The Beginnings of National Politics

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Chapter I: Resistance Without Union, 1770–1774


3. A. Lee to R. H. Lee, London, 14 Feb. 1773, in Paul P. Hoffman, ed., Lee Family Papers, 1742–1795 (microfilm, Charlottesville, Va., 1966), reel 2 (original in HUL; subsequent references to the microfilm will also cite repository for manuscript); and see Andrew Eliot to Thomas Hollis, Boston, 26 Jan. 1771, and Thomas Cushing to Roger Sherman, 21 Jan. 1772, Colls. MHS, 4th ser., 4 (1858), 458, 358.


5. Charles Thomson to the BCC, Phila., 19 Dec. 1773, in Letters of

6. Shippen to R. H. Lee, Phila., 25 Aug. 1770, Lee Family Papers, reel 2 (UVa); Dickinson to S. Adams, 10 April 1773, S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL.


9. Dickinson to S. Adams, 10 April 1773.


12. On Hutchinson’s debate with the General Court, see Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (Cambridge, 1974), 196–220; the entire debate is reprinted in Alden Bradford, ed., Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1775 . . . (Boston, 1818), 336–400.

13. S. Adams to Darius Sessions, et al., Boston, 28 Dec. 1772 and 2 Jan. 1773, S. Adams Papers, boxes 1 and 2 (respectively), NYPL.


15. The house reply is reprinted in Cushing, ed., Writings of Adams, II, 401–26; the reference to a congress is at 424.

16. S. Adams to A. Lee, 9 April 1773, ibid., III, 21; Cushing to Franklin, 20 April 1773. For other early references to a congress, see Samuel H. Parsons to S. Adams, Providence, 3 March 1773, S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL; “Proposals for the good of the Colonies . . . ,” Boston Gazette, 15 March 1773.

17. A. Lee to R. H. Lee, 14 Feb. 1773; A. Lee to S. Adams, 11 June 1773 and 23 June 1773, S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL; Franklin to Cushing, 7 July 1773.


21. S. Adams to James Warren, Boston, 28 Dec. 1773, in Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Warren-Adams Letters* (Colls. MHS, 1917–25), I, 20–1; Cushing to A. Lee, Boston, 23 Jan. 1774, Boston Public Library. In early December, Henry Marchant informed a London correspondent that “a General Congress of Deputies from all the Colonies is much talked of,” but that is virtually the only reference to a congress that I have been able to discover during the period of the Tea Act resistance; Marchant to Joseph Jennings, Newport, 4 Dec. 1773, Marchant Papers, Letter Book 1773–1785, RIHS.


24. On the scheme for a post office, see Thomas Young to John Lamb, Boston, 18–19 March 1774; Goddard to Lamb, Boston, 23 March and May 1774; Paul Revere to Lamb, Boston, 28 March 1774; and Whitehead Humphreys to Lamb, Phila., 1 April 1774; all in the John Lamb Papers, reel 1, NYHS.

25. Richard D. Brown, *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts*, 152–5; the Massachusetts provincial committee’s circular is reprinted in *Proceedings* of the MHS, 13 (1873–75), 161–3; Young to Lamb, 18–19 March 1774; Gerry to S. Adams, Marblehead, April 1774, Gerry-Knight Collection, MHS.


27. John Hancock, *An Oration; Delivered March 5, 1774 . . .* (Boston, 1774), 17–18; S. Adams to Dickinson, Boston, 19 April 1774, R. R. Logan Collection, box 2, HSP. For another proposal for a congress, see “Americanus,” *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 10 March 1774.


Chapter II: The Creation of a Mandate


4. Phila. Comm. to BCC, 21 May 1774, Force, ed., American Archives, I, 341-2; Mifflin to S. Adams, 21 and 26 May 1774 (quotation is from the latter), and Thomson to Adams, 3 June 1774; all in S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL.

5. An initial letter from Deane, written in the name of the Connecticut Committee of Correspondence, is not extant, but its criticisms can be inferred from the contents of Samuel Adams’s reply, Boston, 18 May 1774, Cushing, ed., Writings of Adams, III, 114-16; Deane to S. Adams, Hartford, 26 May 1774, Letters of BCC, NYPL.

6. BCC to Providence, 21 May 1774, to New York Comm., 30 May 1774, and to Phila. Comm., n.d., all in BCC Minutebook, 796-8, 807-8, 817, NYPL; and see S. Adams to Thomson, 30 May 1774, and to Deane, 31 May 1774, Cushing, ed., Writings of Adams, III, 122-7; and Josiah Quincy to John Dickinson, Boston, 27 May 1774, R. R. Logan Collection, box 2, HSP.

7. On the Solemn League, see Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts, 188-209, and Stephen Patterson, Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts (Madison, 1973), 75-90. In an intriguing letter to an unidentified Boston leader, Joseph Reed had argued that the New England colonies would have to demonstrate their willingness to support Boston through a boycott before other colonies could be expected to endorse commercial resistance; Reed to [John Hancock?], 22 May 1774, Fogg Collection, vol. 54, Maine Historical Society, Portland.

8. Deane to BCC, Wethersfield, Conn., 13 June 1774, Letters of
Notes

BCC, NYPL; Thomson to S. Adams, 3 June 1774; and see McDougall to Adams, New York, 26 June 1774. S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL; and McDougall and Sears to Adams, New York, 20 June 1774, McDougall Papers, reel 1, NYHS.


11. Palmer Comm. to BCC, 8 Aug. 1774, enclosing town resolutions of 29 June, Letters of BCC, NYPL; see Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts, 199-209.

12. Dickinson to Quincy, 20 June 1774, in Josiah Quincy, Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Jun. of Massachusetts (Boston, 1825), 169; Deane to Samuel H. Parsons, Wethersfield, Conn., 13 April [i.e., June] 1774, in “Correspondence of Silas Deane, 1774-1776,” Colls. CHS, 2 (1876), 130; and see Sears and McDougall to S. Adams, New York, 25 July 1774, S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL.

13. Clymer to Quincy, Phila., 13 June 1774, Quincy, Memoir of Josiah Quincy, 164-8; Mifflin to S. Adams, 30 July 1774, S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL. Early in June it was rumored in New York that Dickinson had “declared the Boston Port Act was a Constitutional Law”; McDougall to C. Thomson, New York, 1 June 1774, McDougall Papers, reel 1, NYHS. On Dickinson, see David L. Jacobson, John Dickinson and the Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1764-1776 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965).


15. Jere R. Daniell, Experiment in Republicanism: New Hampshire


18. [Isaac Wilkins?], Short Advice to the Counties of New York (New York, 1774), 8.


21. [John Randolph], Considerations on the Present State of Virginia ([Williamsburg], 1774), 15; Saunders, ed., Col. Recs. of N.C., IX, 1034.


30. Letter from Freeman, 24.


34. S. Adams to Samuel Cooper, Phila., 30 April 1776, Cushing, ed., Writings of Adams, III, 282.


Chapter III: The First Continental Congress

2. *LDC*, I, 6–9. For convenience, citations from Adams's diary will be made from this source rather than the Butterfield edition.

3. For events in Massachusetts, see Patterson, *Political Parties in Massachusetts*, 91-108; on the scope of the Powder Alarm, see the entry for 17 Nov. 1774 in Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), I, 476-85.

4. Carroll to Charles Carroll of Annapolis (hereafter cited as Carroll, Sr.), 12 Sept. 1774, in Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *The Charles Carroll Papers* (microfilm, Wilmington, 1972), reel 1, f. 422; and see Carroll's other letters to Carroll, Sr., 7 and 9 Sept., *ibid.*, f. 420, 421. Though not himself a delegate, Carroll was in Philadelphia at the time and enjoyed close connections with the Maryland delegation.


7. The first draft of the Suffolk Resolves is in the Joseph Palmer Papers, MHS; the text received and approved by Congress is in *JCC*, I, 32–7; on the framing of the Resolves, see John Cary, *Joseph Warren: Physician, Politician, Patriot* (Urbana, Ill., 1961), 151–60.


11. S. Adams to Joseph Warren, 25 Sept. 1774; J. Adams to William Tudor, 29 Sept. 1774, and to Joseph Palmer, 26 Sept. 1774; all in *LDC*, I, 100, 129-31, 106. For examples of the proposals for more forceful measures that the Massachusetts delegates were receiving from their correspondents, see Tudor to J. Adams, 17 Sept. 1774, Taylor, ed. *Papers of Adams*, II, 167; Thomas Young to S. Adams, Boston, 4 Sept. 1774, S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL; Joseph Warren to S. Adams, Boston, 12 Sept. 1774, in Frothingham, *Warren*, 376; and Benjamin Kent to Robert Treat Paine, Boston, 15 Sept. 1774, and Joseph Greenleaf to Paine, Boston, 16 Oct. 1774, R. T. Paine Papers, MHS.

