reciprocal with the other treaty members: a) no navigation laws; b) equal status of ports; c) each nation shall be able to carry its own products on its own ships and to take other nations' products out; d) prefer free trade, but if duties are to be paid, they shall be only in accordance with most-favored nation status; e) no privateering in wartime; f) minimal interference in land industries; g) fishermen not to be interfered with; h) limitations on definition of contraband; i) free commerce between neutrals and belligerents in non-contraband; j) to be negotiated for a period not exceeding 10 years; and k) to require ratification by Congress (treaties to be represented as with the U. S. as a nation).

23 Dec 1783: George Washington resigned his command of the Continental Army to Congress at Annapolis, and retired to his home at Mount Vernon,

- Virginia. He had presented an account of his personal expenses incurred during the war at Philadelphia a few days earlier; it amounted to SM\$65,315.
- 29 Dec 1783: The legislature of Virginia reversed its 11 Jun 1783 resolution upon consideration of the arguments made by General Washington in his Jun 1783 circular.
- 31 Dec 1783: The population of the 13 states at the end of 1783 has been estimated at about 3.5 million. It is not certain how accurate this number is, since the first census was not conducted until 1790. Of the 3.5 million, about one-third were in the New England states (Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut), about one third in the middle states (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware), and the remaining third in Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts had the highest populations, and Rhode Island and Georgia the lowest. New York State was still mostly Indian country. Throughout the states, the population was centered east of the Appalachian Mountains. Of the 3.5 million, about 600,000 were slaves. By the end of the war, only Massachusetts had outlawed slavery altogether, but Pennsylvania was in the process of freeing slaves in that state. All the other states tolerated slavery, but all had passed laws prohibiting further importation of slaves.

1784

- 1 Jan 1784: The financial situation of the United States at this time can be summarized as follows. Most of these figures are derived from best estimates and there is considerable conjecture in them owing to the depreciation of the paper currency. Jefferson calculated the cost of the war from Apr 1775 to Apr 1783 as about SM\$140,000,000. He estimated that Congress had emitted paper Continentals during this time having a face value of about \$200,000,000; but whose actual value was about SM\$36,000,000. The several states had likewise printed a great deal of paper currency, and Jefferson reckoned its true value also at SM\$36,000,000. As of Apr 1783, the national debt of the American states amounted to SM\$36,500,000. As of 1 Jan 1784, the national debt had grown to SM\$68,000,000 (this last figure obtained by subtracting the true value of the Continentals and state currency from the

cost of the war). Of the SM\$68,000,000 total debt, about SM\$8,000,000 was still outstanding from loans given by foreign nations, and the rest was owed either to private citizens or the states.

The status of requisitions at this time was as follows. The states were credited with having paid the SM\$1,200,000 requisitioned on 4 Sep 1782 as it was for local interest payments. Of the requisition of 16 Oct 1782 for SM\$2,000,000, none had been paid. Of the original requisition of 30 Oct 1781 for SM\$8,000,000, a total of SM\$1,486,511 had been paid. It is interesting to note that the states were very uneven in their payments. The amount of the SM\$8,000,000 paid per its apportionment of each state was as follows¹⁰: a) New Hampshire paid 3,000 of 373,598; b) Massachusetts paid 247,677 of 1,307,596; c) Rhode Island paid 67,848 of 216,684; d) Connecticut paid 131,578 of 747,196; e) New York paid 39,064 of 373,598; f) Pennsylvania paid 346,633 of 1,120,794; g) Delaware paid nothing of 112,085; h) Maryland paid 89,302 of 933,996; i) Virginia paid 115,104 of 1,307,594; j) North Carolina paid nothing of 622,677; k) South Carolina paid 344,302 of 373,598; and l) Georgia paid nothing of 24,905.

The French had been exceedingly generous with the terms of loans made to Congress, having volunteered to forgo repayment during the war and for a short period thereafter. Beginning in 1784, France allowed interest-only payments on the loans.

24 Jan 1784–end Feb 1784: John Adams had received the note from Morris from Dec 1783 while in London, and finally arrived in Amsterdam after a 3-week ordeal on 24 Jan 1784 to try and find a loan to cover the outstanding checks. There he met with Dutch bankers, but they refused to extend credit as they did not believe America would be able to repay it. Neither the government of Holland nor the main bankers would consider lending the U.S. money; American credit was dead. By the end of Feb 1784, Adams was able to get a loan of 1,000,000 guilders (SM\$388,000) at “ruinous interest” from brokers and moneylenders. John Jay, ambassador to Spain, experienced the same financial demands as Adams had faced in Holland.

1 Mar 1784: Virginia ceded to Congress all of its land claims lying northwest of the Ohio River, removing its earlier demand to keep Kentucky. The purpose of doing so was to facilitate the settlement of the new lands, open

communications, and develop them into new states per the 1780 act of Congress.

Mar–Jul 1784: The winter of 1783–1784 had been cold and snowy in northeastern Pennsylvania. There was a sudden thaw and the Susquehanna River flooded the Wyoming Valley, the same territory that had been contested between Connecticut and Pennsylvania in 1782. Many of the houses were washed away, and most of the cattle drowned. A large buildup of ice had swept down the river, and the portion of it that reached Wilkes-Barre would not melt until mid-summer. The people of the Wyoming Valley, most of whom had come to the area as citizens of Connecticut, suffered greatly during the floods from cold and hunger. However, the legislature of Pennsylvania initially refused to help them. The state did eventually send a militia to the area, commanded by Justice Patterson, but instead of helping them, he proceeded to insult and harass the people, and his men stole whatever was available. His objective was to rid the area of the Connecticut settlers. His men blocked roads with trees and pieces of fencing, and prohibited the settlers from hunting, fishing, or drawing water from wells. Naturally, the settlers resisted this treatment. Patterson wrote to President Dickinson that the residents of the Wyoming Valley were participating in sedition against the state, and that he would correct the situation with a show of force. Patterson and his men then attacked the settlements in the valley, burning down houses and forcing about 500 people into the wilderness, many of whom were children and the elderly. Residents were told to go back to Connecticut, and were forced to take an abandoned road out of the valley. The legislature realized that Patterson had gone too far, so he was recalled. However, Patterson did not withdraw as ordered, but retreated to the hills and maintained a guerilla war against the valley residents. Settlers from around the area gathered together an army and attacked and laid siege to Patterson's hideout. The legislature then ordered a regiment from Philadelphia under General John Armstrong (author of the Newburgh circular) to settle the problem. When Armstrong arrived in the valley, he negotiated a truce with the Connecticut settlers, convinced them to disarm, and promised that he would also force Patterson's group to disarm. However, Armstrong arrested 76 of the Connecticut men

and marched them to prisons in Easton and Northumberland. Armstrong then left for Philadelphia.

This episode caused quite a commotion in the New England states, and there was a real possibility of war between Pennsylvania and Connecticut over it. Pennsylvania had a provision in its constitution calling for a Council of Censors to meet every seven years and issue an opinion on the conduct of the government. Fortunately, such a meeting was scheduled just after this Wyoming incident. The Council summarily condemned the actions of Patterson and Armstrong, found that they were in violation of the Constitution, and ordered them to produce documents, which they refused. The people had supported the legislature against the settlers, but reacted against Armstrong and Patterson for rejecting the order of the Council of Censors. The public then turned against Armstrong, Patterson, and the legislature. Although the action of the Council stirred up a lot of controversy between itself and the legislature, eventually the public came to see the evil that had been done. In the end, the Pennsylvania legislature ordered a full restitution to the settlers of the Wyoming Valley, thus avoiding a war with Connecticut.

26 Mar 1784: South Carolina passed a law allowing debts to be paid in four annual installments starting in Jan 1786, owing to the shortage of stable money.

26 Mar 1784: Congress adopted a resolution stating that the several states would be considered one nation with regard to treaties and all issues arising under them.

5 Apr 1784: Thomas Jefferson, as head of a finance committee in Congress, delivered a report on the finances of the Confederacy. The expenses for 1784 were estimated as: a) SM\$457,525 for public services; b) SM\$442,648 for interest on foreign debt; c) SM\$3,580,030 for interest on domestic debt; and d) SM\$1,000,000 debts contracted but still unpaid from 1782 and 1783, which totaled to about SM\$5,480,203. This figure was not practical as a revenue target. Jefferson proposed that the states be given credit for the SM\$1,200,000 that had been requisitioned on 4 Sep 1782 (included in the SM\$3,580,030 number), since it had given the states leeway to use it to pay

interest due on certificates issued by the states and other liquidated debts. He then recommended that a new requisition be ordered that would get the states up to three-fourths of the original SM\$8,000,000 that had been requisitioned on 30 Oct 1781. He calculated the apportionment, deducting for some receipts that had been made, and requested a requisition for 1784 of SM\$4,577,591. This would be enough to meet the current needs. It was voted down by Congress, probably realizing the demands on the states were too great.¹¹

19 Apr–23 Apr 1784: Congress debated the rules for admission of new states. It generally retained the principles laid out in Oct 1780, except the prohibition on slavery after 1800 was deleted. On 19 Apr, Richard Spaight and Jacob Read, of North and South Carolina respectively, proposed that the prohibition of slavery be deleted. Only ten states were present, thus the vote of seven states was required to keep the prohibition. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania voted to keep the prohibition. New Jersey refused to vote since only one of its delegates was present. North Carolina was divided. Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland voted against keeping the prohibition. But Virginia's vote was due to the fact that James Monroe had been absent due to illness. Had he been present, Virginia's delegation would have been divided, and slavery prohibition would have been retained by a 6–2 vote. The modified measure was adopted 23 Apr 1784 as the Ordinance of 1784. The territorial provisions included: a) townships of 6 miles square; b) allocations to states for distribution by lot, to be sold publicly in the states; c) simple registration of land titles; d) allowed slavery in the northwest territories until 1 Jan 1801; e) Virginia received the area between the Little Miami and Scioto Rivers as compensation for conquering this territory during the war; f) territories required to have a republican form of government; g) land was to be first purchased from the Indians; h) the settlers were to form temporary governments until the population reached 20,000, at which time the territory would set up a permanent government and be admitted with a non-voting seat in Congress; and i) when the population of the territory became equal to the population of the least populated of the thirteen original states, the territory would be admitted into the Confederation upon a concurring vote

of nine of the original thirteen. The provisions also imposed these conditions upon admission to the Confederacy: a) to become permanent members of the Confederacy; b) equal in status with the original thirteen states; and c) were obligated to pay requisitions ordered by Congress.

27 Apr 1784: Jefferson revised his report on the finances. Jefferson decided to credit the states for the requisitions received from the original SM\$8,000,000 and to set as a goal for 1784 a new requisition that would fulfill the first half of the initial SM\$8,000,000. Since SM\$1,436,511 had been received of the SM\$8,000,000 requisitioned on 30 Oct 1781, he re-apportioned SM\$2,670,988 as a new requisition for 1784, and it allocated to all the states on the basis of their respective populations. If that could be collected, it would meet the immediate minimal needs of the government, and might serve to improve creditworthiness.¹²

30 Apr 1784: Great Britain's Navigation Acts (2 Jul 1783) had greatly impaired America's ability to conduct commerce in the West Indies. The American people began to demand retaliation against the British policy. However, Congress had no means to force reciprocal restrictions on Great Britain, or to threaten them in order to prod Great Britain into opening up trade. To meet this need, Congress passed a resolution recommending to the states that Congress be given power, for a period of 15 years, to "prohibit any goods, wares, or merchandise, from being imported into, or exported from, any of the states, in vessels belonging to, or navigated by, the subjects of any power with whom these states shall not have formed treaties of commerce."

