Contents

Acknowledgments xi
Preface xiii

Part One  RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION  1

I  Resistance Without Union, 1770-1774  3
   The Fallow Years  4
   The Idea of a Congress  10
   The Structure of Politics  16

II  The Creation of a Mandate  21
   The Calling of a Congress  22
   Mobilizing Popular Opinion  27
   Expectations  34

III  The First Continental Congress  42
   The Problem of Massachusetts  43
   The Association  49
   Rights and Grievances  52
Contents

IV War and Politics, 1775–1776 63
    A Mandate Renewed 64
    Policies Reconsidered 69
    The Prospect of Independence 79

V Independence 87
    The Decision for Independence 88
        Lessons 101

VI A Lengthening War 111
    Diplomacy on Two Fronts 112
        Changing Concerns 119

Part Two CONFEDERATION 133

VII Confederation Considered 135
    Confederation: An Early Chronology 136
        Initial Conceptions 139
        The Dickinson Plan 151
        Congress Debates 158

VIII Confederation Drafted 163
    Thomas Burke and the Problem of Sovereignty 164
    Confederation Completed 176
    The Limits of Constitutional Thought 183

IX The Beginnings of National Government 192
    Precedents 193
    Problems 198
    Representation Without Taxation 205
## Contents

### Part Three  CRISIS  241

#### XI  Factional Conflict and Foreign Policy  243

- Sources of Partisanship  244
- The Affairs of Silas Deane  249
- The Year of Division, 1779  255

#### XII  A Government Without Money  275

- The Problem of Supplies  276
- Confederation Reconsidered  285

#### XIII  The Administration of Robert Morris  297

- The Morris Program  298
- Morris and Congress: A Reassessment  307
- Omens  325

### Part Four  REFORM  331

#### XIV  Union Without Power:

The Confederation in Peacetime  333

- Capital  334
- Revenue  337
- Dilemmas of Foreign Policy  342
- Land  352
- Reputation  354
Contents

xv Toward the Philadelphia Convention 360
    Full Circle: The Tactics of Reform 361
    The Emergence of Madison 368
    The Deadlock of Thought 380
    The Idea of a National Government 389
    The Virtue of Isolation 396

Notes 401

A Note on Primary Sources 463

Index 471