12. *JCC*, I, 55–62; for Samuel Adams's draft of the Gage letter, see *LDC*, I, 158–60; and see the draft resolutions that John Adams prepared *circa* Sept. 30., *ibid.*, 131–2. For later explications of Congress's intentions toward Massachusetts, see Joseph Hawley to Thomas Cushing, Northampton, 22 Feb. 1775, in *Colls*. MHS, 4th ser., 4 (1858), 393-7;
James Duane to Thomas Johnson, New York, 29 Dec. 1774; John Dickinson to Cushing, 26 Jan. 1775; and Cushing to Dickinson, Boston, 13 Feb. 1775; all in LDC, I, 276–8, 301–2, 310–11.

13. This motion was made by George Ross and seconded by Galloway, probably during the October debate on Massachusetts; J. Adams to [Edward Biddle?], 12 Dec. 1774, LDC, I, 265–6.


19. JCC, I, 79.

20. Randolph to Henry Tazewell, 3 Feb. 1775, Frederick Dearborn Collection, pt. I, box 4, HUL.


22. JCC, I, 27–9; and see Edmund Burnett’s notes on the proceedings of the two committees, LMCC, I, 45–7 n.


24. Other identifiable moderates included Isaac Low and John Alsop (N.Y.), George Ross (Pa.), Thomas Johnson (Md.), William Hooper (N.C.), and John Rutledge (S.C.).

25. J. Adams, Notes of Debates, 8 Sept. 1774; James Duane, Speech, 8 Sept. 1774; and Samuel Ward, Diary, 9 Sept. 1774; LDC, I, 46–8, 51–4, 59.


27. Galloway, Historical and Political Reflections, 66.
28. Similar conclusions have been reached by Ammerman, *In the Common Cause*, 57–60, and by the editors of *LDC*, I, 112–17 n.

29. *LDC*, I, 133.

30. *LDC*, I, 133–4. It is possible that Duane’s resolution also included provisions promising that the assemblies would “provide a Competent and honourable Support” for royal officials, including judges, in the colonies. In an earlier set of resolutions presented to the committee on rights, he had linked expenditures for defense and civil government; and in describing the delegates’ decision to postpone debate on Duane’s motion until October 3, Silas Deane referred to it as “respecting Administration of Justice.” Cf. Duane, Propositions, *LDC*, I, 42.


32. *JCC*, I, 53–4. Because Congress voted by delegations rather than individually, the meaning of a “unanimous” decision is ambiguous.


37. *JCC*, I, 115–21; drafts by Patrick Henry, R. H. Lee, and Dickinson are in *LDC*, I, 222–33; Edwin Wolf, 2d, “The Authorship of the 1774 Address to the King Restudied,” *WMQ*, 22 (1965), 189–224. The editors of *LDC* have suggested that “Dickinson played a more prominent role at the First Continental Congress than has been previously appreciated,” as his participation in the drafting of the statement on grievances and rights, the memorial to the colonists, and the address to the king all attest. It is also apparent that he was in regular contact with members of Congress prior to his election. Still, his absence from the floor of debate would almost certainly have circumscribed his influence as positions were being hammered out in late September and early October.


Chapter IV: War and Politics, 1775-1776

2. William Williams to Thomas Williams, Hartford, 27 April 1775, Gratz Collection, case 12, box 1, HSP.
4. [Isaac Wilkins?], Short Advice to the Counties of New-York, 8; Pills for the Delegates: Or the Chairman Chastised . . . (New York, 1775), 24.
5. [Samuel Seabury], The Congress Canvassed . . . (New York, 1774), 10; [Crean Brush], Speech of a Member of the General Assembly of New-York . . . (New York, 1775), 8-9; [Thomas Bradbury Chandler], What Think Ye of the Congress Now? . . . (New York, 1775), 6-7, 15.
6. On the implementation of the Association, see Ammerman, In the Common Cause, 103-24. "In effect the state was being created anew," Pauline Maier has written, "and those who chose to abstain from the new arrangements were free to remain, suffering all the perils of a state of nature, or to leave"; From Resistance to Revolution, 279. For justifications of the popular basis of Congress's authority, see "Philadephus," Pa. Gazette, 11 Jan. 1775; "Political Observations, without Order," Pa. Packet, 14 Nov. 1774; Robert Ross, A Sermon, in which the Union of the Colonies Is Considered and Recommended . . . (New York, 1776), 7-8.
10. Wentworth to Dartmouth, 2 Dec. 1774; Galloway to W. Franklin, 28 Feb. and 26 March 1775, and W. Franklin to Galloway, 12 March 1775, Davies, ed., Documents, IX, 57-9, 84-8, 76-8.
11. On the origins and result of Lord North's "Olive Branch" of 1775, see Weldon A. Brown, Empire or Independence: A Study in the Failure
of Reconciliation, 1774-1783 (Baton Rouge, La., 1941), 35-74; Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 170-4; Dunmore to Dartmouth, 25 June 1775; and see other letters to Dartmouth from W. Franklin, 6 May and 5 June 1775; Gov. Martin (N.C.), 18 May 1775; and Lt. Gov. William Bull (S.C.), 1 May 1775; all in Davies, ed., Documents, IX, 202, 125-8, 152-3, 139-40, 111-12.

12. Arthur and William Lee were the principal sources for the rumors of New York’s bribery; see A. Lee to S. Adams, 21 Feb. 1775, S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL; and to John Dickinson, London, 8 April 1775, R. R. Logan Collection, box 2, HSP; Thomas Johnson to Horatio Gates, Annapolis, 18 Aug. 1775, LDC, I, 703.

13. Reed to Pettit, 31 Jan. 1775, in William B. Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed (Philadelphia, 1847), I, 92.


19. Events in Britain are briefly surveyed in Jensen, Founding of a Nation, 569-83, and Ammerman, In the Common Cause, 125-38.


22. JCC, II, 53; Deane, Diary, 16 May 1775, LDC, I, 351-2.


24. Deane, Diary, 23 and 24 May 1775; and see a second set of notes that Dickinson prepared as a rejoinder to his critics; LDC, I, 371, 386-91, 401-2. Dickinson’s intentions are analyzed in Jacobson, John Dickinson, 86-91. For an attempt to strike a compromise position, see Edmund Pendleton’s Proposed Resolutions [24-26 May 1775], LDC, I, 402-6.

25. JCC, II, 64-6.

32. *JCC*, II, 109–10. The immediate cause of the revocation of the earlier resolution was a report of British incitement of an Indian invasion of northern New York, but that information scarcely overshadowed the general policy considerations implicit in an invasion of Canada.
39. Pauline Maier has argued that American disillusionment with the king can be traced to the early 1770’s, *From Resistance to Revolution*, 198–219, 236–41.
43. J. Adams, Notes of Debates, 4, 5, 6, 12, 20, 21, and 27 Oct. 1775,
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7. Tudor to J. Adams, Cambridge, 29 Feb. 1776, Adams Family Papers, reel 345, MHS.
12. Penn to Thomas Person, 14 Feb. 1776; R. Smith, Diary, 16 and 29 Feb., 11 March 1776; Carter Braxton to Landon Carter, 14 April 1776; all in *LMCC*, I, 349, 350–2, 369, 385, 420.
14. A number of letters tracing the progress of popular support for independence can be found in the Adams Family Papers, reels 345–6, MHS, and the S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL.
17. John Hancock to Mass. Assembly, 16 May 1776, and Josiah Bartlett to John Langdon, 19 May 1776, *LMCC*, I, 450, 458; and see Burnett’s note, 458 n. 5. James H. Hutson argues that “the fear of a partition treaty, fantastic though its origin may have been, commanded the minds of American leaders in the spring and summer of 1776 and appears to have been the most important factor which produced the July 2, 1776, resolution of Congress, declaring America independent”; Hutson, “Partition Treaty,” 896. There are, it seems to me, two critical flaws in this argument. One is that during the final debates over independence the
sceptar of a partition treaty was invoked as a reason for not declaring independence. See Jefferson’s Notes of Proceedings in the Continental Congress [7 June–4 July 1776], Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 310–11; and J. H. Powell, “Speech of John Dickinson Opposing the Declaration of Independence, 1 July 1776,” Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 65 (1941), 458–81. The second and more important weakness is that the advocates of independence no longer believed partition was likely. Although it is true that, early in the spring, R. H. Lee and Patrick Henry had seriously discussed the possibility of partition, by June American radicals were convinced that the government was committed to war. It therefore became necessary to solicit French assistance not to preclude a partition treaty but to acquire much-needed support against the British and their new mercenary recruits. Compare Lee’s candid acknowledgment of his fear of partition in his April 20 letter to Henry in Ballagh, ed., Letters of Lee, I, 177–9, with his June 2 letter to Landon Carter in LMCC, I, 468–9.

20. JCC, IV, 342; Braxton to Landon Carter, 17 May 1776, Fogg Collection, Maine Historical Society.


34. Deane, Diary, 24 May 1775, *LDC*, I, 492; Chase to J. Adams, 8 Dec. 1775, 21 and 28 June 1776, Adams Family Papers, reels 345 and 346, MHS; Chase to Dickinson, Annapolis, 29 Sept. 1776, 19 Oct. 1776, and undated [October 1776], R. R. Logan Collection, box 2, HSP.

35. Jay to McDougall, 11 April 1776; Livingston to Jay, 4 June 1776.


40. Wolcott to Laura Wolcott, 16 May 1776, *LMCC*, I, 449; and see Wolcott to Samuel Lyman, 27 March 1776, Dreer Collection, HSP.