May 1784: Virginia passed a resolution granting powers to Congress to respond to the Navigation Acts. This action was promoted by Madison and Jones, and was even supported by Patrick Henry, who had lately come around to the view that Congress needed some means to enforce its demands. The idea was to pass a resolution in Virginia in hope that the other states would emulate it. The provisions of the Virginia resolution included: a) granting Congress power for 15 years to prohibit imports or exports out of Virginia by foreign nations that did not have a commercial treaty with the United States; b) Virginia's fulfilling its requisitions from Congress, counting slaves as three-fifths for revenue purposes; and c) recommending that accounts between Congress and the states be settled, and the balance due Congress should be paid.

- 7 May 1784: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson were commissioned to negotiate treaties in accordance with the principles adopted in Dec 1783; the commission was valid for two years, and the maximum length of treaties negotiated under it was to be 15 years.
- 12 May 1784: A formal exchange of the ratifications of the peace treaty between Great Britain and America was held at Paris.
- 25 May 1784: Congress considered establishing a permanent location to meet.
- 26–27 May 1784: Congress approved a resolution to establish a standing army of 780 men, eighty of whom were to be under the direct command of Congress. Twenty-five of the eighty were to guard the stores at Fort Pitt [Pittsburgh, PA], and fifty-five of the eighty were to be stationed at West Point. The other 700 were requisitioned from New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and were to be used to garrison the frontier outposts for one year.
- 2 Jun 1784: North Carolina passed a resolution granting Congress the power to impose import duties, but it contained a large number of caveats.
- 26 Jun 1784: Congress convened at Philadelphia, having adjourned on 3 Jun, but delegates from nine states did not show up until 8 Jul. It could not do much business, because nine states were required for any important action; one state could stop all activity.
- 11 Aug 1784: The three New England states left Congress in a dispute with the others, which left Congress without a quorum.
- 17 Aug 1784: Robert Morris informed French officials that the United States would not be able to pay interest on a 10,000,000 *livre* (SM\$1,940,000) loan that had been obtained from Holland (5 Nov 1781), for which France was the guarantor. He also informed them that no interest could be paid on the direct loans from France. These defaults ruined American credit abroad.
- 19 Aug 1784: The remaining delegates to Congress left, since no business could be done. The members of Congress had grown tired of sitting at Annapolis with no power to do anything. The U. S. was left without a government until Oct 1784, when Congress reconvened in Trenton.
- 1 Nov 1784: Robert Morris resigned as superintendent of finances. He was replaced by a committee of finance, but they were unable to continue the

work of Morris. Ultimately, the states entered into financial desperation. Meanwhile, Congress convened at Trenton, but only five states sent delegates.

26 Nov 1784: There was still no quorum in Congress. The members were arriving so slowly that many prominent persons, including Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, J. F. Mercer, and French officials started to believe that the Confederacy was unraveling.

30 Nov 1784: Congress finally reached a quorum.

15 Dec 1784: Congress received a letter from the agent for the Spanish government dated 19 Nov 1784, which contained a letter from the Spanish foreign minister Joseph de Galvez dated 26 Jun 1784. The letter from the Spanish government announced that Spain would not permit any American ships to navigate the Mississippi River. The Spanish court had found out about the secret provision of the peace treaty with Great Britain about six months after the fact. They viewed the secret provision rightly as a conspiracy by which Great Britain and America would cede territory to each other notwithstanding that Spain had some legitimate claim to it, since Spain possessed Florida, controlled the mouth of the river at New Orleans, and had garrisons along the river as far as Natchez. The territory in question is a rectangle with the Mississippi River on the West, the Apalachicola River on the East, the 31st parallel of latitude on the South (present border of Florida and Georgia), and a line from present-day Vicksburg, MS to Columbus, GA on the North.

This news caused the Americans to divide into three opposing factions. There were some who wanted to take the entire Mississippi by force, although such an undertaking was probably unaffordable. The New England states, desperate for resumption of any kind of trade and revenue, wanted to give up navigation of the Mississippi in order to conclude a commercial treaty with Spain. Friendly relations with Spain would also be of some aid against the pirates in the western Mediterranean, where the Spanish had a strong presence and would serve to expand trade in general with the Spanish possessions. The southern states saw the problem most clearly: it was essential for their future to maintain a claim to navigation of the Mississippi. Although a war to conquer it was out of the question now, the immediate goal was to obtain whatever treaty could be had with Spain, but maintain some rights to the Mississippi.

Navigation up the river was necessary in order to maintain contact with the newly settled territories in the west and prevent them from becoming aligned with either Great Britain or Spain. It was important to prevent such a trend, as the thirteen American states would then be completely surrounded by hostile powers: Great Britain on the north and northwest, and Spain on the south and southwest.

1785

Jan–May 1785: Protectionist sentiment grew in Massachusetts against the Navigation Acts. It was widely recognized by this time that peace did not bring prosperity, since the inability of Congress to regulate trade meant that foreign nations were able to impose their mercantile policies on American merchants.

-11 Jan 1785: The New York legislature levied a double duty on all goods arriving into New York on British ships, as a retaliatory measure against the British Navigation Acts.

Feb 1785: The Georgia legislature passed a law redeeming its bills of credit at a ratio of 1,000 to 1, in specie certificates.

Feb 1785: The Delaware legislature passed a law in which all of its outstanding paper currency (bills of credit) was recalled, to be redeemed at a ratio 75 to 1.

Mar 1785: The British foreign minister, the duke of Dorset, informed Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson that Great Britain would not enter into trade negotiations with them because of the ambiguity surrounding the powers held by the three Americans. The British were uncertain (or claimed to be uncertain) as to whether they were authorized to negotiate for all thirteen states, or for each of them individually. The British correctly noticed that treaty negotiations may be a waste of time since the states were passing their own laws which could nullify or conflict with the resulting treaty. Secondly, the British had no particular incentive to negotiate a treaty with the Americans, as all the commercial advantages accrued to Britain: a) Americans desired British goods; b) Britain was able to maintain its Navigation Acts benefitting British traders; and c) the thirteen states were weak and bogged down in their own rivalries. The British did not expect the American states to ever establish a strong union.

8 Mar 1785: Henry Knox was appointed Secretary of War. The standing army under his control numbered 600 men.

19 Mar 1785: The New York state legislature appointed delegates to Congress who were opposed to any type of union. They were in agreement with Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, now the president of Congress. Between them, they were able to prevent any move toward modification of the Articles of Confederation.

28 Mar 1785: Several prominent leaders from Virginia and Maryland (George Mason, Alexander Henderson, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Thomas Stone, and Samuel Chase) met at Alexandria to discuss a system of commercial regulations on the Chesapeake and Potomac River. Their goal was to submit proposals for legislation to both Virginia and Maryland. Some sort of accommodation had been urged on these members by George Washington. They issued a request to their respective states, and also asked Pennsylvania for permission to use the branches of the Ohio River for a canal between the Chesapeake and Delaware River.

Apr 1785: By this time, Britain's Navigation Act had ruined the economies of the New England states. Because only English ships could import or export out of England, carrying trade by the New England states came to a virtual standstill, with ships lying in harbors. Secondly, a duty in England of 18 pounds sterling per ton on whale oil ruined the whaling trade. Fish could be carried to the British West Indies only by British ships, which ruined the fishing trade. Last, there was a great demand for English manufactures after the war, so the people foolishly went into debt to obtain them, thus draining the New England states of money when its own ability to generate revenue was impaired. At the same time, the British came to dominate trade in the southern states. Since the southern states did not have large contingents of merchants or a fleet, the British naturally filled that void by underselling Dutch and French merchants, and obtained a de facto monopoly on trading in the south. Many people in the south were going into debt to pay for British imports, and the British were taking Americans to court to obtain judgments for repayment. In Virginia, farmers were being forced to sell their commodities at low prices and buy imports at high prices because British merchants dominated the trading there. The British had all the advantages

in Virginia, and exploited them as best they could. In fact, even the carrying trade on the rivers was dominated by the British.

15 Apr–3 May 1785: Merchants and artisans in Boston held a series of meetings to discuss what could be done about the decline in the economy caused by the Navigation Acts. They agreed among themselves not to buy British goods from local British-owned companies or their agents in an attempt to reduce the large amount of British imports. They also sent letters to Congress and the state legislature explaining the general problems and organized a Committee of Correspondence to write to merchants in the seaports of the other states to urge them to join in the boycott of British goods.

19 Apr 1785: Massachusetts ceded all its claims to western land to Congress.

10 May 1785: The legislature of Pennsylvania authorized paper money, starting with 7,000 pounds (SM\$18,620). Ultimately it issued 150,000 pounds (SM\$399,000) in bills of credit, and another 50,000 pounds (SM\$133,000) in bills of credit on loans. These were treated the same as silver and gold with respect to taxes owed the state, but were not made legal tender. Generally they were used as loans to farmers on their lands and were used to pay off public creditors.

23 May 1785: Congress passed a resolution urging North Carolina to cede its territory west of the Appalachian Mountains. The people of that district had already formed a new state called Franklin. They had been abandoned by the legislature of North Carolina, and their calls for help to Congress had been ignored. By this time, the people of western North Carolina had drafted a constitution and their legislature was already in session.

1 Jun 1785: John Adams, ambassador to Great Britain, met King George III for the first time. The king told Adams that although he had held out to the very end in opposing American independence, he was amenable to friendly relations with America.

23 Jun 1785: The New Hampshire legislature authorized a grant of power to Congress to levy import duties for a period of 15 years, but was inoperative until the other states passed similar resolutions.

1 Jul 1785: Governor Bowdoin of Massachusetts had recommended on 31 May that the state legislature appoint delegates to meet with delegates from other states to discuss the amount of power that should be given to Congress to

regulate foreign trade. On 1 Jul, the legislature passed a resolution doing so, and a circular letter was sent to the president of Congress, which was then forwarded to each of the respective state governors, urging them to consider how the Confederation's defects could be corrected. But the Massachusetts delegates to Congress refused to bring the resolution before Congress, as they were afraid that such a meeting would lead to a general revision of the Confederation, and in turn would cause the establishment of an aristocracy.

6 Jul 1785: Congress adopted the Morris coinage system, as modified by Jefferson, in which the standard was to be a silver coin similar to the Spanish milled dollar, but divided into 100 cents (the decimal system). The weight of the coin was not fixed until 1786.

~7 Jul 1785: The Massachusetts legislature passed a law regulating commerce in the state: a) prohibited exports from being carried by British ships; b) levied a tonnage duty on all foreign ships; and c) imposed a quadruple duty on foreign manufactures as a means to protect domestic producers.

