



AMERICAN TARIFF

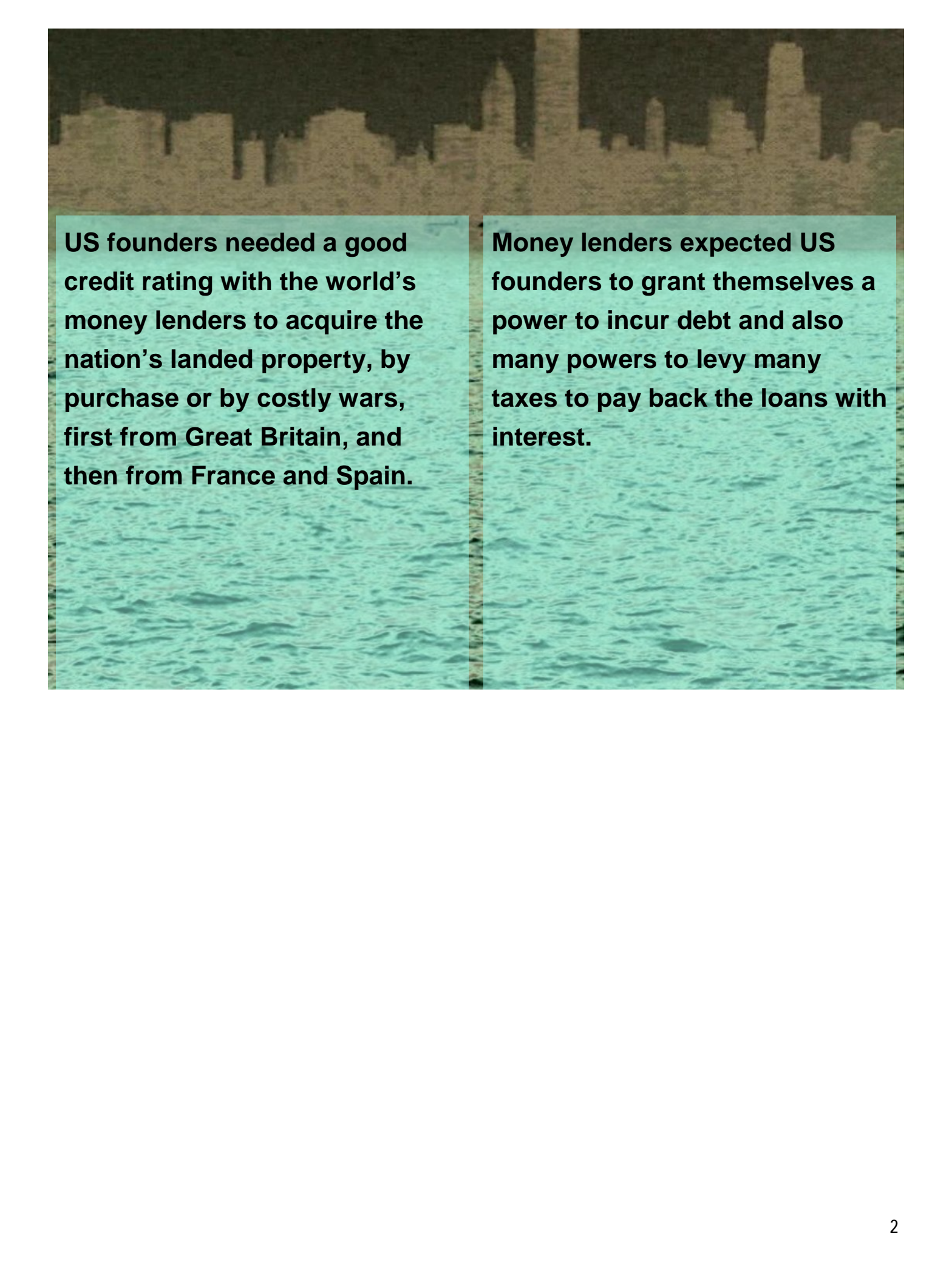
US founders weigh anchor and set sail on the high seas

Background: Chicago skyline from Planetarium point.

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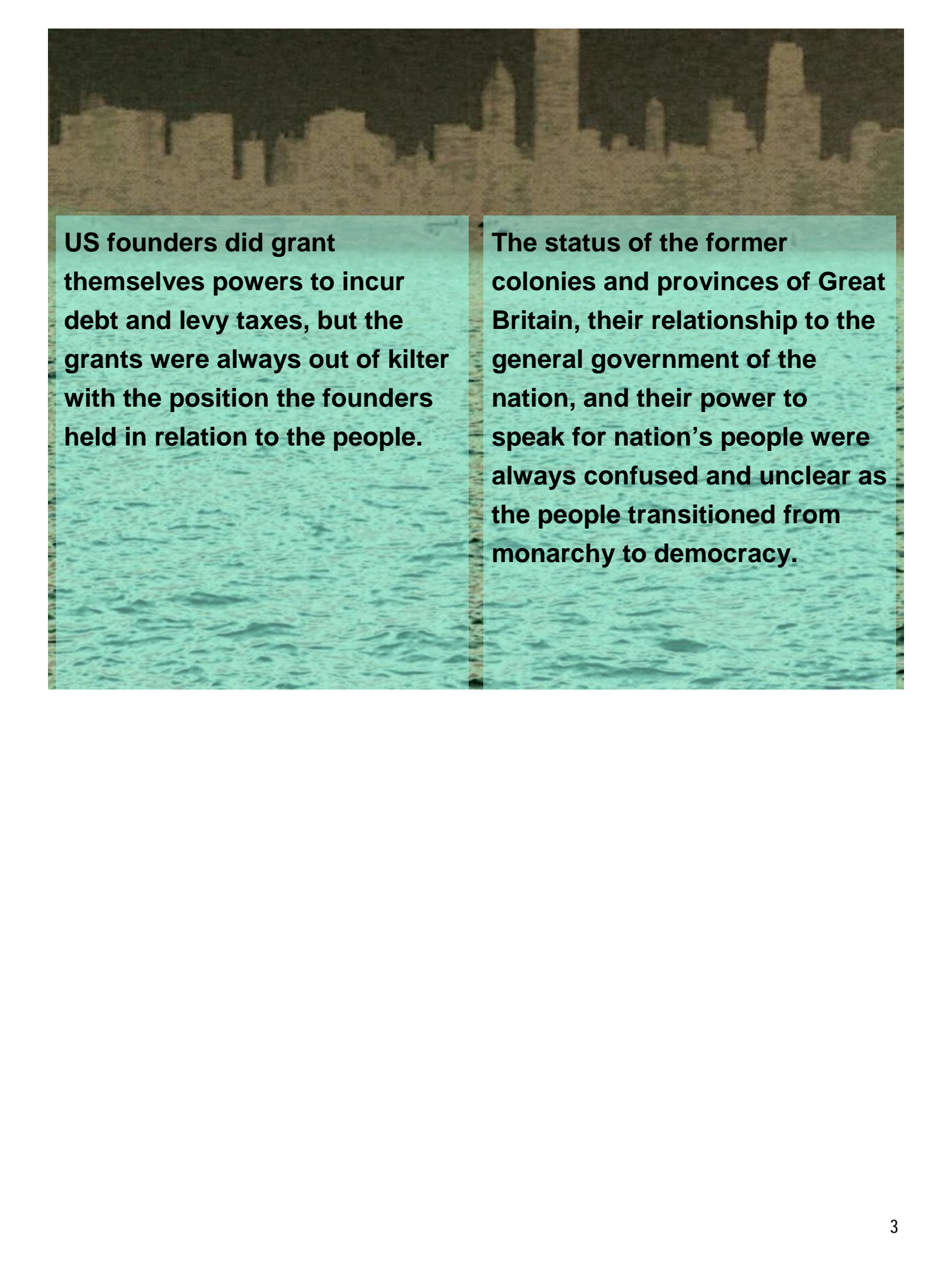
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Chicago, IL 60647-1127



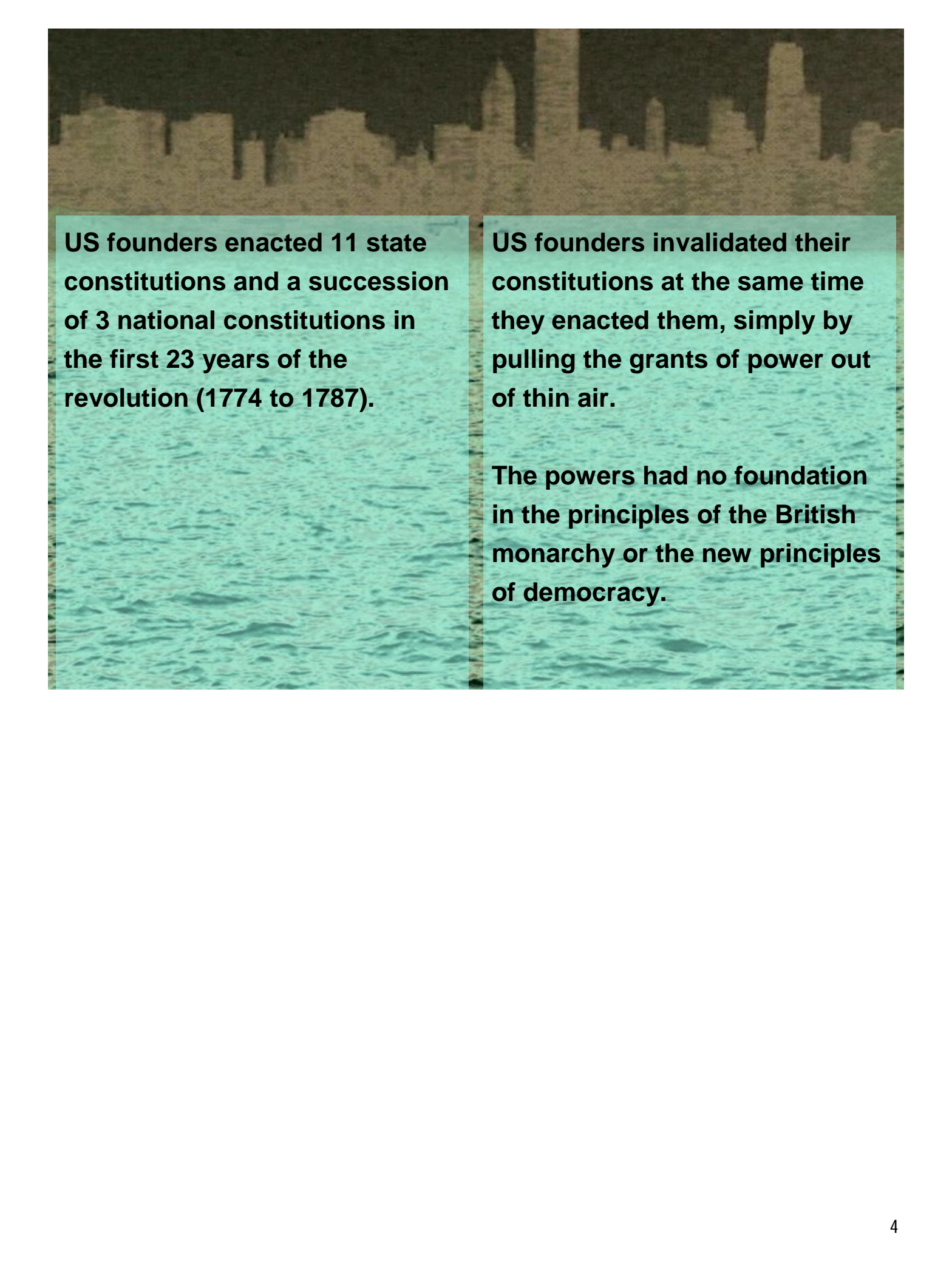
US founders needed a good credit rating with the world's money lenders to acquire the nation's landed property, by purchase or by costly wars, first from Great Britain, and then from France and Spain.

Money lenders expected US founders to grant themselves a power to incur debt and also many powers to levy many taxes to pay back the loans with interest.



US founders did grant themselves powers to incur debt and levy taxes, but the grants were always out of kilter with the position the founders held in relation to the people.

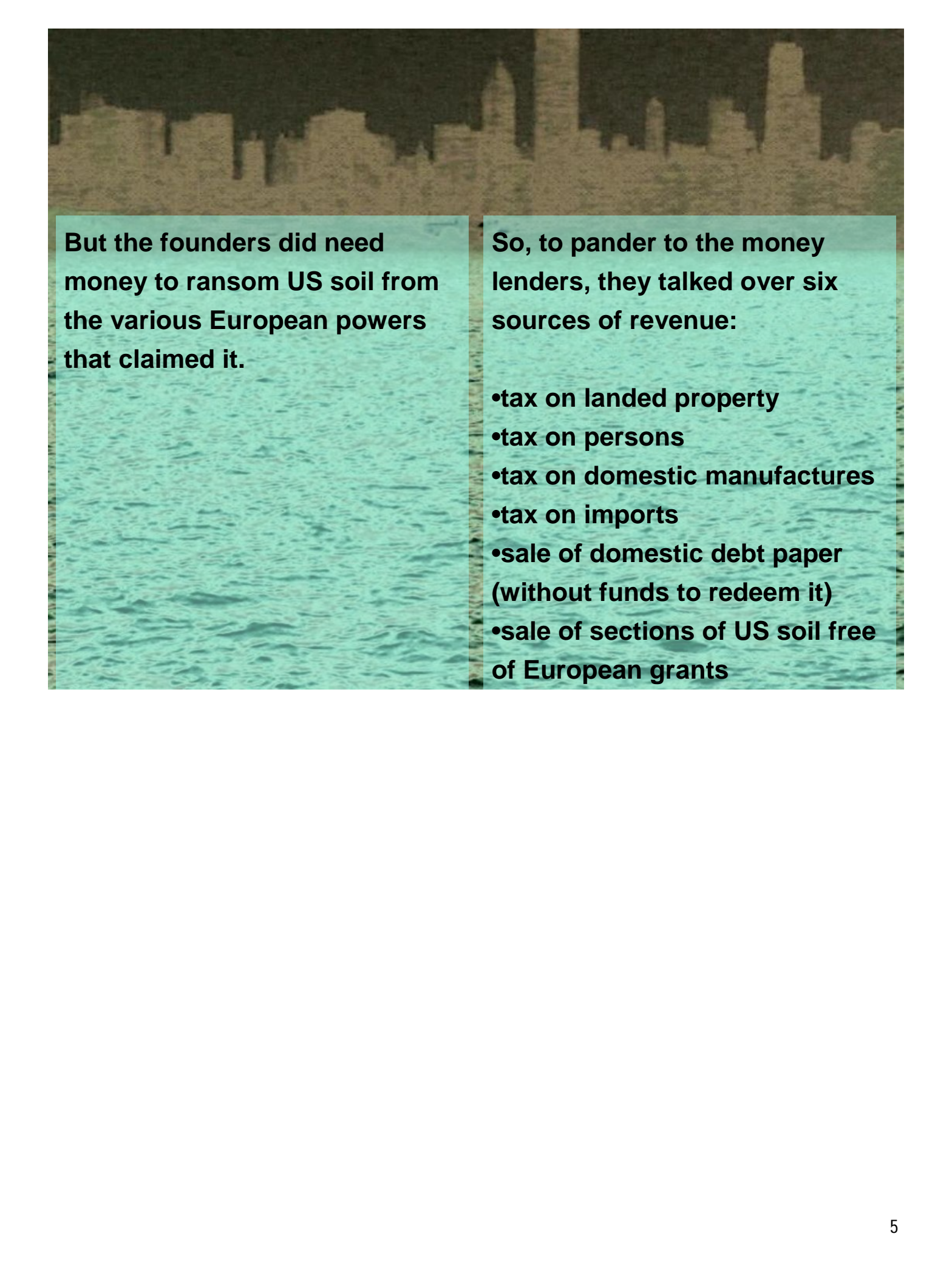
The status of the former colonies and provinces of Great Britain, their relationship to the general government of the nation, and their power to speak for nation's people were always confused and unclear as the people transitioned from monarchy to democracy.



US founders enacted 11 state constitutions and a succession of 3 national constitutions in the first 23 years of the revolution (1774 to 1787).

US founders invalidated their constitutions at the same time they enacted them, simply by pulling the grants of power out of thin air.

The powers had no foundation in the principles of the British monarchy or the new principles of democracy.



But the founders did need money to ransom US soil from the various European powers that claimed it.

So, to pander to the money lenders, they talked over six sources of revenue:

- tax on landed property**
- tax on persons**
- tax on domestic manufactures**
- tax on imports**
- sale of domestic debt paper (without funds to redeem it)**
- sale of sections of US soil free of European grants**

Tax on landed property

US founders gave themselves a power to tax landed property in 1781, but dispensed with it in 1785 by declaring that it's impossible to assess property fairly, therefore it's impossible to tax it fairly.

US founders ignored more fundamental problems:

US soil was in monarchy 1774-1783; monarchy can't tax land, but can only demand rent and tax productivity.

Democracy secures the soil to individual purchasers by an absolute deed that government can't alienate and must defend.

Tax on persons

US founders tried different words for a tax on persons.

The head tax failed for the same reason as the land tax: The value of people couldn't be fairly assessed because some employers paid wages to their laborers; and some employers (slave owners) didn't.

The poll tax failed because the franchise was limited to men who owned substantial property.

Wage slaves, plantation slaves, women and many adult children couldn't vote; therefore, they couldn't be assessed a poll tax.

Tax on domestic manufactures

US founders had already made up their minds to tax imports of foreign manufactures.

A tax on domestic products discouraged the sale of local goods and encouraged the sale of foreign goods.

American producers reacted within their rights.

It was a fight between Jamaican rum and backwoods whiskey distillers over what foreign sailors would drink in US ports.

US founders grandstanded a bit for the lenders but graciously withdrew the tax at Appalachian and other mountain stills.

Tax on imports

A tariff on imported goods is a hidden tax that people pay voluntarily without knowing it.

If the people have the option of homespun and home brew, they can't complain if they pay a tax to wear Italian silk, eat off China plates, drink French wine and gamble with German cards.

Within the context of absurd states and invalid constitutions, US founders played the tariff to the advantage of Americans.

They attributed a power to tax imports to states; and then created the principle that they could transfer the power to Congress only if they replaced the US constitution they already had with a new one.

Sale of domestic debt paper
(without funds to redeem it)

US founders sold a fortune of domestic debt paper during the war with Great Britain.

They had no funds or gold to back it up; and it became worthless as soon as they sold it.

Cadres of speculators went door to door and bought up the worthless paper at pennies on the dollar.

Foreign money lenders wouldn't accept worthless debt paper in payment of their loans, but Congress could order itself to accept it at face value as payment for other domestic debts.

Sale of sections of US soil free of European grants

In 1785, US founders ordered the survey and sale of millions of unencumbered acres they got from George III.

Only the European lords had money to buy it; and they could have easily retaken what the war made it look like they lost.

US founders had already mastered the knack of looking entirely corrupt the more patriotic they were acting.

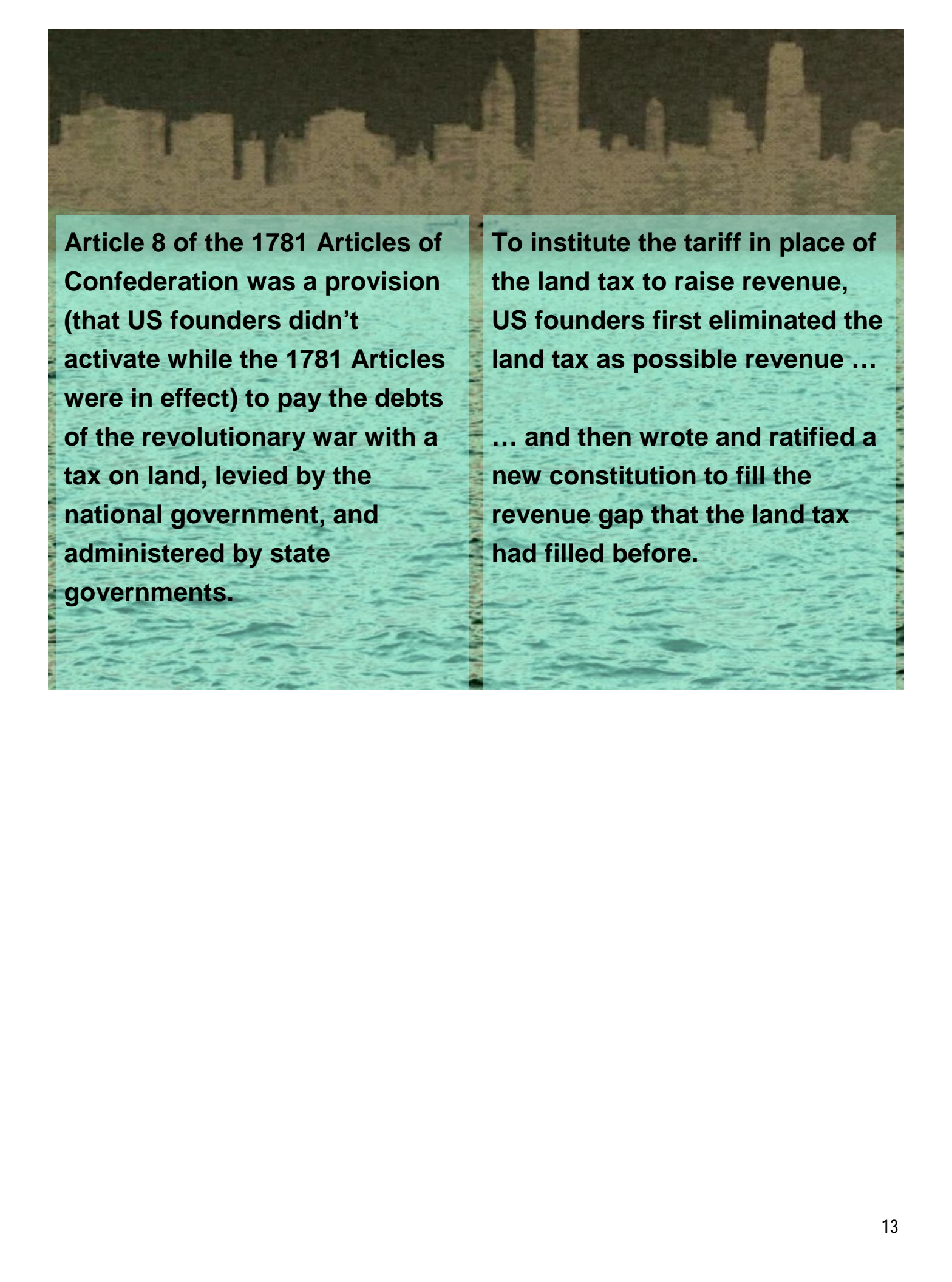
Congress sold huge tracts of land to its members and friends at a discount, took worthless debt paper at face value for payment, and resold the land at a profit to democratic-socialist Protestant German farmers.

Sale of sections of US soil free of European grants (continued)

By 1836, with seed money from the resale of land acquired from George III, an American middle class had been able to buy enough imports and pile up enough tariff revenue to pay in full for peaceful acquisition of greater Louisiana from France and the Floridas from Spain.

Congress sold new land below cost, putting it into production so more exports could buy more imports + pay more tariff.

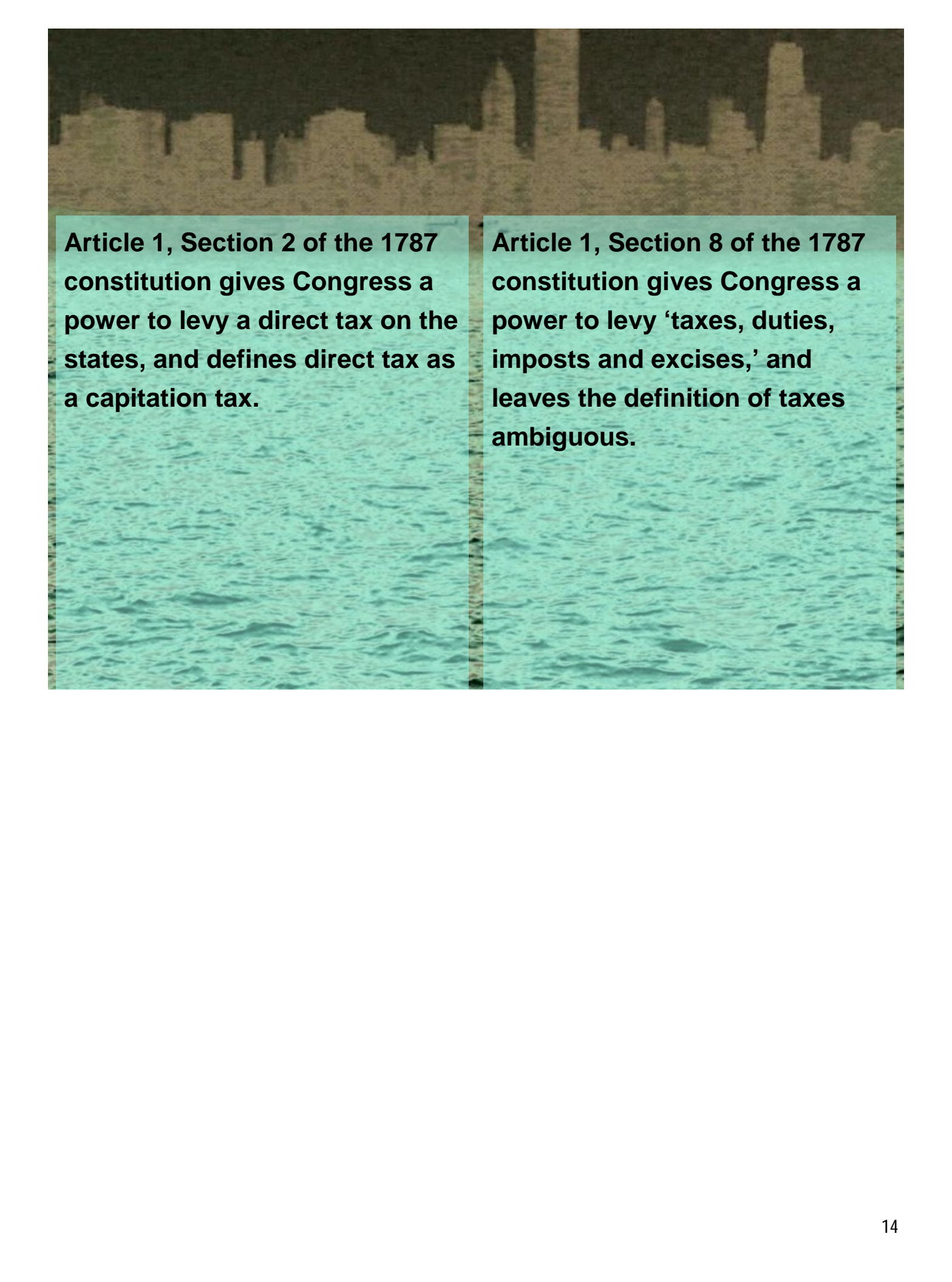
The hidden tax has paid for the undemocratic gigantism of US government and made foreign nations dependent for their livelihood on exports to the US in dangerous competition with US producers.



Article 8 of the 1781 Articles of Confederation was a provision (that US founders didn't activate while the 1781 Articles were in effect) to pay the debts of the revolutionary war with a tax on land, levied by the national government, and administered by state governments.

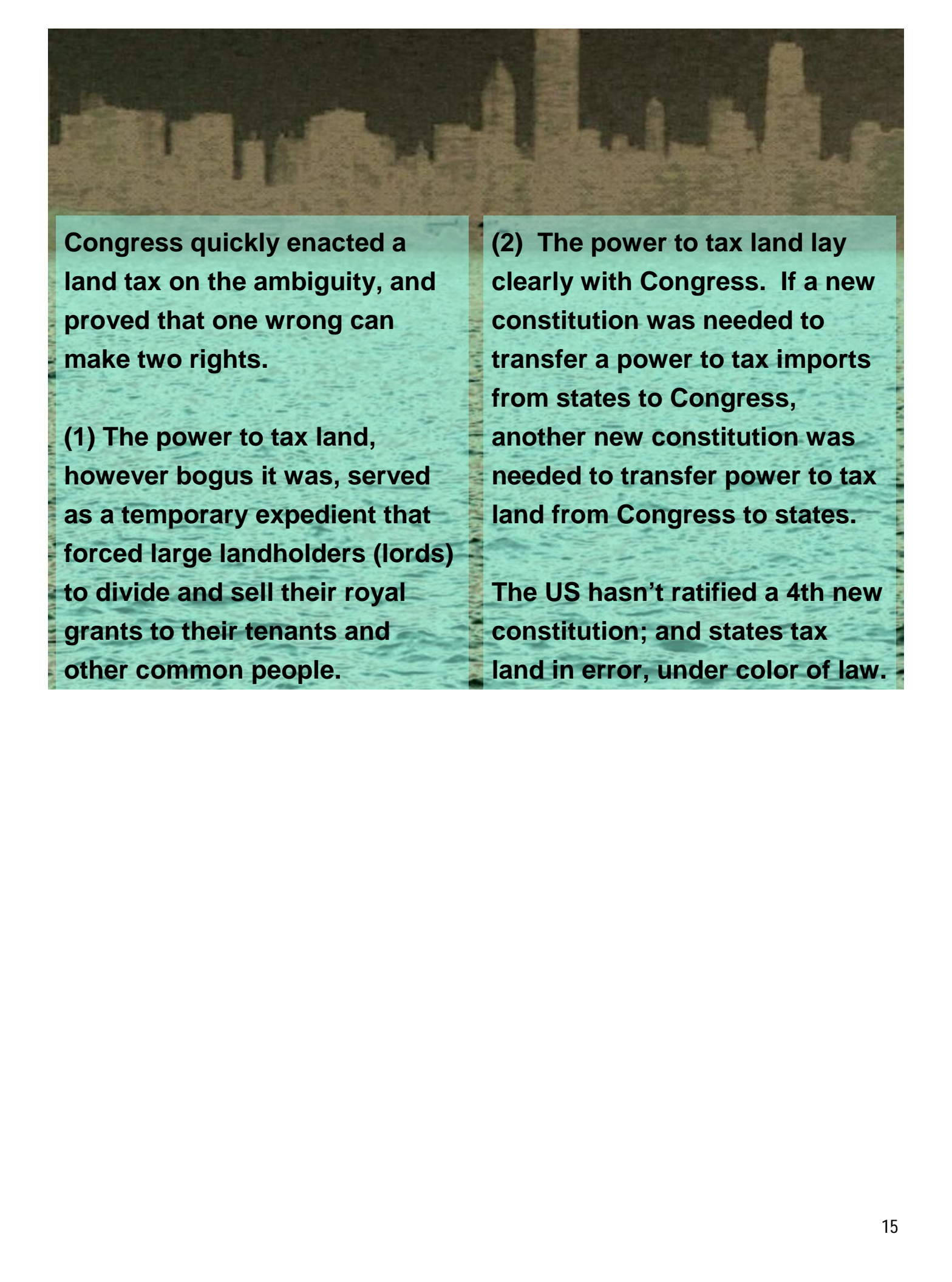
To institute the tariff in place of the land tax to raise revenue, US founders first eliminated the land tax as possible revenue ...

... and then wrote and ratified a new constitution to fill the revenue gap that the land tax had filled before.



Article 1, Section 2 of the 1787 constitution gives Congress a power to levy a direct tax on the states, and defines direct tax as a capitation tax.

Article 1, Section 8 of the 1787 constitution gives Congress a power to levy 'taxes, duties, imposts and excises,' and leaves the definition of taxes ambiguous.

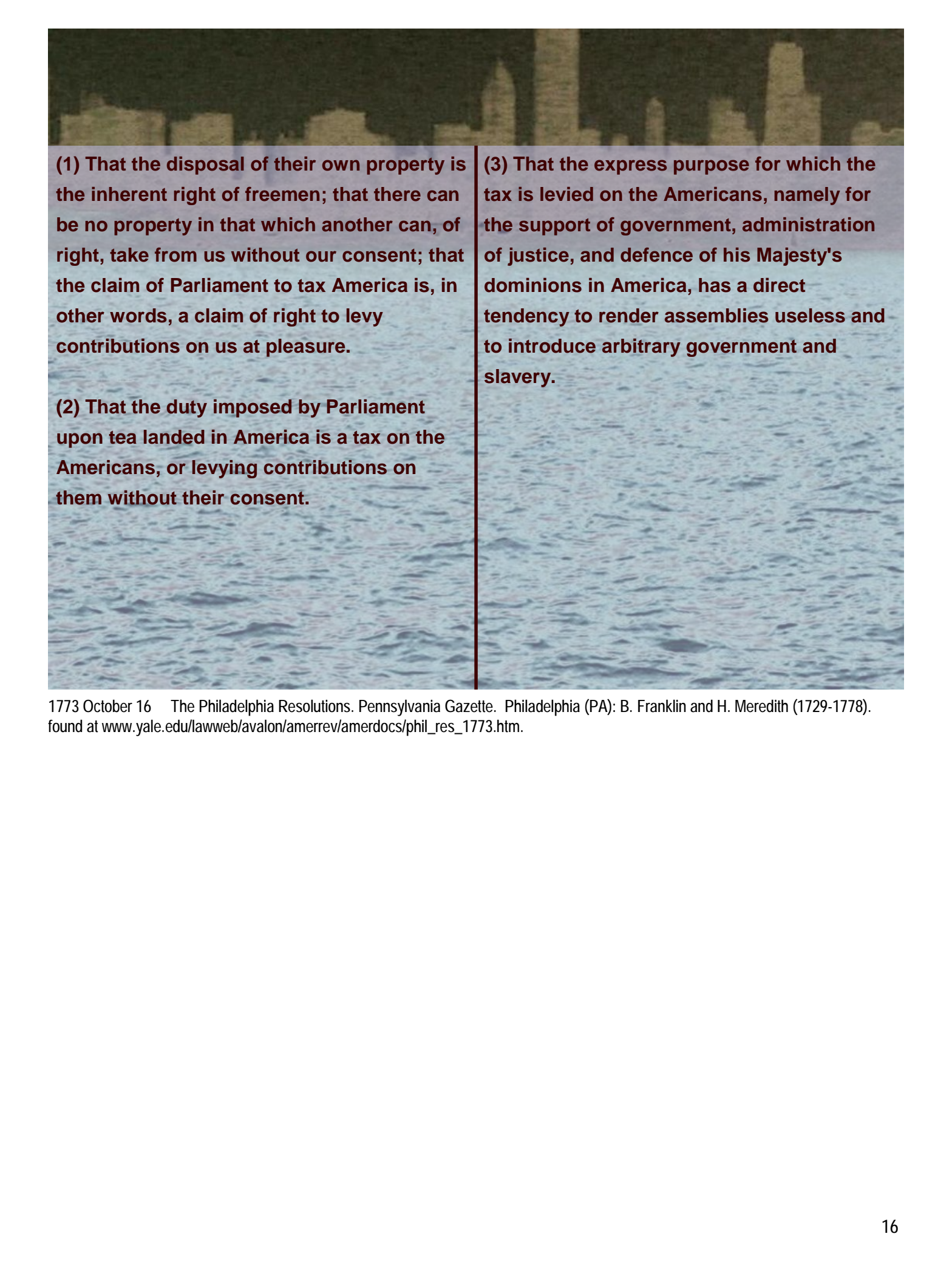


Congress quickly enacted a land tax on the ambiguity, and proved that one wrong can make two rights.

(1) The power to tax land, however bogus it was, served as a temporary expedient that forced large landholders (lords) to divide and sell their royal grants to their tenants and other common people.

(2) The power to tax land lay clearly with Congress. If a new constitution was needed to transfer a power to tax imports from states to Congress, another new constitution was needed to transfer power to tax land from Congress to states.

The US hasn't ratified a 4th new constitution; and states tax land in error, under color of law.

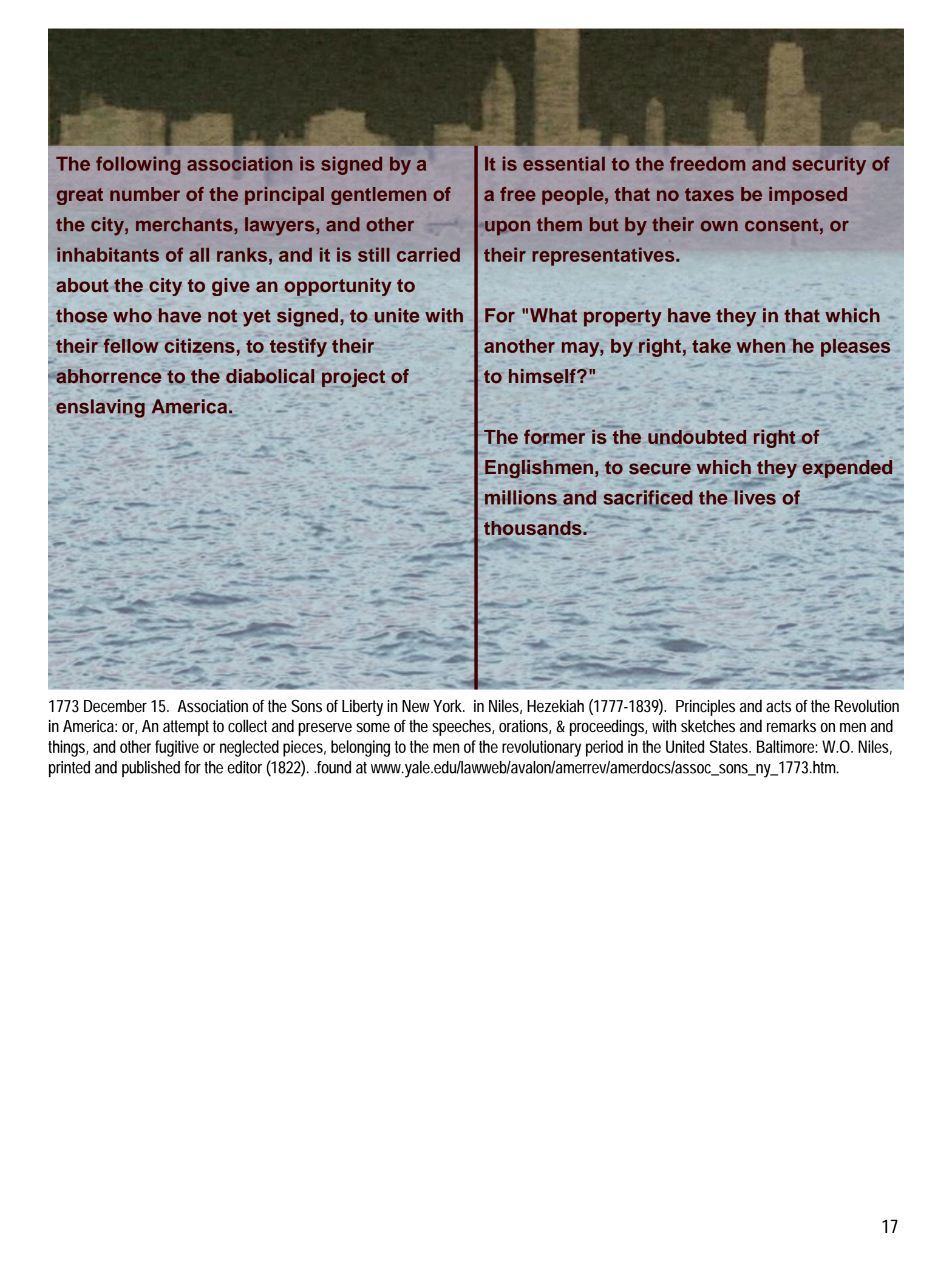


(1) That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen; that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from us without our consent; that the claim of Parliament to tax America is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure.

(2) That the duty imposed by Parliament upon tea landed in America is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them without their consent.

(3) That the express purpose for which the tax is levied on the Americans, namely for the support of government, administration of justice, and defence of his Majesty's dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render assemblies useless and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery.

1773 October 16 The Philadelphia Resolutions. Pennsylvania Gazette. Philadelphia (PA): B. Franklin and H. Meredith (1729-1778). found at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/amerrev/amerdocs/phil_res_1773.htm.



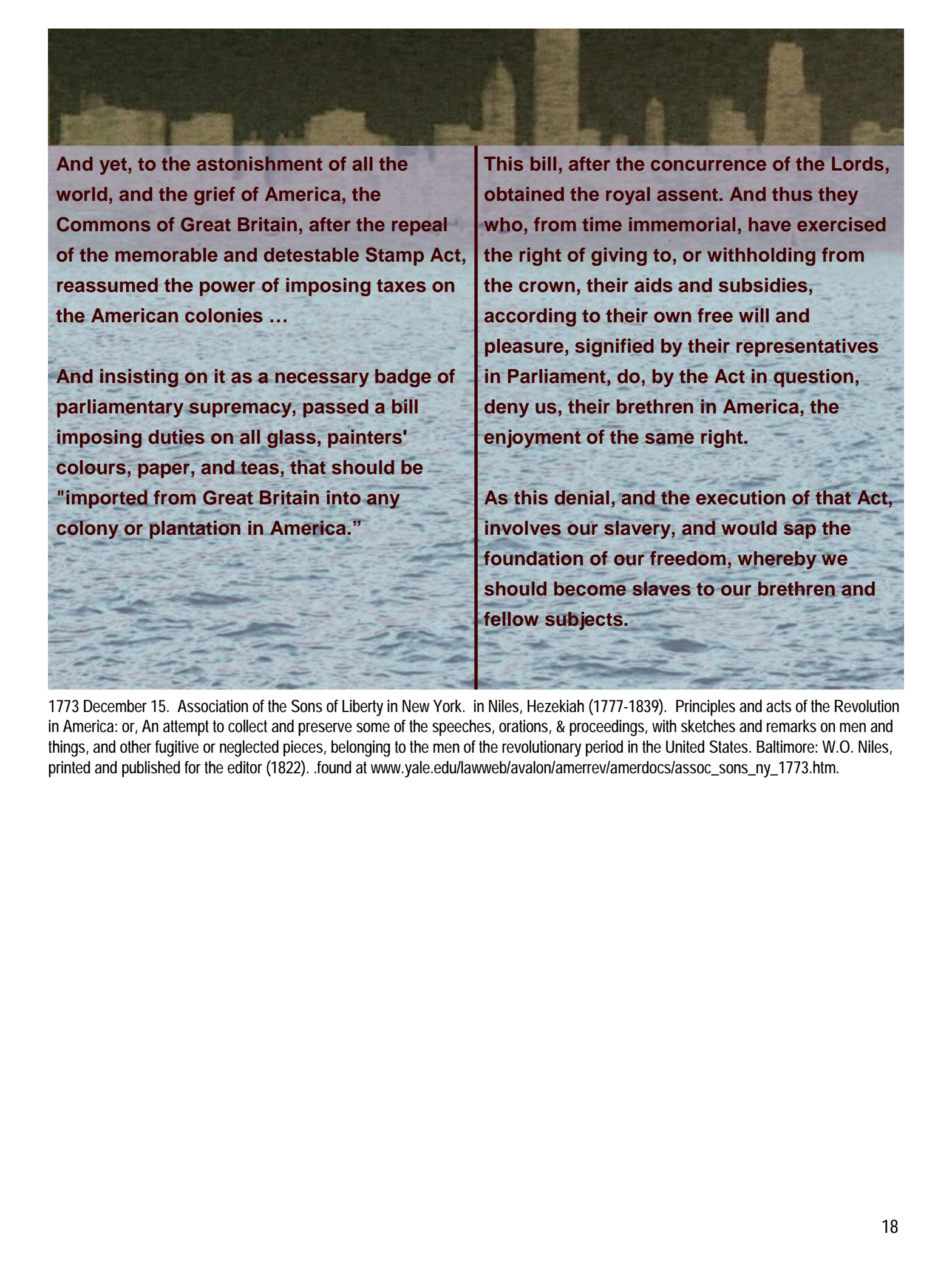
The following association is signed by a great number of the principal gentlemen of the city, merchants, lawyers, and other inhabitants of all ranks, and it is still carried about the city to give an opportunity to those who have not yet signed, to unite with their fellow citizens, to testify their abhorrence to the diabolical project of enslaving America.

It is essential to the freedom and security of a free people, that no taxes be imposed upon them but by their own consent, or their representatives.

For "What property have they in that which another may, by right, take when he pleases to himself?"

The former is the undoubted right of Englishmen, to secure which they expended millions and sacrificed the lives of thousands.

1773 December 15. Association of the Sons of Liberty in New York. in Niles, Hezekiah (1777-1839). Principles and acts of the Revolution in America: or, An attempt to collect and preserve some of the speeches, orations, & proceedings, with sketches and remarks on men and things, and other fugitive or neglected pieces, belonging to the men of the revolutionary period in the United States. Baltimore: W.O. Niles, printed and published for the editor (1822). .found at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/amerrev/amerdocs/assoc_sons_ny_1773.htm.



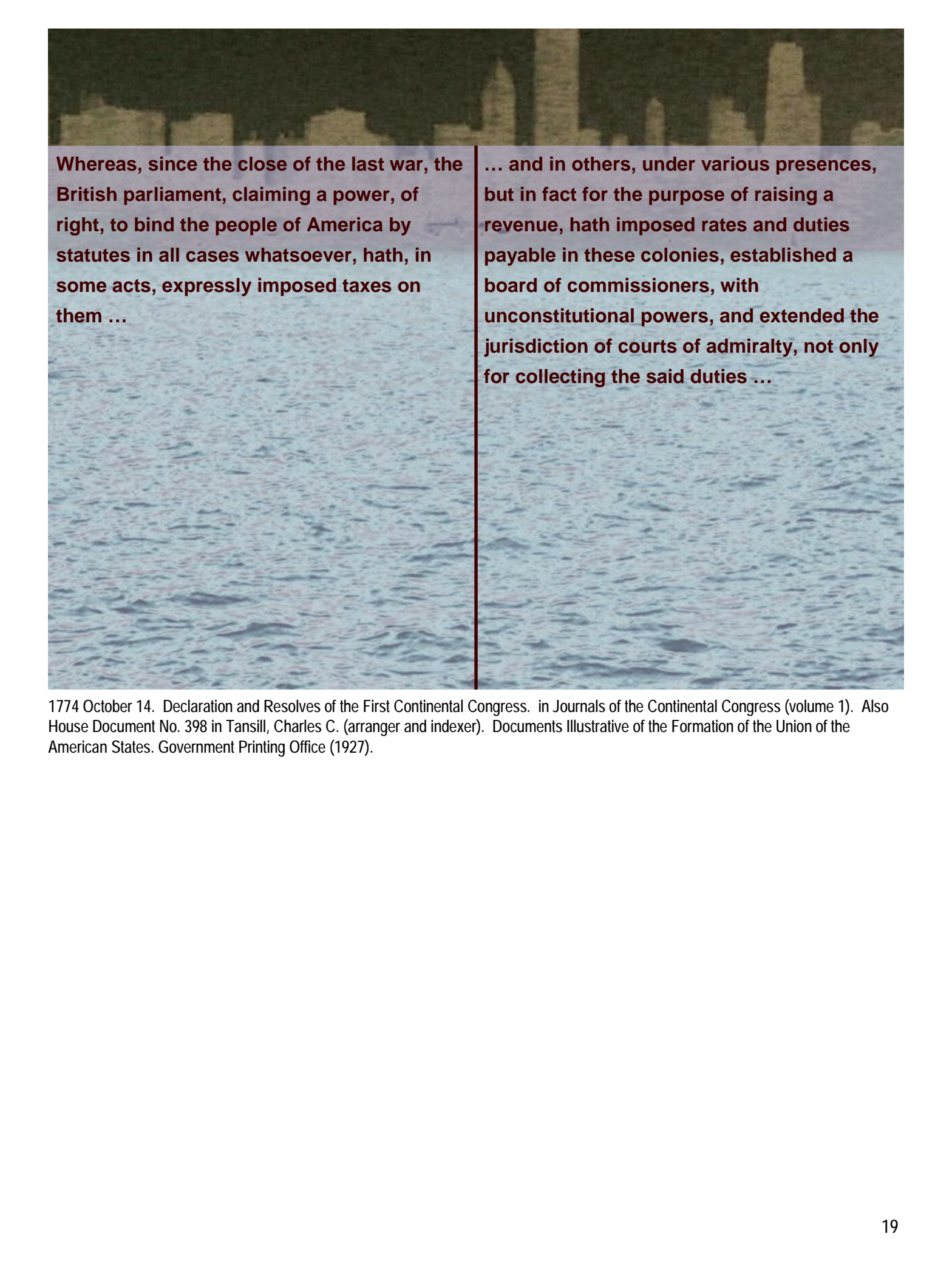
And yet, to the astonishment of all the world, and the grief of America, the Commons of Great Britain, after the repeal of the memorable and detestable Stamp Act, reassumed the power of imposing taxes on the American colonies ...

And insisting on it as a necessary badge of parliamentary supremacy, passed a bill imposing duties on all glass, painters' colours, paper, and teas, that should be "imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America."

This bill, after the concurrence of the Lords, obtained the royal assent. And thus they who, from time immemorial, have exercised the right of giving to, or withholding from the crown, their aids and subsidies, according to their own free will and pleasure, signified by their representatives in Parliament, do, by the Act in question, deny us, their brethren in America, the enjoyment of the same right.

As this denial, and the execution of that Act, involves our slavery, and would sap the foundation of our freedom, whereby we should become slaves to our brethren and fellow subjects.

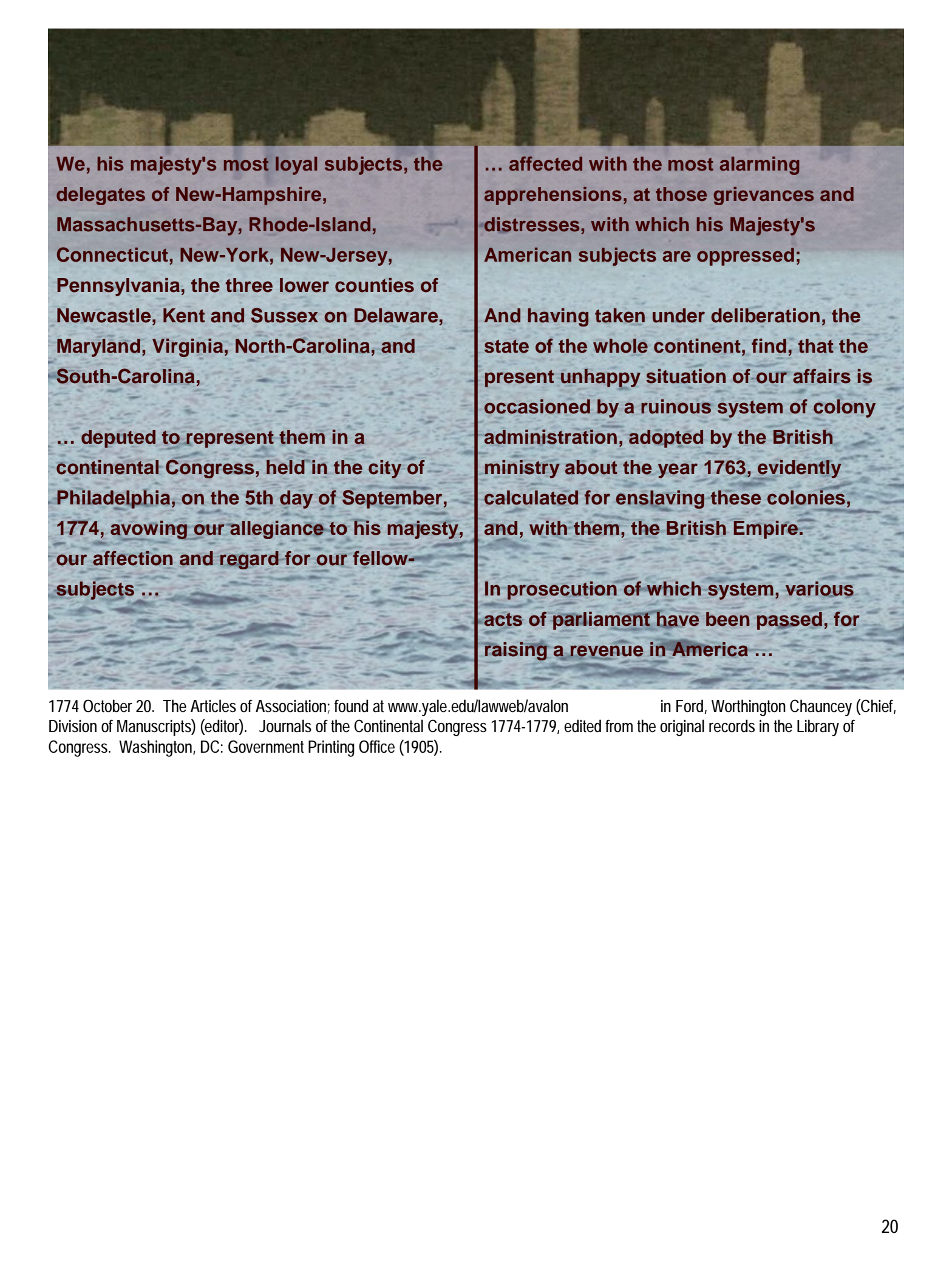
1773 December 15. Association of the Sons of Liberty in New York. in Niles, Hezekiah (1777-1839). Principles and acts of the Revolution in America: or, An attempt to collect and preserve some of the speeches, orations, & proceedings, with sketches and remarks on men and things, and other fugitive or neglected pieces, belonging to the men of the revolutionary period in the United States. Baltimore: W.O. Niles, printed and published for the editor (1822). .found at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/amerrev/amerdocs/assoc_sons_ny_1773.htm.



Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament, claiming a power, of right, to bind the people of America by statutes in all cases whatsoever, hath, in some acts, expressly imposed taxes on them ...

... and in others, under various presences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners, with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties ...

1774 October 14. Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress. in Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 1). Also House Document No. 398 in Tansill, Charles C. (arranger and indexer). Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States. Government Printing Office (1927).



We, his majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina,

... deputed to represent them in a continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects ...

... affected with the most alarming apprehensions, at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed;

And having taken under deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration, adopted by the British ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies, and, with them, the British Empire.

In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed, for raising a revenue in America ...

1774 October 20. The Articles of Association; found at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon in Ford, Worthington Chauncey (Chief, Division of Manuscripts) (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1779, edited from the original records in the Library of Congress. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (1905).

And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association ...

Until such parts of the several acts of parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, (etc.) are repealed ...


And until that part of the act of the 12 G. 3. ch. 24 s repealed

And until the four acts, passed the last session of parliament are repealed ...

Viz. that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston-that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay-and that which is entitled An act for the better administration of justice, &c."-and that "for extending the limits of Quebec, &c. ...

And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association.

1774 October 20. The Articles of Association; found at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon in Ford, Worthington Chauncey (Chief, Division of Manuscripts) (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1779, edited from the original records in the Library of Congress. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (1905).



That each colony provide ways and means to sink its proportion of the said bills, in such manner as may be most effectual, and best adapted to the condition, circumstances, and equal mode of levying taxes in each colony.

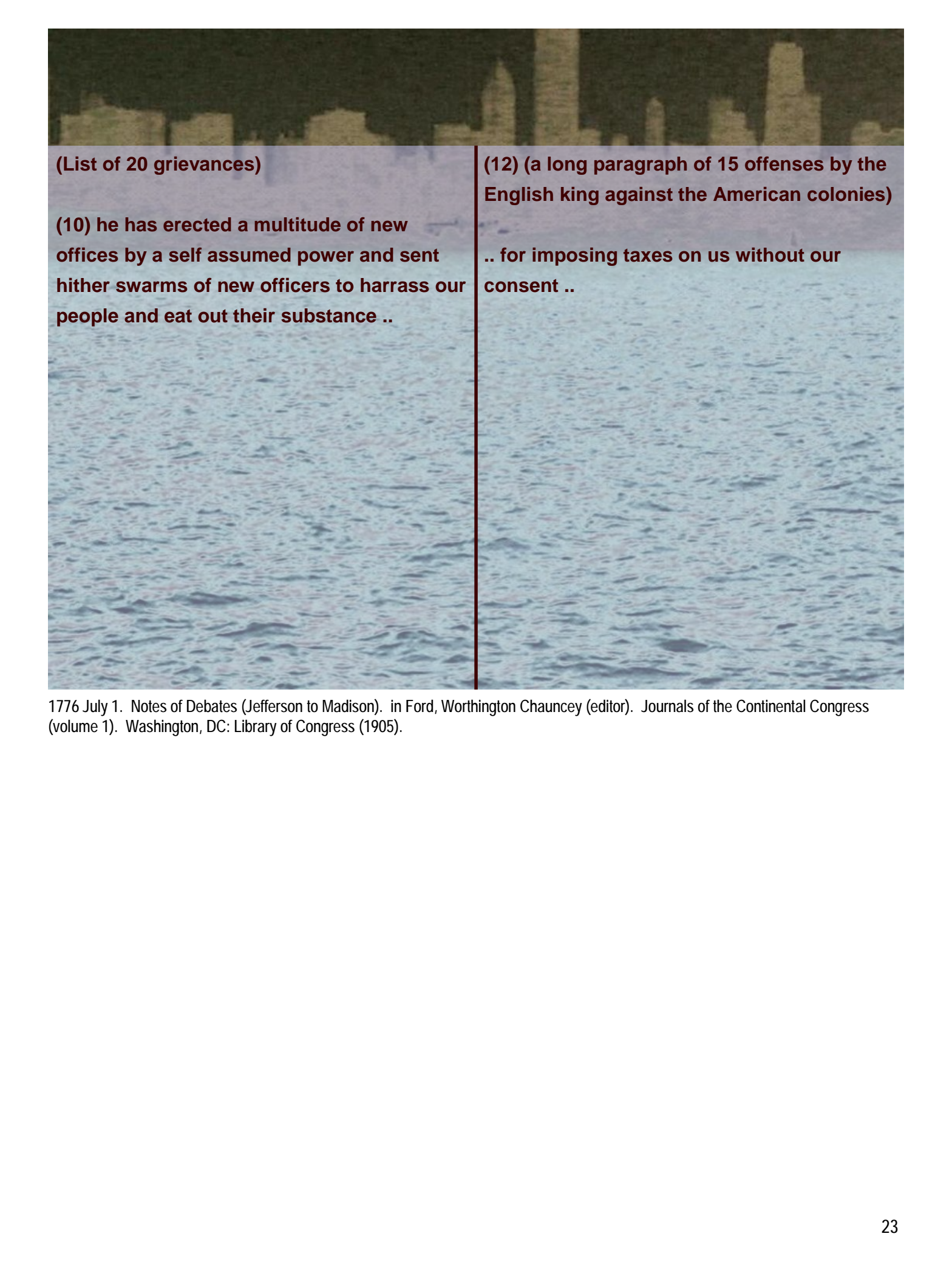
That the proportion or quota of each respective colony be determined according to the number of inhabitants, of all ages, including negroes and mulattoes in each colony.

That each colony pay its respective quota in four equal payments; the first to be made on or before the last day of November, 1783, the second, on or before the last day of November, 1784 ...

... the third, on or before the last day of November, 1785; and the fourth or last, on or before the last day of November, 1786 ...

And that, for this end, the several assemblies or conventions provide for laying and levying taxes in their respective colonies, towards sinking the continental bills; that the said bills be received by the collectors in payment for such taxes, and be by the collectors paid into the hands of the provincial treasurers; which other monies the provincial treasurers shall endeavour to get exchanged for continental bills; and when that cannot be done, shall send the deficiency in gold and silver, with the bills, making up the quota to be sunk

1775 December 26. Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 3, 1775 Sep 21 - Dec 30). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1905).



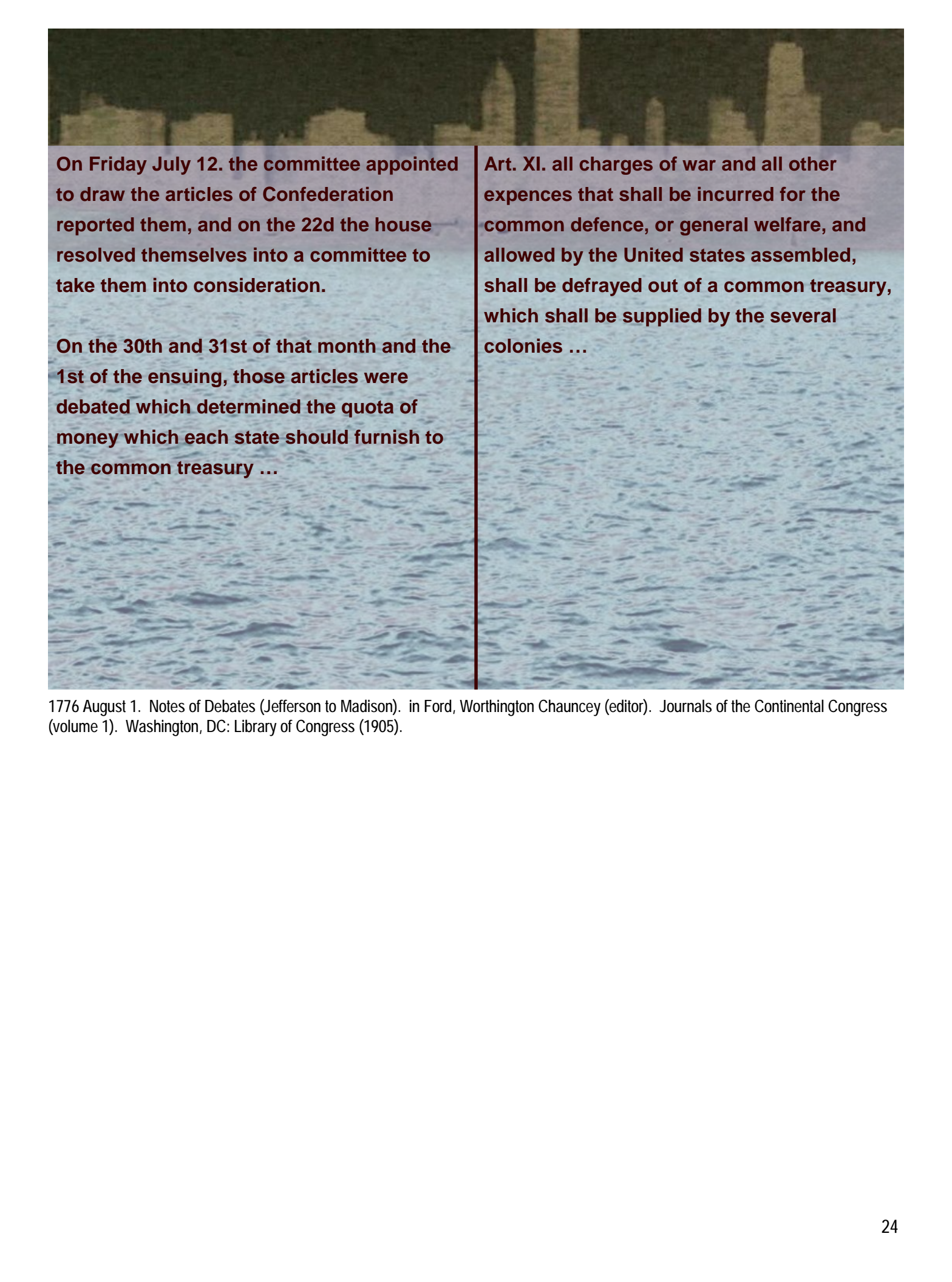
(List of 20 grievances)

(10) he has erected a multitude of new offices by a self assumed power and sent hither swarms of new officers to harrass our people and eat out their substance ..

(12) (a long paragraph of 15 offenses by the English king against the American colonies)

.. for imposing taxes on us without our consent ..

1776 July 1. Notes of Debates (Jefferson to Madison). in Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 1). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1905).

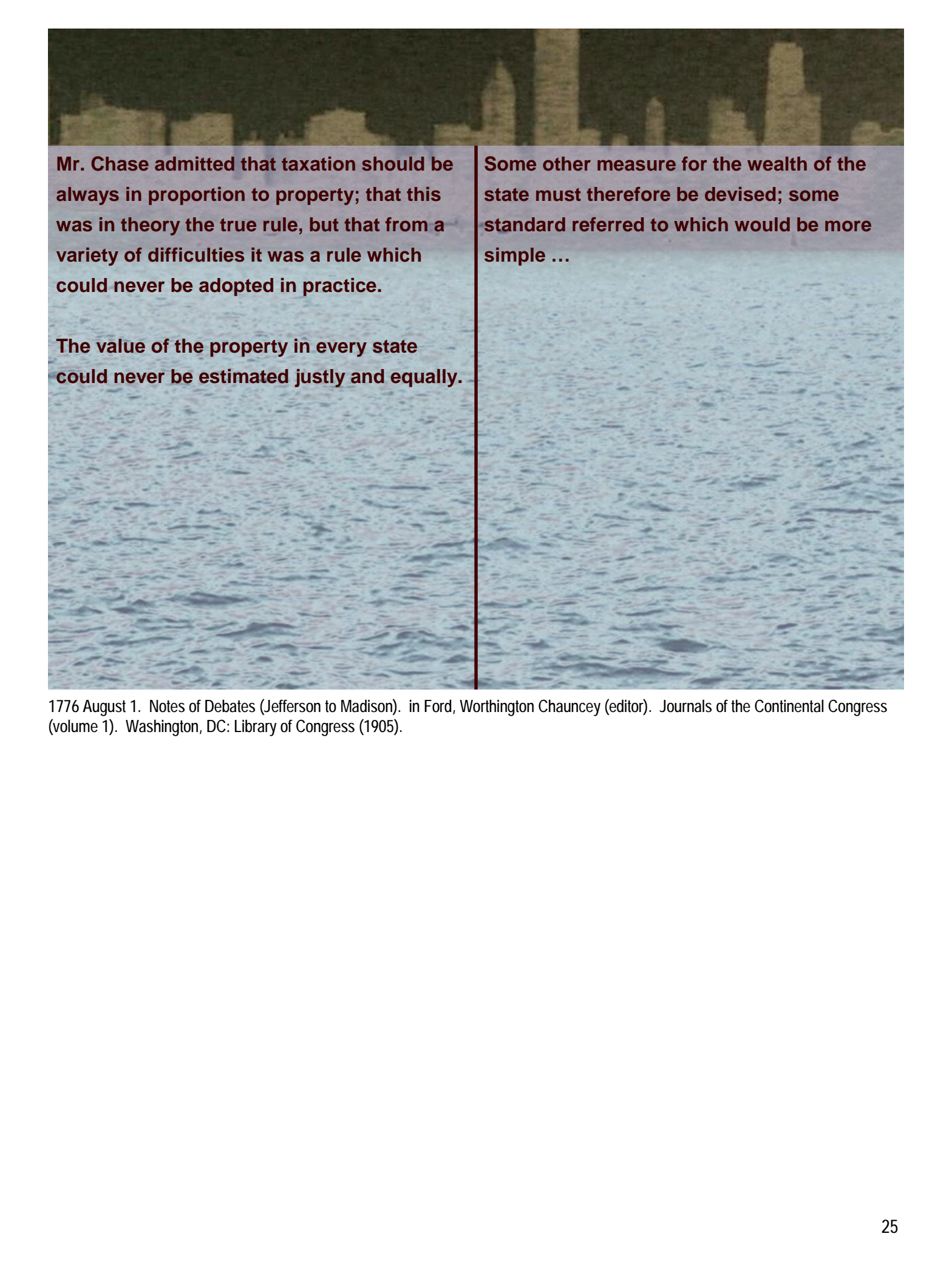


On Friday July 12. the committee appointed to draw the articles of Confederation reported them, and on the 22d the house resolved themselves into a committee to take them into consideration.

On the 30th and 31st of that month and the 1st of the ensuing, those articles were debated which determined the quota of money which each state should furnish to the common treasury ...

Art. XI. all charges of war and all other expences that shall be incurred for the common defence, or general welfare, and allowed by the United states assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several colonies ...

1776 August 1. Notes of Debates (Jefferson to Madison). in Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 1). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1905).

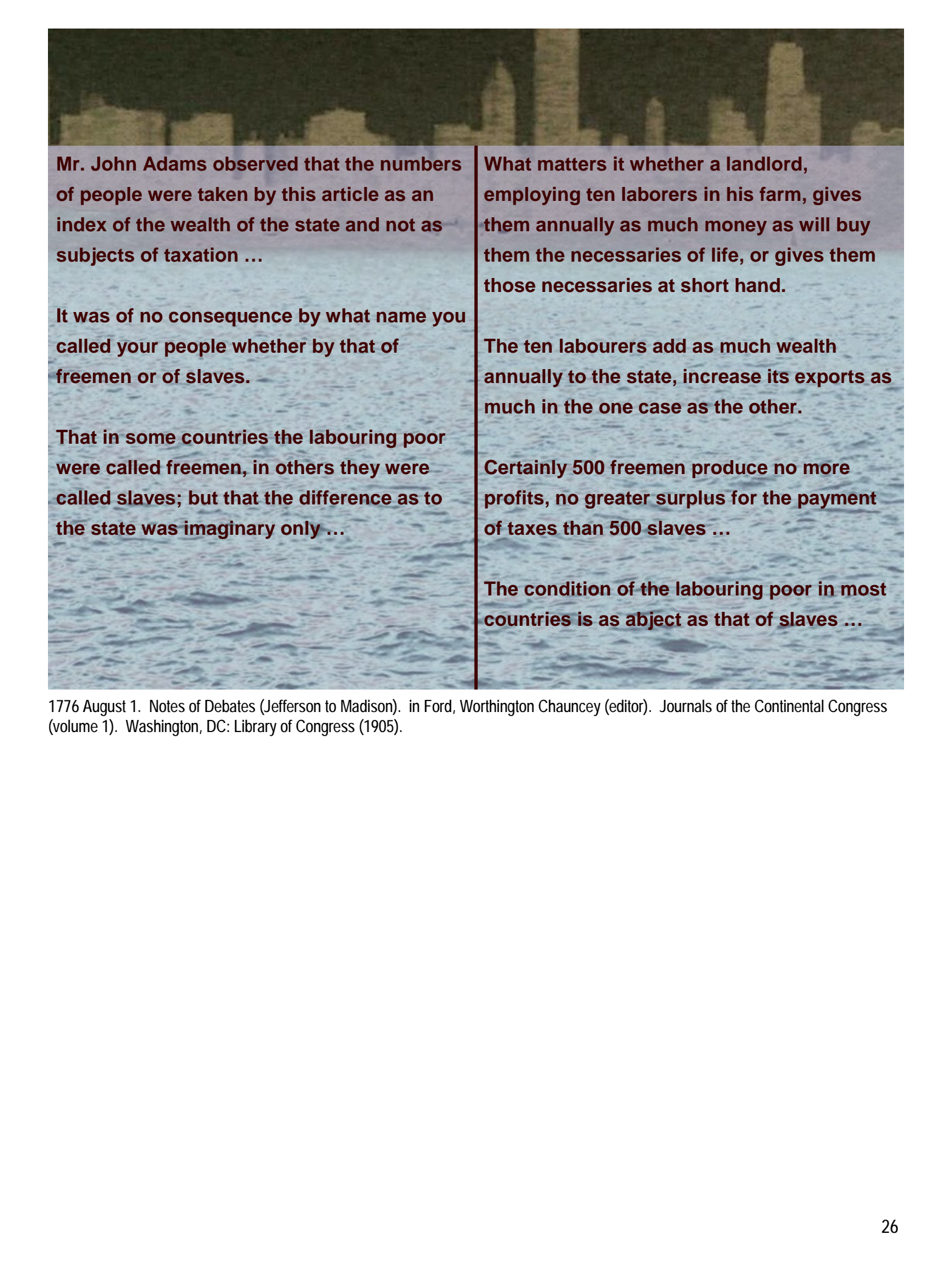


Mr. Chase admitted that taxation should be always in proportion to property; that this was in theory the true rule, but that from a variety of difficulties it was a rule which could never be adopted in practice.

The value of the property in every state could never be estimated justly and equally.

Some other measure for the wealth of the state must therefore be devised; some standard referred to which would be more simple ...

1776 August 1. Notes of Debates (Jefferson to Madison). in Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 1). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1905).



Mr. John Adams observed that the numbers of people were taken by this article as an index of the wealth of the state and not as subjects of taxation ...

It was of no consequence by what name you called your people whether by that of freemen or of slaves.

That in some countries the labouring poor were called freemen, in others they were called slaves; but that the difference as to the state was imaginary only ...

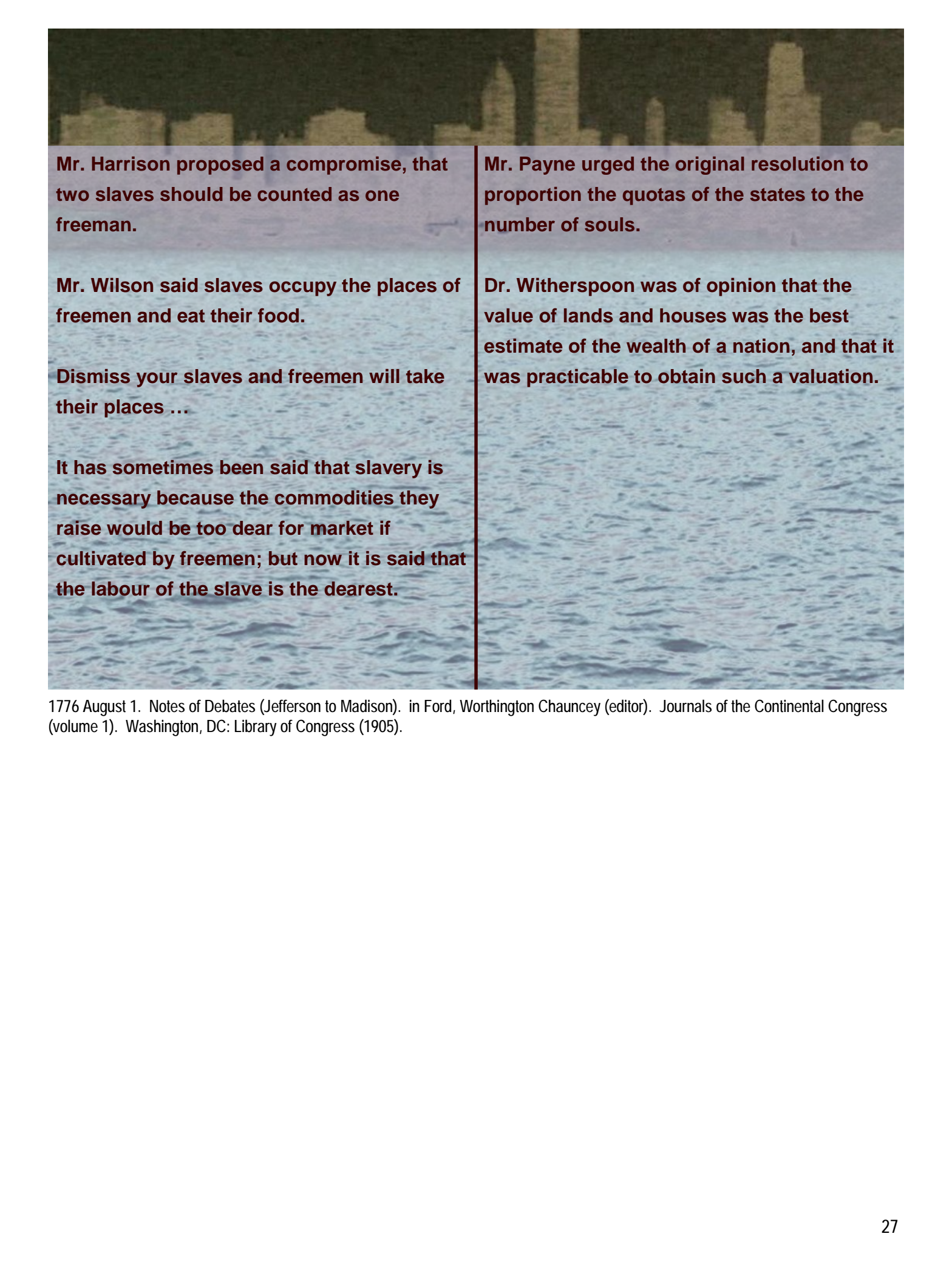
What matters it whether a landlord, employing ten laborers in his farm, gives them annually as much money as will buy them the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at short hand.

The ten labourers add as much wealth annually to the state, increase its exports as much in the one case as the other.

Certainly 500 freemen produce no more profits, no greater surplus for the payment of taxes than 500 slaves ...