43. Duane to Robert Livingston, 7 June 1775, *LDC*, I, 454; Arthur
Chapter VI: A Lengthening War

1. On the campaign of late 1776, see Piers Mackesy, The War for America, 1775-1783 (Cambridge, 1965), 82-120; Ira Gruber, The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, 1972), 89-157; the creation of the Howe Commission is analyzed in Brown, Empire or Independence, 75-107.

2. Morris to Joseph Reed, 21 July 1776, and Bartlett to John Langdon, 22 July 1776, LMCC, II, 19-21; Charles Carroll to Carroll, Sr., 29 July 1776, Carroll Papers, reel 1, f. 451, MdHS; JCC, V, 592-3.


6. J. Adams to S. Adams, 17 Sept. 1776, LMCC, II, 91-3. Samuel Adams and William Whipple had both left Congress shortly before Sullivan's arrival and were surprised and concerned to learn that Congress had reversed its earlier decision against meeting with Howe; S. Adams to J. Adams, Boston, 16 and 30 Sept. 1776, Cushing, ed., Writings of Adams, III, 312-15; Whipple to Bartlett, Portsmouth, 23 Sept. 1776, Declaration of Independence Collection, HUL.


12. On the campaign of 1777, see Mackesy, War for America, 103–44; Gruber, Howe Brothers, 158–267.

13. JCC, IX, 946, 951–2, 975. Adams was appointed not only to replace Deane, but also because some delegates apparently believed Franklin might be too old and infirm to carry on strenuous negotiations—see James Lovell to J. Adams [28 Nov. 1777], Adams Family Papers, reel 348, MHS; Henry Laurens to John Rutledge, 12 Aug. 1777; and Gerry to J. Adams, 29 Sept. 1779, LMCC, II, 448, IV, 454–5.


15. On the appointment and frustrating career of the Carlisle Commission, see Brown, Empire or Independence, 205–93.

16. Virginia Delegates to Gov. Henry, 21 April 1778, LMCC, III, 180–4; JCC, X, 374–80; and see Laurens to Duane, 17–20 April 1778; Samuel Chase to Gov. Johnson, 20 April 1778; and John Henry, Jr., to Johnson, 20 April 1778; all in LMCC, III, 170–1, 179–80.


19. Reed to Elizabeth Reed, Headquarters, 11 Oct. 1776, Reed Pa-

21. Chase to Dickinson [Annapolis, October 1776], R. R. Logan Collection, box 2, HSP; Carroll to Carroll, Sr. [Annapolis], 18 Oct. 1776, and see his other letters of 4, 10, and 20 Oct. 1776, Carroll Papers, reel 1, MdHS; Livingston to George Clinton, 15 Sept. 1776, Sparks Papers, XII, p. 7, HUL.


23. Mason, Road to Independence, 213–49, discusses the framing of the New York constitution; Livingston to William Duer, 12 June 1777; R. R. Livingston Papers, box 3, NYHS.


26. J. Adams to Horatio Gates, 23 March 1776, and to Abigail Adams, 17 May 1776, LMCC, I, 406, 453. Adams also recognized, however, that this process could hurt the war effort if it distracted attention from other urgent matters; see his letter to Benjamin Hichborn, 29 May 1776, Adams Family Papers, reel 89, MHS.

27. Mather to S. Adams, Boston, 22 April 1777, S. Adams Papers, box 4, NYPL. These themes are so pervasive in the political correspondence of the late 1770’s that further citation seems unnecessary; but the correspondence of Henry Laurens for 1777 and 1778 contains a number of detailed and pungent discussions of the deterioration of public “virtue”; Laurens Papers, reels 5 and 6, SCHS.


30. For a succinct account of economic change after 1775, see Jackson T. Main, The Sovereign States, 1775–1783 (New York, 1973), 222–68. A satisfactory social history of the Revolution—one exploring the intersection of public events and private experience—remains to be written, although recently some scholars have begun to move in this direction, most notably John Shy’s work on the militia, the essays collected in Young, ed., The American Revolution, and Robert A. Gross, The Minute­men and Their World (New York, 1976). Still, one longs for the sort of insight found, for example, in Richard Cobb’s recent books on the French Revolutionary era, Reactions to the French Revolution (Oxford, 1972), and Paris and Its Provinces (Oxford, 1976).

31. Livingston to Henry Laurens, Springfield, N.J., 8 Jan. 1778, Laurens Papers, reel 15, SCHS.


35. See Margaret Burnham Macmillan, The War Governors in the American Revolution (New York, 1943), 112–33; Caswell to Burke, New Bern, N.C., 13 May 1777, in Walter Clark, ed., The State Records of North Carolina (Winston and Goldsboro, N.C., 1895–1906), XI, 471; and see Caswell’s apologies for not having the constitutional authority to call a special session of the legislature to transact necessary business, Caswell to the N.C. Delegates, New Bern, 7 Feb. 1778, ibid., XIII, 31–2. For another example of a governor ignorant of legislative actions important to his state’s delegates, see Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, 6 Aug. 1782; Harrison’s reply of 16 Aug. 1782; and another letter from Harrison to the Delegates, 3 May 1783; all in William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., The Papers of James Madison (Chicago, 1962– ), V, 25, 57–8, VII, 5 n.

Chapter VII: Confederation Considered

1. Jensen’s views have been restated most recently in his essay “The Articles of Confederation,” in Boyd, ed., Fundamental Testaments of the American Revolution.


3. Deane’s Proposals are printed in LDC, II, 418–19, from the original manuscript in the Silas Deane Papers, CHS. I am grateful to Professor Christopher Collier of the University of Bridgeport for calling the existence of this document to my attention.

4. Pennsylvania Evening Post, 5 March 1776; subsequently reprinted in at least four New England newspapers: Essex Journal, 29 March; Connecticut Courant, 15 April; Boston Gazette, 22 April; and Newport Mercury, 29 April; Conn. Delegates to Gov. Trumbull, 5 Dec. 1775, LDC, II, 440; Richard Smith, Diary, 16 Jan. 1776; and see S. Adams to James Warren, 7 Jan. 1776, and to J. Adams, 15 Jan. 1776; all in LMCC, I, 313, 302, 311–12.

5. John Dickinson had discussed a more limited conception of confederation during his May 1775 campaign to induce Congress to initiate negotiations. The fourth resolution that Dickinson introduced on May 23 stipulated that after Congress had decided what “Demands & Concessions” his proposed embassy to Britain could make, the delegates would then “associate and confederate” to continue their opposition until these objectives were achieved. Here Dickinson apparently envisioned confederation not as a scheme of government but as an agreement on the terms and duration of American opposition. In notes for a later speech, Dickinson seemed to imply that he would refuse to countenance the framing of a confederation unless Congress adopted the conciliatory measures he was advocating; LDC, I, 384–5, 390.

6. The first draft of the Dickinson plan is in the John Dickinson Papers, box 2, R. R. Logan Collection, HSP; I am grateful to Peter Parker of the HSP for calling it to my attention. It will be reprinted in LDC,
IV, under the date of 17 June 1776. Josiah Bartlett of New Hampshire prepared what is apparently a copy of Dickinson's first draft, which will be printed in a parallel format in LDC. Paul H. Smith has informed me that the differences between these two texts are minor, except that Bartlett omits the article on religious toleration discussed below in the text (pp. 152–3). The second draft of the Dickinson plan—that is, the draft submitted to Congress on July 12—is printed in JCC, V, 674–89.

7. JCC, V, 674–89.


12. JCC, II, 77.

13. See the discussion in Julian P. Boyd and Robert J. Taylor, eds., The Susquehannah Company Papers (Ithaca, N.Y., 1962–71), V, xlv–lxi. The Connecticut delegates' concern with this issue would have provided them with a strong incentive to advocate the necessity of a confederation; see Deane to Thomas Mumford, 16 Oct. 1775, LDC, II, 188–90.


16. Hawley to J. Adams, Watertown, 18 Dec. 1775, Adams Family Papers, reel 345, MHS; Hawley, "Hints for the consideration of Mr. Gerry," Gerry Papers, MHS; and see Hawley to S. Adams, 1 April 1776, and to Gerry, 13 Oct. 1776, S. Adams Papers, boxes 2 and 3, NYPL.
17. T. L. Lee to R. H. Lee, 18 May 1776, Lee Family Papers, reel 2 (UVA); Wendell to Gerry, Portsmouth, 25 June 1776, Gerry Papers II, MHS; Langdon to Bartlett, Portsmouth, 28 July 1776, Bartlett Papers, Dartmouth College Library.

18. “Spartanus,” New Hampshire Gazette, 29 June 1776; Pa. Packet, 1 July 1776; and see James Sullivan to J. Adams, Watertown, 9 May 1776, Adams Family Papers, reel 346, MHS.

19. [Carter Braxton], An Address to the Convention of... Virginia; on the Subject of Government (Philadelphia, 1776), 25; [John Adams], Thoughts on Government (Philadelphia, 1776), 25.