13–14 Jul 1785: A committee in Congress led by James Monroe produced a motion to amend the Articles of Confederation to grant Congress the power to regulate foreign commerce, levy import duties, send and receive ambassadors, enter treaties and alliances, and establish courts for trial of piracy, if eleven states were agreeable. Monroe's committee had concluded that granting such a power was desirable: a) a tax on foreign goods would aid domestic manufacturers; b) Congress would be able to deal reciprocally with foreign powers, such that America would not always be at a disadvantage; c) it would allow uniform commercial rules among the states; and d) it would prepare the way for the establishment of a navy to protect commerce. Richard Henry Lee of Virginia led the opposition to it, noting that granting powers to Congress would: a) endanger liberty; b) may tempt Congress to expand its powers even further; and c) increase the risk of undue foreign influence upon Congress if powers affecting foreign nations were concentrated in Congress. He also argued that the interests of the northern and southern states were different. Lee feared that the northern states would use their numerical advantage to vote themselves benefits in the carrying trade that would serve to impoverish the southern states (since it had no shipping

industry). Congress took no action on it, preferring to leave propositions for amending the Articles to the several state legislatures.

-15 Jul 1785: The legislatures of New Hampshire and Rhode Island passed trade regulations nearly identical to that of Massachusetts (7 Jul 1785).

24 Aug 1785: British Prime Minister William Pitt had a conversation with John Adams, the U. S. ambassador. They discussed some general issues of disagreement between the two nations: a) black people having been carried away by the British military; b) seizing of American ships; c) the terms of the Navigation Act; and d) the amount owed to British creditors. On this last point, contracts were traditionally considered cancelled during war, but the British position was that interest on debts continued to accumulate during the war. They also discussed some areas of mutual non-compliance with the peace treaty: a) Britain's refusal to give up garrisons in the Northwest Territories; b) America's continued engagement in the slave trade; and c) America's slow payment of debts owed to British creditors. Adams rejected Pitt's proposition for a treaty favorable to England at the expense of the French. Adams proposed a free-trade framework, but Pitt rejected it. Pitt afterward adopted a policy of strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts. Adams afterward recommended to Congress that it impose a retaliatory Navigation Act on the British, but Congress could never get enough states to agree to it.

25 Aug 1785: Congress passed a resolution instructing Foreign Secretary John Jay to continue to insist on navigation rights on the Mississippi in his negotiations with Spain.

20 Sep 1785: The Pennsylvania legislature enacted a law imposing import duties on seventy items, especially those of iron manufacture, and also placed a tonnage duty upon ships from any nations that did not have a commercial treaty with Congress. This law was the culmination of six months debate in Pennsylvania.

27 Sep 1785: Congress requisitioned SM\$3,000,000 from the states. None of it would ever be paid.

Oct 1785: South Carolina's legislature passed what became known as "the barren land law": debts could be paid in land, and the creditor was obliged to accept the land at 75% of its appraised value. Naturally, debtors gave their worst

- land to pay their debts. The law also authorized an issue of 700,000 pounds (SM\$2,800,000) in bills of credit to be loaned at 7% interest.
- 20 Oct 1785: New Jersey's legislature voted to refuse to send requisitions to Congress until all the states had agreed to the import duty proposed in Apr 1783. New Jersey favored a power in the hands of Congress because residents of New Jersey were paying high prices on foreign goods transferred from New York, due to the import duties imposed at the port of New York. New Jersey was serving notice that it was abandoning the Confederation by refusing to support it financially.
- Nov 1785: North Carolina's legislature issued 100,000 pounds (SM\$250,000) in bills of credit, and made it legal tender for all debts. The state ordered large purchases of tobacco, and paid for it in paper at twice the face value the tobacco would have sold for in hard money, in order to get the paper currency into circulation. It soon depreciated 30%, and North Carolina continued on a path to ruin with nearly worthless paper currency.
- Nov 1785: The Maryland legislature agreed to the proposal for joint jurisdiction of the Chesapeake and Potomac per the recommendation from the meeting at Alexandria (28 Mar 1785); it also invited Delaware and Pennsylvania to consider a canal between the Delaware and Chesapeake.
- 23 Nov 1785: Congress convened late, with only seven states present. It elected a president, but could do no other business until mid-Dec 1785.
- 30 Nov 1785: Virginia's legislature passed a resolution granting Congress power over trade regulations, but only for a period of 13 years. This was a compromise between those who feared Congress would overstep its bounds and those who thought a general power in Congress' hands was necessary. The opponents finally agreed to allow temporary measures in order to test how well they worked.
- 5 Dec 1785: The Virginia legislature passed a law confirming the agreement with Maryland, known as the Compact of 1785. The confirmation sent from the Maryland legislature to the Virginia legislature had also recommended that a set of commissioners meet to discuss commercial issues for all the states in general. Madison saw an opportunity to make such a meeting into a forum for airing political and commercial problems alike. He worked with John Tyler of Virginia in crafting an invitation to all the states.

31 Dec 1785: Of the original SM\$8,000,000 requisition of 30 Oct 1781, about SM\$1,600,000 had been paid by the states.

1786

16 Jan 1786: The Virginia legislature proposed a law separating church and state, declaring that freedom of religion is a natural right of mankind. It adopted the original text recommended by Jefferson in 1779: “No man shall be compelled to frequent or support a religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; opinion on matters of religion shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect civil capacities. The rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind.” Religious freedom was adopted in Maryland soon after.

21 Jan 1786: John Tyler and James Madison had written a proposal in the Virginia legislature, capitalizing on Maryland’s recommendation for a general commercial meeting, to recommend to all the states that delegates be sent to discuss giving Congress powers over regulation of trade. The strategy was that the meeting would issue a report with recommendations that would go into effect only after all the states had agreed. Annapolis was chosen as the meeting site, as it was considered suitably far away from Congress, and to commence in Sep 1786. On 21 Jan 1786, the invitations were sent to the other states by Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia.

Feb 1786: A representative of Tripoli entered into negotiations with John Adams regarding the piracy against American vessels in the Mediterranean. It was common throughout this period for pirates to attack American ships, carry off the cargo, and either murder the crew or sell them into slavery in Algiers or Tripoli. It was safe work, since the pirates knew that America could do nothing about it. They also engineered kidnappings for ransom of prominent people. These pirates were usually private individuals who acted by endorsement from and under the protection of the local Barbary state monarchs; in return, the pirates paid a tribute from the haul. These “monarchs” were little more than professional gangsters who had risen to the top because they possessed the best combination of subterfuge and ruthlessness. The representative from Tripoli made Adams an offer: the pirates of Tripoli would stop attacking American vessels if a tribute of SM\$1,000,000 was to be made to

the king of Tripoli. This was an attractive offer in the sense that it would be cheaper than warfare to defeat the pirates; on the other hand, it would be an admission of weakness. It didn't matter though, because Congress did not have the means to pay. It could not finance a navy; it could not finance a just war even if it had a navy; and it could not finance a payoff to avoid a war. All Congress could do was accept the losses, demonstrating to everyone that the central government, such as it was, could not do the most important thing a legitimate government does, which is to protect its citizens from other governments. The pirate attacks continued into the early 1800s.

15 Feb 1786: Congress issued a report by a committee consisting of Pinckney, King, Kean, Monroe, and Pettit, declaring that the Articles of Confederation were inadequate. It laid out the following conclusions: a) the requisition system of raising revenues had been a failure for its entire eight year duration; b) the requisition system could not be relied upon in the future either; c) it would be impossible to maintain any faith in the Congress unless the states authorized Congress to receive an independent revenue per the 18 Apr 1783 request; and d) Congress had a duty to announce the conditions that had caused problems to reach the crisis stage. It furthermore recommended that an appeal to the people be made to determine if the people would allow Congress to have the import duty authority, or if they would allow the nation to crumble for lack of revenue. The committee made it clear that Congress had three options: a) it could step aside and wait for the states to call a general convention; b) it could propose amendments to the Articles and seek consent to them; or c) it could work together within Congress to make the existing Articles function better. Congress agreed to debate the issue of calling for a convention, which it did for the next six months.

The minimum anticipated expenses for 1787 associated with payment of interest on foreign loans and other foreign obligations was SM\$1,566,534, including: a) interest on loans from France; b) interest on a loan from Spain (to Mar 1787) (SM\$48,596); and c) interest on a loan from Holland (to Jun 1787) (SM\$265,600). The total receipts since 1781 amounted to SM\$2,457,987: a) from requisitions made between 1 Nov 1781 and 1 Nov 1784, SM\$2,025,089; b) from requisitions made between 1 Nov 1784 and 1 Jan 1786, SM\$432,898.¹³

20 Feb 1786: The legislature of New Jersey voted to refuse to pay any requisitions at all. The rationale was that there was no point in supporting a weak Congress that was unable to aid New Jersey against the economic warfare being waged by the state of New York. People in New Jersey felt ill-used, and were not going to cave in any longer until their complaints had been addressed.

28 Feb 1786: Carmarthen, the British secretary of state, notified John Adams that Britain would continue to hold the outposts in the west until the states paid off British creditors. Congress had been trying to get these claims resolved through the state courts, but it had no power to force the states to pay them. This showed the inability of Congress to maintain one of its obligations under the peace treaty that ended the Revolution.

Mar 1786: A public debate over a new issue of paper currency occurred in New York State, conducted by commentary and letters published in the newspapers. The advocates for paper money included most shopkeepers, merchants, manufacturers, and debtors; those opposed included speculators, importers, stockholders, and creditors. One of the most important pamphlets against it was Thomas Paine's "The Affairs of the Bank, and Paper Money" in which Paine pointed out that no law can really equate paper with gold, and that the "value" of paper currency could be arbitrarily changed from year to year by the government. But a paper money bill passed, in which 200,000 pounds (\$500,000) was to be issued starting in Jul 1786. However, it was made legal tender only for the proceeds from lawsuits, and was loaned only to those with excellent credit.

3 Mar 1786: Congress reviewed the actions of the states with regard to the recommendation issued by Congress on 30 Apr 1784, in which Congress requested authority to regulate foreign commerce in response to the Navigation Acts of Great Britain. Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia had passed laws granting Congress the power. Rhode Island, North Carolina, and New Hampshire had passed resolutions favoring it, but they were contingent on all the other states doing the same. Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Connecticut had complied also, but had fixed the dates of operation. Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia had taken no action. Congress issued another recommendation urging Rhode Island, North Carolina, New

Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Connecticut to revise their acts to bring them into conformance with the original 30 Apr 1784 request, and urging Georgia, Delaware, and South Carolina to consider it.

11 Mar 1786: The South Carolina legislature passed a resolution authorizing Congress to regulate foreign trade for a period of 15 years from this date.