The condition of the labouring poor in most countries is as abject as that of slaves ...

1776 August 1. Notes of Debates (Jefferson to Madison). in Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 1). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1905).



Mr. Harrison proposed a compromise, that two slaves should be counted as one freeman.

Mr. Wilson said slaves occupy the places of freemen and eat their food.

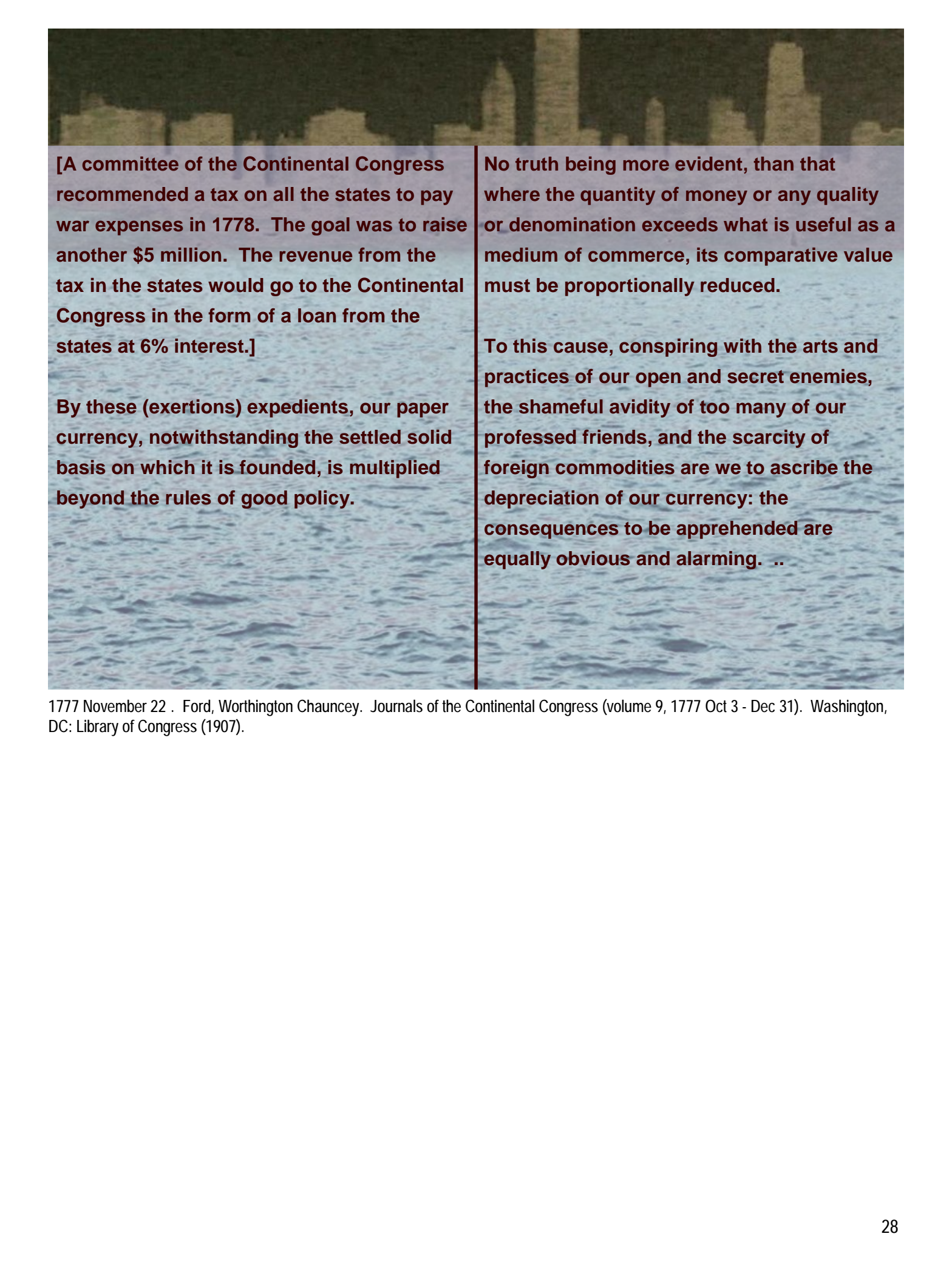
Dismiss your slaves and freemen will take their places ...

It has sometimes been said that slavery is necessary because the commodities they raise would be too dear for market if cultivated by freemen; but now it is said that the labour of the slave is the dearest.

Mr. Payne urged the original resolution to proportion the quotas of the states to the number of souls.

Dr. Witherspoon was of opinion that the value of lands and houses was the best estimate of the wealth of a nation, and that it was practicable to obtain such a valuation.

1776 August 1. Notes of Debates (Jefferson to Madison). in Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 1). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1905).



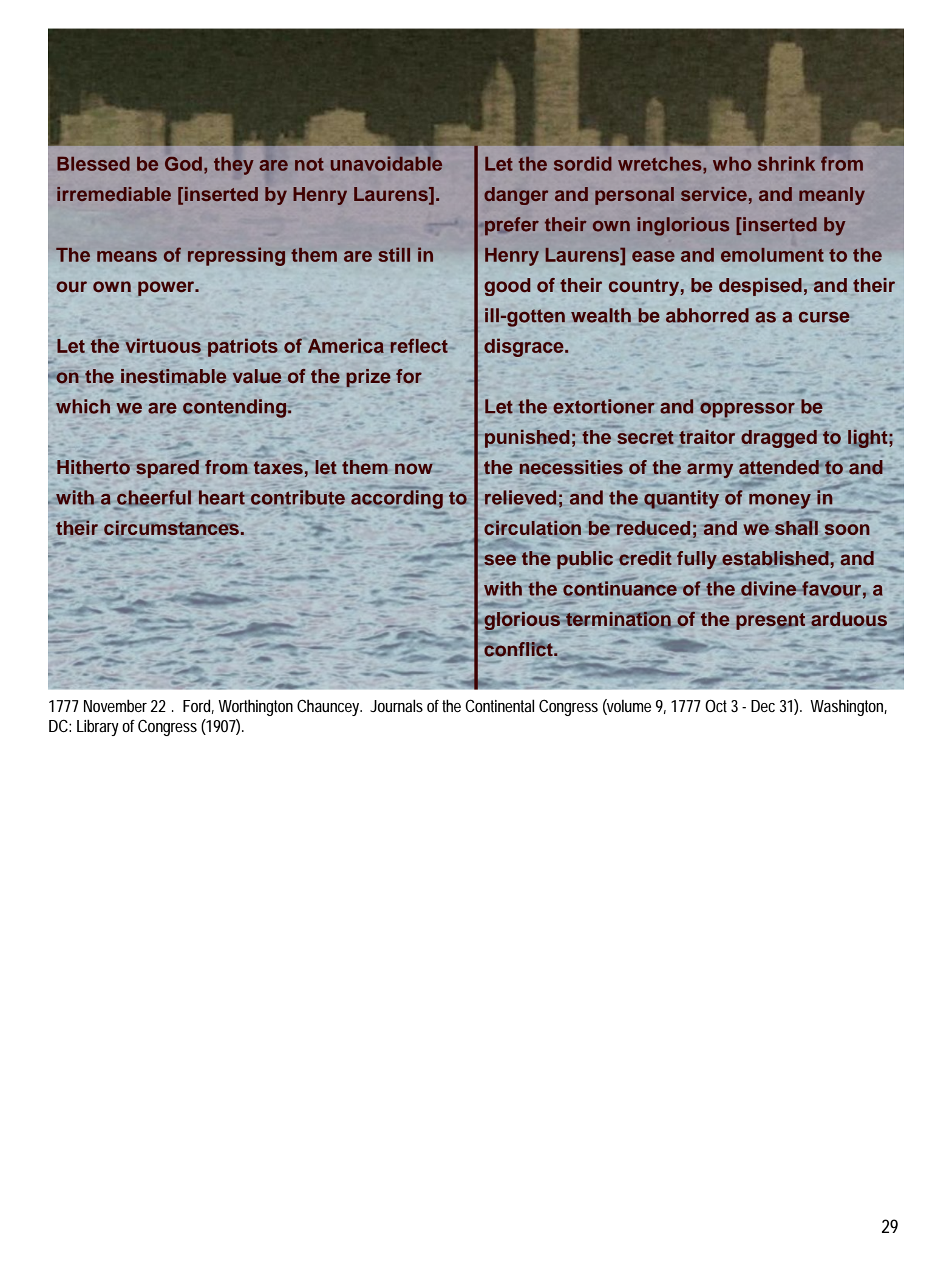
[A committee of the Continental Congress recommended a tax on all the states to pay war expenses in 1778. The goal was to raise another \$5 million. The revenue from the tax in the states would go to the Continental Congress in the form of a loan from the states at 6% interest.]

By these (exertions) expedients, our paper currency, notwithstanding the settled solid basis on which it is founded, is multiplied beyond the rules of good policy.

No truth being more evident, than that where the quantity of money or any quality or denomination exceeds what is useful as a medium of commerce, its comparative value must be proportionally reduced.

To this cause, conspiring with the arts and practices of our open and secret enemies, the shameful avidity of too many of our professed friends, and the scarcity of foreign commodities are we to ascribe the depreciation of our currency: the consequences to be apprehended are equally obvious and alarming. ..

1777 November 22 . Ford, Worthington Chauncey. Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 9, 1777 Oct 3 - Dec 31). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1907).



**Blessed be God, they are not unavoidable
irremediable [inserted by Henry Laurens].**

**The means of repressing them are still in
our own power.**

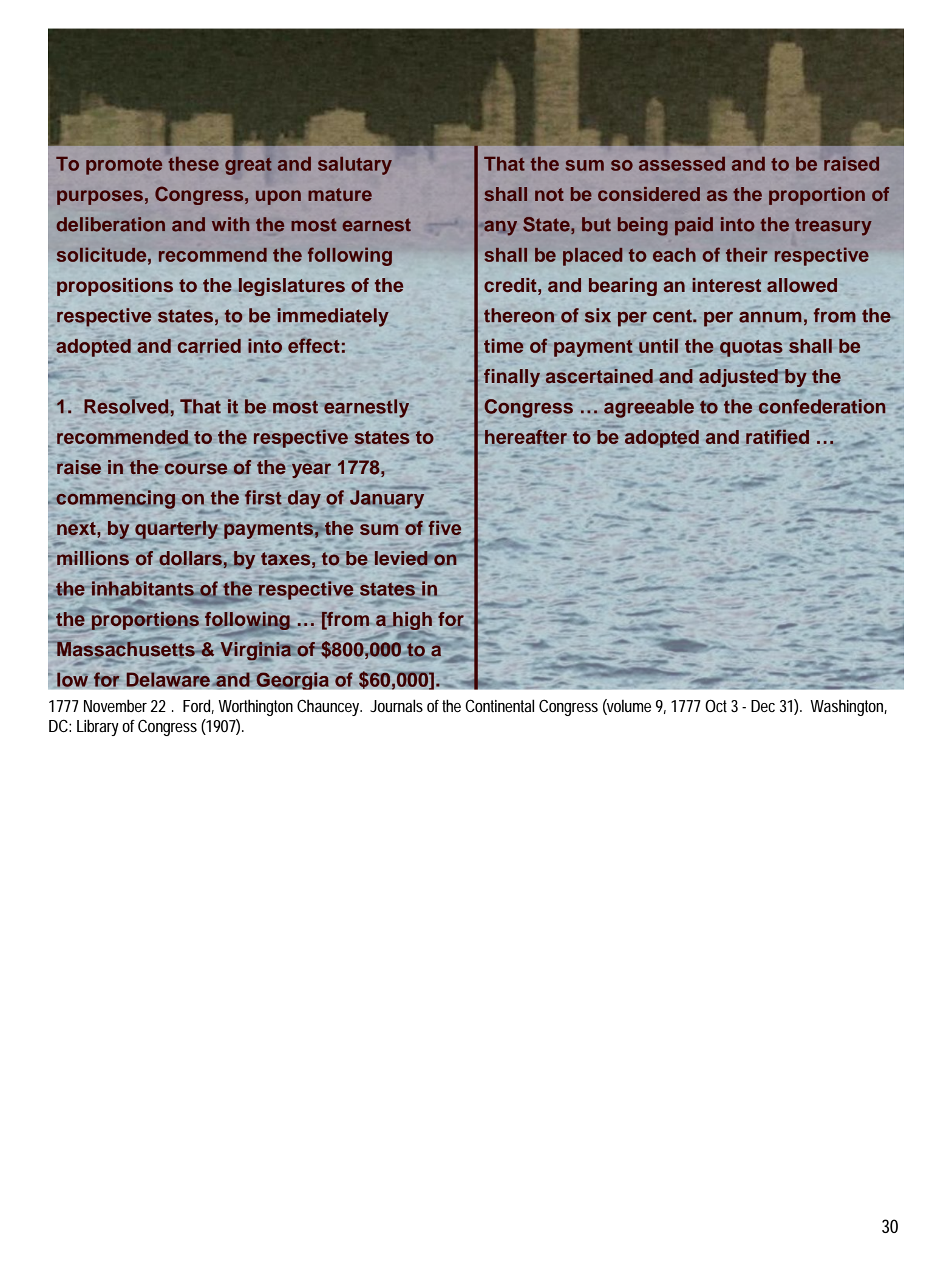
**Let the virtuous patriots of America reflect
on the inestimable value of the prize for
which we are contending.**

**Hitherto spared from taxes, let them now
with a cheerful heart contribute according to
their circumstances.**

**Let the sordid wretches, who shrink from
danger and personal service, and meanly
prefer their own inglorious [inserted by
Henry Laurens] ease and emolument to the
good of their country, be despised, and their
ill-gotten wealth be abhorred as a curse
disgrace.**

**Let the extortioner and oppressor be
punished; the secret traitor dragged to light;
the necessities of the army attended to and
relieved; and the quantity of money in
circulation be reduced; and we shall soon
see the public credit fully established, and
with the continuance of the divine favour, a
glorious termination of the present arduous
conflict.**

1777 November 22 . Ford, Worthington Chauncey. Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 9, 1777 Oct 3 - Dec 31). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1907).



To promote these great and salutary purposes, Congress, upon mature deliberation and with the most earnest solicitude, recommend the following propositions to the legislatures of the respective states, to be immediately adopted and carried into effect:

1. Resolved, That it be most earnestly recommended to the respective states to raise in the course of the year 1778, commencing on the first day of January next, by quarterly payments, the sum of five millions of dollars, by taxes, to be levied on the inhabitants of the respective states in the proportions following ... [from a high for Massachusetts & Virginia of \$800,000 to a low for Delaware and Georgia of \$60,000].

That the sum so assessed and to be raised shall not be considered as the proportion of any State, but being paid into the treasury shall be placed to each of their respective credit, and bearing an interest allowed thereon of six per cent. per annum, from the time of payment until the quotas shall be finally ascertained and adjusted by the Congress ... agreeable to the confederation hereafter to be adopted and ratified ...

1777 November 22 . Ford, Worthington Chauncey. Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 9, 1777 Oct 3 - Dec 31). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1907).

2. Resolved,

That it be earnestly recommended to the legislatures of the several states to refrain from further emissions of paper bills of credit, and where there is sufficient quantity of continental bills of credit for the purpose of a circulating medium, forthwith to call in by loans or taxes and to cancel the paper money, small bills for change under a dollar excepted, which such State has already emitted; and, for the future to provide for the exigencies of war, and the support of government by taxes to be levied within the year, or such other expedients as may produce a competent supply.

3. And whereas, Resolved, therefore,

That it be recommended to the several states, forthwith to take effectual care that justice be duly administered within their respective jurisdictions, as well for the recovery of debts as for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors; provided that no suit or action shall be maintainable for the benefit of the enemies of these United States.

1777 November 22 . Ford, Worthington Chauncey. Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 9, 1777 Oct 3 - Dec 31). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1907).

4. And whereas,

Signal advantages have arisen from the establishment of continental loan offices, on which Congress continue to place great dependence; in order, therefore, as far as it is practicable to ascertain the supplies for the war for the next four months which may be raised in the several states upon loan office certificates ...

Resolved,

That it be recommended to the legislatures to cause subscriptions to be opened specifying the names of the lenders, and the sums they are willing to lend ...

Provided that no certificate shall issue for less than two hundred dollars. [inserted by Laurens]

1777 November 22 . Ford, Worthington Chauncey. Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 9, 1777 Oct 3 - Dec 31). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1907).

5. Resolved,

That it be recommended to the legislatures to appoint commissioners to convene at New Haven (or) Fredericksburg [or] Charleston in order to regulate and ascertain the price of labour, Provisions and other Necessaries for the supply of the fleets and armies of the United States manufactures, internal produce, and commodities imported from foreign parts, military stores excepted; and also to regulate the charges of inn-holders ...

... and that each of the legislatures enact such suitable laws for enforcing the regulations they shall ratify (including provisions for using innkeepers as purchasers and warehousemen of military supplies) (and to take surplus provisions from engrossers, forestallers, and other persons with more supplies than their families needed and to pay a price set by law for the supplies).

1777 November 22 . Ford, Worthington Chauncey. Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 9, 1777 Oct 3 - Dec 31). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1907).

6. And in order to introduce immediate oeconomy in the public expence, which is become indispensable (because of) the spirit of sharpening and extortion, and the rapid and excessive rise of every commodity being confined within no bounds, and considering how much time must unavoidably elapse before the plan proposed directed by the preceding resolutuion can be carried into effect,

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the respective legislatures to adopt and effectually enforce a temporary regulation of the prices of provisions and other commodities for the supply of the army ...

7. Resolved,

That the Legislatures [exert themselves ..] to furnish and supply the soldiers already enlisted, or who shall hereafter enlist with Blankets shoes, stockings and other warm clothing sufficient to defend them from Winter;

And to be delivered out to those who are in the greatest need at such reasonable Prices as shall bear a just Proportion to their wages ...

The surplus cost to be [born] defrayed by the state ...

1777 November 22 . Ford, Worthington Chauncey. Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 9, 1777 Oct 3 - Dec 31). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1907).

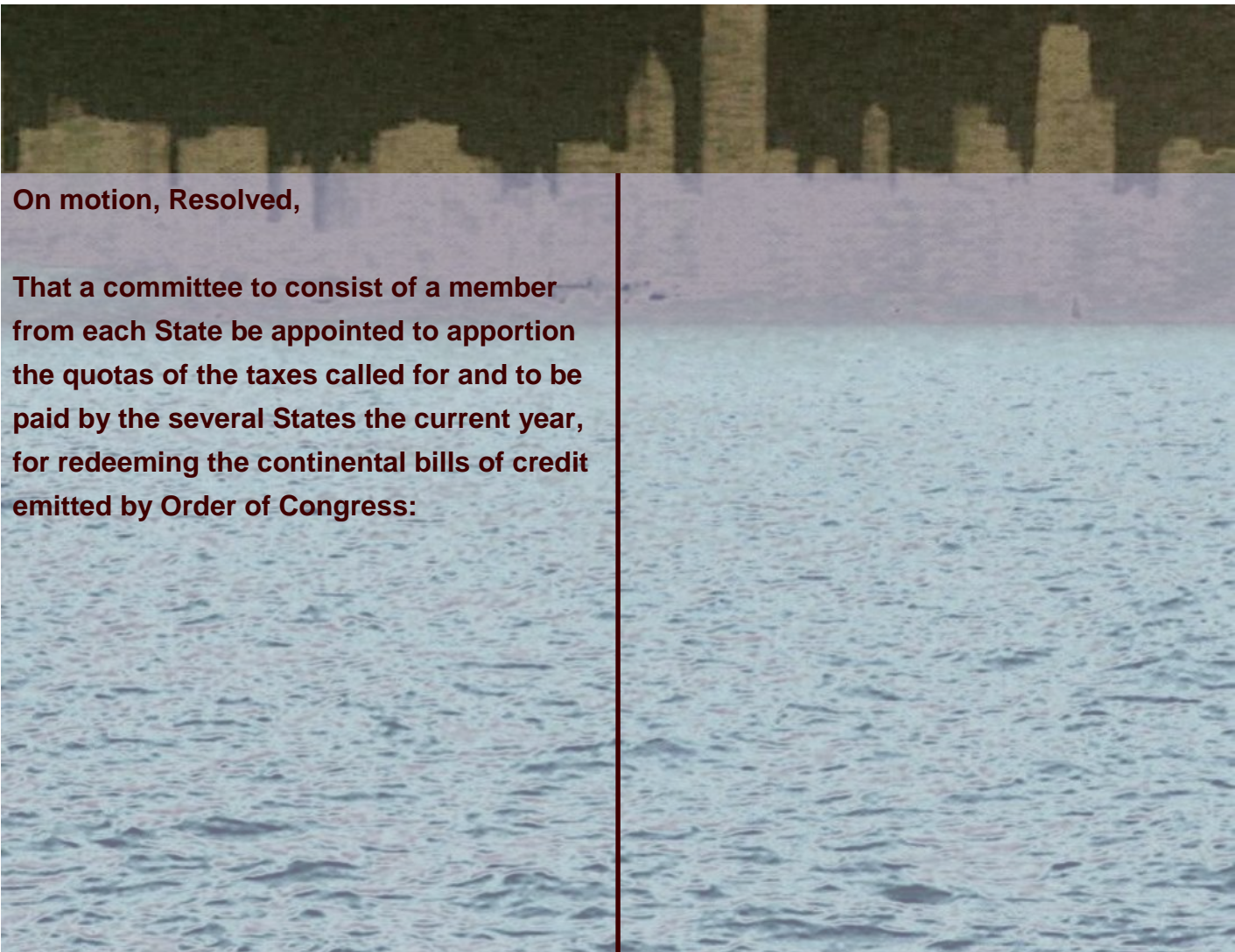
Articles of Confederation.

Article 8.

All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the US, 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 sureyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as Congress 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 by Congress ...

1778 July 9. Draft of Articles of Confederation (Final draft ratified 1781). in Peters, Richard (editor). Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America (volume 1). Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown (1845).



On motion, Resolved,

That a committee to consist of a member from each State be appointed to apportion the quotas of the taxes called for and to be paid by the several States the current year, for redeeming the continental bills of credit emitted by Order of Congress:

1779 January 4. Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 13, 1779 Jan 1 - Apr 22). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1909).

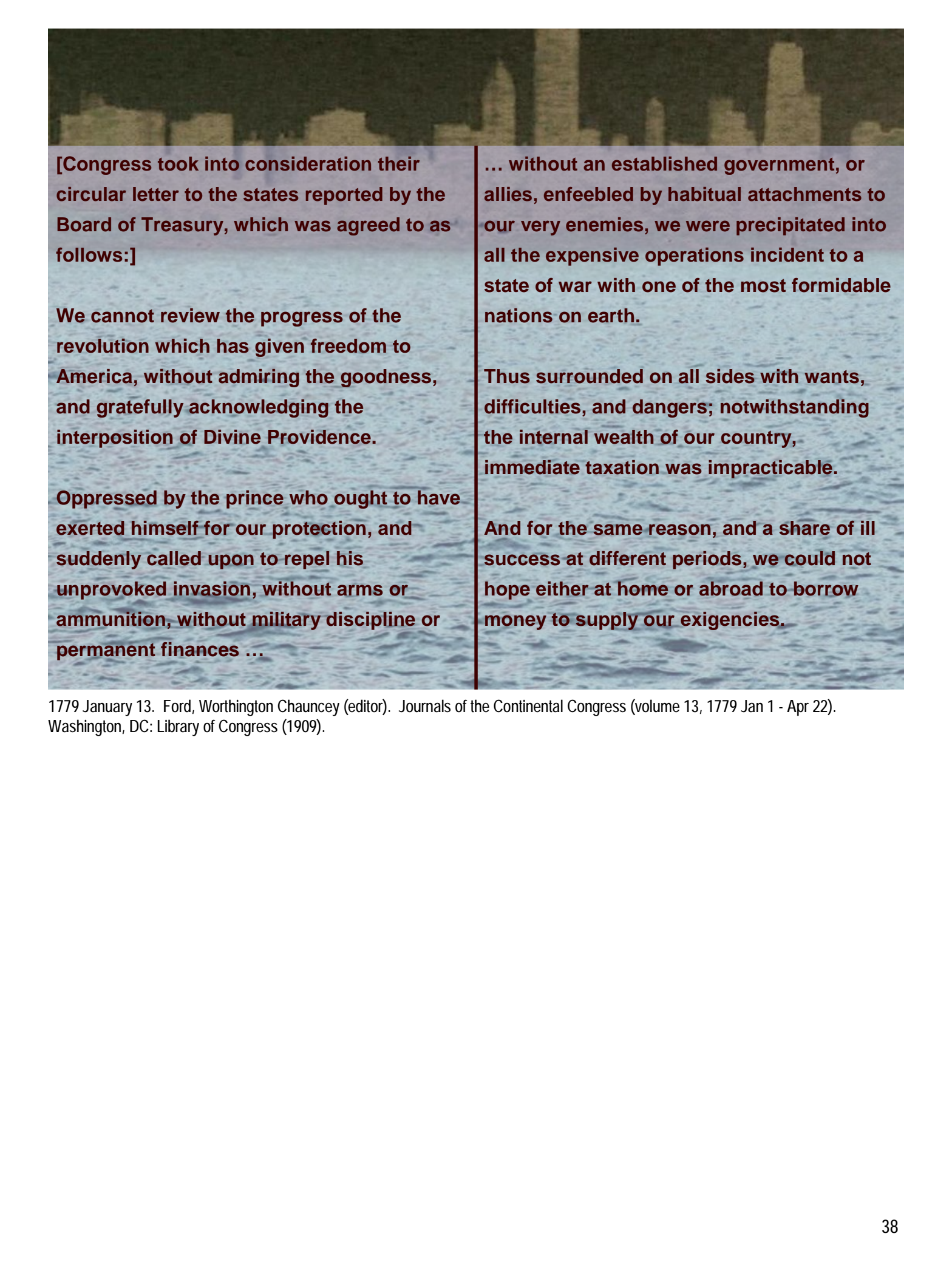
Resolved,
That the several states raise by taxes
respectively as follows, for their quotas of
the 15,000,000 of dollars for the year 1779:

New Hampshire, (500,000);
Massachusetts Bay, (2,000,000);
Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,
(300,000);
Connecticut, (1,700,000);
New York, (800,000);
New Jersey, (800,000);
Pennsylvania, (1,900,000);
Delaware, (150,000);
Maryland, (1,560,000);
Virginia, (2,400,000);

North Carolina, (1,090,000);
South Carolina, (1,800,000);
Georgia, being invaded, is hereafter to raise
her proportion ...

Resolved,
That the said several sums, or any greater
sums which shall be paid by any of the
states, into the continental treasury, shall be
placed to their respective credits on
interest, on the same terms as are set forth
in the resolution of Congress, passed
November 22, 1777.

1779 January 5. Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 13, 1779 Jan 1 - Apr 22). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1909).



[Congress took into consideration their circular letter to the states reported by the Board of Treasury, which was agreed to as follows:]

We cannot review the progress of the revolution which has given freedom to America, without admiring the goodness, and gratefully acknowledging the interposition of Divine Providence.

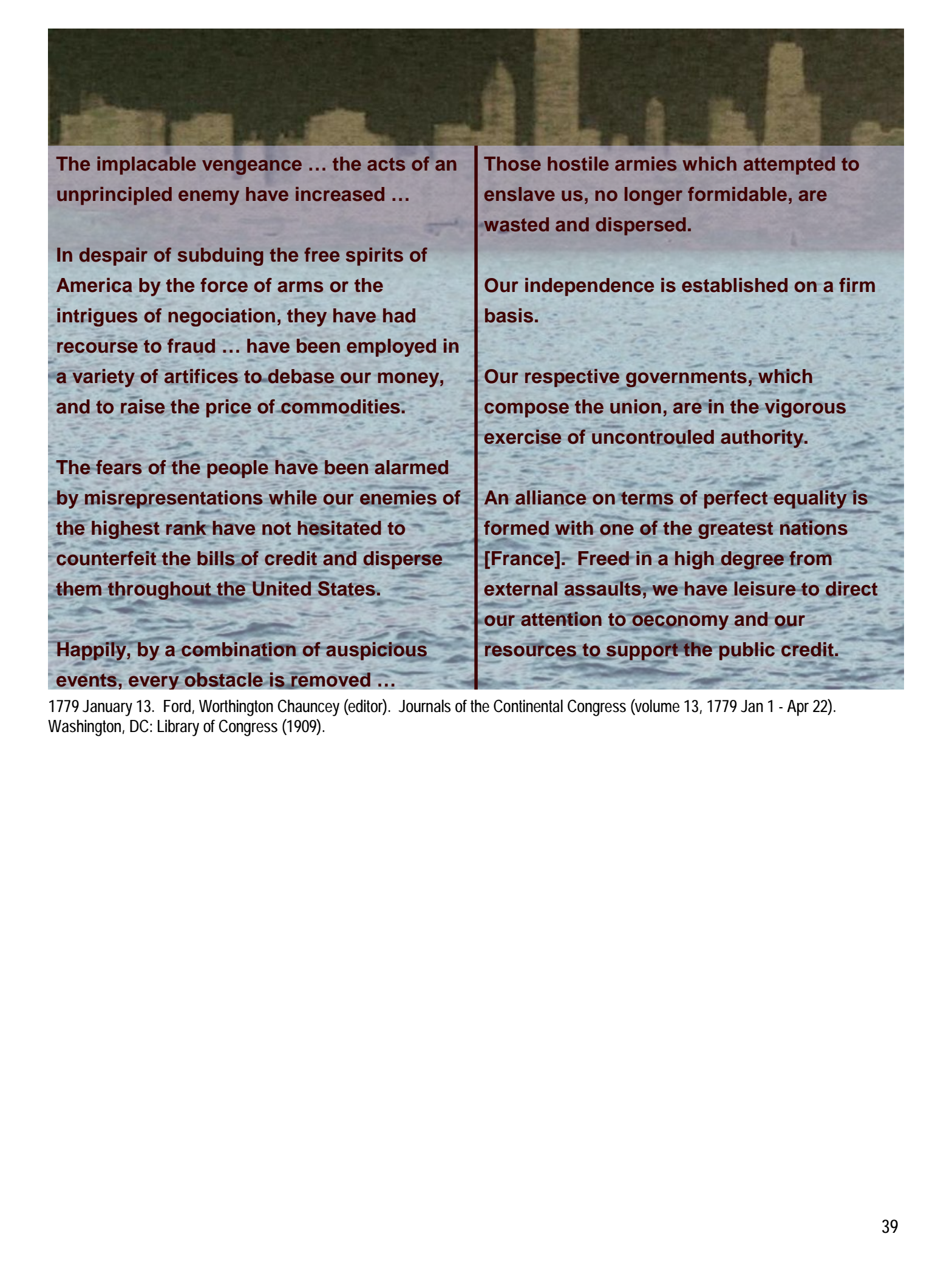
Oppressed by the prince who ought to have exerted himself for our protection, and suddenly called upon to repel his unprovoked invasion, without arms or ammunition, without military discipline or permanent finances ...

... without an established government, or allies, enfeebled by habitual attachments to our very enemies, we were precipitated into all the expensive operations incident to a state of war with one of the most formidable nations on earth.

Thus surrounded on all sides with wants, difficulties, and dangers; notwithstanding the internal wealth of our country, immediate taxation was impracticable.

And for the same reason, and a share of ill success at different periods, we could not hope either at home or abroad to borrow money to supply our exigencies.

1779 January 13. Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 13, 1779 Jan 1 - Apr 22). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1909).



The implacable vengeance ... the acts of an unprincipled enemy have increased ...

In despair of subduing the free spirits of America by the force of arms or the intrigues of negotiation, they have had recourse to fraud ... have been employed in a variety of artifices to debase our money, and to raise the price of commodities.

The fears of the people have been alarmed by misrepresentations while our enemies of the highest rank have not hesitated to counterfeit the bills of credit and disperse them throughout the United States.

Happily, by a combination of auspicious events, every obstacle is removed ...

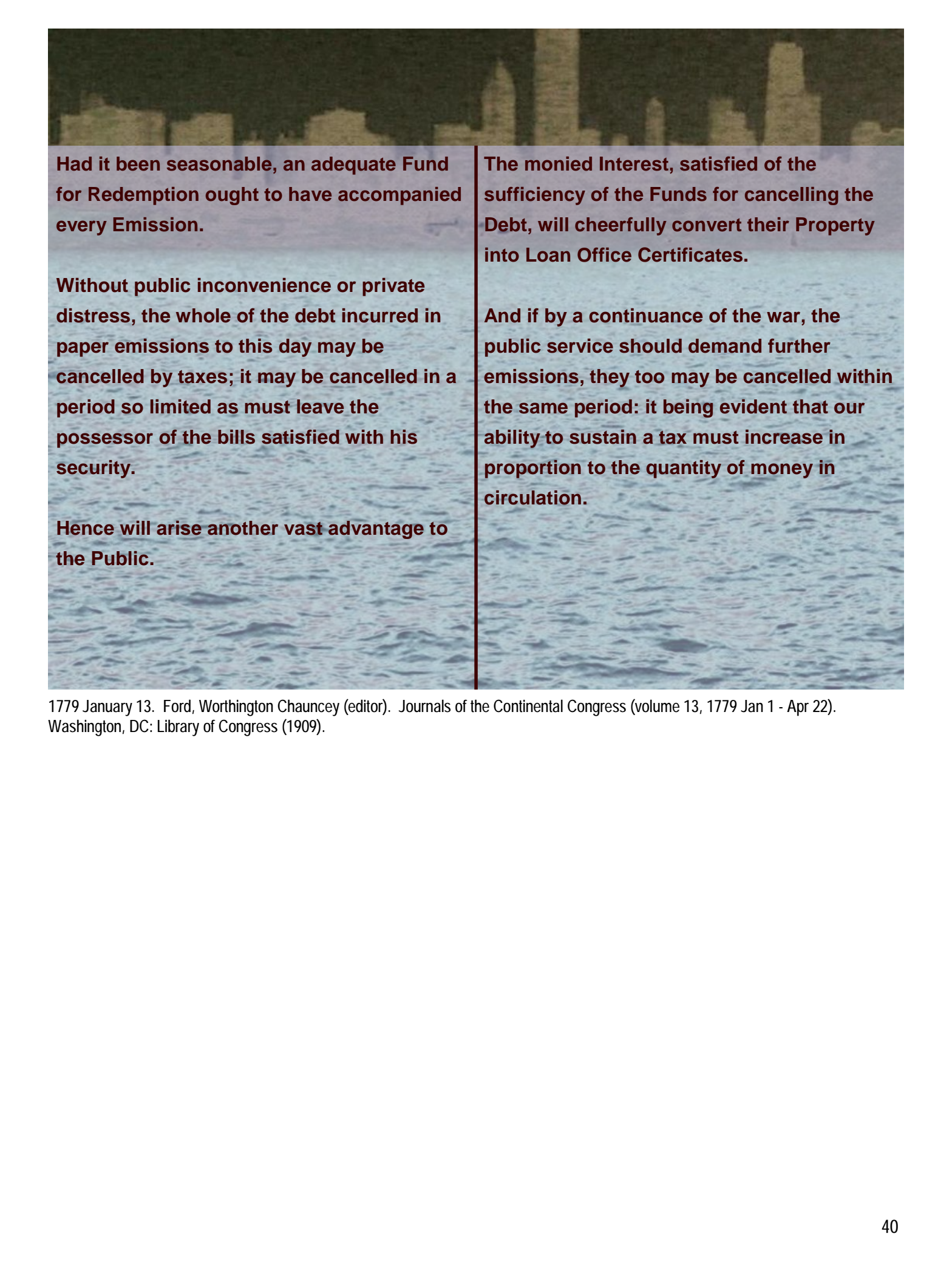
Those hostile armies which attempted to enslave us, no longer formidable, are wasted and dispersed.

Our independence is established on a firm basis.

Our respective governments, which compose the union, are in the vigorous exercise of uncontroled authority.

An alliance on terms of perfect equality is formed with one of the greatest nations [France]. Freed in a high degree from external assaults, we have leisure to direct our attention to oeconomy and our resources to support the public credit.

1779 January 13. Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 13, 1779 Jan 1 - Apr 22). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1909).



Had it been seasonable, an adequate Fund for Redemption ought to have accompanied every Emission.

Without public inconvenience or private distress, the whole of the debt incurred in paper emissions to this day may be cancelled by taxes; it may be cancelled in a period so limited as must leave the possessor of the bills satisfied with his security.

Hence will arise another vast advantage to the Public.

The monied Interest, satisfied of the sufficiency of the Funds for cancelling the Debt, will cheerfully convert their Property into Loan Office Certificates.

And if by a continuance of the war, the public service should demand further emissions, they too may be cancelled within the same period: it being evident that our ability to sustain a tax must increase in proportion to the quantity of money in circulation.

1779 January 13. Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 13, 1779 Jan 1 - Apr 22). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1909).

(No. IV.)

Whereas the expence of the present just and necessary war has hitherto been defrayed chiefly on the public credit ...

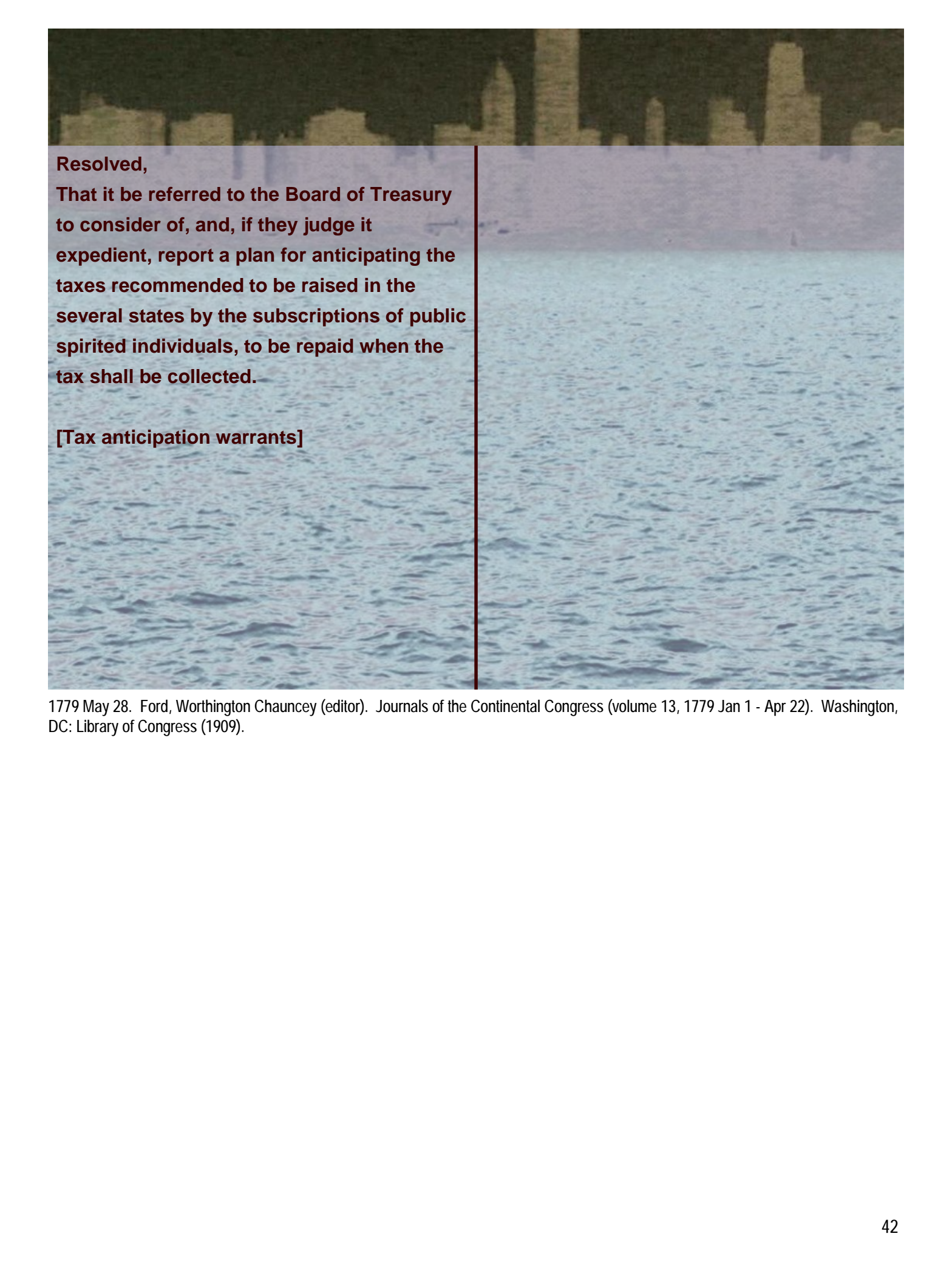
And whereas the citizens of these United States, preferring the advantages of Traffic, have not discovered a sufficient promptitude to place their money in the public Funds, so as to enable Congress to support the war by Loans, but at the same time have manifested the utmost chearfulness in contributing their proportion of the expences by taxes ...

And whereas from the great plenty of money diffused throughout these United States, large Taxes may be assessed without burdening or distressing the good citizens of these United States ...

And, no time can be more seasonable than the present for diminishing the public debt ...

And, Congress being called upon by every motive to preserve the public faith pledged in those emissions ...

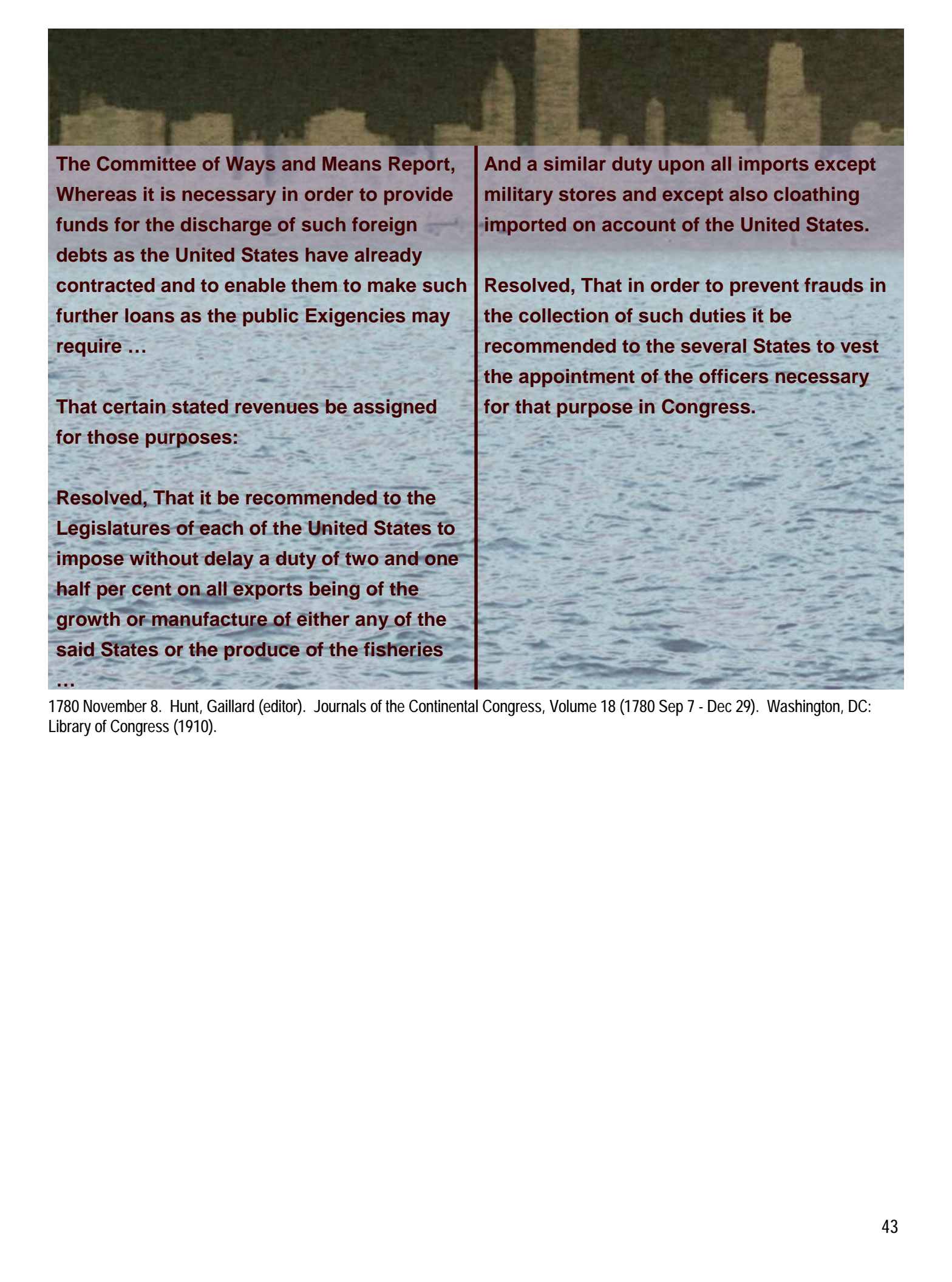
1779 April 22. Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 13, 1779 Jan 1 - Apr 22). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1909).

The background of the page is a photograph of a city skyline at sunset. The sky is a mix of orange, pink, and purple, and the water in the foreground is a deep blue with gentle ripples. The city buildings are silhouetted against the bright sky.

**Resolved,
That it be referred to the Board of Treasury
to consider of, and, if they judge it
expedient, report a plan for anticipating the
taxes recommended to be raised in the
several states by the subscriptions of public
spirited individuals, to be repaid when the
tax shall be collected.**

[Tax anticipation warrants]

1779 May 28. Ford, Worthington Chauncey (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 13, 1779 Jan 1 - Apr 22). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1909).



**The Committee of Ways and Means Report,
Whereas it is necessary in order to provide
funds for the discharge of such foreign
debts as the United States have already
contracted and to enable them to make such
further loans as the public Exigencies may
require ...**

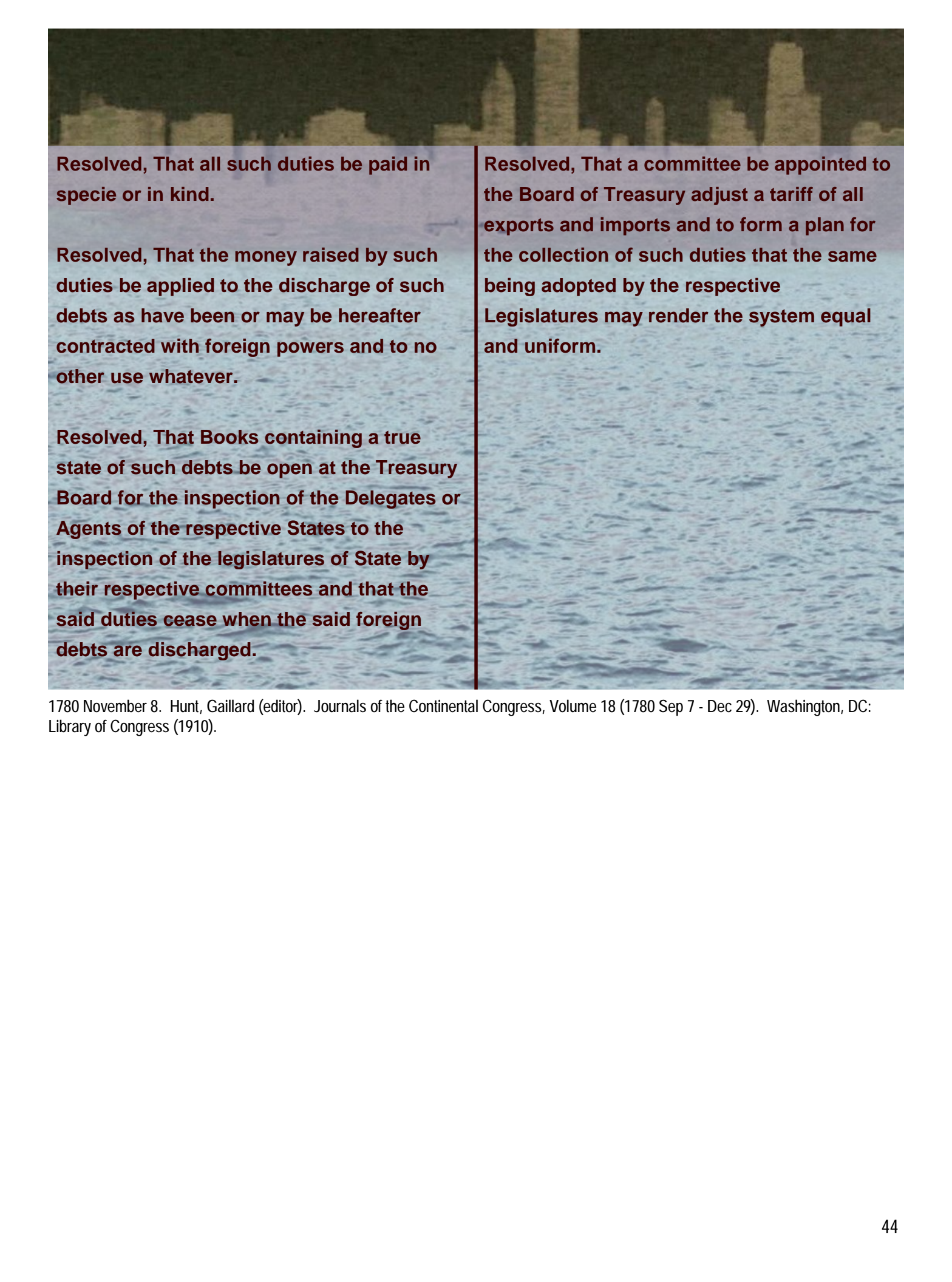
**That certain stated revenues be assigned
for those purposes:**

**Resolved, That it be recommended to the
Legislatures of each of the United States to
impose without delay a duty of two and one
half per cent on all exports being of the
growth or manufacture of either any of the
said States or the produce of the fisheries
...**

**And a similar duty upon all imports except
military stores and except also cloathing
imported on account of the United States.**

**Resolved, That in order to prevent frauds in
the collection of such duties it be
recommended to the several States to vest
the appointment of the officers necessary
for that purpose in Congress.**

1780 November 8. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress, Volume 18 (1780 Sep 7 - Dec 29). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1910).



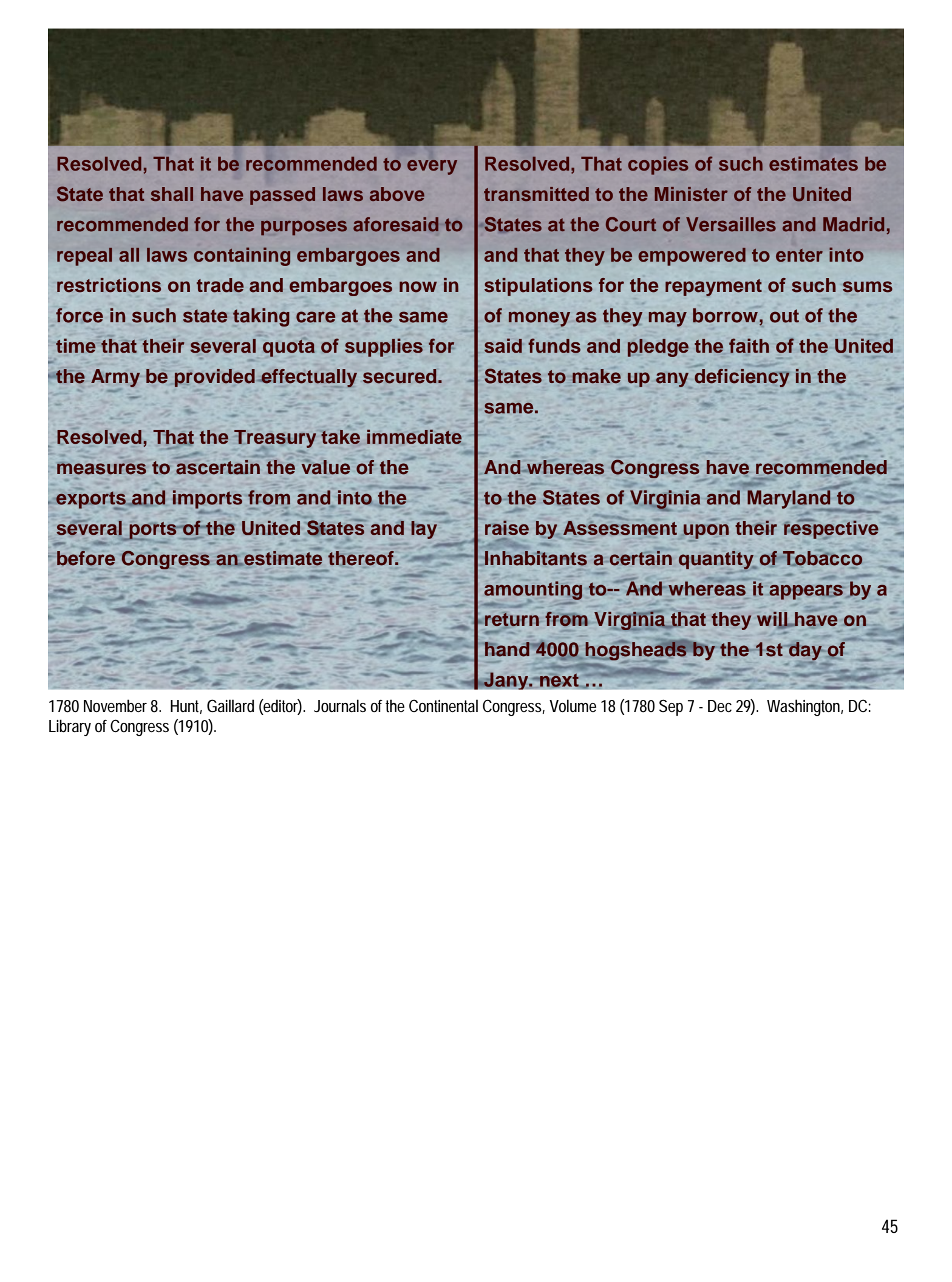
Resolved, That all such duties be paid in specie or in kind.

Resolved, That the money raised by such duties be applied to the discharge of such debts as have been or may be hereafter contracted with foreign powers and to no other use whatever.

Resolved, That Books containing a true state of such debts be open at the Treasury Board for the inspection of the Delegates or Agents of the respective States to the inspection of the legislatures of State by their respective committees and that the said duties cease when the said foreign debts are discharged.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to the Board of Treasury adjust a tariff of all exports and imports and to form a plan for the collection of such duties that the same being adopted by the respective Legislatures may render the system equal and uniform.

1780 November 8. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress, Volume 18 (1780 Sep 7 - Dec 29). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1910).



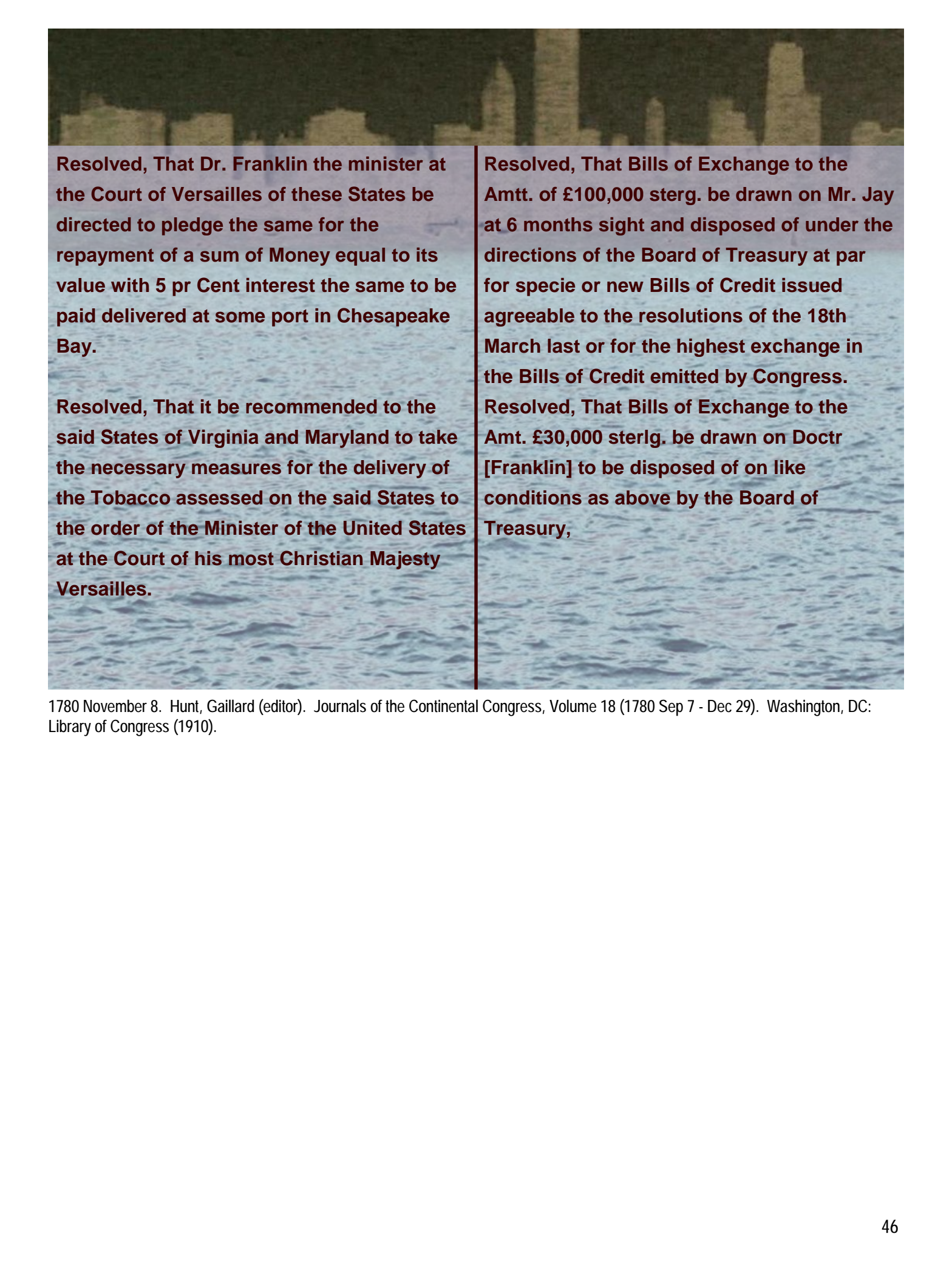
Resolved, That it be recommended to every State that shall have passed laws above recommended for the purposes aforesaid to repeal all laws containing embargoes and restrictions on trade and embargoes now in force in such state taking care at the same time that their several quota of supplies for the Army be provided effectually secured.

Resolved, That the Treasury take immediate measures to ascertain the value of the exports and imports from and into the several ports of the United States and lay before Congress an estimate thereof.

Resolved, That copies of such estimates be transmitted to the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles and Madrid, and that they be empowered to enter into stipulations for the repayment of such sums of money as they may borrow, out of the said funds and pledge the faith of the United States to make up any deficiency in the same.

And whereas Congress have recommended to the States of Virginia and Maryland to raise by Assessment upon their respective Inhabitants a certain quantity of Tobacco amounting to-- And whereas it appears by a return from Virginia that they will have on hand 4000 hogsheads by the 1st day of Jany. next ...

1780 November 8. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress, Volume 18 (1780 Sep 7 - Dec 29). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1910).



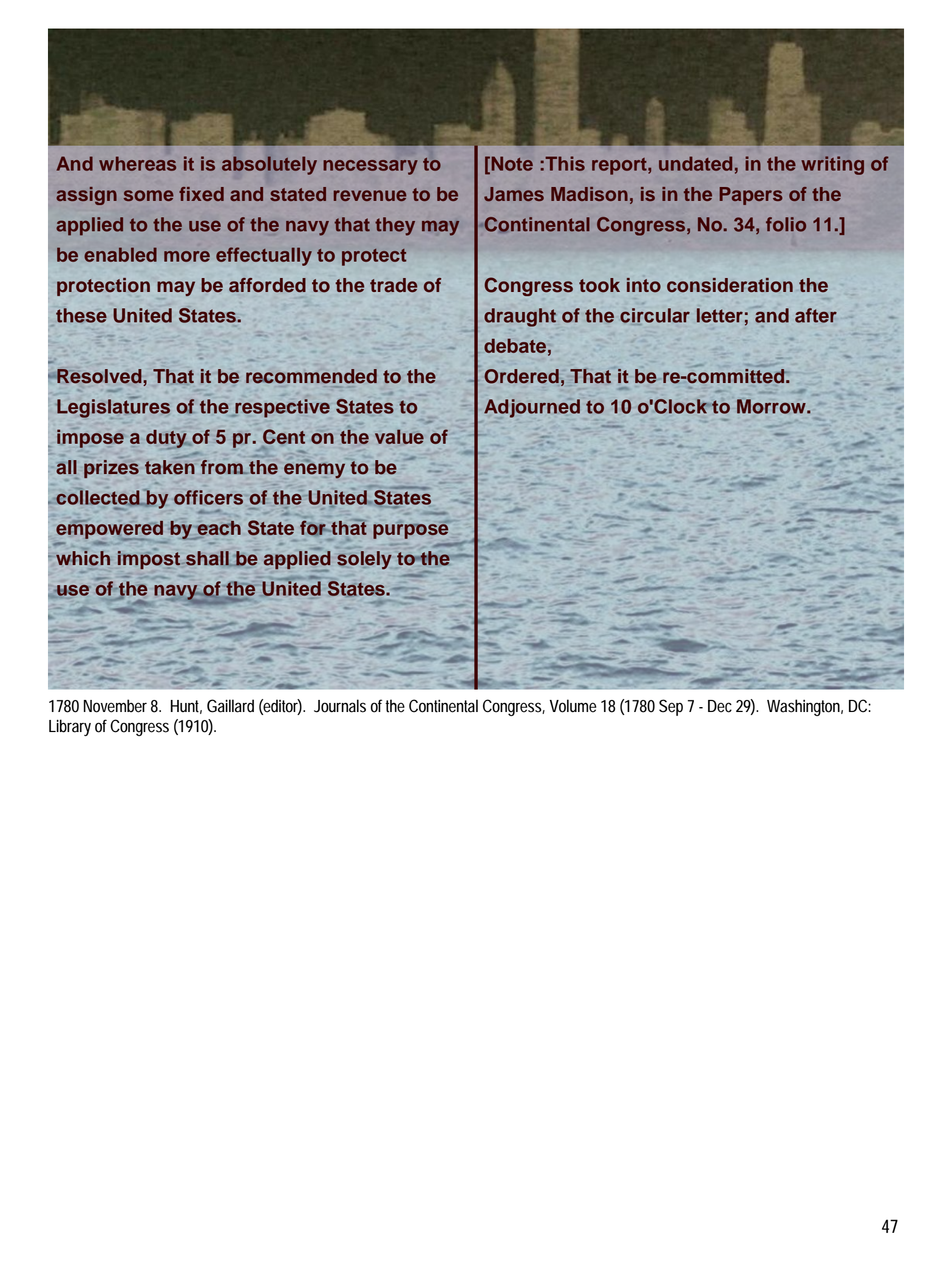
Resolved, That Dr. Franklin the minister at the Court of Versailles of these States be directed to pledge the same for the repayment of a sum of Money equal to its value with 5 pr Cent interest the same to be paid delivered at some port in Chesapeake Bay.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the said States of Virginia and Maryland to take the necessary measures for the delivery of the Tobacco assessed on the said States to the order of the Minister of the United States at the Court of his most Christian Majesty Versailles.

Resolved, That Bills of Exchange to the Amtt. of £100,000 sterg. be drawn on Mr. Jay at 6 months sight and disposed of under the directions of the Board of Treasury at par for specie or new Bills of Credit issued agreeable to the resolutions of the 18th March last or for the highest exchange in the Bills of Credit emitted by Congress.

Resolved, That Bills of Exchange to the Amt. £30,000 sterlg. be drawn on Doctr [Franklin] to be disposed of on like conditions as above by the Board of Treasury,

1780 November 8. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress, Volume 18 (1780 Sep 7 - Dec 29). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1910).



And whereas it is absolutely necessary to assign some fixed and stated revenue to be applied to the use of the navy that they may be enabled more effectually to protect protection may be afforded to the trade of these United States.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislatures of the respective States to impose a duty of 5 pr. Cent on the value of all prizes taken from the enemy to be collected by officers of the United States empowered by each State for that purpose which impost shall be applied solely to the use of the navy of the United States.

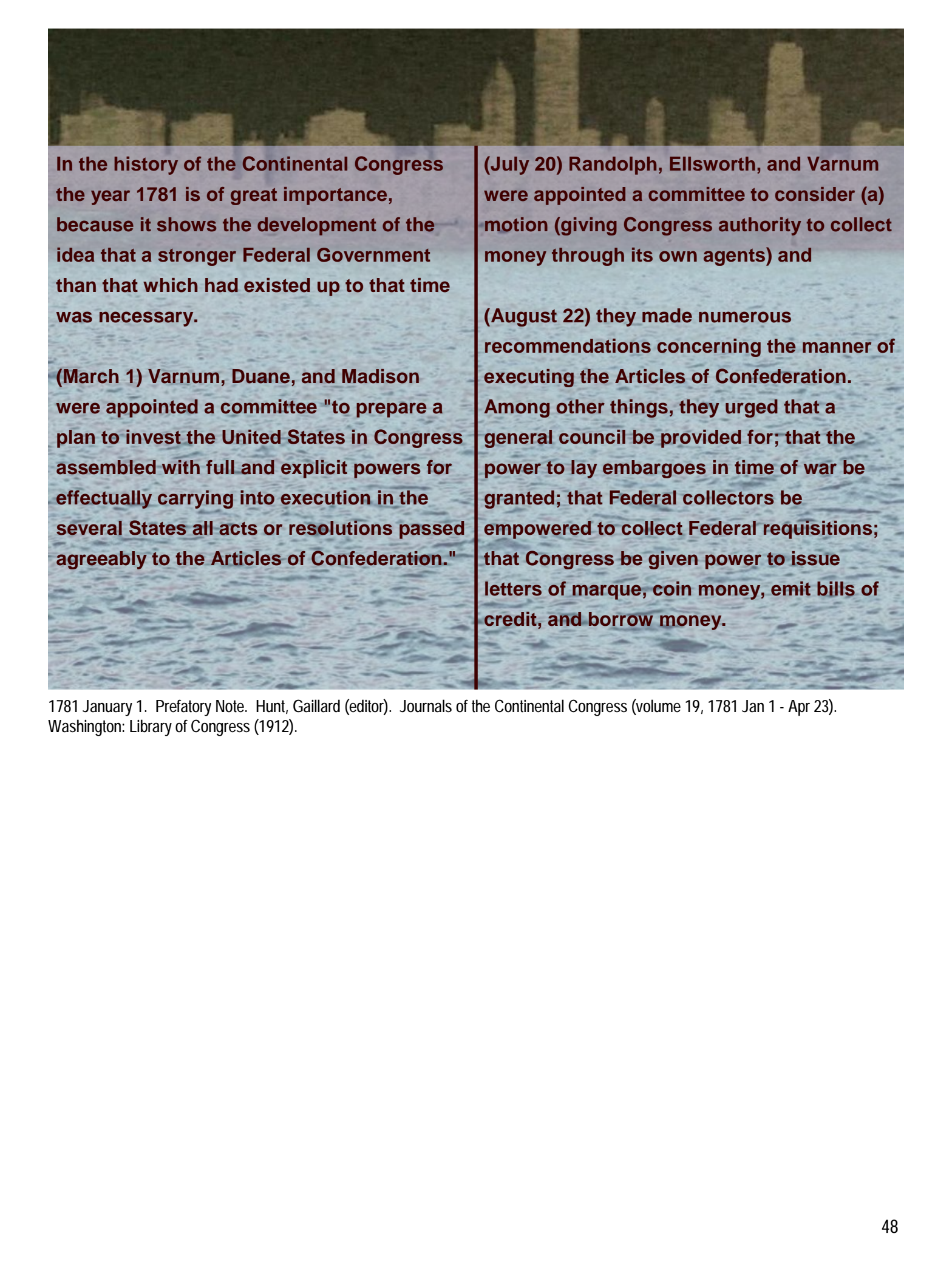
[Note :This report, undated, in the writing of James Madison, is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 34, folio 11.]

Congress took into consideration the draught of the circular letter; and after debate,

Ordered, That it be re-committed.

Adjourned to 10 o'Clock to Morrow.

1780 November 8. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress, Volume 18 (1780 Sep 7 - Dec 29). Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1910).



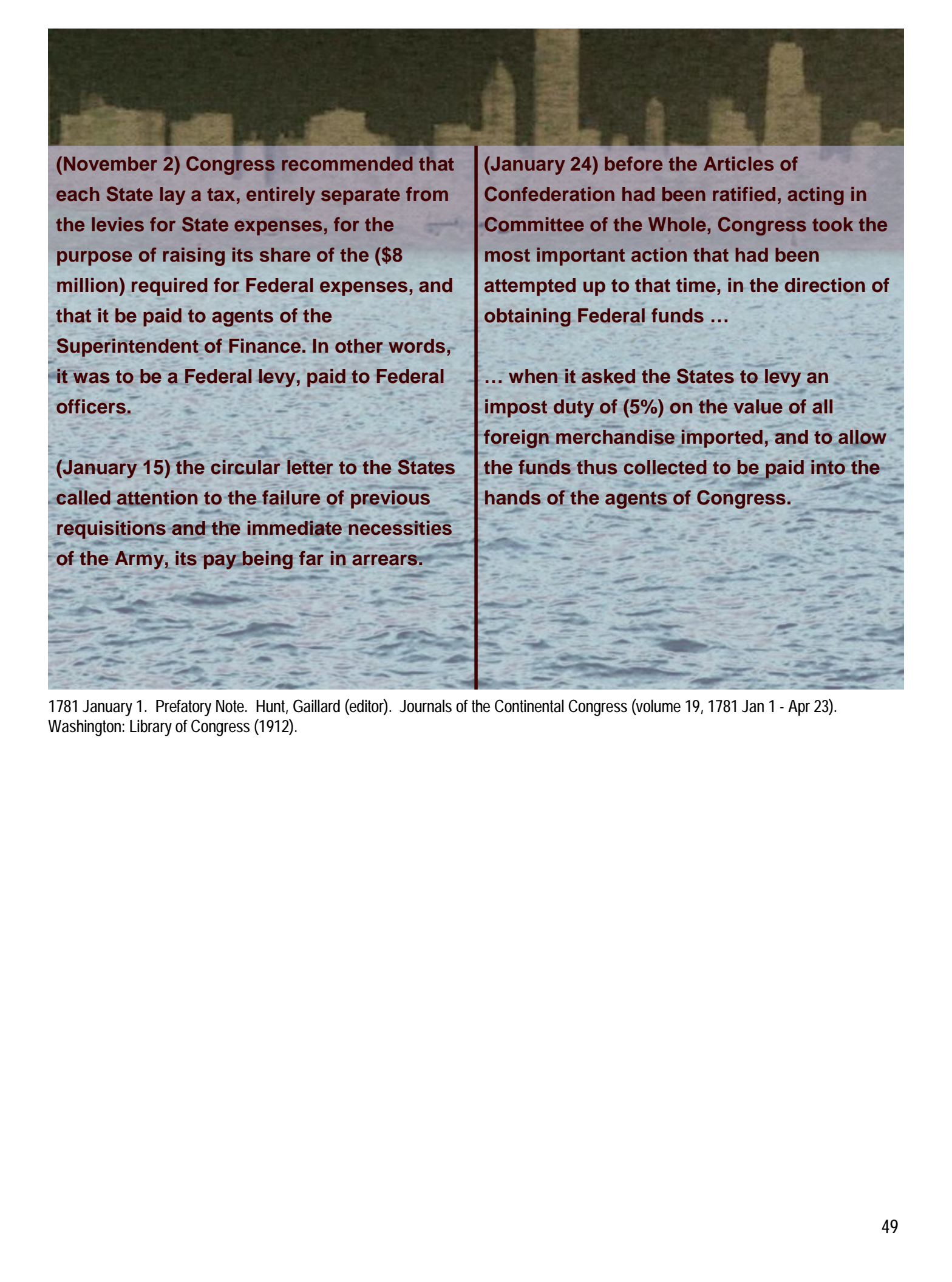
In the history of the Continental Congress the year 1781 is of great importance, because it shows the development of the idea that a stronger Federal Government than that which had existed up to that time was necessary.

(March 1) Varnum, Duane, and Madison were appointed a committee "to prepare a plan to invest the United States in Congress assembled with full and explicit powers for effectually carrying into execution in the several States all acts or resolutions passed agreeably to the Articles of Confederation."

(July 20) Randolph, Ellsworth, and Varnum were appointed a committee to consider (a) motion (giving Congress authority to collect money through its own agents) and

(August 22) they made numerous recommendations concerning the manner of executing the Articles of Confederation. Among other things, they urged that a general council be provided for; that the power to lay embargoes in time of war be granted; that Federal collectors be empowered to collect Federal requisitions; that Congress be given power to issue letters of marque, coin money, emit bills of credit, and borrow money.

1781 January 1. Prefatory Note. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



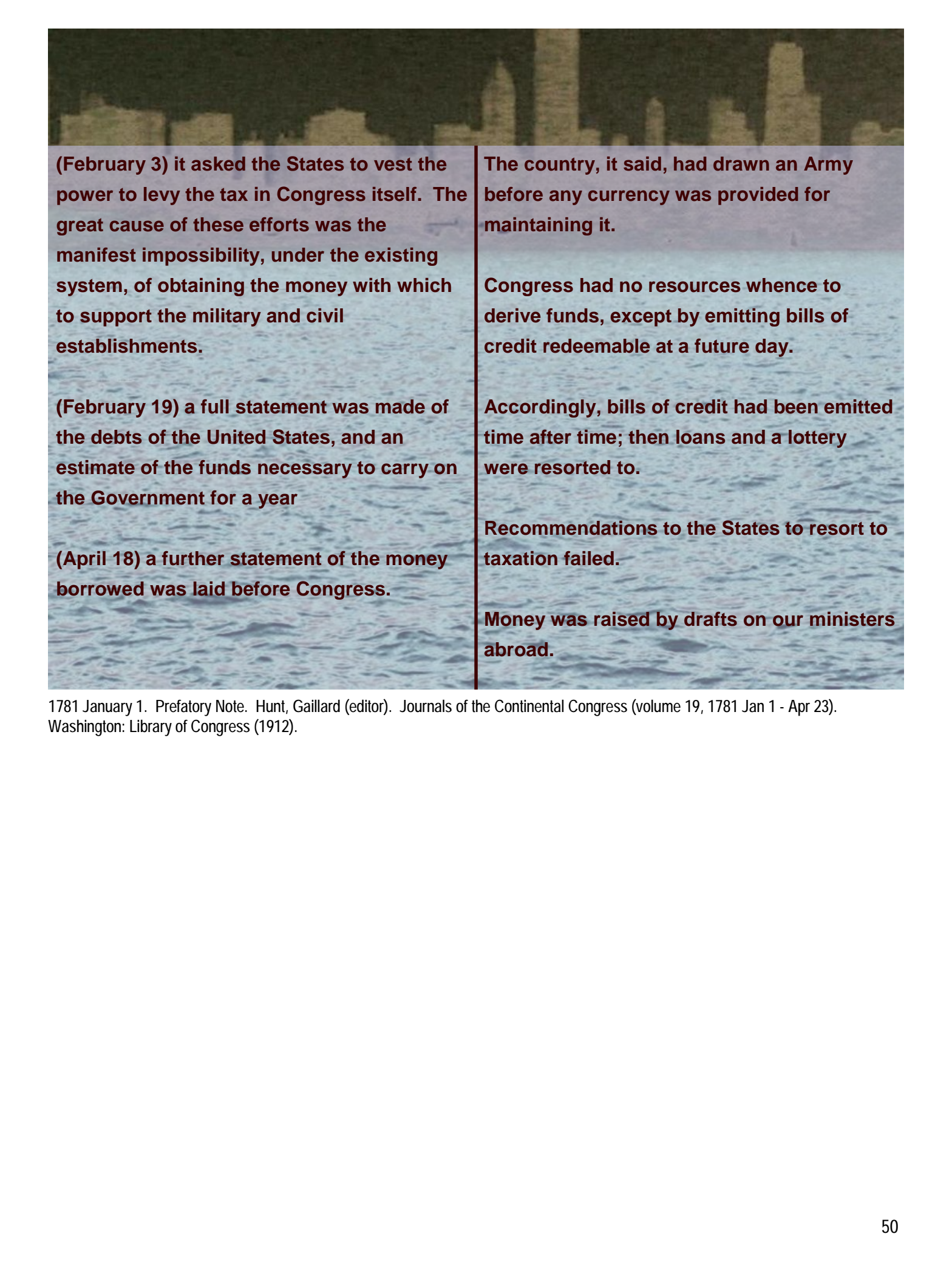
(November 2) Congress recommended that each State lay a tax, entirely separate from the levies for State expenses, for the purpose of raising its share of the (\$8 million) required for Federal expenses, and that it be paid to agents of the Superintendent of Finance. In other words, it was to be a Federal levy, paid to Federal officers.