22. The Litchfield resolutions were printed in the Connecticut Courant of 27 May 1776 and subsequently discussed by other writers in the issues of 3, 10, and 17 June 1776 and 15 and 29 Sept. 1777; and see the Norwich, Conn., resolves printed in the Norwich Packet, 5 Jan. 1778.

23. Wolcott to Samuel Lyman, 17 April 1776, Gratz Collection, case 1, box 20, HSP; Clark to Samuel Tucker, Elizabethtown, N.J., 29 March 1776, Roberts Collection, No. 722, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pa. Jefferson’s reservations were expressed in his second and third drafts of the Virginia constitution of 1776, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 351, 360. On the reaction to the abortive kidnapping of Robert Eden, the last proprietary governor of Maryland, see Maryland Delegates to Council of Safety, 18 April 1776, and Thomas Johnson to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, 23 April 1776, both in LMCC, I, 427–9; Benjamin Rumsey to William Rumsey, Westminster, Md., 3 June 1776, Rumsey Family Papers, box 2, LC; and Hoffman, A Spirit of Dissension, 157–63.


25. JCC, V, 431, 433.

26. Bartlett to Nathaniel Folsom, 1 July 1776, Gratz Collection, case 1, box 19, HSP.

27. Although there is no evidence that John Adams knew of Dickinson’s proposed article on toleration, in a letter of 22 June 1776 to Benjamin Kent he wrote: “I am for the most liberal toleration of all denominations of religiousists, but I hope that Congress will never meddle with religion further than to say their own prayers, and to fast and give thanks once a year. Let every colony have its own religion without molestation”; C. F. Adams, ed., The Works of John Adams (Boston, 1850–6), IX, 401–2.

28. See Jensen, Articles of Confederation, 150–60, for a succinct account.


30. Jefferson, Notes, 323-7; Adams, Notes, 247-8.
34. Adams, Notes, 242, 246, 249; for Witherspoon, see Jefferson, Notes, 324-5; and see William Williams to Oliver Wolcott, 12 Aug. 1776, LMCC, II, 48.

**Chapter VIII: Confederation Drafted**

2. Charles Carroll to Carroll, Sr., 10 Oct. 1776 and 8 Nov. 1776, Carroll Papers, reel 1, f. 550, 556, MdHS; *JCC*, VI, 912-13; Hancock to Washington, 5 Nov. 1776, and B. Rumsey to Daniel Jenifer, 24 Nov. 1776, LMCC, II, 140, 162-3, and see Burnett’s editorial comment, 140 n. 3.
3. George Read to R. Morris, Newcastle, Del., 4 Nov. 1776, Gratz Collection, case 1, box 10, HSP; Morris to Read, 6 Nov. 1776; B. Rush to Thomas Wharton, Jr. [1 Nov. 1776]; both in LMCC, II, 141, 138.
6. *JCC*, VII, 115-18, 154-5; Burke, Abstract of Debates, 25 Feb. 1777, LMCC, II, 275-81; the quotations in the following two paragraphs are taken from this source.
7. On the advantages of the committee system over the reconstituted governments, see N.Y. Delegates to Abraham Ten Broeck, 21 and 29 April 1777, LMCC, II, 337, 344, and Philip Schuyler to William Duer, 7 July 1777, Sparks Papers, LX, 133-4, HUL.


12. Burke to Caswell, 29 April 1777, LMCC, II, 345–6. Burke’s revision of Article III of the August 1776 draft became Article 2 of the final draft approved in November 1777; JCC, IX, 908. The discussion in the following paragraphs is based on Burke’s letter of the 29th.

13. The motion as well as the terse comments recorded on it are reprinted in JCC, VII, 328–9.


15. Writing to John Adams from Williamsburg on 16 May 1777, Jefferson proposed reviving the scheme of dual voting that the Connecticut delegates had previously proposed. Adams replied (26 May) that he would be willing to reconsider the merits of that scheme, “if we cannot Succeed in our Wishes for a Representation and a Rule of voting, perfectly equitable [i.e., apportioned to population], which has no equal, in my Mind”; Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, II, 18–19, 21–2. For two further brief allusions to the unicameral nature of Congress, see [Benjamin Rush], Observations upon the Present Government of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1777), 8, and “Whitlocke,” Pa. Gazette, 11 July 1777.

16. Johnston to Burke, 19 April 1777; Burke to Caswell, 4 Nov. 1777; and see the two sets of Burke’s comments on the confederation reprinted in LMCC, II, 552–8; for the action of the North Carolina assembly, see Clark, ed., State Recs. of N.C., XII, 221, 229, 263, 400, 449.

17. Lovell to R. H. Lee, 22 July 1777, Lee Family Papers, reel 3 (UVa); Whipple to Bartlett, 7 Feb. 1777, LMCC, II, 238; Whipple to Lovell, Portsmouth, 15 July 1777, Sparks Papers, LII, vol. 2, p. 182, HUL; Dyer to William Williams, 10 March 1778, Boston Public Library.


20. Carroll to Carroll, Sr., 23 and 26 June 1777, Carroll Papers, reel 1, f. 601–2; the Maryland instructions of 19 April 1777 are in Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland. February Session, 1777 [Annapolis, 1777], 105.

21. JCC, IX, 953–8, 971; Williams to Jabez Huntington, 20 Oct. 1777,
and E. Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, 7 Sept. 1777, LMCC, II, 529, 485; and see Roger Sherman to S. Adams, New Haven, 25 Aug. 1777, S. Adams Papers, box 4, NYPL.

22. JCC, IX, 779–82.

23. JCC, IX, 806–8.


25. JCC, IX, 841–4, 845. Merrill Jensen has argued (Articles of Confederation, 178) that the Council of State proposed by Dickinson “was apparently designed as the beginning of an executive organization, a permanent bureaucratic staff of the central government,” while the Committee of the States provided for in 1777 was to sit only during the recess of Congress. I believe Jensen has misread Dickinson’s language, and that the surviving drafts of the Dickinson plan clearly indicate that the Council was to meet only when Congress adjourned. Each of the drafts of 1776 provided that Congress, not the Council of State (or Safety, as it was called in the earliest text), would supervise the activities of all subordinate committees, boards, and offices; only when Congress recessed would the Council act in that capacity.


27. The final text is printed in JCC, IX, 907–25; Sergeant to [Lovell], 20 Nov. 1777, S. Adams Papers, box 4, NYPL.

28. JCC, IX, 932–5; Folsom to Weare, 21 Nov. 1777, LMCC, II, 564.

29. Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, 7 Sept. 1777; and see Carroll to Carroll, Sr., 5 Oct. 1777, Carroll Papers, reel 1, f. 623, MdHS.


31. Burke’s comments on the Articles, LMCC, II, 552–8; R. H. Lee to S. Adams, 12 July 1777.


35. Boudinot to Alexander McDougall, 22 Jan. 1779, McDougall Papers, reel 2, NYHS; "Independens," N.H. Gazette, 13 Jan. 1778, offers the only substantive newspaper comment I have discovered.


37. JCC, XI, 628, 631–2, 636–40, 647–56. The largest number of amendments was submitted by South Carolina, which had been spurred on by William Henry Drayton’s ambitious but pointless attempt to put forward a completely revised set of articles; see Hezekiah Niles, Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America . . . (Baltimore, 1822), 98–115. For a letter strongly critical of Drayton’s opposition to the Articles as drafted, see Christopher Gadsden to Drayton, 15 Aug. 1778, in Richard Walsh, ed., The Writings of Christopher Gadsden, 1746–1805 (Columbia, S.C., 1966), 146.

38. Conn. Delegates to Gov. Trumbull, 9 July 1778, typescript, Oliver Wolcott, Sr., Papers, I, 112, CHS (MS at Beinecke Library, Yale University); Titus Hosmer to Richard Law, 10 July 1778, transcript, Ernest Law Papers, CHS.


40. Hosmer to Thomas Mumford, 26 June 1778, MS 76123, CHS; Maryland Delegates to Governor and Assembly of Maryland, 22 June 1778, LMCC, III, 314–15.


42. JCC, XI, 662–71, 677–8, 681.

43. McKean to George Read, 3 April 1778; Scudder to John Hart, 13 July 1778; both in LMCC, III, 149, 326–8.

44. JCC, XII, 1162–4, XIII, 187; on ratification in Delaware, see Thomas Rodney to Dickinson, Dover, 17 July 1779, R. R. Logan Collection, box 3, HSP, and Dickinson’s reply, Phila., 22 July 1779, Gratz Collection, case 1, box 21, HSP; on New Jersey, Boudinot to McDougall, 22 Jan. 1779.

45. For the public positions assumed by Maryland in defense of its claims, see JCC, XIV, 619–22, and PCC, Item 70, ff. 293–9. According to George Plater, a Maryland delegate, reports of New Jersey’s and Dela-
ware’s willingness to ratify the Articles came as a surprise to Maryland leaders. “This staggers some of our deep Politicians,” he wrote Gouverneur Morris, Annapolis, 4 Dec. 1778; and see his letters of 10 Dec. 1778 and 27 Dec. 1778, the latter written from his plantation, Sotterley Hall; Gouverneur Morris Papers, folders 1108, 1109, 111, Columbia University Library, N.Y. Plater himself believed that Maryland should accede. 46. These maneuvers are judiciously reviewed in Jensen, Articles of Confederation, 198–238.