-20 Mar 1786: Congress recognized that the example set by New Jersey's failure to pay any requisitions would be fatal, since there was no way to prevent the other states from following suit. It sent a committee to meet with the New Jersey legislature, in which Charles Pinckney of South Carolina entreated the legislature to reconsider its law of 20 Feb 1786. His arguments were: a) each state had entered voluntarily into the Confederation and was bound by honor to meet its commitments; b) New Jersey had agreed to the requisition system; c) New Jersey had the remedies to deal with New York by imposing its own fees and duties; and d) if New Jersey failed to pay, it would weaken the Confederacy and make things worse for New Jersey as well as every other state. His last point was especially evident from the hostility of Britain's Navigation Acts and the holding of garrisons in the northwest. New Jersey agreed to send delegates to the convention at Annapolis, hoping that some consensus could be reached on the revenue and import duty issues. It also repealed its 20 Feb 1786 law refusing to pay requisitions, but it did not promise to pay them either.

May 1786: The New Jersey legislature issued 130,000 pounds (SM\$345,800) in paper currency, and was made legal tender for business transactions. If refused, the law allowed the debt to be suspended for 12 years. But it was refused by merchants in both New York and Pennsylvania, and it soon became worthless.

May 1786: The legislature in Pennsylvania passed a resolution rejecting the requisition system unless Congress adopted some additional revenue source.

May 1786: The Rhode Island legislature issued about 100,000 pounds (SM\$333,300) in paper money to be loaned to farmers at 4% for seven years in which they could pledge their farms as collateral. This was a popular idea with the farmers, since they were desperate to pay off their debts. The paper currency was sold at a 50% discount, and the farmers had to agree to take a 14-year mortgage on their farms for twice the assessed value before they could obtain the money. This was thought to be an adequate insurance

against the risk of inflation. But the merchants knew full well that the paper currency would depreciate in value, and accepted it only at a discount. Sometimes the merchants refused to accept the paper at all. The legislature reacted by passing a Forcing Act with the following provisions: a) the paper currency was made legal tender; b) the penalty for refusing to accept it was a 100 pound (SM\$333) fine and loss of the right to vote; c) offenses to be tried within three days of the complaint; d) cases for offenses to be tried by a panel of three judges; e) decisions of the trial judges were final, with no appeal; f) those who did not abide by the judges' decision were to be jailed; g) anyone who turned in a person who refused the currency received half of the SM\$333 fine as a bounty; and h) if a merchant rejected the currency, the debtor could have the debt discharged. The judicial edicts started with the phrase "Know Ye," and Rhode Island became the subject of ridicule as the home of "Know Ye Men."

4 May 1786: At this point, all the states except New York had passed some kind of resolution authorizing the import duty power of Congress. But the prevailing opinion in New York ran counter to any grant being provided. First, the provisions of the state constitution and the Confederacy had to be upheld. Secondly, giving Congress independent powers to levy duties would weaken the state and constitute a transfer of power to Congress. Third, it would ruin the liberty of the states and eventually abolish them if Congress, having an independent revenue source, would appropriate all the powers of government to itself, and become despotic. Fourth, the only protection for liberty was in small republics. On 4 May 1786, New York imposed a 5% duty on all imports, but this revenue was to be collected by state agents and was provided to New York.

17 May 1786: Congress ratified a commercial treaty with Prussia that had been negotiated in May 1785. Frederick the Great was one of the few monarchs of Europe that saw fit to come to terms with America as a sovereign nation. The terms of this treaty, to be in effect for ten years, included: a) free trade between Prussia and the American states; b) permitting ships to carry arms and munitions as neutrals; b) merchant ships to be allowed safe passage even in war; c) prohibition of privateering on both sides; d) freedom of religion

for citizens living in the opposite country; and e) merchants and workmen may continue employment even in case of war between the two parties.

31 May 1786: Foreign Secretary John Jay wrote a letter to Congress informing them that he required direction on how to negotiate with Spain. Jay preferred to be released from the condition imposed by Congress on 25 Aug 1785, in which he was instructed to demand navigation rights on the Mississippi. This was the one impediment to a commercial treaty with Spain. The Spanish had consistently refused to permit navigation by American ships up the Mississippi River, which was controlled by Spain from New Orleans to Natchez. Jay then began work with a committee in Congress to establish a policy.

6 Jun 1786: Thomas Amis, a resident of Kentucky, had outfitted a boat and had sailed down the Mississippi River, intending to sell his goods in the Spanish towns along the river. However, he was intercepted on 6 Jul 1786 at Natchez by the Spanish, who confiscated his boat and goods. The Spanish were enforcing their prohibition upon American navigation on the Mississippi. Amis was released, and went back to Kentucky overland, telling his story to many people on the way.

Jul 1786: By the summer of 1786 nearly all business stopped in Newport and Providence, RI leading to fights and riots over the financial policies. The farmers were angry at the merchants for refusing to accept the paper currency, so they decided to boycott the city and starve the urban residents into submission. In the meantime, the farmers had no choice but to offload their products in Boston or New York, but had difficulty selling there because the residents of those cities did not want to aid the cause of paper money. The farmers of Rhode Island ended up destroying their products, resulting in food shortages and high prices in most Rhode Island towns. By Aug 1786, the Rhode Island paper currency had depreciated to 4:1.

4 Jul 1786: Vermont formally separated from New York, and established a new government with a constitution that included a bill of rights.

21 Jul–30 Aug 1786: Congress debated the merits of proposing amendments to the Articles. These were referred to a committee led by Pinckney. His committee issued a recommendation that seven new provisions be added

to the Articles of Confederation. First, Congress was to have the power to regulate foreign and domestic trade without infringing on state constitutions, and that revenue collected under this provision would be paid to the states. Secondly, Congress would continue the requisition system, but have a power to force the states to pass laws requiring the states to pay them; states would be charged 12% on arrears on the portion of the requisition devoted to the army, 10% otherwise. Third, if a state was delinquent on its requisitions for ten months, and a majority of the states were in compliance, Congress shall have a power to assess the amount due to counties and townships in the offending state, and these would be collected by the agents that collected the last tax. If they did not act, Congress could then appoint federal collectors. Fourth, Congress would allow interest to be paid if states provided requisitions early, and charge interest for late payments. Fifth, a new revenue system could be established with the concurrence of eleven states, and the number required for approval would be raised commensurate with additional states being admitted to the Confederation. Sixth, Congress would receive three new general powers: a) to define and punish treason; b) to define and punish piracy and felonies at sea; and c) to establish a federal court which would serve as a court of appeals from states concerning treaties, the law of nations, commerce, federal revenue, and others where the United States was a party. Seventh, Congress would have a power to force attendance by delegates from the states. No action was taken on these proposals; in all likelihood they would not have been ratified.

Aug 1786: The Georgia legislature authorized an issue of 50,000 pounds (SM\$200,000) in bills of credit, to be made legal tender in the state, to be secured by a mortgage on a large tract of fertile state-owned land. There subsequently was a vigorous debate on the merits of paper money before it was actually issued.

1 Aug 1786: The paper currency issued by Pennsylvania in 1785 had depreciated by 12%.

2 Aug 1786: The Georgia legislature passed a resolution authorizing Congress to regulate foreign trade.

3–24 Aug 1786: John Jay concluded his work with the committee in Congress, and laid out his case regarding a treaty with Spain. It was clear that a

commercial treaty would be of great benefit to the thirteen states, but the Spanish were inflexible on the issue of American navigation on the Mississippi. Jay proposed that the Mississippi problem be postponed for 25 years, and recommended a treaty with Spain be negotiated as soon as possible. Congress debated the policy for three weeks. The states continued to be divided on how to proceed. The New England states wanted a treaty with Spain, and did not care about navigation on a faraway river. They were joined by Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The southern states were prepared to deal with it directly, and advocated that Jay be instructed to cease all negotiations with Spain. The position taken by New York was unknown, but would likely lean toward what was in the immediate best interest of New York, meaning a treaty with Spain without rights on the Mississippi. The New England states failed to see the long-term importance of the Mississippi: it would open up the entire west as a market for the manufactured goods from New England.

8 Aug 1786: Congress established a coinage standard, per the decimal system organized in Jul 1785. A dollar was defined as 375.64 grains of pure silver, or 24.6268 grains of pure gold. The fineness of the coinage was to be 11/12 (0.91666 fine). The ratio of silver to gold was thus 15.253 to one. Congress authorized \$5 and \$10 coins of gold; dollars, half-dollars, dimes, and double-dimes of silver; and copper pennies and half-pennies. However, only the copper coins were actually minted.

11 Aug 1786: Congress passed a resolution asking George Clinton, governor of New York State, to call a special session of the legislature to reconsider the import law passed on 4 May 1786, which required that only New York collectors receive the duties. This was a very important matter to the Confederacy, as New York was the only state that had not as yet granted Congress a power to levy an import duty.

15–20 Aug 1786: The anger at lawsuits for debt and seizures of property in Vermont reached a breaking point. Petitions had been sent up from several of the townships to the state legislature, complaining of high taxes, too many lawyers, and high court costs. There were street riots in Rutland and Windsor during mid-Aug 1786.

16 Aug 1786: Governor Clinton of New York notified Congress that he would not call the legislature into special session, since he was authorized to call a

special session only for “extraordinary occasions.” He regarded the issue of the import duty as simply not important enough. Clinton’s objective since the end of the war had been to promote New York at the expense of both the Confederacy and the other states by any means available.

22–25 Aug 1786: The people of Massachusetts, desperate for money and unable to obtain any satisfaction from the state legislature, began to call conventions of their own in the various prominent towns to discuss what should be done. One of the most influential was the one convened at Hatfield (Hampshire County, MA) on 22 Aug 1786, although others sat around the same time in the counties of Worcester, Middlesex, Bristol, Lenox, and Berkshire. Mainly these were attended by people who were deep in debt, and had seen their farms seized for payment; or who had prosperous farms but were unable to sell their produce because of the lack of circulating medium and had to resort to barter for necessities. It was true that hard money was in short supply, but many people added to the problem by spending what little there was on luxuries imported from Great Britain, for which the British demanded hard money. The convention at Hatfield formulated a petition of 25 articles summarizing their complaints: a) the state Senate was derelict in its duty, and ought to be abolished; b) the Court of Common Pleas should be abolished; c) there were too many lawyers in the state prospering from the numerous debt-related lawsuits; d) import duties and excise taxes devoted to paying Massachusetts’ portion of the requisitions by Congress and payments to the army was denounced; e) the method of apportioning taxes declared to be unfair; and f) an urgent need for paper money. It also denounced any use of mobs to influence the legislature, but it was too late; the people were agitated enough to take direct action. The Court of Common Pleas was an object of hatred, because distress sales and seizures for non-payment of debt were adjudicated there. The resolutions adopted at Hatfield were imitated in other conventions, and large groups of men decided to take action by forming mobs and disrupting court proceedings in the various counties in Massachusetts.

29 Aug 1786: The Court of Common Pleas at Northampton, MA was disrupted by a mob of 1,500 armed men, who had occupied the court before the judges arrived. This encouraged other groups to do the same in other towns.

5 Sep 1786: The Court of Common Pleas at Worcester, MA was disrupted by an armed mob. The local militia sided with the mob, and the court was adjourned.