(January 15) the circular letter to the States called attention to the failure of previous requisitions and the immediate necessities of the Army, its pay being far in arrears.

(January 24) before the Articles of Confederation had been ratified, acting in Committee of the Whole, Congress took the most important action that had been attempted up to that time, in the direction of obtaining Federal funds ...

... when it asked the States to levy an impost duty of (5%) on the value of all foreign merchandise imported, and to allow the funds thus collected to be paid into the hands of the agents of Congress.

1781 January 1. Prefatory Note. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



(February 3) it asked the States to vest the power to levy the tax in Congress itself. The great cause of these efforts was the manifest impossibility, under the existing system, of obtaining the money with which to support the military and civil establishments.

(February 19) a full statement was made of the debts of the United States, and an estimate of the funds necessary to carry on the Government for a year

(April 18) a further statement of the money borrowed was laid before Congress.

The country, it said, had drawn an Army before any currency was provided for maintaining it.

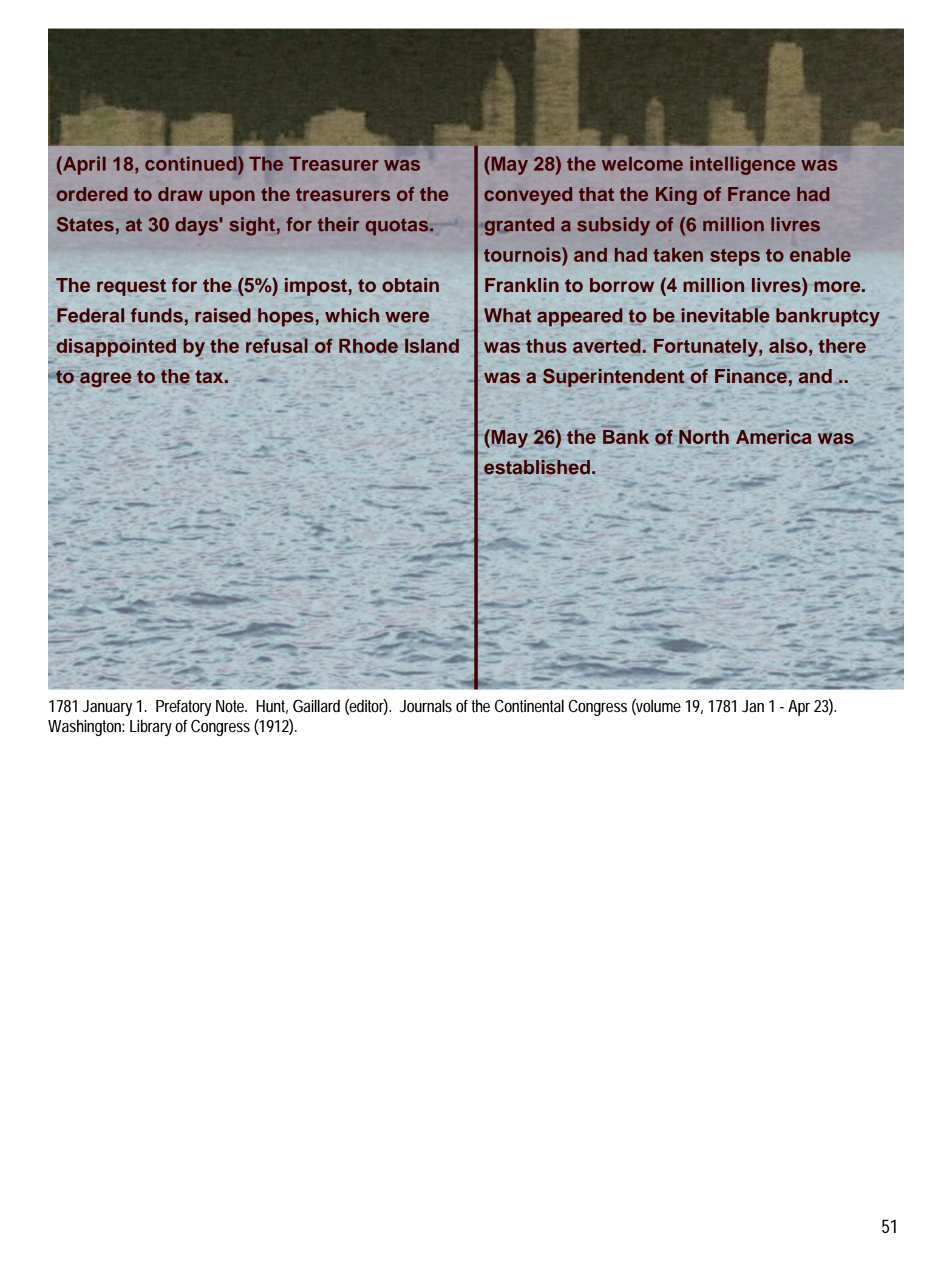
Congress had no resources whence to derive funds, except by emitting bills of credit redeemable at a future day.

Accordingly, bills of credit had been emitted time after time; then loans and a lottery were resorted to.

Recommendations to the States to resort to taxation failed.

Money was raised by drafts on our ministers abroad.

1781 January 1. Prefatory Note. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



(April 18, continued) The Treasurer was ordered to draw upon the treasurers of the States, at 30 days' sight, for their quotas.

The request for the (5%) impost, to obtain Federal funds, raised hopes, which were disappointed by the refusal of Rhode Island to agree to the tax.

(May 28) the welcome intelligence was conveyed that the King of France had granted a subsidy of (6 million livres tournois) and had taken steps to enable Franklin to borrow (4 million livres) more. What appeared to be inevitable bankruptcy was thus averted. Fortunately, also, there was a Superintendent of Finance, and ..

(May 26) the Bank of North America was established.

1781 January 1. Prefatory Note. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).

Congress took into consideration the report of the Committee of the Whole,

... and the first resolution being read, "that it be recommended to the several states as indispensably necessary, that they pass laws, granting to Congress, for the use of the United States, &c. a duty of (5%) on goods, &c. imported," &c.

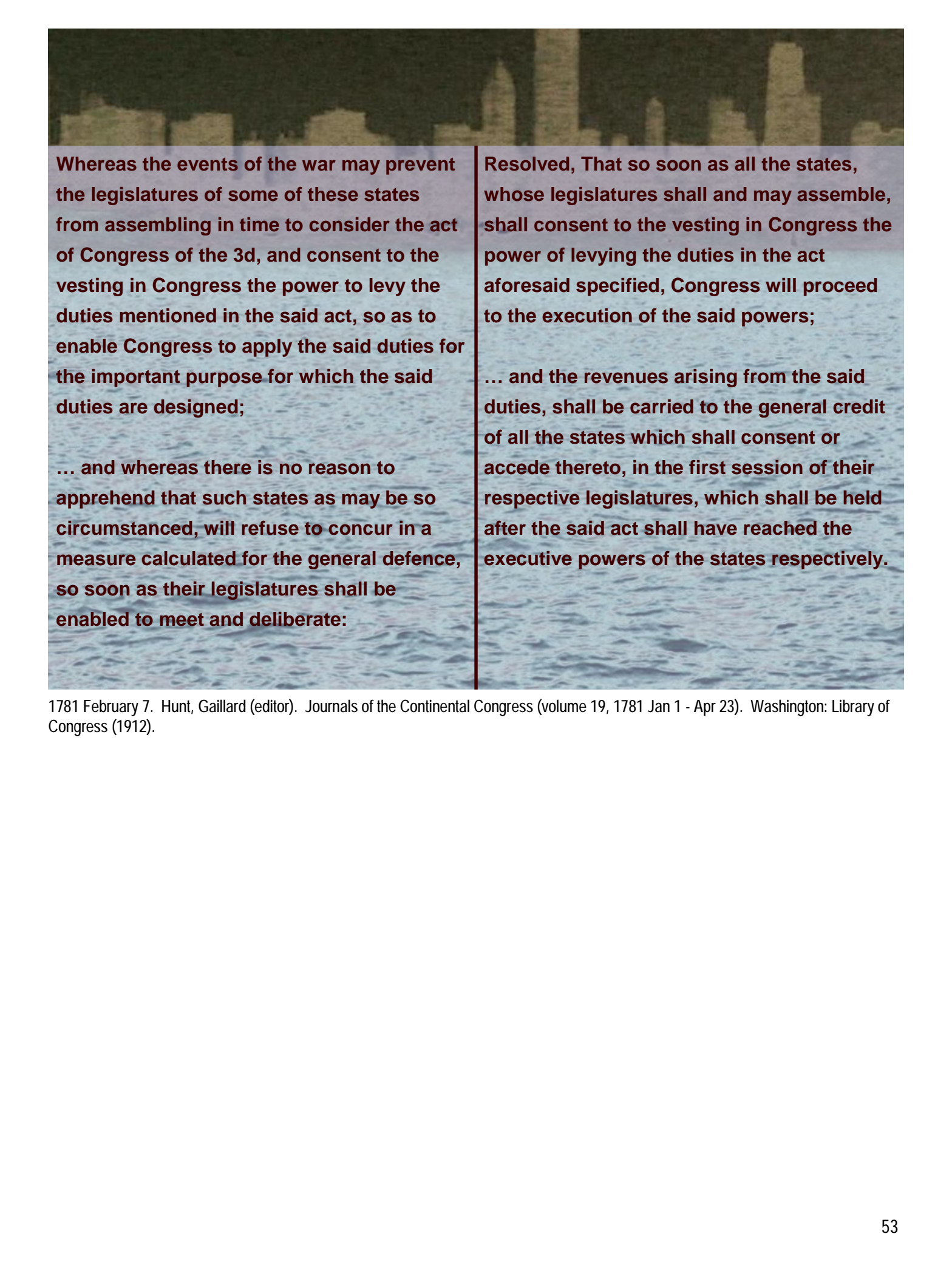
... A motion was made (Burke seconded by Mathews) to strike out the words "pass laws granting to," and in lieu thereof, insert "vest a power in," and after the word "Congress," to insert the words "to levy;"

... and on the question, shall the words moved to be struck out stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. [Thomas] Burke: {table: ays (10)(5), nos (14)(5)}

... So the states were equally divided, and the words were struck out.

Adjourned to 10 o'Clock to Morrow.

1781 February 1. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



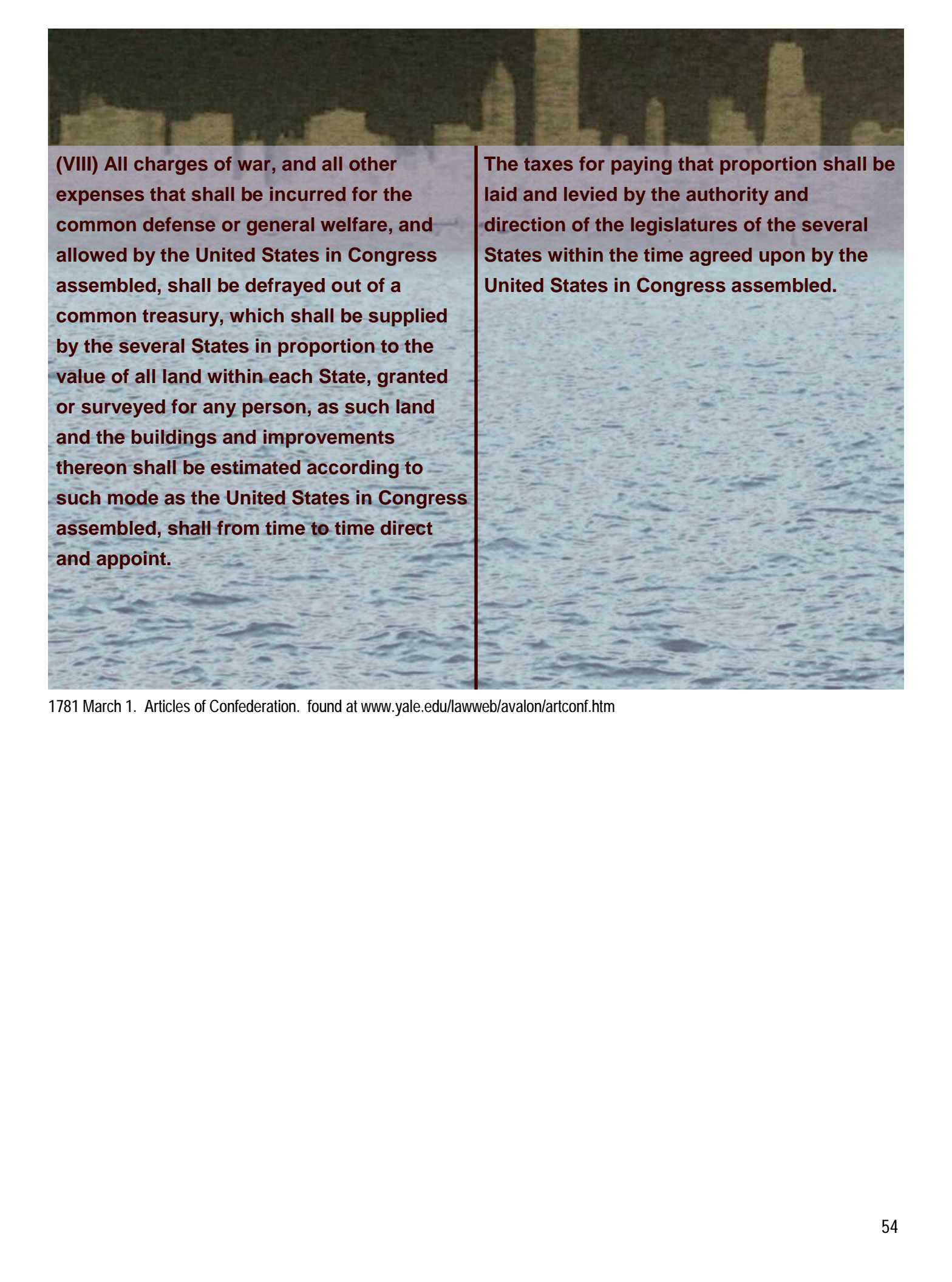
Whereas the events of the war may prevent the legislatures of some of these states from assembling in time to consider the act of Congress of the 3d, and consent to the vesting in Congress the power to levy the duties mentioned in the said act, so as to enable Congress to apply the said duties for the important purpose for which the said duties are designed;

... and whereas there is no reason to apprehend that such states as may be so circumstanced, will refuse to concur in a measure calculated for the general defence, so soon as their legislatures shall be enabled to meet and deliberate:

Resolved, That so soon as all the states, whose legislatures shall and may assemble, shall consent to the vesting in Congress the power of levying the duties in the act aforesaid specified, Congress will proceed to the execution of the said powers;

... and the revenues arising from the said duties, shall be carried to the general credit of all the states which shall consent or accede thereto, in the first session of their respective legislatures, which shall be held after the said act shall have reached the executive powers of the states respectively.

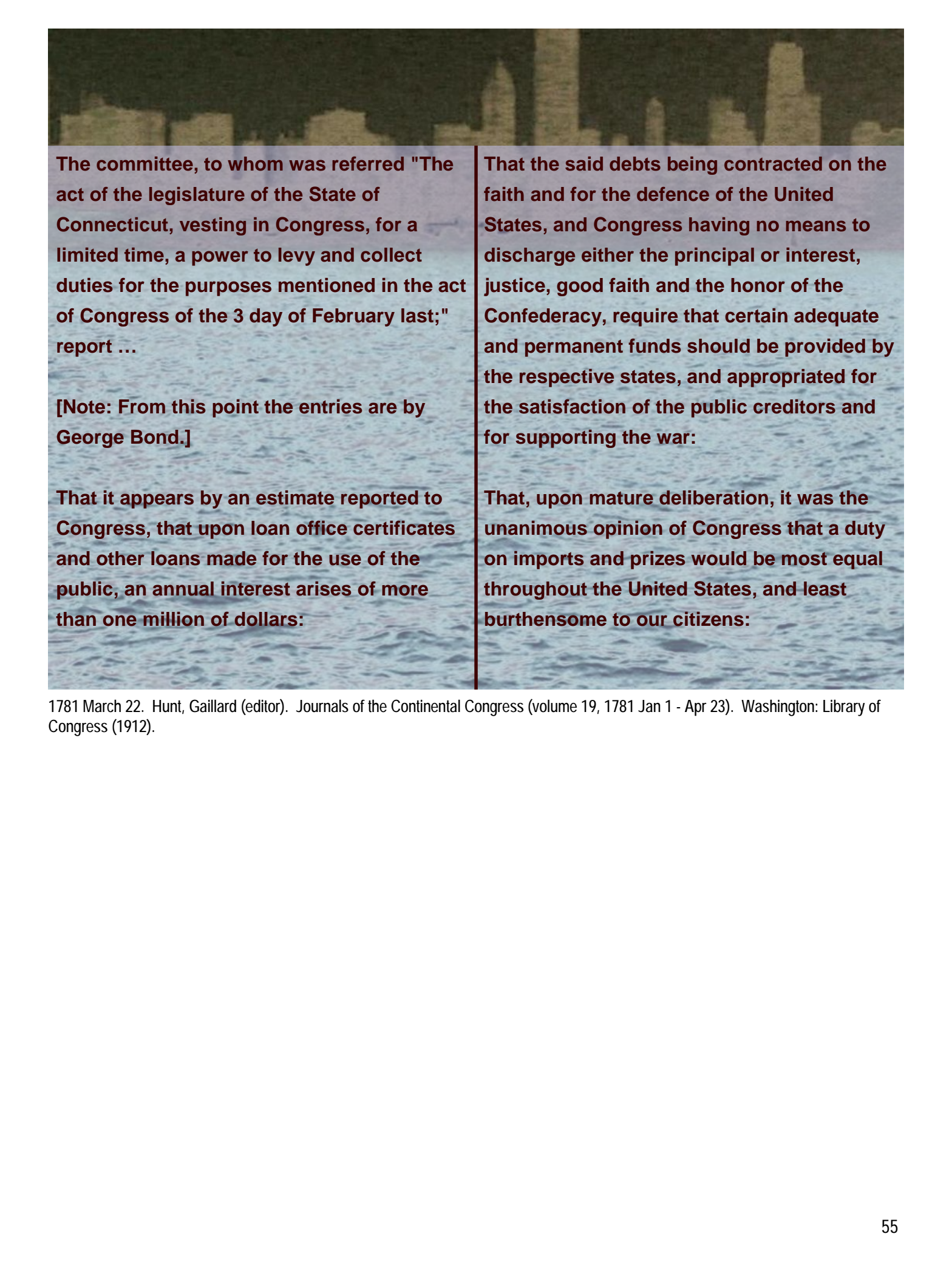
1781 February 7. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



(VIII) All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense 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 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.

1781 March 1. Articles of Confederation. found at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/artconf.htm



The committee, to whom was referred "The act of the legislature of the State of Connecticut, vesting in Congress, for a limited time, a power to levy and collect duties for the purposes mentioned in the act of Congress of the 3 day of February last;" report ...

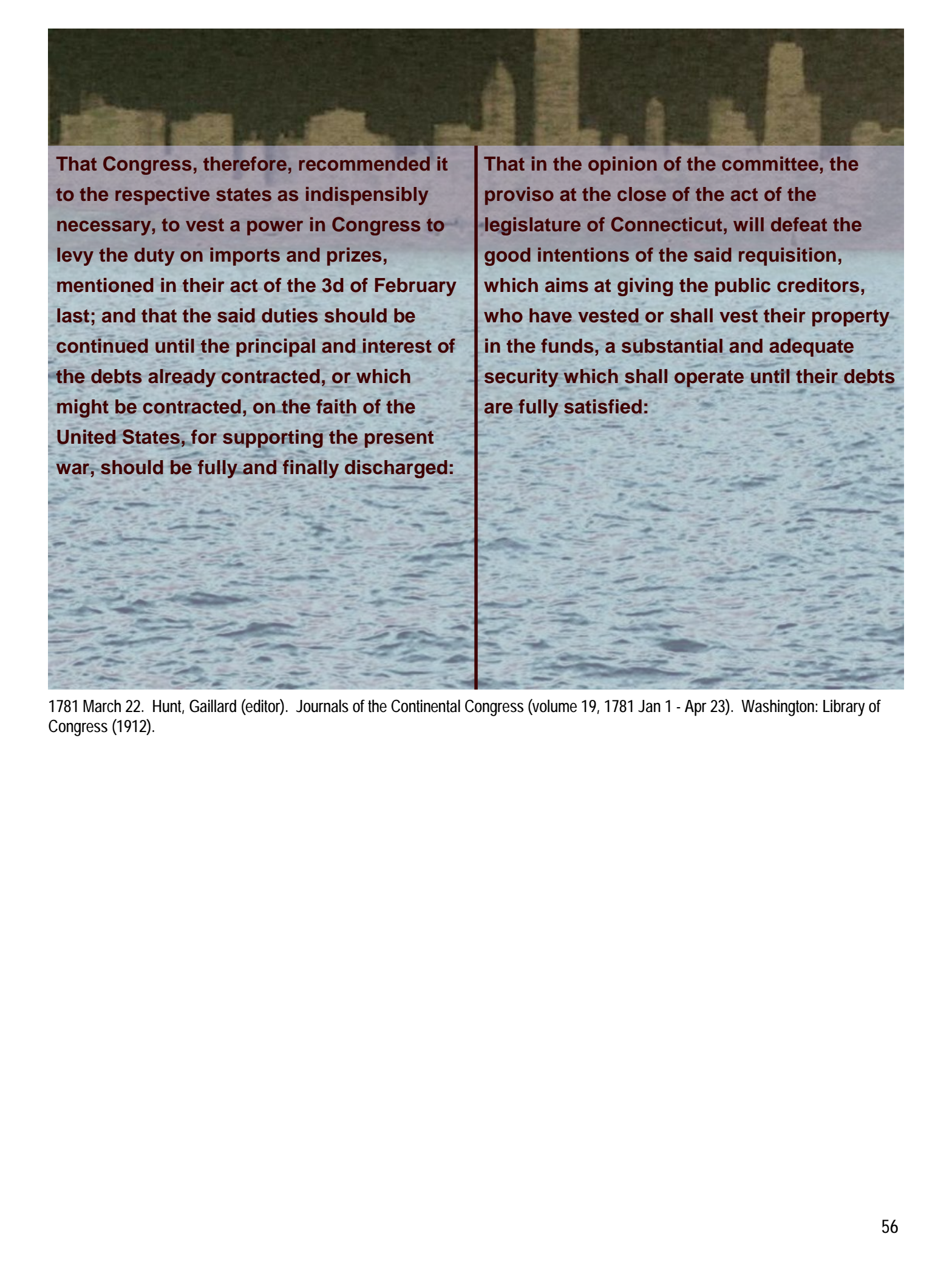
[Note: From this point the entries are by George Bond.]

That it appears by an estimate reported to Congress, that upon loan office certificates and other loans made for the use of the public, an annual interest arises of more than one million of dollars:

That the said debts being contracted on the faith and for the defence of the United States, and Congress having no means to discharge either the principal or interest, justice, good faith and the honor of the Confederacy, require that certain adequate and permanent funds should be provided by the respective states, and appropriated for the satisfaction of the public creditors and for supporting the war:

That, upon mature deliberation, it was the unanimous opinion of Congress that a duty on imports and prizes would be most equal throughout the United States, and least burthensome to our citizens:

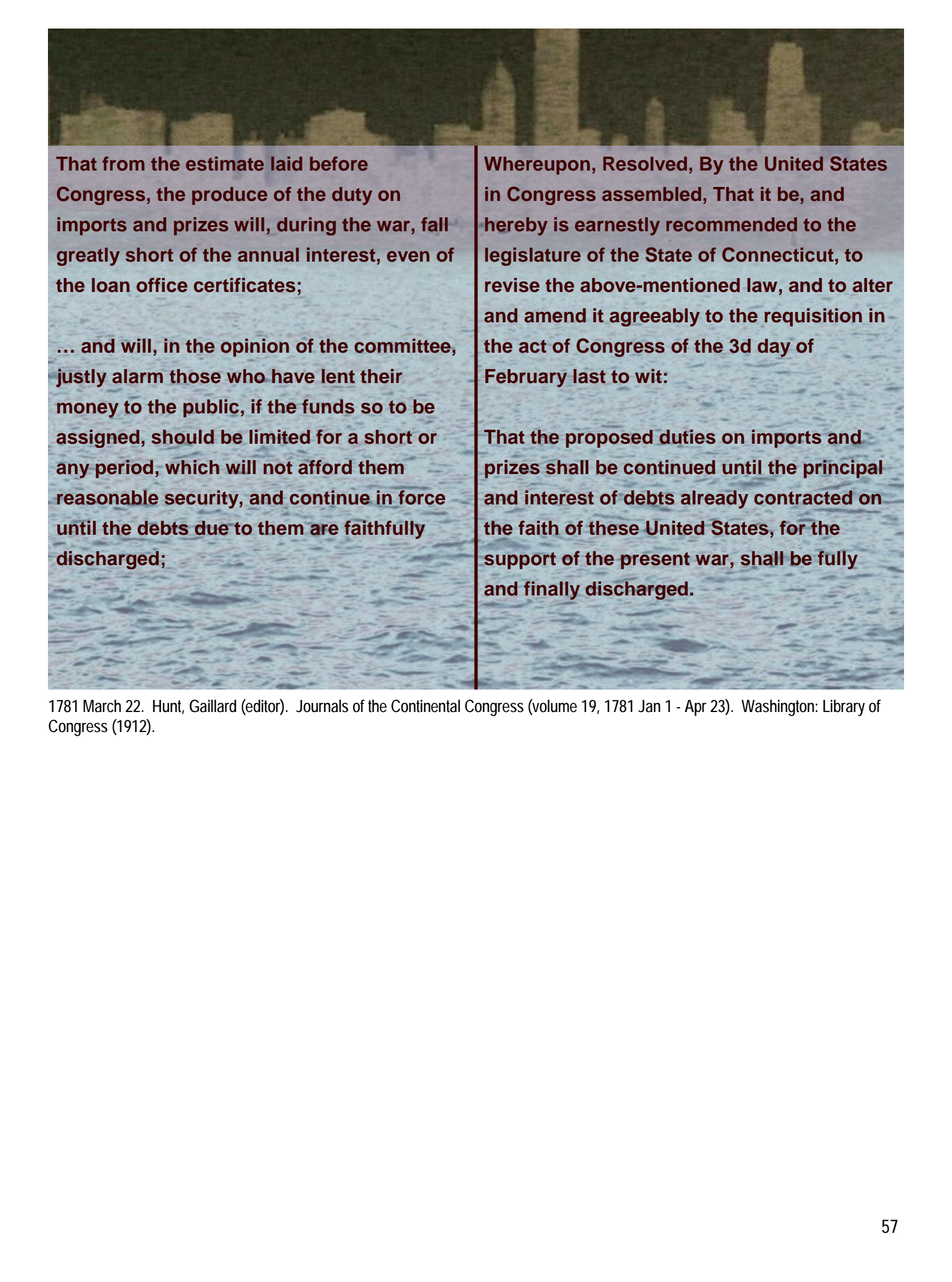
1781 March 22. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



That Congress, therefore, recommended it to the respective states as indispensibly necessary, to vest a power in Congress to levy the duty on imports and prizes, mentioned in their act of the 3d of February last; and that the said duties should be continued until the principal and interest of the debts already contracted, or which might be contracted, on the faith of the United States, for supporting the present war, should be fully and finally discharged:

That in the opinion of the committee, the proviso at the close of the act of the legislature of Connecticut, will defeat the good intentions of the said requisition, which aims at giving the public creditors, who have vested or shall vest their property in the funds, a substantial and adequate security which shall operate until their debts are fully satisfied:

1781 March 22. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



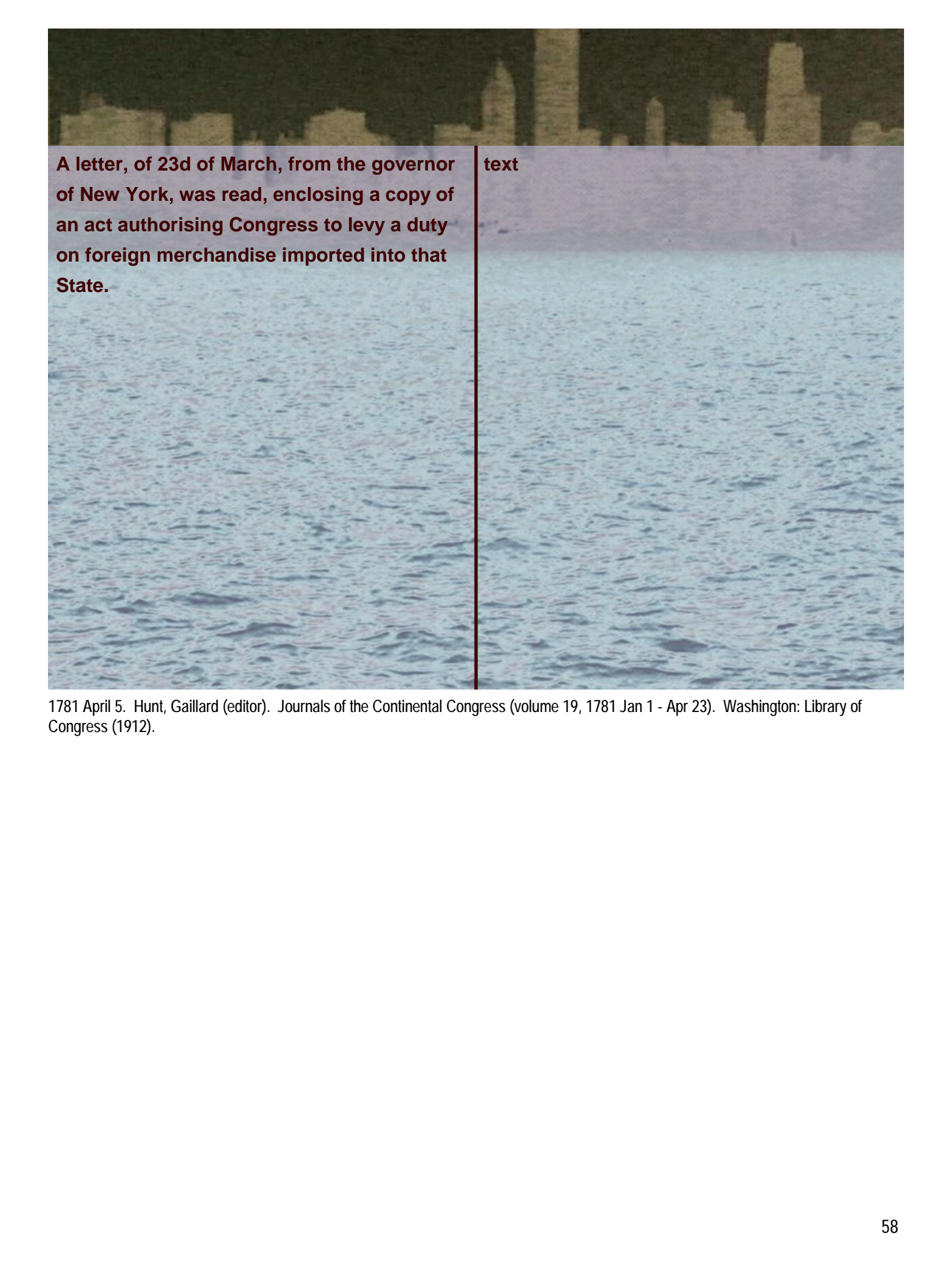
That from the estimate laid before Congress, the produce of the duty on imports and prizes will, during the war, fall greatly short of the annual interest, even of the loan office certificates;

... and will, in the opinion of the committee, justly alarm those who have lent their money to the public, if the funds so to be assigned, should be limited for a short or any period, which will not afford them reasonable security, and continue in force until the debts due to them are faithfully discharged;

Whereupon, Resolved, By the United States in Congress assembled, That it be, and hereby is earnestly recommended to the legislature of the State of Connecticut, to revise the above-mentioned law, and to alter and amend it agreeably to the requisition in the act of Congress of the 3d day of February last to wit:

That the proposed duties on imports and prizes shall be continued until the principal and interest of debts already contracted on the faith of these United States, for the support of the present war, shall be fully and finally discharged.

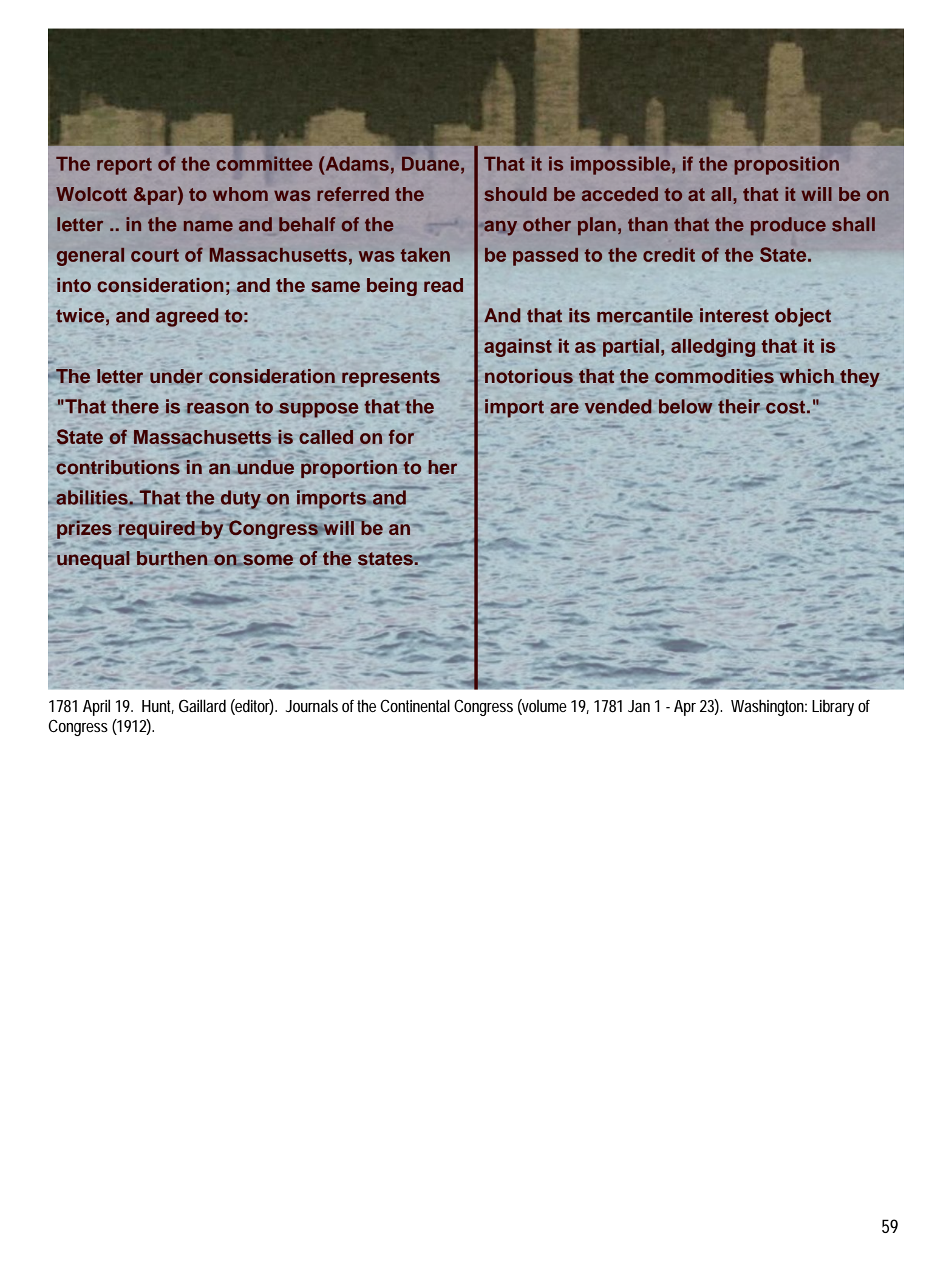
1781 March 22. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



A letter, of 23d of March, from the governor of New York, was read, enclosing a copy of an act authorising Congress to levy a duty on foreign merchandise imported into that State.

text

1781 April 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



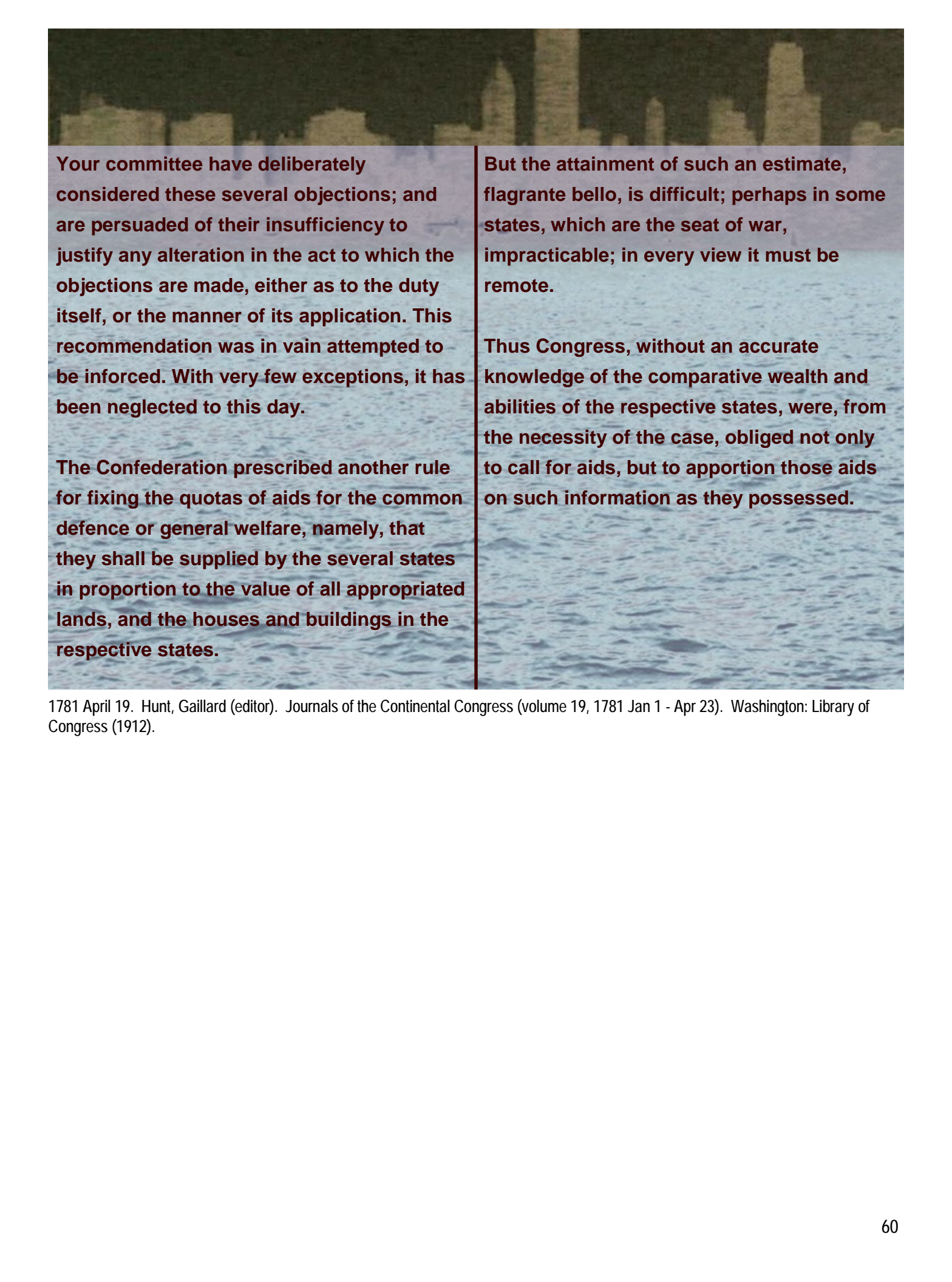
The report of the committee (Adams, Duane, Wolcott & par) to whom was referred the letter .. in the name and behalf of the general court of Massachusetts, was taken into consideration; and the same being read twice, and agreed to:

The letter under consideration represents "That there is reason to suppose that the State of Massachusetts is called on for contributions in an undue proportion to her abilities. That the duty on imports and prizes required by Congress will be an unequal burthen on some of the states.

That it is impossible, if the proposition should be acceded to at all, that it will be on any other plan, than that the produce shall be passed to the credit of the State.

And that its mercantile interest object against it as partial, alledging that it is notorious that the commodities which they import are vended below their cost."

1781 April 19. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



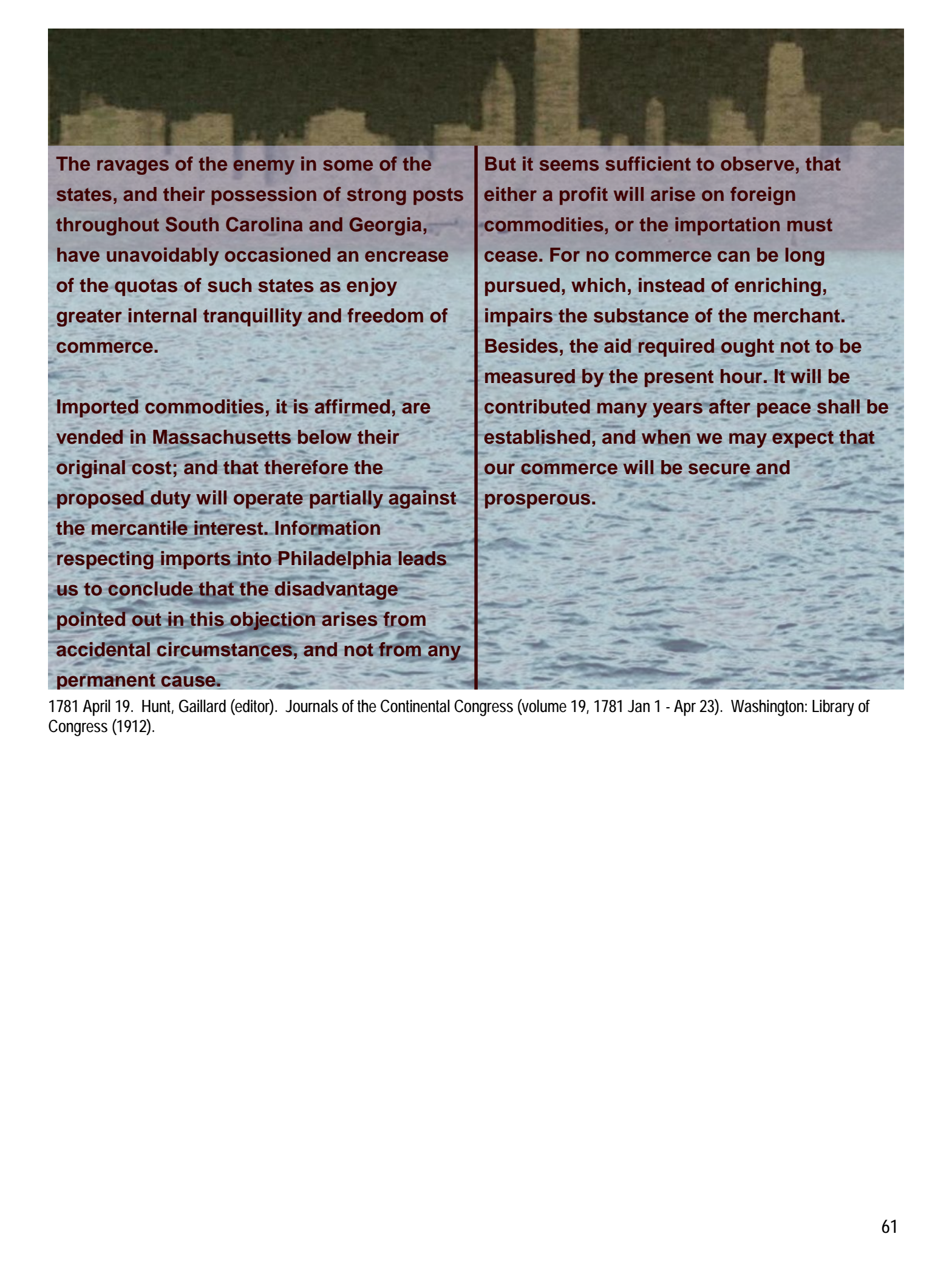
Your committee have deliberately considered these several objections; and are persuaded of their insufficiency to justify any alteration in the act to which the objections are made, either as to the duty itself, or the manner of its application. This recommendation was in vain attempted to be enforced. With very few exceptions, it has been neglected to this day.

The Confederation prescribed another rule for fixing the quotas of aids for the common defence or general welfare, namely, that they shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all appropriated lands, and the houses and buildings in the respective states.

But the attainment of such an estimate, flagrante bello, is difficult; perhaps in some states, which are the seat of war, impracticable; in every view it must be remote.

Thus Congress, without an accurate knowledge of the comparative wealth and abilities of the respective states, were, from the necessity of the case, obliged not only to call for aids, but to apportion those aids on such information as they possessed.

1781 April 19. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).

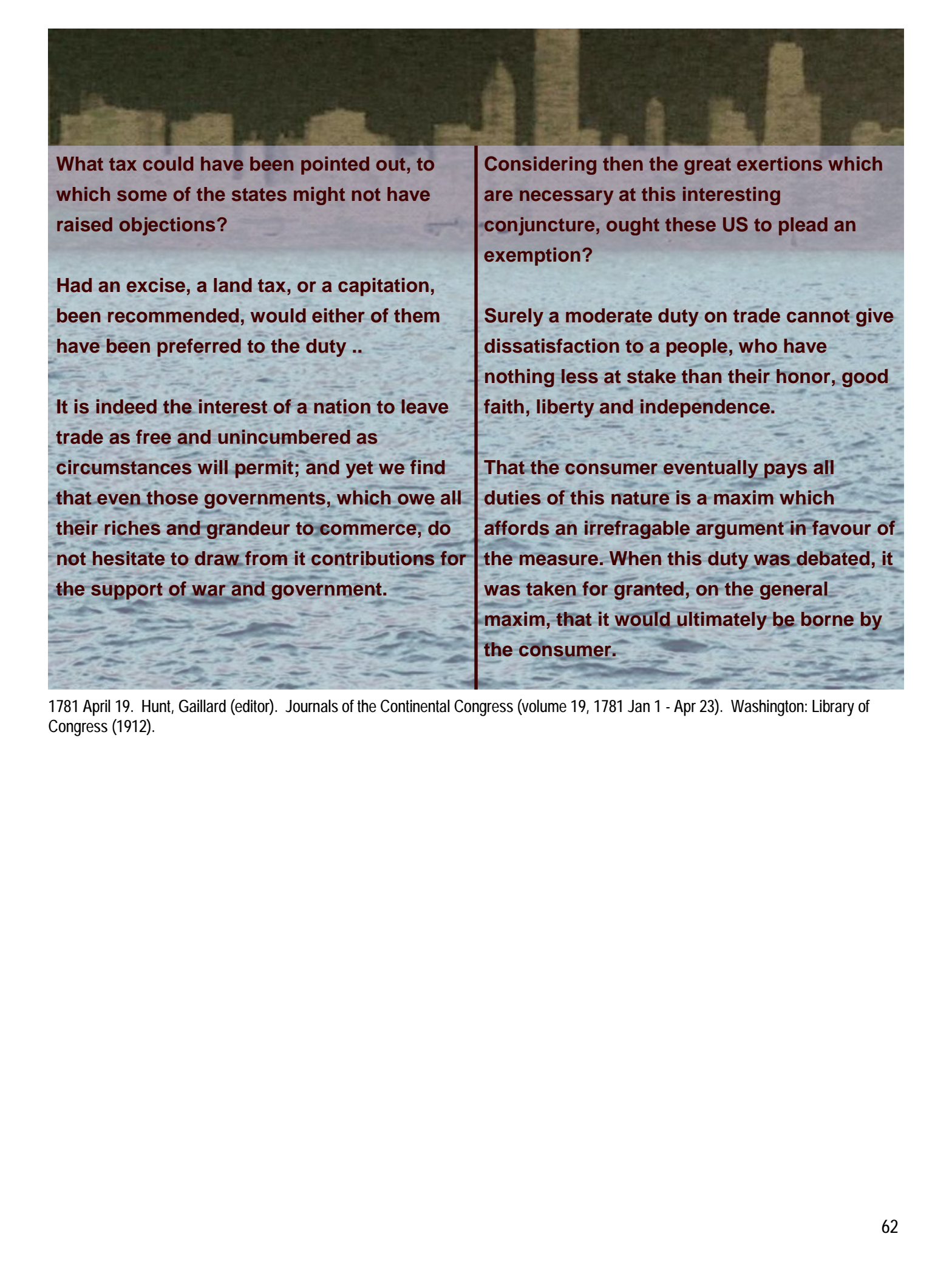


The ravages of the enemy in some of the states, and their possession of strong posts throughout South Carolina and Georgia, have unavoidably occasioned an encrease of the quotas of such states as enjoy greater internal tranquillity and freedom of commerce.

Imported commodities, it is affirmed, are vended in Massachusetts below their original cost; and that therefore the proposed duty will operate partially against the mercantile interest. Information respecting imports into Philadelphia leads us to conclude that the disadvantage pointed out in this objection arises from accidental circumstances, and not from any permanent cause.

But it seems sufficient to observe, that either a profit will arise on foreign commodities, or the importation must cease. For no commerce can be long pursued, which, instead of enriching, impairs the substance of the merchant. Besides, the aid required ought not to be measured by the present hour. It will be contributed many years after peace shall be established, and when we may expect that our commerce will be secure and prosperous.

1781 April 19. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



What tax could have been pointed out, to which some of the states might not have raised objections?

Had an excise, a land tax, or a capitation, been recommended, would either of them have been preferred to the duty ..

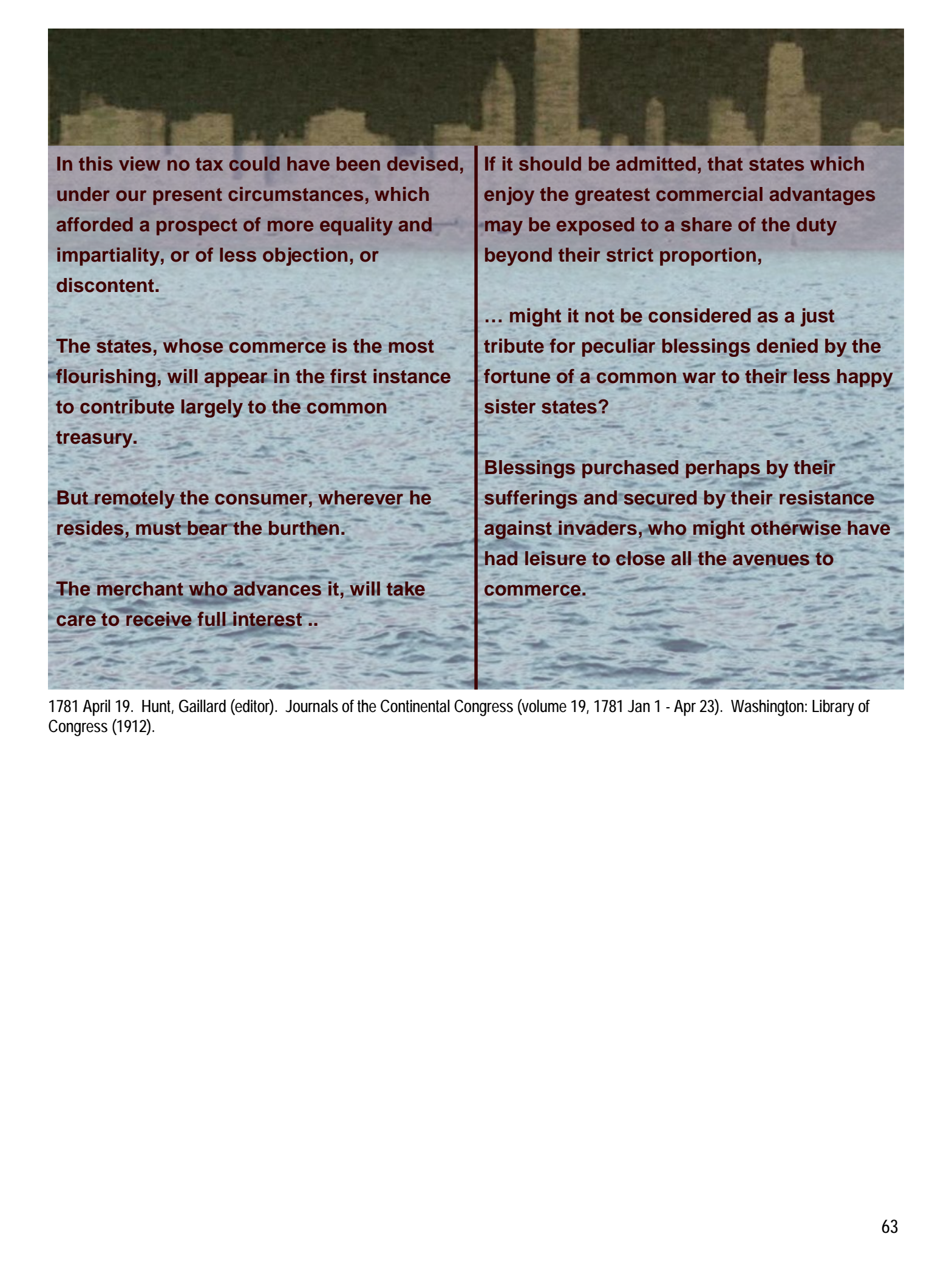
It is indeed the interest of a nation to leave trade as free and unincumbered as circumstances will permit; and yet we find that even those governments, which owe all their riches and grandeur to commerce, do not hesitate to draw from it contributions for the support of war and government.

Considering then the great exertions which are necessary at this interesting conjuncture, ought these US to plead an exemption?

Surely a moderate duty on trade cannot give dissatisfaction to a people, who have nothing less at stake than their honor, good faith, liberty and independence.

That the consumer eventually pays all duties of this nature is a maxim which affords an irrefragable argument in favour of the measure. When this duty was debated, it was taken for granted, on the general maxim, that it would ultimately be borne by the consumer.

1781 April 19. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



In this view no tax could have been devised, under our present circumstances, which afforded a prospect of more equality and impartiality, or of less objection, or discontent.

The states, whose commerce is the most flourishing, will appear in the first instance to contribute largely to the common treasury.

But remotely the consumer, wherever he resides, must bear the burthen.

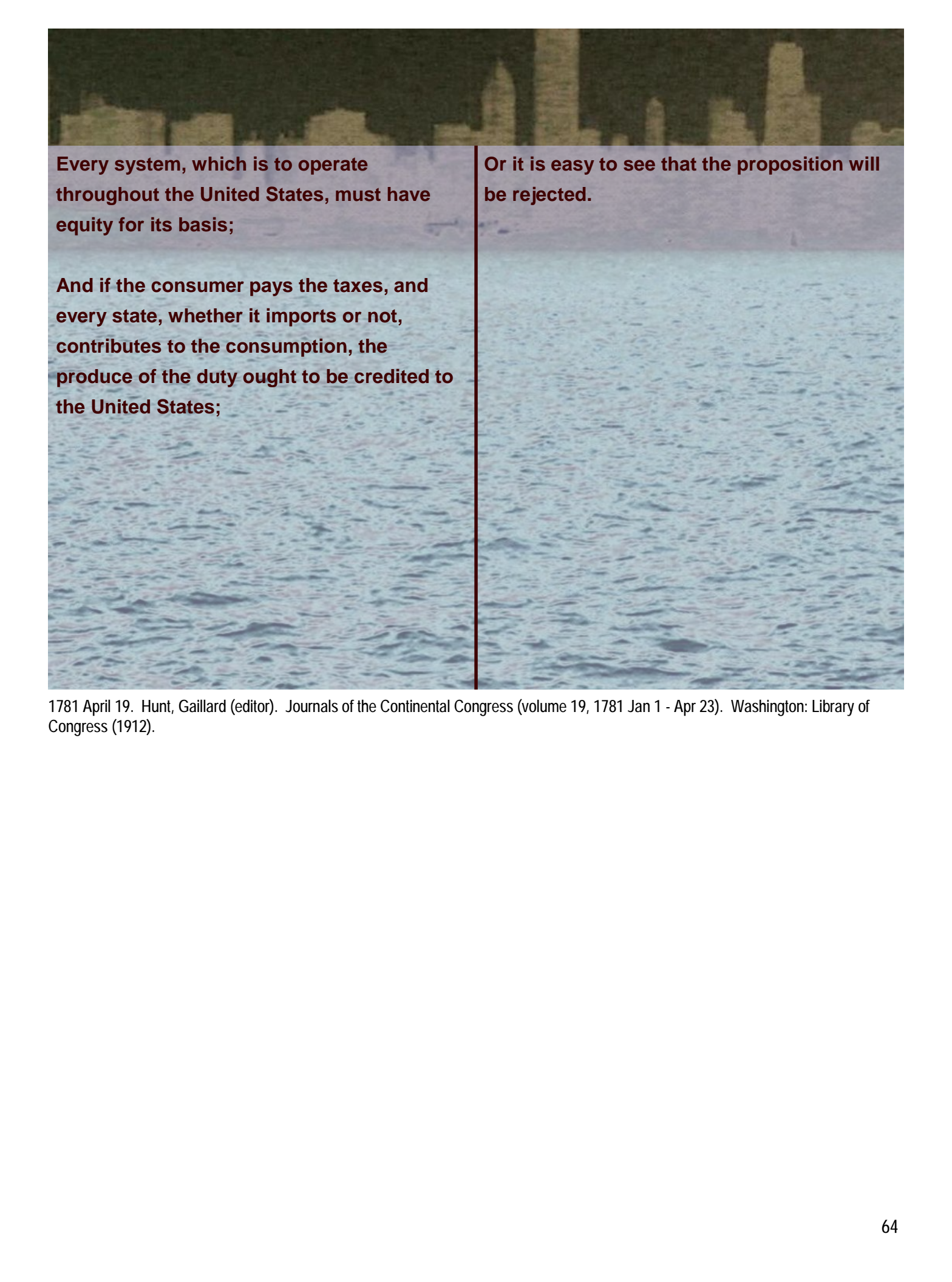
The merchant who advances it, will take care to receive full interest ..

If it should be admitted, that states which enjoy the greatest commercial advantages may be exposed to a share of the duty beyond their strict proportion,

... might it not be considered as a just tribute for peculiar blessings denied by the fortune of a common war to their less happy sister states?

Blessings purchased perhaps by their sufferings and secured by their resistance against invaders, who might otherwise have had leisure to close all the avenues to commerce.

1781 April 19. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).

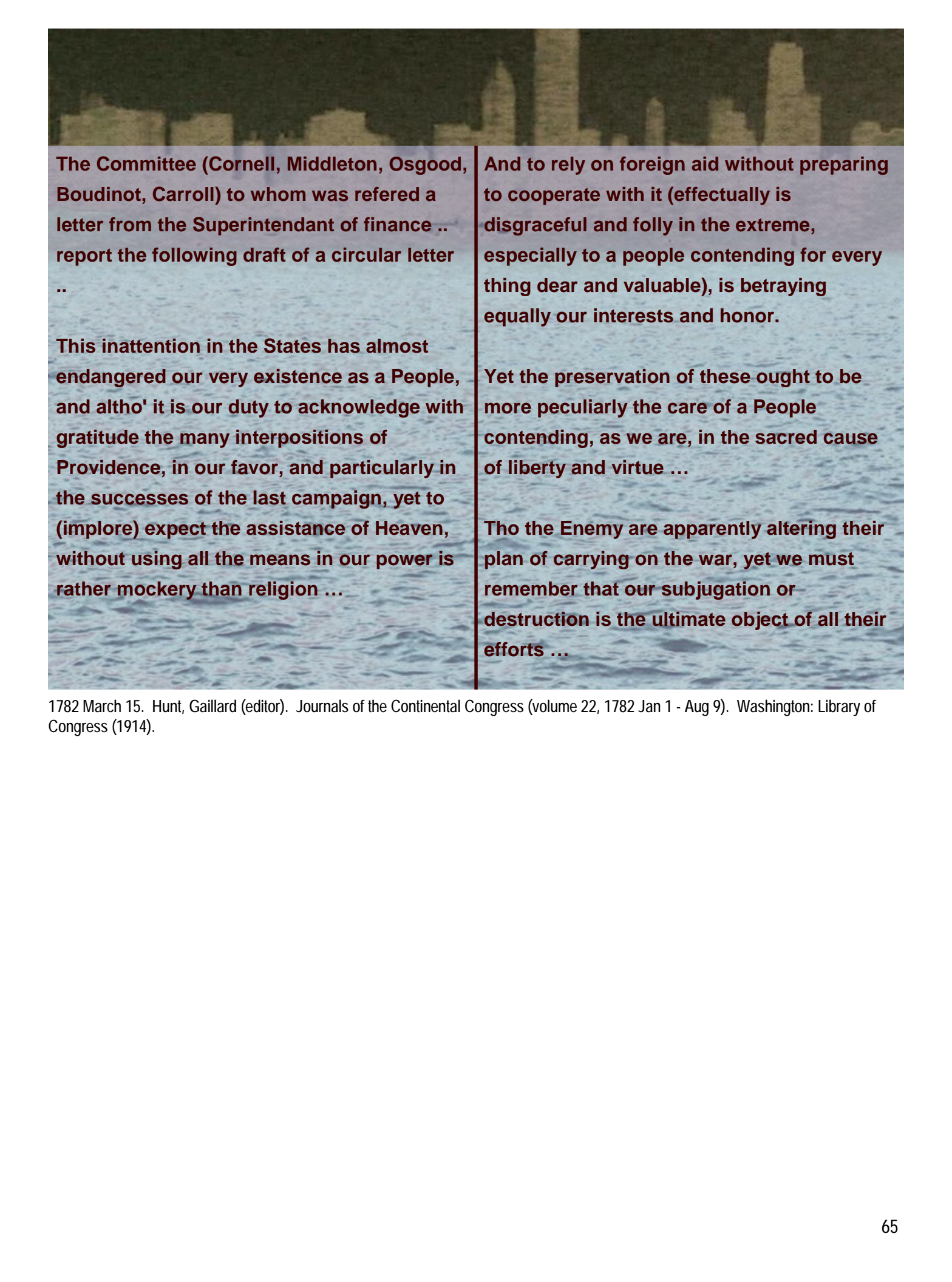


Every system, which is to operate throughout the United States, must have equity for its basis;

And if the consumer pays the taxes, and every state, whether it imports or not, contributes to the consumption, the produce of the duty ought to be credited to the United States;

Or it is easy to see that the proposition will be rejected.

1781 April 19. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 19, 1781 Jan 1 - Apr 23). Washington: Library of Congress (1912).



The Committee (Cornell, Middleton, Osgood, Boudinot, Carroll) to whom was referred a letter from the Superintendent of finance .. report the following draft of a circular letter ..

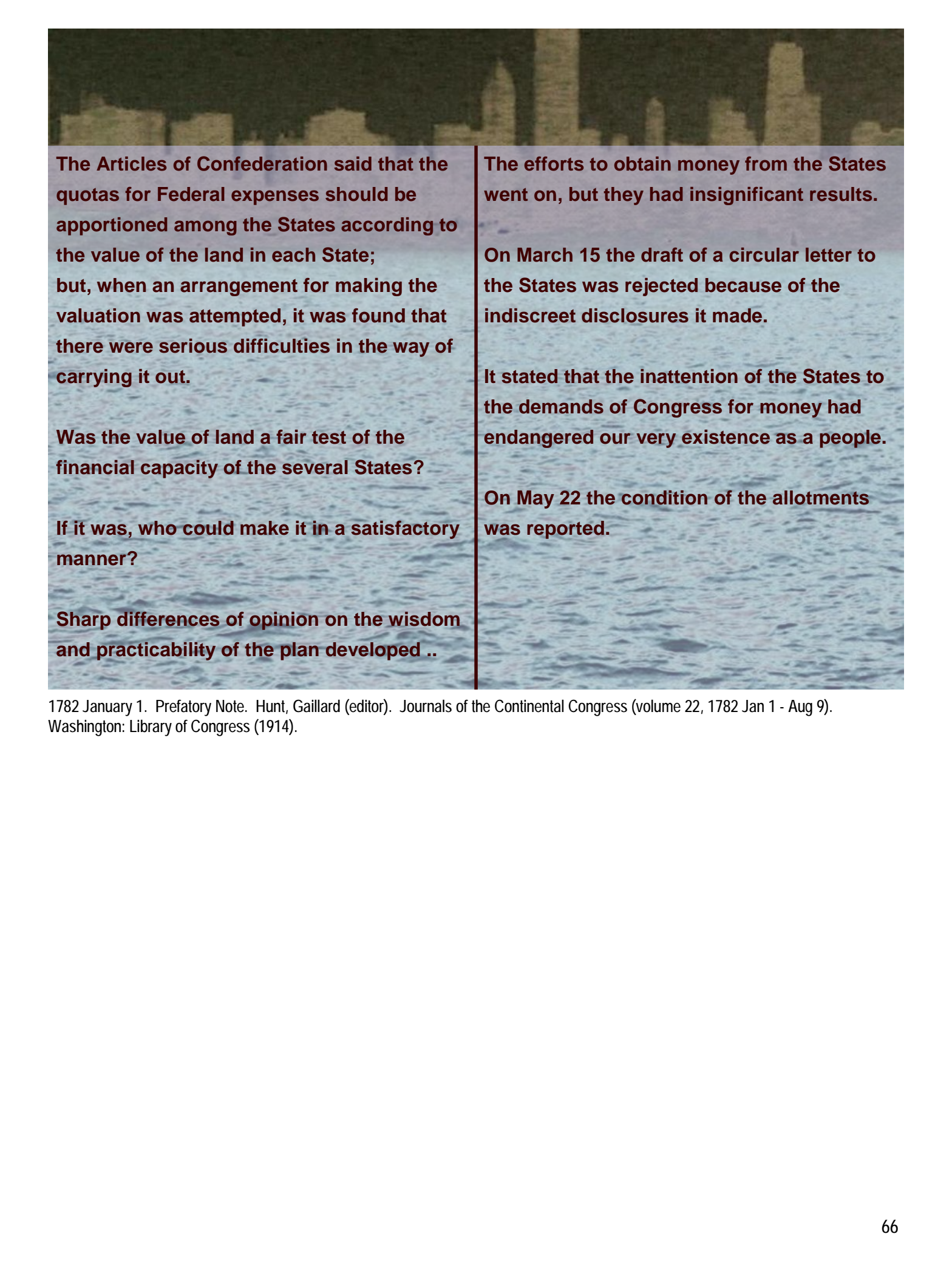
This inattention in the States has almost endangered our very existence as a People, and altho' it is our duty to acknowledge with gratitude the many interpositions of Providence, in our favor, and particularly in the successes of the last campaign, yet to (implore) expect the assistance of Heaven, without using all the means in our power is rather mockery than religion ...

And to rely on foreign aid without preparing to cooperate with it (effectually is disgraceful and folly in the extreme, especially to a people contending for every thing dear and valuable), is betraying equally our interests and honor.

Yet the preservation of these ought to be more peculiarly the care of a People contending, as we are, in the sacred cause of liberty and virtue ...

Tho the Enemy are apparently altering their plan of carrying on the war, yet we must remember that our subjugation or destruction is the ultimate object of all their efforts ...

1782 March 15. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



The Articles of Confederation said that the quotas for Federal expenses should be apportioned among the States according to the value of the land in each State; but, when an arrangement for making the valuation was attempted, it was found that there were serious difficulties in the way of carrying it out.

Was the value of land a fair test of the financial capacity of the several States?

If it was, who could make it in a satisfactory manner?

Sharp differences of opinion on the wisdom and practicability of the plan developed ..

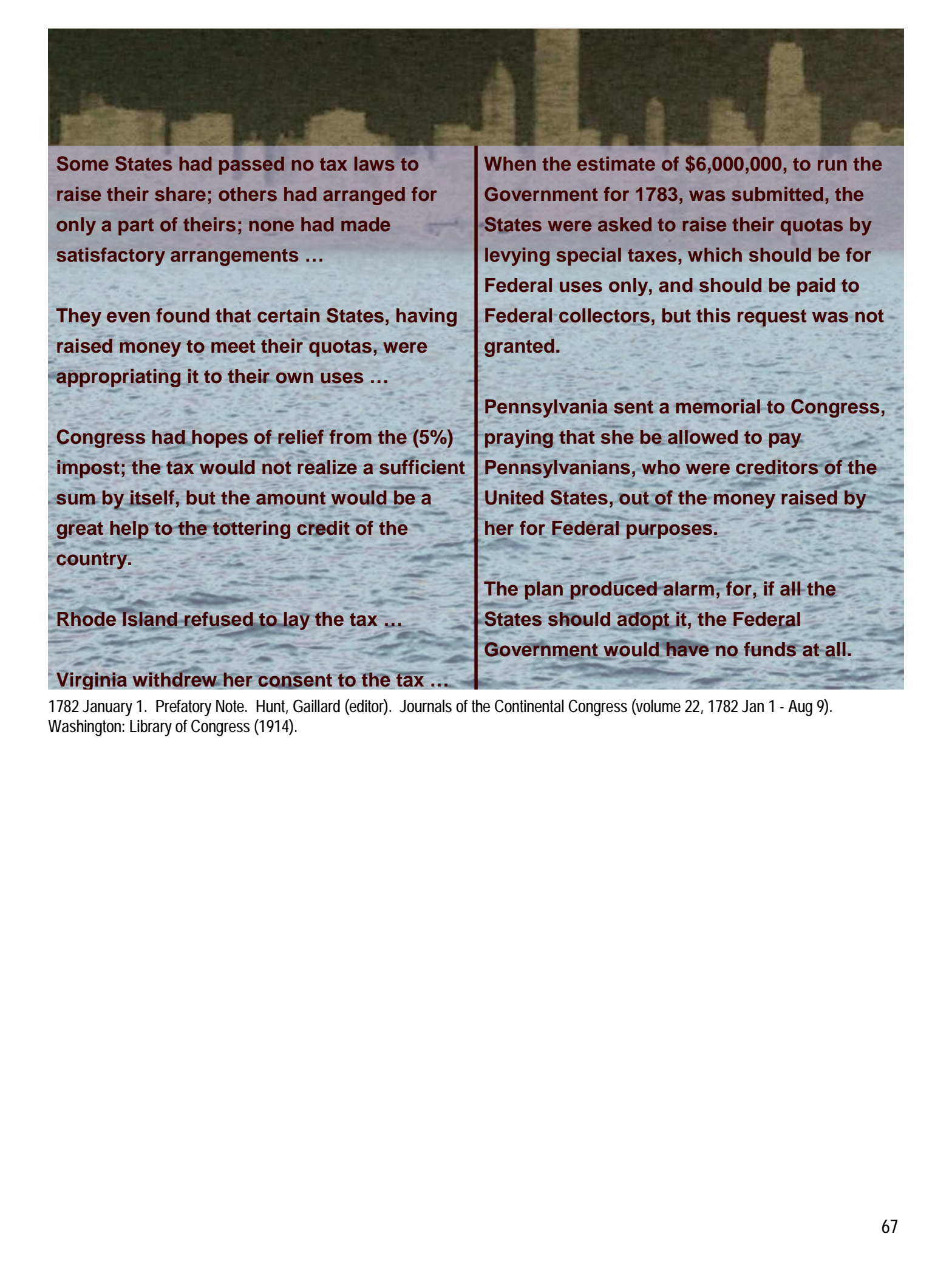
The efforts to obtain money from the States went on, but they had insignificant results.

On March 15 the draft of a circular letter to the States was rejected because of the indiscreet disclosures it made.

It stated that the inattention of the States to the demands of Congress for money had endangered our very existence as a people.

On May 22 the condition of the allotments was reported.

1782 January 1. Prefatory Note. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



Some States had passed no tax laws to raise their share; others had arranged for only a part of theirs; none had made satisfactory arrangements ...

They even found that certain States, having raised money to meet their quotas, were appropriating it to their own uses ...

Congress had hopes of relief from the (5%) impost; the tax would not realize a sufficient sum by itself, but the amount would be a great help to the tottering credit of the country.

Rhode Island refused to lay the tax ...

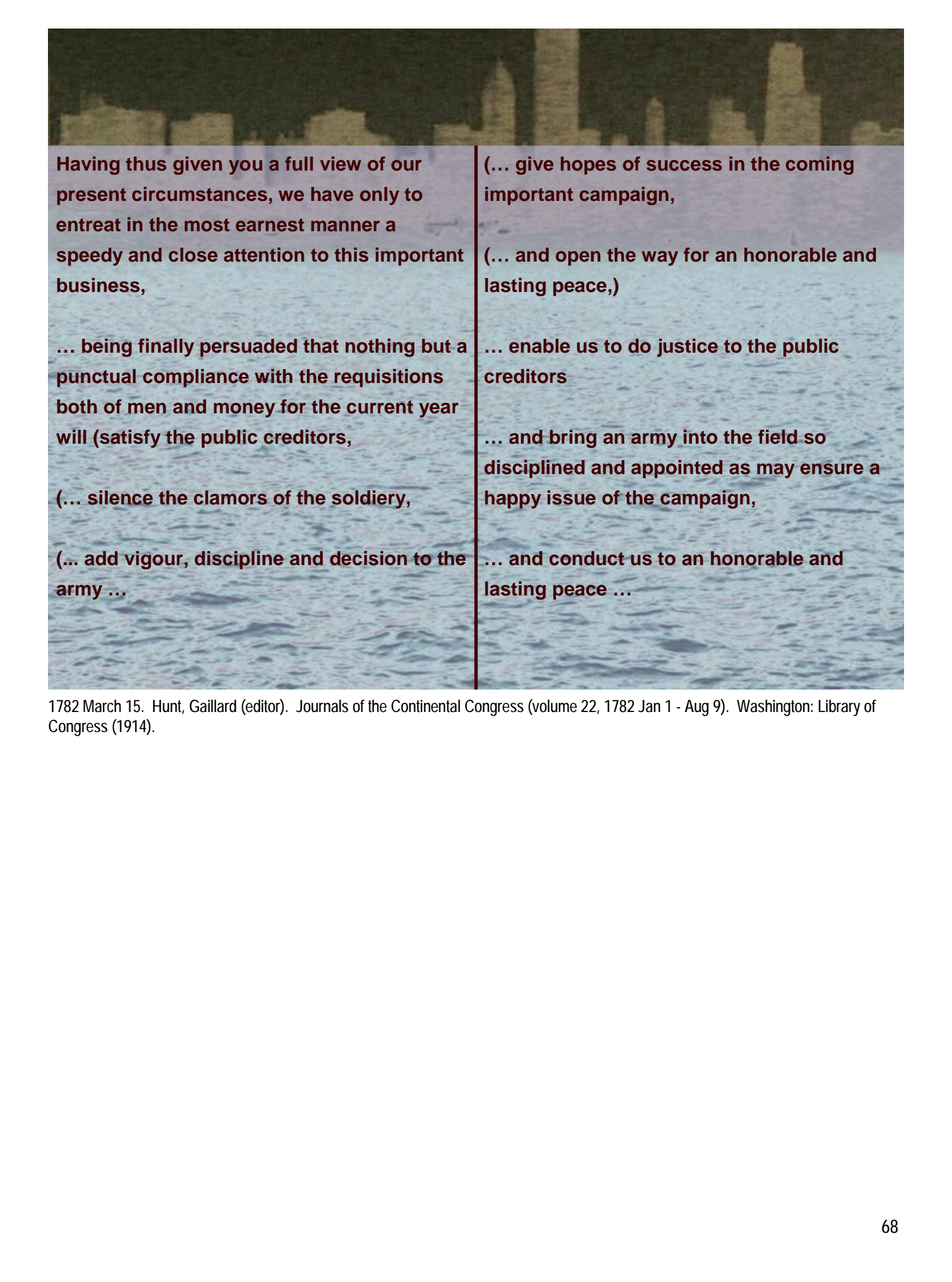
Virginia withdrew her consent to the tax ...