Chapter IX: The Beginnings of National Government

1. JCC, III, 399, 436.
2. JCC, II, 190, 212. In early November 1775, Francis Lewis, John Alsop, and Roger Sherman were appointed a committee to purchase clothing for Schuyler’s army, JCC, III, 317–18; see Lewis’s Memorandum [November 1775], LDC, II, 289.
3. Deane to Elizabeth Deane, 3 Oct. 1775; J. Adams to Abigail Adams, 12 Nov. 1775; both in LDC, II, 102, 331–2.
4. The appointment and early evolution of these committees are traced in Jennings B. Sanders, Evolution of Executive Departments of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 (Chapel Hill, 1935), 6–92.
5. Chase to R. H. Lee, Montreal, 18 May 1776, Lee Family Papers, reel 2 (UVa).
7. J. Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 July 1776, Butterfield, ed., Adams Family Correspondence, II, 44.
8. Dickinson Papers, R. R. Logan Collection, box 2, HSP.
11. For a small sample of these complaints, see Henry Laurens to William Livingston, 27 Jan. 1778, and to Robert Howe, 30 Jan. 1778, Laurens Papers, reel 6, SCHS; and William Duer to R. R. Livingston, Baskenridge, Pa., 10 March 1778, R. R. Livingston Papers, box 4, NYHS.
12. JCC, VI, 1041–2.
13. Duer to F. L. Lee, Reading, Pa., 14 Feb. 1777 [i.e., 1778], Lee
Notes


14. S. Adams to J. Adams, 9 Jan. 1777; R. H. Lee to Washington, 20 Oct. 1777; both in LMCC, II, 210, 528. These letters contradict the assertion sometimes made that “radicals” such as Adams and Lee deeply opposed the creation of executive departments. That was the case, it is true, in the early 1780’s, when the appointment of Robert Morris as superintendent of finance revived earlier partisan disputes; but in 1776–77 their views apparently differed little from those of other members. What was controversial was not the existence of these boards but their composition, particularly when the Board of War was rightly suspected of being a center of opposition to Washington; cf. Sanders, Executive Departments, 3–5.


16. A. Adams to Oliver Wolcott, 29 Aug. 1778; Bartlett to John Langdon, 21 Sept. 1778; both in LMCC, III, 391, 420.


18. Burke to N.C. Assembly [August 1779]; [Ellsworth], “A Friend to Truth and Fair Play,” 7 Sept. 1779; Johnston to James Iredell, 8 April 1781; and Bartlett to Langdon, 18 Aug. 1778; all in LMCC, IV, 367–8, 408–11, V, 49, and III, 379.


20. Sanders, Executive Departments, 73–4.


28. Franklin quoted in Harlow, “Aspects of Revolutionary Finance,” 62–3; and see G. Morris to Washington, 26 Oct. 1778, *LMCC*, III, 462. Robert Morris was so confident the currency would recover some of its lost value once the presses were stopped that he advised one of his business correspondents to purchase continental bills of credit—advice for which he later apologized. Morris to Stacey Hepburn, 23 Sept. and 10 Dec. 1779, 17 March 1780, Small Collections, HSP.


30. Houston to Witherspoon, 2 Feb. 1778; *JCC*, XIII, 492.

31. Reed to Dickinson, 14 June 1779, R. R. Logan Collection, box 3, HSP (a fair copy is in the Henry Laurens Papers, HSP); Carroll to William Carmichael, 8 Feb. 1779, William Carmichael Collection, MdHS; and see “A True Patriot,” *Pa. Gazette*, 31 March 1779. By 1779 Congress had grown more sensitive about the question of profiteering because allegations had been made against the delegates themselves; see Daniel Jenifer to an unknown correspondent, 26 May 1779, *LMCC*, IV, 235–6; Alexander Hamilton’s attack on Samuel Chase, in Syrett and Cooke, eds., *Papers of Hamilton*, I, 562–3, 567–70, 580–2; and Ferguson, *Power of the Purse*, 70–105, for the charges directed against Robert Morris and his connections.


33. Reed to Dickinson, 14 June 1779.
34. *JCC,* XV, 1019, 1311, 1371, 1377, and XVI, 196–201; Ferguson, *Power of the Purse,* 44–56.

35. *LMCC,* IV, 235 n. 3; *JCC,* XVI, 293–311, 332–3, and XIV, 812–13. Only one delegate, Meriwether Smith, dissented from the resolution of July 1780.

36. *JCC,* XVI, 262–7; Ferguson, *Power of the Purse,* 51–2, 64–6. For contemporary comment, see Schuyler to Greene and to Washington, 22 March 1780, *LMCC,* V, 90–2; Ezra L’Hommedieu to R. R. Livingston, Kingston, 29 March 1780, R. R. Livingston Papers, box 5, NYHS; Samuel A. Otis to Elbridge Gerry, Boston, 8 April 1780, Gerry-Knight Collection, MHS; Charles Carroll to John Hanson, 15 Aug. 1780, and Daniel Carroll to Charles Carroll, Annapolis, 10 Sept. 1780, Carroll Papers, reel 2, f. 826, 831, MdHS.

37. *JCC,* XVI, 261.

38. N.C. Delegates to Gov. Caswell, 15 July 1779, *LMCC,* IV, 318; Reed to Dickinson, 14 June 1779.


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Chapter X: Ambition and Responsibility: An Essay on Revolutionary Politics


2. These calculations are based on the attendance records printed at the beginning of each of the volumes of *LMCC.*


4. The open split within the Massachusetts delegation, which pitted the Adamses against Cushing, Hancock, and Paine, was precipitated by a dispute between the provincial council and house over the appointment of militia officers. Hancock and Cushing supported the council, the Adamses the house. A succinct account of the dispute can be found in Patterson, *Political Parties in Massachusetts,* 128–32; and there is a substantial amount of correspondence about the political controversy that followed. See Gerry to J. Adams, 11 Nov. 1775, Adams Family Papers, reel 345, MHS; James Warren to J. Adams, 3 Dec. 1775, and to S. Adams, 5 Dec. 1775, Ford, ed., *Warren-Adams Letters,* I, 190, II, 427–8. See also J. Adams to James Otis, 23 Nov. 1775; S. Adams to Otis, 23 Nov. 1775; Hancock and Cushing to Mass. Council, 24 Nov. 1775; and S. Adams to
J. Adams, 22 Dec. 1775, all of which appear in *LDC*, II, 373–5, 383, 506; Cushing to Paine, 13 and 29 Feb. 1776, R. T. Paine Papers, MHS; Cushing to Hancock, 30 Jan. 1776, Gratz Collection, case 1, box 4, HSP; and Hancock to Cushing, 7 Feb. 1776, Misc. Bound MSS, MHS.


7. On Hewes, see James Iredell to Hannah Iredell, New Bern, N.C., 28 April 1777, Higginbotham, ed., *Papers of Iredell*, I, 445–6; William Hooper to R. Morris, Cape Fear, N.C., 27 May 1777, *Colls.* NYHS, XI, 427; Caswell to Burke, New Bern, N.C., 13 May 1777, Clark, ed., *State Recs. of N.C.*, XI, 470–1. Burke was denied reelection in 1778 after refusing to comply with an instruction concerning the promotion of two North Carolina officers. He was reelected only after he had quarreled with the rest of Congress over a matter of personal privilege. His earlier embarrassment was nevertheless an ironic reflection on his diligent efforts to act as the ambassador of a sovereign state. See the legislative records reprinted in *State Recs. of N.C.*, XII, v, 711–18; Burke to Caswell, 25 April 1778, and to Laurens, 28 April 1778; Cornelius Harnett to Burke, 19 Sept. 1778; *LMCC*, III, 187–9, 193–5, 418.


(New Brunswick, N.J., 1973), makes an analogous case for executive appointments. Gordon Wood describes the increased emphasis on notions of actual representation that accompanied the framing of the new constitutions, but also examines the strains that thereafter developed between the rulers and the ruled—Creation of the American Republic, parts II and III.

13. The most suggestive study of pre-Revolutionary legislative behavior is Robert Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods: An Essay on Eighteenth-Century American Politics (Boston, 1971), esp. 1–38. Zemsky characterizes assembly leaders and other provincial notables as "professional politicians," which is fair enough; but it is clear from his discussion of the business of government that this term has to be understood in an eighteenth-century context. The most burdened officeholders in pre-Revolutionary America were royal and proprietary appointees holding executive positions, that is, precisely that class of politicians who were least likely to participate in government after independence.


15. It could be objected that the Seven Years War constituted something of a preparation, but I would argue that comparatively few Revolutionary leaders gained experience then, and that much of the responsibility for conducting the earlier war was borne by imperial officials. I do not mean to question the conclusions about increasing colonial political maturity drawn, for example, in Jack P. Greene, The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689–1763 (Chapel Hill, 1963), only to point out the disparity between the burdens of late colonial and Revolutionary politics and government.