11–14 Sep 1786: The convention at Annapolis opened to discuss a system of uniform trade regulations. Unfortunately, only delegates from Virginia, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania were present. Although most of the other states had committed to sending representatives, they had not followed through, and it was not possible to take any meaningful action. But Alexander Hamilton took the opportunity to send a message to all the state legislatures urging them to appoint delegates to meet in May 1787 at Philadelphia to consider matters of general importance to the states, to report to Congress of their recommendations, and hopefully have them endorsed by the legislatures of the states in order for them to go into effect. Hamilton's actions were prompted partly by his desire to advance a union of the states, and partly by the fact that the delegates from New Jersey had already been instructed to discuss not only commercial problems but other items that would promote the common interests of the states.

12 Sep 1786: The Courts of Common Pleas at Concord and Great Barrington, MA were disrupted by armed mobs. At Great Barrington, the mob broke into the jail and set the prisoners free, and intimidated three of the four judges to sign papers stating they would not exercise their duties until the complaints of the people had been addressed by the legislature.

Mid-Sep 1786: The problem with the paper money in Rhode Island came to a head when John Trevett tried to pay the butcher John Weeden in the paper money, which Weeden refused except at a large discount. Trevett turned Weeden in per the Forcing Act of May 1786, and the case went to court in mid-Sep 1786. The court found the Forcing Act to be unconstitutional. In order to maintain the viability of the paper currency, the Rhode Island legislature removed four of the five judges who had decided the case, and proposed a new law called the Test Oath in which an oath to accept the currency at par was required before: a) anyone could vote; b) anyone could hold office; c) lawyers could practice; or d) ships captains could leave port.

19–21 Sep 1786: The Supreme Court of Massachusetts was scheduled to open at Springfield. In light of the disruptions of the past few weeks, Governor

Bowdoin ordered General Shepard and his militia to occupy the courthouse beforehand in order to ensure that it could do business. But the militia was met by a group of rebels, who called themselves The Regulators, led by Daniel Shays, who had served as a captain during the war. There was a tense standoff between the Regulators and the militia, and the court adjourned 21 Sep 1786 when it could not do business owing to a lack of jurors.

20–21 Sep 1786: A group of about 400 armed men assembled in Kingston, NH, where the General Court was in session. They marched to Exeter, where the House and Senate were in session. There they demanded an answer to an earlier petition, which had demanded paper money, equal distribution of property, and release from debts. The Senate refused to be intimidated by the show of force, and rejected their demands. The mob kept a vigil outside the Assembly until late that night, when they retreated after hearing what they believed to be a militia coming to assist the government. On 21 Sep, a group of men from the town formed a militia, led by the president of New Hampshire, and pursued the rebels to a tavern nearby. The rebels retreated to Kings Fall bridge and made a stand. They were defeated by the militia, and about forty were taken prisoner. The prompt action by the government prevented a long popular revolt in New Hampshire.

26–27 Sep 1786: Shays heard a rumor that the Massachusetts Supreme Court was not going to convene at Great Barrington as scheduled. But he believed this to be a ruse, and marched his “Regulators” there and occupied the town. But when they got there, they found the court was in fact to sit at Boston. Disappointed, the rebels started a riot, searched some houses, and ran a few government officials out of town. The Court convened without incident at Boston on the 27th.

Early Oct 1786: Three conventions were held in Worcester, Boston, and Middlesex, MA by people angry about the state of the economy and the lawsuits over debt. Each of them filed petitions with the state legislature. The main complaints were about the various courts (General Sessions of the Peace, Common Pleas, Probate, and General), the lack of money, and the manner in which revenues from the import duties and excise taxes were appropriated.

10 Oct 1786: Hamilton's recommendation of a convention in Philadelphia was defeated by arguments made by Rufus King and Nathan Dale before the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Their argument was that: a) legally, only Congress could recommend a conference to consider modifying the Articles; and b) any recommendation for alteration had to be confirmed by the state legislatures, but they could not do so if the recommendation were done by a convention. Massachusetts thus declined to appoint delegates to the proposed convention in Philadelphia.

Mid-Oct 1786: The debate in Georgia over paper money came to an end. Workers and farmers were opposed to paper money, knowing that it always depreciated. In a meeting in Sep 1785 in Savannah, they had issued a resolution noting that paper money had previously been discharged at 1,000 to one, and any new issue was likely to meet the same fate. Their view was that the new paper could not be accepted at par, but only for what could be obtained for it in coin. But the merchants wanted it, and used their political power to force a law through the legislature in mid-October requiring that the new paper be accepted at par. The law required farmers and merchants to certify under an affidavit that they accepted the paper currency at par; if the farmer refused, merchants would boycott his products, and he would be left with unsellable commodities.

16 Oct 1786: Congress passed a resolution establishing a mint.

16 Oct 1786: The Virginia legislature passed a resolution to send delegates to the proposed convention in Philadelphia, based on the recommendation from the meeting at Annapolis and the report made in Congress on 15 Feb 1786. Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia then sent out a circular letter to the other states asking them to do likewise.

23 Oct 1786: Congress was still trying to obtain sufficient authorization from the states to regulate foreign commerce. At this point, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Georgia, Rhode Island, and Delaware had passed resolutions conforming to the required powers. But the measures passed by North Carolina and New Hampshire were too broad and not in compliance with the request; Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina had passed resolutions but the power to be conveyed was to start and end

on different dates, making them also out of compliance. Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, and New Jersey had made their grants contingent on all the others being in operation. Congress again issued a recommendation to the non-complying states to revise their legislation.

Early Nov 1786: Most people of Rhode Island were not willing to endorse the severe restrictions per the proposed Test Oath act that would prop up the paper currency, and it failed in a general referendum. By Nov 1786, the paper currency that had been issued in May had depreciated to 6:1.

Mid-Nov 1786: The legislature of Vermont had passed a paper money decision over to the General Court at Rutland for their advice. During the session, a group of armed men calling themselves the “Regulators” came into town and tried to influence the court with a show of force. The sheriff called out the local militia, and after a few days standoff, the men dispersed.

18 Nov 1786: The state legislature in Massachusetts adjourned, having addressed (so they thought) the concerns expressed by the petitions presented by the three conventions in Middlesex, Boston, and Worcester in October. But the remedies suggested by the legislature proved to be the spark that set off Shays’ Rebellion.

21 Nov 1786: The Court of General Sessions was prevented from sitting at Worcester, Massachusetts due to the court being occupied by a band of armed men.

23 Nov 1786: A convention assembled at Worcester read the resolutions adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts in response to the petitions of Oct 1786. These were condemned as the work of people out of touch with the common people. The members of the legislature were accused of being men of affluence, of never having experienced being sued for non-payment of debts or having their property seized for inability to pay the high property taxes (all of which was true). The convention likewise condemned the interference with the courts, but to no avail.

23 Nov 1786: The New Jersey legislature voted to send delegates to the convention at Philadelphia.

25 Nov 1786: A large group of rebels from Bristol, Worcester, Hampshire, and Middlesex met at Middlesex, despite a previous pledge to prominent people of Middlesex that they would not assemble.

29–30 Nov 1786: Governor Bowdoin of Massachusetts had issued orders a few weeks earlier against the rebel leaders, and called out a posse to capture them. On the 29th, they captured two of the rebels, Parker and Page, but Shattuck had escaped. The posse went to Shattuck's house in Groton, where Shattuck was found hiding in the nearby woods; after a brief fight, they wounded and captured Shattuck.

~2 Dec 1786: A large band of rebels under Shays assembled at Worcester, despite freezing cold and deep snow. He imposed on residents of the town to house his men, which provoked many people in the state against him when the news got out.

4 Dec 1786: The militia was called out in Boston to defend the city against an attack by Shays' Regulators, to be commanded by General Lincoln.

4 Dec 1786: Virginia selected Washington, Madison, Mason, and Randolph to be delegates to the Philadelphia convention. Virginia played a very important part in getting the convention to meet, for choosing Washington as a delegate underscored the gravity of the situation and made it very difficult for the other states to refuse.

9 Dec 1786: Shays decided to retreat from Worcester rather than attack Boston; it was very confused and haphazard, as his men were not well-trained. A few died of exposure, and nearly all suffered some frostbite.

Mid-Dec 1786: Governor Bowdoin decided to raise a militia to deal with Shays, but was careful to select militiamen who did not reside in the same areas as Shays' men. This was done to prevent a situation in which friends and neighbors would fight each other in the fields. A force of 4,400 was called up: 500 from Essex, 700 from Suffolk, 800 from Middlesex, 1,200 from Hampshire, and 1,200 from Worcester. The contingents from Suffolk and Essex were to be stationed in Boston; those from Hampshire to be stationed in Springfield, and the men from Worcester to be stationed at the eastern part of the county. They were enlisted for 30 days starting from 18 Jan 1787. General Lincoln was in overall command, assisted by Generals Tupper, Shepard, and Patterson. But it was soon discovered that there was no money in the treasury to pay them, and the legislature was out of session. Even if it were called in, any tax levied would be too late to make timely payment to the soldiers. A group of wealthy businessmen volunteered to fund the militia.

30 Dec 1786: The Pennsylvania legislature voted to send delegates to the convention at Philadelphia, based on the suggestion made by the legislature of Virginia (16 Oct 1786).

31 Dec 1786: Congress had received only SM\$500,000 of the money requisitioned from the states over the past two years. Congress was delinquent on its interest payments. The response from the states was not uniform: New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were paid up; Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut had paid some, but were in arrears; North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia had not made much payment at all since the end of the war.

1787

Jan 1787: By this time, Congress as an institution was considered practically useless. It was disrespected even by its own members; it did not even have a consistent meeting location. It had been chased out of Philadelphia by some rowdy soldiers. It had been formed in wartime to meet an immediate need, which was now passed. The states held nearly all the relevant powers that were needed in peacetime. Although the states were united in a confederation, and had benefitted by being allied in a single object of obtaining freedom from the British, the people of the respective states were too provincial in their views and their politicians were too occupied with maintaining their power. Congress had made treaties, but the states violated the provisions; Congress had borrowed money, but the states refused revenue to repay the loans; Congress had proposed good resolutions, but they were negated by the action of a single state; Congress could establish an army, but the states could refuse to supply it. In short, Congress was powerless to act in a national spirit when it was called for.

6 Jan 1787: North Carolina agreed to send delegates to the convention at Philadelphia.

24–30 Jan 1787: Shays had marched his men to Springfield, planning to capture the supplies at the arsenal there by defeating Shepard before Lincoln could arrive from Worcester. His men were split into three groups commanded by Luke Day, Eli Parsons, and Shays himself. Shepard had already arranged his troops on the heights surrounding the town. On the 24th, Shays ordered

Day to attack on the 25th, but Day, determined to gain all the glory for himself, sent a message back to Shays informing him that he would not attack until the 26th. But Day's message to Shays was intercepted and sent to Lincoln. Shays attacked Shepard on the 26th, but his inexperienced men panicked after a few casualties, and most of his men retreated to Ludlow. On the 26th, they met with Parsons at Chicopee, and found that 200 had deserted. Parsons escaped over the border to New Hampshire and then to New York. Shays remained in Springfield with a small force. On the 27th, Lincoln arrived in Springfield, and had a skirmish with Shays; Shays' army retreated to and pillaged S. Hadley, then continued to Amherst. The retreat was so disorderly that Shays' men killed some of their own when they mistook their rear guard for Lincoln's men. Lincoln pursued Shays as far as Amherst on the 28th, but Shays had by that time moved to Pelham and took up a strong position in the hills. Meanwhile, Day had captured a few of Shepard's men, so General Tupper was dispatched to rescue them. They located the captured men at Middlefield, rescued them, and captured a small band of rebels under Luddington.