When the estimate of \$6,000,000, to run the Government for 1783, was submitted, the States were asked to raise their quotas by levying special taxes, which should be for Federal uses only, and should be paid to Federal collectors, but this request was not granted.

Pennsylvania sent a memorial to Congress, praying that she be allowed to pay Pennsylvanians, who were creditors of the United States, out of the money raised by her for Federal purposes.

The plan produced alarm, for, if all the States should adopt it, the Federal Government would have no funds at all.

1782 January 1. Prefatory Note. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



Having thus given you a full view of our present circumstances, we have only to entreat in the most earnest manner a speedy and close attention to this important business,

... being finally persuaded that nothing but a punctual compliance with the requisitions both of men and money for the current year will (satisfy the public creditors,

(... silence the clamors of the soldiery,

(... add vigour, discipline and decision to the army ...

(... give hopes of success in the coming important campaign,

(... and open the way for an honorable and lasting peace,)

... enable us to do justice to the public creditors

... and bring an army into the field so disciplined and appointed as may ensure a happy issue of the campaign,

... and conduct us to an honorable and lasting peace ...

1782 March 15. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).

[Letter from the Office of Finance]

In February I proposed ...

... a Land Tax (\$1) for every (100 acres

... a Poll Tax (\$1) on all freemen, and all male slaves

... and an excise of (\$0.125) per gallon, on all distilled spirituous liquors.

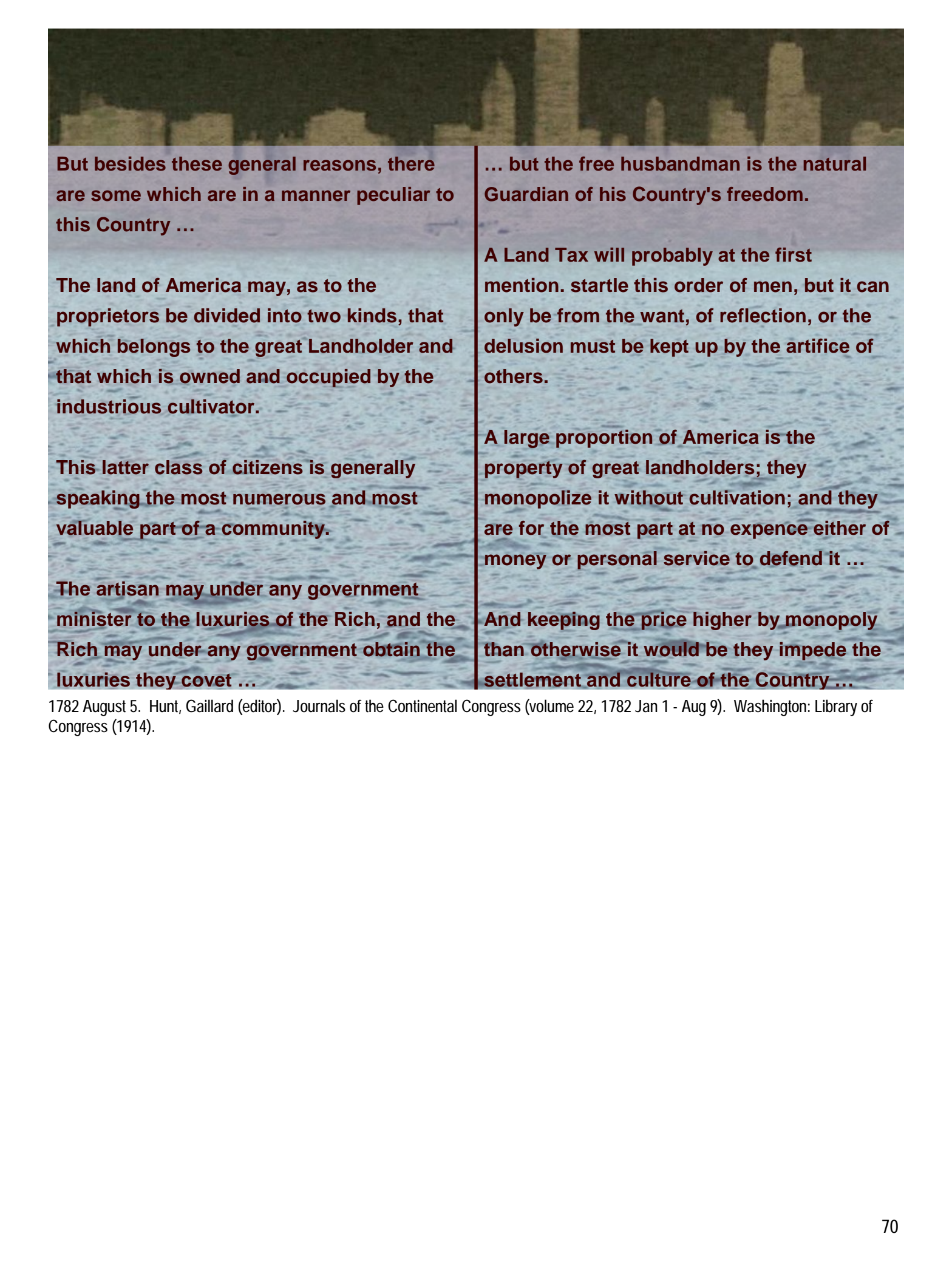
Each of these may be estimated at (\$500,000) and the sum (\$2 million) ..

The advantages of (a Land Tax) are, that it can be reduced to a certainty as to the amount and time.

That no extraordinary means are necessary to ascertain it.

And that land being the Ultimate object of human avarice, and that particular species of permanent property which so peculiarly belongs to a Country as neither to be removed nor concealed, it stands foremost for the object of taxation and ought most particularly to be burthened with those Debts which have been incurred by defending the freedom of its Inhabitants.

1782 August 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



But besides these general reasons, there are some which are in a manner peculiar to this Country ...

The land of America may, as to the proprietors be divided into two kinds, that which belongs to the great Landholder and that which is owned and occupied by the industrious cultivator.

This latter class of citizens is generally speaking the most numerous and most valuable part of a community.

The artisan may under any government minister to the luxuries of the Rich, and the Rich may under any government obtain the luxuries they covet ...

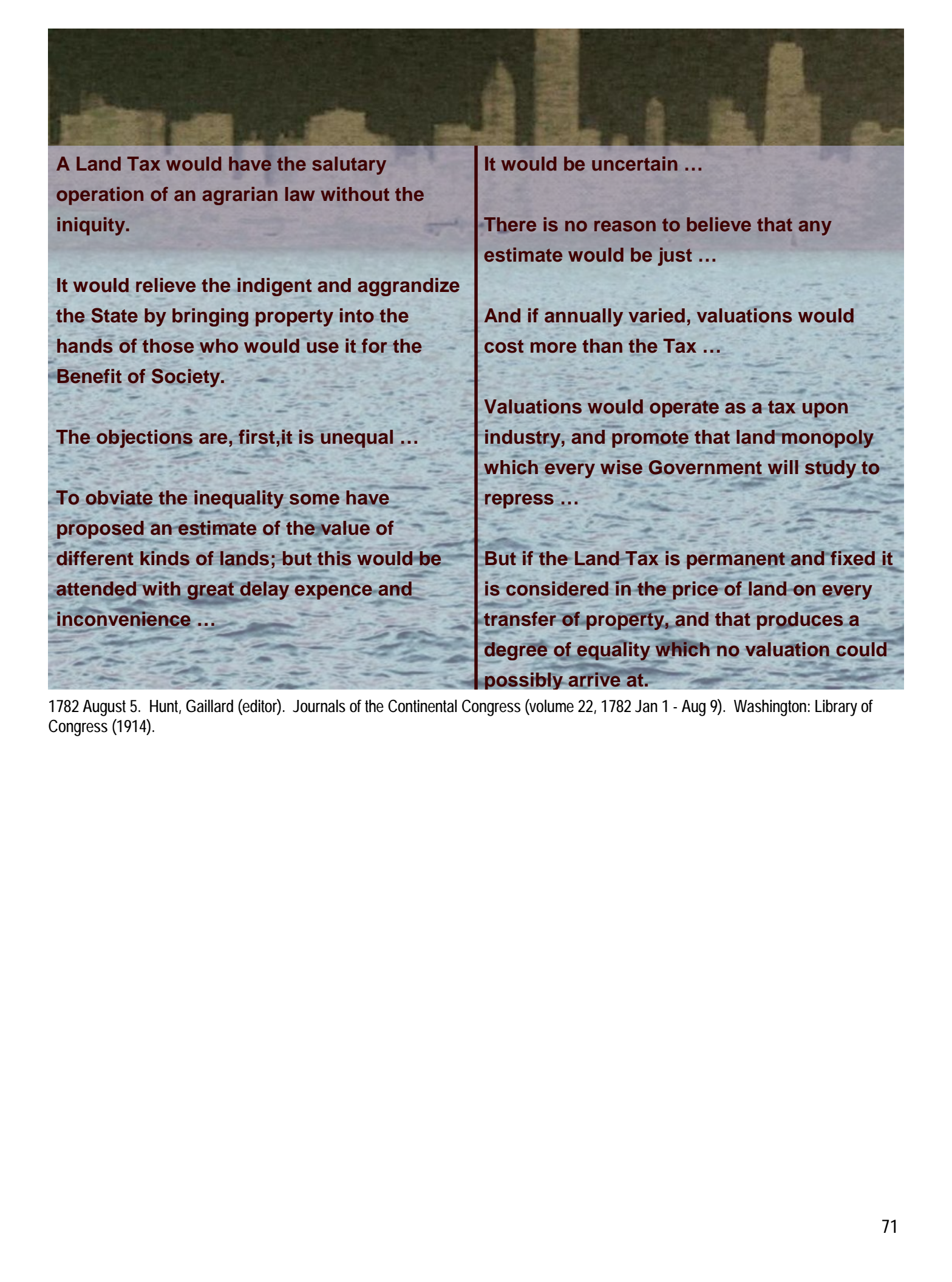
... but the free husbandman is the natural Guardian of his Country's freedom.

A Land Tax will probably at the first mention. startle this order of men, but it can only be from the want, of reflection, or the delusion must be kept up by the artifice of others.

A large proportion of America is the property of great landholders; they monopolize it without cultivation; and they are for the most part at no expence either of money or personal service to defend it ...

And keeping the price higher by monopoly than otherwise it would be they impede the settlement and culture of the Country ...

1782 August 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



A Land Tax would have the salutary operation of an agrarian law without the iniquity.

It would relieve the indigent and aggrandize the State by bringing property into the hands of those who would use it for the Benefit of Society.

The objections are, first, it is unequal ...

To obviate the inequality some have proposed an estimate of the value of different kinds of lands; but this would be attended with great delay expence and inconvenience ...

It would be uncertain ...

There is no reason to believe that any estimate would be just ...

And if annually varied, valuations would cost more than the Tax ...

Valuations would operate as a tax upon industry, and promote that land monopoly which every wise Government will study to repress ...

But if the Land Tax is permanent and fixed it is considered in the price of land on every transfer of property, and that produces a degree of equality which no valuation could possibly arrive at.

1782 August 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



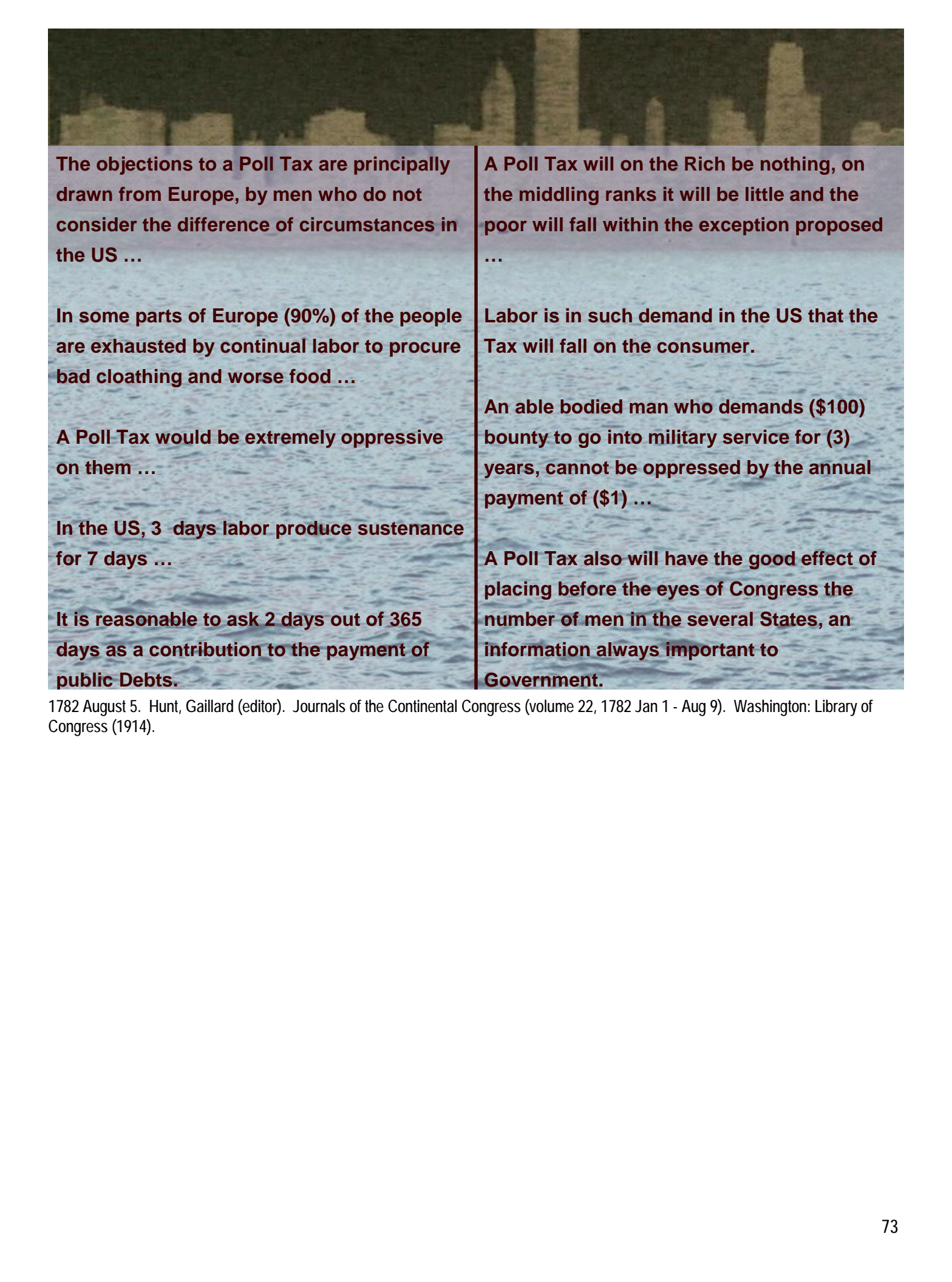
The objections are, secondly, it is too high.

Land which is so little worth that the owner will not pay annually one penny per acre for the defence of it, ought to belong to the society by whom the expence of defending it is defrayed.

But the truth is that this objection arises from and is enforced by those men, who can very well bear the expence, but who wish to shift it from themselves to others.

I shall close this subject by adding, that as such a Tax would besides the benefits to be derived from the objects of it, have the farther advantage of encouraging settlements and population, this would redound not only to the national good, but even to the particular good of the landholders themselves.

1782 August 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



The objections to a Poll Tax are principally drawn from Europe, by men who do not consider the difference of circumstances in the US ...

In some parts of Europe (90%) of the people are exhausted by continual labor to procure bad clothing and worse food ...

A Poll Tax would be extremely oppressive on them ...

In the US, 3 days labor produce sustenance for 7 days ...

It is reasonable to ask 2 days out of 365 days as a contribution to the payment of public Debts.

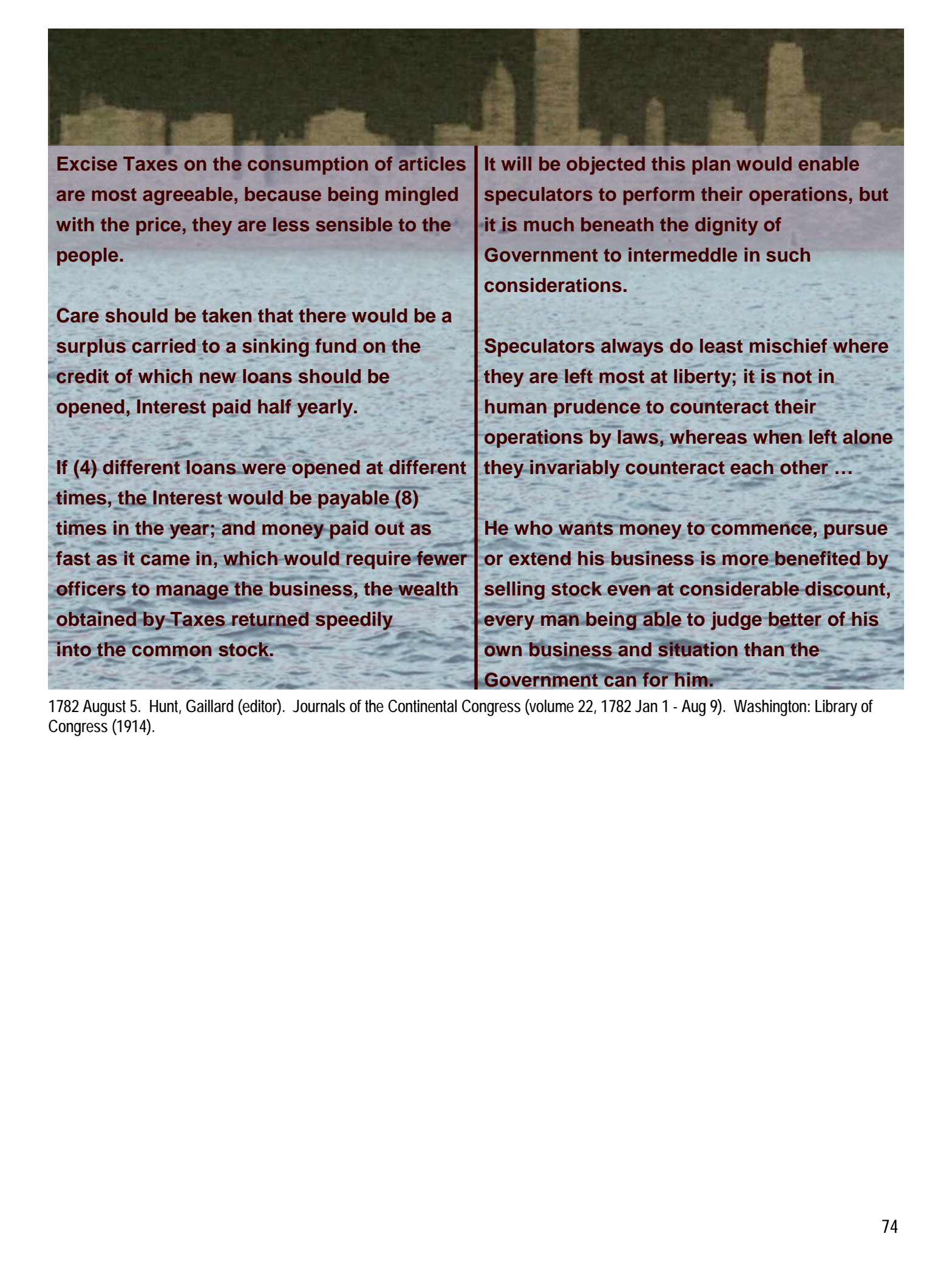
A Poll Tax will on the Rich be nothing, on the middling ranks it will be little and the poor will fall within the exception proposed ...

Labor is in such demand in the US that the Tax will fall on the consumer.

An able bodied man who demands (\$100) bounty to go into military service for (3) years, cannot be oppressed by the annual payment of (\$1) ...

A Poll Tax also will have the good effect of placing before the eyes of Congress the number of men in the several States, an information always important to Government.

1782 August 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



Excise Taxes on the consumption of articles are most agreeable, because being mingled with the price, they are less sensible to the people.

Care should be taken that there would be a surplus carried to a sinking fund on the credit of which new loans should be opened, Interest paid half yearly.

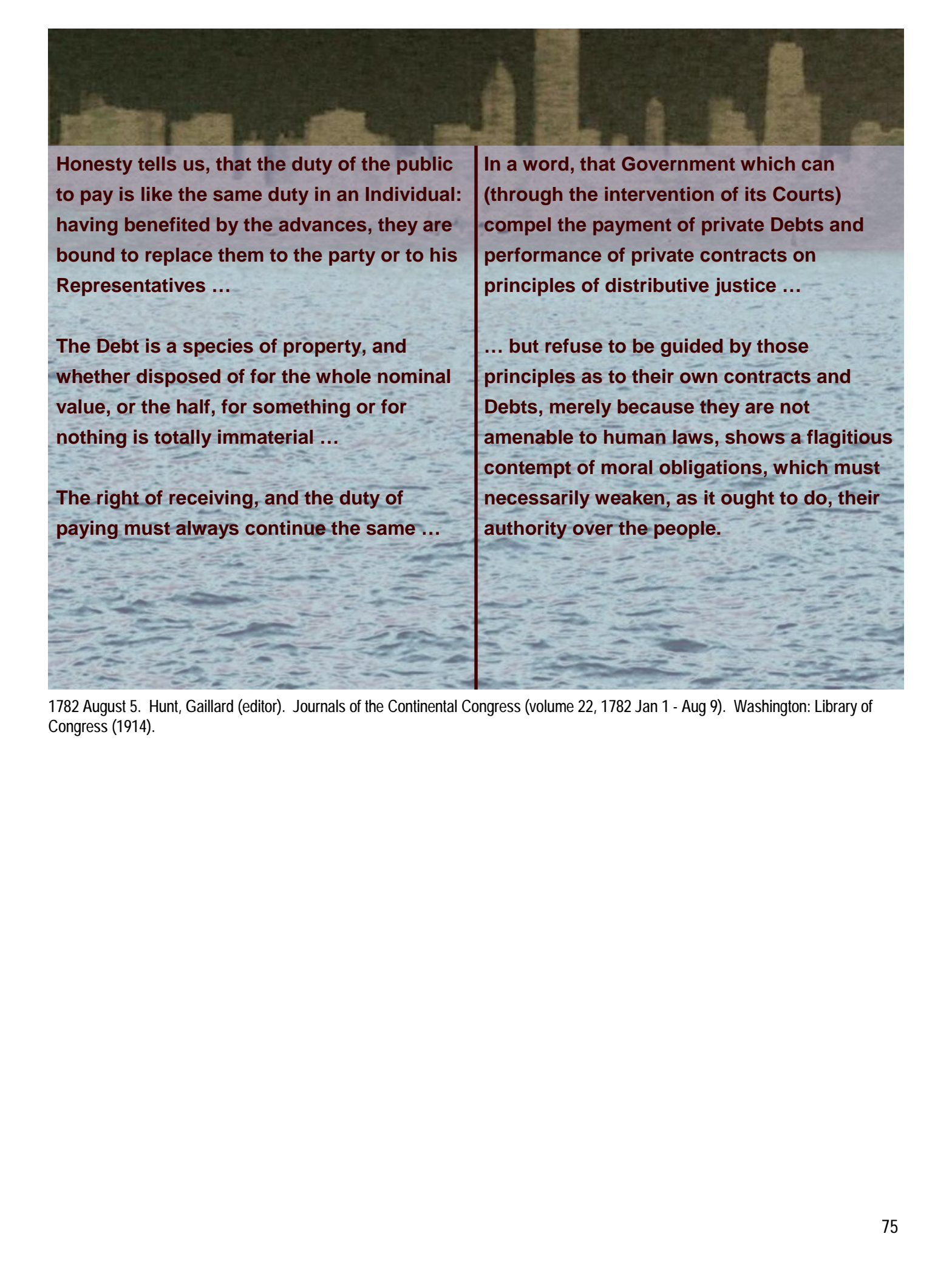
If (4) different loans were opened at different times, the Interest would be payable (8) times in the year; and money paid out as fast as it came in, which would require fewer officers to manage the business, the wealth obtained by Taxes returned speedily into the common stock.

It will be objected this plan would enable speculators to perform their operations, but it is much beneath the dignity of Government to intermeddle in such considerations.

Speculators always do least mischief where they are left most at liberty; it is not in human prudence to counteract their operations by laws, whereas when left alone they invariably counteract each other ...

He who wants money to commence, pursue or extend his business is more benefited by selling stock even at considerable discount, every man being able to judge better of his own business and situation than the Government can for him.

1782 August 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



Honesty tells us, that the duty of the public to pay is like the same duty in an Individual: having benefited by the advances, they are bound to replace them to the party or to his Representatives ...

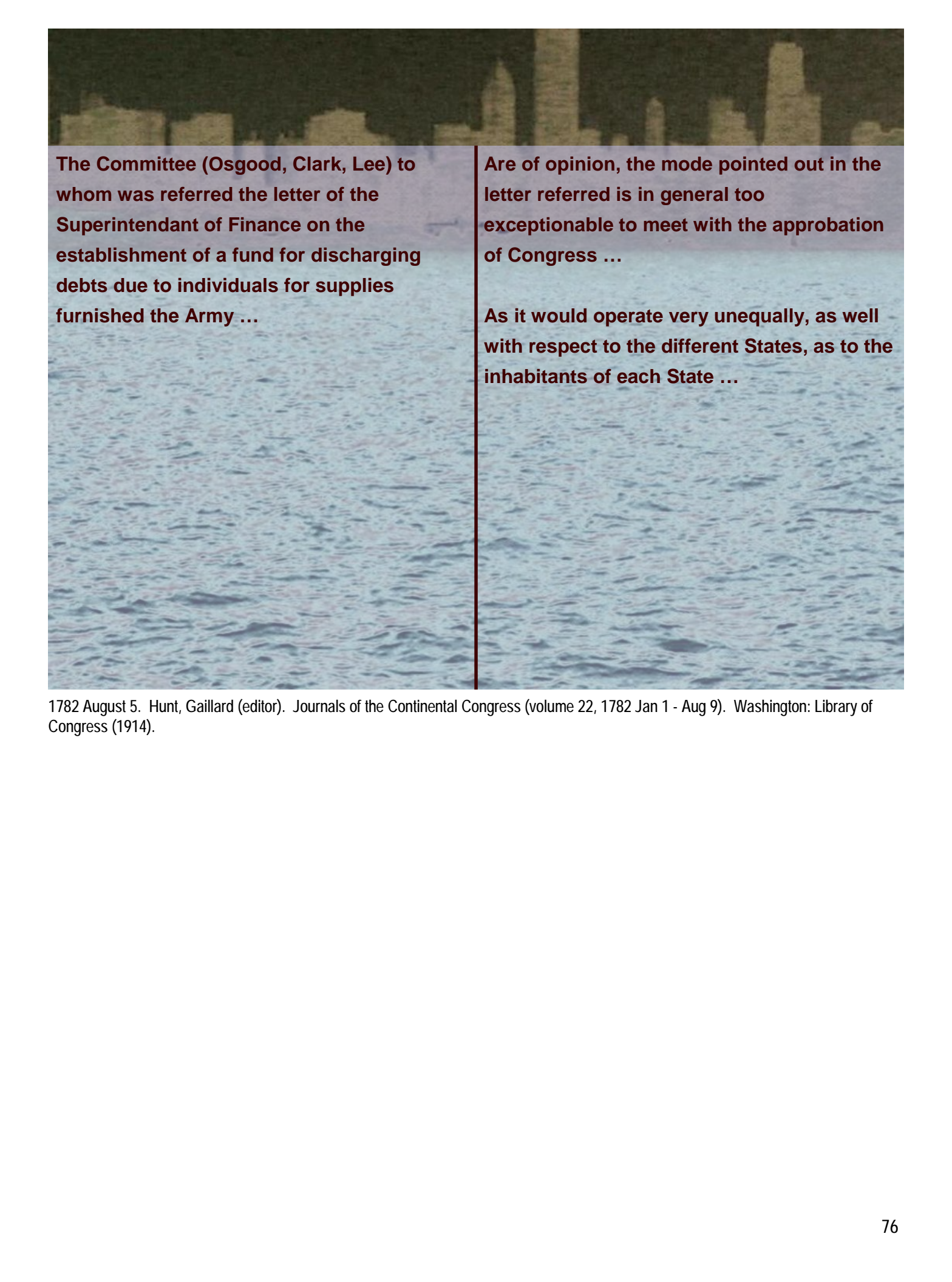
The Debt is a species of property, and whether disposed of for the whole nominal value, or the half, for something or for nothing is totally immaterial ...

The right of receiving, and the duty of paying must always continue the same ...

In a word, that Government which can (through the intervention of its Courts) compel the payment of private Debts and performance of private contracts on principles of distributive justice ...

... but refuse to be guided by those principles as to their own contracts and Debts, merely because they are not amenable to human laws, shows a flagitious contempt of moral obligations, which must necessarily weaken, as it ought to do, their authority over the people.

1782 August 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).

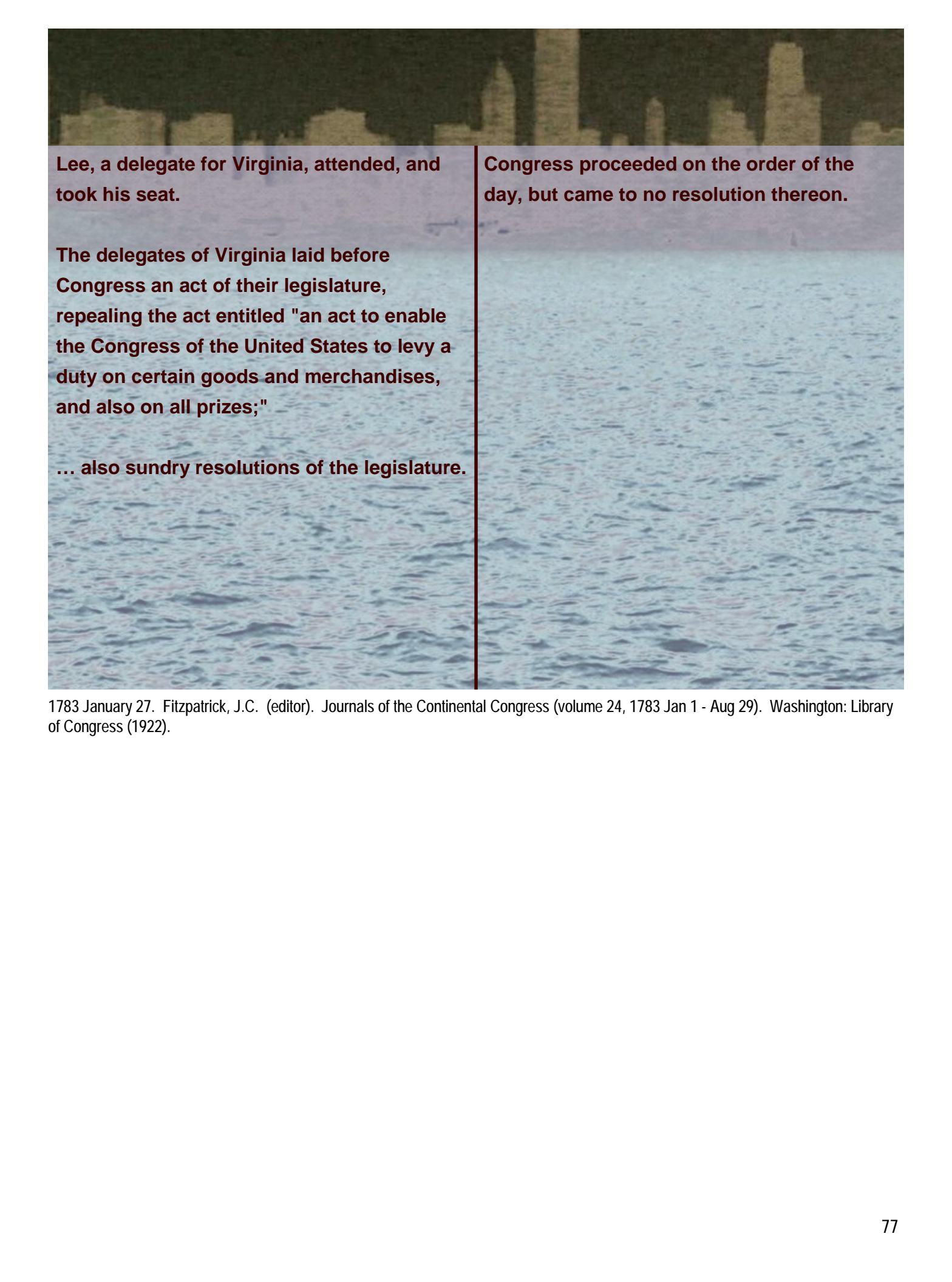


The Committee (Osgood, Clark, Lee) to whom was referred the letter of the Superintendent of Finance on the establishment of a fund for discharging debts due to individuals for supplies furnished the Army ...

Are of opinion, the mode pointed out in the letter referred is in general too exceptionable to meet with the approbation of Congress ...

As it would operate very unequally, as well with respect to the different States, as to the inhabitants of each State ...

1782 August 5. Hunt, Gaillard (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 22, 1782 Jan 1 - Aug 9). Washington: Library of Congress (1914).



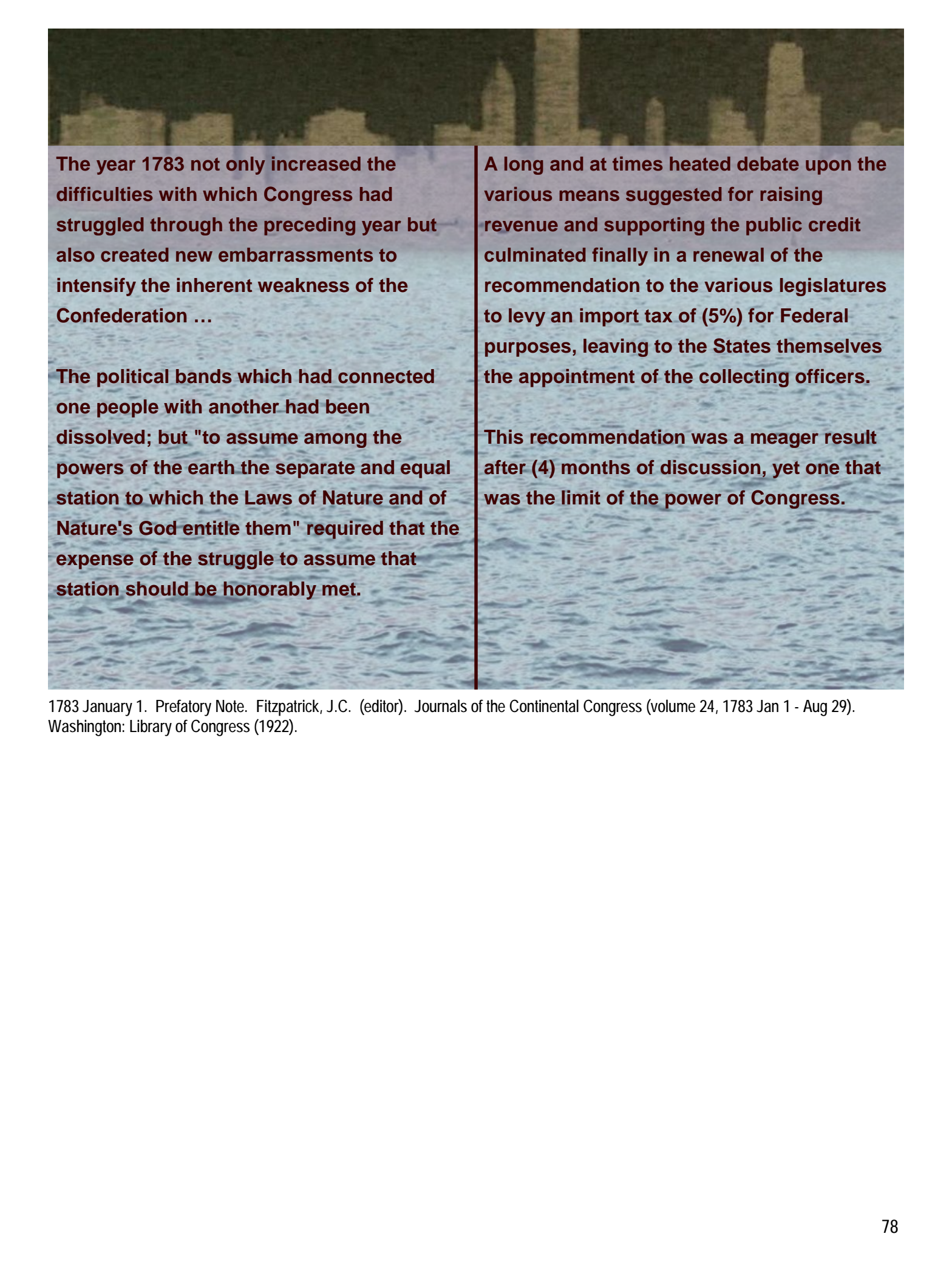
Lee, a delegate for Virginia, attended, and took his seat.

The delegates of Virginia laid before Congress an act of their legislature, repealing the act entitled "an act to enable the Congress of the United States to levy a duty on certain goods and merchandises, and also on all prizes;"

... also sundry resolutions of the legislature.

Congress proceeded on the order of the day, but came to no resolution thereon.

1783 January 27. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



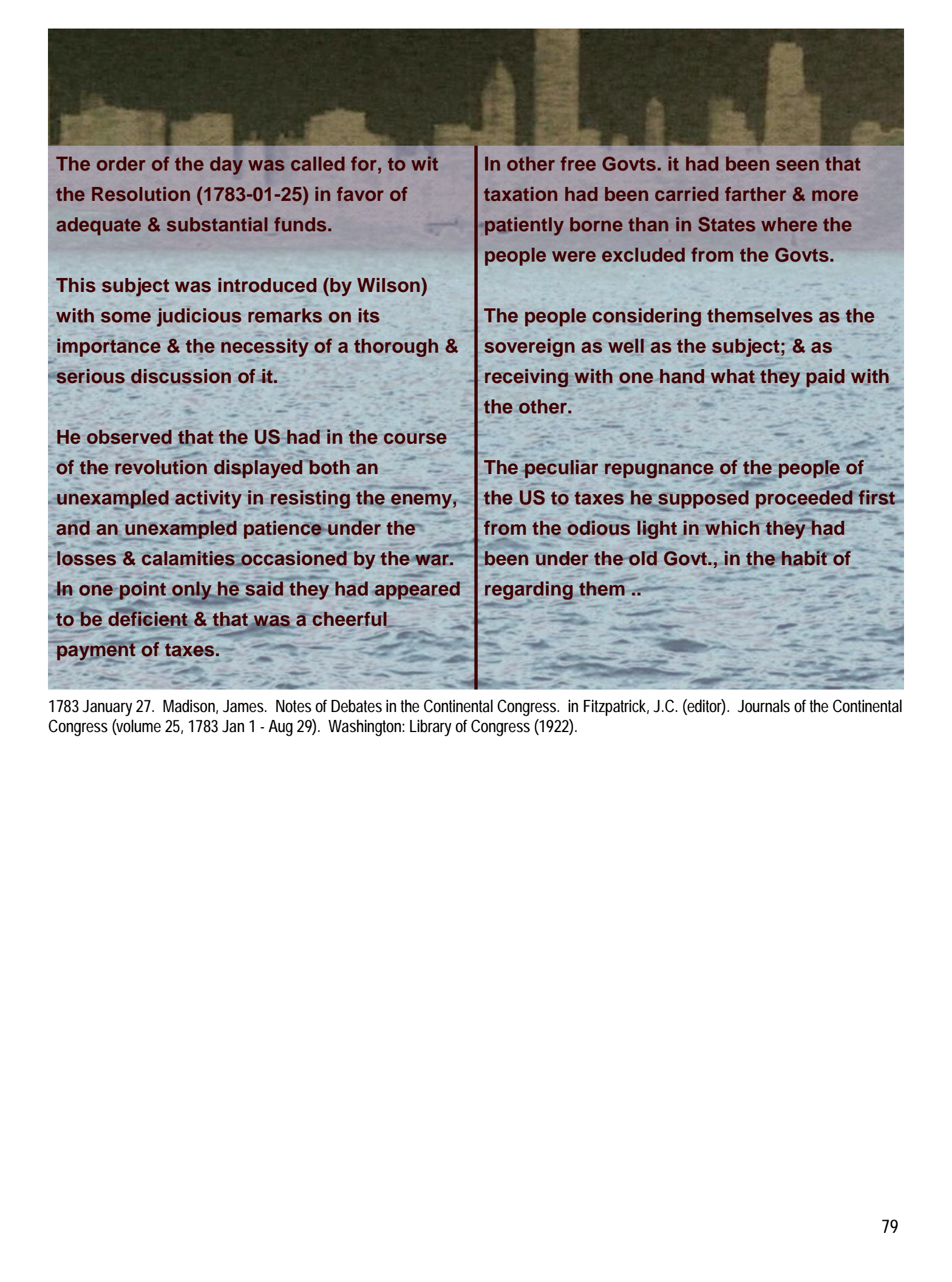
The year 1783 not only increased the difficulties with which Congress had struggled through the preceding year but also created new embarrassments to intensify the inherent weakness of the Confederation ...

The political bands which had connected one people with another had been dissolved; but "to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them" required that the expense of the struggle to assume that station should be honorably met.

A long and at times heated debate upon the various means suggested for raising revenue and supporting the public credit culminated finally in a renewal of the recommendation to the various legislatures to levy an import tax of (5%) for Federal purposes, leaving to the States themselves the appointment of the collecting officers.

This recommendation was a meager result after (4) months of discussion, yet one that was the limit of the power of Congress.

1783 January 1. Prefatory Note. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



The order of the day was called for, to wit the Resolution (1783-01-25) in favor of adequate & substantial funds.

This subject was introduced (by Wilson) with some judicious remarks on its importance & the necessity of a thorough & serious discussion of it.

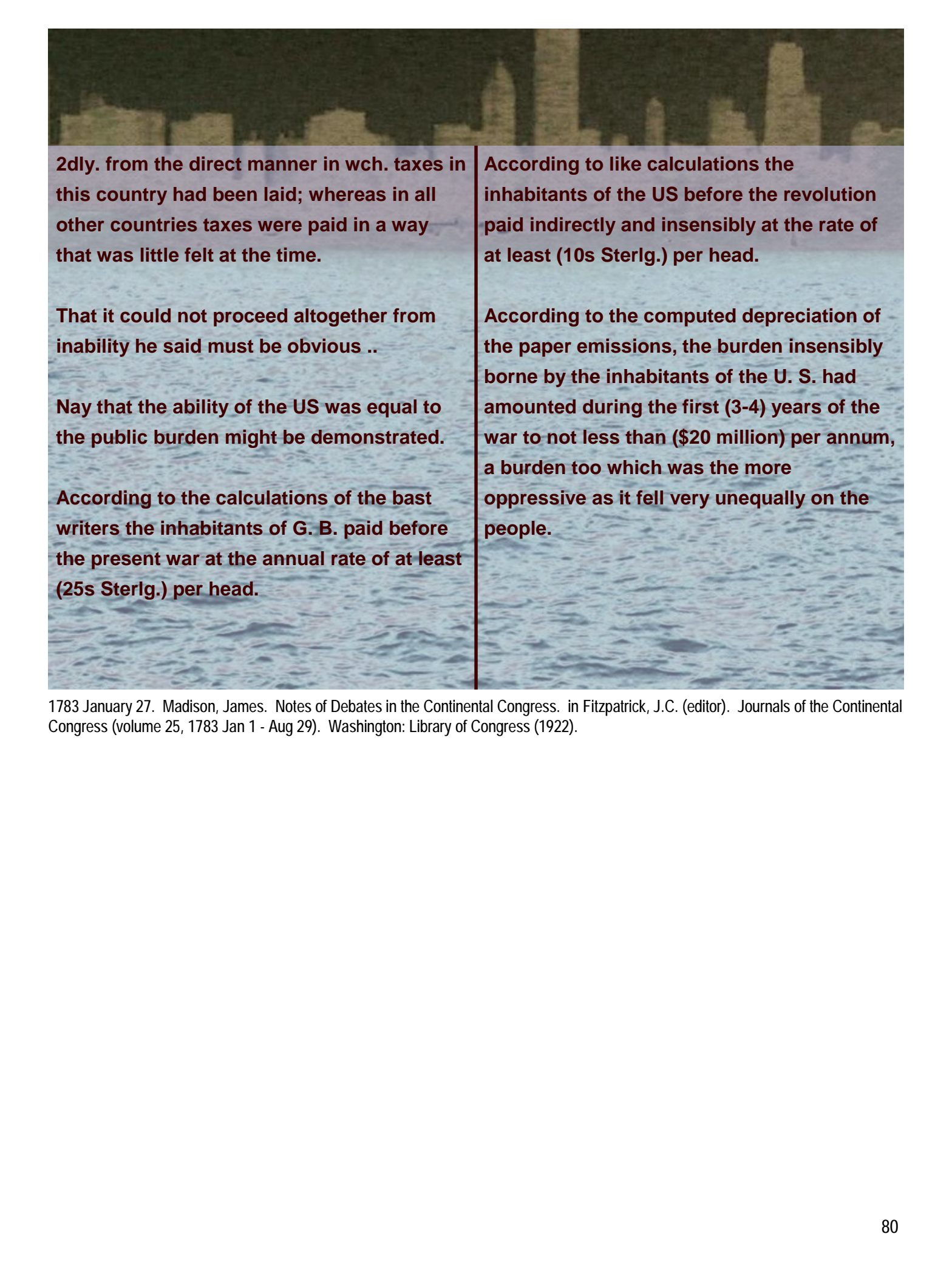
He observed that the US had in the course of the revolution displayed both an unexampled activity in resisting the enemy, and an unexampled patience under the losses & calamities occasioned by the war. In one point only he said they had appeared to be deficient & that was a cheerful payment of taxes.

In other free Govts. it had been seen that taxation had been carried farther & more patiently borne than in States where the people were excluded from the Govts.

The people considering themselves as the sovereign as well as the subject; & as receiving with one hand what they paid with the other.

The peculiar repugnance of the people of the US to taxes he supposed proceeded first from the odious light in which they had been under the old Govt., in the habit of regarding them ..

1783 January 27. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



2dly. from the direct manner in wch. taxes in this country had been laid; whereas in all other countries taxes were paid in a way that was little felt at the time.

That it could not proceed altogether from inability he said must be obvious ..

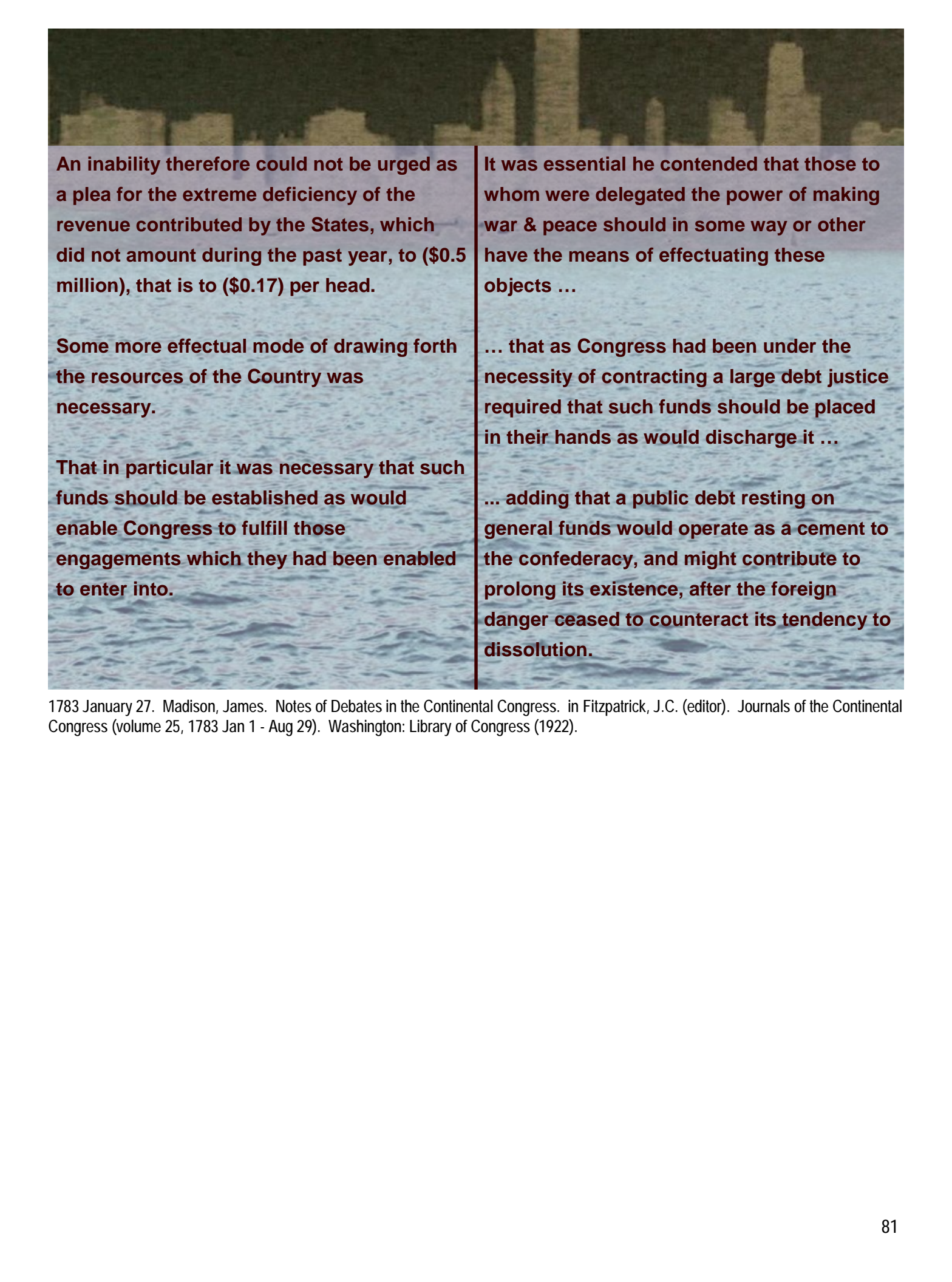
Nay that the ability of the US was equal to the public burden might be demonstrated.

According to the calculations of the best writers the inhabitants of G. B. paid before the present war at the annual rate of at least (25s Sterlg.) per head.

According to like calculations the inhabitants of the US before the revolution paid indirectly and insensibly at the rate of at least (10s Sterlg.) per head.

According to the computed depreciation of the paper emissions, the burden insensibly borne by the inhabitants of the U. S. had amounted during the first (3-4) years of the war to not less than (\$20 million) per annum, a burden too which was the more oppressive as it fell very unequally on the people.

1783 January 27. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



An inability therefore could not be urged as a plea for the extreme deficiency of the revenue contributed by the States, which did not amount during the past year, to (\$0.5 million), that is to (\$0.17) per head.

Some more effectual mode of drawing forth the resources of the Country was necessary.

That in particular it was necessary that such funds should be established as would enable Congress to fulfill those engagements which they had been enabled to enter into.

It was essential he contended that those to whom were delegated the power of making war & peace should in some way or other have the means of effectuating these objects ...

... that as Congress had been under the necessity of contracting a large debt justice required that such funds should be placed in their hands as would discharge it ...

... adding that a public debt resting on general funds would operate as a cement to the confederacy, and might contribute to prolong its existence, after the foreign danger ceased to counteract its tendency to dissolution.

1783 January 27. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

He concluded with moving that it be Resolved ...

"That it is the opinion of Congress that complete justice cannot be done to the Creditors of the US,

... nor the restoration of public credit be effected,

... nor the future exigencies of the war provided for,

... but by the establishment of general funds to be collected by Congress."

This motion was seconded (by Fitzsimmons).

(Bland) desired that Congress wd. before the discussion proceeded farther receive a communication of sundry papers transmitted to the Virga. Delegates by the Executive of that State; two of which had relation to the question before Congress.

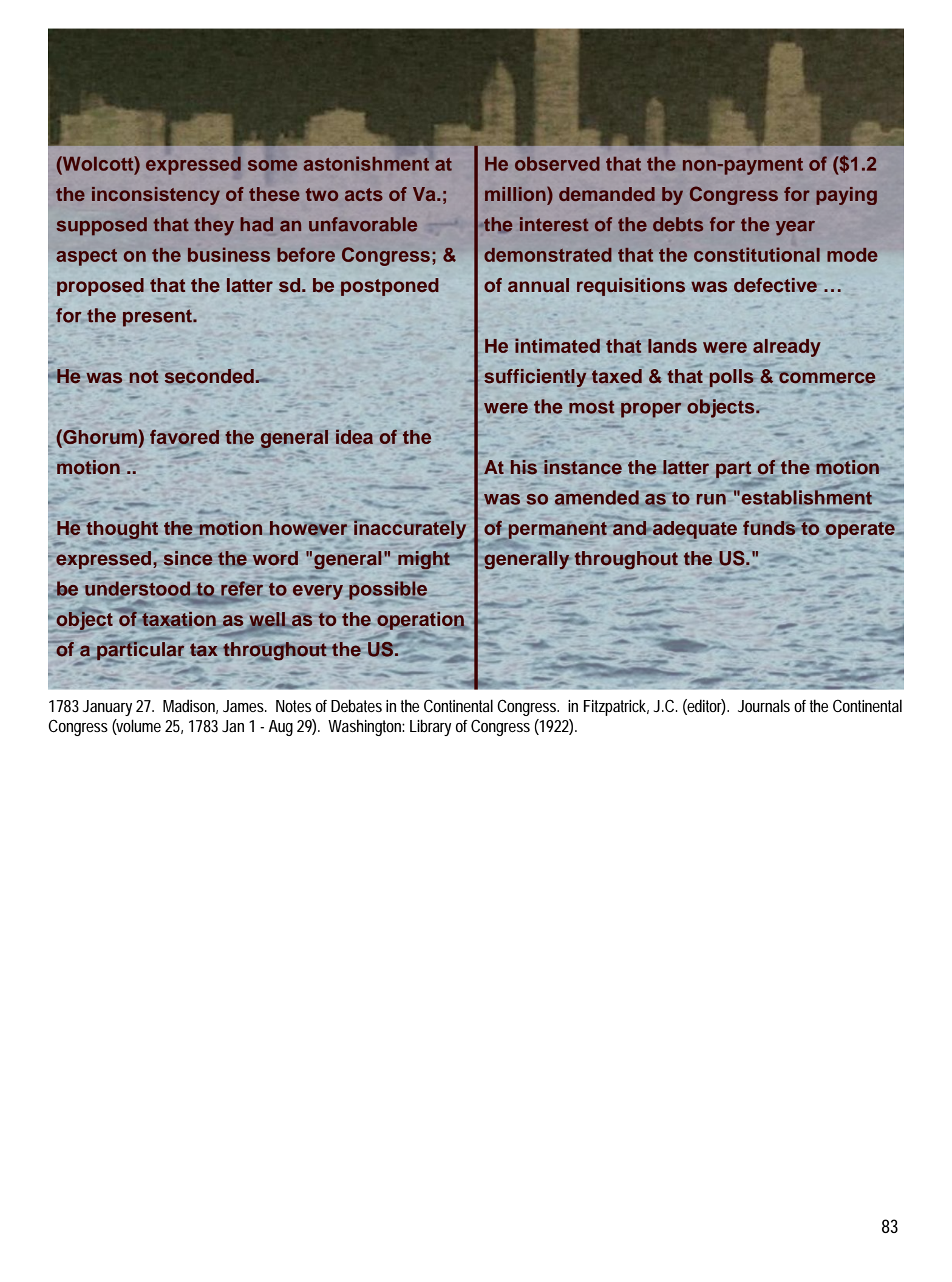
These were ..

1st., a Resolution of the Genl. Assembly declaring its inability to pay more than £50.000 Va. currency towards complying with the demands of Congress.

2dly. the Act repealing the Act granting the impost of 5 Per Ct.

These papers were received and read.

1783 January 27. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



(Wolcott) expressed some astonishment at the inconsistency of these two acts of Va.; supposed that they had an unfavorable aspect on the business before Congress; & proposed that the latter sd. be postponed for the present.

He was not seconded.

(Ghorum) favored the general idea of the motion ..

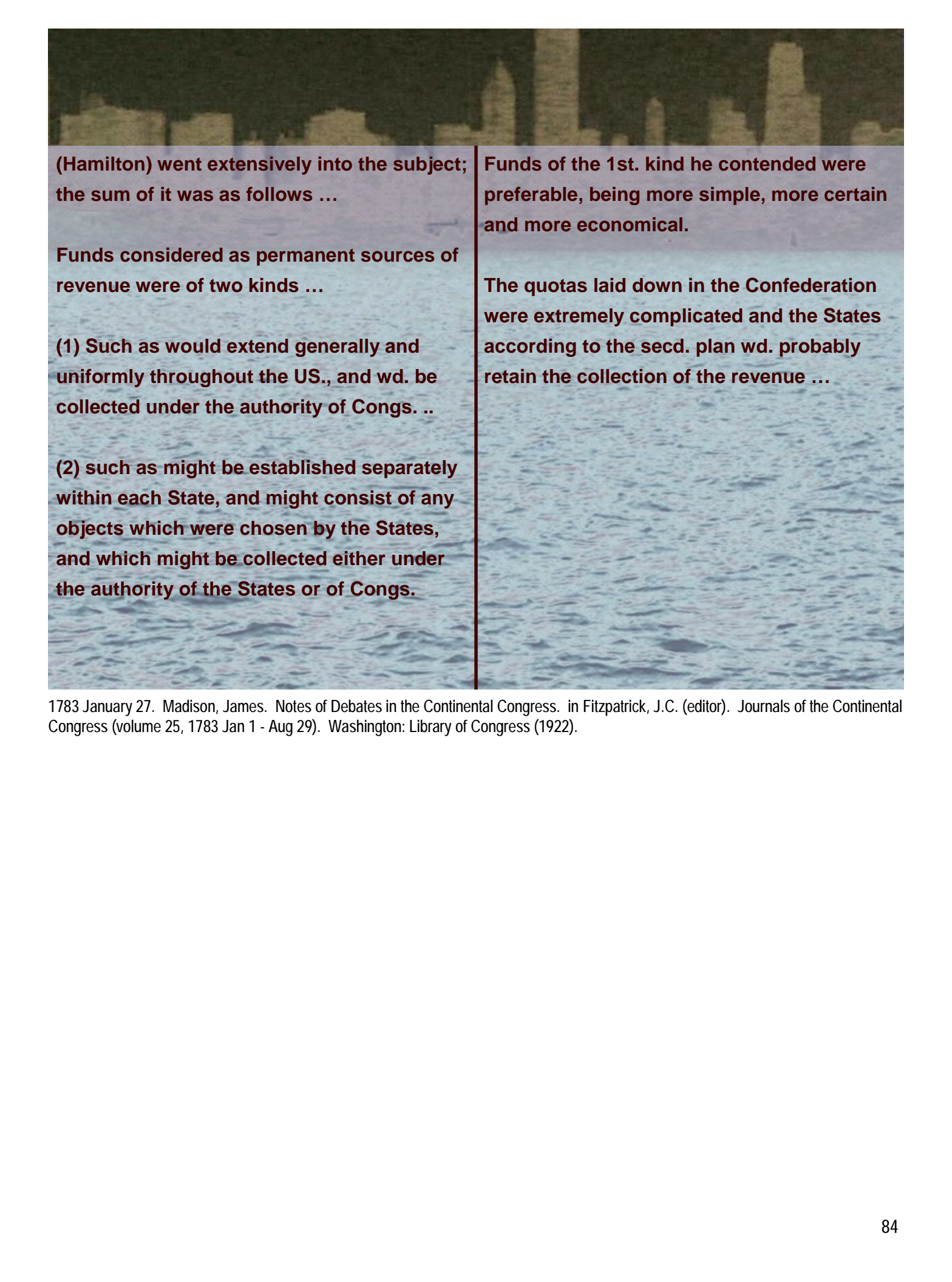
He thought the motion however inaccurately expressed, since the word "general" might be understood to refer to every possible object of taxation as well as to the operation of a particular tax throughout the US.

He observed that the non-payment of (\$1.2 million) demanded by Congress for paying the interest of the debts for the year demonstrated that the constitutional mode of annual requisitions was defective ...

He intimated that lands were already sufficiently taxed & that polls & commerce were the most proper objects.

At his instance the latter part of the motion was so amended as to run "establishment of permanent and adequate funds to operate generally throughout the US."

1783 January 27. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



(Hamilton) went extensively into the subject; the sum of it was as follows ...

Funds considered as permanent sources of revenue were of two kinds ...

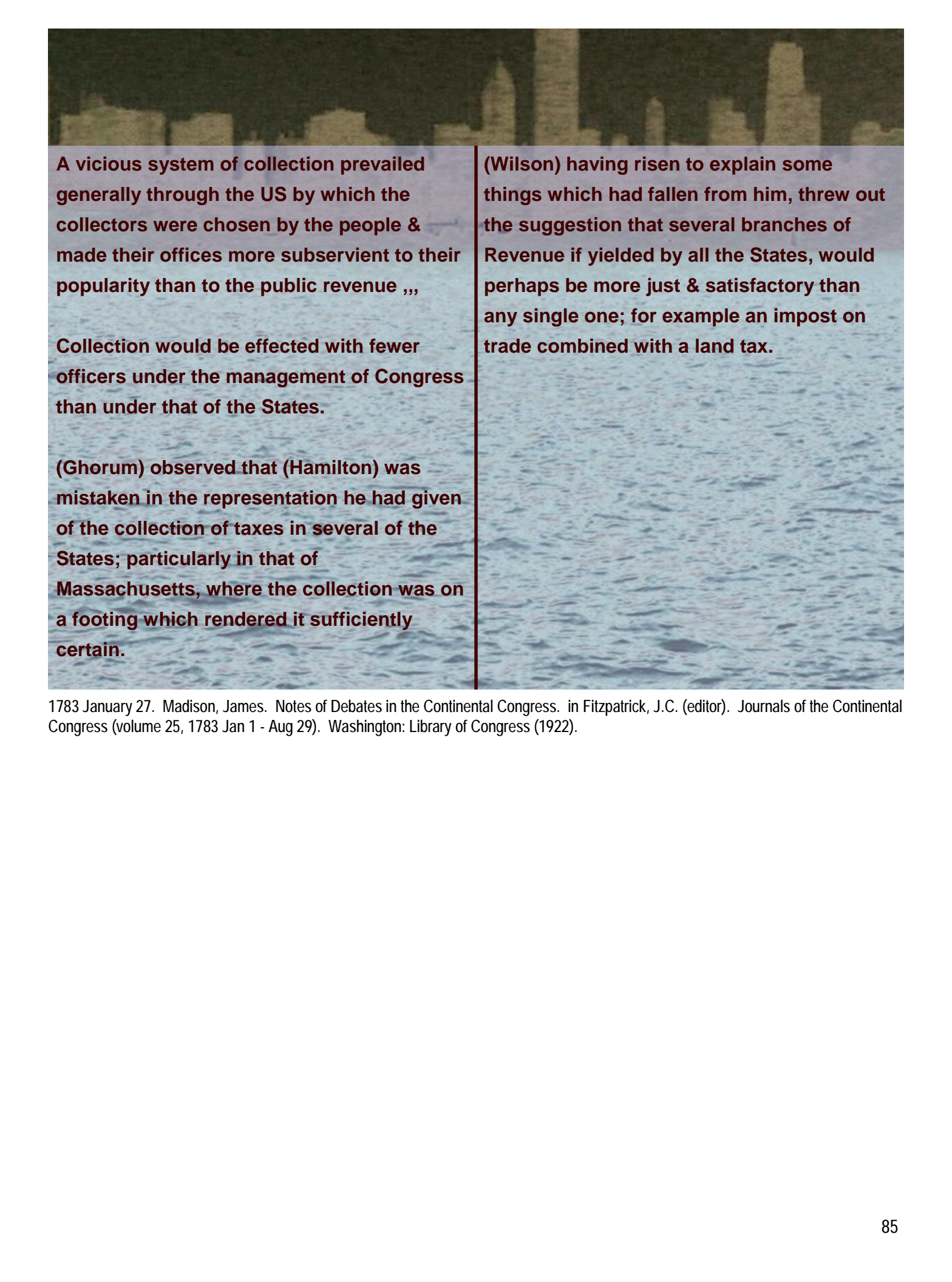
(1) Such as would extend generally and uniformly throughout the US., and wd. be collected under the authority of Congs. ..

(2) such as might be established separately within each State, and might consist of any objects which were chosen by the States, and which might be collected either under the authority of the States or of Congs.

Funds of the 1st. kind he contended were preferable, being more simple, more certain and more economical.

The quotas laid down in the Confederation were extremely complicated and the States according to the secd. plan wd. probably retain the collection of the revenue ...

1783 January 27. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



A vicious system of collection prevailed generally through the US by which the collectors were chosen by the people & made their offices more subservient to their popularity than to the public revenue ,,,

Collection would be effected with fewer officers under the management of Congress than under that of the States.

(Ghorum) observed that (Hamilton) was mistaken in the representation he had given of the collection of taxes in several of the States; particularly in that of Massachusetts, where the collection was on a footing which rendered it sufficiently certain.

(Wilson) having risen to explain some things which had fallen from him, threw out the suggestion that several branches of Revenue if yielded by all the States, would perhaps be more just & satisfactory than any single one; for example an impost on trade combined with a land tax.

1783 January 27. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

(Dyer) expressed a strong dislike to a Collection by officers appointed under Congress & supposed the States would never be brought to consent to it.

(Ramsay) was decidedly in favor of the proposition.

Justice, he said, entitled those who had lent their money & services to the U.S. to look to them for payment.

If general and certain revenues were not provided, the consequence wd. be that the army & public Creditors would have soon to look to their respective States only for satisfaction ...

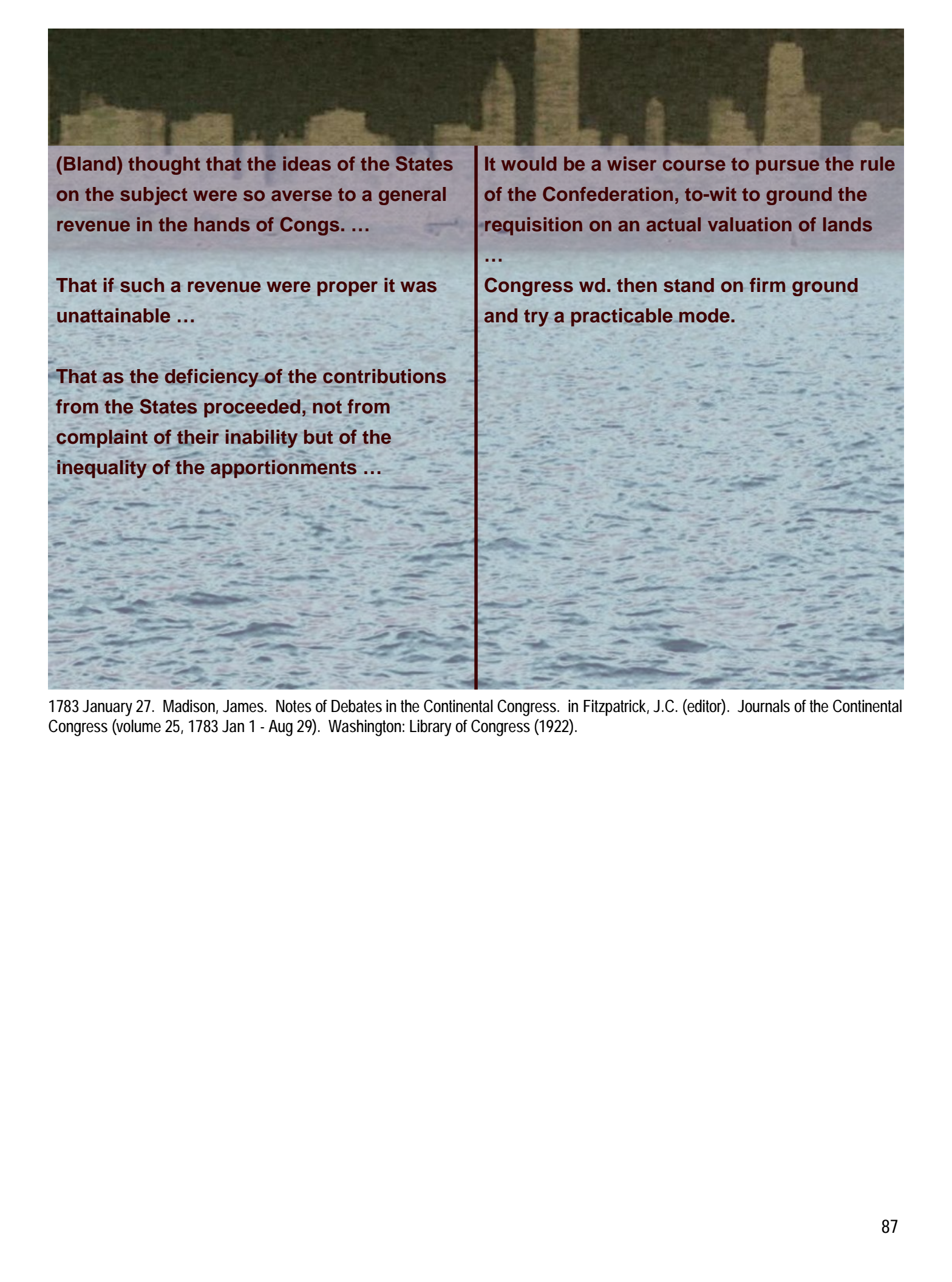
The burden in this case wd. fall unequally on the States ...

Rivalships relative to trade wd. impede a regular impost & would produce confusion amg. the States ...

Some of the States would never make of themselves provision for half pay and that the army wd. be so far defrauded of the rewards stipulated to them by Congress ...

... that altho it might be uncertain whether the States wd. accede to plans founded on ye. proposition before the house, yet as Congress was convinced of its truth & importance it was their duty to make the experiment.

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(Bland) thought that the ideas of the States on the subject were so averse to a general revenue in the hands of Congs. ...

That if such a revenue were proper it was unattainable ...

That as the deficiency of the contributions from the States proceeded, not from complaint of their inability but of the inequality of the apportionments ...

It would be a wiser course to pursue the rule of the Confederation, to-wit to ground the requisition on an actual valuation of lands

...

Congress wd. then stand on firm ground and try a practicable mode.

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The subject yesterday under discussion was resumed.

(Wolcott) called for a division of the question (because) he did not like the words "to be collected by Congress."

(Wilson) considered this mode of collection essential to the idea of a general revenue.

Without it the revenue would depend entirely on the punctuality energy & unanimity of the States, the want of which led to the present consideration.

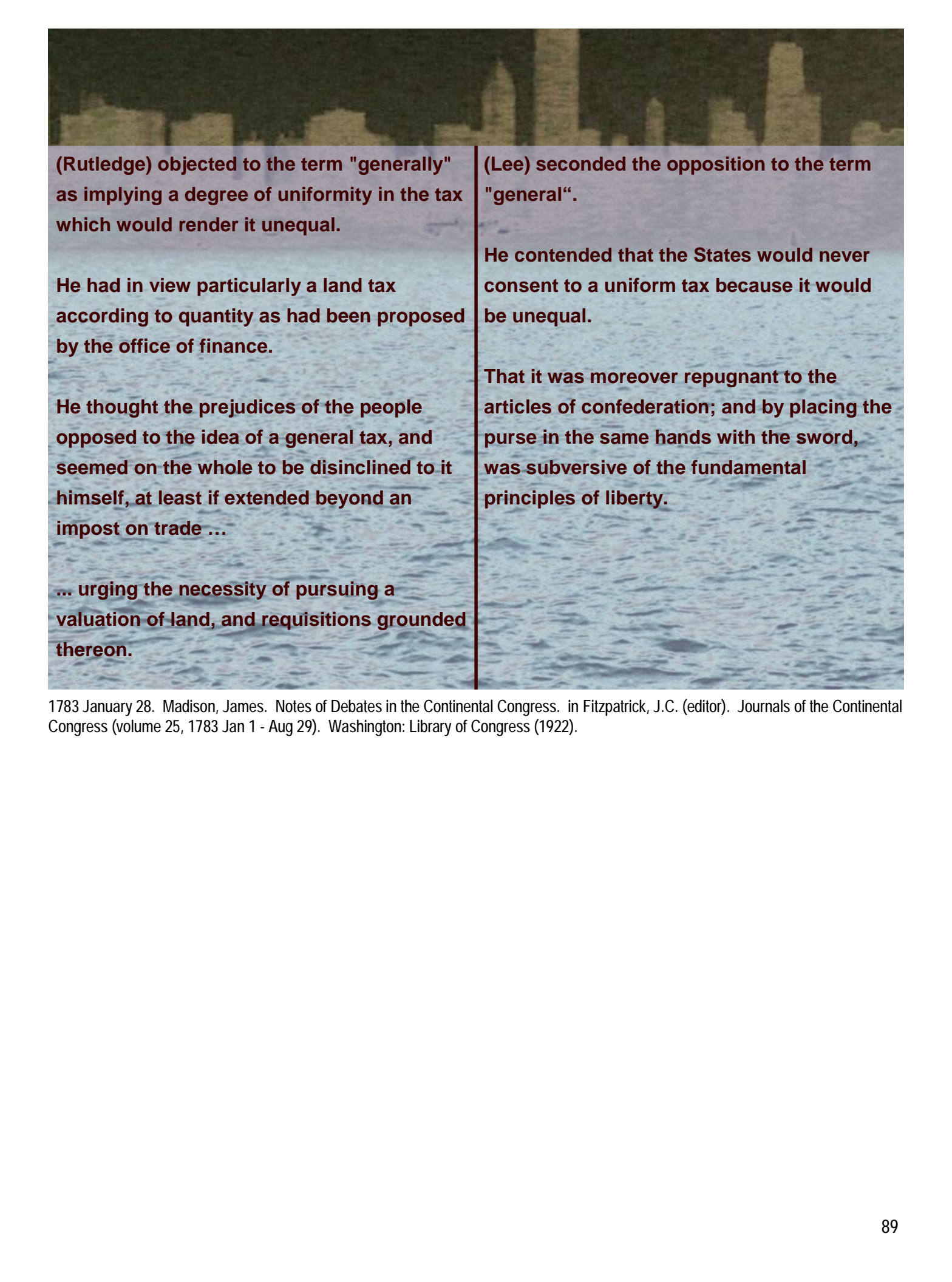
(Hamilton) was strenuously of the same opinion.

(Fitzsimmons) informed Congress that the Legislature of Pennsylvania had, at their last meeting, been dissuaded from appropriating their revenue to the payment of their own Citizens Creditors of the US instead of remitting it to the Continental treasury.

On the motion (of Madison), the whole proposition was new-modelle.

It is the opinion of congress that the establishment of permanent & adequate funds to operate generally throughout the US is indispensably necessary for doing complete justice to the Creditors of the US, for restoring public credit & for providing for the future exigencies of the war.

1783 January 28. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



(Rutledge) objected to the term "generally" as implying a degree of uniformity in the tax which would render it unequal.

He had in view particularly a land tax according to quantity as had been proposed by the office of finance.

He thought the prejudices of the people opposed to the idea of a general tax, and seemed on the whole to be disinclined to it himself, at least if extended beyond an impost on trade ...