18. This information is compiled from Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, et al., eds., Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1928–58), and from the Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1961 (Washington, D.C., 1961), a source that cannot be trusted im-


22. Lovell to Gerry, 11 Sept. 1781, Gerry Papers II, MHS; and to R. H. Lee, Boston, 20 Feb. 1789, Lee Family Papers, reel 7 (UVa). For other discussions of his situation, see his letters to S. Adams, 17 Aug. 1779 and 13 Dec. 1781, S. Adams Papers, boxes 5 and 6, NYPL; and to Gerry, 13 July 1781 and 14 Sept. 1781, Gerry-Knight Collection, MHS.


30. Laurens to John Laurens, 3 Feb. 1777, Laurens Papers, reel 6,
SCHS; Richard Adams to Thomas Adams, Richmond Hill, Va., 1 July 1777, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 22 (1914), 392–3; Carroll to Carroll, Sr., 5 July 1776, Carroll Papers, reel 1, f. 536, MdHS; R. R. Livingston to John Livingston, 5 Nov. 1779, R. R. Livingston Papers, box 5, NYHS; and see Elias Boudinot to Nathaniel Scudder, 18 June 1781, Boudinot Papers, Princeton University Library,

31. R. Morris to Duane, 8 Sept. 1778, Duane Papers, reel 1, NYHS.
34. Williams to Thomas Benbury, Halifax, N.C., 1 Feb. 1779, Clark, ed., State Recs. of N.C., XIV, 258–9; Elmer to N.J. Assembly, 17 Sept. 1778, Roberts Collection, No. 722, Haverford College; Hooper to Morris, 27 May 1777, Colls. NYHS, 11 (1878), 427–8; Stone to William Fitzhugh, 29 Oct. 1778, Signers Collection, NYSL.
36. Laurens to John L. Gervais, 5–9 Sept. 1777, Laurens Papers, reel 6, SCHS.
Chapter XI: Factional Conflict and Foreign Policy


3. For a different perspective, see Henderson, Party Politics, 192-3.

4. I would argue, in other words, that voting blocs alone do not constitute an adequate criterion for the existence of party, even in the sense of legislative rather than mass parties. See Ronald P. Formisano, “Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic’s Political Culture, 1789-1840,” American Political Science Review, 68 (1974), 473-87, for a systematic exposition of the criteria of party and their application to the immediate post-Revolutionary period. Henderson is himself sensitive to this problem, as his summary of his model of congressional politics suggests: “All things considered, congressional politics are best characterized as a politics of interest that took the form of contention between regionally oriented nascent legislative parties. It will not do to make too much of the organization, or even the self-awareness, of the congressional parties”; Party Politics, 159-64.


7. Hancock to Washington, 17 March 1777; Comm. of Secret Correspondence to Commissioners at Paris, 25 March 1777; R. H. Lee to Washington, 22 May 1777; Lovell to Joseph Trumbull, 6 June 1777; William Williams to Jonathan Trumbull, 5 July 1777; and Lovell to William Whipple, 7 July 1777; all in LMCC, II, 302-3, 310-11, 368-9, 379, 400, 403.

8. Williams to S. Adams, Lebanon, Conn., 30 June 1774, S. Adams Papers, box 2, NYPL.

9. Laurens to Gervais, 5-9 Sept. 1777, and to John Rutledge, 12 Aug. 1777; Williams to Jonathan Trumbull, 28 Nov. 1777; R. H. Lee to S. Adams, 23 Nov. 1777; all in LMCC, II, 448, 574-5, 569; JCC, VIII, 605.
n., IX, 946, 1008–9; and see Lovell to R. H. Lee, and to J. Adams, both dated 8 Dec. 1777, *LMCC*, II, 501–2.


11. R. H. Lee to A. Lee, 12 and 19 May 1778; Laurens to Washington, 8 June 1778; all in *LMCC*, III, 231, 257, 283; and see S. Adams to J. Adams, 21 June 1778, Adams Family Papers, reel 349, MHS. Arthur Lee’s letter of 6 Oct. 1777, which raised pointed questions about the contract Deane had negotiated with Beaumarchais, was not received until 2 May 1778; see Comm. of Foreign Affairs to Lee, 14 May 1778, *LMCC*, III, 238.


15. Deane to Hancock, 4 Sept. 1778; Deane to an unknown recipient, 25 Aug. 1778, Peck Collection, box 4, RIHS.


17. Four letters that Samuel Adams wrote to James Warren between July and December 1778 indicate his uncertainty about whether or not Deane should be attacked publicly; see his letters dated 20 July, 11 Oct., 23 Nov., and 9 Dec. 1778, *LMCC*, III, 339, 446–9, 503–6.

18. For evidence that Deane enjoyed a decided advantage in the early rounds of this skirmishing, see Francis Dana to Gerry, Cambridge, 11 Oct. 1778, Gerry-Knight Collection, MHS; F. L. Lee to R. H. Lee, 22 Dec. 1778, Lee Family Papers, reel 5 (American Philosophical Society); Richard Parker to R. H. Lee, Williamsburg, 8 April 1779, *ibid.*, reel 6 (UVA); William Whipple to Joseph Whipple, 2 and 19 Jan. 1779, Sturgis Papers, box 3, HUL; Samuel Cooper to S. Adams, Boston, 19 Jan. 1779, S. Adams Papers, box 5, NYPL.


20. Many of these are reprinted in Isham, ed., *The Deane Papers*, III.


26. *JCC*, XIII, 363–9, 455–7, 479–90, 499–500. John Adams was not named in the committee’s report. His closest supporters subsequently disagreed over a motion to add his name to the others, some believing that this would imply misbehavior, others arguing that he deserved a vote of confidence; see Lovell to J. Adams, 13 June 1779, and Gerry to J. Adams, 29 Sept. 1779, *LMCC*, IV, 262–3, 455–7. For an extended discussion of the question of foreign appointments, see Henderson, *Party Politics*, 187–206.


33. On Burke and Lee, see the former’s Abstract of Debates, 15 and 20 Feb. 1777; on Laurens and Drayton, see the former’s memorandum on his colleague’s conduct [3 June 1779]; for a different view of Laurens, see Charles Thomson’s complaints about his imperious behavior, 6 Sept. 1779; all in *LMCC*, II, 253–4, 265–6, IV, 247–9, 401–8.

35. On this point, see William Livingston to Laurens, Lebanon Valley, N.J., 5 Feb. 1778, Laurens Papers, reel 15, SCHS.

36. For Adams's reference to "a Christian Sparta"—a phrase historians have recently been fond of quoting—see his letter to John Scollay, 30 Dec. 1780, Cushing, ed., *Writings of Adams*, IV, 238; Whipple to Joseph Whipple, 9, 19, and 25 March 1777, 1 April 1777, Sturgis Papers, box 3, HUL, demonstrate his commercial interests while a delegate; on Gerry's pursuit of profit, see the fascinating analysis in Billias, *Elbridge Gerry*, 123-37.

37. F. L. Lee to A. Lee, Annapolis, 22 April 1779, Lee Family Papers, reel 6 (HUL); R. Morris to Franklin, 30 March 1780, Burnett Collection, box 7, LC.


39. N.C. Delegates to S.C. Delegates [2 April 1779]; N.C. Delegates to Gov. Caswell [2 April 1779]; Laurens to Drayton, 3 April 1779; Drayton to Laurens, 4 April 1779; all in *LMCC*, IV, 129-37. Alexander Hamilton was apparently also recruited to use his friendship with John Laurens as a way of influencing the South Carolina delegate to alter his position; see Hamilton to John Laurens, 22 May 1779, Syrett, ed., *Papers of Hamilton*, II, 53.

40. Reed to Alexander McDougall, 11 April 1779, McDougall Papers, reel 3, NYHS; Laurens, Minutes of Debates, 27 May 1779, *LMCC*, IV, 237.


42. *Pa. Packet*, 6 and 8 May 1779; Carroll to Carroll, Sr., 8 May 1779, Carroll Papers, reel 2, f. 735, MdHS.


45. Laurens, Statement [21 April 1779]; Burke, Account of Interview with Gérard [21? April]; R. H. Lee, Statement [21 April]; Laurens, Notes [30 April]; William Carmichael, Statement, 3 May 1779; Burke to N.C. Assembly [August 1779]; all in *LMCC*, IV, 166–71, 186–93, 371–3; the so-called Paca-Drayton Information is in *JCC*, XIV, 533–7; and see Gérard to Vergennes, 20 April 1779, Meng, ed., *Despatches*, 605–6.


47. Gérard to Vergennes, 17–18 June 1779, *ibid.*, 733.
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50. Cushing to Samuel Holten, Boston, 28 July 1779, Boston Public Library; *New York Journal*, 12 Aug. 1779; “A Copy of the Minutes left by Mr Wm Paca at the House of Delegates” [after 24 July 1779], Stone Family Papers, LC; Burke to N.C. Assembly [August 1779].


54. Houston to Livingston, 5 Oct. 1779; Jay to Clinton, 29 Sept. 1779; G. Morris to Washington, 21 Oct. 1779; all in *LMCC*, IV, 472-4, 459. 496. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer had earlier sought to downplay the significance of factional strife in a letter to Charles Carroll, 21 June 1779, Carroll Papers, reel 2, f. 745, MdHS; and also in a conversation with Gérard, reported in the latter’s letter to Vergennes, 9-11 July 1779, Meng, ed., *Despatches*, 763-5.