27–30 Jan 1787: A group of rebels under Hubbard had assembled at W. Stockbridge; their plan was to aid Shays by diverting the army to several places at once. However, Hubbard was defeated by Patterson and was captured. The ones who escaped retreated, but were pursued and defeated by Patterson at Adams and Williamstown. The rebels then began to move on Washington (MA).

1–5 Feb 1787: Lincoln traded messages with Shays about a meeting to discuss a truce and pardon. They agreed to meet on 3 Feb, but Shays used it as a ruse to escape. He assembled his force, and marched to Petersham on the 2nd. Lincoln pursued him on the 3rd, and arrived in Petersham on the 4th. His army was strung out for 5 miles along the road owing to the cold and wind. Even so, Shays' men had gotten comfortable in Petersham, and were taken by surprise. They had not expected to be pursued promptly, and when they were warned of Lincoln's arrival, they dispersed without a fight, although some of them regathered at Northfield. Daniel Shays was captured. With Shays' men now scattered, Lincoln was confident that the revolt was over; he marched to Pittsfield via Amherst, Hadley, Chesterfield, Partridgefield, and Worthington, and ordered Shepard to meet him there.

- 3 Feb 1787: The Delaware legislature agreed to send delegates to the Philadelphia convention, based on the suggestion from the legislature of Virginia.
- 10–25 Feb 1787: Eli Parsons, having escaped capture in Massachusetts, traveled from town to town in Vermont and New York, trying to get up a force to fight Lincoln. He was successful, especially since the people of Vermont were favorably disposed to the motives of Shays.
- 10 Feb 1787: The Georgia legislature voted to send delegates to the convention in Philadelphia.
- 15 Feb 1787: The legislature of New York gave its final refusal to give Congress a power to raise revenues via an import duty. This proved to be fatal to the Confederation, as Congress was forced to accept that there was no hope of a stable revenue stream, even though the other twelve states had approved it. It led to the reconsideration by Congress of a convention at Philadelphia to modify the Articles.
- 21 Feb 1787: The state legislature in Massachusetts approved sending delegates to a general convention in Philadelphia; it was the seventh to do so and thus met the requirement for a quorum.
- 21 Feb 1787: Congress reconsidered Hamilton's recommendation made at Annapolis in Sep 1786 for a convention at Philadelphia. Congress was under great political pressure to deal with the problems among the states, especially in view of Shay's rebellion, the talk of secession by some states, and its own inability to accomplish anything. At this point, Massachusetts and New York were on record as being opposed to the Annapolis recommendation on the ground that a convention was illegitimate unless called by Congress. On 21 Feb 1787 Congress passed a carefully crafted resolution that would preserve the endorsements already received per the recommendation out of Annapolis, but would allay the concerns of Massachusetts and New York. Unknown to Congress, Massachusetts had that same day passed a resolution approving attendance at the convention. The appointed day was 14 May 1787. Many of the states had already chosen their delegates. Virginia had chosen Washington to be one of its delegates, and by doing so eased the opposition to the convention.

The resolution reads: "Whereas there is provision, in the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, for making alterations therein, by

the assent of a Congress of the United States, and of the legislatures of the several states; and whereas experience hath evinced that there are defects in the present Confederation; as a means to remedy which, several of the states, and particularly the state of New York, by express instructions to their delegates in Congress, have suggested a convention for the purposes expressed in the following resolution; and such convention appearing to be the most probable means of establishing in these states a firm national government, —Resolved, That in the opinion of Congress, it is expedient that, on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several states, be held in Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the states, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union.”¹⁴

26 Feb–1 Mar 1787: A rebel force from New York, assembled by Parsons, and commanded by Hamlin, invaded Stockbridge, plundered it, and took some prominent men as hostages. The militia at Sheffield and Great Barrington were called out, and they marched around trying to find Hamlin. They stumbled across him by accident at Springfield. They defeated Hamlin and captured him, and this ended Shays’ Rebellion. Hamlin had missed a golden opportunity; if he had attacked a few days earlier, he would have been unopposed, since the militia’s enlistments had run out on the 21st, and for a few days, Lincoln only had 30 men in the field.

28 Feb 1787: The New York legislature agreed to send delegates to the convention at Philadelphia, but did not mention either the resolution of Congress or the recommendation made from the meeting at Annapolis.

8 Mar 1787: The South Carolina legislature voted to send delegates to the convention in Philadelphia.

10 Mar 1787: The legislature of Massachusetts, hard pressed by inability to pay its debts, and faced with riots and rebellions, recognized that a stronger union was necessary in order to solve the financial problems of the states. It voted to endorse Congress’ recommendation of 21 Feb 1787 and send delegates to Philadelphia.

Apr 1787: James Madison wrote an essay called “Vices of the Political System of the United States.”¹⁵ He provided a brief summary of the problems encountered under the Articles of Confederation: a) states were unwilling to supply the requisitions ordered by Congress; b) violations of the Articles by some states, especially with regard to treaties with the Indians and treaties among themselves; c) violations by the states of treaties made with Great Britain, France, and Holland; d) economic feuds between the states; e) inability of the states to form a united front with regard to commercial relations with foreign nations; f) inability to deal with rebellions in the states; g) inability of Congress to enforce its decisions on the states; h) the fact that the Articles were not adopted in the same way in all states (in some it was referenced in their constitutions, in others by a simple statute); i) expansion of laws in the states and constant alteration of them; and j) unjust laws passed in some states.

12 May 1787: The Connecticut legislature voted to send delegates to the convention in Philadelphia.

25 May–17 Sep 1787: A quorum of seven states was required to begin the convention at Philadelphia. The original opening day was supposed to have been 14 May 1787, but many were delayed in getting to Philadelphia. On 25 May 1787, delegates from nine states (Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia) assembled at Independence Hall in Philadelphia to debate modifications to the Articles of Confederation. George Washington was chosen to be the president of the Convention. Delegates from Connecticut and Maryland arrived on 29 May, and those from New Hampshire arrived on 23 Jul. Rhode Island never did participate. It became apparent early on that modification of the Articles was impractical, and the delegates set about framing a new Constitution. After several months of negotiations, all done in secret, the delegates issued a proposed Constitution on 17 Sep 1787, and submitted it to the states for ratification. James Madison took extensive notes of the proceedings, but they were kept secret until 1830, when he began editing them for publication, a task he never completed.

26 May 1787: The Maryland legislature voted to send delegates to the convention in Philadelphia.

Jun 1787: The paper currency issued by Rhode Island in May 1786 had depreciated to 8:1. The farmers of Rhode Island began to resort to barter, and land rents were paid in corn.

27 Jun 1787: New Hampshire's legislature voted to send delegates to the convention in Philadelphia.

13 Jul 1787: Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance. This law consolidated the lands in the northwest into the Territory of Ohio, with a prohibition on the institution of slavery in that territory and any states that would ultimately be formed from it. The conditions set out included the following: a) intestate property was to be divided equally among all children, or in case of no children, progressing to next of kin; b) offices of governor and judges were established; c) the militia was placed under control of the governor; d) counties or townships obtained representation in the assembly when the adult male population exceeded 5,000; e) the territory was eventually to be divided into three to five states; f) religious freedom was guaranteed; g) people were guaranteed rights of habeas corpus, trial by jury, compensation for property taken for public use; h) people with 50 acres of property would be eligible to vote; i) slavery was prohibited; and j) the 23 Apr 1784 Ordinance was repealed. Under the Articles, Congress did not actually have authority to pass this Ordinance, but had done it out of necessity.

18 Jul 1786: Congress ratified a treaty with the "Emperor" of Morocco to end the piracy upon American ships in the Mediterranean, which had been negotiated on 28 Jun 1786. An additional article covering the status of ships in a war zone was added on 15 Jul 1786. It contained the following provisions: a) both parties to remain neutral if the other is in a state of war; b) immunity of ships in war; c) no piracy by either party; d) each to open ports for resupply of ships; e) mutual defense at sea; f) no searches of ships in ports; g) most favored nation trading status; and h) in case of war between parties, prisoners to be exchanged instead of being sold into slavery.

17 Sep 1787: The constitutional convention at Philadelphia closed, and sent the proposed Constitution to Congress, to be transmitted to the states for ratification.

27 Oct 1787–28 May 1788: *The Federalist Papers*, authored by John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison, were published as a series of essays under the

pen name Publius in various newspapers throughout the state of New York. Their purpose was to convince the people of New York and their delegates of the necessity of a federal union per the proposed Constitution.

By the time the last essay was published, eight states had already ratified the Constitution: 1) Delaware, 6 Dec 1787; 2) Pennsylvania, 12 Dec 1787; 3) New Jersey, 18 Dec 1787; 4) Georgia, 2 Jan 1788; 5) Connecticut, 9 Jan 1788; 6) Massachusetts, 6 Feb 1788; 7) Maryland, 28 Apr 1788; and 8) South Carolina, 23 May 1788.

On 21 Jun 1788, New Hampshire ratified the Constitution, which was the critical ninth state to ratify, and cause the Constitution to go into effect for those nine states. Virginia ratified it on 25 Jun 1788. The state of New York, to which *The Federalist Papers* was directed, ratified it on 26 Jul 1788. On 16 Sep 1788, Congress ceased operations under the authority of the Articles of Confederation. Its last act was to defer negotiations with Spain until the new government under the Constitution convened.

On 4 Mar 1789, the federal government of the United States of America went into operation with the swearing-in of Congress, followed by the swearing-in of George Washington as the first President of the United States on 30 Apr 1789. North Carolina and Rhode Island joined the union as the 12th and 13th states on 21 Nov 1789 and 29 May 1790 respectively.

2.5 Summary of the Defects of the Confederation

The foregoing chronology provides ample evidence of the failure of the Confederation, and the consequent need for a different type of government. The Articles of Confederation were a loose confederacy of the states, designed mainly as a military alliance to prosecute the Revolution. It was constructed as a legislative-diplomatic mutual cooperation pact among the states. But it contained fatal defects which were apparent enough during the war but which reached critical status during the peace.

First, the Confederation was a weak debating society of loosely allied states promoting their own parochial interests. It was not a coherent central government and therefore was unable to take decisive action when necessary. This led to inefficient use of the military, interference with the prosecution of the war, and promotion of general officers on the basis of regional favoritism instead of

capability. Its weakness was made worse by the requirement of nine of thirteen states to agree on most important matters. Concurrence of all thirteen was required to amend the Confederation.