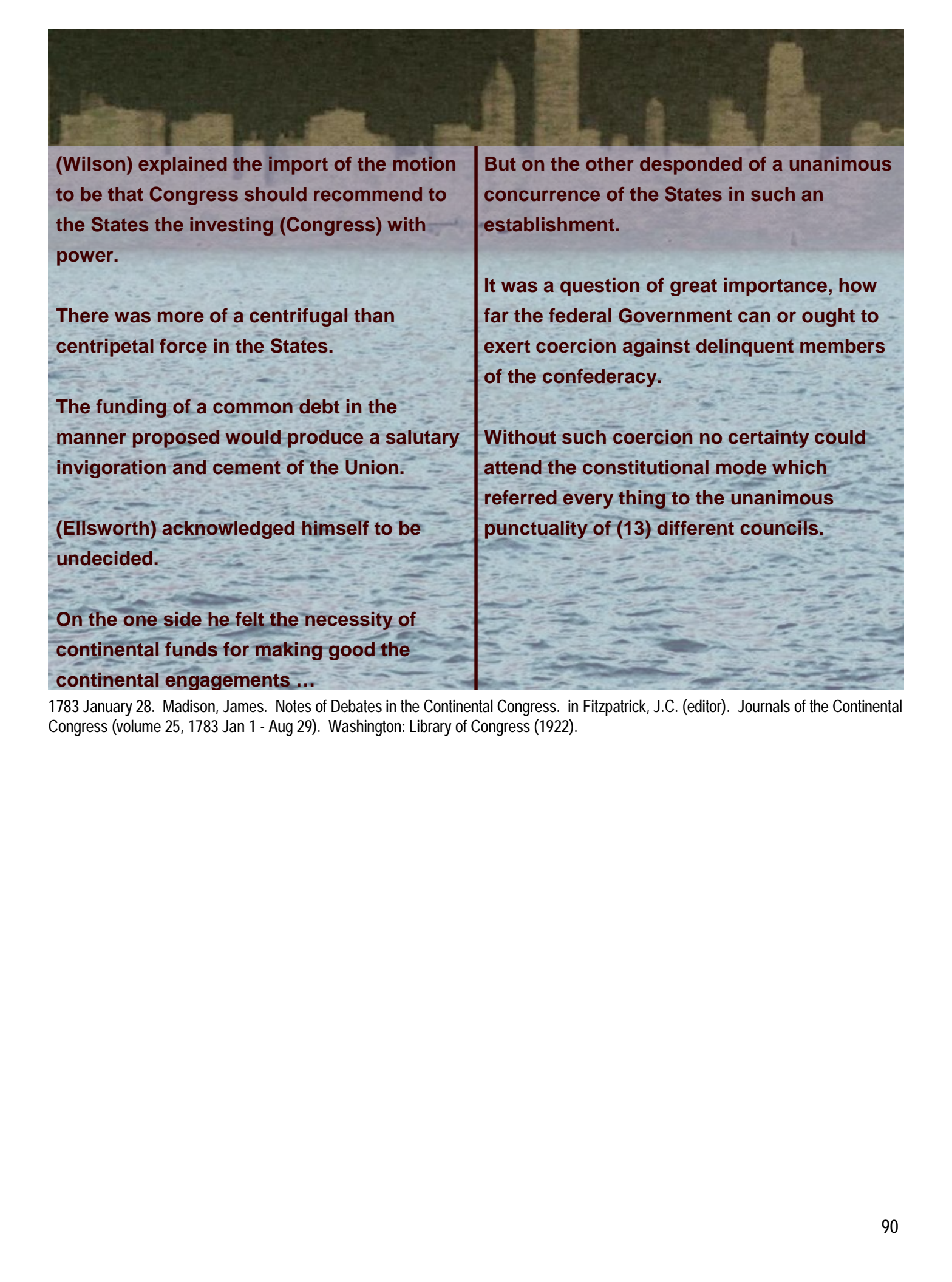
... urging the necessity of pursuing a valuation of land, and requisitions grounded thereon.

(Lee) seconded the opposition to the term "general".

He contended that the States would never consent to a uniform tax because it would be unequal.

That it was moreover repugnant to the articles of confederation; and by placing the purse in the same hands with the sword, was subversive of the fundamental principles of liberty.

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(Wilson) explained the import of the motion to be that Congress should recommend to the States the investing (Congress) with power.

There was more of a centrifugal than centripetal force in the States.

The funding of a common debt in the manner proposed would produce a salutary invigoration and cement of the Union.

(Ellsworth) acknowledged himself to be undecided.

On the one side he felt the necessity of continental funds for making good the continental engagements ...

But on the other desponded of a unanimous concurrence of the States in such an establishment.

It was a question of great importance, how far the federal Government can or ought to exert coercion against delinquent members of the confederacy.

Without such coercion no certainty could attend the constitutional mode which referred every thing to the unanimous punctuality of (13) different councils.

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(Ellsworth), considering a continental revenue unattainable and periodical requisitions inadequate, was inclined to make a trial of the middle mode of permanent State funds recommended by Congress and appropriated to the discharge of the common debt.

(Hamilton) dwelt long on the inefficacy of State funds.

He signified that as the energy of the federal Government was evidently short of the degree necessary for pervading and uniting the States, it was expedient to introduce the influence of officers deriving their emoluments from & consequently interested in supporting the power of Congress.

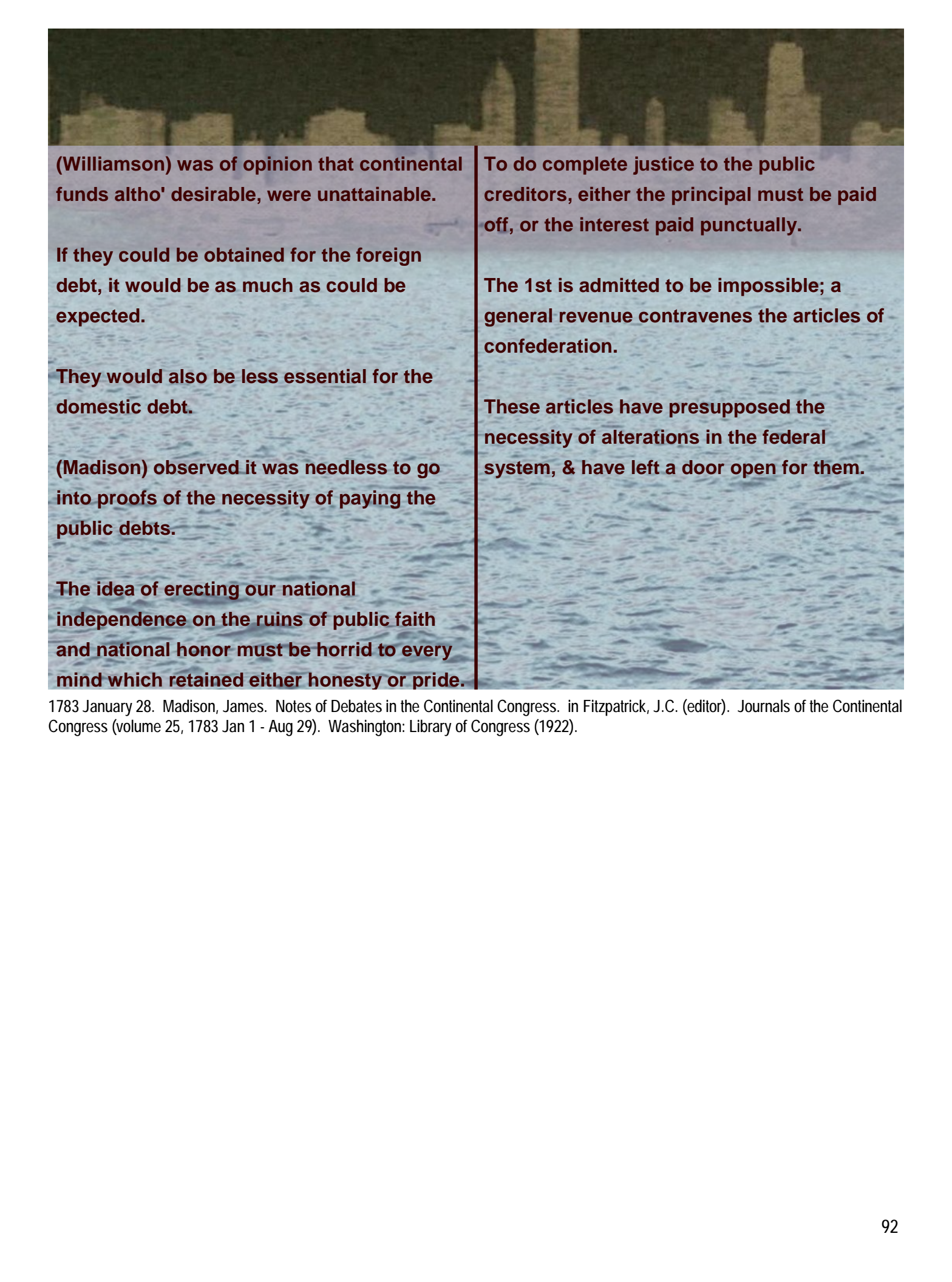
[Note in manuscript: This remark was imprudent & injurious to the cause.

[This influence was the very source of jealousy which rendered the States averse to a revenue under the collection as well as appropriation of Congress.

[All the members who concurred in any degree with the States in this jealousy smiled at the disclosure.

[(Bland & Lee) took notice in private conversation, that (Hamilton) had let out the secret.]

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(Williamson) was of opinion that continental funds altho' desirable, were unattainable.

If they could be obtained for the foreign debt, it would be as much as could be expected.

They would also be less essential for the domestic debt.

(Madison) observed it was needless to go into proofs of the necessity of paying the public debts.

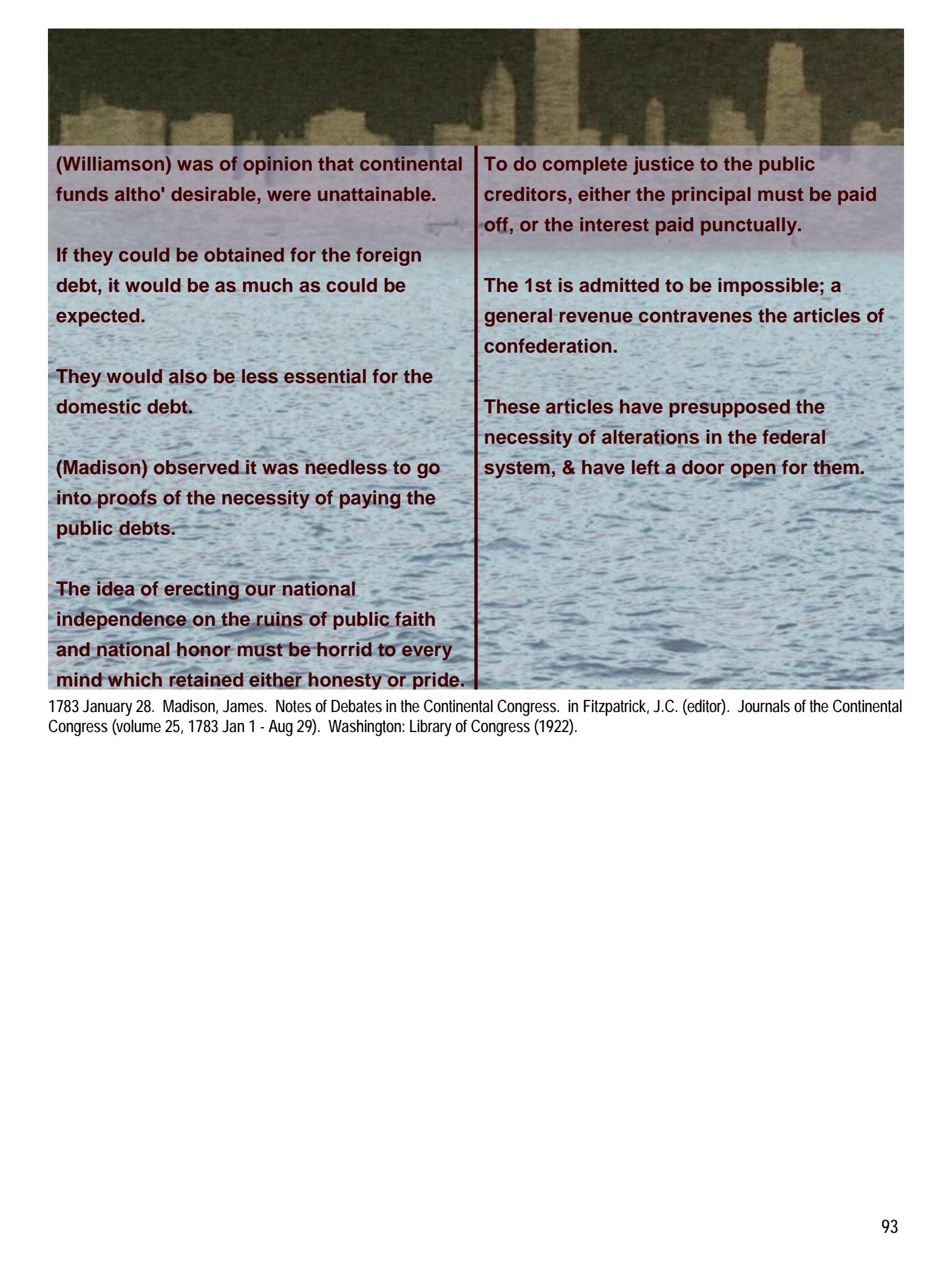
The idea of erecting our national independence on the ruins of public faith and national honor must be horrid to every mind which retained either honesty or pride.

To do complete justice to the public creditors, either the principal must be paid off, or the interest paid punctually.

The 1st is admitted to be impossible; a general revenue contravenes the articles of confederation.

These articles have presupposed the necessity of alterations in the federal system, & have left a door open for them.

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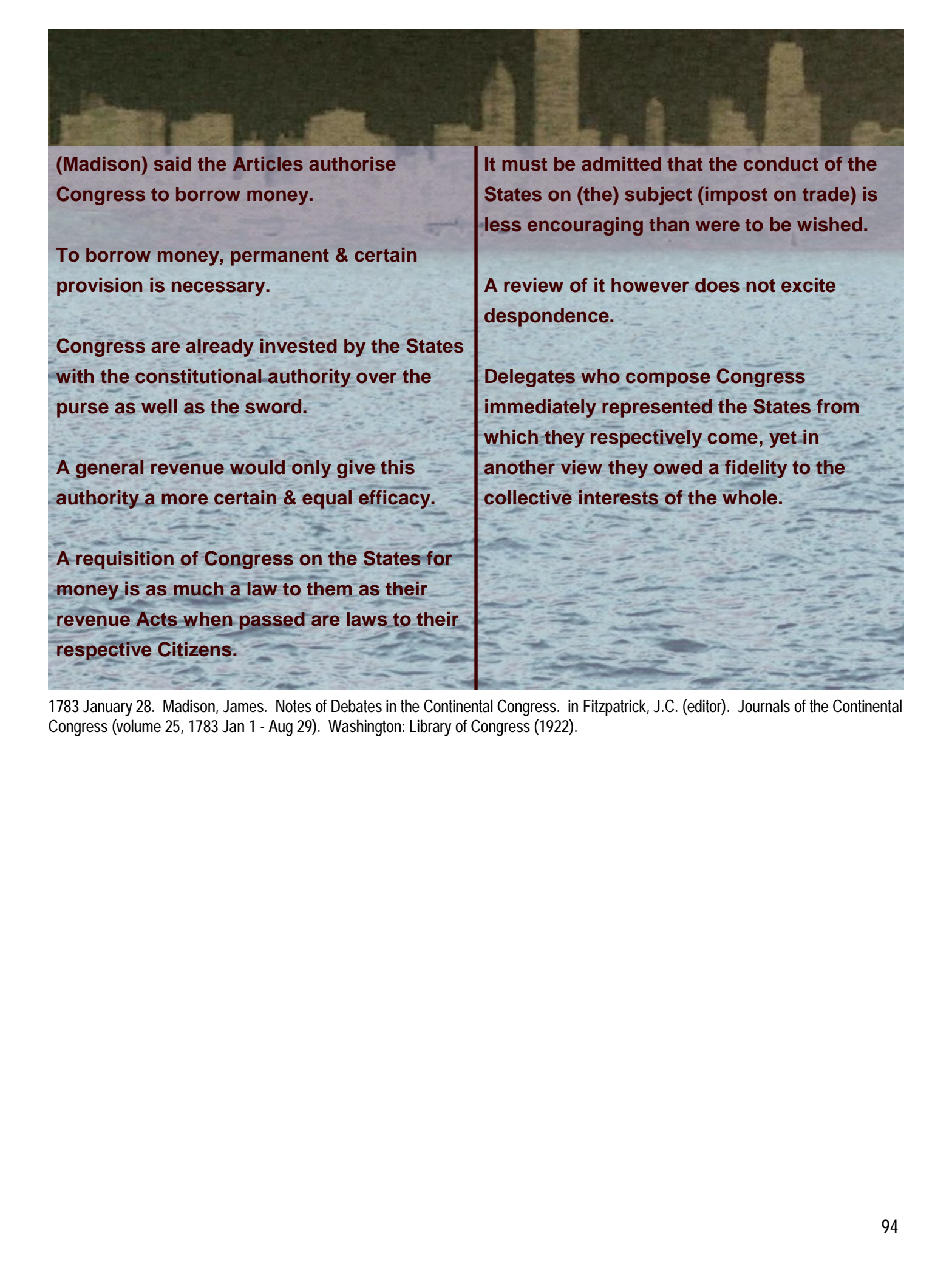
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(Madison) said the Articles authorise Congress to borrow money.

To borrow money, permanent & certain provision is necessary.

Congress are already invested by the States with the constitutional authority over the purse as well as the sword.

A general revenue would only give this authority a more certain & equal efficacy.

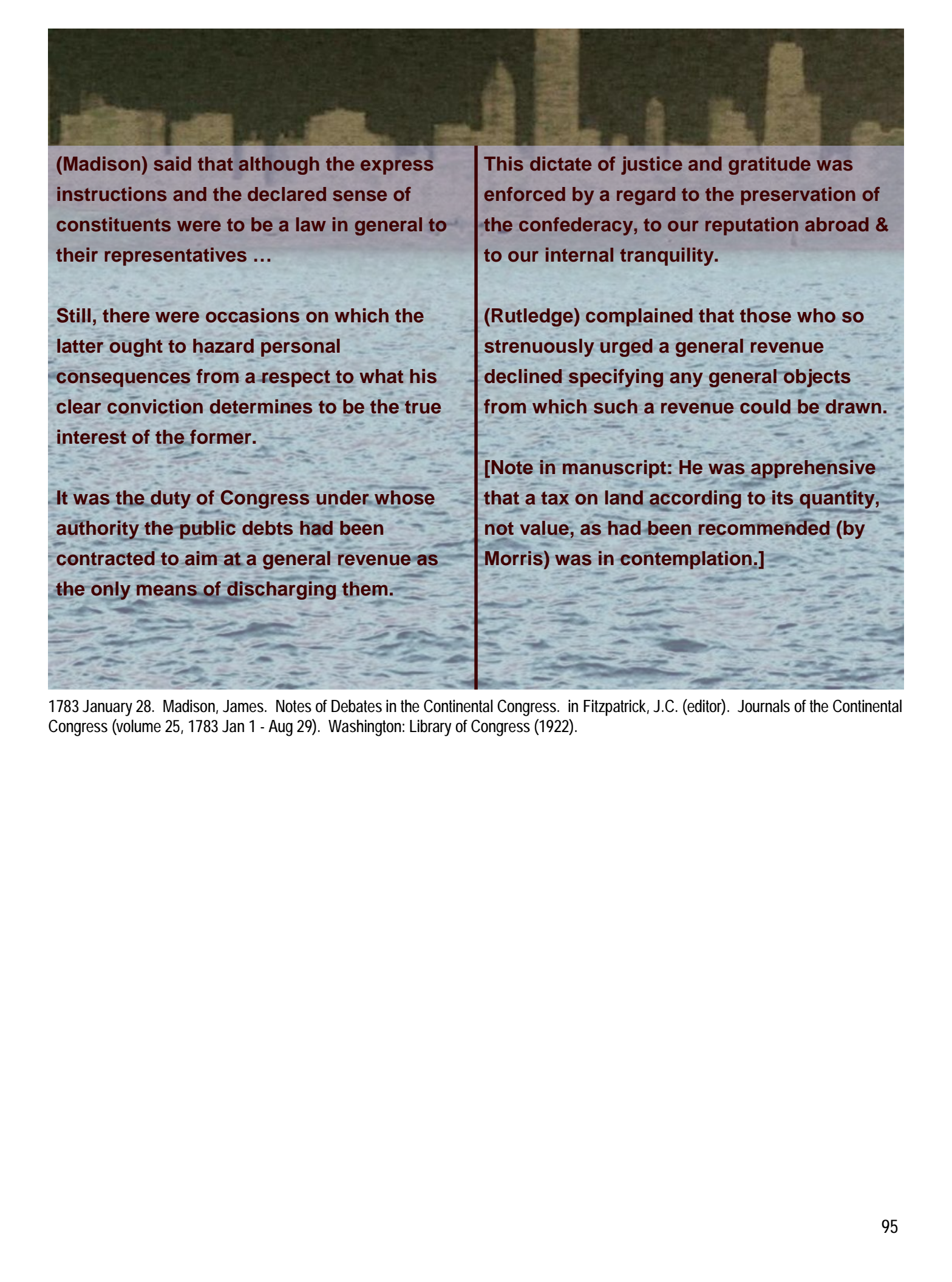
A requisition of Congress on the States for money is as much a law to them as their revenue Acts when passed are laws to their respective Citizens.

It must be admitted that the conduct of the States on (the) subject (impost on trade) is less encouraging than were to be wished.

A review of it however does not excite despondence.

Delegates who compose Congress immediately represented the States from which they respectively come, yet in another view they owed a fidelity to the collective interests of the whole.

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(Madison) said that although the express instructions and the declared sense of constituents were to be a law in general to their representatives ...

Still, there were occasions on which the latter ought to hazard personal consequences from a respect to what his clear conviction determines to be the true interest of the former.

It was the duty of Congress under whose authority the public debts had been contracted to aim at a general revenue as the only means of discharging them.

This dictate of justice and gratitude was enforced by a regard to the preservation of the confederacy, to our reputation abroad & to our internal tranquility.

(Rutledge) complained that those who so strenuously urged a general revenue declined specifying any general objects from which such a revenue could be drawn.

[Note in manuscript: He was apprehensive that a tax on land according to its quantity, not value, as had been recommended (by Morris) was in contemplation.]

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(Fitzsimmons) said it was a mistake to suppose that any specific plan had been preconcerted among the patrons of a general revenue.

(Wilson), with whom the motion originated, gave his assurances that it was neither the effect of preconcert with others, nor of any determinate plan matured by himself.

He had not introduced details into the debate because he thought them premature, until a general principle should be fixed.

As soon as the principle should be fixed he would, altho not furnished with any digested plan, contribute to the forming such a one.

(Rutledge) moved that the proposition be committed, that some practicable plan might be reported.

(Izard) second the motion.

(Madison) thought the commitment unnecessary.

He suggested as practicable objects of a general revenue:

- (1) impost on trade;**
- (2) poll tax under certain qualifications; and**
- (3) a land-tax (also under certain qualifications)**

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(Hamilton) suggested a house & window tax

On the motion for the commitment (6 states were in favor; 5 against) so it was lost.

(Lee) said it was a waste of time to be forming resolutions & settling principles on this subject.

Would these ever bring any money into the public treasury?

States would never agree to those plans which tended to aggrandize Congress because they were jealous of the power of Congress.

(Lee) acknowledged himself to be one of those who thought this jealousy not an unreasonable one.

No one who had ever opened a page or read a line on the subject of liberty, could be insensible to the danger of surrendering the purse into the same hands which held the sword.

The debate was suspended by an adjournment.

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Note: Hamilton's joke about a tax and windows became the law of the land in 1798 when the 4th Congress implemented a power it discovered in the provision for general taxes to tax land in the states. The law told the states to assess property by the number of windows. The assessors reported back that property owners pointed out that not all windows are the same. Congress then sent the law back to committee for revision where it sat for a generation or so. Congress did eventually pass a revised land tax law, almost certainly as an inducement to Spanish lords to annex their provinces in the south and southwest to the United States. Congress revived the window joke in the 1862 Homestead Act. The Homestead Act legitimized the claims of squatters in the various territories. It defined a claim as a window; and people who were not squatters rushed out to the territories to prop loose windows all around, so they'd have claims to legitimize when the law went into effect.

The most important point of the debates that preceded the misinterpretation of the general tax provision in the 1787 Constitution that led to the first land tax is that Congress confirmed that the power to tax land belonged to the national government. And, because the debate makes clear that the founders enacted the 1787 Constitution to transfer the power to tax imports from the states to the Congress, it follows that a new Constitution or at least an amendment was mandatory to transfer a power to tax land from the Congress to the states.

On motion of (Rutledge, seconded by Bland)

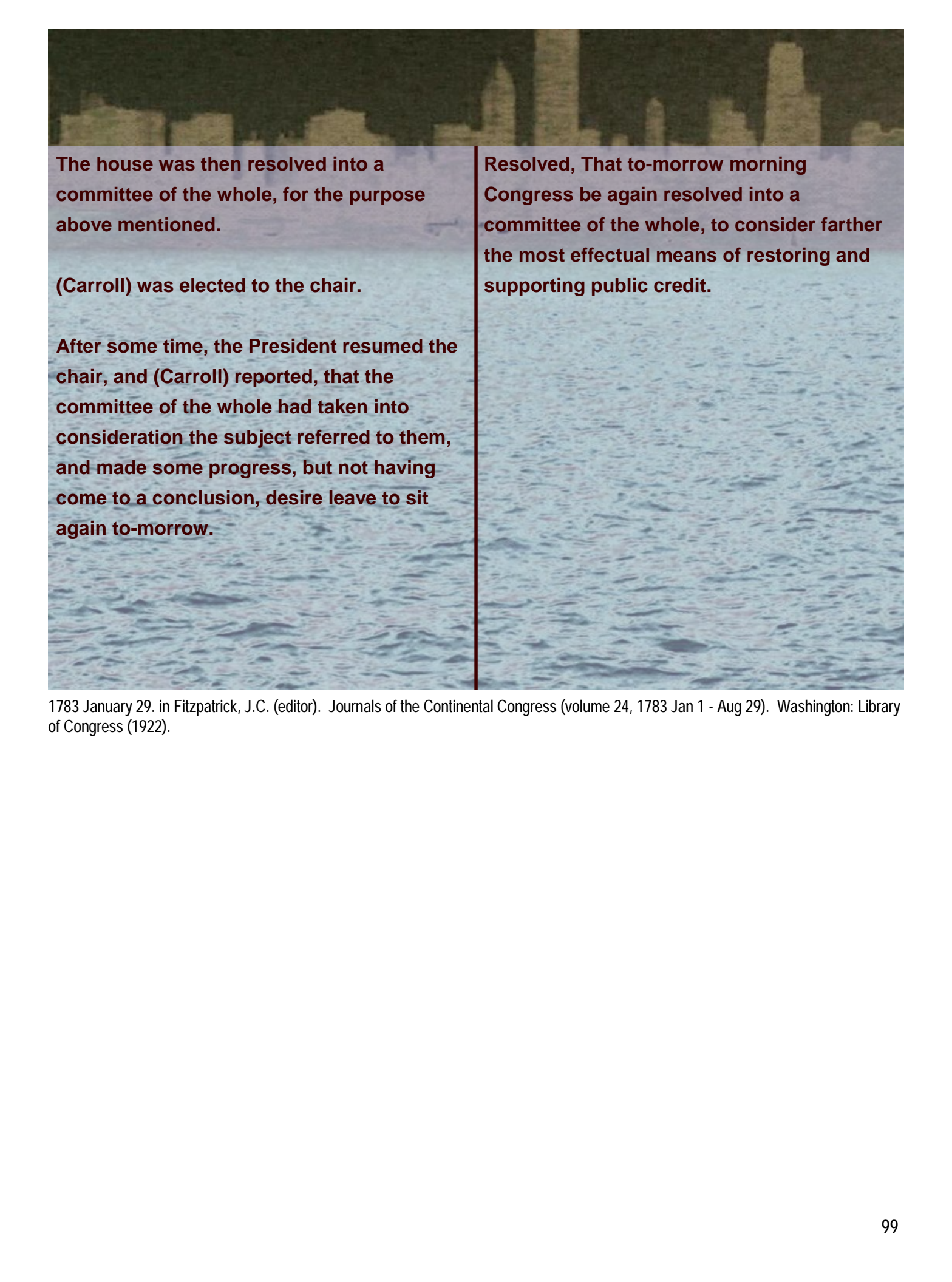
Resolved, That Congress be resolved into a committee of the whole, to consider of the most effectual means of restoring and supporting public credit; and that the motion before the house be referred to that committee.

The Comee. have taken under consideration the motion referred to them by the house, and recommend (modifications) so that the motion amended may read as follows ..

That it is the opinion of Congress that the establishment of permanent and adequate funds, on taxes or duties which shall operate generally, and on the whole in just proportions throughout the U. S. are indispensably necessary towards doing complete justice to the public creditors, for restoring public credit and for providing for the future exigencies of the war.

The Committee have likewise taken into consideration the report of the Grand Committee appointed to devise and report &c. and recommend to insert the words "All lands in such State granted to or surveyed for any purpose" after the words "value of," and the following amendment to be added to the report.

1783 January 29. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



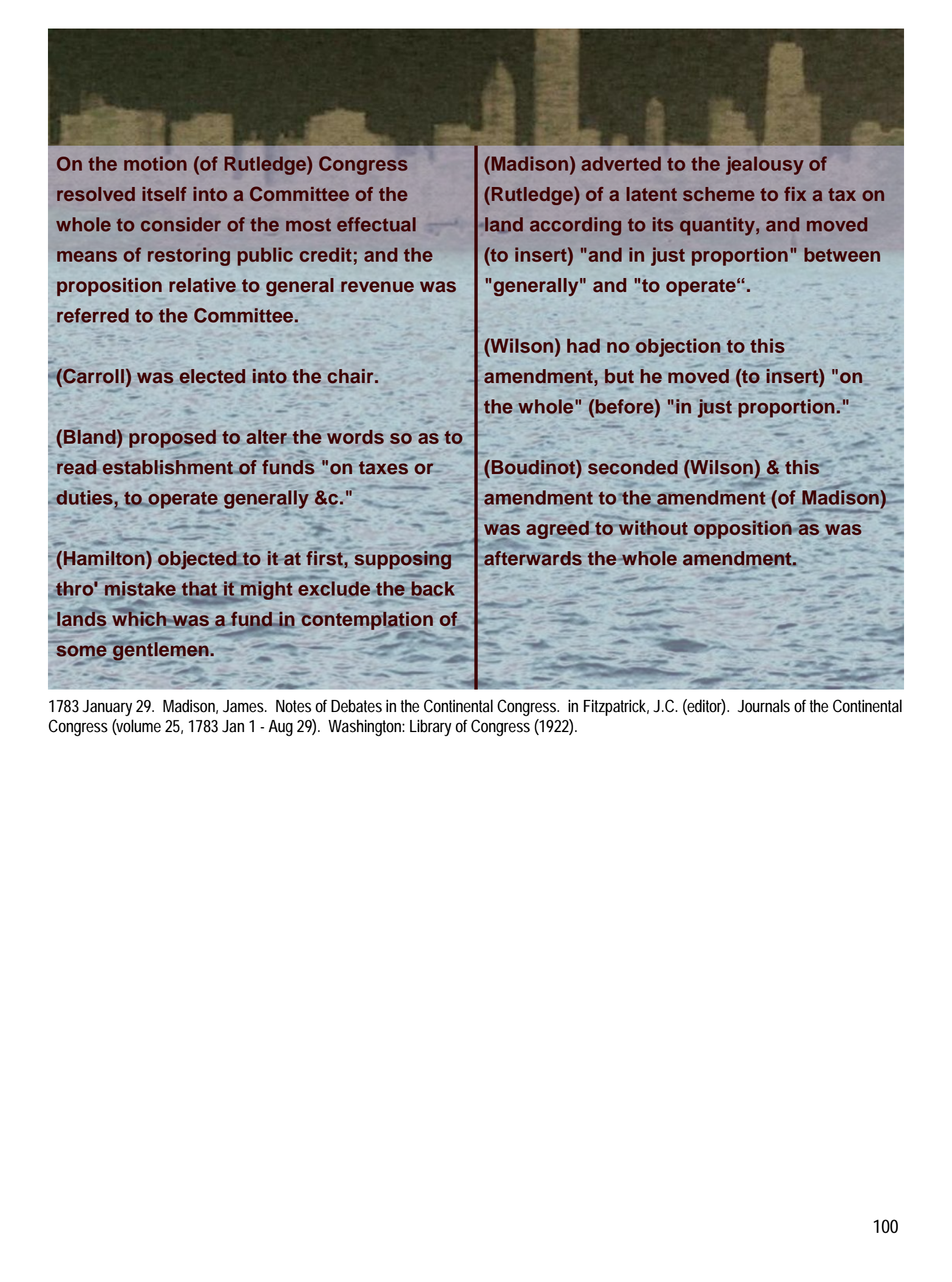
The house was then resolved into a committee of the whole, for the purpose above mentioned.

(Carroll) was elected to the chair.

After some time, the President resumed the chair, and (Carroll) reported, that the committee of the whole had taken into consideration the subject referred to them, and made some progress, but not having come to a conclusion, desire leave to sit again to-morrow.

Resolved, That to-morrow morning Congress be again resolved into a committee of the whole, to consider farther the most effectual means of restoring and supporting public credit.

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On the motion (of Rutledge) Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole to consider of the most effectual means of restoring public credit; and the proposition relative to general revenue was referred to the Committee.

(Carroll) was elected into the chair.

(Bland) proposed to alter the words so as to read establishment of funds "on taxes or duties, to operate generally &c."

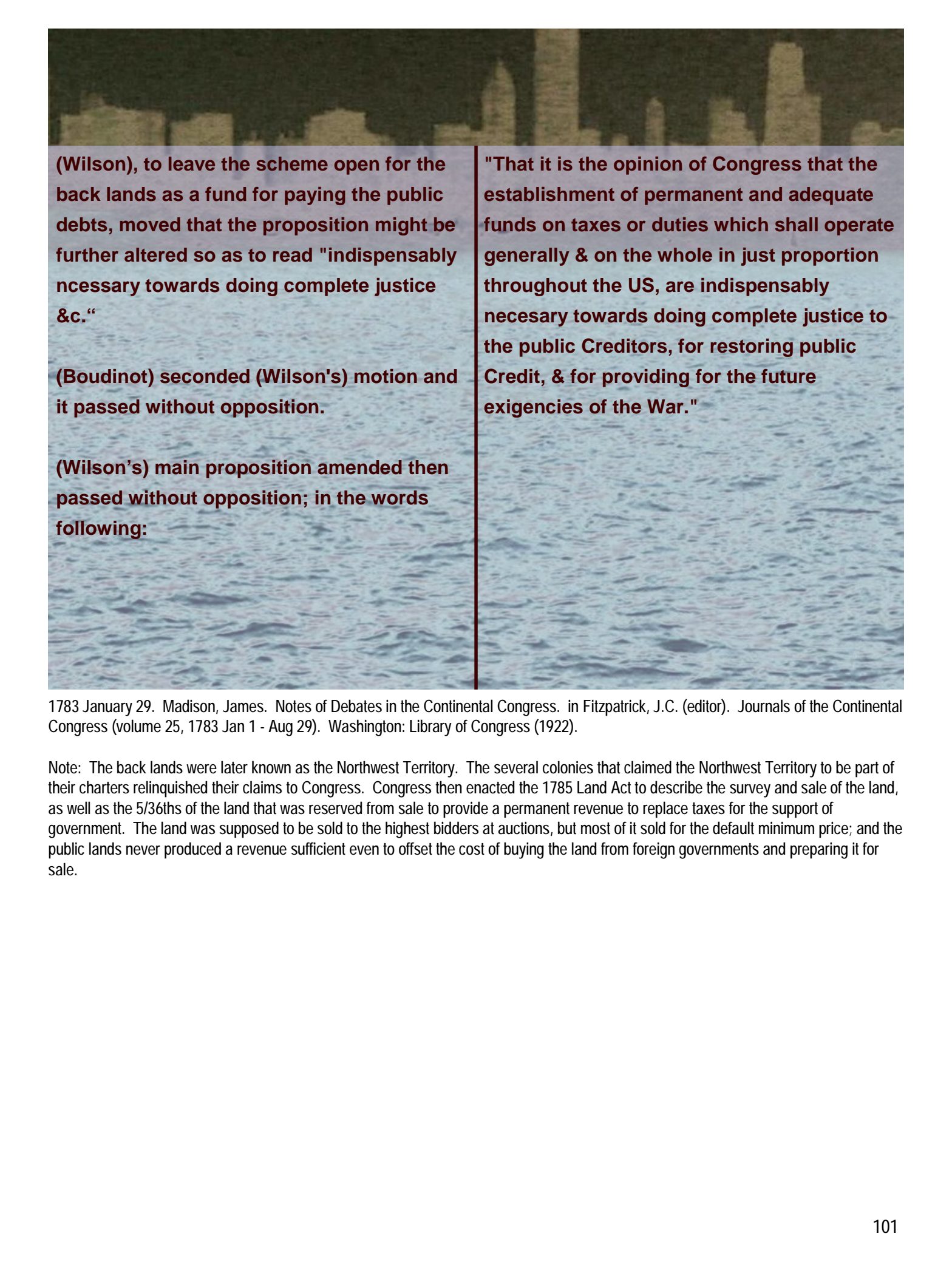
(Hamilton) objected to it at first, supposing thro' mistake that it might exclude the back lands which was a fund in contemplation of some gentlemen.

(Madison) adverted to the jealousy of (Rutledge) of a latent scheme to fix a tax on land according to its quantity, and moved (to insert) "and in just proportion" between "generally" and "to operate".

(Wilson) had no objection to this amendment, but he moved (to insert) "on the whole" (before) "in just proportion."

(Boudinot) seconded (Wilson) & this amendment to the amendment (of Madison) was agreed to without opposition as was afterwards the whole amendment.

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(Wilson), to leave the scheme open for the back lands as a fund for paying the public debts, moved that the proposition might be further altered so as to read "indispensably necessary towards doing complete justice &c."

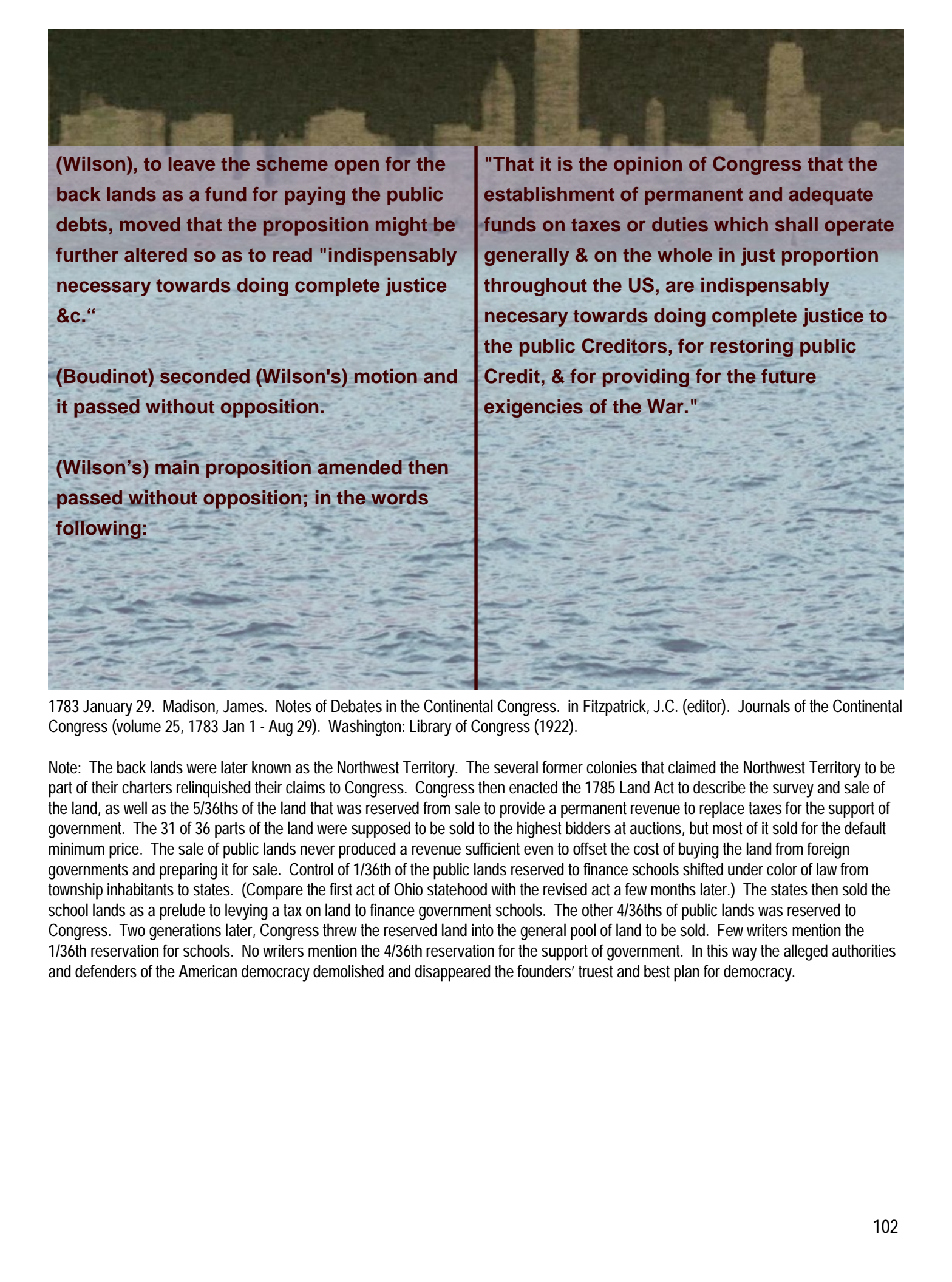
(Boudinot) seconded (Wilson's) motion and it passed without opposition.

(Wilson's) main proposition amended then passed without opposition; in the words following:

"That it is the opinion of Congress that the establishment of permanent and adequate funds on taxes or duties which shall operate generally & on the whole in just proportion throughout the US, are indispensably necessary towards doing complete justice to the public Creditors, for restoring public Credit, & for providing for the future exigencies of the War."

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Note: The back lands were later known as the Northwest Territory. The several colonies that claimed the Northwest Territory to be part of their charters relinquished their claims to Congress. Congress then enacted the 1785 Land Act to describe the survey and sale of the land, as well as the 5/36ths of the land that was reserved from sale to provide a permanent revenue to replace taxes for the support of government. The land was supposed to be sold to the highest bidders at auctions, but most of it sold for the default minimum price; and the public lands never produced a revenue sufficient even to offset the cost of buying the land from foreign governments and preparing it for sale.



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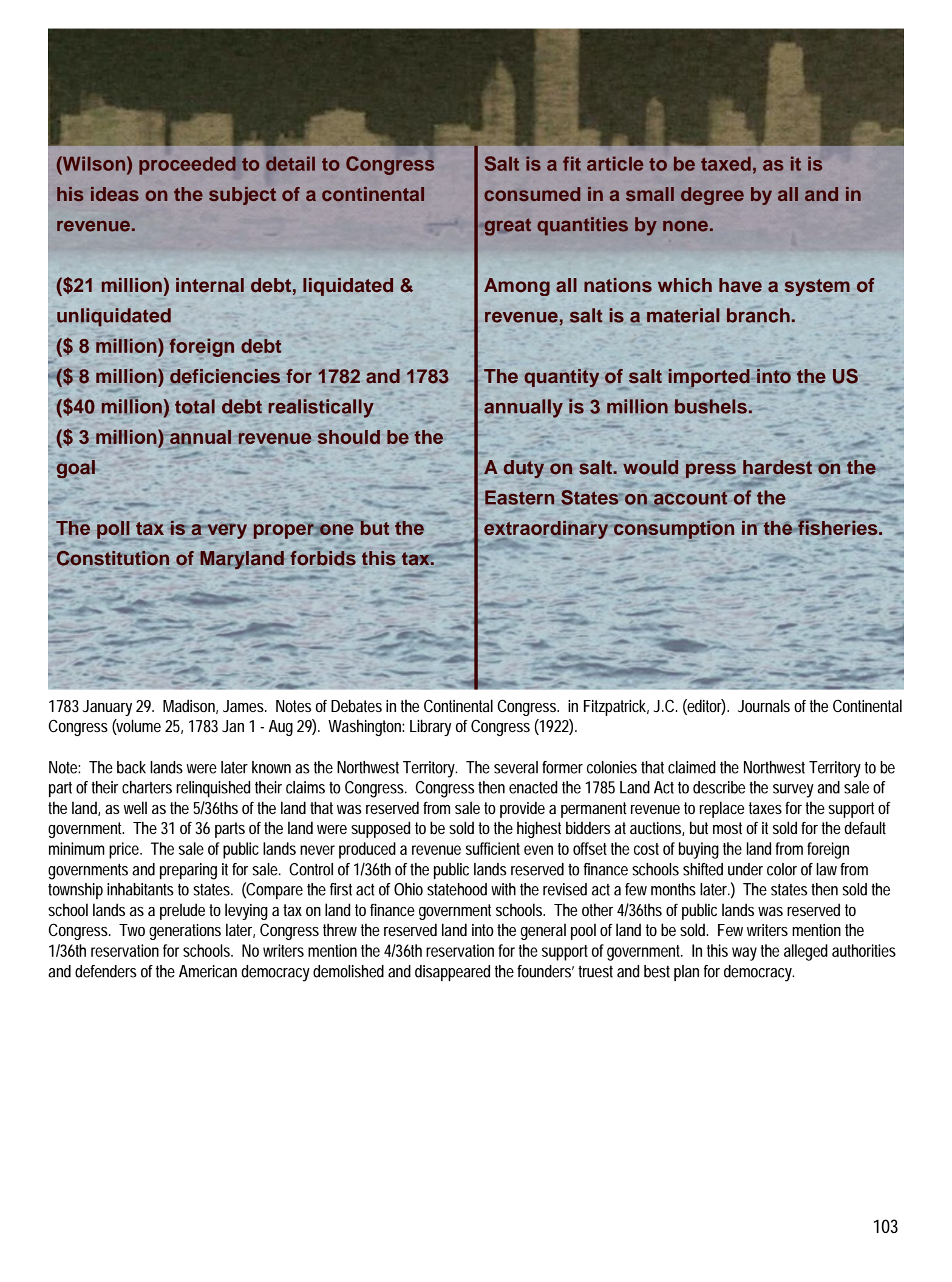
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(Wilson) proceeded to detail to Congress his ideas on the subject of a continental revenue.

**(\$21 million) internal debt, liquidated & unliquidated
(\$ 8 million) foreign debt
(\$ 8 million) deficiencies for 1782 and 1783
(\$40 million) total debt realistically
(\$ 3 million) annual revenue should be the goal**

The poll tax is a very proper one but the Constitution of Maryland forbids this tax.

Salt is a fit article to be taxed, as it is consumed in a small degree by all and in great quantities by none.

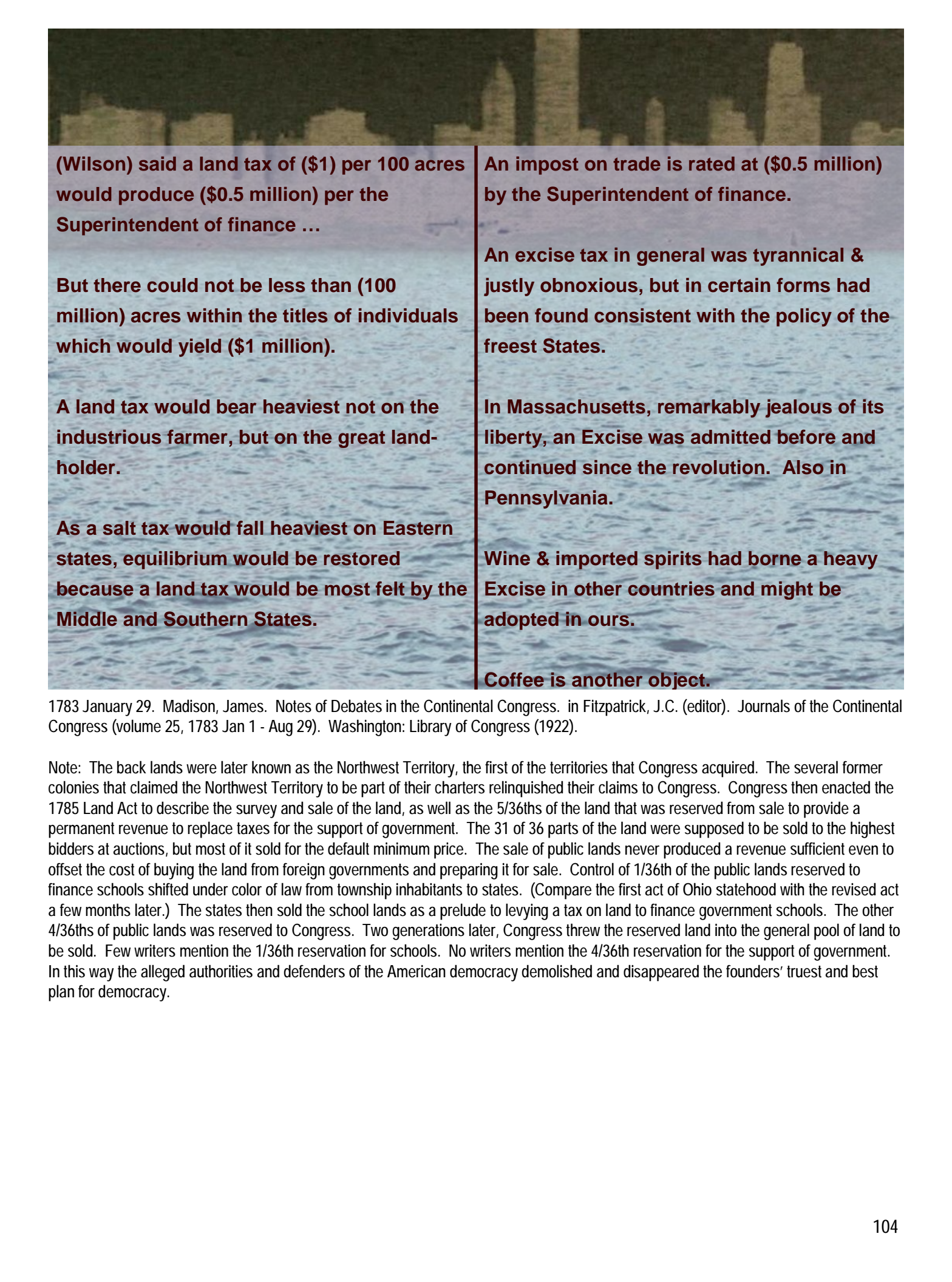
Among all nations which have a system of revenue, salt is a material branch.

The quantity of salt imported into the US annually is 3 million bushels.

A duty on salt. would press hardest on the Eastern States on account of the extraordinary consumption in the fisheries.

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(Wilson) said a land tax of (\$1) per 100 acres would produce (\$0.5 million) per the Superintendent of finance ...

But there could not be less than (100 million) acres within the titles of individuals which would yield (\$1 million).

A land tax would bear heaviest not on the industrious farmer, but on the great landholder.

As a salt tax would fall heaviest on Eastern states, equilibrium would be restored because a land tax would be most felt by the Middle and Southern States.

An impost on trade is rated at (\$0.5 million) by the Superintendent of finance.

An excise tax in general was tyrannical & justly obnoxious, but in certain forms had been found consistent with the policy of the freest States.

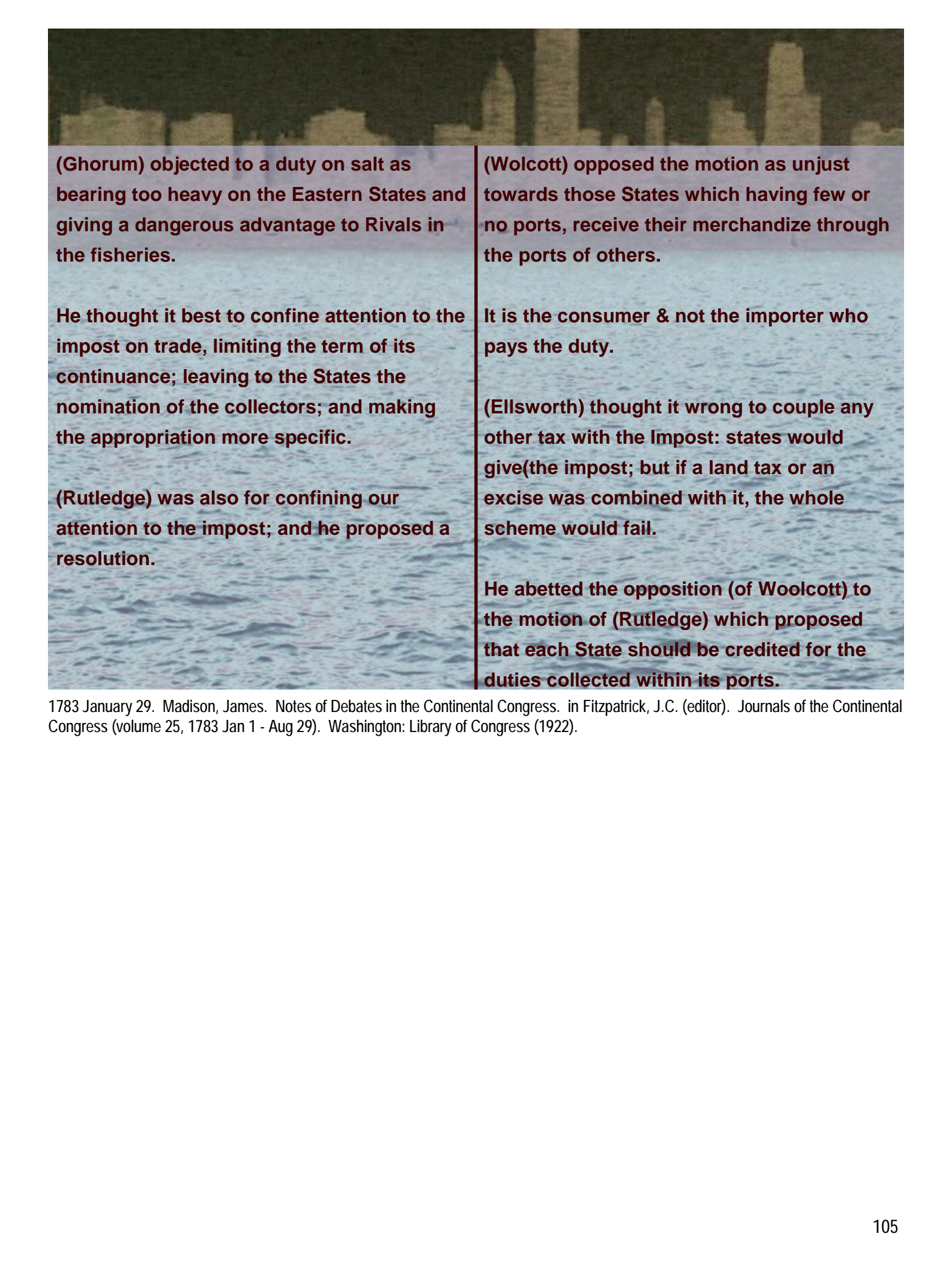
In Massachusetts, remarkably jealous of its liberty, an Excise was admitted before and continued since the revolution. Also in Pennsylvania.

Wine & imported spirits had borne a heavy Excise in other countries and might be adopted in ours.

Coffee is another object.

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Note: The back lands were later known as the Northwest Territory, the first of the territories that Congress acquired. The several former colonies that claimed the Northwest Territory to be part of their charters relinquished their claims to Congress. Congress then enacted the 1785 Land Act to describe the survey and sale of the land, as well as the 5/36ths of the land that was reserved from sale to provide a permanent revenue to replace taxes for the support of government. The 31 of 36 parts of the land were supposed to be sold to the highest bidders at auctions, but most of it sold for the default minimum price. The sale of public lands never produced a revenue sufficient even to offset the cost of buying the land from foreign governments and preparing it for sale. Control of 1/36th of the public lands reserved to finance schools shifted under color of law from township inhabitants to states. (Compare the first act of Ohio statehood with the revised act a few months later.) The states then sold the school lands as a prelude to levying a tax on land to finance government schools. The other 4/36ths of public lands was reserved to Congress. Two generations later, Congress threw the reserved land into the general pool of land to be sold. Few writers mention the 1/36th reservation for schools. No writers mention the 4/36th reservation for the support of government. In this way the alleged authorities and defenders of the American democracy demolished and disappeared the founders' truest and best plan for democracy.



(Ghorum) objected to a duty on salt as bearing too heavy on the Eastern States and giving a dangerous advantage to Rivals in the fisheries.

He thought it best to confine attention to the impost on trade, limiting the term of its continuance; leaving to the States the nomination of the collectors; and making the appropriation more specific.

(Rutledge) was also for confining our attention to the impost; and he proposed a resolution.

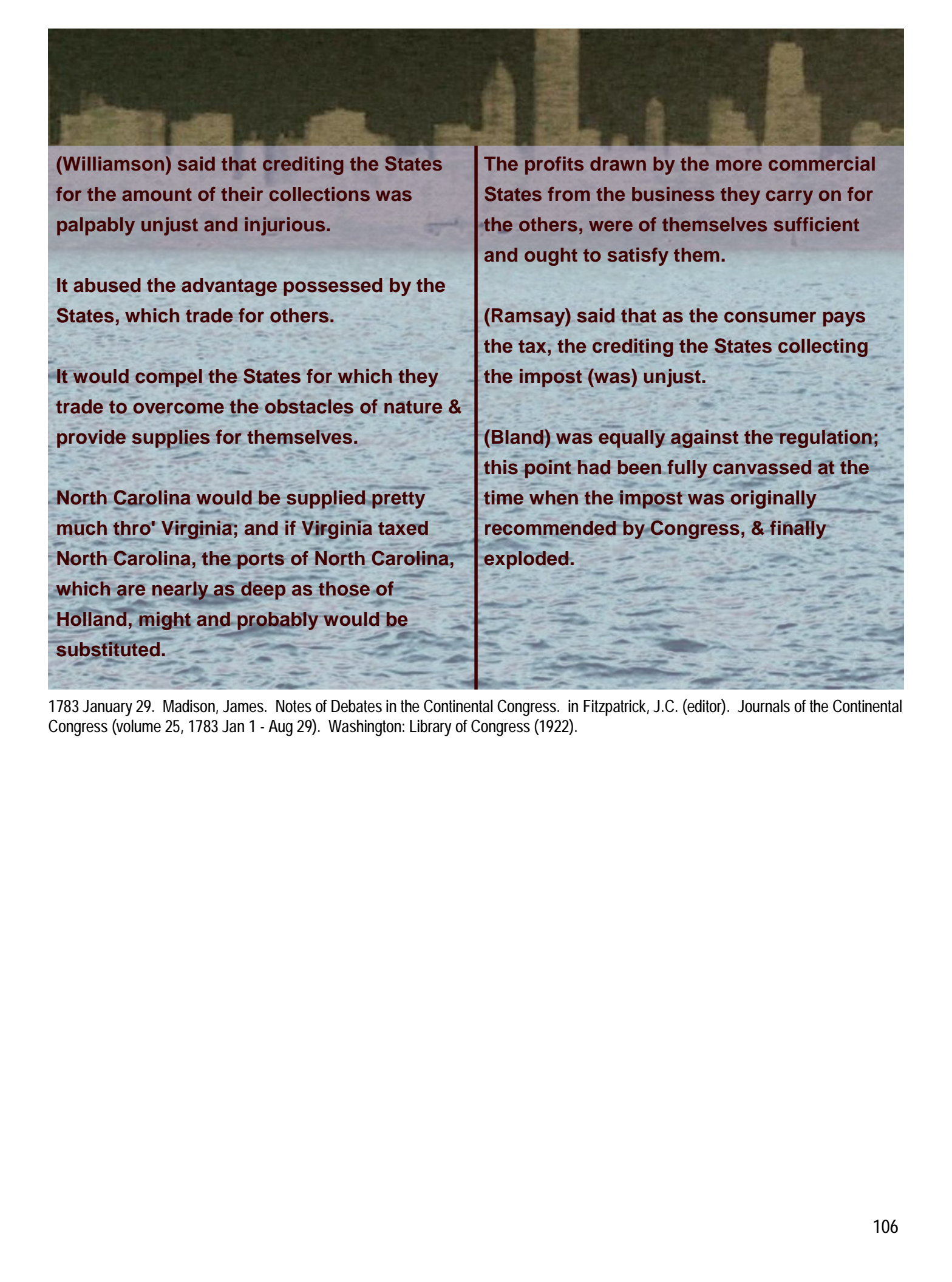
(Wolcott) opposed the motion as unjust towards those States which having few or no ports, receive their merchandize through the ports of others.

It is the consumer & not the importer who pays the duty.

(Ellsworth) thought it wrong to couple any other tax with the Impost: states would give(the impost; but if a land tax or an excise was combined with it, the whole scheme would fail.

He abetted the opposition (of Woolcott) to the motion of (Rutledge) which proposed that each State should be credited for the duties collected within its ports.

1783 January 29. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



(Williamson) said that crediting the States for the amount of their collections was palpably unjust and injurious.

It abused the advantage possessed by the States, which trade for others.

It would compel the States for which they trade to overcome the obstacles of nature & provide supplies for themselves.

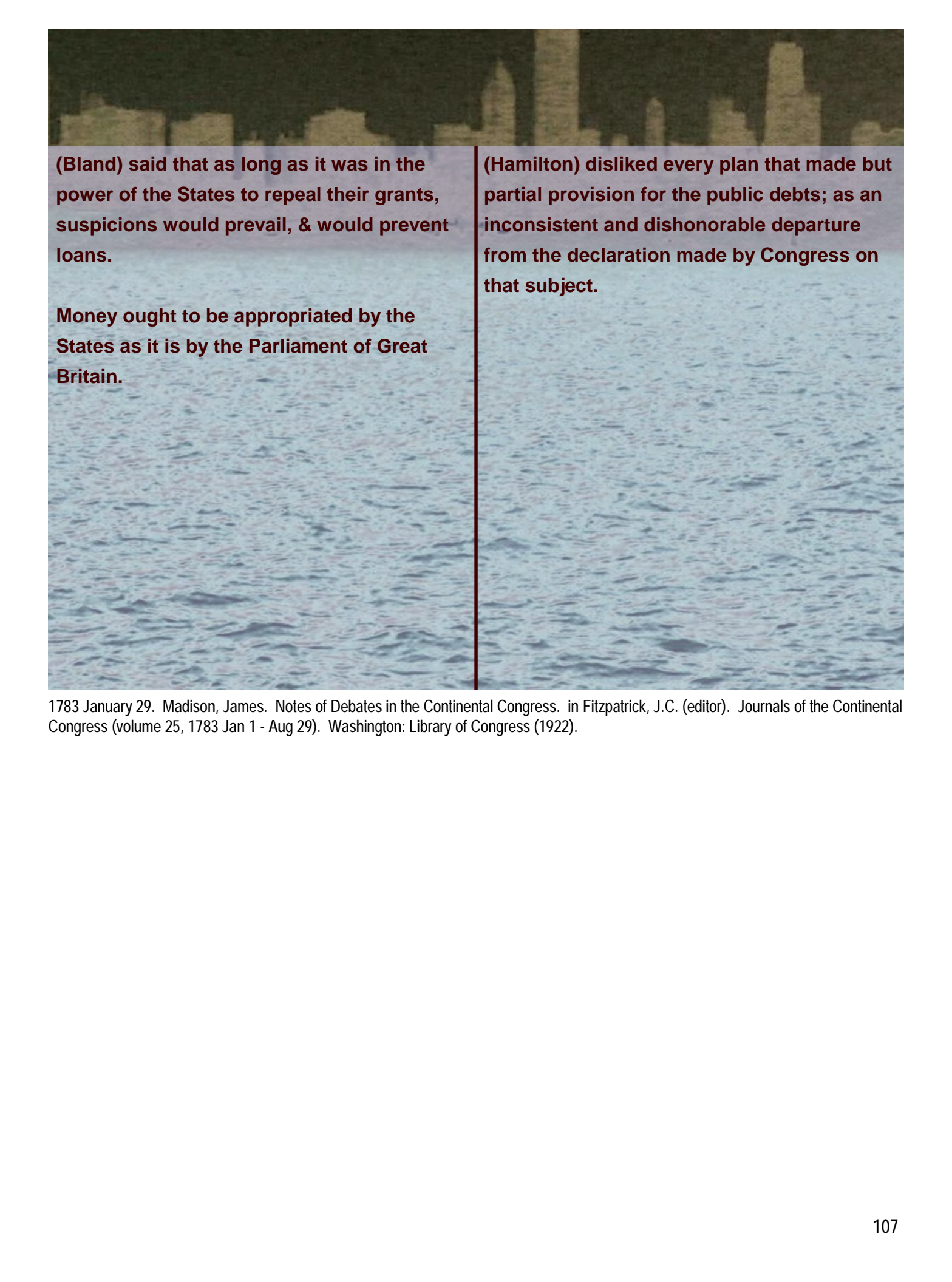
North Carolina would be supplied pretty much thro' Virginia; and if Virginia taxed North Carolina, the ports of North Carolina, which are nearly as deep as those of Holland, might and probably would be substituted.

The profits drawn by the more commercial States from the business they carry on for the others, were of themselves sufficient and ought to satisfy them.

(Ramsay) said that as the consumer pays the tax, the crediting the States collecting the impost (was) unjust.

(Bland) was equally against the regulation; this point had been fully canvassed at the time when the impost was originally recommended by Congress, & finally exploded.

1783 January 29. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

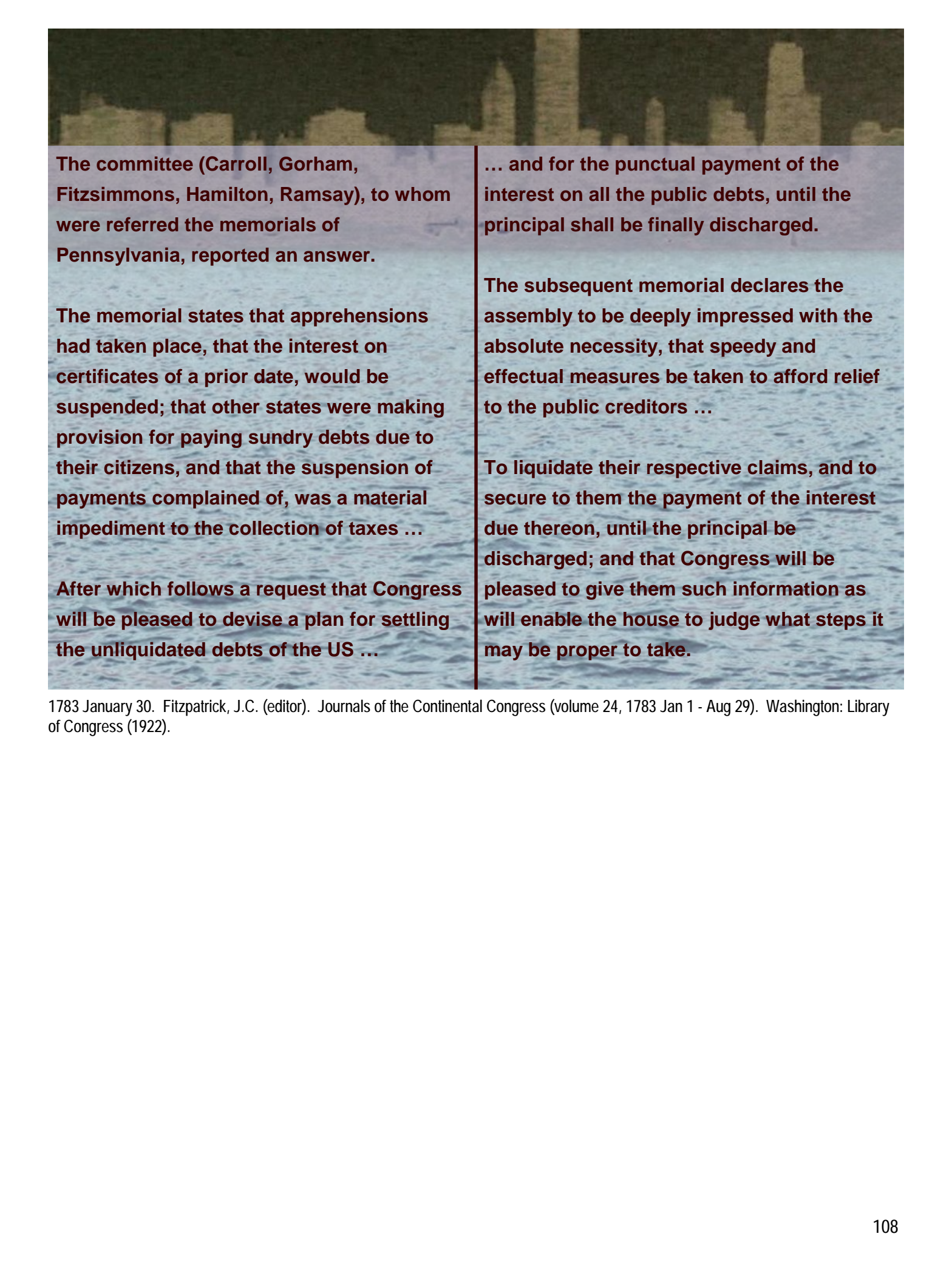


(Bland) said that as long as it was in the power of the States to repeal their grants, suspicions would prevail, & would prevent loans.

Money ought to be appropriated by the States as it is by the Parliament of Great Britain.

(Hamilton) disliked every plan that made but partial provision for the public debts; as an inconsistent and dishonorable departure from the declaration made by Congress on that subject.

1783 January 29. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



The committee (Carroll, Gorham, Fitzsimmons, Hamilton, Ramsay), to whom were referred the memorials of Pennsylvania, reported an answer.

The memorial states that apprehensions had taken place, that the interest on certificates of a prior date, would be suspended; that other states were making provision for paying sundry debts due to their citizens, and that the suspension of payments complained of, was a material impediment to the collection of taxes ...

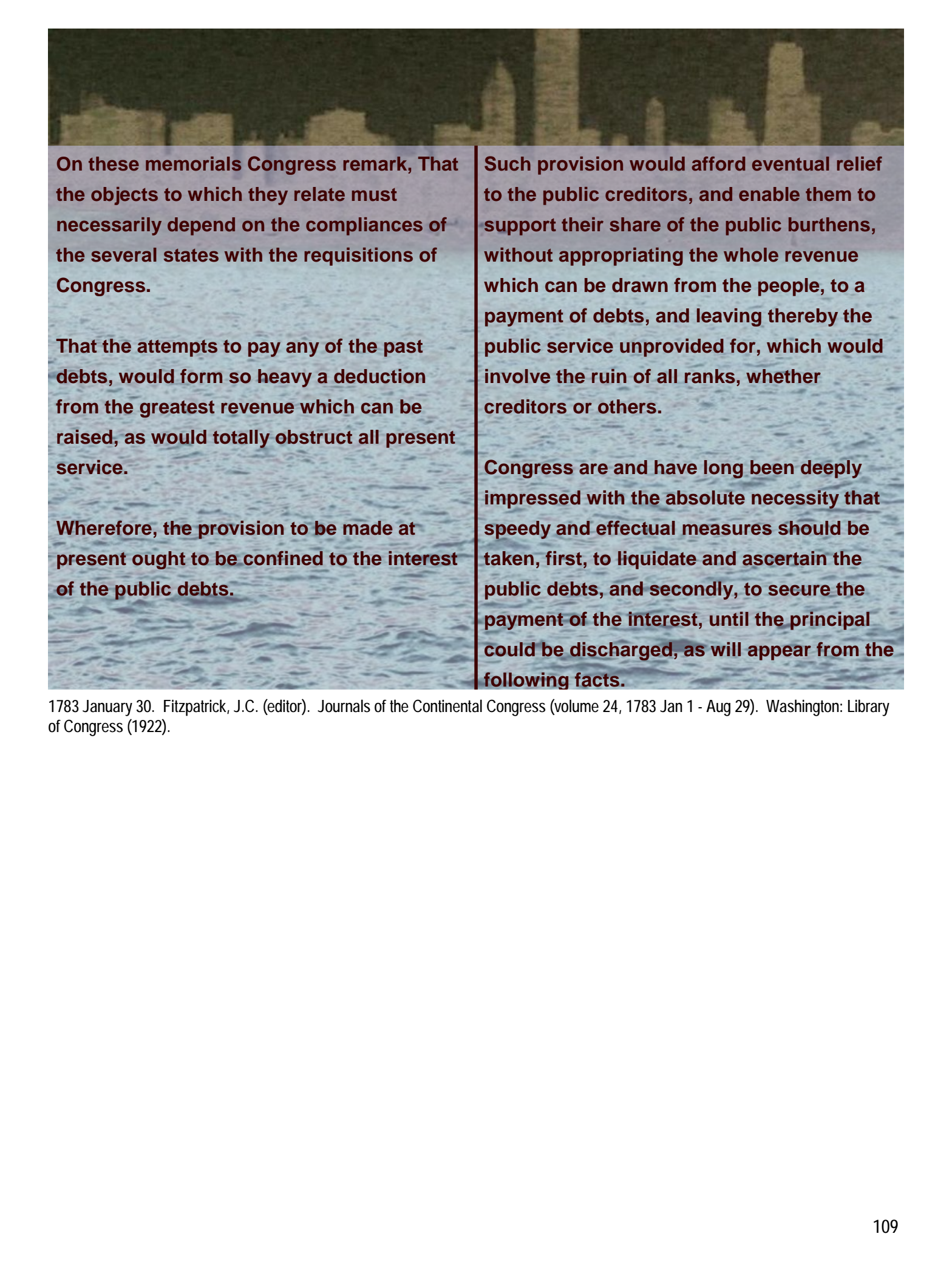
After which follows a request that Congress will be pleased to devise a plan for settling the unliquidated debts of the US ...

... and for the punctual payment of the interest on all the public debts, until the principal shall be finally discharged.

The subsequent memorial declares the assembly to be deeply impressed with the absolute necessity, that speedy and effectual measures be taken to afford relief to the public creditors ...

To liquidate their respective claims, and to secure to them the payment of the interest due thereon, until the principal be discharged; and that Congress will be pleased to give them such information as will enable the house to judge what steps it may be proper to take.

1783 January 30. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



On these memorials Congress remark, That the objects to which they relate must necessarily depend on the compliances of the several states with the requisitions of Congress.

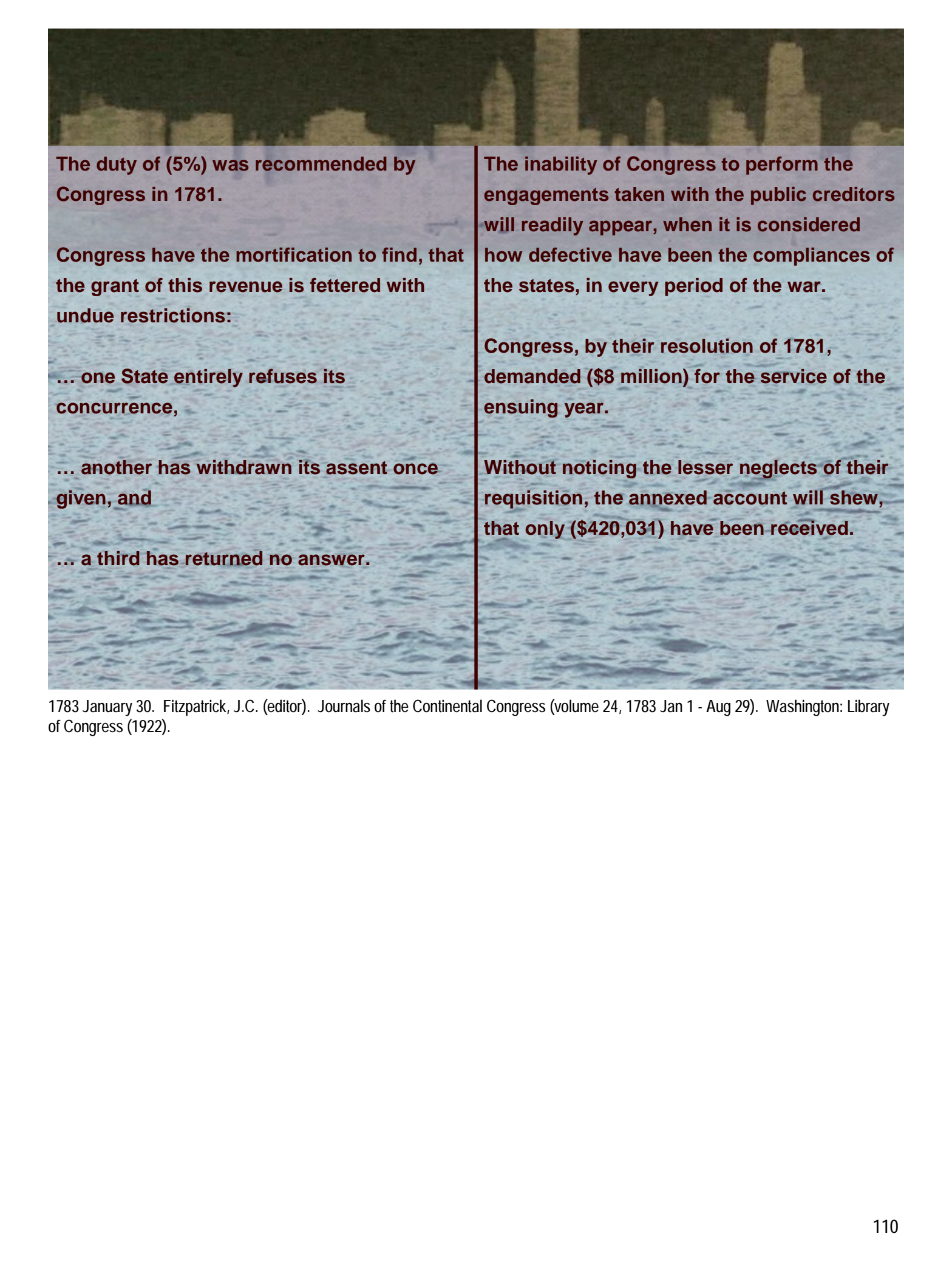
That the attempts to pay any of the past debts, would form so heavy a deduction from the greatest revenue which can be raised, as would totally obstruct all present service.