55. Reed to McDougall, 11 April 1779, McDougall Papers; Carroll to Carroll, Sr., 22 May 1779, Carroll Papers, reel 2, f. 740, MdHS. For other comments emanating from outside Congress, see John Jones to Dickinson, Phila., 15 March 1779, Dickinson Papers, box 3, item 44, HSP; William Livingston to Laurens, Trenton, 23 April 1779, and Jonathan Trumbull to Laurens, 22 June 1779, both in Laurens Papers, reel 9, SCHS; Arthur Middleton to Burke, Charleston, 18 Oct. 1779, Gratz Collection, case 1, box 20, HSP; and Jefferson to William Fleming, Williamsburg, 8 June 1779, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, II, 288.


58. G. Morris to R. R. Livingston, 22 July 1779, R. R. Livingston Papers, box 5, NYHS; and see the draft of Livingston’s reply, 8 Aug. 1779, misfiled *ibid.*, box 3; Lovell to J. Adams, 28 Sept. 1779, and McKean to R. H. Lee, 25 March 1780, *LMCC*, IV, 450, V, 95.
Chapter XII: A Government Without Money

1. McDougall to Joseph Reed, Peekskill, 25 March 1779, Reed Papers, reel 2, NYHS; and see Reed's reply, Phila., 11 April 1779, McDougall Papers, reel 3, NYHS. McDougall's letter was reprinted in the Pa. Gazette, 28 April 1779.


4. Ferguson, Power of the Purse, 57-69 (quotations at 60, 64); for an extensive argument that taxation could still prove effective, see the lengthy letter of Charles Thomson to John Dickinson, 25 Dec. 1780, Dickinson Papers, box 1, item 7, HSP.

5. The committee's activities are thoroughly described in Edmund C. Burnett, The Continental Congress (New York, 1941), 442-71; many of its communications with the states are reprinted in LMCC, V.


7. Schuyler to Pres. Huntington, 6 March 1780; Mathews to Thomas Bee, 17 Oct. 1778; LMCC, V, 61, III, 453.


9. Schuyler to Duane, Morristown, N.J., 13 May 1780, Publications of the Southern History Association, 8 (1904), 380-1; JCC, XVII, 438-41, 720; and see Comm. at Headquarters to Pres. Huntington, 28 May 1780; Duane to Schuyler, 6 June 1780; and Committee to Huntington, 18 and 30 July 1780, 19 Aug. 1780; all in LMCC, V, 173-5, 198, 271-8, 301-4, 336-8.

10. Schuyler to Duane, 13 May 1780; Schuyler to Wadsworth, 16 July 1780, James Wadsworth Collection, LC; Madison to Jefferson, 27 March 1780, 6 May 1780, Hutchinson, ed., Papers of Madison, II, 6, 20; Jones to Washington [19 June 1780], LMCC, V, 227.

11. The resolutions are reprinted in LMCC, V, 445-6 n. 6; Duane to Clinton, 14 Nov. 1780, ibid.

12. The Hartford proceedings are reprinted in Boyd, ed., Papers of

13. *JCC*, XVII, 723, 791, XVIII, 1028; see *LMCC*, V, 405–6 n. 6, 446 n. 3.


29. *JCC*, XXI, 894–6; on the definition of a quorum and a majority, see Thomas Rodney, Diary, 5–6 March 1781, *LMCC*, VI, 7–9.

36. Mathews to Gov. Livingston [6 March 1781], LMCC, VI, 15.

Chapter XIII: The Administration of Robert Morris

1. Gouverneur Morris Papers, folder 810, Columbia University Library, N.Y.
3. On Morris’s career prior to his appointment as superintendent of finance, see Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Robert Morris: Revolutionary Financier (Philadelphia, 1954), 1-42.
4. Morris to Washington, 29 May 1781; and see Morris to William Livingston, 12 April 1781; both in Ferguson, ed., Papers of Morris, I, 96, 26-7.
5. Morris to Pres. Samuel Huntington, 13 March 1781; and to a Committee of Congress, 26 March 1781; ibid., 17-25.
8. Morris to Committee, 26 March 1781.
10. The summary of the Morris program in this and the following two paragraphs is based on the masterful analyses in Ver Steeg, Robert Morris, 78-110, and Ferguson, Power of the Purse, 125-45. The financial objectives of this program are not in dispute, but its political implications remain controversial. The interpretation advanced below is deeply indebted to the position that Ver Steeg first suggested but did not develop extensively. Ver Steeg argued, in effect, that while the financial aspects of the Morris program clearly anticipated later Hamiltonian policies, its political objectives were not equivalent to the Federalism of 1787-88. Ferguson follows Merrill Jensen in arguing that Morris was pursuing financial and economic goals essentially similar to the overtly
nationalist program that emerged triumphant in the late 1780’s.

11. New York resolutions, 20 July 1782; Hamilton to Morris, Poughkeepsie, 22 July 1782; Morris to Hamilton, 28 Aug. 1782; all in Syrett, ed., Papers of Hamilton, III, 110–15, 152–6. Although these resolutions are traditionally attributed to Hamilton, two contemporary letters make no mention of his authorship; George Clinton to R. R. Livingston, Poughkeepsie, 5 Aug. 1782, and Egbert Benson to Livingston, 22 July 1782, R. R. Livingston Papers, box 9, NYHS. It is possible that these resolutions had actually been drafted by Benson the previous fall. In a letter to Livingston of 24 Nov. 1781 (ibid., box 7), Benson reported that he had moved that the assembly propose that Congress call a convention for amending the Articles, but that in the rush of business his proposal was deferred to the next session.


15. Reed to Nathanael Greene, 1 Nov. 1781, W. B. Reed, Life of Reed, II, 374–5. On Morris’s role in the 1781 campaign, see Ver Steeg, Robert Morris, 72–7.

16. JCC, XXI, 1090–1, 1112; Morris to Pres. McKean, 5 Nov. 1781, Ferguson, ed., Papers of Morris, III, 142–6; and see Morris to Franklin, 27 Nov. 1781, ibid., 269.


20. Ver Steeg, Robert Morris, 132–5; Ferguson, Power of the Purse, 146–52; on the congressional committee’s reception in New York, see George Clinton to R. R. Livingston, Poughkeepsie, 6 June 1782, R. R. Livingston Papers, box 9, NYHS.

21. Yates to Duane, Albany, 7 Sept. 1782; Yates to Duane and Ezra L’Hommedieu, 19 Oct. 1782; Yates to R. Morris, 4 Nov. 1782; Morris to Yates, 29 Nov. 1782; L’Hommedieu to Yates, 2 Aug. and 18 Oct. 1782; all in Abraham Yates, Jr., Papers, box 2, NYPL.


23. Ferguson, Power of the Purse, 149–52.


26. Morris needed no reminder of New England’s opposition to Article 8, but see Gov. Trumbull to Morris, Lebanon, 7 Nov. 1781, Ferguson, ed., *Papers of Morris*, III, 162.


32. Howell to Welcome Arnold, 3 Aug. 1782, Gratz Collection, case 1, box 7, HSP; to Moses Brown, 6 Aug. and 6 Nov. 1782, Moses Brown Papers IV, RHIS; and see Howell to Nicholas Brown, 3 Aug. 1782, Nicholas Brown Papers, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I.


38. There are numerous accounts of the deliberations of early 1783 and the related developments at the army encampment at Newburgh.


49. Madison, Notes on Debates, 17, 20, and 22 March 1783, *ibid.*, 348, 370, 375. Dyer’s anxiety over his position is reflected in his letters to Gov. Trumbull, 18 March, 3 and 12 April 1783, Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Papers, CHS; and see Samuel Holten to Aaron Wood, 31 July 1783, Samuel Holten Papers, box 1, LC.


55. These are the terms used by Ferguson, Power of the Purse, 107, 125.


Chapter XIV: Union Without Power:
The Confederation in Peacetime


3. Rush to John Montgomery, 30 Oct. 1783, and see his other letters of 7 and 29 July, 9 and 24 Oct. 1783, Benjamin Rush Papers, vol. 41, Library Company of Philadelphia; Willing to Bingham, 12 Sept. 1783, Provincial Delegates Collection, II, HSP; Thomson to John Dickinson, 11 July 1783, and Dickinson’s reply of the same date, Dickinson Papers, box 1, item 6, HSP.


6. Neither Madison's notes of debates nor the delegates' extant correspondence contain any detailed discussion on this point, with the exception of a speech by Theodorick Bland on 29 Jan. 1783. See Madison's notes for that date and the draft of the committee report that became the basis for the resolutions of 18 April 1783, Hutchinson, ed., Papers of Madison, VI, 164, 312; and Joseph Jones to Washington, 6 May 1783, LMCC, VII, 159.


8. Clinton's growing resentment of congressional handling of the Vermont question is clearly reflected in two letters to the N.Y. Delegates, 25 Aug. and 18 Sept. 1781, Legislative Papers 1780-1803, Nos. 2435, 2442, NYSL. Manuscript drafts of Yates's various essays against the impost and other proposals for increasing the power of Congress can be found in the Abraham Yates, Jr., Papers, box 4, NYPL.