Secondly, it had no means to obtain revenue on its own authority. It relied entirely on the states to fulfill their requisitions. Despite the exigencies of the war and expenses afterward, Congress usually received no more than 20 to 25% of what it had requisitioned from the states. At one point in 1782, there was no money in the treasury at all. Without a reliable revenue stream, Congress resorted to borrowing from foreign governments, and issuing Continental paper currency and bills of credit, which circulated like currency. But since the paper currency could not be redeemed or guaranteed, they declined in relative value until they became worthless. Because so much currency had been issued without a viable means to ensure their worth, the usual inflationary trend had set in. By mid-1780, the depreciation became unsustainable. The people lost all confidence in the ability or willingness of Congress to redeem the Continentals. They were widely refused, regarded as worthless, and were withdrawn from circulation in May 1781. The Continental had degenerated into a joke; some people used it for wallpaper.

This depreciation most injured the poor and those whose patriotism led them to accept the bills at par. Congress attempted to justify the mountains of increasingly worthless paper currency as a gradual tax, but in fact, like any non-redeemable currency, it simply robbed anyone who accepted it. A computation in 1790 showed that \$357,476,451 in “old tenor” (prior to 1780) Continental currency had been issued in addition to \$2,070,485 in “new tenor” (1780–1781), with up to \$200,000,000 circulating at any one time.¹⁶

Another effect was that Congress simply could not pay its debts and frequently defaulted, which in turn made it even more difficult to pay for the war expenses, and made prosecution of the war less efficient. Because it could not pay a suitable regular army, Congress was forced to rely on state militias, with all the inconveniences of short enlistments and state rivalries. There is no question that the militia played a crucial role in maintaining the war, especially during the initial conflict at Boston, in the months before Burgoyne’s surrender at Saratoga, and for nearly a year after Gates’ defeat at Camden. However, it is likely that the war could have been shortened considerably if Congress could have fielded

and equipped an army commensurate with the nation's true resources. But it did not have the money to do so.

Third, the league had no executive or judicial functions, and was unable to compel the states to meet their obligations. It did not have the means to force the states to comply with treaties that Congress had negotiated with foreign government. As a result, foreign nations were reluctant to enter into treaties beneficial to the United States out of concern that the Americans would not uphold their end of the bargain. There was a very real risk that the thirteen states would be surrounded in the west by two hostile powers, Spain and Great Britain, yet Congress had insufficient power to restrain them. Also, disputes between the states simply continued to fester, thus weakening the confederation.

Fourth, Congress had no means to enforce its own resolutions on the states. The states competed with Congress in the use of most sovereign powers, including coining money and maintaining armies. The power to create paper currency proved to be the most damaging of all. Throughout 1785 and 1786, all the states except Connecticut and Delaware began to issue paper money on their own credit. The worst offenders were New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. A small amount of paper currency was issued by Virginia, Maryland, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. As usual, an unbacked currency is soon depreciated, with a commensurate rise in prices. Rapid inflation soon occurred in both Carolinas; farmers eventually began to refuse the paper money. In response the governments of these two states started "Hint Clubs" to intimidate the people into accepting the paper currency, urging them to consider the paper as if it were as good as gold. The state of Georgia resorted to blunt coercion, making the paper into legal tender despite widespread opposition. Farmers and merchants were required to sign affidavits that they accepted the currency at face value under penalty of prohibition of exporting any of their goods. These tactics did not work, and the value of the currency continued to fall. The people began to lose confidence in their state governments, especially in light of their experience with the Continental currency. Shays' Rebellion was a popular revolt by debtors who were suffering from the depreciation of the paper money and the imposition of high land taxes, and lacking the access to hard money to buy the things they

needed. But it was an indication of the desperate nature of the larger economic crisis in the New England states.

Fifth, Congress had no power to regulate commerce. By 1783, the British Navigation Acts had severely damaged the economies of the states. The states were free to pass their own foreign commerce regulations, but could not solve the problem. An individual state could not respond by prohibiting British ships in its ports, for if it did so, there was a risk that a neighboring state would welcome them. In that case, the prohibiting state would suffer a reduction in trade with no offsetting benefit. Each state had a choice to either do nothing or attempt to do something to gain an advantage at the risk of injuring itself. This led to a foreign policy competition among the states.

By 1785, the states began preying on each other for commercial advantage, adopting various tariff and tonnage duties which amounted to an economic war between the states. Among the provisions adopted: a) Connecticut opened its ports to British ships, in direct opposition to the policies adopted by Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island; b) Connecticut imposed duties on imports from Massachusetts; c) Pennsylvania enacted a series of discriminatory trade provisions against Delaware; d) New York and Pennsylvania both imposed sanctions on New Jersey. Rhode Island was the worst offender, New York next. The predatory actions of New York were motivated by a policy of monopoly acquisition, trade manipulation, and animosity toward the other states. Yet Congress could do nothing about it.

Sixth, after the return of peace, some states did not take the Articles seriously; sometimes Congress was unable to assemble a quorum for regular business.

Seventh, Congress did not have the military means to deal with security issues. It could not pay an army to force Britain to abide by the provision of the treaty which required the British to evacuate their forts in the western territories. It also could do nothing about the atrocities committed by the Barbary pirates against American shipping. It had neither a sufficient military force nor the political will to suppress Shays' Rebellion.

Weak at home, despised abroad, bankrupt, beset by internal dissensions, threatened with secession by some states, and unable to command any respect by anyone, the "united states" were at risk of either being conquered by Spain or Great

Britain or degenerating into civil wars among themselves. Some states distrusted any notion of union at all; some thought a monarchy would provide the best security. Against this backdrop of anarchy and desperation came the call to meet in Philadelphia to discuss what course should be taken, although the immediate driving forces behind the movement to a convention were Shays' Rebellion and the failure to obtain an import duty authority. From this meeting comprised of the right mix of theoretical geniuses and practical men came the Constitution.

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3

The Articles of Confederation

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia

Article I. The style of this Confederacy shall be “The United States of America.”

Article II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

Article III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force

offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Article IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same

duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given, in each of these States, to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

Article V. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall

direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments during the time of their

going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Article VI. No State, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state; nor shall the United States, in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any impost or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state,

in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States, in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States, Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay, till the United States, in Congress assembled, can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to

any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States, in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state and the subjects thereof against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be invested by pirates, in which case vessels of war be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

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

Article VIII. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States, in Congress assembled, shall

be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled.

Article IX. The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth Article; of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for

deciding, in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of capture; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of said courts.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort on appeal, in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be

directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they can not agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority

of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall, nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned; provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, “well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment without favour, affection, or hope of reward.” Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants, are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner

as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between the different States.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the States; provided that the legislative right of State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of

Congress, to be denominated “a Committee of the States,” and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint other such committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and

within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled; but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number can not be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow

money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same, nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months; and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

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

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

Article XII. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction

whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

Article XIII. Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

And whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, Know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we

do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them; and that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual. Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

The Proposed U. S. Constitution

The Constitution of the United States of America

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I.

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union,

according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. [14th]

The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, *chosen by the Legislature thereof; [17th]* for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; *and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies. [17th]*

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Place of Choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on *the first Monday in December*, [20th] unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, and punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three

days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall

take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and Post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the

Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed. *No capitiation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken. [16th]*

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of

any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually

invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II.

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not lie an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed

to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice-President. [12th]

The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the

Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected. [25th]

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States,

whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III.

Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; to Controversies to which the

United States shall be a Party; to Controversies between two or more States; *between a State and Citizens of another State [11th]*; between Citizens of different States; between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, *and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects. [11th]*

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted

of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article IV.

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State; And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed

to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof; escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, But shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due. [13th]

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall

protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Article VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

George Washington—President and deputy from Virginia
 New Hampshire—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman
 Massachusetts—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King
 Connecticut—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman
 New York—Alexander Hamilton
 New Jersey—William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas FitzSimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris
 Delaware—George Read, Gunning Bedford Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom
 Maryland—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll
 Virginia—John Blair, James Madison Jr.
 North Carolina—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson
 South Carolina—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler
 Georgia—William Few, Abraham Baldwin
 Attest: William Jackson, Secretary

An Outline of *The Federalist Papers*

The outline and index reference *The Federalist Papers* by essay number and paragraph number (although the paragraphs were not numbered when originally published). This scheme offers several advantages over the conventional page indexing. First, the outline and index may be utilized in conjunction with any of the many published editions of *The Federalist Papers*. Secondly, the use of paragraph numbers makes the logic and organization more clear. Third, the background discussion and exposition of particular provisions of the Constitution can be done all in one place.

It seems a little strange that an extended outline of a series of eighteenth century essays would even be useful in the twenty-first century. But I believe that such a book is both relevant and necessary. It is important for us as citizens to be familiar with the underlying philosophy and structure of the

federal government. *The Federalist Papers*, written to explain the newly-devised Constitution and why it should be ratified, is an excellent way to understand the Constitution and the rationale of the founding generation. However, at nearly 200,000 words, it is a considerable demand on one's time. So, this section was written with three objectives in mind. First, it provides an overview of *The Federalist Papers* in a simple outline form such that the reader can see immediately how the authors attacked the problem of explaining the Constitution. Secondly, it shows how the authors structured their argument and shows what points were of special concern to them. Third, it provides a ready means of searching through the various essays by topic. It is not intended to replace a thorough reading of the original essays (there is no substitute for that), but I hope it will make reading them more efficient.

In the Outline, a particular essay is denoted by its number (1 through 85) and the paragraph within each is denoted by a “P” followed by a number. Thus, the annotation “7P2–4” indicates the second through fourth paragraphs of the 7th essay in the series.

The arguments presented in *The Federalist Papers* address not only the general problem of the structure and powers of a government suitable for a free people, but also how the proposed Constitution would serve to correct many of the problems that had occurred during this period. Examples

include: a) division of opinion among the states regarding relations with Spain and navigation of the Mississippi River (3P5); b) states levying import and export duties on other states (7P6); c) rebellions (9P12); d) Congress’ inability to obtain an import duty authority (12P4–9); e) Congress’ inability to force the states to comply with laws (21P2); f) the general failure of the quota and requisition system (30P6, 7); g) the general problem of compliance with treaties (22P3–15) and; h) land disputes between the states (80P21). All of these, and many more, were resolved by the Constitution.

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Amendments to the U. S. Constitution after Ratification

Amendment I.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment III.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment IV.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment VI.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory

process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Amendment VII.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 15 Dec 1791)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Amendment XI.

(Proposed 4 Mar 1794, ratified 7 Feb 1795)

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Amendment XII.

(Proposed 9 Dec 1803, ratified 15 Jun 1804)

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted

for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;

The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;

The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. *And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall*

act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. [20th]

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Amendment XIII.

(Proposed 31 Jan 1865, ratified 6 Dec 1865)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV.

(Proposed 13 Jun 1866, ratified 9 Jul 1868)

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial

officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV.

(Proposed 26 Feb 1869, ratified 3 Feb 1870)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XVI.

(Proposed 12 Jul 1909, ratified 3 Feb 1913)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment XVII.

(Proposed 13 May 1912, ratified 8 Apr 1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to

make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Amendment XVIII.

(Proposed 18 Dec 1917, ratified 16 Jan 1919)

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven

years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress. [21st]

Amendment XIX.