Wherefore, the provision to be made at present ought to be confined to the interest of the public debts.

Such provision would afford eventual relief to the public creditors, and enable them to support their share of the public burthens, without appropriating the whole revenue which can be drawn from the people, to a payment of debts, and leaving thereby the public service unprovided for, which would involve the ruin of all ranks, whether creditors or others.

Congress are and have long been deeply impressed with the absolute necessity that speedy and effectual measures should be taken, first, to liquidate and ascertain the public debts, and secondly, to secure the payment of the interest, until the principal could be discharged, as will appear from the following facts.

1783 January 30. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



The duty of (5%) was recommended by Congress in 1781.

Congress have the mortification to find, that the grant of this revenue is fettered with undue restrictions:

... one State entirely refuses its concurrence,

... another has withdrawn its assent once given, and

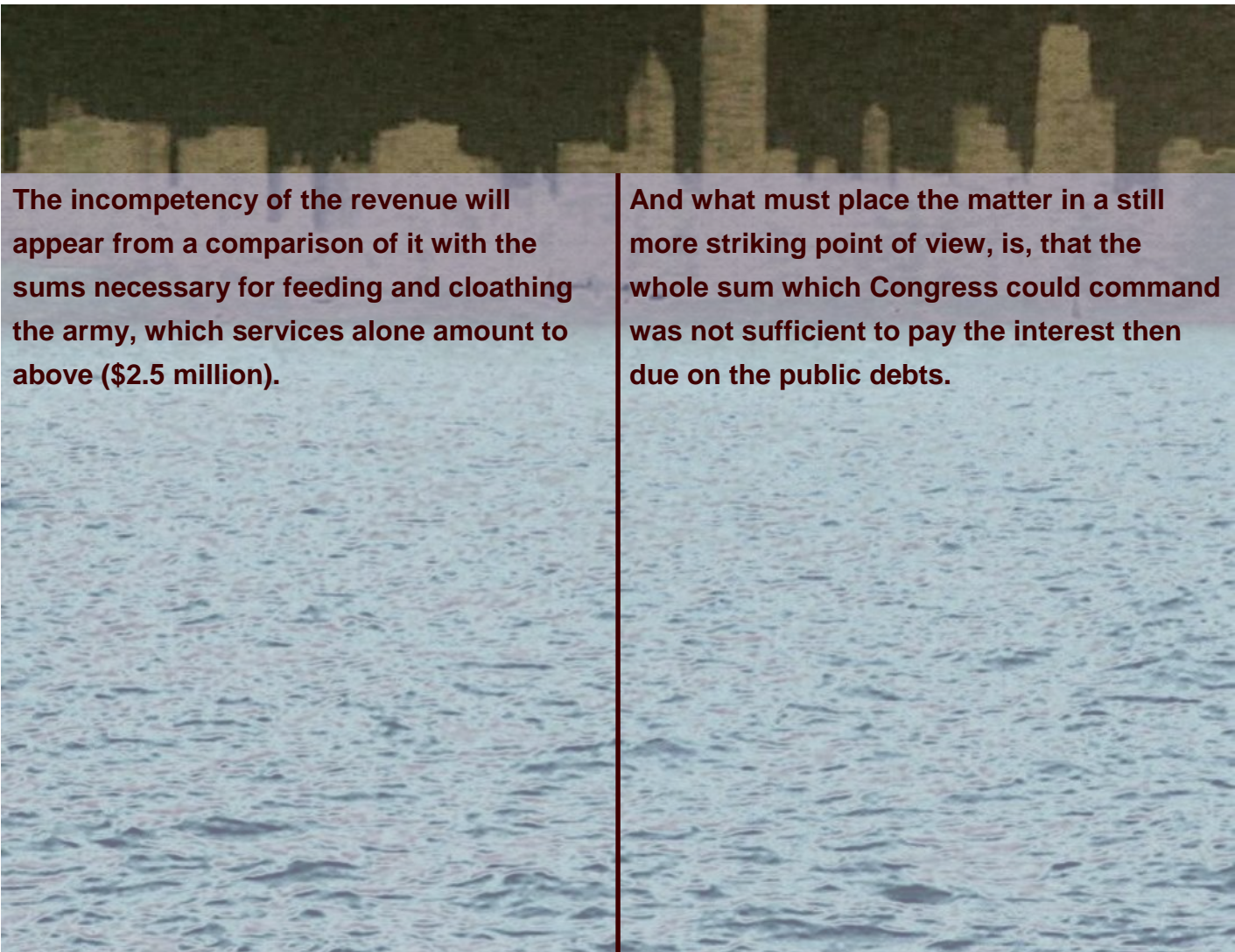
... a third has returned no answer.

The inability of Congress to perform the engagements taken with the public creditors will readily appear, when it is considered how defective have been the compliances of the states, in every period of the war.

Congress, by their resolution of 1781, demanded (\$8 million) for the service of the ensuing year.

Without noticing the lesser neglects of their requisition, the annexed account will shew, that only (\$420,031) have been received.

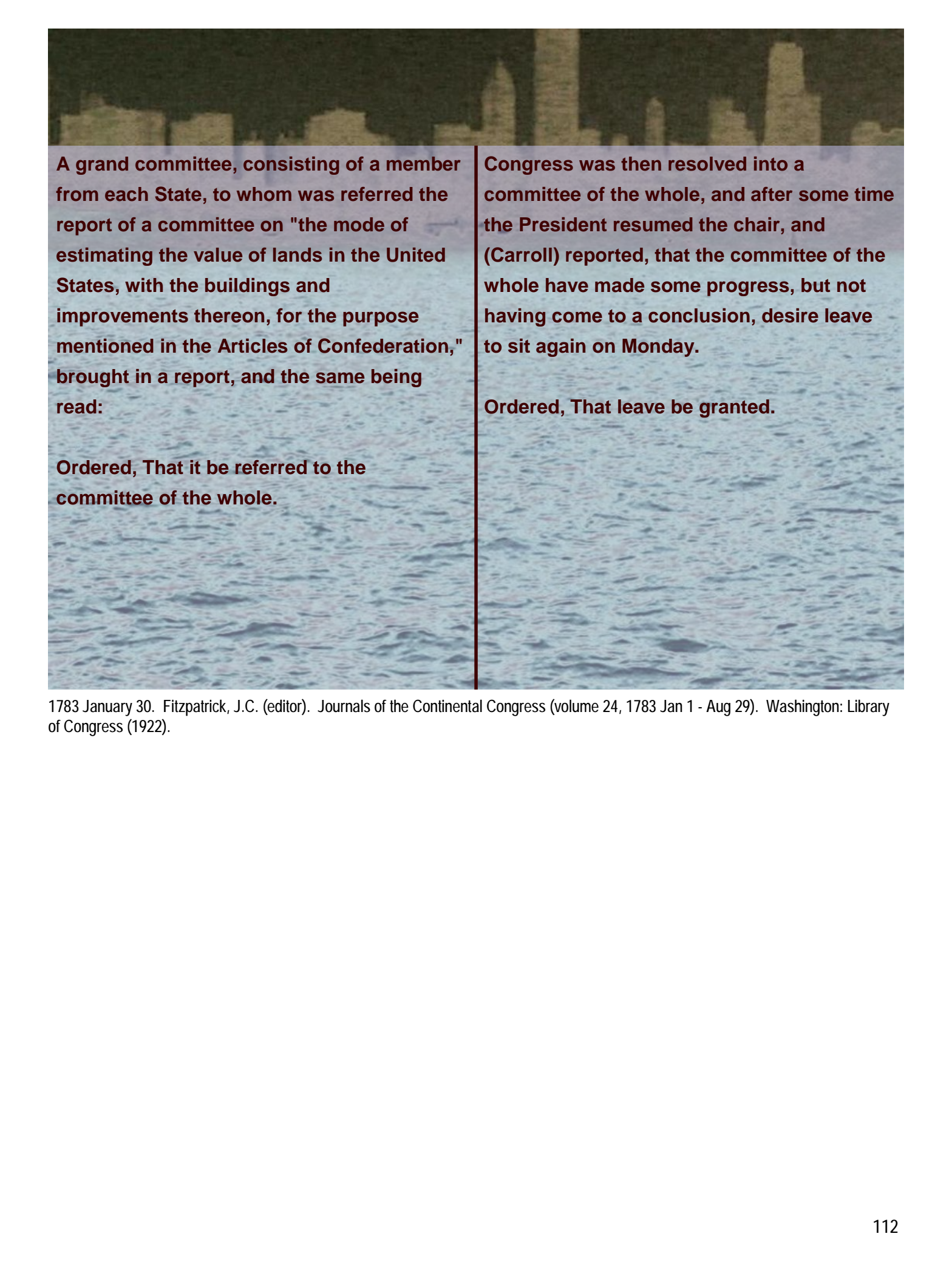
1783 January 30. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



The incompetency of the revenue will appear from a comparison of it with the sums necessary for feeding and cloathing the army, which services alone amount to above (\$2.5 million).

And what must place the matter in a still more striking point of view, is, that the whole sum which Congress could command was not sufficient to pay the interest then due on the public debts.

1783 January 30. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



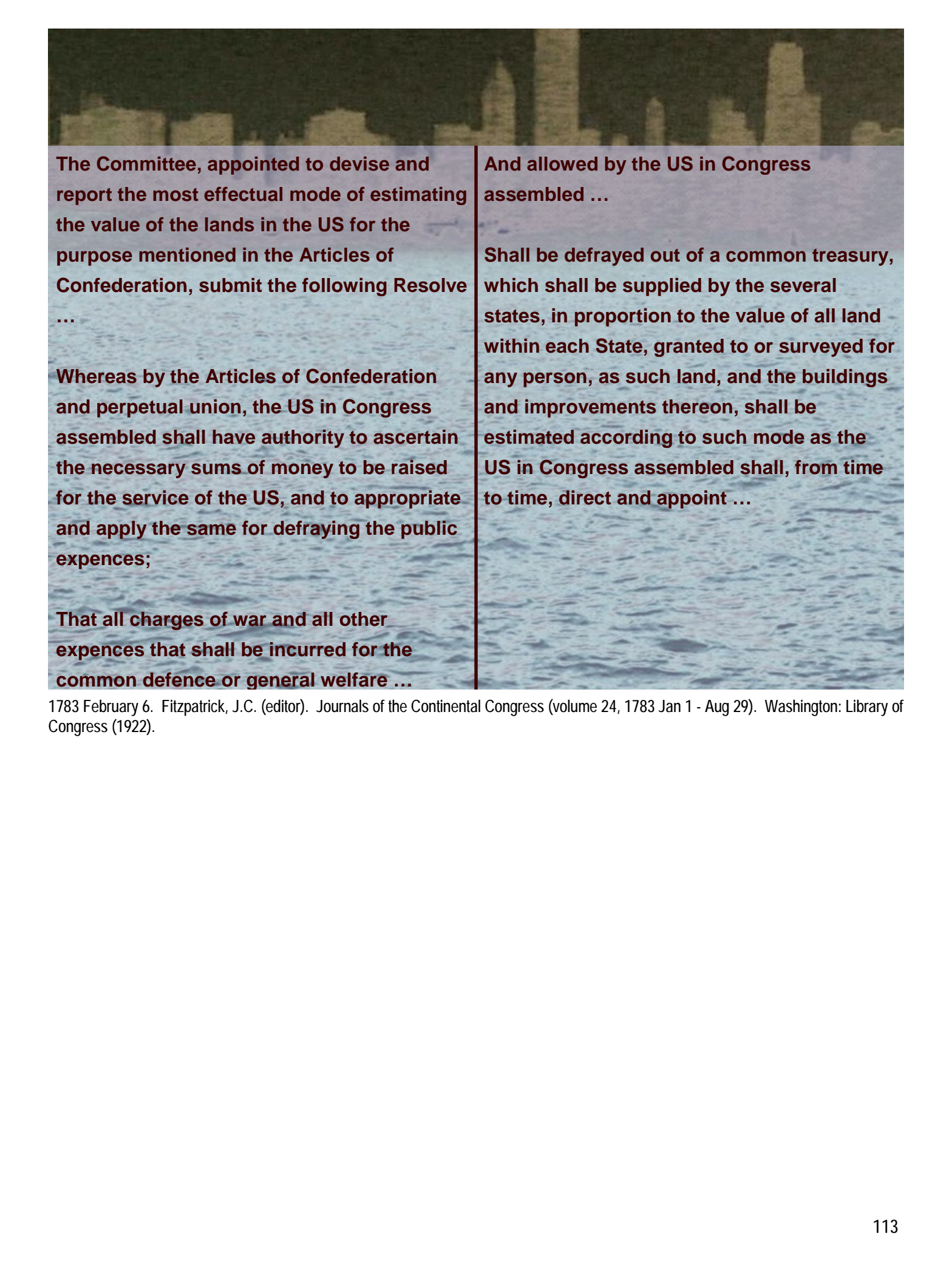
A grand committee, consisting of a member from each State, to whom was referred the report of a committee on "the mode of estimating the value of lands in the United States, with the buildings and improvements thereon, for the purpose mentioned in the Articles of Confederation," brought in a report, and the same being read:

Ordered, That it be referred to the committee of the whole.

Congress was then resolved into a committee of the whole, and after some time the President resumed the chair, and (Carroll) reported, that the committee of the whole have made some progress, but not having come to a conclusion, desire leave to sit again on Monday.

Ordered, That leave be granted.

1783 January 30. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



The Committee, appointed to devise and report the most effectual mode of estimating the value of the lands in the US for the purpose mentioned in the Articles of Confederation, submit the following Resolve ...

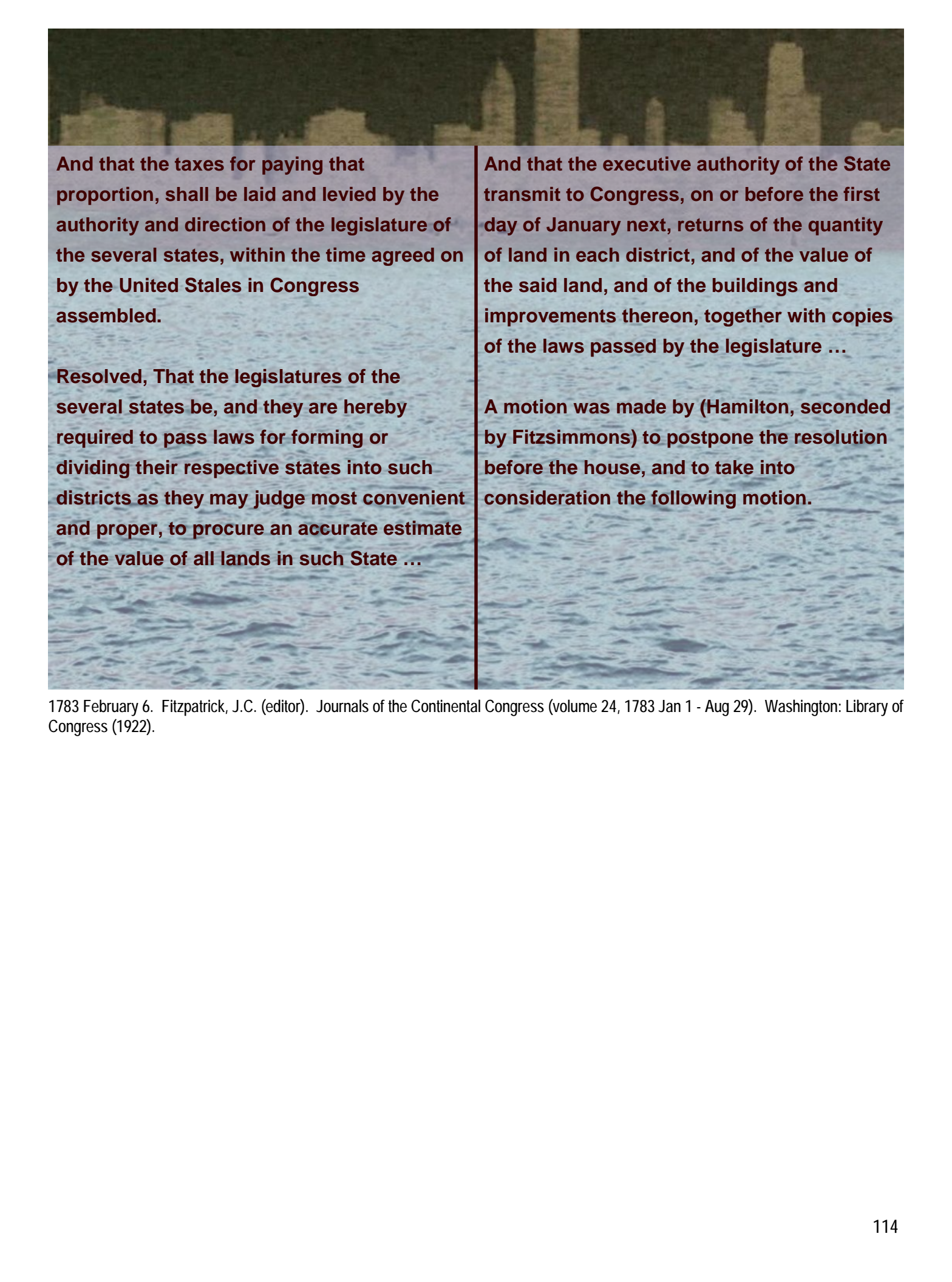
Whereas by the Articles of Confederation and perpetual union, the US in Congress assembled shall have authority to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the US, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expences;

That all charges of war and all other expences that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare ...

And allowed by the US 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 US in Congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint ...

1783 February 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



And that the taxes for paying that proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislature of the several states, within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That the legislatures of the several states be, and they are hereby required to pass laws for forming or dividing their respective states into such districts as they may judge most convenient and proper, to procure an accurate estimate of the value of all lands in such State ...

And that the executive authority of the State transmit to Congress, on or before the first day of January next, returns of the quantity of land in each district, and of the value of the said land, and of the buildings and improvements thereon, together with copies of the laws passed by the legislature ...

A motion was made by (Hamilton, seconded by Fitzsimmons) to postpone the resolution before the house, and to take into consideration the following motion.

1783 February 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

Whereas the carrying into execution the 8th Article of the Confederation, relative to a valuation of land, for ascertaining the quotas of each State towards the general expence, in a manner consistent with justice to all the members of the union, and with such accuracy as the importance of the subject demands, will necessarily be stranded with very considerable expence, to which the present state of the public finances is inadequate ...

And whereas in a matter so fundamental in the Confederation, it is essential to the harmony and welfare of the US, that the said article should be carried into effect with great care, circumspection and impartiality

...

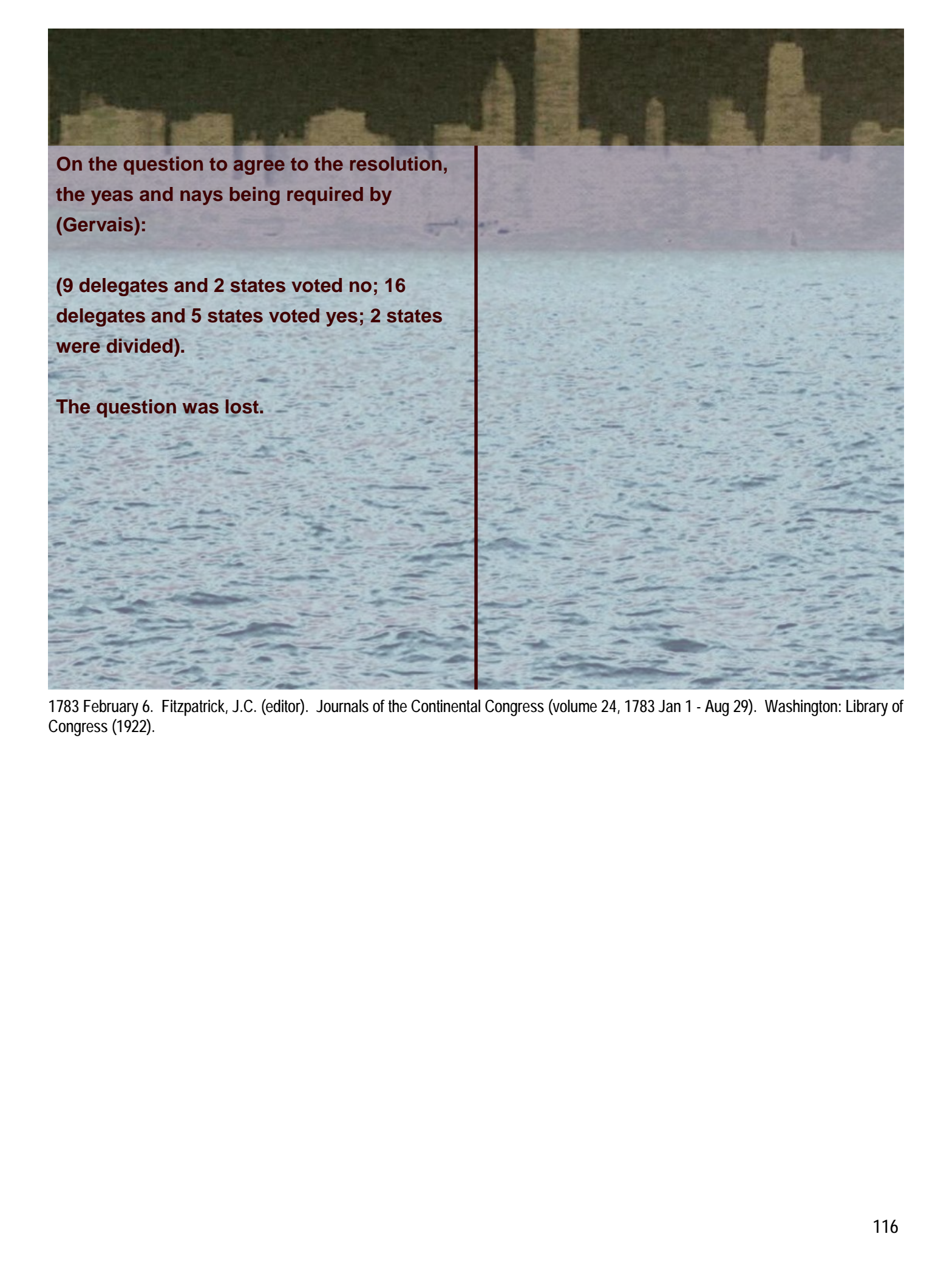
And a short delay will be much less pernicious than a defective execution;

Therefore, Resolved,

That Congress are under a necessity of deferring the attempt to a period when the situation of the finances of the US will admit of the necessary expence for effecting the object with as much precision and equity as possible.

A division was called for, and on the general question to postpone the consideration of the resolution before the house, the yeas and nays being required by (Hamilton) the question was lost.

1783 February 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



**On the question to agree to the resolution,
the yeas and nays being required by
(Gervais):**

**(9 delegates and 2 states voted no; 16
delegates and 5 states voted yes; 2 states
were divided).**

The question was lost.

1783 February 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

(Mercer) thought those who opposed a general revenue right in their principles, but they had formed no plan adequate to the public exigencies, and he was convinced of the necessity of doing something.

He should depart from his first resolution and strike in with those who were pursuing the plan of a general revenue.

(Holten) had come lately into Congress with a predetermination against any measures for discharging the public engagements other than those pointed out in the Confederation, but he saw now so clearly the necessity of making provisions, and the inadequacy of the Confederation.

He would concur in recommending to the States a plan of general revenue.

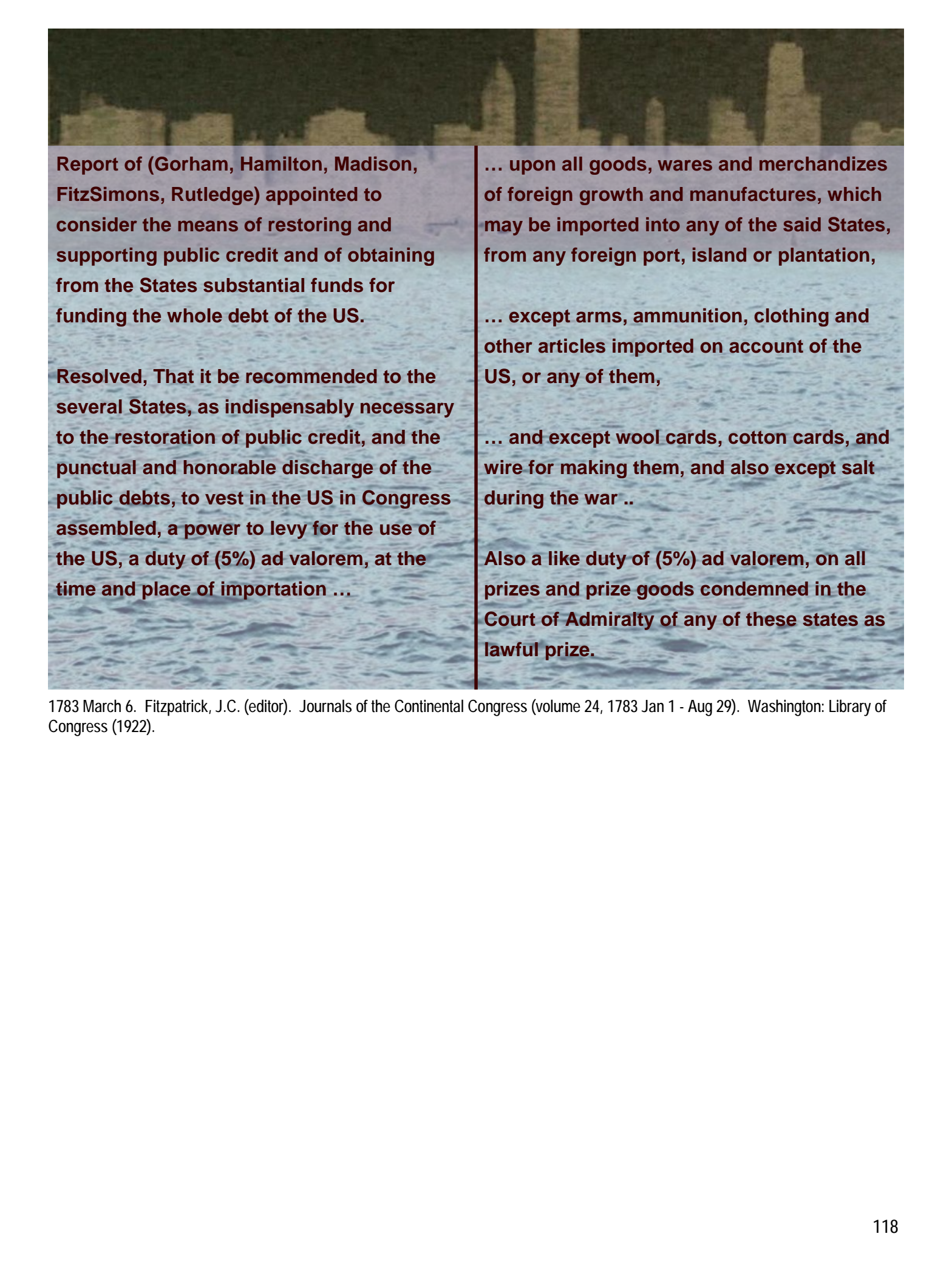
Salt tax: 9 yeases (New Hampshire no; Rhode Island absent)

Wine duty: temptation to smuggling would be too strong & the revenue be thereby diminished.

(Bland) said that instead of a duty on the gallon, an ad-valorem duty should be laid on wine, and this idea after some loose discussions, was agreed to ...

But few of the members interested themselves therein, and some of them had previously retired from Congress.

1783 February 27. Madison, James. Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress. in Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 25, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



Report of (Gorham, Hamilton, Madison, FitzSimons, Rutledge) appointed to consider the means of restoring and supporting public credit and of obtaining from the States substantial funds for funding the whole debt of the US.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several States, as indispensably necessary to the restoration of public credit, and the punctual and honorable discharge of the public debts, to vest in the US in Congress assembled, a power to levy for the use of the US, a duty of (5%) ad valorem, at the time and place of importation ...

... upon all goods, wares and merchandizes of foreign growth and manufactures, which may be imported into any of the said States, from any foreign port, island or plantation,

... except arms, ammunition, clothing and other articles imported on account of the US, or any of them,

... and except wool cards, cotton cards, and wire for making them, and also except salt during the war ..

Also a like duty of (5%) ad valorem, on all prizes and prize goods condemned in the Court of Admiralty of any of these states as lawful prize.

1783 March 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

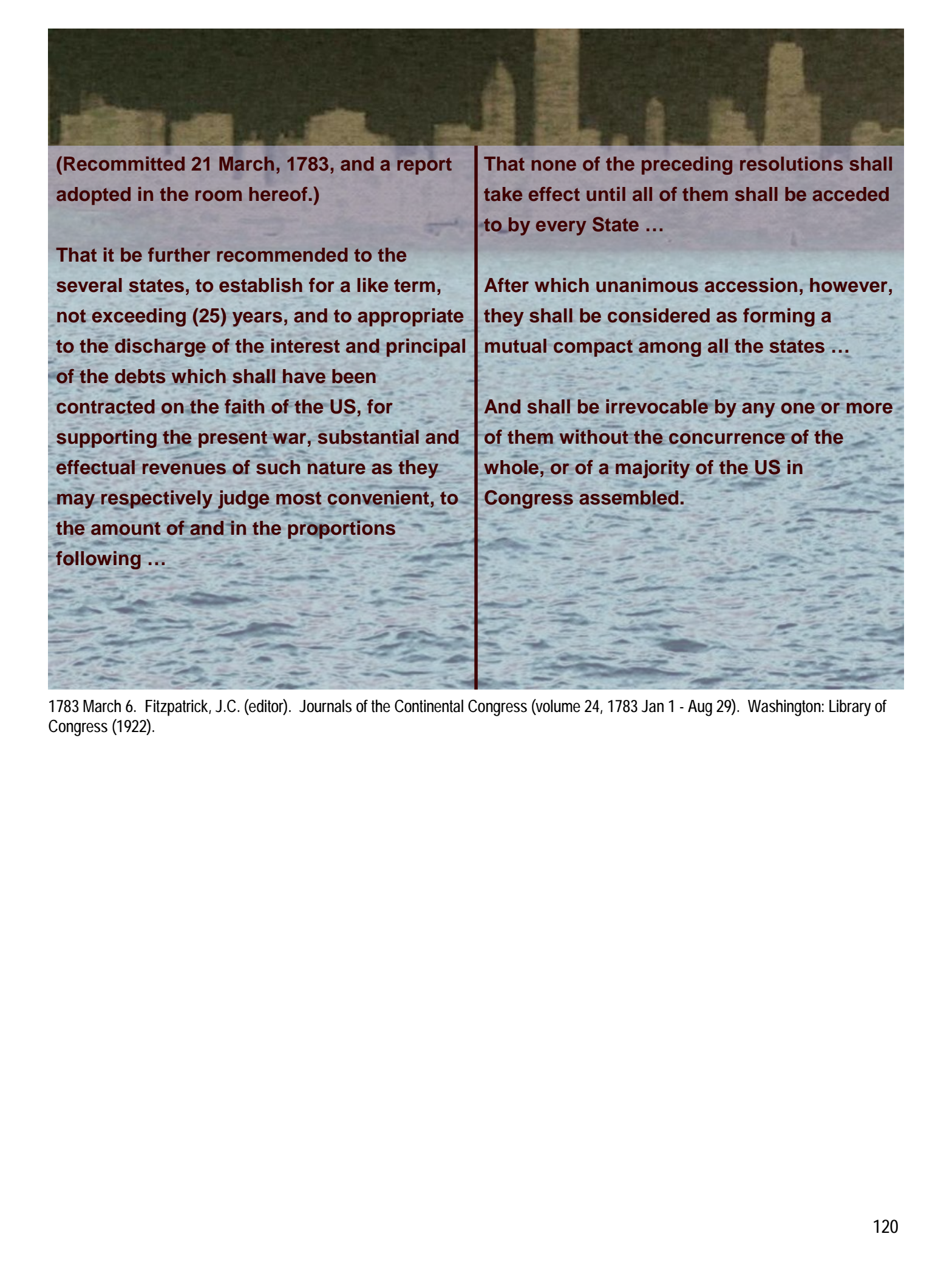
Also to levy a duty of ...
(\$0.125) per bushel on all salt imported;
(\$0.066) per gallon on all wines;
(\$0.033) per gallon on all rum and brandy;
(\$0.067) per 112 lbs. on all brown sugars;
(\$1) per 112 lbs. on all powdered, lump and
clayed sugars, other than loaf sugars;
(\$1.33) per 112 lbs. on all loaf sugars;
(\$0.033) per lb. on all Bohea Tea and
(\$0.067) of a dollar per lb. on all finer India
teas, imported as aforesaid ...
[after & in addition to the five per cent.
above mentioned.]

[Note: The words in brackets are in the
writing of Charles Thomson. On the printed
copy is the following marginal note in
manuscript ...

[March 11, 1783, recommitted with the
estimate of the public debt by the
Superintendant of finance and that part of
his letter which proposes that the impost of
five per cent. ad valorem be exchanged for a
tariff.]

(Passed) Provided, That none of the said
duties shall be applied to any other purpose
than the discharge of the interest or
principal of the debts which shall have been
contracted on the faith of the US, for
supporting the present war, nor be
continued for a longer term than (25) years;
and provided, that the collectors of the said
duties shall be appointed by the states
within which their offices are to be
respectively exercised ..

1783 March 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



(Recommitted 21 March, 1783, and a report adopted in the room hereof.)

That it be further recommended to the several states, to establish for a like term, not exceeding (25) years, and to appropriate to the discharge of the interest and principal of the debts which shall have been contracted on the faith of the US, for supporting the present war, substantial and effectual revenues of such nature as they may respectively judge most convenient, to the amount of and in the proportions following ...

That none of the preceding resolutions shall take effect until all of them shall be acceded to by every State ...

After which unanimous accession, however, they shall be considered as forming a mutual compact among all the states ...

And shall be irrevocable by any one or more of them without the concurrence of the whole, or of a majority of the US in Congress assembled.

1783 March 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

(Negatived): To remove all objections against a retrospective application of the constitutional rule, of (apportioning) proportioning to the several states, the charges and expences which shall have been supplied for the common defence or general welfare ...

That as a more convenient and certain rule of (fixing) ascertaining the proportions to be supplied by the states respectively to the common treasury, the following alteration in the Articles of Confederation and perpetual union between the states ...

(Struck out March 28) So much of the 8th Article of Confederation and perpetual union between the (13) states contained in the words "All charges of war," &c., (to the end of the paragraph), is hereby revoked and made void ... And in place thereof, that all charges of war, and [all other expences that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the US in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states,] in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex and condition, except Indians, provided no persons shall be included who are deemed slaves bound to servitude for life (except) between the ages of ... and ...

1783 March 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

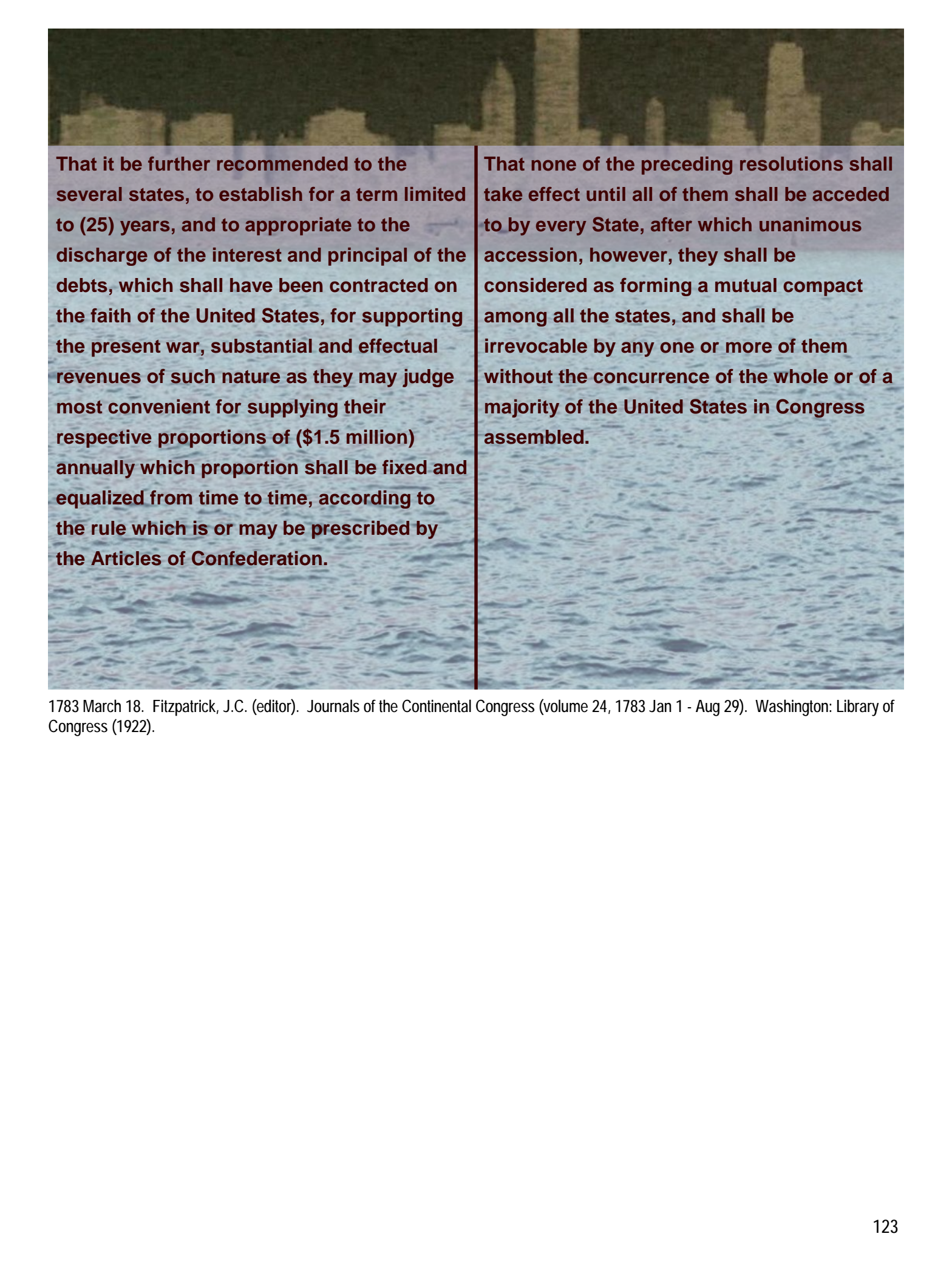
Resolved, That it be recommended to the several states, as indispensably necessary to the restoration of public credit, and to the punctual and honorable discharge of the public debts, to invest in the United States in Congress assembled, a power to levy for the use of the US the following duties ...

(\$0.044) rum of Jamaica proof, per gallon,
(\$0.033) all other spirituous liquors,
(\$0.133) Madeira wine,
(\$0.067) the wines of Lisbon, Oporto, those called Sherry, and all French wines,
(\$0.055) the wines called Malaga or Teneriffe,
(\$0.044) all other wines,
(\$0.067) common bohea tea per pound,
(\$0.266) all other teas ...

(\$0.033) pepper per pound,
(\$0.0055) brown sugar per pound,
(\$0.022) loaf sugar,
(\$0.011) all other sugars,
(\$0.011) molasses per gallon,
(\$0.011) cocoa and coffee per pound,
(\$0.125) salt, after the present war, per bushel ...

A duty of (5%) ad valorem for all other goods except arms, ammunition and cloathing or other articles imported for the United States, provided that there be allowed a bounty of (\$0.125) for every quintal of dried fish exported out of the US and (\$0.125) for every barrel of pickled fish, beef or pork allowed to the exporters thereof at the port ...

1783 March 18. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).



That it be further recommended to the several states, to establish for a term limited to (25) years, and to appropriate to the discharge of the interest and principal of the debts, which shall have been contracted on the faith of the United States, for supporting the present war, substantial and effectual revenues of such nature as they may judge most convenient for supplying their respective proportions of (\$1.5 million) annually which proportion shall be fixed and equalized from time to time, according to the rule which is or may be prescribed by the Articles of Confederation.

That none of the preceding resolutions shall take effect until all of them shall be acceded to by every State, after which unanimous accession, however, they shall be considered as forming a mutual compact among all the states, and shall be irrevocable by any one or more of them without the concurrence of the whole or of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

1783 March 18. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

All charges of war and all other expences that have been or shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare ...

And allowed by the US in Congress Assembled ...

Shall be defrayed out of a common treasury which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the whole number of white and other free citizens and inhabitants of every age, sex and condition, including those bound to servitude for a term of years and three-fifths of all other persons not comprehended in the foregoing description, except Indians, not paying taxes.

A motion was made by (Wilson, seconded by Hamilton) to add .. "also a tax of \$0.25 per (100) acres on all located and surveyed land ..

On the question to agree to the motion, the yeas and nays required by (Wilson), it passed in the negative. (Did not pass.)

(19 delegates and 6 states voted no; 12 delegates and 4 states voted yes; 2 states were divided.)

1783 March 18. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

(Hamilton's motion continued)

A duty of 5% ad valorem on imports (excepting arms, ammunition, cloathing for government use and wool cards, cotton cards, and wire).

A duty of 5% on prizes.

A land tax of (unspecified) for every (100) acres.

A house tax of \$0.50 for each dwelling house; and an additional 2.5% on any rent or assessed rent above \$20.

And on the question for postponing, the yeas and nays being required by (Hamilton)

...

(18 delegates and 7 states voted no; 14 delegates and 4 states voted yes; and 1 state was divided)

(It passed in the negative.)

1783 March 20. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on the means of restoring and supporting public credit ...

The clause being amended to [that all charges of war and all other expences that have been or shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, except so far as shall be otherwise provided for, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the whole number of free white inhabitants, and one half three-fifths of the number of all other inhabitants of every sex and condition, except Indians not paying taxes] ...

A motion was made by (Bland, seconded by Lee) that the same be struck out of the report.

And on the question shall the paragraph as amended, stand as part of the report? the yeas and nays being required by (Bland) (17 delegates and 6 states voted yes; 15 delegates and 5 states voted no) ...

The question was lost and the paragraph struck out.

[(?) The question was, should the changed language stand, the majority voted yes, but the journal records that the question was lost and the paragraph struck out (?)]

1783 March 28. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

Resolved, by nine states, That it be recommended to the several states, as indispensably necessary to the restoration of public credit, and to the punctual and honorable discharge of the public debts, to invest the United States in Congress assembled with a power to levy for the use of the United States the following duties upon goods imported into the said states from any foreign port, island or plantation

[A list of items followed with changes such as from \$0.044 to \$0.067 for all other wines.]

All charges of war and all other expences that have been or shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare ...

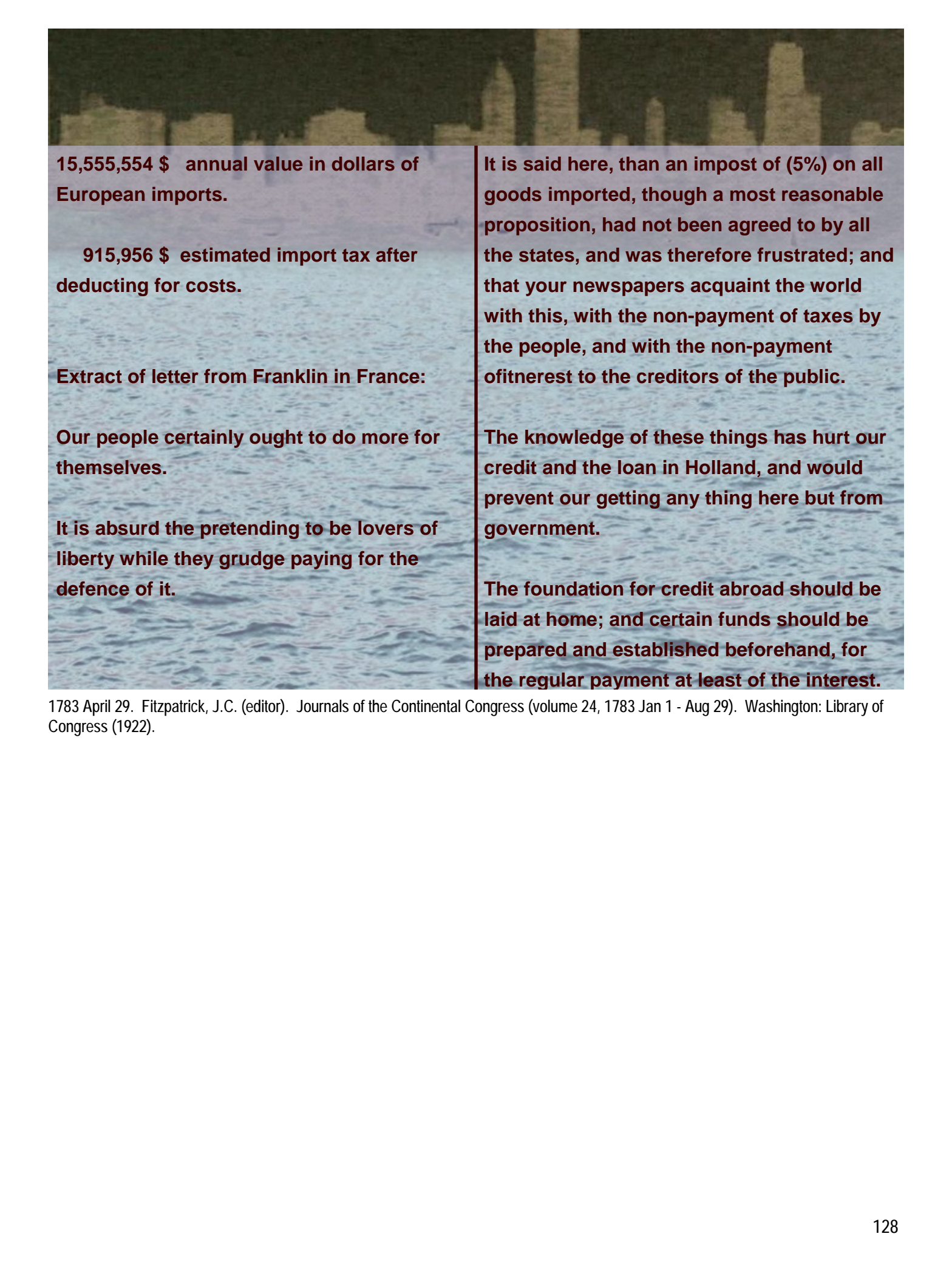
... and allowed by the US in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the whole number of white and other free citizens and inhabitants, of every age, sex and condition, including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and three-fifths of all other persons not comprehended in the foregoing description, except Indians, not paying taxes.

On the question to agree to the foregoing act, it was resolved in the affirmative.

(25 individuals and 9 states voted yes; 4 individuals and 1 state voted no; 2 states weren't counted.)

1783 April 18. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

Note: Thus the revenue plan became, or was on its way to becoming, a compact (higher law) (fundamental law of the nation). It voided property assessment as a means of apportionment and replaced the assessment of landed property with a count of free inhabitants to which was added 60% of slaves of all ages. The import tax would continue until the debts mentioned in the plan were fully paid.



15,555,554 \$ annual value in dollars of European imports.

915,956 \$ estimated import tax after deducting for costs.

Extract of letter from Franklin in France:

Our people certainly ought to do more for themselves.

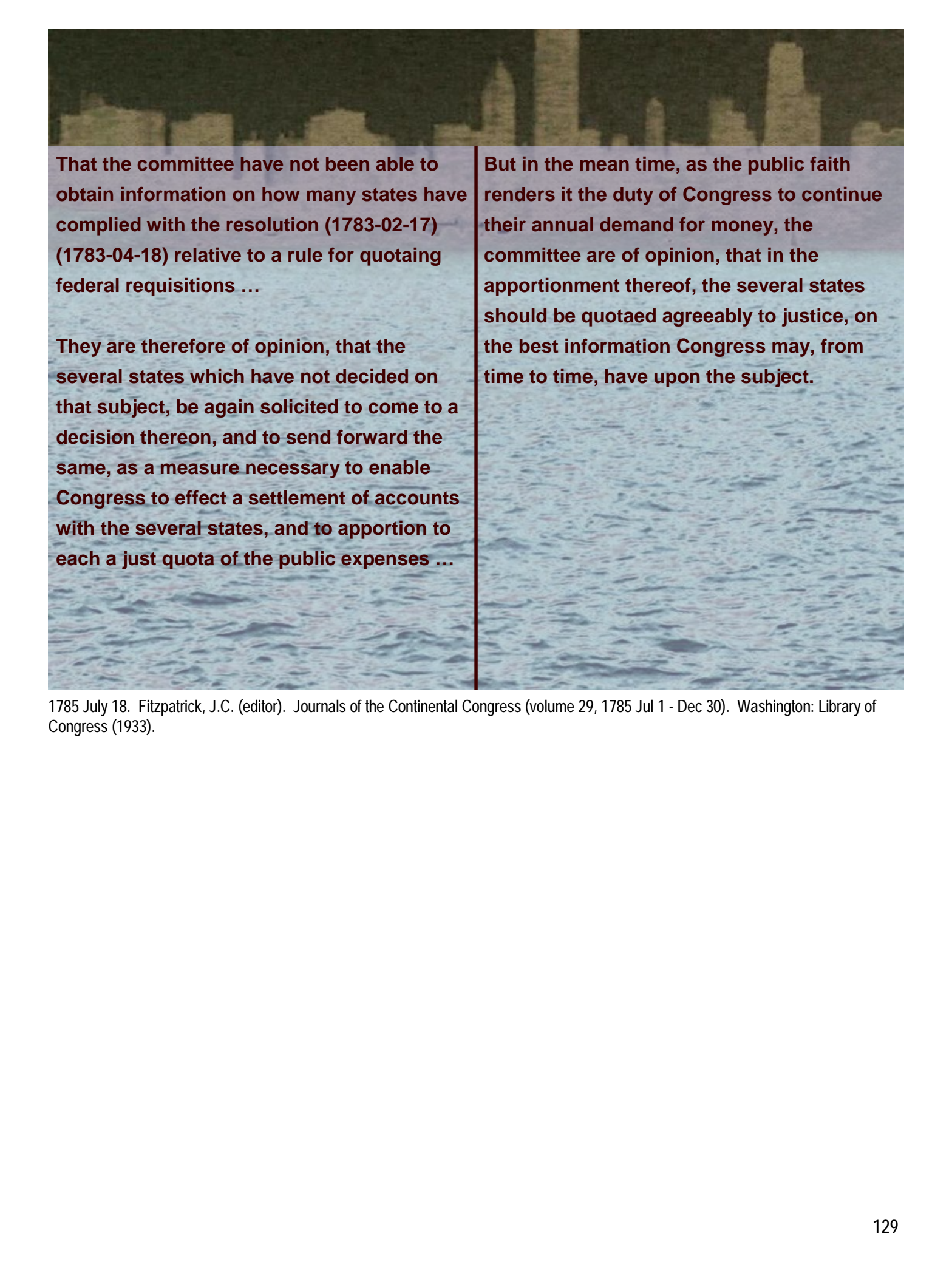
It is absurd the pretending to be lovers of liberty while they grudge paying for the defence of it.

It is said here, than an impost of (5%) on all goods imported, though a most reasonable proposition, had not been agreed to by all the states, and was therefore frustrated; and that your newspapers acquaint the world with this, with the non-payment of taxes by the people, and with the non-payment of interest to the creditors of the public.

The knowledge of these things has hurt our credit and the loan in Holland, and would prevent our getting any thing here but from government.

The foundation for credit abroad should be laid at home; and certain funds should be prepared and established beforehand, for the regular payment at least of the interest.

1783 April 29. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 24, 1783 Jan 1 - Aug 29). Washington: Library of Congress (1922).

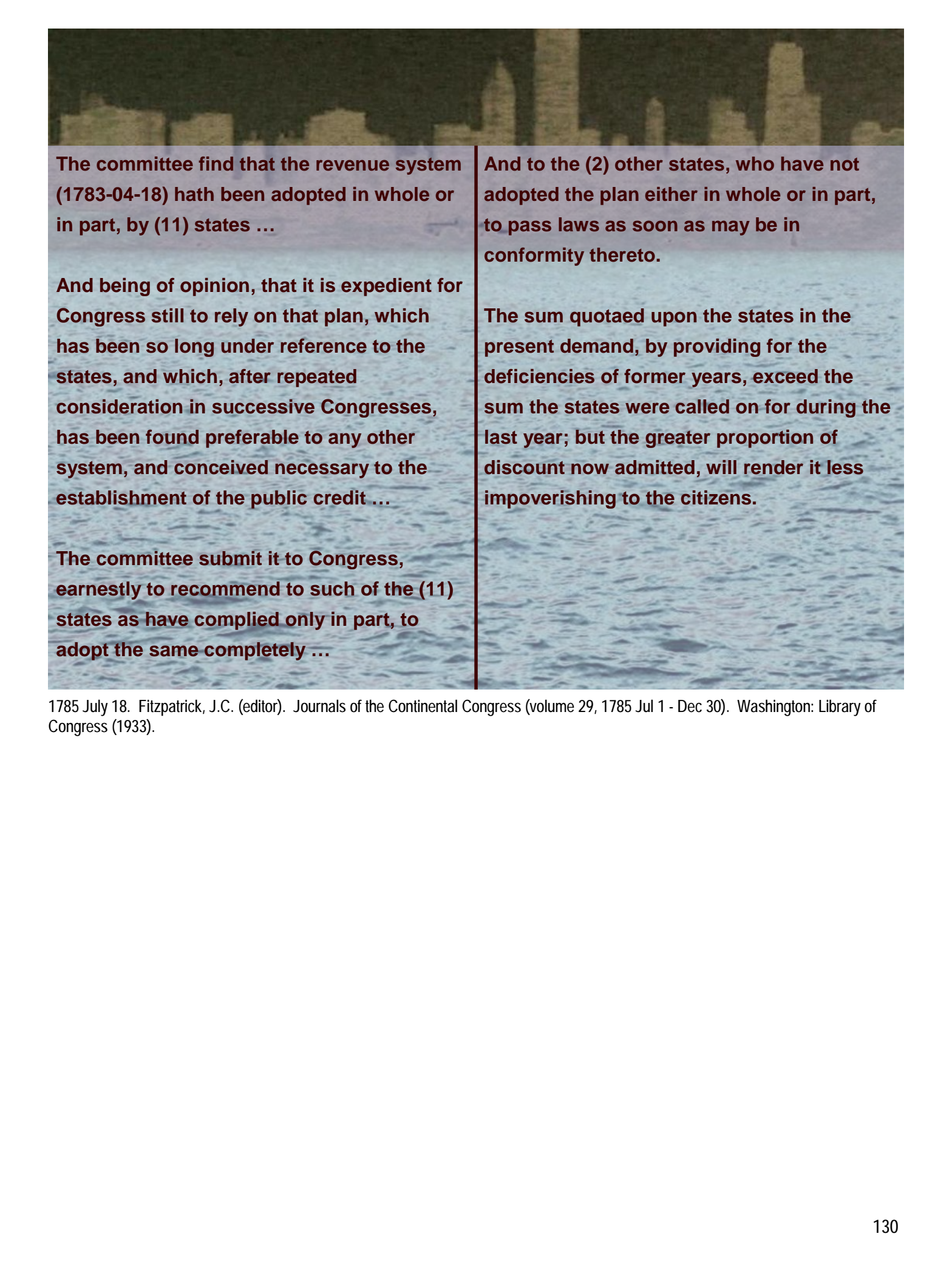


That the committee have not been able to obtain information on how many states have complied with the resolution (1783-02-17) (1783-04-18) relative to a rule for quotaing federal requisitions ...

They are therefore of opinion, that the several states which have not decided on that subject, be again solicited to come to a decision thereon, and to send forward the same, as a measure necessary to enable Congress to effect a settlement of accounts with the several states, and to apportion to each a just quota of the public expenses ...

But in the mean time, as the public faith renders it the duty of Congress to continue their annual demand for money, the committee are of opinion, that in the apportionment thereof, the several states should be quotaed agreeably to justice, on the best information Congress may, from time to time, have upon the subject.

1785 July 18. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 29, 1785 Jul 1 - Dec 30). Washington: Library of Congress (1933).



The committee find that the revenue system (1783-04-18) hath been adopted in whole or in part, by (11) states ...


And being of opinion, that it is expedient for Congress still to rely on that plan, which has been so long under reference to the states, and which, after repeated consideration in successive Congresses, has been found preferable to any other system, and conceived necessary to the establishment of the public credit ...

The committee submit it to Congress, earnestly to recommend to such of the (11) states as have complied only in part, to adopt the same completely ...

And to the (2) other states, who have not adopted the plan either in whole or in part, to pass laws as soon as may be in conformity thereto.

The sum quotaed upon the states in the present demand, by providing for the deficiencies of former years, exceed the sum the states were called on for during the last year; but the greater proportion of discount now admitted, will render it less impoverishing to the citizens.

1785 July 18. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 29, 1785 Jul 1 - Dec 30). Washington: Library of Congress (1933).



[The next pages provide a detailed accounting of receipts and expenditures.

[Some of the names included are:

Monsieur Ferdinand LeGrand, Banker in Paris;

Dana, Morris, Adams, H. Lawrence, Americans;

Wilhem & Jan Willinks, Nicholas & Jacob Van Staphorst, De La Lande & Finje, Commissioners of Loans in Holland;

C.W.F. Dumas at the Hague;

[David S. Franks (unidentified);

John De Neufville & Sons, Merchants, Amsterdam;

Messrs. Le Cauteulx & Co, receivers of tobacco in France;

John Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College, "For so much paid him, the same having been received by the Commissioners of Loans in Holland and credited by them in account"]

1785 July 18. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 29, 1785 Jul 1 - Dec 30). Washington: Library of Congress (1933).



The Secretary for Foreign Affairs (John Jay) to whom was referred the Representation of Certain french Merchants against the Acts of (NH, MA) for regulating Navigation and Commerce, Reports ...

The Complaints may be comprized ...

(1) That they exclude french Vessels from all except certain Ports, whereas all the Ports of France are open to american Vessels, and in some of them no Duties are demanded ..

(2) That the Duty of Tonnage imposed is not consistent with the 5th Article of the Treaty ...

(3) That they were made to take Place so soon after they were enacted, as not to afford reasonable Time for the European Merchants to be informed of them ...

1785 October 10. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 29, 1785 Jul 1 - Dec 30). Washington: Library of Congress (1933).

The Second objection appears to have much weight ...

If this be the true Construction and Meaning of the Treaty, then it seems to follow as of necessary consequence, that none of the US can rightfully impose a Duty of Tonnage ...

For if it was intended that they should be at Liberty to impose it in all cases, Why was it expressly stipulated that they might impose it in the same or in such a Case?

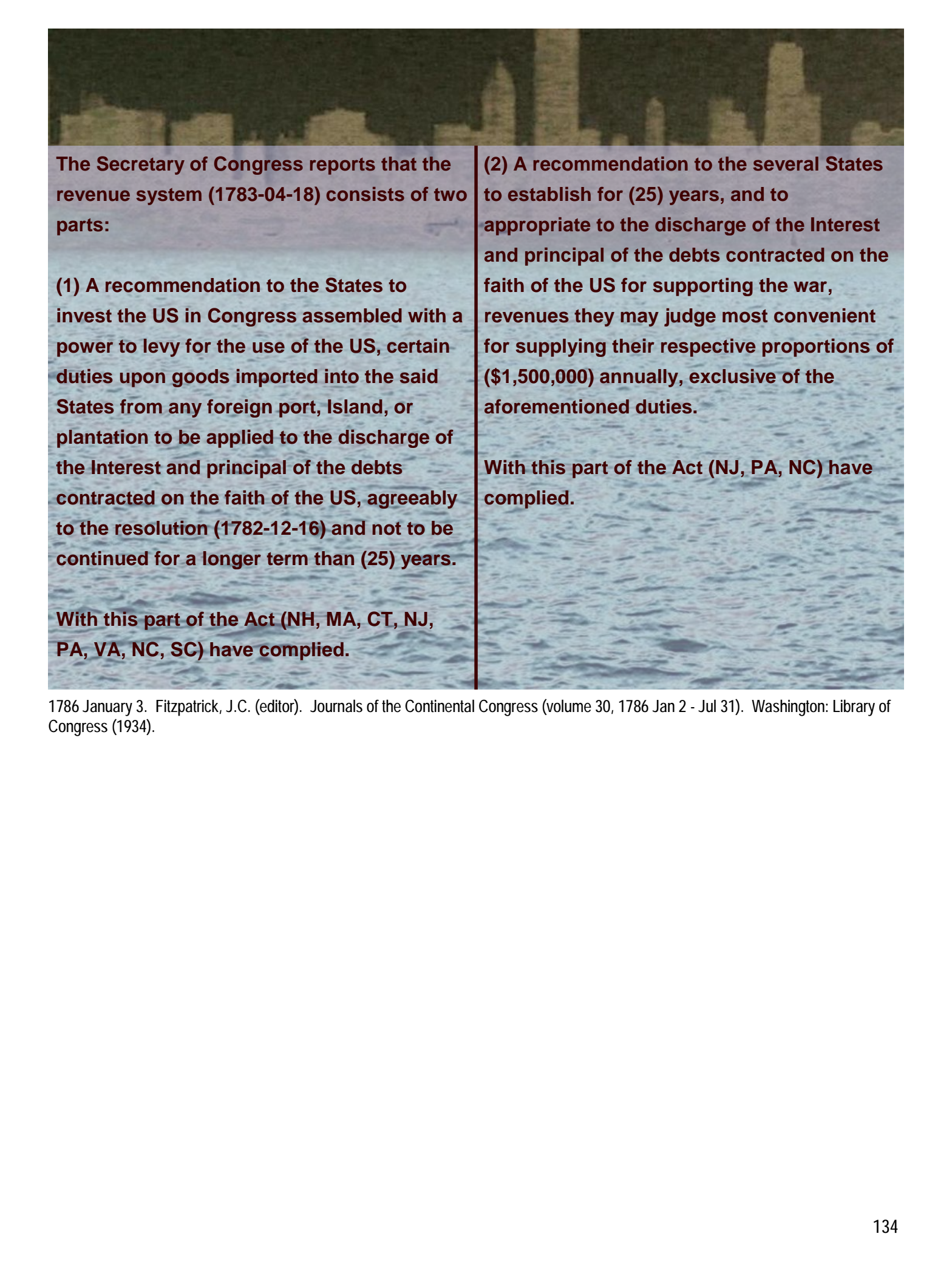
In this Respect therefore your Secretary considers that Act as deviating both from the Letter and Spirit of the Treaty ...

The third objection though not very important merits some attention.

It seems reasonable, that they who are to be affected by Laws, should have seasonable Notice of them ...

Your Secretary is clearly of Opinion that the Commerce of the US must suffer from partial and discordant Regulations; and that until it is under one Direction, it will never be conducted in that stable, uniform and consistant manner which is necessary to produce the Benefits and Respectability that might be expected from it.

1785 October 10. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 29, 1785 Jul 1 - Dec 30). Washington: Library of Congress (1933).



The Secretary of Congress reports that the revenue system (1783-04-18) consists of two parts:

(1) A recommendation to the States to invest the US in Congress assembled with a power to levy for the use of the US, certain duties upon goods imported into the said States from any foreign port, Island, or plantation to be applied to the discharge of the Interest and principal of the debts contracted on the faith of the US, agreeably to the resolution (1782-12-16) and not to be continued for a longer term than (25) years.

With this part of the Act (NH, MA, CT, NJ, PA, VA, NC, SC) have complied.

(2) A recommendation to the several States to establish for (25) years, and to appropriate to the discharge of the Interest and principal of the debts contracted on the faith of the US for supporting the war, revenues they may judge most convenient for supplying their respective proportions of (\$1,500,000) annually, exclusive of the aforementioned duties.

With this part of the Act (NJ, PA, NC) have complied.

1786 January 3. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).

(RI) has enacted a tax of one spanish silver milled dollar upon every ...

**(100 acres) of land
every male poll 21 Years of Age
every horse or mare of two years old and upwards ...**

(3) recommends an Alteration of the 8th of the Articles of Confederation and perpetual union for ascertaining with more convenience and certainty the proportions to be supplied by the States respectively to the common treasury ...

**With this part of the Act, the following States have complied ...
(MA, CT, NY, NJ, PA, MD, VA, NC)**

(4) recommends (1) prohibit (imports & exports) in vessels belonging to Subjects of any power (that) have not formed treaties of commerce ...

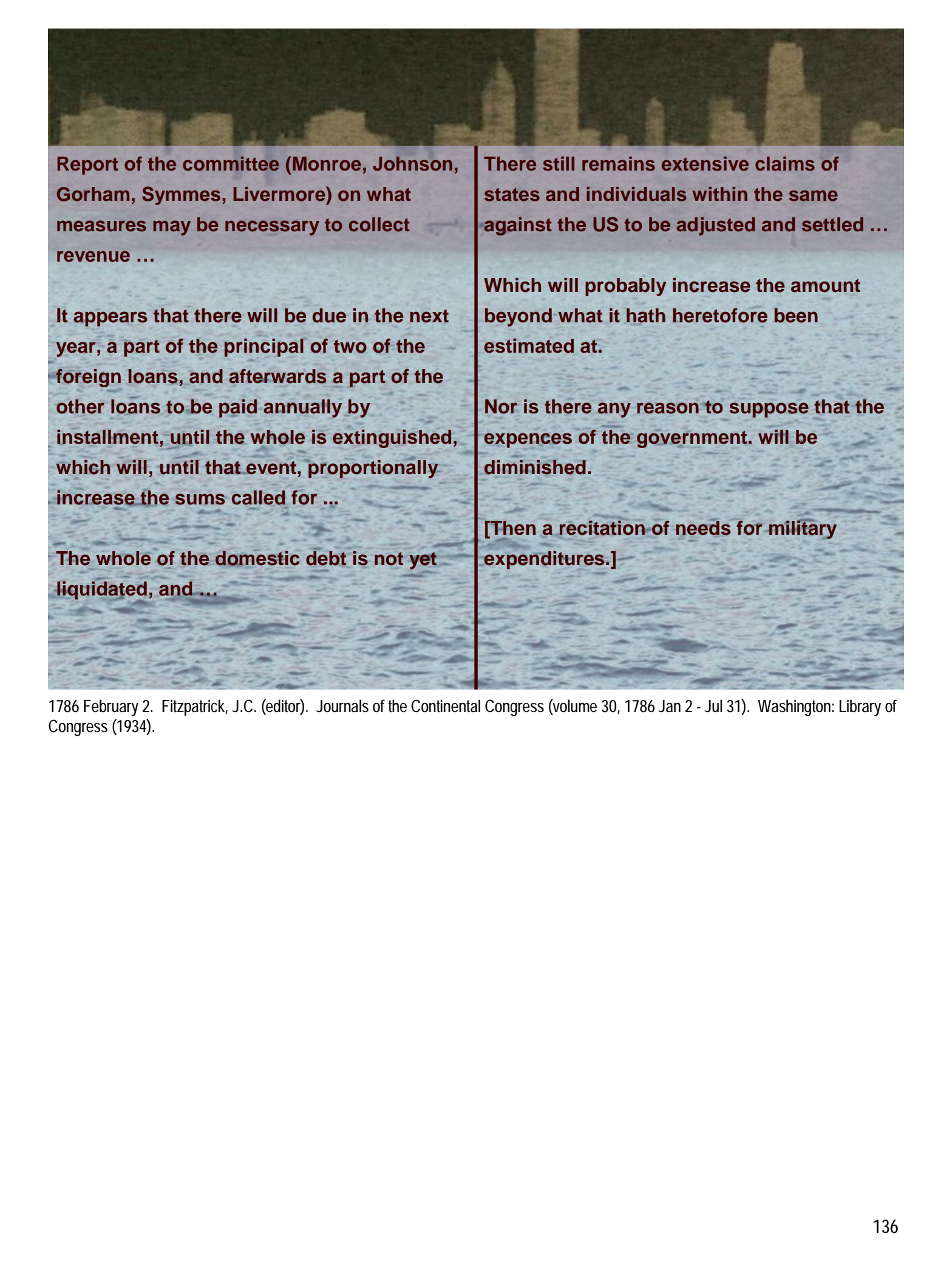
(2) prohibit subjects of any foreign State, Kingdom, or Empire, unless authorized by treaty, from importing into the US any goods, wares or merchandizes not the produce or manufacture of the dominions whose Subjects they are ...

In pursuance of this Act the following states have complied ...

(NH, MA, RI, NY, NJ, PA, MD, VA, NC, CT)

Ordered, That the above report be printed for the use of the members.

1786 January 3. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



Report of the committee (Monroe, Johnson, Gorham, Symmes, Livermore) on what measures may be necessary to collect revenue ...

It appears that there will be due in the next year, a part of the principal of two of the foreign loans, and afterwards a part of the other loans to be paid annually by installment, until the whole is extinguished, which will, until that event, proportionally increase the sums called for ...

The whole of the domestic debt is not yet liquidated, and ...

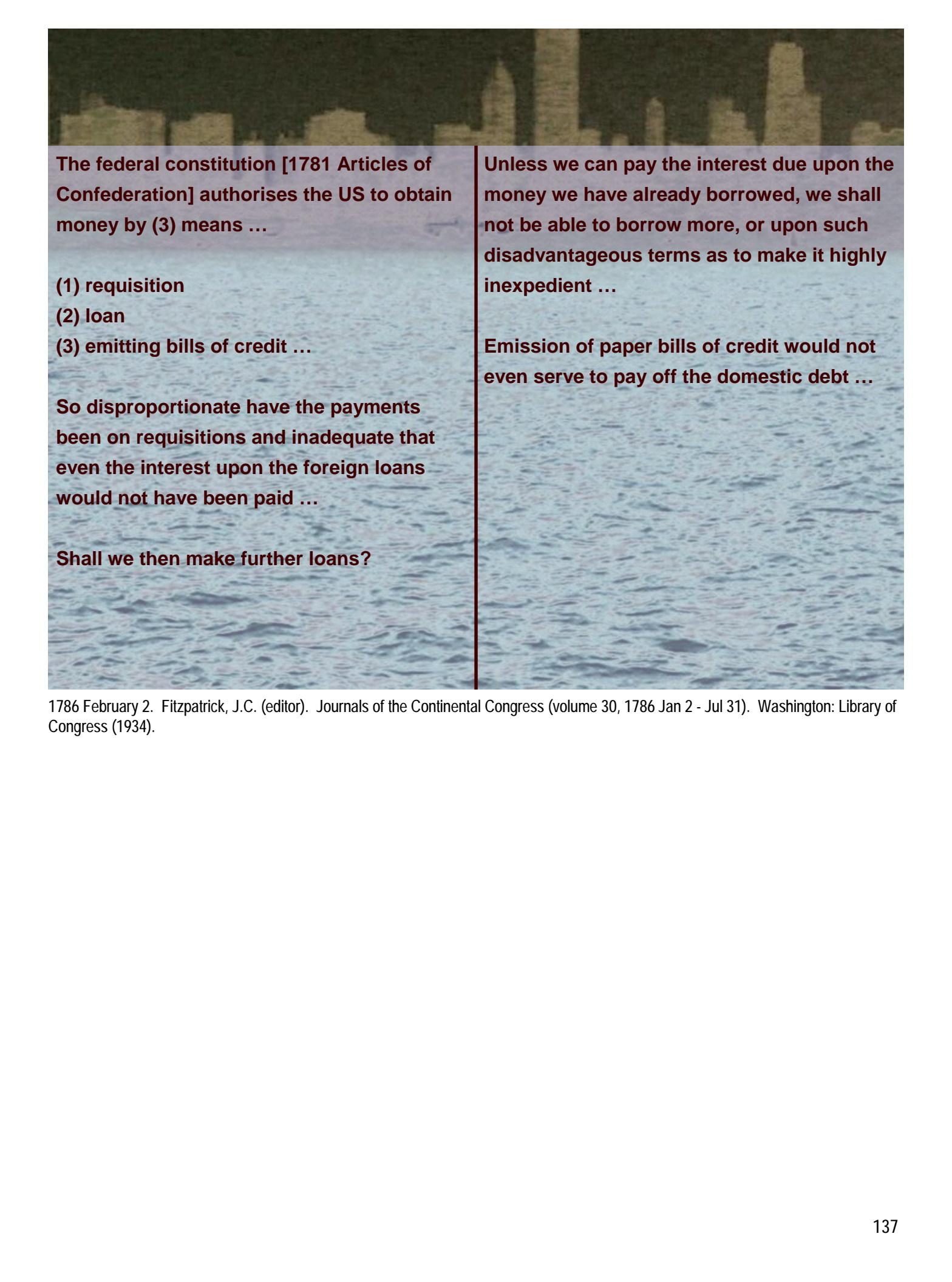
There still remains extensive claims of states and individuals within the same against the US to be adjusted and settled ...

Which will probably increase the amount beyond what it hath heretofore been estimated at.

Nor is there any reason to suppose that the expences of the government. will be diminished.

[Then a recitation of needs for military expenditures.]

1786 February 2. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



The federal constitution [1781 Articles of Confederation] authorises the US to obtain money by (3) means ...

(1) requisition

(2) loan

(3) emitting bills of credit ...

So disproportionate have the payments been on requisitions and inadequate that even the interest upon the foreign loans would not have been paid ...

Shall we then make further loans?

Unless we can pay the interest due upon the money we have already borrowed, we shall not be able to borrow more, or upon such disadvantageous terms as to make it highly inexpedient ...

Emission of paper bills of credit would not even serve to pay off the domestic debt ...

1786 February 2. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).

The US are in possession of another fund, arising from the cession of vacant and unappropriated lands ...

But this, it is apprehended, as public securities are received in payment, will bring but little specie into the treasury ...

It is to be presumed the purchasers, whether Citizens or foreigners will procure these securities, because they [were depreciated by inflation] but accepted at a par with specie ...

These lands may be calculated on as a fund only for the discharge of the domestic debt ...

And as they are not to be disposed of, until surveyed, and some time must elapse before this can be effected, no immediate aid can be derived ...

Therefore invest Congress, with power to levy certain duties upon goods imported ...

And invest Congress with power to levy such other substantial and effectual revenues as they may judge most convenient ...

A motion (Houstoun, seconded by Smith) to postpone consideration ...

It passed in the negative.

1786 February 2. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).

The report of the committee on the finance plan being postponed ...

And a motion (Pinckney, seconded by Symmes) being before Congress ...

Whereas the payment of the annual interest of the foreign and domestic debt will require ...

To prevent the evils arising solely from the want of sufficient and permanent funds to defray the expenses of government, and to do justice to its creditors ...