9. On the deteriorating financial situation of Congress and state action to assume the debt, see Ferguson, Power of the Purse, 220-50.

11. Holten to S. Adams, 11 April 1785, S. Adams Papers, box 6, NYPL; Osgood to Gerry, Boston, 3 Jan. 1784 [i.e., 1785], 18 Feb. 1785, Gerry Papers II, MHS (discussing Osgood's appointment to the treasury); A. Lee to J. Adams, 6 March 1785, Adams Family Papers, reel 364, MHS; Howell to J. Arnold, 21 Feb. 1784, Staples, *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, 479; and see Gerry to J. Adams, 16 June 1784, Adams Family Papers, reel 363; and R. H. Lee to S. Adams, 20 May 1785, *LMCC*, VIII, 122.


14. These problems are reviewed in Frederick W. Marks, III, *Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution* (Baton Rouge, La., 1973), 3-95. I agree with the major thesis advanced by Marks, that congressional inability to cope with problems of foreign relations provided the major stimulus for criticism of the Articles in the mid-1780's.

15. The definitive treaty is reprinted in *JGC*, XXVI, 23-31.


19. Mason to Henry, Gunston Hall, Va., 6 May 1783; for expressions of his criticism of Congress on other issues, see his letters to Samuel Purviance, 17 July 1782, and to Edmund Randolph, 19 Oct. 1782; all in Rutland, ed., *Papers of Mason*, II, 771, 738-41, 751-3. It could be argued that Mason was a strict constructionist in the literal sense of the term, defending congressional supremacy in foreign affairs yet criticizing its attempts to create a national domain because the Articles had clearly granted authority over the former while withholding the latter.


21. See the draft report of a committee appointed to consider Adams's letters [25 Sept. 1783], *LMCC*, VII, 304-7.

22. N.H. Delegates to Meshech Weare, 5 May 1784; Hugh William-
son to Gov. Martin, 29 April 1784; both in LMCC, VII, 514, 506; see also JCC, XXVI, 317–22.


25. JCC, XXVIII, 70, 201–5; and see Monroe to Jefferson, 14 Dec. 1784, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, 573, and to Madison, 18 Dec. 1784, Hutchinson, ed., Papers of Madison, VIII, 188–90. Monroe’s letters indicate that the need to distinguish between laying duties for purposes of regulation and revenue was apparent from the start.


28. Yates to Howell, Albany, 29 Aug. 1785, Abraham Yates, Jr., Papers, box 2, NYPL; and see Gerry to S. Adams, 30 Sept. 1785, Rufus King to Nathan Dane, 17 Sept. 1785, LMCC, VIII, 224, 218–19; David Jackson to George Bryan, 18 July 1785, and Samuel Bryan to George Bryan [May 1785], George Bryan Papers, box 2, HSP.

29. Dana to J. Adams, Cambridge, 30 Jan. 1785, Adams Family Papers, reel 364, MHS.


32. This issue and the ensuing debates and manuevers it evoked are carefully detailed in Henderson, Party Politics, 387–99.

33. Thomson to Read, 27 Sept. 1784, LMCC, VII, 593. For a general discussion of the conclusions that were drawn from congressional impotence and indecision in foreign affairs, see Marks, Independence on Trial, 96–141.


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36. King to Gerry, 18 June 1786; Monroe to Gov. Henry, 12 Aug. 1786; King to Gerry, 4 June 1786; all in *LMCC*, VIII, 393, 421–5, 380–2.

37. This was particularly apparent to Madison, as Linda K. Kerber has recently pointed out in a review of *Papers of Madison*, III–X: "Des­pite Madison's obvious concern for the implications of Shays's Rebellion, the Mississippi question and the status of the region west of Virginia were more influential in leading him to wish for a government strong enough to resolve such issues"; *WMQ*, 35 (1978), 150–1.

38. Hopkinson to Jefferson, 20 April 1785, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, VIII, 99. Distribution of the congressional journals was still a prob­lem; see Hugh Williamson to Charles Thomson, Edenton, N.C., 14 Jan. 1786, Gratz Collection, case 14, box 31, HSP.


43. Washington to Jefferson, Mt. Vernon, 29 March 1784, *ibid.*, 49–52; and see Samuel Holten to William Gordon, 22 Aug. 1785, Holten Papers, box 1, LC.

Chapter XV: Toward the Philadelphia Convention


3. [Mason], Fairfax County (Va.) Freeholders' Address, 30 May 1783, Rutland, ed., Papers of Mason, II, 781.

4. The Torrington and Farmington resolutions were reprinted in the Connecticut Courant, 29 July and 12 Aug. 1783. Numerous articles against commutation appeared in Connecticut newspapers throughout the fall of 1783 and into the following spring.


13. Jay to Matthew Ridley, 31 March 1785, Ridley Papers, box 3, MHS; and see Thomas Cushing to J. Adams, Boston, 26 Nov. 1783, Adams Family Papers, reel 361, MHS.

14. Thomson to Dickinson, 19 July 1785, Dickinson Papers, box 1, item 6, HSP; and see Dickinson to Thomson, 12 June 1783, Colls. NYHS, 11 (1878), 171-2.


18. Madison to Monroe, Orange, Va., 14 and 19 March, 1786, ibid., 497-8, 505-6; Monroe's letter of 16 Feb. 1786 is missing, but its contents can be inferred from Madison's reply of 19 March.


23. Jacob Broom to Tench Coxe, Wilmington, 4 Aug. 1786, Tench Coxe Papers, Incoming Correspondence, box 8, HSP; Daniel Carroll to Madison, Annapolis, 13 March 1786, Hutchinson, ed., *Papers of Madison*, VIII, 496.


28. Monroe to Madison, 2 and 7 Oct. 1786, *ibid.*, 139, 143; and see the remarks of Rufus King (11 Oct. 1786) and Nathan Dane (9 Nov. 1786) before the Mass. General Court, *LMCC*, VIII, 479, 504.


33. Notes of the Connecticut Assembly's debates over appointing delegates were printed in the *Connecticut Courant*, 21 May 1787; and


35. These developments are traced in Henderson, Party Politics, 399–408.

36. Higginson to Osgood, 21 Feb. 1787, Osgood Papers, NYHS; on the changing perceptions of Massachusetts leaders who had formerly been suspicious of any efforts to amend the Articles, see, in general, Robert East, “The Massachusetts Conservatives in the Critical Period,” in Morris, ed., Era of the American Revolution, 349–91.


39. The same point is made in Ver Steeg, Robert Morris, 195.


43. Adams, Defence of the Constitutions, II, 362–4; Burke to N.C. Assembly [August 1779], LMCC, IV, 367–8; “Grotius,” Boston American Herald, 10 Feb. 1783; “Solicitor,” N.H. Gazette, 15 Nov. 1783; and see “Tullius,” Three Letters Addressed to the Public (Philadelphia, 1783), 8; and “Sydney” [Abraham Yates, Jr.], “Considerations upon the Seven
Articles reported, and now lying on the Table of Congress,” Boston American Herald, 19 Feb. 1787 (a draft is in the Yates Papers, box 3, NYPL).


46. N.H. Gazette, 15 Nov. 1783; Remarks on a Pamphlet, 21.


49. N.H. Gazette, 15 Nov. 1783; “To the Members of the Convention, whether good or bad,” Connecticut Courant, 6 April 1784; Three Letters, 8–10.


54. Madison to Randolph, 8 April 1787, and to Washington, 16 April 1787, Hutchinson, ed., Papers of Madison, IX, 370–84. Madison was convinced, of course, that representation had to be proportioned to population, which itself perhaps implied that representatives should be popularly elected, but he still left this question open.


58. Read to Dickinson, 6 Jan. 1787, R. R. Logan Collection, box 4, HSP; Read to Dickinson, Newcastle, Del., 17 Jan. 1787, and Phila., 21 May 1787, in William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read* (Philadelphia, 1870), 438–9, 443–4. The last of these letters indicates, incidentally, that the Virginians were still undecided about popular elections of members of the lower house.


60. See Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 463–75.

61. Osgood to J. Adams, 14 Nov. 1786.


64. Adair, “‘That Politics May Be Reduced to a Science,’” in *Fame and the Founding Fathers*; Madison to Randolph, 8 April 1787, and to Washington, 16 April 1787.


67. Such a proposal did not, of course, unilaterally erase all the ambiguity inherent in creating a bicameral legislature that ultimately came to represent not only population but the states as corporate units. See the fuller discussion in Pole, *Political Representation*, 353–73, and Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 519–64.


71. Coxe to William Tilghman, Phila., 8 Feb. 1787, William Tilghman Papers, box 2, HSP; Cadwalader to Charles Stewart, 27 March 1787, Stewart Papers, HUL.

72. Carrington to Jefferson, 9 June 1787, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jeffe-
son, XI, 408–9; Lincoln to George Thatcher, Boston, 9 May 1787, George Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library; and see Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 483–99.


74. Goold to Coxe, New York, 14 June 1787, Tench Coxe Papers, Incoming Correspondence, box 27, HSP.