(Proposed 4 Jun 1919, ratified 18 Aug 1920)

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XX.

(Proposed 2 Mar 1932, ratified 23 Jan 1933)

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right

of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment XXI.

(Proposed 20 Feb 1933, ratified 5 Dec 1933)

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use

therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. The article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXII.

(Proposed 21 Mar 1947, ratified 27 Feb 1951)

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from

holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXIII.

(Proposed 17 Jun 1960, ratified 29 Mar 1961)

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by

a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV.

(Proposed 27 Aug 1962, ratified 23 Jan 1964)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXV.

(Proposed 6 Jul 1965, ratified 10 Feb 1967)

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or

of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty one days after Congress is required to

assemble, determines by two thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment XXVI.

(Proposed 23 Mar 1971, ratified 1 Jul 1971)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXVII.

(Proposed 25 Sep 1789, ratified 7 May 1992)

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1	6	2	55P9: How this provision prevents corruption of the Congress 76P10: Prevention of undue executive influence upon the legislative

Constitution		Where Discussed in <i>The Federalist Papers</i>	
Article	Section	Clause	
1	7	1	48P6: “legislative department alone has access to the pockets of the people” 58P11, 12: “they, [House of Representatives] in a word, hold the purse” 66P7: How this provision contributes to balance in legislative department
1	7	2	51P6: Limited veto as counterweight to natural weakness of executive branch 69P5, 11: President has only a qualified veto on the legislative 73P4–13: Explains why a qualified veto is best compromise and balance
1	7	3	69P5: Legislative override of a veto 73P13–15: Unlikely that bad legislation could survive a veto
1	8	1	12P1–9: Commerce as a source of revenue through import duties 23P6: “can be no limitation of that authority which is to provide for the defense” 30P5–32P5: This provision resolves the deficiency of the requisition system 34P4–35P4: National defense may require unlimited revenue 36P9–13, 16: Balance between State and federal revenues 41P22–26: Constitutional powers are limited to those enumerated in this section 56P6, 7: Direct taxation aided by knowledge of members of Congress
1	8	2	30P6–10: Even wealthy nations must borrow to finance wars 38P9: Congress under the Articles of Confederation had power to borrow money 41P6, 22: “the sinew of that which is to be exerted in the national defense”
1	8	3	11P1–4: General importance of commercial regulations

Constitution		Where Discussed in <i>The Federalist Papers</i>	
Article	Section	Clause	
1	8	4	22P2, 3: Regulation of foreign commerce “demands a federal superintendence” 42P11–13: Corrects defects in the Articles of Confederation
1	8	5	32P2: Uniformity of naturalization requires federal power 42P17, 18: Resolves conflicting citizenship requirements among the States
1	8	6	42P14, 16: Coinage omitted from Articles; weights and measures copied from it 42P15: Punishment for counterfeiting rests with issuing authority
1	8	7	42P20: “a harmless power ... tends to facilitate the intercourse between the States”
1	8	8	43P2, 3: “States cannot separately make effectual provision”
1	8	9	81P10–14: “to obviate the necessity of having recourse to the Supreme Court”
1	8	10	42P5: “For the sake of certainty and uniformity”
1	8	11	41P6–10: “security against foreign danger is one of the primitive objects of civil society”
1	8	12	22P5, 6: Corrects defect in the Articles of Confederation 23P4–10: “authorities essential to the common defense”
1	8	13	24P1–25P9: Protection against standing army in time of peace 26P9, 10, 13: “to deliberate on the propriety of keeping a military force on foot” 41P9–18: Necessary to be ready for war in time of peace
1	8	14	11P5–7, 9–11: Necessary for “influencing the conduct of European nations toward us” 41P9, 10, 19, 20: “a principal source of [American] security against danger from abroad” 41P13–15: “destroys every pretext for military establishment which could be dangerous”

Constitution			Where Discussed in <i>The Federalist Papers</i>
Article	Section	Clause	
1	8	15	9P12, 14: “tendency of the Union to repress domestic faction and insurrection” 28P1–5: “there could be no remedy but force” 29P10–13: Militia necessary for insurrections, but also for suppressing tyrants
1	8	16	29P1–9: Militia not a danger to liberty, even when called into service by federal 56P8: Similarity between militia and principle of taxation
1	8	17	32P2: An example of exclusive authority granted to the union 43P4–6: Seat of federal government must be independent of any State government
1	8	18	23P5, 9: “means ought to be proportioned to the end” 33P1, 3–7: As caution against an attempt to evade legitimate federal authority 44P10–17: Necessary to provide substance to powers
1	9	1	38P9: Provision regarding slaves is an improvement over the Articles of Confederation 42P7, 8: “a great point gained in favor of humanity”
1	9	2	84P4, 5: A fundamental protection against arbitrary government
1	9	3	84P4, 5: A protection against “most formidable instruments of tyranny”
1	9	4	21P6: Corrects the quota system in the Articles of Confederation 36P6–9: “shuts the door to partiality or oppression”
1	9	5	12P8, 9: Provision avoids the problem of easy illicit trade
1	9	6	32P2: Net result is that federal power applies only to duties on imports 7P5, 6: Resolves problem of predatory duties levied by States

Constitution			Where Discussed in <i>The Federalist Papers</i>
Article	Section	Clause	
1	9	7	11P12: “intercourse between the States themselves will advance the trade of each”
1	9	8	58P11: “the most complete and effectual weapon” 39P6: “republican complexion of this system” 84P4–6: “the cornerstone of republican government” 32P5: States retain all sovereign powers except as cited here 44P2–6: Improves provisions in the Articles of Confederation and State constitutions
1	10	1	80P3: Prohibitions on States arise from two types of considerations
1	10	2	7P5, 6: “particular States might endeavor to secure exclusive benefits” 22P4: “interfering and unneighborly regulations of some States” 32P2, 3, 5: “necessity of a concurrent jurisdiction in certain cases” 33P8: States retain every source of revenue except duties on imports and exports 34P1: States retain means “for supply of their own wants”
1	10	3	36P13–15: “the wants of the Union are to be supplied in one way or another” 44P7, 8: “the necessity of submitting the regulation of trade to the federal councils” 80P3: Direct negative on State laws preferable to judicial determination 8P5–7: Eliminates risk of States preying on each other 11P3: “we may oblige foreign countries to bid against each other” 25P3–5: Imitates the Articles of Confederation in regard to standing armies 44P2, 3: Provision regarding treaties and alliances per the Articles of Confederation

Where Discussed in <i>The Federalist Papers</i>				
Constitution	Article	Section	Clause	
2	1	1	1	68P9, 10: "Vice-President is to be chosen in the same manner as the President"
				69P2, 3: "vested in a single magistrate"
				71P5–7: "four years will contribute to the firmness of the Executive"
2	1	2	1	45P7: "Without the intervention of the State legislatures, the President cannot be elected"
				68P1–5: "every practicable obstacle to cabal, intrigue, and corruption"
2	1	3	3	68P5–10: [election of President] "to depend on a special body of representatives"
2	1	4	4	
2	1	5	5	
2	1	6	6	
2	1	7	7	73P1, 2: [legislative] "can neither weaken his fortitude ... nor corrupt his integrity"
2	1	8	8	64P15: "Every consideration that can influence the human mind, such as honor, oaths"
2	2	1	1	69P6, 7, 11: Comparison of President's power to that of kings and Governors
				74P1–4: General survey of powers
2	2	2	2	64P2–8: "With such men the power of making treaties may be safely lodged"
				66P9–14: President to nominate; Senate to appoint
				69P7, 9, 11: Treaties require "the concurrence of a branch of the legislature"
				69P8: Receiving ambassadors "is more a matter of dignity than authority"
2	2	3	3	67P8, 9: President cannot fill vacancies in the Senate

Constitution		Where Discussed in <i>The Federalist Papers</i>	
Article	Section	Clause	
2	3		76P1–77P8: “the true test of a good government is ... to produce a good administration” 77P9, 10: Why it may be desirable to convene the Senate alone (for treaties)
2	4		69P4: Distinction between monarchs and the President
3	1		78P5–8: Good behavior “is one of the most valuable of the modern improvements” 79P1–3, 5, 6: “support of the judges bears every mark of prudence and efficacy” 81P2–4, 11–13: Explains the district court concept 82P4–7: “State courts would have a concurrent jurisdiction”
3	2	1	17P1: Local issues “can never be the desirable cares of a general jurisdiction” 22P14, 15: Judicial power corrects a defect of the Articles of Confederation 73P15: “judges, who are to be the interpreters of the law” 80P2–22: Review of classes of federal cases
3	2	2	83P7, 8: “precise limits, beyond which the federal courts cannot extend their jurisdiction” 81P15–21, 23: Necessary to resolve issues involving representatives of sovereignties
3	2	3	81P22: Explains why both law and fact are reviewable by the Supreme Court 83P1, 3, 5, 35, 38: Why Constitution is silent on trial by jury in civil cases 84P4: General review of important rights in the body of the Constitution
3	3	1	69P6: Why treason is narrowly defined
3	3	2	43P7, 8: Restrains Congress in its punishment of treason

Constitution			Where Discussed in <i>The Federalist Papers</i>
Article	Section	Clause	
4	1		42P19: “valuable improvement on the clause ... in the articles of Confederation”
4	2	1	43P17: Provides a remedy for the confusion of terms in the Articles of Confederation
4	2	2	80P9: “equality of privileges and immunities” requires national judiciary
4	2	3	
4	3	1	14P9: “and to add to them such other States as may arise”
			43P9, 10: Corrects an omission in the Articles of Confederation
4	3	2	43P11, 12: “jealousies and questions concerning the Western territory”
4	4		21P4, 5: “A successful faction may erect a tyranny on the ruins of order and law”
			39P6: Evidence of the republican nature of the entire system
			43P13–21: “ought to possess authority to defend the system”
5			43P25, 26: Guards against frequent mutability but provides means to correct errors
			49P1–8: Why amendments are safest with the legislature or the people (convention)
			85P10–15: “every amendment to the Constitution ... would be a single proposition”
6	1		43P22–24: Change in political form does not cancel moral obligations
6	2		22P14: “treaties ... to have any force at all ... must be ... the law of the land”

Constitution Article	Section	Clause	Where Discussed in <i>The Federalist Papers</i>
			27P6: Laws are supreme if they conform to enumerated and legitimate objects
			31P10: Carrying vested authority into execution requires supremacy of the laws
			33P7, 8: “expressly confines this supremacy to laws made pursuant to the Constitution”
			44P18–23: Prevents authority of the whole from being dependent on its parts
			64P10, 11: Treaties require fidelity of both parties beyond legislative alteration
			75P1–8: Treaties are “contracts with foreign nations, which have the force of law”
6	3		27P6: “bound by the sanctity of an oath”
			44P24–26: Necessary because State officers “have essential agency” in federal operation
			64P15: “Every consideration that can influence the human mind, such as honor, oaths”
7			40P13, 19: “absurdity of subjecting the fate of twelve States ... to a thirteenth”
			43P27–31: Corrects two defects of the Articles of Confederation