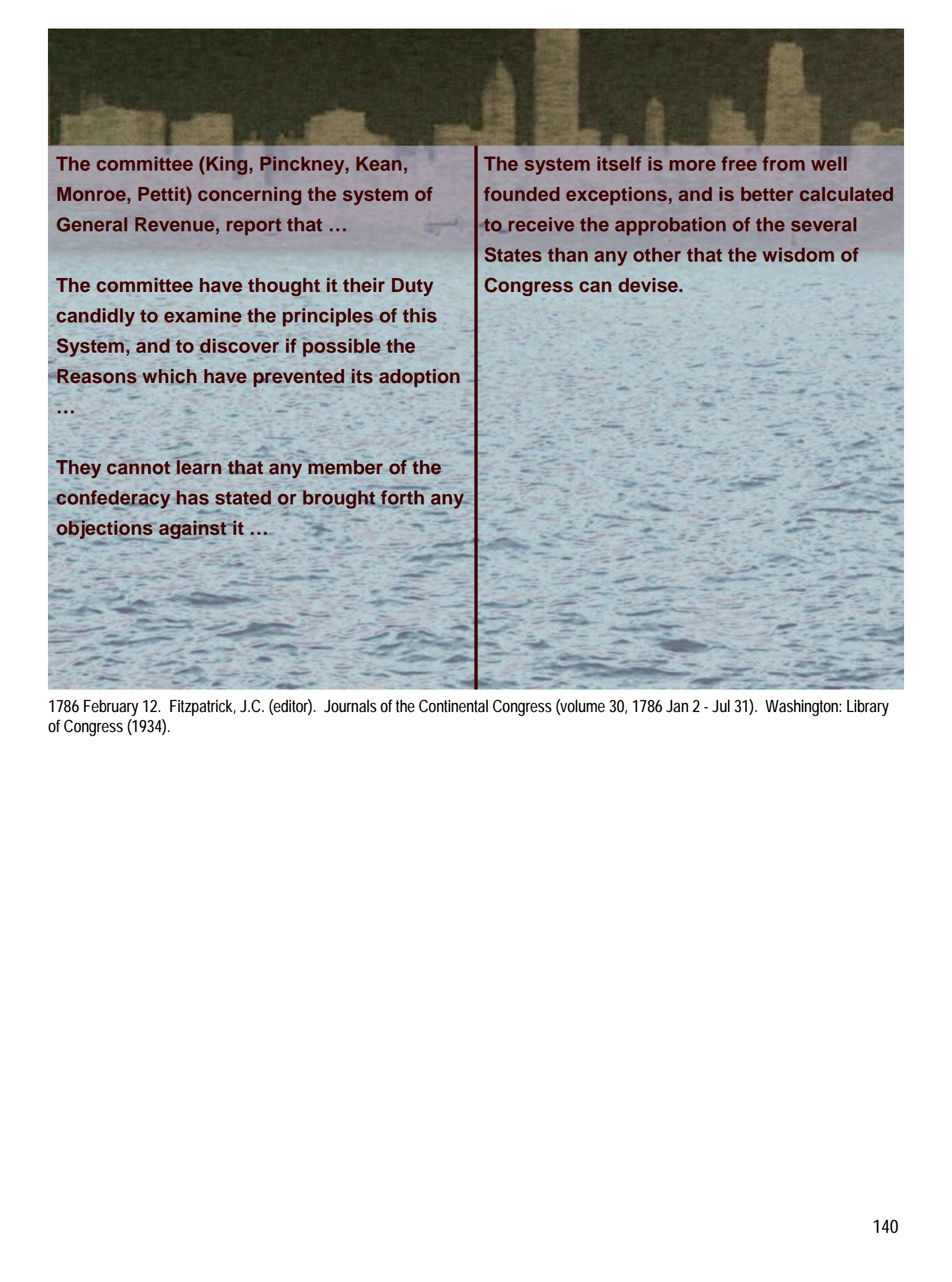
That the means afforded by the confederation for obtaining money, have been found ineffectual ...

Not more than (33%) of the sum called for has been paid into the common treasury ...

In examining the conduct of the several states, all, except (NY, GA), have, in some degree, complied with investing the US with the power of levying certain duties ...

The assent of so large a majority, including some of the most important in commercial and other resources, shows they have considered the extension of their commerce, and the security of their liberties, as owing to the joint efforts of the whole ...

1786 February 7. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



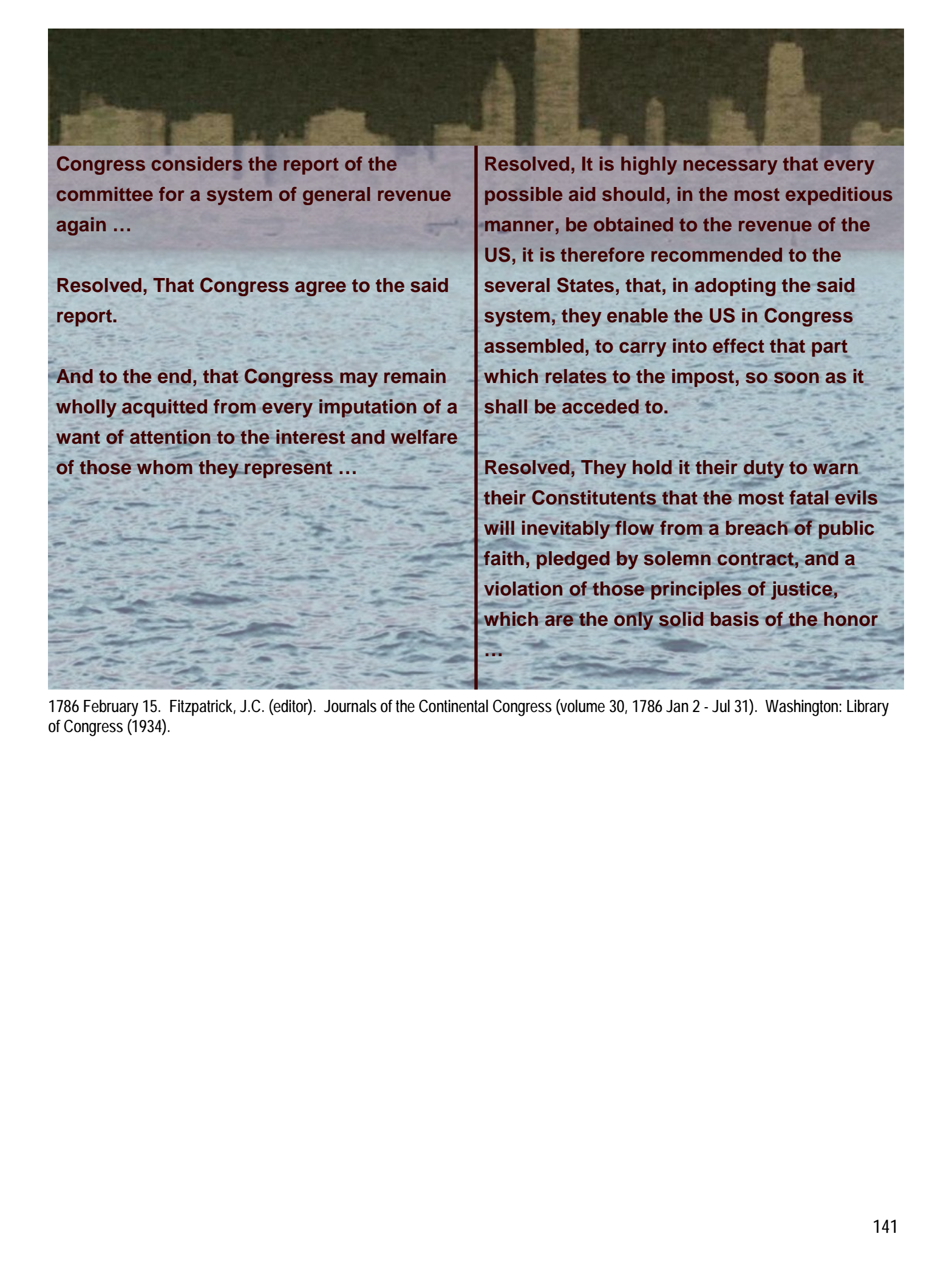
The committee (King, Pinckney, Kean, Monroe, Pettit) concerning the system of General Revenue, report that ...

The committee have thought it their Duty candidly to examine the principles of this System, and to discover if possible the Reasons which have prevented its adoption ...

They cannot learn that any member of the confederacy has stated or brought forth any objections against it ...

The system itself is more free from well founded exceptions, and is better calculated to receive the approbation of the several States than any other that the wisdom of Congress can devise.

1786 February 12. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



Congress considers the report of the committee for a system of general revenue again ...

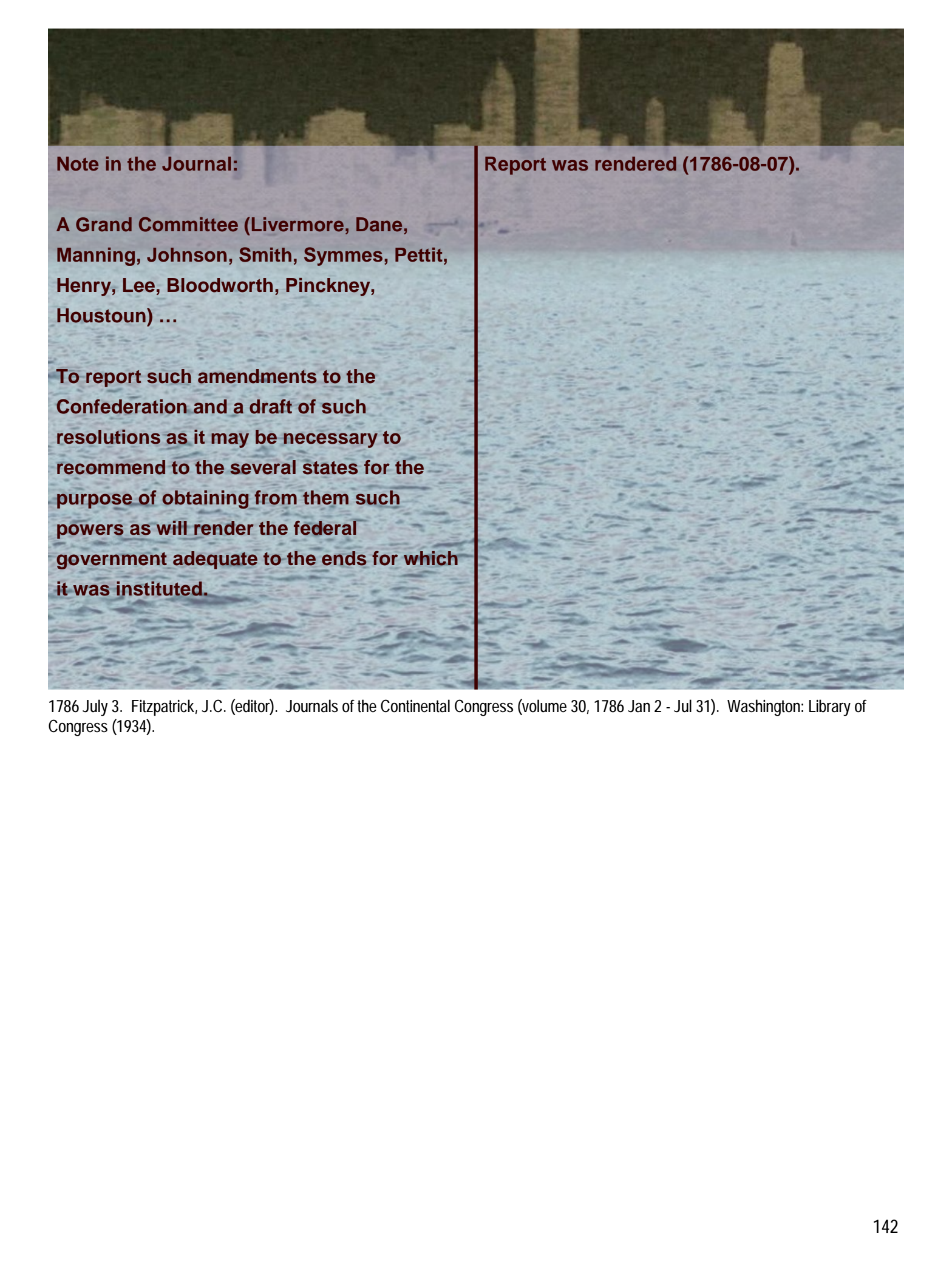
Resolved, That Congress agree to the said report.

And to the end, that Congress may remain wholly acquitted from every imputation of a want of attention to the interest and welfare of those whom they represent ...

Resolved, It is highly necessary that every possible aid should, in the most expeditious manner, be obtained to the revenue of the US, it is therefore recommended to the several States, that, in adopting the said system, they enable the US in Congress assembled, to carry into effect that part which relates to the impost, so soon as it shall be acceded to.

Resolved, They hold it their duty to warn their Constitutents that the most fatal evils will inevitably flow from a breach of public faith, pledged by solemn contract, and a violation of those principles of justice, which are the only solid basis of the honor ...

1786 February 15. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



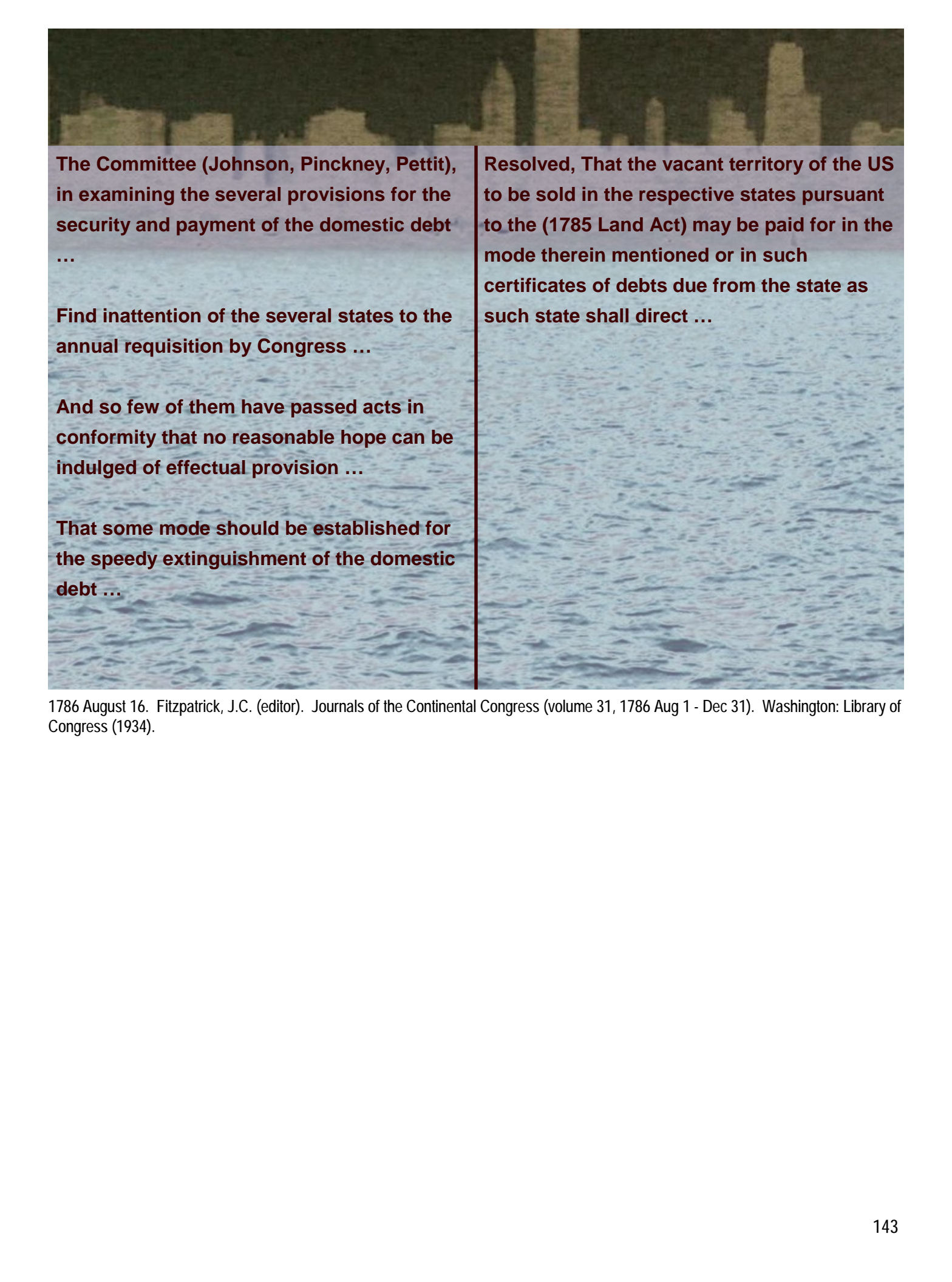
Note in the Journal:

A Grand Committee (Livermore, Dane, Manning, Johnson, Smith, Symmes, Pettit, Henry, Lee, Bloodworth, Pinckney, Houstoun) ...

To report such amendments to the Confederation and a draft of such resolutions as it may be necessary to recommend to the several states for the purpose of obtaining from them such powers as will render the federal government adequate to the ends for which it was instituted.

Report was rendered (1786-08-07).

1786 July 3. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 30, 1786 Jan 2 - Jul 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



The Committee (Johnson, Pinckney, Pettit),
in examining the several provisions for the
security and payment of the domestic debt
...

Find inattention of the several states to the
annual requisition by Congress ...

And so few of them have passed acts in
conformity that no reasonable hope can be
indulged of effectual provision ...

That some mode should be established for
the speedy extinguishment of the domestic
debt ...

Resolved, That the vacant territory of the US
to be sold in the respective states pursuant
to the (1785 Land Act) may be paid for in the
mode therein mentioned or in such
certificates of debts due from the state as
such state shall direct ...

1786 August 16. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 31, 1786 Aug 1 - Dec 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).

**An Address from the US in Congress
Assembled to the States ...**

**When the Interests of a People are
endangered, either through the defect of the
Government they have established ...**

**Or the want of timely and vigorous
Exertions to give efficacy to its Operations
...**

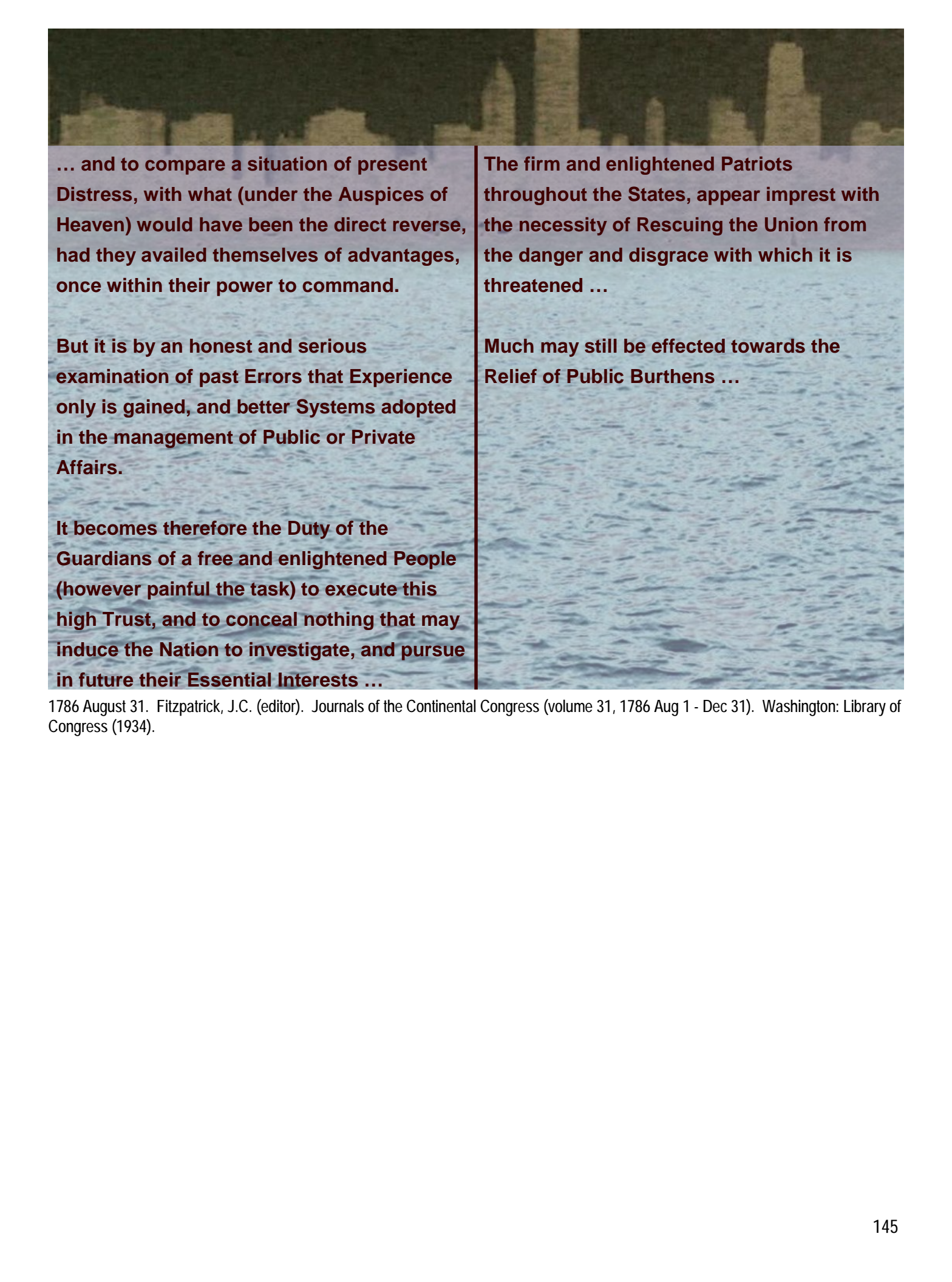
**It becomes the duty of those to whom the
sacred Trust of watching over the Welfare of
the Nation is delegated, to awaken it to a
sense of its danger, and to urge the
adoption of such measures as may avert the
Calamities with which it is threatened.**

**It would be unnecessary to recapitulate the
reasons which induced the
Recommendation of the Revenue System
(1783-04-18) ...**

**When the extraordinary Importations which
were poured into the States for the first two
Years after the Peace are taken into
consideration, by the end of (1787) a net
Revenue would have accrued from the
(general impost) of (\$4 million) ...**

**It is a painful Task either in Nations or
Individuals to call to mind circumstances of
Advantage, which have escaped their
Controul ...**

1786 August 31. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 31, 1786 Aug 1 - Dec 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



... and to compare a situation of present Distress, with what (under the Auspices of Heaven) would have been the direct reverse, had they availed themselves of advantages, once within their power to command.

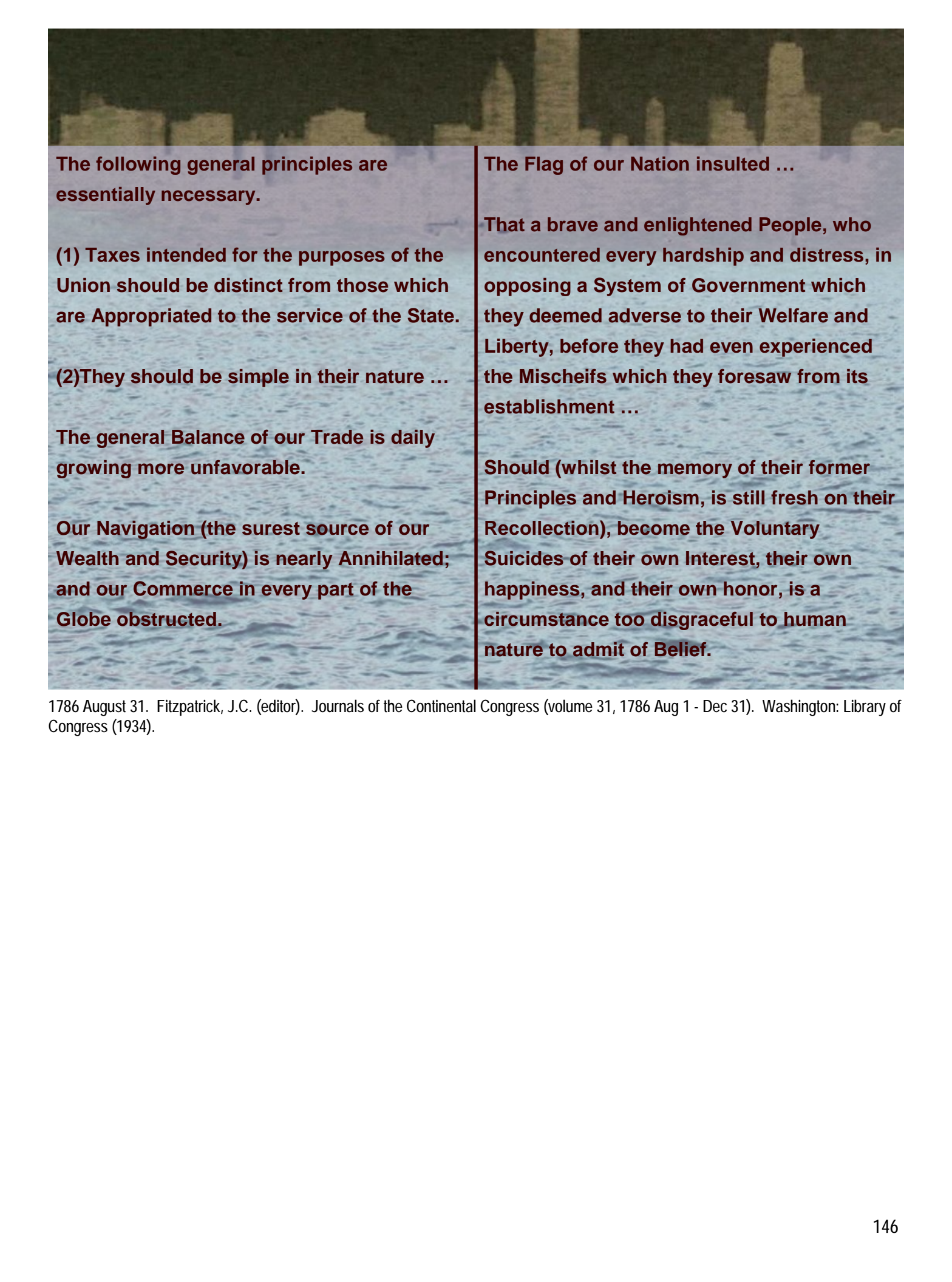
But it is by an honest and serious examination of past Errors that Experience only is gained, and better Systems adopted in the management of Public or Private Affairs.

It becomes therefore the Duty of the Guardians of a free and enlightened People (however painful the task) to execute this high Trust, and to conceal nothing that may induce the Nation to investigate, and pursue in future their Essential Interests ...

The firm and enlightened Patriots throughout the States, appear imprest with the necessity of Rescuing the Union from the danger and disgrace with which it is threatened ...

Much may still be effected towards the Relief of Public Burthens ...

1786 August 31. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 31, 1786 Aug 1 - Dec 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



The following general principles are essentially necessary.

(1) Taxes intended for the purposes of the Union should be distinct from those which are Appropriated to the service of the State.

(2) They should be simple in their nature ...

The general Balance of our Trade is daily growing more unfavorable.

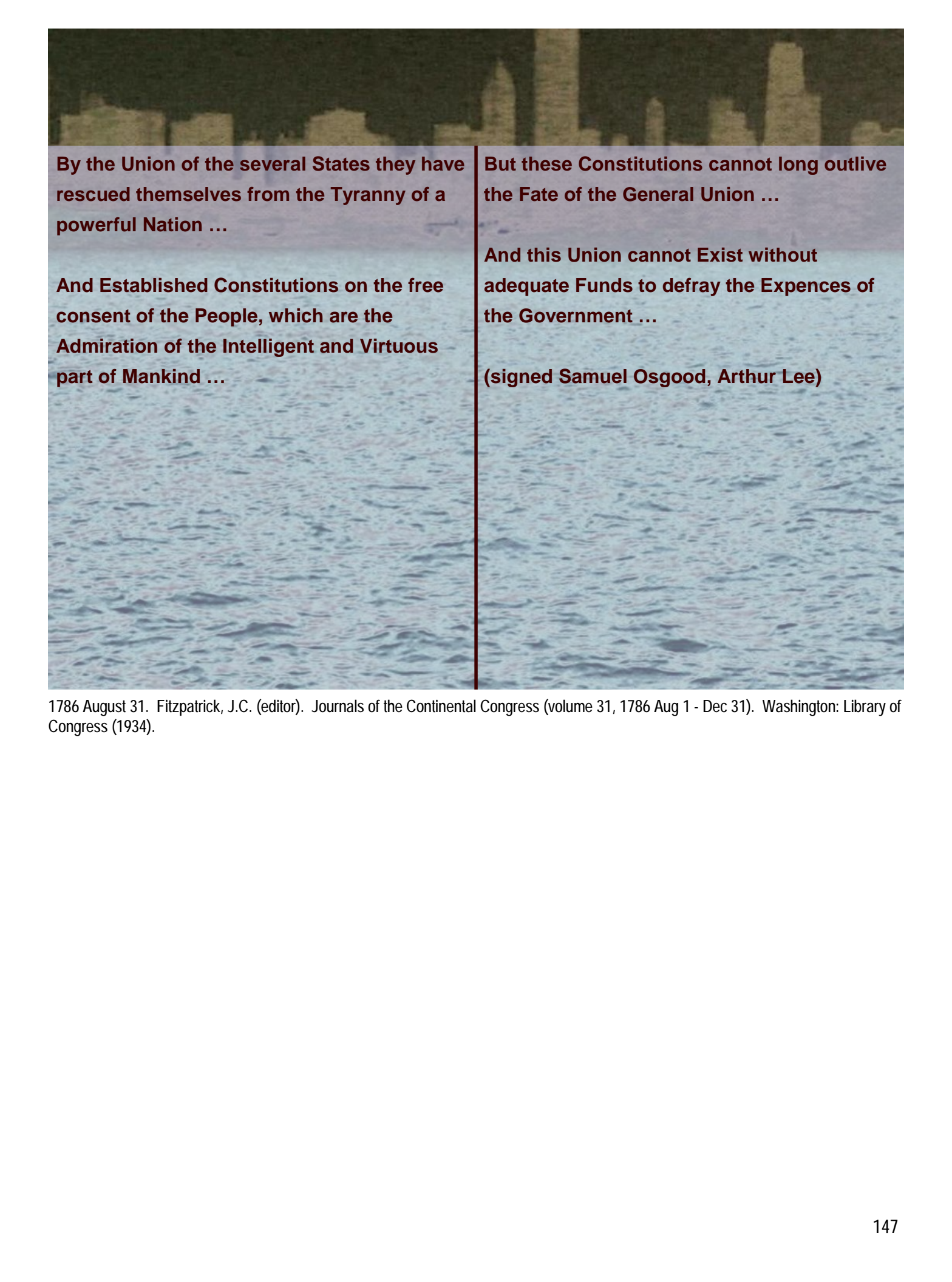
Our Navigation (the surest source of our Wealth and Security) is nearly Annihilated; and our Commerce in every part of the Globe obstructed.

The Flag of our Nation insulted ...

That a brave and enlightened People, who encountered every hardship and distress, in opposing a System of Government which they deemed adverse to their Welfare and Liberty, before they had even experienced the Mischeifs which they foresaw from its establishment ...

Should (whilst the memory of their former Principles and Heroism, is still fresh on their Recollection), become the Voluntary Suicides of their own Interest, their own happiness, and their own honor, is a circumstance too disgraceful to human nature to admit of Belief.

1786 August 31. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 31, 1786 Aug 1 - Dec 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



By the Union of the several States they have rescued themselves from the Tyranny of a powerful Nation ...

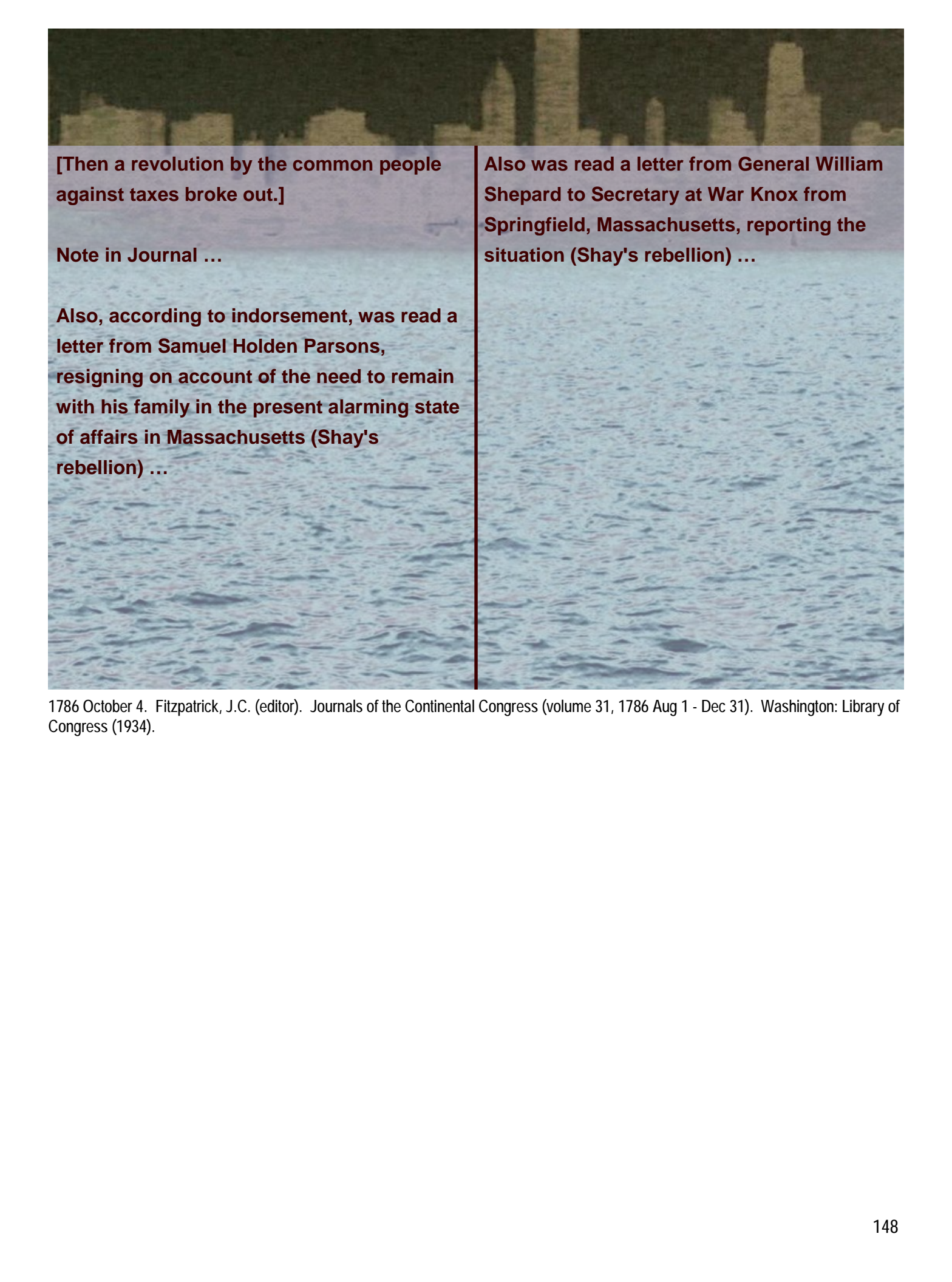
And Established Constitutions on the free consent of the People, which are the Admiration of the Intelligent and Virtuous part of Mankind ...

But these Constitutions cannot long outlive the Fate of the General Union ...

And this Union cannot Exist without adequate Funds to defray the Expences of the Government ...

(signed Samuel Osgood, Arthur Lee)

1786 August 31. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 31, 1786 Aug 1 - Dec 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).



**[Then a revolution by the common people
against taxes broke out.]**

Note in Journal ...

**Also, according to indorsement, was read a
letter from Samuel Holden Parsons,
resigning on account of the need to remain
with his family in the present alarming state
of affairs in Massachusetts (Shay's
rebellion) ...**

**Also was read a letter from General William
Shepard to Secretary at War Knox from
Springfield, Massachusetts, reporting the
situation (Shay's rebellion) ...**

1786 October 4. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 31, 1786 Aug 1 - Dec 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).

Statement of revenue due from states on requisition of (1786-06-30) ...	
New Hampshire	paid (\$ 7,679) owes (\$ 179,120)
Massachusetts	paid (\$ 371,118) owes (\$ 282,680)
Rhode Island	paid (\$ 75,711) owes (\$ 32,631)
Connecticut	paid (\$ 157,318) owes (\$ 216,280)
New York	paid (\$ 186,799) owes (\$)
New Jersey	paid (\$ 242,839) owes (\$ 103,511)
Pennsylvania	paid (\$ 560,397) owes (\$)
Delaware	paid (\$ 29,081) owes (\$ 26,962)
Maryland	paid (\$ 272,525) owes (\$ 194,473)
Virginia	paid (\$ 550,849) owes (\$ 102,948)
North Carolina	paid (\$) owes (\$ 311,338)
South Carolina	paid (\$ 186,799) owes (\$)
Georgia	paid (\$) owes (\$ 12,452)
Considerable balances are also due on the requisition (1782-09-04).	

1786 October 6. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 31, 1786 Aug 1 - Dec 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).

**Address to the Several Legislatures to
Accompany the Requisition of 1786 ...**

**Under this heavy accummulation of the
foreign debt it becomes incumbent on the
several states, until a general impost or
some other system of revenue adequate to
the establishment of national credit and
safety can be adopted, to exert themselves
to fulfil that duty which they owe to their
own character and the welfare of the
Confederacy by enacting laws, more
efficacious than those heretofore passed for
bringing into the general treasury their
respective quotas of the present requisition
...**

**(1) Taxes intended for the Union should be
permanent and distinct from those of the
State...**

**(2) They should be simple in their nature and
easy in the collection.**

**(3) The sums levied on the individuals
should be paid in specie to keep pace with
the payment of the discounts of Interest.**

1786 October 17. Fitzpatrick, J.C. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 31, 1786 Aug 1 - Dec 31). Washington: Library of Congress (1934).

Congress unanimously agreed to the following resolutions ..

Resolved, That the legislatures of States cannot of right pass any acts for interpreting, explaining or construing a national treaty or any clause of it, nor for restraining, limiting or in any manner impeding, retarding or counteracting the operation and execution of the same ...

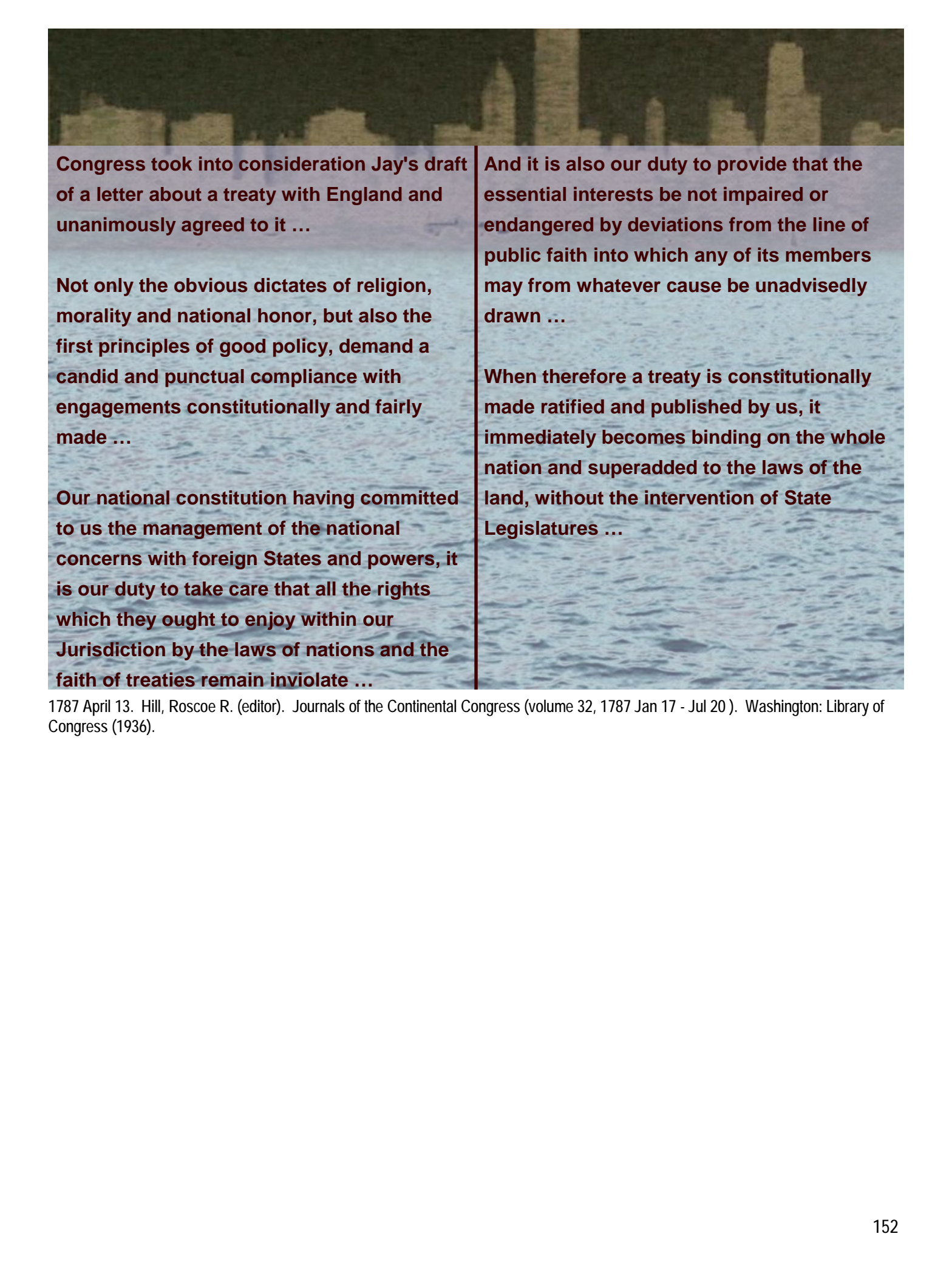
... for, on being constitutionally made, ratified and published they become in virtue of the confederation part of the law of the land, and are not only independent of the will and power of such legislatures but also binding and obligatory on them ...

Resolved That all such acts or parts of Acts as may be now existing in any of the States repugnant to the treaty of Peace ought to be repealed ...

... as well to prevent their continuing to be regarded as violations of that treaty, as to avoid the disagreeable necessity of raising and discussing questions touching their validity and Obligation ...

Resolved That it be recommended to the several States to make such repeal rather by describing than reciting the said acts ...

1787 March 21. Hill, Roscoe R. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 32, 1787 Jan 17 - Jul 20). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).



Congress took into consideration Jay's draft of a letter about a treaty with England and unanimously agreed to it ...

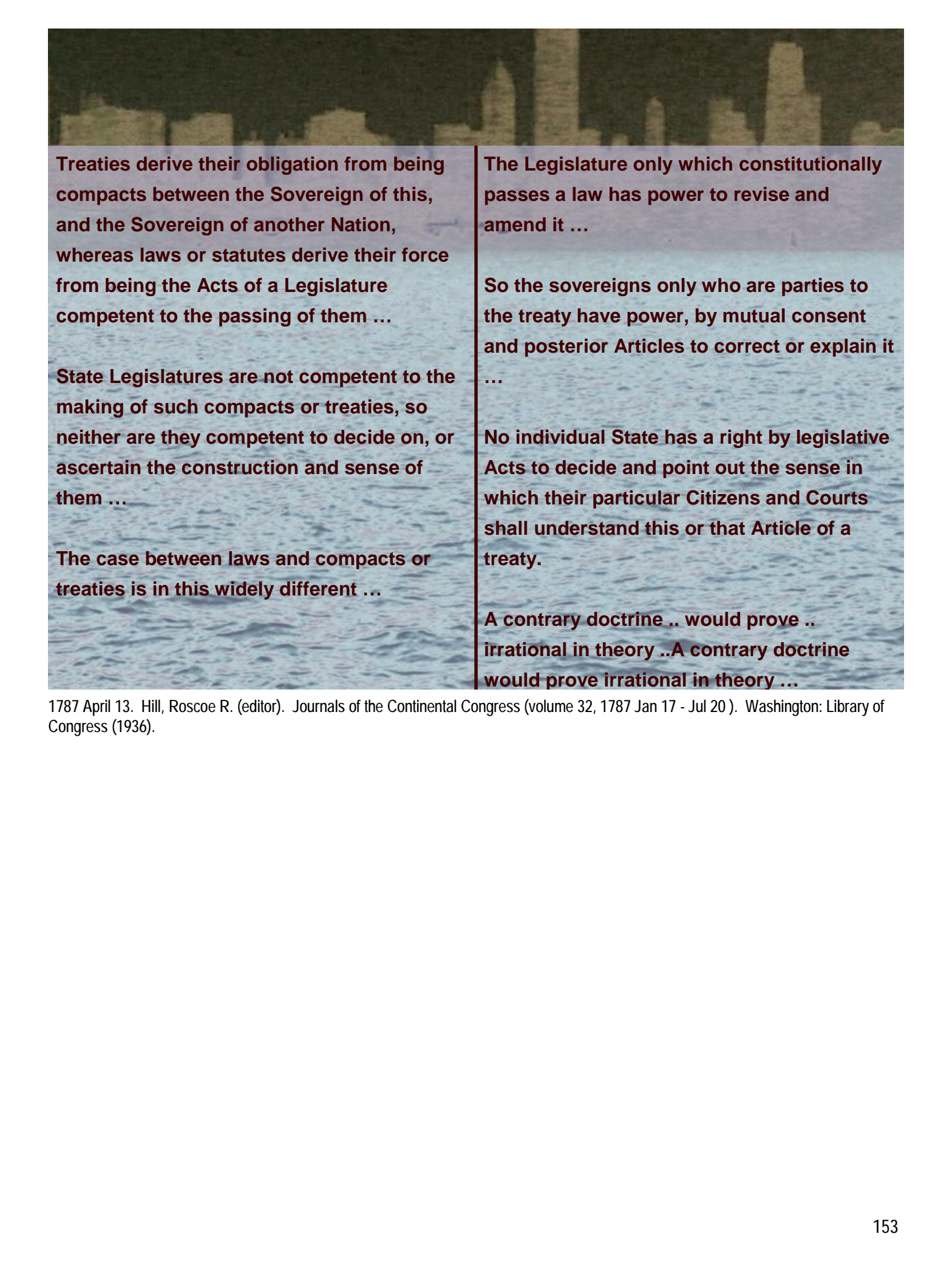
Not only the obvious dictates of religion, morality and national honor, but also the first principles of good policy, demand a candid and punctual compliance with engagements constitutionally and fairly made ...

Our national constitution having committed to us the management of the national concerns with foreign States and powers, it is our duty to take care that all the rights which they ought to enjoy within our Jurisdiction by the laws of nations and the faith of treaties remain inviolate ...

And it is also our duty to provide that the essential interests be not impaired or endangered by deviations from the line of public faith into which any of its members may from whatever cause be unadvisedly drawn ...

When therefore a treaty is constitutionally made ratified and published by us, it immediately becomes binding on the whole nation and superadded to the laws of the land, without the intervention of State Legislatures ...

1787 April 13. Hill, Roscoe R. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 32, 1787 Jan 17 - Jul 20). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).



Treaties derive their obligation from being compacts between the Sovereign of this, and the Sovereign of another Nation, whereas laws or statutes derive their force from being the Acts of a Legislature competent to the passing of them ...

State Legislatures are not competent to the making of such compacts or treaties, so neither are they competent to decide on, or ascertain the construction and sense of them ...

The case between laws and compacts or treaties is in this widely different ...

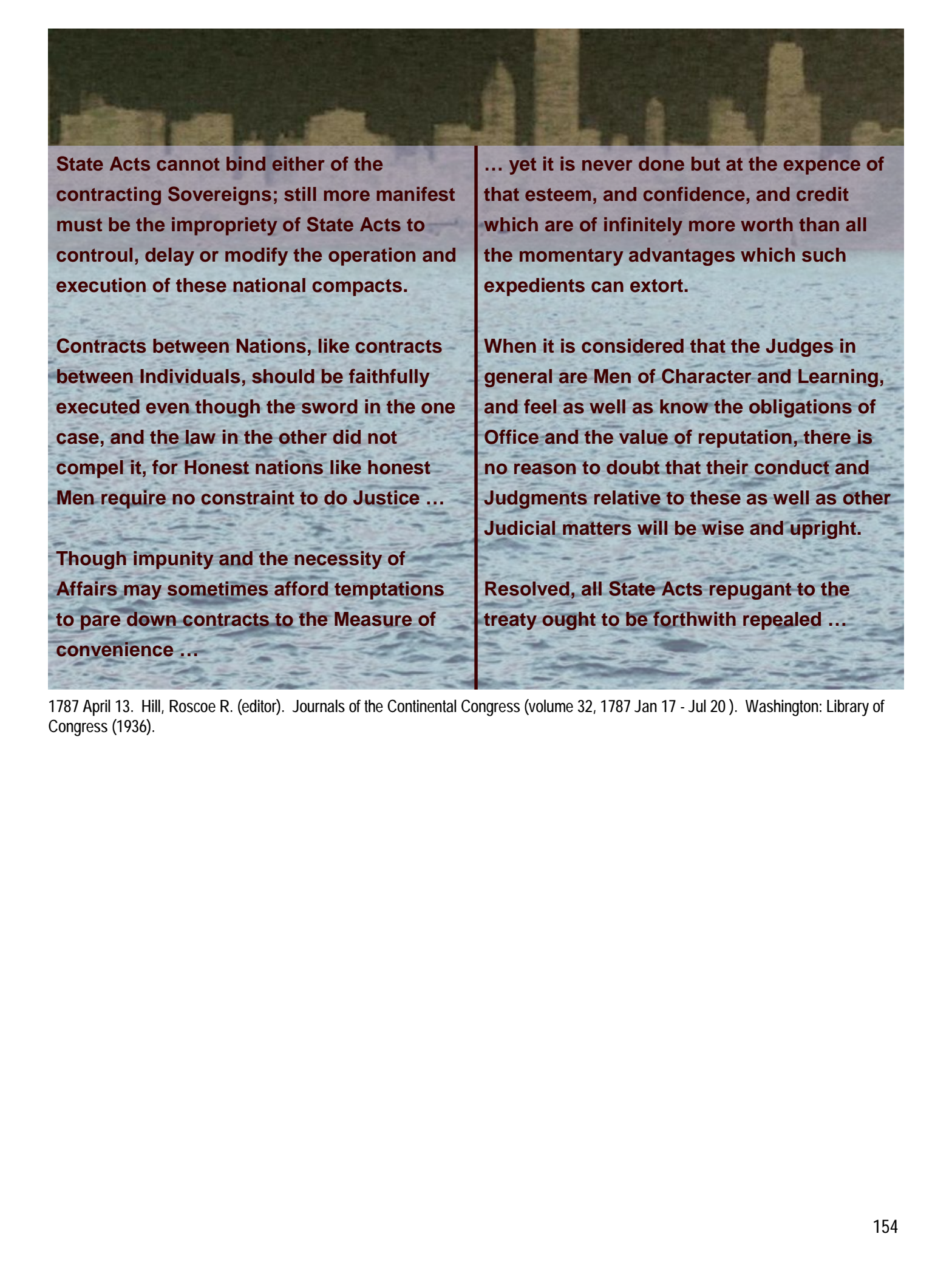
The Legislature only which constitutionally passes a law has power to revise and amend it ...

So the sovereigns only who are parties to the treaty have power, by mutual consent and posterior Articles to correct or explain it ...

No individual State has a right by legislative Acts to decide and point out the sense in which their particular Citizens and Courts shall understand this or that Article of a treaty.

A contrary doctrine .. would prove .. irrational in theory ..A contrary doctrine would prove irrational in theory ...

1787 April 13. Hill, Roscoe R. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 32, 1787 Jan 17 - Jul 20). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).



State Acts cannot bind either of the contracting Sovereigns; still more manifest must be the impropriety of State Acts to controul, delay or modify the operation and execution of these national compacts.

Contracts between Nations, like contracts between Individuals, should be faithfully executed even though the sword in the one case, and the law in the other did not compel it, for Honest nations like honest Men require no constraint to do Justice ...

Though impunity and the necessity of Affairs may sometimes afford temptations to pare down contracts to the Measure of convenience ...

... yet it is never done but at the expence of that esteem, and confidence, and credit which are of infinitely more worth than all the momentary advantages which such expedients can extort.

When it is considered that the Judges in general are Men of Character and Learning, and feel as well as know the obligations of Office and the value of reputation, there is no reason to doubt that their conduct and Judgments relative to these as well as other Judicial matters will be wise and upright.

Resolved, all State Acts repugant to the treaty ought to be forthwith repealed ...

1787 April 13. Hill, Roscoe R. (editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 32, 1787 Jan 17 - Jul 20). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).

Article I. § 2

... direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States ... according to their respective numbers ... of free persons ... excluding Indians not taxed (and) (60%) of all other persons (according to census) ...

Article I. § 8

The Congress shall have power ...

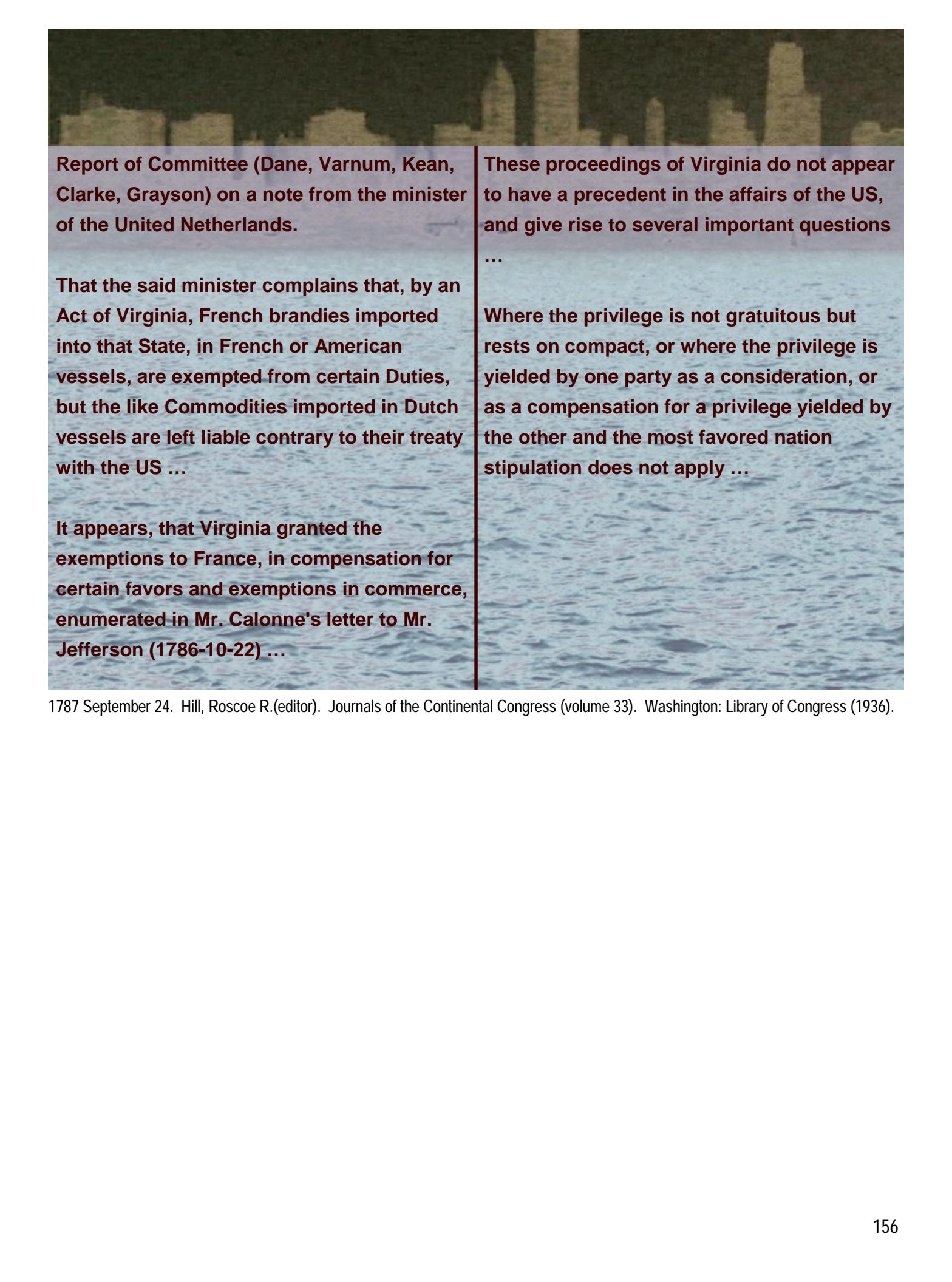
To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the US; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the US:

To borrow money on the credit of the US ...

[Footnote: (a) The authority of Congress to lay and collect taxes, does not interfere with the power of the States to tax for the support of their own governments; nor is the exercise of that power by the States, an exercise of any portion of the power that is granted to the United States. Gibbons v. Ogden, 9 Wheat. 1; 5 Cond. Rep. 562.]

[Footnote: (b) The constitutional provision that direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, to be ascertained by a census, was not intended to restrict the power of imposing direct taxes to States only. Loughborough v. Blake, 5 Wheat. 317: 4 Cond. Rep. 660.]

1787 September 17. Constitution of the United States (distributed to the states for ratification). in Peters, Richard (editor). Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, Volume 1. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown (1845).



Report of Committee (Dane, Varnum, Kean, Clarke, Grayson) on a note from the minister of the United Netherlands.

That the said minister complains that, by an Act of Virginia, French brandies imported into that State, in French or American vessels, are exempted from certain Duties, but the like Commodities imported in Dutch vessels are left liable contrary to their treaty with the US ...

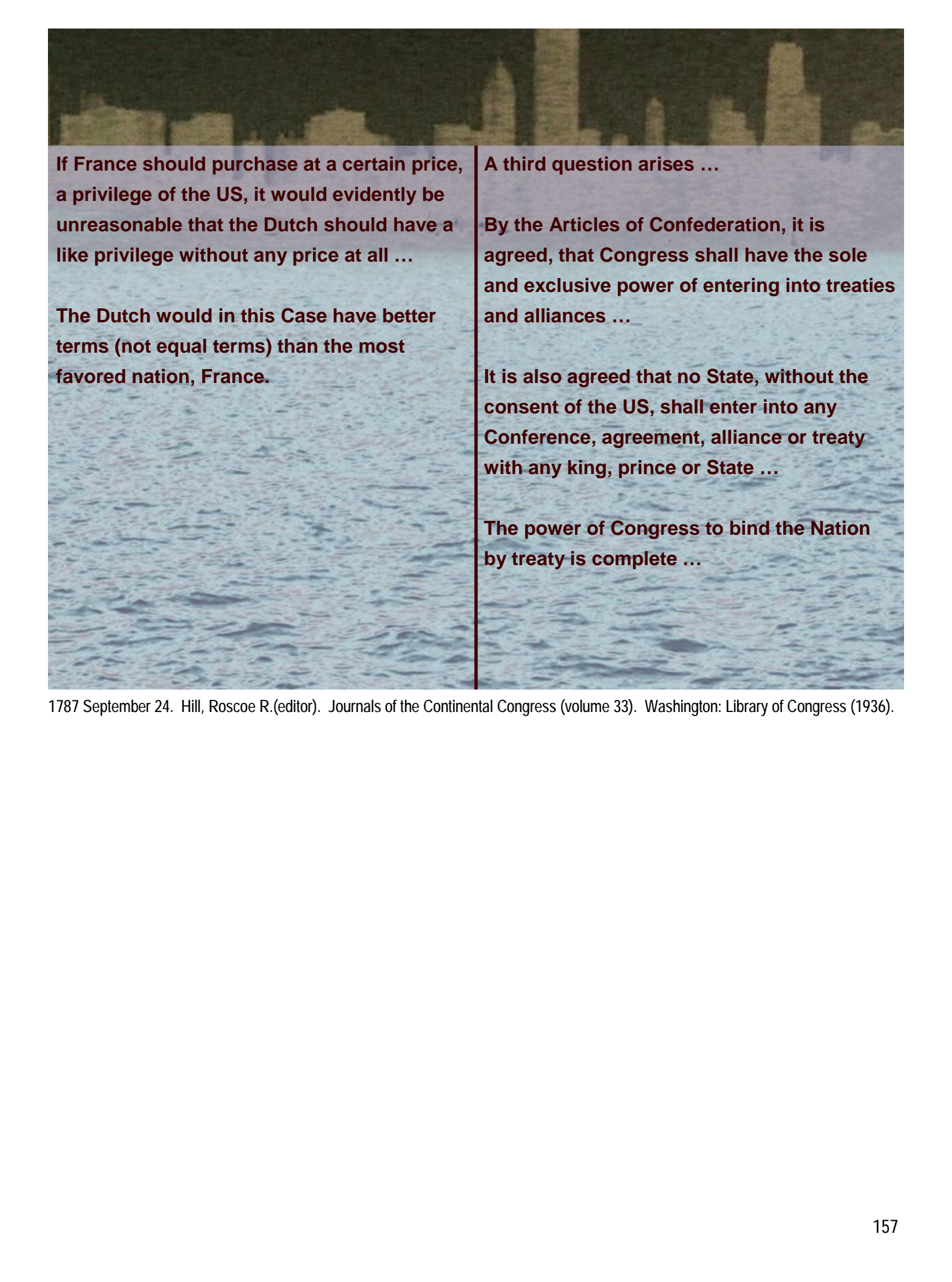
It appears, that Virginia granted the exemptions to France, in compensation for certain favors and exemptions in commerce, enumerated in Mr. Calonne's letter to Mr. Jefferson (1786-10-22) ...

These proceedings of Virginia do not appear to have a precedent in the affairs of the US, and give rise to several important questions

...

Where the privilege is not gratuitous but rests on compact, or where the privilege is yielded by one party as a consideration, or as a compensation for a privilege yielded by the other and the most favored nation stipulation does not apply ...

1787 September 24. Hill, Roscoe R.(editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 33). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).



If France should purchase at a certain price, a privilege of the US, it would evidently be unreasonable that the Dutch should have a like privilege without any price at all ...

The Dutch would in this Case have better terms (not equal terms) than the most favored nation, France.

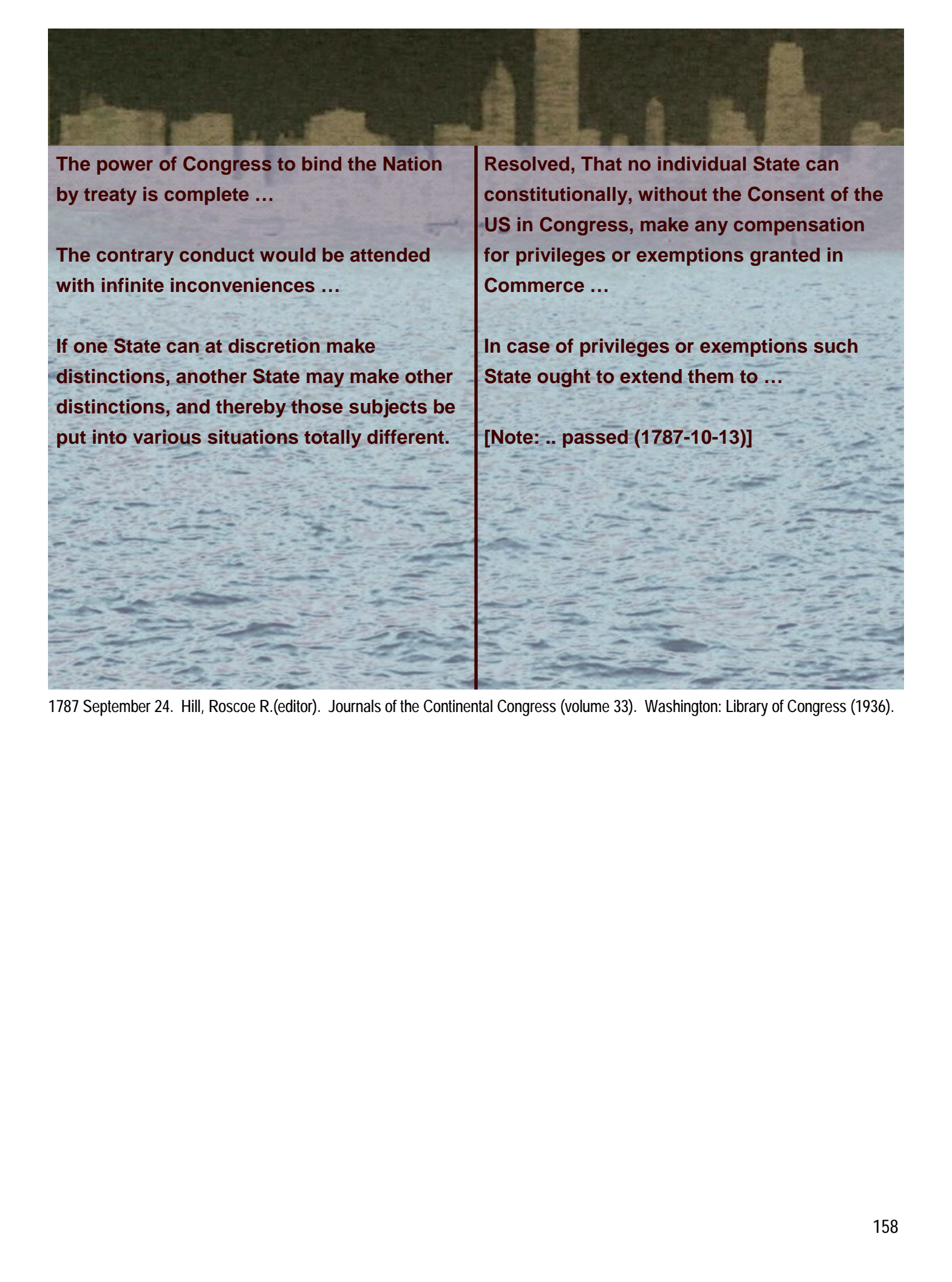
A third question arises ...

By the Articles of Confederation, it is agreed, that Congress shall have the sole and exclusive power of entering into treaties and alliances ...

It is also agreed that no State, without the consent of the US, shall enter into any Conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or State ...

The power of Congress to bind the Nation by treaty is complete ...

1787 September 24. Hill, Roscoe R.(editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 33). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).



**The power of Congress to bind the Nation
by treaty is complete ...**

**The contrary conduct would be attended
with infinite inconveniences ...**

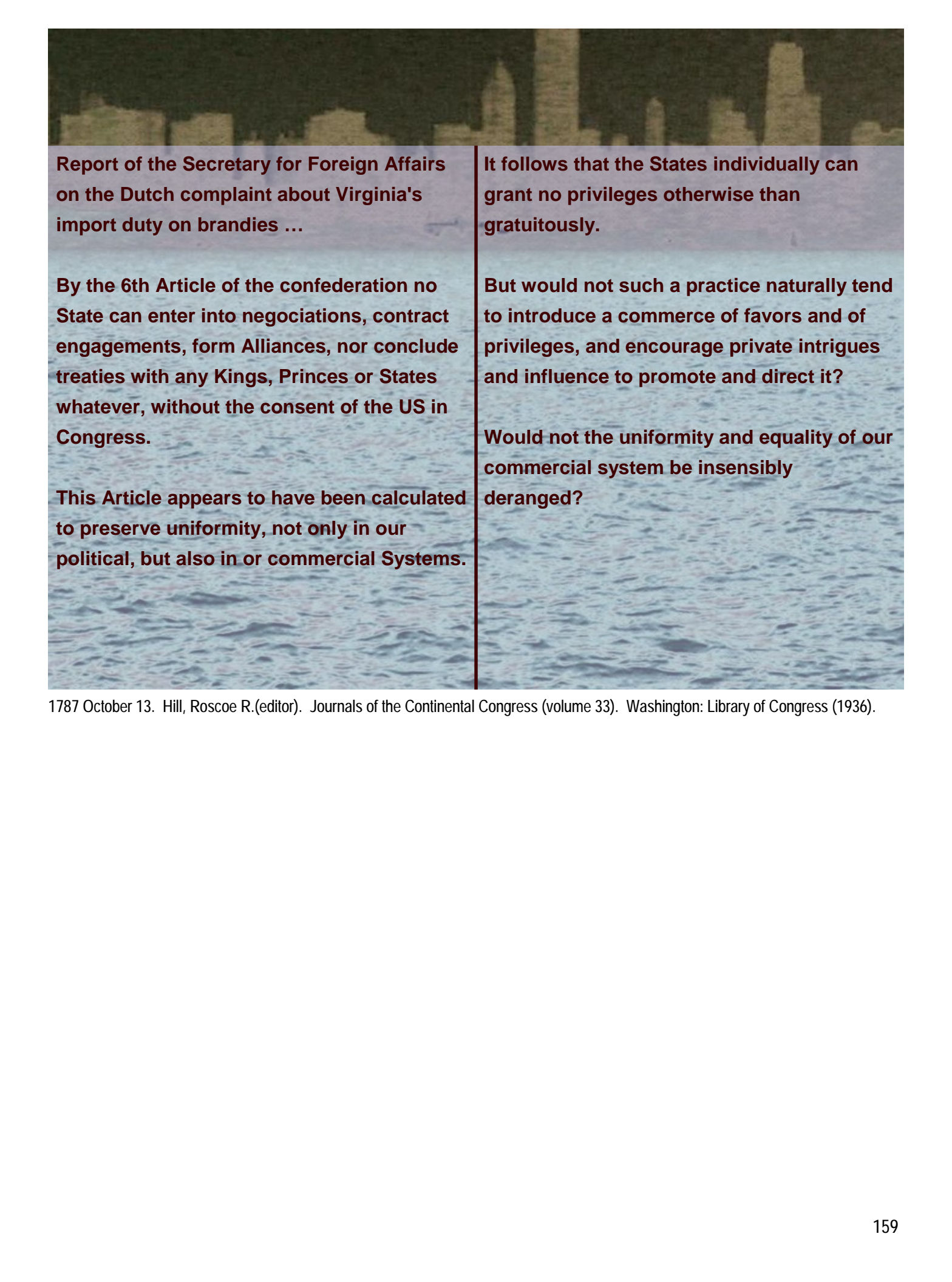
**If one State can at discretion make
distinctions, another State may make other
distinctions, and thereby those subjects be
put into various situations totally different.**

**Resolved, That no individual State can
constitutionally, without the Consent of the
US in Congress, make any compensation
for privileges or exemptions granted in
Commerce ...**

**In case of privileges or exemptions such
State ought to extend them to ...**

[Note: .. passed (1787-10-13)]

1787 September 24. Hill, Roscoe R.(editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 33). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).



**Report of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs
on the Dutch complaint about Virginia's
import duty on brandies ...**

**By the 6th Article of the confederation no
State can enter into negotiations, contract
engagements, form Alliances, nor conclude
treaties with any Kings, Princes or States
whatever, without the consent of the US in
Congress.**

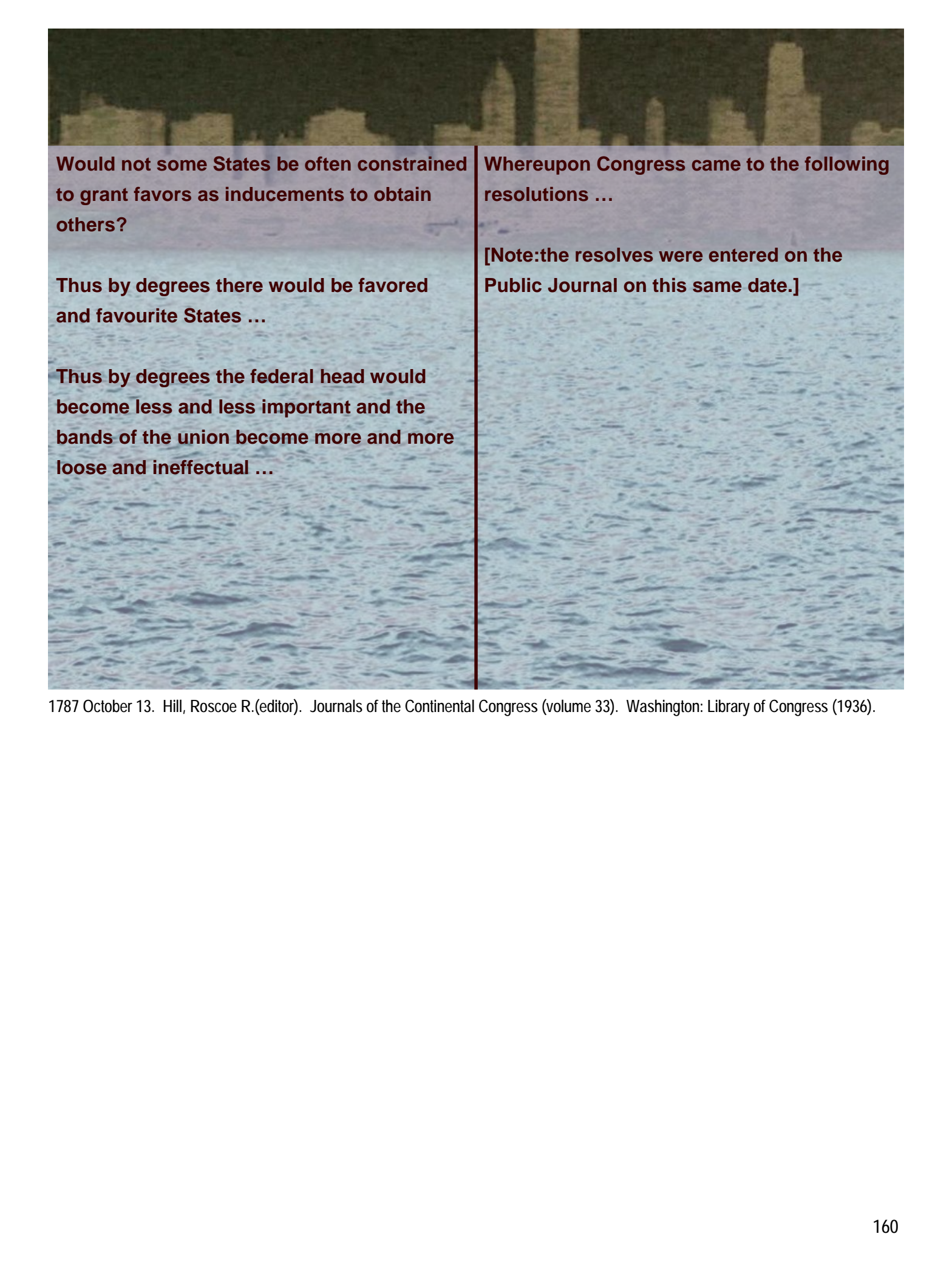
**This Article appears to have been calculated
to preserve uniformity, not only in our
political, but also in or commercial Systems.**

**It follows that the States individually can
grant no privileges otherwise than
gratuitously.**

**But would not such a practice naturally tend
to introduce a commerce of favors and of
privileges, and encourage private intrigues
and influence to promote and direct it?**

**Would not the uniformity and equality of our
commercial system be insensibly
deranged?**

1787 October 13. Hill, Roscoe R.(editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 33). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).



Would not some States be often constrained to grant favors as inducements to obtain others?

Thus by degrees there would be favored and favourite States ...

Thus by degrees the federal head would become less and less important and the bands of the union become more and more loose and ineffectual ...

Whereupon Congress came to the following resolutions ...

[Note:the resolves were entered on the Public Journal on this same date.]

1787 October 13. Hill, Roscoe R.(editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 33). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).

Report of Board of Treasury on the requisition for 1787 ...

(\$ 6,279,376) requisitions for interest on domestic debt 1782-1786 ...

For this large Sum of Public paper there is no reason to presume, that Funds, in the least degree adequate, have been provided by the several States ...

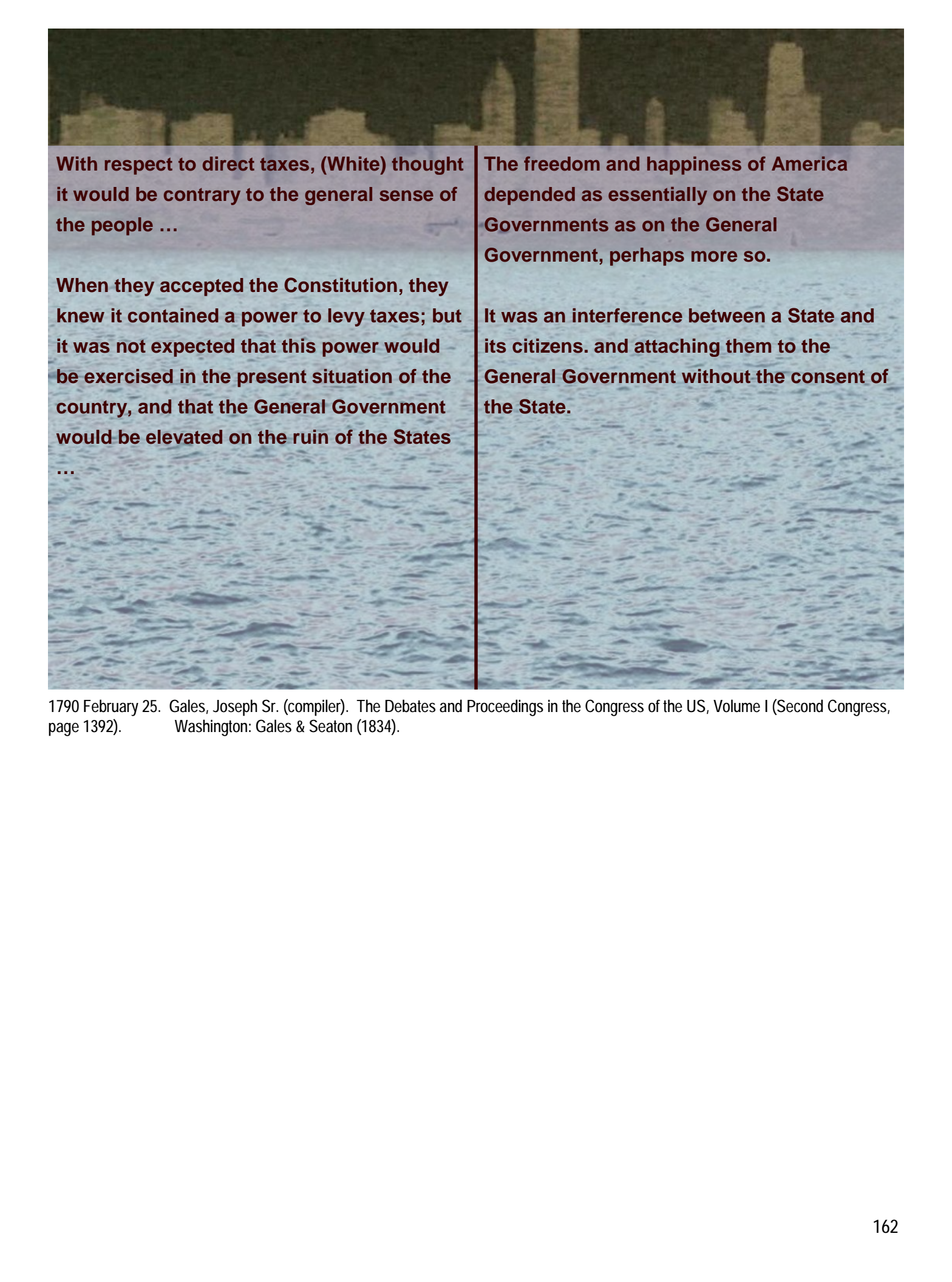
(\$ 1,057,726) paid in by states ...

Hence it appears that there never has been at any one period a Majority of States disposed to collect Taxes for the Payment of the Interest ...

(\$ 2,464,831) Interest and principal due on French and Dutch Loans (1784-1787) ...

(\$ 557,427) paid ...

1787 September 29. Hill, Roscoe R.(editor). Journals of the Continental Congress (volume 33). Washington: Library of Congress (1936).



With respect to direct taxes, (White) thought it would be contrary to the general sense of the people ...

When they accepted the Constitution, they knew it contained a power to levy taxes; but it was not expected that this power would be exercised in the present situation of the country, and that the General Government would be elevated on the ruin of the States ...

The freedom and happiness of America depended as essentially on the State Governments as on the General Government, perhaps more so.

It was an interference between a State and its citizens. and attaching them to the General Government without the consent of the State.

1790 February 25. Gales, Joseph Sr. (compiler). The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the US, Volume I (Second Congress, page 1392). Washington: Gales & Seaton (1834).

Statute XXVI.

An Act making farther provisions for the collection of the duties by law imposed on Teas, and to prolong the term for the payment of the Duties on Wines.

Whereas it is conceived that the following regulations concerning teas may be conducive both to the accommodation of the importers thereof, and to the security of the revenue:

[Tea shipments would be locked up with (2) locks in a government storehouse at the dock until the importer could produce a certificate that he promised to pay extra duty in return for a grace period in which to pay it.]

1791 March 3. Constitution of the United States. in Peters, Richard (editor). Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, Volume 1. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown (1845).

President Washington's address to Congress ...

The novelty of the tax on whiskey stills and a misconception of some of its provisions, have given occasion in particular places to discontent ...

I entertain a full confidence that it will give way to a just sense of duty, and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

It is desirable, on all occasions to unite with a firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of Government, the fullest evidence of a disposition, as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community ...

... and to lay the foundations of the public administration in the affections of the people ..

Revenues which have been established, promise to be adequate to their objects, and may supersede, for the present, the necessity of any new burthens upon our constituents.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands is particularly urged (because) among other reasons they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt (and) if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burthening our citizens with new taxes for the extinguishment of the principal but in a limited proportion ...

1791 October 25. Journal of the House of Representatives of the US begun and Held at Philadelphia (second Congress, pages 435-438). Washington: Gales & Seaton (1826).

Report by Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury ...

Until the restoration of peace, the business of redemption must be deferred.

Did no such temporary necessity exist, it would still be recommended by weighty considerations.

It would appear, in the abstract, advisable, to leave the surplus of the present revenues free, to be applied to such casual exigencies as may from time to time occur ...

... to occasional purchases of the Debt when not exhausted by such exigencies;

... to the payment of interest;

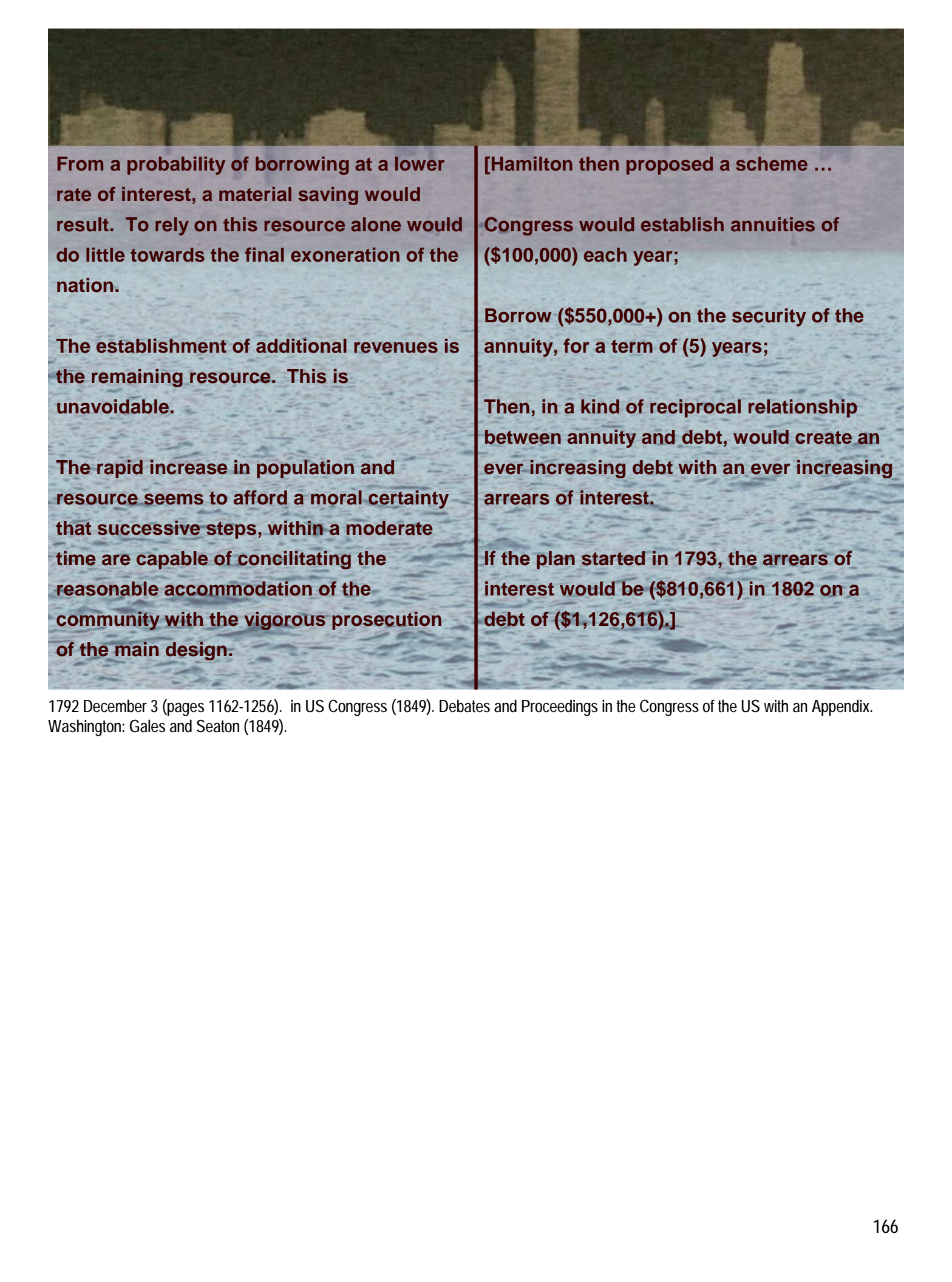
... upon the general settlement of accounts;

... to the payment of interest on the deferred part of the Debt.

Relinquishing then the idea of an immediate application of the present revenues to the object in view (the public debt), what other modes are in the option of the Legislature.

Loans equal to the sums annually redeemable, bottomed on the same revenues, offer themselves as one expedient with a degree of advantage.

1792 December 3 (pages 1162-1256). in US Congress (1849). Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the US with an Appendix. Washington: Gales and Seaton (1849).



From a probability of borrowing at a lower rate of interest, a material saving would result. To rely on this resource alone would do little towards the final exoneration of the nation.

The establishment of additional revenues is the remaining resource. This is unavoidable.

The rapid increase in population and resource seems to afford a moral certainty that successive steps, within a moderate time are capable of concilitating the reasonable accommodation of the community with the vigorous prosecution of the main design.

[Hamilton then proposed a scheme ...

Congress would establish annuities of (\$100,000) each year;

Borrow (\$550,000+) on the security of the annuity, for a term of (5) years;

Then, in a kind of reciprocal relationship between annuity and debt, would create an ever increasing debt with an ever increasing arrears of interest.

If the plan started in 1793, the arrears of interest would be (\$810,661) in 1802 on a debt of (\$1,126,616).]

1792 December 3 (pages 1162-1256). in US Congress (1849). Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the US with an Appendix. Washington: Gales and Seaton (1849).

**1790-1792 loans paid to US Commissioners
in France**

**28,327,937 livres, or
10,073,043 florins, Dutch equivalent.
- 10,073 florins, remittance charge**

Additional loans paid to US in France

**1,833,189 florins
- 19,172 commission on 1,917,250 florins
- 613 advertising
- 105,000 interest paid on debt to US
foreign officers
- 680,000 paid to reimburse Spanish Debt**

**Bills drawn by the Treasurer on US
Commissioners in Amsterdam**

5,549,621

**407,287 florins remaining
in hands of Commissioners**

**[The accountings of foreign loans paid in
Europe indicate that a large part of the
funds often stayed in Europe, and didn't
reach the US.]**

1792 December 3 (pages 1162-1256). in US Congress (1849). Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the US with an Appendix. Washington: Gales and Seaton (1849).

Names of persons in whose favor bills were drawn by the US Treasurer and paid in Amsterdam) (2,986,000 florins) ...

**Francis, T.
Seton, William
Jefferson, T.
Kean, John
Willing, T.**

Names of persons who bought US government bills in New York & Baltimore on Dutch loans ...

**Adams, Josiah & Co
Anthony, Joseph & Son
Badcock, Daniel
Bake & Co.**

**Bell, William
Berthier & Co.
Bickham, George
Bohlen
Bowen, Obadiah
Butler, Anthony
Butler, Norman
Clarkson, Matthew
Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co.
Cook, Nicholas & Co.
Dalton, T.
Deblois, Lewis
Donaldson, John
Edgar, William
Fitzsimons, Thomas
Ghequire & Holmes
Grundy, George
Harrison, George**

1792 December 3 (pages 1162-1256). in US Congress (1849). Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the US with an Appendix. Washington: Gales and Seaton (1849).



Hill, Henry
Hoffman, Nicholas
Jacoby, Leonard
Ketland, Thomas
Le Roy & Bayard
Mark, Jacob & Philip
McConnell, Matthew
McPherson, William
Meade, George
Meredith, Samuel
Miller, James & W.
Morris, Robert
Mumford, John P & Co.
Murray, John
Nixon, John
Nixon & Foster
Ord, George
Pragers & Co.

Ratien & Konecke
Rowlett & Corp
Schroeder, Henry
Scriba, George
Slubey, Nicholas & Co.
Stanman, Fred W.
Sweetman, George
Taylor, William
Valck, Adrian
Van Horne & Clarkson
Van Wyck, William
Ward, Samuel & Brothers
West, F & J
Williams, Jonathan
Willing, Thomas M
Willing, Morris & Stanwick

1792 December 3 (pages 1162-1256). in US Congress (1849). Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the US with an Appendix. Washington: Gales and Seaton (1849).

1789-1790 duties arising from imports and tonnage (16 months)

3,131,668 \$

- 1,760,237 \$ appropriations

1,374,656 \$ SURPLUS REVENUE

1792 estimated duties

3,900,000 \$

1792 estimated excise on domestic spirits

400,000 \$

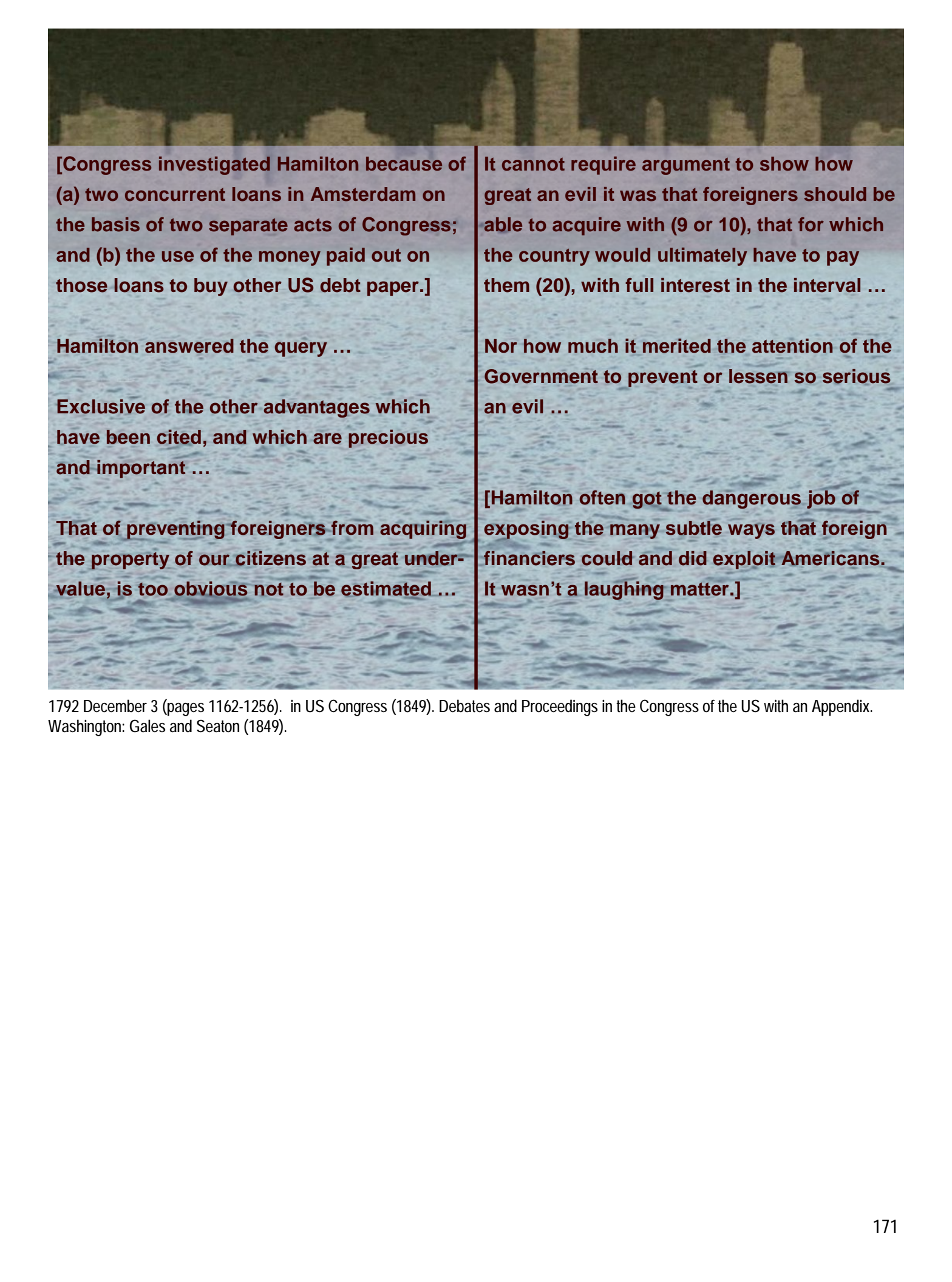
[US government officials have fought a war on behalf of foreign and domestic public financiers against the majority of American people since Day One.

[Officials service foreign loans by a tax on imports that defeats domestic industry and self-sufficiency for the American people.

[Officials also service ever increasing debt and spending by taxes on foreign and domestic liquor; and for this reason, officials depend on alcoholism and drunkenness to feather their own nests.

[The taxes seem to function as a kind of tribute or ransom paid to foreign powers; and to free the American people from this exploitation, the founders reserved millions of acres of the land they acquired from foreign kings so rental income on this public land would be an alternative to taxes for government revenue.]

1792 December 3 (pages 1162-1256). in US Congress (1849). Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the US with an Appendix. Washington: Gales and Seaton (1849).



[Congress investigated Hamilton because of (a) two concurrent loans in Amsterdam on the basis of two separate acts of Congress; and (b) the use of the money paid out on those loans to buy other US debt paper.]

Hamilton answered the query ...

Exclusive of the other advantages which have been cited, and which are precious and important ...

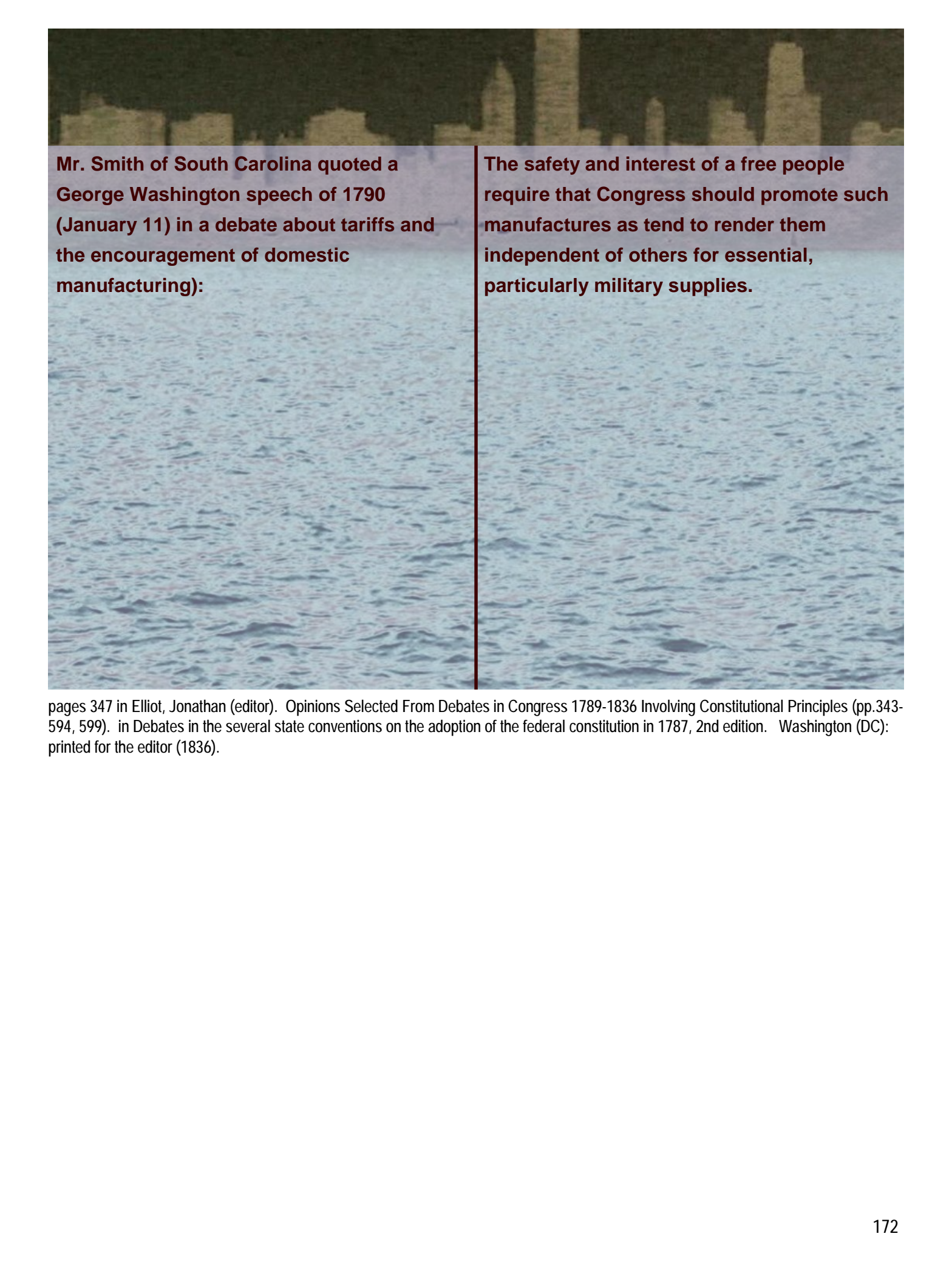
That of preventing foreigners from acquiring the property of our citizens at a great under-value, is too obvious not to be estimated ...

It cannot require argument to show how great an evil it was that foreigners should be able to acquire with (9 or 10), that for which the country would ultimately have to pay them (20), with full interest in the interval ...

Nor how much it merited the attention of the Government to prevent or lessen so serious an evil ...

[Hamilton often got the dangerous job of exposing the many subtle ways that foreign financiers could and did exploit Americans. It wasn't a laughing matter.]

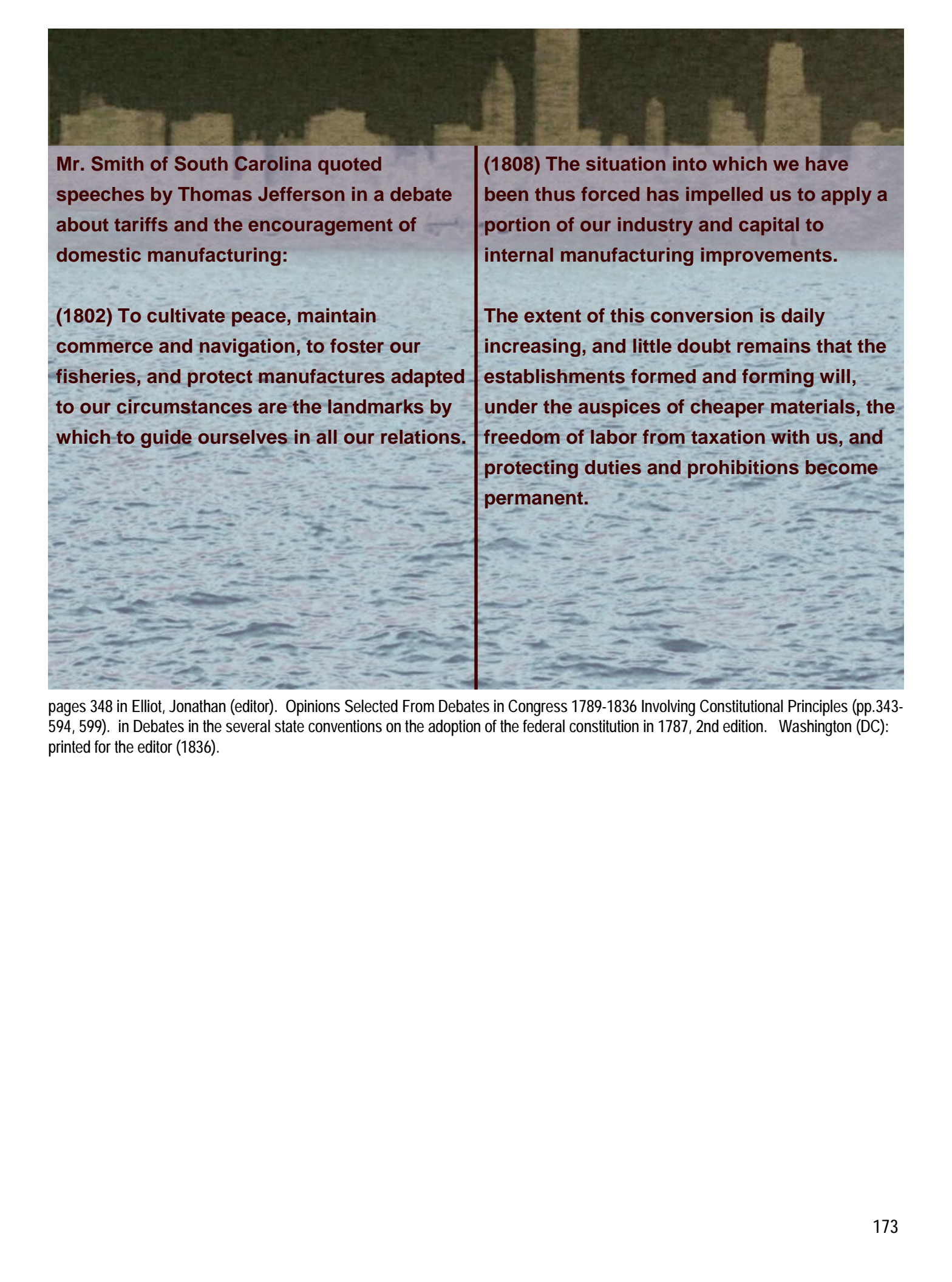
1792 December 3 (pages 1162-1256). in US Congress (1849). Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the US with an Appendix. Washington: Gales and Seaton (1849).



Mr. Smith of South Carolina quoted a George Washington speech of 1790 (January 11) in a debate about tariffs and the encouragement of domestic manufacturing):

The safety and interest of a free people require that Congress should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly military supplies.

pages 347 in Elliot, Jonathan (editor). Opinions Selected From Debates in Congress 1789-1836 Involving Constitutional Principles (pp.343-594, 599). in Debates in the several state conventions on the adoption of the federal constitution in 1787, 2nd edition. Washington (DC): printed for the editor (1836).



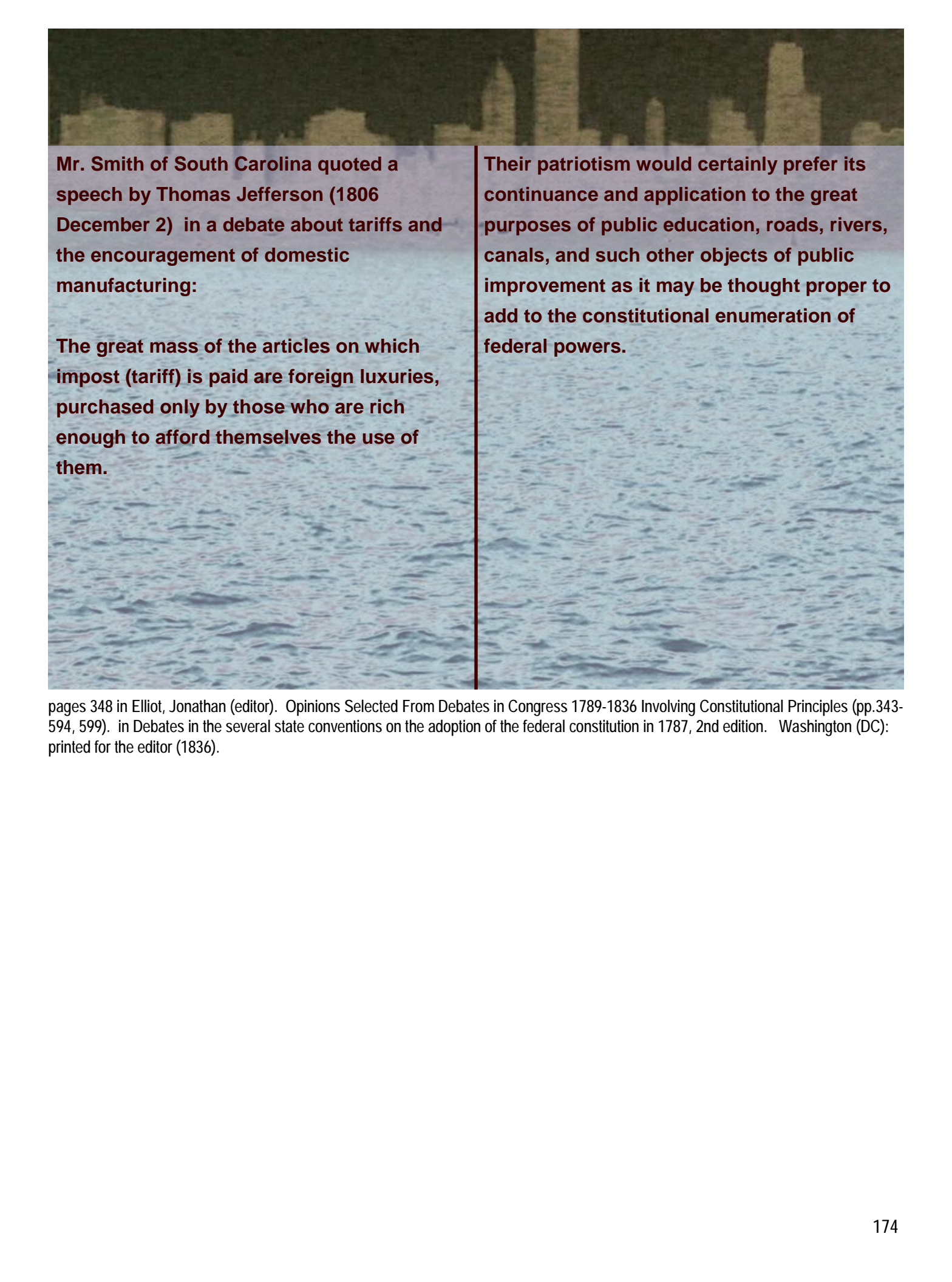
Mr. Smith of South Carolina quoted speeches by Thomas Jefferson in a debate about tariffs and the encouragement of domestic manufacturing:

(1802) To cultivate peace, maintain commerce and navigation, to foster our fisheries, and protect manufactures adapted to our circumstances are the landmarks by which to guide ourselves in all our relations.

(1808) The situation into which we have been thus forced has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufacturing improvements.

The extent of this conversion is daily increasing, and little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming will, under the auspices of cheaper materials, the freedom of labor from taxation with us, and protecting duties and prohibitions become permanent.

pages 348 in Elliot, Jonathan (editor). *Opinions Selected From Debates in Congress 1789-1836 Involving Constitutional Principles* (pp.343-594, 599). in *Debates in the several state conventions on the adoption of the federal constitution in 1787*, 2nd edition. Washington (DC): printed for the editor (1836).

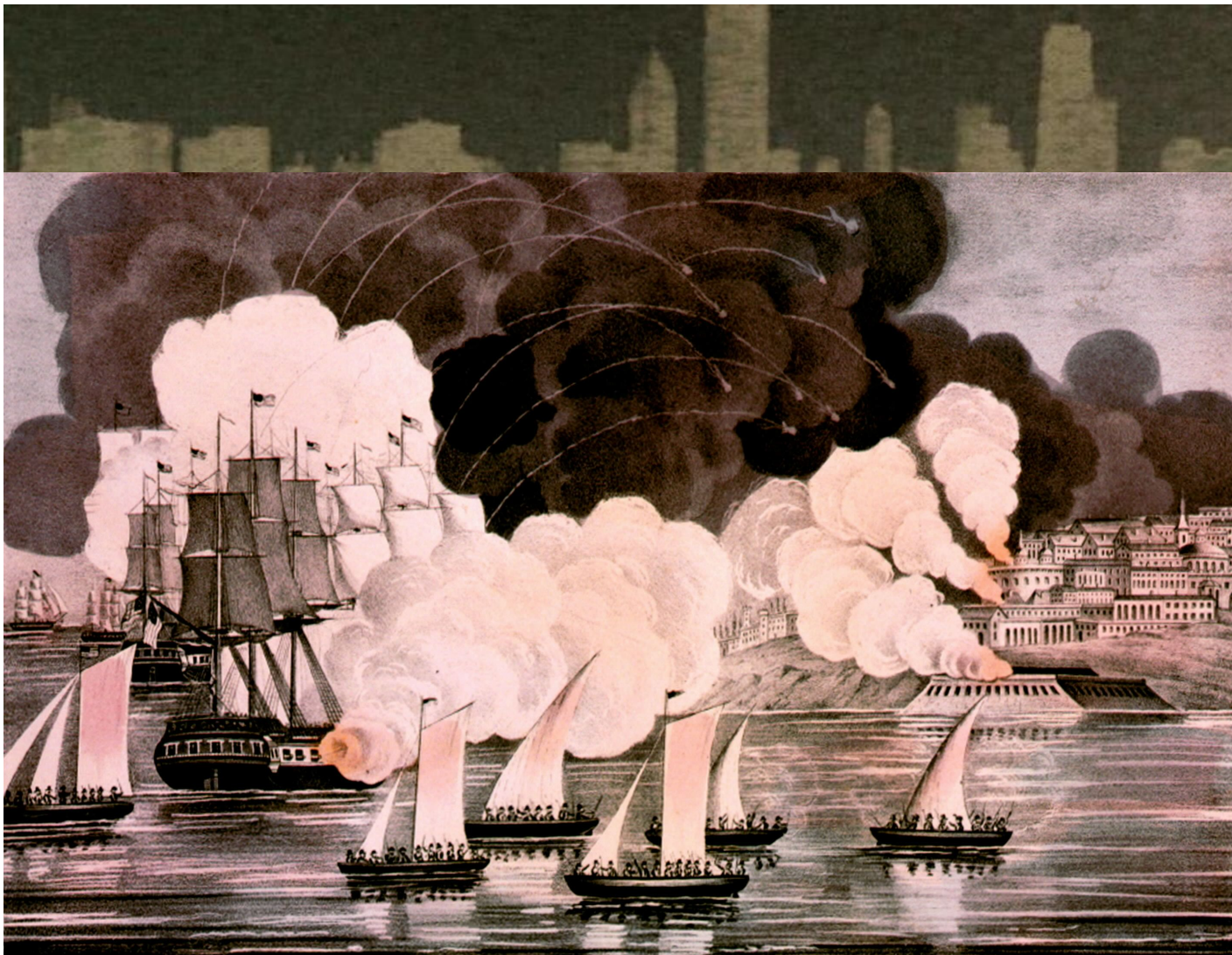


Mr. Smith of South Carolina quoted a speech by Thomas Jefferson (1806 December 2) in a debate about tariffs and the encouragement of domestic manufacturing:

The great mass of the articles on which impost (tariff) is paid are foreign luxuries, purchased only by those who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them.

Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance and application to the great purposes of public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers.

pages 348 in Elliot, Jonathan (editor). *Opinions Selected From Debates in Congress 1789-1836 Involving Constitutional Principles* (pp.343-594, 599). in *Debates in the several state conventions on the adoption of the federal constitution in 1787*, 2nd edition. Washington (DC): printed for the editor (1836).



Bombardment of Tripoli. (No. 415, no. 304). New York: N. Currier (c. 1846).

Currier & Ives : a catalogue raisonné / compiled by Gale Research. Detroit, MI : Gale Research, c1983, no. 0670.

Library of Congress. (color film copy transparency) cph 3g02705 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g02705> (b&w film copy neg) cph 3a52568 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a52568>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cph/3g00000/3g02000/3g02700/3g02705u.tif>

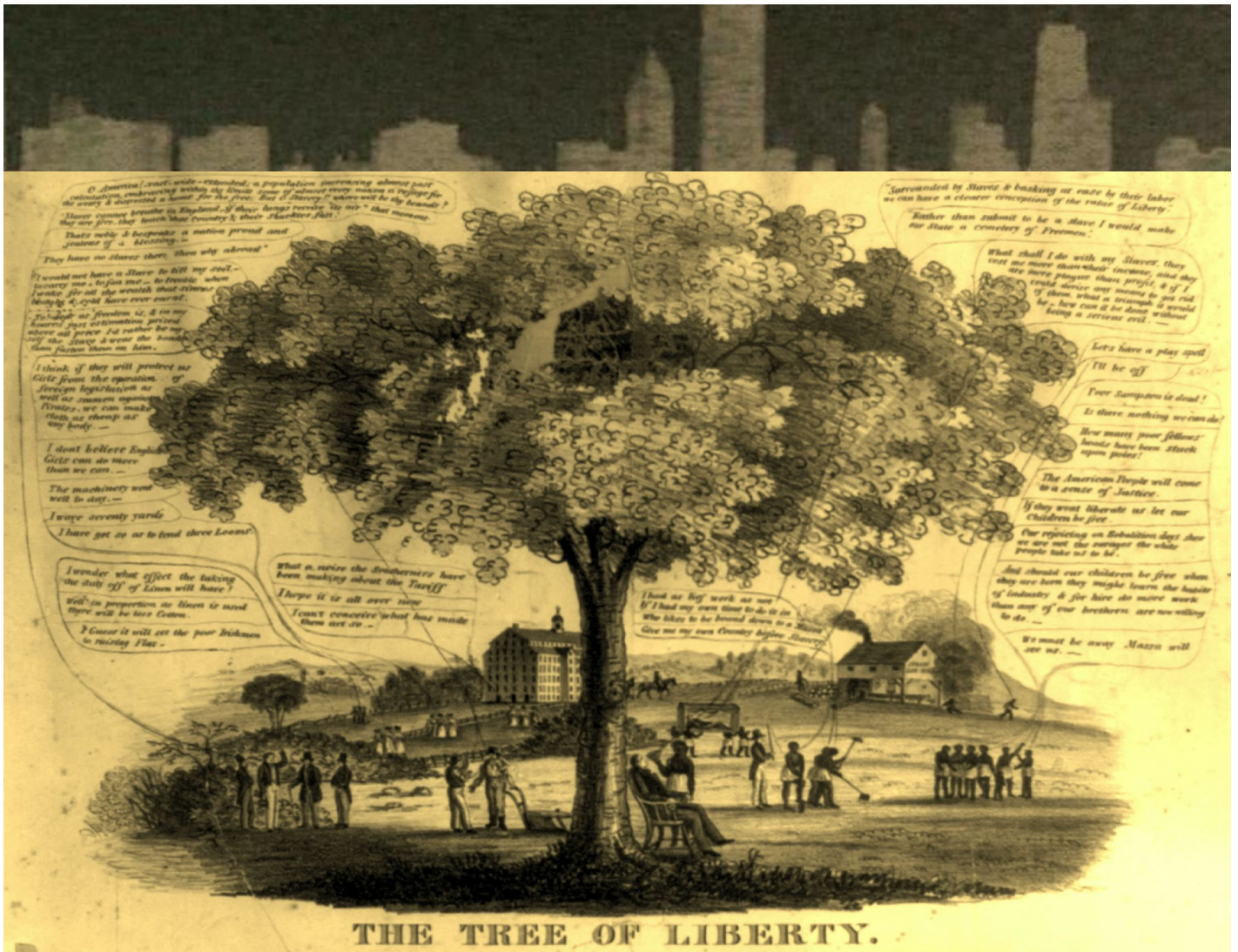


Guerrazzi, John B. (artist). The Burning of the fregate the Philadelphia in the harbor of Tripoli (1803). Published 1805. No known restrictions on publication.

Photograph of original engraving by John b. Guerrazzi shows the United States frigate Philadelphia aflame during the First Tripolitan War, 1803.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from b&w film copy neg.) cph 3a04057
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a04057>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cph/3a00000/3a04000/3a04000/3a04057u.tif>



The tree of liberty. The free population of the United States enjoying the refreshing shade of the tree of liberty (1846). : No known restrictions on publication.

A somewhat puzzling commentary on two issues: slavery and economic protectionism. The date of the print is uncertain, but it may have appeared as part of the reaction against the Walker Tariff of 1846. A Northern bias is expressed on both issues. The text is abolitionist on the one hand and laments the absence of federal protection for American industry on the other. The author of the piece (which is less a cartoon than an arrangement of didactic tableaux) presents through his characters a number of reasoned arguments on the respective economics of slave and free industry and suggests a parallel between the hardships posed by the lack of protection for American manufacturers and the plight of the slaves. The irony of the piece rests on the fact that only the Southern slaveholder, whose interests were best served by the 1846 tariff, enjoys the shade of the symbolic Liberty Tree, which looms up in the foreground. Slave owner, fanned by a Negro slave: "Surrounded by Slaves & basking at ease by their labor we can have a clearer conception of the value of Liberty." Man borne in a litter by slaves: "Rather than submit to be a slave I would make our State a cemetery of Freemen." Slaves working under the whip of an overseer at right: "I had as lief work as not. If I had my own time to do it in," and "Who likes to be bound down to a Massa." Another: "Give me my own Country before Slavery." Further right a group of slaves converse: "Poor Sampson is dead!" "Is there nothing we can do?" "How many poor fellows heads have been stuck upon poles!" "The American People will come to a sense of Justice." "If they won't liberate us," let our Children be free." "Our rejoicing on Bobalition days shew we are not the savages the white people take us to be." "And should our children be free when they are born they might learn the habits of industry & for hire do more work than any of our brethren are now willing to do." "We must be away Massa will see us." In the right background is a steam sawmill whose proprietor frets over his slaves, who run off saying, "Let's have a play spell" and "I'll be off." The owner laments, "What shall I do with my Slaves, they cost me more than their income, and they are more plague than profit, & if I could devise any means to get rid of them, what a triumph it would be--how can it be done without being a serious evil." The left half of the composition represents the North. Near the Liberty Tree two farmers converse: "I would not have a Slave to till my soil, to carry me, to fan me, to tremble when I wake for all the wealth that sinews bought & sold have earned." "No! dear as freedom is, & in my heart's just estimation prized above all price I'd rather be myself the slave & wear the bonds than fasten them on him." Nearby a group of gentlemen speak: "O America! vast--wide--extended; a population increasing almost past calculation, embracing within thy limits some of almost every nation a refuge for the weary & distressed a home for the free; But O Slavery!! where will be thy bounds?" "Slaves cannot breathe in England, if their lungs receive 'its air' that moment they are free-- they touch 'that Country & their Shackles fall." In the background is a textile mill. Outside are several groups of mill girls. Their conversations concern the tariff and its effects: "What a noise the Southerners have been making about the Tariff." "I hope it is all over now." Second group: "I think if they will protect us Girls from the operation of foreign legislation as well as seamen against Pirates, we can make cloth as cheap as any body." "I dont believe English Girls can do more than we can." "The machinery went well to day." "I wove seventy yards." "I have got so as to tend three Looms." A third group: "I wonder what effect the taking the duty off of Linen will have?" "Well in proportion as linen is used there will be less Cotton." "I Guess it will set the poor Irishmen to raising Flax." In the center, beyond the tree, a man on horseback leads a black woman carrying a bundle toward the right or Southern side of the print.

Published in: American political prints, 1766-1876 / Bernard F. Reilly. Boston : G.K. Hall, 1991, entry 1846-13.



The great naval blockade of Round Island. Showing the immense importance of having an efficient right arm of the national defence. New York (1849). No known restrictions on publication.

A satire on Taylor administration efforts to curtail American "filibusters," armed expeditions against Cuba for the purpose of freeing the island from Spanish rule. Specific reference here is to the Navy's blockade of one such expeditionary force, which assembled on Round Island under Colonel G. W. White in early September 1849. The many puzzling references in the dialogue and imagery here aside, it is clear that the artist is also poking fun at the expansionist dreams of Americans of the time who advocated annexation of Cuba, Canada, and even parts of South America. The artist is critical as well of the current Cuban regime. On the shore of Round Island, the would-be invaders sit at a long rustic banquet table. Nearby several youths play with marbles and hoops, while two boys and a man ride a seesaw. Beyond, two men fly star-shaped kites which read "Cuba" and "Canada." The table is set with food, apparently taken from two large baskets at right. Several of the banqueters toast, "The Queen of Slave Traders!" "The Republic of Sierra Madre!" and "Venezuela! St Domingo! and Yucatan!" A man at the head of the table, holding a "N.Y. Express Proclamation" (perhaps Zachary Taylor's 1848 proclamation denouncing the expedition) addresses them, "You should thank us ye Pirates and Robbers of Cuba for saving you from [Spanish governor of Cuba Federico] Roncali's Garrote." One of the diners protests, "We are no Pirates! we dont kidnap people from the United States nor from Africa" (a reference to the Cuban government's alleged abduction of Juan Francisco Garcia y Rey from New Orleans in July 1848 and to Cuba's slave trade). Offshore are several boats, including a U.S. naval frigate with the words "Nine Millions a year" emblazoned on its sail and a small sloop. A man in the sloop calls out to the frigate, "Help! Help! dont let Roncali trample on your laws." The man is former Havana jailer Juan Francisco Garcia y Rey, now held by the Spanish government for freeing Cuban revolutionaries. Garcia y Rey had appealed for help to the American government, on the basis of his illegal abduction by the Spanish consul. To his call comes the response, "We dont care for the laws we are reaping laurels. Mr. Rey." Others on deck on the American ship converse, saying, "This is as safe and more glorious than Tampico" and "La Cronica will let the Negroes loose upon those who escape from the proclamation."

Weitenkampf, p. 100.

Published in: American political prints, 1766-1876 / Bernard F. Reilly. Boston : G.K. Hall, 1991, entry 1849-5.



Tift & Company, Ships Chandlery & Icehouse, Mallory Square, Key West, Monroe County, FL

Historic American Buildings Survey (creator) (documentation compiled after 1933).

HABS FLA,44-KEY,8-

Survey number HABS FL-176

1. EAST ELEVATION

2. SOUTHEAST CORNER

3. CISTERNS AT REAR, LOOKING SOUTHEAST

4. INTERIOR OF CISTERN LOOKING EAST

1841 initial construction

The northern building is the city's oldest commercial building, and was built by Amos C. Tift and Co. as a ships chandlery. The land on which the building was constructed was part of the Naval Yard during the Island's occupation by Commodore David Porter's anti-pirate squadron from 1823 to 1826. The southern building was built as an icehouse. Not until 1890 was artificial ice manufactured at Key West. Until that time, natural ice was shipped in specially built ships from the North. Ice was a vitally important commodity in the tropics for the relief of fever victims. The large cisterns in the rear of the buildings were used to collect rainwater which supplied ships calling at the port.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photograph Division, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/hhh.fl0148>



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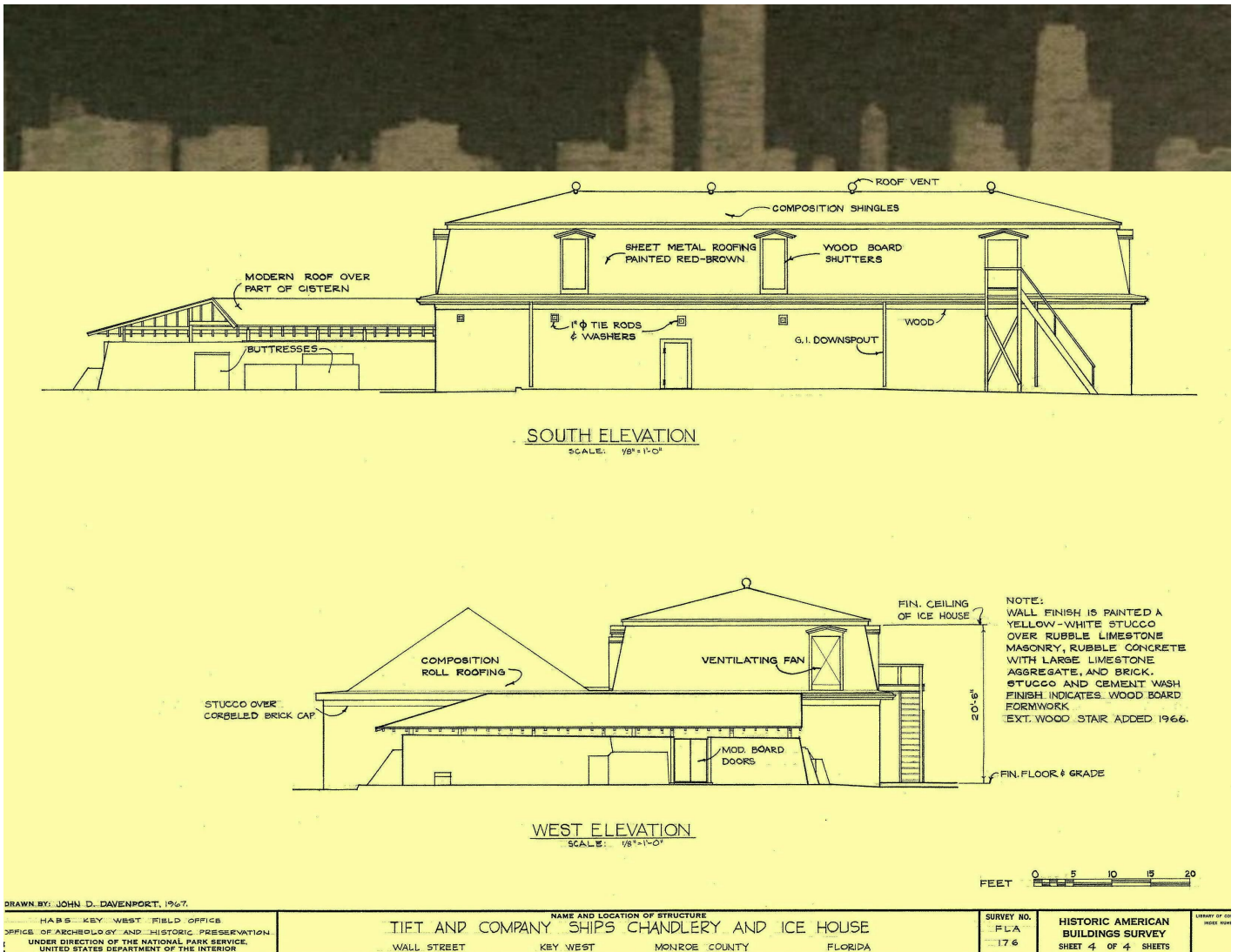
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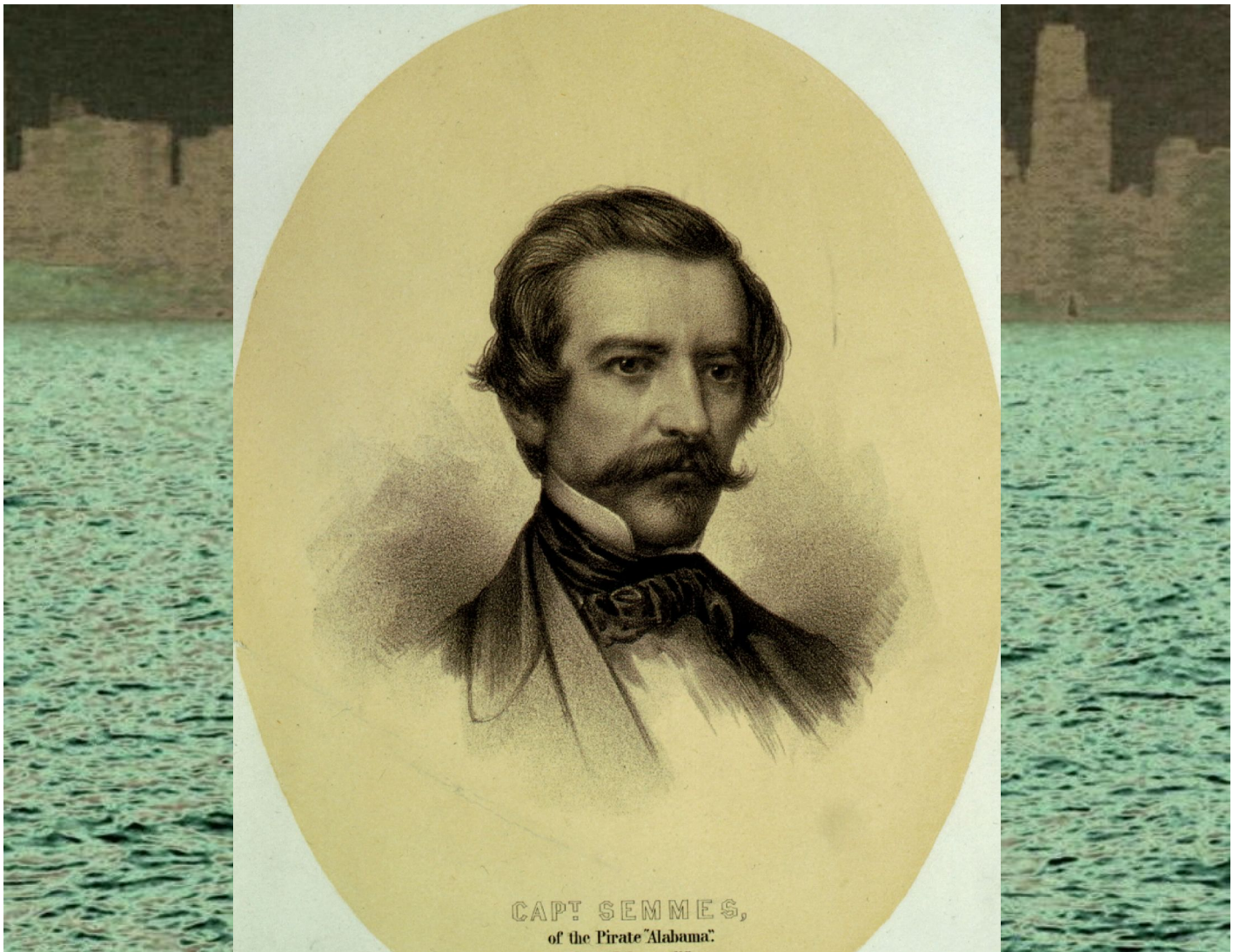
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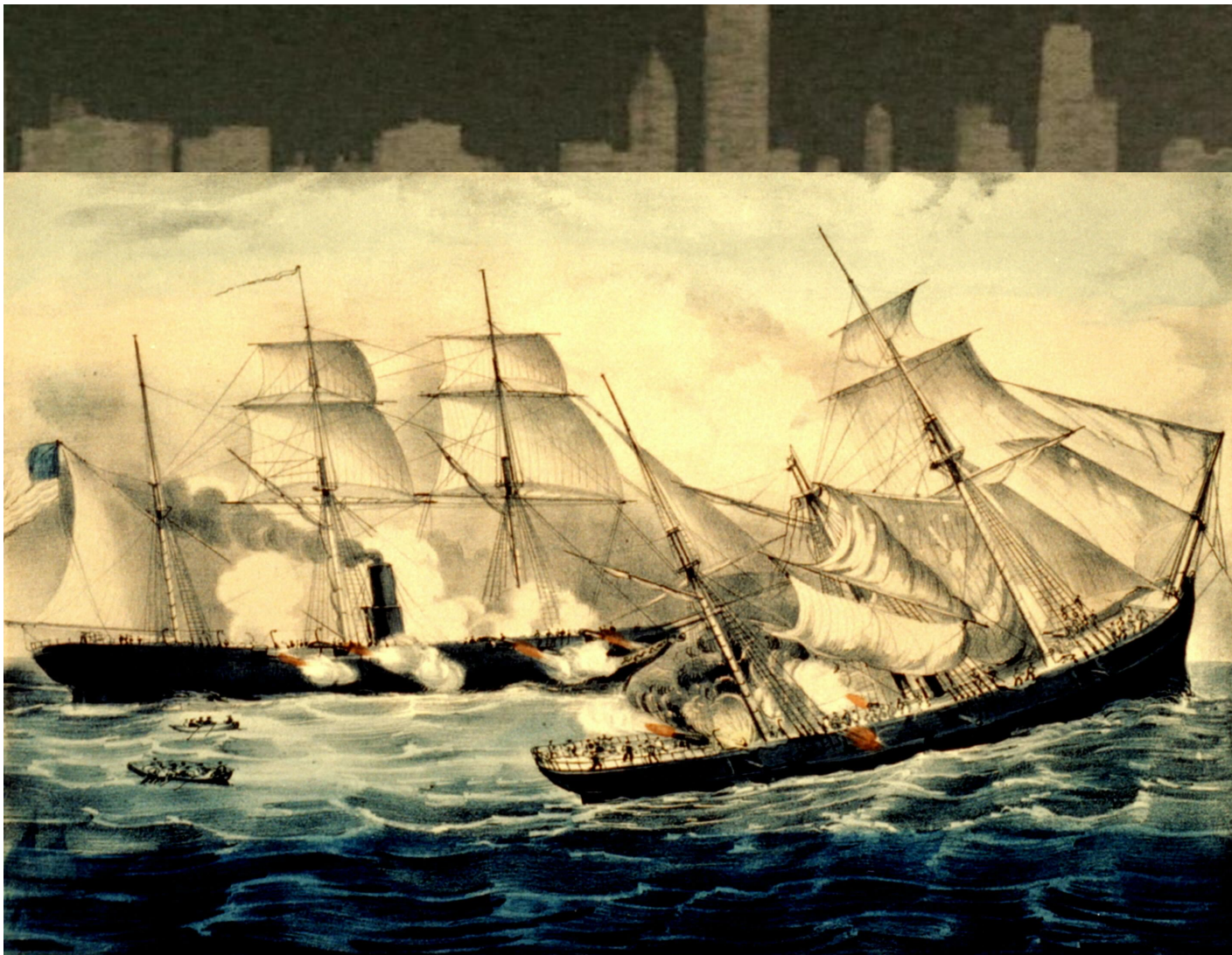


Capt. Semmes, of the pirate "Alabama". Boston: L. Prang & Co (between 1862 and 1865).

Raphael Semmes, head-and-shoulders portrait, facing right.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (color film copy transparency) cph 3g02385
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g02385>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cph/3g00000/3g02000/3g02300/3g02385u.tif>

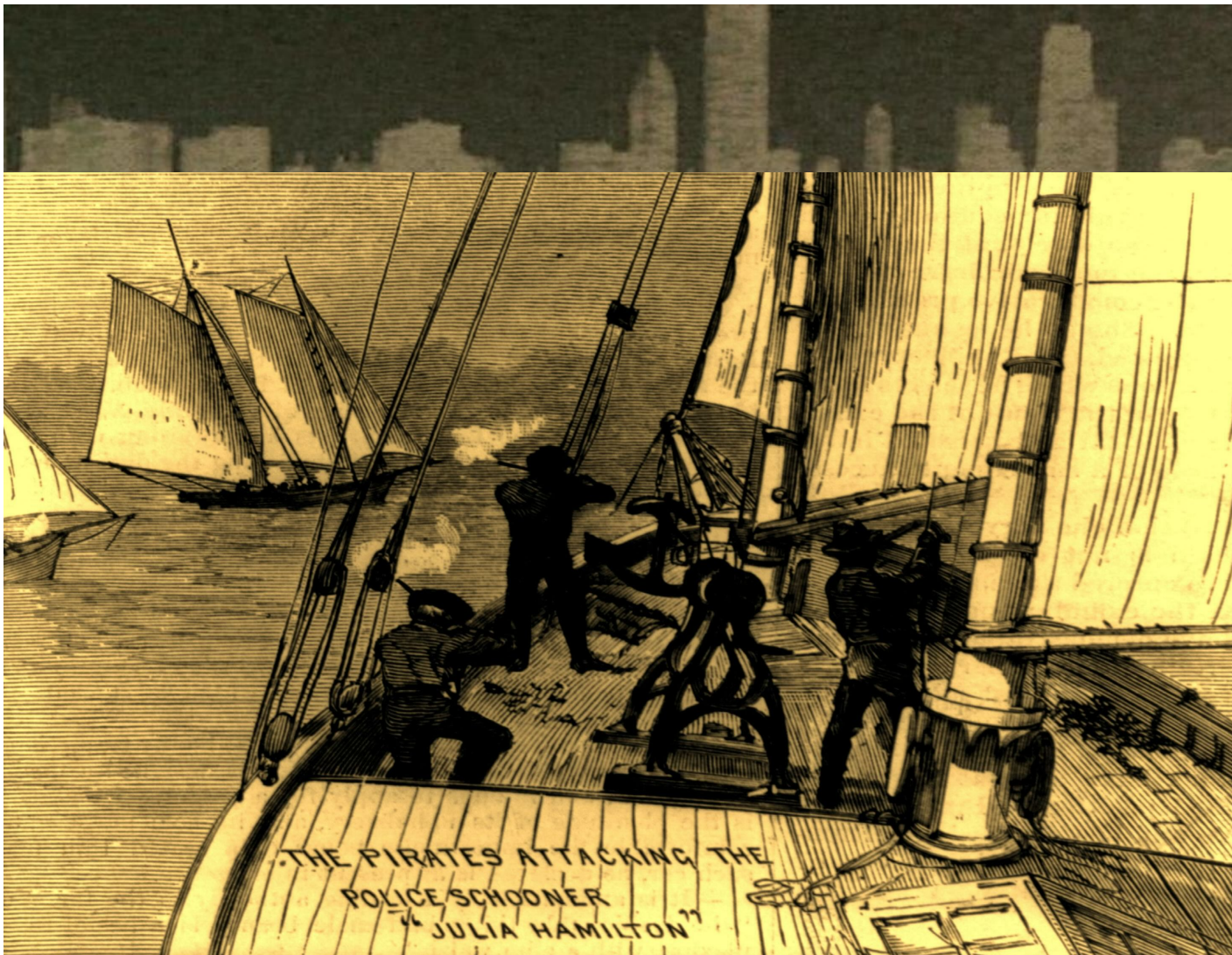


The U.S. sloop of war "Kearsarge" 7 guns, sinking the pirate "Alabama" 8 guns: off Cherbourg, France, Sunday June 19th. 1864. New York: Currier & Ives (c. 1864). No known restrictions on publication.

Currier & Ives : a catalogue raisonné / compiled by Gale Research. Detroit, MI : Gale Research, c1983, no. 6853

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (color film copy slide) cph 3b51001
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b51001> (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3a17873 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a17873>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cph/3b50000/3b51000/3b51000/3b51001u.tif>



Schell and Hogan (artists). The oyster war in Chesapeake Bay. Harper's Weekly (1884 March 1, page 136). No known restrictions on publication.

The pirates attacking the police schooner "Julia Hamilton".

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3b23336
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b23336>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cph/3b20000/3b23000/3b23300/3b23336u.tif>



Schell and Hogan (artists). The oyster war in Chesapeake Bay. Harper's Weekly (1884 March 1, page 136). No known restrictions on publication.

Pirates dredging at night.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3b23338
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b23338>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cph/3b20000/3b23000/3b23300/3b23338u.tif>



Rogers, William Allen (1854-1931) (artist). Enlist in the U.S. Navy--your country needs you! New York Herald (1917 April 18, page 10).

German military officer (possibly Alfred von Tirpitz) standing on submarine, next to flag with skull and crossbones labeled "Kultur" and "frightfulness," in New York Harbor, with Statue of Liberty in background.

Accession no. DLC/PP-1932:0042.

Cabinet of American Illustration. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from intermediary roll film copy) cai 2a14520 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cai.2a14520>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cai/2a14000/2a14500/2a14520u.tif>



Varian, George Edmund (1865-1923) (artist). Jim Hawkins watching pirates coming ashore in canoes. in Stevenson, Robert Louis (author). *Treasure Island*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons (1918).

Accession no. DLC/PP-1933:0011.

Cabinet of American Illustration. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from intermediary roll film copy) cai 2a15251 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cai.2a15251>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cai/2a15000/2a15200/2a15251u.tif>



Varian, George Edmund (1865-1923) (artist). Now Bill, sit where you are. in Stevenson, Robert Louis (author). Treasure Island. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons (1918).

Accession no. DLC/PP-1933:0011.

Cabinet of American Illustration. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from intermediary roll film copy) cai 2a15252 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cai.2a15252>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cai/2a15000/2a15200/2a15252u.tif>



Silver spur. Chicago: Phoenix Litho. Co. (copyright R17967, 1886, E.F. Benton). No known restrictions on publication.

Form 28.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from intermediary roll copy film) var 0679
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/var.0679> (digital file from color film copy transparency) cph 3g08095 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g08095>

<http://memory.loc.gov/service/pnp/cph/3g00000/3g08000/3g08000/3g08095v.jpg>



The pirates' ruse luring a merchantman in the olden days. Amico Publishing Co. (copyright B1203, 1896 February 21). No known restrictions on publication.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from original print) pga 00033
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pga.00033>

<http://memory.loc.gov/service/pnp/pga/00000/00033v.jpg>



Utagawa, Toyokuni (1786-1865) (artist). Hakata kojorō kezori kuemon komachiya sōshichi (Actors in the roles of Hakata Kojurō, Kezori Kuemon, and Komachiya Sōshichi). (1848-1854). No known restrictions on publication.

Print shows two actors on board a ship and one in the water; portraying Hakata Kojurō, the smuggler or pirate, Kezori Kuemon, and the merchant, Komachiya Sōshichi.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. Triptych matted in 3 sections: left (1494a), center (1494b), right (1494c). (digital file from original print) jpd 01736 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/jpd.01736> (digital file of 1494a, left panel, from original print) jpd 01737 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/jpd.01737> (digital file of 1494b, center panel, from original print) jpd 01738 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/jpd.01738> (digital file of 1494c, right panel, from original print) jpd 01739 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/jpd.01739>

<http://memory.loc.gov/service/pnp/jpd/01700/01736v.jpg>

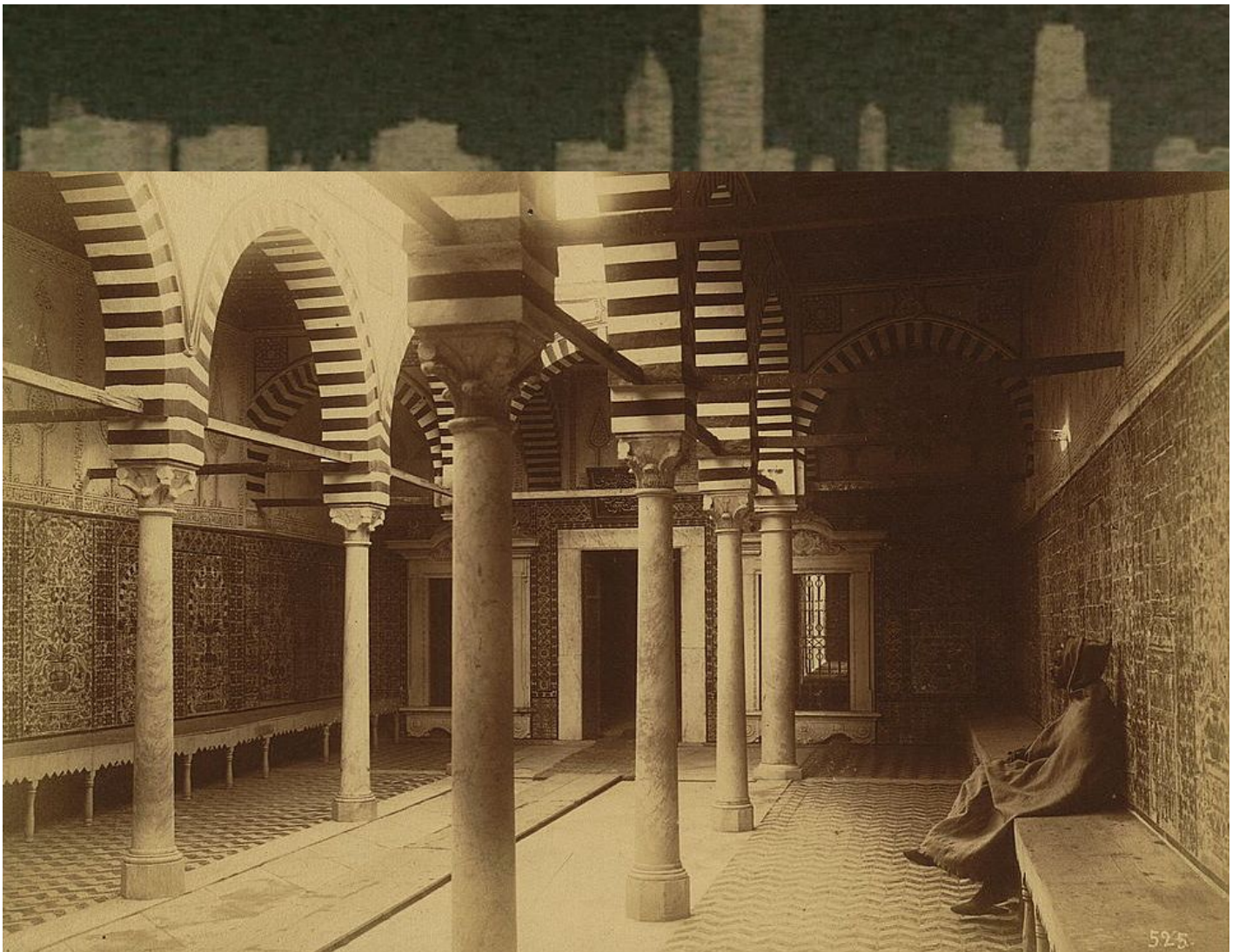


Li Hung Chang's reminder to the lawless—five Pirate Heads hanging over the Wall
Honam, China. Copyright 1900 by Underwood & Underwood.

Li Hung Chang's reminder to the lawless - five pirate heads hanging over the wall at Honam, China. Underwood & Underwood (c. 1900).
No known restrictions on publication.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3b21747
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b21747> (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3b16205 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b16205>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cph/3b20000/3b21000/3b21700/3b21747u.tif>



Lehnert & Landrock (photographer). Kairouan. One of the corridors of the Mosque of the Barber (No. 525, No. 10). (1904-1913). No known restrictions on publication in the U.S.

The Moorish tiles are of great beauty. The columns are not ancient but are said to have been sent from Italy early in the 17th century by an Italian doctor who was captured by the pirates of Tunisia and held as a slave for many years in Kairouan. His master finally gave him his liberty and he sent back the marble columns, door and window frames to decorate the mosque.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from original) ppmsca 03882
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.03882>

<http://memory.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/03800/03882v.jpg>



Lehnert & Landrock (photographer). One of the main streets of Kairouan, showing two of the minarets. The archway over the camel is the entrance to the souks or bazaars / Lehnert et Landrock, Tunis (No. 522, No. 3). (1904-1913). No known restrictions on publication in the U.S.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from original) ppmsca 03880
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.03880>

<http://memory.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/03800/03880v.jpg>



Soler, F. (photographer). Les maisons de Médénine. (1880-1900). No known restrictions on publication in the U.S.

Ghorfa houses in Madanin, Tunisia. : Details of rhorfas [i.e., ghorfas] of Medenine.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from original) ppmsca 03905
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.03905>

<http://memory.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/03900/03905v.jpg>



Zangaki, Adelphi and Constantine (photographers). Epicierie arabe (No. 664). (1860-1870). No known restrictions on publication in the U.S.

Men standing next to shop stall open to street, Egypt(?).

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from original) ppsca 03922
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.03922>

<http://memory.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/03900/03922v.jpg>

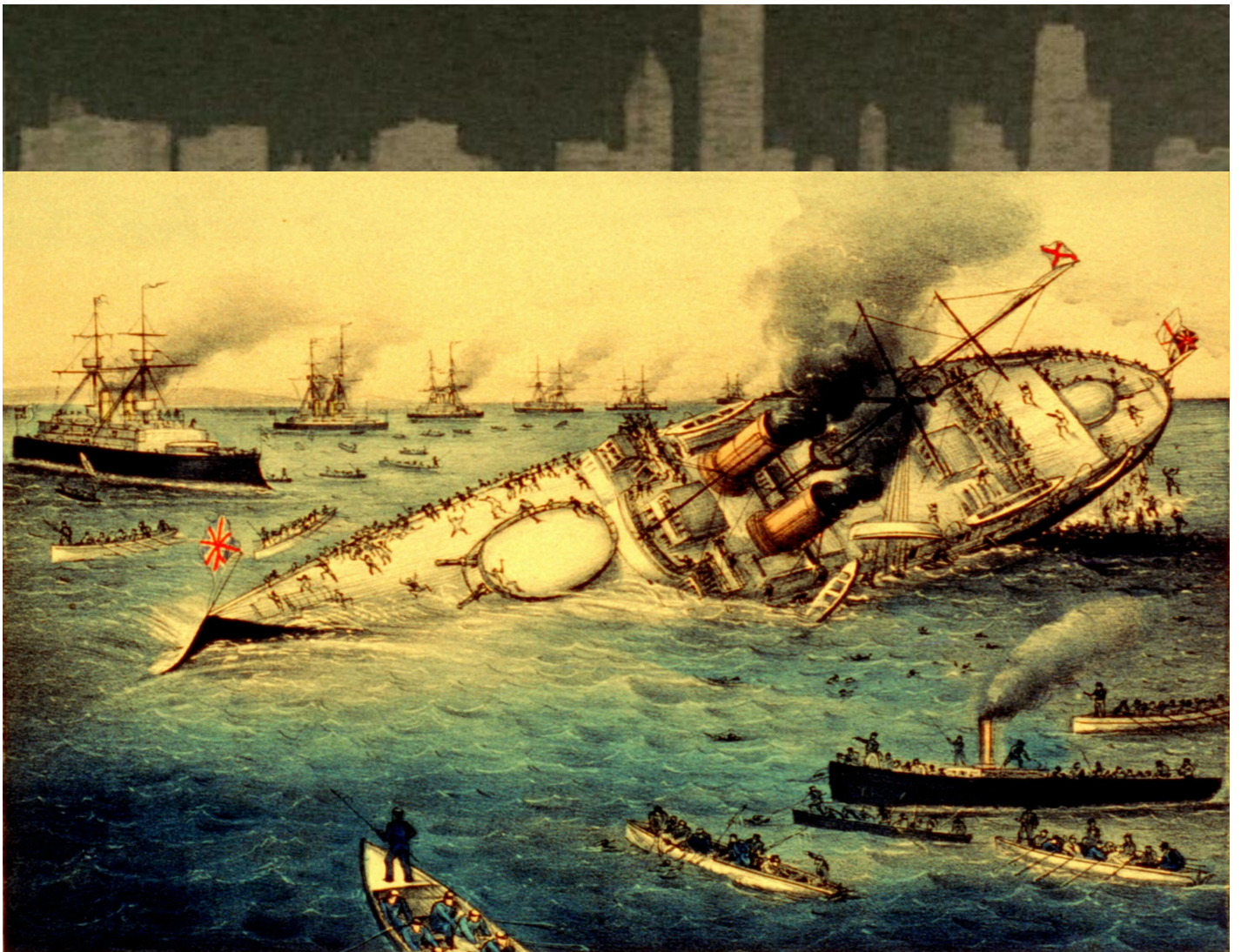


Oscanyan, Christopher (b. 1818). Pont du serail. (c. 1876). No known restrictions on publication in the U.S.

Aerial view of the Golden Horn looking towards Topkapi Sarayi, Istanbul.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (digital file from original) ppmsca 03894
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.03894>

<http://memory.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/03800/03894v.jpg>



Sinking of the British battle ship Victoria off Tripoli, Syria, June 22, 1893. New York: Currier & Ives (c1893).

Currier & Ives : a catalogue raisonné / compiled by Gale Research. Detroit, MI : Gale Research, c1983, no. 5923

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. (color film copy slide) cph 3b50878
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b50878>

<http://memory.loc.gov/master/pnp/cph/3b50000/3b50000/3b50800/3b50878u.tif>